

MARIUSZ DOBKOWSKI*

The Substance of the Light according to the Coptic Manichaean Treatise *Kephalaia*¹

ABSTRACT

In this paper the author analyses two important features of the substance of the Light in Manichaean narrative as it shows the Coptic Manichaean treatise *Kephalaia*, namely its uniformity and its physicality (perceptivity through the senses). He adds brief information on this treatise, then he writes about the method of presentation of the Light and the Darkness by ancient editors of the *Kephalaia*, and finally about the contexts of the Manichaean religious universe, in which the substance of the Light occurs. The author's final conclusions refer to the overall structure of the Manichaean religious thinking.

KEYWORDS

Manichaeism, the Coptic *Kephalaia*, the substance of the Light in Manichaeism

In this paper I would like to analyse, on the basis of the Coptic treatise *Kephalaia*, features of the substance of the Light in the Manichaean narrative. I will complement my discussion with some brief information about the mentioned treatise, then with remarks on how the Light and the Darkness was presented by ancient editors of the *Kephalaia* and finally, with details on the contexts of the Manichaean religious universe, in which the substance of the Light occurs. I hope that my research will lead me to certain conclusions about the overall structure of Manichaean religious thinking.

* e-mail: mariusz.dobkowski@poczta.onet.pl

¹ A greatly extended version of this paper was published in Polish in: *Ciemność i światło*, t. 6, red. K. Rutecka, K. Arciszewska, Gdańsk 2015, pp. 324–346.

Furthermore I trust that my reflections on the light and dualism in Manichaeism will turn out to be interesting and significant not only to specialists in Manichaeism. These two issues, typical of this religion, are also important for the understanding of other religions and religious movements, and they are the subject of contemporary interdisciplinary studies. I will give some examples on the basis of Polish literature on the subject. The issue of **light** has been studied by Polish scholars, for example, with respect to the Orthodox Church,² Indian spiritual tradition Siddha Yoga³ and in interdisciplinary contexts.⁴ In turn the question of **dualism** has been studied from the perspective of contemporary theory on the polarised nature of the human species,⁵ then in philosophy, culture and religions,⁶ moreover in Iranian religions (Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Zurvanism, Muslim Persia),⁷ and finally in the Paulicians, the Bogomils, the Italian Cathars,⁸ and in the medieval religious dissidence traditionally called Catharism – as a whole.⁹

MANICHAEAN COPTIC DOCTRINAL TREATISE *KEPHALAIA* – SOME REMARKS

The Coptic treatise *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* is the largest and the most important Manichaean doctrinal text ever published.¹⁰ This source originates

² I. Trzecińska, *Światło i obłok. Z badań nad bizantyńską ikonografią Przemienienia*, Kraków 1998.

³ M. Sacha-Piekło, *Tam, gdzie pustka staje się światłem. Symbol światła w doktrynie i praktykach siddhajogi*, Kraków 1999.

⁴ *Światło, czas, transcendencja*, red. I. Trzecińska, Kraków 2007 (light in Tibetan religion, in Judeo-Christian tradition, and in modern and contemporary science).

⁵ A. Wierciński, *O odrębności taksonomicznej, naturze i istocie gatunkowej człowieka*, [in:] idem, *Magia i religia. Szkice z antropologii religii*, Kraków 1997, pp. 23–36; idem, *Antropologiczny szkic o antypersonie*, [in:] idem, *Magia i religia...*, op. cit., pp. 37–51.

⁶ “Nomos” 2005, No. 49/50, red. M. Dobkowski, H. Hoffmann; special issue on the dualism.

⁷ M. Składankowa, *Czarno-biała wizja świata: dualistyczne wartościowanie zjawisk a tradycyjne opozycje binarne*, [in:] *Co badania filologiczne mówią o wartości. Materiały z sesji naukowej 17–21 listopada 1986*, Warszawa 1987, vol. I, pp. 69–92.

⁸ P. Czarnecki, *Kataryzm włoski. Historia i doktryna*, Kraków 2013: the Paulicians, pp. 30–56, the Bogomils, pp. 66–96 and the Italian Cathars, pp. 173–317.

⁹ M. Dobkowski, *Kataryzm. Historia i system religijny*, Kraków 2007, see especially: pp. 187–259.

