



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

The Manichaeans of the Roman East: Manichaeism in Greek anti-Manichaica & Roman Imperial legislation

Matsangou, R.

Citation

Matsangou, R. (2021, June 17). *The Manichaeans of the Roman East: Manichaeism in Greek anti-Manichaica & Roman Imperial legislation*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3188571>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3188571>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3188571> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Matsangou, R.

Title: The Manichaeans of the Roman East: Manichaeism in Greek anti-Manichaica & Roman Imperial legislation

Issue Date: 2021-06-17

**The Manichaeans of the Roman East:
Manichaeism in Greek anti-Manichaica &
Roman Imperial Legislation**

Rea Matsangou

Cover: Ridderprint BV, www.ridderprint.nl
Printed by: Ridderprint BV, www.ridderprint.nl

Copyright © 2021 by Rea-Pelagia Matsangou. All rights reserved.

Cover image: Greek papyrus no 469. Fr.(a) in the John Rylands Library.
Drawn from Roberts, C. H. ed. & trans. 1938. *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, Plate 2 (“Epistle Against the Manichees” pp. 38-46). Vol. 3. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

The Manichaeans of the Roman East: Manichaeism in Greek anti-Manichaica & Roman Imperial Legislation

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 17 juni 2021
klokke 11.15 uur

door

Rea-Pelagia Matsangou
geboren te Volos, Griekenland in 1962

Promotores

Prof. dr. A.F. de Jong

Prof. dr. D.J. Kyrtatas (University of Thessaly)

Promotiecommissie:

Prof. dr. J.K. Zangenberg

Prof. dr. J.D. BeDuhn (Northern Arizona University)

Prof. dr. S.N.C. Lieu (Macquarie University)

Prof. dr. R. Lim (Smith College)

Dr. F. Ruani (Institut de recherche et d'histoire des
textes/CNRS)

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	v
List of Tables	ix
Acknowledgements	xi
Abbreviations and Translations	xv
Abbreviations: Primary Sources (Ancient Texts)	xv
Abbreviations: Secondary Sources (Journals, Encyclopedias, Series, etc.)	xx
A Note on Translations and Referencing System	xxii

Introduction

1. Introduction	1
2. The History of the Study of Manichaeism	2
3. Greek anti-Manichaica (Christian and Pagan) in Manichaean Studies	4
4. Significance, Purpose, Aim, Focus of the Study	12
5. Methodological Considerations	13
5.1 Limitations and Research Design	13
5.2 Primary Sources	14
5.3 Defining Terms	16
6. Outline of the Structure and Research Questions	21

Chapter 1: The Two Basic Textual Traditions of Greek anti-Manichaica

1.1 Introduction	23
1.2 <i>Acta Archelai</i> (AA) and its Echoes in Subsequent Literature	23
1.3 Abjuration Formulas (AFs): The <i>Seven Chapters</i> (SC)	31
1.4 Later Echoes of the <i>Acta Archelai</i>	35

Chapter 2: The Arrival and Spread of Manichaeism in the Roman East

2.1 Introduction	37
2.2 The First Reports about Mani and Manichaean Missionaries	37
2.2.1 Portrait of Mani and of Manichaeism Before the <i>Acta</i>	37
2.2.2 Portrait of Mani and of Manichaeism in the <i>Acta</i> and its Echo	45
2.3 The Manichaean Books in Greek anti-Manichaica	53
2.3.1 The Manichaean Canon	53
2.3.2 The Manichaean Books in the <i>Acta Archelai</i>	55
2.3.3 Before the <i>Acta</i>	57
2.3.4 The <i>Acta's</i> Echo	58
2.3.5 Titus of Bostra and Heraclian of Chalcedon	62
2.3.6 Abjuration Formulas	65

