Manichaeism: A Syncretic World Religion of Light and Darkness

I. Introduction to Manichaeism: The Religion of Light

A. Definition, Core Tenets, and Significance

Manichaeism, a complex and historically significant religious movement, was founded by the prophet Mani in Persia during the 3rd century CE.¹ At its core, Manichaeism is a radically dualistic religion, positing an eternal and irreconcilable struggle between two fundamental, uncreated principles: a benevolent, spiritual world of Light, identified with Good, and an evil, material world of Darkness.³ The observable universe, according to Manichaean doctrine, is a battleground, a fusion of these opposing forces, wherein the human soul—conceived as a particle of divine Light—is tragically entrapped within the corrupting influence of the material world, equated with the body and evil.¹ Salvation, in this schema, is attainable not through faith or ritual propitiation in the conventional sense, but through *gnosis*: a special, revealed knowledge of these profound spiritual truths. This gnosis illuminates the soul's true origin and predicament, enabling its eventual liberation from material bondage and its ascent back to the transcendent realm of Light.²

For an extended period, Manichaeism was often miscategorized, particularly in Western polemical literature, as merely a Christian heresy. However, contemporary scholarship recognizes it as a distinct religion in its own right, possessing a coherent and sophisticated doctrinal system, a structured ecclesiastical organization, and a rich corpus of sacred writings. Its historical importance is underscored by its remarkable expansion; for several centuries, it flourished across a vast geographical expanse, from North Africa and the Roman Empire in the West, through Persia and Central Asia, to China in the East, becoming a formidable rival to established faiths like Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Buddhism. The study of Manichaeism offers profound insights into the dynamics of religious syncretism, the nature of religious competition and persecution in late antiquity, and the intricate processes of cultural and intellectual transmission along transcontinental networks, most notably the Silk Road.

The immediate and widespread appeal of Manichaeism across diverse cultural and religious landscapes suggests that it addressed profound existential questions, particularly the problem of evil, in a manner that resonated deeply with many. This appeal was significantly amplified by its inherent adaptability and Mani's strategic syncretism. Mani explicitly positioned himself as the culminating figure in a line of prophets that included Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus, thereby appealing to adherents of these diverse traditions. His teachings were intentionally designed to be translatable and adaptable to varied cultural milieus, facilitating their rapid dissemination. The religion's swift expansion indicates that it offered a

spiritual framework perceived by many as more comprehensive or compelling than existing local options, with its radical dualistic explanation for evil proving particularly potent.³ Thus, its initial success was not solely attributable to missionary fervor but was deeply rooted in its doctrinal content and its founder's vision of a universal, adaptable faith.

Furthermore, the persistent historical labeling of Manichaeism as a "Christian heresy," despite its distinct religious identity, reveals more about the power dynamics and polemical strategies of its primary opponents, notably the burgeoning Christian Church, than about its intrinsic theological structure. While Mani incorporated Christian elements and revered Jesus as a prophet, this provided a convenient pretext for Christian polemicists to frame Manichaeism as a deviation from orthodox Christian truth. As the Christian Church gained institutional power, particularly within the Roman Empire, it actively persecuted Manichaeism, and the "heresy" label served as a potent tool for delegitimization and suppression. Figures like Augustine of Hippo, a former Manichaean who became one of its most formidable critics, were instrumental in shaping Western perceptions, often framing Manichaean tenets within a Christian theological context to highlight perceived errors. This historical framing obscured for centuries the independent and profoundly syncretic nature of Manichaeism.

B. The World of Late Antiquity: Religious Context of Manichaeism's Emergence

Mani was born into a world of extraordinary religious ferment. Parthian Babylonia in the early 3rd century CE, the region of his birth, was a veritable crossroads of civilizations and a crucible of religious ideas. This Mesopotamian milieu was characterized by an intense and dynamic interplay of diverse traditions: various forms of Christianity, including Jewish-Christian communities like the Elchasaites and different Gnostic schools; the ancient state religion of Persia, Zoroastrianism, with its own deep-rooted dualistic tendencies; Buddhism, which had established a significant presence in the eastern Iranian territories and beyond; remnants of Babylonian mythology and local Mesopotamian cults; pervasive Hellenistic philosophies; and vibrant Jewish communities with their rich scriptural and interpretive traditions.³ This religious pluralism created an environment where syncretism was not merely possible but almost inevitable, as ideas and practices flowed and mingled. The Sasanian Empire, which supplanted the Parthian Arsacid dynasty during Mani's youth, embarked on a project of political and religious consolidation, often seeking to elevate Zoroastrianism to a position of central importance. ¹² This created a complex and often tense dynamic for other religious communities, oscillating between periods of tolerance and episodes of persecution. It was within this vibrant, competitive, and politically charged landscape that Manichaeism emerged. The very conditions of intense religious interaction and competition that characterized 3rd-century Mesopotamia, while providing Mani with a rich tapestry of ideas from which to draw, also inherently contained the seeds of future conflict. A potent new synthesis like Manichaeism, with its universalist claims, was bound to be perceived as a threat by established religious institutions and political authorities seeking ideological uniformity. Mani's explicit aim to create a universal religion that would supersede all others would inevitably challenge the theological claims of Christianity and Zoroastrianism, as well as

the politico-religious agendas of empires like the Sasanian and later the Roman.¹
The Silk Road, the vast network of trade routes connecting East and West, was not merely a passive conduit for the spread of Manichaeism; it actively shaped the religion's expression and practice in different regions.⁷ This necessitated a significant degree of theological flexibility and local adaptation. For instance, as Manichaeism moved eastward into Central Asia and China, it famously incorporated Buddhist and Taoist terminology, imagery, and even conceptual frameworks to make its message intelligible and appealing to local populations.³ This adaptability was a key strength, contributing to its widespread appeal by creating a "sense of familiarity with local beliefs".⁷ However, this same flexibility could also lead to variations in emphasis and external presentation across its vast geographical domain, potentially straining the doctrinal unity that Mani himself was keen to preserve.² Indeed, historical records point to schisms within the Manichaean church, such as the division between the Denawars in Sogdiana and the See of Babylon, suggesting that such tensions did occasionally manifest.¹³

II. Mani: The Apostle of Light

A. Early Life, Revelations, and the Elchasaite Connection

Mani (variously rendered as Μάνης, Manes, or Manichaeus in Greek and Latin sources) was born on April 14, 216 CE, in southern Babylonia, then part of the Parthian Empire, in the vicinity of the twin cities of Seleucia-Ctesiphon.² His father, Pātik (also Pattūg, Παττικιος, Futtug), who hailed from Ecbatana (modern Hamadan), was a member of a Jewish-Christian baptist sect known as the Elchasaites. 14 Mani's mother, Maryam, was of Parthian aristocratic lineage, possibly connected to the Arsacid Kamsarakan family.² The Cologne Mani Codex (CMC), a miniature Greek papyrus codex discovered in Egypt, provides invaluable, albeit hagiographically colored, details about Mani's early life within this Elchasaite community.⁷ The Elchasaites, with whom Mani spent his formative years, represented a syncretic blend of Jewish, Christian, and Gnostic ideas, practicing ritual ablutions and adhering to specific dietary laws. 11 It was within this environment that Mani experienced his first profound religious awakenings. According to Manichaean tradition, he received two major revelations from a celestial being he called his "Twin" (Aramaic Tauma; Greek Syzygos), an angelic figure described as his divine alter ego or guardian spirit. The first revelation occurred when Mani was twelve years old, and the second, more decisive one, came at the age of twenty-four, around 240 CE. 11 This second encounter with his heavenly Twin imparted the core tenets of his new religion and issued a divine mandate: Mani was to publicly proclaim this universal message of salvation and, in doing so, to break away from the Elchasaite community.¹¹ Mani's eventual departure from the Elchasaites appears to have been driven not only by the content of his new revelations but also by a fundamental divergence in vision. The Elchasaites, as a Jewish-Christian sect, likely possessed a degree of cultural and religious particularism.¹⁴ In contrast, Mani's ambition was to found a truly universal religion, one that could transcend ethnic and linguistic boundaries. He perceived previous religious traditions, including those of

Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus, as having been limited in their scope—often localized, taught in a single language to a specific people—and their original truths as having been obscured or corrupted over time.¹ His break with the Elchasaites can thus be interpreted as a pivotal move from a more circumscribed spiritual heritage towards a self-consciously global religious project. The concept of the "Twin" or Syzygos was central to legitimizing this new mission. This Gnostic motif of a divine counterpart or heavenly double served to elevate Mani's status from that of a mere teacher to a divinely commissioned apostle, directly linked to the Realm of Light. This connection was essential for his claim to be the "Seal of the Prophets," the final and definitive messenger in a long line of divine emissaries.¹

B. Missionary Journeys and Establishment of a World Religion

Following his second revelation around 240 CE, Mani embarked on his prophetic mission. His early missionary activities took him eastward, notably to India (likely the regions of Sind and Turan, which were then part of the eastern Sasanian sphere or the Kushan territories).² During these travels, he encountered Buddhist communities, made converts, and became acquainted with Buddhist doctrines and practices, which would later be integrated into his own system.⁷ Manichaean tradition recounts his conversion of the Shāh of Tūrān, a local ruler in the Indo-Iranian borderlands.⁷

Upon his return to Persia around 242 CE, Mani succeeded in gaining an audience with the newly crowned Sasanian King of Kings, Shāpūr I. While Shāpūr I did not formally convert to Manichaeism, he granted Mani considerable favor, permitting him to preach and establish his religion throughout the vast Sasanian Empire.² This period of royal patronage was crucial for the nascent religion's consolidation and initial expansion. As a gesture of respect and perhaps as a summary of his teachings for the monarch, Mani dedicated one of his major works, the Shabuhragan, composed in Middle Persian, to Shāpūr I.⁶ Shāpūr I's tolerance, if not outright support, for Manichaeism was likely a calculated political decision. Ruling a diverse and expanding empire with significant Christian, Jewish, and Buddhist minorities, Shāpūr may have seen in Manichaeism, with its pronounced syncretic character and its claim to fulfill and supersede earlier faiths, a potential instrument for fostering ideological unity among his disparate subjects. A religion that could simultaneously appeal to Zoroastrians, Christians, and Buddhists might serve as a unifying cultural force, strengthening imperial cohesion without necessitating the king's abandonment of his ancestral Zoroastrian faith. This pragmatic approach also helps explain why Manichaean fortunes shifted under later Sasanian rulers who prioritized Zoroastrian orthodoxy more exclusively.

Mani was a meticulous organizer. He established an extensive missionary program, dispatching disciples to various parts of the known world.² Crucially, he emphasized the translation of his writings into different languages to facilitate the dissemination of his message across cultural and linguistic divides.² This strategy proved remarkably effective, as Manichaeism spread with extraordinary rapidity, both westward into the Roman Empire—reaching Egypt, North Africa, and Rome itself—and further eastward along the burgeoning Silk Road trade routes into Central Asia and eventually China.⁵ Mani was also renowned as a painter and calligrapher, and he utilized art, notably through his illustrated

canonical work, the *Arzhang* (Book of Pictures), as a powerful medium for conveying his complex cosmological and doctrinal ideas, particularly to non-literate audiences.¹⁷ A distinctive feature of Mani's approach was his decision to commit his own teachings to writing and to establish this corpus as a fixed canon during his lifetime.² This was a deliberate strategy born from his observation that the teachings of earlier prophets, who had not personally authored their scriptures, had often been subject to corruption and fragmentation by their disciples, leading to schism and the dilution of the original message.² By creating an authoritative written canon from the outset, Mani sought to ensure the doctrinal purity, unity, and longevity of his universal religion. This reflects a sophisticated understanding of the transmission and evolution of religious traditions and a proactive attempt to safeguard the integrity of his revelation.