¹⁰ On *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, see: *Kephalaia I, 1. Hälfte (Lieferung 1–10)*, Bearb. A. Böhlig, H. J. Polotsky, Stuttgart 1940, pp. V–XXXII; *The Kephalaia of the Teacher. The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary*, trans. I. Gardner, Leiden 1995, pp. xvii–xxv; M. Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, Paris 1997, pp. 66–67; *Κεφαλαία*

from the so-called “Medinet Madi library” (Medinet Madi is a locality in the Faiyum region; northern Egypt) which was discovered in 1929. The texts, which it includes, are dated to approximately 400 AD.¹¹ The codex of the *Kephalaia* is 31,5 × 18 cm in format and probably consisted of more than 500 pages, out of which 440 pages have been published until now.¹² It was written in a beautiful, clear script on very good quality papyrus and probably had an expensive binding.¹³ The content of the *Kephalaia* is a systematic exposition of the whole Manichaean doctrine: from theology and cosmology to anthropology and ethics. This treatise is an anonymous text, probably the work of several editors.

As regards the origin of the *Kephalaia*, scholars claim unanimously that this text was rooted in a language other than Coptic. According to one group of scholars, the original was written in Greek, whereas according to another – in Syriac. What is the place of the *Kephalaia* in the religious literature of the Manichaeans? It is already outside the canon of Manichaean writings, initiating in this way the interpretative tradition of Manichaeism, such as The Talmud in Judaism, *hadiths* in Islam¹⁴ or patristic literature in Christianity.¹⁵

HOW DOES THE *KEPHALAIA* PRESENT THE LIGHT AND THE DARKNESS?

The Light and the Darkness are two qualities which establish the Manichaean religious universe. In the *Kephalaia* they are presented both by means of figurative and conceptual thinking.

(„Главы”). *Коптский манихейский трактат*, пер. Е.Б. Смагина, Москва 1998, pp. 45–50; T. Pettipiece, *Pentadic redaction in the Manichaean Kephalaia*, Leiden 2009, pp. 3–19; N. J. Baker-Brian, *Manichaeism. An Ancient Faith Rediscovered*, London 2011, pp. 29–30.

¹¹ On the discovery from Medinet Madi, see: J. M. Robinson, *The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi 1929–1989*, [in:] *Studia Manichaica. II. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus, 6.–10. August 1989 St. Augustin/Bonn*, Hrsg. G. Wiessner, H.-J. Klimkeit, Wiesbaden 1992, pp. 19–62; I. M. F. Gardner, S. N. C. Lieu, *From Narmouthis (Medinet Madi) to Kellis (Ismant El-Kharab). Manichaean Documents from Roman Egypt*, “The Journal of Roman Studies” 1996, Vol. 86, pp. 148–154.

¹² *Kephalaia I, 1. Hälfte (Lieferung 1–10)...*; *Kephalaia I, Zweite Hälfte. Lieferung 11/12 (Seite 244–291)*, Bearb. A. Böhlig, Stuttgart 1966; *Kephalaia I, Zweite Hälfte. Lieferung 13/14 (Seite 291–366)*, Bearb. W.-P. Funk, Stuttgart 1999; *Kephalaia I, Zweite Hälfte. Lieferung 15/16 (Seite 366–440)*, Bearb. W.-P. Funk, Stuttgart 2000. In this paper I used the first two published parts of the *Kephalaia* (in 1940 and 1966) because they are well commented.

¹³ *Кεφαλαία...*, op. cit., pp. 45–46.

¹⁴ T. Pettipiece, op. cit., pp. 7–8.

¹⁵ M. Tardieu, op. cit., pp. 63–65.

The symbol of the good and bad trees from chapter 2 “The Parable of the Tree,” referring to the Gospel, is an example of the first method of expression.¹⁶ Here the five limbs of the good tree as the five intellectual qualities are attributed to the five forms of the substance of the Light (i.e. to Mani’s Church and the four gods of the Light)¹⁷ and the five limbs of the bad tree as the five intellectual qualities are linked to the five phenomena of the Darkness.¹⁸

Next, the term **ΤΟΥΪΑ** (Greek: ἡ οὐσία), used by the editors of the *Kephalaia* and which I translate as “substance,” is an example of the conceptual approach of the two Manichaean Principles. As evidence of the conceptual approach we can quote a fragment from chapter 65:

Blessed are your souls, for you have known the mystery of the day and that of the night. You have understood, that the day exists after the mystery of the Light, but the night after the mystery of the Darkness. They have not arisen from one another. Blessed is he who can know this mystery and distinguish these two substances, that of the Light and that of the Darkness, the ones that have not arisen from one another.¹⁹

The concept of **ΤΟΥΪΑ** also occurs in other places of the Manichaean treatise: it means both two opposed Principles mentioned together²⁰ and separately the substance of the Light²¹ and the substance of the Darkness.²²

I need not add that in period when the *Kephalaia* was being created, this term already enjoyed a great pagan philosophical tradition and it was an important element of the Christian theological tradition still in its infancy.

