

Mani in Dublin

*Selected Papers from the Seventh International
Conference of the International Association of
Manichaean Studies in the Chester Beatty
Library, Dublin, 8–12 September 2009*

Edited by

**Siegfried G. Richter,
Charles Horton
and Klaus Ohlhafer**

Mani in Dublin

Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies

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List of Abbreviations

APAW	Abhandlungen der (königlich) Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse
AcIr	Acta Iranica
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen
APF	Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete
BCNH	Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi
BSAC	Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte
BSO(A)S	Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies
BTT	Berliner Turfantexte
CCL	Corpus christianorum, series latina
CCSG	Corpus christianorum, series graeca
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum
CFM	Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
LTP	Laval Théologique et Philosophique
MAS	Manichaean Studies
NBA	Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana
NH(M)S	Nag Hammadi (and Manichaean) Studies
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
OrChr	Oriens Christianus
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina
PO	Patrologia orientalis
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum. Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt. Leipzig und Stuttgart 1941–.
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
<i>RSPT</i>	Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques
SKCO	Sprachen und Kulturen des christlichen Orients
SGM	Sources gnostiques et manichéennes

SHR	Studies in the History of Religion
SPAW.PH	Sitzungsberichte der (königlich) Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse
StOR	Studies in Oriental Religions
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
<i>VigChr</i>	Vigiliae Christianae
VOHD	Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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Preface

This volume contains selected papers of the Seventh International Conference of Manichaean Studies, held at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, from the 8th to the 11th September 2009. The conference started with a ceremonial opening in the entrance hall, where the director Michael Ryan welcomed the participants, who came from four continents. Johannes van Oort of the International Association of Manichaean Studies then delivered his Presidential address and reported on the present state of Manichaean Studies, after which the participants of the conference and invited guests were invited to view the first exhibition about Manichaeism and Manichaean texts of the CBL, which had been organized by Charles Horton. He exhibited not only examples of all Manichaean books preserved in Dublin, but offered also a general introduction into history and content of this religion, represented with didactic text panels, wall-maps and videos. The conference itself took place in the adjoining 19th-century Coach House of Dublin Castle and was characterized by a friendly attitude and lively exchange between the researchers. The meeting was closed at a reception in the Crypt of the Christ Church Cathedral, a day before making excursions to the surrounding countryside to view some ancient monastic sites.

The idea of organizing the International Conference of Manichaean Studies in Dublin was initiated by Charles Horton, then curator of the Western Collections at the CBL. He was also responsible for the Papyri Collection and the Manichaean texts of Medinet Madi. During several stays in Dublin, when I was working at the Coptic Manichaean Psalmbook, I enjoyed exemplary hospitality and convivial working conditions created by him. He suggested to me the proposal to host the International Conference in Dublin which I brought to the Board of the IAMS. The aim of which was to forward studies in Manichaeism and highlight the importance especially of the Chester Beatty texts.

While Charles Horton arranged all the local requirements; organizing the conference rooms, accommodation for the participants, building up the exhibition and taking care for countless details, I myself was responsible for arranging the programme of lectures. Klaus Ohlhafer joined the team for publishing the papers of the conference and took over responsibilities for several tasks during the long process of publication. I wish to thank my wife, Suzana Hodak, for all the work she has put in this book.

I want to thank the Board of the IAMS for supporting our plans and supporting the conference in several ways. I am especially grateful to Hans van Oort

who offered the possibility to publish the volume in the NHMS series and supported the edition. For financial support for printing the coloured tables I want to thank the Brigitte-and-Martin-Krause-Stiftung. Last, but not least, I want to thank all the authors and colleagues for their kindness and patience while we delivered their papers to the press.

Siegfried Richter

Juli 2014

MANI—The Lost Religion of Light: The Interpretation of Manichaean Manuscripts for a General Audience*

Charles Horton

The exhibition, *MANI—The Lost Religion of Light*, hosted by the Chester Beatty Library to coincide with the Seventh International Conference of Manichaean Studies (Dublin), was the first public exhibition on this subject and a first for the IAMS. The exhibition raised many issues regarding the interpretation of such complex material; for the small academic community which knew its contents well and therefore might find an exhibition aimed at the general public a gross reduction of years of academic toil to crass simplification; for the general public who may not have engaged with such material before and for whom the subject matter, Mani, was a novelty and his religion, an esoteric concoction of unbelievably complex belief systems.

While *prima facie* the exhibition had to take into account what the texts represented for the history of philosophy and ideas, it also needed to explain how Alfred Chester Beatty (1875–1968) had acquired such material. The exhibition however had other stories to tell concerning the modern history of the collection and the extraordinary efforts made by its owner, several academics and, most importantly, the original conservators, all of whom helped preserve these ancient manuscripts and bring their contents to light. The collection's later history during the Second World War and its aftermath proved to be the most accessible element for the public and the press.

Modern students of Manichaeism owe a profound debt to Chester Beatty for his preservation of these ancient texts. His library holds the world's largest collection of Mani's writings in the Coptic language and while the collection has been known to the scholarly community since its discovery in the late 1920s, its existence was largely unnoticed and its importance unappreciated by the general public.

* The exhibition could not have taken place without the assistance and support of Prof. Dr. Siegfried Richter (Münster) and I would like to record my sincere thanks for all his endeavours.

Even as a student of manuscript studies in Dublin, I had never come into contact with such ancient material until my appointment to the staff of the Library in 1990. Almost at once, before I had even a chance to absorb what was before me, I received a delegation of Manichaean scholars; Professors Søren Giversen and Martin Krause, accompanied by their very young students, Nils Arne Pedersen, Siegfried Richter and Gregor Wurst. Their ambitious publication plans would renew academic interest in the collection and as their work progressed over the decade, their publications would provide new avenues for scholarly interpretation of these ancient texts. Other Manichaean scholars would soon follow as attention was drawn again to this collection.

The relationship between scholar(s) and curator proved an important catalyst for promoting this collection. Without users, a collection stagnates, even in well-endowed institutions; consigned to 'lesser-used' status, akin to a state of Purgatory, waiting patiently to be re-discovered. Without a curator, a collection is marginalised as financial and other resources are targeted on those collections which are promoted by their custodians. It may appear strange, but Library or Museum collections need lobbyists to persuade financial-controllers of their importance. The uniqueness of a collection can never be taken for granted and for a collection like the Coptic Manichaean manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Library, promotion was difficult, particularly when there was no local university department to nurture such a collection. Once the International Association for Manichaean Studies had agreed to the invitation to come to Dublin, the Chester Beatty Library was committed to promoting an exhibition of its Manichaean collection.

Strategically the 1990s will be seen as one of the most important decades in the history of the Chester Beatty Library. It began in dire financial and other circumstances and ended in triumph, as the Library was transformed by its new Director, Professor Michael Ryan from one of Ireland's neglected cultural institutions into one that would win national and later international awards for excellence in its field. Hosting the conference and the associated exhibition was only made possible by these new facilities enjoyed by the Library since it moved location from its former home to Dublin Castle.

As the transformation was taking place, I was encouraged to attend the Fourth International Conference in Berlin (1997) where I witnessed for myself the interest in the Chester Beatty Manichaean collection among the scholarly community. The conference and associated visit to see the Berlin Manichaean collection proved enlightening as it was here that the late Prof Hans-Martin Schenke displayed 'the Chester Beatty turf' to the delegates. On reporting this to the Trustees of the Library on my return, they immediately agreed that the Director and I should open discussions with our colleagues in Berlin for

the re-unification of the dispersed Chester Beatty material; a request that was readily adhered to and expedited in exemplarily fashion in 2001.

The exhibition programme of the Chester Beatty Library demands dedication from the staff and other agencies to ensure continuous public support. The seeds of an idea, very often sown in a curator's mind, needs to be nourished by the support of the Director and Trustees, and fed by a constant stream of funding from both the public and private purse. The transformation of initial concepts into concrete and very beautiful displays, which to the viewer look effortless, is the responsibility of the external exhibition and graphic designers who have assisted the Library over the years. Many exhibitions need a gestation period of 3–5 years depending on their complexity. Even exhibitions generated in-house have to be carefully scheduled and cost controlled through multiple financial periods. So it was with *Mani*; as the call for papers for the Seventh Conference was announced, the Library was already in the advanced planning stages for the exhibition and issued a call for tenders.

Tender documents had been carefully drafted for the guidance of exhibition designers. These outlined the budget and brief from the curator on what he hoped to achieve; exhibit lists, images, technical and administrative documents, timing schedules, and numerous other briefs on the history of Manichaeism were required to aid the designers' work.

An exhibit list usually starts off as a comprehensive 'wish-list' of everything that a curator wants to show in the exhibition but given the confined space of the Chester Beatty gallery and the nature of the exhibits (largely very dark writing on darkened papyri); difficult choices had to be made regarding what was of interest to the public and what would be of interest to the visiting delegates to the Conference.

The first public reaction I had to the proposed exhibition was not encouraging as some visiting non-Conformist clergy were not impressed that the Library was to display 'heretical' material while some academics could not see the point of displaying material that the public could not read and had little appreciation of the subject. The project advanced, nevertheless, and our first surprise came when we examined the design tenders. All the designers had mastered the brief and had suggested some extraordinary display techniques for getting across the complex themes in Manichaeism. The public tender process is very specific and the assessment system has to take in many variables and naturally there can be only one winner. The contract was eventually awarded to a young designer who became an integral part of the exhibition planning team—a *troika* of curator, academic and designer would establish the exhibition 'identity' aided by technicians, conservators and audio-visual specialists who would turn ideas into practical realities.

The initial exhibition concept soon came under strain as it proved to be too ambitious for the space available. Cherished themes had to be forsaken and compromises made. In any exhibition there is always conflict between original artefact and amount of space needed to interpret that object. With objects as fragmentary as papyrus and not much larger than the present page, it was obvious that interpretative or didactic panels would soon swamp the gallery and overwhelm the original objects. Furthermore, the Library like most museums has a strict hierarchical approach to exhibition labelling; a maximum 150 words for introductory text-panels, down to 50 words of exhibit identification and explanation. This strict word limit exercised the writing skills of both curator and academic which necessitated numerous re-drafts but hopefully mistakes were few and content was not too compromised. Ideally, an exhibition catalogue would have carried more information but the exhibition budget could not be stretched to include such a publication.

The hardest decision was to allocate a third of the available space to the designer for the introductory area to set the tone of the exhibition. This proved to be very successful and against a backdrop of a celestial sky¹ and an enormous silk-screened image of Mani, visitors were guided into the exhibition. The star-exhibit was the 'sod of turf'; the remaining mass of papyrus that the original conservators were unable to release from their salt-encrusted seal. As this is unprotected papyrus in a very fibrous state it is one of the most difficult objects to handle, demanding extreme care and protection against vibrations and micro-organisms. It was hotly debated as to whether this object should be displayed at all but no other exhibit could show the incredible achievement of the original conservators in releasing so many pages from salt-encrusted captivity or to show what an uninspiring object Beatty had originally acquired. Lit only by the flickering shadows from the video screen, it sat as a silent witness to the animation which played near-by which outlined its discovery and modern history.

Very early in the discussions with the exhibition designer, it was clear that the best method of outlining the history of the discovery of the Manichaean papyri was to use video and animation. It was impossible to physically show the volume of papyrus pages that 'the sod' had yielded or to explain to the visitor the painstaking efforts of three generations of papyriologists who salvaged the text. Within a few minutes on screen, admittedly in a rather Star-Wars like manner, the story was told, obviating the need for text-heavy explanations.

1 The image of the 'Milky-Way' was sourced from the ESO—European Organisation for Astronomical Research in the Southern Hemisphere, 2009.

The central area of the exhibition was devoted to each of the major texts that the 'sod' had yielded; the *Psalm-book*, *Kephalaia*, *Homilies* and *Synaxeis*, displayed in codex-like form to help visualise the original format of the books.² Didactic panels around the walls explained the main tenets of the Manichaean faith. As with other text-panels and with the object labels, the designer used the silhouette image of a papyrus-page as a leitmotif to reinforce the image of the fragility of the text.

The final section of the exhibition was devoted to the modern history of the Manichaean papyri. Like it or not, the Hollywood 'Indiana Jones' image could not be avoided and it was this section that received the most attention from the media and from message-blogs posted on the internet. It was here however that tribute could be paid to Rolf and Hugo Ibscher for their painstaking work over the decades, without whom, we would have little knowledge of the Coptic Manichaean texts.

The final message portrayed by the exhibition: 'A Lost Religion—A Restored History,' explained the continued academic achievement of transcribing, translating and publishing the texts found at Medinet Madi. The impetus funded by Beatty in the 1930s stalled until revived by Prof Alexander Böhlig, at the xxve Congrès International des Orientalistes in Moscow (1960).³ The recent publication of Beatty's Manichaean manuscripts was initially entrusted to an International Committee for the publication of the Chester Beatty Manichaean papyri led by scholars from Denmark, Germany, Switzerland and the United States. The books have since been the focus of recent publications in the *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum*. To all these scholars the Chester Beatty Library owes an enormous debt of gratitude as well as to the many members of the International Association for Manichaean Studies who have supported the return of a substantial section of the Chester Beatty Manichaean material which had been confiscated after the war.

Exhibitions by their very nature are ephemeral and *MANI: The Lost Religion of Light* was no exception. Its run was extended as far as possible but eventually the exhibits had to return to darkened protective storage, their use once

2 I am indebted to Professors Iain Gardner, Nils Arne Pedersen, Paul Mirecki and Siegfried Richter for academic assistance with this section of the exhibition.

3 A Resolution passed by the Congress calling for the publication of the Manichaean manuscripts was sent to the Chester Beatty Library in the same year. See also: A. Böhlig, *Die Arbeit an den koptischen Manichaica*. Reprint in: A. Böhlig, *Mysterion und Wahrheit*. *Gesammelte Beiträge zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte*, Leiden 1968, pp. 177–187. First publication: *Actes du xxve Congrès International des Orientalistes, Moscou 9–16 août 1960: I* (Moscou 1962) 535–541.

again restricted to the small band of scholars who continue to toil with these darkened pages and fragmentary letters.

Postscript

After the end of the Seventh Conference and the departure of all the delegates an additional element was added to the exhibition. Of all the pages that have been published, one was chosen to represent the Manichaeian collection on the web.⁴ The Library commissioned a short 'art-house' style film entitled, *The Cry of the Ox: A Lament across the Centuries*, which was to be posted on YouTube: to date this has yet to be done. I leave the final word to a student-blogger who after visiting the exhibition posted:

The library has a fantastic papyri collection of Manichaeian writings, and their exhibit does a great job of giving the history and what we know about the beliefs and traditions of the Mani[chaeans] ... The only problem is that now I want to study it more ...⁵

QED

4 Manichaeian Psalm-Book II p. 191 (CBL P.Mani 4, p. 191).

5 Drab, dreary Dublin by Lauren Kerby, St. Andrews, Scotland, United Kingdom. Sunday, 7 March, 2010 <http://turnthepagetoday.blogspot.com/2010/03/drab-dreary-dublin.html>.

Der Kampf Augustins gegen die Manichäer: Das Beispiel der Schrift *De Genesi contra Manichaeos**

Sara Antonietta Luisa Arnoldi

Als Augustinus mit neunzehn Jahren Manichäer wurde, war ihm mit Sicherheit nicht bewusst, wie diese Entscheidung sein ganzes Leben bestimmen und seine Schriften beeinflussen würde. Aufgrund dieser engen Verbindung kann man feststellen, dass die Verfassung der Werke Augustins seine intellektuelle und geistige Entwicklung widerspiegelt, vor allem aber, dass fast alle Texte des Bischofs von Hippo explizite oder indirekte Hinweise auf den Manichäismus enthalten. Die Aufgabe des Forschers besteht deswegen darin, auf diese zwei Aspekte zu achten, insbesondere wenn deutlich antimanichäische Schriften in Betracht gezogen werden. Dies ist der Ausgangspunkt meiner Analyse der zwei Bücher *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, von denen ich heute einige Eigenschaften vorstellen möchte.

Über ein Kompositionsdatum zwischen 388 und 390 scheint es heute keine Zweifel mehr zu geben,¹ umstritten ist aber, wie lange sich Augustinus mit der Verfassung dieses Werkes beschäftigte. Decret spricht sich für „une période assez large“² aus, während Vannier unterstreicht, dass die Arbeit an dieser Abhandlung ganz schnell gewesen sein muss.³ Diese Hypothese ist mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit die richtige, in erster Linie deshalb, weil Augustinus selbst sich in *De Genesi ad litteram*⁴ zweimal auf die dringende Notwendigkeit

* Der Forschungsstand des Artikels bezieht sich auf das Jahr 2009. Siehe aber die inzwischen erschienene Dissertation: S.A.L. Arnoldi, *Manichäismus und Biblexegese bei Augustinus: de Genesi contra Manichaeos*. Inaugural-Dissertation, veröffentlicht in elektronischer Form bei der Universitätsbibliothek München, München 2011 (<http://edoc.ub.uni-muenchen.de/14088>).

1 Vgl. D. Weber, „Einleitung“, in: Augustinus, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, Wien 1998, 9.

2 F. Decret, *L’Afrique manichéenne (IV–V siècles). Étude historique et doctrinale*, I. Texte, Paris 1978, 42.

3 M.A. Vannier, „Le rôle de l’hexaéméron dans l’interprétation augustiniennne de la création“, *RSPT* 71 (1987) 540.

4 *De Genesi ad litteram* VIII, 2.5.

bezieht, die Exegese vom Buch Genesis gegen die Einwände der Manichäer zu ergreifen, aber auch wegen des schweren Gewichts seiner manichäischen Vergangenheit, das er, gerade aus Italien in Afrika angekommen, gespürt haben muss, so dass ihm die Entkräftung mancher der Doktrinen Manis unaufschiebbar schien. Hinzu kam die Bitte einiger *veri Christiani*,⁵ die von ihm eine kurz und einfach geschriebene Auslegung des Buches Genesis verlangten, was auch zu dem Schluss führt, dass *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* in Thagaste und nicht in Rom, wie es in der Einleitung der Ausgabe des Werkes für die Bibliothèque Augustinienne behauptet wird,⁶ angefangen wurde: Es wäre nämlich für diese *Christiani* unmöglich gewesen, Augustinus in Rom zu erreichen, um ihm ihr Bedürfnis mitzuteilen. Selbst wenn man die Anwesenheit solcher Kommittenten mit einem literarischen Trick erklärt, bestätigen die *Retractationes*⁷ den Beginn der Redaktion in Afrika.

Wie schon erwähnt, besteht *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* aus zwei Büchern, in deren Struktur sich „die Prinzipien der Parallelität und der Variation“ erkennen lassen, wie D. Weber, die Herausgeberin des Werkes bemerkt hat.⁸ Die folgende Behandlung hat die Erkenntnis zum Ziel, dass die ältesten Studien,⁹ die sich einfach auf die Bemerkung einer unterschiedlichen Kompositionsordnung der zwei Teile der Schrift beschränken, heute überwunden sind, da die Forschung mit Weber¹⁰ eine neue Richtung genommen hat, nämlich die der

5 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 1, 1.

6 P. Monat, M. Scopello, M. Dulaey, A.I. Bouton-Touboulic (Hg.), *Sur la Genèse contre les Manichéens. De Genesi contra Manichaeos. Traduction de P. Monat, Introduction par M. Dulaey, M. Scopello, A.-I. Bouton-Touboulic. Annotations et notes complémentaires de M. Dulaey. Sur la Genèse aus sens littéral, livre inachevé*, Paris 2004, 18.

7 *Retractationes* I, 10.1.

8 D. Weber, „Einleitung“ (Anm. 1), 14.

9 F. Decret, *L'Afrique manichéenne* (Anm. 2), 42; C.P. Mayer, „Die antimanichäischen Schriften Augustins. Entstehung, Absicht und kurze Charakteristik der einzelnen Werke unter dem Aspekt der darin verwendeten Zeichentermini“, *Augustiniana* 14 (1974) 288; J. Ries, „La création, l'homme et l'histoire du salut dans le *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* de saint Augustin“, in: Giuseppe Balido, Gilles Pelland et al. (Hg.). *De Genesi contra Manichaeos, De Genesi ad litteram liber imperfectus di Agostino d'Ippona*. Lectio Augustini: Settimana Agostiniana Pavese 8, Palermo 1992, 68; L. Carrozzi, „Introduzione al *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*“, in: Agostino, *La Genesi*. NBA IX/1, Rom 1988, 41.

10 D. Weber, „*Communis loquendi consuetudo*. Zur Struktur von Augustinus, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*“, *Studia Patristica* 33 (1997), 274–279; D. Weber, „Einleitung“ (Anm. 1), 14–18; D. Weber, „Augustinus, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*. Zu Augustins Darstellung und Widerlegung der manichäischen Kritik am biblischen Schöpfungsbericht“, in: J. van Oort, O. Wermelinger, G. Wurst (Hg.), *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West. Proceedings*

Feststellung, dass *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* Ergebnis eines durchdachten Projekts ist, das in der organisierten Einheit der zwei Bücher entwickelt wurde. In der Tat ist das erste Buch von *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* der Deutung des sogenannten Priesterberichts (Gen. 1,1–2,4a) gewidmet. Die Erklärung wird dabei Vers für Vers mit direktem Bezug auf die Kritik der Manichäer durchgeführt, während im anderen Abschnitt der Jahwistenbericht (Gen. 2,4b–3,24) ausgelegt wird, nachdem Augustinus den ganzen biblischen Text wiedergegeben hat. Diese Abfassung erklärt sich aus der Beschaffenheit der zwei Schöpfungserzählungen: Die zweite ist wegen ihrer Länge und der in ihr behandelten Themen für einen detaillierten Kommentar nicht geeignet, vor allem weil das Werk eine gewisse Kürze respektieren sollte, damit das Publikum von *imperiti*,¹¹ *infirmi* und *parvuli*¹² leicht und schnell davon Gebrauch machen konnte.

Wenn man diese Schwierigkeit umgeht, so können die vielen Ähnlichkeiten, die die zwei Teile von *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* verbinden, berücksichtigt werden. Trotz der verschiedenen Untergliederungsvorschläge¹³ glaube ich in jedem Buch eine dreiteilige Struktur erkennen zu können, die aus Einleitung, Ausführung der Exegese und Abschluss besteht. Diese Kompositionseinheiten werden zuerst getrennt betrachtet, um dann einige allgemeine Schlussfolgerungen zu ziehen.

Die Themen des Prologs des ersten Buchs¹⁴ können folgendermaßen aufgelistet werden: Stil des Werkes,¹⁵ Publikum, an das die Schrift gerichtet wird,¹⁶ Vorstellung der angeblichen Täuschung der Manichäer zu Schaden der unausgebildeten Mitglieder der katholischen Gemeinde, impliziter Ausdruck der

of the Fribourg-Utrecht Symposium of the International Association of Manichaean Studies, Leiden, Boston, Köln 2001, 298–306.

11 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 1, 1.

12 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 1, 2.

13 D. Weber, „Einleitung“ (Anm. 1), 14–16; D. Weber, „Communis“ (Anm. 10), 274–279.

14 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 1, 1–2.

15 „... non ornato politoque sermone, sed rebus manifestis convincendo est vanitas eorum. (...) Placuit enim mihi quorundam vere Christianorum sententia, qui... (...) me benevolentissime monuerunt, ut communem loquendi consuetudinem non desererem, si errores illos tam perniciosos ab animis etiam imperitorum expellere cogitarem. Hunc enim sermonem usitatum et simplicem etiam docti intellegunt, illum autem indocti non intellegunt.“ (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 1, 1).

16 „... viderunt eos ab *imperitoribus* aut non aut difficile intellegi ... (...). Hunc enim sermonem usitatum et simplicem etiam *docti* intellegunt, illum autem *indocti* non intellegunt.“ (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 1, 1); „Solent ergo Manichaei ... (...)...*infirmos* et *parvulos* nostros ... (...) ... irridere atque decipere ...“ (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 1, 2).

Aufgabe, der Augustinus sich stellen möchte, nämlich der Entkräftung der für ihn häretischen Doktrinen,¹⁷ und zum Schluss eine Aufforderung, damit seine Leser nie aufhören, sich mit der Auslegung der Heiligen Schrift zu beschäftigen.¹⁸ Meiner Meinung nach ist es kein Zufall, dass man in der Einleitung des zweiten Abschnittes¹⁹ genau das findet, was im ersten Teil deutlich vermisst wurde, nämlich einen Bezug auf die Erklärungsmethode,²⁰ die der Autor vorhat anzuwenden. Genau weil es in den zweiten Teil verschoben wurde, stellt dieses Element eine Verbindung zwischen den zwei Teilen der Schrift her, so dass die zwei Vorreden zu einer werden und das Ergebnis erreicht wird, alle Auskünfte zu liefern, die man von der Einleitung eines Textes erwartet. Zur Bestätigung dieses Zusammenhangs könnte en passant noch bemerkt werden, dass beide Prologe²¹ die Polemik gegen die Manichäer mit zwei hypothetischen Sätzen, die aufeinander verweisen, einführen.

Bei der Entwicklung der Auslegung scheint Augustinus im zweiten Buch die ausdrückliche Gegenwart der Manichäer beiseite zu lassen, und damit denjenigen ein einfaches Argument anzubieten, die behaupten, hinter der Verfassung der Schrift gäbe es kein vorherbestimmtes Projekt. Eigentlich sind die Manichäer in beiden Büchern anwesend, aber auf je unterschiedliche Art: Im ersten Abschnitt werden sie mehrmals explizit genannt, nicht nur bei der Schilderung ihrer Kritik gegen den Schöpfungsbericht, sondern auch durch

17 „Solent ergo Manichaei scripturas veteris testamenti quas non noverunt vituperare et ea vituperazione infirmo set parvulos nostros non invenientes, quomodo sibi respondeant, irridere atque decipere, quia nulla scriptura est, quae non apud eos qui illam non intellegunt facile possit reprehendi.“ (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 1, 2).

18 „Sed multi ad quaerendum pigri sunt, nisi per molestias et insultationes haereticorum quasi de somno excitentur et de imperitia sua erubescant sibi et de illa imperitia periclitari se sentiant. Qui homines si bonae sunt fidei, non cedunt haereticis, sed quid eis respondeant, diligenter inquirunt; nec eos deserit Deus, ut petentes accipiant et quaerentes inveniant et pulsanti bus aperiatur. Qui autem desperant se posse in catholica disciplina invenire quod quaerunt, atteruntur errori bus, sed si perseveranter inquirunt, ad ipsos fontes a quibus aberraverant post magnos labores fatigati atque sitiennes et paene mortui revertuntur.“ (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 1, 2).

19 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II, 1 und 3.

20 „Deinde incipit de homine diligentius narrari; quae omnis narratio non aperte, sed figurate explicatur, ut exercent mentes quaerentium veritatem et spiritali negotio a negotiis canali bus avocet.“ (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II, 1); „Hic ergo totus sermo primo secundum historiam discutiendus est, deinde secundum prophetiam. Secundum historiam facta narrantur, secundum prophetiam futura praenuntiat.“ (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II, 3).

21 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I, 1 und II, 3.

direkte Beschuldigungen, die auf die Enthüllung ihrer nach Augustinus bösen Absichten zielen. In *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II werden im Gegenteil die Angehörigen der Gruppe Manis nur selten explizit erwähnt,²² wenn man den Abschluss auslässt, aber eine aufmerksame Lektüre bringt die implizite Anwesenheit der Manichäer ans Licht. Nach dem Prolog beginnt Augustinus die Exegese erneut mit der Erklärung von Gen. 1,1.²³ Dies stellt nicht nur einen starken Verbindungsgegenstand zwischen den Teilen der Schrift dar, sondern führt auch den Leser zu der von Augustinus gelieferten antimanichäischen Deutung des ersten Verses des Buchs Genesis zurück. In *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II,¹⁰ wird das Thema der Seele behandelt: Selbst wenn ein direkter Hinweis auf die Doktrin Manis fehlt, so trennte dieses zentrale Argument Katholiken und Manichäer so tief, dass Augustinus diesem Thema das ganze polemische Werk *De duabus animabus* widmete. Oft ist es dann klar, dass der Autor vor allem gegen Ende seiner Schrift an die Manichäer denkt, obwohl er allgemein von „Häretikern“ spricht.²⁴

Unter den Mitteln, die Augustinus für seine Auslegungsarbeit in Anspruch nimmt, zählt man den ständigen Bezug auf Stellen aus dem Alten und Neuen Testament, und es ist kein Zufall, dass die Zitate aus den Briefen des Paulus sich im Vergleich zum ersten Buch genau im zweiten Teil des Werkes verdreifachen, so dass die Polemik gegen die Manichäer, die die paulinischen Schriften als göttlich inspiriert anerkannten, deutlicher wird. Außerdem ist nicht zu vergessen, dass auch in *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I einige Verse erklärt werden, die kein Gegenstand der häretischen Exegese waren, und mit der Fortsetzung der Deutung verlängern sich die Stellen, die kommentiert werden, so dass der Strukturunterschied zwischen den Büchern fast unsichtbar wird.

Bei der Analyse der Struktur von *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* schlägt Weber eine zweiteilige Gliederung für jedes Buch der Schrift vor, die zuerst die Deutung *secundum historiam* und dann *secundum prophetiam* darstellen sollte.²⁵ Diese Hypothese wird aber von den im Werk über die Exegese gelieferten Angaben nicht bestätigt, und die Untersuchung einiger Texte wird zeigen warum.

Man muss hier voraus schicken, dass vor drei Jahren von Y.K. Kim eine Arbeit über „Augustine’s changing interpretations of Genesis 1–3“ in den Werken von *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* bis zu *De Genesi ad litteram*²⁶ veröffentlicht

22 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II, 3; 8; 11; 19; 38; 39; 41.

23 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II, 4.

24 Vgl. zum Beispiel *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II, 40.

25 D. Weber, „Einleitung“ (Anm. 1), 15; D. Weber, „Communis“ (Anm. 10), 276.

26 Y.K. Kim, *Augustine’s Changing Interpretations of Genesis 1–3: From De Genesi contra Manichaeos to De Genesi ad litteram*, New York 2006.

licht wurde. Leider ist diese Studie aber nicht behilflich, da die Autorin oft zu sich widersprechenden Schlüssen kommt, die noch mehr Verwirrung zu einem schon an sich komplizierten Thema hinzufügen.²⁷ Es ist hier nicht der Ort, diese Abhandlung im Detail zu widerlegen, aber als Beispiel soll die Behauptung angeführt werden, dass Augustinus vor den Jahren 391/392 zwischen der *historia* und der *allegoria* nicht hätte wirklich unterscheiden können,²⁸ was der Wahrheit überhaupt nicht entspricht. Es stimmt, dass die erste exegetische Schrift Augustins einige Unsicherheiten bei der Anwendung und der Definition der Auslegungsprinzipien zeigt, aber der Autor selbst liefert dem Leser einige Hinweise, die es ermöglichen, die Schwierigkeiten mindestens zum Teil zu lösen.

Die augustinische Exegese im Werk *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* hat als Grundlage die Erkenntnis, dass es unmöglich ist, mit menschlichen Wörtern göttliche Begriffe zum Ausdruck zu bringen, weshalb der biblische Text nur mit Vorsicht betrachtet werden soll.²⁹ Am Anfang von *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II äußert sich Augustinus deutlich: Der Schöpfungsbericht wird *secundum historiam* und dann *secundum prophetiam* erklärt, aber der Ausdruck *secundum historia* bezieht sich auf die Wiedergabe von Fakten, während durch die *prophetia* zukünftige Ereignisse vorhergesagt werden.³⁰ Der Autor geht weiter, indem er präzisiert, dass diejenigen, die in der Lage sind, die biblische Erzählung *secundum litteram* zu deuten, lobenswert sind, wenn ihre Auslegung nicht im Widerspruch zum katholischen Glauben steht,³¹ obwohl Augustinus später zugeben wird, dass er zur Zeit der Verfassung der Schrift gegen die Manichäer den buchstäblichen Sinn des Textes nicht finden konnte.³² Die Aufgabe, eine Auslegung *secundum historiam* durchzuführen, berichtet der Autor gegen Ende des zweiten Buchs, hat er erfüllt, und ihm bleibt nur, in Kürze die prophetische Bedeutung darzulegen.³³ Die zwei in Erwägung gezogenen Texte und vor allem

27 Y.K. Kim, *Augustine's Changing* (Anm. 26), 28, 33–34, 51, 55–57, 72, 107.

28 Y.K. Kim, *Augustine's Changing* (Anm. 26), 171.

29 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I, 9; 20; 41.

30 „Hic ergo totus sermo primo secundum historiam discutiendus est, deinde secundum prophetiam. Secundum historiam facta narrantur, secundum prophetiam futura praenuntiantur.“ (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II, 3).

31 „Sane quisquis voluerit omnia quae dicta sunt secundum litteram accipere, id est non aliter intellegere quam littera sonat, et potuerit evitare blasphemias et omnia congruentia fidei catholicae praedicare, non solum ei non est invidendum, sed praecipuus multumque laudabilis intellectus habendus est.“ (*De Genesi ad litteram* II, 3).

32 *De Genesi ad litteram* VIII, 2.5.

33 „Sed in hoc sermone pollicitus sum considerationem factarum rerum, quam puto explica-

die Feststellung, dass die Abschnitte, die nach Augustinus *secundum historiam* betrachtet werden, in der Wirklichkeit *ad allegoriam* ohne jeglichen Bezug auf eine wörtliche Bedeutung ausgelegt werden, zeigen ganz klar, dass *historia* und *littera* in *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* keine Synonyme sind, ansonsten hätte Augustinus die Deutung *secundum litteram* nicht als unerreichbares Ziel vorgestellt,³⁴ bevor er dann versichert, mit der *consideratio rerum factarum* fertig geworden zu sein.

Was ist denn die *historia*? Mit Ausnahme von zwei Stellen, bei denen der Ausdruck *secundum historiam* als Deutungsprinzip dargestellt wird,³⁵ bezeichnet diese Redewendung nichts anderes als den Gegenstand der Exegese, das heißt die Geschichte, die neutral wiedergegeben wird und noch erklärt werden soll. Wie in der Einleitung zu *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* für die Bibliothèque Augustinienne richtig beobachtet wird,³⁶ kommt in diesem Werk für *historia* dieselbe Bedeutung vor, die Augustinus wenig später in *De utilitate credendi* liefert,³⁷ während die Definition der *historia* in *De Genesi ad littera imperfectus liber* zeigt, wie der Autor diesen Begriff entwickelt und als Auslegungsmethode betrachtet.³⁸

Nicht so problematisch ist die Auswertung von *allegoria* und *prophetia*: Die erste ist ein Schleier,³⁹ der eine versteckte Bedeutung schützt, damit man ermahnt wird, mit Engagement die Heilige Schrift zu lesen; die *prophetia* weist auf Tatsachen hin, die sich in der Zukunft verwirklichen werden.⁴⁰

Kommen wir zu der von Weber eingeführten Gliederung zwischen *historia* und *prophetia* zurück: Wenn die *historia* die Basis ist, auf der die Auslegung aufgebaut wird, dann kann kein Vergleich zwischen dem Gegenstand der Exegese (die *historia*) und einer der Erklärungsarten (die *prophetia*) angestellt werden. Der wahre Gegensatz ist in der Tat zwischen *allegoria* und *prophetia*, den beiden Prinzipien, die in *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* für die Deutung der Schöpfungsberichte benutzt werden. Die *historia*, im Sinne von *res*

tam, et deinde considerationem prophetiae, quae remanet explicanda iam breviter.“ (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II, 37).

34 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II, 3.

35 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II, 13 und 17.

36 P. Monat, M. Scopello, M. Dulaey, A.I. Bouton-Touboulic (Hg.), *Sur la Genèse* (Anm. 6), 44.

37 „Secundum historiam ergo traditur, cum docetur, quid scriptum aut quid gestum sit, quid non gestum, sed tantummodo scriptum quasi gestum sit ...“ (*De utilitate credendi* 3.5).

38 *De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber* 2.5.

39 „Velamen enim aufertur, quando similitudinis et allegoriae cooperimento ablato veritas nudatur ut possit videri.“ (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I, 33).

40 „... secundum prophetiam futura praenuntiantur.“ (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II, 3).

factae, kann also *ad litteram*, *ad allegoriam* oder *secundum prophetiam* gedeutet werden, wobei die erste Erklärungsmöglichkeit aber im Moment zur Seite gelassen wird, unter anderem auch deshalb, weil die buchstäbliche Deutung der Manichäer nach Augustins Meinung falsch ist, da sie *carnaliter* durchgeführt wird.⁴¹ Trotzdem vermittelt er manchmal den Eindruck zu fühlen, dass die beste Art, seine Gegner zu widerlegen, diejenige wäre, gegen sie auf demselben Feld zu kämpfen, das heißt mit der Waffe der Auslegung *ad litteram*.⁴² Da er aber mit dem biblischen Text noch nicht genug vertraut war, sah er sich gezwungen, dieses Projekt zu verschieben, obwohl dies bei ihm eine gewisse Unzufriedenheit hinterließ.⁴³ Andererseits ermöglichte ihm die Erklärung *ad allegoriam* sein Vorhaben schnell zu Ende zu bringen. Er hatte nämlich keine Zeit für die Exegese, die „*non affirmando, sed quaerendo*“⁴⁴ vorgeht, wie er später in den Schriften *De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber* und *De Genesi ad litteram* machen wird. Hinzu kommt, dass die *allegoria* von den Manichäern streng abgelehnt wurde,⁴⁵ worin nach Augustinus ihr Fehler besteht, der sie zur Verwerfung des Buchs Genesis geführt hat. Durch seine allegorische Exegese glaubt er, ihnen eine Alternative anzubieten, selbst wenn er erkennt, dass eine biblische Stelle auch mehr als eine Bedeutung haben kann.⁴⁶

Zusammenfassend kommt man zu dem Schluss, dass der Begriff der *historia* in den Schriften Augustins im Vergleich zu der Auffassung von *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* noch weiterentwickelt und sich der als Auslegungsart betrachteten *littera* annähern wird. Sehr erstaunlich ist aber der Gebrauch von *allegoria* und *prophetia*, die schon im Werk gegen die Manichäer deutlich verstanden und angewendet werden, so dass ihre Formulierung sich nicht von den Definitionen entfernt, die davon in den späteren Arbeiten gegeben werden.

Eine Eigenschaft der zwei Teile von *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* ist, dass jedes Buch mit einer besonderen Abhandlung abgeschlossen wird.⁴⁷ Der Epilog des ersten Abschnittes wird durch den Bezug auf die Ruhe Gottes nach

41 „Illi autem inimici veterum librorum omnia carnaliter intuentes et propterea semper errantes etiam hoc reprehendere mordaciter solent ...“ (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II, 8).

42 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II, 3 und 17.

43 *De Genesi ad litteram* VIII, 2.5.

44 *De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber* I.1.

45 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II, 8.

46 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I, 31.

47 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I, 35–43 und II, 43.

der Beendigung seiner Schöpfungsarbeit eingeführt, und die Erklärung dieses umstrittenen Begriffs wird der Ausgangspunkt einer Überlegung, die die sieben Tage der Schöpfungserzählung mit den sieben Etappen der Weltgeschichte und den Phasen der Entwicklung eines Menschen in Verbindung bringt.⁴⁸ Die Manichäer scheinen in diesem Abschluss keinen Platz zu finden, aber das Ziel der augustinischen Behandlung ist die Eingliederung des Schöpfungsberichtes in einen breiteren Zusammenhang, der nicht nur das Alte sondern auch das Neue Testament und die Briefe des Paulus mit einbezieht, worin genau die antimanichäische Polemik besteht, da die Anhänger der Gruppe Manis die göttliche Inspiration des Alten Testaments kategorisch ablehnten.

Das zweite Buch von *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* endet mit der Wiedergabe der manichäischen Doktrinen über Gott und den Menschen und den dazugehörigen Antworten, die den „orthodoxen“ Glauben wiederherstellen.⁴⁹ Alles

48 „Sed quare septimo diei requies ista tribuatur, diligentius considerandum arbitror. Video enim per totum textum divinarum scripturarum sex quasdam aetates operosas certis quasi limitibus suis esse distinctas, ut in septima speretur requies, et easdem sex aetates habere similitudinem istorum sex dierum, in quibus ea facta sunt quae Deum fecisse scriptura commemorat. Primordia enim generis humani, in quibus ista luce frui coepit, bene comparantur primo diei quo Deus fecit lucem. Haec aetas tamquam infantia deputanda est ipsius universi saeculi, quod tamquam unum nomine proportione magnitudinis suae cogitare debemus, quia et unusquisque homo, cum primo nascitur et exit ad lucem, primam aetatem agit infantiam. Haec tenditur ab Adam usque ad Noe generationibus decem. Quasi vespera huius diei fit diluvium, quia et infantia nostra tamquam oblivionis diluvio deleteri.“ (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I, 35).

49 „Postremo quoniam cum Manichaeis nobis de religione quaestio est, quaestio autem religionis est, quid de Deo pie sentiatur; quoniam negare non possunt in miseria peccatorum esse genus humanum, illi dicunt naturam Dei esse in miseria. – Nos negamus, sed eam naturam dicimus esse in miseria, quam de nihilo fecit Deus, et ad hoc venire non coactam, sed voluntate peccandi. Illi dicunt naturam Dei cogi ab ipso Deo ad poenitentiam peccatorum. – Nos negamus, sed dicimus eam naturam quam Deus fecit de nihilo, posteaquam peccavit, cogi ad poenitentiam peccatorum. Illi dicunt naturam Dei ab ipso Deo accipere veniam. – Nos negamus, sed dicimus eam naturam quam fecit Deus de nihilo, si se a peccatis suis ad Deum suum converterit, accipere veniam peccatorum. Illi dicunt naturam Dei necessitate esse mutabilem. – Nos negamus, sed dicimus eam naturam quam Deus fecit de nihilo voluntate esse mutatam. Illi dicunt Dei naturae nocere aliena peccata. – Nos negamus, sed dicimus nulli naturae nocere peccata nisi sua; et Deum dicimus tantae bonitatis esse, tantae iustitiae, tantae incorruptionis, ut neque peccet neque ipse alicui noceat qui peccare noluerit, nec ipsi aliquis qui peccare voluerit. Illi dicunt esse naturam mali, cui Deus cactus est naturae suae partem dare cruciandam. – Nos dicimus nullum esse malum naturale, sed omnes naturas bonas esse et ipsum Deum

wird in kurzen Propositionen formuliert, und es wäre auch möglich, diesen Teil als unabhängiges Handbuch zu betrachten, das den *imperiti* als Hilfsmittel dienen konnte, wenn sie bei der Widerlegung der Inhalte der Propaganda der Manichäer auf Schwierigkeiten stießen. In diesem Sinne wird eine Verbindung zwischen dem Anfang des ersten Buchs, in dem mehrmals wiederholt wird, dass Augustinus für die *parvuli* und *infirmi* schreibt, und dem Schluss des ganzen Werkes, in dem der Autor seinem Publikum ein weiteres Mittel anbietet, um sich gegen die Manichäer verteidigen zu können. Die Themen des letzten Paragraphs vom *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* sind für den Leser nicht neu, da sie schon im Text neben der Exegese erwähnt wurden; deswegen kann dieses abschließende Kapitel auch als Rekapitulation der ganzen Schrift angesehen werden: Noch ein Argument, das für einen einheitlichen und gleichgewichtigen Plan als Grundlage der Abfassung vom *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* spricht.

Die Ähnlichkeitselemente zwischen den Büchern der Schrift gegen die Manichäer beschränken sich nicht auf die dreiteilige Gliederung, sondern betreffen auch den Empfänger des Werkes. Für wen hat Augustinus diesen Text verfasst? Weder für die Manichäer noch für die *indocti*. Er hat in erster Linie für sich selbst geschrieben oder besser: Er verfolgte den Zweck, von sich den Verdacht zu entfernen, weiterhin mit der Gruppe Manis in Verbindung zu stehen. Wenn man bedenkt, dass Augustinus fast am Ende seines Lebens, das heißt nach der Bekehrung, der Taufe, der Weihe zum Priester und dann zum Bischof, sich noch in der Gefahr befand, von einem Gegner als versteckter Manichäer betrachtet zu werden, und dass er die Notwendigkeit gegeben sah, diese Beschuldigung ausführlich zu widerlegen, so kann man sich vorstellen, wie seine Mitbürger auf ihn reagieren sollten, als er wieder in Afrika lebte, nachdem er den Manichäismus vor nicht langer Zeit verlassen hatte. Es ist aber klar, dass der Bezug auf die *imperiti* keine literarische Fiktion ist: Wenn ein Mann

summam esse naturam, ceteras ex ipso esse naturas, et omnes bonas in quantum sunt, quoniam fecit Deus omnia bona valde, sed distinctionis gradi bus ordinata, ut sit aliud alio melius atque ita omni genere bonorum universitas ista compleatur, quae quibusdam perfectionis, quibusdam imperfectis tota perfecta est, quam Deus effector conditorque eius iusto modera mine administrare non cessat; qui omnia bona facit voluntate, nihil mali patitur necessitate; cuius enim volutas superat omnia, nulla ex parte quicquam sentit invitus. Cum ergo illa illi et nos ista dicimus, unusquisque eligat quid sequatur. Ego enim, quod bona fide coram Deo dixerim, sine ullo studio contentionis, sine aliqua dubitatione veritatis et sino aliquo praeiudicio diligentioris tractationis quae mihi videbantur expo sui.“ (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 11, 43).

mit einer solchen Ausbildung wie Augustinus von den *fabulae*⁵⁰ der Manichäer mindestens zum Teil überzeugt werden konnte, dann stellte die häretische Propaganda für die *indocti* eine viel gefährlichere Bedrohung dar. Aus diesem Grund bemüht sich Augustinus darum, eine unkomplizierte Sprache⁵¹ bei der Exegese anzuwenden, und die Behandlung nicht mehr als notwendig zu verlängern.⁵² Außerdem fügt er seiner Auslegung zahlreiche aus dem alltäglichen Leben entnommene Beispiele hinzu, die die Erklärung einiger schwieriger Stellen vervollständigen.⁵³

Da er wahrscheinlich nie die Hoffnung verlor, alle, die noch keine Mitglieder der katholischen Kirche waren, zum „richtigen“ Glauben zurückführen zu können, richtete Augustinus *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* zweifellos auch an die Manichäer, nicht nur um gegen sie zu polemisieren, sondern auch um eine Deutung des Buchs Genesis vorzuschlagen, die ihre Einwände vielleicht als unbegründet und haltlos dargestellt hätte.

Abschließend möchte ich auf einige Aspekte hinweisen, die die Wichtigkeit von *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* im Kreis der Schriften Augustins bestätigen. Das Werk enthält im Kern einige Themen, die vom Autor später in anderen Arbeiten behandelt werden, wie die gewaltsamen, gegen die Manichäer gerichteten Beschuldigungen,⁵⁴ einige theoretische Bemerkungen über die Ausführung der Exegese,⁵⁵ und vor allem der ständige Bezug auf den manichäischen Glauben,⁵⁶ sehr oft unabhängig von der Entwicklung der Deutung des biblischen Textes. Wie Augustinus im Werk *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum* eine detaillierte Beschreibung der Gewohnheiten der Manichäer liefert, werden die Grundlagen der Lehre Manis über Gott, die Welt und den Menschen ganz deutlich in *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* dargestellt. Das zeigt, dass beide Schriften sich gegenseitig ergänzen. Außerdem kommt die schon zu dieser Zeit bemerkenswerte Kenntnis des Manichäismus, über die Augustinus verfügte, ans Licht. Dieses Argument spricht für die These, er habe

50 Vgl. *De utilitate credendi* 18,36; *Contra Secundinum Manichaeum* 2; *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I, 7; *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum* II, 11,21; *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* V, 4; VI, 8; XX, 8; XX, 9; XX, 13; XXI, 16; XXIII, 8; XXVIII, 5, nur um einige Beispiele zu zitieren.

51 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I, 1.

52 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I, 7 und II, 37.

53 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I, 8; 10; 11; 13; 15; 21; 24; 25; 31; 32; 34; 43 und II, 34.

54 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I, 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 13; 14; 16; 24; 25; 26; 27; 33 und II, 3; 19; 38; 39.

55 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I, 12; 14; 15; 20 und II, 3; 17.

56 *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I, 2; 3; 6; 7; 14; 27; 33 und II, 11; 19; 38; 39; 40; 41; 42; 43.

schon als Manichäer die Möglichkeit gehabt und genutzt, sich der manichäischen Glaubenslehre nicht nur durch die oberflächliche Propaganda, sondern auch dank der direkten Untersuchung manichäischer Texte anzunähern, wie J. van Oort mehrmals unterstrichen hat.⁵⁷

57 J. van Oort, „Augustine and Manichaeism in Roman North Africa. Remarks on an African Debate and Its Universal Consequences“, in: P.Y. Fux, J.M. Roessli, O. Wermelinger (Hg.), *Augustinus Afër, Saint Augustin: africanité et universalité, Actes du colloque international Alger-Annaba, 1–7 avril 2001*, Fribourg 2003, 200; J. van Oort, „Augustine and Manichaeism: New Discoveries, New Perspectives“, *Verbum et Ecclesia* 27 (2006) 711; J. van Oort, „The Young Augustine’s Knowledge of Manichaeism: An Analysis of the *Confessiones* and Some Other Relevant Texts“, *VigChr* 62 (2008) 456.

The Physics of Light, Darkness and Matter in John the Grammarian's *First Homily against the Manichaeans*: Early Byzantine Anti-Manichaean Literature as a Window on Controversies in Later Neoplatonism

Byard Bennett

The first half of the sixth century AD witnessed a remarkable resurgence of interest in Manichaeism in the Greek-speaking world. Manichaean apologetic and polemical arguments were discussed in detail by such well-known writers as Simplicius and John Philoponus and also by less-known writers such as Zacharias Scholasticus, Severus of Antioch, John the Grammarian and Paul the Persian. This renewed interest in Manichaeism is puzzling because there is little evidence of significant Manichaean activity in Greek-speaking areas of the eastern Mediterranean during this period. The proliferation of Greek anti-Manichaean literature during the early sixth century is therefore not to be explained by factors internal to the Manichaean religion itself, but rather by some common element shared by all these anti-Manichaean writers, Christian and pagan alike.

I will argue that the common element shared by these writers is their educational background, namely that they can all be seen to have pursued the preparatory course of studies in Aristotelian logic and physics, which had come to form the initial phase of the Neoplatonic curriculum in the late fifth and early sixth centuries. The intensive study of Aristotle's writings on physics allowed the later Neoplatonic philosophers and their students to devote more focused attention to questions concerning the nature of the physical world, debating, for example, whether light was corporeal or incorporeal and whether matter was generated. The increased emphasis upon logic and the time set aside to discuss disputed questions, using the Neoplatonic method of identifying quandaries and seeking their resolution (*ἀπορία καὶ λύσις*), created space in the Neoplatonic curriculum to discuss Manichaeism and other movements whose views differed markedly from orthodox Platonism. Since the goal of the preparatory course of studies was to help the student see that there is one first principle, which is the Good, it was natural for the later Neoplatonists to use

Manichaeism as a foil, inviting students to consider its claims, showing them the quandaries raised by its dualism, and demonstrating the adequacy of orthodox Platonism to resolve these quandaries.

Sixth-century Greek anti-Manichaean writings should therefore be understood as products of later Alexandrian Neoplatonism and as reflecting the curriculum and methods of analyzing and resolving disputed questions which were important to Neoplatonic teachers and their students in the late fifth and early sixth centuries.¹ These authors' discussions of Manichaean teaching on the two principles (Light and Darkness) and the formation of the present world should thus be seen not as mere antiquarianism, but rather as serving a broader educational purpose connected with the Neoplatonic curriculum.

To illustrate this point, this essay will examine a representative early sixth-century anti-Manichaean text, John the Grammarian's *First Homily against the Manichaeans*. From its language and content, it will be seen that this text is not a homily at all, but rather a transcription of a lecture by a Christian teacher of Neoplatonic philosophy. The lecture reviews with students material which had previously been covered in the initial phase of the Neoplatonic curriculum and discusses several quandaries concerning matter and light which are raised by Manichaean beliefs and how these quandaries might be resolved within the Neoplatonic framework shared by John and his students.

Since little research has been done on John the Grammarian's two homilies against the Manichaeans since their publication in 1977, I will begin by

1 This approach to early sixth-century Greek anti-Manichaean literature arises naturally from a consideration of the education and professional careers of the authors of these texts. A number of these authors (including Zacharias Scholasticus, John Philoponus and Simplicius) are known to have studied philosophy in Alexandria under the Neoplatonist philosopher Ammonius (who had been a student of Proclus) and to have later functioned themselves as teachers and practitioners of advanced studies (i.e. grammar, rhetoric and philosophy). For Zacharias, Philoponus, and Simplicius as students of Ammonius, see Zacharias *Ammonius*, 92–93; 942–944 (M. Minniti Colonna, *Zacharia Scolastico. Ammonio*, Naples, 1973, 92, 125–126); Philoponus, *In Meteor.* 106,9; *In Nicomachi introductionem (lib. 1)* 7.4–5 (G.R. Giardina, *Giovanni Filopono matematico*, Catania: CUECM, 1999, 110); Simplicius *In Phys.* 59,23; 183,18; 192,14. In his *Life of Severus* Zacharias also describes Severus of Antioch as having studied in Alexandria at the same time he himself did. It is unclear from Zacharias' *Life* whether Severus pursued a formal course of philosophical studies but a later biography of Severus by Athanasius Gamala (beginning of the seventh century) refers to Severus as "sitting one day reading the writings of Plato" (E.J. Goodspeed, *Athanasius. The Conflict of Severus*, PO 4.6, Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1908, 594).

briefly describing the nature of these homilies and what is known about their authorship, date and place of origin.² The complete text of John's two homilies is extant only in a single twelfth-century manuscript, *ms. Vatopedinus* 236, ff. 140^r–148^v. The text of the first homily is preceded by the words ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΩΝ ΟΜΙΛΙΑ ΠΡΩΤΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΑΝΙΧΑΙΟΥΣ (“Of John the grammarian, first homily against the Manichaeans”). The text of the second homily is similarly preceded by the attribution ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΟΜΙΛΙΑ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ (“Of the same John the presbyter, a second homily”). Richard has argued that this John who was both a grammarian and a presbyter should be identified with the early Neo-Chalcedonian writer John the Grammarian, who between c. AD 514 and 518 had written an important defense of the Council of Chalcedon and whose views were subsequently attacked by Severus of Antioch in his treatise *Contra impium grammaticum* (*Against the Impious Grammarian*), written c. AD 518–519.³

Richard's identification of the author of the homilies with John the Grammarian, the opponent of Severus, is plausible and coheres well with the internal evidence provided by the homilies themselves. There are also close parallels in language and style between these two homilies and another contemporary anti-Monophysite treatise which is extant in *ms. Ohrid*, Musée nat. 86, pp. 206–212 and bears the title ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΔΟΚΗΤΑΣ (“Of John the presbyter, the grammarian, against the Aphantodocetists”).⁴ Richard rightly believed the two homilies against the Manichaeans and this latter treatise against the Aphantodocetists to be works of the same author. Richard also believed that John's treatise against the Aphantodocetists was one of the first polemical treatises written against the followers of Julian of Halicarnassus (preceding Leontius of Byzantium's *Contra Aphantodocetas* [PG 86,1316D–1357A] and perhaps roughly contemporary with Severus' writings against Julian, which were produced between AD 519 and 527). Thus, although John's two homilies against the Manichaeans can-

2 A critical edition of the two homilies of John the Grammarian against the Manichaeans is given in M. Richard, *Iohannis Caesariensis presbyteri et grammatici opera quae supersunt*, CCSG 1, Turnhout: Brepols, 1977, 84–105. The text of the first homily (Richard, 85–92) will be cited by the section number and line number in Richard's edition.

3 See Richard, v; J.R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire: Vol. 2: AD 395–527*, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1980, 611–612; A. Grillmeier and T. Hainthaler, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, v. 2.2, London: Mowbray, 1995, 52; E.M. Ludwig, “John the Grammarian of Caesarea” in R. Benedetto (ed.), *The New Westminster Dictionary of Church History*, v. 1, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2008, 361.