C. Persecution and Martyrdom

The period of relative tolerance and royal favor that Manichaeism enjoyed under Shāpūr I and his immediate successor, Hormizd I, proved to be short-lived. A formidable opposition arose from the established Zoroastrian priesthood, which wielded considerable influence within the Sasanian state. The high priest (mowbedān mowbed) Kartir (also Kerdīr), a zealous proponent of Zoroastrian orthodoxy and a powerful figure at court, viewed Manichaeism as a dangerous heresy and a threat to the religious and political order he sought to consolidate.² Under the reign of King Bahrām I (Varahran I), who was heavily influenced by Kartir and the conservative Zoroastrian faction, the tide turned decisively against Mani and his followers.² Mani was arrested, subjected to a trial (or a period of confinement and suffering that his followers likened to a trial), and ultimately died in prison in the city of Gundeshapur (Belapet) sometime between 274 and 277 CE.² Manichaean tradition reveres this final period of suffering as Mani's "Passion" or "Crucifixion," consciously drawing parallels with the martyrdom of Jesus Christ, thereby sacralizing his death and framing it within the religion's core narrative of the suffering of Light.⁶ While some later accounts claim that Mani was flaved alive and his skin stuffed and displayed, these are likely legendary embellishments; historical sources suggest that post-mortem mutilation, such as decapitation and the public display of his head, is more plausible.¹⁵

Mani's death marked the beginning of systematic and often severe persecution of Manichaeans within the Sasanian Empire.⁷ The figure of Kartir is central to understanding this shift. His rise to prominence represented the increasing institutionalization and politicization of Zoroastrianism under the Sasanians, a process that increasingly equated religious uniformity with state stability and imperial strength.¹² Manichaeism, with its universalist aspirations, its rapid growth, and its syncretic challenge to Zoroastrian cosmological and theological claims, became a prime target for this policy of enforced religious centralism. Kartir's opposition to Mani was thus not merely theological but profoundly political, reflecting a broader Sasanian strategy to consolidate power by championing Zoroastrianism as the exclusive state-sanctioned faith.

Far from extinguishing the religion, however, the martyrdom of Mani paradoxically contributed to its resilience and further expansion. His death became a pivotal event in Manichaean

sacred history, reinforcing the religion's core message about the cosmic struggle between Light and Darkness and the suffering endured by the divine elements in the material world. The Bema feast, the most important annual festival in the Manichaean liturgical calendar, was instituted to commemorate Mani's passion and death, serving as a powerful ritual focus for communal identity, repentance, and rededication. Moreover, the ensuing persecutions in Persia spurred a diaspora of Manichaean missionaries and adherents, who carried the faith to new regions, particularly westward into the Roman Empire and eastward along the Silk Road into Sogdiana, Central Asia, and beyond. Thus, Mani's martyrdom provided a potent narrative and ritual core that galvanized his community and, combined with the dispersal of his followers, contributed to the religion's wider, albeit often clandestine and persecuted, dissemination.

III. The Doctrinal Edifice of Manichaeism

A. The Grand Dualism: Light and Darkness, Good and Evil

The philosophical and theological cornerstone of Manichaeism is an uncompromising and eternal dualism.¹ This doctrine posits the existence of two coeternal, uncreated, and fundamentally antagonistic principles or realms: the Realm of Light, which is synonymous with Good, Spirit, and the divine Father of Greatness (also referred to as the Father of Light, Majesty, or Grandeur); and the Realm of Darkness, equated with Evil, Matter, and ruled by the King of Darkness. ⁵ These two primordial realities are locked in an unending cosmic struggle. ⁵ The Realm of Light is characterized by absolute peace, harmony, and perfection. The Father of Greatness presides over this luminous domain, which is structured by five spiritual attributes or emanations, often termed "Tabernacles" (Shekhinas in a Hebraized form), such as Intelligence, Reason, Thought, Reflection, and Will. 19 Other textual traditions list varying sets of five divine qualities or "limbs" of the Godhead, including Longanimity, Knowledge, Reason, Discretion, and Understanding, or Love, Faith, Truth, Highmindedness, and Wisdom.¹⁹ This realm also encompasses a "light-air" and a "light-earth," each possessing five corresponding attributes, forming the Manichaean pleroma or fullness of Light. 19 In stark opposition stands the Realm of Darkness, a domain of chaos, conflict, and inherent evil, presided over by the King of Darkness (who is never accorded the title of "God"). 19 This dark kingdom mirrors the structure of the Light world in a perverse, inverted fashion, also possessing its own firmament, air, and earth, and characterized by five negative attributes or "worlds," such as Pestilent Breath, Scorching Wind, Gloom, Mist, and Consuming Fire, or alternatively, Wells of Poison, Columns of Smoke, Abysmal Depths, Fetid Marshes, and Pillars of Fire. 19 The current state of the cosmos, including the material world and human existence, is understood as the tragic consequence of an aggressive invasion of the Realm of Light by the forces of Darkness, resulting in an intermingling of these two opposed substances.¹ This detailed, almost symmetrical, cataloging of attributes, worlds, and structures for both the Realm of Light and the Realm of Darkness reveals a highly systematic and scholastic Gnostic intellect at work. Mani and his followers sought to create a comprehensive and intellectually

satisfying cosmological map, not merely a generalized moral dualism. This intricate systemization, characteristic of many Gnostic traditions, aimed to provide a complete, rational (within its own framework) explanation of the universe, appealing to an intellectual desire for order and a thorough understanding of all aspects of existence, including the nature and origins of evil.⁸

A crucial implication of this absolute dualism is the Manichaean denial of the good God's omnipotence, at least in the sense of being unopposed or the sole ultimate reality.³ By positing an equally eternal and uncreated power of Evil, Manichaeism offered a radical solution to the philosophical problem of theodicy (the reconciliation of an all-good, all-powerful God with the existence of evil). Unlike monotheistic systems that often struggled with this issue, Manichaeism provided a direct and seemingly comprehensive explanation for the pervasive nature of suffering and imperfection in the world: evil has its own independent, eternal source and is not a creation or permission of the good God.⁵ This clear, if stark, explanation for the reality of evil was undoubtedly a significant factor in the religion's appeal.

B. Cosmogony and the Cosmic Drama

The Manichaean understanding of the universe's origin and history is encapsulated in a complex and dramatic myth that unfolds in three distinct stages or "Times". This tripartite division provides a grand narrative arc, explaining the primordial state of existence, the current predicament of the world, and its ultimate destiny. This narrative structure is psychologically powerful, as it imbues present suffering and struggle with meaning by embedding it within a larger cosmic plan of initial perfection, current conflict, and an assured ultimate restoration of Light.

1. The Three Creations/Times: Past, Present, and Future

- The First Time (Past): In the beginning, the two primordial principles of Light and Darkness existed in absolute separation, each confined to its own realm.² The Realm of Light was characterized by peace and self-sufficiency, while the Realm of Darkness was a domain of chaotic strife and inherent malevolence. At a certain point, the King of Darkness and his Archons (demonic rulers) became aware of the radiant beauty of the Realm of Light. Driven by envy, greed, and their inherently aggressive nature, they launched an assault upon the peaceful kingdom of the Father of Greatness.¹⁶
- The Second Time (Present/Middle): This is the current epoch, defined by the intermingling of Light and Darkness that resulted from the primordial conflict.² The cosmos as we know it is a direct consequence of this mixture. Particles of divine Light, the very substance of the good God, are now scattered and imprisoned within the dark, material forms of the universe, including human bodies. This "Middle Time" is characterized by ongoing struggle, suffering, and the relentless effort of the divine powers to liberate the captive Light.² Human history and individual lives are played out on this cosmic battlefield.
- The Third Time (Future): This final epoch will witness the ultimate and definitive separation of Light and Darkness, restoring the original state of duality.² Through a long

and arduous process involving divine intervention, the teachings of prophets like Mani, and the ascetic practices of the faithful, all redeemable Light particles will be meticulously gathered and purified. The material cosmos, having served its purpose as a vast mechanism for this purification, will be consumed in a great conflagration. Darkness, along with all irredeemably evil beings and any Light that cannot be saved, will be eternally sealed away in a great mass or prison, forever isolated from the triumphant Realm of Light.¹⁰

2. The Fall of Primal Man and the Entrapment of Light

The transition from the First Time to the Second Time, the moment of mingling, is explained through the myth of the Primal Man (First Man, Ohrmizd Bay, Adamas Qadmaya).⁵ In response to the invasion by the forces of Darkness, the Father of Greatness did not engage the enemy directly, as his pure nature could not be sullied by contact with evil. Instead, he evoked a series of divine emanations. The first of these was the Mother of Life (or Mother of the Living), who in turn evoked the Primal Man.²⁰ The Primal Man, a heroic and tragic figure, was armed with his five sons, who are also described as his "soul" or "armor," consisting of five bright elements: Gentle Breeze, Wind, Light, Water, and Fire.⁵

He descended into the Realm of Darkness to engage the demonic Archons in battle. However, in a pivotal moment of the cosmic drama, the Primal Man was overwhelmed and defeated. His five sons, the particles of Light that formed his armor or soul, were devoured and absorbed by the powers of Darkness. The Primal Man himself was left trapped and unconscious in the dark realm. He fall of the Primal Man and the swallowing of his Light-elements by the Archons constitutes the initial and catastrophic mingling of the two opposed substances. It is crucial to understand that this "defeat" is not portrayed as a true failure of the divine, but rather as a necessary and strategic sacrifice within the overarching divine plan. By allowing a portion of its Light to be captured by Darkness, the divine realm initiated a process through which Darkness itself could eventually be engaged and its power neutralized from within. The Primal Man's descent and apparent loss set in motion the entire complex machinery of cosmic creation and salvation, making his "fall" a pivotal, intentional act that ultimately serves the cause of Light's redemption.

3. The Creation of the Universe and Humanity: Adam, Eve, and the Trapped Soul

Following the entrapment of the Primal Man and his Light, a "Second Creation" was initiated by further divine emanations from the Father of Greatness. These included figures such as the Friend of Lights, the Great Builder, and, most importantly, the Living Spirit (also known as Mihryazd or the Demiurge of Light), who, with his own five sons, undertook the task of constructing the physical universe. This cosmos was not created *ex nihilo* in the Judeo-Christian sense, but rather fashioned from the gruesome mixture of Light and Darkness: specifically, from the captured Light particles and the very bodies of the slain or subdued Archons of Darkness. The ten heavens and eight earths were thus formed. The purest portions of the recovered Light were used to create the sun, moon, and stars, which were conceived not merely as celestial bodies but as vital mechanisms—ships or vessels—for

collecting and transporting the liberated particles of Light back to their origin in the Realm of Light, often via the Milky Way.²⁰

The creation of humanity occurred in a subsequent phase, often termed the "Third Creation," and is depicted as a desperate countermeasure by the forces of Darkness. Seeing the ongoing process of Light being extracted from their realm and returned to its source, the remaining Archons, particularly a male demon named Ashgalan (or Saklas) and a female demon named Nebroel (or Namrael), sought to create a more secure prison for the Light they still held captive.²⁰ They copulated, and from their abortive offspring, Adam and Eve were fashioned. The physical bodies of the first human pair were thus constructed from dark matter, making them inherently part of the evil, material principle. However, within these bodies, the demons imprisoned the most significant concentrations of the Light particles they had swallowed from the Primal Man. Adam's form was said to be made in the image of a glorious divine being, the Third Messenger, further emphasizing the tragic paradox of humanity: a divine soul trapped within a demonic physique. ⁵ This Manichaean account of human origins, with humanity created by demonic forces rather than by the benevolent God, is a radical departure from traditional Judeo-Christian narratives. It serves to underscore the inherent corruption of the material body and the alien nature of the soul within it, thereby intensifying the rationale for ascetic practices and a profound rejection of worldly attachments.