In the Greek tradition of thinking before Aristotle, the concept of “ousía” can signify **sensual matter**, **transcendent entities** (in Plato) and also **concrete objects**.²³ Aristotle also referred to these solutions in his “ousiology.” For him, term of “ousía” could signify **matter**, **the composite of matter and form**

¹⁶ Mt 7, 16–20; 12, 33; Łk 6, 43–44.

¹⁷ *Keph.* 20, 7–20.

¹⁸ *Keph.* 21, 27–22, 20.

¹⁹ ΝΕΙΕΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΤΝ / ΨΥΧΑΥΕ ΧΕ ΑΤΕΤΝ̄C̄ΝΟΥΩΝ ΠΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ Μ̄ΦΟΥΕ Μ̄Ν / ΠΑ-ΤΟΥΩΗ ΑΤΕΤΝ̄ΜΜΕ ΧΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΖΟΥΕ ΟΡΟΠ ΑΠΜΥCΤΗ / ΡΙΟΝ Μ̄ΠΟΥΛΙΝΕ ΤΟΥΩΗ ΖΩΩC ΑΠΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ Μ̄ΠΚΕ / ΚΕ ΝΕΤΕΜΠΟΥΩΠΕ ΑΒΑΛ ΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΝΕΙΕΤΥ Μ / ΠΕΤΑCΝΟΥΩΝ Μ̄ΠΙΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ Ν̄C̄ΔΙΑΚΡΙΝΕ Ν̄ΤΟΥ / CΙΑ C̄ΝΤΕ ΤΑΠΟΥΛΙΝΕ Μ̄Ν ΤΑΠΚΕΚΕ ΝΕΤΕΜΠΟΥΩ-ΩΠΕ / ΑΒΑΛ ΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ (*Keph.* 164, 1–8), trans. I. Gardner with my minor amendments, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher...*, p. 172.

²⁰ *Keph.* 4, 2; 47, 28; 220, 15; 286, 25; 286, 27–28.

²¹ *Keph.* 5, 5; 49, 17; 63, 31; 68, 30; 73, 6; 81, 31; 96, 3; 163, 18; 178, 22; 279, 23.

²² *Keph.* 67, 31; 85, 28; 161, 29; 163, 22; 167, 5; 167, 14.

²³ G. Reale, *Historia filozofii starożytnej*, tłum. E. I. Zieliński, Lublin 2005, vol. 2, p. 414.

(*synolon*), but mostly – the very **form**.²⁴ In Polish this concept, in a philosophical context, is translated mostly by the term “substance” (Polish: *substancja*).

Next, in the Christian theology of the fourth century, that is in the period when the *Kephalaia* was worked out, the concept of “ousía” played an important role in formation of both Christological dogma and the dogma of the Holy Trinity. As regards the Christological doctrine – at the First Council of Nicea (325) the “homoousía” of the Son of God²⁵ (ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ)²⁶ was accepted, whereas as regards the doctrine of the Holy Trinity – the Cappadocian Fathers developed the formula of “one ousía, three hypostases.”²⁷ In Polish theological terminology, this concept is translated mostly by the term “essence” (Polish: *istota*).

As we can see, the concept of “ousía,” which was used by the Manichaean editors of the *Kephalaia*, was already a clearly defined semantic field. This term signified primarily a self-existent being, non-reducible to another, (in the strongest sense) but also a being which can exist in several modes, and moreover a being which can refer to both non-sensual and sensual objects.

THREE CONTEXTS OR ENVIRONMENTS IN WHICH THE LIGHT OCCURS IN THE MANICHAEAN NARRATIVE

Here it should be recalled that the Manichaean narrative was a mythic one, and in myth, as the British anthropologist of religion Fiona Bowie writes:

[...] its main protagonists must be personalities – divine, human, or animal – rather than abstract forces, such as Plato’s notion of the Good. These personalities can be either the object or agent of actions.²⁸

So, it is not surprising that the Light in the Manicheans’ narrative is personified in about 30 gods who: 1. remain out of contact with the powers of the Darkness, 2. become the object of the aggression of the Darkness and 3. res-

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 421.

