

The 'Elchasaite' Sanhedrin of the Cologne Mani Codex in Light of Second Temple Jewish Sectarian Sources

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In 1969 a new document purporting to be a 'life of Mani', the notorious founder of the Manichaean religion, was deciphered at the University of Cologne. This text, henceforth designated the *Cologne Mani Codex* (= *CMC*), is in its present form a Greek work of Egyptian provenance which can be dated palaeographically to the fourth or fifth century of the Common Era. In the opinion of its modern editors, the Greek text appeared to be a translation of an Aramaic *Grundschrift* which might ultimately derive from Mani himself. The text is autobiographical in form and occasionally quotes literary sources when seeking to elaborate a specific point. Although badly damaged in parts, the *Codex* yields one hundred and ninety-two pages of fragmentary text which clarify the ideological background of Mani's thought.¹

Pages 1–13 of the *Codex* relate a detailed but largely hagiographic account of Mani's childhood. Pages 14–44 describe the circumstances and contents of two 'revelations' received by Mani prior to his separation from his childhood community, self-characterized in the *Codex* as 'of the Law' (τοῦ νόμου).² What follows on pages 45–72 is a lengthy apologetic section in which five Jewish apocalypses are quoted in an attempt to lend credence to Mani's own visionary experiences. These writings are identified by name as 'apocalypses' of Adam, Seth, Enosh, Shem, and Enoch.³ Those bearing the

¹ See A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, 'Ein griechischer Mani-Codex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* (= *ZPE*) 5 (1970), pp. 97–217. For a transcription of the text with a commentary, see Henrichs–Koenen, 'Der Kölner Mani-Kodex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780). ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΓΕΝΝΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ. Edition der Seiten 1–72', *ZPE* 19 (1975), pp. 1–85; idem, '... Edition der Seiten 72,8–99,9', *ZPE* 32 (1978), pp. 87–199; idem, '... Edition der Seiten 99,10–120', *ZPE* 44 (1981), pp. 201–318; idem, '... Edition der Seiten 121–192', *ZPE* 48 (1982), pp. 1–59. See now L. Koenen and C. Römer (eds.), *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex: Abbildungen und diplomatischer Text* (Bonn, 1985); idem (eds.), *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex ... Kritischer Edition* (Opladen, 1988). The possible Aramaic provenance of the *Codex* has been discussed by Henrichs–Koenen, *ZPE* 5 (1970), pp. 104–105; R. Köbert, 'Orientalische Bemerkungen zum Kölner Mani-Codex', *ZPE* 8 (1971), pp. 243–247; A. Henrichs, 'Mani and the Babylonian Baptists: A Historical Confrontation', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* (= *HSCP*) 77 (1973), pp. 35–39; idem, 'The Cologne Mani Codex Reconsidered', *HSCP* 83 (1979), pp. 352–353; A. Böhlig, 'Der Synkretismus des Mani', in A. Dietrich (ed.), *Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet* (Göttingen, 1975), pp. 149–150.

² *CMC* 9:1 and *passim*.

³ Adam (*CMC* 48:16–50:7); Sethel (50:8–52:7); Enosh (52:8–55:9); Shem (55:10–58:5); and Enoch (58:6–60:7).

names of Seth, Enosh and Shem are heretofore unattested. Those of Adam and Enoch do not correspond to extant works which bear similar titles. Also contained within this section are three largely accurate quotations from the Pauline corpus, and some selections from works attributed to Mani himself.⁴

Pages 72–99 relate the customs and rituals of the sectarian Jewish Christian community, identified as followers of Elchasai,⁵ to which Mani belonged and Mani's growing disenchantment and opposition to them. The sect terms itself 'those of the Law' and designates those who are not members of the sect 'Gentiles' (τὰ ἔθνη).⁶ Decisions affecting the lifestyle of the community are discussed in a council apparently composed of elders (ὁ πρεσβύτερος τοῦ συνεδρίου αὐτῶν).⁷ The sect was particularly concerned with purity of body and foodstuffs. They revered traditions regarding purity received from 'our fathers and teachers' (οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν καὶ διδάσκαλοι).⁸ Certain foods were prohibited according to dietary law. A period of 'rest' was observed by the sect.⁹ An eschatological prophecy concerning the advent of a new 'teacher' was preserved by it.¹⁰ Mani is charged by the sect's *sanhedrin* with being an 'enemy of our Law', one who has 'turned aside from our Law' and who opposes the teachings of the 'fathers'.¹¹

Following this section, on pages 100–116, is an account of Mani's departure from the sect. His initial success in gaining adherents to his own teachings is remarked. The remainder of the *Codex*, which is very badly damaged, apparently contained a description of Mani's further journeys throughout the ancient Orient.

The significance of the *Cologne Mani Codex* for Manichaeism cannot be overestimated. Perhaps the most important information communicated by the *Codex* concerns the substantial influence exerted upon the young Mani by Jewish and Christian heterodox thought during his formative years. That such influence did not cease with his final break with the Elchasaite community might be postulated from the surprising

⁴ Galatians 1:1 (*CMC* 60:18–23); 2 Corinthians 12:1–5 (61:2–14); Galatians 1:11–12 (61:16–22); Mani's 'Epistle to Edessa' (64:8–65:22); Mani's 'Gospel' (66:4–68:5; 68:6–69:8; 69:9–70:10).

⁵ *CMC* 94:10–12. Sources that describe the beliefs and practices of the Elchasaites are conveniently available in A. F. J. Klijn and G. J. Reinink, *Patristic Evidence for Jewish-Christian Sects* (Leiden, 1973). For interpretations of this data, see W. Brandt, *Elchasai: ein Religionsstifter und sein Werk* (Leipzig, 1912); J. Thomas, *Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie* (Gembloux, 1935), pp. 140–156; G. Strecker, 'Elkesai', in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart, 1950–), IV 1171–1186; G. P. Luttikhuisen, *The Revelation of Elchasai* (Tübingen, 1985).

⁶ *CMC* 87:19–20.

⁷ *CMC* 77:7; 74:12–13; cf. 89:7.

⁸ *CMC* 88:5–6. For examples of the sect's 'washing' practices, see 83:1; 80:1–82:23; 88:1–4.

⁹ *CMC* 87:4; cf. 5:6–7: κατέχων τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν 'keeping the Rest'.

¹⁰ *CMC* 86:19–87:6.

¹¹ *CMC* 87:16; 89:12; 91:7.

invocation of pseudepigraphic Jewish sources within the *Codex* as testimony for Mani's apostolic credentials. Yet there is further evidence outside the *Codex* which suggests that Jewish traditions were known and adapted by him for use in his religious system.

We possess several lists which enumerate the books which formed the Manichaean 'scriptural canon', so to speak, and they invariably include notice of a so-called 'Book of Giants'.¹² Unfortunately, this book is never explicitly quoted in ancient sources. As early as the eighteenth century, I. de Beausobre opined with remarkable prescience that Mani's Book of Giants might be related to the stories recounted about the illicit intercourse between heavenly beings and mortal women described in such passages as Genesis 6:1-4 or the Greek fragments of 1 Enoch 6-16 preserved by the Byzantine chronographer Syncellus.¹³ However, precise knowledge of the contents of Mani's Book of Giants eluded scholars until the publication by W. B. Henning in 1943 of various fragments from the Turfan collection of Manichaean manuscripts unearthed in Chinese Turkestan during the early part of this century.¹⁴ Henning's identification and collation of the Manichaean Book of Giants received further dramatic confirmation from an unexpected quarter—the discovery of a Jewish Aramaic *Vorlage* of the Book of Giants among the manuscript remains from Qumran in Palestine.¹⁵ This demonstrated dependence of Mani upon ancient Jewish lore, and, what is more, a traditional lore that is associated with a heterodox Jewish community which flourished during the latter part of the Second Temple era, is intriguing and worthy of careful attention. One must seriously entertain the possibility that some of the significant formative influences upon the young Mani were derived ultimately from sectarian Judaism of the pre-*Hurban* era.

This paper explores one facet of this possible relationship by comparing the organizational structure and judicial operation of the 'baptist'

¹² For a listing and thorough analysis of these references, see the first chapter of my *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the 'Book of Giants' Traditions* (Hebrew Union College Press, forthcoming).

¹³ I. de Beausobre, *Histoire critique de Manichée et du Manichéisme* (Amsterdam, 1734-39; repr. Leipzig, 1970), I 428-430; cf. II 303-304.

¹⁴ W. B. Henning, 'The Book of the Giants', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11 (1943), 52-74. Subsequently additional fragments of the Book of Giants were identified and published by W. Sundermann. See his *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer* (Berlin, 1973), 76-78; idem, 'Ein weiteres Fragment aus Manis Gigantenbuch', in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata* (Leiden, 1984), 491-505.

¹⁵ J. T. Milik, 'Problèmes de la littérature hénoclique à la lumière des fragments araméennes de Qumrân', *Harvard Theological Review* 64 (1971), 333-378; idem, 'Turfan et Qumran, Livre des Géants juif et manichéen', in G. Jeremias, H.-W. Kuhn, and H. Stegemann (eds.), *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt* (Göttingen, 1971), 117-127; idem, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford, 1976), 298-339.

community¹⁶ among whom Mani was reared with the hierarchy of offices and the legal procedures appearing in one significant corpus of Jewish sectarian literature, that of the group centered at Qumran on the western shore of the Dead Sea. The information and data which permit such a comparative study have in both instances only recently come into focus. Prior to the discovery and publication of the *Codex*, practically nothing was known of the communal structure and internal governance of an Elchasaite community. Similarly, the particular offices and judicial procedures of the Jewish sect whose writings were discovered at Qumran have only come to light with the publication of the *Serek ha-Yahad* (IQS)¹⁷ and the Damascus Covenant (CD).¹⁸ It is true that Josephus and Philo supply some information regarding the organization of the 'Essenes',¹⁹ but it remains very much a live issue whether the Essene sect described by these writers is identical with the group who sojourned at Qumran.²⁰ For the purposes of this study, primary reliance will be placed upon the fuller testimonies supplied by the Hebrew documents mentioned above which emanate from

¹⁶ The *Codex* terms the group 'baptizers' or 'baptists' (*βαπτισται*); cf. Henrichs-Koenen, *ZPE* 5 (1970), p. 133 n. 89; 32 (1978), pp. 134–135 n. 180. A recent thorough discussion of postbiblical 'baptist' sects has been provided by K. Rudolph, *Antike Baptisten: Zu den Überlieferungen über frühjüdische und -christliche Taufsekten* (Berlin, 1981).

¹⁷ M. Burrows, J. C. Trever, and W. H. Brownlee (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, Volume II, Fascicle 2: *Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline* (New Haven, 1951); republished by F. M. Cross et al., *Scrolls from Qumrân Cave I* (Jerusalem, 1972), pp. [64]–[74]. See further W. H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline: Translation and Notes* (Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research Supplementary Studies 10–12) (New Haven, 1951); J. Licht, *Megillat Haseerakhim* (Jerusalem, 1965).