Humans are thus a microcosm of the universe, a battleground where Light and Darkness are intimately conjoined. The human soul is divine, a fragment of God, but the body is a prison constructed by evil. To awaken humanity to this dire predicament and to reveal the path to liberation, another divine messenger was dispatched: Jesus the Splendour (Yeshu Ziwa).²⁰ This "Radiant Jesus" appeared to Adam, who was initially in a state of ignorant slumber, and imparted to him the *gnosis* of his true, divine origin, the nature of his entrapment, and the means by which his soul could be freed. However, Adam and Eve, succumbing to the urges of their material nature, engaged in sexual reproduction, thereby perpetuating the cycle of Light's imprisonment in successive generations of human bodies.² The figure of Jesus the Splendour in Manichaeism functions primarily as a Gnostic revealer of esoteric knowledge, distinct from the historical Jesus of orthodox Christianity. His role is to enlighten and awaken, rather than to atone for sin through physical sacrifice, a concept alien to Manichaean soteriology.

C. Soteriology: Salvation through Gnosis and the Liberation of the Soul

In Manichaean thought, salvation is fundamentally an epistemological process: it is achieved through *gnosis*, a special, revealed knowledge of spiritual truths.² This salvific knowledge is not merely intellectual understanding but a profound, transformative realization of one's true identity and cosmic situation. It involves recognizing that the core of one's being—the soul—is a particle of divine Light, originating from the transcendent Realm of Light, which has tragically fallen and become enmeshed in the alien and hostile world of Darkness, specifically within the material body.²

This inner illumination, often imparted by divine messengers like Jesus the Splendour or prophets like Mani himself, reveals the soul's predicament and the path to its liberation. The goal of all Manichaean religious life is to free these trapped particles of Light—from one's own body, from certain foods consumed by the Elect, and ultimately from the entire cosmos—so they may ascend and rejoin the great mass of Light in their supernal home. ⁵ This process of liberation is facilitated by adherence to Mani's teachings and by specific ascetic practices, particularly for the elite members of the community, the Elect. These practices include strict vegetarianism (as plants, especially luminous ones like melons and cucumbers, were believed to contain significant amounts of Light), fasting, celibacy (for the Elect), and a general ethic of non-injury to all living things, as all contained, to varying degrees, the suffering Light.²¹ The Manichaean concept of salvation, therefore, emphasizes overcoming ignorance rather than atoning for sin in the moral or legalistic sense found in some other traditions. Ignorance of one's divine nature and of the cosmic drama is the primary cause of the soul's continued bondage. Revealed truth, the *gnosis* brought by Mani, shatters this ignorance and empowers the soul to begin its journey of purification and ascent. Ethical behavior and ascetic discipline are then understood as necessary consequences of this awakened consciousness and as practical means to aid in the separation of Light from Darkness, rather than as means to earn merit or appease a deity. This soteriology is inherently hierarchical, with the ascetic Elect playing the primary role in the liberation of cosmic Light. Their bodies, through ritual consumption and digestion of specific foods, were seen as instruments for purifying and releasing these Light particles. 21 The Hearers, or lay adherents, supported the Elect and, by doing so, participated indirectly in this salvific work, hoping for a more favorable reincarnation and eventual liberation. This tiered system made the path to ultimate salvation more direct for the few (the Elect) and more gradual for the many.

D. Eschatology: The Final Judgment and the Restoration of Duality

Manichaean eschatology, the doctrine of last things, provides a dramatic and definitive conclusion to the cosmic struggle, culminating in the final and irrevocable separation of Light and Darkness.² At the death of an individual, the fate of the soul depends on its purity and adherence to Manichaean principles. The souls of the righteous, particularly the Elect who have diligently followed the ascetic path and worked to liberate Light, are believed to ascend directly to Paradise, the Realm of Light.²

Conversely, the souls of those who remained enmeshed in worldly concerns and the desires of the flesh—such as unrepentant Hearers or individuals outside the Manichaean faith who indulged in procreation, the accumulation of possessions, the consumption of meat, or other actions deemed to further entangle Light in Matter—are condemned to a cycle of rebirth, or reincarnation.² Through successive embodiments, these souls are given further opportunities for purification, or they may endure continued suffering as a consequence of their material attachments. This concept of reincarnation serves as an intermediate stage of justice and purification, bridging the gap between the stringent demands placed upon the Elect and the lived realities of the broader community of Hearers, thus making the system more adaptable to varying levels of spiritual commitment.

The "Third Time," the final epoch of cosmic history, will be inaugurated by a Great War between the forces of Light and Darkness, followed by a Last Judgment. All remaining particles of Light scattered throughout the cosmos will be meticulously gathered and definitively liberated from their material prisons. The physical universe, having fulfilled its role as a complex mechanism for the purification and extraction of Light, will then be consumed by a colossal cosmic conflagration, said to last for 1,468 years.

Following this fiery purification, the principle of Darkness, along with all irredeemably evil beings and any souls that have become inextricably bound to it, will be gathered together and permanently sealed away in a massive sphere or prison, referred to as a "bolus" (*globus* in Latin, *tumpsus* in Coptic). This act will restore the original, eternal duality: the Realm of Light will exist in pristine separation and eternal peace, while the Realm of Darkness will be confined to its own domain, no longer capable of threatening or mingling with the Light. It is significant that Darkness is not annihilated but eternally imprisoned. This underscores the Manichaean belief in the truly coeternal nature of the two fundamental principles. Even in its ultimate triumph, Light does not destroy Darkness but merely re-establishes a permanent and secure separation, reflecting a worldview where these two forces are perceived as fundamental, irreducible, and everlasting aspects of all reality.

IV. The Syncretic Tapestry: Influences and Interactions

Manichaeism is renowned for its profoundly syncretic character, a deliberate and sophisticated fusion of elements drawn from a wide array of pre-existing religious and philosophical traditions. Mani did not present his religion as an entirely novel creation but rather as the culmination and purification of earlier, partial revelations. He viewed himself as the final successor in a long line of prophets that included such luminaries as Zoroaster, the Buddha, and Jesus Christ, whose original teachings, he believed, had been misunderstood, limited in their geographical scope, or corrupted over time by their followers. His explicit aim was to distill the essential truths from these diverse sources and integrate them into a single, universal message capable of uniting humanity.

The following table provides a comparative overview of the key religious traditions that influenced Manichaeism, the concepts adapted, and their Manichaean interpretation:

Religious Tradition	Key Concepts/Practices Influencing Manichaeism	Manichaean Adaptation/Interpret ation	Key Supporting Evidence
Zoroastrianism	Cosmic dualism (Ahura	Radicalized dualism	1
	Mazda vs. Angra	with two co-eternal,	
	Mainyu); concepts of	uncreated principles;	
	light/darkness,	detailed cosmology of	
	truth/lie;	Light and Dark realms;	
	eschatological themes	Mani as a reformer of	
	(final battle, judgment,	Zoroaster's teachings.	

	world conflagration).		
Gnosticism	Radical dualism	Core cosmological	2
(including Christian	(transcendent God vs.	framework; human soul	
Gnosticism)	evil Demiurge/creator	as particle of Light	
	1	trapped in dark matter	
	(soul) trapped in evil	(body); salvation via	
	matter; salvation	gnosis of Mani's	
	through secret	teachings; Jesus the	
	knowledge (<i>gnosis</i>);	Splendour as a	
	docetic Christology;	revealer; strict	
	asceticism.	asceticism for the	
	doctioni.	Elect.	
Christianity	Figure of Jesus Christ	Jesus as a major	1
(Orthodox and	as a divine	prophet and divine	
Heterodox forms)	messenger/savior;	revealer (Jesus the	
	Apostle Paul's	Splendour), but not	
	teachings; concept of	unique Son of God in	
	a church structure;	orthodox sense;	
	New Testament	docetic view of Jesus's	
	narratives (adapted).	physicality and	
	narratives (adapted).	suffering; Mani as the	
		Paraclete and "Apostle	
		of Jesus Christ";	
		hierarchical church	
		(Elect/Hearers).	
Buddhism	Concepts of suffering	Suffering inherent in	1
Budanism	Concepts of suffering		'
	(dukkha), karma, reincarnation	material existence;	
		cycle of rebirth for	
	(samsara), liberation	impure souls; liberation	
	(nirvana); monastic	of Light particles to a	
	ideal (sangha); ethical	realm of peace;	
	principles	Elect/Hearer structure	
	(non-violence,	modeled on sangha;	
	compassion);	ascetic practices	
	missionary methods.	(vegetarianism,	
		celibacy for Elect);	
		Mani sometimes seen	
		as a Buddha.	
Mesopotamian/Judai	1 0	Complex angelology	ა
c Traditions	demonology; creation	and demonology within	
(including Elchasaite		the cosmic drama;	
and Enochic lore)	literature (e.g., Enochic	Book of Giants (based	

traditions of fallen	on Enochic lore)	
angels/giants); ritual	incorporated into	
purity concerns	canon; Mani's early	
(baptismal practices of	exposure to baptist	
Elchasaites).	practices, though later	
	transcended.	

A. Zoroastrian Roots and Dualistic Parallels

Given Manichaeism's origins in Sasanian Persia, Zoroastrianism provided a particularly significant and proximate source of influence, especially its ancient and pervasive dualistic worldview. Zoroastrianism posits a fundamental conflict between Ahura Mazda, the Wise Lord representing goodness and creation, and Angra Mainyu (Ahriman), the destructive spirit embodying evil and chaos. This cosmic struggle between forces of light and darkness, truth and falsehood, resonated deeply within the Iranian cultural sphere and provided a conceptual framework that Mani could adapt and radicalize. When presenting his teachings to the Sasanian king Shāpūr I, Mani strategically framed his religion as a "reforming" or fulfillment of the teachings of Zoroaster. This was likely a calculated move to gain legitimacy and royal patronage within an empire where Zoroastrianism was increasingly promoted. Some Manichaean divine figures even bore names or epithets that showed an identification with, or adaptation of, entities from the Zoroastrian pantheon.