4 The text of the work is found in Richard, 69–78.

not be precisely dated, it would be reasonable to assume that they derive from roughly the same period of John's known literary activity (c. AD 514–c. 527).⁵

Richard's connection of John the Grammarian with Caesarea and southern Palestine is tenuous and may be incorrect. The manuscript tradition of John's work and the testimonies regarding his controversy with Severus do not connect him with any geographical area or episcopal see.⁶ The connection of John with Caesarea appears for the first time in Leontius of Jerusalem's *Testimonies of the Saints*, which was produced between AD 536 and 538.⁷ Leontius gives a brief citation from Severus' "work against John the Grammarian, who is also bishop of Caesarea" (κατὰ τοῦ Γραμματικοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ καὶ ἐπὶκόπου Καισαρείας βιβλίου).⁸ Leontius' identification of John the Grammarian as a bishop of Caesarea was in turn reproduced in two seventh-century sources dependent on Leontius, namely the acts of the Lateran Council of AD 649 and Anastasius of Sinai's *Viae Dux* (Ὁδηγός), which dates from the end of the seventh century.⁹

5 It is also worth noting that some of the Neoplatonic physics which John has inherited from Proclus would have been interpreted as signs of Origenism during the increasingly heated debates of the 540s and 550s. Thus, for example, the phrase τοῖς τῷ παρχει τοῦ σώματος ἐνδεδεμένοις (§12, 206) might have been linked with the Origenist idea of dense(r) bodies, which was condemned in the second and fourth anathemas in the anti-Origenist canons of AD 553; the notion of material bodies as being composed of prior elements (§3, 38) is also censured in the sixth anathema. John's lack of awareness or concern regarding these conflicts may suggest that his two homilies against the Manichaeans were composed at an earlier date. Furthermore, John's first homily appears to have been used by Philoponus in writing his *De officio mundi*, which was probably completed between AD 558 and 568; this again would suggest that the homilies were produced before the middle of the sixth century.

6 The connection of John the Grammarian with Caesarea is not found in the biographies of Severus written by Zacharias Scholasticus († ante AD 553) (M.-A. Kugener, *Vie de Sévère, par Zacharie le Scholastique*, PO 2.1, Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1907, 7–115); John of Beith Aphthonia († c. AD 538) (M.-A. Kugener, *Vie de Sévère, par Jean, Supérieur du Monastère de Beith Aphthonia*, PO 2.3, Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1907, 207–264); Athanasius Gamala (patriarch of Antioch AD 594–630/1); and George, Bishop of the Arabs (c. AD 640–c. 724) (K.E. McVey, *George, Bishop of the Arabs, A Homily on Blessed Mar Severus, Patriarch of Antioch*, CSCO Scriptorum Syri 217, Leuven: Peeters, 1993).

7 P.T.R. Gray, *Leontius of Jerusalem, Against the Monophysites: Testimonies of the Saints and Aporiae*, Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2006, 40.

8 *Ibid.*, 102 (PG 86.2, 1848D1–3).

9 J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, v. 10, Paris: Welter, 1901, 116D11–E1 (Ἰωάννου τῆς ἁγίας μνήμης ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας Παλαιστίνης); Anastasius of Sinai *Viae dux* 6.1 (Ἰωάννης ὁ Καισαρεύς ὁ Γραμματικός).

This identification, however, appears to rest on a mistake. Leontius seems to have confused John the Grammarian (Severus' Neo-Chalcedonian opponent and the author of the anti-Manichaean homilies we are discussing) with John the Khozibite, an Egyptian Monophysite who was appointed bishop of Caesarea by Anastasius I between AD 513 and 516 and died or was removed from office with the restoration of Chalcedon under Justin I in the 520s.¹⁰ There is thus no solid evidence to connect John the Grammarian with either Caesarea or the episcopate.

John's two homilies against the Manichaeans are remarkable in that they make extensive use of philosophical concepts and yet are composed in language that is unusual for a scholarly philosophical work; this unexpected discrepancy between the content and the language of these "homilies" provides an important clue to the true origin and nature of these works. The homilies make use of elements of contemporary spoken language that would probably have been regarded as unacceptable in a work that had literary pretensions or had been revised by the author for dissemination to a broader educated public interested in philosophy. Thus, for example, the verb *ὑπάρχω* is regularly used as the standard verb signifying "to be" (often displacing *εἰμί*) and the verb *ἀντιστρατεύομαι*, which is used only in the middle voice in classical and Hellenistic texts, appears in the active voice.¹¹ Words and constructions peculiar to the literary language are kept to a minimum.¹²

John's discussion in the homilies is also remarkable in that he presupposes a great deal of prior philosophical knowledge on the part of his hearers and, in the interest of time, tells his hearers that he will defer the demonstration

10 See S. Vailhé, "Jean le Khozibite et Jean de Césarée," *Échos d'Orient* 6 (1903) 107–113. According to W. Wright (*Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1847*, London: British Museum, 1877, 164–166), a fifteenth-century Ethiopic ms. in the British Library (*Orient.* 692/*Ethiop.* 256, ff. 38^r–47^r) contains a "Discourse of John, Bishop of Caesarea, on the Consecration of Churches to the Blessed Virgin." If the ascription is assumed to be accurate, this work is possibly to be attributed to John the Khozibite.

11 See § 2, 25. A similar use of *ἀντιστρατεύομαι* in the active voice occurs in the sermons of Basil of Seleucia (PG 85, 260C13–14), which Photius (*Bibliotheca*, cod. 107, 88a37–38; cf. cod. 42, 9b3–4) censures for their vulgar speech (*τὴν φράσιν χυδαίως*) and their dubious words picked up from the crossroads (*ἐκ τριόδου ῥημάτων*); see Robert Browning, "The Language of Byzantine Literature" in G. Nagy, *Greek Literature Vol. 9: Greek Literature in the Byzantine Period*, New York: Routledge, 2001, 117.

12 The optative is used relatively rarely, the dual appears only in the clichéd phrase *ἐξ ἀμφοῖν*, Ionic forms familiar from the Koine are used in preference to Attic forms, and words that were clearly obsolete or rarely used (such as were commonly culled from Atticist lexica) are generally avoided.

of certain points.¹³ Taken together, these features suggest that the homilies are transcriptions of lectures given by a Christian teacher of philosophy to a circle of regular students, but had not been revised by the teacher for dissemination to a broader public.¹⁴

The knowledge which John presupposes on the part of his students generally conforms to the material studied in the first three years of philosophical studies in sixth-century Alexandria.¹⁵ The later Neoplatonists assumed that the works of Aristotle should be studied before the Platonic dialogues were analyzed in detail. By the time of Proclus in the mid-fifth century, this preparatory course of studies appears to have assumed a standard form, being organized sequentially according to a hierarchy of sciences which in turn corresponded to a hierarchy of virtues by which one ascended toward the divine.¹⁶ The course of studies began with an introduction to logic, using Porphyry's *Isagoge* to provide a theoretical framework and then reading and commenting upon Aristotle's *Categories*, *De interpretatione* and at least the first book of the *Prior Analytics*. After a brief examination of some popular ethical works, Aristotle's principal writings on physics (*De caelo*, *De generatione et corruptione*, *Meteorologica* and *De anima*) were studied. Mathematics and geometry were then

13 See §6, 77–79; compare §9, 137–138.

14 The Tura papyri containing Didymus the Blind's lectures on various books of the Old Testament are of a similar character, offering to a circle of regular and visiting students a philosophically astute exposition of Scripture which (in spite of the use of technical grammatical and philosophical terms) often shows significant dependence upon the contemporary spoken language.

15 For the reconstruction of the sixth-century philosophical curriculum in Alexandria, see A.C. Lloyd, *The Anatomy of Neoplatonism*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1990, 4–6; L.G. Westerink, "Ein astrologisches Kolleg aus dem Jahre 564," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 64 (1971) 6–21. Other studies that discuss and attempt to reconstruct the philosophical curriculum employed by the Neoplatonists in the fifth and sixth centuries include A.J. Festugière, "L'ordre de lecture des dialogues de Platon aux V/VIe siècles," *Museum Helveticum* 26 (1969) 281–296 = Festugière, *Études de philosophie grecque*, Paris: J. Vrin, 1971, 535–550; L.G. Westerink, *The Greek Commentaries on Plato's Phaedo*, v. 1, Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1976, 26; I. Hadot, *Le problème du néoplatonisme alexandrin. Hiéroclès et Simplicius*, Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1978, 16–104; M.-O. Goulet-Cazé, "L'arrière-plan scolaire de la *Vie de Plotin*" in L. Brisson et al., *Porphyre: La Vie de Plotin*, v. 1, Paris: J. Vrin, 1982, 229–327 (esp. 277–280); L.G. Westerink, J. Trouillard and A. Segonds, *Prolégomènes à la philosophie de Platon*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1990, lviii, lxxv–lxxiv; R. Sorabji, *The Philosophy of the Commentators 200–600 AD. A Sourcebook. Volume 1: Psychology*, London: Duckworth, 2004, 319–328.

16 D.J. O'Meara, *Platonopolis: Platonic Political Philosophy in Late Antiquity*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003, 61–62; I. Hadot, *Simplicius sur les catégories*, fasc. 1, Leiden: Brill, 1990, 64–65, 80–93; Ammonius *In Cat.* 6,6–20.

introduced as a stepping-stone to theology, discussing especially Euclid's *Elements* and Nicomachus' *Introduction to Arithmetic*. The lectures on these texts were also used to touch more briefly on the closely related subjects of geometrical optics and harmonics. The preparatory course of studies concluded with a study of theology, commenting on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. Since the goal of the latter part of the *Metaphysics* is to demonstrate that there is one first principle (ἀρχή) which is the Good,¹⁷ the *Metaphysics* provided a very natural transition from the preparatory study of Aristotle to the detailed analysis of Plato's dialogues.

Throughout the Neoplatonic curriculum, space was created for the discussion and resolution of disputed questions. There were different ways in which such enquiries could be structured. Often a teacher would invite his students to reflect upon an opinion which had been handed down by tradition (typically through a written doxographical source) and was held to be authoritative by partisans of that tradition and assumed by them to be demonstrable. When the received opinion was stated in summary form (e.g. as a proposition or the statement of an exegetical argument) and one began to investigate what was meant by this proposition, one discovered that the opinion under discussion was difficult to reconcile with another accepted, plausible belief. This created a quandary (ἀπορία) which required discussion and resolution (λύσις).¹⁸ The problems associated with the proposition were then traced back to an earlier problem within the proposition itself, e.g., the proposition could be seen to rest on false premises or to involve a category mistake. The teacher would invite the students to use their prior knowledge to reflect on these problems and consider some plausible solutions based on a philosophical framework that was shared by the teacher and his students. In this process, false premises could be identified, category mistakes could be corrected and certain distinctions could be introduced (or distinctions previously used might need to be refined and disambiguated). The teacher's goal was to demonstrate that the philosophical framework he shared with his students was capable of resolving the quandary, showing the matter under discussion to be intelligible in light of broader patterns of change specified by the shared philosophical framework.

The structure and argumentation of John's *First Homily* can be understood in light of the specific texts, disputed questions and argumentative methods

17 See e.g. *Metaphysics* 12.7.6–7, 1072b13–20; 12.8.1, 1073a14–15; 12.10.1, 1075a12–13; Ammonius *In Cat.* 6,9–12; Philoponus *In Cat.* 5,34–6,2; Lloyd, 4; Hadot, *Simplicius*, 97–103.

18 For the Aristotelian background of this idea, see Aristotle *Metaphysics* 3.1.1–3, 995a24–b2, 996a with the discussion of M. Pakaluk, *Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics: An Introduction*, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005, 28–29.

introduced in the Neoplatonic curriculum. John begins with a brief prologue which aims to justify philosophical studies by showing that such studies allow one to discern error and are conducive to the soul's ascent toward the divine (§§ 1–2). John then presents a disputed question to his students for discussion (§ 3). The disputed question is introduced in the form of a proposition (matter is living and ungenerated), which John has extracted from an earlier written summary of Manichaean doctrine (Titus of Bostra's *Contra Manichaeos*).¹⁹ This claim interests John for two reasons. First, the claim that matter is ungenerated possibly conflicts with the Christian belief in a single first principle which is the cause of all things. Furthermore, the question of whether matter could be regarded as ungenerated was an important subject of discussion in later Neoplatonism. Aristotle in the *Metaphysics* (3.7, 999b12–13) had accepted that matter was ungenerated and the Middle Platonists Plutarch (c. AD 46–120) and Atticus (fl. AD 175) had transferred this terminology to the Platonic tradition, describing matter as “ungenerated by [any] cause” (ἀγέννητος ... ἀπ' αἰτίας).²⁰ The ungenerated character of matter was important to Atticus' circle because it allowed them to absolve God from any responsibility for the origin of evils. In their view, matter had not been produced by God and had no causal dependence upon God. Ungenerated matter was instead moved in a disorderly manner by an equally “ungenerated but irrational and maleficent soul,” causing evils to arise.²¹

The Neoplatonist Proclus, however, drawing upon some earlier arguments advanced by Porphyry, decisively rejected Atticus' position and held that matter was not ungenerated, but was instead brought into existence by God (i.e. the One).²² This made it possible for the later Neoplatonists to trace all things back to a single causal principle but also required Proclus to give a more complex account of physical and moral evils, which depended in part on developing and refining the idea of evil as a privation of the good.²³ The question of whether

19 See § 3, 34–35 and compare § 6, 80; Titus of Bostra *Contra Manichaeos* 1.6; 1.12; 1.13 (P. de Lagarde, *Titi Bostreni quae ex opere contra Manichaeos ... graece*, Berlin: Hertz, 1859; 4,14–18; 6,26–27; 7,37–38).

20 Proclus *In Tim.* 1, 384,3–4.

21 Proclus *In Tim.* 1, 391,9–10. The Christian Middle Platonist Hermogenes apparently later endorsed a somewhat similar position. He held matter to be ungenerated (Hippolytus *Refutatio omnium haeresium* 10.28.1) and apparently regarded the disorderly motion of that portion of ungenerated matter which was not formed and set in order by God as being the source of evils (Tertullian *Adversus Hermogenem* 36–37, 40–41).

22 Proclus *in Tim.* 1, 384,23–24; 385,1–13.

23 See J. Phillips, *Order from Disorder: Proclus' Doctrine of Evil and Its Roots in Ancient Pla-*

matter could be regarded as ungenerated (and if so, in what carefully restricted sense) was subsequently discussed by Aeneas of Gaza († c. AD 518) and also by Simplicius (c. AD 490–c. 560) and Philoponus (c. AD 490–c. 570) in their respective commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics*.²⁴

In developing his response to the Manichaean position (§§ 3–4), John begins by laying out a basic framework to guide the discussion. This framework is derived from the Neoplatonic introductions to Aristotelian logic which were used at the beginning of the preparatory course of studies in the Neoplatonic curriculum. Substances may be either incorporeal (e.g. the intellect) or corporeal (e.g. the body), or may involve a union of something incorporeal with something corporeal (e.g. a human being, whose existence depends upon a union of intellect and body).²⁵ Now if God and matter are ungenerated, they must be first principles and precede the formation of bodies; since matter precedes the formation of bodies, it must necessarily be an incorporeal substance, which means that physical patterns of change and combination are not applicable to it. Furthermore, substances *per se* do not undergo change at all, except by passing in and out of existence and these are things which a first principle cannot do.²⁶ Thus, if matter is incorporeal and, as a first principle, cannot undergo change, it cannot become a body or be changed in such a way that it becomes the substrate for bodies.²⁷

tonism, Leiden: Brill, 2007; R. Chlup, "Proclus' Theory of Evil: An Ethical Perspective," *The International Journal of the Platonic Tradition* 3 (2009) 26–57.

- 24 Aeneas of Gaza *Theophrastus* (M.E. Colonna, *Enea di Gaza. Teofrasto*, Naples: S. Iodice, 1958, 8,22–23); Simplicius *In Phys.* 249,15–18; 256,14–16; 1141,16–20; 1144,22–30; Philoponus *In Phys.* 189,9–10.26; *De aeternitate mundi* 345,23–25; 465,16–18; Asclepius *In Metaphys.* 186,24–25.
- 25 § 3, 35–39; compare Damascius *De principiis* (L.G. Westerink, *Traité des premiers principes* v. 1, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1986, 30,1–11); John of Damascus *Contra Manichaeos* 30; 66.
- 26 If something came into existence, it would have to be brought into existence by something prior to it, which would show that it was not a first principle at all. If, on the other hand, a first principle were to pass out of existence, everything causally dependent upon it would also pass out of existence. Once the first principle had passed out of existence, it would have no power to bring itself (or anything dependent upon it) back into existence, so nothing at all would exist and this conflicts with what we actually observe to be the case.
- 27 § 4, 49–50, 55–57; compare § 3, 45–46; § 4, 61–64; and ps.-Justin *Confutatio dogmatum quorundam Aristotelicorum* 7 (124B4–6; J.C.T. Otto, *Iustini philosophi et martyris opera quae feruntur omnia*, 3. ed., v. 3.1, Jena: Fischer, 1880, 132): "If a body is not produced from incorporeal things, how has a body come into existence from matter and form, since these are in themselves incorporeal?"

The Manichaean claim that matter is ungenerated and a first principle thus creates a quandary. The Manichaeans had originally introduced ungenerated matter as a way to explain the formation and nature of bodies but it has been shown that precisely because matter is ungenerated, it cannot perform this function. This quandary can be resolved only when one gives up the false premise in the Manichaean proposition, rejecting the idea that matter is ungenerated.

In the next section (§§ 6–8), John discusses another proposition which is attributed to the Manichaeans in Basil’s second homily on the Hexaemeron: Nothing, it is argued, is causally produced by its contrary.²⁸ Thus, for example, light does not produce darkness and wherever light is present, darkness does not exist. Since things produce or give rise to other things like themselves, one cannot imagine light producing darkness any more than one could imagine heat producing cold. It follows that God, being light and good, cannot have produced darkness, which is evil.²⁹ If then darkness exists and was not made by God, it must always have existed, being ungenerated and existing alongside God, having an existence contrary to God’s own.³⁰

John’s response to this argument (§§ 7–8) is dependent upon the Neoplatonic interpretation of Aristotle *De anima* 2.7, 418a26–419b3. Darkness does not have an independent, ongoing existence of its own but is simply a condition that supervenes in the air when the air is deprived of light.³¹ Darkness, in other words, is not a substance, but merely an accident which supervenes in a substance (i.e. the air) and has no existence apart from the substance in which it supervenes.³² Darkness therefore does not persist but rather passes away when light is introduced.

In the next section (§§ 9–12), John discusses a Manichaean interpretation of Gen. 1:2, “And there was darkness upon the abyss,” which he has also excerpted from Basil.³³ In this verse, it is noted, no mention is made of any origin or creation of darkness. Darkness simply exists, preceding even the appearance of light, which is mentioned only in the next verse (Gen. 1:3). This, it is claimed, shows that darkness is an ungenerated first principle.

28 § 6, 85; compare Basil *Hom. in Hex. 2.4* (E. Amand de Mendieta and S.Y. Rudberg, *Basilius von Caesarea. Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, GCS NF 2, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1997, 28,11).

29 § 6, 83–87; compare Basil *Hom. in Hex. 2.4* (26,28–27,3).

30 § 6, 80–83; compare Basil *Hom. in Hex. 2.4* (26,26–28; 28,11–12).

31 § 7, 98–108; § 8, 111–115.

32 Cf. § 8, 109–112.

33 § 9, 132–135; compare Basil *Hom. in Hex. 2.4* (26,20; 26,26–27,3).

In responding, John admits that the Manichaean exegesis of Gen. 1:2 makes an important point that is not fully addressed by Basil and Gregory of Nyssa in their respective discussions of the Hexaemeron. It is not sufficient to say that darkness is merely the absence which arises from the departure of something prior.³⁴ As Basil's Manichaean opponents had noted, Gen. 1 describes darkness as existing first and light as coming into being at a later time.³⁵

John's solution to this exegetical quandary is to treat Gen. 1 as describing not first principles, but merely the original state of the sensible world itself. The darkness and light mentioned in Gen. 1 are therefore not (as the Manichaeans assumed) ungenerated first principles that are responsible for the production of the present world. Instead, darkness and light are simply two different states of the air, which is one of the primal elements from which the present physical world is constituted.³⁶

As Aristotle had shown in *De anima* 2.7, the air is a transparent medium, being colorless by nature.³⁷ Because the air is colorless, it can remain invisible to us even when it is present.³⁸ Furthermore, as a transparent medium, it is essentially a passive substrate. For vision to occur, light must supervene in the air, allowing sight to perceive visible things without any intervening passage of time.³⁹ Far from being ungenerated first principles, then, light and darkness are simply two different states (not-yet-illuminated vs. illuminated) of a created sensible substance (the air).⁴⁰

John then develops a further argument to show that the light mentioned in Gen. 1 is also not an ungenerated first principle but is instead corporeal and a mundane part of the sensible world (§ 11). John notes that Gen. 1:3 describes the light as coming into being at a certain point in time, so it cannot be a first principle.⁴¹ John then tries to develop philosophical arguments to show that light is corporeal in nature.⁴²

34 Cf. Gregory of Nyssa *Liber de cognitione Dei* (in Euthymius Zigabenus *Panoplia dogmatica* 9; PG 130, 313A1–2): Οὐ τὸ σκότος οὐσία τις, ἀλλὰ συμβεβηκὸς καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ φωτὸς ἀπουσία.

35 § 9, 135–137; § 10, 168–173.

36 § 9, 140–142; § 10, 157–165.

37 § 10, 157; compare Philoponus *In De anima* 329, 5–9.

38 § 9, 140–142, 147–148, 151–152; compare Philoponus *De officio mundi* 61, 21–22.

39 § 9, 151–157; § 11, 185–188; compare Alexander of Aphrodisias *In De sensu* 135, 12–17.

40 § 10, 157–159, 163–165, 173–174; the interpretation of the darkness over the abyss as air that is not yet illuminated (μῆπω πεφωτισμένον) is also found in Philoponus *De officio mundi* 13,10; 73,7–10.

41 § 11, 190–193; compare § 9, 135–137.

42 Cf. § 11, 176–179.

The position John has chosen to defend is remarkable because virtually all Neoplatonic writers had argued for the opposite position, namely that light is incorporeal and transcends the limits of bodily substances. They noted, for example, that light travels instantaneously (and apparently timelessly) from one point to another, whereas bodies travel from one place to another in increments of time and space.⁴³ They also observed that light can pass through bodily substances such as glass or water, while bodies are hindered, slowed or blocked when they attempt to pass through these same substances.⁴⁴ Furthermore, light, though visible, has an intangible character because it appears to lack three-dimensionality or volume, which the later Neoplatonists took to be an essential characteristic of bodies.⁴⁵ Virtually all Neoplatonists, pagan and Christian alike, therefore regarded light as an incorporeal entity that had important analogies with the intelligible world.

John draws his argumentation for the corporeal nature of light from Proclus, the one major Neoplatonist to develop and defend this position.⁴⁶ Proclus was willing to recognize gradations of corporeality within the sensible world and suggested that sensible light should be regarded as having a refined corporeality insofar as it shared some important features characteristic of bodies.⁴⁷

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- 43 Cf. Philoponus *In De anima* 330,26–27. For the discussion of this issue in the later Neoplatonists and its relevance to the debate regarding the corporeal nature of light, see R. Sorabji, *The Philosophy of the Commentators 200–600AD. A Sourcebook. Volume 2: Physics*, London: Duckworth, 2004, 284–288.
- 44 Compare John's discussion in § 11, 181–183, 185–187.
- 45 A point noted by John in § 11, 188–190.
- 46 See Sorabji, v. 2, 276–278,294,297–298,308–309. In one respect John goes beyond Proclus, appearing to cast doubt on the idea that the divine nature is pervaded by intelligible light (§ 12). This position is probably a consequence of a trend toward greater apophaticism which is observable in Proclus and some later Neoplatonists (in a moderate form in Ammonius and in a more extensive and developed form in Damascius' *On First Principles*). This led to a breaking down of analogies between substances in the sensible world and substances in the intelligible realm and a corresponding denial of the validity of sensible terms and concepts in understanding the nature of the divine or first principles. For the views of Ammonius and his students, see the discussion in E. Tempelis, *The School of Ammonius, Son of Hermias, on Knowledge of the Divine*, Athens: Ekdosisi Philologikou Syllogou Parnassos, 1998, 101–106. For Damascius' approach, see the selections translated in Sorabji, *The Philosophy of the Commentators*, v. 1, 331–335.
- 47 For the preceding Hellenistic debate about the corporeal nature of light, see S. Berryman, "Euclid and the Sceptic: A Paper on Vision, Doubt, Geometry and Drunkenness," *Phronesis* 43:2 (1998), 194–195. For the debate within later Neoplatonism, see Sorabji, *Philosophy of the Commentators*, v. 2, 274–284.

Drawing upon the Hellenistic tradition of geometrical optics, Proclus noted that when light encounters the smooth, reflective substance of a mirror, it is deflected at an angle.⁴⁸ This suggested that light's progress was hindered and altered by physical bodies, which could only be true if light had some type of corporeal existence, since incorporeal things could not be changed, affected or constrained by the presence of a body. Having followed Proclus in making sensible light corporeal and having defended this position by developing Proclus' argument from the angular deflection of light by a mirror, John rejects the Manichaeic argument that light and darkness are ungenerated first principles and shows that light and darkness are instead rather mundane physical phenomena.

In the final section of his argument (§§13–16), John analyzes the Manichaeic claim that good and evil are ungenerated entities that exist forever in absolute opposition to one another.⁴⁹ This claim is known to have been previously discussed by the Neoplatonist philosopher Ammonius, who had expressed to his students his intense dislike of this particular Manichaeic assertion.⁵⁰ In Asclepius' commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, which professes to transmit Ammonius' lectures on this book, the Manichaeans are criticized for providing “for God an enemy who is both implacable and eternal.” Ammonius had scornfully pointed out that this would make God inferior to the excellent man (ὁ σπουδαῖος ἀνὴρ), who according to Aristotle has no enemy. Ammonius was also angered by the dismissive attitude the Manichaeans displayed toward the methods the Neoplatonists used to identify and resolve quandaries. Ammonius had concluded the discussion by telling his students that it was not some first principle of evil, but rather the Manichaeans themselves who were at enmity with God (θεοχόλητοι) and hence objects of divine wrath.

48 The argument is summarized by Philoponus *In De anima* 330,28–30; 331,3–5; 332,4. Compare John's argumentation in §11, 178–179. On Proclus' interest in geometrical optics, see F. Camerota, “Optics and the Visual Arts: The Role of Σχηνογραφία” in *Homo Faber: Studies on Nature, Technology, and Science at the Time of Pompeii*, Rome: “L'Erma” di Bretschneider, 2002, 127–128. For a discussion of Proclus' approach to geometry and related applied sciences like optics and astronomy, see the introduction to G.R. Morrow, *Proclus: A Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements*, Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1992. Like his teacher Proclus, Ammonius is also known to have taken a special interest in geometry and its applications to astronomy and other physical sciences (Damascius *Vita Isidori = Epit. Phot.* 79; *frr.* 128, 241) and communicated this interest to his students.

49 §13, 210–211; compare §15, 241–242.

50 See Asclepius *In Metaphys.* 271,32–272,2; 285,17–19; 292,25–29.

In responding to this Manichaean argument concerning the eternal and absolute opposition of good and evil, John invites his students to reflect upon Aristotle's account of contrariety, which had been discussed at the beginning of the preparatory course of studies in the Neoplatonic curriculum, when Aristotle's *Categories* were read and commented upon. John begins by pointing out that the idea of absolute opposition is incompatible with Aristotle's account of contrariety.⁵¹ Aristotle had argued in the *Categories* that contraries like black and white can exist in opposition only when they have something prior in common.⁵² What makes black and white contraries (instead of simply different) is that they have something in common, namely being colors.⁵³ Black and white in fact can only be contraries insofar as they are species which, by their distinguishing characteristics, possess the maximal difference within the genus of color.⁵⁴

John then shows that the Manichaean assumption that good and evil are substances is also incompatible with Aristotle's account of contrariety.⁵⁵ In Aristotle's view, contrariety is something that cannot be predicated of substances, only of qualities which inhere in a substance.⁵⁶ Thus, for example, there is no substance contrary to human being; there are only substances different from human being. Furthermore, good is not (as the Manichaeans imagined) a substance, but rather a quality arising from choice and only as a quality may it have a contrary, namely evil.⁵⁷ To speak of a substance or a first principle having a contrary, however, would be a category mistake, so the Manichaean position must be rejected if the quandary is to be resolved.⁵⁸

In conclusion, John's *First Homily against the Manichaeans* can be understood as reflecting the principles and practices of philosophical instruction in later Alexandrian Neoplatonism. The philosophical knowledge John presupposes on the part of his audience corresponds to material studied in the preparatory phase of the Neoplatonic curriculum (i.e. the introduction to logic; the study of the *Categories* and Aristotle's physical works, particularly the *De anima*; and the use of geometrical optics to discuss the physics of light). Finally,

51 § 15, 238–243; compare § 16, 251–254.

52 § 15, 243–244; § 16, 253–255.

53 Aristotle *Cat.* 5, 4a13–15; 8, 9a31–33, 9b10–12, 10b13–19; cf. John § 15, 244–246.

54 Aristotle *Cat.* 10, 11b35–38; 11, 14a14–23; 13, 14b34–15a7; cf. John § 15, 246–250; § 16, 255–257.

55 § 15, 238–239; § 16, 253–257.

56 Aristotle *Cat.* 5, 3b24–32, 4a10–b18; 8, 10b12–16; cf. John § 15, 244–246, 249–250; § 16, 255–258 and compare § 10, 157–164; § 13, 210–214.

57 Aristotle, *Cat.* 5, 4a15–16; cf. John § 13, 218–219; § 15, 250–251.

58 Cf. § 15, 246–249; § 16, 251–261; compare § 11, 175–176; § 13, 210–213, 223–224.

John's *First Homily* makes extensive use of quandary and resolution as a pedagogical device, using the discussion of a proposition or exegetical argument extracted from an earlier written source to review material previously discussed with students and to demonstrate its adequacy to resolve difficult intellectual problems within the framework provided by orthodox Platonism.

Primal Man, Son of God: From Explicit to Implicit Christian Elements in Manichaeism*

Fernando Bermejo

Probably every scholar will agree that among the main influences on Mani's religion not only Zoroastrian but also Christian elements are to be detected.¹ We can draw this conclusion from Manichaean sources—even more after the publication of the writing entitled *On the Origin of his Body* (*Cologne Mani Codex*)—and also from non-Manichaean (Pagan, Christian, and Muslim) evidence.² If the possible influence of Buddhist and perhaps also Jain aspects in the formative period of Manichaeism is more controversial, the presence of the other aforementioned influences seems to be beyond doubt.

Of course, the extent and importance of that Christian influence is the real problem.³ For instance, Werner Sundermann has concluded not only the relevance of the Jesus figure in Manichaean sources—there following the path of other scholars—, but he has also pointed out that most of the aspects of Jesus could be replaced by more exact mythological entities, such as Jesus the Splendour by the Great Nous or *Jesus Patibilis* by the Living Soul.⁴ In this

* I am grateful to Sara Arnoldi and Iain Gardner for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

- 1 For a recent overview of this last issue, especially from the perspective of the history of research, see F. Bermejo, “Factores cristianos en el maniqueísmo: status quaestionis (Christiano-manichaica I)”, *Revista Catalana de Teología* 32/1 (2007) 67–99.
- 2 The oldest preserved refutation of Mani's doctrines, the treatise by Alexander of Lycopolis *Πρὸς τὰς Μανιχαίου δόξας*, already described Manichaeism as a Christian trend.
- 3 Given the astonishing range of early Christianity's diversity, the unspecified terms “Christian” and “Christianity” will mean in the following usually “the Great Church” (“die Grosskirche”), “Catholic”, “Proto-orthodox” or mainstream Christianity, namely, the historically successful trends of this religion. It is well-known that other Christian varieties and authors such as Marcionism, Bardaisan, Gnostic movements, and so on, have also influenced Mani's beliefs and practices.
- 4 W. Sundermann, “Christ in Manichaeism”, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (ed. E. Yarshater), vol. v, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1992, 535b–539a, esp. 536: “In Manichaeism the Christian notion of Jesus's unique sacrifice is not encountered. All aspects of the Manichaean Jesus image can thus be subsumed under the concepts of a redeeming and a suffering cos-

sense, at the end of her careful monograph *Jesus in the Manichaean Writings*, Majella Franzmann has suggested that perhaps, in the end, the Manichaean Jesus is not essential to the function and coherence of the entire Manichaean myth as such, although it would provide an indispensable lens through which to view it and appreciate its working.⁵ This makes us think that the explicit references to Jesus could be not as important as they appear to be *prima facie*. Other scholars have been cautious in tendering agreement to the position according to which Jesus is absolutely essential to Manichaeism as such,⁶ sometimes judging that Christian elements within Manichaeism were rather a secondary concession resulting from Manichaean contact with Christianity through missionary activity, and in order to win over Christians to the new religion.

This conclusion, however, does not mean that we cannot be sure about the importance of the Christian elements—and specifically about the idea of Christ—in Manichaeism. In order to do that, we could try to discern, beyond the explicit references to Jesus or the usage of New Testament ideas in Manichaeism, and despite the obvious differences between Christian and Manichaean myths, also implicit, structural similarities between them. These implicit parallels could be even more revealing, striking and eloquent than the explicit ones.⁷

An interesting example of these implicit parallels was offered several decades ago by Alexander Böhlig in several contributions, particularly in his arti-

mic figure [...] In most of his aspects Jesus may be replaced by more precise mythological entities: Jesus the Splendor is represented as the Great Nous, Jesus *patibilis* as the World Soul, Jesus the child as the Enthymesis of Life, Jesus the Moon as the moon [...] and so on”.

5 M. Franzmann, *Jesus in the Manichaean Writings*, London: T & T Clark, 2003, 144.

6 See J.K. Coyle, “The Cologne Mani-Codex and Mani’s Christian Connections”, *Église et Théologie* x (1979), 179–193; “Die christlichen Elemente sind eben nur Stilelemente, um Schaeders eigene Terminologie zu benutzen” (G. Widengren, “Einleitung”, in: *Der Manichäismus*, ed. G. Widengren, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977, xxvii, n. 44).

7 The question regarding the ways through which Mani could know Christian ideas cannot be tackled here. The knowledge of central Christian myths was already made possible through the (direct or indirect) influence of Paul’s letters, as shown in the inclusion of Paul in the prophetic line going from Jesus to Mani in Keph 1 (13, 20ss), and in Mani’s *imitatio Pauli*; “Paul a joui auprès de Mani comme auprès de ses disciples occidentaux d’un prestige et d’une autorité analogues à ceux que lui avaient accordés Marcion et la plupart des écoles antérieures de gnose” (H.-Ch. Puech, “Saint Paul chez les manichéens d’Asie Centrale”, in: Id., *Sur le manichéisme et autres essais*, Paris: Flammarion, 1979, 153–167, esp. 154).

cle “The New Testament and Manichaeism Myth”.⁸ I refer to the parallel between the Christian view of God sending his Son to the world and the Manichaeism view of the Primal Man. The correctness of this appreciation has been generally recognized. However, this parallel was tackled by the German scholar in a rather generic and non systematic way, as his goal was to highlight the extent of the influence of several New Testament ideas on the Manichaeism myth.⁹

Working on the suggestions made by Böhlig on a particular topic, in this paper I aim at completing his treatment, by surveying in a systematic and ordered way the many parallels between the Christian Son of God and the Manichaeism Primal Man, so that the structure of the influence of the former on the latter can be made even clearer. This is the modest goal of my paper. The parallels will be presented according to a logical order.

First Parallel: In Order to Face Evil and Neutralize It, God Sends a Figure in Mission

Evil is certainly understood in a very different way in Christianity and Manichaeism. According to the prevailing Christian trends, Evil is—so to say—

8 “In his myth and his theological discourses Mani made Christianity’s essential statements of faith the basis of his own teaching too: God as Creator of heaven and earth, the saving activity of God in his Son through struggle, suffering and final victory, the annihilation of death and sin ...” (A. Böhlig, “The New Testament and the Concept of the Manichaeism Myth”, in: A. Logan, A. Wedderburn [eds], *The New Testament and Gnosis. Essays in Honour of R. McL. Wilson*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1983, 90–104, esp. 92); “The basic tendency of the myth, which expresses the central thrust of his belief, is [...] a Gnostic Christianity which represents in broad perspective the way of the Son of God variously incarnated as creator and redeemer, in order, by its *gnōsis* and the resulting consequences, to be led to the Father” (ibid, 101). See also A. Böhlig, “Der Manichäismus und das Christentum”, in: A. Böhlig and Chr. Marksches, *Gnosis und Manichäismus. Forschungen und Studien zu Texten von Valentin und Mani sowie zu den Bibliotheken von Nag Hammadi und Medinet Madi*, Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994, 265–282; “Ainsi l’histoire du Premier Homme est parallèle à l’histoire du Christ. *C’est un Christ dont le destin se serait joué avant la création du monde*” (S. Pétrément, *Le Dieu séparé. Les origines du gnosticisme*, Paris: Cerf, 1984, 161).

9 To speak in a generic way about “the Manichaeism myth” risks the danger of offering a theoretical construct not true to the sources, given that the spread of this religion could produce regional differences and variants, far apart in terms of space and time. Nevertheless, I find this terminology right, not only because Manichaeism was a relatively homogeneous religion in doctrinal aspects, but also because of the key position that the myth of Primal Man seems to have played in it.

a reality only secondarily present in Being (usually as the result of human or angelic free will), whereas for Manichaeism Evil is projected back to an earlier period: it is a pre-cosmic substance, existing independently from the Good and the human beings, and thereby called “principle”, “foundation” or “root”.

Despite these differences, however, the basic framework of the Christian and Manichaean views of God’s reaction to Evil is quite similar: in both cases, it is the existence of a negativity (which, it seems, is not to be counteracted otherwise) that induces the godhead to send a figure endowed with salvific power (respectively, the second person of the Trinity and the Primal Man). This figure accomplishes a mission in a realm where deficiency prevails (in Christianity, the world; in Manichaeism, the pre-cosmic realm of contact between Light and Darkness), and that mission is described as a sending (even in the de-mythologized version, *ad usum philosophi*, transmitted by Alexander of Lycopolis).¹⁰

Other similar details are apparent in some sources: the action of the figure which is sent is conceived not only as a departure, but also as a downwards movement (both in the *καταβαίνειν* of the Fourth Gospel¹¹ or the descending to the agon in some *Kephalaia*¹²). Sometimes, the sending of the figure is conceived as the breakthrough of a luminous element, as in the Fourth Gospel and some Turfan fragments.¹³

10 Galatians 4:4; “So he sent a certain power, which we call Soul, towards matter, which was to mingle with it throughout” (A. Brinkmann, ed., *Alexandri Lycopolitani contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig 1895, 5; see P.W. van der Horst, J. Mansfeld (eds), *An Alexandrian Platonist against Dualism. Alexander of Lycopolis’ Treatise “Critique of the Doctrines of Manichaeus”*, Leiden: Brill, 1974, 54). The existence in the Manichaean myth of the figure of the “Third Envoy” presupposes the existence of a “Second Envoy” (the Living Spirit) and of a “First Envoy” (the Primal Man), even if these two figures do not receive such names.

11 See e.g. John 3:13; 6:32–33.38.42.51.58.

12 *εφυνηγ λιπιτνε παλαων*: *Kephalaion* 9 (38,23–24; cf. 38,31–32: *ππεσαπ ετφνηγ αβα[λ αφοικε ε]ττιπσαμπιτνε*); *ΣΜ* *ηπσηγ ετα ποδριπ ηρωμε [βωκ] λιπιτνε λιπιφυν*: *Kephalaion* 17 (55,25–26). Cf. H.-J. Polotsky, A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia I, Erste Hälfte, Lieferung 1–10* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940).

13 See John 1:4 (*καί τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει*; also 1:9; 3:19; 8:12; 9:5; 12:46) and the Middle Persian fragment M 1001: *my’n wyš’n wysp’n zwr’n ’wn br’zyst ’wd pyd’g bwd c’wn ’str ’y rws’n my’n t’ryg’n*.

Second Parallel: The Figure Which Is Sent Is Consubstantial with God, and Is the Son of God

In the idea of “being sent” no predicate is included on the ontological category of the figure which has been sent or on the kind of connection of this figure to the being who sends; that figure might be, for example, a creature of the godhead. In both Christianity and Manichaeism, however, a common feature is that the figures which are sent are consubstantial to God. Whereas in early Christian authors—including some “Gnostics”—the term ὁμοούσιος is frequently attested,¹⁴ the idea that the first evocation is fully consubstantial to the Great Father prevails both in Western and Eastern Manichaean sources.¹⁵

Moreover, the relationship between the figure that sends and the figure which is sent is also described as the communion between a Father and a Son. Of course, whereas in Manichaeism the Son is “called” or “evocated” by the Mother of the Living—who is, in turn, “evocated” by the Father—in Proto-orthodox Christianity the Son is directly the Son of the Father. But the Primal Man is called repeatedly “Son (of God)” or “Son of the King”, both in Western and Eastern Manichaean texts.¹⁶ In fact, both the Christian Son of God and the Manichaean Son are called “First-born” or “Only-begotten” Son.¹⁷

14 See G.C. Stead, s.v. “Homoousios”, *RAC* 16 (1994), 364–433.

15 “Felix: Et qui generavit et quos generavit et ubi positi sunt, omnia aequalia sunt. Augustinus dixit: Unius ergo substantiae sunt? Felix dixit: Unius. Augustinus dixit: Hoc quod est deus pater, hoc sunt filii ipsius, hoc est terra illa? Felix dixit: Hoc unum sunt omnes” (Augustine, *Contra Felicem* 1 18; see *ibid.*, II, 1.7.13; *Contra Faustum* XI 3). The interesting reflections in a Turfan Parthian text (M 2 11) containing the idea that a part of the Light cannot be called “consubstantial” (*hāmčihrag*) display an apologetic nature and prove *a contrario* the validity of the common belief; see F.C. Andreas, W.B. Henning, “Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan, III”, *SPAW.PH* 1934, 849–853.

16 The Psalm 223 refers to “the Father who sent his strong Son (πῶτερ πεγαγτῆνδγ ἴπεφωρηρε ἴχωρη)”; cf. C.R.C. Allberry (ed.), *A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938, p. 10,7. The Kephalaion 16 calls the Primal Man once again “the noble Son against whom his enemies sinned”: Keph 16 (50,30–31; 51,14.20); see also the Parthian fragment M 10.

17 E.g. Psalm-Book 36,21 (πωδμισε); Keph 119 (285,19). P. Kellis Gr. 91 (Δοξάζω σε, τὸν πρωτότοκον λόγον ...); see I. Gardner (ed.), *Manichaean Literary Texts from Kellis*, Vol. 1, edited by I. Gardner with contributions by S. Clackson (*Coptic indices*), M. Franzmann (*Syriac section*), and K. Worp (*Greek section*). Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph Series 4, Oxford: Oxbow, 1996, 132 n. Other minor parallels are perceptible, for instance in the fact that, according

Third Parallel: The Figure Which Is Sent Is also Called “Man”

Although in very different senses, in both Christianity and Manichaeism the Son is associated in a precise way with “humanity”. In the Christian myth the figure takes a human form and nature: the *σάρκωσις* (incarnation) is an *ἐνανθρώπησις* (humanization). In Manichaean thought the Son, sent to fight against Darkness, cannot of course assume a humanity which does not yet exist, but he is called in an eloquent and consistent form “Primal Man” (Greek, *πρότος ἄνθρωπος*; Latin, *primus homo*; Coptic, *ⲱⲗⲣⲏ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ*; Syriac, *nāšā qadmāyā*; Arabic, *al-ensān al-qadīm*). Even in Iranian sources we also find, in Middle Persian and Parthian, besides the common designation *Ohrmizdyazd*, the terms *mardōhm hasēnag* and *mardōhm naxwēn*.¹⁸

Whether or not we can also discern here an influence of Gnostic sources (*Πρωτάνθρωπος* being a designation of the first Light and Father in the Gnostics described by Irenaeus, and *ⲡⲱⲣⲏ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ* being a name of the Mother Barbelo in the *Apocryphon of John*), the Manichaean view of the divine nature has integrated the link of the Son of God with humanity.

Fourth Parallel: The Figure Which Is Sent Experiences Negativity

Both in the Christian and the Manichaean myth, by virtue of the intervention in a critical situation, and also because of the consistence of Evil, the figure which is sent experiences negativity. Of course, the differences are again far from negligible: the second person of the Trinity becomes incarnate in the human world and suffers passion and death; on the contrary, the Primal Man fights with the dark powers in a pre-cosmic moment, and the splitting of the figure which is sent between the Primal Man and his sons or elements permits the concentration of the negativity in the story of these elements.

Nonetheless, the structural parallel remains: the divinity experiences a limitation and faces a negative situation which is not the original one. The *κένω-*

to some texts, the Primal Man is established and anointed in the Womb of the Mother, and he comes out of her when he is called; this speculation reminds the Christian idea of the two moments in the generation of the Son, that of *ἐνδιάθετος* (immanent) and that of *προφορικώς* (proffered).

18 See the references in D. Durkin-Meisterernst, *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Dictionary of Manichaean Texts, vol. III. Texts from Central Asia and China, Turnhout: Brepols, 2004, 230.

σις and suffering of the Son of God in the Christian trends corresponds to the Manichaeism notion that a part of the Primal Man—the five elements that form his “armour” or his “soul”—is swallowed by Darkness.¹⁹ Even in the de-mythologized version transmitted by Alexander of Lycopolis the mixture of Soul or divine principle with Darkness entails the suffering of the former.²⁰

That negativity is further expressed in an eloquent form such as crying. In the New Testament several references to the affliction and the tears by Jesus are found; besides some passages in the Canonical Gospels which offer the image of an anguished and tearful Jesus,²¹ the Epistle to the Hebrews refers to the prayers made by Jesus “with powerful clamour and tears (μετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ δακρύων)” (Heb 5:7). Weeping is also attributed in some *Kephalaia* (58 and 59) to the Primal Man and to his sons or garments at the sight of Darkness.²²

Let us also remark that in both Christianity and Manichaeism, the experience of the suffering of the divine figures propitiates the identification of the believers with them and becomes one of the factors for the development of piety and devotion. The logic of this identification is clearly expressed in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where “Jesus, the Son of God” is presented as a figure who experiences the same as the believers: “For we do not have a high priest who is unable to sympathize with our weaknesses, but we have one who has been tempted in every respect, just as we are (μὴ δυνάμενον συμπάθῃσαι ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν, πεπειρασμένον δὲ κατὰ πάντα καθ’ ὁμοίότητα).”²³ In Manichaeism, the suffering of the Primal Man extends to the suffering

19 “The Son of God is set in affliction”, such as a *Kephalaion* states (Keph 115: 272,15–16; “he became weak”: 272,8.27).

20 “When it was mixed with matter Soul became afflicted by matter. For just as a change of the contents of a defiled vessel is often due to the condition of the vessel itself, so the Soul embedded in matter does also suffer when, contrary to its real nature, it is debased (οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ τοιοῦτό τι τὴν ψυχὴν παθοῦσαν παρὰ τὴν οὐσαν ἡλαττώσθαι φύσιν)”. I modify slightly the translation by Van der Horst/Mansfeld, *An Alexandrian Platonist against Dualism. Alexander of Lycopolis’ Treatise “Critique of the Doctrines of Manichaeus”*, 54–55.

21 See Lk 19:41; John 11:35. In Mk 14:33–34 the verbs ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι (indicating a state of deep affliction and awe) and ἀδημονεῖν are used.

22 Keph 58 (147,31–148,7); Keph 59 (148,22–149,1).

23 Heb 4:15. It is plausible that the possibility of persecution may have been one reason that the four Gospels, with their focus on Jesus’ passion and death, became so prominent in Christian communities and became ultimately canonized writings.

experienced by the Living Soul,²⁴ and serves as a model for Manichaean believers to imitate.²⁵

Fifth Parallel: The Negativity Is Suffered through the Violence Carried Out by Some Adversaries

The negativity experienced by the figures that are sent does not—or not only—lie in an ontological abasement or diminution, but it is linked with the malevolence and ill will of some beings, who oppose the salvific project of the godhead. They plot against the Son and organise a conspiracy and an attack against him. Of course, given the dissimilarities of the mythological contexts, the ontological nature of those beings is different. But it is revealing that even the human beings opposed to Jesus are under the aegis of the Enemy, and according to the Gospel of Luke the moment of those adversaries—who are often designated as a collective of archons and powers—denotes “the power of Darkness (ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σκοτους)” (Lk 22:53). The instance opposed by the Primal Man is also Darkness, called “The Enemy”, a collective magnitude whose essence and method is violence.

Among the theological explanations of Jesus’ crucifixion a crucial role is attributed to the envy (φθόνος) of his adversaries.²⁶ Some Manichaean sources explicitly mention envy precisely as the motive that explains the violent reaction of the dark powers against the kingdom of Light; let us recall, for instance, that the *Kephalaion* 73 is entitled “Concerning the Envy of Matter” (εἵνε φθόνου πτηγλη), and that it states that envy is “this first nature that occurred in the worlds of Darkness”.²⁷

24 On this aspect, see I. Gardner, “The Manichaean Account of Jesus and the Passion of the Living Soul”, in: A. van Tongerloo and S. Giversen (eds), *Manichaica Selecta. Studies Presented to Professor Julien Ries on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, Louvain: IAMS—Center of the History of Religions, 1991, 71–86. “This history does not just borrow the images of the Jesus event, but is interpreted as the true meaning of that suffering Jesus with whom we in the world are one. All the divine that was to be lost descended in that first event as the body of the Primal Man, and was torn apart by the powers of Darkness to be scattered everywhere” (ibid., 72).

25 Sometimes, the Primal Man functions as a model through the figure of Mani, such as it happens in the *Cologne Mani Codex*; see e.g. C. Römer, “Mani, der neue Urmensch. Eine neue Interpretation der p. 36 des Kölner Mani Kodex”, in: L. Cirillo (ed.): *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis, Atti del Simposio Internazionale (Rende-Amantea 3–7 settembre 1984)*, Cosenza: Marra Editrice, 1986, 333–344, esp. 339–341.

26 Let us remind e.g. Matt 27:18 (Mk 15:10): διὰ φθόνου. See Wisdom 2:24 LXX.

27 πφθονος τηρῆ τε ἰψαρῆ ἡφγςις εἵνεσῶ[πε] εἷ ἡκσος ἡπκεκε: Keph 73 (178,25–28).

Sixth Parallel: The Experience of the Son of God Has a Self-Sacrificial Nature

The negative experience of the Son which is sent is not considered the result of a random unforeseen action, but as something planned and wanted or assumed by that figure. In this light, the vicissitudes of the Son are conceived not as passively experienced, but rather as an action of a self-sacrificial nature, in which the divine realm takes the initiative and controls events.

It is a well-known fact that the interpretation of Jesus' life and death as a sacrifice (θυσία) pervades the New Testament—especially the Pauline Corpus, the Gospels and the Epistle to the Hebrews—and early Christian literature.²⁸ In Manichaeism, although many texts use war terminology to describe the actions by the Primal Man, several others (among which we find the Coptic Psalter, several Parthian Turfan fragments, and accounts such as in Bar Koni's *Liber Scholiorum*) stress that those actions consist of a voluntary self-sacrifice for the sake of the kingdom of Light.²⁹ In fact, in many Manichaean texts we find the echoes of the New Testament expression “for the sake of” (ὑπέρ, περί). For instance, in the second psalm of the collection called Psalms of the Wanderers, it is said about the outer element of the Primal Man—which is here designated as “Maiden of Light” (137, 22) and “beloved Daughter” (137, 26)—that “died for her brethren (ΤΕΤΡΑΣΜΟΥ ΖΑΝΕΣΣΗΥ)”.³⁰

Given that the sacrifice entails suffering, it is a hard proof in which the Son accomplishes the will of the Father and makes manifest their union. If Jesus is the obedient Son who drinks the cup for love of the Father—the Prayer at Gethsemane is an echo of the Lord's Prayer (γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου)—, the same language is used regarding the task accomplished by the Primal Man in some *Kephalaia*: “He fulfilled the will of the Greatness that was commanded of him (ΑΦΧΩΚ ΔΒΑΛ ἸΠΩΚ ἸΖΗΤ ἸΤΜΗΤΝΑΘ ΕΤΑΥ[ΖΩΝ] ΑΤΟΟΤΥ)”.³¹

In the Cologne Mani Codex, Mani must be protected once and again, against the envy (φθόνος) of his adversaries; see CMC 8,13 (φύλαξον τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο, μηδενὶ ἐξείπησις, ἵνα μή τις φθονέσας ἀπολέσει σε); see also CMC 87,13; 100,19.

28 See e.g. F.M. Young, *The Use of Sacrificial Ideas in Greek Christian Writers from the New Testament to John Chrysostom*, Cambridge (Massachusetts): The Philadelphia Patristic Foundation, 1979.

29 “He surrendered soul to the darkness; he sacrificed his own soul; he scattered for the sake of the sons. He bound the enemies, he brought sons to life, and with gentleness he redeemed the kingdom”: M 710 + M 5877, in: M. Boyce, “Some Parthian Abecedarian Hymns”, *BSOAS* 14 (1952), 435–450, esp. 444–446.

30 See Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II*, 137,28.

31 Keph 17 (56,1–2).

Seventh Parallel: The Experience Is an Apparent Defeat, but It Is Interpreted as a Victory

Both Jesus' crucifixion and the imprisonment of the Primal Man by Darkness are *prima facie* unmistakable expressions of a defeat, and we all know that this is the language which has been often used by heresiologists and modern scholars alike to describe the Manichaean myth.³² Nonetheless, such a defeat is, from a theological perspective, reinterpreted in both cases as the result of a strategic divine plan to produce wonderful saviour effects. Of course, this idea is closely related to the notion that the godhead has everything under control. The triumphalistic rereading of Jesus' destiny as a defeat of the dark powers appears conspicuously in the Canonical Gospels, the Epistle to the Colossians, and the Book of Revelation (in the image of the Lamb slaughtered but triumphant), making not only the resurrection but also Jesus' death the occasion for the annihilation of "the prince of this world", and leading to the topic of the *Christus Victor*.

Such a bold reinterpretation *in bonam partem* of a seemingly disastrous fate is clearly reproduced in the Manichaean myth.³³ The providential meaning even of the apparently negative circumstances surrounding the Primal Man is highlighted again and again.³⁴ The situation which the Manichaeans most abhorred, the mixing of the two substances, is considered as the key for sal-

32 For instance, German-writing scholars speak of a "Niederlage"; see e.g. G. Widengren, *Mani und der Manichäismus*, Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer 1961, 48 f.

33 See J. BeDuhn, "The Leap of the Soul in Manichaeism", in: A. van Tongerloo, L. Cirillo (eds), *Atti del v Congresso Internazionale di Studi sul Manicheismo. Nuove Prospettive della Ricerca, Napoli 2-8 Settembre 2001*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2005, 9-26; F. Bermejo, *El maniqueísmo. Estudio introductorio*, Madrid: Trotta, 2008, 105-108.

34 E.g. Keph 16 (49,13-14); Keph 17 (55,30-34); Keph 41 (105,22-24); Salt 140,26-27: "The battle of the Primal Man. Our (?) victory over the Enemy (πῖλλετ ἡπαρῆ ἡρωμε πῖσρο αχῆτῆῖτχαλε)". The text contained in the lines 23-29 of the "Prayer of the Emanations" found at Kellis (Προσκυνῶ καὶ δοξάζω τὰς μεγί- / στας δυνάμεις, τοὺς φωτινοὺς ἀγ- / γέλους, τοὺς ἰδίᾳ σοφία{ς} προελη- / λυθότας καὶ ὑποτάξαντας τὸ σκό- / τος καὶ τὰς αὐθάδεις αὐτοῦ δυνά- / μεις, τὰς τῶν πάντων προύχον- / τι πολεμῆν βουληθείσης) refers probably not to the Primal Man, but to the Living Spirit; on the Manichaean nature of this beautiful prayer see F. Bermejo, "Further Remarks on the Manichaean Nature of Εὐχὴ τῶν προβολῶν (P. Kell. Gr. 98)", *ZPE* 168 (2009), 221-238, and I. Gardner, "Manichaean Ritual Practice at Ancient Kellis: A New Understanding of the Meaning and Function of the So-Called *Prayer of the Emanations*", in: J.A. van den Berg, A. Kotzé, T. Nicklas, M. Scopello (eds), *In Search of Truth: Augustine, Manichaeism and Other Gnosticism Studies for Johannes van Oort at Sixty*, NHMS 74, Leiden: Brill, 2011, 245-262.

vation, namely, as the very beginning of the χωρισμός (separation). Such as Alexander of Lycopolis says: “the mixture of soul and matter was achieved by God’s providence (κατὰ πρόνοιαν τοῦ θεοῦ μεμιχθαι τὴν ψυχὴν τῆ ὕλη)”.³⁵ Even where there seems to be disaster and failure, a secret victory begins.