2.4 The Manichaean Hierarchy	70
2.5 First Manichaean Missionaries in Greek anti-Manichaica	72
2.5.1 Before the <i>Acta</i>	72
2.5.2 The <i>Acta</i> and its Echoes. The Trio: Addas, Thomas, and Hermas	72
2.5.3 Abjuration Formulas, Photius, and Peter of Sicily	78
2.5.4 The (Fluctuating) Number of Mani's First Disciples (3, 12, 22, 7)	81
2.6 The Ways of Diffusion	84
2.7 Manichaean Missionary Methods and Strategies	86
2.7.1 Epistles	86
2.7.2 Door-to-Door Visits (Canvassing)	88
2.7.3 The Debates	88
2.8 Conclusions	97
 Chapter 3: The Manichaeans in Roman Imperial Legislation	
3.1 Introduction	99
3.2 Time-Space Mapping of the Manichaean 'Sect' in Roman Territory	103
3.2.1 Quantitative Dimensions of the 'Problem'	103
3.2.2 Time-Mapping	104
3.2.3 Space-Mapping	104
3.3 The Profile (Crime) of Manichaeans in the Eyes of the Law	105
3.3.1 Grouping Heretics	106
3.3.2 The 'Topos' of the Crime: Doctrine or Gatherings?	107
3.3.3 Persecuted Persons	111
3.3.4 Inquisitional Mechanisms for the Prosecution of Manichaeans	112
3.3.5 The Dilemma between Tolerance and Repression	116
3.3.6 Crime and Punishment: The Nature of the Crime/'Threat' as it is Revealed through the Prosecuting Process and the Penalties Imposed	118
3.4 Effects of the Implementation—or not—of the Law on the Everyday Life of the Manichaeans	124
3.4.1 The Question of the non-Implementation of the Law	125
3.4.2 Impacts of the Exile and Property Penalties on the Everyday Life of Manichaeans	128
3.4.3 The Death Penalty	137
3.5 Conclusions	139
 Chapter 4: Classifying Manichaeism	
4.1 Introduction	141
4.2 Manichaean Religious Profile According to the Christian Authors	145
4.2.1 Manichaeans as 'Heretics' (Real Manichaeans)	145
4.2.2 Heretics as 'Manichaeans' (Imagined Manichaeans)	158

4.3 Manichaeian Religious Profile According to the Pagan Authors	162
4.4 Conclusions	169

Chapter 5: Manichaeian Beliefs and Practices

5.1 Introduction	171
5.2 Manichaeian Beliefs and their Implications in Religious Everyday Life	172
5.2.1 The Manichaeian Cosmogonic Myth	172
5.2.2 Manichaeian Asceticism: "The Seal of the Mouth" (Fasting)	177
5.2.3 Manichaeian Rituals	185
5.3 Manichaeian Beliefs and their Implication in Everyday Social Life	208
5.3.1 The Manichaeian Anthropology	208
5.3.2 Implications of Manichaeian Dualism in Ethics of Social Life	214
5.3.3 The "Seal of the Breast" and its Implications in Everyday Social Life	220
5.3.4 The "Seal of the Hand" and its Implications in Everyday Social and Economic Life	225
5.4 Conclusions	232

Chapter 6: Manichaeism in Society

6.1 Introduction	235
6.2 Manichaeism as an Appealing Model: To Whom and Why	235
6.2.1 Religious Profile: Pagans and Christian Neophytes	235
6.2.2 Age: Appealing to the Youth	239
6.2.3 Gender: Manichaeian Women	241
6.3 Appeal to and Relationship with Other (Extreme) Ascetic Groups	246
6.3.1 Encratites, Apotactites, Hydroparastates, Saccophori	246
6.3.2 Messalians	251
6.3.3 Concluding Remarks Regarding Encratites et al., Messalians and their Relationship with Manichaeians	260
6.4 Socially Alarming Dimensions of Manichaeian Attractiveness and Ways to Deal with them	261
6.4.1 Similar but Different	261
6.4.2 Wandering Asceticism as a Challenge to Both Religious and Social Institutions	264
6.4.3 The Diffusion of Radical Ideas into Wider Society	265
6.4.4 The Dilemma Between Concealment and Disclosure: To Speak or not to Speak?	265
6.5 Political Reflections on the anti-Manichaeian Discourse	266
6.5.1 Dualism Means Anarchy?	267
6.5.2 Excursus: The 'Circus Dialogue'	269
6.6 Conclusions	276