²⁵ Discussion of the theological background of the First Council of Nicea including the issue of “homoousía”: J. N. D. Kelly, *Początki doktryny chrześcijańskiej*, tłum. J. Mrukówna, Warszawa 1988, pp. 171–190 and H. Pietras, *Sobór Nicejski (325). Kontekst religijny i polityczne. Dokumenty, komentarze*, Kraków 2013, the issue of “homoousía”: pp. 169–172 and 184–185.

²⁶ *Dokumenty Soborów Powszechnych*, vol. 1: (325–787), red. A. Baron, H. Pietras, Kraków 2001, p. 24.

²⁷ J. N. D. Kelly, op. cit., pp. 199–203 and H. Pietras, *By nie milczeć o Bogu. Zarys teologii Ojców Kościoła*, Kraków 1991, pp. 155–165, especially p. 157.

²⁸ F. Bowie, *The Anthropology of Religion. An Introduction*, Malden 2006, p. 268.

cue these who became the object of this aggression, among others in the way that they fashion the visible world and they maintain its existence. Therefore we can talk about the following environments or contexts in which the substance of the Light occurs in the Manichaean narrative (my terminology):

- **the Light “in the aeons”** (the Father of Greatness, remaining in his aeons, who makes the three emanations/evocations during the fight against the Darkness but himself remains out of this struggle as a “hidden God”);
- **the Light “in the mixture”** (the Five Sons of First Man, in other words: his Soul, i.e. the five light elements, who were captured by the powers of the Darkness during the first battle; the visible world has been fashioned and is maintained in existence thanks to the endeavour to liberate/purify them); the Light “in mixture” is the object of redemption;
- **the Light in the figures of the redeeming gods** (gods who has fashioned the visible world, who maintain its existence, and who also patronise the soterical knowledge both in the Manichaean Church and in individual people, who will lead to the final separation of the Light from the Darkness).

One should add that “the Light ‘in the mixture’” and “the Light in the figures of the redeeming gods” we can define by the collective name as “**the Light ‘in the emanations,’**” i.e. that which was brought into being by the Father of Greatness, so that it may come into contact with the Darkness and finally defeat it.

TWO IMPORTANT FEATURES OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE LIGHT ACCORDING TO THE MANICHAEAN *KEPHALAIA*: 1. UNIFORMITY (IDENTITY); 2. THE ISSUE OF PHYSICALITY (PERCEPTIVITY THROUGH THE SENSES)

Now let’s go back to the *Kephalaia*, to see how two important features of the substance of the Light are presented by this Manichaean treatise.

1. **Uniformity (identity) of the substance of the Light.** The *Kephalaia* draws attention to the fact that the Manichaean gods, both these “in the mixture” and these “redeeming,” are brought into being, both from the Father of Greatness and from each other, in a way defined as “**come out**” (ΕΙ ΛΒΑΛ Ν-), and to the fact that they are named ΤΠΡΟΒΟΛΗ (Greek: ἡ προβολή), i.e. “emanation.”

In the case of the verb “**to come out**” (ΕΙ ΛΒΑΛ Ν-) we can indicate a few examples. For the gods initiating individual sequences of evocations, that is for the gods originating from the Father of Greatness, we find confirmation in

chapters 7²⁹ and 16,³⁰ whereas for the gods originating from each other within the same sequence – in chapters 4³¹ and 7.³² Finally, chapter 65 confirms that all the gods of the Light “come out” from the Father of Greatness.³³

As regards the noun **ΤΠΡΟΒΟΛΗ** (“emanation”), it signifies the first gods of individual sequences of evocations in chapters 7,³⁴ 24³⁵ and 50³⁶ of the *Kephalaia*, whereas in chapter 16 it refers to the gods who were brought into being within the same sequence.³⁷ Chapter 29 confirms that this word may be used for every god of the Light who is brought into being.³⁸

The application of the terms mentioned testifies to the fact that the editors of the *Kephalaia* wanted to underline **substantial proximity**, or even the actual **identity**, between the Father of Greatness and the emanated gods of the Light derived from him.

