In memory of Alessandro Oreste Leurini and Gherardo Gnoli in everlasting gratitude and devotion

# ISMEO ASSOCIAZIONE INTERNAZIONALE DI STUDI SUL MEDITERRANEO E L'ORIENTE

### SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA

FONDATA NEL 1950 DA GIUSEPPE TUCCI DIRETTA DAL 1979 DA GHERARDO GNOLI

### Scientific board:

Timothy H. Barrett, East Asian History, School of Or. and African Studies, London Alessandro Bausi, Äthiopistik, Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg Peter Kornicki, East Asian Studies, Cambridge University

Daniel Potts, Ancient Near Eastern Archaeology and History, Inst. for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University

Editor: Adriano V. Rossi

**NUOVA SERIE** 

Vol. 1

R O M A ISMEO 2013

## SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA n.s. 1

Claudia Leurini

### The Manichaean Church

An Essay Mainly Based on the Texts from Central Asia



ROMA SCIENZE E LETTERE 2013

### TUTTI I DIRITTI RISERVATI

ISBN 978-88-6687-0395

© 2013 Scienze e Lettere dal 1919 S.r.l. già Bardi Editore Via Piave, 7 – 00187 Roma Tel. 0039/06/4817656 – Fax 0039/06/48912574 e-mail: info@scienzeelettere.com www.scienzeelettere.com

© ISMEO Associazione Internazionale di Studi sul Mediterraneo e l'Oriente sede legale: via Santa Maria in Gradi 4, 01100 Viterbo www.ismeo.eu

Layout by Claudia Leurini

Printed in Italy - Stampato in Italia

Finito di stampare nel mese di luglio 2013

### **FOREWORD**

The Manichaean Church. An Essay Mainly Based on the Texts from Central Asia comes out of a complex and troubled editorial history. Exactly in the form we read it today, with the exception of the indexes, it was presented by the Author to the Scientific Committee of the Italian Institute for Africa and the Orient (IsIAO), and was accepted for publication in the Serie Orientale Roma (SOR) in 2009. The last two years of life of IsIAO were characterized by deep economic problems, mainly due to the decision by the Italian Government to reduce public support to the Institute below the subsistence level, condemning it to death. This caused a suspension of all scientific and editorial activities of IsIAO. That is why the publication of the work has been delayed for so long. The new ISMEO (re-established in Rome on 19 november 2012 as ISMEO – Associazione Internazionale di Studi sul Mediterraneo e l'Oriente). that claims a right to the cultural legacy of that prestigious Institute, sets itself in full scientific continuity with the tradition of the late IsIAO also by the publication of this volume, by which a new series continuing the Serie Orientale Roma is inaugurated.

The present monograph by Claudia Leurini is the outcome of her activity during a three-years research fellowship she obtained at the University of Bologna, Dept. of the Cultural Heritage (formerly Dept. of Histories and Methods for the Preservation of the Cultural Heritage). During that period she also collaborated with the Turfanforschung at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, where almost all analyzed materials are stored. This monograph thoroughly deals with the Manichaean Church, its structure, functions and characters, and through the analysis of texts mainly coming from Turfan and Central Asia it shows that Manichaeism was a universal religion that exploiting

the legacy of other religious traditions (Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and, last but not least, Christianity) successfully produced a completely new system and paradigm for the interpretation of life, universe, death and ultimately the destiny of humanity. Under this respect this very accurate work actually offers new perspectives and stimulating clues. This monograph shall be placed in an international context of renovated attention to this subject.

We are certain that The Manichaean Church fulfils the wish of Gherardo Gnoli, President of IsIAO (and previously of IsMEO), who, after supervising with great patience and generosity its elaboration, was given just the time to attend the suppression of the Institute he had directed for 32 years, but was not able to see the publication of a volume he deeply admired.

MARCO MANCINI President ADRIANO V. ROSSI Scientific Director

### **AKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I owe all my gratitude to the ISMEO Association, its President Marco Mancini, Vice President Adriano Rossi and its Treasurer Beniamino Melasecchi for printing this book; to the Dept. of Cultural Heritage – University of Bologna; and to the Turfanforschung – Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, particularly to †Werner Sundermann, Peter Zieme, Christiane Reck and Simone Christiane Raschmann. Very special thanks to Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst for his indefectible help and support.

CLAUDIA LEURINI

### TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword by Marco Mancini & Adriano V. Rossi	v vii
I. Introduction	1
II. A 'Bipolar' Community	13
1. A Matter of Territoriality	21
2. The Elect	40
a. Wizīdag	41
b. Dēndār	47
c. Dēnāwar and dēnawar	48
d. Ardāw	50
3. The Hearers	58
<ol> <li>The Church as a Kingdom in the Manichaean Cosmology</li> <li>A Christian Model for the Manichaean Hierarchy?</li> <li>Cosmological Background for the Structure of the Manichaean Church</li> <li>The Paradise of the Father of Light</li> <li>The Firmaments</li> <li>The Twelve Kingdoms</li> <li>The Internal Structure of the Firmaments</li> <li>The Manichaean Church inside the Firmament System</li> <li>Conclusions</li> </ol>	87 89 91 93 99 106 110 140
IV. The Hierarchy	159 159 187 190 212
V. Women in the Eastern Manichaean Community	221

VI. Old Features and New Aspects in the Later Central	
Asiatic Manichaean Church	253
1. The Heads of the Hearers	255
2. The xwšt 'nc	261
3. Famshi	265
4. The Monastery and the <i>ruwānagān</i>	270
5. The Investitures	313
VII. Literature	317
VIII. Indices	402
1. Index Verborum	402
a. Middle Persian	402
b. Parthian	406
c. Sogdian	407
d. Old Persian	408
e. Avestan	409
f. Old Turkish	409
g. Chinese	410
2. Index Nominum	411
3. Index Locorum	419
a. Avestan	419
b. Old Persian	419
c. Middle Iranian Manichaica	419
d. Middle Persian (inscriptions)	423
e. Pahlavi Texts	423
f. Old Turkish Manichaica	424
g. Chinese Texts	425
h. Coptic Texts	425
i. Latin Texts	426
j. Greek Texts	426
k. Bible - Gospels	427
l. Akkadian Texts	427
m. Palmyrene Inscriptions	427
n. Sanskrit Texts	428
o. Gnostic and Hermetic Texts	428
Addendum	429