Chapter 7: Manichaean Communities, Churches, and Individuals

7.1 Introduction	279
7.2 Manichaean Communities and Churches in Named Cities	279
7.2.1 Jerusalem	279
7.2.2 Antioch	289
7.3 'Manichaean' Individuals: Real or Imagined?	295
7.4 Conclusions	310

Chapter 8: The Dissolution of Manichaeism in the Roman East

8.1 Introduction	313
8.2 Persecutions, Executions, and Conversions	314
8.3 Manichaean Views on Martyrdom (According to anti-Manichaean Authors)	315
8.4 On the Converted Manichaeans: Sincere and False Conversions	319
8.5 Crypto-Manichaeism Was an Old Story	326
8.6 The Hypothesis of Entryism	330
8.7 Manichaean Views on Martyrdom (According to Manichaean Sources)	332
8.8 Manichaean Features Supporting the Hypothesis of Entryism	334
8.9 Comparative Evidence Supporting the Hypothesis of Entryism	338
8.10 Conclusions	340

Conclusions

1. Introduction	343
2. Real and Imagined Manichaeans	344
3. The Question of the Silence of the Sources	347
4. Why Were Manichaeans Persecuted to such an Intense Degree?	349
5. Manichaean Group Identity and its Transformation over Time	352

Bibliography

Primary Sources	359
Secondary Sources	371

Nederlandse Samenvatting	399
--------------------------	-----

Curriculum Vitae	403
------------------	-----

List of Tables

Table 1: Synoptic Table of the pre-Acta Sources (Portrait of Mani and of Manichaeism)	44
Table 2: The Manichaean Canon in the Abjuration Formulas Tradition	68
Table 3: First Manichaean Missionaries in Greek anti-Manichaica	82
Table 4: Alleged 'Manichaean' Individuals: Real or Imagined?	310

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I wholeheartedly thank my supervisor Albert de Jong, because he was the one who suggested I do this research, and he gave me the opportunity to delve into an extremely interesting topic that took me on a journey to my favourite era, Late Antiquity. I thank him, because, knowing my academic background and interests, he rightly judged that this would be a subject that would fascinate me; because he trusted me, and with his encouragement, he made me overcome my insecurities. I also want to express my deep gratitude to my co-supervisor, Dimitris Kyrtatas, for his constant and substantial interest, for his prompt response, and the feedback he has consistently given me at all stages of this project. I am very grateful to both, for their academic and personal support. Both being prominent historians of Late Antiquity, with their valuable knowledge and critical insights, their guidance and useful comments, our inspirational discussions, helped to effectively complete this endeavour.

I would like also to express my gratitude to the following friends, fellow researchers, and academics: Prof. Rika Benveniste (University of Thessaly), for her fruitful feedback on parts of my work, and her encouraging words; Dr Mattias Brand (University of Zurich), for his useful comments on draft parts of this dissertation and for our fruitful discussions where we exchanged our views and research findings; Petros Parthenis (PhD, University of Thessaly), for his inspired and diligent translation of some ancient Greek texts that troubled me into modern Greek; Dr Mark Locicero, (University of British Columbia) for his excellency in English language editing and proofreading of my manuscript. For their interest in my research and for giving me access to their work (published and/or unpublished), I thank: Prof. Johannes van Oort (Radboud University and University of Pretoria), Prof. Majella Franzmann (University of Sydney), Dr Jean-Daniel Dubois (Ecole Pratique des Hautes études), and Afroditi Kamara (Historian-Cultural Heritage Consultant).

The academic and institutional surroundings definitely contributed greatly to the completion of this project. The meetings of the 'Late Antiquity discussion group' led by Prof. Kyrtatas and held in the History Lab (my workplace) of the University of Thessaly, and the symposia organized by the group, gave me much food for thought, and the opportunity to present my ideas and research and interact with other colleagues. The International Association of Manichaeic Studies (IAMS), through its conferences, and the Mani in Cambridge day-symposium made me feel a member of the 'wider family of Manichaeologists' and gave me the opportunity to meet and discuss with leading scholars on the topic from all over the world, to present parts of my work, to test my working hypotheses, and receive useful comments and feedback. I am also indebted to all my colleagues (academic and administrative staff) from the Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology at the University of Thessaly, for their support, understanding, and trust that had a great significance for my work on this thesis all these years. I also thank all the members of the LIAS (Leiden Institute for Area Studies) secretariat, for the always, prompt and effective administrative support they offered me. In addition, I thank LIAS for partly funding the editing of this dissertation.