This feature of the substance of the Light, namely its **identity**, regardless whether we are talking about the Light “in the aeons,” “in the mixture” or in the figures of the redeeming gods, is also shown in the *Kephalaia* in a special way, associated with the composition of this treatise and with its interpretative method. I mean here “series of concepts” or “series of numbers” as Manfred Heuser defines them³⁹ or “numeric patterns” as Timothy Pettipiece names them,⁴⁰ and which we can also describe as “**nonlinear numerical groups**.”⁴¹ They extract the essential elements (for example, mythical events or figures of the gods) from the linear mythical narrative and combine them in new systems according to numerical order, bringing in this way new meaning.⁴² These systems contain two, three, four, five and even eighteen elements.⁴³ For us it

²⁹ *Keph.* 34, 20–21, 28, 31, 33; 35, 2, 4, 7; 36, 21.

³⁰ *Keph.* 49, 18.

³¹ *Keph.* 25, 11–12; 25, 33–34.

³² *Keph.* 34, 20–21; 35, 18; 36, 21.

³³ *Keph.* 162, 25–28.

³⁴ *Keph.* 34, 27; 35, 4.

³⁵ *Keph.* 73, 7, 19–20, 21–22 (in this latter case according to supplement of E. B. Smailina, *Κεφαλαία...*, op. cit., p. 113).

³⁶ *Keph.* 126, 11.

³⁷ *Keph.* 49, 30.

³⁸ *Keph.* 82, 2.

³⁹ M. Heuser, op. cit., p. 103.

⁴⁰ T. Pettipiece, op. cit., p. 7.

⁴¹ In the *Kephalaia* there are 66 nonlinear numerical groups.

⁴² T. Pettipiece thinks that the method of interpretation by numeric patterns does not come from Mani but it is later way of exegesis of the already formed Manichaean canon, T. Pettipiece, op. cit., pp. 7–9.

⁴³ All the numerical groups included in the *Kephalaia* are enumerated by M. Heuser, op. cit., pp. 103–106.

is important that in a few of these nonlinear numerical groups (chapters 4, 7, 16 and 29) the Father of Greatness, representing the Light “in the aeons,” is mentioned together with the gods representing the Light “in the emanations” and this proves again the **identity** and **uniformity** of the whole substance of the Light, regardless of the environment in which it occurs.

2. **Issue of physicality (perceptivity through the senses) of the Substance of the Light.** Chapter 65 of the *Kephalaia* says that the Sun gives a scent and a taste to the Cross of the Light.⁴⁴ The Cross of the Light (ΠCΤΑΥΡΟC ΜΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ) is – not only in the *Kephalaia*, but in the whole Manichaean doctrine – a symbol of the Light mixed with the Darkness in the visual world and in particular – in plants. So, it turns out that at least this form of the Light included “in mixture” is physical, acting on the two senses: smell and taste. Therefore, we have a certain premise to think that the substance of the Light is **perceptible through the senses**, that it is in a certain sense **physical**. Can we find in the Manichaean treatise another place proving the mentioned feature? Yes, it is chapter 21 – unfortunately seriously damaged – discussing the Father of Greatness. It shows this God of the Light established in his five luminous limbs and then his twelve wisdoms are mentioned and finally five other limbs of the Light. The latter five, penetrating all the aeons, are in order: “the light that enlightens,”⁴⁵ “the perfume,”⁴⁶ “the living voice”⁴⁷ and then, according to the supplement of Evgenia Smagina, “the sweetness of the living taste”⁴⁸ and “the great glorious image.”⁴⁹ As we can see, the editors of the Manichaean treatise, describing the Light “in the aeons,” refer to the senses of: sight, smell, hearing, taste and sight again.

Can we find confirmation of physicality of the substance of the Light beyond the *Kephalaia*? Yes, in many places – for example according to Ephrem the Syrian (fourth century), the Manicheans say that pleasant taste in food comes from the Light included in it.⁵⁰ Also St. Augustine (fourth–fifth century) maintains that the Manicheans estimate content of the substance of the God in plants, and especially in the plants consumed by the Manicheans, ac-

⁴⁴ *Keph.* 162, 11–12.

⁴⁵ ΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ ΕΤΠΡΟΥΑΙΝΕ (*Keph.* 64, 29).

⁴⁶ ΠCΤΠΟΥCΕ (*Keph.* 64, 31).

⁴⁷ ΠCΡΑΥ ΕΤΑΝ̄C (*Keph.* 64, 33).

⁴⁸ *Keph.* 64, 35; reconstruction: “сладость вкуса живого”, *Кефалайа...*, op. cit., p. 105.