¹⁸ Most of the Damascus Covenant (or Damascus Document) survives in two medieval copies originally discovered among the documents recovered from the Cairo Geniza at the turn of this century. The *editio princeps* is S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries: Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge, 1910). Photographic plates of the medieval manuscripts were published by S. Zeitlin, *The Zadokite Fragments* (Philadelphia, 1952). The most important studies of this text are those of L. Ginzberg, *Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte* (New York, 1922); English translation, with supplementation, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York, 1976), and C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents*, 2nd revised ed. (Oxford, 1958). The Qumran caves have yielded further pieces of this document which remain for the most part unpublished. See P. Benoit et al., 'Le travail d'édition des manuscrits de Qumrân', *Revue biblique* (= *RB*) 63 (1956), pp. 55 and 61; J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, trans. J. Strugnell (Naperville, Ill., 1958), pp. 38–39, 151–152; and, in general, E. Schürer, G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman (eds.), *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (Edinburgh, 1973–1987), III.1 389–398.

¹⁹ Conveniently collected in A. Adam and C. Burchard (eds.), *Antike Berichte über die Essener*, 2. Auflage (Berlin, 1972), pp. 1–38. Subsequent citations in this essay of texts concerning the Essenes rely upon this volume. Cf. now G. Vermes and M. Goodman, *The Essenes in the Classical Sources* (Sheffield, 1989).

²⁰ Note the discussion and references provided by Schürer–Vermes–Millar–Goodman, *History*, II 583–590; also G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective*, revised ed. (Philadelphia, 1981), pp. 116–136.

the Jewish sect which called itself *ha-Yahad* ('Commune').²¹

An examination of the text of the *Codex* reveals several offices and institutions apparently operative in the daily life of this Mesopotamian baptist sect. The utmost respect was evidently accorded to certain individuals termed ἀρχήγοι or 'leaders'. The text applies this title to Elchasai himself during Mani's impassioned defence of his allegedly deviant ritual behaviour. Mani appeals to the paradigmatic conduct of Αλχασαῖος ὁ ἀρχηγός τοῦ νόμου ὑμῶν.²² On the other hand, a contemporary unidentified ἀρχηγός of the sect admonishes the youthful Mani regarding the latter's avoidance of sanctioned agricultural labour (*CMC* 9:1–13). It is unclear whether the designation ἀρχηγός is used in the *Codex* to denote an actual office in the Elchasaite community.²³ No reference to such an authority appears in the description of Mani's 'trial' before the Elchasaite *sanhedrin*. According to the Byzantine 'long abjuration-formula', the title ἀρχηγός was borne by the supreme head of the Manichaean Church,²⁴ and this rank is paralleled by the terms *s'ṭr* in Middle Persian documents and رئیس or امام in Arabic testimony.²⁵ The *Codex* itself also refers to the leaders of distinct

²¹ E.g. IQS 5:1: ... היה הסרך לאנשי היחד. See S. Talmon, 'The Sectarial "יחד"—A Biblical Noun', *Vetus Testamentum* 3 (1953), pp. 133–140; J. Maier, 'Zum Begriff "יחד" in den Texten von Qumran', *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (= *ZAW*) 72 (1960), pp. 148–166; B. W. Dombrowski, 'היחד in IQS and τὸ κοινόν: An Instance of Early Greek and Jewish Synthesis', *Harvard Theological Review* 59 (1966), pp. 293–307; P. Wernberg-Møller, 'The Nature of the YAHAD According to the Manual of Discipline and Related Documents', *Annual of the Leeds University Oriental Society* 6 (1966–68), pp. 56–81; Schürer–Vermes–Millar–Goodman, *History*, II 430 n. 12.

²² *CMC* 94:10–12. While Henrichs–Koenen usually translate as 'Haupt', 'Oberhaupt', or 'Führer' (see *ZPE* 19 (1975), p. 11; 32 (1978), pp. 105 and 152 n. 217; 44 (1981), p. 213), they render this Greek phrase as 'Alchasaïos, der Stifter eures Gesetzes' (*ZPE* 5 (1970), pp. 135–136; 32 (1978), p. 115), referring to al-Nadīm's description of al-Hasīh (= Elchasai) as the one who 'prescribed laws' (شَرَعَ; cf. Qur'an S. 42:11, 20) for the sect known as the Mughtasila or 'baptists'. For the latter text, see G. Flügel, *Mani: seine Lehre und seine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1862; repr. Osnabrück, 1969), p. 133. An objection to the translation of ἀρχηγός as 'Stifter' has been raised by Luttkhuizen, *Revelation of Elchasai*, pp. 162–163 and 171–172.

²³ In *CMC* 85:17–20, it is reported that some of the baptists considered the youthful Mani to be 'a leader and a teacher' ([ὡσεὶ] ἀρχηγὸν καὶ διδασκαλὸν ἔσχον με), but whether these designations reflect actual sectarian offices or simply complimentary praise remains unclear.

²⁴ Αναθεματίζω καὶ καταθεματίζω πάντας τοὺς Μανιχαίους ... καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀρχηγούς αὐτῶν καὶ διδασκάλους καὶ ἐπισκόπους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἐκλεκτοὺς καὶ ἐκλεκτὰς καὶ ἀκρατὰς καὶ μαθητὰς ... Text cited from A. Adam (ed.), *Texte zum Manichäismus*, 2. Auflage (Berlin, 1969), p. 101, ll. 142–147. Compare also Homilies 50:24 (H. J. Polotsky (ed.), *Manichäische Homilien* (Stuttgart, 1934)); *Psalms-Book* 44:9–10 (C. R. C. Allberry (ed.), *A Manichaean Psalm-Book* (Stuttgart, 1938)).

²⁵ See F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, 'Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan. II', *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin* (= *SPAW*) (Berlin, 1933), p. 327, n. 1; H.-C. Puech, *Le manichéisme: son fondateur—sa doctrine* (Paris, 1949), pp. 86–87 and 180 n. 362; Henrichs–Koenen, *ZPE* 5 (1970), p. 136, n. 98. Compare also the earlier discussions of F. C. Baur, *Das manichäische Religionssystem* (Tübingen, 1831), pp. 301–305; Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 298, 316, 319; K. Kessler, 'Mani, Manichäer', in J. J. Herzog and A. Hauck (eds.), *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3. Auflage (Leipzig, 1896–1909), XII 216.

religious bodies as ἀρχήγους (CMC 104:1).²⁶ It is thus possible that the usage of ἀρχηγός in the *Codex* reflects an anachronistic borrowing from later Manichaean organizational structure instead of an actual Elchasaite office. This may explain the application of the title to religious leaders in general and to the unidentified Elchasaite authority mentioned above, but the employment of the same designation for the 'founder' of the Elchasaite schism gives one pause. Here the term appears to be used in the sense of 'originator' or 'progenitor', as when Josephus similarly entitles Noah 'the progenitor of our people'.²⁷ One might compare this nuance of ἀρχηγός to the references in the *Codex* to the 'fathers' or 'forefathers'²⁸ revered as spiritual authorities by both Mani and the baptist sect. These were figures from the past who had transmitted either oral or written teachings that were granted programmatic authority by the present-day baptist community. Examples of such influential individuals were a series of Jewish patriarchs, Jesus, Elchasai, and two otherwise unknown teachers named Sabbaios²⁹ and Aianos.³⁰ One might furthermore compare with this roster of teachers and interpreters the analogous Qumranic veneration for the religious instructions imparted by God through Moses and the Prophets, and especially for the 'correct' interpretation given to these traditions by an early leader of that sect, the *Moreh* (*ha-*)*Sedeq* or 'True Lawgiver'.³¹ According to CD 1:11, God had raised up among the proto-sectarian Jewish group a 'True Lawgiver to lead them upon the path of his [i.e. God's] intention'.³² This Qumran concept of authoritative guidance might illuminate the baptist

²⁶ ... καὶ τῶν ἀρχηγῶν τῶν δογμάτων (CMC 104:1-3). Cf. also CMC 137:10.

²⁷ Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 1.130: Νῶχος ὁ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀρχηγός.

²⁸ CMC 47:3-5 (τῶν προγενεστέρων πατέρων); 71:8-9 (ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν[ν] πατέρων); 87:3-4 (οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν πατέρες); 88:5-6 (οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν καὶ διδάσκαλοι); 91:6-8 (τὸ βάπτισμα τοῦ νόμου ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν πατέρων). Compare also CMC 71:18-19 (τῶν προγόνων ἀποστόλων) and 99:13 (τοὺς προφανεῖς). For a discussion of the importance of the 'forefathers', see Henrichs-Koenen, *ZPE* 32 (1978), p. 159. Henrichs calls attention to the use of this designation in *Kephalaia* 7:7 (cf. H. J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig (eds.), *Kephalaia* (Stuttgart, 1940)) and M 7 (apud Andreas-Henning, 'Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan. III', *SPAW* (Berlin, 1934), p. 872); see *HSCP* 77 (1973), p. 25, n. 8. One might note the frequent appeals to the 'fathers' (אבות) and 'forefathers' (ראשונים) in Qumranic texts.

²⁹ Σαββαῖος ὁ βαπτιστή[ς] (CMC 97:18-98:8). See Henrichs-Koenen, *ZPE* 32 (1978), pp. 194-195. Note that C. Buck curiously misinterprets the phrase 'Sabbaios the baptist' as an alternative designation for Mani's baptist sect; cf. his 'The Identity of the Sābi'ūn: An Historical Quest', *The Muslim World* 74 (1984), p. 183.

³⁰ Αἰανός or Αἰάνης, further qualified as a 'baptist from Koche' (CMC 98:9-99:9). See Henrichs-Koenen, *ZPE* 32 (1978), pp. 197-198.

³¹ For a justification of this understanding of the expression *Moreh* (*ha-*)*Sedeq* (מורה (ה)צדק), see J. C. Reeves, 'The Meaning of *Moreh Sedeq* in Light of 11Q Torah', in E. Puech and F. García Martínez (eds.), *Études Qumrâniennes: Mémorial Jean Carmignac* (Paris, 1988), pp. 287-298.

³² ויקם להם מורה צדק להדריךכם בדרך לבו. Cf. Schechter, *Fragments*, pp. XII-XIII; G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (Göttingen, 1963), p. 166.

sect's recognition of Elchasai as the ἀρχηγός of their mode of life.³³

Another office mentioned in the *Codex* is that of οἰκοδεσπότης or 'master of the house'.³⁴ The term is used in the New Testament to denote a property owner or the head of a household.³⁵ The use of the word with regard to a functionary within a religious community does not seem to be attested in Greek literature outside the *Codex*, and scholars have diligently endeavoured to supply possible analogues from Syrian monastic literature.³⁶ Very little can be gleaned from the *Codex* about the responsibilities of this office, aside from the literal translation of the title itself. According to the *Codex*, this office was held by Pattikios, a person known to us from other sources as the biological father of Mani.³⁷ Interestingly, one of the few references to the position of οἰκοδεσπότης occurs when a baptist court is being convened to try Mani for his offences against the precepts of the sect. The text relates that when the judges were assembling, the οἰκοδεσπότης was also summoned, and the charges against Mani were initially presented before him. Only after his assent to the proceedings was Mani brought before the tribunal.³⁸

³³ A connection between the Qumran *Moreh (ha)-Sedeq* and Elchasai in terms of their function for their respective communities was already suggested by C. Colpe, 'Die Thomaspsalmen als chronologischer Fixpunkt in der Geschichte der orientalischen Gnosis', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 7 (1964), pp. 87–88.