Eight Parallel: After Having Fulfilled His Mission, the Son Returns to the Father

The figure of the Envoy is obviously alien to the realm where he is sent. Therefore, the fate of the Son of God is the return to the transcendent realm, his homeland.³⁶ Whereas in virtually every Christian trend this return is depicted as (the result of) a resurrection after the death of the divine figure, the return of the Primal Man is described as a release of a state of captivity and the ascent to the realm of Light, carried out by the Mother of the Living (according to a few texts³⁷) or—usually—by the Living Spirit.

This mythical episode is also central in the view of both religions as a symbol of salvation. Whereas in Christianity Jesus’ resurrection is the model for the eschatological resurrection of the believers, the release and ascent of the Primal Man is the prototype of the further release of the particles of Light contained in Nature and in the human beings; the mythical belief according to which the Living Spirit pulls the Primal Man out of the abyss with his right hand prefigures the salvation of each individual.

Ninth Parallel: The Victory Is the Beginning of a Long Process, Requiring History to Be Fulfilled

The salvific power of the first Envoy is not enough to eliminate Evil immediately and absolutely. Although the pious man conceives the experience of the Son of God as a victory, the presence of Evil in the real world is a fact persistent enough to be considered irrelevant. Therefore, the victory over Evil carried out by Christ or the Primal Man does not mean its final subjugation, but it is thought of only

35 Brinkmann, ed., *Alexandri Lycopolitani contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, 5–6; Van der Horst/Mansfeld, *An Alexandrian Platonist against Dualism. Alexander of Lycopolis’ Treatise “Critique of the Doctrines of Manichaeus”*, 54.

36 Of course, in mainstream Christianity Jesus assumes the human nature, and so he is not completely alien to the world he comes to.

37 Keph 9 (40,1–2).

as the beginning of a more complete victory which must arrive, so entailing a long History.

In Christianity, the idea that Jesus' death and resurrection accomplish a salvific function cannot prevent the acknowledgment that it is merely an inception, the beginning of a process whose completion is—given the failure of the religious hopes, euphemistically called “the delay of the Parousia”—put back *sine die*.³⁸ In Manichaeism, the clear distinction between the fate of Primal Man (saved from Darkness) and the luminous elements which are his soul, armour or limbs (devoured by the demons) allows the believers to explain the notion of a victory of Good, but simultaneously the idea that this victory is only the beginning of a long History. This History is developed in the period known in many sources as “the second time”, where the suffering of the Living Soul (resp. Cross of Light or *Iesus patibilis*) prevails.

Conclusions

The former analysis permits to infer that the occurrence of the name “Jesus” and the explicit use of ideas which are present in early Christian literature are only an aspect, and perhaps not the most important one, when we try to identify the influence of Christian elements on Manichaeism. The comparison proves that, beyond the obvious differences in content and context, the key theologumenon in the successful Christian trends, that of the sending and the sacrifice of the Son of God with a soteriological purpose, works as the structuring principle of a main Manichaean myth, that of Primal Man. Every element in the idea of Christ—opposition of Evil to Good, sending, sonship, experience of negativity, sacrifice, triumphalistic reinterpretation of the negativity, return of the Envoy, deferment of the definitive salvation, and so on³⁹—is to be found again in the Manichaean myth.⁴⁰ This conclusion is all the more significant as there seems to be no comparable myth in Zoroastrianism.⁴¹

38 This problem is already noticeable in the Pauline literature, for instance in the diverse positions of the First Epistle to the Thessalonians (by Paul himself) and the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians (probably a Deutero-Pauline writing).

39 The parallels are not exhausted here. The fact that, according to *Kephalaion* 9 (38,30–39,2), the Primal Man kneels and prays before leaving the World of Light, strongly recalls Christ at Gethsemane, particularly the Lukan version (Lk 22:41: θείξ τὰ γόνατα).

40 According to some scholars, it is the Song of the Pearl that shaped the myth of the Primal Man: “Der Manichäismus bildete nach dem Vorbild des Perlenliedes den Mythos vom Urmenschen aus” (V. Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache des Manichäismus*, Köln: Brill, 1978, 47).

41 Pace Widengren, according to whom we cannot conclude “dass die Vorstellung von einer

Of course, this is not necessarily to deny the autonomous nature of Manichaeism as a new religion.⁴² In fact, Böhlig himself stated that the more Manichaeism presents itself as the true development of Christianity, the more it distances itself from Christianity.⁴³ But the issue of the true nature of Mani's religion—or, if you prefer, of its *religionsgeschichtliche Einordnung*—is too complex a question to be tackled now in this paper.

leidenden Erlösergestalt im Iran gefehlt hat. Aber die Spuren einer solchen Idee sind halb verwischt und schwer zu entdecken" [G. Widengren, "Der Manichäismus. Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Problemforschung", in: B. Aland (ed.), *Gnosis. Festschrift für Hans Jonas*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1978, 278–315, esp. 310].

- 42 In a recent monograph, Nils Arne Pedersen has made some reflections intended to undermine the understanding of Manichaeism as a "new religion"; see N.A. Pedersen, *Demonstrative Proof in Defence of God. A Study of Titus of Bostra's Contra Manichaeos—The Work's Sources, Aims and Relation to its Contemporary Theology*, (NHMS 56), Leiden: Brill, 2004, 6–12. Other scholars emphasize "the radical novelty of Manichaeism"; see e.g., A. de Jong, "A quodam persa exstiterunt. Re-Orienting Manichaean Origins", in: A. Houtman, A. de Jong and M. Misset-van de Weg (eds.), *Empsychoi Logoi—Religious Innovations in Antiquity. Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst*, Leiden—Boston: Brill, 2008, 81–106, esp. 104.
- 43 "So sehr betont Mani sich auch Apostel Jesu Christi nennt, so stark ist doch die Verselbständigung als eigene Religion durch ihn. In den *Kephalaia* kommt dies im 105. Kapitel zum Ausdruck" (A. Böhlig, "Zum Selbstverständnis des Manichäismus", in: *A Green Leaf. Papers in Honour of Professor Jes P. Asmussen*, Acta Iranica 28, Leiden: Brill, 1988, 317–338, esp. 324–325).

The Abstract of a Religion Or: What Is Manichaeism?

Iris Colditz

Over 270 years after Isaac de Beausobre's pathbreaking *Histoire critique de Maniché et du Manichéisme* (1734, 1739) and about hundred years after the German Turfan expeditions (1902–1914) it may appear quite odd and even superfluous to pose the question “What is Manichaeism?” Since then many books have been written about this religion and many of its aspects have been discussed in detail. But this very question came to those people's mind who met Manichaean missionaries, and they expected detailed and useful information about the propagated teachings. Thus, for example, Bayard, the spirit of the land of Khorasan (appearing in the shape of a girl) asks the missionary Mār Ammō in a church-history:

M2/1/r/ii/22–23/,/v/i/6–8/ (MP.): What is your task (*kārag*)? Where have you come from?¹ ... What kind of religion (*dēn*) is it that you bring?

ANDREAS/HENNING 1933, pp. 303 sq.; transl. KLIMKEIT 1993, p. 204

Likewise, king Wahrām asks Mani:

Hom. 46.13–14, 93.26–27 (Copt.): [Wh]at is the law (πνομος) that you have [taug]ht him (= Badia), since he has put aside our (law) and has taken to him[sel]f your (law). ... [Who has se]nt you? For whom are your sermons (νεκταφελια)?

POLOTSKY 1934, pp. 46, 93; PEDERSEN 2006, pp. 46, 93

And in the report on Mani's last journey, the angry king Wahrām makes the derogatory comment on Mani's work:

M3/v/5–11/ (MP.): Eh, what are you good for (*pad čē abāyīšn hēd*) since you go neither fighting nor hunting? But perhaps you are needed for this

¹ A typical Gnostic questionnaire, also in LN §12, GW §155, S12b/r/ii/32–35/, cf. Colditz 2009a, pp. 44–46.

doctoring (*bišehkih*) and this physicking (*darmān burdan*)? And you don't do even that!

HENNING 1942, pp. 950sq., ll. 28–34; BOYCE 1975, pp. 44sq., text II; SUNDERMANN 1981, pp. 130sq., text 23; transl. KLIMKEIT 1993, p. 214

It is conspicuous that already these questions are aimed at different aspects of the religion: the religious teachings, the law of the religion (precepts, commandments) and its benefit for the people.

For Manichaeism as a missionary religion it was of greatest importance that its missionaries introduced the doctrine concisely and convincingly to all people within the vast area of mission. Attention must be paid to a terminological adaptation to the local peculiarities, facing many different religions, cultures and languages.² Consequently, there was the need for significant descriptions of the new religion in all missionary languages. But how could Mani's teachings be explained to arouse interest in the dialogue partners and to proselytize them? One should expect the existence of a standard *abstract* of Manichaeism, a distinctive self-definition serving as a compendious and clear expression of Manichaean self-conception with a high recognition value. It should propagate the essential elements and dogmatic focal themes of the Manichaean system far from any misunderstandings. If one has a look at Manichaean texts, especially at Mani's canonical writings, didactic and hagiographical texts at the main sources for a study of this, it is surprising that this does not seem to be the case, but there is a variety of abstracts instead, and one wonders whether a system is behind it.

1 Codes

Already in early texts, such as Mani's *Living Gospel*, the Greek *Cologne Mani Codex*, the Coptic Manichaica and also in Middle Persian and Parthian texts as well as in its translations, Mani's religion is often designated by single words, such as: "mystery/mysteries" (Gr. μυστήριον/μυστήρια),³ "secret(s)" (Gr. ἀπόρρητα, MP. *rāz/rāzān*), "revelation" (Gr. ἀποκάλυψις, MP. *abhumišn*), "hope" (Gr.

2 This is reflected, for instance, in the differing designations of the Manichaean gods, cf. Sundermann 1979.

3 Cf. also Mani's *Book of mysteries*: Gr. ἡ βιβλὸν τῶν Μυστηρίων (in polemical Texts; for references cf. Clackson/Hunter/Lieu/Vermes 1998, p. 41); Copt. Ⲭⲟⲙⲉ ⲛ̀ⲛ̀ⲙⲏⲥⲧⲏⲣⲏⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ Hom. 25.3, 94.20 (Polotsky 1934, pp. 25, 94; Pedersen 2006, pp. 25, 94), Ps. 46.28 (Allberry 1938, p. 46; Wurst 1996, pp. 114sq.), MP. *Rāzān wuzurgān* M644/B/3/ (MacKenzie 1994, p. 190).

ἐλπίζ), “wisdom” (Gr. σοφία) and “truth, righteousness” (Gr. ἀλήθεια, Copt. ميه, MP. *rāstih*, Pa. *rāštīft*). All these terms can be regarded as synonyms for “Gnosis” (Gr. γνῶσις). In his *Šābuhragān*, Mani has coined the hendiadys “wisdom and knowledge” (MP. *xrad ud dānišn*, *wihīh ud dānišn*, Pa. *xrad ud žīrīft*) for it. Since the teachings have been written down in Mani’s books and read out and preached to the public, they can also be designated by the term “word, saying” (Gr. λόγος, Copt. ⲥⲉⲕⲉ, MP. *gōwišn*, MP./Pa. *saxwan*). Further words used for the religion are “way, road” (Copt. ⲙⲁⲓⲧ, MP./Pa. *rāh*, Chin. 言 *yan*) or “path” (MP./Pa. *pand*, Pa. *šēbah*) respectively, and “law, instruction, commandments” (Gr. ἐντολή, Pa. *čaxšābed*, Chin. 法 *fa*). The religion and also its prophets (Mani and his predecessors) are also named “gate of salvation/delivering” (MP. *dar ī uzēnišn*, Pa. *bar mōxšīg*, Chin. 解脫門 *jietuo men*).⁴ Otherwise, Manichaeism is strongly connected with the heavenly sphere of its origin. It is called “holy religion” (MP. *dēn yōždahr*), “things of the gods” (MP. *xīr ī yazdān*), “road of the gods” (MP. *pand ī yazdān*), “divine instruction” (Pa. *bayānīg wifrās*) or “divine word” (Pa. *bayānīg saxwan*). There are many more terms of this kind attributed to Manichaeism, just to mention “peace” (MP. *rāmišn*), “life” (Copt. ⲟⲛⲉ, Pa. *žīwahr*) or “living/immortal” (Gr. ἀθάνατος, MP. *zīndag*, Pa. *žīwandag*). The following selected examples shall illustrate this usage:

Living Gospel, CMC 66.4–67.21 (Gr.) = M644/v/1–6/ (MP.): I Mani, apostle of Jesus Christ (MP.: *Aryāmān* the Friend), by the will of God, the Father of righteousness (πατὴρ τῆς ἀληθείας, MP. [**bay *wābarīgān*] the true god). ... From him all truth was revealed to me, I am from his truth (καὶ τῆς ἀλη[θείας]). ... I have preached the hope (ἐλπίζ),⁵ revealed the revelation (ἀποκάλυψιν ἀποκάλυψα, MP. [**abhumišn*] *abhuft*) and written this immortal Gospel (ἀθάνατον εὐαγγέλιον, MP. [**saxwa*] *n zīndag* Living Word), I have set forth in it those most exalted rites (ἔργια, MP. [*r*] *āzān* secrets) and have showed in it the greatest works (ἔργα, MP. *kuniš[nān]*) ...

HENRICHES/KOENEN 1975, pp. 66sq.; MACKENZIE 1994, pp. 190–193

CMC 26.7–12 (Gr.): When that renowned and greatly blessed one had showed me these very great secrets (ἀπόρρητα), he started to talk to me: “This mystery (τὸ μυστήριον) I have revealed to you ...”

HENRICHES/KOENEN 1975, pp. 28sq.

4 For the designation of the church as “gate” cf. Klimkeit 1988.

5 Cf. Keph. 15.26 (Copt.): [I] preached to them (= the Indians) the hope of life (ⲉⲗⲓⲛⲓⲥ ⲙⲓⲛⲟⲩⲉ). (Böhlig/Polotsky 1940, p. 15; Gardner 1995, p. 21).

CMC 132.1–6 (Gr.): [I taught] before [him (= a king)] about the wisdom ([τ]ῆν σοφίαν) and the commandments ([τὰς ἐν]τολάς) and I explained everything to him.

HENRICHS/KOENEN 1982, pp. 24 sq.

Hom. 47.14–17 (Copt.): However, I, I have received (the message) from Him (= God), [and I have rev]ealed the way of truth (ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲓⲧ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲉ)⁶ in the midst of the whole [world, in order that] the souls of these multitudes would be [sa]ved a[nd e]scape punishment.

POLOTSKY 1934, p. 47; PEDERSEN 2006, p. 47

M49/11/r/8–15/ (MP.): And I teach men wisdom and knowledge (*xrad ud dānišn*),⁷ and I redeem them from Āz and Ahreman. And [I teach] these things of the gods (*xīr ī yazdān*) and the wisdom and knowledge of the gathering of the souls (*xrad ud dānišn ī ruwān-čīnīh*), which I received from Narjamīg ... And I took the road of the gods (*pand ī yazdān*)⁸

...

ANDREAS/HENNING 1933, pp. 306 sq.; BOYCE 1975, pp. 31 sq., text b; SUNDERMANN 1981, pp. 93 sq.; transl. KLIMKEIT 1993, p. 216; COLDITZ 2009b, p. 84

M7/1/r/i/25–28/ (Pa.): The living word of truth (*žīwahr saxwan čē rāštīft*)⁹ liberates the captive from his bondage.

ANDREAS/HENNING 1934, p. 870, text g, ll. 25–28; BOYCE 1975, p. 107, text ax; transl. KLIMKEIT 1993, p. 47

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- 6 Cf. Ps. 9.8–9 (Copt.): When the Holy Spirit came he revealed to us the way of truth (ⲉⲁ ⲡⲙⲁⲓⲧ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲉ) ... (Allberry 1938, p. 9; Wurst 1996, pp. 36 sq.).
- 7 Cf. M48+M566+M871b+M1306+M1307+M2231+M2401+M5911/11/r/27/–/v/1/ (Pa.): Then the Lord Mani taught the Tūrān-šāh much [knowled]ge and wi[sdo]m (*xrad ud žīrīft*). (Müller 1904, p. 87; Sundermann 1981, p. 21, ll. 63–64).
- 8 Cf. M181/r/5–6/ (MP.): Fortunate path (*pandān humāyōn*) and road of peace (*rāh ī rāmišn*). (Reck 2004, p. 171, ll. 1063–1070).
- 9 Cf. CMC 79.10 (Gr.): However, later when I proclaimed the word of truth (ἀληθείας λόγον) ... (Henrichs/Koenen 1978, pp. 98 sq.); Keph. 186.28 (Copt.): I proclaimed there (= in the city of Babylon) the word of [truth and li]fe (ⲙⲡⲥⲈⲬⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲱⲛⲓⲛ) (Böhlig/Polotsky 1940, p. 186; Gardner 1995, p. 195); M36/v/11–12/ (MP.): the pious hearer of the living word (*saxwan zūndag*), the fences of the holy religion (*dēn yōždahhr*) (Andreas/Henning 1933, p. 326; Boyce 1975, p. 145, text cm; transl. Klimkeit 1993, p. 93).

M39/v/ii/19–22/ (Pa.): This is the road (*rāh*), this is the secret (*rāz*),¹⁰ this is the great/pure(?) law (*čaxšābed kalān*) and the gate of salvation (*bar mōxšīg*).¹¹

ANDREAS/HENNING 1934, p. 886, text m, ll. 81–84; BOYCE 1975, pp. 119sq., text bn; transl. KLIMKEIT 1993, p. 59

M710+M5877/v/8a–b/ (Pa.): He revealed the path of salvation (*mōxšīg šēbah*) and the pure road (*rāh pawāg*) (to all) souls who were in harmony.

BOYCE 1952, pp. 445sq., text D, l. 18; transl. KLIMKEIT 1993, p. 37

M785/r/7/ (Pa.): You reveal the secret of the living (*šīwandag rāz*).

RECK 2004, p. 166, l. 1031

M4572/v/ii/5–8/ (Pa.): When you will be assembled and one teaches the divine word (*bayānīg saxwan*) or reads the book ...

SUNDERMANN 1981, pp. 72sq., text 4a.16, ll. 1047–1050

M6040/r/3–4/ (Pa.): And they began to proclaim the divine instruction (*bayānīg wifrās*) before them.

SUNDERMANN 1981, pp. 85–88, text 4b.1, ll. 1312–1313

H. 17b (Chin.): the gate of salvation (解脫門 *jietuo men*, for Jesus) of all those who are beneficent.

WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1926, p. 100; TSUI/HENNING 1943, p. 177; transl. SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1987, p. 12

H. 135d (Chin.): proclaiming the righteous law (正法 *zhengfa*),¹² redeeming the good sons.

WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1933, pp. 485–489, 491–532; TSUI/HENNING 1943, p. 188; transl. SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1987, p. 27

10 Cf. M810 = MIK III 103/1/v/4–5/ (MP): He disclosed my (= Living Soul) secret (*rāz*) to you. (Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, p. 156, ll. 1603–1604; Colditz 2000, p. 388); M33/1/r/ii/6–8/ (Pa.): Honour to Mār Mānī who taught this secret (*rāz*) truly. (Müller 1904, p. 47; Andreas/Henning 1934, p. 875, ll. 14–20; Boyce 1975, pp. 109sq., text ba; Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, pp. 44sq., ll. 469–475).

11 Cf. M42/v/i/2–5/ (Pa.): He (= Buddha) opened the gate of salvation (*bar mōxšīg*) for the fortunate souls that he released among the Indians. (Andreas/Henning 1934, p. 880, ll. 54–57; Boyce 1975, p. 171, text dc; transl. Klimkeit 1993, p. 125).

12 “Law” (法 *fa*) is a common term for Mani’s teachings in the Chinese Manichaica, especially for his canonical writings (H. 415–422), cf. also “pure gate of the law” (清淨法門

All these terms function as *codes* representing Mani's whole religious system, the divine and redeeming knowledge (Gnosis) that was revealed to Mani by his spiritual twin, the Syzygos. Many of them, such as "hope", "word of truth", "way" and "life", are borrowings from the terminology of the New Testament, for which compare for example:

John 14.6: Jesus said to him, I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me.

Col 1.5: because of the hope laid up for you in heaven. Of this you have heard before in the word of the truth, the gospel.

Nevertheless, those code words could not have worked well within the mission, possibly except among Christians. They must have been incomprehensible for those who were not yet familiar with the Manichaeism doctrine since they were uninitiated and did not belong to the "associates in the mystery" (Copt. Ⲡⲃⲣ̅ⲙⲩⲤⲎⲤⲎⲢⲤⲎⲞⲤ; but MP. *hām-rāzān* used in a pejorative sense "conspirators").¹³

2 Keywords

Another form to represent Manichaeism is the use of *keywords* that specify the characteristic features or the main contents of the religion. Thus, Manichaeism became famous as the doctrine of the "two principles" (MP./Pa. *dō bun*, Chin. 二宗 *erzong* "two roots") or "two natures" (Gr. δύο φύσεις, Copt. ⲢⲚⲤⲓⲥ ⲥⲏⲧⲉ) and the "three periods" (Chin. 三際 *sanji*), also called "beginning" (Copt. ⲃⲟⲩⲧⲉ)—"middle" (Copt. ⲙⲏⲧⲉ)—"end" (ⲉⲗⲏ) or "former period" (Chin. 初際 *chuji*)—"middle period" (中際 *zhongji*)—"latter period" (後際 *houji*) respectively.¹⁴

qingjing famen 卷 203c). Mani is "king of the law(s)" (法王 *fawang* 卷 373, 法中王 *fazhong wang* 卷 172), the religious community is the "hall of the law" (法堂 *fatang* 卷 191, 法堂所 *fatangsuo* 卷 350c), the presbyter is the "principal of the hall of the law" (法堂主 *fatang zhu* 卷 73; 卷 341d). For the references cf. also Mikkelsen 2006.

13 Keph. 51.14, 104.24, 128.11,15 (Böhlig/Polotsky 1940, pp. 51, 104, 128); M389/v/8/=M8430/11/1/12/ (Durkin-Meisterer 2004, pp. 143, 145–147 § 6); M1404/A/6/ (Boyce 1960, p. 71).

14 In Coptic also "Everything that has happened, and that will happen.", cf. Keph. 5.27–28, 15.19–20, 16.20–21, 73.28 (Böhlig/Polotsky 1940, pp. 5, 15sq., 73; Gardner 1995, pp. 11sq., 21sq., 75). For the "three periods" in the Coptic and Mandaic texts cf. also Wurst 1994. Pedersen 1996, pp. 172–176. For the Chinese texts cf. Chin. 卷 100–109 (Chavannes/Pelliot 1913, pp. 139sq. [115sq.]; transl. Schmidt-Glinterz 1987, p. 75, as 81a1–a9). The three periods

Especially the “two principles” became the epitome of Manichaeism by using it as title for Mani’s MP. description of his doctrine dedicated to the Sasanian king Šābuhr I. The full title *Dō bun (wuzurg) ī Šābuhragān* “The two (great) principles of the Šābuhragān” emphasizes the dualistic doctrine which had Manichaeism in common with Zoroastrianism.¹⁵ After having been translated into various languages (Pa. *dō bun*, Uig. *iki yiltiz nom*, Chin. 二宗經 *erzong jing*) it became very popular.¹⁶ In the *Sermon on the Light-Nous* there is even a reference *dō-bun* (dwbn) in compound spelling:

M312/v/3-7/=M905/r/1-4/ (Pa.): The call: [Firstly:] (the doctrine of) the two principles of the soul (*gyānēn dō-bun*), secondly: the fast (*rōžag*), thirdly: book and instruction (*nibēg ud wifrās*), fourthly: hymns and blessings (*bāšāh ud āfrīwan*), fifthly: the assembly of the brethren (*brādarān amwardan*).

LN § 97, cf. SUNDERMANN 1992, pp. 74sq.

Since this spelling coincides in two different manuscripts, Sundermann tentatively suggests *dō-bun* “als den Namen des Grundbekenntnisses des manichäischen Glaubens an ‘zwei Prinzipien und drei Zeiten’ zu deuten, genauer, als den zum Namen gewordenen Anfang dieser Formel. *Giānēn dōbun*{sic.} wäre dann etwa das Glaubensbekenntnis der Seele, d.h. das in der Seele bewahrte Bekenntnis zu den Grundwahrheiten der manichäischen Lehre.”¹⁷ In contrast to that, the *dō bun* in the captions of the *Šābuhragān* is generally considered as being written as two separate words. But when one examines the references (M477/1/v/H/, M482+/1/v/H/, M542+/1/v/H/, M542+/11/v/H/, M8256/v/H/) it seems that there they could also be compounds. But other references show also *dō bun* (dw bwn) written as two separate words (MP. M5761+M5794+M6062/1/v/14/, Pa. M499+M334b+M706/r/8/).

also occur in anti-Manichaean writings: Lat. *initium—medius—finis* (Augustine, *Epistula fundamenti* 8b, apud *Contra Felicem manichaeum* II,1, ed. Zycha, p. 828.25–26), Paz. *ku bun-gawešni i *Māni awar akanārāi i bunyaštaḡq u myqñ awar gumēžašni u faržqm awar vazārašni i rōšan ež tār q i ō avazārdārī vas mānātar*. (ŠGW 16.4–7, cf. Menacse 1945, pp. 252–253; Jackson 1932, pp. 176sq.). Cf. also Uyg. *iki yiltiz* “two principles” and *üč öd* “three times” in *Xwāstwānīft* VIIIA, ll. 158–159 (Asmussen 1965, pp. 174, 196).

15 Cf. Sundermann 2008, p. 219.

16 For the tradition of the title and of the designation of the doctrine cf. Chavannes/Pelliot 1913, pp. 133–145.

17 Sundermann 1992, p. 122 n. 97.3.

Furthermore, the keywords “two principles/natures”, also quoted as “light” (MP./Pa. *rōšn*, Copt. οὐραϊνε, Chin. 明 *ming*) and “darkness” (MP./Pa. *tār*, Copt. κεκε, Chin. 暗 *an*), and the “three periods” are referred to in various texts.

CMC 132.11–13 (Gr.): I showed [them (= the king and his princes)] the separation of [the two] natures (τὴν διάστασιν [τῶν δύο] φύσεων).

HENRICH/SKOENEN 1982, pp. 24sq.

Hom. 7.11–15 (Copt.): [He gave] us [the k]nowledge of the beginning (ἡτοϋῖτε). He taught us the [mysterie]s of the middle (ἡτημητε) and the separation of the end (ἡθαη) [...] and the destruction of the worlds [whi]ch is prepared [for b]odies and spirits.

POLOTSKY 1934, p. 7; PEDERSEN 2006, p. 7

Ps. 9.8–11 (Copt.): When the Holy Spirit came he revealed to us the way of truth and taught us that there are two natures (φύσις σῆτε), that of light and that of darkness (ταποϋαῖνε ἡἡταπκεκε), separate one from the other from the beginning (χἡ ἡτοϋῖτε).¹⁸

ALLBERRY 1938, p. 9; WURST 1996, pp. 36sq.

M5761+M5794+M6062/1/v/13–17/ (MP.): Fourthly, this revelation of the two principles (*abhumišn ī dō bun*), my living b[ooks] (*nibēgān zīndagān*), wisdom and knowledge (*wihih ud dānišn ī man*) are more excellent and superior to those previous religions.

ANDREAS/HENNING 1933, pp. 295–297; BOYCE 1975, pp. 29sq., 56sq.; SUNDERMANN 1981, pp. 131–133, text 24.1

M8171/r/ii/7–10/ (Pa.): Teach your truth completely, the deeds of light (*rōšn*) and darkness (*tār*).

ANDREAS/HENNING 1934, p. 868, text f, ll. 19–22; transl. KLIMKEIT 1993, pp. 86sq.

H. 172c–d (Chin.): The meaning of the two principles (二宗 *erzong*), the three moments (三際 *sanji*) and the natures and forms he can reveal clearly without doubt or hesitation.

TSUI/HENNING 1943, p. 191; WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1933, pp. 490sq., 532–545; transl. SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1987, p. 32

18 It follows a detailed description of the cosmogonical myth.

C. 38, 44–45 (Chin.): I (= Laozi in the shape of Mani) ... shall explain ... the doctrines of the three periods and the two principles (三際及二宗門 *sanji ji erzong men*) ... The teaching expounds the principle of light (明宗 *mingzong*), thus removing the delusion of darkness (暗惑 *anhuo*). The doctrine explains the two principles (二宗 *erzong*), distinguishing (between them) for its particular method.

HALOUN/HENNING 1953, pp. 192sq.; transl. SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1987, p. 71, as a13–14, 23–24, b1–2

There are further keywords to describe the religion taken from *different domains* of Manichaeism, such as:

- a) cosmogony: creation of the world, its mixed status and its purification, light-ships of sun and moon;
- b) soteriology and eschatology: paradise and hell, life and death, charity and sin;
- c) community life: ecclesiastical hierarchy (apostle, elect and hearers and their work, monastery), sacraments, commandments and rules (right hand, resting, prayer, fasting, almsgiving, confession and forgiveness of sins);
- d) the canon of Mani's scriptures and its illustrations as the essence of Manichaean teachings.

CMC 128.5–12 (Gr.): I (= Mani) [showed] him (= a hairy man) the rest (τὴν [ἀνάπα]υσιν), the instructions (τὰς ἐντο[λάς]) and the proskynesis before the lights (τὴν εἰς τοὺς [φωστῆρα]ς προσκύνησιν).

HENRICHS/KOENEN 1982, pp. 20 sq.

Keph. 232.3–7, 32–233.1 (Copt.): Every person who has received the hope [and the fa]ith (ⲛⲧⲗⲉⲗⲙⲓϥ [ⲙⲛ ⲡⲛⲁ]ⲉⲧⲉ) and has separated the light (ⲡⲟϥⲁⲓⲛⲉ) from the darkness (ⲛⲡⲕⲉⲕⲉ), and he has perceive[d the] mysteries of the Living Soul, he has received the right hand of pea[ce] (ⲧⲟϥⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲧⲡ[ⲛⲛⲛ]) from the Light-Nous who dwells in the holy church. And he begs forgiveness (ⲛⲟϥⲕⲁⲛⲁⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ) from the Light-Nous. ... The other si[ns] (ⲛⲛⲁ[ⲃⲉ]) that he (= the catechumen) committed, a multitude [of th]em will be absolved because of his fasting (ⲧⲉϥⲛⲛⲥⲧⲉⲓⲁ) and hi[s] prayer (ⲡⲉϥⲟⲗⲛⲁ) and his a]lms (ⲧⲉϥⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁⲉ).¹⁹

BÖHLIG/POLOTSKY 1940, pp. 232sq.; GARDNER 1995, p. 239

19 Cf. also Keph. 233.14–15 (Böhlig/Polotsky 1940, p. 233; Gardner 1995, p. 240).

M47/11/r/17/-/v/8/ (MP.): The interpretation: The lowly born man represents the auditors (*niyōšagān*), the king is [...], the messengers of the king went [...] The messenger [is the] Apostle of the gods (*frēstag ī yazdān*), [... ga]rden, vineyard, house, shade: these are the alms (*ruwā-nagān*). The auditors give them to the church (*dēn*) (and) build monasteries (*mānistān*). The intimate friends of the king are the elect (*ardāwān*). The clothes (and) ornaments that he made are the picture(s) and book(s) (*nigār ud nibēg* = the illustrated books). The lamp is wisdom (*wehī*).

MÜLLER 1904, pp. 85sq.; SUNDERMANN 1973, p. 88, ll. 1721–1729

M48+M566+M871b+M1306+M1307+M2231+M2401+M5911/11/v/1-7/20 (Pa.): A[nd he (= Mani) show]ed [him (= the Tūrān-šāh)] paradise and hell (*wahišt ud dōžax*), the [puri]fication of the wor[lds] (*šahrān pawāžišn*), sun a[nd moon] (*mīhr ud māh*), [sou]l and bo[dy] (*gyān ud tanbār*), [the apos]tles (*frēstagān*) that had come into the lands, righteous ones and sinners (*kirbakkar ud bazakkar*) and the work of the elect and the [audit]ors (*kirdagān čē ardāw ud niyōšāg*).

MÜLLER 1904, p. 87; SUNDERMANN 1981, pp. 21sq., ll. 63–71; BOYCE 1975, p. 35, text e; transl. KLIMKEIT 1993, p. 207

H. 110 (Chin.): You, the wise ones, shall see and observe clearly: Who has created the microcosmos (小界 *xiaojie*) and the macrocosmos (大界 *dajie*)? For what reason were these created in the time of creation? You must know clearly the two sections of diminution and increase (損益二條 *sunyi ertiao*).

TSUI/HENNING 1943, p. 186; transl. SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1987, p. 24

H. 224c–d (Chin.): Skilfully he shows us the sea of nature and life (性命海 *xingming hai*) and the origins of light and darkness (明暗祖 *ming'an zu*) in the direction above and the realm below.

TSUI/HENNING 1943, p. 195; transl. SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1987, p. 39

20 Cf. M219/r/9-21/ (MP.): ... that you could understand what is disclosed [befo]re you: the deceit of the alien faiths (*wīftagī ī kēšān*), the teaching of the [go]ds (*hammōg ī yazdān*), life and death (*zīhr ud marg*), charity and its teacher (*kirbagih u-š nizēhāg*), sin and its sower (*bazagī u-š kārāg*) ... (Andreas/Henning 1933, pp. 311sq.; Boyce 1975, p. 182, text dl).

3 Thematic Summaries

3.1 *Ethics*

Thematic summaries are short essays on the main issues of Manichaean teachings that outline the subject in a few words. Manichaean ethics as a central point of the doctrine are often discussed in the religious texts, but only a few texts sum it up in the manner of a *slogan* to characterize the religion. Coming back to the question of the spirit Bayard cited above, Ammō in his first reply refers to Mani:²¹

M2/1/r/ii/23–25/ (MP.): I am a believer (*dēnwar*), a disciple of the apostle Mani (*hašāgerd ī mānī frēstag*).

ANDREAS/HENNING 1933, pp. 303sq.; transl. KLIMKEIT 1993, p. 204

But this does not impress the spirit, and she refuses access to her country. After having received spiritual help by Mani himself, Ammō goes more into details:

M2/1/v/i/8–10/ (MP.): We do not consume meat and wine (*pit ud may nē xwarēm*), we abstain from [women] (*az [zan] dūr pahrezēm*).

ANDREAS/HENNING 1933, pp. 303sq.; transl. KLIMKEIT 1993, p. 204

This corresponds exactly to what a mysterious voice had commanded to Mani's father in an idol temple and induced him to enter the Baptist community, according to an-Nadīm:

Fihrist 328.4 (Arab.): One day someone cried to him in the temple of idols with a shout: "Oh Futtuq, do not eat meat (*lā ta'kul laḥman*)! Do not drink wine (*lā tašrab ḥamran*)! Do not have intercourse with (any) person (*lā tankuḥ bašaran*)!"

FLÜGEL 49.9–50.1, 83; DOGDE II 773f.; Dict.Man.Texts II 74

The abstinence from meat and wine is also partly mentioned in the third commandment for the elect in the Copt. Ps. 33.20–21 as "The commandment

21 Cf. Keph. 259.11–13: Also, by my good and useful tea[ch]ings that I have revealed; s[e]e, people who love me are c[a]lled of my name (ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲈⲛ!) (Böhlig 1966, p. 259; Gardner 1995, p. 264); Hom. 4.9–10: Me [you have] sealed since the first [...] with your hope and your name (ⲡⲈⲖⲖⲈⲛ)[...]. Also Arab. *al-manānīyah* (ʾImnʾnyh) besides *al-mānawīyah* (ʾImʾnwyh) and *al-mānwīyūn* (ʾImʾnwywn) in the *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel 1871–1872, pp. 49.1, 83, 111 n. 1; transl. Dodge 1970, II, p. 773).

that we eat no flesh (καρξ)” (Allberry 1938, p. 33; Wurst 1996, pp. 86sq.) or is counted respectively among the fourth commandment So. *qwcyzprty*’ “purity of the mouth” (M14/v/22/, ed. Waldschmidt/Lentz 1933, p. 548).²² It is referred to again in the Pa. *Sermon on the Soul*, where the elect are exhorted to observe the commandments:²³

M5561+M5562/r/2-7/=M847/r/1-5/=M4350/r/1/ (Pa.): And the alms (*ruwā-nagān*) and gifts (*dāhwān*) which he (= the elect) takes from the wordly-minded people (*kadeβarān*) for the gods, in favour of the soul, he is not authorized to impurify them with meat and wine (*pid ud may*), to maculate and pollute them with anger, lie, envy and [...] wound and killing, the deeds of passion and wordliness.

GW §§ 71–72, cf. SUNDERMANN 1997, pp. 80sq.

However, even this allusion to the ethical principles does not convince Bayard, only Ammō’s recitation of the chapter *Collecting of the gates* from Mani’s work *Treasure of Life* can change the mind of the spirit. There is possibly another allusion to this chapter in a polemical text:

M9/1/v/8–13/ (MP.): But nobody should argue: “If the knowledge (*dānišn*, i.e. Gnosis) cannot come to the people except through these gates which I described above (*darān ī-m az abar nibišt*), then these gates should be right (*drist*) and similar (*hāwend*) for every doctrine (*kēš*) regarding knowledge (*dānišn*) and the like.”

ANDREAS/HENNING 1933, pp. 298sq.

The “collecting of the gates” (MP. *harrōbišn ī darān*, Pa. *panj barān amwardišn* M216/v/2/) corresponds to the first and the third of the so-called “three seals”,²⁴ comprehending the five Manichaean commandments for the elect, namely those of the mouth and of the lap. The seal of the hands, which is the non-injury of the Living Soul, is not mentioned here.²⁵ The gates are the sense organs, eyes, ears and nose, and their gathering means to lock them for worldly deceit—a

22 Cf. also Sims-Williams 1985, pp. 573–575.

23 Sundermann 1997, p. 124, n. 71.3.

24 For a general overview on Manichaean ethics and commandments see Klimkeit 1989, pp. 52–56; Tardieu 1981, pp. 79–89; Böhlig 1980, pp. 40–44; Sims-Williams 1985; Colditz 2009b, p. 73 n. 1.

25 But cf. the second commandment in CMC 5.3–9: walking in their midst with wisdom and cunning (σὺν σοφίαι καὶ [εὖ]μηχανίαι), kept the rest (τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν), did no wrong (μὴ

T. 66 (Chin.): The carnal body (肉身 *roushen*) is also called the Old Man (故人 *guren*).

CHAVANNES/PELLIOT 1911, p. 540; CHAVANNES/PELLIOT 1913, p. 540; transl.

SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1987, p. 82, as a17

In this context also the metaphor of the “five trees of death” of the demoness Āz is used which are felled by the Light-Nous, who plants his own “five trees of light” in the soul. The latter stand for the five cardinal virtues, the virtues of the New Man.²⁹ Elsewhere there are also mentioned the “three trees”.³⁰

M904/11/r/2–6/ (So.): First he teaches the light-tree (*rwxsšnyy wny*’), secondly the dark tree (*tʿrc wny*’), and thirdly the mixed tree (*ptryδδc*’ *wny*’).

LN § 92b, cf. SUNDERMANN 1992, pp. 60sq., 74sq.; a detailed description cf.

§§ 92–99, cf. *ibid*.

3.2 *Promise of Salvation*

Closely connected with ethical issues, another important aspect to characterise Manichaeism towards non-Manichaeans was the promise of salvation. For this it was necessary to cause people to contemplate the soul at all. They should ask themselves about the own substance and nature of the soul (MP. M9/11/r/9–10/*gyān xwad gōhr ud čēōnih*, cf. Andreas/Henning 1933, p. 299; Boyce 1975, p. 89, text ae). It was essential to learn about the “name of the soul” which is the mystery of its identity and union with the world soul of light.³¹ This concerns in particular the secular-orientated “children of the world” who were concerned with worldly affairs and duties. Nevertheless, this group was of special interest as potential adherents to Manichaeism. Ruminations upon the soul would be the first step to lead them to the knowledge of the two principles, the core of Manichaean doctrine.³²

M49/1/r/1, 11–13/ (MP): ... thus it is fitting, that he ... in the same way should also ask for the wisdom and knowledge of the gods (*xrad-iz ud dānišn ī yazdān*) and think of the soul (*ruwān*).

ANDREAS/HENNING 1933, pp. 306sq.; BOYCE 1975, p. 54, text t; SUNDERMANN

1981, pp. 93sq., text 5.1; transl. ASMUSSEN 1965, pp. 27sq.

29 Cf. LN §§ 24–38 (Sundermann 1992, pp. 66–69); T. 137–185 (Chavannes/Pelliot 1911, pp. 556.15–563.18; transl. Schmidt-Glitzner 1987, p. 87, as a17–91, as c20).

30 For variants of the image of the tree cf. also Colditz 2009c, pp. 61, 76 n. 73.

31 Cf. Sundermann 1997, pp. 13, 153 n. 155.5.

32 Cf. also Colditz 2009b, pp. 83sq.

M7/11/i/5–18/ (Pa.): Will you teach the mixture of virtuous and evil thought(s) (*srēšišn čē andēšišn kirbag ud bazag*) and will you separate (*wiwadāh*) them one from the other? Will you distinguish the pure word of your being (*wxēbē bāwag saxwan pawāg*) which (alone) is the guide to the soul (*gyān*) which (is) in the body (*tanbār*)! By this, too, will you recognize completely the lying word (*druymīg saxwan*)³³ that leads to dark hell (*tār dōžax*), the hellish guide (*narahīg wādāg*). ... You, Light-Soul (*grīw rōšn*), in these [...] salvat[ion ...], damnation and rebirth (*bōxtagišt* [...] *andraxtagišt ud āžōn*). Will you restrain your heart and mind from evil disturbance(s) (*āšōb bazzag*)! Will you ascend on the road of peace (*rāh rāmišn*) to the Light-Paradise (*rōšn padišt*)!

ANDREAS/HENNING 1934, pp. 873 sq., text g, ll. 123–137, 163–168; BOYCE 1975, p. 109, text az; DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2006, pp. 30 sq., ll. 288–302, 324–333; transl.

KLIMKEIT 1993, p. 48

M5815/1/v/i/31–/ii/6/ (Pa.): [Because everyone(?)] who hears and believes them (= the words of Mani) and keeps them [in] his head and who serves [with] pious deeds, he will find salvation (*mōxš*) from t[his] transmigration of souls (*zādmurd*) and will be freed from all sins (*bazzag*).

ANDREAS/HENNING 1934, p. 856, text b, ll. 81–87

3.3 *Visions of the Realm of Light*

In the context of hagiographical writings and mission reports we learn about Mani's levitations, a miraculous power to let himself and other persons soar into the sky and to let them see the glory of the heavenly spheres and other visions. Those people who had a share in this experience felt deeply touched. The Light-Paradise is depicted there as a beautiful and perfect garden.³⁴

M47/1/v/3–10/ (Pa.): (Mihr-šāh is asking Mani:) “In the paradise (*wahišt*) that you mention, is there a garden such as my garden (*bōdistān*)?” Thereupon the Apostle realised his unbelieving mind (*awāwarīg framānag*). He showed him by miraculous power (*warž*) the Light-Paradise (*wahišt rōšn*) with all gods (*bayān*), deities (*yazdān*) and the immortal Air of Light (*wād*

33 For the opposition of “pure word” and “lying word” cf. Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, p. 176 n. 124.

34 Cf. the identification of a garden with the alms in the parable M47/11/1/3–4/ (Müller 1904, p. 85; Sundermann 1973, p. 88, ll. 1724–1725).

anōšag čē žīwahr),³⁵ and a garden of all kinds (of plants) (*bōdīstān wisp zanaḡ*) and also other *splendid apparitions (*gawānīg dīdan*) there.

MÜLLER 1904, pp. 89sq.; SUNDERMANN 1981, p. 103, ll. 1594–1601; transl.

KLIMKEIT 1993, pp. 211sq.

This subject was such important that it is outlined in the first canto of the Pa. hymn-cycle *Huyadagmān* with parallels in Sogdian, Uygur and Chinese.³⁶ Another detailed account of the arrangement of the Realm of Light in the Five Greatnesses can be found in the So. text M178/1.³⁷ The depiction of the beauty and the magnificence of the Light-Paradise, and how its residents dwell there in peacefulness, purity and radiance, must have made it very desirable for the readers or listeners of these texts to get access to this glorious place after death. Since the precondition for this was a pious life according to the religious commandments, these descriptions may have effected also conversions to Manichaeism. Therefore, this topic can also be considered as a *thematic summary* of one of the fundamental dogmas of Manichaeism.

4 Detailed Descriptions

In addition to the religious *abstracts* discussed above, there are more detailed descriptions as part of longer texts which exceed the mere use of keywords and represent an overview of the religion, summing up the most important Manichaean issues. It seems that Mani specifically applied such summaries in his lectures:

Keph. 16.21–28: For you I have written about it, in full (ϩⲏ ⲟϥⲗⲓⲉϥⲧⲉ), in my books already. Today you have again questioned me. Behold, now I have repeated the lesson to you in brief (ϩⲏ ⲟϥϥⲏⲧⲟⲙⲗ) ... We (= the disciples) thank you, our master! For while you have written about your advent in the [scri]ptures, how it came to be, and we have received it and believed in it; still, you have repeated it to us in this place, in a condensed form (ϩⲏ ⲟϥϩⲟϥϩ).

BÖHLIG/POLOTSKY 1940, p. 16; GARDNER 1995, p. 22

35 The first of the five light elements (Sundermann 1981, p. 103 n. 4).

36 Ed. Boyce 1954, pp. 66–77; for corrections and So. parallels cf. Sundermann 1990, pp. 14, 23–24; Chin. parallels in H. 261–338 (Tsui/Henning 1943, pp. 199–208; transl. Schmidt-Glintzer 1987, pp. 44–52); for the Uyg. parallels and a comparison of all versions cf. Bryder 1999.

37 Ed. Henning 1948, pp. 307–310, ll. 1–65 with ll. 32–46, 54–65 = M5920 (ibid. p. 318). Cf. also Sundermann 2008, pp. 222sq.

Thus, in the *Cologne Mani Codex*, Mani narrates the contents of the revelation, covering subjects such as the origin of soul and body, the two principles and their realms, the cosmic drama of their fight against each other, the creation of the worlds and of the first human couple, the apostleship of Mani, the coming of the Gnosis, the Manichaean church and its hierarchy and commandments, the eschatological fate of the sinners and the pious, paradise and hell and the separation of the two principles. Similar summaries can be found in Coptic and Iranian texts.

CMC 21.2–23.16, 34.1–35.16 (Gr.): (The Syzygos taught me) ... who I am and (who is) my body (σῶμα), in which way I have come into the world (κόσμος), ...³⁸ and who is my father in height, ... which order and which instruction (καὶ ποῖαν ἐντολὴν τε καὶ ὑποθήκην) he has given to me, ... and who is that one who is my (always vigilant) Syzygos (συζυγός), ... Furthermore, what my soul (τῆς ψυχῆς), the soul of all worlds, is in itself and how it came into existence. Furthermore, he showed me the boundless heights (τά τε ἄπειρα ὕψη) and the unfathomable depths (τὰ βάθη τὰ ἀνεξιχνίαστα),³⁹ he showed (me) all, what ...⁴⁰ ... the fathers of light (τοῦ φωτός πατέρων). And all that what happens in the ships (ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις = sun and moon), he revealed to me. Again, he disclosed the bosom of the pillar, the fathers and the mighty powers which are concealed ... established and perfect in their (= of the religion) teachers and bishops (ἐν τε τοῖς διδασκάλοις αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπισκόποις), elect and catechumen (ἐκλεκτοῖς τε καὶ κατηχουμένοις), in the meals of piety and the greatest helpers and all those who want to become ...

HENRICHS/KOENEN 1975, pp. 22–25, 34–35

Keph. 15.1–19 (Copt.): He (= the Paraclete) unveiled to me ... the mystery of the dep[ths] and the heights (ἄβυσσος καὶ ὕψος), ... of the light and the darkness (ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡσυχία), ... of the calamity of conflict, and the war (ἡ πόλεμος), and the great [...] the battle that the darkness spread about. ... How the light [...] the darkness, through their

38 Mani reports here actually “On the origin of his body (Περὶ τῆς γέννης τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ)” which is the title of the *Cologne Mani Codex*.

39 Cf. CMC 43.1–3: the height and the depth and the (eternal) rest and the (eternal) punishment (Henrichs/Koenen 1975, pp. 42 sq.); cf. also Paul’s epistles Eph 3,18, Rom 8,39.

40 The text is formulated again as a Gnostic questionnaire (Henrichs/Koenen 1975, p. 23 n. 52); cf. also above n. 1.

mingling (ΠΟΥΤΩΤ) this universe (ἡπικοςμος) was set up [...]. ... the way that the ships (ἡεχηγ) were constructed; [to unable the go]ds of light to be in them, to purity the li[ght from] creation. Conversely, the dregs and the eff[lu]ent [... to the] abyss. The mystery of the fashioning of Adam (ἡαλααμ), the fir[st ma]n. ... of the tree of knowledge, [wh]ich Adam ate from; his eyes saw. ... of the apostles (ἡναποστολος) who were sent to the wor[ld, to enable them] to choose the churches (ἡνεκκλησια). ... of the elect (ἡνεκλεκτος), [with their] commandments. ... of the catechumens (ἡνακτηχουμενος), their helpers, with [their] commandments. ... of the sinners (ἡνερεφρηαβε) with their deeds; and the punishing that lies hidden for them. ...

BÖHLIG/POLOTSKY 1940, p. 15; GARDNER 1995, pp. 20sq.

M8700/1/v/i/21–30/, /v/ii/7–28/ (Pa.): The lord, the Light-Twin (*sāstār yamag rōšn*), has taught the arrival and the virtue. He has completely explained to us the origin of the soul and the body (*gyān ud tanbār bungāh*), the pure seal (*pawāg muhr*) and the commandment(s) (*čaxšābed*) of the elect and the hearers (*wižīdagān ud niyōšagān*); how they find salvation (*bōγ*), they perform the redeeming of the soul from death (*murdāxīz*). ... We pray together with you, you who hear about paradise, hell and birth-death (= transmigration of souls) (*wahišt dužax ud zādmurd*), the two original roots (*dō wēx hasēnag*): the first, the light principle (*bun rōšn*), the second, the dark principle (*bun tārīg*), (about) life (*žīwahr*), death (*murd*) and mixture (*wimēxtagīft*) of the worlds' creation, (about) the external greatness of the dominion of heaven (= Light paradise) where all gods dwell and exist; there are no enemies (or) foes among them, neither destruction, turmoil or wickedness. That father, the original ancestor, the splendid lord, he holds twelve diadems, the great ruler, the greatness (= the Father of greatness) from the first-born great fathers who stay near to the father.⁴¹

Partly published COLDITZ 2000, pp. 278, 389

One cannot conclude this study without referring to the well-known text about the “Ten points of excellence of Mani’s religion over previous religions”, which

41 For this subject cf. parallels in Pa. *Huyadagmān* i.*14, 33, 34, 53, *72 (Boyce 1954, pp. 70sq., 74sq.) = Chin. 卍. 275, 294, 295, 314, 333 (Tsui/Henning 1943, pp. 200, 202, 205, 207; transl. Schmidt-Glitzner 1987, pp. 45, 47, 49, 51).

also ranks among those texts with detailed summaries. Besides the MP. version, there are parallels in Coptic and Sogdian, but also partly in Parthian and Greek.⁴² A comprehensive quotation of these references will not be done here.

5 Conclusions

Manichaeism presented itself predominantly as a mystic knowledge of divine origin. Through the usage of *codes* the contents of the doctrine remained unclear without catechesis. Further explanations are provided by *keywords*, which characterise various domains of the teachings, but they do not form a standard terminology. *Thematic summaries* make use of these keywords as well and function as topic overviews. I do not dwell here on the numerous mnemonic lists, numerical series of religious issues serving their memorisation.⁴³ The *detailed descriptions* of the religion are of various length and range from schematic catechism to mythological subjects.

If we can speak actually of *the abstract* of the Manichaean teachings, then it is made of the keywords “two principles/natures” and “three periods” which can be found in all relevant sources. Thus the two fundamental features of the religion can be expressed: its dualism and the idea of the three states of pre-existence, mixture and separation of light and darkness. This *abstract* may go back to the terminology Mani has coined for his *Šābuhragān* and is therefore common in the Eastern sources.⁴⁴ Western texts know the items as well but use differing terms. Of these two features, that of the “two principles”, possibly even used as a MP./Pa. compound *dō-bun*, seems to be the most concise one, a *slogan* which is often put at the beginning of elaborate depictions of Manichaeism, in particular of the myth.⁴⁵

42 MP. M5761+M5794+M6062 (Andreas/Henning 1933, pp. 295–297; Boyce 1975, pp. 29sq., 56–57; Sundermann 1981, pp. 131–133, text 24.1; Lieu 2006; transl. Asmussen 1975, pp. 12, 27); Copt. 151th Keph. (Funk 2000, pp. 370.17–375.6); So. Ch6914+S015000(5)+Ch5554(= Ch/So20182)/1–136/ (Sundermann 1985, pp. 19–28) and M7420 (ibid. p. 36). For parallels of various issues cf. also Pa. M5815/1/v/ (Andreas/Henning 1934, pp. 856sq., text b, ll. (72–108); Boyce 1975, pp. 51sq., text r), GW §§ 118–119 (Sundermann 1997, pp. 86sq.); Copt. Hom. 37.14–26 (Polotsky 1934, p. 37; Pedersen 2006, p. 37); Gr. CMC 104.10–22 (Henrichs/Koenen 1981, pp. 212sq.).

43 For examples cf. Böhlig 1980, pp. 376–460 (index, see below according numbers).

44 On the spreading in the East cf. Hutter 1992, pp. 144–147.

45 Cf. also Wurst 1994, p. 167.

All versions of *abstracts* mentioned here can be found within Manichaean texts regardless language or provenance and show a unified picture of the typical Manichaean metaphorical language. However, the different use of codes, slogans, keywords, thematic summaries or descriptions depended on the target audience to whom the particular text was addressed. Among the elect and other initiated groups, short allusions (codes) to the doctrine were sufficient for their understanding. Keywords, lists and summaries were widely used in the context of catechesis for the spiritual education of the parishioners, but also served missionary purpose. Yet regarding the mission, most of the abstract versions required further explanations. Finally, the question might well be asked whether there exists a relation between these abstracts and the motifs of Manichaean book illustrations and wall paintings which could be an object of future research.

Abbreviations

Arab.	Arabic
c.	Chinese Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of Mani, the Buddha of Light
CMC	Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis
Col	Paul's Epistle to the Collossians
Copt.	Coptic
Eph	Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians
Gr.	Greek
GW	Sermon on the Soul (<i>Gyān wifrās</i>), cf. Sundermann 1997
h.	Chinese Hymnscroll
Hom.	Coptic Homilies
John	Gospel of John
Keph.	Coptic Kephalaion
Lat.	Latin
LN	Sermon on the Light-Nous (<i>Manohmed rōšn wifrās</i>), cf. Sundermann 1992
MP.	Middle Persian
Pa.	Parthian
Paz.	Pazand
Ps.	Coptic Psalm
Rom	Paul's Epistle to the Romans
So.	Sogdian
T.	Chinese Treatise
Uyg.	Uygur

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Biblical Pseudepigrapha among North African Manichaeans¹

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In the course of his debate with the Manichaean Felix in 404, Augustine of Hippo attributed the authorship of purported acts of apostles to one Leucius (or Leutius):

In the Acts written by Leutius, which he writes like the Acts of the Apostles, you have it expressed as follows: “For specious lies and false displays and the seduction of visible things do not come from some nature of their own but from that man who by himself became worse through seduction.”²

I introduce this passage (and its unidentified quotation) with the (perhaps unnecessary) *caveat* that up to the end of the fourth century many writings vied for canonical recognition, and that it took considerable time to sort out what today are generally held to be the sacred books of the Old and New Testaments (even if not all relevant issues have been resolved).³ Here I will first deal with the presence among Christians in Roman Africa of “biblical” writings not found among those that comprise today’s canon; then I will review

1 I prefer the term “pseudepigrapha” to “apocrypha” because for some scholars and Reform traditions the latter term refers to Old Testament books found in the Septuagint but not in the Hebrew Bible, yet they are received by Catholic traditions as “deuterocanonical.” “Pseudepigraphical” tends to mean for all parties books not received into any mainstream scriptural canon.