⁴⁹ *Keph.* 65, 2; reconstruction: “великий славный образ”, *Кефалайа...*, op. cit., p. 105.

A brief commentary to chapter 21: P. Van Lindt, *The Names of Manichaean Mythological Figures. A Comparative Study on Terminology in the Coptic Sources*, Wiesbaden 1992, pp. 5–6.

⁵⁰ *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan*, ed. C. W. Mitchell, vol. 1, London 1912, p. 31, p. XLIII).

ording to the senses of: sight (colour, brightness) and smell (pleasant smell).⁵¹ Moreover, this polemicist criticises the conviction of the Manicheans that for them the Sun is real and not a symbolic manifestation of the divine Light.⁵² In addition, the hypothesis of Jason David BeDuhn – that the religious system of the Manicheans was concentrated around the meal of the Elect who during its course would liberate the particles of the Light⁵³ – proves the veracity of this observation.

CONCLUSIONS

In my opinion the best confirmation of the characteristic of the substance of the Light, designated by its **identity** or **uniformity** and by its **certain physicality** can be found in the writings of the medieval Persian thinker Muhammad al-Shahrastani (eleventh–twelfth century) in his *Kitāb al-Milal wa al-Nihal (The Book of Sects and Creeds)*.⁵⁴ By placing the views of the Manicheans on the nature of the Light and of the Darkness side by side, he writes at some point of his comparison:

The Light

“Certains d’entre eux disent que l’univers de la lumière a toujours été semblable à notre monde: la lumière a une terre et une atmosphère. Mais la terre de la lumière a toujours été subtile. Elle n’a pas la forme de notre terre, mais celle du corps du soleil, et ses rayons sont comme les rayons du soleil. Son odeur est la meilleure odeur. Ses couleurs sont les couleurs de l’arc-en-ciel.

The Darkness

Certains d’entre eux disent que l’univers de la ténèbre a toujours été semblable à notre monde: la ténèbre a une terre et une atmosphère. Mais la terre de la ténèbre a toujours été épaisse. Elle n’a pas la forme de notre terre, mais elle est plus épaisse et plus dure. Son odeur est répugnante, c’est la plus puante des odeurs. Ses couleurs sont les couleurs de la noirceur.”⁵⁵

⁵¹ *De mor. manich.* XVI, 39 (PL 32; col. 1362). Considerations on the alimentary customs of the Manicheans: *De mor. manich.* XVI, 38–53 (PL 32; col. 1361–1368), i.e. a whole chapter 16.

⁵² *C. Secund.* 20 (CSEL 25; 938, 7–10).

⁵³ J. D. BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body. In Discipline and Ritual*, Baltimore 2000, pp. 126–208.

⁵⁴ A modern translation: al-Šahrastānī, *Livre des religions et des sectes*, trad. D. Gimaret, G. Monnot, vol. 1–2, Louvain 1986–1993.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, vol. 1, p. 657.

As we could see in this account, both the Light and the Darkness have certain physical features but the substance of the Light is much more subtle than the substance of the Darkness – “it has the form of the corps of the Sun.” The quoted fragment also shows that the world of the mixture (represented here by “our Earth”) has an intermediate nature – it is more “coarse” than the Light but more subtle than the Darkness.

Finally, I would like to present a few remarks on the above findings. I do not think that the Manichaeic religious doctrine on the substance of the Light was **precisely** as presented by al-Shahrastani. In my opinion, his account only illustrates well the tendencies noticeable in the *Kephalaia*: 1. the strong tendency to approve the uniformity of the substance of the Light, regardless of the context or situation in which it occurs, and 2. the weaker tendency to emphasise – in connection with the former – a certain physicality of the Light. I do not think either that the Manicheans’ aim was a despiritualisation or materialisation of the Light. The mentioned characteristic of the Light was the result – in my opinion – of the Manicheans’ ambition to establish a new and comprehensive (i.e. referring to both the spiritual and physical spheres) vision of the world. This vision emphasized the ontological (sic) opposition between the good and the evil at the expense of other dualities: 1. the monotheistic opposition between the Creator and creation as well as 2. the “anthropological” contrary: sensual vs non-sensual.