³⁴ *CMC* 89:9–10; 100:21–22; 140:12–13.

³⁵ Matthew 10:25; 13:27,52; 20:1,11; 21:33; 24:43 (par. Luke 12:39); Mark 14:14 (par. Luke 22:11); Luke 13:25; 14:21; cf. also 1 Timothy 5:14. The Hebrew expression corresponding to this term is בעל הבית. Compare also Syriac *mr' byt'*, *mrh dbyt'*, or *mrbyt'*, employed as translations for οἰκοδεσπότης in the Old Syriac and Peshitta versions of the Gospel verses cited above.

³⁶ See the discussions of Henrichs–Koenen, *ZPE* 5 (1970), pp. 156–157, n. 150; 32 (1978), pp. 166–169, n. 242; 44 (1981), pp. 233–234. A summary of their interpretation is provided by Koenen, 'Manichäische Mission und Klöster in Ägypten', in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten* (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), pp. 99–101. These authors are inclined to view the title οἰκοδεσπότης as an anachronistic employment of a later Manichaean title attested in Middle Iranian and Chinese texts that connotes both the ideas of 'cloister superintendent' and 'elder'. For the Oriental evidence, see especially W. Sundermann, 'Zur frühen missionarischen Wirksamkeit Manis', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (= *AcOrH*) 24 (1971), pp. 91–93; idem, 'Iranische Lebensbeschreibungen Manis', *Acta Orientalia (Copenhagen)* 36 (1974), pp. 135–137. H.-C. Puech has suggested that this title represents an authentic sectarian office; see his *Sur le manichéisme et autres essais* (Paris, 1979), p. 384.

³⁷ The most important testimonies are supplied by Puech, *Le manichéisme*, pp. 35–36 and 117–118, n. 124. See also Sundermann, *AcOrH* 24 (1971), pp. 83–84, n. 28.

³⁸ τότε [τοι]ν[υ] Σιτάν ιδών και οί [ἐταίρ]οι αὐτοῦ ὡς εἰς πειρασμὸν αὐτῶν οὐχ ἤξω, [ἀλλὰ] κατὰ βραχὺ βρα[χ]υ κα[τ]αλύω και καταργῶ τῶν] σφῶν αὐτῶν νόμον και] τὰ ἐδέσματα ἅ[περ ἀπέκ]ριναν και τὸ βάπτισμα μὴ βαπτιζόμενον ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς, ἰδόντες με ἐν τούτοις πᾶσιν ἀνεστώτα αὐτοῖς τότε Σιτάν και τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέρων σὺνοδον ἐποιήσαντο ἐμοῦ χάριν. ἐκάλεσαν δὲ και τὸν οἰκοδεσπότην Παττικιον και εἶπον αὐτῷ· ὁ υἱός σου ἐξετράπη τοῦ νόμου ἡμῶν και εἰς τὸν κόσμον βούλεται πορευθῆνα[ι] και σίτινον ἀρτ[ο]ν και ἰ]σπύραν και λάχανα [ἃ ἀφο]ρίζομεν ἡμεῖς και εἰ οὐκ ἐσθιομεν, τούτοις [πᾶσιν] οὐκ ἔξακολουθεῖ [και φη]σι δέον εἶναι κιν[ῆ]σαι ταῦτα. ἄλλο[ιοῖ] τὸ βάπτ[ισ]μα ὃν τρόπον ἡμῖν βα[πτι]ζεται [Ἐλληνικόν] δὲ ἄρτον βούλεται ἐσθίειν. Παττικίος δὲ διὰ τὸ θεωρηκέαι αὐτῶν τὸν μέγιστον θόρυβον ἐφη πρὸς αὐτούς· καλέσατε ὑμεῖς αὐτὸν και πείσατε. (*CMC* 88:15–90:7.)

This particular course of action, which hints at an established legal procedure, is reminiscent of several regulations regarding the presentation of charges against a fellow sectarian that are found in Qumranic literature. In a passage of the Damascus Covenant that outlines certain qualifications for an official designated **לכל המחנות אשר למבקר** or 'the inspector who (has authority over) all the camps', we read that anyone prosecuting a suit or dispute must consult the **מבקר**,³⁹ presumably prior to any further legal action. One might also compare the sequence of actions enjoined in CD 9:16–23⁴⁰ upon those persons who observed other members of the group transgressing the precepts of the Torah, the basic charter of the sect. Each offence was apparently reported by the witness(es) first to the **מבקר** before any subsequent legal proceedings took place.⁴¹

The office of **מבקר** has elicited much comment from interpreters of the Qumran documents. The term **מבקר**⁴² is most frequently translated as 'inspector' or 'overseer', and several scholars have sought to establish a philological correspondence between this title and the Christian office of *ἐπίσκοπος*.⁴³ The duties of the **מבקר** emerge from several passages in the Damascus Covenant and the *Serek ha-Yahad*. This official is first and foremost responsible for the education and authoritative guidance of the

³⁹ 'And concerning any matter which any person has to speak about, let him speak to the *mebaqqer* regarding any suit or ruling' (CD 14:11–12).

⁴⁰ כל דבר אשר ימעל איש בתורה וראה רעהו והוא אחד אם דבר מות הוא וידעוהו לעיניו כהוכיח למבקר והמבקר יכתבו בידו עד עשותו עוד לפני אחד ושב והודיע למבקר אם ישוב וניתפש לפני אחד שלם משפטו ואם שנים הם והם מעידים על דבר אחד והובדל האיש מן הטהרה לבד אם נאמנים הם וביום ראות האיש יודיעה למבקר ועל ההן יקבלו שני עידים נאמנים ועל אחד לבד אם נאמנים הם וביום ראות האיש יודיעה למבקר ועל ההן יקבלו שני עידים נאמנים ועל אחד לבד (CD 9:16–23). See L. H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (Chico, Calif., 1983), pp. 94–96.

⁴¹ See Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls* (cf. n. 20 above), p. 99.

⁴² The term **מבקר** appears in IQS 6:12, 19–20; CD 9:17–19, 22; 13:5–7, 13, 15–16; 14:8–12; 15:7–8, 11, 14; 4Q275, fragment 3 l. 3 (cf. J. T. Milik, 'Milki-sedeq et Milki-reša' dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 23 (1972), p. 130). Discussions of this position are provided by J. F. Priest, 'Mebaqqer, Paqid, and the Messiah', *Journal of Biblical Literature* (= *JBL*) 81 (1962), pp. 55–61; P. von der Osten-Sacken, 'Bemerkungen zur Stellung des *mebaqqer* in der Sektenschrift', *ZNW* 55 (1964), pp. 18–26; Licht, *Megillat Haseerakhim*, pp. 115–116. A similar title is also used of a Nabataean cultic official (see C.-F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest* (Leiden, 1965), p. 34 s.v. **בקר**), but it remains unclear whether there is any connection between the two positions.

⁴³ This correlation was first proposed by I. Lévi, 'Un écrit sadducéen antérieur à la destruction du Temple', *Revue des études juives* (= *REJ*) 61 (1911), p. 195, n. 1; cf. especially idem, *REJ* 63 (1912), pp. 8–9. See also K. Kohler, 'Dositheus, the Samaritan Heresiarch, and his Relations to Jewish and Christian Doctrines and Sects', *American Journal of Theology* 15 (1911), pp. 415–416 (reprinted in K. Kohler, *Studies, Addresses, and Personal Papers* (New York, 1931), p. 49); followed by A. Büchler, 'Schechter's "Jewish Sectariness"', *Jewish Quarterly Review* (= *JQR*) n.s. 3 (1912–13), p. 464. For further discussion of this proposal, with numerous references, see H. H. Rowley, 'The Qumran Sect and Christian Origins', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 44 (1962), pp. 135–136; B. E. Thiering, '*Mebaqqer* and *Episkopos* in the Light of the Temple Scroll', *JBL* 100 (1981), pp. 59–74; and M. Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect* (Göttingen, 1986), pp. 19–20.

members of the sect. In CD 13:7–10, these responsibilities are expressed in almost poetic language: 'He [i.e. the מבקר] will instruct the group in the works of God, and will teach them His awesome deeds, and will recount before them the eternal events ... he will show mercy to them as a father does for his son, and he will return those who wander away as a shepherd does for his flock, and he will loosen the fetters that bind them so that there will not be an oppressed or broken (member) in his group.'⁴⁴ His exemplary mastery of the divine precepts and the correct interpretation of those precepts is such that when the priesthood, a rank otherwise recognized as the supreme authority over the community,⁴⁵ are ignorant of certain ordinances pertaining to a ritual ruling, they receive instruction in these ordinances from the מבקר.⁴⁶ The pedagogic responsibility of the מבקר is clearly visible in the rules governing the admission of new members to the community. Candidates for admission are first examined by him before they are permitted further intercourse with the group,⁴⁷ and it is the מבקר who administers the solemn 'oath of the Mosaic covenant' to the petitioner for membership.⁴⁸ The מבקר also seems to have exercised control over the economic life of the sect. He collects a portion of each member's monthly earnings for distribution among the indigent and the disabled,⁴⁹ and maintains written records which catalogue the assets and stores of the community.⁵⁰ Finally, no member of the group can enter into any kind of trading partnership without the consent of the מבקר.⁵¹

It is regrettable that the *Codex* does not contain further information which might illustrate the duties or authority of the official termed *οικοδεσπότης*. The aforementioned possible parallel in legal procedure of consulting the *οικοδεσπότης* or מבקר prior to an actual trial must remain an intriguing coincidence until further evidence is forthcoming.

⁴⁴ ישכיל את הרבים כמעשי אל ויבינם בגבורות פלאו ויספר לפניהם נהיות עולם בפרתיה וירחם עליהם כאב לבניו וישנוב] לכל מדהובם <נידחיהם> כרועה עדרו יתר כל חרצובות וירחם עליהם כרית משה עם ישראל את הברית לשנוב א]ל תורת משה בכל לעדתו קשריהם לבלתי היות עשוק ורצוץ בעדתו (CD 13:7–10). These lines are in fact arranged as poetry by Rabin, *Zadokite Documents* (see n. 18 above), pp. 64–66.

⁴⁵ 1QS 5:2; 6:8–9; 9:7. For discussion, see Licht, *Megillat Haseerakhim*, pp. 110–115; Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 90.

ואם משפט לתורת נגע יהיה באיש ובה כהן ועמד במחנה והבינו המבקר בפרש התורה ואם (CD 13:4–7) פתי הוא הוא יסגירו כי להם המשפט

וכל הנוסף לעדתו יפקדהו למעשיו ושיכלו וכוחו וגבורתו והונו וכתבוהו במקומו כפי היותו [ור]בנורל האור] (CD 13:11–12).

וכן המשפט בכל קץ הרשע לכל השב מדרכו הנשחתה ביום דברו עם המבקר אשר לרבים יפקדוהו בשבועת הברית אשר כרת משה עם ישראל את הברית לשנוב א]ל תורת משה בכל (CD 15:7–10) לב [ובכל] נפש אל נמצא לעשות בכל קץ [והרשע]

תוה] סרך הרבים להכין כל חפציהם שכר [שני] ימים לכל חדש למנמעט ונתנו על יד המבקר ⁴⁹ והשפטים ממנו יתנו בעד [יתומים וממנו יחזיקו ביד עני ואביון ולזקן אשר [ינוע] ולאיש אשר נוע ולאשר ישבה לגוי נכר ולבתולה אשר [אין] לה נואל ... (CD 14:12–16).