2 Augustine, *Contra Felicem* 2.6 (CSEL 25/2, p. 833.12–18): “In actibus scriptis a Leutio, quos tamquam actus apostolorum scribit, habes ita positum: *etenim speciosa figmenta et ostentatio simulate et coactio uisibilium nec quidem ex propria natura procedunt, sed ex eo homine, qui per se ipsum deterior factus est per seductionem.*” Translation by Teske, *The Manichean Debate*, 302.

3 On the formation of the scriptural canon see Kaestli/Wermelinger, eds, *Le canon*; Gamble, *The New Testament Canon*; Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*; Piñero, *La formación*; Tardieu, ed., *La formation des canons*; Lienhard, *The Bible, the Church, and Authority*; McDonald, *The Formation*; idem, *The Biblical Canon*.

what is known about Manichaeism's use of such extra-canonical material in general, particularly within the Roman Empire; and finally I will focus on their deployment among Manichaeans of Roman Africa. In all cases I will confine my remarks to instances of a pseudepigraphical presence that is more than merely conjectural.

1 Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Roman Africa

Evidence for the use (or at least knowledge) of pseudepigrapha by Christians in North Africa, while not abundant,⁴ reaches almost to the beginnings of Christianity's presence there.⁵ Tertullian referred to a Book of Enoch⁶ of which Augustine of Hippo also seems to have been aware.⁷ Tertullian, Lactantius, and Augustine all alluded to the *Sibylline Oracles*.⁸ Like Tertullian, Augustine reproduced the legend of the Septuagint's origins from the *Letter of Aristeas* (29–50 and 301–310);⁹ and in a homily he connected

4 But certainly not as spare as A. Harnack suggests [*Das Leben Cyprians von Pontius*, 44n]: “die afrikanische Kirche war von diesen Schriften fast ganz frei.”

5 On Christian origins in Roman Africa see Coyle, “The Self-Identity of North African Christians”, 64; idem, “Particularities of Christianity in Roman Africa”, 14.

6 Tert., *De cultu feminarum* 1.3.1 (CCL 1, p. 346): “Scio scripturam Enoch” In *De idolatria* 15.6 he appears to have considered this work canonical, whereas Augustine did not: see the following note.

7 Aug., *De ciuitate dei* 15.23 (CCL 48, p. 491.109–112): “Scripsisse quidem nonnulla diuine illum Enoch, septimum ab Adam, negare non possumus, cum hoc in epistula canonica Iudas apostolus dicat. Sed non frustra non sunt in eo canone scripturarum ...” See Taylor, *Augustine of Hippo's Notion*, 130–135.

8 Tert., *Ad nationes* 2.12.35–36 (CCL 1, p. 64 = *Sib. Or.* 3.108–110), *De pallio* 2.3, *Apologeticum* 19.10 (Fulda fragments). Lactantius refers to them more than fifty times, e.g., in *Diuinae institutiones* 4.18, *De ira dei* 22.7 and *passim*, and *De morte persecutorum* 2.8. For Augustine, see *Epist. ad Romanos inchoata expositio* 3; *De ciuitate dei* 3.17–18, 10.27, 18.23.1 (CCL 48, pp. 613–614 = *Sib. Or.* 8.217–243), and 18.46; *Epist. 104 ad Nectarium* 3.11, and 258 *ad Marcianum* 5; but there is some question of whether he consulted the *Oracles* directly or got them through reading Lactantius and/or Virgil, or received them wholly or in part from the African Proconsul Flaccianus: see Kurfess, “Die Sibylle”. Even if Augustine's references to the *Oracles* are secondhand, they at least attest to the work's presence in North Africa at his time: see Taylor, *Augustine of Hippo's Notion*, 249–262; Altaner, “Augustinus und die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen”, 244–247. Thompson, “Patristic Use of the Sibylline Oracles”, gives all the patristic references.

9 Tertullian alludes to the legend in *Apologeticum* 18.7. See Aug., *De ciuitate dei* 15.13 and 18.42–43, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* 1.169, *De doctrina christiana* 2.15.22, *De consensu euangelistarum* 2.128, and *Enarr. in ps.* 87.10 (CCL 39, p. 1215) “Verum septuaginta interpretes,

Paul with a prophecy of Jacob reported in the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*.¹⁰

As to New Testament pseudepigrapha, writing around 200 C.E. Tertullian specifically alluded to *Acts of Paul* (= AcP),¹¹ of which he disapproved due to their popularity among Marcionites; so this work (at least in the form Tertullian knew it) appeared in Africa too early to owe its importation to Manichaeans.¹² Cyprian appears to have had knowledge of a work by the same title,¹³ and quoted from a pseudepigraphical work in *De mortalitate*.¹⁴ Augustine alluded to an incident we find in extant *Acts of Peter* (= AcPet 22),¹⁵ and from which he seems to have borrowed, once directly against Manichaeans and once in a letter.¹⁶ Basing himself on what he called “albeit pseudepigraphical writings,”¹⁷ he accepted the report in *Acts of John* (= AcJ) that the apostle of that name did not die, but lies sleeping in his tomb at Ephesus; and he quoted several lines from “The Hymn of Christ” (AcJ 95–96) in a letter to a fellow bishop¹⁸ Meant to advocate Thecla as a precursor of the virginal life, the citation at least indicates an acquaintance with the Thecla tradition,¹⁹ if not with *Acts of Paul and Thecla* (= AcPT). Augustine also knew of the *Apocalypse* (or *Vision*) of Paul, which he called *Reuelatio Pauli* and branded as “nescio quibus fabulis plena”;²⁰

quorum auctoritas tanta est, ut non immerito propter mirabilem consonantiam diuino spiritu interpretati esse credantur ...” Taylor, *Augustine of Hippo's Notion*, 127, gives no argument to back the claim that “Augustine most probably derived the LXX story from Josephus (*Antiq.* xii:2) by way of Eusebius (*Prep. Evang.* viii:1).”

10 Aug., *Sermo* 279 1. See Taylor, *Augustine of Hippo's Notion*, 127–130.

11 Tert., *De baptismo*, 17.5. Probably the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* were meant: see Taylor, *Augustine of Hippo's Notion*, 192; Hilhorst, “Tertullian on the Acts of Paul”.

12 Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten”, 154.

13 See von Harnack, *Drei wenig beachtete cyprianische Schriften*, 18, 20, and 22.

14 Cypr., *De mort.* 17 (CCL 3A, p. 26.293): “Qualem te inuenit dominus, cum uocat, talem pariter et iudicat.”

15 Aug., *De haeresibus* 1.

16 Aug., *C. Adimantum* 17 and *Epist.* 36 *ad Casulanum* 9.21. See Taylor, *Augustine of Hippo's Notion*, 157–172.

17 Aug., *Tractatus in Ioannis euangelium* 124.2 (CCL 36, p. 681): “quod in quibusdam scripturis quamuis apocryphis reperitur.” See AcJ 111 and 115; and Taylor, *Augustine of Hippo's Notion*, 221–224.

18 Aug., *Epist.* 237 *ad Ceretium* 6–9, written in 395. See *In Iohannis euangelium tract.* 124.2 (CCL 36, pp. 681–682; AcJ 106–115).

19 Aug., *De sancta uirginitate* 1.44.45.

20 Aug., *Tract. in Ioann. eu.* 9.8.8 (CCL 36, p. 581). See Altaner, “Augustinus und die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen”, 242–243; and Taylor, *Augustine of Hippo's Notion*, 230–237.

and of *Letters to Paul from Seneca*, that garnered his approval though he knew they were non-canonical.²¹ Indeed, of all the pseudepigrapha, it was literature associated with Paul that most often cropped up in “orthodox” Roman African Christianity.

2 Biblical Pseudepigrapha among the Manichaeans

It has been asserted that Manichaeism freely availed itself of pseudepigraphical biblical literature since the fourth century.²² Of the accuracy of this assertion there seems little doubt. A Middle Persian fragment from Turfan has Mani declare: “all the writings, wisdom and parables of earlier religions, since (they) [have come] to this [my religion] ...”²³ Even though this appears centuries later and a world away, it is in line with the thinking of Mani’s followers of earlier times, as a *Kephalaion of the Teacher* affirms:

The writings and the wisdom and the apocalypses and the parables and the psalms of all earlier [religions] were gathered everywhere and came to my [religion] and were added to the wisdom I revealed. As water will be added to water and will become much water, so were the ancient books augmented by my writings and became a great wisdom, the like of which was not (hitherto) proclaimed in all ancient generations.²⁴

When it came to traditions of the Common Era, Manichaeans, as we know, accepted only those parts of the New Testament that shored up their own teachings. In addition, conventional wisdom supposes their total repudiation

21 Aug., *Epist. 153 ad Macedonium* 14 (CSEL 44, p. 412.1–2): “Merito ait Seneca, qui temporibus apostolorum fuit, cuius etiam quaedam ad Paulum apostolum leguntur epistulae ...”

22 Still worth consulting on this topic are de Beausobre, *Histoire critique de Manichéisme*, 337–425; and Alfarić, *Les écritures manichéennes* 2, 149–159 and 169–195. See also Piovanelli, “The Reception of Early Christian Texts”, 434–435.

23 T II D 126 IV, in Andreas/Henning, “Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan 2”, *SPAW.PH*, 296, repr. in: idem, *Selected Papers* 1, [193].

24 1 *Keph* 154, in Schmidt/Polotsky, “Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten”, 86: Πῆμαρϣταγ ϣ[ε] ἡγρᾶφᾶγε ἡν τσοφια ἡν ἡαποκαλλγῆς ἡν ἡ|παρᾶβ[ο]λαγε ἡν ἡψαλλῆος ἡἡωαρπ ἡεκκλ[ησι]α τηρογ ᾶγωγῆ ῆἡ μα ἡἡν ᾶγκατᾶντε ᾶταεκ|κλῆσιᾶ ᾶγογῶρ ᾶᾶἡ τσοφια ῆταῖογᾶνῆς ᾶ|βαλ ἡ[τῆ]ε ἡογᾶγ ῆαογῶρ ᾶᾶἡ ογᾶγ ἡσεῖ|ῆἡμογ[ῆ]εγε ῆαογῶρ τῆε ρωγ ᾶν τε τεῖ ῆτα[ἡ]ᾶμε ἡαρᾶλιος ογῶρ ᾶᾶἡ ἡαγρᾶφᾶγε ᾶγρ ογᾶσ ἡσοφια τετε ἡπογῆτογο ἡπεσερῆε ῆἡ ἡἡνεα τηρογ ἡαρᾶλιος. My translation.

of anything associated with the Old Testament.²⁵ The written traditions produced by earlier revealers, claims John Reeves, were considered

of limited value for the transmission of the pristine Gospel of Light. In order to recover the *original* message of these divine emissaries, it was necessary to consult literary *testimonia* that allegedly stem from the apostles themselves. Herein lies the significance of what modern scholars term “pseudepigrapha” attributed to the apostolic line, and the basic reason for the Manichaean disparagement of earlier canonical scriptures.²⁶

However, the reality is less simple. Manichaeans rejected a Jewish interpretation of revelation, but did not reject every figure associated with the Old Testament. The Coptic Manichaean psalter discovered at Medinet Madi in Egypt seems to contain references to Old Testament apocrypha (“The Second Man, Adam, fell into ... Sethel also, his son—his endurance is great Enosh also and Noah, Shem [...] Enoch also, the Sage”).²⁷ In the first *Kephalaion of the Teacher* Mani is the last and best of the line of *bona fide* messengers from God that stretches back to Adam through Seth and Enoch.²⁸ It is reasonable, then, that in his own writings he would have harked back to his spiritual ancestors. Thus the account of his early life in the Cologne Mani Codex (“On the Origin of His Body”) refers to apocalypses of Adam, Seth(el), Enosh, Shem, and Enoch, although none of the citations there match any extant literature.²⁹ Indeed, there is a “Hymn to Seth” in the published part of the Medinet Madi psalter.³⁰ There, too, a Jesus-psalm (239) refers to a saying from an *Apocryphon of Ezekiel*,

25 On Manichaean attitudes toward the Jewish-Christian sacred books see Coyle, *Augustine's “De moribus ecclesiae catholicae”*, 145–149, with the accompanying references.

26 Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha”, 173.

27 Text and translation in Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, 142.3–9: ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲣⲥⲖⲚⲈⲢⲚⲈ ⲛⲓⲣⲟⲩⲙⲈ
ⲁⲗⲁⲛ ⲁⲓⲣⲉⲓⲉ ... ⲩⲟⲩⲛⲉⲓⲛⲟⲩⲗ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲩⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲑⲑ ⲡⲉ
ⲧⲉⲩⲣⲩⲩⲡⲟⲩⲙⲟⲛⲛ | ⲭⲟⲩ ... ⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲙⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲁⲛⲡⲉ
... .. ⲁⲛ . [. . | ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲩⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲩⲟⲩⲣⲉ ⲩⲣⲛⲛ [...] ⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲟⲩⲑⲟⲥ.

28 *1 Keph.* 1, in Böhlig, Polotsky, *Kephalaia*, p. 12.10–12.

29 See Frankfurter, “Apocalypses Real and Alleged”; Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha”, 173–203, esp. 173, 176, and 181–188; Rosenstiehl, “C.M.C. 60,13–62,9”, 345–347. The first part of the document has been translated by Cameron and Dewey, *The Cologne Mani Codex*. For a reference reported in Theodore bar Konai see Reeves, “An Enochic Motif”. Drijvers sees a connection between the Coptic Manichaean psalter and the *Odes of Solomon*, which he dates at around 275 C.E. and considers to be opposed to both Marcionism and Manichaeism: “Odes of Solomon and Psalms of Mani”, esp. 123–130; repr. in: Drijvers, *East of Antioch*.

30 In Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, 144–146. See the discussion in Villey, *Psaumes des errants*, 237–246.

though it attributes the saying to Jesus.³¹ Before the great discovery at Qumran in 1947, Manichaeism had already made parts of the text of the pseudepigraphical *Book of the Giants* accessible to us for the first time, through Middle Persian, Sogdian, Parthian, Uigur, and Coptic versions.³² The *Book of the Giants* is part of the *Book of the Watchers*, which in turn forms the first part of the *Book of Enoch*, which Manichaeans also appear to have known in some form, at least in their later history.³³ It provides context to the reference in Genesis 6:1–4 to heavenly beings that mated with human women, thus producing “giants on the earth.”³⁴

If Manichaeans appealed to Old Testament pseudepigrapha, it is no surprise that they invoked New Testament extra-canonical sources as well. Cyril of Jerusalem ascribed a *Gospel of Thomas* to “a perverse disciple of Mani,”³⁵ but it is impossible to know whether this coincides with the writing of the same name found at Nag Hammadi.³⁶ It has been demonstrated (or at least suggested) that Manichaeans had access to (in some cases rewritten)³⁷ gospels of

31 See Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, 39; Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 495 (= Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus* 1.9); and Stroker, “The Source of an Agraphon”.

32 See Tubach, “Spuren des astronomischen Henochbuches”, 85.

33 See Turfan fragment M 299a, in Henning, “Ein manichäisches Henochbuch”, repr. in: idem, *Selected Papers* 1; idem, “The Book of the Giants”, repr. in: idem, *Selected Papers* 2; Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony*; Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants*.

34 For the surviving text of *Enoch* see Charles, *The Book of Enoch*.

35 Cyril, *Catecheses* 6.31. See Trechsel, *Ueber den Kanon*, 57–58; Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha* 1, 401, trans. of idem, ed., *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* 1, 320; Taylor, *Augustine of Hippo's Notion*, 186–191.

36 Coyle, “The Gospel of Thomas”, 75–91, repr. in: idem, *Manichaeism and its Legacy*, 123–138.

37 So Turribius of Astorga, *Epist. ad Idacium et Ceponium* 5 (text below, n. 83), and Leo I, *Sermo* xxxiv, 4. See Junod/Kaestli, *L'histoire des Actes apocryphes*, 70–72. Around 383 Philaster of Brescia, *Diuersarum hereseon liber* 88.6 (CCL 9, p. 256; see also 255), written between 380 and 390, claimed that Manichaeans both “added to” (addiderunt) and “abridged” (tulerunt) AcA: “Manichei apocryfa beati Andreae apostoli [...], quos concripserunt tunc discipuli sequentes beatum apostolum, unde et habent Manichei et alii tales Andreae beati et Iohannis actus euangelistae beati, et Petri similiter beatissimi apostoli, et Pauli pariter beati apostoli.” (My translation: “The Manichaeans [have] pseudepigrapha of the blessed apostle Andrew [...], which the disciples of the apostle then wrote, whence the Manichaeans and others like them [have] Acts of the blessed Andrew and of the blessed evangelist John and likewise of the most blessed apostle Peter, and of the apostle Paul.”) This, the first Latin reference to Manichaean manipulation of the pseudepigrapha, makes no mention of the Thomas literature. But it would be a mistake to see Philaster's claim

Eve,³⁸ Bartholomew,³⁹ Peter,⁴⁰ and Philip,⁴¹ an otherwise unknown *Memoria Apostolorum*,⁴² a *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*,⁴³ and an *Apocalypse of Paul*.⁴⁴ Fragments of a Greek codex containing parallels to AcJ were found at the Dakhleh Oasis in Egypt.⁴⁵ There were thus cases of Manichaeans putting their own stamp on already existing pseudepigrapha.

As to a Thomas tradition, and *Acts of Thomas* (= AcTh) in particular,

the idea of the heavenly twin, which dominates the ATTh and the picture of the apostle Judas Thomas as the representative of a theological idea, exercised a profound influence on Mani's self-understanding as is clearly shown by the Cologne Mani Codex [...]. The Coptic Manichean texts show acquaintance with the Thomas legend and with the martyrdom of the apostle [...], although they have taken over only the legend and not the gnosticising elements [...]. It has often been assumed that the ATTh have preserved traces of a Manichean revision [...], and that the Hymn of the Pearl in particular was soon transferred to Mani and provided with individual features from his Vita. It is certainly possible that the Manicheans recognized in the king's son of the Hymn and in his life elements of the Vita of the Apostle of Light, but the differences are too

as purely "une construction apologétique", as Junod and Kaestli think (*L'histoire des Actes apocryphes*, 61).

- 38 Klimkeit, "Apocryphal Gospels in Central and East Asia", 200–201, trans. of idem, "Die Kenntnis", 162–163.
- 39 See Kaestli, "Questions de Barthélémy. Introduction", 258.
- 40 Turfan fragment M 18, in Müller, "Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift", 34 (see also 108–109); and possibly M 4574, in Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte*, 78–79, who also refers to a *Gospel of Nicodemus* and a *Letter of Pilate*. See also the reference to a *Gospel of Peter* in M 132 and M 5861, in Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, 73–74, trans. of idem, *Hymnen und Gebete*, 114–115. Poupon, "L'origine", 197, thinks Manichaeans were responsible for translating AcPet into Latin.
- 41 See Klimkeit, "Apocryphal Gospels", 197–200, trans. of idem, "Die Kenntnis", 158–162; Schenke, "The Gospel of Philip", in Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha* 1, 180, trans. of "Das Evangelium nach Philippus", in: Schneemelcher, ed., *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* 1, 149; Helderman, "Die Bundeslade", 134–137.
- 42 See Alfarc, *Les écritures manichéennes* 2, 175–177; Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha* 1, 376–179, trans. of idem, ed., *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* 1, 301–303; Klimkeit, "Apocryphal Gospels", 201–203, trans. of idem, "Die Kenntnis", 164–165.
- 43 Klimkeit, "Apocryphal Gospels", 202–203, trans. of idem, "Die Kenntnis", 164–165.
- 44 See Rosensthiel, "C.M.C. 60.13–62.9".
- 45 Gardner, "Personal Letters", 82.

great to make a Manichean revision credible. Rather the figure of the apostle Judas Thomas as the twin brother of Jesus was of decisive influence upon Mani's consciousness of mission, and it is also to be assumed that individual motifs from the ATh were accepted into the legendary Vita of Mani.⁴⁶

Peter Nagel and Paul-Hubert Poirier have drawn convincing connections between Manichaeism and the Hymn of the Pearl (AcTh 108–113),⁴⁷ and Wilhelm Bousset noted connections between AcTh 27 and *Acts of Archelaus* 7, 8, and 10.⁴⁸ However, solid evidence for this is sparse (he relies overmuch on later Manichaean sources which do not guarantee contacts at the earliest stages), and an added difficulty lies in determining what comes from Manichaeism and what comes from *Acts of Archelaus'* anti-Manichaean agenda.⁴⁹

A Coptic Manichaean “Psalm of the Wanderers” offers some intriguing names and affirmations of the apostles and others who were patient in suffering. In terms manifestly reliant on apostolic pseudepigrapha, this “Psalm of Patience” praises

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- 46 Drijvers, “The Acts of Thomas”, in: Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha* 2, 338, trans. of “Thomasakten”, in: Schneemelcher, ed., *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* 2, 302. Hammerschmidt, “Das Thomasevangelium” also argues for the “twin” motif as a clue to Manichaean fondness for AcTh.
- 47 Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten”, 172. Translation in Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, 182–187. W. Bousset, “Manichäisches in den Thomasakten”, 1–39, sees (9–11) connections between AcTh (6–7, 39, and 48) and Manichaean doxologies (as in *Acta Archelai* 5 [6], Turfan fragment M 172, and Augustine, *C. Faustum* 1,16). Poirier, “L’Hymne de la Perle et le manichéisme”, 235–248, has added substance to the theory that the Hymn of the Pearl is a Manichaean addition to AcTh (108–113), though this need not signify that the Hymn is itself of Manichaean provenance. See also idem, *L’Hymne de la Perle des Actes de Thomas*, 59–61, 114–116, 132–133, 144, and 310–317; idem, “Les Actes de Thomas et le manichéisme”, 263–289, esp. 274–287; and Bousset, “Manichäisches in den Thomasakten”, 23–30.
- 48 In GCS 16, pp. 10.5.10–15 and 15.10. See Bousset, “Manichäisches in den Thomasakten”, 1–4, 8, and 20–33. Bousset (33–34) does not believe that AcTh were a Manichaean product, but one that Manichaeans reworked.
- 49 See Bousset, “Manichäisches in den Thomasakten”, 9. I will admit, though, that the presence of “right [hand] of light” in AcTh 48, Mani’s *Foundation Letter*, and *Acts of Archelaus* 5 is intriguing. Excerpts from the *Shepherd* of Hermas were found among the manuscripts of Turfan (M 97) and reproduced by Müller, “Eine Hermas-Stelle”. See also Cirillo, “Le Pasteur d’Hermas”; idem, “‘Hermas Pastor’ and ‘Revelatio Manichaica’”. Turfan fragment M 778 lists “Hermas the Shepherd” among agents of the Holy Spirit, along with Simeon, James, Cephas, Mariam, Martha, Paul, Peter, and Thecla. See Henning, “The Murder of the Magi”, 136, repr. in: idem, *Selected Papers* 2, [142] n. 1.

All the Apostles that endured their pains:
 Peter the Apostle, who was crucified upside down,
 how many tortures did he suffer (AcPet 37–38 = *Martyrium Petri* 7–8).
 Andrew the Apostle—they set fire to the house beneath him.
 He and his disciples—all hail to them, they were crucified.⁵⁰
 The two sons of Zebedee were made to drink the cup of the ...
 John the Virgin, he also was made to drink the cup (see Mark 10:38–39),
 fourteen days imprisoned that he might die of hunger.
 And James also, he was stoned and killed.
 They all threw their stone at him that he might die beneath the storm.⁵¹
 The same things also did Thomas endure in his cross.
 Four soldiers at once pierced him with the point of the lance.
 They surrounded him on four sides and made his blood flow (AcTh 165
 and 168) ...
 How many mysteries did he perform. Many a sign did he fulfil.
 Paul the Apostle—they went against him that they might kill him.
 How great then is their wrath. He expired, he did not escape [...].
 Thecla, the lover of God, who was made to go up on the fire.
 She received the sign of the cross, she walked into the fire rejoicing.
 Yet she was not ashamed, naked in the midst of the crowd (AcPT 20–
 22).⁵²
 She was thrown to the bears, the lions were let loose to her.
 She was bound to the bulls, the seals were let loose to her (AcPT 33–35)
 ...
 The blessed Drusiane also, she also suffered the same,
 fourteen days imprisoned, like her master, her Apostle.⁵³
 Maximilla (*Acts of Andrew* = AcA, *passim*) and Aristobula (AcJ 59)⁵⁴—
 on them was great torture inflicted.⁵⁵

50 This scene is reproduced in the *Liber de miraculis beati Andreae apostoli* reported by Gregory of Tours: see Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten”, 160–162. “Crucified” here probably simply means “martyred”: Manichaeans sometimes spoke of the “crucifixion” of Mani, even though their own tradition held that he died in prison.

51 Compare *Second Apocalypse of James* (NH V,4), 44–47, and Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 192.9.

52 See Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 192.25.

53 Drusiane is mentioned in AcJ. Junod/Kaestli, *L’histoire des Actes apocryphes*, 53, account for the allusion to her imprisonment by positing a section (37–86) now disappeared. See Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* 2/1, pp. 180.5, 193.24, and 202.21.

54 See Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, p. 180.6.

55 Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, pp. 142.17–143.13 (cf. note 27), who dates (126) the

It can be noted here that the extant AcA speak of Andrew's crucifixion, but not of that of his disciples. As to the allusion to "the sons of Zebedee" drinking the cup, Knut Schäferdiek affirms that the Manichaean psalm book is the earliest trace of AcJ,⁵⁶ whereas "In the Latin area the attestation of the Acts of John begins only with the close of the 4th century."⁵⁷ Nagel believes that AcJ 94–96 "schließlic" exercised an influence on Manichaean psalmody.⁵⁸

In the fifth psalm of the fourth group attributed to "Heracleides" in the same Coptic corpus, some of the same apostles and women reappear, while others are new:

James [...] died beneath the storm of stone.⁵⁹

A forbearing one is Philip, who lingers in the country of the cannibals.⁶⁰

psalm book at "about 340": ἡἀποστολος τηρου εταγυβι ρανογῆκοορ ἡτατ | πετροс παποστο-
 лос петαγῆстаγρε ἡμαϩ σαχωϩ | ογῆρ ἡαϩελ αϩϩαποϩ εϩαϩεε αβαλ ἡἡπιτοϩβ[ο | αἡδρεαс
 паποστοлос ἡταγῆ τсете апи ρараϩ | ἡтаϩ ἡἡνεϩμαοἡтис ρаеἡ аἡеἡ аγῆстаγρε ἡмаϩ |
 πῳἡре сἡеϩ ἡἡβεдеаἡлос етаγῆсаγ пεπατ ἡἡϩ . [. . | ἡωἡἡἡс ππαρῳенос ἡтаγῆсаγ пεπατ'
 ρωϩ аἡ | ἡἡтеγте ἡἡооϩ еϩаἡἡἡ аἡоγἡ ρе еϩаἡоϩ ρаἡἡ[ко | ἡакωвос се ἡтаϩ ἡтаγῆроϩ
 ωἡе араϩ аγἡаγῆἡ | аγἡа.х πογῳἡе араϩ τηροϩ ρе еϩаἡоϩ ρаἡἡсаἡ[е | ἡеἡ аἡ нетаῳ-
 мас вἡ ρараϩ ρἡπεϩстаγрос ἡ[ἡтаγ ἡἡмаἡаἡ ἡἡсаἡἡ ἡоγῳт аγῆаἡἡ ἡтоγос ἡлогхἡ | аγῆωте
 араϩ саἡἡтаγ ἡса аγῆте пεϩснаϩ ῳωλ а.х . [. | ογῆρ ἡἡγῆστηριον аϩεἡтоϩ оγῆто ἡἡеἡе
 аϩхаἡ[ογ | паγлос папостолос аγἡа а.хωϩ ἡἡсῆтреϩἡ[ογ | ογ]ογῆρ се те т[е]γβλ'ке аϩἡ
 πῆἡἡ ἡἡεϩῳβαλ [...] ἡеκла ἡἡаἡноγте етаγῆεлас аἡἡἡ аἡсῆте . ἡἡ[асхἡ πἡеἡеἡ ἡἡἡ
 асмаἡе аἡоγἡ аἡсῆἡ[е] есῆеἡе | ρἡе ἡἡесῳἡе ἡἡас ρἡἡἡἡте ἡἡἡἡе е[с]кἡк аἡἡϩ | аγἡа.хс
 ἡἡлабаἡ аγῆа ἡἡоγἡ аβαλ арас ἡἡ | аγἡаἡс аἡἡсἡϩ . аγῆа ἡἡωкἡ аβαλ арас ἡἡ | ἡеἡ τηροϩ
 етасῳаἡоϩ ἡἡесῳἡἡἡ ἡἡе[с .] . тоγ . . | ογῆκλαἡ петῆоγаἡϩ оγῆтоγво петῆἡἡе а.хωϩ |
 [т]ἡакаἡиос ρῳс аἡроγсἡἡἡ ἡеἡ ἡеἡ ρῳс нетасῳаἡоϩ | ἡἡἡ ἡἡооϩ есἡἡἡἡ аἡоγἡ ἡἡе пεссаἡ
 пῆаἡстоἡ | [ἡ]аἡἡἡἡла аἡἡтовоγла оγἡас ἡаϩел аγἡἡϩ а.хωϩ.

56 Schäferdiek, "The Acts of John", 153, trans. of idem, "Johannesakten", 139. This is nuanced by Lalleman, *The Acts of John*, 23.

57 Schäferdiek, "The Acts of John", 154, trans. of idem, "Johannesakten", 141. See Augustine, *Contra Faustum* xxx,4 (CSEL 25/1, pp. 751.8–752.5).

58 Nagel, "Die apokryphen Apostelakten", 168–171.

59 See the "Psalm of Patience", above.

60 It is strange that Philip should be mentioned here, since the cannibal incident belongs to *the Acts of Andrew (and Matthias)*, which does not involve him: see Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, p. 65.2. MacDonald, *The Acts of Andrew*, 28, says the AcA influenced the *Acts of Philip* (dating from the fourth to sixth century); but would this explain the Manichaean reference to Philip? However, the cannibal episode is not in *Acts of Philip*, which Manichaeans apparently never used, anyway. So is there confusion in the psalm with Andrew; or was there some account (now lost) of the cannibal story that included Philip?

The sign of freedom from care is the aged Bartholomew,
 he does not carry the day's bread with him.⁶¹
 A rejoicing sheep until today is Simon the Canaanite.
 A merchant who finds profit is Thomas in the land of India (AcTh).
 An obedient disciple is Alphaeus, the agreeable [...].
 A despiser of the body is Thecla, this lover of God (AcPT).
 A shamer of the serpent is Maximilla, the faithful.
 A receiver of salvation is Iphidamia her sister (Greek AcA 15 and
passim),
 imprisoned in these prisons.⁶²
 A champion in the fight is Aristobula the enduring one (AcJ 59).
 An enlightener to others (?) is Eubula the noble woman (AcPet 17),
 drawing the heart of the prefect.⁶³
 A wise woman who loves [her] master is Drusiane, the lover of God,⁶⁴
 shut up for [fourteen] days, seeking her Apostle.⁶⁵
 [A] true ... who was found is Mygdonia in the land of India (AcTh,
passim).⁶⁶

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- 61 See *Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle* in Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 227.
- 62 See AcA 2, which says only that Iphidamia went with others to visit those in prison: Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, p. 39:3–4.
- 63 Though Junod/Kaestli, *L'Histoire des Actes apocryphes*, 76 (cf. note 37), find this attribution unconvincing, since nothing is said in AcPet about her capturing the prefect's heart, and because unlike the other female examples she does not seem to be a model for chastity. Nor do they think she has anything to do with AcP, except that she is mentioned there. See AcP in Schneemelcher, "The Acts of Peter", in: idem, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha 2*, 251–253.
- 64 See the "Psalm of Patience" cited above.
- 65 See above, n. 53.
- 66 Translation based on the text as established by S.G. Richter, *Die Herakleides-Psalmen*, 70–72: $\text{I}\kappa\kappa\omega\beta\omicron\varsigma \text{ пe}\kappa\kappa\epsilon\sigma\alpha\text{н} \mid \lambda\gamma\omega \text{ н}\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\gamma \text{ ρ}\alpha \text{ π}\omicron\lambda\sigma\acute{\iota} \text{ н}\pi\omega\text{нe} \mid \omicron\gamma\epsilon\alpha\rho\upsilon\epsilon\eta\tau \text{ пe} \text{ φ}\iota\lambda\iota\pi\pi\omicron\varsigma \text{ e}\gamma\epsilon\eta$
 $\text{тхw}\rho\alpha \text{ н}\pi\omicron\upsilon\gamma\mid\alpha\text{н}\rho\omega\text{мe} \text{ нe}\omicron\upsilon\text{-} \mid \text{п}\eta\epsilon\iota\text{нe} \text{ н}\tau\alpha\text{мe}\rho\iota\text{н}\eta\iota\alpha \text{ пe} \text{ п}\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron \text{ н}\beta\alpha\rho\omicron\langle\lambda\omicron\rangle\mid\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma \text{ e}\mu\alpha\phi\upsilon \text{ п}\alpha\kappa$
 $\text{н}\pi\rho\omicron\upsilon\epsilon \text{ нe}\mu\epsilon\phi \mid \omicron\gamma\epsilon\sigma\alpha\gamma \text{ e}\eta\tau\lambda\lambda\eta \text{ w}\alpha \text{ π}\omicron\omicron\gamma \text{ пe} \text{ c}\iota\omega\text{н} \text{ п}\kappa\alpha\text{н}\alpha\text{н}\iota(\text{тнc}) \mid \omicron\gamma\epsilon\omega\omega\tau' \text{ н}\rho\epsilon\phi\omicron\text{нe}\eta\gamma$
 $\text{пe} \text{ w}\omicron\mu\alpha\varsigma \text{ ρ}\eta \text{ тхw}\rho\alpha \text{ н}\mid\text{п}\epsilon\eta\tau\omicron\gamma \text{ нe}\omicron\upsilon\gamma \mid \omicron\gamma\mu\alpha\omicron\text{н}\tau\eta\text{нc} \text{ нe}\tau\eta\text{н}\tau' \text{ пe} \text{ \alpha}\lambda\phi\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma \text{ п}\pi\rho\epsilon\rho\omega\epsilon \text{ [...]}$
 $\omicron\gamma\rho\epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\rho\omicron\text{н} \text{ н}\pi\kappa\omega\mu\alpha \text{ пe} \text{ w}\epsilon\kappa\lambda\alpha \text{ т}\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\gamma\tau\epsilon \mid \omicron\gamma\rho\epsilon\tau\omega\pi\epsilon \text{ н}\beta\alpha\phi \text{ тe} \text{ \mu}\alpha\zeta\iota\mu\iota\lambda\lambda\alpha \text{ т}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$
 $\mid \omicron\gamma\rho\epsilon\chi\iota \text{ w}\eta\text{нe} \text{ \alpha}\tau\eta\alpha\phi\rho\epsilon \text{ тe} \text{ \iota}\phi\lambda\alpha\mu\alpha\varsigma \text{ тe}\kappa\kappa\epsilon\omega\mid\text{нe} \text{ [c]}\omega\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau' \text{ \alpha}\nu\iota\omega\tau\epsilon\kappa\omega\upsilon\gamma \mid \omicron\gamma\sigma\alpha\iota\chi \text{ e}\sigma\epsilon\eta$
 $\text{п}\alpha\gamma\omega\text{н} \text{ тe} \text{ \alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\lambda\alpha \text{ т}\epsilon\alpha\rho\omega\epsilon\eta\tau \mid \omicron\gamma\rho\epsilon\tau' \text{ \omicron}\gamma\alpha\iota\text{нe} \text{ н}\beta\epsilon \text{ тe} \text{ e}\gamma\beta\omicron\gamma\lambda\alpha \text{ т}\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\eta\text{нc} \text{ e}\varsigma\mid\sigma\omega\kappa \text{ н}\pi\rho\eta\tau$
 $\text{н}\pi\rho\eta\eta\epsilon\omega\text{н} \mid \omicron\gamma\sigma\alpha\upsilon\eta \text{ н}\mu\alpha\iota\sigma\alpha\rho \text{ тe} \text{ \Delta}\rho\omicron\gamma\sigma\iota\alpha\text{н} \text{ т}\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\gamma\tau\epsilon \text{ e}\sigma\eta\lambda^* \text{ [}\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma\eta \text{ н}\iota\lambda\text{]} \text{ н}\rho\omicron\upsilon\epsilon \text{ e}\sigma\omega\eta\text{н}[\epsilon]$
 $\text{c}\alpha \text{ п}\bar{\alpha}[\rho\omicron]\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda[\omicron]\text{c} \mid [\omicron\gamma \text{ ... } \text{.}]e \text{ н}\mu\eta\epsilon \text{ e}\lambda\gamma\omicron\text{н}\tau\bar{\text{c}} \text{ тe} \text{ \mu}\gamma\tau\alpha\omicron\text{н}\iota\alpha \text{ ρ}\eta \text{ тхw}\rho\alpha \mid [\mu]\text{п}\epsilon\eta\tau\omicron\gamma. \text{ Of}$
 all these names only two—both women—appear in another "Psalm of the Wanderers":
 "The cry of a virgin to Thecla / the cry of a continent woman to Drusiane" (Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, p. 180:29–30).

This time there are resonances of five apostolic Acts: Peter, Paul, Andrew, John, and Thomas. Here Alphaeus appears confused with “James, son of Alphaeus,” while the reference to Thomas as a merchant is not in AcTh as we possess it (though in 2 it is said he was *sold* to a merchant). There is no mention anywhere of Iphidamia being imprisoned. These anomalies have led Éric Junod and Jean-Daniel Kaestli to muse: “On peut de même se demander si certaines des indications qu’Héraclide donne sur les apôtres ne supposent pas l’existence de récits apocryphes développés aujourd’hui disparus ou mal conservés.”⁶⁷ But for present purposes it is enough to know that Manichaeans employed pseudepigrapha, some perhaps of their own making, some reworked, though their sources may have differed from those now in existence. In any event, the pseudepigraphical Acts were deemed more credible than the canonical ones, even though after their early chapters the canonical *Acts of the Apostles* could almost be termed *Acts of Paul*.⁶⁸ But did Manichaeans reject the canonical Acts because of Paul’s particular role in them? It is unlikely that it was due to Paul as simply Paul, for he was popular in Manichaeism.⁶⁹

It is also important to note how these Manichaean sources highlight women who, along with the apostles, are examples of patience and the like. In the apostolic pseudepigrapha as we possess them, these women are the “sidekicks” of the apostles, rendering their mission possible, and making them “apostolic,” too.

3 Biblical Pseudepigrapha and North African Manichaeism

In 393 a plenary synod of African Catholic bishops held in Hippo Regius declared that nothing should be read in church under the guise of scripture, except Scripture.⁷⁰ Augustine (who was at the synod) put his own interpretation on this legislation: it was, as he said in a letter written nearly a decade later,

67 Junod/Kaestli, *L’Histoire des Actes apocryphes*, 75.

68 Peter Nagel affirms that *Acts of Paul* exercised “the strongest influence of the pentad on Manichaeans”: Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten”, 153: “bei den Manichäern den stärksten Eindruck aus der Pentade.” Yet he also remarks that AcTh held pride of place in this pentad for Manichaeans: *art. cit.*, 178–179.

69 See Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus ecclesiae catholicae”*, 187–190.

70 *Breuiarium Hipponense*, canon 36a (CCL 149, p. 43): “Vt praeter scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine diuinarum scripturarum.” Paragraphs b and c of the same canon then list the books to be considered scriptural.

especially meant to target *Manichaean* use of pseudepigrapha.⁷¹ In his treatise on *Heresies* the erstwhile Manichaean reported that Manichaeans “favour certain pseudepigrapha.”⁷² He did not distinguish between Manichaeans of Roman Africa and those elsewhere, but one can reasonably conclude that he had his compatriots primarily, if not exclusively, in mind.

Augustine attested to Manichaean use of a *Book of Adam and Eve*,⁷³ while the Manichaean Faustus of Milevis referred to Enoch and Seth “and others like them” as “just” for their moral maxims, subsequently taken up by Jesus.⁷⁴ Faustus also alluded to the *Sibylline Oracles*⁷⁵ and to an *Euangelium de natiuitate Mariae*,⁷⁶ which brings us once more to New Testament pseudepigrapha, and above all to that collection of five apostolic Acts ascribed to Leucius. Wilhelm Schneemelcher affirmed that “the five works were first brought together only in Manicheism.”⁷⁷ In Schäferdiek’s view, the available evidence indicates that in Manichaean circles there was a “transmission of the five Acts as a closed collection” that enjoyed “a certain degree of binding force [...], at any rate in the circle of the Latin African Manicheans.”⁷⁸ Schäferdiek believes Isaac de Beausobre was right in his conjecture that Leucius’ name accrued originally only to an

71 Aug., *Epist. 64 ad Quintianum* 3 (CSEL 34/2, p. 231.2–4): “his enim haeretici et maxime Manichaei solent inperitas mentes euertere, quos in campo uestro libenter latitare audio.”

72 Aug., *De haeresibus* 46.15 (CCL 46, p. 318): “Ipsiusque testamenti noui scripturas tamquam infalsatas eta legunt, ut quod uolunt inde accipiant, et quod nolunt reiciant; eisque tamquam totum uerum habentes nonnullas apocryphas anteponunt.”

73 Aug., *De moribus Manichaeorum* 19.72–73; *De natura boni* 46; *Contra epistulam quam uocant fundamenti* 12.14; see Taylor, *Augustine of Hippo’s Notion*, 120–124.

74 Aug., *C. Faustum* XIX,3 (CSEL 25/1, p. 498.18–25): “Vbi uero horum quidem nihil memorat [Iesus], sola uero recenset antiquiora praecepta, id est: *non occides, non moechaberis, non peierabis*—haec autem erant antiquitus in nationibus, ut est in promptu probare, olim promulgata per Enoch et Seth et ceteros eorum similes iustos, quibus eadem inlustres tradiderint angeli temperandae in hominibus gratia feritatis—cui non uideatur hoc eum de ueritatis dixisse lege et eius prophetis?” In *C. Faustum* XXVI,1 Faustus seemed to refer to *The Assumption of Moses*: see Taylor, *Augustine of Hippo’s Notion*, 124–125.

75 Aug., *C. Faustum* XIII,1, with Augustine’s response in 2, 15, and 17.

76 Augustine, *C. Faustum* XXIII,4 and 9. Altaner identifies these allusions to Joachim, Mary’s father, with the *Protogospel of James*. But there Joachim is not described as a priest, as Faustus claims. See Trechsel, *Ueber den Kanon*, 55–57; Alfaric, *Les écritures manichéennes* 2, 169–170; Taylor, *Augustine of Hippo’s Notion*, 172–185.

77 Schneemelcher, “Second and Third Century Acts of Apostles: Introduction”, 76, trans. of: “Apostelgeschichten des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts: Einleitung”, 72.

78 Schäferdiek, “The Manichaean Collection”, 90, trans. of idem, “Die Leukios”, 86.

Acts of John,⁷⁹ but disagrees with Éric Junod's thesis that "the name of Leucius became attached to the Acts as a result of the efforts of Manichean circles to put a name to the author of the Acts of Andrew."⁸⁰ Be that as it may, Manichaeans in Africa knew and used some collection of pseudepigraphical Acts of apostles that they—and their opponents—ascribed to one Leucius, presumably a Manichaean too. But whether Leucius was the author or merely the compiler has never been settled.⁸¹

There are some corroborating (though not necessarily independent) testimonies regarding this Leucius. In 405 Pope Innocent I of Rome counted among the non-canonical writings to be rejected "those under the names of Peter and John, which were composed by a certain Leucius, or under the name of Thomas."⁸² But Innocent was somewhat vague, also ascribing to Leucius writings associated with Matthew, James the Younger, and Paul (but not Andrew). Some fifty years later, Turribius of Astorga declared that the following pseudepigrapha had a Manichaean origin:

The Manichaeans follow [...] what [is found] particularly in those Acts that are said to be of the holy Thomas. This heresy, it is obvious, employs the same books—all of them pseudepigraphical, composed or tainted, whether by their authors, or through the principal leader Mani and his disciples; especially those Acts [named after] the holy Andrew and those described as such of the holy John, which Leucius composed in godless speech, and those that are called (Acts) of the holy Thomas, and similar (writings), from which the Manichaeans and Priscillianists [...] seek to authenticate their whole heresy.⁸³

79 Schäferdiek, "The Manichaean Collection", 94, trans. of idem, "Die Leukios", 92.

80 Schäferdiek, "The Manichaean Collection", 100, trans. of idem, "Die Leukios", 92, n. 81.

81 The tradition of linking various *Actus Apostolorum* to Leucius Charinus goes back to the fifth century, as we saw with Augustine (above, n. 2). See also *Epist. 237 ad Ceretium* 2; Evodius, *De fide contra Manichaeos* 5; Alfaric, *Les écritures manichéennes* 2, 191–194; Schäferdiek, "The Manichaean Collection", 93–94, trans. of idem, "Die Leukios", 91–93. Photius (ninth century) was responsible for naming Leucius *Charinus* as the author of the pentad (*Bibliotheca*, cod. 114). See H. Leclercq, "Leucius Charinus", col. 2982; Schäferdiek, "The Manichaean Collection", 89, trans. of idem, "Die Leukios", 81; and Junod/Kaestli, *L'histoire des Actes apocryphes*, 137–145.

82 Innocent, *Epist. 6 ad Exsuperium* 7 (PL 20, col. 502A): "Cetera autem, quae uel sub nomine Matthiae siue Iacobi minoris, uel sub nomine Petri et Iohannis, quae a quodam Leucio scripta sunt, uel sub nomine Thomae, et si qua sunt alia, non solum repudianda, uerum etiam noueris esse damnanda."

83 Turribius, *Epist. ad Idacium et Ceponium* 5 (PL 54, col. 694B–C): "Illud autem specialiter in

Note that only three of the pentad appear here, the same as in the foreword of an *Actus uel miracula Iohannis* attributed to a bishop Melito of Laodicea (fifth century?) who warned against “one Leucius, who has written Acts of the Apostles—of John the Evangelist and the holy apostle Andrew, as well as the apostle Thomas.”⁸⁴ In both cases the understanding seems to be that three of these Acts, excluding AcPet and AcP, were attributable to Leucius’ authorship; but in both cases the attribution to Leucius may be a pure convention.⁸⁵ In any case, the attribution of specific Acts to Leucius gradually ceased, at least for “the West in the vague idea of one Leucius as an author of dangerous apocrypha generally.”⁸⁶

In *Contra aduersarium legis et prophetarum* (which I am convinced targets a Manichaean),⁸⁷ Augustine queried his adversary’s reliance on “passages attributed to the apostles Andrew and John.”⁸⁸ His adversary was inspired, he said, “from some pseudepigraphical writings or other.”⁸⁹ In the same work he served up a citation from his adversary that he attributed to “apocryphal writings” and that closely resembles logion 52 of the *Gospel of Thomas* (though it is doubtful that Augustine recognized the provenance).⁹⁰ Three times (each as

illis actibus qui sancti Thomae dicuntur [...] Manichaei sequuntur. Quae haeresis, quae eisdem libris utitur per cuos auctores uel per maximum principem Manem ac discipulos eius, libros omnes apocryphos uel compositos, uel infectos esse, manifestum est: specialiter autem actus illos, qui uocantur Andreae uel illos qui appellantur sancti Iohannis, quos sacrilego Leucius ore conscripsit, uel illos qui dicuntur sancti Thomae et his similis, ex quibus Manichaei uel Priscillianistae [...] omnem haeresim suam confirmare nituntur.” My translation. It was Turrilius who proposed that the Manichaeans had corrupted the original texts of the pseudepigrapha. See Junod/Kaestli, *L’histoire des Actes apocryphes*, 70–72 (cf. note 37).

84 PG 5, col. 1239B: “de Leutio quodam, qui scripsit apostolorum actus Iohannis euangelistae et apostoli sancti Andreae et Thomae apostoli” On this text see Schäferdiek, “The Manichaean Collection”, 99, trans. of idem, “Die Leukios”, 90 n. 68.

85 See Junod/Kaestli, *L’histoire des Actes apocryphes*, 103.

86 Schäferdiek, “The Manichaean Collection”, 93, trans. of idem, “Die Leukios”, 90.

87 See Coyle, “Revisiting the Adversary”, repr. from Wiles/Yarnold, eds, *Studia Patristica 38: Papers*.

88 Aug., *Contra aduersarium legis et prophetarum* 1.20.39 (CCL 49, p. 70). Altaner, “Augustinus und die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen”, 241, thinks Augustine was alluding to AcJ 37–45.

89 Aug., *C. adu. legis et proph.* 2.4.14 (CCL 49, p. 102): “de scripturis nescio quibus apocryphis protulit.”

90 Aug., *C. aduers. legis et proph.* 2.4.14 (CCL 49, p. 102): “Dimisistis uiuum, qui ante uos est et de mortuis fabulamini.” But it would be imprudent to conclude that Augustine had direct access to something akin to the Nag Hammadi *Gospel of Thomas*.

anti-Manichaean polemic) he referred to the same episode in AcTh (1–9)—the marriage feast at which Thomas curses a servant.⁹¹ In his debate with Felix, Augustine had said that Manichaeans regarded pseudepigrapha as more authoritative than the canonical New Testament: “You have this also in the apocryphal writings, which the Catholic canon does not admit but which are taken more seriously by you the further removed they are from the Catholic canon.”⁹² In *Heresies* he added that Manichaeans “consider New Testament writings to be falsified, so that they accept from them what they want and reject what they don’t, preferring to them certain pseudepigraphical writings, as though they contained all that is true.”⁹³

Augustine also accused Manichaeans of claiming that falsifications had been perpetrated on the canonical New Testament, all the while accepting the authenticity of New Testament pseudepigrapha that passed “sub nomine apostolorum.”⁹⁴ Such, it seems, was the spirit in which Faustus referred to apocryphal Acts of Andrew,⁹⁵ John,⁹⁶ Paul,⁹⁷ Peter,⁹⁸ and Thomas.⁹⁹ Faustus

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- 91 Aug., *De sermone domini in monte* 1.26.65 (CCL 35, p. 75). For the others, see below.
- 92 Aug., *C. Felicem* 2.6 (CSEL 25/2, p. 833.8–10): “Habetis etiam hoc in scripturis apocryphis, quas canon quidem catholicus non admittit, uobis autem tanto gratiores sunt, quanto a catholico canone secluduntur.” Trans. Teske, *The Manichean Debate*, 302.
- 93 Aug., *De haeresibus* 46.15 (CCL 46, p. 318): “Ipsiusque testamenti noui scripturas tamquam infalsatas ita legunt, ut quod uolunt inde accipiant, et quod nolunt reiciant; eisque tamquam totum uerum habentes nonnullas apocryphas anteponunt.” My translation.
- 94 Aug., *C. Faustum* xxii,79 (CSEL 25/1, p. 681.6–8): “legunt scripturas apocryphas Manichaei a nescio quibus sutoribus fabularum sub apostolorum nomine scriptas.” See also xi,5 (p. 320), *Epist. 237 ad Ceretium* 2 (written in 415, regarding AcJ 94–96), and *De haeresibus* 46.15 (text above, n. 93). On the claim of falsification see Coyle, *Augustine’s “De moribus ecclesiae catholicae”*, 148–149.
- 95 Aug., *C. Faustum* xiv,1. Éric Junod and Jean-Daniel Kaestli have assembled all the pertinent Manichaean references in *L’histoire des Actes apocryphes*, 49–86. See also Altaner, “Augustinus und die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen”, 239–241; Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten”, 159–165; Leloir, “Les Actes apocryphes d’André”.
- 96 Aug., *C. Faustum* xxx,4. See AcJ 113.
- 97 See Aug., *C. Faustum* xiii,1–2 and xxx,4.
- 98 Augustine, *C. Faustum* xiv,1 and *Contra Adimantum* 17. See Altaner, “Augustinus und die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen”, 237–239; Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten”, 156–158.
- 99 Aug., *C. Faustum* xxii,79 and *C. Adimantum* 17. See Altaner, “Augustinus und die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen”, 241–242; Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten”, 171–173; Henrichs/Koenen, “Ein griechischer Mani-Codex”, 171–192; Poirier, “Les Actes de Thomas et le manichéisme”, 263–289; Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah*, 26–28.

may have been alluding to the *Acts of Pilate* (17 and 24) when he declared toward the end of his *Capitula de christiana fide et ueritate*:

In the case of the Jewish fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob [...], although they were very wicked, as we learn from their descendant Moses [...], they may be in the kingdom of heaven after all [...]. They may be in a place [...] very distant from the abominable and painful deeper imprisonment to which their guilty lives impelled them, freed by Christ our Lord through his mystical passion.¹⁰⁰

Like Augustine, Faustus also appealed to Thecla's conversion to celibacy (found in AcPT 7) to legitimize the Manichaean attitude toward marriage,¹⁰¹ then said he could appeal to the Acts of Peter, Andrew, Thomas, and John, but would refrain from doing so, "since you have excluded them from the canon."¹⁰² This is interesting, because Acts associated with these five names are the most ancient pseudepigraphical ones we know (dating from between 150 and 250). In turn, Faustus' allusions have led to modern conjectures that the five Acts in question constituted a sort of scriptural pentad for Manichaeans¹⁰³ and

100 Aug., *C. Faustum* xxxiii,1 (CSEL 25/1, p. 784.15–27) "ac per hoc et Iudaeorum patres, Abraham scilicet et Isaac et Iacob [...]—quamquam fuerunt ipsi quidem flagitiosissimi—ut fere Moyses indicat eorum pronepos [...], sint tamen et ipsi iam in regno caelorum, sint in loco [...] longo interuallo de tetra ac poenali inferorum custodia, ubi se uitae merita cohercebant, a Christo nostro domino liberatos, per eius scilicet mysticam passionem ..." My translation. For *Acts of Pilate*, see Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha* 1, 521 and 525. Augustine did not pick up on Faustus' pseudepigraphical allusion here; but see his *Epist. 164 ad Euodium* 3.6.

101 See de Beausobre, *Histoire critique*, 422 n. 6; Altaner, "Augustinus und die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen", 239 (cf. note 8); and Nagel, "Die apokryphen Apostelakten", 153–156. On the text itself see von Gebhardt, *Lateinische Übersetzungen der Acta Pauli et Theclae*.

102 See Aug., *C. Faustum* xxx,4 (CSEL 25/1, pp. 751.8–752.5).

103 On the pentad idea, see Nagel, "Die apokryphen Apostelakten", 149–182, esp. 152–153; and Schäferdiek, "The Manichaean Collection", *passim*, trans. of idem, "Die Leukios". Nagel's is an excellent study of Manichaean use of a pseudepigraphical pentad, but includes sources that may reflect developments from a later period. The whole notion is questioned by J.-D. Kaestli, "L'utilisation des Actes apocryphes", 108–112. F. Bovon, "Canonical and Apocryphal Acts of Apostles", 167 n. 8, thinks that "The Manichaeans are probably at the origin of the collection of five Acts." But Altaner, "Augustinus und die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen", 241, believes these are to be identified with AcJ. In this he follows Schäferdiek, "The Manichaean Collection", 94, trans. of idem, "Die Leukios", 92, and Schmidt, *Die alten Petrusakten*, 27–77. See Junod/Kaestli, *L'histoire des Actes apocryphes*, 137–145; and Nagel, "Die apokryphen Apostelakten", 165–171.

were the only New Testament pseudepigrapha Faustus would have known.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, these appear to be the only apocryphal Acts of an apostle associated with Manichaeism.¹⁰⁵

Faustus is the only author within our historical period to mention all five Acts together; but it is not clear whether these Acts are the same as any extant texts with similar titles. What is passing strange here is Faustus' implication that his adversaries were willing to accept the AcPT as authoritative, but not the other four he mentioned.¹⁰⁶ Elsewhere, he hinted at the death of Peter and Andrew by crucifixion (as in the Coptic psalms),¹⁰⁷ which at least indicates his acquaintance with a tradition mediated by pseudepigrapha, if not with the pseudepigrapha themselves.