REFERENCES

PRIMARY SOURCES

The Kephalaia of the Teacher

1. *Kephalaia I, I. Hälfte (Lieferung 1–10)*, Bearb. A. Böhlig, H. J. Polotsky, Stuttgart 1940.
2. *Kephalaia I, Zweite Hälfte. Lieferung 11/12 (Seite 244–291)*, Bearb. A. Böhlig, Stuttgart 1966.
3. *Kephalaia I, Zweite Hälfte. Lieferung 13/14 (Seite 291–366)*, Bearb. W.-P. Funk, Stuttgart 1999.
4. *Kephalaia I, Zweite Hälfte. Lieferung 15/16 (Seite 366–440)*, Bearb. W.-P. Funk, Stuttgart 2000.
5. *The Kephalaia of the Teacher. The Edited Coptic Manichaeic Texts in Translation with Commentary*, trans. I. Gardner, Leiden 1995.
6. *Кефалайя („Главы“). Коптский манихейский трактат*, пер. Е.Б. Смагина, Москва 1998.

Other sources

1. St. Augustine, *Contra Secundinum*, [in:] *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, ed. J. Zycha, vol. 25/2, Praga 1892, pp. 903–947.
2. St. Augustine, *De moribus Manichaeorum*, [in:] *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, vol. 32, Parisii 1843, kol. 1345-1378.
3. *Dokumenty Soborów Powszechnych*, vol. 1: (325–787), red. A. Baron, H. Pietras, Kraków 2001.
4. *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan*, ed. C. W. Mitchell, vol. 1, London 1912.
5. Šahrastānī, al-, *Livre des religions et des sectes*, trad. D. Gimaret, G. Monnot, vol. 1–2, Louvain 1986–1993.

STUDIES

1. Baker-Brian N. J., *Manichaeism. An Ancient Faith Rediscovered*, London 2011.
2. BeDuhn J. D., *The Manichaean Body. In Discipline and Ritual*, Baltimore 2000.
3. Bowie F., *The Anthropology of Religion. An Introduction*, Malden 2006.
4. Czarnecki P., *Kataryzm włoski. Historia i doktryna*, Kraków 2013.
5. Dobkowski M., *Kataryzm. Historia i system religijny*, Kraków 2007.
6. Gardner I. M. F., Lieu S. N. C., *From Narmouthis (Medinet Madi) to Kellis (Ismant El-Kharab). Manichaean Documents from Roman Egypt*, "The Journal of Roman Studies" 1996, Vol. 86, pp. 148–154.
7. Kelly J. N. D., *Początki doktryny chrześcijańskiej*, tłum. J. Mrukówna, Warszawa 1988.
8. "Nomos" 2005, No. 49/50, red. M. Dobkowski, H. Hoffmann; special issue on the dualism.
9. Pettipiece T., *Pentadic redaction in the Manichaean Kephalaia*, Leiden 2009.
10. Pietras H., *By nie milczeć o Bogu. Zarys teologii Ojców Kościoła*, Kraków 1991.
11. Pietras H., *Sobór Nicejski (325). Kontekst religijny i polityczne. Dokumenty, komentarze*, Kraków 2013.
12. Reale G., *Historia filozofii starożytnej*, tłum. E. I. Zieliński, vol. 2, Lublin 2005.
13. Robinson J. M., *The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi 1929–1989*, [in:] *Studia Manichaica. II. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus, 6.–10. August 1989 St. Augustin/Bonn*, Hrsg. G. Wiessner, H.-J. Klimkeit, Wiesbaden 1992, pp. 19–62.
14. Sacha-Piekło M., *Tam, gdzie pustka staje się światłem. Symbol światła w doktrynie i praktykach siddhajogi*, Kraków 1999.
15. Składankowa M., *Czarno-biała wizja świata: dualistyczne wartościowanie zjawisk a tradycyjne opozycje binarne*, [in:] *Co badania filologiczne mówią o wartości. Materiały z sesji naukowej 17–21 listopada 1986*, Warszawa 1987, vol. I, pp. 69–92.
16. *Światło, czas, transcendencja*, red. I. Trzcińska, Kraków 2007.
17. Tardieu M., *Le manichéisme*, Paris 1997.
18. Trzcińska I., *Światło i obłok. Z badań nad bizantyńską ikonografią Przemienienia*, Kraków 1998.
19. Van Lindt P., *The Names of Manichaean Mythological Figures. A Comparative Study on Terminology in the Coptic Sources*, Wiesbaden 1992.
20. Wierciński A., *Magia i religia. Szkice z antropologii religii*, Kraków 1997.