יקרבו גם את הונו ואת מלאכתו אל יד האיש המבקר על מלאכת הרבים וכתבו בחשבון בידו (1QS 6:19–20).

(CD 13:15–16) ואל יעש איש חבר למקד ולממכר כי אם הודיע למבקר אשר במחנה ועשה אמנה ⁵¹

We move now to a consideration of another title used in Mani's baptist community, that of *πρεσβύτερος* or 'elder'.⁵² This designation is of course familiar to us due to its employment in both Jewish and Christian tradition to denote one who exercises special authority in a social community, most frequently in a juridical context.⁵³ A similar usage of the term is visible in the *Codex*. A prominent baptist antagonist of Mani is identified as 'Sitaïos'⁵⁴ son of Gara, an elder of their *sanhedrin*'.⁵⁵ An official status for the office of 'elder' is suggested in the statement that Sitaïos in company with an indeterminate number of 'elders' convoked a formal assembly (*σύνοδος*) for the purpose of reproving Mani's deviant behaviour.⁵⁶ Presumably the resulting trial was conducted before this board of 'elders', perhaps in the presence of the entire baptist community.

One might compare the status of the 'elder' (זקן) in the Qumran community. According to IQS 6:8–9, a session of the *מושב הרבים* or 'general assembly of the group' (a designation to which we will return below) observes a strict hierarchical seating arrangement of priests in the first position, elders (זקנים) in the second position, and finally the remainder of the community in positions befitting each member's credentials.⁵⁷ No further information can be gleaned from the *Serek ha-Yahad* regarding the function of these elders in the assembly, but it is apparent that their position is second only to the priesthood in matters which come before the *מושב*

⁵² CMC 74:11–13; 76:22–23; 89:6–7; 103:4–6. Compare 97:21–22 'elder of the city' (τὸν πρεσβύτερον τῆς πόλεως) and 143:4 'elders and teachers' ([τοῖς] πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διδασκάλοις).

⁵³ For general discussions of the role of the 'elder' in biblical tradition, see J. L. McKenzie, 'The Elders in the Old Testament', *Biblica* 40 (1959), pp. 522–540; R. de Vaux, *Les institutions de l'Ancien Testament*, 2nd rev. ed. (Paris, 1961–67), t. I, pp. 108, 212–213, 235–241; J. Conrad and G. J. Botterweck, 'זקן zāqēn', in G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (Stuttgart, 1970–), Bd. II, cols. 639–650; H. Reviv, *Mosad hazeqenim beyisra'el le'or hamiqra' ute'udot hiṣoniyyot* (Jerusalem, 1983). For the Jewish office, see Schürer–Vermes–Millar–Goodman, *History*, vol. II, pp. 200–204, 427–433; Z. W. Falk, *Introduction to Jewish Law of the Second Commonwealth* (Leiden, 1972–78), vol. I, pp. 51–53. For the Christian office, see H. von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries*, trans. J. A. Baker (Stanford, 1969), pp. 76–123.

⁵⁴ On the variant forms of the name, see Henrichs–Koenen, *ZPE* 32 (1978), pp. 125–126, n. 150.

⁵⁵ Σιταῖος ὁ πρεσβύτερος τοῦ συνεδρίου αὐτῶν ὁ τοῦ Γαρά υἱός (CMC 74:11–13).

⁵⁶ τότε Σιταῖν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέρων σύνοδον ἐποίησαντο ἐμοῦ χάριν (CMC 89:5–8).

⁵⁷ הוזה הסרך למושב הרבים איש בתכנו הכהנים ישבו לרשתה והזקנים בשנית ושאר כול העם ישבו איש בתכנו העם (IQS 6:8–9). See also 4Q275, fragment 3 l. 1 (Milik, *Journal of Jewish Studies* 23 (1972), p. 130). On the position of the 'elders' in the Qumran community, see especially Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, p. 100, n. 12; idem, 'Reproof as a Requisite for Punishment in the Law of the Dead Sea Scrolls', in B. S. Jackson (ed.), *Jewish Law Association Studies*, II: *The Jerusalem Conference Volume* (Atlanta, 1986), p. 60, n. 7. Compare also IQM 13:1: ואחיו הנכונהים והלויים וכול זקני הסרך עמו, cited from Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness*, trans. by B. and C. Rabin (Oxford, 1962), p. 321. For 'elders' among the Essenes, see Josephus, *Bellum* 2.146; Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 81 (both texts cited in n. 72 below).

הרבים. An interesting passage in the Damascus Covenant sheds more light upon their status. It states that any community member who has a grievance against his fellow and who does not rebuke the offender before witnesses, but instead later brings the offence to attention out of spite, *or who denounces the offender (without proof) to the elders*, is himself guilty of violating the biblical prohibition (Leviticus 19:18) against bearing rancour.⁵⁸ From this passage it appears that the elders served as a type of internal 'police' who monitored the behaviour of the less proficient members of the sect. Presumably an accusation lodged against a member by an elder carried more weight than a similar charge levelled from one's equal or inferior in status. It is hence indicative of the gravity of Mani's transgressions that his accusers are 'Sitaïos and his fellow elders',⁵⁹ an inherently conservative body responsible for the preservation of the community's distinctive identity *vis-à-vis* the secular world. It is highly unlikely that such a group would have been receptive to Mani's radical reinterpretation of the community's ideology.

As noted above, Sitaïos is termed in the *Codex* 'an elder of their *sanhedrin*' (ὁ πρεσβύτερος τοῦ συνεδρίου αὐτῶν),⁶⁰ the antecedent of 'their' being the baptist community among whom Mani lived. In rabbinic usage, the term סנהדרין (= Greek *συνέδριον*) connotes a 'law-court', be it local, regional or national, and is a synonym of the parallel Hebrew expression בית דין.⁶¹ Both Josephus and the New Testament use *συνέδριον* in a more particular sense to refer to an administrative council of Jewish oligarchs which was seated in Jerusalem and which functioned as a court of law.⁶² The *συνέδριον* of the Elchasaites was apparently an identifiable communal

⁵⁸ ואשר אמר לא תקום ולא תטור את בני עמך וכל איש מבאי הברית אשר יביא על רעהו דבר ונותר אשר לא בהוכח לפני עדים והביאו בחרק אפו או ספר לזקניו להבוותו נוקם הוא ונותר (CD 9:2–4). For discussion of this pericope, see Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, pp. 89–90.

⁵⁹ Σιταῖν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέρων (CMC 89:4–6). Cf. also 88:16–17.

⁶⁰ See n. 55 above.

⁶¹ Cf. mSanh. 1:5–6; Sifra ad Leviticus 20:4 (Weiss 91c); compare Targum Esther 2:21; 5:9. For discussion, see Ch. Albeck (ed.), *Shishah Sidrey Mishnah* (Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv, 1957–59), vol. IV, p. 165; J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, 2. Auflage (Berlin and Wien, 1924; repr. Darmstadt, 1963), Bd. III, pp. 553–554; S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* (Berlin, 1898–99), Bd. II, pp. 401–402; S. Safrai, 'Jewish Self-Government', in S. Safrai and M. Stern (eds.), *The Jewish People in the First Century* (Philadelphia, 1974–76), vol. I.1, pp. 403–404; Schürer–Vermes–Millar–Goodman, *History*, vol. II, pp. 205–209; E. Will and C. Orrieux, *Ioudaïsmos–Hellenismos: Essai sur le judaïsme judéen à l'époque hellénistique* (Nancy, 1986), p. 213.

⁶² Note the references in Schürer–Vermes–Millar–Goodman, *History*, vol. II, pp. 206–207. I am not concerned here with the issue of the discrepancy between the rabbinic sources and the Greek sources regarding the composition and functions of the Great Sanhedrin in Jerusalem. For guidance on this latter problem, see Safrai, 'Jewish Self-Government', in Safrai and Stern, *First Century* (see preceding note), vol. I.1, pp. 379–392, and E. Rivkin, 'Beth Din, Boulé, Sanhedrin: A Tragedy of Errors', *Hebrew Union College Annual* 46 (1975), pp. 181–199.

institution.⁶³ Based upon the above evidence, it would denote a group of recognized community leaders who periodically met together in order to deliberate upon issues of common concern. The Elchasaite *sanhedrin* perhaps consisted of all the community elders plus officials such as the *οικοδεσπότης*, meeting in conjunction with members of lesser status.

The institution in Qumran literature which would correspond to that of the *sanhedrin* is the one designated מושב or 'session'.⁶⁴ The word מושב signifies a 'seat' or 'one (or more) who are seated'. There are references in the Qumran texts to distinctive מושבות such as the 'moshab of the cities of Israel',⁶⁵ presumably denoting an assembly comprised of sectarian leaders from various urban centres in Eretz Israel, or the 'moshab of the camps',⁶⁶ perhaps an assembly of the leading authorities of the separate 'wilderness' establishments. However, the most common and significant employment of the term is in the phrase מושב הרבים. This expression is used to describe a general assembly of the entire community⁶⁷ for the purpose of explicating the distinctive laws of the sect.⁶⁸ The clearest illustration of the operation of this institution is provided by IQS 6:8 ff.: 'And this is the rule for the *moshab ha-rabbim*: each person in his assigned place—the priests shall sit in the first position, the elders in the second position, and the remainder of all the people shall sit each in his assigned place. This same order (will they follow when) they are questioned regarding a legal ruling or any sort of counsel or affair that is of concern to the community, each giving response from his own knowledge to the Council of the community. Let no one interrupt the words of his fellow before the latter has finished speaking, and moreover, let no one speak prior to his assigned turn by rank. Anyone who asks a question must speak in his turn. And in the *moshab ha-rabbim*, no one will speak of any matter without the approval of the community or of

⁶³ References to the baptist *συνέδριον* appear in *CMC* 65:5–6; 74:12–13; 77:7; 89:5–8. Compare 110:7–8: τὰς συνόδους τὰς π[ε]ρ[ι]ξ, which apparently employs *σύνδος* as a synonym for *συνέδριον*. Note Josephus, *Bellum* 1.170 (*συνόδους*) versus *Antiquities* 14.91 (*συνέδρια*) for a similar variation.

⁶⁴ C. Rabin, *Qumran Studies* (Oxford, 1957; repr. New York, 1975), pp. 103–107; Weinfeld, *Organizational Pattern*, pp. 27–28.

⁶⁵ מושב ערי ישראל (CD 12:19).

⁶⁶ מושב כל המחנות (CD 14:3); מושב המחנות (CD 13:20); מושב [ה]מחנות (CD 12:22–23).