However, Manichaean dualism diverged from most Zoroastrian conceptions in a crucial respect. While Zoroastrianism generally upholds the ultimate supremacy of Ahura Mazda, with Angra Mainyu being a created or derivative opposing force (or in the Zurvanite heresy, both being twin offspring of a primordial Time), Manichaeism elevated the principle of Evil to an uncreated, co-eternal status, ontologically independent of and coeval with the principle of Good.³ This positing of two unoriginated, ultimate realities represented a more absolute and radical form of dualism than that found in mainstream Zoroastrianism. This fundamental theological departure, while drawing upon familiar Zoroastrian dualistic themes, constituted a profound challenge to Zoroastrian cosmology and was a key reason for the eventual condemnation of Manichaeism as a dangerous heresy by the Zoroastrian priesthood.²

B. Christian and Gnostic Elements: Jesus, Paul, and Esoteric Knowledge

Manichaeism is deeply imbued with Christian and, more broadly, Gnostic elements, which provided much of its intellectual structure and soteriological framework. Mani himself claimed the title "Apostle of Jesus Christ" and included Jesus in his esteemed lineage of prophets. The influence of Gnosticism, a diverse array of religious and philosophical movements prevalent in the early centuries CE, is particularly profound and pervasive in Manichaean thought. Key Gnostic tenets that found systematic expression in Manichaeism include: the belief in a radical dualism between a transcendent, good God and an ignorant or malevolent lesser deity (the Demiurge) responsible for the creation of the flawed material

world ²²; the conviction that the human soul is a divine spark, a fragment of the transcendent God, tragically fallen and entrapped within the evil confines of matter, specifically the physical body ²; and the central soteriological claim that liberation from this material prison is achieved not through faith or works in the conventional sense, but through *gnosis*, a special, revealed knowledge of these esoteric truths.²

Mani's own upbringing within the Elchasaite sect, a Jewish-Christian community with discernible Gnostic features, provided him with early and intimate exposure to these ideas. ¹⁴ Furthermore, Manichaean Christology often exhibited docetic tendencies, viewing Jesus as a divine being who only *appeared* to have a human body and to suffer physically; this was consistent with the Gnostic denigration of matter as inherently evil and alien to the divine. ¹⁵ The Manichaean reinterpretation of Jesus, particularly as "Jesus the Splendour" (*Yeshu Ziwa*), emphasized his role as a celestial revealer of gnosis rather than as a sacrificial savior in the orthodox Christian understanding. ²⁰ This, along with the docetic view of his incarnation, constituted fundamental and irreconcilable points of conflict with the emerging orthodox Christian Church, which vigorously condemned Manichaeism as a pernicious heresy. ⁴ Elements from the Pauline epistles, such as the emphasis on Mani's apostleship and perhaps certain interpretations of the inner conflict within humans, also found their way into Manichaean discourse. ¹¹

Manichaeism can, in many respects, be understood as one of the most successful, widespread, and highly organized manifestations of Gnosticism. It took core Gnostic ideas—which in earlier movements were often disparate, localized, and lacked centralized leadership—and systematized them into a coherent world religion, complete with a founding prophet, a divinely revealed canon of scriptures authored by that prophet, a structured ecclesiastical organization (the Elect and the Hearers), and a dynamic, centrally coordinated missionary program.² This level of organization and missionary zeal allowed Manichaeism to achieve a geographical spread and historical longevity far exceeding that of most other Gnostic expressions, effectively globalizing Gnostic thought on an unprecedented scale.

C. Buddhist Influences: Asceticism, Reincarnation, and Missionary Models

Mani's missionary journeys took him to the eastern fringes of the Iranian world and into regions of present-day India and Pakistan, where he encountered vibrant Buddhist traditions.² This interaction led to the incorporation of significant Buddhist concepts, ethical principles, and organizational models into Manichaeism, particularly facilitating its eastward expansion along the Silk Road into Central Asia and China.²²

Among the Buddhist ideas that resonated with Manichaean thought were the emphasis on the inherent suffering (*duhkha*) of worldly existence, the importance of non-attachment, the concept of reincarnation (*samsara*) as a cycle of rebirth driven by actions and desires, and the ultimate goal of liberation (*nirvana*).²² Manichaeism adapted the notion of reincarnation to explain the fate of souls not yet sufficiently purified to return to the Realm of Light; such souls, particularly those of Hearers who had not fully embraced the ascetic path, would be reborn in

other bodies (human, animal, or even plant, according to some interpretations) to continue their journey of purification.² The ethical principle of *ahimsa* (non-violence or non-injury) towards all living beings, including animals and even plants (which were believed to contain particles of Light), became a cornerstone of Manichaean practice, especially for the Elect.²¹ Perhaps one of the most significant Buddhist influences was on the structure of the Manichaean community. Mani is said to have modeled his congregations on the Buddhist sangha (monastic community), establishing a two-tiered system comprising an inner core of monastic renunciates (the Elect) who led lives of extreme asceticism, and a larger body of lay practitioners (the Hearers) who supported them.²² The lifestyle of the Manichaean Elect—involving daily routines of prayer and hymn-singing, a single vegetarian meal per day, celibacy, poverty, and dedication to study and missionary work—bore a strong resemblance to that of Buddhist monks.²² This sangha-like model proved to be a highly effective social technology for sustaining a missionary religion that demanded rigorous asceticism from its core adherents. It created a symbiotic relationship: the Elect, dedicated to the crucial theological task of liberating Light (often through the ritualized consumption and "digestion" of specific foods provided by the laity), were materially supported by the Hearers, who in turn gained spiritual merit and the hope of a more favorable rebirth or eventual salvation through their devotion and almsgiving.²¹

In regions with strong Buddhist traditions, particularly in Central and East Asia, Manichaeism often presented itself in Buddhist guise to enhance its appeal and intelligibility. Mani himself was sometimes revered as a Buddha, or more specifically, as the "Buddha of Light" (*Guangfo* in Chinese). Manichaean texts translated into Chinese frequently employed Buddhist terminology and concepts, framing Manichaean deities and doctrines in ways that would be familiar to a Buddhist audience. This was not mere superficial syncretism but a sophisticated strategy of religious translation and inculturation, allowing Manichaeism to "piggyback" on the established reverence for Buddhas and Bodhisattvas to introduce its own prophet and teachings effectively.

D. Mesopotamian, Judaic, and other Indigenous Traditions

Beyond the major world religions, Manichaeism also absorbed influences from the rich tapestry of indigenous traditions prevalent in its Mesopotamian birthplace and surrounding regions. These included elements of Babylonian folklore, local Iranian cults, and various currents within Hellenistic and Rabbinic Judaism.³ Mani's upbringing in the Elchasaite sect, with its Jewish-Christian syncretic roots, exposed him to Jewish apocalyptic literature and angelology.¹⁴

A notable example of this influence is the incorporation of Enochic traditions into the Manichaean canon, particularly in *The Book of Giants*. This work draws heavily on earlier Jewish apocalyptic narratives, found in texts like the Book of Enoch, concerning the fall of the Watchers (rebellious angels) and their procreation of monstrous giants who brought corruption to the earth. Mani adapted this mythological framework to fit his own dualistic cosmology, reinterpreting the Watchers and Giants within the context of the cosmic struggle between Light and Darkness. By integrating such pre-existing apocalyptic and mythological

material, which already held a degree of currency and authority in certain circles, Mani was able to lend his own complex narratives an aura of ancient wisdom and familiarity, thereby enhancing their credibility and appeal. ²⁵ Certain Manichaean cosmological concepts, such as the detailed descriptions of multiple heavens or the personification of celestial bodies, may also echo older Chaldean or Babylonian astronomical and mythological ideas. The use of perfumed oils and the burning of incense like myrrh and ambergris, noted among Mani's followers, may also reflect local Mesopotamian or Iranian ritual practices. These diverse influences further underscore the complex, multi-layered syncretism that characterized Manichaeism from its inception.

V. Sacred Scriptures and the Manichaean Canon

A distinctive feature of Manichaeism was the paramount importance placed on written scripture, with the founder, Mani, personally authoring the core canonical texts of his religion.¹ This was a conscious and strategic decision, as Mani believed that the teachings of previous prophets had often been distorted or lost because they had not been committed to writing by the prophets themselves, but rather by their later, fallible disciples.² To ensure the purity and enduring unity of his universal message, Mani meticulously recorded his revelations and doctrines, granting these writings canonical status during his own lifetime. 16 Although the majority of these original scriptures are now lost or survive only in fragmentary form, the titles of his major works and significant portions of their content have been preserved through archaeological discoveries and citations in the writings of both followers and opponents. The multilingual nature of Mani's own literary output—with his primary canonical works composed in Syriac, the Shabuhragan in Middle Persian, and possibly other texts in Greek ¹⁹—along with his active encouragement of translation into other languages, highlights his deliberate strategy to create a truly universal religion, accessible across diverse linguistic and cultural frontiers from its very foundation.² This was a sophisticated approach to dissemination and inculturation, designed to overcome the linguistic and geographical limitations Mani perceived in earlier religious traditions.

The following table summarizes the major Manichaean sacred texts:

Text Title (Original Language if known)	Author (Mani/Disciples/ Later)	Primary Language(s) of Preservation	Brief Content Summary/Signifi cance	Key Supporting Evidence
The Living Gospel (Syriac: Ewangeliyōn)	Mani	Syriac (orig.), Coptic, Greek, Iranian frags.	Mani's primary gospel, outlining his core teachings and revelation. Possibly structured alphabetically.	5

The Treasury of	Mani	Syriac (orig.),	Expounded	5
Life (Syriac:		Coptic, Iranian	Manichaean views	
Simath Hayye)		frags.	on humanity, the	
omnatii i iayye,		li ago.	cosmos, and the	
			nature of the soul.	
The Pragmateia	Mani	Syriac (orig.),	Described the	5
(Greek/Syriac:	iviaiii	Coptic, Iranian	history of	
Pragmateia)		frags.	humankind	
, raginatola,		li ago.	according to	
			Manichaean myth;	
			detailed account	
			of the cosmic	
			struggle.	
The Book of	Mani	Syriac (orig.),	Polemical and	5
Mysteries (Syriac:		Coptic, Iranian	dogmatic work,	
Sephar Raze)		frags.	focusing on the	
,			nature of the soul,	
			often using	
			Christian	
			apocryphal	
			imagery.	
The Book of	Mani	Syriac (orig.),	Narrated the story	5
Giants (Syriac:		frags. in many	of the fallen	
Sephar Gabbare)		languages	Watchers and	
		(Iranian, Coptic,	their giant	
		Uyghur, Latin)	offspring, drawing	
			on Enochic	
			traditions,	
			adapted to	
			Manichaean	
			cosmology.	
-	Mani & Disciples	Syriac (orig.),	Collection of	5
(Syriac: Eggratha)		Coptic, Latin,	letters from Mani	
		Iranian frags.	and his leading	
			disciples,	
			explaining	
			doctrine, offering	
			guidance, and	
			addressing	
			community	
			matters.	
The Psalms and	Mani & Disciples	Syriac (orig.),	Extensive	5

Prayers (Syriac:		Coptic, Iranian,	collection of	
Mazmore		Uyghur, Chinese	hymns and	
w-Qullase)		frags.	prayers for	
W Quilase)		li ags.	liturgical use,	
			•	
			expressing	
			devotion,	
			recounting myths,	
			and reinforcing	
			doctrine.	_
The	Mani	Middle Persian	Dedicated to King	3
Shabuhragan		(orig.), frags. from	1	
(Middle Persian:		Turfan, Arabic	outline of	
Šābuhragān)		quotes.	Manichaean	
			teachings	
			designed to	
			appeal to the	
			Sasanian	
			monarch,	
			presenting	
			Manichaeism as	
			the perfection of	
			earlier faiths.	
The Arzhang	Mani	(Illustrations with	A picture-book	15
(Middle Persian:		captions)	with illustrations	
Ardahang; Book of		Surviving	painted by Mani	
Pictures)		descriptions,	himself to explain	
l lotares)		possible	his complex	
		influences on later	· ·	
		art.	doctrines,	
		ait.	•	
			especially to	
			non-literate audiences.	
	Mani /taaalainaa	0		10
Kephalaia	Mani (teachings	Coptic (major	Collections of	
(Coptic:	recorded by	find), Greek,	Mani's discourses	
"Chapters/Discour	jaiscipies)	Iranian frags.	and teachings,	
ses")			often in a	
			question-and-ans	
			wer format,	
			elaborating on	
			doctrinal points.	
			Secondary	
			literature	

			commenting on	
			scripture.	
Cologne Mani	Early Manichaean	Greek (miniature	Biography of	7
Codex (CMC)	community	codex)	Mani's early life,	
(Greek)			his upbringing in	
			the Elchasaite	
			sect, and his	
			revelations.	