Augustine's fellow bishop and disciple Evodius of Uzala gave the same unidentified quotation with which we began,¹⁰⁸ before supplying two further allusions:

In the Acts of Leucius, which he composed in the names of apostles, consider what kinds of things you accept in regard to Maximilla, the wife of Egetes, when she refused to do her duty to her husband [...]; she foisted on him her maid Euclia, supplying her, as is written there, with enticements and cosmetics, and in the night substituted her in her own place, so that without being aware of it he slept with her as though with his wife. There it is also written that when Maximilla and Iphidamia went away together to hear the apostle Andrew, a handsome little boy, whom Leucius would have us believe was God or at least an angel, handed them over to the apostle Andrew; and he went to Egetes' residence, entered the bedroom, and imitated a woman's voice, as of Maximilla complaining about the suffering of the female gender and of Iphidamia answering. When Egetes heard this exchange he thought they were in the house and he left.¹⁰⁹

104 So Bousset, "Manichäisches in den Thomasakten", 38; and Nagel, "Die apokryphen Apostelakten", 152.

105 But see Kaestli, "L'utilisation des Actes apocryphes", 110–111.

106 See Junod/Kaestli, *L'histoire des Actes apocryphes*, 57–59.

107 Aug., *C. Faustum* XIV,1 (CSEL 25/1, p. 402.12–14): "quotquot similis passionis exitu defuncti sunt uita, ut Petrus et Andreas ac reliqui eiusdem sortis."

108 Evodius, *De fide contra Manichaeos* 5 (CSEL 25/2, p. 952.16–20).

109 Evodius, *De fide* 38, (CSEL/2, pp. 968.24–969.6): "Adtendite in actibus Leuci, quos sub nomine apostolorum scribit, qualia sint quae accipitis de Maximilla uxore Egetis, quae cum nollet marito debitum reddere [...], illa subposuerit marito suo ancillam suam,

Besides Thecla, Maximilla and Iphidamia are the only “pseudepigraphical” women from the Coptic sources to resurface in relation to North African Manichaeism; however, the extant AcA, while it is the only known pseudepigraphon that contains these names, does not report the incident Evodius described. In the same anti-Manichaean tract Evodius also alluded to an episode found in extant AcJ: “you believe that John made gold out of grass, but not that the almighty God could make a spiritual body out of a carnal one.”¹¹⁰ On this Schäferdiek has commented: “Here he clearly presupposes that the story of the apostle’s miraculous deed was generally known at least to the Manicheans who shared his environment. It may therefore be taken as certain that it derived from a source in circulation among them, and such a source would be the Acts of John in the Manichaean corpus of apocryphal Acts.”¹¹¹

We saw how in *Contra Faustum* Augustine spoke of “apocryphal scriptures [...] written under the names of the apostles,” before referring to an incident in AcTh 6 and 8:

There they read that Thomas the apostle, when he was at some wedding celebration while travelling incognito, was slapped by a servant on whom he called down a swift and terrible revenge. For when [the servant] went out to the well to draw water for the guests, a lion rushed him and killed him, then tore from his body the hand with which he had delivered the light blow to the apostle’s head, fulfilling the word of the apostle who had asked for this, then called it down. A dog brought [the hand] to the tables where the apostle was reclining. What could be crueller than this? But unless I am mistaken, it is also written there that apostle obtained pardon for [the servant] in the afterlife. So a greater good was the result: through

Eucliam nomine, exornans eam, sicut ibi scriptum est, aduersariis lenociniis et fucationibus et eam nocte pro se uicariam subponens, ut ille nesciens cum ea tamquam cum uxore concumberet. ibi etiam scriptum est, quod cum eadem Maximilla et Iphidamia simul issent ad audiendum apostolum Andream, puerulus quidem speciosus, quem uult Leucius uel deum uel certe angelum intellegi, commendauerit eas Andream apostolo et perrexerit ad praetorium Egetis et ingressus cubiculum eorum finxerit uocem muliebrem quasi Maximillae murmurantis de doloribus sexus feminei et Iphidamiae respondentis, quae colloquia cum audisset Egetes credens eas ibi esse discesserat.” My translation. On Evodius see Junod/Kaestli, *L’histoire des Actes apocryphes*, 67–70.

110 Evodius, *De fide* 40 (CSEL 25/2, pp. 970.31–971.2): “creditis Iohannem de foeno aurum fecisse et non creditis deum omnipotentem de corpore animali spiritale corpus facere posse.” My translation.

111 Schäferdiek, “The Acts of John”, 161, trans. of idem, “Johannesakten”, 149.

fear the apostle was proclaimed to the ignorant as dear to God, and [the servant] was guaranteed eternity after this life. Whether the story is true or made up is at present of no interest to me.¹¹²

He reported the same incident in *Contra Adimantum*, where it is obvious that he had read the narrative himself:

The Manicheans, however, read the apocryphal scriptures, which they also say are completely uncorrupted, where it is written that the apostle Thomas cursed a man who struck him with the palm of his hand out of ignorance, not knowing who he was, and that that curse immediately took effect. For, after that man had gone out to a spring in order to bring in water, since he was a waiter at a banquet, he was killed and torn to pieces by a lion. In order that this would be made known and strike terror into the others, a dog brought his hand to the tables where the apostle was banqueting. And thus, when those who did not know it asked the reason for this and it was disclosed to them, they were converted, so that they had a great fear of the apostle and paid him great honor. And from this start he began to teach the gospel. If someone wanted to turn the teeth of the Manicheans against themselves, how bitinglly he would criticize this story! But because the intention with which the apostle did this is not passed over in silence, we see the love of the man who imposed the punishment. For we read in that writing that the apostle prayed for the man upon whom he imposed a temporal punishment in order that he would be spared at the judgment to come.¹¹³

112 Aug., *C. Faust.* xxii,79 (CSEL 25/1, p. 681.6–27): “Legunt scripturas apocryphas Manichaei a nescio quibus sutoribus fabularum sub apostolorum nomine scriptas [...]. ibi tamen legunt apostolum Thomam, cum esset in quodam nuptiarum conuiuio peregrinus et prorsus incognitus, a quodam ministro palma percussus inprecatum fuisse homini continuam saeuamque uindictam. nam cum egressus fuisset ad fontem, unde aquam conuiuanti- bus ministraret, eum leo intruens interemit manumque eius, qua caput apostoli leui ictu percusserat, a corpora auulsam secundum uerbum eiusdem apostoli id optantis atque inprecantis canis intulit mensis, in quibus ipse discumbebat apostolus, quid hoc uideri crudelius potest? uerum quia ibi, nisi tamen fallor, hoc etiam scriptum est, quod ei ueniam in saeculo futuro petiuerit, facta est compensatio beneficii maioris, ut et apostolus, quam carus deo esset, per hunc timorem commendaretur ignotis et illi post hanc uitam quandoque finiendam in aeternum consuleretur. Utrum illa uera sit aut conficta narration, nihil mea nunc interest.” My translation.

113 Aug., *C. Adimantum* 17 (CSEL 25/1, p. 166.6–22): “Ipsi autem legunt scripturas apocryphas, quas etiam incorruptissimas esse dicunt, ubi scriptum est apostulum Thomam male-

In the same response, Augustine reproduced episodes from still extant fragments of AcPet:

In their great blindness the Manicheans find fault with [the canonical Acts], though in the apocryphal books they treat as something important what I mentioned about the apostle Thomas, namely, that the daughter of Peter himself was made a paralytic by the prayers of her father, and that the daughter of a gardener died at the prayers of Peter. And they reply that it was good for them that one suffered paralysis and that the other died. Yet they do not deny that this was done by the prayers of the apostle.¹¹⁴

Conclusions

- 1) There is something to be said for the notion that no orthodox attention was given to pseudepigraphical Acts of apostles before Eusebius of Caesarea (died ca. 340),¹¹⁵ suggesting to me the strong possibility that Manichaeism was responsible for bringing attention to them from the fourth century on.

dixisse homini, a quo per imprudentiam palma percussus est, ignorante qui esset, maledictumque illud continuo uenisse ad effectum. nam cum ille homo, quoniam minister conuiuui erat, ut adportaret aquam, exisset ad fontem, a leone occisus et dilaniatus est. quod ut manifestaretur ad aliorum terrorem, canis manum eius intulit mensis, ubi conuiuabatur apostolus. atque ita cum causa quaereretur a nescientibus eis panderetur in magnum timorem et magnum honorem apostoli eos esse conuersos: atque hinc euangelii exordium commendandi extitisse. si uellet aliquis dentes Manichaeorum in ipsos conuertere, quam mordaciter ista reprehenderet! sed quia et ibi non est tacitum, quo animo factum sit, uidetur dilectio uindicantis. sic enim in illa scriptura legitur, quod deprecates fuerit apostolus pro illo, in quem temporaliter uindicatum est, ut ei parceretur in future iudicio." Transl. Teske, *The Manichean Debate*, 207. See *De serm. domini in monte* 1.20.65 (CCL 35, p. 75).

- 114 Aug., *Contra Adimantum* 17 (CSEL 25/1, p. 170.9–16): "Isti magna caecitate uituperant, cum in apocryphis pro magno opera legant et illud, quod de apostolo Thoma comemorauit, et ipsius Petri filiam paralyticam factam precibus patris et hortulani filiam ad precem ipsius Petri esse mortuam, et respondent, quod hoc eis expediebat, ut et illa solueretur paralyti et illi moreretur: tamen ad preces apostoli factum esse non negant." Transl. Teske, *The Manichean Debate*, 210. Schneemelcher sees this account as clearly linked to that in a Coptic fragment (Berlin Coptic Papyrus 8502): Schneemelcher, "The Acts of Peter", in: idem, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha* 2, 276, trans. of idem, "Petrusakten", in: idem, ed., *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* 2, 249, text on 285–286. This is supported by Nagel, "Die apokryphen Apostelakten", 157. See also Thomas, *The Acts of Peter*, 18.

- 115 See Junod/Kaestli, *L'histoire des Actes apocryphes*, 18–19.

- Manichaean use of extra-canonical writings—even pre-Christian ones—from Jewish-Christian traditions is not very surprising once we are aware that Mani claimed to subsume in himself all previous authentic—but until himself incomplete—revelations. Not only did he recognise Buddha, Zarathustra, and Jesus; he also recognised writings pertaining to them.
- 2) No religious movement ever settled in Roman Africa without being stamped in unique ways by its new environment. This goes for Manichaeism as well, both in general and in the particular ways it (like orthodox Christianity) chose to employ non-canonical biblical works. Necessity played as much a role here as ideology: it behooved Manichaean proselytizers to employ pseudepigrapha if African Christians—potential converts—were known to revere them. The use of pseudepigrapha was common to Manichaeans of many venues; but which ones were used, and how, may have been more localised. Whatever the motive for employing them, it is logical that the use of pseudepigrapha presupposes the (actual or prospective) Manichaean reader's/listener's familiarity with them, just as the Manichaean's opponent must have assumed her or his listener's familiarity with the sources s/he quoted.
- 3) *Pace* Junod and Kaestli,¹¹⁶ I accept the existence of a Manichaean pentad, a corpus of five apostolic Acts: of Peter, Paul, Andrew, John, and Thomas. But it is hard to make the case that the Manichaeans were merely co-opting ready-made pseudepigrapha without modifying them.¹¹⁷ If they did not actually produce the pentad, there is good reason to believe they re-worked its components, especially in the case of AcJ,¹¹⁸ in whose transmission to Christians in the Roman Empire they certainly played a role.¹¹⁹ If it can be argued that the pentad represents the only apostolic Acts North African Manichaeans knew,¹²⁰ it can also be said that there is no evidence of the pentad elsewhere—except perhaps in the Egyptian Manichaica, which seem familiar with pseudepigraphical apostolic Acts whose text is also known to us, with perhaps some retouching or addition—nor is there evidence of any but these five in circulation among North African Manichaeans.

116 Junod/Kaestli, *L'histoire des Actes apocryphes, passim*, esp. 73–77.

117 Schäferdiek, “The Manichaean Collection”, 89, trans. of idem, “Die Leukios”, 85, thinks there that there is no proof one way or the other for a corpus of the five “apostolic Acts.” But we cannot ignore Augustine's testimony.

118 So Lalleman, *The Acts of John, passim*.

119 Lalleman, *The Acts of John*, 273.

120 See Junod/Kaestli, *L'histoire des Actes apocryphes*, 74.

- 4) Peter Nagel thinks that their Manichaean usage may have been the reason the pseudepigraphical Acts of apostles fell into gradual disrepute among the orthodox.¹²¹ Yet he also notes that “so far as we can see the corpus of five Acts takes in only a narrow portion of the Manichaean literature, above all the Psalmoi Sarakôtôn and the second group of Psalms of Heracleides in the Manichaean psalter.”¹²² Be that as it may, he is correct, I think, to suggest that one reason for using these pseudepigraphical Acts (as well as canonical references) was that they upheld their heroes as, first, examples of patience, courage, and suffering for the faith and, secondly, as prefiguring Mani’s exemplification of those qualities,¹²³ whereas “other themes require other sources.”¹²⁴
- 5) From the polemical perspective, Augustine referred to pseudepigrapha only when opposing Manichaeism. This raises a question that must form a sub-text to his references: Was he annoyed because the Manichaeans used pseudepigrapha, or used them badly, or because he thought the pseudepigrapha in question were of Manichaean origin? From his remarks to Faustus and other Manichaeans, I am inclined to believe that he found their deployment of pseudepigrapha unacceptable on two counts: (a) They passed the pseudepigrapha off as authentic revelation; and (b) they used them to mediate their own doctrine. In an anti-Manichaean context, Augustine usually had little good to say about pseudepigrapha; after all, why extol a source that serviced enemy propaganda? But in other contexts he was more open to the possibility that pseudepigrapha could offer some uplifting aspects.¹²⁵ This tells us two things: (1) of the groups Augustine targeted, Manichaeans made the most consistent use of these sources; but (2) whatever he thought of their canonicity or veracity, he could still discern teaching value in this genre of writings.
- 6) Of course, what is attributed to some Manichaeans, however accurately, need not have applied to all, everywhere, or concurrently. But what would

121 Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten”, 156.

122 Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten”, 174 “Das Korpus der fünf Acta hat auch, soweit wir sehen, nur einen schmalen Ausschnitt der manichäischen Literatur erfaßt, hauptsächlich die Psalmoi Sarakôtôn und die zweite Gruppe der Psalmen des Heracleides im manichäischen Psalter.”

123 See Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten”, esp. 174–176.

124 Nagel, “Die apokryphen Apostelakten”, 176: “andere Themen bedingen andere Quellen.”

125 For an overview of Augustine’s attitude towards pseudepigrapha, see Taylor, *Augustine of Hippo’s Notion*. But Taylor sees many allusions to pseudepigrapha in Augustine where none is in evidence.

have led *any* Manichaeans to employ pseudepigrapha, those five in particular? In the case of the various Acts, it has been suggested that Manichaeans treasured them for the importance they ascribed to the apostolic figure,¹²⁶ to the ideal of asceticism (especially continence),¹²⁷ to the fortitude of the Acts' protagonists in the face of suffering,¹²⁸ to some liturgical themes,¹²⁹ to partnership with a heavenly companion,¹³⁰ or to missionary endeavour.¹³¹ Besides the reasons already suggested, Finian Taylor proposes the following dogmatic motivations: to uphold rejection of the Old Testament, to promote their concept of God, to deny free will, and to deny Christ's conception.¹³² I think the latter motive may have been particularly in play, at least in North Africa,¹³³ but there we have a scenario inviting further exploration.

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- 126 See Nagel, "Die apokryphen Apostelakten", 174 and 178; Kaestli, "L'utilisation des Actes apocryphes", 112; and Junod/Kaestli, *L'Histoire des Actes apocryphes*, 79–80.
- 127 Poupon, "L'origine", 197; Nagel, "Die apokryphen Apostelakten", 176–177; and Kaestli, "L'utilisation des Actes apocryphes", 113.
- 128 Poupon, "L'origine", 197; and Nagel, "Die apokryphen Apostelakten", 175–176 and 181.
- 129 Kaestli, "L'utilisation des Actes apocryphes", 114.
- 130 Nagel, "Die apokryphen Apostelakten", 179–180.
- 131 Nagel, "Die apokryphen Apostelakten", 180–181. Poupon, "L'origine", 198–199, adds that Manichaeans also saw in AcPet a covert but radical opposition between visible and invisible; he even thought that the Latin (Vercelli) text of these Acts almost certainly had, not just an African, but a Manichaean origin.
- 132 Taylor, *Augustine of Hippo's Notion*, 263–276.
- 133 See Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus ecclesiae catholicae"*, 148–149.

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A Possible Liturgical Context for the First Hymn to Jesus in the Chinese Manichaean Hymnbook (Col. 6–44)

Jean-Daniel Dubois

The Chinese Manichaean Hymnbook is a fascinating work, but a rather neglected one, among commentators of Manichaean texts. Beside the pioneering studies of Ernst Waldschmidt and Wolfgang Lentz,¹ Lin Wushu,² and Peter Bryder,³ commentaries of such poetic hymns in Manichaean studies are rarely found today. And if Chinese texts are referred to in Manichaean studies, most of the references are usually taken from the Chavannes—Pelliot Treatise⁴ or the Chinese Compendium.⁵ The new translation into French of the Chinese Manichaean Hymnbook made by Lucie Rault in Paris has given us the opportunity to delve, in spite of our lack of competence in Chinese studies, into the content of some hymns that could be related to other known Manichaean works. Lucie Rault is a scholar in Chinese studies but also an ethnologist studying the history of musical instruments. Working in the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, she was Head of Collections of Musical Instruments before they were transferred into the cellars of the new Musée des Arts Premiers. Beside several books

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- 1 E. Waldschmidt, W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, APAW 4, Berlin 1926; E. Waldschmidt, W. Lentz, "Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten", *SPAW.PH* 13, Berlin 1933, 480–607.
 - 2 G. Mikkelsen, *Bibliographia manichaica*, CFM Subsidia 1, Turnhout 1997, lists a number of articles in Chinese, cf. n° 3472–3499 (pp. 286–288) and a few in English, like L. Wushu, "The Original Manuscript of a Chinese Manichaean Hymnal", in: J. van Oort, A. van Tongerloo, eds, *The Manichaean NOYΣ. Proceedings of the International Symposium Organized in Louvain from 31 July to 3 August 1991*, MAS 2, Leuven 1995, 177–181; cf. also L. Wushu, "Notes on the Title of the Dunhuang Manichaean Hymnscroll", in: A. van Tongerloo, L. Cirillo, eds, *Il Manicheismo. Nuove Prospettive della Ricerca. Quinto Congresso Internazionale di Studi sul Manicheismo, Napoli, 2–8 Settembre 2001*, MAS 5, Turnhout 2005, 255–262.
 - 3 P. Bryder, *The Chinese Transformation of Manichaeism. A Study of Chinese Manichaean Terminology*, Löberöd 1985.
 - 4 E. Chavannes, P. Pelliot, *Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine*, Paris 1913.
 - 5 N. Tajadod, *Mani le Bouddha de lumière, Catéchisme manichéen chinois*, SGM 3, Paris, Cerf, 1990.

and articles on musical instruments,⁶ notably her seminal work on the Chinese cithara *zheng*,⁷ she is appreciated as a specialist of musical instruments that were used on the Silk Roads. As she is also known for her publications on Chinese traditional music,⁸ she has been encouraged by Professor Michel Tardieu, some years ago, to work on a French translation of the Chinese Manichaean Hymnbook. Last year, she presented her translation, among other works, in her “Dossier d’habilitation”. Lucie Rault likes translating Chinese texts into French. In her effort to render into French some of the poetic metaphors of the original text, she managed to express herself in a poetic way that could explain why Manichaeans attracted so many new-comers to this singular religion.

This first translation into French of the Chinese Manichaean Hymnbook made by Lucie Rault gave us the idea to compare some strophes of the first Hymn to Jesus (col. 6–44) with other Manichaean sources, like the “Jesus Hymns” of the Dublin Coptic collections.⁹ Therefore, the purpose of this communication is limited: we would like to underline certain features of this hymn in order to propose a possible liturgical context. We will start with a few remarks about the literary composition of this hymn and will deal successively about different aspects of the figure of Jesus which could be compared to other Manichaean sources. This will lead us to propose a new hypothesis about a possible liturgical context.

1 The Literary Composition of This Hymn

As it is well known, the Chinese Manichaean Hymnbook is a compilation of different hymns chosen from Manichaean hymnbooks and imported into China. If one is to believe what the translator writes in the colophon (col. 417), the

6 L. Rault, *Instruments de musique du monde*, Paris 2000 (reprint 2008); L. Rault, *Musical Instruments. Craftsmanship and Traditions from Prehistory to the Present*, New York 2000; L. Rault, *Musical Instruments. A Worldwide Survey of Traditional Music-Making*, London 2000; L. Rault, *Vom Klang der Welt. Vom Echo der Vorfahren zu den Musikinstrumenten der Neuzeit*, München, Berlin 2000; cf. also the catalogue of the exhibition *La Voix du Dragon, Trésors archéologiques et art campanaire de la Chine ancienne*, Paris 2000.

7 L. Rault, *La cithare chinoise zheng, un vol d’oies sauvages sur les cordes de soie*, Paris 1987.

8 L. Rault, *Musiques de la tradition chinoise* (collection Musiques du monde), Paris 2000 (winning the *Diapason d’Or* of the magazine *Diapason* for outstanding performances of traditional Chinese music).

9 I would like to express all my appreciation to Lucie Rault who introduced me to the world of this hymnbook and without whom these lines could not have been written.

Chinese hymnbook consists of a small collection of “more than twenty hymns” chosen among “a large number (literally: three thousands¹⁰) of canonical books in foreign languages”. Some are phonetic transliterations of Parthian or Middle-Persian hymns, some are real translations of Iranian hymns. The search for their literary sources is still a task that lies ahead of us. But some results are already promising. In my seminar, at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, in Spring 2009, Professor Michel Tardieu, for example, recalled no less than eleven Manichaean Uighur texts or fragments that can be compared to the ninth Chinese hymn of this hymnbook.

As for the *Hymn to Jesus*, E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz already noticed, long ago,¹¹ that it recalls some literary stereotypes found in the beginnings of Iranian hymns, like “let us celebrate, exalt and praise the ever-flowering tree” (col. 7). This *Hymn to Jesus* covers a large number of columns, col. 6 to col. 82; it is presented as a praise of the figure of Jesus in two parts. Here, we will only deal with the first part (col. 6–44). Each strophe is made of four elements which follow a regular pattern, *a-b-b-a* or *a-b-a-b*. It reminds us of the comments made by Anton Baumstark when he reviewed Allberry’s publication of the Second part of the Coptic Dublin Manichaean Hymnbook and when he suggested looking for links with ancient Christian liturgical poetry of Aramaic origin, or with liturgical terminologies of Christian prayers for the dead.¹²

What is striking in the Chinese hymn is that several strophes are addressed to Jesus in a direct discourse: “Listen with mercy to my sincere request” (col. 12b), “as you promised, Jesus, Beaming Light” (col. 13d), “O great Holy One, you are, by nature, an inexhaustible treasure” (col. 14a), “O great Holy One, you are, by nature, the Second Venerable” (col. 15a), “You are the visible incarnation of all the Buddhas” (col. 16c). In almost each strophe, one could find qualifications of Jesus that are known in other Manichaean sources. At the same time, some of the requests of the supplicant indicate urgent needs: forgiveness of sins (col. 11d and 29b), escaping from wolves (col. 13c), escaping from the body (col. 19b), liberating from the demons (col. 35b) and the torments (col. 40b). Here, we will examine the different qualifications of Jesus and underline some elements of a cultic context, before proposing a hypothesis.

10 L. Wushu, “Notes on the Title” (note 2), 256 understands “three thousands” as “an indefinite number”.

11 E. Waldschmidt, W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu* (note 1), 70–71.

12 The recension was published in *OrChr* 36 (1939–1941), 118–126 and partly reprinted in G. Widengren, ed., *Der Manichäismus*, Wege der Forschung 148, Darmstadt 1977, 287–293, in particular p. 288 and p. 290.

2 The Figure of Jesus

Within the limits of this communication, we cannot be exhaustive. Each strophe needs to be interpreted both from the point of view of its Chinese context and from other Manichaean sources. But we can briefly evoke the main characteristics of the figure of Jesus.

The first metaphor mentioned in the first strophe is the tree, the “ever-flowering tree” (col. 7a; 12a and 31d), with its incomparable ornamentation (col. 7b), with its trunk¹³ filling the whole universe (col. 7c), and its branches, leaves, flowers and fruits (col. 7d). The metaphor is developed also at the beginning of the next strophe as flowers of the tree produce all the Buddhas and its fruits, all wisdoms (col. 8a–b). The same precious tree reappears later in four strophes (col. 72 to 75, in particular 72b, 73a, 75b) near the end of the second part of the *Hymn to Jesus*; once again, this tree is solidly rooted (col. 73b), his trunk is flourished (col. 73c), with long branches (col. 73d), leaves (col. 74a), and fragrant fruits (col. 74b–d). Elsewhere in the Chinese hymnbook, the metaphor is used in a praise of Mani (col. 161–164), and likewise eating fruits of this tree can lead to immortality (col. 8c and 162c). The origin of the Manichaean use of this metaphor goes back to speculations about the tree of paradise in the book of Genesis, as the tree of life produces “a sweet dew” (col. 47b and 74b), ambrosia or the liquor of immortality. But the metaphor is also rooted in an interpretation of the good and bad trees of Luke 6, 43–44, as it can be shown from the Chavannes-Pelliot Treatise,¹⁴ the Iranian *Sermon on the Light-Intellect*, from the second Berlin *Kephalaion*, and several passages from the Dublin *Psalms-Book*.¹⁵ The christological dimension of the metaphor in the Chinese hymnbook has its equivalent in the Dublin *Psalms of the Wanderers*, in the hymn to the spring of life (p. 185, 10–21); Jesus is the fruit of life of the tree of life (*Psalms of the*

13 L. Rault (Dossier inédit, n° 2: Hymnologie manichéenne) here translates “substance” while parallel passages mention the trunk of the tree (col. 73c: “Ton tronc fleuri semble une vérité dépourvue de fausses paroles”, L. Rault, p. 133; and col. 161c: “Louons Mani ... dont le tronc sublime embrasse toutes choses”, L. Rault, p. 167), as it was remarked by E. Waldschmidt, W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu* (note 1), 30 and 97.

14 E. Chavannes, P. Pelliot, “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine”, *Journal Asiatique* 1911, 528–530.

15 About the Father of Truth (for example p. 4, 23; 134, 11–14; 136, 20); cf. also most of the contributions of the Manichaean Symposium in Louvain, 1991: J. van Oort, A. van Tongerlo, eds, *The Manichaean NOÏS. Proceedings of the International Symposium Organized in Louvain from 31 July to 3 August 1991*, MAS 2, Leuven 1995.

Wanderers p. 136, 19–20: “The fruits of the good tree, this is Christ who is in the Church”).

Another title of Jesus in the Chinese hymn to Jesus is the “King of the heart” (*xinwang*, col. 9a); it is also “the king who reigns in the heart of all the wise men” (col. 16d); it corresponds to the power that keeps the soul awake (cf. also col. 17a), and leads it on the right path (col. 9b–d; cf. also 35d). As such, this entity is another figure of the Light-Intellect described at length in the Iranian *Sermon on the Light-Intellect* or in the 38th Berlin *Kephalaion*. Therefore it can assume the role of “guide” (col. 16b), “door of salvation” (col. 17b), visible incarnation of all the Buddhas (col. 16c), the “eighth manifestation of light” (col. 16a), which corresponds to the “Buddha of the sun rays”, as it is identified a little later in the Chinese hymnbook (col. 170d). Guide, path and door are qualifications of Jesus that can also be found in the Dublin Coptic *Psalms*, respectively on page 2, 4; 13, 32; 50, 20; 54, 8, for the first one, 2, 25; 25, 3; 59, 29 for the second, and 2, 26; 25, 3; 59, 29; 156, 2–8, for the third one.

These qualifications can be grouped together, especially when used in litanies; the use of one title can lead to the next. In the Chinese hymn, Jesus is portrayed as a beaming light (col. 13d), a manifestation of light (col. 16a), or a great ray of light (col. 36b), just like in the Coptic *Psalms* (p. 166, 23 and 28). But he is also the Word of God (col. 11b; 12b) like in the Coptic *Psalms* (p. 26, 12), or the Holy One (col. 14a; 15a; 34c; 39a; 42a) like in the Coptic *Bema Psalms* (p. 7, 5; 24, 18; 26, 13; cf. also 62, 14; 95, 26). He is also a doctor who cures all evil (col. 36a; 51b; 72c; 81c) just like in the Coptic *Psalms of the Wanderers* (p. 145, 6; 152, 22; cf. also 147, 65; 152, 26; *Psalms to Jesus* p. 61, 29; *Psalms of Thomas* p. 213, 10).

One particular qualification of Jesus, mercy, is mentioned many times: Jesus is portrayed as a “merciful father” (*cibeifu* col. 13a; 46b; and in the second part of the hymn to Jesus, col. 62a; 79b; 82c); Jesus also receives the title of “merciful mother” (col. 13b; 44d); he can show mercy (col. 34c; 44a), give a merciful look (col. 35a) or stretch a merciful hand (col. 39a; cf. also 55a; 63c). In the second part of the hymn to Jesus, he can do mercy (col. 80b; 82b), stretch his mercy (col. 64b) like his merciful wings (col. 48c; 54c) or make his mercy come down (col. 67c). Waldschmidt and Lentz already proposed possible Iranian equivalents;¹⁶ with the discovery of the Coptic Dublin *Psalms*, we can add more parallels; in the *Psalms of the Wanderers*, Christ is the “merciful father” (p. 158, 26) and love, the “merciful mother” (p. 158, 25). Jesus is the merciful doctor (p. 61, 29; cf. also 46, 14). God is implored as a merciful god (p. 1, 5; 7, 4;

16 E. Waldschmidt, W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu* (note 1), 36–37.

29, 20; 40, 27; 58, 18). In short, mercy brings us to describe Jesus in its actual liturgical function. Iranian or Coptic parallels to the Chinese hymn only serve here to underline that the figure of Jesus is part of a ritual process that is well known among Manichaean scholars. We will therefore turn to the role of the figure of Jesus in the process of salvation.

3 The Role of Jesus

In his survey of the different figures of Jesus, presented at the Fribourg Conference (1998), *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West*,¹⁷ Siegfried Richter has summarized what I find important to help us understand the possible liturgical context of the Chinese hymn to Jesus. Speaking like Erich Feldmann about a “Christus Frömmigkeit” in the Manichaean religion, Richter refers to the part of the Dublin *Psalmbook* which was named by its first editor, C.R.C. Allberry, “the Jesus Psalms” (PsB II, 49, 1–97, 13) and that can be better understood as “Psalms of the ascension of the soul” since the studies of P. Nagel¹⁸ and S. Richter.¹⁹ In these psalms, not only Jesus’ name is often mentioned, but they refer to the experience of the dying, to the separation of body and soul, to the ascension of the soul and to the role of Jesus accompanying the dying in order to protect him from all sorts of demons in his ascension toward the celestial judge. Richter has very rightly confirmed that a series of Heracleides psalms describe the same context and the same function of Jesus as a salvation figure during the ascension of the soul. Thus, to the call addressed to Jesus in the psalm 244 (PsB II, p. 51, 4) “Come, my Saviour Jesus, do not forsake me”, correspond the requests for protection in Heracleides’ psalm 277 (PsB II, p. 98, 28–30). The hour of need falls exactly when the dying Manichaean is feeling that he will depart from his body and will have to confront the demons on his path to the celestial judge. In this way reads psalm 244 (p. 51, 23–28) according to Allberry’s translation: “Now I call to Thee in the anguish of my soul that thou mayest have compassion upon me; for the powers of heaven and earth desire to

17 S.G. Richter, “Bemerkungen zu verschiedenen ‘Jesus-Figuren’ im Manichäismus”, in: J. van Oort, O. Wermelinger, G. Wurst, eds, *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West*, NHMS 49, Leiden 2001, 174–184.

18 P. Nagel, “Der ursprüngliche Titel der manichäischen ‘Jesuspsalmen’”, in: H. Preissler, H. Seiwert, H. Mürmel, eds, *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte, Festschrift für Kurt Rudolph zum 65. Geburtstag*, Marburg 1994, 209–216.

19 S.G. Richter, *Die Aufstiegspsalmen des Heracleides. Untersuchungen zum Seelenaufstieg und zur Seelenmesse bei den Manichäern*, SKCO 1, Wiesbaden 1997.

submerge me. Jesus, do not forsake me ... for this is the hour of dread wherein I need Thee". Many passages from these psalms could confirm the same context.

In the same article, Richter goes on to explain how Jesus can appear as a divine figure when the soul of the Manichaean presents himself to the celestial judge in order to recall good and bad deeds achieved during life. A reference to the 7th Berlin Coptic *Kephalaion* on the Five Fathers leads Richter to assess that the figure of Jesus in the *Psalms* is not the simple figure of a guide or a helper for the souls. In *Kephalaion* 7, the figure of Jesus appears once as Light-Jesus, the third father and second emanation of the third Envoy which produces the Light-Intellect, the Great Judge and the Child, and Jesus reappears in an emanation of the Light-Intellect as the Apostle of Light, beside the Twin and the Form of Light. A comparison of this *Kephalaion* with *Kephalaion* 19 (p. 61, 17–28), *Kephalaion* 126 (p. 302, 17–303, 15) and a *Psalm of Heracleides* (PsB II, 193, 13–197, 8) can demonstrate that the two figures of the Light Jesus and the Apostle of Light are part of a unified figure of Jesus, and that it is only the Apostle of Light who manifests himself on earth and on the cross. Without entering here into a discussion about a non-docetic presentation of the Manichaean christology, we would like to underline that this understanding of the figure of Jesus can be very useful to apprehend what the Chinese hymn really says.

4 The Role of Jesus in the Chinese Hymn

We have already listed a few qualifications of Jesus in this hymn. Now we would like to look at this hymn from another angle, taking for granted Richter's position. The hymn is not an exaltation of the qualifications of Jesus: it rather expresses the needs of a Manichaean at a specific time (col. 42a), the hour of death (cf. Ps 244 in PsB II, p. 51, 27–28). From column 7 to column 11, the Manichaean believer invites his companions to praise the figure of Jesus as the king of the heart (col. 9), as the Light-Intellect who can bring conscience and memory (col. 9b–c); today his eyes and ears have been open, so that he can sing praises and profess sincere words (col. 11a–b), because today is the day of a special confession of sins (col. 11c–d); his request (col. 11d; 12b) consists in asking for forgiveness (col. 11d).

With column 13, the confession of sins is not just a weekly duty. If the believer is asking for mercy (col. 12c), he calls upon the merciful father and mother (col. 13a–b) in order to escape from the wolves (col. 13c) according to Jesus' promise (col. 13d). From columns 14 to 18, it seems that the first occurrence—after the title of the psalm—of the name of Jesus in the psalm,

has produced a list of qualities of Jesus that are to be praised: Holy One, treasure (col. 14a), second venerable (col. 15a), the eighth manifestation of light (col. 16a), the visible incarnation of all the Buddhas (col. 16c), the real awakening (col. 17a), the door of salvation (col. 17b); help, care, consolation (col. 17c–d; 18abc) evoke the qualities of the Paraclete himself.

Column 19 describes more explicitly the request of the believer (col. 19a); he is about to leave the poisoned ocean of his fleshly body (col. 19b–c) and therefore subjected to be attacked by devils. Then follows, from column 19d to 26, a vivid enumeration of all possible demons, birds, reptiles, insects, sea monsters, among which the equivalent of the Iranian demon *Az*, or the *Enthymesis* of the Coptic documents (col. 21a; 24d; 40d) summarises all evil. The poetic evocation of these beastly figures illustrates the diversified content of the five domains of the powers of darkness that we know through Augustine's *De moribus* II, 9, 14–18 or the Berlin Coptic *Kephalaion* 27 (pp. 77–79).

With columns 27 to 29, the believer admits his sins are as numerous as the grains of sand (col. 28b). His only wish is to be forgiven (col. 29b). The perspective is then much clearer: the believer wishes to receive the perfumed water of salvation (col. 30a), the twelve treasures, the crown, the light robe with its ornaments (col. 30b); the believer wants to be purified (col. 30d; 32d) so that the spring of the Great Law (*dafa*, col. 31c; 32c) comes down to produce fruits and flowers (col. 31d), and so that the medical incantations of the Great Law brings immediate recovery (col. 33c; 38d). The believer wants to be freed from his earthly bounds (col. 34); he calls for Jesus' mercy (col. 35a)—the second occurrence of Jesus' name—with the hope to be guided to the Kingdom of Light. From columns 37 onward, the believer admits he has passed away (col. 37a); he is plunged into darkness (col. 37b), but hopes to be taken by a merciful hand (col. 39a) in order to meet the radiant figures of Jesus (col. 41a, c, d; 42b–d, 43a–d) before meeting the Judge. The last strophe equates Jesus for the merciful son of the Father of Light, the helping father, the older brother of all the Buddhas, and the merciful mother.

To summarize the results of our reading, it seems as if this hymn to Jesus follows precisely the order of a certain liturgy, from the opening praises to Jesus (col. 7–10), to the confessions of sins in the hour of death (col. 11), at the time the believer is about to depart from his body (col. 19). His call to Jesus (col. 29) helps him to envisage the promised reward in the Kingdom of Light (col. 30); there is then hope for mercy (col. 35) and a merciful hand (col. 39s) before meeting the radiant figure of Jesus (col. 42–44). If such an interpretation can be proposed, it would have to be confirmed with a reading of all the elements of Buddhist and Chinese culture that are also present in this hymn. While Jason

BeDuhn proposed in another context to link the Chinese hymn to the *First Voice* (col. 176–183) to the liturgy of the Manichaean sacred meal,²⁰ so we would suggest proposing a possible liturgical context for the first part of the hymn to Jesus: this hymn may well be another witness to the liturgy of the dying in the Manichaean religion.

20 J. BeDuhn, “Eucharist or Yasna? Antecedents of Manichaean Food Ritual”, in: R.E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann, P. Zieme, eds, *Studia manichaica, iv. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus, Berlin 14.–18. Juli 1997*, Berlin, 2000, 14–36, in particular p. 27 n. 47.

Abecedarian Hymns, a Survey of Published Middle Persian and Parthian Manichaean Hymns

Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst

An imposing feature of the large number of Manichaean hymns in the Berlin Turfan Collection is the abecedarian character of the texts, many in Middle Persian but the majority in Parthian. Reck 2004, 52 gave a short overview of this phenomenon, which I also referred to in Durkin-Meisterernst 2007, 68–69. The origin of this device, which seems to reflect a particular esteem of the alphabet as such, is clearly in the Hebrew alphabetic Psalms. Abecedaria are also attested in the religious poetry of the Samaritans and Mandaeans and in Syriac hymnology, to name only those religious literatures with which Manichaean hymnology could have interacted at some point. Generally in the Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian hymns, the first letter of the first word in a strophe is a letter of the alphabet and the strophes are in the sequence of the letters of the Manichaean alphabet. The abecedarian scheme differs slightly for Middle Persian and Parthian hymns:

Middle Persian: ʾ b g d h w z h t y k l m n s ʿ p c q r š t (supplementary n)

Parthian: ʾ b g d h w z j h t y k l m n s ʿ p c q r š t (supplementary n)

The Middle Persian scheme has twenty-two letters, the number of letters in the Manichaean alphabet and the number of chapters in Mani's Living Evangel, and therefore reflects the Aramaic alphabet used by Mani to write his works in Aramaic and therefore called by us 'Manichaean'. In hymnology, the scheme is extended to include a supplementary unit which always begins with the letter n. The Parthian scheme extends the Aramaic alphabet with an additional letter j after z. Here, too, a supplementary strophe begins with n. Together with the supplementary n-strophe a Middle Persian text has twenty-three units or even twenty-four, if the introductory strophe or refrain is also counted. Parthian hymns have twenty-three letters and therefore twenty-four units together with the supplementary n-strophe or even twenty-five, if an initial strophe or a response is counted.

Note the proper position of the letters h and h, in the fifth and eighth/ninth positions. This is according to the Aramaic/Syriac alphabet, but h does not

regularly occur at the beginning of a word in the Manichaean script, so usually *h* occurs in both positions. Klimkeit 1993 consistently characterises *h* (the eighth/ninth letter) as *ḥ*; this is a misprint for Semitic *ḥ* in its proper position, but the conventional transliteration for Manichaean script uses *h* here and uses *ḥ* for the fifth letter of the alphabet. For clarity of reference, all the abecedarian units (usually, but not exclusive strophes) are characterised in the following by their correct letters. If the letter actually used is different, it is placed in brackets after the correct letter, i.e. *ḥ(h)* is the fifth strophe, in which *ḥ* is regularly used instead of the correct (*h*). The *n*-strophe following *t*, the last letter of the alphabet proper, is characterised as the supplementary *n*-strophe to distinguish it from the *n*-strophe in its proper place.

Variants occurring instead of the letters in the table are: Pointed letters are employed instead of unpointed ones, e.g. *f* (pointed *p*) beside *p*; *x* (pointed *k*) beside *k*, and sometimes even for *h*. In addition to the redundancy caused by *ḥ* and *h*, *x* also sometimes intrudes here and there is redundancy between *k* and *q* (but, because of the initial position, never between *q* and *g*) and, of course, between *ṭ* and *t*. Since the modified letters *β*, *γ* and *δ* are not attested initially in Middle Persian and Parthian, they do not occur in the abecedarian hymns. There are no Manichaean Sogdian or Old Turkish abecedarian hymns. Indeed, the obviously highly regarded abecedarian structure of the Middle Persian and Parthian hymns may have been one of the reasons why these were not translated into Sogdian or Old Turkish but were retained by the communities in Turfan and sung in the original languages.

The strophe *j* only occurs in Parthian texts after strophe *z*. Though *j* also occurs in Middle Persian (see below p. 113), it never forms the first word of the strophe following *z*, either indicating that *j* was not developed for that use in Middle Persian or that the abecedarian scheme as used for Middle Persian texts was tied to the twenty-two Aramaic letters, as was Mani's *Evangel* in twenty-two chapters. This text, written in Aramaic, was also translated into Middle Persian and it is unthinkable that the Middle Persian version could have had anything other than the twenty-two chapters of the Aramaic original. Middle Persian hymns have an additional redundancy between *l*- and *r*-strophes because *r* is also used for *l*. The supplementary *n*-strophe is remarkable because of its high consistency. In some hymns using abecedarian units shorter than a strophe, i.e. where strophe is composed of more than one abecedarian unit, the supplementary *n*-strophe also occurs, showing that it is a consistent feature and certainly one used when, in a Parthian text, twenty-four units are needed in whatever distribution. This supplementary *n*-strophe following *t* and therefore forming a second *n*-strophe besides the regular *n*-strophe in its proper place after *m*, is a feature that Manichaean abecedarian hymns share with the abecedarian Mandaic hymns in the *Ginza*.

Note that the Parthian hymn *pd hrwyn* (attested on the duplicates M259c/, M529/v/, S33/, M1081/v/, So 18139/II/R/, M1833/A/, M1178/v/, see Durkin-Meisterernst/Morano 2010, 14–15) is abecedarian but, unusually for a Parthian hymn, has no strophe j and no supplementary strophe n. This clearly points back to the Aramaic alphabet used by Mani in his Gospel and in the list of the twenty-two primaeva elements (Durkin-Meisterernst/Morano 2010, 10–13) and is quite distinct from Parthian abecedarian hymnology.

A convenient place to begin with is the collection of various hymns translated by H.-J. Klimkeit in *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, 1993, an updated version of his previous German translation. It in turn is based on Boyce's selection of texts in her *Reader* 1975. While Boyce usually highlights the abecedarian letter in bold and indicates an insertion into the hymn by horizontal lines, she generally prints the hymns in the same way as they are written in the manuscripts, i.e. as continuous texts. She sometimes divides the texts into units that are not always consistent with strophes. In keeping with her adherence to the form of the manuscripts, she retains the presentation of the manuscripts when they write abecedarian and non-abecedarian texts in couplets. While this was clearly an important distinction for the scribes, there is no need for us to retain it. Klimkeit's approach brings greater clarity. He consistently indicates the hymnic structure of the texts in the translation and places the relevant letter in brackets before each strophe of the abecedarian hymns. What does not become immediately apparent in his presentation is when more than one hymn is present on a page.

This survey can be supplemented by reference to the editions of abecedarian hymns published since then by Reck and Durkin-Meisterernst.

The texts are presented in the following order:

Abecedarian Middle Persian hymns;
Abecedarian Parthian hymns.

For completeness, a list of non-abecedarian hymns follows:

Non-abecedarian Middle Persian hymns;
Non-abecedarian Parthian hymns.

It should be noted:

Each hymn is referred to by its number in Klimkeit 1993 followed by the descriptive title given to the hymn by Klimkeit, then its designation in the Reader and the signature of the fragment(s). Texts not in Klimkeit are listed under the edition.

The longest list, that of the abecedarian Parthian hymns, also contains cross-references to the other lists and is therefore a complete list of the hymns published in Boyce 1975 and translated in Klimkeit 1993 and can be used to localise a hymn in this article.

Abecedarian Middle Persian Hymns

The first group consists of abecedarian Middle Persian hymns.

Klimkeit 2.6. ‘Cosmogonical Hymn’ Reader aq. s13/, s9/ (first hymn)

The text is clear from strophe s onwards; the distribution of the preceding strophes is hard to establish. Typically for a Middle Persian text, the strophe with initial ‘ has ’ instead of ‘. Remarkable is the supplementary strophe between r and š and the fact that after strophe t quite an extensive versified text follows that might be interpreted to have a z-, h- and n-strophe in that order. After blank lines a new strophic text begins. The scribe had some difficulties writing the text and introduced some Parthian spellings (rather than Parthian words). The text seems to be old, *nʾd* is frequently used.

Klimkeit 2.7. ‘Hymn about the Second Coming of Jesus’ Reader ar. s9/ (second hymn)

The hymn is nearly entirely preserved. Boyce does not indicate the abecedarian character of the hymn. Boyce does not print the slightly damaged š-strophe and the only half preserved t-strophe and Klimkeit does not include them in his translation. The initial strophe may be composed of an introductory verse (starting with ’) and an ʾ-strophe. Or an ʾ-strophe followed by an inserted strophe, also with ʾ. The strophe marked by Klimkeit as *h* is in fact the h-strophe and begins with a h. The following strophe, for which *t* is expected, starts with t. Very remarkable is the y-strophe which starts with j (jwtr). J for y also occurs in M5755/ and in the partly unpublished strophe *tnwʾr ʾym (pym)wxt jʾm ʾst ʾy mstgr* ‘The body which I put on is an inebriating cup.’ M246/v/10–11/ which has the units *t* and y(j). The etymology of the Middle Persian word *ʾuttar* is indeed *yuttar*, i.e. initial y changes to ʾ in Middle Persian but it is surprising to see this apparently reflected here. Does this mean that the sound-change had not yet occurred at the time of this text, in the 3rd century? It could simply mean that, though the sound-change had occurred, the origin of the word was still known, as, of course, it was to scribes writing Pahlavi who retained the historical spelling y for initial ʾ. Also remarkable is that the following k-strophe is extended by a short sentence beginning in n but this will not be

the n-strophe. Rather the short sentence ‘Now that time is near at hand’ is a heart-felt Manichaean tenet that the world will soon end and should belong to an early Manichaean text, possibly used here as a refrain at the half-way mark of the hymn. The next strophe begins with r instead of l, a feature otherwise attested for Middle Persian abecedaria. For strophe q Klimkeit suggests x for q but also indicates a gap in the text so the attested spelling might not indeed belong to the first word of the strophe.

Klimkeit 3.13. ‘Verses from a hymn to the Living Soul’ Reader bf. s8/

See Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 148–149. Only strophes \underline{h} (h), w, z h and the first few words of strophe \underline{t} survive. Four previous strophes (\prime –d) and thirteen or fourteen (y–t or supplementary n) following ones are missing. Interestingly, the first word of strophe \underline{h} (h) is *hrystg’n* /*hrēstagān*/, a dialectal variant of the commoner *frystg’n* /*frēstagān*/ ‘angels, messengers’. What looks like a linguistic choice may in fact be dictated by the abecedarian scheme.

Klimkeit 4.10. ‘Verses from a Middle Persian hymn’ Reader bq. M5260/v/

After two blank lines two abecedarian units (\prime and b) seem to occur. A refrain beginning with ’ follows and the text breaks off.

Klimkeit 8.1. ‘Hymns in praise of Mani’ [Not in the Reader] Pelliot M 914.2/ (now ‘Pelliot, fragments divers D.A. [= Douldur-âqour], fragment κ’)

The fragment contains significant parts of two hymns (Klimkeit’s 1 and 2) both of which have the unusual feature that the abecedarian scheme occurs after a common repeated phrase *’md hy pd drwd* ‘You are welcome’ (Klimkeit ‘You have come with salvation’). The recto side contains, after an introductory verse, three units (\prime –g); the next twelve units (d–s) are lost; the last six units (c–supplementary n) are preserved with slight damage. On the lost lower part of the recto the next hymn began which continued on the verso with two verses (d and \underline{h} (*h’mjmyg*)), after which seven verses (w–l) are lost. Two verses (m and n) are preserved before the text breaks off.

Klimkeit 8.2. ‘Hymn in praise of Mani’ Reader cl. M224/1/

This hymn also has the unusual feature that each strophe begins in the same way, with *’ynk ’yd* ‘Lo, he comes’ and only then does the alphabetically relevant word follow. However, the t-strophe starts directly with *tw*. The first eleven verses (\prime –k) are lost; three (l(r)–n) are preserved; five (s–q) are lost; the last three (r–t) are preserved. Note that r occurs twice, once for l and once at its proper place. Whether a supplementary n-strophe followed after t cannot be determined but the t-strophe not only does not have the same introductory phrase as the other strophes, it has the character of a doxology.

Klimkeit 8.9. ‘Lines in honor of Vahman-Xvarxshēd’ Reader ck. P2/ = MIK III 8259/1/V/

The remarkable thing about this hymn is the fact that the abecedarian letter is written between punctuation marks before the appropriate word, e.g. ° l ° r’ynyd’ryy where the letter of the l-strophe is written even though in this Middle Persian, as otherwise occurs, a word with initial r is used instead. The latter half of the k-strophe; all of the m-, n- and s-strophes are preserved. Boyce transcribes only to the end of the n-strophe. The s-strophe is followed by a Turkish title, the first word of which has been conjectured as [ʔy]. This may simply be an extension of the otherwise quite short s-strophe. Alternatively, perhaps the Turkish word *ay* ‘moon’ could have been written with ‘ and therefore form the first word of the ‘-strophe. The rest of the text is too damaged to allow strophes and their extent to be distinguished. Klimkeit marks the s-strophe wrongly: His ‘(s)’ is to be deleted; his ‘(c)’ is to be changed to ‘(s)’.

The fact that this hymn must be late but is nevertheless abecedarian and possibly even uses Turkish within the abecedarian scheme tells us that abecedarian hymns continued to be made. The content of the text is not very exacting and uses nouns to supply the abecedarian words.

The date given by Klimkeit is confused by his translation of the text. In the m-strophe we have *mry wh(m)n xwrxšyd hmwč’g [y]{?} hwr’s’n p’yg(w)[s]* ‘Mār Wahman-xwarxšēd, teacher of the province East’. In the n-strophe we have *n’mgyn s’(r’)[r’y] [c]h’r twgryst(’)[n [m](r)[y] b(’)ryst xwrx[šyd] [’](s)psg’y nyw* ‘The famous leader of the Land of the Four Twgr, Mār Bārist-xwarxšēd, the valiant bishop’. Contrary to Klimkeit’s introductory note, Mār Wahman-xwarxšēd is not the bishop of *ch’r twgryst’n* and, as the author of the Parthian hymn-cycle *Huyadagmān* (except for the first canto) we would not expect him to date to much later than the 6th century.

Klimkeit 11.3. ‘Verses from an abecedarian hymn’ Reader dd. M554/ (second hymn)

After the initial ’ or an introductory verse the text is damaged or lost up to the last words of the y-unit (not Klimkeit’s j). Six verses (k(x), l(r), m, n, s and ‘) are preserved but the final six or seven verses (p–t or supplementary n) are lost. As is usual for Middle Persian abecedarian hymns, l is represented by a word with initial r.

Klimkeit 11.4. ‘Verses from an abecedarian hymn’ Reader de. M727a/V/

The lost upper half or two-thirds of the page was large enough to contain the first half of this hymn which covered the abecedarian units ’ to k. Boyce does not highlight the abecedarian letters. The first visible word on the page, *rymn’n*

‘dirty’ is probably the first word of the l-strophe. The short m, n and s-units are marked by a preceding punctuation mark. This allows *ʾwd* in the line after s to be recognised as *ʾ* for *ʿ* and after that comes the p-unit. Klimkeit indicates that h occurs for c but this would be highly irregular. Since the *ʿ*-unit is longer than the previous ones it seems that the same is true for the p-unit and that the c-unit will have followed on the next, lost, page. Note that *ʿ* for *ʾ* is unusual but not impossible, especially in a Middle Persian hymn. Note also that Klimkeit often transcribes *ʾ* instead of *ʿ* and therefore makes it difficult for the reader to recognise *ʿ*-units on the basis of Klimkeit’s indications alone.

Klimkeit 11.6. ‘Verses from two polemical hymns’ Reader dg. M28/1/

On M28/1/ the end of one hymn, all of a second and the beginning of a third hymn are preserved. Boyce and Klimkeit present parts of the first two hymns that were not entirely published at the time. The third hymn and in fact the whole text on M28/1/ and on M28/11/ has been published in the meantime (P.O. Skjærvø: *The Manichean Polemical Hymns in M 28 I. A review article. Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 9, 1997, 239–255 and F. de Blois: *Review of: Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts in publications since 1934. Photo edition. Ed. by D. Weber, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 13, 2003, 117–118).

Boyce transcribes and Klimkeit translates the last two strophes (*š* and *t*) of the first hymn. In fact, the previous *r*-strophe is also preserved.

Most of the second hymn is preserved though parts of the text are damaged. Boyce and Klimkeit leave out some unpublished text but Klimkeit also claims, incorrectly, that the ‘last verse [is] missing’. Though Boyce did not include it, the last verse *t(t)* is in fact completely preserved. It is followed by two blank lines separating it from the next hymn. Noteworthy in the abecedarian scheme of the second hymn is verse *w* (Klimkeit’s *v*) which starts with *ʾwd*. This may be because the initial sound was nevertheless *u* (in */ud/*) but is more likely to be because the abbreviation *<w>* could also be used for *ʾwd* and would have provided the necessary initial *w* here. The copyist has simply forgotten to use this trick spelling here. As is usual in a Middle Persian hymn, *l* is represented by *r*. The seven verses between *m* and *š* left out by Boyce and Klimkeit are *n*, *s*, *ʾ*, **p*, *c*, *q(k)* and *r*. Remarkably, *ʾwn* is used in the *ʿ*-strophe, replacing *ʿ* by *ʾ*.

The third hymn on M28/1/ extends from the *ʾ* to the *w*-strophes and, interestingly, shows *pd* for *b* (see M759/11/).

Klimkeit 11.8. ‘Verses from an abecedarian hymn’ Reader dgb. M81/1/v/ and M82/R/, part-duplicate in M235/R/8-v/12/

The hymn is complete with only slight damage. The initial *ʾ* verse and a refrain or second *ʾ* verse is followed by a short *b*-unit included by Boyce but left out by Klimkeit:

b 'Strongest gods and guardians of the religion'

Klimkeit has omitted the indicators of the abecedarian units l (represented by r), n, ʿ (represented by ʿ) and c though he has included their translations. Note that the y-unit begins with y: *yzdygy(r)dyg*.

Klimkeit 11.9. 'Invocation of the gods in the Moon' [Not in the Reader] M90/

This is in Middle Persian, not Parthian as stated by Klimkeit.