Special thanks go to my friends from the time of my MA studies, Dr Elizabeth den Boer (Leiden University) and Selma Tummers (PhD candidate, Leiden University), for their warm friendship, their interest, encouraging words, and hospitality during my trips to the Netherlands. I also thank my friends Dr Vasileios Karakasis and Dr Aris Politopoulos (both Leiden University) for their help and valuable advice and hospitality.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Finally, I am thankful to my family for their unconditional love and support all these years. My charismatic father, Vartholomeos, deserves special thanks for the hours he devoted to reading parts of the dissertation and for our challenging discussions during our walks that helped me clarify several issues. I also thank my mother Ioulia, my daughter Electra and her family for enduring my absence, understanding the significance that this study had for me. The greatest debt of all I owe to my life's partner and love, Pantelis. His help was multidimensional and cannot be captured in a few words. I thank him for the corrections of my English, his critical comments, his psychological support. But most of all I thank him for sharing my enthusiasm for the subject and for enjoying the endless conversations we had daily, even during our swims.

Ἡ φύσις κρύπτεσθαι φιλεῖ

(Heraclitus – Fragment 123)

Abbreviations and Translations

Abbreviations: Primary Sources (Ancient Texts)

Greek Sources

ABBREVIATIONS	LATIN TITLE	ENGLISH TITLE
ACO	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i>	
Abjuration Formulas		
AF(s)	<i>Abjuration Formula(s)</i>	
SAF	<i>Short Abjuration Formula</i>	
LAF	<i>Long Abjuration Formula</i>	
RCM	<i>Ordo servanda circa eos qui a manichaeis ad puram et veram fidem nostram Christianam accedunt</i>	<i>Ritual to be observed by those who are converted from among the Manichaeans to the pure and true faith of our Lord Jesus Christ</i>
Agathias		
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historiae</i>	
Alexander of Lycopolis		
<i>Tract. Man.</i>	<i>Tractatus de placitis Manichaeorum</i>	
Amphilochius of Iconium		
<i>c. Haer.</i>	<i>Contra haereticos</i>	
Anastasius of Sinai		
<i>Hexaameron</i>	<i>Hexaameron anagogicarum contemplationum libros duodecim</i>	
Athanasius of Alexandria		
<i>Fug.</i>	<i>Apologia de fuga sua</i>	
<i>[Apoll.]</i>	<i>De incarnatione contra Apollinarium libri ii</i>	<i>On the Incarnation against Apollinaris</i>
<i>Ep. Adolph.</i>	<i>Epistula ad Adelphius</i>	<i>Letter to Adelphius</i>
<i>Ep. Aeg. Lib.</i>	<i>Epistula ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae</i>	<i>Letter to the Bishops of Egypt and Libya</i>
<i>H. Ar.</i>	<i>Historia Arianorum</i>	<i>History of the Arians</i>
<i>c. Ar.</i>	<i>Orationes Contra Arianos (Oratio I, II, III)</i>	<i>Orations against the Arians</i>
<i>Vit. Ant.</i>	<i>Vita Antonii</i>	
Barsanuphius		
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>	
Basil of Caesarea		
<i>Adv. Eunomium</i>	<i>Adversus Eunomium</i>	
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>	
<i>Hom. Hexaem.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Hexaameron</i>	
[Basil of Caesarea]		
<i>Asceticon fus.</i>	<i>Constitutiones Asceticae. Asceticon magnum sive Quaestiones (regulae fusius tractatae)</i>	
<i>Asceticon brev.</i>	<i>Constitutiones Asceticae. Asceticon magnum sive Quaestiones (regulae brevius tractatae)</i>	