⁶⁷ The term(s) הרבים, רבים, literally 'the many', designate the general body of the sect as a collective entity and are synonymous with (ה)יחד. See S. Lieberman, 'The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline', *JBL* 71 (1952), p. 203; R. Marcus, 'BPRTH in the Damascus Covenant xiii.7–8', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 15 (1956), pp. 184–187; idem, 'Mebaqer and Rabbim in the Manual of Discipline', *JBL* 75 (1956), p. 299; Weinfeld, *Organizational Pattern*, p. 14. Compare the usage of Greek *πληθος* in Acts 6:5; 15:12; 1 Clement 54:2; Ignatius, *Epistle to the Magnesians* 6:1; *Epistle to the Trallians* 1:1; 8:2; *Epistle to the Smyrnaeans* 8:2.

⁶⁸ E. F. Sutcliffe, 'The General Council of the Qumran Community', *Biblica* 40 (1959), pp. 971–983; L. H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 68–71.

the man who is *mebaqqer* of the community.⁶⁹ Anyone who has a matter to speak of before the community, being one who is enquiring (of) the counsel of the community without an assigned place (in the community hierarchy),⁷⁰ that one shall stand up and say: I have a matter to bring before the community, and if they respond to him (affirmatively), (then) he may speak.’⁷¹

We learn from this passage that the *מושב הרבים* was an assembly governed by strict organizational principles and a code of conduct emphasizing respect for the learned savants of the tradition.⁷² The assembly was comprised of the recognized authorities of the sect—the priests, the *מבקר*, the elders—and of fully enrolled members of the sect, each occupying a seat in accordance with his rank in the community. Each of these individuals was expected to join in the deliberations of the assembly.⁷³ Provision was also made for the participation (and education?) of those adherents of the community who had not yet achieved permanent status within it. Should one of these neophytes have a question or issue to raise before the assembly, they would stand to be recognized by the group before proceeding to speak.⁷⁴

There may be a parallel to this prescribed mode of propounding questions to the gathered sages in a passage of the *Codex* wherein Mani expresses his

⁶⁹ Licht punctuates this passage differently, placing ‘the man who is *mebaqqer* ...’ with the following sentence, understanding ‘And when the *mebaqqer* wishes to speak, or anyone else has something to say to the assembly ...’ (*Megillat Haserakhim*, p. 144). I follow here the interpretation of Marcus, *JBL* 75 (1956), p. 300.

⁷⁰ Interpreting the word *מעמד* as an ‘assigned position’ in the community hierarchy (cf. 1QS 2:21–25; CD 20:5), perhaps reflecting the assignment of all Israelites to one of the twenty-four priestly *משמרות* (‘courses’) in the time of the Second Temple (see mTa’anit 4:2). Compare Isaiah 22:19; 1 Chronicles 23:28; 2 Chronicles 35:15. *מעמד* in this sense is perhaps equivalent to *תכון* (1QS 6:4,8–9; 7:21; 8:19) or *מקום* (CD 13:12).

⁷¹ הוזה הסרך למושב הרבים איש בתכונו הכהנים ישבו לראשונה והוקנים בשנית ושאר כול העם ישבו איש בתכונו וכן ישאלו למשפט ולכול עצה ודבר אשר יהיה לרבים להשיב איש את מדעו לעצת היחד אל ידבר איש בתוך דברי רעהו טרם יכלה אחיהו לדבר וגם אל ידבר לפני תכונו הכתוב לפניו האיש הנשאל ידבר בתרו ובמושב הרבים אל ידבר איש כול דבר אשר לוא להפץ הרבים וכיא האיש המבקר על הרבים וכול איש אשר יש אתו דבר לדבר לרבים אשר לוא במעמד האיש השואל את עצת היחד ועמד האיש על רגליהו ואמר יש אתי דבר לדבר לרבים אם יזמרו לו ידבר (1QS 6:8–13).

⁷² For the Essenes, compare Josephus, *Bellum* 2.146: τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις ὑπακούειν καὶ τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐν καλῶ τίθενται; Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 81: καθ’ ἡλικίας ἐν τάξεισιν ὑπὸ πρεσβυτέροις νέοι καθέζονται, μετὰ κόσμου τοῦ προσήκουτος ἔχοντας ἀκρασιακῶς.

⁷³ ‘... the descriptions of the *moshab* seem to imply that all members of the sect took part’ (Rabin, *Qumran Studies*, p. 107).

⁷⁴ Compare CD 14:10–11. I do not follow here the interpretation of Licht, who sees in this passage the procedure followed by both the *מבקר* and full members when they wish to introduce new matters before the assembly (*Megillat Haserakhim*, p. 142). Similarly, Weinfeld holds that candidates for admission did not possess the right to speak, and refers to 1QS 7:20 (*Organizational Pattern*, p. 44). However, 1QS 7:20 is not concerned with neophytes, but with persons who transgressed sectarian precepts and the process to be followed for their rehabilitation as full members. I follow the interpretation of G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 3rd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1987), p. 69.

growing frustration with the Elchasaite teachings. The text reads: 'I had had enough debating [with] each one in that Law, ris[ing up] and ques[tioning] them [concerning the] way of God, [the] commandments of the Saviour, the washing, the vegetables they wash, and their every ordinance and order according to which they walk.'⁷⁵ An interesting phrase here is the reference to 'ris[ing up] and ques[tioning] them'. While the Greek has been partially restored by the editors (*ἀναί[σσο]ντος μου καὶ ἀνα[κρί]νοντος αὐτούς*), enough crucial letters are extant to ensure the likelihood of their reconstruction.⁷⁶ If we accept their reading, we then have an interesting analogue to the mode of interrogation prescribed by the *Serek ha-Yahad* for meetings of the **מושב הרבים**. There too the sectarian adherent who desires instruction in, or clarification of, one of the community precepts 'rises up' (**ועמד**) before propounding his question (IQS 6:12–13).

It might also be noted that the issues Mani brought before the authorities of his community were the sort one might imagine were discussed in the Qumran **מושב הרבים**. The phrase 'way of God' (*[περὶ τῆς] ὁδοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ*) is reminiscent of the Qumranic expression **דרך אל** (CD 20:18; cf. IQS 3:10), a concept probably ultimately based upon an exegesis of Isaiah 40:3a⁷⁷ — 'prepare in the wilderness *the way of the Lord*' (cf. IQS 8:13–16; 9:19–20) — and is to be contrasted with alternate paths such as the 'way(s) of wickedness' (**כול דרך עולה** (IQH 14:26; cf. IQS 4:19); **דרך הרשעה** (IQS 5:10–11)), the 'way of the wicked' (**דרך רשעים** (CD 8:8–9)), the 'way of corruption' (**דרך הנשחתה** (CD 15:7)), or the 'ways of darkness' (**דרכי חושך** (IQS 3:21; 4:11)). The 'commandments of the Saviour' (*[περὶ τῶν] τοῦ σωτήρος ἐντολ[ῶν]*) in the Elchasaite context refers to the teachings of Jesus, as the *Codex* itself makes clear in a later passage.⁷⁸ The analogues to this species of authoritative guidance within Qumran thought are expressions like **מצות אל (ביד משה)**, 'commandments of God (transmitted by Moses)' (CD 2:18; 3:2, 12–13; 5:21; 9:7); **כול עבדיו הנביאים**, 'that which he (God) commanded through Moses and through his servants the prophets' (IQS 1:3; cf. 8:15–16); **מצות יריהם**, 'commandments of their lawgivers' (CD 3:7–8), or simply the expression **תורת משה**, 'the Mosaic Law'. The questions about 'washing' (*[περὶ] τοῦ βαπτίσματος*) and 'purification of

⁷⁵ *ἰκανός μοι διάλογος γεγένηται [ἐ]ν ἐκείνῳ τῷ νόμῳ [πρὸς] ἕνα ἕκαστον, ἀναί[σσο]ντος μου καὶ ἀνα[κρί]νοντος αὐτούς [περὶ τῆς] ὁδοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ [περὶ τῶν] τοῦ σωτήρος ἐντολ[ῶν] καὶ [περὶ] τοῦ βαπτίσματος καὶ περὶ ὧν βαπτίζουσιν λαχάνων καὶ περὶ παντὸς θεσμοῦ καὶ τάξεως αὐτῶν καθ' ἣν πορεύονται (CMC 79:14–80:5).*

⁷⁶ Koenen-Römer, *Mani-Kodex* (1985), p. 157.

⁷⁷ **קול קורא במדבר פנו דרך יי**. See J. A. Fitzmyer, 'Jewish Christianity in Acts in the Light of the Qumran Scrolls', in idem, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London, 1971; repr. Scholars Press, 1974), pp. 281–283. 'Way' or 'path' as a designation for proper religious behavior is of course a commonplace in many traditions. Note for example the references in I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 2. Auflage (Heidelberg, 1925; repr. 1963), pp. 162–163.

⁷⁸ Cf. CMC 91:9–11, 20–22; 92:3–9. It is unclear how the reference in 62:12 to 'saviours' is to be understood.

foodstuffs' (περὶ ὧν βαπτίζουσιν λαχάνων) reflect the recurrent need for instruction in the particular rituals ordained by Elchasaite tradition. Finally, the concluding statement 'concerning their every ordinance and rule which they follow'⁷⁹ (περὶ παντὸς θεσμῶν καὶ τάξεως αὐτῶν καθ' ἣν πορεύονται) contains an interesting word which suggests a Qumranic concept. It is the term *τάξις*, which normally in Greek connotes the idea of 'succession' or 'order', but which here bears the meaning of 'rule, precept'.⁸⁰ Now Qumranic literature, in contrast with other contemporary Jewish writings, also employs a peculiar expression that covers the same range of meanings; namely, the word סרך (*serek*).⁸¹ The semantic equivalence of סרך and *τάξις* is in fact confirmed by a text which scholars have labelled the 'Aramaic Testament of Levi'. Fragments of this work have been discovered in the library of Qumran,⁸² but the bulk of its text stems from some medieval copies recovered from the famous Cairo Geniza.⁸³ Interestingly, portions of this same text were subsequently found in a literal Greek translation at a monastery archive on Mount Athos.⁸⁴ The Aramaic and Greek texts overlap at several points, and it is noteworthy that at one of these the *terminus technicus* סרך is rendered in Greek by *τάξις*.⁸⁵ This particular correspondence would seem to be valuable for our understanding

⁷⁹ The usage here of ... καθ' ἣν πορεύονται, literally 'according to which they walk', suggests a philological background in the concept of *halakhah*.

⁸⁰ See *LSJ* s.v. *τάξις*, where nevertheless there are several citations for the meaning 'ordinance' (Plato, *Statesman* 294e, 305c; *Laws* 925b) and 'constitution' (Aristotle, *Politics* 1271b 40).

⁸¹ On סרך see especially Schiffman, *Halakhah at Qumran*, pp. 60–68; Weinfeld, *Organizational Pattern*, pp. 10–13.

⁸² J. T. Milik, 'Le testament de Lévi en araméen: fragments de la grotte 4 de Qumrân', *RB* 62 (1955), pp. 398–406; D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik (eds.), *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan: Qumran Cave I* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 87–91; J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 23–24.

⁸³ H. L. Pass and J. Arendzen, 'Fragment of an Aramaic Text of the Testament of Levi', *JQR* o.s. 12 (1899–1900), pp. 651–661; R. H. Charles and A. Cowley, 'An Early Source of the Testaments of the Patriarchs', *JQR* o.s. 19 (1906–07), pp. 566–583. Corrections to the readings of Charles are supplied by J. C. Greenfield and M. E. Stone, 'Remarks on the Aramaic Testament of Levi From the Geniza', *RB* 86 (1979), pp. 229–230. Both the published Qumran and the Geniza fragments are presented in an eclectic edition by K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 193–209.