Like M42/ (a Parthian hymn), this hymn is in reverse abecedarian sequence and like M1K III 8259/1/v/, the letters are also written individually at the beginning of each strophe (rather than in the margin, as in some other cases). Each strophe takes up three lines but the unusual format of the page means that each side starts with the last two lines of a strophe, followed by a blank line and the full three lines of the next strophe and another blank line and the first line of the next strophe again. This does help to confirm the sequence of the sides and therefore that the n-strophe is on the recto and continues to the verso where it is followed by the m-strophe. Therefore the reverse order of this abecedarian hymn is undeniable. On the recto the first third of the ʿ-strophe is missing. The word identified by Klimkeit as the abecedarian entry for ʿ, ʿstʿy[šn] 'praise', is not the first word of the strophe though, of course, it is not unlikely that the lost beginning of the strophe also used this word. The next strophe should start with s, but t is used instead: *t ° tʿrʿ*. In their edition of this text Waldschmidt-Lentz 1933, 587 pointed out that this must be *sʿrʿ* because in M82/R/13-14/ *sʿrʿ yg frystgʿn* occurs, mirroring *tʿrʿ y frystgʿn* 'the chief or the messenger' here. This is unique, *tʿrʿ* occurs only here. Henning 1934, 9 suggested a dialectal variant, because it exists once in another text (M714/R/3/ unpubl.). Here, at least, the best explanation must be that the copyist saw that the next strophe begins with n and, forgetting the reverse sequence of the hymn he was copying, thought this n must be a supplementary n-strophe at the end of the hymn and therefore that a t-strophe must precede it. Happy with this, he then changed s to t and pressed *sʿrʿ* into the required shape *tʿrʿ*. Depending on the status of the other attestation (perhaps it is in fact dependent on this one) we could argue that the copying has created an artificial word. The strophes with initial n and m follow. The last damaged line on the verso will have contained the first line of the l-strophe which, as is usual in a Middle Persian hymn, used a word with initial r.

Klimkeit 11.10. 'Verses on the Euphrates' Reader dgc. M5755/

The abecedarian character of this text is clear from the unpublished verso, where the last word of the ʿ-strophe (since the text is in Middle Persian the

word used may have had an initial *ʾ*), the complete p and c-strophes and the beginning of the q-strophe and some words probably from the r-strophe are preserved before the text breaks off. The strophes are of varying length and the beginning of each strophe or rather the end of the preceding one is marked by double punctuation marks whereas single punctuation marks are used within the strophe. On this basis the recto contains the last words of one strophe, a h-strophe, another h-strophe, a t-strophe, part of a j-strophe and probably words from a further strophe before a large gap intervenes between the recto and the verso. Since two h-strophes in sequence are unlikely Klimkeit has identified the first h-strophe as 'h for z'. This yields: the last words of strophe w, z(h!), h, t, y(j!) and possibly k(x) in (x)[w](r)'s'n. Klimkeit has only translated the well-preserved second to fourth strophes. This uses *h'n* as the first word in the supposedly z-strophe and *j(w)[..]:n* as the first word in the supposedly y-strophe. The latter use is also attested in sg/ second hymn but h for z is unique. I have no explanation for it beyond the possibility that a copyist has misconstrued a word with initial z.

Reck 2004, 133–135 M5847/

This apparently contains strophes *ʾ* and b of an abecedarian hymn. Reck 2004, 134 note g, indicates that A/ii/3/ contains p or s, so some of the latter half of the hymn is preserved here.

Reck 2004, 135–136 M234/

The recto and the top of the verso is a duplicate of M83/1/.

After a caption on v/9/ a new hymn begins. The strophes *ʾ*, a response, b and the first word of g are preserved.

Reck 2004, 152–155 M394/

Middle Persian short hymns, one with eight abecedarian units.

Reck indicates that one text consists of eight abecedarian units or one word each (*ʾ*–h). This may indicate that the short hymn in fact continued to the full extent of the alphabet. The following text on the manuscript page is a salutary formula with related content (both texts address the sun) and may indicate that it was to be recited when the full abecedarian hymn (of which only a third was written here) was finished.

Reck 2004, 162–163 M485a/

The character of the text on the recto is not clear, it probably is a hymn which ends on the verso but no indicator of abecedarian units survives. After a blank line a second hymn begins. Three abecedarian strophes (*ʾ*–g) survive.

Reck 2004, 167–169 M785/v/

After a long introductory verse, the first five (ʔ–ḥ(h)) strophes of this hymn are preserved. The first word of the g-strophe is partly conjectured [*gw*]rd; the first word of the d-strophe is lost; the ḥ-strophe uses h.

Reck 2004, 170–172 M181/

The page contains two incomplete abecedarian hymns, one on each side. Of the first hymn, part of the n-strophe and most of the text of the next seven strophes s–š are preserved. Reck comments that ʾ in ʾwryn is a mistake for ʿ, but this assumption is unnecessary because all Middle Persian abecedarian hymns are consistent in this point. The t-strophe and the beginning of the second hymn are lost at the bottom of the recto. Of the second hymn the last word of the g-strophe and most of the text of the next eight or nine strophes (d–k) are preserved before the text breaks off. x stands for ḥ but also for h and it even seems possible that x occurs for a third time as a second k-strophe. The damage to the text makes it impossible to be certain, but v/10/ contains °k[and v/11/ °°xr[. Since the punctuation marks are normally indicative, they may show two k-units here though the first one would not be very long. This phenomenon is otherwise attested in the Parthian hymns M10/ and M6232/v/. The k-unit is the exact middle of the abecedarian sequence, so maybe it is being used to mark the end of the first half of the hymn. However, Reck also marks two z-units in v/5–6/ though the second one is not preceded by ° (but it is the first word in its line which is often equivalent to being marked by a preceding °). This might be a sign of a structure: 4 strophes (introductory strophe and ʾ b g); 4 strophes (d ḥ w z); 4 strophes (h ṭ y k) in which the end of each of the four-strophes units is marked by the repetition of the closing unit, to which the second z and k units may point. For lack of the full text this is very tentative. There is no need to uphold Reck's conclusion, based on perceived 'mistakes' in the abecedarian structure, that these are late texts made by Sogdian speaking Manichaeans.

Reck 2004, 132–133; Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 86–87 M874/

This contains a number of hymns and captions. The third hymn may be abecedarian, with two units ʾ and b to the first strophe, upon which a refrain and possibly the first unit (g) of the second strophe follow.

Abecedarian Parthian Hymns

The number of Parthian abecedarian hymns is very great but due to the fragmentary state of some manuscript pages and loss of material the precise num-

ber will probably never be determined. Though most of the hundreds of hymns listed in M1/ begin with ' and many will have been abecedarian, we cannot be sure if the words given there always actually belong to the first strophe of abecedarian hymns. Some definitely belong to short hymns or introductory strophes.

Note that this section, the longest one, contains cross-references to the other lists in this article. The cross-references are indented.

Klimkeit 1.1. 'Verses from Mani's Psalm *The Praise of the Great Ones*'

Reader af. M40/. Non-abecedarian Parthian.

Klimkeit 1.2. 'Verses from Mani's Psalm *The Praise of the Great Ones*'

Reader ag. M538/, M75/. Non-abecedarian Parthian.

Klimkeit 1.3. 'Verses from a Hymn on the Father of Light Reader' ah.

M730/. Non-abecedarian Parthian.

Klimkeit 1.4. 'Verses from a Hymn on the Realm of Light Reader' aj.

M5262/. Non-abecedarian Parthian.

Klimkeit 1.5. 'Verses from a Hymn to the Father of Greatness' Reader ak. M94 + M173/v/ and M5315/v/ (duplicates)

The hymn, published by Boyce 1952, has two unusual features. It is written on a fairly large page in couplets in the manner of the Parthian Hymn-Cycles and, like them, has a *p* in the margin against every second strophe. As she noted, the *p* is upside-down on recto pages but the right way up on verso pages. After a non-abecedarian initial verse starting with *tw* the first seven verses ('-z) are preserved. The first word of the *d*-strophe is a conjecture: [*dh'h*]; Klimkeit always uses *v* to indicate *w*: (*w*)*yt'b'h*; the first word of the *z*-strophe is a partly conjectured [*zw*]*r*.

Klimkeit 1.6. 'Verses from a Hymn on Paradise and the Father of Greatness' Reader aka. M6232/, possibly continued by M6230/. However, see Reck 2004, 169 for the view that M6232/ is not continued by M6230/.

The four surviving verses seem to be composed of two abecedarian units each: ['] and p; c and q(k); r and š and probably t and n, though Boyce and Klimkeit print the last two as separate entities, because they are separate sentences in contrast to the list-type structure of the preceding units. Eight verses are therefore missing. Beginning with 'Blessed, blessed' (*'fryd 'fryyt*) is a doxology that, strictly speaking, forms its own unit outside of the abecedarian scheme.

Klimkeit 2.1. 'Hymn on the Father of Greatness and his Creation' Reader al. M533/v/

The first three strophes (ʔ, b and g) were on the lost lower part of M533/R/ where they followed on a preceding abecedarian hymn. Part of one word from the d-strophe, most of the h(h)-, w- and z-strophes and the first part of the j-strophe are preserved. Boyce and Klimkeit published only the fairly well preserved text of strophes h(h), w and z.

Klimkeit 2.2. 'Verses on the King of Darkness and Hell' Reader am. M507/

As Klimkeit says, three strophes (ʔ, b and g) are missing from the beginning and five (c, q, r, š and t) or six (if a supplementary strophe with initial n existed) from the end but the number of strophes missing or damaged in the middle is not eight but seven (h, t, y, k, l are missing; m and n are damaged). The s-, ʕ- (correct in Boyce and not ʔ as in Klimkeit) and p-strophes are preserved.

Klimkeit 2.3. 'Verses about the Battle of the First Man' Reader an. M710/ and M5877/ (duplicates)

As Klimkeit says, a discourse precedes the text. This is marked by a caption. Thereupon a damaged strophe mentioning Maitreya (*mytrg*) follows. This may be an initial or introductory verse to the hymn which starts in the next line with an ʔ-strophe and continues up to strophe n but with the strophes w, z, j, h, t and y entirely or mostly missing. Eight strophes are missing at the end.

Klimkeit 2.4. 'Verses from a Hymn on the Third Messenger and the Archons' Reader ao. M741/R/

Boyce 1951, 911–914. Part duplicate present in M2853 (Boyce 1952, 435 n. 6 lists some variants); part duplicate in Otani 6208 + Otani 6209 + Otani 6232 + Otani 6247.

Seven verses (ʕ–t) and part of a supplementary verse n are preserved. Sixteen verses (ʔ–s) are missing. Klimkeit writes 'fifteen', probably omitting j.

Klimkeit 2.5. 'Verses from a Hymn about the Captivity of Light' Reader ap. M741/V/

This hymn follows the previous one after a blank line.

The hymn is preceded by a damaged introductory verse. Seven verses (ʔ–z) are well preserved, three further ones (j, h, t) are damaged, the rest (thirteen: y–t) was on another page.

Klimkeit 2.6. 'Cosmogonical Hymn' s13/, s9/ (first hymn) Reader aq. Abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 2.7. 'Hymn about the Second Coming of Jesus' s9/ (second hymn) Reader ar. Abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 2.8. ‘Verses on the Triumph of Light’ Reader as. M94 + M173/R/, M6726/V/, M5315/R/ (duplicates)

The first two strophes (‘ and b) are entirely lost; strophes g, d, h, w and z are severely damaged; strophes j, h, t, y and k are entirely lost, strophes l and m severely damaged. Boyce and Klimkeit present the legible strophes n–t. The ‘-strophe begins with ‘šmg; Klimkeit’s ’ is a mistake. Klimkeit’s translation of the p-strophe is defective and should be replaced by Boyce’s: ‘They will fill that land evenly with light, and within it will flow divine springs and sweet winds.’ The following strophe, which Boyce omitted and for which Klimkeit has ‘(?)’ actually begins with *cyhrg* with the expected c. The t-strophe begins with *tšy* which is a spelling trick to allow the conjunction that is normally spelt *cy* ‘because’ to be used here. The supplementary n-strophe is not preserved but was present. The end of the hymn is marked by a blank line.

Klimkeit 3.1. ‘Hymn on the birth and commission of the First Man as the archetype of the soul’ Reader at. M10/

See Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 38–41 ‘hymn 2’. The strophes ’ to ‘ (not ’ as in Klimkeit) are preserved, sixteen in all. The last six (p–t) or seven (if a supplementary n-strophe followed) are missing. Klimkeit’s ‘last sixteen’ on p. 43 is a lapsus. Klimkeit has left out strophes t and y (included by Boyce):

- t Tambourine, harp and flute sounded the melody of songs from all sides.
y All the gods (*yazdān*) were before you, prince, son of the ruler.

He indicates on p. 43 that ‘one verse, sung antiphonally’ is ‘inserted between *beth* and *gimel*’ and in fn. 4 on p. 53 on the initial strophe that ‘These are the typical introductory words to many hymns to the Living soul. The actual hymn begins with verse *b*’. It is often in fact quite difficult to establish what belongs where at the beginning of a hymn.

’ (g)d (‘)[yy *pd](r)wd tw gryw r(w)šn bw(‘) drwd ’br (tw c)y (p)y(d)r w[xy]
(b)yh^{oo}

Welcome to you, light-soul! May well-being be upon you from your father!

b *bgrštygr yzd’n ’brdwm ky dydym ’wd frh y’(wy)d’n ’[n](wš)g* °

Righteous god (baγ), highest god, whose(?) diadem and glory (is?) for ever immortal.

‘st’wšn ’w tw gryw jywndg

Praise to you, living soul!

q’dwš k’dwš bg m’rym’ny °°

Holy, holy, god (baγ) Lord Mani!

Certainly two short exclamatory type sentences are inserted after the b-strophe and these occur elsewhere, too. But from the length of the strophes ' and b as printed here (' has 18 or 19 syllables; b has 21 syllables; for comparison strophe g has 18 or 19 syllables) it seems that they are complete and without insertions. Though the first word bw(') of the second sentence in strophe ' begins with b it is, for the same reason of verse length, not the beginning of the b-strophe.

Unusually, this hymn has two k-strophes, the first beginning with *xwnyd* and the second with *kd*. The first word of the second k-strophe means 'when' and may have been inserted to allow an initial k. Boyce does not indicate that it might be part of the abecedarian scheme. It does not contribute much to the sense of the text and Klimkeit has left it out in his translation. Since x is a k modified by a point placed above it, x can indeed be used in k-strophes. Here, though, if the hymnologist was trying to justify two k-strophes one might expect that the first one start with an unmodified k and the second one with x. See the Middle Persian hymn M181/.

The l-strophe starts with the Aramaic loanword *l'lmn* 'eternally'. The 'strophe (not ' as in Klimkeit) starts with *'fry'ng*, using a trick to place the word usually spelled *'fry'ng* 'friend' here and thereby demonstrating that the initial double consonant /fr/ could be introduced by a front vowel: /ifr/.

Klimkeit 3.2. 'Hymns to the Living Soul' Reader au. M83/1/ second hymn (and duplicates)

See Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 62–65 'hymn 2'. The hymn is complete in twenty-four verses (including a supplementary n-strophe). After strophe b there is an insertion beginning with *drwd* 'well-being'. The insertion is easy to recognize here because it begins with a letter outside the abecedarian sequence, but unfortunately this is not always the case. The h-strophe begins with *hwmy'g* (M83/1/R/14/ = M200/V/10/ = M234/R/9/ = M500e/A/4/) and not with *h* as Klimkeit indicates. The y-strophe begins with *ywlg* 'warrior' for which Klimkeit indicates 'blessing(?)' but Sims-Williams (Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 186 note 240) suggests that this is an Eastern Iranian form with l, and compares Bactr. names in *yōl*: The sentence means 'You are a brilliant warrior.' The corresponding Parth. verb is *ywdy-*. The l-strophe begins with *hwgd'r* 'ruler of the world' the first element of which is a loanword from Sanskrit *loka-* 'world'. The 'strophe begins with *'jgnd*; Klimkeit simply has a question-mark. After the supplementary n-strophe a short doxology follows, beginning with *'fryd* 'blessed'.

Klimkeit 3.3. 'Hymn on the Living Soul' Reader av. M7/11/R/, M496a/

See Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 32–35 'hymn 4'. The abecedarian words in this hymn mark short units of two or three words each that, in groups of four,

form the strophes. The full range of the alphabet is covered by six strophes in all which includes the supplementary n-strophe in the last strophe. The insertion, starting with 'fryd 'blessed' follows on the d-unit (the last unit of the first strophe) and is not counted in the number of strophes. Klimkeit's \underline{h} is to be corrected to h. His 'c for š' is wrong; c is in its correct place and š follows below also in its correct place. After the unit supplementary n, the last unit in the sixth strophe, a doxology or a prayer follows. Though this does not begin with n (it starts with *hmyw*) it does belong with this hymn, as the two blank lines following it indicate.

Klimkeit 3.4. 'Hymn on the fate of the Living Soul' Reader aw. M7/II/V/

See Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 34–37 'hymn 5'. As Boyce points out, this hymn is very unusual in having strophes composed of four identical abecedarian units, i.e. each unit begins with the same letter, e.g. 'c ... 'wd ... 'mwšt .. 'wš'n ... etc. This example shows that the principle is anchored only in the script, because the initial vowels being written here are different: a ... u ... a ... u ... While strophe g has a similar parallelism: *gryft ... gstr'n ... gryw ... gšt ... |grift ... gastgarān ... grīw ... gašt ...* / this is not the case in the other two completely preserved strophes: *bg .. b'myyn ... br'z'g ... byd* (a mistake for *byc*) ... *|baγ ... bāmēn ... brāzāg ... bēž ...* / and *dyw'n ... dwj'rws ... dwrcyhr ... drdwm ... |dēwān ... dujārwis ... durčthr ... dard-um ...* /, so that some sort of (late) influence by Turkish alliterative poetry can be excluded. Four strophes and the first half of the fifth strophe survive (ʔ– \underline{h}). Between the first and the second strophes a refrain is inserted which also begins with ʔ: 'fryd 'blessed'. Rather than Klimkeit's translation this should be: 'Blessed, i.e. may he be saved, who saves my soul from distress'. The hymn was very extensive, eighteen or nineteen units (with or without a supplementary n-strophe) being missing.

Klimkeit 3.5. 'Hymn with an invocation of the Living Soul' Reader ax. M7/I/R/

See Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 22–27 'Hymn 1'. Apart from some lost words at the beginning and some damage this hymn is complete. As Boyce implies and Klimkeit indicates, the first strophe is followed by an insertion which starts with *pwčyyd* 'purify!'

The \underline{h} -strophe begins with h as does the h-strophe (Klimkeit wrongly marks the latter as \underline{h}). The strophes y and k (x) are badly damaged but the l-strophe can be completed to

l *lwg* (ʔw)[*d hm'g*] *d'm hy(n)*[*z'wr*] *ky cš(m 's)t w: gwš gy'nyn* °°

'The world and the whole very powerful creation which are the soul's eyes and ears.'

Note again the loanword *hwg*. The ‘-strophe (not Klimkeit’s’) begins with ‘ym. The strophes q (k), r and š are damaged as is the first word of t. The hymn has two supplementary n-strophes. Boyce prints both but Klimkeit translates the first one only. The second one is:

‘Honour those who are being saved! And teach them this secret!’

Only then do the two blank lines follow to mark the end of the hymn.

Klimkeit 3.6. The so-called “Zarathustra-Fragment” Reader ay. M7/1/V/

See Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 26–29 ‘hymn 2’. The first ten strophes (ʔ–t) are preserved in their entirety. The dots Klimkeit placed at the end of his translation of strophe t do not indicate that that strophe is incomplete but rather that the following thirteen (to t) or fourteen (if a supplementary n-strophe existed) strophes are missing. The h-strophe is properly the ħ-strophe but it begins with h. Klimkeit’s ħ four strophes farther down is to be corrected to h.

Klimkeit 3.7. ‘Hymn exhorting the soul to remembrance’ Reader az. M7/II/R/

See Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 30–33 ‘hymn 3’. The first fourteen strophes (ʔ–m) are lost; the beginning of strophe n is damaged but in all, ten verses are preserved (n–t and a supplementary n). Strophes š and t are too damaged to be translated. Strophe ‘ begins with ‘ (‘zw’r’) and not with ’ as Klimkeit indicates. The end of the hymn is marked by two blank lines.

Klimkeit 3.8. ‘Hymn admonishing the soul to remembrance’ Reader bb. M33/I/R/ii/

As Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 44 ff. (‘hymn 2’) showed, strophe ʔ and the first word of strophe b are preserved, the rest of strophe b and all of g and d are lost. Apparently there was no refrain or additional verse at the beginning. Strophe ħ is preserved but the initial word is *xʔyndgʔn*. Strophe w and z are preserved and the first word of j. Strophes h, t and y are lost as are the first words of strophe k (not h as in Klimkeit). Strophe l (using the native word *lrz* ‘trembling’) and the first half of m are preserved and are included by Boyce but left out by Klimkeit:

l ‘Can you remember the trembling, weeping and separation that you had then when the father went up to the heights!’
m ‘[Can you] remember (the place) between the boundary and the border of the two forces ...?’

The m-strophe contains a theologically interesting reference to the primal state.

The constant phrase *ʼbyʼd dʼrʼh* can be translated by ‘remember’ as Klimkeit does, or as ‘Can/will you remember’, as Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, 47 or even ‘try to remember’. Skjærvø 2008, 156 feels that such translations are ‘strident’ but I think it is relevant to try to capture the subjunctive of the original because, though it can be used in a sense close to that of the (morphologically distinct) imperative there is no reason to assume that this is always the case.

Klimkeit 3.9. ‘Verses from a Parthian hymn’ Reader bc. M33/II/R/i/ and M367/ (duplicates)

See Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 48–49 (‘hymn 3’). As Klimkeit points out, each strophe is composed of two abecedarian units but the first seven strophes (ʼ–m) and the first half of the eighth strophe (n, s) are missing. The last four strophes (ʼ, p; c, q(k); r, š and t, n) survive. It seems that a doxology follows after the last strophe. The unit with ʼ must contain a word with initial fr: [ʼfr]yʼngʼn and the unit with supplementary n is in fact not supplementary but the essential second half of the last strophe.

Klimkeit 3.10. ‘Verses from a hymn on the First Man as prototype of the Living Soul’ Reader bd. M33/II/R/ii/

See Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, 48–53 (‘hymn 4’). The first two strophes are missing; judging by the size of the gap, an additional strophe of some kind was also present, unless blank lines were used to mark the end of the previous hymn. Six strophes are preserved (g–j), three are lost (h, t, y), five preserved (k(x), l (*ʼlmyyn*), m, n, s), four lost (ʼ, p, c, q), one partly preserved (r) and the last three preserved (š, t, n). The last strophe is followed by two blank lines. Skjærvø 2008, 157 pointed out that the strophe with k can be corrected to read as follows:

k = x xrwš[t](g) [yʒd fršwd pd] (d)yb drwdgʼ[n kw] (ʼ)mwrdʼ (w)xybyy [h]ndʼm
o

“(He) sent god Call as a letter of good fortune (saying:) ‘Will you gather your limb(s)’”

Skjærvø refers to Sundermann 1973, lines 996–998: *hmpdyšʼn xrwštg yʒd ʼw hw fršwd ° cwʼgwn dyb drwdgʼn ° wʼt pʼh ky ʼw dyz whyyn(d)* which W. Sundermann translated as ‘Sogleich entsandten sie zu ihm den Gott “Ruf” wie einen Rettungsbrief und Pfeil, den man in eine Festung schießt.’ [‘Immediately they sent to him the deity ‘Call’ like a letter of rescue and an arrow that one shoots at a fortress.’ Skjærvø suggests: ‘Rightaway, he sent to him the god Call, like a letter of greeting, ...’]

Klimkeit 3.11. 'Verses from the hymn *The Discourse of the Living Soul*'
Reader be. M95/ etc. Non-abecedarian Parthian.

Klimkeit 3.12. 'Hymns to the Living Soul' [Not in the Reader] M6650/

This seems to be part of a liturgy, and as such to contain the beginning of hymns interspersed with short exclamations and refrains. Departing from the five units indicated by Klimkeit, in Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 89–91 I tried to identify the hymns and counted 13 hymns all of which begin with a word with initial ' and eight of which seem to have at least a second abecedarian unit also. Only hymn 9 and hymn 13 go further: Hymn 9 has two strophes with four abecedarian units in each: 'bdg and ḥwzj which means that four more units were left out (htyk, lmns, 'pcq, rštn); hymn 13 contains two strophes with two abecedarian units each: 'b and gd. Therefore, ten verses have been omitted (ḥw, zj, hṭ, yk, lm, ns, 'p, cq, rš and tn). Note that in both hymns the supplementary strophe n is an integral part of the structure.

Klimkeit 3.13. 'Verses from a hymn to the Living Soul' Reader bf. s8/
Abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 3.14. 'Lamentation of the Living Soul' [Not in the Reader]
M786/. Non-abecedarian Early Modern Persian.

Klimkeit 4.1. 'Verses from a hymn to the Third Messenger' Reader bg. M67/
(second hymn), M480c/v/ii/ and M759/1/ (duplicates)

Fifteen strophes ('-n in part) are preserved. Eight (to t) or nine (to the supplementary n-strophe) are lost. Between the first and second strophes is a refrain beginning with 'fryd 'blessed'. The strophe z begins with an ultimately Greek loanword *zwnws* 'zone'; the strophe l has l[wg](š)hr 'kingdom of the world', part loan-word, part native word. Despite the restriction imposed by the abecedarian scheme the text contains a clear progression in the presentation of astrological details.

Klimkeit 4.2. 'Verses from a hymn to the Third Messenger' Reader bh. M77/ (first hymn)

The first twelve units ('-k) are missing. Twelve units (l to supplementary n) are preserved. A doxology follows and a blank line marks the end of the hymn. The l-strophe has the loan-word *hwg*. Klimkeit's ' should be '. Klimkeit's translation of the end of the end of the text as two sentences is misleading; they are connected by *cy* 'because' in the original.

Klimkeit 4.3. ‘Hymn to the Third Messenger’ Reader bj. M77/ (second hymn)

This hymn is nearly complete. There is damage to the units with g, d (not indicated in the translation), h, w and the strophe z is lost as is part of j. Klimkeit fails to indicate that z is lost; his identification of ‘j for z’ is not correct. The l-strophe has the loan-word *hwg*; the strophe following s is, as always ‘ instead of Klimkeit’s ’. The supplementary strophe n begins with *nm’c* ‘homage’. After it a short prayer follows. This clearly belongs to or with the hymn because the blank line marking the end of the hymn follows on it.

Klimkeit 4.4. ‘Hymn to the Third Messenger as Sun God’ Reader bk. M39/ (first hymn)

The first eleven strophes (‘-y), a refrain between ’ and b and the last five strophes (q-supplementary n) are preserved. Eight strophes (k, l, m, n, s, ‘, p and c) are missing.

Klimkeit has omitted strophe d (though it is present in Boyce):

d ‘You are the judge on earth and in the sky; you yourself are the witness.’

The end of the hymn is indicated by a blank line.

Klimkeit 4.5. ‘Verses from a Parthian hymn’ Reader bl. M39/ (second hymn)

Not very much is preserved of this hymn, which may have short abecedarian units. However this is tentative, based on the preservation of what may be the t and the supplementary n units. While possible short g and d units can be identified at the beginning of the hymn no b unit is visible, despite the text being well preserved here. Therefore, as Boyce reports, Andreas-Henning MM iii, 885 n. 1 considered that *pt* in its Modern Persian development *ba* may have been used for the b unit. There remains the possibility that the damaged text is not abecedarian at all.

Klimkeit 4.6. ‘Verses form a Parthian Hymn’ Reader bm. M39/ (third hymn)

Curiously, Klimkeit claims of this text that ‘almost every word starts with a new letter’ from which ‘almost’ should be deleted. As can be seen below, the text has three strophes consisting of eight alphabetical units each (therefore $3 \times 8 = 24$, which includes j and, at the end, a supplementary n), a refrain after the first strophe and, after the last strophe a doxology also beginning with n:

’bgdh(h)wzj ’fryd bwyndyh gyhb’n d’dbr ° hwfryxš w’d’(q) zwrmd jywhr °°

refrain ’fryd bwyndyh ’nwšg šhrd’ryft °°

htyk(x)lmns hwydg thm’n yzdygyrd xwd’wn ° bwgd’r m’nynd nyw’n srhng’n °°

completely lost; the last three strophes (š–supplementary n) are preserved. A patron's name and a blank line close the hymn. The l-strophe has the loan-word *lwg*.

Klimkeit 4.10. 'Verses from a Middle Persian hymn' Reader bq. M5260/v/.
Abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 5.1. 'Verses from Mani's Psalm *We Would Fulfill*' [Not in Reader]
So 14411/11/. Non-abecedarian Parthian.

Klimkeit 5.2. 'Verses from Mani's Psalms *We Would Fulfill*' Reader br.
M680/, M189/. Non-abecedarian Parthian.

Klimkeit 5.3. 'Verses to Jesus from Mani's Psalm *Praise of the Great Ones*'
Reader bs. M369/. Non-abecedarian Parthian.

Klimkeit 5.4. 'Verses from a hymn of Mani's to Jesus' Reader bt.
M28/11/R/i–v/i/. Non-abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 5.5. 'Verses from a hymn to Jesus' Reader bu. M28/11/v//,
M612/v/. Non-abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 5.6. 'Verses from a hymn to Jesus' Reader bv. M32a/R/ [Not M32/ as in Boyce and Klimkeit]

This hymn consists of ten partly damaged strophes (h to c) with the feature also known from the Hymn to Mar Zaku that each strophe starts with *ʾwn* 'lo!' and only after this word does the abecedarian word occur. Eight strophes (ʿ to j) are missing at the beginning and four or five (q to t or supplementary n) at the end. T is used in the ʿ-*strophe*; x in the k-*strophe*. The l-*strophe* has the ultimately Greek loanword *lmtyr* 'lamp'. The ʿ-*strophe* has *fr(y)[h]gwn* which shows that the copyist did not understand that he needed to copy this as *fryhgwn* but reverted to the usual spelling instead. Klimkeit confuses the ʿ- and p-*strophes*, but both are present in traces. He has a misprint h at the n-*strophe*.

Klimkeit 5.7. 'The hymn *Primeval Voice*' [Not in Reader] M351/ etc.
Non-abecedarian Parthian.

Klimkeit 6.1. 'Verses from a Crucifixion Hymn' Reader bw. M18/.
Non-abecedarian Parthian.

Though the text is non-abecedarian, this manuscript page has the unusual feature that the initial letters of each strophe are highlighted and written in the margin.

For Klimkeit 6.1–4 see also S.N.C. Lieu's review of Klimkeit 1993 in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2001, 305–308.

Klimkeit 6.2.; 6.3. and 6.4. 'Verses from another Crucifixion Hymn'
Reader bx, by and bya. M104 + M459e/, M891b/, M734/ etc. Non-
abecedarian Parthian.

- Klimkeit 6.5.** ‘Fragment of a Manichaean version of the account of Jesus’ suffering’ Reader byb. M4570/. Parthian, possibly prose.
- Klimkeit 6.6.** ‘Jesus’ trial before Pilate’ Reader byc. M132a/, M5861/. Non-abecedarian Parthian.
- Klimkeit 6.7.** ‘The crucifixion of Jesus’ Reader byd. M4574/. Parthian, prose.
- Klimkeit 7.1.** ‘The Twelve Dominions of Light’ Reader bz. M14/. Parthian, a list.
- Klimkeit 7.2.** ‘The Twelve Dark Dominions’ Reader ca. M34/. Parthian, a list.
- Klimkeit 7.3.** ‘Hymn in honour of the hierarchy and the Dominions of Light’ Boyce cb. 1B4974/. Non-abecedarian Middle Persian rather than Parthian as indicated by Klimkeit.
- Klimkeit 7.4.** ‘Hymn in honor of the Dominions of Light’ Reader cc. M798a/. Non-abecedarian Middle Persian.
- Klimkeit 7.5.** ‘Hymn in honor of the Dominions of Light’ Reader cd. M738/. Non-abecedarian Middle Persian.
- Klimkeit 8.1.** ‘Hymns in praise of Mani’ [Not in the Reader]. Pelliot M 914.2/. Abecedarian Middle Persian.
- Klimkeit 8.2.** ‘Hymn in praise of Mani’ Reader cl. M224/1/. Abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 8.3. ‘Hymn in praise of Mani’ Reader cla. M6232/v/

The units indicated by Klimkeit (following Boyce’s paragraphs) are misleading. In the manuscript the strophes are clearly marked. The preserved part of the hymn consists of five strophes with four abecedarian units each and one refrain after the first strophe. The first strophe (ʿ–d); refrain; second strophe (h(h)–j); third strophe (h–x); fourth strophe (k–n); fifth strophe (s–c of which only s–p is preserved). Therefore it is certain that a sixth strophe (q–t) has been lost. A supplementary n-strophe may have followed but was not needed as a unit in the last strophe because, remarkably, k is used twice, once as x and once as k. The two strophes are as follows:

3. h-x [h](š)twmyg nwxcz’d ° t’wg prm’ng ° yzd [bg m]ry m’ny ° xwd’y m’n fry-hgwn °
4. k-n ky ʾxšd wsn’d ° lwgyg brhm ʾst[d] ° (md)[y](ʾ)n mrdwhm’n ° nyš’n qyrt pyd’g °

xwd’y m’n, with x for k, forms the last abecedarian unit in strophe 3 but strophe 4 opens with a k-unit. The punctuation leaves no doubt about the extent of the strophes. For this phenomenon see also M10/ and M181/.

Note the new reading (*md*)[y](^ʾ)*n* rather than older [^ʾ*wd* ^ʾ]*w*. The latter half of the strophe means: ‘Amongst men he made the sign clear/visible.’ Klimkeit has omitted to indicate that ‘Lord God’ contains the y-unit and has inexplicably indicated a g-unit at ‘gave men’. Note *hwgyg* in the l-unit.

Klimkeit 8.4. ‘Commemorative hymn for Mani’ Reader ce. M5/

The first eleven (not Klimkeit’s ten) strophes (ʾ–y) and part of the k-strophe are lost. The rest, twelve extensive strophes (l–supplementary n) are preserved though the final words of the supplementary n-strophe are missing. The l-strophe has the Aramaic loanword *ʾlmyn* ‘forever’, the ʿ-strophe has ʿ (not Klimkeit’s ʾ) and the t-strophe uses *tšyy* instead of the normal spelling *cy* for the conjunction meaning ‘because’ in order to fit the word into this strophe.

Klimkeit 8.5. ‘Commemorative hymn for Mani’ Reader cf. M8171/ (first hymn)

Eleven strophes (ʾ–y) and most of the twelfth strophe (k) are missing. The l-strophe (*ʾlmyn*) is complete and most of the m-strophe is preserved; two strophes (n and s) are missing; part of the ʿ-strophe, all of the p(f)-strophe and part of c are preserved; two strophes (q and r) are missing; part of š is preserved; t which is also only partly preserved, begins with *tšy* for *cy*.

Klimkeit 8.6. ‘Commemorative hymn for Mani’ Reader cg. M8171/ (second hymn)

This text begins with a dating formula for which the first word in *ʾbr* can be reliably conjectured. The end of the formula forms a sentence again beginning with ʾ (^ʾ*w*). After five words and a punctuation mark *bwł* is quite likely to be the first word of the b-strophe but the text then breaks off.

Klimkeit 8.7. ‘Commemorative hymn for Mār Zaku’ Reader ch. M6/

This hymn is remarkable for being early, because it seems to have been written in the immediate grief of Mār Zaku’s death, and for having *ʾwn* at the beginning of each verse, upon which the abecedarian word follows. However, the scribe writes *ʾwn* only on the recto; on the verso, starting with strophe n, he omits it. The first verse (ʾ) is missing and partly restored from M1/, line 239. Unusually, as Boyce notes, the h-strophe (following d) has *xwrxšyd* ‘sun’. She suggests that *hwrxšyd* was probably the original spelling. The hymn therefore uses x twice because the k-strophe also has x. The t-strophe (preceding y) has *ṭ* rather than Klimkeit’s t. The l-strophe has *lmtyr* ‘lamp’ ultimately from Greek. The strophe following s has, correctly ʿ (not Klimkeit’s ʾ) but writes *ʿfgʾrʾm* to achieve this. Klimkeit characterises the last part of his translation as an

'additional note'. However, this is separated from the previous text by two blank lines and, in turn, the following text, of which only the first two words are preserved, is not separated from this part at all. This means that the 'additional note' does not belong to the hymn to Mār Zaku but is rather the introductory verse to the following lost hymn.

Klimkeit says that 'the verse on s to the Father of Light' is 'antiphonal' and adds in note 29 on p. 90: 'This appellation to the Father of Light is inserted, to be sung antiphonally.' The strophe is of normal length and in its proper abecedarian place, therefore, in form at least, it cannot be regarded as an insertion.

Klimkeit 8.8. 'Opening lines of three hymns to Shād Ohrmizd' Reader cj. M315/1/

Since no more than the opening lines are given it is impossible to know if these initial verses in ' are the beginning of abecedarian hymns.

Klimkeit 8.9. 'Lines in honor of Vahman-Xvarxshēd' Reader ck. P2/ =
MIK III 8259/1/V/. Abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 9.1. 'Hymns for the hierarchy and the community' Reader cm.
M36/. Non-abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 9.2. 'Hymn for the Church hierarchy' Reader cn. M11/.
Non-abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 9.3. 'Hymn in honor of a leader of the Church' Reader co.
M 31/1/R/. Non-abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 9.4. 'Hymn in honor of a teacher of the Church' Reader cp.
M31/1/V/. Non-abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 9.5. 'Hymns for the enthronement of bishops' Reader cq.
M31/II/. Non-abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 9.6. 'Hymn for the installation of a teacher' Reader cqa. M543/.
Non-abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 9.7. 'Hymns for the Church hierarchy' Reader cr. M729/.
Non-abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 9.8. 'From a hymn for the community' Reader cs. S7/R/i/.
Non-abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 9.9. 'From two hymn in praise of the angels' Reader ct. S7/R/ii/.
Non-abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 10. Klimkeit's chapter 10 'Verses from the Parthian Hymn
Cycles' Reader cw, cx, cy and cz, contains excerpts from these
non-abecedarian Parthian texts.

Klimkeit 11.1. 'Verses from a hymn cycle by Mani' Reader da. M842/.
Non-abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 11.2. 'Dialogue between the soul and the redeemer' Reader dc. M42/

The remarkable thing about this abecedarian hymn is that it is in reverse sequence, beginning with five lost strophes (t–c) and continuing with fifteen strophes (p–d); after which the final three strophes (g–?) are missing. Whether there was an introductory strophe or a refrain at the beginning is unknown. It seems unlikely that a supplementary n-strophe will have been present; however Reck 2004, 91 n. 1 points to M73/ for this; in lines 675–677 of her edition three cases of supplementary n-units before t-units (and in line 696 the first letter of the š-unit) are listed in a short index of hymns. The ʿ-strophe begins with *ʿrhyft*, showing that the scribe did not realise he should have written *ʿrhyft* here. The l-strophe begins with *lwg*. At first sight, the t-strophe seems to begin with *pt*, but in all probability and despite Klimkeit (Boyce transcribes *pt* but with neither letter highlighted in bold), a word with initial t̄ is missing. The scribe has also left out the two punctuation marks he otherwise uses to indicate the end of a verse. The margin is cropped very close to the text so it is impossible to know if a correction was written there. There is a second possibility: In the same line two small dots are written above *ʿwd*. Perhaps they are the missing punctuation marks or indicate a correction in the margin. In that case, *pt̄ʿbcʿn* would belong to the previous strophe and a word beginning with t̄ and followed by *ʿwd xrd* forms the start of the t̄-strophe.

Does the reverse sequence have a significance? The figures named in some strophes, Primal Man in strophe s, Zarathustra in strophe l, the Buddha in strophe y, Iscariot in strophe j and Mani in strophe h̄ (Klimkeit's h) show that the temporal sequence is not in reverse. Rather than implying an anti-climax it is also possible that the progression of the text towards the initial letter ʿ was felt to be an effective instrument for generating a pleasing text.

Klimkeit 11.3. 'Verses from an abecedarian hymn' Reader dd. M554/
(second hymn). Abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 11.4. 'Verses from an abecedarian hymn' Reader de. M727a/v/.
Abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 11.5. 'Verses from a hymn on salvation' Reader df. M789/v/

In fact these are parts of three strophes (k–m) from M830 + M225 + M789/ which is only partly published. The subsequent nine or ten strophes (n–t or supplementary n) are missing. This is the second of two hymns on M830+/. The preceding strophes of this hymn start after two blank lines on M830+/R/13–14/ and comprise fourteen mostly completely preserved strophes (ʿ–y).

The full text of the three strophes printed by Boyce with gaps and translated by Klimkeit is:

k *kd'c ny gr'yd 'c wyg'w mstyft 'ngw(y)d 'c 'bg'm cmyd wyd'r'n ..*

'It never falls down from want, drunkenness; (nor) rests from grant(s); it proceeds, passing by.'

l *lwg hmg fr'm(w)cyd 'd ww'r 'wd 'nd'g ywbhr zrw'n 'wd mrn 'n'wrd °°*

'It puts the whole world aside together with separation and grief, illness, old age and endless death.'

m *mwxš pry'byd wšyd'x 'by trs š'dyft drwštyft yw'ngyft 'w[d ...*

'It attains salvation (*mōxš*), trust without fear, serenity, health, youth and ...'

It is interesting that not only is there an Indian loanword used in the l-strophe (*lwg*) but also in the m-strophe (*mwxš*).

Klimkeit 11.6. 'Verses from two polemical hymns' Reader dg. M28/1/.

Abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 11.7. 'Verses from a Monday hymn' Reader dga. M763/

This is in fact the second hymn on M763/, as can be seen from the full edition in Reck 2004, 119–124. The first strophe (°) is damaged. The next six strophes (b–z) are well preserved. The first words of the j-strophe are present (omitted by Klimkeit); the h-strophe is lost. The next six strophes (t–n) are well preserved. The first word of the s-strophe is present; the next two strophes (‘ and p) are lost; the next five strophes (c–t) are slightly damaged. The text breaks off in strophe t. Therefore it is not clear if a supplementary n-strophe was present. The l-strophe has *l'b* 'supplication', one of the very few native Parthian words beginning with an l.

Klimkeit 11.8. 'Verses from an abecedarian hymn' Reader dgb. M81/1/v/ and M82/R/, part-duplicate in M235/R/8-v/12/. Abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 11.9. 'Invocation of the gods in the Moon' [Not in the Reader] M90/. Abecedarian Middle Persian.

Klimkeit 11.10. 'Verses on the Euphrates' Reader dgc. M5755/. Abecedarian Middle Persian.

None of the texts in Klimkeit's Chapters 12 'A book of prayer and Confession' Reader cu. M801a/, 13 'Diverse Liturgical Texts' Reader c, cv and dq, or 14 'Prayers, Invocations, and Incantations' Reader dw, dt, du, dv, dx, dy, dz, dr and ds is abecedarian.

In Klimkeit's Chapter 15 'An Index of Parthian hymns' [Reader p. 22 designates the text as 'eb' but it is actually not included in the Reader] in his transla-

tion Klimkeit does not indicate the first letter of the first word of the hymns in the long list. This is nearly always ' but this is not on its own enough evidence to show that all these hymns were abecedarian. The few texts that do not begin with ' may be introductory formulae and this may be true for some of those with initial ' too.

Reck 2004, 95–96 M280/1/. Non-abecedarian Parthian.

Reck 2004, 96–97 M2053/. Middle Persian, unclear.

Reck 2004, 99–103 M86/

Of the first hymn, the end of the š-strophe, the t-strophe (damaged) and the supplementary n-strophe are preserved. After two blank lines a second damaged but in its extent complete abecedarian hymn follows on the recto and continues to the verso where its end is marked by two blank lines. A third abecedarian hymn up to the r-strophe is written. A curious feature of M86/ is that on both sides of the page half-lines are left empty at the bottom of the page. On the recto this corresponds to the end of the hymn, but on the verso the š- and t-strophes have yet to follow on the next, lost, page.

In the second hymn, the j-unit is not marked by preceding punctuation marks, demonstrating that two abecedarian units make up a strophe and that, from the h(h)-unit on, the punctuation marks indicate the strophes, not the abecedarian units: h(h) w °° z j °°. This leads us to expect the following continuation: *h t(t) °° y k °° [l m] °° [n s] °° '(!) p °° c q °° r š °° t n °°. Therefore, the h-unit must have started in line 12 (not line 14 as in Reck); in the same line, *t'wgyft* with t for t̄ must be the t̄-unit (unmarked in Reck). The y-unit must be in line 13, so Reck's (k)[5]m must be replaced by (y)[5]m. The k-unit may start with (k)w[in line 14. The l-unit must have begun in line 15. This leaves very little space for the l, m, n and s-units. It seems that *mrnyn* and *nngyn* in line 16 and *sxwn* in line 17 are the initial words of very short m-, n- and s-units. In that case, the form of the hymn has changed from two units with four or five words each in a strophe to four units with two or three words each so we now have [l m n s] °° ' p c q °° r š t n °°. Therefore, *fr'mwc'm* in line 17 is not f for p but rather for *fr'mwc'm* (as in M32a/R/ and M42/ the scribe has forgotten the ') and the p-unit begins with *p'dgyrb* in line 18.

The third hymn shows a much more regular form with two abecedarian units to every strophe marked by °°. Here a strophe was inserted after the ' b unit; h is used for h̄, t for t̄ and in the ' -unit we have *fryhn'm*. Only the first letter of the l-unit is present.

Reck 2004, 104 M1610/

The first page seems to contain a strophe consisting of two units, in n and *s and, in line 5, the first letters š[of the next strophe with ‘ and *p. This hymn continued to the top of the second side where its end was followed by two blank lines and a second hymn of which the damaged strophes ’ and b are present.

Reck 2004, 105–106 M502a/

The abecedarian character of the hymn is indicated by the occurrence of a word with initial z after °° in B/4/.

Reck 2004, 106–112 M284a/

Of the first hymn the last five strophes c, *q, r, š and t are preserved. The t-strophe begins with tšy for cy ‘what’. There is no supplementary n-strophe; a two line gap follows immediately after the t-strophe. The second hymn contains twenty-three strophes (°–t). The letter h is used for h, t for t, a native Parthian word *l’byg* ‘of the supplication’ occurs in the l-strophe; the ‘-strophe has *f(r)[’m]wcyd*; the t-strophe again has *tšy* instead of the normal spelling *cy*.

Reck 2004, 112–115 M284b/

As Reck notes, the hymn has an unusually long introductory verse. Perhaps it is a prayer. Furthermore the hymn is unusual in consisting of two units with the same initial letter in each strophe though the units and the strophes vary in length quite considerably. The l-strophe employs a Parthian word *lrz’m* and the Aramaic loan-word *l’lmyn*. The ‘-strophe uses words normally spelt in this way: *ymyn* and *zdyh*. The q-strophe uses equivalent spellings for the same word in parallel sentences: *q’m* and *k’m* ‘wish, will’. Part of the r and all of the š-strophe are lost. A supplementary n-strophe, also with two n-units, closes the hymn. After two blank lines a new text follows. It may be a prayer or a hymn.

Reck 2004, 117–118 M1316 + M503ab/

Reck highlights the letters ’, p, b and d in this somewhat damaged text. The words with the letters p and d each follow a punctuation mark, ’ is the first letter of the first word in line v/i/6/, which follows on the end of the abecedarian hymn attested on M284a. Despite the fact that p has occasionally been seen as representing the b-unit (see M28/1/ third hymn and M39/), I doubt that this is the case here. Therefore I suggest that Reck’s units ’, b and d are correct, that p, despite the preceding ° is not an abecedarian unit. The g-unit must start in the small gap in line 17, the h-unit should start in the small gap in line 24 or 25, the w-unit will have started on the top of v/ii/ and, in line v/ii/5/ in °(z)[the letter of the z-unit is preserved.

Reck 2004, 119–124 M763/

The page contains two hymns, of which the second had already been published, see above.

The first hymn is damaged and contains parts of the last five strophes (c–t) followed by a supplementary n-strophe.

Reck 2004, 124–126 M5640/

The preserved text belongs to strophes y, k, l, m and p, c, q and r with possibly some traces of the n and the p-strophes on the lower recto and the upper verso. The y-unit may have begun on R/1/, the k-unit possibly on R/3/ where a k is visible. The units s and ' are entirely lost. The l-unit begins with the native word *lrz'm*. Prior to the recto ten strophes ('–t) and following on the verso two (š and t) or three (supplementary n) strophes are lost.

Reck 2004, 126–130 M5860/1/

Of the first hymn the first fourteen strophes ('–m) are missing, part of n and all of the strophes s–q(k), part of š, all of t and part of the supplementary n-strophe are preserved. Strophe r is missing. The hymn ended in a lost portion of the page; there a second hymn started. Of this hymn part of b and all of the strophes g, d, h(h) and parts of w and z are preserved. The rest, sixteen (j–t) or seventeen (supplementary n) strophes, is missing.

Reck 2004, 130–131 M5070/. Parthian, probably non-abecedarian.

Reck 2004, 131–132 M6255 + M6257/. Non-abecedarian Parthian.

Reck 2004, 132–133 M874/. Abecedarian Middle Persian.

Reck 2004, 133–135 M5847/. Abecedarian Middle Persian.

Reck 2004, 135–136 M234/. Abecedarian Middle Persian.

Reck 2004, 137–139 M73/. A short index of Parthian and Middle Persian hymns.

See Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 21.

On the verso six hymns show abecedarian units composed of single words. Three hymns (' b g twice and ' b once) show the units in normal sequence; three in reverse sequence (supplementary n t twice; supplementary n t š once).

Reck 2004, 139–140 M2330/. A short list of Parthian hymns with Middle Persian captions.

Reck 2004, 140–141 M798b/. A short list of Parthian hymns with Middle Persian captions.

Reck 2004, 141–143 M311/. Middle Persian and Parthian short hymns.

Reck 2004, 144–145 M319/. Middle Persian short hymns.

Reck 2004, 146 M341a/. Middle Persian and Parthian short hymns.

Reck 2004, 147–148 M449a/. Middle Persian and Parthian short hymns.

Reck 2004, 148–149 M486/. Middle Persian and Parthian short hymns.

Reck 2004, 149–151 M782/. Middle Persian and Parthian short hymns.

Note that, even though these are short hymns, the first words on the verso are *qyrbkr*, *mʾny*, *nmʿwm* and *synwm* and therefore quite close to the abecedarian sequence which however can safely be excluded because even if q were being used for k, there is no l which should intervene between k and m.

Reck 2004, 151–152 M1874/. Middle Persian and Parthian short hymns.

Reck 2004, 152–155 M394/. Middle Persian short hymns, one with eight abecedarian units.

Reck 2004, 155–156 M428b/. Middle Persian, possibly short hymns.

Reck 2004, 156–158 M749/

Of the first hymn part of the t and all of the supplementary n-strophes are preserved. After a blank line a second abecedarian hymn begins. As Reck points out, each strophe consists of four identical abecedarian units (s. M7/11/v/). After the first strophe there is a refrain which continued on the lost lower part of the recto, where strophe b began. The latter half of strophe b (two abecedarian units) continues on the verso where it is followed by the complete strophes g and d and the first half (two abecedarian units) of strophe h(h).

Reck 2004, 158–162 M196 + M299e + M647 + M2303/. Non-abecedarian Middle Persian hymns.

Reck 2004, 162–163 M485a/. Abecedarian Middle Persian.

Reck 2004, 164 M6010/. Unclear Middle Persian.

Reck 2004, 164–165 M799c/. Unclear Middle Persian.

Reck 2004, 165–167 M785/R/

Of the first hymn (or prayer) only the last line is preserved. This is followed by a blank line. The hymn on this page begins with an introductory eulogy. The text is damaged but in its extent quite clear. It consists of twenty-three (ʿ–t) short abecedarian units. The t-unit is unclear. Whether a supplementary n-unit followed cannot be determined. H is used for h, t for t̄. The l-unit uses the hapax *l'swr* 'silken', the ʿ-unit has *fryštq*.

Reck 2004, 167–169 M785/v/. Abecedarian Middle Persian.

Reck 2004, 170–172 M181/. Abecedarian Middle Persian.

Reck 2004, 172–174 M273/. Parthian and Middle Persian incipits.

Reck 2004, 174–179 M30/

The first ten strophes (ʔ–t) of the first hymn are lost. The y-, p-, c- and q-strophes are damaged but the rest is well preserved up to the supplementary n-strophe. x is used for the k-strophe. The l-strophe has a native Parthian word *lb* 'lip'.

After two blank lines the second hymn begins. The strophes b, g, d, h; s, ʕ, p, c and q are damaged or lost. There is no supplementary n-strophe. T is used for t, x for k, the l-strophe begins with *lrzynd* 'they tremble'.

After another two blank lines the third hymn begins. It breaks off in the sixth strophe (w).

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 38–39 M10/R/ 'hymn 1'. Is it a prayer?

Non-abecedarian Parthian.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 42–43 M540c

This may contain part of š, t and supplementary n-strophes.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 44–45 M33/I/ 'hymn 1'

Only the strophes ʕ, p, c and (after a gap covering strophes q, r and š), t and supplementary n are preserved.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 52–53 M33/I//v/ii/ 'hymn 5'

Only an initial word beginning with ʔ is preserved. It may be the beginning of an abecedarian hymn but other possibilities also exist: introductory verse, a short hymn, a prayer.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 54–55 M367/

Apparently the last two strophes of an abecedarian hymn are preserved. In Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 55 I suggested that three abecedarian units formed a strophe but in that I overlooked the fact that the only clearly preserved strophe includes a supplementary n and therefore must have had four units r, š, t and supplementary n. The other strophes will then have had the structure: 1. ʔ b g d; 2. h w z j; 3. h t y k; 4. l m n s; 5. ʕ p c q. A doxology follows and perhaps the beginning of a new hymn, which could be the beginning of hymn 3 on M33/II/.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 56–61 M279 + M2000/

This page contains the last word of one hymn (or part of a scribe's name) followed by a blank line. The second hymn is damaged at the beginning and end; all of the text from the third, fourth and fifth strophes and some of the last strophe is preserved. Each strophe contains four abecedarian units: 1. [ʔbgd]; 2.

[hwzj]; 3. htyk; 4. lmns; 5. ‘pcq(k); 6. r[št supplementary n]. The l-unit has the Aramaic loan-word *l’lmyn* ‘for ever’; k has x; q has k.

After some unclear text (a doxology, refrain or prayer) and two blank lines the third hymn begins. Though the punctuation of the first strophe with ^{oo} suggests an unusual strophe of five abecedarian units (‘ b g d h(h)), followed by a refrain, again marked by ^{oo}, there is no ^{oo} to mark the next strophe. We could expect a strophe of five units (w z j h t) but in hymn 3 on M83/I/ (see immediately below) the first strophe with five units is followed by a strophe with three units and, from strophe 3, a return to regular four units. The rest of the text is too damaged to confirm or correct the structure. Note that the text on p. 61 is incorrectly printed lower than the indicators of the abecedarian units. The l-unit has *hwgyš*[‘his world’ with an Indian loan-word.

The text on v/ii/ must belong to a fourth hymn (not indicated on p. 61) with short but recognisable abecedarian units: b, h(h), j, m, ‘, q and t. The ‘-unit is *fr*(.)[. Note that a first strophe with the units ‘ b g d h(h) also occurs in M759/II/ ‘hymn 3’.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 62–67 M83/I/

The first hymn: The last units of this abecedarian hymn are preserved on the top of the page. Each unit consists of two words with the same or equivalent initial: q and k; r and r; š and š; t and t; supplementary n and supplementary n.

The next hymn, also abecedarian, ‘hymn 2’ was printed by Boyce as text au.

The next hymn, also abecedarian, ‘hymn 3’ consists of six strophes, a refrain after the second strophe and a doxology at the end. Each strophe consists basically of abecedarian units with only a few words not being counted, but the structure is uneven at the beginning (see M279+/ immediately above). 1. ‘bgdh(h) with five units; 2. wzj with only three, though the word in j is followed by another word: *jywhr y’wyd’n*; 3. htyk; 4. lmns; 5. ‘pck; 6. ršt supplementary n. Strophe 2 is unusual with three units. Since y does not follow j in the Parthian alphabet we can be in no doubt that *y’wyd’n* does not count here (y occurs later in its proper place) and it is clear from the other following strophes all with four abecedarian units each that the five units in the first strophe have to be compensated for by a reduction to three in the second strophe. Nevertheless, it may be significant that *y’wyd’n* was chosen as the word not to be counted. The initial y is, in some Middle Persian hymns, replaced by j; possibly this feature also plays a role here. The equivalence of j and y therefore allows *y’wyd’n* to be placed with *jywhr*. The only other uncounted words are the preposition *pd* in the third strophe, an, more significant, the last word in the fifth strophe, *rštyft* which unfortunately has the same initial as the first word in the sixth

strophe and must have caused confusion. The l-unit uses the native word *lrzyd* ‘trembles’.

After a doxology a further abecedarian hymn follows. It was printed by Boyce as text *dgb*.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 70–71 M200/

Much of the first hymn is preserved. It consists of strophes of two abecedarian units each. The *h*-strophe has *h*; the *t*-strophe has *t*, the *k*-strophe *x*, the *l*-strophe has the Indian loan-word *hwg* ‘world’. A supplementary *n*-strophe seems to be present.

