

Contents

| | |
|---|----|
| Introduction: A Survey of Past Research | 1 |
| A. Before the Publication of <i>Refutation</i> IV-X (1851)..... | 2 |
| B. From the Publication of <i>Refutation</i> IV-X (1851) to the Studies by Brandt | 4 |
| C. Brandt's Studies on Elchasai | 11 |
| D. From Brandt to the Discovery of the Mani Codex..... | 15 |
| E. The Announcement and Publication of the Cologne Mani Codex; Recent Studies..... | 25 |
| F. Conclusions; Statement of the Problem | 34 |
| | |
| Part One: Source-Critical Studies | 39 |
| | |
| Chapter I: Hippolytus..... | 41 |
| A. Introduction | 41 |
| B. Text and Translation of <i>Ref</i> IX 4; 12,20-26 (partly); 13-17; X 29 ... | 42 |
| C. <i>Ref</i> IX 4..... | 54 |
| D. <i>Ref</i> IX 13-17..... | 54 |
| 1. The Structure of <i>Ref</i> IX 13-17 | 55 |
| 2. <i>Ref</i> IX 13: Alcibiades' Activity in Rome | 56 |
| a. Hippolytus | 58 |
| b. Alcibiades..... | 58 |
| c. The Book of Revelations | 59 |
| 3. <i>Ref</i> IX 14: Aspects of the Teaching of Alcibiades and his Followers | 63 |
| a. Alcibiades' Adherence to the Law (IX 14,1a)..... | 64 |
| b. Alcibiades' Christological Ideas (IX 14,1b)..... | 64 |
| c. The Pagan Elements in the Teaching of Alcibiades and his Followers (IX 14,2-3a) | 66 |
| 4. Conclusion: The Sources of Alcibiades' Teaching..... | 66 |
| 5. <i>Ref</i> IX 15-17: Alcibiades' "Written Words" | 67 |
| a. Private Instructions..... | 68 |

| | | |
|----|---|-----|
| b. | An Instruction Relating to the Rebaptism of Christian Sinners. The Seven Witnesses Mentioned in the Book (IX 15,1–2; cf. IX 15,3 and 15,5f) | 70 |
| | A Quotation from the Book? | 71 |
| | The Second Baptism of Christian Sinners | 72 |
| | The Baptismal Ceremony Prescribed by Alcibiades | 73 |
| c. | More Direct Evidence for the Rebaptism of Christian Sinners (IX 15,3) | 74 |
| d. | An Antidote for Rabies and Other Therapeutic Prescriptions (IX 15,4–16,1a) | 75 |
| e. | Astrological Warnings. A Quotation from the Book Speaking about Trajan's Parthian War and a War among the Impious Angels of the North (IX 16,2–4) | 78 |
| f. | Alcibiades' Emphasis on Secrecy. Concluding Remarks by Hippolytus (IX 17,1–3a) | 80 |
| E. | <i>Ref X 29</i> | 81 |
| F. | Summary | 84 |
| | 1. Hippolytus' Sources | 84 |
| | 2. The Main Tendencies in Hippolytus' Reports | 85 |
| | 3. The Teaching of Alcibiades | 86 |
| | 4. Elchasai | 86 |
| | 5. The Book of Revelations | 87 |
| | Chapter II: Eusebius, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> VI 38. | 89 |
| | Chapter III: Epiphanius | 92 |
| A. | Introduction | 92 |
| B. | Text and Translation of <i>Pan</i> 18,1; 19; 20,3; 30,3,1–6 and 30,17,4–8; 53; and the Corresponding <i>Anacephalaeoses</i> | 93 |
| C. | The Osseans | 114 |
| | 1. The Osseans and the Nasareans | 114 |
| | 2. The Osseans and the Sampseans | 115 |
| | 3. The Osseans and Elxai | 116 |
| D. | The Teaching of Elxai | 117 |
| | 1. Introduction | 117 |
| | 2. The Seven Witnesses to an Oath; Eight Magical Names (19,1,6; 19,6,4; 30,17,4) | 117 |
| | 3. Ideas about Virginity, Continenence, and Marriage (19,1,7) | 119 |
| | 4. The Permission of Outward Denial of One's Faith in the Face of Imminent Persecution (19,1,8–19,2,1 and 19,3,1–3) | 119 |