Cosmas Indicopleustes		
Top.	Topographia Christiana	
Cyril of Alexandria		
c. Jul.	Contra Julianum Imperatorem	On the Incarnation
Inc.	De incarnatione Domini	
Comm. Isaiam	Commentarius in Isaiam	
Comm. Jo.	Commentarii in Joannem	
Ep.	Ad Calosyrium	Epistle to Calosyrius
Cyril of Jerusalem		
Catech.	Catecheses ad illuminandos 1-18	
Cyril of Scythopolis		
Vit. Sab.	Vita Sabae	Vita Euthymii
Vit. Euth.	Vita Euthymii	
Didymus the Blind		
c. Manichaeos	Contra Manichaeos	Commentarii in Ecclesiasten
Comm. Zach.	Commentary in Zacharias	
Comm. Eccl.	Commentarii in Ecclesiasten	
[Pseudo-Didymus]		
Trin.	De Trinitate	
Ephrem the Syrian		
Hymni	Hymni contra Haereses	
Epiphanius of Salamis		
Pan.	De Haeresibus (Panarion)	
Eusebius of Caesarea		
HE	Historia Ecclesiastica	
Ep. Constantiam	Epistula ad Constantiam Augustam	
Vit. Const.	Vita Constantini	
Eustathius the monk		
Ep. Tim.	Epistula ad Timotheum scholasticum de duabus naturis adversus	
Euthymius Zigabenus		
Panoplia	Panoplia dogmatica ad Alexium Comnenum	
Evagrius the Scholastic		
HE	Historia Ecclesiastica	
Flavius Claudius Julianus		
Ep.	Epistulae	
Gelasius of Cyzicus		
HE	Historia Ecclesiastica	
Georgius Cedrenus		
hist. compend.	Compendium historiarum	
Gregory of Nazianzus		
Funebris	Funebris oratio in laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia episcopi (orat. 43)	
Gregory of Nyssa		
Adv. Macedonianos	Adversus Macedonianos de spiritu sancto	
Ep. Letoium	Epistula canonica ad Letoium	
c. Eunomium	Contra Eunomium	
[Hegemonius]		
AA	Acta Archelai	

John Chrysostom

<i>Oppugn.</i>	<i>Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae</i>	
<i>Anom.</i>	<i>De consubstantiali (= Contra Anomoeos, homilia 7)</i>	
<i>Sac.</i>	<i>De sacerdotio</i>	Priesthood
<i>Hom. Eph.</i>	<i>Homiliae in epistulam ad Ephesios</i>	
<i>Hom. Gal.</i>	<i>Homiliae in epistulam ad Galatas commentarius</i>	
<i>Hom. Heb.</i>	<i>Homiliae in epistulam ad Hebraeos</i>	
<i>Hom. Rom.</i>	<i>Homiliae in epistulam ad Romanos (homiliae 1–32)</i>	
<i>Hom. 1 Cor.</i>	<i>Homiliae in epistulam i ad Corinthios (homiliae 1–44)</i>	
<i>Hom. 2 Cor.</i>	<i>Homiliae in epistulam ii ad Corinthios (homiliae 1–30)</i>	
<i>Hom. 1 Tim.</i>	<i>Homiliae in epistulam i ad Timotheum (hom. 1–18)</i>	
<i>Hom. 2 Tim.</i>	<i>Homiliae in epistulam ii ad Timotheum (homiliae 1–10)</i>	
<i>Hom. Gen.¹⁻⁹</i>	<i>Homiliae in Genesim (sermones 1-9)</i>	
<i>Hom. Gen.¹⁻⁶⁷</i>	<i>Homiliae in Genesim (sermones 1-67)</i>	
<i>Hom. Jo.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Joannem (homiliae 1-88)</i>	
<i>Hom. Matt.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Matthaeum (homiliae 1-90)</i>	
<i>Natal.</i>	<i>In diem natalem</i>	
<i>Hom. Gal. 2:11</i>	<i>In illud: In faciem ei restiti</i>	
<i>Hom. 2 Cor. 4:13</i>	<i>In illud: Habentes eundem spiritum</i>	
<i>Scand.</i>	<i>Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt</i>	