⁸⁴ See Charles-Cowley, *JQR* o.s. 19 (1906–07), pp. 566–567. For a description of the manuscript, identified as Athos Koutloumous 39, see M. de Jonge (ed.), *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text* (Leiden, 1978), p. XVII.

⁸⁵ יהוהו [כל] עובדיך בסרך וכל קורבניך [לרעואן לריח יגחח קודם אל עליך ויכל דין תהוה] = עבדי בסרך הו עבדי במדה ובמתקל לא תותר צבו די לא [חזה] ולא תחסר מן חשבן חזתאן [† τὸ θεεσθαι† τὸ ἔργον σου ἐν τάξει καὶ πάντα προσφορὰ σου εἰς εὐδόκησον καὶ δομην εὐωδίας ἐναντι κυρίου ὑψίστου: καὶ ὅσα ἂν ποιῆς ἐν τάξει ποίει ἅ ποιῆς ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ σταθμῷ, καὶ μὴ περισεύσης μηθὲν ὅσα οὐ καθήκει ...]. See Charles-Cowley, *JQR* o.s. 19 (1906–07), p. 574; R. H. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Oxford, 1908), p. 250; idem, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Oxford, 1912), p. 17; Kohler, *Studies* (see n. 43 above), p. 585, n. 41; P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline* (Leiden, 1957), p. 47; Licht, *Megillat Haseirah*, p. 66.

of the use of *τάξις* in the *Codex* to designate a sectarian 'precept'. It also points to a possible Palestinian background for this expression.

Yet there remains an even more telling correlation between the structure and operation of the Qumranic *מושב הרבים* and the posited Elchasaite assembly wherein authoritative instruction was imparted to the earnest enquirer. In a passage of the *Codex* which quotes from Mani's 'Epistle to Edessa',⁸⁶ the author describes the authority upon which his own religious message rests. While recounting the sequence of revelatory events that constituted his 'call', Mani makes the following interesting statement: 'then by his [i.e. the Father's] grace, he severed me from the assembly of the many who are ignorant of the truth ...'.⁸⁷ One is immediately struck by the expression 'from the assembly of the many', in Greek *ἀπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου τοῦ πλήθους*, for it is practically a literal rendering of the Hebrew phrase *מִן מוֹשֵׁב הַרְבִּים*! The context of Mani's statement makes it plain that he was referring here to his former life in the Elchasaite community. This would seem to be evidence that the Elchasaite group among whom Mani was reared termed their general assembly *ὁ συνέδριον τοῦ πλήθους*, a title philologically equivalent to that of the Qumranic *מוֹשֵׁב הַרְבִּים*.⁸⁸ One must reckon with the possibility that this Elchasaite community inherited some of its distinctive organizational concepts from Qumranic Judaism.

This possibility leads us now to a consideration of the course of events culminating in Mani's departure from the baptist sect. The story of the formal conflict is sequentially narrated in the *Codex* by three sources: those of Baraios (*CMC* 79:13–93:23), Zachias (94:1–99:9), and Timotheus (99:10–106:23). The initial editors of the *Codex* constructed an outline of the events based on their perception of the narrative progression of the sources, dividing the Baraios and Zachias sources into a general introduction and six principal parts.⁸⁹ We have already briefly noticed the passage which the editors have labelled an 'introduction': it is the interesting pericope wherein Mani describes his 'standing up and questioning' the baptist authorities regarding the mores of the sectarian community (*CMC* 79:14–80:5). The editors interpret this passage as a synopsis of Mani's informal questioning of various individual baptists about their beliefs and practices.⁹⁰ After his apparent success in these arguments with 'individuals' (*CMC* 80:6–11), the editors suggest that Mani subsequently engages groups in debates, one of

⁸⁶ *CMC* 64:3–7: *καθὼς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν φησὶ ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν οἷς ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Ἐδεσσαν*, then quoted in 64:8–65:22. For another possible reference to this work, see al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel, *Mani*, p. 74, l. 9): *الى الرها . . . رسالة* noted by Henrichs-Koenen, *ZPE* 5 (1970), p. 109.

⁸⁷ *καὶ τότε τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι ἀπέσπασέ με ἀπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν μὴ γινώσκοντος . . .* (*CMC* 65:3–8).

⁸⁸ Compare B. Visotzky, 'Rabbinic Randglossen to the Cologne Mani Codex', *ZPE* 52 (1983), p. 299.

⁸⁹ Henrichs-Koenen, *ZPE* 32 (1978), pp. 132–133, n. 175.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

which was the locus for Mani's extended refutation of the purification customs observed by the community (*CMC* 80:22–85:12).⁹¹ This discourse produces schisms within the 'group' with regard to Mani and his teachings. Some are prepared to recognize the young prodigy as an authoritative leader, but others are repelled by his rejection of the community's basic teachings (*CMC* 85:13–88:15). These latter, among whom are apparently the most influential members of the community, convene a synod before which Mani is brought and further interrogated (*CMC* 88:15–91:18).

Mani is charged with four serious transgression: (1) rejection of the purification rites (*CMC* 91:4–9); (2) opposition to 'the commandments of the Saviour' (*CMC* 91:9–11); (3) violation of the dietary regulations (*CMC* 91:11–14); and (4) refusal to engage in agricultural labour (*CMC* 91:14–18).⁹² Mani responds to these charges by appealing to the authority of revelation. He refutes the accusations that he has transgressed 'the commandments of the Saviour' and violated the dietary code by citing exempla from the New Testament which support his own position (*CMC* 91:19–93:23). Mani furthermore justifies his attitude to the sect's purification practices, food laws and agricultural vocation by invoking stories about the behaviour of Elchasai, Sabbaios and Aianos, recognized baptist authorities whose 'visions' were interpreted by Mani as confirmation of his teachings (*CMC* 94:1–100:1). He concludes by expressing his conviction that he is only bringing to fruition what earlier baptist luminaries had taught upon the basis of their visions.⁹³

The reaction of the synod to Mani's assertions is predictably swift and severe. A group of baptists set upon Mani with the intent of putting him to death, but he is spared by the intervention of the *οικοδοεσπότης*.⁹⁴ Understandably depressed by the sect's hostility, Mani retreats to solitude and prays for guidance. He is granted a vision of the 'Twin',⁹⁵ the mediator of his earlier revelations, and the 'Twin' exhorts him to abandon the sect and to go into the world in order to proclaim his new message (*CMC*

⁹¹ Labelled by the editors 'Manis neuplatonisch-gnostische Widerlegung der Reinigungspraktiken der Täufer in Diskussionen mit Gruppen' (*ibid.*).

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁹³ τότε ἔφην πρὸς αὐτοῦς[·] σκοπεῖτε ὑμεῖς τούτους] τοὺς προφανεῖς ὑμῶν] τοῦ νόμου, οἱ ταῦτα[ς] τὰς ὀπτασίας ἐθεώρησαν καὶ ἐκινήθη[σαν] ἐπ' αὐταῖς καὶ ἰσοῖς ἄλλοις εὐαγγελίσαντο αὐθῆς. ὁμοίως δ' ἔφην·] κἀγὼ πάνθ' ἄσα παρ' αὐτῶν] ἐδιδάχθην κατεργάζομαι (*CMC* 99:11–100:1). Cf. Henrichs–Koenen, *ZPE* 44 (1981), pp. 231–232, nn. 306–307.

⁹⁴ ὀπηνίκα δὲ ταῦτ' ἔφασκον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀναλύων αὐτῶν τοὺς λόγους, αὐτόθι πάντες ἐχαλέπων ὑπὸ ὄργης ὡς καὶ ἀναστῆναί τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τύψαι με. κατέσχον δὲ με μεταξὺ πάντων καὶ ἔδερων ἥρπαζον δὲ καὶ τῶν τοιχῶν μου ὡς ἐχθρόν τινα· κατεβῶν δὲ μου διὰ μεγίστης φωνῆς ὡσεὶ κατὰ δεῖ[σι]δαίμονος πικραινό[μι]νοι καὶ ὀργιζόμενοι [κατ'] ἐμοῦ καὶ βουλό[με]νοι διὰ τοῦ προσόν[τος] αὐτοῖς φθόνου ἀπ[ά]γξαι] με. διὰ δὲ Πατ[ρί]κιο[ν] τὸν οἰκοδοεσπότη[την] δεῖ[η]θῆ[ν]τα αὐτῶν [... μὴ ἀ]σεβεῖν] πρὸς τοὺς μεταξὺ αὐτῶν, αἰδεσθέντες ἀπέλυσάν με (*CMC* 100:1–101:3).

⁹⁵ ὁ σύζυγος in *CMC*; 𐭪𐭫𐭬 in al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*. See C. Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, 'Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten', *SPAW* (Berlin, 1933), p. 71; Henrichs–Koenen, *ZPE* 5 (1970), pp. 161–189.

101:11–106:14). Mani thereupon leaves the community, accompanied by two converts⁹⁶ from the sect (*CMC* 106:15–23).

Having rehearsed the entire conflict-pericope which climaxes with Mani's departure from the sect, it is necessary to return and re-examine the structure of the narrative. It will be recalled that the initial editors propose a sequence of actions which might be summarized in the following manner: (1) Mani disputes with *individual* baptists; (2) Mani disputes with *groups* of baptists; (3) Mani disputes before a synod of baptists; and (4) Mani leaves the sect.⁹⁷ The final two stages of this sequence are not in question. It is clear that a synod was convened and that Mani left the sect as a result of the proceedings of this synod. What remains debatable in this writer's mind is the distinction suggested between Mani's arguments with *individuals* and his subsequent disputes with *groups* in the context of the narrative. Given our previous discussion of several parallels between the organization of Mani's Elchasaite community and that of the Qumran sect, it seems possible to propose an alternative reconstruction of Mani's disputes with his Elchasaite brethren.

Instead of labelling the passage where Mani mentions his 'standing up and questioning' the authorities as an 'introduction' which refers to debates with 'individuals', one might be equally justified in viewing it as an actual description of a meeting of the Elchasaite *sanhedrin* (= מושב הרבים). It is possible that at a session of the Elchasaite assembly, just as at a meeting of the Qumranic מושב הרבים, one who desired an explanation for some obscure sectarian precept would 'stand up' to be recognized by the assembled sages before proceeding to speak. The text may thus be alluding to one (or more?) sessions of the Elchasaite *sanhedrin* as the setting for Mani's questions about community prescriptions. Some support for this hypothesis might be gathered from the immediately preceding pericope, where we read: 'I therefore resolved to declare to *Sitaios and those of his sanhedrin* what my most blessed Father revealed to me ...'.⁹⁸ One might thus conclude that the proper arena for the questioning and exposition of sectarian teachings was the Elchasaite *sanhedrin*.