A. Mani's Original Writings: The Seven Treatises (including *The Living Gospel, The Treasury of Life, The Book of Giants*), *The Shabuhragan*, and *The Arzhang* (Book of Pictures)

The core of the Manichaean scriptural canon is traditionally understood to comprise seven major treatises, often referred to as the Manichaean Heptateuch, all personally authored by Mani, primarily in his native Syriac Aramaic.¹⁷ These foundational texts laid out the entirety of his complex theological system. They include:

- 1. **The Living Gospel** (or Great Gospel; Syriac: *Ewangeliyōn*): Considered Mani's primary revelatory work, it detailed his core teachings and the divine message he was commissioned to deliver. Some traditions suggest it was structured alphabetically.¹⁷
- 2. **The Treasury of Life** (Syriac: Simath Hayye): This treatise expounded Manichaean doctrines concerning the nature of humanity, the structure of the cosmos, and the origin and destiny of the soul.¹⁷
- 3. *The Pragmateia* (from Greek/Syriac, meaning "treatise" or "narrative"): This work is believed to have described the history of humankind according to the Manichaean myth, providing a detailed account of the cosmic struggle from its inception to its eschatological resolution.¹⁷
- 4. **The Book of Mysteries** (Syriac: Sephar Raze): A work of polemical and dogmatic character, it focused on the nature of the soul and its liberation, often employing imagery drawn from Christian apocryphal traditions to articulate Manichaean concepts.¹⁷
- 5. **The Book of Giants** (Syriac: Sephar Gabbare): This text narrated the story of the fallen Watchers (angels) and their monstrous offspring, the Giants, drawing upon and adapting ancient Enochic traditions to fit within the Manichaean cosmological framework.⁵
- 6. **The Epistles** (Syriac: Eggratha): A collection of letters authored by Mani and his leading disciples. These epistles served to explain doctrinal points, offer pastoral guidance, and address various matters concerning the organization and life of the burgeoning Manichaean communities.¹⁷
- 7. **The Psalms and Prayers** (Syriac: *Mazmore w-Qullase*): This collection contained hymns and prayers composed by Mani and his followers for liturgical use, expressing devotion, recounting sacred myths, and reinforcing key tenets of the faith.¹⁷ (It is worth

noting that some ancient lists, such as that provided by St. Augustine or found in other sources, may vary slightly in the exact titles or groupings of these seven treatises, and sometimes include additional works like "The Book of Precepts for Hearers" or "The Book of Life-giving," the latter reportedly written in Greek ¹⁹).

Distinct from these Syriac works was *The Shabuhragan* (Middle Persian: Šābuhragān, meaning "[the] book of Shapur"). Mani composed this treatise in Middle Persian and personally presented it to the Sasanian King Shāpūr I around 242 CE.⁶ It served as an outline of his new religion, strategically designed to appeal to the Persian monarch by presenting Manichaeism as the culmination and perfection of earlier faiths, including Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Christianity.¹⁵ Fragments of *The Shabuhragan* in Middle Persian have been discovered among the Turfan texts.³

Perhaps the most innovative component of Mani's scriptural output was *The Arzhang* (Middle Persian: *Ardahang*; also known as the Book of Pictures or *Eikōn* in Greek). This was not primarily a textual work but a divinely inspired picture-book or atlas of illustrations, painted or drawn by Mani himself, who was renowned for his artistic skills.¹⁷ *The Arzhang* was intended to visually depict and explain his intricate cosmology, the drama of creation, and the complex doctrines of his faith, making them accessible particularly to non-literate audiences and across different cultures.¹⁷ This emphasis on visual media as a primary tool for religious instruction and canonical revelation marks Mani as unique among the founders of major world religions of his era, demonstrating a keen understanding of the power of art to convey complex ideas.

B. Other Significant Texts: Kephalaia, Hymn Cycles, Parables

Beyond the foundational scriptures authored directly by Mani, a rich and diverse body of secondary and liturgical literature developed within the Manichaean tradition. These texts played a crucial role in elaborating upon Mani's teachings, guiding the community's worship and ethical life, and preserving its history.

The Kephalaia (Coptic for "Chapters" or "Discourses") are collections of Mani's teachings and discourses, likely recorded and compiled by his disciples. These texts often take the form of extended explanations, dialogues, or question-and-answer sessions, clarifying complex doctrinal points and providing detailed expositions of Manichaean cosmology, soteriology, and ethics. While not considered part of the primary canon in the same way as Mani's Seven Treatises, the Kephalaia served as authoritative commentaries and elaborations on his original revelations. The discovery of extensive Coptic Kephalaia texts at Medinet Madi in Egypt has been of immense importance for modern scholarship. The existence of such texts indicates a dynamic process of theological reflection, systematization, and pedagogical concern within the early Manichaean community, aimed at ensuring the accurate transmission and comprehension of the founder's intricate message.

Hymn Cycles and Psalms formed an integral part of Manichaean religious life and worship. An extensive corpus of liturgical poetry, hymns, and psalms was composed by Mani himself, his early disciples, and later Manichaean writers in numerous languages.¹⁷ These compositions served multiple functions: they were vehicles for expressing fervent devotion to the beings of

the Realm of Light and to Mani; they recounted in poetic form the key narratives of the Manichaean creation myth and cosmic drama; they reinforced doctrinal tenets; and they provided a communal focus for religious services. ²¹ Notable collections include the Coptic Manichaean Psalm Book, which contains psalms attributed to various figures including Thomas, and numerous fragments of hymn cycles discovered in Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, Coptic, Chinese, and Uyghur (Old Turkic). ³⁰ These hymns reveal the profound emotional depth and devotional piety that characterized Manichaean spirituality. **Parables** were also employed by Manichaean teachers, including Mani himself, as a pedagogical tool to illustrate complex spiritual truths and ethical principles in a more accessible and memorable manner, a practice common in many ancient religious and philosophical traditions.

Hagiographical and Historical Texts also emerged, seeking to preserve the memory of Mani and the history of his church. The most significant example of this genre is the Cologne Mani Codex (CMC), a remarkably preserved miniature Greek papyrus codex dating from the 4th or 5th century. Discovered in Egypt, the CMC provides a detailed, albeit hagiographically framed, account of Mani's early life, his upbringing within the Elchasaite baptist community, the nature of his divine revelations from the "Twin," and his eventual break with the Elchasaites to found his own religion. It is an invaluable primary source for understanding Mani's biography and the formative stages of Manichaeism.

C. Languages of Manichaean Literature (Syriac, Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, Coptic, Chinese, Uyghur etc.)

The linguistic diversity of Manichaean literature is one of its most striking features and a testament to the religion's vast geographical spread and its founder's intention to create a truly universal faith. Mani himself initiated this multilingual tradition. His primary canonical works, the Seven Treatises, were composed in **Syriac**, his native Eastern Aramaic dialect, which was a significant lingua franca in Mesopotamia and the Near East, facilitating the religion's westward expansion. For his direct address to the Sasanian court, he authored *The Shabuhragan* in **Middle Persian**, the official language of the empire. There is also evidence that some of his writings, or early expositions of his teachings, may have appeared in **Greek**. As Manichaeism spread, its scriptures and liturgical texts were meticulously translated, and new original works were composed, in a remarkable array of languages:

- Western Languages: In the Roman Empire, Manichaean texts circulated in Greek and Latin. St. Augustine, for instance, encountered Manichaeism through Latin writings.¹¹
 Coptic became a major language for Manichaean literature in Egypt, as evidenced by the substantial discoveries at Medinet Madi (including the Kephalaia and Psalm Book) and other sites.¹⁰
- Iranian and Central Asian Languages: Reflecting its Persian origins and its spread eastward along the Silk Road, Manichaean texts are abundant in various Iranian languages, including Parthian and Sogdian. The Sogdians, renowned merchants and cultural intermediaries of Central Asia, played a particularly crucial role in translating

and transmitting Manichaean scriptures further east.³⁰ Texts in **Bactrian** have also been found.³⁴

- Far Eastern Languages: In Central Asia, particularly within the Uyghur Khaganate where Manichaeism became the state religion, a significant body of literature was produced in Uyghur (Old Turkic), often written in the distinctive Manichaean script adapted from Syriac Estrangelo.³ Further east, in China, Manichaean texts were translated into Chinese, with important discoveries made at Dunhuang and, more recently, Xiapu. These Chinese Manichaean texts often employed Buddhist and Taoist terminology to convey Manichaean concepts.³
- Fragments in Tocharian B, an Indo-European language of the Tarim Basin, also attest to the religion's reach.³⁵

This vast linguistic corpus is of immense significance not only for the study of Manichaeism itself, allowing scholars to trace the transmission and adaptation of its doctrines across diverse cultures, but also for the philological study of these languages, many of which are extinct or have very limited textual attestations outside of the Manichaean material. The process of translating core Manichaean concepts and mythologies into such varied linguistic and cultural frameworks inevitably involved a degree of reinterpretation and adaptation. For example, the use of Buddhist terminology in Chinese Manichaean texts, such as referring to Mani as the "Buddha of Light," demonstrates a sophisticated attempt at inculturation.²⁴ However, this necessary adaptation for missionary success also carried the potential for shifts in meaning and emphasis, highlighting an inherent tension between maintaining the doctrinal fidelity that Mani so valued and achieving broad cultural resonance. Such variations may have contributed to the regional differences and occasional schisms recorded within the history of the Manichaean church.³

VI. The Manichaean Church: Structure, Practices, and Art

The Manichaean religious community, often referred to as the "Church of Light," possessed a well-defined hierarchical structure, a rich liturgical life, and distinctive artistic traditions. This organization was designed to support the core theological mission of liberating the divine Light trapped in the world of Darkness and to facilitate the spread of Mani's teachings.

A. The Two Tiers: The Elect and the Hearers (Auditors)

At the heart of Manichaean social organization was a fundamental division of the faithful into two distinct classes or "orders": the Elect (or Chosen, Perfect, Righteous) and the Hearers (or Auditors, Catechumens).² This structure, possibly influenced by the Buddhist sangha model, created a symbiotic relationship between a monastic elite and a supportive laity.²²

1. Roles, Ethical Codes (Three Seals, Commandments), and Asceticism of the Elect

The **Elect** (Latin: *electi*; Coptic: *nəkətotp*) constituted the spiritual elite of the Manichaean Church, a smaller group of both men and women who dedicated their lives to the most

rigorous ascetic practices and the direct service of the religion.²¹ Their primary role was twofold: to act as missionaries and teachers, spreading Mani's gnosis, and, crucially, to serve as living instruments for the liberation of Light particles trapped in matter, particularly in certain types of food.²¹ It was believed that the pure bodies of the Elect, through their digestive processes, could miraculously refine and release the Light contained in the vegetarian meals they consumed, which were provided by the Hearers.²¹ The ethical code of the Elect was exceptionally stringent, encapsulated in the "Three Seals" (*signacula*) and often elaborated in a set of Five Commandments:

• The Three Seals ²¹:

- Seal of the Mouth: This involved strict vegetarianism, abstaining from all meat and wine (which was considered the "gall of the Prince of Darkness"). They were also to refrain from impure speech, lying, and blasphemy. Their diet consisted primarily of fruits and vegetables, especially those like melons and cucumbers, believed to be particularly rich in Light particles.²¹ They typically ate only one meal a day, often after nightfall.²¹
- Seal of the Hands: This prohibited any action that could harm or injure the Light believed to be present in all living things. This meant the Elect could not engage in killing (even of animals or insects), agriculture (plowing, harvesting, which "wounded" the earth and plants), or many forms of manual labor. They were thus dependent on the Hearers for their sustenance.²³
- Seal of the Breast (or Bosom): This enjoined absolute celibacy and the renunciation of all sexual desire and activity, as procreation was seen as a primary means of further imprisoning Light in material bodies.²³
- The Five Commandments (a common formulation for the Elect) typically included ²³:
 - 1. Truth (abstaining from falsehood).
 - 2. Non-injury (*ahimsa*, not harming any living being, including humans, animals, and plants).
 - 3. Chastity (absolute celibacy).
 - 4. Purity of Mouth (strict dietary laws, abstaining from meat and wine).
 - 5. Poverty (possessing nothing beyond essential food for one day and clothing for one year; renunciation of worldly wealth and property).