| | |
|--|---------|
| 5. Did the Book Speak about Jesus Christ? (19,3,4) | 120 |
| 6. The <i>Qibla</i> to Jerusalem (19,3,5)..... | 121 |
| 7. Elxai's Supposed Rejection of the Temple Cult in Jerusalem (19,3,6-7) | 121 |
| 8. The Description of Christ and the Holy Spirit (19,4,1-2; 30,17,6-7; 53,1,9) | 123 |
| 9. An Aramaic Anagram (19,4,3) | 124 |
| 10. The Name "Elxai" | 125 |
| 11. Conclusions | 126 |
| a. Epiphanius' Report..... | 126 |
| b. Epiphanius' Source of the Book..... | 127 |
| c. The Book of Revelations..... | 127 |
| E. Elxai and the Ebionites | 129 |
| 1. Elxai's Influence on the Christological Ideas of the Ebionites (30,3,2f; 30,17,5-7)..... | 129 |
| 2. The Invocation by Ebionites of Names Mentioned in the Book "Elxai" (30,17,4) | 133 |
| F. The Sampseans or Elkeseans (53; cf. 19,1,4; 19,2,2-5)..... | 134 |
| 1. Chronological Information..... | 134 |
| 2. Places of Residence | 135 |
| 3. The Origin of the Sect..... | 136 |
| 4. The Names of the Sect | 136 |
| 5. Elxai and Iexai | 137 |
| 6. Marthous and Marthana..... | 138 |
| 7. Religious Ideas and Customs..... | 138 |
| 8. The Sampseans and the Book "Elxai" | 140 |
| G. Summary | 141 |
| Chapter IV: Later Patristic Sources | 143 |
| A. Methodius of Olympus, <i>Symposium</i> VIII 10..... | 143 |
| B. The <i>Anacephalaeosis</i> -Tradition on Elkesai and the Elkeseans | 144 |
| C. Theodoret of Cyrus, <i>Haereticarum fabularum comp.</i> II 7 | 147 |
| D. The Eusebius-Tradition on the Helkesaites | 150 |
| E. Conclusions | 152 |
| Chapter V: The Cologne Mani Codex | 153 |
| A. Introduction | 154 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| B. Alchasaïos | 156 |
| 1. Text and Translation of <i>CMC</i> 94,1–97,17 | 156 |
| 2. <i>CMC</i> 94–99 in the Context of the Mani Biography..... | 158 |
| 3. Four Narratives about Alchasaïos | 159 |
| 4. A Manichean Reference to Alchasaïos as the Leader of the Baptist Sect | 161 |
| C. The Baptists of the <i>CMC</i> | 163 |
| Chapter VI: The <i>Fihrist</i> of Al-Nadîm | 165 |
| A. Introduction | 165 |
| B. The <i>Mughtasilah</i> and the Şâbiâns of the Marshlands..... | 165 |
| C. The <i>Mughtasilah</i> and al-Ḥasîḥ | 170 |
| D. Conclusions..... | 172 |
| Chapter VII: Relations between the Sources..... | 173 |
| A. Hippolytus and Eusebius..... | 173 |
| B. Hippolytus and Epiphanius | 174 |
| C. Eusebius and Epiphanius | 175 |
| D. The Patristic Sources and the Cologne Mani Codex..... | 176 |
| Part Two: Literary and Historical Problems | 177 |
| Chapter VIII: “Elchasaï” | 179 |
| A. The Form of the Name “Elchasaï” | 179 |
| B. The Etymology of the Name “Elchasaï” | 181 |
| C. The Referential Meaning of “Elchasaï” | 182 |
| Chapter IX: The Book of Revelations..... | 189 |
| A. Introduction | 189 |
| B. Time and Place of Origin | 190 |
| C. The Aramaic Original and the Greek Version of the Book..... | 192 |
| D. The Content of the Book | 194 |
| 1. A Tentative Reconstruction of the Essential Message of the Hypothetical Aramaic Book..... | 194 |
| 2. The Two Heavenly Figures of Gigantic Size | 196 |
| 3. The Seven Non-Human Witnesses and the Day of the Great Judgment..... | 199 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 4. The More Doubtful References to the Book's Content | 201 |
| a. The Permission of Outward Denial in the Face of Imminent Persecution | 201 |
| b. The Recommendation of Marriage | 202 |
| c. The <i>Qibla</i> to Jerusalem | 202 |
| d. The Warning against the Sight of Fire and the Advice to Follow the Voice of Water | 203 |
| E. The Literary Form of the Book | 204 |
| F. Summary and Conclusions | 207 |
| 1. Historical Circumstances | 207 |
| 2. The Content of the Aramaic Book | 207 |
| 3. The Greek Version of the Book | 208 |
| Chapter X: The Elkesaites | 210 |
| A. Introduction | 210 |
| B. The Reception of the Book of Revelations | 211 |
| 1. The Religious Background of Alcibiades and Origen's Helkesaites | 212 |
| 2. Alcibiades' Teaching | 213 |
| 3. The Interpretation of the Book by Alcibiades and by Origen's Helkesaites | 216 |
| C. The Reference to a Teacher Elchasai/Elxai/Alchasaïos | 218 |
| 1. Alcibiades' Reference to Elchasai | 218 |
| 2. The Sampseans or Elkeseans | 219 |
| 3. Mani's Baptists | 220 |
| D. Conclusion: Who Were the Elkesaites? | 222 |
| Epilogue | 225 |
| Abbreviations | 229 |
| Bibliography | 230 |
| Indexes | 239 |
| A. Index of Texts | 239 |
| B. Index of Modern Authors | 247 |
| C. Index of Subjects | 249 |
| D. Semitic and Greek Words and Expressions | 252 |