If such is the case, then an alternative outline for the sequence of events leading to Mani's 'trial' might be proposed. Emboldened by his distinctive revelations, Mani disrupts the normally staid atmosphere of a meeting⁹⁹ of the Elchasaite *sanhedrin*. He propounds questions to the learned in accordance with the usual procedure, but, instead of accepting their rulings,

⁹⁶ Compare al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel, *Mani*, p. 51, ll. 6–7): ومعه رجلان قد تبعاه على مذهبه . احدهما يقال له شمعون ولاخر زكوا .

⁹⁷ See notes 89–90 above.

⁹⁸ ἐβουλευσάμην οὕτως τῷ τε Σιταί κάκεινους τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου αὐτοῦ ἐξ ὧν ἀπεκάλυψέν μοι ὁ μακαριώτατός μου πατήρ ἐξεπεῖν αὐτοῖς (*CMC* 77:5–10).

⁹⁹ Compare Josephus on the communal life of the Essenes: οὔτε δὲ κραυγή ποτε τὸν οἶκον οὔτε θόρυβος μίαινε, τὰς δὲ λαλιὰς ἐν τάξει παραχωροῦσιν ἀλλήλοις (*Bellum* 2.132).

he brazenly contradicts and refutes them.¹⁰⁰ His unseemly behaviour produces an initial discomfiture among the assembled leaders: ‘some of them were amazed at me, but others grew angry and heatedly rejoined: Does he not want to go to the Greeks?’¹⁰¹ Only slightly daunted by the murmuring, Mani continues to expound before the *sanhedrin*, presenting his radical reinterpretation of the sectarian purity precepts (*CMC* 80:21–85:12). A tumultuous uproar ensues within the assembly. While some are prepared to recognize Mani as an authoritative teacher or prophet, others are appalled by his flagrant rejection of cherished community prescriptions (*CMC* 85:13–88:15). The *sanhedrin* apparently concludes its meeting amidst this uproar. However, dissension within the community is so rife that the elders decide to convene a special synod for the purpose of ‘trying’ Mani (*CMC* 88:15 ff.).

Therefore, rather than adhering to an artificial distinction between Mani’s arguments with *individual* baptists and subsequent disputes with *groups* of baptists (as the initial editors suggest), it seems just as plausible that the entire section of *CMC* 79:14–88:15 represents a single setting, that of a session of the Elchasaite *sanhedrin*. Some time after the dissolution of this meeting, Sitaïos and his fellow elders resolve to confront Mani as an apostate who rejects the fundamental principles of the community.¹⁰² They convene a formal court and consult the *οἰκοδεσπότης* regarding the gravity of Mani’s offences. Mani is then summoned before this tribunal.¹⁰³

As stated above, Mani was charged with four grave misdeeds: rejection of purification rites, opposition to ‘the commandments of the Saviour’, violation of dietary regulations, and refusal to join his fellow brethren in agricultural labour. These were serious transgressions against the community ethos which, if tolerated, would undermine the very foundation of the

¹⁰⁰ Εφη ὁ κύριός μου· ἰκανός μοι διάλογος γεγένηται [ἐ]ν ἐκείνῳ τῷ νόμῳ [πρὸς] ἓνα ἕκαστον, ἀναί[σσουν]τός μου καὶ ἀνακρί[νοντος] αὐτοῦς [περὶ τῆς] ὁδοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ κ[αὶ] περὶ τῶν] τοῦ σωτήρος ἐντολ[ῶν καὶ περὶ] τοῦ βαπτίσματος καὶ περὶ ὧν βαπτίζουσιν λαχάνων καὶ περὶ παντὸς θεσμοῦ καὶ τάξεως αὐτῶν καθ’ ἣν πορεύονται. ὀηνικά δὲ κατέλυον καὶ κατή<χρ>ον αὐτῶν τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ μυστήρια, ὑποδεικνύων αὐτοῖς ὡς ταῦτα ἄ μετέρχονται οὐκ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ σωτήρος ἐντολῶν ἐδέξαντο ... (*CMC* 79:14–80:12).

¹⁰¹ τινὲς μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν θαυμάζον με, ἄλλοι δὲ ὠργίζοντο καὶ θυμούμενοι ἔλεγον· μήτι εἰς τοὺς Ἑλλη[ν]ιας βούλεται πορευθῆ[ν]αι; (*CMC* 80:12–18).

¹⁰² τότε [τοι]νυ[ν] Σιτᾶν ἰδὼν καὶ οἱ [ἐταίρ]οι αὐτοῦ ὡς εἰς πει[ρασμὸν] αὐτῶν οὐκ ἤξω, [ἀλλὰ] κατὰ βραχὺ βραχὺ κα[τ]αλύω καὶ καταργῶ τὸν] σφῶν αὐτῶν νόμον καὶ] τὰ ἐδέσματα ἀ[περ] ἀπέκ[ριναν] καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα μὴ βαπτιζόμενον ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς, ἰδόντες με ἐν τούτοις πάσιν ἀνεστώτα αὐτοῖς τότε Σιτᾶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέρων σύνοδον ἐποιήσαντο ἐμοῦ χάριν (*CMC* 88:15–89:8).

¹⁰³ ἐκάλεσαν δὲ καὶ τὸν οἰκοδεσπότην Παττίκιον καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· ὁ υἱός σου ἐξετράπη τοῦ νόμου ἡμῶν καὶ εἰς τὸν κόσμον βούλεται πορευθῆ[ν]αι· καὶ σίτινον ἄρ[ισ]ον καὶ ὀπῶραν καὶ λάχανα [ἄ] ἀφο[ρίζομεν] ἡμεῖς καὶ οὐκ ἐ[σθί]ομεν, τούτοις [πάσιν] οὐκ ἐξακολουθεῖ [καὶ φη]σὶ δέον εἶναι κω[τῆσαι] ταῦτα. ἀλλοιοῖ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃν τρόπον ἡμῖν βα[πτί]ζεται. [Ἑλλη]νικὸν] δὲ ἄρτον βούλεται ἐσθίειν. Παττίκιος δὲ διὰ τὸ τεθεωρηκέναι αὐτῶν τὸν μέγιστον θόρυβον ἐφη πρὸς αὐτούς· καλέσατε ὑμεῖς αὐτὸν καὶ πείσατε. καὶ τότε καλέσαντές με πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνηθροισμένοι ἔφασαν πρὸς ἐμέ ... (*CMC* 89:9–90:10).

sect's existence. As the elders informed Pattikios, 'your son has turned away from our Law and desires to conduct himself in conformity with (the ways of) the world.'¹⁰⁴ An interesting analogue to this assessment by the elders occurs in the *Serek ha-Yahad*: 'Anyone who has been a member of the community for more than ten years whose spirit turns away so that he despises the community and departs from the (mores of the) congregation to conduct himself in conformity with his own stubbornness shall never again return to the community.'¹⁰⁵ The nature of this 'turning away' is further illumined a few lines prior to this ruling, where we read: 'Anyone whose spirit moves away from the principle of the community so that he despises truth and conducts himself in conformity with his own stubbornness ...'¹⁰⁶ This latter offence however can be expiated by submission to a rehabilitation period of two years.¹⁰⁷ Despite the disparate penalties, the correspondences in phraseology between these two Qumran cases suggests that the transgression depicted was the same in both instances: namely, a member's open rejection of one or more of the fundamental precepts by which the community distinguished itself from the surrounding world. The difference between the two formulations apparently lies in the phrase 'more than ten years'.¹⁰⁸ A rebellious member who had spent ten years or less among the sect was granted an opportunity to repent of his errors and to reform his behaviour. By contrast, those who apostasized after having lived more than ten years with the community were to be permanently expelled from the sect.¹⁰⁹

According to the text of the *Codex*, Mani dwelt among the Elchasaite community from his fourth to his twenty-fifth year.¹¹⁰ This sojourn easily satisfies the Qumranic ten-year requirement for a maturing appreciation of that sect's prescriptions, but we have little indication that tenure was a consideration in Mani's case, nor does the prescribed penalty of expulsion appear in the text of the *Codex*. In fact, no verdict at all is recorded in the text. The *Codex* simply states that when Mani completed his defence, the judges physically assaulted him with the intention of putting him to death.

¹⁰⁴ ὁ υἱὸς ἐξεστράφη τοῦ νόμου ἡμῶν καὶ εἰς τὸν κόσμον βούλεται πορευθῆναι[.] (CMC 89:11–14).

¹⁰⁵ וְכֹל אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה בְּעֵצַת הַיְחָד עַל מְלוּאֵת עֶשֶׂר שָׁנִים וְשֶׁבַע רוּחוֹ לִבְגֹד בִּיחָד וַיֵּצֵא מִלִּפְנֵי הַרְבִּים לֵלְכַת בְּשִׁרְיֹת לְבוֹ לֹא יָשׁוּב אֶל עֵצַת הַיְחָד עוֹד (IQS 7:22–24).

¹⁰⁶ וְהָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר תְּזוּע רוּחוֹ מִיִּסוּד הַיְחָד לִבְגֹד בְּאֵמֶת וּלְלַכַּת בְּשִׁרְיֹת לְבוֹ ... (IQS 7:18–19).

¹⁰⁷ אִם יָשׁוּב וְנִעֲשֶׂה שְׁתֵּי שָׁנִים בְּרִשׁוֹנָה לֹא יִגַע בְּטַהֲרַת הַרְבִּים וּבְשִׁנִּית לֹא יִגַע מִשְׁקָה הַרְבִּים וְאֲחֵר כֹּל אֲנִשׁ הַיְחָד יֵשֵׁב וּבְמְלוּאֵת לוֹ שְׁנַתִּים יָמִים יִשְׁאַלוּ הַרְבִּים עַל דְּבָרָיו וְאִם יִקְרַבְהוּ וְנִכְתַּב בְּתִכּוֹן (IQS 7:19–21). Compare IQS 8:21–9:2.

¹⁰⁸ IQS 7:22 reads ... עַל־מְלוּאֵת עֶשֶׂר שָׁנִים ..., an awkward expression which has invited emendation, particularly since another manuscript of the *Serek* that preserves this passage (4QSe) reads עַד in place of עַל; see J. T. Milik, *RB* 67 (1960), p. 413; Licht, *Megillat Haseerakhim*, p. 166. For retention of the reading with עַל, see Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, p. 182, n. 106.

¹⁰⁹ See A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings From Qumran*, trans. G. Vermes (Cleveland, 1962), p. 90, n. 2; Weinfeld, *Organizational Pattern*, p. 24.

¹¹⁰ See CMC 11:1–5; 12:6–11; 73:5–11.

Was this attack simply a psychological reaction provoked by Mani's blasphemies? Could the verdict have been a sentence of death? Or was the verdict in fact expulsion, a penalty which the sources of the *Codex* have suppressed in the interests of apologetic so as to emphasize Mani's voluntary departure from the community?

The initial editors have pointed out that there are some striking similarities between the *Codex's* account of the physical indignities suffered by Mani at the hands of his persecutors and the Gospel narratives recounting the mocking of Jesus by the Roman guards.¹¹¹ These verbal echoes contribute to the development of a hagiographic image of the martyr enduring misfortunes for the sake of his message.¹¹² A 'Jesus typology' was probably instrumented by the ancient compiler(s) of the *Codex* to solicit sympathy for the sufferings of Mani from a Christian or Manichaean reader, the two primary affiliations for whom the *Codex* was intended. Nevertheless, we need not view the account of Mani's physical ordeal solely as rhetorical flourish. There remains an intriguing possibility that the attack of the elders was in fact an attempt to implement a sentence of death pronounced by the court.