The Elect lived lives of itinerant missionary work or resided in monastic communities, dedicating themselves to prayer, the study of scriptures, the copying of texts, and the performance of rituals.²¹ Their rigorous discipline was believed to purify their bodies to such an extent that upon death, their souls would directly ascend to the Realm of Light, escaping the cycle of reincarnation.² Admittance into the ranks of the Elect was through an elaborate ceremony known as the *Consolamentum*, which involved a laying-on of hands and was considered a form of spiritual baptism, confirmation, and ordination combined.²³

2. Obligations and Aspirations of the Hearers

The Hearers (Latin: auditores; Coptic: nisōtēm) formed the larger body of lay Manichaeans.²

They lived more conventional lives within society, engaging in professions, marrying, and raising families, though procreation was generally discouraged as it perpetuated the entrapment of Light.²³ Their primary religious duty was to support the Elect through almsgiving, providing them with food (specifically the permitted vegetarian items), clothing, shelter, and other necessities.²¹ This support was not merely charitable but was considered a vital act of religious participation, as it enabled the Elect to perform their crucial work of Light liberation.

The ethical code for Hearers was less stringent than that for the Elect but still demanding. They were expected to adhere to a set of Ten Commandments, which generally prohibited actions such as idolatry, lying, avarice, killing (though eating meat obtained by others was sometimes permissible, it was discouraged), adultery, theft, practicing magic, holding doubtful opinions about the faith, and negligence in religious duties.²³ They were also encouraged to practice virtues such as patience, honesty, kindness, temperance, and wisdom.²¹ Hearers participated in communal worship, including prayers, hymn-singing, and confession.¹⁶ They fasted regularly (e.g., one day a week) and prayed daily, often facing the sun or moon, which were seen as vessels of Light.²³ Through their devotion, their support of the Elect, and their adherence to Manichaean ethics, Hearers hoped to purify their souls. While direct ascent to the Realm of Light upon death was typically reserved for the Elect, righteous Hearers could aspire to a favorable reincarnation, possibly as an Elect in a future life, or even as a luminous fruit that could be consumed and liberated by an Elect.² This symbiotic relationship, where the Elect depended on the Hearers for material sustenance and the Hearers depended on the Elect for spiritual guidance and the vicarious liberation of Light, was fundamental to the functioning and persistence of the Manichaean Church.

B. Rituals and Religious Practices

Manichaean religious life was marked by a set of distinctive rituals and practices that reinforced its doctrines and fostered a strong sense of communal identity.

- Prayer and Fasting: Daily prayer was a cornerstone of Manichaean practice for both Elect and Hearers. Prayers were often directed towards the sun and moon, considered manifestations of divine Light and vehicles for its transport. Fasting was also regularly observed, with Hearers typically fasting one day a week (often Sunday) and the Elect observing more frequent and rigorous fasts. These practices were aimed at purifying the body and spirit, weakening the influence of Darkness, and strengthening the soul's connection to the Realm of Light.
- Confession (Xwāstwānīft): Regular confession of sins was an important ritual for both orders. The Hearers typically confessed on Sundays, and the Elect on Mondays. This practice, known in Parthian as xwāstwānīft, involved acknowledging transgressions against Manichaean ethical codes and seeking absolution, thereby maintaining moral purity and communal cohesion. The discovery of Xwāstwānīft texts, particularly in Central Asia, has provided detailed insights into Manichaean moral theology and community discipline. 30
- **Hymn-Singing:** The singing of hymns was a central element of Manichaean worship

services.²¹ These hymns, many composed by Mani himself or his early disciples, recounted sacred myths, praised the beings of Light, lamented the suffering of the trapped soul, and expressed hope for ultimate liberation.¹⁶ Hymn-singing served not only as an act of devotion but also as a means of doctrinal instruction and emotional bonding within the community. The extensive Manichaean Psalm Book found in Coptic is a prime example of this rich tradition.¹⁰

- The Ritual Meal of the Elect: Perhaps the most distinctive Manichaean ritual was the daily sacred meal consumed by the Elect.²¹ This was not merely for sustenance but was a central soteriological act. The Elect consumed specific vegetarian foods (fruits, vegetables, especially melons and gourds) believed to be rich in Light particles. Through their purified bodies and digestive processes, the Elect were thought to "release" or "liberate" this Light, which then ascended to the sun and moon to be transported back to the Realm of Light.²¹ The Hearers provided these foods as a form of almsgiving, thereby participating in this cosmic process of redemption. This ritual underscored the Elect's crucial role as intermediaries in the liberation of divine Light.
- The Bema Feast (Feast of the Throne): The most important annual festival in the Manichaean calendar was the Bema feast. 11 This festival commemorated the martyrdom or "Passion" of Mani. It was a solemn occasion involving fasting, confession, prayers, and the reading of scriptures related to Mani's life and suffering. A central feature was an empty throne or seat (bēma in Greek) draped in rich textiles, symbolizing the presence of Mani as the Paraclete and leader of the Church. The Bema feast served to reinforce the community's devotion to its founder, to reflect on the core themes of suffering and redemption, and to renew their commitment to the Manichaean path. The ritual meal ceremony, with a portrait of Mani sometimes placed at its head, also held great significance, particularly during this festival, emphasizing the connection between the community, its founder, and the ongoing work of liberating Light. 21

C. Manichaean Art and Iconography

Mani himself was renowned as a painter, and art played an integral role in the expression and dissemination of Manichaean teachings from the religion's inception.¹⁷ The *Arzhang*, or Book of Pictures, one of Mani's canonical works, consisted of illustrations designed to visually explain his complex cosmology and doctrines, making them accessible even to those who were not literate.¹⁷ This emphasis on visual pedagogy was a distinctive feature of Manichaeism.

Archaeological discoveries, particularly in Turfan (Chinese Turkestan) and Dunhuang, have brought to light a rich legacy of Manichaean art, including illuminated manuscripts, temple banners, wall paintings, and textile fragments. These artistic remains provide invaluable insights into Manichaean beliefs, practices, and aesthetic sensibilities.

Common themes and characteristics in Manichaean art include:

• **Depictions of the Cosmic Struggle:** Art often illustrated the fundamental dualism of Light and Darkness, portraying battles between divine beings and demonic forces, and the suffering of Light particles in the material world.

- Portraits of Mani and other Prophets: Mani himself, often depicted with distinctive features (sometimes described as lame, though this might be polemical), as well as other prophets like Jesus, Zoroaster, and Buddha (in syncretic contexts), were common subjects. Images of Manichaean Elect, recognizable by their white robes and specific headdress, also feature prominently, sometimes shown preaching or engaged in ritual activities.³¹
- Cosmological Diagrams: Complex diagrams, such as the Manichaean Diagram of the Universe found in China, visually mapped out the Manichaean cosmos, including the realms of Light and Darkness, the heavens, the earth, and the mechanisms for the soul's ascent.²⁸
- Scenes of Paradise and Damnation: Illustrations depicted the blissful Realm of Light awaiting the purified souls, as well as the torments of hell or the cycle of rebirth for the unrighteous.
- **Symbolism of Light:** Luminous colors, halos, and radiating light were extensively used to symbolize the divine, purity, and salvation.
- Book Art: Manichaeans were known for their beautifully crafted and illuminated manuscripts. The high quality of calligraphy and illustration in surviving fragments attests to the importance they placed on their sacred texts as both repositories of wisdom and objects of sacred art. Scribes, who could be both Elect and certain catechumens, copied a range of texts on materials like papyrus and wooden boards, in diverse languages.³⁷

Manichaean art served multiple functions: it was didactic, helping to teach complex doctrines; liturgical, adorning temples and used in rituals; and devotional, inspiring piety and reinforcing faith. The style often shows a blend of influences, reflecting the religion's syncretic nature and its geographical spread, incorporating elements from Persian, Hellenistic, Indian, and Chinese artistic traditions. The art found in Turfan, for example, often displays a distinctive Central Asian style, while Chinese Manichaean art incorporates Buddhist and Taoist iconographic conventions.²⁴ The use of perfume and aromatic materials, such as myrrh and ambergris, was also noted among the followers of Mani, suggesting an olfactory dimension to their aesthetic and possibly ritual environment.²⁹

VII. Spread and Historical Trajectory of Manichaeism

From its origins in 3rd-century Sasanian Mesopotamia, Manichaeism embarked on an extraordinary expansion, becoming one of the most geographically widespread religions of antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Its missionaries, driven by a universalist vision, carried Mani's teachings across continents, establishing communities from the Roman West to the Chinese East.

A. Westward Expansion: The Roman Empire and North Africa

Manichaeism spread rapidly westward into the Roman Empire, likely facilitated by existing trade routes and the movement of peoples.² By the late 3rd century CE, Manichaean missionaries had reached Egypt, a fertile ground for new religious ideas, where the faith

quickly took root, particularly in regions like the Fayum.⁵ From Egypt, it moved across North Africa, famously attracting for a time the young Augustine of Hippo in Carthage before his conversion to Christianity.² Manichaean communities were established in Rome itself by 280 CE, with monasteries existing there by 312 CE.⁵ The 4th century marked the zenith of Manichaean expansion in the West, with churches flourishing in southern Gaul (France) and Spain.²

However, its success also provoked fierce opposition. The Roman state, particularly after the Christianization of the empire, viewed Manichaeism with suspicion and hostility. Its Persian origins often led to accusations of it being an enemy religion. As early as 297 or 302 CE, Emperor Diocletian issued an edict against the Manichaeans, ordering the execution of their leaders, the burning of their scriptures, and severe penalties for their followers. This marked the beginning of official Roman persecution, which intensified under Christian emperors like Theodosius I, who issued further decrees, including a death penalty for Manichaean monks in 382 CE. The Christian Church, viewing Manichaeism as a dangerous heresy that challenged its core doctrines on creation, Christology, and salvation, also vigorously attacked it through polemical writings (e.g., by Augustine, Eusebius, Hilary of Poitiers) and ecclesiastical condemnations. As a result of this sustained persecution, Manichaeism was largely eradicated from the western parts of the Roman Empire by the end of the 5th century and from the eastern (Byzantine) territories during the 6th century.