After a blank line a second hymn follows. It is a duplicate of M83/1/ ‘hymn 2’.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 74–75 M105a/

There are two hymns on this fragment. The first hymn is a duplicate of M83/1/ ‘hymn 2’.

The second hymn is the latter half of an abecedarian hymn in six strophes with four abecedarian units each. The text is in reverse abecedarian order starting with a supplementary *n*-unit in the first strophe (*ntšr*). The next strophe (*qcp*) is complete. The last legible word is the *n*-unit of the third strophe (*sn[ml]*). The next three strophes (*kyth*; *jzwh*; *dgb*) are missing.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 74–75 M500e/

The text on A/ is a duplicate of M83/1/ ‘hymn 2’.

The Middle Persian text on B/ is unclear.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 76–77 M5858/

There are two hymns on the fragment. The first one is abecedarian with four units in each strophe. The second half of the second to last strophe ([‘p]cq(k)) and all of the last strophe (*ršt* and supplementary *n*) are preserved.

The preserved part of the second hymn may contain part of a *g* and all of a *d*-strophe.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 78–85 M726/

This contains two abecedarian hymns. The first one is initially unclear but then shows text from nine strophes (*s*–supplementary *n*) and a doxology.

After two blank lines the second hymn starts with what seems to be an introductory verse and possibly the first seven strophes (‘ to *z*) though the damaged state makes this slightly uncertain.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 86–87 M874/. Abecedarian Middle Persian hymn.

- Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 96–97 M84/R/.** Non-abecedarian Middle Persian short hymns.
- Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 96–97 M84/V/.** Non-abecedarian Parthian short hymns.
- Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 98–99 M291b/.** Non-abecedarian Middle Persian and Parthian short hymns.
- Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 100–101 M303/.** Non-abecedarian Parthian short hymns.
- Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 102–103 M1872/II/.** Non-abecedarian Middle Persian and Parthian short hymns.
- Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 104–105 M1873/II/.** Non-abecedarian Middle Persian and Parthian short hymns.
- Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 106–107 M1873/I/.** Non-abecedarian Middle Persian and Parthian short hymns.
- Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 108–109 M1872/I/.** Non-abecedarian Middle Persian and Parthian short hymns.
- Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 110–111 M51/.** Probably non-abecedarian Parthian short hymns.
- Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 112–115 M66/.** Probably non-abecedarian Parthian short hymns.
- Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 116–119 M346/.** Parthian short hymns or incipits.
- Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 120–121 M496a/.** Parthian cantillations.
- Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 122–123 M496c/.** Parthian short hymns and cantillations.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 124–127 M759/II/

The page preserved the cantillation of one hymn and the initial part of the texts and the cantillations of two Parthian hymns. It seems likely that the first cantillation may also belong to an abecedarian hymn. In the edition I suggested the cantillated text was that of a refrain. It does contain words in the abecedarian order but only if *p* stands for *b*: ' *p!* *g d* (see there p. 198 note 415) which I consider unlikely or at least a late phenomenon.

The second hymn consists of the first eight words, each abecedarian, followed by *y'wyd'n* which is not in the proper place for the abecedarian unit *y* (on p. 125 I mistakenly indicated that it was correct). This is the second time we see an occurrence of *y'wyd'n* after a word in *j* and outside of the abecedarian sequence, see M83/1/ 'hymn 3' above p. 141. Since the first strophe was composed of eight abecedarian units the full hymn will have had two more strophes in the same manner.

The third hymn consists of a strophe with five abecedarian units (' b g d h(h)) followed by a refrain. This is also to be seen in M279+/ 'hymn 3'.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 128–129 M1900/. Middle Persian, unclear.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 130–131 M18501/. Parthian, unclear.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 132–133 M827/. Middle Persian, unclear.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 134–137 M5751/. Middle Persian short hymns.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 138–139 M686/. Middle Persian, unclear.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 140–141 M713/. Parthian, unclear.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 142–143 M1600/. Parthian, unclear.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 142–143 M1601/. Parthian, unclear.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 144–145 Otani 6143+/. Parthian, unclear.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 146–147 M1851/. Middle Persian, unclear.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 150–153 M650/. Middle Persian, unclear.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 154–155 M7050 + M7051/. Middle Persian and Parthian short hymns.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 156–157 M8110/1/. Non-abecedarian Middle Persian.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 158–159 M759/1/. Five Parthian short hymns.

Non-Abecedarian Hymns

Non-abecedarian hymns include the Middle Persian 'Speech of the Living Soul' (*gōwīšn ī grīw zīndag*) and its Sogdian version, the two Parthian hymn-cycles, *Huyadagmān* and *Angad rōsnān* and the Sogdian version of the beginning of the *Huyadagmān*, the Parthian and Sogdian litanies published as Mani's Psalms and further *āfrīwan* texts. The main reason why these are not abecedarian is apparently their length. Nor do any sections of these texts seem to be abecedarian or in any sense acrostic. Unsurprisingly perhaps, for litanies, many strophes begin with the same letter and even with the same word as the previous strophe. This is also true for the hymn-cycles, e.g. in *Huyadagmān* iva 1–5 the initial word *kym* 'who ... me' in each of five strophes as in the first strophe *kym wyš'h'h* 'Who will release me ...?' This feature is also quite common in the Manichaean Coptic Psalms.

In the following lists of Middle Persian and Parthian non-abecedarian hymns some short hymns are included though these may in fact be the initial parts of abecedarian hymns.

Non-Abecedarian Middle Persian

Klimkeit 3.11. ‘Verses from the hymn *The Discourse of the Living Soul*’ Reader be. M95/ etc.

Klimkeit falsely indicates that this is in Parthian.

[**Klimkeit 3.14.** ‘Lamentation of the Living Soul’ [Not in the Reader] M786/

The hymn is not abecedarian. It is in Early Modern Persian, not Parthian as in Klimkeit’s caption.]

Klimkeit 5.4. ‘Verses from a hymn of Mani’s to Jesus’ Reader bt. M28/11/R/

Klimkeit 5.5. ‘Verses from a hymn to Jesus’ Reader bu. M28/11/V/

The following three texts are in the form of lists structured by the number with which each new dominion of light is introduced. It is therefore impossible for these texts to be abecedarian. Boyce and Klimkeit call them ‘hymns’. Litanies might be more appropriate.

Klimkeit 7.3. ‘Hymn in honour of the hierarchy and the Dominions of Light’ Reader cb. 1B4974/

This is in Middle Persian rather than Parthian as indicated by Klimkeit.

Klimkeit 7.4. ‘Hymn in honor of the Dominions of Light’ Reader cc. M798a/

Klimkeit 7.5. ‘Hymn in honor of the Dominions of Light’ Reader cd. M738/

The following texts may be from a liturgy.

Klimkeit 9.1. ‘Hymns for the hierarchy and the community’ Reader cm. M36/

These hymns are a series of addresses of different length. Despite the progression in these addresses it is not certain that they form one hymnal unit. In any case, the sections are not abecedarian.

Klimkeit 9.2. ‘Hymn for the Church hierarchy’ Reader cn. M11/

Like M36/ this text is also a series of addresses and not in abecedarian form.

The following hymns from M31/, all not abecedarian, are part of a ceremony.

Klimkeit 9.3. ‘Hymn in honor of a leader of the Church’ Reader co. M 31/I/R/

Klimkeit 9.4. ‘Hymn in honor of a teacher of the Church’ Reader cp. M31/I/V/

Klimkeit 9.5. ‘Hymns for the enthronement of bishops’ Reader cq. M31/II/

The same applies to the following fragments.

Klimkeit 9.6. ‘Hymn for the installation of a teacher’ Reader cqa. M543/

Klimkeit 9.7. ‘Hymns for the Church hierarchy’ Reader cr. M729/

Klimkeit 9.8. ‘From a hymn for the community’ Reader cs. S7/R/i/

Klimkeit 9.9. ‘From two hymn in praise of the angels’ Reader ct. S7/R/ii/

Klimkeit 11.1. ‘Verses from a hymn cycle by Mani’ Reader da. M842/

Each invocation starts in the same manner, with *dryst wys’y* ‘welcome’ (cf. Parth. *ʔd pd drwd*). The following words in each unit are not in abecedarian sequence.

Reck 2004, 96–97 M2053/

Reck 2004, 133–134 M874/

Reck 2004, 158–162 M196 + M299e + M647 + M2303/

Reck 2004, 164 M6010/. Unclear.

Reck 2004, 164–165 M799c/. Unclear.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 74–75 M500e/B/. Unclear.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 96–97 M84/R/. Two(?) non-abecedarian Middle Persian short hymns.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 98–99 M291b/. Three Middle Persian short hymns.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 102–103 M1872/II/. Three Middle Persian short hymns.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 104–105 M1873/II/. One Middle Persian short hymn.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 106–107 M1873/I/. Seven Middle Persian short hymns.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 108–109 M1872/I/. Three Middle Persian short hymns.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 128–129 M1900/. Unclear.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 132–133 M827/. Unclear.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 138–139 M686/. Unclear.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 146–147 M1851/. Unclear.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 150–153 M650/. Unclear.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 156–157 M8110/I/. Non-abecedarian Middle Persian.

Non-Abecedarian Parthian

Klimkeit 1.1. ‘Verses from Mani’s Psalm *The Praise of the Great Ones*’ Reader af. M40/

Klimkeit 1.2. ‘Verses from Mani’s Psalm *The Praise of the Great Ones*’ Reader ag. M538/, M75/

Klimkeit 1.3. ‘Verses from a Hymn on the Father of Light Reader’ ah. M730/

Klimkeit 1.4. ‘Verses from a Hymn on the Realm of Light Reader’ aj. M5262/

Klimkeit 5.1. ‘Verses from Mani’s Psalm *We Would Fulfill*’ [Not in the Reader] So 14411/II/

The text has been republished in Durkin-Meisterernst/Morano 2010, 26–31.

Klimkeit 5.2. ‘Verses from Mani’s Psalms *We Would Fulfill*’ Reader br. M680/, M189/

The text has been republished in Durkin-Meisterernst/Morano 2010, 28 ff.

The litany always starts in the same way.

Klimkeit 5.3. ‘Verses to Jesus from Mani’s Psalm *Praise of the Great Ones*’ Reader bs. M369/

The text has been republished in Durkin-Meisterernst/Morano 2010, 234–237.

Klimkeit 5.7. ‘The hymn *Primeval Voice*’ [Not in the Reader] M351/ etc.

Though Klimkeit gives the text a title ‘hymn’ he correctly identifies it as ‘twenty-two invocations’. See Durkin-Meisterernst/Morano 2010, 10–13.

Klimkeit 6.1. ‘Verses from a Crucifixion Hymn’ Reader bw. M18/

The sections translated by Klimkeit as 1 to 3 are on M18/ and exhibit the remarkable feature of not being abecedarian in the sequence of the Manichaean alphabet but each strophe is clearly marked by the first letter of the first word being placed in the margin at the beginning of each strophe. In common with the letter ⟨p⟩ placed in the margin to indicate the refrain of the long Parthian hymn-cycles and in some other hymns, this letter is placed on its head on recto page but is written in normal orientation on verso pages. M132a/ (6.6) shows the same feature of letters placed in the margin and belongs to this text.

Neither Boyce nor Klimkeit indicate this feature and Klimkeit does not entirely take the structure of the text into account in his translation. The first letter of the first attested strophe is lost and the extent of the strophe unclear. The next strophe begins with *qtrywn’n* ‘centurions’ (Klimkeit ‘captains’); the next one with *byd* ‘again’ (Klimkeit ‘but’) and the following one *nzd* ‘near’ (Klimkeit ‘they brought .. toward’). After a gap the next strophe begins with *wynyd* ‘see’ (Boyce transcribes ... *wynyd* and therefore Klimkeit does not recognise that this is the first word in the strophe and indicates that the gap extends into the strophe); then *yyšw* ‘Jesus’, which Klimkeit leaves out entirely (before ‘Go in haste’). The text, which follows a red *y* in the margin, is printed by Boyce. The translation is:

“Remember Jesus’ words that he preached to you in Galilee: ‘They will deliver and crucify me; on the third day I will rise up from the dead!’”

The following strophe begins with *pt* ‘in’ (in Klimkeit’s ‘Go in haste’) and then the text breaks off.

The sequence of letters to which such attention is drawn is: ..., q, b, n, ..., w, y and p. While this is clearly only part of the full text and interrupted by gaps it is immediately clear that this is not the Aramaic or Middle Persian/Parthian sequence. One possibility is that the Parthian text is a translation of an Aramaic text with an abecedarian sequence which, though the sequence could not be preserved in the translation was felt to be important enough to be given this very clear graphical presentation. The consensus is that, since the text concerns the crucifixion of Jesus it seems very likely that the Parthian version

is an old text made by translating an Aramaic original. The alternative, that the graphically marked letters are intended to yield a message, i.e. are an acrostic, seems less likely, or at least the extent of the damage makes it very unlikely that it will ever be possible to recognise this supposed message.

Klimkeit 6.2.; 6.3. and 6.4. ‘Verses from another Crucifixion Hymn’ Reader bx, by, bya. M104 + M459e/, M891b/, M734/ etc.

These hymns are not abecedarian and the metrical structure is not entirely clear. See Morano 2000 who has not addressed the structure of the text, so problems remain.

Klimkeit 6.5. ‘Fragment of a Manichaean version of the account of Jesus’ suffering’ Reader byb. M4570/

Klimkeit suggests ‘this is a liturgical rather than a historical text’, but in any case it seems to be prose.

Klimkeit 6.6. ‘Jesus’ trial before Pilate’ Reader byc. M132a/, M5861/

The first section translated here begins with *šwj* ‘holy’ and the letter *š* is also to be seen in the margin, so clearly this is the continuation of M18/ (6.1.). However, no further letter is visible in the margin for the rest of the text. The last sentence within Klimkeit’s first numbered paragraph begins with *trkwm’n* ‘interpreter’ which would fit the normal abecedarian scheme but it is not marked in the text as the beginning of a unit and from M18/ we know that the normal abecedarian sequence is not being employed here anyway.

Klimkeit 6.7. ‘The crucifixion of Jesus’ Reader byd. M4574/

This is a prose text and not a hymn.

Klimkeit 7.1. ‘The Twelve Dominions of Light’ Reader bz. M14/ is not a hymn.

Klimkeit 7.2. ‘The Twelve Dark Dominions’ Reader ca. M34/ is not a hymn.

Reck 2004, 95–96 M280/I/

Reck 2004, 130–131 M5070/. Not enough of the text is preserved to show whether it is abecedarian or not.

Reck 2004, 131–132 M6255 + M6257/. The text does not seem to be abecedarian.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 38–39 M10/R/. ‘Hymn 1’. Is it a prayer?

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 96–97 M84/V/. Three non-abecedarian Parthian short hymns.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 98–99 M291b/. One, possibly two Parthian short hymns.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 100–101 M303/. Four Parthian short hymns.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 102–103 M1872/II/. Two Parthian short hymns.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 104–105 M1873/II/. Six Parthian short hymns.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 106–107 M1873/I/. Four Parthian short hymns.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 108–109 M1872/I/. Three Parthian short hymns.

Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 110–111 M51/. Six(?) Parthian short hymns.

- Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 112–115 M66/. Three Parthian short hymns.
 Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 116–119 M346/. Fourteen Parthian short hymns.
 Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 120–121 M496a/. Parthian cantillations, unclear.
 Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 122–123 M496c/. Parthian short hymns and cantillations, unclear.
 Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 130–131 M18501/. Unclear.
 Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 140–141 M713/. Unclear.
 Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 142–143 M1600/. Unclear.
 Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 142–143 M1601/. Unclear.
 Durkin-Meisterernst 2006, 144–145 Otani 6143+/. Unclear.

Summary

From the details presented above the consistent and distinct features of the Middle Persian and Parthian abecedarian hymns can be summarised here.

The list of Middle Persian abecedarian hymns above contains twenty-four hymns; the Parthian abecedarian hymns listed above amount to sixty-eight hymns and probably more, since some texts that look like short hymns may in fact be just the beginning of abecedarian long hymns. There are more abecedarian hymns awaiting publication.

Consistent features of Middle Persian abecedarian texts are:

There are twenty-two units, or twenty-three if a supplementary n-unit is present and counted; twenty-four if an introductory verse or refrain is present and counted; no l ever occurs, r is always used instead (in P2 the strophe is even marked as the l-strophe though the word used begins with r); no ʿ ever occurs, ʾ is always used instead; h̄ is usually represented by h, but at least once by x. Strangely, s9/, M5755/ and unpublished M246/ have j̄ for y in Middle Persian hymns, but see also the evident connection made between j and y even in the Parthian texts M83/1/ 'hymn 3' and M759/11/ 'hymn 2'. The p-unit always has a word with initial p.

Consistent feature of Parthian abecedarian texts are:

Due to the additional j-strophe after the z-strophe, there are twenty-three units or twenty-four, when the supplementary n-unit is counted, or twenty-five, including an introductory verse or refrain. The only exception to this (the list M259c/ and duplicates referred to at the beginning of this article) must be a translation of a Middle Persian original. In a marked contrast to Middle Persian hymns ʿ is used consistently (though often quite artificially) and the l-unit always has a word in l, though often a loanword (*lwg*, *l'myn*, *lmtyr*); and f is sometimes used for p.

In both languages some tricks are employed to make the words fit. This applies to ‘-units in Parthian where words with initial *fr* are written *ʃr* (sometimes the scribe forgets to write the ‘). At least three times (M5/, M94+/, and M8171, first hymn) *tšyy* is written for the word that is normally spelled *cy*, to allow it to be used in t-strophes. The most artificial spelling of this kind is *ʔwd* in the w-strophe of the Middle Persian hymn M28/1/; presumably the abbreviation ⟨w:⟩ was used in the original to put the letter w in the initial position required.

The twenty-two abecedarian units in the Middle Persian hymns include a number of units that have been retained in a very artificial manner, to keep the link to Mani’s Aramaic texts and certainly in particular to Mani’s Evangel. This contrasts on the one hand to the strict determination in Parthian hymns to fill the l-strophes with a word with initial l, if necessary with a small range of loan-words, whereas Middle Persian texts always employ r in this position, and, on the other hand, to the introduction of an additional unit j in Parthian hymns, abandoning the all-important number twenty-two. The last aspect suggests that the Middle Persian scheme is older and more conservative. The fact that some Middle Persian hymns use j instead of y and not as an additional letter, may indicate the thinking that led to the regular insertion of the letter into the Parthian abecedarian sequence but at a different position (behind j and not behind y). Some indication that Parthian hymns too associated j and y can be seen in M83/1/ ‘hymn 3’ and M759/11/, I think. Interesting too is the way the hymns in both languages solve the problem of the letter ‘. Middle Persian hymns simply replace this with ʔ whereas Parthian texts consistently use the letter, though often with a trick, writing *ʃr-* for *fr-* to accommodate.

Only a few hymns, such as the Middle Persian hymns PelliotM914.2, M224/1/ and the certainly old Parthian hymn M6/ exhibit the feature that the abecedarian word is not the first word in the strophe but is preceded by an introductory word or phrase. Though most abecedarian hymns show one abecedarian unit per strophe and proceed in the normal order of the alphabet, there is a certain amount of virtuosity to be observed (e.g. M7/11/R/, M711/V/, M6232/V/, M6650/) and some texts (e.g. M42/ and M90/) in reverse abecedarian sequence. Strophes can be composed of two abecedarian units; sometimes four units are used and various other possibilities are also tried out. Some of these involve the repetition of abecedarian units, in some cases (M181/, M10/ and M6232/V/) the k-unit was used twice, possibly to divide the hymn into two parts.

Though it has not been the purpose of this paper, a glance at any abecedarian hymn will show that the hymnologist often uses a slightly contorted word-order (e.g. initial verbs, object before subject) to allow him to place the word he needed in the place and sequence required. A feature of many of these hymns

is a tendency to make lists, and occasionally even a prose list is abecedarian. Listing also occurs extensively in non-abecedarian Manichaean Coptic hymns.

While most abecedarian hymns, because of the restrictions involved, must be regarded as original compositions, there remains the distinct possibility that they point to abecedarian Aramaic hymns used in Mani's own time. This would be easier to prove if Manichaean Coptic abecedaria were preserved, but this is not the case. The reason for this may lie in the form of the Coptic language where in properly formed sentences only the initial verbal chain and, in nominal sentences, nouns, and otherwise interjections etc. are allowed. Even personal names and nouns often take the definite, possessive or the indefinite article, further restricting the range of letters possible at the beginning of a sentence. This may have made it impossible for Coptic hymnologists to produce abecedarian texts.

It is also possible that some non-abecedarian hymns are strict translations, rather than adaptations, of Aramaic hymns and that their non-abecedarian character is an indicator of this. There is furthermore the possibility that some abecedarian hymns such as M6/ are translations of Aramaic abecedarian hymns in which the sequence of events in the hymn was not important, thus allowing the translator to move the strophes around until he had the required alphabetical sequence. On the other hand, the text or group of texts containing a reworking of the Christian Gospel (e.g. M18/), have a fixed sequence of events and therefore could not be abecedarian in the Parthian version. Yet, the initial letters of the strophes are highlighted in the same way as in some abecedarian texts. Could this indicate the abecedarian character of the Aramaic original? In any case, this is a complex question that will have to be postponed for another occasion.

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Individualisation of Redemption in a Manichaean Painting from Ningbo*

Jorinde Ebert

Redemption in Manichaean Art

Redemption in Manichaeism, conceived as a drama of cosmic dimensions, was also an extremely personal matter for every Manichaean individual. The liberation of *First Man* rising from the abyss and conducted back to paradise by the *Mother of Life* and the *Living Spirit* became the model for the future liberation of all individual souls. The fate of human beings at death was, according to Klimkeit,¹ conceived in two different manners. In one version the soul was to appear before the *Just Judge*, a deity of the Third Creation, in order to hear his verdict which would either send the soul on the path of “Life”, that is into Paradise, or on the path of “mixture”, i.e. back to the world, or to “Death”, i.e. to Hell. In the other version the righteous soul leaves the body and is greeted by a redeeming deity, the so called “Daēnā”, produced by the own good deeds of the soul itself as Yutaka Yoshida has brilliantly argued,² who, according to a Manichaean Sogdian text, comes with her attendants to welcome the deceased soul and leads it to Paradise.

Originally, as can be gleaned from *Kephalaia*, Ch. XCII, the fate of the auditor (*catechumen*) after death was not depicted. The reason given is that the catechumen must (presumably after countless rebirths) first go “the way of the Elect” and cannot “enter directly into the land of life”. His long process of purification yet to come was impossible to visualise in a single painting, “for he is not

* I am deeply indebted to the Museum Yamato Bunkakan for giving the permission to use and to publish their photographs of the painting.

1 Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy*, Iconography of Religions 20, Leiden 1982, p. 10 ff.

2 Yutaka Yoshida, “Ninpō no Manikyō e iwayuru ‘rokudō-zu’ no kaishaku megutte” (A Manichaean Painting from Ningbo—On the Religious Affiliation of the So-Called Rokudōzu in the Museum Yamato Bunkakan) (in Japanese with English Summary), in: *Yamato Bunka*, Semi-annual Journal of Eastern Art Edited by the Staff of the Museum Yamato Bunkakan, Issue 119, February 2009, pp. 1–15.

purified and cleansed at a single place ...” (*Kephalaia*, pp. 234–235).³ Thus, while initially only the Elect hoped to directly attain Paradise at death, the Hearers (*auditores*) could anticipate their salvation only after copious re-incarnations. However, a Chinese Manichean painting of the 13th century, probably from Ningbo, today housed in the Yamato Bunkakan (Fig. 9.1), recently identified by Yutaka Yoshida,⁴ not only harmonises both versions given by Klimkeit in one painting (there is the *Just Judge* before whom all souls must appear (Fig. 9.2), and a Daēnā with her attendants (Fig. 9.3a and 9.3b) who has come to redeem the righteous souls), but moreover seems to depict not the fate of an elect but the fate of an auditor and his wife after death (Fig. 9.4, 9.12a, and 9.12b).

When did this change in Manichaeism occur?

Liberalisation and Individualisation in Manichaeism of the Turfan Oasis

During the 9th and 10th centuries, when Manichaeism had become the state religion under the Uigurs in the Turfan Oasis, a gradual shift from the old model of depicting only the return of the *electi* to Paradise to a more liberal one which also comprised the *auditores* seems to have occurred probably due to the possibility of redemption for every being in Buddhism.⁵ What had initially been possible for the *electi* only gradually seems to have become attainable—if only perhaps as a hope for the future—also for *auditores*, certainly those belonging to the royal Uigur family or Uigur nobility of the Turfan area.

This process, intimately intertwined with a consecutive development of pictorial individualisation, is indicated by the names of electi written either directly on their gowns (MIK III 4979 a, b verso (Fig. 9.5),⁶ MIK III 6265⁷ and

3 Hans-Jakob Polotsky, Alexander Böhlig, *Kephalaia I, Erste Hälfte, Lieferung 1–10*, Stuttgart 1940; Iain Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary*, NHMS 37, Leiden 1995; Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, op. cit. (note 1), p. 16.

4 Yutaka Yoshida, “A Newly Recognized Manichaean Painting: Manichaean Daena from Japan”, in: M.-A. Amir Moezzi et al., eds, *Pensée grecque et sagesse d’Orient: Hommage à Michel Tardieu*, Turnhout 2009, pp. 697–714, and Yutaka Yoshida, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 3–15.

5 Gunner Mikkelsen, “Sukhāvātī and the Light-world: Pure Land Elements in the Chinese Manichaean Eulogy of the Light-world”, in: Jason D. BeDuhn (ed.), *New Light on Manichaeism. Papers from the Sixth International Congress on Manichaeism*, NHMS 64, Leiden 2009, pp. 201–212.

6 Zsuzsanna Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*, CFM, Series Archaeologica et Iconographica 1, Turnhout, 2001, pl. 32, pp. 70–75.

7 Ibid., fig. 29.2, pp. 62–65.

III 6966 c recto (Fig. 9.6), MIK III 6918 (Fig. 9.7)⁸ or alongside donors of the royal family (MIK III 4956 b recto[?] (Fig. 9.8)⁹), like a royal nun (*electae*) (MIK III 6286 (Fig. 9.9)¹⁰). It is also demonstrated by a royal female lay auditor (*catechumen*) (MIK III 6286) on side two of the same banner (Fig. 9.10)¹¹ who alludes to Paradise by the white clad saviour figure above her.

While Manichaean paintings of the Turfan Oasis—no matter whether miniature, wall painting, or banner—certainly functioned as a visual aid for abstract religious teachings, they also gradually seem to become very personal statements for the hope of individual redemption of historical elect and lay figures depicted for example on banners after death. Silk paintings and wall paintings like the one in Cave 38 of Bezeklik with depictions of the ‘five Elements’¹² who were invoked for help with allusions to Paradise, as Gábor Kósa has convincingly shown,¹³ seem to corroborate this idea. Sundermann¹⁴ points out that Klimkeit had already remarked this trait when saying: “It strikes one, that in many Turkic texts the aim of many prayers and supplications is to gain not only spiritual welfare but also bodily well-being and blessing on earth.”¹⁵

The same seems to hold true for the Yamato Bunkakan painting. Beginning, as is usual in Chinese paintings, in the lowest tier,¹⁶ it starts out by unfolding the countless previous sufferings in hell of the protagonist and donor of

8 Ibid., fig. 91, pp. 198–201.

9 Ibid., fig. 31.2, pp. 68–69.

10 Ibid., fig. 81.1, p. 179.

11 Ibid., fig. 81.2, p. 180.

12 Jorinde Ebert, “The ‘Five Elements’ in Manichaean Art”, in: J.A. van den Berg, A. Kotzé, T. Nicklas, M. Scopello, eds, *In Search of Truth: Augustine, Manichaeism and Other Gnosticism. Studies for Johannes van Oort at Sixty*, NHMS 74, Leiden, Boston 2011, pp. 301–314.

13 Gábor Kósa, “Peacocks under the Jewel-Tree—New Hypotheses on a Manichaean Painting from Bezeklik (Cave 38)”, *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 4 (2009), pp. 135–148 (ms. 2009, p. 3): “According to Moriyasu nothing contradicts the possibility that the two person beside the tree in Cave 38 of Bezeklik are *auditores*”.

14 Werner Sundermann, *Der Sermon von der Seele*, BTT 19, Berlin 1997, p. 149.

15 Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, ‘Manichaean Kingship ...’, 1982, pp. 27–28 apud Sundermann, op. cit. (note 14), p. 28.

16 Gulácsi starts out from the upper register and continues from there to the bottom: 1. The Light Maiden’s Visit to Heaven; 2. Sermon around a Statue of Mani; 3. States of Good Reincarnation; 4. The Light Maiden’s Intervention with a Judgement; 5. States of bad Reincarnation. Cf. Zsuzsanna Gulácsi, “Yamato Bunkakan zō Manikyō kaiga ni mirareru Chu-ō Ajia raigen no yōso ni tsuite”, (The Central Asian Roots of a Chinese Manichaean Silk Painting in the Collection of the Yamato Bunkakan), in: *Yamato Bunka* 119, Nara 2009, pp. 17–34.

the painting, and from there leading to the scene before the *Just Judge*. The inscription in the lower left corner right, next to the protagonist, though fragmentary (Fig. 9.11), clearly discloses the name of the donor who introduces himself as a Manichaean auditor and a “leader of the disciples”, Zhang Siyi, who “together with his wife Zheng Xinniāng makes a donation and presents respectfully a sacred painting of Hades (*mingwang shengtū*) to a temple of vegetarians (Manichaeans) located on Baoshan mountain (*Baoshan caiyuan*)”. Then follows the crucial phrase: “They (the donors) wish to provide it as their eternal offering. So that peace may prevail”.¹⁷ As Gábor Kósa has already stated:¹⁸ it does not contain any reference to a sermon scene, but is clearly a donation. Furthermore, the donation is expressly designed “for an eternity of peace”, i.e. for the sake of a future peace in Paradise.

Scrutinising the depiction of the two souls before the *Just Judge* in the lower part of the painting, it immediately becomes clear that a man and a woman are shown (Fig. 9.12a, 9.12b). The man with dark skin, the typical top knot, and a small beard has stepped forward and seems to be arguing with the judge, while his wife who is of a much lighter complexion, donned with a typically female hairdo, is trailing behind in a large wooden cangue, hiding her face shamefully with her left hand. Arnold-Döben stresses that according to Manichaean belief “nakedness” before the *Just Judge* is the beginning of a “change of garments”, which every Gnostic person who frees himself from his dependence on material things must fulfill when preparing for redemption.¹⁹ It thus does not seem unlikely that Zhang Siyi and his wife Zheng Xinniāng themselves are depicted here, even though the Chinese were normally averse to any sort of nakedness. This impression is corroborated as we move up along the painting. Above this scene, the past and future rebirths of the protagonist Zhang Siyi himself seem to be shown in a quick succession of four major stages from left to right. Thus, the protagonists are shown several times in different stages of their way from hell to paradise.

17 Yoshida, op. cit. (note 2), p. 8 and Yoshida, op. cit. (note 4), pp. 704–705 I have slightly altered the translation by Takao Moriyasu (cited by Yoshida op. cit. (note 4), pp. 704–705, n. 34) who says: “Accordingly, peace may be kept.”

18 Gábor Kósa, “Two Manichaean Judgement Scenes—MIK III 4959 and the Yamato Bunkakan Painting”—(ms 2009), p. 29 (in this volume, pp. 196–227).

19 Victoria Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache der Gnosis*, Arbeitsmaterialien zur Religionsgeschichte 13, Köln, Bonn 1986, p. 126 ff.

The Figures on the Thrones Next to Mani

The painter has chosen an axial symmetry for the main and central part of his painting. Through the *segmenta* and *clavi* on his white gown (Fig. 9.13)²⁰ as well as the *tiara* (Fig. 9.14) worn in the hair, the largest figure on the central axis can clearly be identified as Mani.²¹ He is shown frontally. Mani is flanked by four persons shown in three-quarter profile (Fig. 9.15). The upper two, being of almost equal size, the layman in red being a little smaller, are seated on thrones like chairs with stools, each in front of a single panel screen. Iconographically, the two figures on throne-like chairs flanking Mani have thus been invested as satellite “kings of the realm of light” where they have both taken place on their “thrones of quietness”. This symbolism of a royal investiture in itself alludes to the soul’s relation to Mani and its entitlement to a final return to the *pleroma*.²²

Before the central figure of Mani and the group of persons surrounding him, two golden incense boxes and a lump of scented wood or a piece of stone in a golden jar have been positioned on an extra lacquer stand (Fig. 9.16a). The divine knowledge brought by the *emissary of light* may have been likened to fragrance which comes to stand for the *realm of light* itself.²³ The jar with the lump of scented wood or piece of stone may be understood as a symbol of the perishable body carrying the immortal *pneuma*. If the un-knowing human being is compared to an empty vessel which must be filled, a filled vessel connotes knowledge and cognition.²⁴

The bearded but bareheaded man to Mani’s left with long dark trailing hair is clad in white gowns, the upper bordered by a dark brown band, ornamented with golden flames. He and the younger man standing below him are undoubtedly *electi*. The standing *electus* is clearly younger and of lower rank as his purple undergarment indicates. The one panel screen behind the seated *electus* shows an austere group of bare rocks indicating his renouncement from

20 Jorinde Ebert, “Segmentum and Clavus in Manichaean Garments of the Turfan Oasis”, in: M. Yaldiz, P. Zieme, eds, *Turfan Revisited*, Berlin 2004, pp. 72–83.

21 Jorinde Ebert, “Kinnnen Manikyō e to ninteisareta Yamato Bunkakan shōzō no kinu e ni tsuite no oboegaki” (Some Remarks Concerning a Recently Identified Manichaean Painting of the Museum Yamato Bunkakan) (in Japanese with short English summary), in: *Yamato Bunka*, Semi-annual Journal of Eastern Art Edited by the Staff of the Museum Yamato Bunkakan, Issue 119, February 2009, pp. 35–47.

22 Victoria Arnold-Döben, op. cit (note 19), p. 133.

23 Ibid, p. 88 ff.

24 Ibid, p. 108 ff.

all worldliness (Fig. 9.16b). Holding a fly whisk with a long golden handle in his left hand which seems to point at the figure on the other side, his lively face with open mouth indicates a sermon. The right hand with two extended fingers seems to be pointing—rather than towards Mani—further beyond towards the layman (*auditor*) of high rank on the other side, with slightly foreign facial traits evident in the lumpy form of the nose and the strong beard covering not only the chin but also the jaws (Fig. 9.17). Seated on Mani's right side, this layman, turning to Mani and to the priest on the other side, is shown in a gesture of adoration and devotion. Behind him is another panel screen depicting an opulently blooming red peony tree. One is here immediately reminded of several manuscripts from the Turfan Oasis where Uigur laymen and even princes clad in similar red gowns are shown in front of blooming trees with large red blossoms²⁵ admonished, tutored or instructed by Manichaean priests (Fig. 9.18). There, the meaning might have been the growth, tending and blossoming of the seeds of knowledge in the Manichaean community. But the meaning of the blossoming tree may also allude to paradisaical trees in the Realm of Light which, according to Gábor Kósa, are frequently mentioned in Chinese Manichaica.²⁶

Portrait of the Donor Zhang Siyi

Whom does the man clad in red portray? After what has already been stated, I would be reluctant to think that the painting shows some fictitious patron of Manichaeism in South China. Rather, there is reason to believe that the man in red can be no one else but the *auditor* Zhang Siyi mentioned in the inscription in the lower left corner of the painting.²⁷ His general attire can by no means be considered fictitious, historicising or emulating garments of the royal Uigur Manichaeans in Turfan. He wears the common black cap with very long horizontally extended side elements of a high Chinese dignitary of the Yuan Dynasty (13th century) and is clad in the bright red formal upper gown of the times, decorated over the chest with a large stylised central golden flower (peony?) surrounded by pearls (Fig. 9.19). A white tunic worn under the red upper gown just peeps out in the area of the sleeves. Below him a second standing younger layman is depicted in a similar but dark red gown deco-

25 MIK III 8259, MIK III6368 recto, MIK III 6265 and III 4966 c recto, MIK III 6284 (recto?).

26 Arnold-Döben, op. cit. (note 19), p. 141 ff. and Gábor Kósa, op. cit. (note 13), (ms.) p. 12.

27 I am relying heavily on the translations suggested by Yutaka Yoshida.

rated with golden flowers holding a scroll or an ancestral tablet in a brocade encasement with both hands which, as far as one can see, bears no inscription. Whose scroll or tablet would that be? The gaze of both priests seems directed at it. Should we suppose that it is the donation or the ancestral tablet of Zhang himself, of Zhang's wife, or of both? In what way is the *seated electus* and are the two younger men related to the donor? Are they sons or relatives of Zhang?

Many questions which cannot yet be answered.

Zhang's Entrance into the Realm of Light with His Wife Zhen Xinniangu

If my interpretation that the deceased *auditor* Zhang Siyi is shown on Mani's right side is correct, then the rest of the painting can safely also be presumed to have a connection to the person of Zhang Siyi and his wife Zhen Xinniangu in the upper part of the central painting. In the view of the heavenly sphere above Mani, such an interpretation offers itself naturally since in the center of the highest tier of the painting a paradisaical scene showing a couple is depicted (Fig. 9.20). Nimbed standing Daēnās, again shown in strict profile and accompanied by two smaller attendant figures, are waiting below rising (Fig. 9.21a and 9.21b) and descending (Fig. 9.22a and 9.22b) scrolling clouds which are ferrying souls. If Zhang and his wife are the souls depicted before the *Just Judge*, and if Zhang is again portrayed in the central tier next to Mani, then it is logical to think that the couple centrally seated in the paradisaical structure in the upper center of the painting is again Zhang Siyi and his wife Zhen Xinniangu (Fig. 9.23). Behind them a lotus panel or pond can just be made out, which again enhances the paradisaical and redemptive character of the painting. Perhaps to distinguish the male soul from the female, Zhang Siyi is seated on a red lotus (*yang*), while his wife is seated on a white lotus (*yin*) pedestal.

To the left and right of this small central structure appear rising white (*yin*) and falling red (*yang*) furling clouds, perhaps in order to again distinguish the "welcoming scene" for the male and the female soul. All Daēnās in this part of the painting are again shown in strict profile, while the souls are depicted in three-quarter profile. This is one way to distinguish the figures of the two redeemed souls from their Daēnās. Another distinction lies in the nimbs which are doubly rimmed for all Daēnās, while only simply rimmed for the souls. Since the painting depicts several groups of welcoming "Virgins of Light" or Daēnās (1) next to the judgement scene, and (2) at the upper left of the painting, and (3) at the upper right of the painting, and since the paint-

ing moreover depicts a couple in paradise, it seems highly likely that the way of Zhang Siyi and of his wife Zhen Xinniāng to their Manichaean Paradise is shown in this painting. It is thus not only a visual sermon of Mani's teaching of salvation but a very personal statement of a couple concerning the hope for attaining the Manichaean Paradise together. One might even say, it is as though the complaint of the *auditor* in Kephalaia, Ch. 92 has finally been answered:

... why have you (the Apostle of Light) described everything in pictures but not described the cleansing of the catechumen who are cleansed in the migration of souls ... You have shown the righteous (Elect) being saved and brought before the judge and reaching the land of light ... You have portrayed the sinner in his death ... who is ... brought before the judge and condemned ... and is thrown into hell where he wanders eternally ... Why did you not picture the catechumen (auditor) as well, how he is freed from his body and brought before the judge and ... reaches the place assigned to him ...?²⁸

28 Klimkeit, *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 16.

Kephalaia 55 and the Great Free Woman: Concepts of Seclusion and Public Exhibition in Relation to Women and Female Figures in Manichaean Texts

Majella Franzmann

One of the key moments in the Manichaean drama of salvation concerns the event known generally as the seduction of the archons. In one of the many narrations of this event in Chapter 55 of the *Kephalaia*, we are presented with a central woman character for whom seclusion from the public gaze appears to be the norm in her daily life, and yet who uncharacteristically and deliberately exhibits herself in public.

In this study I begin from that story in the *Kephalaia* and attempt to situate the depiction of the woman character within the broader Manichaean teaching about, and portrayal of, women and female characters in both private and public spaces, as well as situating the story within other versions of the event of the seduction of the archons.

1 Seclusion and Public Exhibition in *Keph* 55¹

In Chapter 55 of the *Kephalaia*, Mani is described as presenting teaching about the seduction of the archons by the heavenly figure of the Third Ambassador who displays his image before the archons so as to free the living soul from Matter in which it is entangled. The archons are cosmic figures who, previous to this event, have been responsible for capturing the soul and holding it captive within the darkness. A number of cosmic characters figure in other narrations of this event, with a degree of ambiguity or fluidity regarding both the identity and the gender of the characters. In *Keph* 55, the central character is the Third Ambassador who is a male cosmic figure.

¹ I.M.F. Gardner, ed., *The Kephalaia of the Teacher. The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary*, NHMS 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1995); Coptic version in H.-J. Polotsky, A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia 1, Erste Hälfte, Lieferung 1–10*, (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940).

Mani first narrates what the Third Ambassador does (133.12–134.11). The Ambassador exhibits or displays his image, not just for the sake of displaying it but to free the soul from its entanglement in the world; the archons/rulers lust after that image since they have nothing like it in their creation, and they seal the image within their heart and soul; then afterwards they form Adam and Eve according to that likeness.

To make this teaching even clearer to his disciples, Mani uses what he calls a ‘simile’ (134.13–135.14): the Ambassador is like a great free woman, in other words a noble woman or a woman of status, who is ‘virtuous in her modesty’, rich, beautiful and renowned as a beauty in every city such that there are those who ‘lust for her beautiful face’. She is safe from this lust, ‘hidden in her palace’. However, to save her beloved brother, the woman is forced to come out of her seclusion, and face the lust of the men who look at her:

This free woman shall [...] leave the cha[mber] behind her and come to the street [...] her head [...] and she reveals her [face and her beauty ...] because of her beloved broth[er]. This woman, on whom no man ever looked, nor did they ever see her fa[ce], as she neither desires nor rejoices [...] leave her chamber behind her, and come in the midst of mankind [...] and everyone view her. The hones[t] men and the nobles, even the servants too, and the [...]look at her.

134:28–135:7

Mani goes on to explain at the end of the ‘simile’ that this woman is neither wanton, nor proud. She has only consented to reveal her face and her beauty because of her grief for her beloved brother (135:7–14).

The story of the woman provides multiple points of interest, but in this article we will be concerned for just two aspects of it—the apparently normal situation of seclusion or hiddenness for the woman character, and the central action of exhibiting herself as a key moment in the drama.

2 The Secluded/Hidden Woman

The woman in the story is characterised as a person who would normally be secluded in her chamber, and this seclusion is understood positively over against the woman’s uncharacteristic self-exhibition. On the simple level of the narrative, the author constructs the seclusion and wonderful virtue and modesty of the woman to provide a very powerful counterfoil to the activity of seduction. The tantalising aspect of seclusion heightens the drama, strengthens

the desire of those who wish to see her as the word of her beauty spreads. Finally, as she reveals her image, the sexual desire of those who await her appearance has built to an extreme extent and cannot be contained.

The positive treatment of the seclusion of the woman raises the question whether seclusion was expected of Manichaean women in general, or whether the story may simply mirror a cultural setting where seclusion is expected of any woman or certain types of women. In the present study we will be concerned with the first of these questions, that is whether the positive view of the seclusion of women is sustained across the range of Manichaean writings known to us.

2.1 *Seclusion and Public Appearance of Women/Female Characters in Other Manichaean Sources*

It is rare in Manichaean texts to find clear references to secluded women or women who have exhibited themselves so that one must infer prior seclusion as the norm. Werner Sundermann provides one example in a Middle Persian fragment from Mani's *Book of the Giants* that contains a series of similes for the concept of belief, one of which notes that belief is like a covered or veiled bride from a ruling family (L/II/v/5–6).² On the other hand there is a strong theme in stories and teaching about the exhibition of women in attracting the attention of a king as he chooses a bride. The use of daughters as a way of social advancement by marriage appears to have been a favourite story, and part of the story implies the exhibition of the daughter. In fact the story serves in some cases as a parable about the rewards of alms-giving:

The Hearer that brings alms to the Elect, is like unto a poor man to whom a pretty daughter has been born, who is very beautiful with charm and loveliness. That poor man fosters the beauty of that girl, his daughter, for she is very beautiful. And that beautiful daughter ..., he presents her to the king. The king approves of her, and puts her into his harem. He has [several] sons by her ... The sons that were born to that poor man's daughter ...³

2 W. Sundermann, "Ein weiteres Fragment aus Manis Gigantenbuch," in: *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemain Emerito Oblata*, AclR 23. Hommages et opera minora 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 491–505, esp. 504.

3 See W.B. Henning, "The Book of the Giants," *BSOAS* 11 (1943) 52–74, esp. 63, n. 1. See also A. (Middle Persian) Frg. d, which Henning references to *Keph* 192:3 (p. 64), and *M* 221/v/11–24 in W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, BTT 4 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1973), 103–104, lines 2010–2023.

While the royal bride may be veiled, once the royal wedding is over there may be situations in which the woman is again deliberately exhibited rather than secluded. *Kephalaion* 56 describes the kind of court in which a king may boast or even perhaps deliberately inspire lust in others by the exhibition of his women. In fact the text seems to take for granted that women at court will be deliberately clothed in a kind of exhibitionist fashion, dressed in the ‘garments of silken women, which are woven with gold and pearls, made beautiful for the shape of lust’ (143:1–3).

2.2 *Seclusion and Public Appearance of Manichaean Women*

There are a number of examples known to us of Manichaean women appearing in public and drawing attention to themselves, which argues against a general teaching that Manichaean women should be secluded. One need only consider the Christian episcopal letter that warns Christians in Alexandria about the Manichaean women missionaries or Elect who are insinuating themselves into Christian houses and spreading false teaching.⁴ Further, what could be more public and attention-getting than the debate in Gaza at the beginning of the fifth century between the Manichaean missionary Julia from Antioch and the bishop Porphyry?⁵ If these women are exceptional in their behaviour in public because of their larger spiritual purpose—much in the way that the great free woman is exceptional in the story in the *Kephalaia*—then there is no indication of that in the text. Apart from these prominent examples we know of the Manichaean women in fourth century Roman Kellis in Egypt, who are engaged in business in the town in a way that requires them to be out in public rather than secluded.⁶

In Manichaean stories from Central Asia that provide some detail of the ordinary life of women, there is nothing to suggest that women were secluded. In the Sogdian story, *M* 760 R/1–10, for example, a man goes to a house, where he sees the beautiful daughter of an old woman. It is a fairly typical presentation of the two stereotypes of women that one meets in other stories—an old woman

4 I.M.F. Gardner, S.N.C. Lieu, eds, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 114–115.

5 See M. Scopello, *Femme, Gnose et Manichéisme. De l'espace mythique au territoire du réel*, NHMS 53 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 237–291.

6 See the study of the woman Tehat in M. Franzmann, ‘Tehat the Weaver: Women’s Experience in Manichaeism in 4th Century Roman Kellis,’ *Australian Religion Studies Review* 20/1 (2007) 17–26, especially the reference to public business transactions in *P. Kell. Copt.* 48.

and a beautiful young woman—but the point here is that the young woman is not hidden away from the visitor.⁷

Even cosmic female figures and ideal spiritual figures are not depicted living lives of seclusion. For example, the soul is depicted as a bride in the Manichaean *Psalm Book* 80.13–14, but she is not hidden. Like the bridesmaids waiting for the Saviour in the canonical Christian texts, her lamp shines out like the sun.

We also know from the depictions of dress of the female Elect that, at least in Central Asia within the monastic setting and within Manichaean ritual, the women were not veiled or secluded. Gulácsi provides pictures, for the most part from Kotcho, of female Elect wearing a headdress consisting of a large white scarf draped over a supporting structure that Gulácsi likens to a ‘fez-like cap’.⁸ The headdress is mostly pulled in around the face, although figure 81.1 from Kotcho shows what appears to be the hair of the woman in plain view.⁹ Although the headdress appears to have the potential for the scarf to be drawn further across the face, there is no depiction to suggest this was the case.

Gulácsi’s catalogue also contains two pictures from Kotcho that include royal women, the first with three women with elaborate hair styles and headdresses (figure 28.4),¹⁰ the headdresses indicating they belong to the group of the Uighur royal family,¹¹ and the second (figure 31.1) with two lay women,¹² identified as royal or of high status because of their titles (‘prince’s queen’ and ‘pious niece’).¹³ None of these figures are veiled or secluded from the gaze of the others present.

2.3 *Seclusion/Hiddenness as a Manichaean Spiritual Concept*

Finally, one finds the idea of seclusion or hiddenness in some texts relating to a time of waiting prior to readiness or usefulness for the plan of the heavenly Father. Such is the case with the following passage referring to the Great Spirit or First Mother:

7 My thanks to Enrico Morano for this example, and for allowing me access to his current research on the Sogdian parables and tales.

8 Z. Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*, CFM. Series Archaeologica et Iconographica 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 182. See, for example, figure 69.4 from Murtuk (p. 153), figure 82.1 (p. 183), figure 84 (p. 187), figure 89.1 (p. 195), and figure 91 (p. 201).

9 Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* (note 8), 179.

10 Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* (note 8), 60.

11 Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* (note 8), 61. While Gulácsi identifies the headdress for the males as that of princes, she can only speculate that the others are princesses.

12 Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* (note 8), 69.

13 Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* (note 8), 225.

... but the duration of the time that the Great Spirit spent in the Father, [the] first established thing, one will not be able to make a count of it! He first sculpted her like this. He established her in his inner storehous[es] in quiet and silen[c]e. When [they had] need of her she was called and came forth of the Father [of Greatness]. She looked at all her aeons of lig[ht]!

Keph 70:27–32

However, this use of the concept of seclusion is not related to virtue or modesty.

3 The Woman in *Keph 55* and the Act of Exhibition

At first glance, the story of the woman in *Keph 55* appears to include no more than her leaving her chamber and appearing in public. If this is the case, the question arises why her activity needs to be excused and why the reader needs to be assured of her virtue and modesty over against wanton women who exhibit themselves. To understand what more may be happening in this story, we need to look further into the story of the Third Ambassador. It appears at first that the Ambassador simply displays himself and then the archons sculpt an image of him. However a little further in the text we have other references to the same event that give more information about the lust of the archons, which leads to their ejaculation of matter that falls to earth:

For, in the majesty of the l[ig]ht and (the image's) love, they glowed with their desire and they were undone. Th[ey] were eager for their lust; like a m[an who looks] to the majesty of a lusted after face, and [...] and he is eager for the {...} of the desire.

135:27–136:5

The sin that spurted out from the rulers, which is Matter, shot up [tow]ards the image of the Ambassador. It was cut off from [tha]t place and came down to the earth, for they did not accept [it wi]thin the firmaments. When it came do[wn to] the earth, it formed the tree. It was established within the wood and formed the fruits. And when [the] abortions fell [to] the ground, to the earth, ...¹⁴

137:23–30; also 138:7–10

14 The same story is told for the Third Ambassador in the Central Asian text *M 737/R/1–4*,

It is clear then that the activity involving the cosmic figure and the archons is of a sexual nature and that the exhibition of the image of the Ambassador is deliberately aimed at arousing sexual lust in the archons that leads to ejaculation. Hence, it is necessary to excuse the behaviour of the great free woman who leaves her chamber not just to make a public appearance but rather to exhibit her beauty deliberately to incite lust in those who look on her.

In a Central Asian text, the female cosmic figure of the Virgin of Light performs the same function as the Third Ambassador in seducing the archons, and exhibits herself in the same way as the (metaphorical) woman in the *Kephalaia* text. In this text the Virgin of Light is named *Sadwēs*:

Bright *Sadwēs* shows her form to the Demon of Wrath. He cries out to her as his own (?), he thinks she is the essence (of Light).
 He sows ... he groans when he no longer sees the form. Light is born in the sphere: she gives it to the higher Powers.
 The dirt and dross flows from him to the earth. It clothes itself in all phenomena, and is reborn in many fruits.
 The dark Demon of Wrath is ashamed, for he was distraught and had become naked. He had not attained to the higher, and had been bereft of what he had achieved.
 He left the body an empty shell and descended in shame. He covered himself in the womb of the earths, whence he had risen in brutishness.¹⁵

M 741/R/3-7

Here the Virgin of Light exhibits her beauty to inspire lust in the Demon of Wrath who ejaculates the previously captured light/living soul as semen that falls to earth and is reborn in fruits. There is no attempt to excuse the behaviour of the Virgin of Light who uses the lustful nature of Darkness against itself to achieve a release of the soul/Light. Neither is there any mention of seclusion in relation to this female character.

where he is assumed as the addressee: "The darkness and dross exuded (?) by them you shake down to the world. The *Yakṣas* and Demons become ashamed, but the Light was freed from bondage"; M. Boyce, "Sadwēs and Pēsūs," *BSOAS* 13 (1949-1950) 915.

15 Boyce, "Sadwēs and Pēsūs" (note 14), 912.

Conclusion

The description of seclusion of the great free woman seems not to have its basis in Manichaeism teaching about seclusion of women, nor in the conditions of the lives of Manichaeism women in general. Manichaeism women, at least those not of the ruling class, were for the most part engaged in business (because they were not allowed to participate in agriculture) and the female Elect were engaged in missionary work, both of which tasks required them to appear in public. Their dress in public is another matter and we have no knowledge of that. Of course Manichaeism women of the ruling class in Persia or Central Asia may have had some experience of seclusion in their life at court.

The story of the seduction of the archons is wellknown in Manichaeism sources, and where the version includes a figure other than the great free woman of *Keph* 55—i.e. the Virgin of Light—there is no mention of seclusion for this character, nor indeed of any need to excuse her exhibition of herself.

In the end, the choice of description of the woman as secluded in *Keph* 55 may rest in a simple narrative technique, as outlined earlier. The story of salvation demands a plot of high tension and its resolution, and the author of the story has achieved this by the construction of extreme seclusion and its accompanying elements of virtue and modesty over against the extreme action of exhibition designed to inspire lust, an action necessitated by the extreme circumstances of the living soul trapped in Matter. In the end, it is the dramatic story of salvation that necessitates both her seclusion and her exhibition.

Images of Jesus in Manichaean Art

Zsuzsanna Gulácsi

A variety of primary and secondary sources confirm that themes of Christian origin, especially the figure of Jesus, remained significant throughout the 1,400-year history of Manichaeism (Map 11.0). The polemical writings of Augustine from the late 4th and early 5th centuries famously document the Manichaeans' devotion to Jesus, noting in the *Confessions* that Jesus' name was never absent from their mouths.¹ Manichaean hymns to Jesus are preserved in a diverse group of languages, mostly in Coptic from 4th century Egypt, but also in Parthian, Sogdian, Middle-Persian, and Uygur from 8th–11th century East Central Asia, and even in Chinese from 8th century northern China.² The importance of Jesus, particularly in the western part of the Manichaean world, resulted in a Christian reading of Manichaeism that dominated early studies of this religion. Today, views on the origin of Manichaeism are divided between two opposing interpretations, suggesting either that Manichaeism originated in Christianity with strong Zoroastrian influences or, vice versa, in Zoroastrianism with strong Christian influences. No matter which of these two traditional views one holds, it is undisputed that Jesus was integral to Manichaeism.