John of Caesarea

<i>Adv. Manichaeos, hom. 1</i>	<i>Adversus Manichaeos (hom. 1)</i>
<i>Adv. Manichaeos, hom. 2</i>	<i>Adversus Manichaeos (hom. 2)</i>

John of Damascus

<i>Haer.</i>	<i>De haeresibus</i>
<i>c. Manichaeos</i>	<i>Contra Manichaeos</i>

Joannes Diacrinomenus

<i>HE</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
-----------	-------------------------------

Julianus Arianus

<i>comm. Job</i>	<i>Commentarius in Job</i>
------------------	----------------------------

Justinian

<i>c. monophysitas</i>	<i>Contra monophysitas</i>
------------------------	----------------------------

Justinus Martyr

<i>Apol. A</i>	<i>Apologia prima pro Christianis ad Antoninum Pium</i>
----------------	---

Libanius

<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
------------	------------------

Macarius of Magnesia

<i>Apocriticus</i>	<i>Apocriticus seu Μοϋϋενής</i>
--------------------	---------------------------------

Malalas

<i>Chron.</i>	<i>Chronographia</i>
---------------	----------------------

Mark the Deacon

<i>Vit. Porph.</i>	<i>Vita Porphyry</i>
--------------------	----------------------

Nilus of Ankara		
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>	
Olympiodorus		
<i>Comm. Job.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Job</i>	
Peter of Sicily		
<i>Hist. ref. Man.</i>	<i>Historia utilis et refutatio Manichaeorum vel Paulicianorum</i>	
Philostorgius		
<i>HE</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>	
Photius		
<i>Bibl.</i>	<i>Bibliotheca</i>	
<i>c. Manichaeos</i>	<i>Contra Manichaeos</i>	
Porphyrius		
<i>c. Christianos</i>	<i>Contra Christianos</i>	
Procopius		
<i>Hist. Arcana</i>	<i>Historia Arcana</i>	
Pseudo-Caesarius		
<i>Erotapokriseis</i>	<i>Quaestiones et responsiones</i>	
Serapion of Tmuís		
<i>c. Manichaeos</i>	<i>Contra Manichaeos</i>	
Severianus of Gabala		
<i>c. Manichaeos</i>	<i>In centurionem et contra Manichaeos et Apollinaristas</i>	
Simplicius		
<i>Comm. Man. Epict.</i>	<i>Commentary on the Manual of Epictetus</i>	<i>In Epictetum encheiridion</i>
Socrates the Scholastic		
<i>HE</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>	
Sozomenus		
<i>HE</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>	
Theodoret of Cyrrhus		
<i>Haer.</i>	<i>Haereticarum fabularum compendium</i>	<i>Compendium of Heretical Falsehoods</i>
<i>HE</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>	
<i>Phil. hist.</i>	<i>Historia Religiosa/Philotheos historia</i>	<i>History of the Monks of Syria</i>
<i>Ep. Sirm.</i>	<i>Epistulae (Collectio Sirmondiana, epist. 1-95)</i>	
Theodorus Anagnostes		
<i>Epit. hist. trip.</i>	<i>Epitome historiae tripartitae</i>	
<i>HE</i>	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	
Theodorus Heracleensis vel Theodorus Mopsuestenus		
<i>Frg. Matt</i>	<i>Fragmenta in Matthaeum (in catenis)</i>	
Theodorus of Raithou		
<i>Praeparatio</i>	<i>Praeparatio (= De incarnatione liber)</i>	
Theophanes the Confessor		
<i>Chron.</i>	<i>Chronographia</i>	
Timothy the Presbyter		
<i>Recept. Haer.</i>	<i>De receptione haereticorum</i>	
Titus of Bostra		
<i>c. Manichaeos</i>	<i>Contra Manichaeos</i>	

Zacharias of Mytilene

SC	<Capita vii contra Manichaeos>	Seven Chapters
Adv. Manichaeos	Adversus Manichaeos	
The Syriac Chronicle	The Syriac Chronicle (Known as that of Zacharia of Mytilene)	

Laws

B	Basilica
CJ	Codex Justinianus
CTh	Codex Theodosianus
D	Digesta
Nov.	Novels of Justinian
NTh.	Novels of Theodosius
NVal.	Novels of Valentinian
Sirm.	Sirmodian Constitutions