B. In the Persian Heartland: Sasanian Empire and Beyond

Manichaeism originated within the Sasanian Empire, and for a period, particularly during the reign of Shāpūr I (240-272 CE), it enjoyed a degree of royal favor that allowed Mani and his disciples to preach and establish communities throughout Persia and its territories.² Mani's strategic presentation of his religion as a fulfillment of Zoroastrianism likely contributed to this initial tolerance.³ However, as discussed earlier, the rise of a more orthodox and politically assertive Zoroastrian clergy, spearheaded by figures like Kartir, led to a reversal of this policy. Mani was martyred under Bahrām I, and his followers faced increasing persecution.² Despite these pressures, Manichaean communities persisted in Persia and Mesopotamia for centuries, often operating clandestinely or finding refuge in more remote areas.⁵ The religion maintained a sporadic and intermittent existence in Mesopotamia for a thousand years.⁵ However, persecutions continued under later Sasanian rulers and subsequently under some Islamic caliphates. For instance, in 291 CE, the apostle Sisin was murdered, and many Manichaeans were slaughtered under Bahram II.³⁸ During the Abbasid Caliphate in the 8th and 9th centuries, Manichaeans (often labeled Zindīgs, heretics) faced renewed and severe persecution, which significantly weakened their presence in their original heartland. 16 By the 10th century, the seat of the Manichaean pontiff (the Archegos) was forced to relocate from Babylon/Ctesiphon to Samarkand in Central Asia due to these pressures. 16

C. Eastward Along the Silk Road: Sogdia and the Uyghur Khaganate

The Silk Road served as the primary conduit for Manichaeism's eastward expansion into

Central Asia. Sogdian merchants, who were major players in Silk Road commerce, were instrumental in this process. They embraced Manichaeism and became key translators and transmitters of its scriptures and teachings into various Central Asian languages, including their own Sogdian language, as well as Turkic and Chinese. Manichaean communities flourished in Sogdian city-states like Samarkand and in the Tarim Basin oases. A pivotal moment in the history of Eastern Manichaeism occurred in 762/763 CE when Bögü Qaghan, the ruler of the powerful Uyghur Khaganate (a Turkic empire centered in present-day Mongolia and the Tarim Basin), converted to Manichaeism after discussions with Manichaean priests, likely of Sogdian origin.⁶ Manichaeism was subsequently declared the state religion of the Uyghur Khaganate, a status it maintained for about a century.⁶ This royal patronage provided a significant boost to the religion's prestige and resources in Central Asia. It led to the construction of Manichaean temples and monasteries, the production of numerous Manichaean texts in Uyghur and other languages, and the development of a vibrant Manichaean artistic tradition, much of which has been recovered from sites like Turfan (Khocho) and Bezeklik.³¹ The Uyghur period represents a golden age for Eastern Manichaeism. However, the Uyghur Khaganate was overthrown by the Kyrgyz in 840 CE, leading to the dispersal of the Uyghurs and a decline in Manichaeism's official status, though it persisted among Uyghur communities in the Tarim Basin (e.g., in the Kingdom of Qocho) for several more centuries. 6 Manichaeism in East Turkistan likely survived until the Mongol invasions of the 13th century, which dealt a final blow to its organized presence in the region. 6 Schisms also occurred within Eastern Manichaeism, such as the one between the Denawars (prevalent in Sogdiana and centered in Qocho by the 8th century) and the See of Babylon, though this was reportedly reconciled by the early 8th century. Later, the Miglasiyya (strict) and Mihriyya (lax) factions emerged, particularly in Khorasan, indicating ongoing internal debates and tensions.13

D. Manichaeism in China

Manichaeism reached China via the Silk Road, likely introduced by Sogdian merchants and missionaries. It was known in China by the late 6th or early 7th century, and the first recorded Manichaean missionary reached the Tang Dynasty court in 694 CE. In 732 CE, a Tang imperial edict officially recognized Manichaeism but restricted its preaching to non-Chinese populations, prohibiting conversion among native Chinese, likely due to concerns from established Buddhist and Taoist institutions. In

The adoption of Manichaeism as the state religion by the Uyghur Khaganate, which maintained close political and military ties with Tang China, led to a period of greater tolerance and even flourishing for Manichaeism within China itself.²⁸ Manichaean temples (often called "Temples of Light," *Ming Zun Ci*) were permitted in major cities like Chang'an and Luoyang. However, this favorable situation changed dramatically after the collapse of the Uyghur Khaganate in 840 CE. Resentment against foreign influences and religions grew, culminating in the Great Anti-Buddhist Persecution initiated by Emperor Wuzong in 843 CE, which also targeted other foreign faiths, including Manichaeism.²⁸ Manichaean temples were

destroyed, scriptures burned, clergy laicized or killed, and the religion was driven underground.³

Despite this severe persecution, Manichaeism survived in China, particularly in southern coastal provinces like Fujian and Zhejiang, often by syncretizing with elements of Buddhism and Taoism, and by associating with popular religious movements and secret societies. During the Song (960-1279) and Yuan (Mongol, 1271-1368) dynasties, Manichaeism (often referred to as *Mingjiao*, "Religion of Light") experienced periods of resurgence and was sometimes involved in peasant rebellions, leading to further suppression by Confucian authorities who often derided its followers as "vegetarian demon-worshippers". The Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), whose very name ("Ming" meaning "bright" or "light") ironically echoed Manichaean terminology, paradoxically implemented harsh persecutions against *Mingjiao*, viewing it as a heterodox and potentially subversive sect. By the 14th-17th centuries, Manichaeism in China had largely faded as a distinct religion, its remnants being absorbed into local folk traditions, Pure Land Buddhism, or Taoist sects. The Cao'an temple in Fujian, originally Manichaean but later associated with Buddhism, and the recently discovered Xiapu Manichaean manuscripts, still used in local rituals, are remarkable testaments to its long and tenacious history in China.

VIII. Decline and Extinction of Manichaeism

Despite its initial rapid spread and centuries of persistence across vast territories, Manichaeism eventually declined and, as an organized world religion, became extinct. Its disappearance was a complex process, resulting from a confluence of external pressures and internal challenges that unfolded over centuries in different regions.

One of the most significant factors contributing to its decline was **intense and sustained persecution** by dominant religious and political authorities. In the Roman Empire, the rise of Christianity as the state religion led to Manichaeism being branded a heresy and systematically suppressed through imperial edicts, the destruction of its scriptures, and the persecution of its adherents. Similarly, in its Persian homeland, after an initial period of tolerance, the Sasanian Empire, under the influence of a powerful Zoroastrian clergy, turned against Manichaeism, viewing it as a threat to religious and political centralism. This led to the martyrdom of Mani and ongoing pressure against his followers. Later, in Islamic lands, while sometimes tolerated, Manichaeans (often termed *Zindīqs*) also faced periods of severe persecution, particularly under the Abbasid Caliphate, which significantly weakened their presence in the Near East. In China, after an initial period of acceptance, especially under Uyghur influence, Manichaeism was banned and persecuted during the Tang Dynasty and faced further suppression under later dynasties like the Song and Ming. This relentless opposition from powerful state and religious establishments across its main centers gradually eroded its strength and numbers.

Competition with established and evolving religions also played a crucial role.³⁹ Manichaeism found itself contending with deeply entrenched faiths like Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and later Islam, which often had more robust institutional

structures, broader popular appeal, or stronger state backing. Over time, some of these rival religions also developed sophisticated theological responses to the questions Manichaeism addressed, or even adopted and integrated certain dualistic or ethical concepts, thereby diminishing Manichaeism's unique appeal.³⁹

Internal challenges within Manichaeism itself likely contributed to its decline. The religion's strict ethical codes and demanding ascetic lifestyle, particularly for the Elect, while appealing to a dedicated minority, may have been too rigorous for the broader population to fully embrace and sustain over generations. This could have limited its capacity for mass conversion and long-term growth. The hierarchical structure of the Manichaean community, with its sharp distinction between the elite Elect and the supporting Hearers, while effective in some ways, might also have created a perception of exclusivity or limited the full participation of the laity, potentially hindering its broader social integration and appeal. Hurthermore, while Manichaeism's syncretic nature was initially a strength, allowing it to adapt to diverse cultural contexts, maintaining doctrinal unity and coherence across such a vast and varied geographical expanse could have posed significant challenges over time, possibly leading to internal fragmentation or a dilution of its core message in some regions. Some scholars suggest that Manichaeism, unlike more adaptable faiths, struggled to evolve sufficiently in response to changing socio-political landscapes, its doctrinal rigidity in certain core areas perhaps becoming a liability in the long run.

By the late Middle Ages, Manichaeism had largely vanished from the religious map of the world, surviving only in isolated pockets or as assimilated elements within other belief systems. ¹⁶ Its extinction serves as a poignant historical example of how even a once-thriving and widespread religion can face existential threats from a combination of external pressures and internal dynamics, ultimately succumbing to the shifting tides of history and religious allegiance.

IX. Later Influences and Legacy: Echoes of Dualism

Although Manichaeism as an organized religion eventually disappeared, its powerful ideas, particularly its radical dualism and its emphasis on the conflict between spirit and matter, left subtle but discernible echoes in various later religious and philosophical movements, especially in Europe and the Near East. The historiography of these connections is complex, often debated, and sometimes colored by the polemical use of the "Manichaean" label by orthodox authorities to condemn later heterodox groups.

Medieval Christian Europe witnessed the emergence of several dualistic or quasi-dualistic movements that were often accused by ecclesiastical authorities of being revivals of Manichaeism. These include:

 Paulicianism: This movement emerged in Armenia around the 7th century and later spread into the Byzantine Empire and the Balkans.⁴⁰ Paulicians espoused a dualistic theology, distinguishing between a good God who created the spiritual world and an evil creator of the material world, and they rejected many aspects of the established Church, including its hierarchy, sacraments, and veneration of icons and relics. While some scholars have argued for direct Manichaean influence, others suggest Marcionite

- or other Gnostic roots, or even view it as a largely independent Christian reform movement.⁴⁰ The Byzantine polemicists, however, frequently labeled them as Manichaeans.⁴¹
- **Bogomilism:** Arising in Bulgaria in the 10th century, Bogomilism was a significant dualistic movement that spread throughout the Balkans and into the Byzantine Empire, and even influenced movements further west. Bogomils taught that the visible, material world was the creation of Satan (or a fallen angel, Satanael), while the good God was the creator of the spiritual realm. They rejected the Old Testament (or parts of it), the sacraments of the Orthodox Church, religious icons, and the church hierarchy, advocating a simpler, ascetic form of Christianity. Bogomilism is widely considered to have been heavily influenced by Paulicianism and is often described as "Neo-Manichaean" due to its dualistic cosmology, though direct historical links to classical Manichaeism are difficult to trace definitively. As
- Catharism (Albigensianism): This was perhaps the most famous dualistic movement in medieval Western Europe, flourishing in Southern France (Languedoc) and Northern Italy from the 12th to the 14th centuries. 44 Cathars held a dualistic belief in two co-eternal principles, a good God (creator of spirits) and an evil God (creator of the material world, often identified with the God of the Old Testament or Satan). 44 They believed human souls were fallen angels trapped in material bodies, and sought liberation through a life of strict asceticism (for their elite, the Perfecti) and the reception of a spiritual baptism called the consolamentum. 44 The Catholic Church condemned Catharism as a dangerous heresy and launched the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229) and the Inquisition to eradicate it. 45 The origins of Cathar beliefs are debated, but a strong connection to Bogomilism, and thus indirectly to earlier Eastern dualistic traditions, is widely accepted by many scholars. 44 The "traditional interpretation" posits this chain of influence, while a "new paradigm" of scholarship tends to question the extent of organized Catharism and the directness of these Eastern links, sometimes suggesting that the dualist doctrines were constructed or exaggerated by Catholic polemicists drawing on ancient anti-Manichaean writings, particularly those of St. Augustine.⁴⁶

The very term "Manichaean" became a pejorative label used by orthodox Christian writers throughout the Middle Ages to denounce almost any group perceived as dualistic or heretical, regardless of actual historical or doctrinal connections to Mani's original teachings. This makes tracing genuine lines of influence challenging. However, the persistence of dualistic ideas suggests that the fundamental questions about the origin of evil and the nature of the material world that Manichaeism addressed continued to resonate.