In their discussion of the series of charges pressed against Mani by his fellow sectarians, the initial editors present a strong case for the likelihood that Mani's deviant interpretations of the community precepts might be construed as a species of 'false prophecy'.¹¹³ They cite in particular one passage of the *Codex* which apparently preserves an early sectarian oracle predicting the advent of a young teacher who would 'overturn' the traditional doctrines of the sect.¹¹⁴ External sources inform us that the Elchasaites adhered to a belief in the recurrent manifestation upon earth of what other sectarian traditions term a 'True Prophet',¹¹⁵ of whom Elchasai himself was presumably the latest incarnation,¹¹⁶ but whether the sect anticipated further appearances of this True Prophet, or of a corresponding

¹¹¹ See Henrichs-Koenen, *ZPE* 44 (1981), p. 232, n. 309.

¹¹² Note the remarks of A. J. Wensinck, 'Muhammad und die Propheten', *Acta Orientalia (Copenhagen)* 2 (1924), pp. 188–189.

¹¹³ Henrichs-Koenen, *ZPE* 32 (1978), pp. 152–161.

¹¹⁴ ἄλλοι δὲ ἔλεγον· μή[τι οὐ]ός ἐστιν περὶ οὗ [ἐ]προφ[η]ήτευσαν οἱ διδά[σκαλο]ι ἡμῶν λέγοντες· [ἀναστῆ]σεται τις ἡίβε[λος ἐκ μέ]σου ἡμῶν καὶ [δι]δάσκαλος νέος π[ρο]σελεύσεται ὡς καὶ κινήσai ἡμῶν τὸ πᾶν δόγμα, ὃν τρόπον οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν πατέρες ἐφθέγγαντο περὶ τῆς ἀναπαύσεως τοῦ ἐνδύματος (*CMC* 86:17–87:6).

¹¹⁵ Hippolytus, *Refutatio* 9.14.1; 10.29.2. On the concept of the 'True Prophet', see especially G. Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen*, 2. Auflage (Berlin, 1981), pp. 145–153.

¹¹⁶ W. Brandt, 'Elkesaites', in J. Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York and Edinburgh, 1917–1927), vol. V, p. 266; L. Koenen, 'Augustine and Manichaeism in Light of the Cologne Mani Codex', *Illinois Classical Studies* 3 (1978), p. 162, n. 29.

'False Prophet', remains uncertain.¹¹⁷ Since the oracle states that the expected teacher would demolish the teachings of the sect, and because Mani was engaged in such destructive behaviour, it seems probable that Mani was branded a 'false prophet' by the students of this oracle.

Two interesting features of the assault scene lend support to the hypothesis that Mani was actually convicted of false prophecy. The final clause of the pericope concludes: '... and wanting on account of their jealousy to ἀπ[] me'.¹¹⁸ The crucial infinitive, aside from the initial two letters, is wanting. The editors suggest the restoration of ἀπ[ἀγξαι], thus producing the translation 'to hang, strangle'.¹¹⁹ They provide no justification for their lexical choice, but some affirmation for their reconstruction can be supplied from rabbinic sources. According to the Mishnah—a compilation whose final shaping only slightly predates the birth of Mani—those classes of 'false prophets' who were subject to human punishment incurred the capital penalty of 'strangulation' (בַּחֲנִיקָה).¹²⁰ Thus by retaining the proposed reading of the Greek infinitive, hypothetical as it is, unexpected light is shed upon the likely charge levelled against Mani. Perhaps the elders wanted to 'strangle' Mani because this was a traditional means of ridding the community of a 'false prophet' or *nabi sheqer*.

Only one Qumranic passage seems to have a bearing upon the issue of 'false prophecy', but interestingly it too can possibly be applied to Mani's situation within the sect. This prescription states: 'Anyone over whom the spirits of Belial gain mastery so that he speaks rebellion (against the community precepts) shall be judged according to the ordinance for the

¹¹⁷ G. Strecker, 'Das Judenchristentum und der Manikodex', in L. Cirillo and A. Roselli (eds.), *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis. Atti del Simposio Internazionale (Rende-Amantea 3-7 settembre 1984)* (Cosenza, 1986), p. 95. For the concept of the 'eschatological prophet' in Jewish literature, see D. Flusser, 'Hystaspes and John of Patmos', in S. Shaked (ed.), *Irano-Judaica: Studies Relating to Jewish Contacts with Persian Culture Throughout the Ages* (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 41-45.

¹¹⁸ καὶ βουλό[με]νοι διὰ τοῦ προσό[τ]ρος α]ὐτοῖς φθόνου ἀπ[ἀγξαι] με (CMC 100:17-20).

¹¹⁹ Compare Matthew 27:5b with reference to the fate of Judas Iscariot: καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγγαστο. This verb reflects an ambiguous Semitic substrate that is well illustrated in the Old Syriac Sinaitic version of Matthew 27:5b: w'zl il' lh w'thng, 'he departed, he hung himself and (so) was strangled'. The Hebrew verb תלה, particularly when used in the phrase על ... תלה עץ, 'hang upon wood', is often interpreted to mean 'crucifixion' in texts stemming from the late Hellenistic or Roman eras. Cf. 4QpNahum I 4-8; 11Q Temple 64:6-13.

¹²⁰ mSanh. 11:1,5; tSanh. 14:13-16; Sifre Deuteronomy §175-178. mSanh. 7:3 describes how the 'strangulation' was accomplished: 'Ordinance for those to be strangled: they sink him in manure up to his knees and place a scarf of coarse weave within one of soft weave, and wrap it around his neck. One (witness) pulls (one end of the scarf) toward himself, and another (witness) pulls (the other end) toward himself, until he expires.' For an interesting discussion of the relationship between crucifixion and strangulation, see D. J. Halperin, 'Crucifixion, the Nahum Peshet, and the Rabbinic Penalty of Strangulation', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 32 (1981), pp. 32-46.

necromancer and the medium.’¹²¹ While the terms ‘spirits of Belial’, ‘necromancer’ and ‘medium’ suggest the practice of sorcery or commerce with demons, the employment of the phrase ‘so that he speaks rebellion’ (דבר סרה) makes it clear that the ordinance is in fact directed against false prophecy. The same expression appears in Deuteronomy 13:6 where it depicts the activity of the ‘false prophet’: ‘That prophet or that visionary shall be put to death, for he has spoken rebellion (דבר סרה) against the Lord your God ...’¹²² The Deuteronomic text does not impart the mode of execution, but the Damascus Covenant lawgivers resolve this ambiguity by classifying the ‘false prophet’ within the same category as one who practises necromancy or who controls spirits, offences which carry a punishment of death by stoning.¹²³

Is it possible that Mani’s Elchasaite community similarly equated the state of being ‘controlled by spirits of Belial’ and the phenomenon of ‘false prophecy’? A curious passage within the assault narrative states that the elders shouted loudly at Mani *ὡσεὶ κατὰ δει[σι]δαίμωνος*.¹²⁴ The term *δαιμόνιον* is normally used to signify either the quality of ‘religious’ in a favourable sense or ‘superstitious’ in a derogatory context.¹²⁵ Neither meaning seems appropriate for this portion of the assault narrative. The initial editors suggest the translation ‘as a heretic’¹²⁶ for the problematic Greek phrase, but cautiously propose in their accompanying note that the term may actually connote here ‘demon-possessed’.¹²⁷ If they are correct in their surmise, we then have possible evidence that the exegetical correlation between ‘demon-possession’ and ‘false prophecy’ expressed in the Damascus Covenant lies behind the Elchasaite perception of Mani as a ‘false prophet’.

However, the expected mandate of death, if such it was, does not materialize. Mani was not executed by the elders. The *Codex* does not mention preparations for ‘stoning’, and even the attempted ‘strangulation’ was thwarted by the intervention of Pattikios, who warns the attackers against bringing sin upon the community (*CMC* 100:20–101:3). It thus seems unlikely that the court pronounced a verdict of death. The attack

¹²¹ כל איש אשר ישלחו בו רוחות בליעל ודבר סרה כמשפט האוב והידעוני ישפט (CD 12:2–3). Note the observation of Lévi: ‘L’hérétique est un possédé de Belial’ (*REJ* 61 (1911), p. 200, n. 2).

¹²² ... והנביא הוא או חלם החלום ההוא ימתו כי דבר סרה על יי אלהיכם. (Deuteronomy 13:6a).

¹²³ ואיש או אישה כי יהיה בהם אוב או ידיעני מות ימתו באבן ירגמו אתם דמיהם במ (Leviticus 20:27). See Ginzberg, *Unknown Sect*, p. 118; Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, p. 60. Compare 1 Samuel 28:3: ושאל הסיר האובות ואח הידענים מהארץ. ‘and Saul expelled the necromancers and mediums from Eretz Israel’. Is it possible that the Damascus Covenant lawgivers derived a penalty of expulsion instead of stoning? Despite the high esteem which the Prophets enjoyed among the Qumran sect (cf. 1QS 8:15–16), it seems unlikely that the Damascus Covenant lawgiver(s) would have ignored the unambiguous pronouncement of Leviticus 20:27.

¹²⁴ *CMC* 100:14–15.

¹²⁵ Cf. Bauer and Lampe s.v. *δαιμόνιον*.

¹²⁶ Henrichs–Koenen, *ZPE* 44 (1981), p. 209.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 233, n. 310.

upon Mani may have been the spontaneous act of certain overzealous elders, perhaps prompted in part by the memory of ancestral rulings analogous to those we have examined. If a judgement was rendered, the more likely penalty for Mani's transgressions would have been expulsion from the group. As we have seen, the Qumran documents prescribe banishment for those who do not respect the authorities and precepts of that community. Moreover, we also possess later testimony that Mani was forcibly ejected from a baptist sect. Theodore bar Konai's synopsis of the life of Mani explicitly states that the baptist community who raised him 'expelled him from their group' (*pqwhy mn lwthwn*).¹²⁸ There is no reference to a physical threat in Theodore's account. His testimony apparently reflects the actual historical event,¹²⁹ which is furthermore precisely the penalty that we would expect on the basis of the Qumranic evidence: 'Anyone who has been a member of the community for more than ten years whose spirit turns away so that he despises the community and departs from the (mores of the) congregation to conduct himself in conformity with his own stubbornness shall never again return to the community' (IQS 7:22–24).

This essay has proposed that certain features of the organizational structure and juridical operation of Mani's Elchasaite community are illuminated by an examination of Second Temple Jewish sectarian literature. Demonstration of an ideological nexus between a Mesopotamian baptist group and a Palestinian Jewish sect forces us to reappraise the influences judged to be instrumental in the genesis of both Elchasaite sectarianism and Manichaeism. The impact of heterodox Jewish thought upon Mani must occupy a central place in future studies of the origins of Manichaeism.

¹²⁸ Theodore bar Konai, *Liber Scholiorum*, ed. by A. Scher, CSCO scrip. syri, t. 66 (Paris, 1912), p. 311, ll. 17–18.

¹²⁹ Henrichs, *HSCP* 77 (1973), p. 43.