Latin sources**Augustine**

Adim.	Contra Adimantum	Against Adimantus
Conf.	Confessiones	Confessions
Duab.	De duabus animabus	Two Souls
c. Faust.	Contra Faustum Manichaeum	Against Faustus the Manichaean
Fel.	Contra Felicem	Against Felix
Fund.	Contra epistulam Manichaei quam vocant Fundamenti	Fundamental Epistle
Haer.	De haeresibus	Heresies
c. Julianum	Contra Julianum	Against Julian
Mor. Manich.	De moribus Manichaeorum	The Morals of the Manichaeans
Nat. bon.	De natura boni contra Manichaeos	The Nature of Good
In Joannis	In Joannis evangelium tractatus	Homily on the Gospel of John
Comm. Aug.	Commonitorium Sancti Augustini	

Manichaean texts

CMC	Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis/Cologne Mani-Codex. (Περὶ τῆς γέννης τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ)
KAB	The Kellis Agricultural Account Book
1Hom.	The Manichaean Homilies
1Keph.	Kephalaia vol. 1: The Kephalaia of the Teacher (Berlin Kephalaia)
2Keph.	Kephalaia vol. 2: The Kephalaia of the Wisdom my Lord Mani (Dublin Kephalaia)
2PsB	Psalm-Book, part 2

Other abbreviations

CP	<i>Cunctos Populos</i>
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
PRylands 3, Gr. 469	<i>Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library</i> (Vol. 3).

Abbreviations: Secondary Sources (Journals, Encyclopedias, Series, etc.)

AHAW	Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. 1885–1887. 10 vols. Repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994.
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen
APAW	Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosoph.-
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BSGRT	Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
<i>ByzZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
BZRGG	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca
CCT	Corpus Christianorum in Translation
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina
CFHBSB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis
CFM	Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum
<i>ClAnt</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
EAC	Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity
ECF	Early Church Fathers
FC	Fathers of the Church
GCS	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte Neue
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>Historia</i>	<i>Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
IAMS	International Association of Manichaean Studies

JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JbAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JHS	<i>The Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LCC	Library of Christian Classics
LCL	The Loeb Classical Library
LFHCC	Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church
LSJ	<i>The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon</i>
LTP	Laval théologique et philosophique
MS	Manichaean Studies
MTSR	<i>Method and Theory in the Study of Religion</i>
NHMS	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies
NPNF	The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series 1 & 2. Edited by Philip Schaff. 1886–1889. 14 vols. Repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994.
OCM	<i>Oxford Classical Monographs</i>
OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
ODB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i>
OrChrAn	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
PG	Patrologia Graeca. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 162 vols. Paris, 1857–1886.
PhA	Philosophia Antiqua
PLRE	Prosopography of Late Roman Empire
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RIDA	<i>Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité</i>
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
SC	Sources chrétiennes. Paris: Cerf, 1943–
SCH	Studies in Church History
SEG	Supplementum epigraphicum graecum
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions (Numen Book Series)
StOR	Studies in Oriental Religions
StPatr	Studia Patristica
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae
TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VCS	Variorum collected studies series
VCSup	Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae

ABBREVIATIONS

WGRW	Writings from the Greco-Roman World
WissUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament Series
ZAC	<i>Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
ZSS	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte</i>

A Note on Translations and Referencing System

When English translations of ancient Greek texts are available, these are being used (see Bibliography). Where translations are modified, this is noted. Unless otherwise indicated, translations have been made by the author of this dissertation.

When a single translation, the most common, is used for an ancient text, then, in the footnotes, the translator's last name and the corresponding pages are indicated. When multiple translations of ancient texts are used, publication dates are also provided.

Most of the ancient texts in Greek were accessed via *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG) (University of California, Irvine).

The abbreviations above and the referencing system in the text and in the bibliography follow *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines* (2nd ed.), by B.J. Collins, B. Buller, J.F. Kutsko, P.H. Alexander, J. Eisenbraun, J.D. Ernest et al. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014.