Beyond these explicitly dualistic heresies, some scholars have suggested more subtle Manichaean influences or parallels in other areas. For instance, within Islamic mysticism (Sufism), the emphasis on the inner struggle between the lower self (*nafs*) and the divine spirit (*ruh*) can be seen as echoing Manichaean dualistic themes of an internal battle between Light and Darkness, possibly transmitted through cultural exchanges along the Silk Road or through the intellectual ferment of early Islamic cities where Manichaean ideas were still

present.³⁹ Similarly, the rigorous asceticism and moral purity emphasized in Manichaeism find parallels in some forms of Christian monasticism and certain Islamic ascetic traditions, though direct causation is difficult to prove.³⁹

The Gnostic elements within Manichaeism—the division of the world into light and darkness, the emphasis on individual spiritual charisma and knowledge, and the concept of a fallen divine element—were part of a broader intellectual and spiritual current in late antiquity that continued to surface in various forms throughout the Middle Ages and beyond.⁴ While direct Manichaean lineage for many later movements is often tenuous and debated, the profound impact of its core dualistic worldview on the religious imagination of subsequent eras remains a significant aspect of its complex legacy.

X. Modern Manichaean Studies: Discoveries and Scholarship

For centuries, knowledge of Manichaeism in the West was primarily derived from the polemical writings of its opponents, most notably Church Fathers like St. Augustine, and from accounts by Islamic heresiographers. These sources, while valuable, were often biased and incomplete. The 20th century, however, witnessed a revolution in Manichaean studies, largely due to a series of remarkable archaeological discoveries of original Manichaean texts and artifacts across a vast geographical expanse, from Egypt to Chinese Turkestan. These finds have provided unprecedented direct access to Manichaean beliefs, practices, literature, and art, transforming the field and allowing for a more nuanced and authentic understanding of this ancient world religion.

A. Archaeological Discoveries and Their Significance

- Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab, Egypt): Excavations in the Dakhla Oasis of Egypt, particularly at the ancient village of Kellis, have unearthed a wealth of Manichaean materials dating primarily to the 4th century CE. These include papyri in Coptic, Greek, and Syriac, comprising personal letters, accounts, magical texts, literary works, and, most importantly, extensive Manichaean religious texts, including hymns, psalms (parts of the Coptic Manichaean Psalm Book), doctrinal writings (such as portions of the Kephalaia), and community records. 10 The Kellis finds are particularly significant because they offer a glimpse into the "lived religion" of an ordinary Manichaean community in the Roman Empire, revealing details about family life, social interactions, economic activities, and how religious identity intersected with daily concerns. 37 The discovery of liturgical texts and personal letters from the same houses has allowed for the reconstruction of family networks and village interactions, challenging simplistic notions of constant, massive persecution and highlighting the complex ways religious language engaged with quotidian life. 37
- Turfan (Chinese Turkestan/Xinjiang, China): German (and later other) expeditions to the Turfan oasis at the beginning of the 20th century uncovered an enormous cache of Manichaean manuscript fragments and artworks from sites like Khocho (Gaochang),

Bezeklik, and Yarqoto.³¹ These texts, dating largely from the 8th to the 11th centuries (the period of the Uyghur Manichaean kingdom and its aftermath), are written in a variety of languages, including Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, Old Turkic (Uyghur), and Chinese, often in the distinctive Manichaean script.³¹ The Turfan finds include doctrinal treatises, cosmological texts, hymns, prayers, parables, historical accounts, letters, and community records, as well as stunning examples of Manichaean painting in the form of temple banners, wall paintings, and book illuminations.³¹ These materials have been crucial for understanding the doctrines and artistic traditions of Eastern Manichaeism, its adaptation to Central Asian cultures, and its interaction with Buddhism.³¹ The decipherment of these texts by scholars like F.W.K. Müller marked a new stage in the investigation of Manichaeism.⁵¹

- Dunhuang (Gansu, China): The famous "Library Cave" (Cave 17) at the Mogao Grottoes near Dunhuang, sealed in the early 11th century, yielded a vast collection of manuscripts, primarily Buddhist, but also including important Manichaean texts in Chinese and, to a lesser extent, other languages like Old Turkic and Sogdian.⁵³ Key Chinese Manichaean texts from Dunhuang include a hymn scroll, an incomplete scripture, and the Manichaean Compendium (also known as Moni jiao cao jing or Compendium of the Teachings of Mani, the Awakened One of Light), which summarizes Manichaean doctrines, sometimes interpreting Mani as an incarnation of Laozi.²⁸ The Irk Bitig, an Old Turkic divination text found at Dunhuang, may also have been used syncretically by Manichaeans.⁵⁵ These texts are invaluable for understanding the sinicization of Manichaeism, its relationship with Chinese Buddhism and Taoism, and its history during the Tang Dynasty and the Uyghur period.⁵⁴
- Xiapu (Fujian, China): More recently, in 2008 and subsequently, a significant collection of Manichaean manuscripts has come to light in Xiapu County, Fujian province, in southeastern China. These texts, primarily in Chinese and dating from later periods (some transcribed during the Qing Dynasty from older sources, with contents potentially dating back over a thousand years), are still used in local village rituals, particularly those honoring Lin Deng, a Song Dynasty Manichaean leader. The Xiapu manuscripts, including a long text titled *Moni Guangfo* ("Mani, Buddha of Light"), demonstrate the remarkable persistence of Manichaean traditions in southern China long after the religion had disappeared elsewhere. They also reveal a form of Chinese Manichaeism with a strong emphasis on the worship of Jesus (*Yishu*). These discoveries have opened new avenues for research into the later history and local adaptations of Manichaeism in China.

These archaeological discoveries have collectively provided an authentic voice to Manichaeism, allowing its doctrines, rituals, art, and community life to be studied from primary sources rather than solely through the lens of its adversaries. They have illuminated its syncretic nature, its diverse linguistic and cultural expressions, and its long and complex history across continents.

B. Key Scholars, Academic Associations, and Publication Projects

The wealth of new textual and material evidence has spurred a vibrant international field of Manichaean studies. Numerous scholars have dedicated their careers to deciphering, editing, translating, and interpreting these sources. While a comprehensive list is beyond the scope of this report, some influential figures in modern Manichaean scholarship (either directly mentioned in the provided materials or widely recognized) include F.W.K. Müller (a pioneer in Turfan studies), Albert von Le Coq (Turfan expeditions), C.R.C. Allberry (editor of the Coptic Manichaean Psalm Book), Walter Bruno Henning, Mary Boyce, Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, Werner Sundermann, Samuel N.C. Lieu, Johannes van Oort, Jason David BeDuhn, Iain Gardner, Nils Arne Pedersen, Zsuzsanna Gulácsi, Gregor Wurst, Enrico Morano, Gunner Mikkelsen, Gábor Kósa, Erica Hunter, Nicholas Sims-Williams, Prods Oktor Skjærvø, and Mattias Brand, among many others.³⁰

Several academic associations and publication projects facilitate research and collaboration in the field:

- The International Association of Manichaean Studies (IAMS): Founded in 1989, the IAMS is a scholarly, non-profit organization dedicated to encouraging and promoting research on all aspects of Manichaeism and its relationship with other religious and philosophical currents.⁵⁹ Its objectives include fostering international collaboration, disseminating information on new discoveries, facilitating access to source materials, supporting editing projects, identifying research priorities, publishing the Manichaean Studies Newsletter annually, and organizing periodic international congresses and symposia.⁵⁹ The IAMS plays a crucial role in coordinating and advancing the field.
- Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum (CFM): This major international research and publication project, sponsored by the IAMS and the Union Académique Internationale (UAI), aims to make all Manichaean source materials accessible to the scholarly community.³⁵ Published by Brepols, the CFM is divided into multiple series based on linguistic lines (e.g., Series Arabica, Coptica, Graeca, Iranica, Latina, Sinica, Syriaca, Turcica) and also includes a Series Archaeologica et Iconographica, Series Biblia Manichaica, Analecta Manichaica (for miscellaneous studies), and Series Subsidia (comprising essential research tools like the Bibliographia Manichaica and the multi-volume Dictionary of Manichaean Texts).⁴⁹ The CFM represents a monumental effort to systematically edit, translate, and comment on the diverse textual and material remains of Manichaeism.
- Journals: Scholarly journals such as Gnosis: Journal of Gnostic Studies also publish
 research relevant to Manichaeism, often under the broader umbrella of Gnosticism.⁶²
 These scholarly endeavors continue to deepen our understanding of Manichaeism, revealing
 its complexities and its significant place in the history of world religions. The ongoing work of
 deciphering and interpreting newly found texts, particularly from sites like Xiapu, promises

XI. Conclusion: The Enduring Riddle of the Religion of

further insights into this fascinating faith.

Light

Manichaeism, born from the fertile religious landscape of 3rd-century Mesopotamia, stands as a testament to the enduring human quest for meaning in a world perceived as fraught with conflict and suffering. Mani's audacious vision of a universal religion, synthesizing elements from Zoroastrianism, Christianity, Buddhism, and Gnosticism, resulted in a complex and intellectually compelling system that, for over a millennium, captivated minds and shaped communities across an immense geographical expanse, from the Roman West to the Chinese East. Its core doctrine of a radical, eternal dualism between a benevolent God of Light and an independent, malevolent power of Darkness offered a stark but coherent explanation for the problem of evil and the human predicament: the divine soul, a particle of Light, trapped within the corrupting confines of a material body created by Darkness. Salvation, in this worldview, was to be achieved through *gnosis*—revealed knowledge—and a life of ascetic discipline, aimed at liberating the imprisoned Light and restoring it to its celestial origin. The religion's sophisticated cosmology, its meticulously structured church comprising the ascetic Elect and the supportive Hearers, its rich corpus of sacred scriptures penned by Mani himself and elaborated by his followers, and its innovative use of art as a didactic tool all contributed to its initial dynamism and widespread appeal. The Manichaean missionary enterprise, fueled by a profound sense of universal mission and facilitated by Mani's emphasis on translating his teachings into diverse languages, was remarkably successful, establishing the faith as a major player in the religious ecosystems of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

However, the very features that contributed to Manichaeism's distinctiveness and initial success also rendered it vulnerable. Its radical dualism and its claim to supersede all previous revelations inevitably brought it into direct conflict with established religious orthodoxies and state powers. Sustained and often brutal persecution by Roman emperors, Sasanian kings, Zoroastrian priests, Christian bishops, Islamic caliphs, and Chinese authorities systematically eroded its foundations across its diverse domains. Internal challenges, including the demanding nature of its ascetic ideals and the potential for regional variations to strain doctrinal unity, may also have played a part in its gradual decline.

By the early modern period, Manichaeism as an organized, living religion had largely faded from the world stage, its scriptures lost or forgotten, its temples in ruins. Yet, the profound questions it raised and the dualistic framework it proposed continued to echo, subtly or overtly, in various later heterodox movements and mystical traditions. The 20th-century archaeological rediscovery of authentic Manichaean texts and art has resurrected this "Religion of Light" from the oblivion of polemical caricature, allowing for a more nuanced and historically grounded appreciation of its doctrines, practices, and enduring legacy. Modern scholarship, through institutions like the IAMS and projects like the CFM, continues to unravel the complexities of Manichaeism, revealing it not merely as a historical curiosity, but as a significant and creative religious phenomenon whose study illuminates the broader tapestry of human spiritual history and the enduring dialogue between light and darkness in the human experience.

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