While Manichaean texts on Jesus have been well known since the early 20th century from both Egypt and the region of Kocho in East Central Asia, recent discoveries have revealed the existence of six Manichaean Jesus paintings, confirming that Jesus was among the most frequently represented figures in the overall history of Manichaean art. The six paintings include five (one paper and four textile) fragments that were made and used in ca. 10th century East Central Asia and one well-preserved large silk hanging scroll from ca. 13th cen-

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- 1 Augustine writes: "... in their mouths were the devil's snares and a glue confected of a mixture of the syllables of the names of you (God) and of the lord Jesus Christ and of the Paraclete, our comforter, the Holy Spirit. These names were never absent from their mouths" (*Confessions* 3.6.10).
 - 2 For Iranian and Turkic Manichaean hymns to Jesus, see Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia* (San Francisco: Harper-Collins, 1993), 63–68. For translated Chinese Manichaean hymns to Jesus, see Tsui Chi, "Mo Ni Chiao Hsia Pu Tsan," *BSOAS* 11 (1943–1944) 176–183.

tury southern China.³ The first goal of this paper is to provide a brief survey of these images. Although each has been discussed in previous publications, the six paintings have not been viewed together as a thematic group, and thus the significant art and religious historical data preserved in them have not been assessed. Therefore, my second goal is to provide a preliminary outline of the formation of Manichaean Jesus representations in light of these six images. The identification of their subject matter reveals the existence of three distinct pictorial themes associated with Jesus, including (1) visual narration of the life events of Jesus through the use of a full pictorial cycle that was based on an early Syriac Gospel harmony known as the *Diatessaron*, (2) iconic depiction of a majestic seated image of Jesus as a solo deity that employs hand gestures and a variety of attributes to communicate core elements of the Manichaean teachings on Jesus, and (3) the inclusion of Jesus within a diagram that shows the Primary Prophets of Manichaeism. The iconography and the style of representation employed in these six paintings allude to three divergent cultural contexts of origin that correspond with three distinct episodes within the history of this religion. These include: (1) an elusive early Mesopotamian phase (3rd–6th centuries CE) that produced all three pictorial subjects associated with the Jesus theme; (2) a relatively well understood middle Uygur phase (8th–11th centuries CE), when archaisms combined with innovations contributed to unique local developments in how Jesus was portrayed; and (3) a recently discovered late southern Chinese phase (12th–15th centuries CE), when not only stylistically, but also iconographically fully Sinicized depictions of Jesus began to be used among the last communities of this religion.

Two Scenes from the Life of Jesus Depicted According to the *Diatessaron*

A unique Manichaean pictorial cycle, narrating the life of Jesus in a series of individual scenes, has been identified recently on a relatively small piece of paper labeled M1K III 4967a in the collection of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Fig. 11.1).⁴ The two adjacent scenes still

3 These three Jesus paintings were discussed in Zsuzsanna Gulácsi, “A Manichaean *Portrait of the Buddha Jesus*: Identifying a Twelfth- or Thirteenth-century Chinese Painting from the Collection of Seiyun-ji Zen Temple,” *Artibus Asiae* 69/1 (2009) 91–145; see Figs. 1, 11, and 13.

4 Zsuzsanna Gulácsi, “The Life of Jesus according to the *Diatessaron* in Early Manichaean Art and Text.” *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 22 (2008/2012): 143–169 and color plates 2–4.

discernable from this cycle show “*Judas Paid by Caiaphas*” and “*Foot Washing*.” With the help of an enlarged reproduction, we can clearly see a blue background and a pair of figures interacting as they face one another in each vignette (Fig. 11.1a). In the vignette on the left, both figures are standing. The one on the right wears a headdress, while the other figure does not. In the vignette on the right, we can make out a man standing and another squatting in front of him. A digitally enhanced reproduction, in which only the blue backgrounds and the gold frames were reconstructed while the figures remained untouched, makes their contents discernable with greater ease (Fig. 11.1b). Somewhat easier to see is the vignette on the right. In it, the standing figure is shown lifting his right arm and his right leg. The squatting figure is touching the lifted leg with both hands. Both figures appear to be nude or semi-nude. Familiarity with the biblical narrative allows us to interpret this somewhat enigmatic scene as a depiction of the “*Foot Washing*” episode well-known from the Gospel of John (11:1) reduced to the two main characters: Jesus and Peter. In the vignette on the left, the figure with the headgear wears a red-orange robe and holds a large bowl in front of his chest. The other figure seems to be lesser ranking, since he is shown without headgear and from a profile view. He also wears a cloak, hanging from his right shoulder as he reaches towards the bowl, as if he is about to take (or has just taken) something out of it. Bits of gold flakes visible in the interior of the bowl suggest that it (and/or its contents) was gilded. In association with the previously identified scene, these clues bring to mind another biblical episode—Judas being paid for his betrayal of Jesus. This preliminary identification seems to be supported by the distinct headdress, which may signal here the Jewish high priest, Caiaphas. If so, the event familiar from the Gospel of Matthew (26:14) may be shown here abridged again to the minimal number of figures: Judas and the high priest, Caiaphas. Therefore, this scene may be titled “*Judas Paid by Caiaphas*.” There are, however, problems with the assumption that these two scenes reflect the canonical gospels. Their sequence, just as the nude (or semi-nude) bodies in the iconography in one of the scenes, is clearly not biblical. They reflect an alternative narration of Jesus’ life story used by the religious community that created this work of art. The Manichaeans are well known for their employment of one such account—Tatian’s *Diatessaron*.

The *Diatessaron* (Gr. διὰ τεσσάρων, lit. ‘through four’) is the earliest known gospel harmony, dating from the 170s CE. Composed in Syriac, probably by the early Christian writer Tatian (ca. 120–180 CE), this text remained the standard gospel text in the Syriac-speaking part of the Christian world until the late 5th century. The Manichaeans were exposed to Tatian’s work most likely already during the life of Mani in the Mesopotamian phase of their history.

Subsequently, they were noted for a continued use and preservation of the *Diatessaron* especially in the Latin-speaking part of the Roman Empire until the late 5th century.⁵ Direct quotations from Tatian's prose, given in Parthian translation in an East Central Asian Manichaean text, confirm a continued use of the *Diatessaron* until the early 11th century.⁶ Therefore, the identification of a Manichaean painting with a diatessaronic account of Jesus' life is especially relevant. Moreover, these scenes provide the very first pictorial evidence for a Jesus narrative among the Manichaeans. Although painted sometime during the 10th century in East Central Asia, these scenes do not show signs of local artistic influence. Instead, they maintain a visual language and a painting style with distinctly West Asian origin, suggesting that a tradition of making and using didactic art was preserved in these diatessaronic Jesus narratives from an earlier phase of Manichaean history that took place in West Asia between the 3rd and 6th centuries. As pointed out in a previous publication, the two vignettes surviving from the Manichaean narration of Jesus' life correspond with a passage preserved in the Arabic translation of Tatian's *Diates-*

5 In a series of studies between 1968 and 1993, Gilles Quispel argues that it was the Manichaeans who preserved the most authentic version of Tatian's *Diatessaron* in the West (see e.g., "A Diatessaron Reading in a Latin Manichaean Codex," *VigChr* 47/4 [1993] 374–378). Unlike the *Diatessaron* in Syriac Christian use, where its content was gradually brought into greater alignment with the standard texts of the Greek gospels, the Manichaean version of the *Diatessaron* in the Latin west remained "archaic" and "wild," since the Manichaeans were under no pressure to "vulgarize" or "domesticate" it. For a summary of Quispel's argument, see William Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron: Its Significance, Dissemination, Significance and History of Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 282, 336, and 441.

6 Among the East Central Asian Manichaean manuscript fragments discovered at Kocho, three are known today to be diatessaronic. All three deal with the Passion of Christ, and are written in Parthian language with Manichaean script on non-illuminated codex folia. The two smaller fragments, labeled M 6005 and M 18, quote two passages from the *Diatessaron* that cover Jesus addressing his disciples before his death and the women arriving at Jesus' tomb, respectively. More interesting for us is the largest fragment, M 4570. Its diatessaronic content was famously identified by Werner Sundermann in one of his first publications on Iranian Manichaean literature that appeared in 1968. Sundermann's revised interpretation of M 4570 is incorporated into his study of the *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts* published in 1981; see Werner Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients*: BTT 8 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973), 106–108; and William L. Petersen, "An Important Unnoticed Diatessaronic Reading in Turfan Fragment M 18," in: *Text and Testimony: Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A.F.J. Klijn*, edited by T. Baarda et al. (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1988), 187–192.

saron.⁷ This Arabic text is considered to be the best witness to the sequence of Tatian's original.⁸ The passage relevant for us (44:6–44:21) can be divided into three episodes. In the first, Judas goes to the temple to talk to Caiaphas and others, who give him thirty pieces of silver for his betrayal of Jesus (44:6–44:9),⁹ depicted in scene 1 (Fig. 11.2, left side). This episode is followed by a brief transitory sentence, in which the disciples ask Jesus what place he had in mind for the Passover dinner. Jesus' answer is omitted (44:10) and the scene is not depicted.¹⁰ The next and more substantial episode relates how Jesus washed

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- 7 The critical edition of the Arabic translation of the Syriac original by Abul-Farag Abdallah ibn at-Tayyib (d. 1043) was published in French by A.S. Marmarji, (*Diatessaron de Tatien: texte arabe établi, traduit en français, collationné avec les anciennes versions syriaques, suivi d'un évangélaire diatessarique syriaque et accompagné de quatre planches hors texte* (Beyrouth, Imprimerie Catholique, 1935). The English translation quoted above is after J. Hamlyn Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ Ever Compiled from the Four Gospels: Being The Diatessaron of Tatian, Literally Translated from the Arabic Version and Containing the Four Gospels Woven into One Story* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark: 1910; reprint, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2001). As noted in the preface of Hill's translation (x), his English text was based on the Latin translation that appeared as the preface to the first publication of the Arabic text in the late nineteenth century (Augustino Ciasca, *Tatiani evangeliorum harmoniae Arabice* [Romae, Ex typographia Polyglotta, 1888). Hill's chapter and verse numbers are identical with that of the French text in Marmarji.
- 8 Although the 11th century Arabic translation was made from an already Vulgatzied Syriac text of Tatian, it is highly regarded today for accurately preserving the *Diatessaron's* sequence. The most important Eastern witness is the extensive commentary written by Ephrem Syrus (d. 373) due to its early date and diction, since Ephrem also writes in Syriac. In his commentary, Ephrem quotes and/or discusses the contents of a 4th century version of Tatian's text (William L. Petersen, "Tatian's Diatessaron," in: *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development*, ed. Helmut Koester [London: SCM Press, 1990], 408–409—note that in this publication the author's name was printed as "William L. Peterson"). Ephrem's text, however, does not include the "Judas Paid" and the "Transition" (with the disciples' question about supper) before commenting on the "Foot Washing."
- 9 *Judas paid in Advance* (44:6–44:9): "And Satan entered into Judas surnamed Iscariot, who was one of the number of the twelve. And he went away, and had a conversation in the temple with the chief priests and scribes and rulers, saying unto them, What are ye willing to give me, and I will deliver him unto you? And they, when they heard it, were glad, and they appointed him thirty silver drachmas. And he promised them: and from that time he sought opportunity to deliver Jesus without the multitudes" (Marmarji, *Diatessaron de Tatien*, 419; and Hill, *Earliest Life of Christ*, 178).
- 10 *Transition from Judas paid to Foot Washing* (44:10): "And on the first day of the feast of unleavened bread, the disciples came to Jesus, and said to him, Where wilt thou that we go and make ready for thee that thou mayest eat the Passover?" (Marmarji, *Diatessaron de Tatien*, 421–423; and Hill, *Earliest Life of Christ*, 178).

Peter's feet, knowing that not all of the disciples were entirely clean and Judas was ready to betray him (44:11–44:21),¹¹ depicted in scene 2 (Fig. 11.2, right side).

The technical details of illumination on this fragment reflect features of the so-called “West Asian fully painted style of Uygur Manichaean art.” As with many other Manichaean manuscript fragments from Kocho, the surface damage of the paper folia allows us to see the stages of the painter's work.¹² Accordingly, we can see bits of the untouched *blank paper surface* on areas where colors or gold leaf have vanished. Remnants from the *underdrawing*, formed by thicker red-violet lines that were drawn directly onto the blank paper surface, are revealed from beneath vanished paint or gold leaf. Bits from *fully painted figures* (plants, objects, garments, and human beings) and the *red-violet contour lines*, which framed their features, are often discernible against remnants of the blue background.¹³ The understanding of these techniques of the Manichaean

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- 11 *Foot washing with Jesus in loincloth & Peter's protest* (44:11–44:21): “Now before the feast of the passover Jesus knew that the hour was come that he should depart out of this world unto his Father, and he loved his own in this world, and he loved them unto the end. And at supper time, Satan having put into the heart of Judas, the son of Simon Iscariot, to betray him, and *Jesus*, knowing that the Father had delivered all things into his hands, and that he came forth from the Father, and was going unto the Father, rose from supper and *laid aside his garments; he took a towel, and girded his loins*. And he *poured water into the basin*, and began to wash his disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he had girded his loins. And when he was come to Simon Cephas, Simon said to him, Lord, dost thou wash my feet? Jesus answered, and said to him, What I do now thou knowest not; but thou shalt know hereafter. *Simon said to him, Thou shalt never wash my feet*. Jesus saith unto him, If I wash thee not, thou shalt have no part with me. Simon Cephas said unto him, Then, Lord, wash not my feet only, but also my hands and head. Jesus said unto him, He that is bathed needeth not save to wash his feet; then he is entirely clean; and ye are clean, but not all. For Jesus knew who was his betrayer; therefore he said, Ye are not all clean” (Marmarji, *Diatessaron de Tatien*, 421; and Hill, *Earliest Life of Christ*, 179).
- 12 On the techniques of Manichaean book painting, including a discussion on the differences between the lines of the under-drawings and contour drawing in the “West Asian Fully Painted Style of Manichaean Art,” see Zsuzsanna Gulácsi “Reconstructing Manichaean Book Paintings through the Techniques of Their Makers,” in: *The Light and the Darkness: Studies in Manichaeism and its World*, ed. by P. Mirecki and J. BeDuhn, NHMS 50 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 105–127; and Zsuzsanna Gulácsi, *Mediaeval Manichaean Book Art. A Codicological Study of Iranian and Turkic Illuminated Book Fragments from 8th–nth Century East Central Asia*, NHMS 57 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 106–116.
- 13 For a detailed discussion, see Gulácsi, “Dating the ‘Persian’ and Chinese Style Remains of Uygur Manichaean Art: A New Radiocarbon Date and Its Implications for Central Asian Art History,” *Arts Asiatiques* 58 (2003) 12–19.

painter is essential for deciphering what is left from the iconography of these fragmentary paintings.

The basic textual and codicological contents of the torn double-sided paper piece that retains these vignettes have been examined, catalogued, and published together with color facsimiles.¹⁴ These studies revealed that we are dealing with a fragmentary codex folio of a now lost, relatively large and luxurious illuminated Uygur Manichaean hymnbook. The folio was adorned with a total of three figural compositions (two scenes that share the page on the recto, and one intracolumnar on the verso) painted on lapis lazuli backgrounds and, at least one of them, framed with gilded borders. A pair of reconstruction diagrams captures effectively the surviving codicological data and its interpretation regarding the original layout of these two subsequent codex pages (Fig. 11.3). The placement of the pictorial program within the overall folio layout on these two pages is analogous to other examples. As was customary in East Central Asian Manichaean book art, these pages contained sideways-oriented figural compositions that were positioned systematically with the heads of the figures closer to the outer margins of the codex pages.

The two poorly preserved larger compositions on M1K III 4967a (the one large scene on the recto and the intracolumnar scene on the verso) showed figures on lotus supports, often seen in Manichaean book illumination of East Central Asia. Examples of analogous lotus plants are numerous. They tend to grow out of a central pool of water, with gilded leafy stems spreading across the painting and concluding in open lotus flowers that hold standing or seated figures and sometimes altar displays.¹⁵ The lotus plants, and their use as supports for displaying figures, as well as a diagram-like arrangement of the figures, all allude to East Central Asian pictorial features. While they are characteristic of Manichaean art in the region, they are also used in Buddhist art along the Silk Routes. Due to the lack of such local motifs, however, the rest of the pictorial program on this folio (the third, smaller scene formed by the vignettes narrat-

14 Mary Boyce, *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the Berlin Turfan Collection* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1960), 142. Zsuzsanna Gulácsi, "Identifying the Corpus of Manichaean Art," in: *The Light and the Darkness* (note 12), 177–215; Zsuzsanna Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections: A Comprehensive Catalogue*. CFM, Series Archaeologica et Iconographica 1 (Türhout: Brepols, 2001), 124–125 and 237; and Gulácsi, *Mediaeval Manichaean Book Art* (note 12), 176, Tabs. 5/10 and 5/11.

15 As seen on the pictorial scroll fragment, M1K III 4975, that shows elects standing on lotus supports; and on the intracolumnar painting of the bifolio fragment, M1K III 8259 folio 1(?) recto, where an altar stands on a lotus support (Gulácsi, *Mediaeval Manichaean Book Art* [note 12], Figs. 5/25 and 2/3, respectively).

ing the Life of Jesus) is distinctly different from the visual language of the two larger scenes.

In light of our current knowledge of Central Asian Manichaean codicology, it is clear that the row of vignettes narrating the life of Jesus did not provide a visual rendition of the cantillated hymn preserved on the verso. Instead, the paintings functioned as appropriate adornments that made this Manichaean hymnbook a luxury item, suited for use in elite settings. Lack of full harmony (in terms of orientation and contextual cohesion) between the written and painted message on this folio, just as on other Manichaean illuminated folia from Kocho, suggests that the images preserved on this folio, especially the Diatessaronic narration of the life of Jesus, did not originate in the physical context of this illuminated hymn-book, but were copied there from another medium. I suggest, that their diatessaronic narrative cycle originated in a solely pictorial didactic medium, which was a collection of images known as the *Picture* in early Manichaean texts (Syr. *tzwr̄t* and *yukna*, Copt. *hikon*, Gr. *eikon*, Parth. *ārdahang*, and MPers. *nigar*), used as a visual display (a portable pictorial tableau) to supplement oral instruction. The subjects covered included teachings on the life of Jesus as attested in early Manichaean sources, including sermons given by Mani himself.¹⁶ The archaic iconography of this Manichaean narrative painting, where in one of the scenes Jesus is shown without a halo (analogously to his depictions surviving from the 240s at Dura-Europos in North Mesopotamia) also points to the early/Mesopotamian phase (3rd–6th centuries CE) of Manichaean history as the ultimate context of origin of the *Life of Jesus* cycle surviving from Kocho.

Three Enthroned Jesus Images

A relatively well-preserved Manichaean painting of a deity from Kocho has been identified recently as an enthroned image of Jesus (MIK III 6286, side 2[?], upper register, Fig. 11.4a).¹⁷ Despite its fragmentary condition, this scene

16 As seen in *Kephalaion* 12 (Iain Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary*, NHMS 37 [Leiden: Brill, 1995], xviii–xix). For a detailed discussion, see Gulácsi, “The Life of Jesus according to the Diatessaron in Early Manichaean Art and Text” (note 4).

17 This is one of six fragmentary scenes in East Central Asian Manichaean art whose subjects are preserved well enough to confirm that they are iconic depictions of deities. Although all six share compositional and iconographic similarities, they divide into two distinct sets in terms of their media and painting styles. The first set consists of two book paint-

retains all essential clues needed for comprehending its original iconography. With the aid of a digitally reconstructed version of the painting, we may discern what was depicted on it with greater ease (Fig. 11.4b). The image features a male deity seated on a flat, bench-like throne, flanked by two small-scale male elects sitting on their heels. His figure is enclosed by two sets of halos with a red base, yellow (gold-like) periphery, and red contour. His body is shown with a pointed black beard, dressed in a red robe with a white cloak wrapped around his shoulders and folded in his lap. His cloak is decorated with a golden border and four insignia.¹⁸ In this case, the insignia are formed by small squares defined by double lines that enclose an unadorned interior. The left hand holds the cloak together in front of the body (this very gesture is also made by the Jesus figure on the second surviving enthroned Jesus image, see Fig. 11.7a). The right hand is raised in a communicative pose in front of the chest as seen on the Chinese Manichaean Jesus painting (discussed as the last image of this study, see Fig. 11.11).¹⁹

The identification of this East Central Asian Manichaean enthroned bearded deity as Jesus has been argued based on its iconographic correspondence with

ings, found on the two sides of a torn codex folio (MIK III 4965); see Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* (note 14), 103–107. On each side, the paper sheet shows the central area of a full-page book painting with a deity in an elaborate setting depicted with Sassanian-looking iconography in the “West Asian style of Uygur Manichaean art.” The second set consists of four textile paintings preserved as subscenes on two double-sided temple banners (MIK III 6283 and MIK III 6286); Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* (note 14), 176–181. Although the latter four are in the “Chinese style of Uygur Manichaean art,” their iconography also reflects Sassanian features, suggesting local artistic adaptations of traditional Manichaean subjects established prior to the East Central Asian phase of this religion.

18 Jorinde Ebert also notes the four squares on the cloak (“*Segmentum and Clavus in Manichaean Garments of the Turfan Oasis*,” in: *Turfan Revisited: The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road*, edited by M. Yaldiz and P. Zieme [Berlin: Reimer Verlag, 2004], 72), only fragments of which remain visible at the right shoulder and the left knee of the figure.

19 Although the area of the cloth where the right hand was painted is damaged, the parts preserved are highly informative. They include the thumb, which is held to the side, curving back towards the chest. Next to it, the first finger is raised, pointing upwards. Since there is no trace of the second finger along the side of the first one, it is most likely that the second finger was bent. The third finger seems to be indicated along the area of the palm by a horizontal line, suggesting that this finger was bent. Finally, the fourth finger was most likely straight, because it is not shown bent along the area of the fully retained palm.

a Chinese Manichaean Jesus painting (see discussion below at Fig. 11.11).²⁰ The comparative iconographic analysis of the two paintings led to two conclusions. First, these Uyghur and Chinese Jesus paintings demonstrate the continued existence of depictions of Jesus as a solo deity among the Manichaeans. Second, their comparison drew attention to the fact that the image of the enthroned Jesus from Kocho (seated on a backless, ornate platform-chair with his knees apart) employs a Jesus iconography free from any East Central Asian and/or Buddhist influence. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that its Jesus iconography did not originate during the Uyghur phase of Manichaean history, but derived from an even earlier phase of this religion that took place in the western part of the Asian continent.

An analogous composition of a solo deity is found on the other side of the painting depicting another principal figure of the Manichaean pantheon (Fig. 11.5a). Here, most likely the Light Maiden²¹ is shown seated on a backless, ornate platform-chair with her knees apart in a manner of Sasanid royalty—in a setting and arrangement identical to that of the Jesus scene.²² Bits of color allude to a mandorla and a halo around her upper body and head similar in size and shape to those of Jesus. This figure, however, seems to be a female, who holds a book in her palms resting in her lap. A unique element in her iconography is a set of small females heads, which in this case may represent the Light (i.e., particles of Light, possibly symbolized through the heads of the maidens of Light) or the Maidens of Light themselves in Manichaean art.²³

20 For the detailed of this comparison, see discussion of Fig. 11.11. For a diagram of comparison, see Gulácsi, “A Manichaean *Portrait of the Buddha Jesus*” (note 3), Fig. 14.

21 A study on the Manichaean artistic representations of this principal Manichaean deity is yet to be written. For the assessment of the textual sources on this figure, see publications by Werner Sundermann (“Die Jungfrau der guten Taten,” in: P. Gignoux, ed., *Recurrent Patterns in Iranian Religions from Mazdaism to Sufism*, [Paris: Association pour l’avancement des études iraniennes, 1992], 159–173) and Alois van Tongerloo (“Manichaean Female Deities” in: *Manicheismo e Oriente cristiano antico. Atti del Terzo Congresso Internazionale di studi, Arcavacata di Rende-Amantea 31 agosto–5 settembre 1993*, edited by L. Cirillo and A. van Tongerloo [Turnhout: Brepols, 1997], 361–374).

22 Previous studies suggest that the image might represent a “high-ranking personality of the church or a saviour figure [...]. It seems not impossible that the central figure represents Mani himself” (H.-J. Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy*, *Iconography of Religions* 20 [Leiden: Brill, 1982], 44; also see Albert von Le Coq, *Chotscho: Facsimile-Wiedergabe der wichtigeren Funde der ersten Königlich Preussischen Expedition nach Turfan in Ost-Turkistan* [Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1913; reprint, Graz: Akademie Druck, 1973], discussion of Pt. 3a).

23 The possible symbolism of a small female head as the Light Maiden (i.e., the Virgin of

Three such heads are retained: two full heads on the left and one partial head on the right. Visible directly beneath the small heads, remnants of a curving red band forms the base of this crown. In this case, the angle and location of the small female heads and the red band do not indicate a halo, but a hovering oversized crown. The curving base of this crown is analogous to that of a crown preserved on a Manichaean book painting from Kocho.²⁴ The relatively well-preserved pictorial data in the image of the *Enthroned Light Maiden* can be digitally reconstructed in light of other examples of Manichaean art, allowing us to readily comprehend the visual language of this painting (Fig. 11.5b).²⁵

Light), specifically in the insignia of ceremonial garments depicted in Uyghur Manichaean art, was first considered by Jorinde Ebert (“*Segmentum* and *Clavus*” [note 18], 77). In Coptic Manichaean sources, the description of several deities, but especially the Third Messenger, includes a reference to the so-called “Twelve Maidens of Light” around certain deities, which may be captured in a halo as seen on MİK III 4965 recto (Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* [note 14], 104). Textual sources are silent on the Light Maiden in this regard. Her iconography surviving in Uyghur Manichaean art includes eighteen small female heads, as seen on her digitally reconstructed image (Fig. 11.5b) and on a gilded and embroidered silk fragment (MİK III 6251) that depicts the Light Maiden with the remnants of 18 small female heads in her halo (discussed as a comparative example in Gulácsi, “Reconstructing Manichaean Book Paintings through the Techniques of their Makers: The Case of the ‘Work of the Religion’ Scene,” in: *The Light and the Darkness* [note 12], 122–123). Future studies must propose an explanation of what the eighteen small heads symbolize in her hovering crown or halo. Since the Light Maiden is depicted also in Chinese Manichaean art (see Yutaka Yoshida, “A newly recognized Manichaean painting: Manichaean Daēnā from Japan,” in: *Pensée grecque et sagesse d’Orient: Hommage à Michel Tardieu*, ed. M.A. Amir-Moezzi et al [Turnhout: Brepols, 2009], 697–714; and “A Manichaean Painting from Ningbo: On the Religious Affiliation of the so-called *Rokudōzu* of the Museum Yamato Bunkakan,” *Yamato Bunka* 118 [2009] 9–10), a better understanding of her iconography will undoubtedly be aided by the study of Eastern Manichaean pictorial and textual sources.

24 For an illustration of the hovering crown on MİK III 4965 recto, as well as an enlarged photo of the female heads in the crown-halo on MİK III 6286 side 1(?), see Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* (note 14), Fig. 45.2 and Fig. 81.3, respectively.

25 The sources and stages of all digital reconstruction mentioned in this study will be discussed in the appendix of a forthcoming publication (Zsuzsanna Gulácsi, *Mani’s Picture-Book: Searching for a Late Antique Mesopotamian Pictorial Roll & its Mediaeval Transformation in Central and East Asian Art*, NHMS, [Leiden: E.J. Brill]), analogously to those of the “Work of the Religion” Scene, that was published as the first example from among a larger set of images, see Zsuzsanna Gulácsi, “An Experiment in Digital Reconstruction with a Manichaean Book Painting,” in: *New Light on Manichaeism: Proceedings of the 6th International Congress of Manichaean Studies, Aug. 1–5, 2005, Flagstaff, Arizona*, edited by J. BeDuhn, NHMS 64 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 145–168.

Based on the retained portion of the red band, as well as the size of the small heads, the total 18 heads were part of her crown (twelve on its upper/outer part and six on its lower/inner part). The reconstruction of the hovering crown confirms that the shape of this painting was rectangular (close to a square) and thus, the upper register of this banner was not triangular as assumed previously in light of Buddhist analogies.²⁶ The identification of this deity as *The Light Maiden* is supported by her being mentioned together with Jesus in Coptic Manichaean literature.²⁷ This reoccurring element of her iconography (also shown in her halo in other images from Kocho) seems to be captured through the hovering crown formed by the small female heads in this painting.

The enthroned images of Jesus and the Light Maiden are employed as secondary compositions on the two sides of a Manichaean temple banner (MIK III 6286) housed in the collection of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Fig. 11.6). The main registers of the banner feature a female elect (identified by a cartouche stating: “the image of the princess, Busush”) on side 1(?), and an elegantly attired laywoman (member of the Uygur ruling elite) on side 2(?). The significantly smaller upper registers contain the two deities. Since Jesus and the Light Maiden are connected to the after-life in Manichaean literature,²⁸ it is possible that this banner served a function in a funerary ritual in honor of the actual members of the local Manichaean community depicted in the main portion of the banner (the female elect, Princess Bushus, and an unnamed lay Manichaean court lady). This plausible function of the banner would accord with the noted clues regarding an on-demand modification of

26 For a reconstruction drawing of the banner in light of Buddhist analogies, see Le Coq, *Chotscho* (note 22), discussion of Taf. 3.

27 For the survey of the Coptic sources, where Jesus the Splendor and the Light Maiden are mentioned together, see Paul Van Lindt, *The Names of Manichaean Mythological Figures: A Comparative Study on Terminology in the Coptic Sources* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992), 141 and 174.

28 Much of Manichaean devotional literature on Jesus focuses most his role as the redeemer of souls, coming to meet the departed dead. In both Coptic and Iranian funerary hymns, Jesus is hoped to guide the departed souls into paradise (see Majella Franzmann, *Jesus in the Manichaean Writings* [London: T. & T. Clark, 2003], 42; and Jason BeDuhn, “The Manichaean Jesus,” in: *Alternative Christs*, edited by Olav Hammer [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009], 62–63). For the Light Maiden’s role in judgment after death as depicted in Chinese Manichaean art, see Yoshida, “A newly recognized Manichaean painting” (note 23), 700–701; and Zsuzsanna Gulácsi, “A Visual Sermon on Mani’s Teaching of Salvation: A Contextualized Reading of a Chinese Manichaean Silk Painting in the Collection of the Yamato Bunkakan in Nara, Japan,” *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* 23 (2008) 1–16.

the original design in the main register, as documented by the underdrawing (or repainting) of the main section on side 2(?), where the faint shapes of the headgear and mustache of a male elect are visible beneath the orange-red background and the face of the regally attired laywoman.²⁹

Two additional *Enthroned Jesus* images seem to be preserved on another Manichaean temple banner discovered at Kocho (Fig. 11.7). In the later two cases, however, we are dealing with two more fragmentary and thus, non-reconstructable paintings. Nevertheless, they both retain enough pictorial data for us to notice their correspondences (i.e., overall composition, and the positioning and garments of the figures) to the better-preserved *Enthroned Jesus* image discussed above. One of the two fragmentary paintings, which I interpret as a second *Enthroned Jesus* image, is found on side 1(?) of the banner that was photographed and published in 1913 (Fig. 11.7a). At that time, the torso of the seated deity was still preserved on a loose and subsequently lost portion of the banner's upper edge. Here we can see a familiar set of garments (red robe, white cloak with gold border) and beard that concludes in a point at mid-chest. The right hand assumes a communicative gesture holding the elbow close to the torso while the lower arm was raised. The left hand clenches the gathered folds of the white robe's golden hem centered in front of the torso. The halo, the head, and the right hand of the figure were missing already in 1913. Bits of the mandorla, however, were retained along the torso, as reflected in the digitally reconstructed lower two-third of the scene (Fig. 11.7b). The photo of side 2(?) of the fragment was not included in the 1913 publication and does not survive in Berlin. Today, this side of the banner preserves only the lower third of the original upper image (Fig. 11.7c). It shows a composition and set of garments familiar from the previous two Jesus paintings, raising the probability that originally this scene featured a third *Enthroned Jesus* image discovered from Kocho.³⁰

The latter two *Enthroned Jesus* images are preserved in the upper register of another, longer, Manichaean temple banner fragment (MIK III 6283) in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Fig. 11.8). The main section of this banner features a male elect on a red-orange background on each side. The upper section shows an enthroned Jesus on each side. Regarding

29 For the catalogue description and the inscription of the banner, see Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* (note 14), 178–181 and 244.

30 The similarity of the deities in the upper register of the two banners were noted in previous studies and hypothesized to be depictions of Mani by Klimkeit, who discussed the deities depicted on MIK III 6286 side 1(?) and side 2(?), and the Le Coq reproduction of MIK III 6283 side 1(?), see Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy* (note 22), 44.

the overall structure, this banner fragment is more complete since it retains its lower half. This lower unit is a double-sided, un-plastered piece of red-orange dyed ramie that is decorated with printed floral motifs. This piece of cloth helped to weigh down the banner, as seen in the overall designs of the better-known Buddhist banners of the region. Nevertheless, we cannot assume that the double-sided Manichaean banners of Kocho were identical in their designs to the Buddhist banners of the region. As pointed out above, unlike the triangular shape of the upper units that may show seated Buddha and/or Bodhisattva figures in the Buddhist banners, the two examples of Manichaean banners contained rectangular-shape units above the main section of the banners. It is possible that these banners concluded without triangular upper units. The depiction of the Jesus figure above the elect on the two sides of this banner may also indicate a funerary function, since Jesus is often evoked in Manichaean funerary hymns, as noted earlier. Due to their thematic analogies, the religious function of this banner seems to be identical to that of the above discussed, shorter Manichaean banner fragment. It is possible that the passing of the elects and laymen depicted and identified in the main sections was commemorated in a ritual that involved the evocation of Jesus and/or the Light Maiden both orally through the singing of hymns and in art through their depictions on these banners.

Considered together, the four enthroned deities preserved on the two Manichaean banners (Figs. 11.4a, 11.4b, 11.7a, and 11.7b) form a unique pictorial group in terms of their style and technique of execution. They were painted in the so-called "Chinese fully painted style of Uygur Manichean art," just as are the main scenes of the banners. The liberal use of red-orange and green colors, as well as the outlining of the figures in black, characterizes their manner of painting.³¹ It is undoubted that local, East Central Asian artists trained in the Chinese tradition (but not necessarily ethnically Chinese) painted both banners. Despite the technical characteristics of their craft, the pictorial vocabulary of the four scenes in the upper registers does not follow a Chinese character. The blue background, the frontality of the projection of the deities' faces and the bodies, the positioning of their bodies, as well as their platform seats indicate a Sasanid origin. The use of the red for the robe is also significant, since Jesus was shown wearing long red robes on the earliest surviving Christian depictions from across the Roman Empire.³² Since the iconography of these four images

31 Gulácsi, "Dating the 'Persian' and Chinese Style Remains of Uygur Manichaean Art" (note 13), 24–29.

32 As seen for example on the 4th century apse mosaics located in the church of Santa

do not contain East Central Asian and/or Buddhist motifs, it seems reasonable to assume that the composition featuring these deities was not invented in East Central Asia between the 8th and 11th centuries, but was developed centuries before somewhere in West Asia by a Manichaean artist, who employed the visual vocabulary of late ancient Iranian art to communicate his subjects.³³

Jesus Depicted within a Diagram of the Primary Prophets

A Jesus figure, identified by his cross-terminating staff resting on his left shoulder, was incorporated into a larger composition that depicted the Primary Prophets of Manichaeism (Fig. 11.9a). This fragment was discovered at Kocho but survives only through a line drawing made as part of the records of the German expeditions and published by Le Coq in 1923 together with a detailed description of the coloring and gilding on this now lost high-quality silk painting. The Manichaean origin of this fragment is indicated by the combination of its site of origin (Ruin κ), its technical traits (the use of ultramarine blue, gold leaf, and the “West Asian fully painted style of Uyгур Manichaean art”), and most importantly by its subject, which corresponds with a recognizable Manichaean theme, what we may label as the “Primary Prophets.”³⁴

The Primary Prophets are the founders of religious traditions known to and respected by Mani. Their discussion as antecedents to Mani is a uniquely

Pudenziana in Rome (Gulácsi, “A Manichaean *Portrait of the Buddha Jesus*” [note 3], 136–137).

- 33 Although the preliminary exploration of this claim was presented in my paper given at the *VIth International Congress of Manichaean Studies* (September 8–14, 2009) in Dublin, Ireland; due to the length, illustration needs, and the comparative nature of its details, my argument will appear in a separate study that is devoted exclusively to the exploration of the Iranian roots of Manichaean Jesus iconography.
- 34 Both Albert von Le Coq (*Die manichäischen Miniaturen*. Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien 2 [Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1923; reprint, Graz: Akademie Druck, 1978], 25–26) and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit (*Manichaean Art and Calligraphy* [note 22], 43) considered the textile fragment preserved through this line drawing to be a Manichaean depiction of Jesus. Nevertheless, because neither elects nor any “token motifs” are contained in it, this fragment has been labeled “unconfirmed Manichaean origin” in Gulácsi, “Identifying the Corpus” (note 14), 186; and *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* (note 14), 266. The recognition of a Manichaean pictorial subject (Primary Prophets) based on the analogy to the scene preserved on the scroll fragment with the Buddha (MIK III 4947 & III 5d), however, does confirm the previous Manichaean reading of this fragment by Le Coq and Klimkeit.

Manichaean theme discussed in Manichaean texts from both West and East Central Asia. In these texts, Mani is mentioned together with the founders of other religions whose teachings were relevant to Manichaeism. The East Central Asian versions of the texts name four other prophets, all of whose teachings were regarded to be subsumed into those of Mani. They include the antediluvian prophet, Seth; the Buddhist prophet, Shakyamuni; the Zoroastrian prophet, Zarathustra; and the Christian prophet, Jesus. A diagram of these prophets was depicted in Uyghur Manichaean art, as documented by two fragments, one of which is the now lost silk painting with the Jesus figure, while the other is a fragment of a solely pictorial handscroll with a Buddha figure, discussed as a comparative example below. As we shall see, both fragments retain pictorial data for a symmetrical composition that uses centrality and scale to communicate hierarchy—the four somewhat smaller forerunners surround a larger central figure, most likely Mani. This interpretation of the most likely arrangement of the figures in an Uyghur Manichaean painting is supported by a passage in the *Uyghur Manichaean Pothi-Book*, which mentions Mani and the four prophets: “You (Mani) descended after *the four prophets* (Uyg. *tört burkhan*).”³⁵

The pictorial content preserved by the line drawing of the now-lost silk fragment that shows the Jesus figure, taken together with Le Coq’s description of its features, permits the reconstruction of the original layout of this Manichaean painting (Fig. 11.9b). *Fragment a* provides data on the right side of the composition, confirming the location of two figures, who were enclosed in halos and mandorlas and seated on lotus seats beneath one another. The right edge of the scene is defined by a seam where a violet-colored silk border decorated with white rosette-like motifs made through wax-resist dyeing was attached. *Fragments b* and *c* contain bits from the left knees and mandorlas of two figures and belong to either those depicted along the right, or to two additional similar figures along the left edge of the image. *Fragments d* and *e* retain bits from a large-scale central figure and could not have been parts of the other four figures because of the larger mandorla, distinct lotus petals, and small-scale laymen preserved on them. The overall size of the reconstructed complete scene (ca. 90 cm × 70 cm) and its border (ca. 10 cm wide) suggest a vertical display of a single image framed in a decorative border, as seen on comparable remains of temple banners in the region.³⁶ The only prophet that can

35 See Larry Clark, “Manichaean Turkic Pothe-Book,” *AoF* 9 (1982) 183, lines 66, 188, 260–262.

36 Chhaya Bhattacharya-Haesner classes this as “Type C 11” (*Central Asian Temple Banners in the Turfan Collection of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin* [Berlin: Dietrich Reimer

be identified from among the four is Jesus, located at the lower right of the scene. Jesus is shown in a white garment seated cross-legged on a lotus support, holding over his left shoulder a staff topped by a cross with arms of equal length.³⁷

An analogous composition featuring the Primary Prophets can be seen on a second Uygur Manichaean fragment from Kocho. This scene is found on two exquisitely detailed, now matched, fragments of a scroll (MIK III 4974 & III 5d) in the collection of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Fig. 11.10a).³⁸ It is identified as Manichaean based on the correlation with specific token motifs and the use of the “West Asian fully painted style of Uygur Manichaean art.”³⁹ This fragment retains parts of the central being’s mandorla and one of the original four prophets, the historical Buddha. Shakyamuni is depicted here with an authentic Buddhist iconography and is identified by the word “Buddha” written vertically on his chest in the Parthian language (“B-U-T”) in the Sogdian script.⁴⁰ This Buddha figure belonged to the upper

Verlag, 2003], 39, 44–49). Examples discussed include MIK III 7458, MIK III 6340, and MIK III 6220 (ibid., 231, 258–259, and 71).

37 Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy* (note 22), 43.

38 This fragment was matched from two individual pieces. For the color facsimile and a detailed discussion, see Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* (note 14), 146–148, 240, 250. For a study of the codicological characteristics of illuminated scroll fragments and the interpretation of the original layout of this fragment, see Gulácsi, *Mediaeval Manichaean Book Art* (note 12), 88–93 and 185–188, respectively.

39 The motif of a gold disk is used with such frequency in Uygur Manichaean art that it has been considered a token motif for identification of this fragment, which is thought to be Manichaean on other grounds, too (Gulácsi, “Identifying the Corpus” [note 14], 197). Technical details in the depiction of the Buddha correspond to details seen in the execution of other Manichaean works of art in the fully painted version of the “West Asian style of Uygur Manichaean art,” which favored the use of an ultramarine-blue background and large quantities of gold in addition to a five-stage execution that concluded with the drawing of delicate details in red line onto the gold- and white-covered surfaces. For a detailed discussion, including the execution of the nose, the right hand, and the vine motif, see Gulácsi, “Dating the ‘Persian’ and Chinese Style Remains of Uygur Manichaean Art” (note 13) 12–15, 21–22, and Figs. 9c, 9d, 16d.

40 Larry Clark suggests that both the script and the language of the three-letter text are Sogdian (see Appendix 1, no. 66, in Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* [note 14], 240). This reading requires a minor correction. While the script is undoubtedly Sogdian, the language cannot be Sogdian, as was pointed out to me by Yutaka Yoshida (personal communication), because the noun *pwt-* is always supplemented with a *-y* in its nominative form, i.e., *pwt-y* “Buddha”; B. Gharib, *Sogdian Dictionary* (Teheran: Farhanghan Publications, 1995), 115, line 2929. Although this eliminates Sogdian as the language, it does

right section of a scene that was painted on a horizontal scroll (Fig. 11.10b). As indicated by bits of a mandorla seen at the lower left of Buddha, the original composition was organized around a large-scale central figure (most likely Mani) seated underneath a partially preserved canopy. In the portions of the composition now lost, the other three of the four figures (forerunners to Mani), including Jesus, were most likely shown.

The most likely interpretation for the arrangement of the prophets in these two compositions may be based on 4th century Coptic Manichaean sources. Those suggest a depiction, in which the central figure would have been not Mani but rather a mythological being, such as a supernatural messenger of God (i.e., the Light Nous).⁴¹ If so, a chronological pattern can be noticed in the placement of the four prophets. The location of the Buddha figure at the upper right (MIK III 4947 & III 5d, Fig. 11.10) and the Jesus figure in the lower right (seen on Le Coq's line drawing of unnumbered item, Fig. 11.9) seem to reveal a possible trend, since the relative chronology of the Buddha and Zarathustra is reflected in Manichaean sources.⁴² In accordance with the right-to-left reading direction of the Aramaic-type scripts used in Manichaean Central Asia, the positioning of the four prophets was probably right-to-left and top-to-bottom. Accordingly, (1) the historical Buddha—upper right, (2) Zarathustra—upper left, (3) Jesus—lower right, and (4) Mani—lower left. This arrangement would accord with the chronology of the primary prophets reflected in Mediterranean Manichaean textual records that name three prophets in addition to Mani, sometimes listing the historical Buddha earlier than Zarathustra, as seen for example in the introductory section of the *Kephalaia* (*Kephalaia* 7.18–8.7).⁴³

not mean that the connotation that Clark assigns to the word is wrong. The Sogdian script was used in East Central Asia from the eighth to the eleventh century to write Manichaean texts in a variety of other languages, including Parthian, Middle Persian, and Old Turkic (i.e., Old Uygur). The language of the inscription on the Buddha's chest is likely one of these, since the noun "Buddha" is *pwt* in Parthian and Middle Persian (Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* [Turnhout: Brepols, 2004], 118), as well as in Old Turkic (Sir Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972], 297).

41 See Gulácsi *Mediaeval Manichaean Book Art* (note 12), 185.

42 See Werner Sundermann, "Manichaean Traditions on the Date of the Historical Buddha," in: *Dating the Historical Buddha 1*, ed. H. Bechert (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 426–438.

43 See Iain Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* (note 16), 13.

Being an important part of the Manichaean doctrine, it is most likely that the subject of the Primary Prophets was depicted already in West Asia during the time of Mani, who was known to have used didactic images to illustrate oral instructions of his teachings. This hypothesis is supported by art historical evidence gained from the latter two pictorial fragments from Kocho. First, in the fragment with the Jesus figure, we see the use of the even-armed (“Greek”) cross that was widespread among the Christian communities of West Asia during the late ancient times and can be seen frequently as an attribute of Jesus in Early Christian art.⁴⁴ Second, both fragments (the one with Jesus and the other with the Buddha) were painted in a pictorial technique that has been referred to as “West Asian fully painted style of Uygur Manichaean art.” The techniques observed and materials used by the artists also indicate a deeply rooted tradition of depicting the subject of the Primary Prophets in Manichaean art. Nevertheless it is undoubted that these two painting of the Primary Prophets were made and used in Kocho and reflect local artistic trends as confirmed by certain elements of their iconography. These include the use of the lotus supports, the mandala-like overall design, as well as the portrayal of the Buddha figure with an accurate Buddhist iconography. While the latter features confirm that local innovations were introduced to the pictorial rendering of this subject in Kocho, they do not negate the possible archaic roots of the Primary Prophets theme in Manichaean art.

Jesus Depicted with the Cross of Light

A recently re-identified Chinese Jesus painting in the collection of the Seiun temple in Kōfu city (Yamanashi prefecture), Japan, represents a unique case of religious metamorphosis, for it has been used by three religions (Fig. 11.11). While both an ongoing Japanese Buddhist episode and a preceding Japanese Christian episode are evident in the recorded history of the image, its iconography reveals yet another, even earlier religious affiliation connected to its origin. With the aid of Manichaean textual and visual sources, I re-identified this rare devotional Chinese hanging scroll as a Chinese Manichaean work of art in a recent publication. I demonstrated there that despite the fact that this painting features a figure seated on a lotus pedestal with a cross statuette in his left hand, it is neither a Buddhist nor a Christian work of art for three reasons: first, it can be linked with contemporaneous textual and visual sources that

44 See Gulácsi, “A Manichaean *Portrait of the Buddha Jesus*” (note 3), 138–140.

support its creation and use in a Manichaean context; second, it displays iconographic and compositional continuity with earlier Manichaean art; and third, it depicts a Manichaean subject (the prophet Jesus, dressed in Manichaean garments) with symbols that allude to two fundamental Manichaean teachings: Dualism (signaled through the right hand gesture—which is the primary gesture in Manichaean art) and the concept of the Cross of Light (symbolized through the gold cross statuette held in the secondary, left hand of the figure). The teaching of Dualism and the concept of the Cross of Light are well documented throughout the history of this religion. Based on a contemporaneous inventory of paintings in the possession of a Manichaean temple in Wenzhou, I suggested that this hanging scroll may be titled *Yishu fo zhen* (Silk Painting of the Buddha [“Prophet”] Jesus).⁴⁵ Its attribution and identification help us to confirm that the Jesus subject had a long history in Manichaean devotional art, which now can be seen not only through numerous fragments from East Central Asia, but also an additional, exquisitely well preserved Manichaean painting from southern China.

This superb quality painting is a 153 centimeters high hanging scroll, depicting a monumental, solitary figure. From the naturally aged, dark-brown fibers

45 In order to communicate its teachings to the local culture in China, the Manichaean mission adopted Chinese Buddhist terminology, in which there is only one word, *fo*, to capture two concepts typically distinguished in religious studies: a human authority and a mythological being. Although *fo* derived from the phonetic transcription of the Sanskrit “Buddha,” in a Chinese Buddhist context it is used not only for the historical Buddha (Shakyamuni), but also for other venerated historical human authorities (such as the Buddhas of the past and future, e.g., Dingguang fo, Sk. Dīpamkara) and for non-historical mythological beings (such as the celestial Buddhas, e.g., Amituo fo, Sk. Amitabha). Likewise, when the Manichaeans use *fo*, the term functions as a title (“buddha”) connoting any being who is venerated by the community, whether a historical authority (“prophet”) or mythological being (“deity” or “god”). In either case, a literal translation of *fo* as “buddha,” which I retain as the conventional translation, may give an unintended, falsely syncretistic impression that disregards the contextual Manichaean meaning. From the view of religious studies, the contextually accurate Manichaean meaning of *fo* is either “prophet,” “god,” or “deity.” See Peter Bryder, *The Chinese Transformation of Manichaeism: A Study of Chinese Manichaean Terminology* (Löberöd: Bokförlaget Plus Ultra, 1985), 81; and “Problems Concerning the Spread of Manichaeism from One Culture to the Other,” in: *Studia Manichaica: II. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus*, ed. Gernot Wiesser and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992), 334–341, esp. 339; as well as Samuel Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1992), 252. For the analogous use of the Uyгур term *burxan* (“Buddha”) in reference to “the Prophet Mani,” see Larry Clark, “Manichaean Turkic Pothi-Book,” *AoF* 9 (1982): 152.

of the medieval Chinese silk, glittering lines of gold and various colors illuminate the subject against the undefined blank background. The lower half is filled by an elaborate pedestal, a multilayered hexagonal stand supporting a lotus with lush sets of petals that open in five orderly rings. Each petal evokes the form of a miniature altar. The upper half is occupied by a cloaked deity seated with crossed legs and hands held close to one another in front of the chest. The prominent halo around the head is supplemented by the faint outline of a large mandorla that frames the body and reaches upwards, where a tasseled canopy concludes the image along the top edge of the cloth. Aside from the exquisite details, this powerful image documents the mastery of its maker through a sophisticated composition that makes the gold cross statuette the most prominent element within this work of art.

The dating of this Chinese Manichaean Jesus image is somewhat problematic. In 2006, Takeo Izumi dated the image to the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368 CE).⁴⁶ While the primary goal of my 2009 study was not to solve the problem of exact dating, since that would require extensive stylistic comparisons preferably considered together with some form of accurate dating (such as dates from scientific evidence or inscriptions), I found it important to note that Izumi's stylistic observations allude to the possibility of an earlier, Southern Song-dynasty (1127–1279) date. Based on a stylistic comparison with 11th- and 12th century images, I argued for a 12th or 13th century (i.e., late Song or early Yuan Dynasty) as the most likely date of production.⁴⁷ In 2010, a 14th century (late Yuan- or early Ming-dynasty) date was given for the item in a catalogue accompanying the exhibition of the painting in New York by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁴⁸

The visual language of this painting is fully Sinicized. Analogously to Chinese Manichaean textual vocabulary, this image is integrated into its medieval southern Chinese environment, employing a local visual jargon that today is most frequently associated with the Buddhist art of the region. The Manichaean adaptation of Chinese Buddhist terminology in their Chinese literature has been well known in Manichaean studies, but that of a Chinese Buddhist visual language manifesting in both pictorial style (that we may think of as the local “visual dialect and/or accent”) and iconography (local “visual vocabulary”) has not been noted before. Besides the Buddhists, other religious traditions were

46 Takeo Izumi, “A Possible Nestorian Christian Image: Regarding the Figure Preserved as a *Kokuzō Bosatsu* Image at Seiun-ji,” *Kokka* 1330 (2006) 8–9.

47 Gulácsi, “A Manichaean *Portrait of the Buddha Jesus*” (note 3) 95–96.

48 *The World of Khublai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty*, edited by James C.Y. Watt, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010: 123, fig. 157.

also active during the 12th and 13th centuries on southern China, among which the Manichaeans are the only group that also employed an extensive artistic culture that also included depictions of Jesus.

The most obvious and readily recognizable Manichaean iconographic motifs in this Jesus painting regard the garments of the figure, especially his white cloak, but also the combination of his white cloak with a red robe (also seen on the three *Enthroned Jesus* figures from Kocho discussed above). Hanging open from the shoulders is a thin white cloak decorated with a wide golden border and four small square insignia, two beneath the shoulders and two at the knees. Each square is defined via thin lines and encloses a bust of a female deity (Light Maiden). The insignia and the borders of the white cloaks are strong visual evidence for Manichaean iconographic continuity between Kocho around the 10th century and southern China around the 13th century. This correlation suggests that certain iconographic norms of East Central Asian Manichaean art, especially the ones seen in Chinese-style wall paintings of Kocho's Ruin K, were continued three hundred years later in southern China.

East Central Asian Manichaean garments with round and square insignia have been studied by Jorinde Ebert. Ebert has collected all examples of rectangular and round emblems on the garments of elects from Kocho, and has successfully argued that they reflect actual parts of clothing that signaled high ranks within the church hierarchy, though their exact meanings remain unknown. She points out that inside such insignia, the female heads most likely represent Light Maidens, who symbolize the essence of the forces of light in Manichaean literature and art. An additional important result of her study has been to establish a connection between the Manichaean use of these emblems in East Central Asia around the 10th century and the decoration of late antique and early medieval garments from the eastern Mediterranean region, preserved as textiles from Egypt or depicted in Byzantine art.⁴⁹ Ebert's study allows us to recognize an iconographic element of Manichaean art that originated in West Asia and was transmitted by the religion to East Central Asia before it became part of Chinese Manichaeism. Ebert has thereby established a criterion that aids in the identification of a Manichaean representation of a figure in an East Asian context.

The iconography of the Jesus figure in the Seiun-ji painting matches that of the bearded deity from Kocho (see Fig. 11.4). While the *styles* of depictions are unique to the visual language of their respective era and place of origin, and

49 Ebert, "Segmentum and Clavus" (note 18), 72–83, where the Latin terms are employed to distinguish the square (*segmentum*) and round (*clavus*) insignia.

accordingly are dramatically different from one another, the *content* of both paintings is analogous: a personage seated on the most prestigious surface used in the region. Both figures are captured frontally in a symmetrical composition and are enclosed in halos and mandorlas. The coloring of their halos corresponds through the red base framed in a gold-and-red band. Their respective faces capture the features of a mature man with long hair, beard, and mustache. Neither wears headgear. In each case, the clothing includes a red robe that covers the entire body, on top of which a white cloak hangs loosely. Both cloaks have a gold border and four small squares, two of which are below the shoulders and two near the knees. Most importantly, what remains of the right hand gesture in the Kocho paintings seems to accord with the right hand gesture in the Seiun-ji image.⁵⁰ In both cases, the right hand is raised in front of the chest with the palm facing inward, the thumbs held the side, the first and fourth fingers erect, and the second and third fingers lowered. This extensive list of similarities suggests that these two paintings not only have an identical overall subject (a Manichaean deity/prophet), but that most likely they depict the very same prophet (Jesus).

In Manichaean teachings, Jesus is associated with the cross motif not through the atonement theme of his crucifixion (which the Manichaeans actually reject), but through a uniquely Manichaean concept, the “Cross of Light.” The cross on which Christ was crucified became a symbol in Manichaeism for Jesus’ suffering as a communication of the suffering of the Divine Light (Living Soul) that is crucified in matter throughout the cosmos.⁵¹ The Cross of Light (or Light Cross) is used as an allegory about the substance of Light, whose richest concentration is found in all plant life, “where the divine hangs on every tree or bush or herb” and which the Manichaeans are so eager to avoid hurting.⁵² An explanation of how the Manichaeans saw the connection between Jesus

50 In the Buddhist context, this gesture (Sk. *tarjani mudrā*, “the gesture of warding off evil”) is best known from Esoteric art. According to Louis Frédéric, it is associated with *Fudō Myō-ō* (*Buddhism: Flammarion Iconographic Guides* [Paris: Flammarion, 1995], 51). A version of this *mudrā*, in which a *vajra* is held under the two bent fingers, is also known from Tibetan art (e.g., in images of Padmasambhava). In addition, the very same *mudrā* is displayed by the two bodhisattvas of Tori Busshi’s *Shaka Triad* at Hōryū-ji from 623 CE.

51 On the Cross of Light theme in Manichaeism, see J. BeDuhn, “The Manichaean Jesus” (note 28), 55–57; idem, *The Manichaean Body: in Discipline and Ritual* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 78, and A. Böhlig, “Zur Vorstellungen vom Lichtkreuz in Gnostizismus und Manichäismus,” in: *Gnosis: Festschrift für Hans Jonas*, ed. Barbara Aland (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1978), 473–491.

52 In the *Kephalaia* this view is reflected in the 85th chapter, in which a disciple addresses Mani on this topic: “I have heard you, my master, say in the congregation of the church,

and the Cross of Light is found in the anti-Manichaean treatise of Alexander of Lycopolis, a Greek philosopher from 4th century Egypt, in which he writes that Jesus revealed the Cross of Light:

Christ is an intellect (*nous*). When at some time he arrived from the place above, he liberated the greatest part of the above-mentioned power, so that it could get on its way towards God. And finally, it was thought that by his crucifixion Christ provided us with the knowledge that the divine power too is fitted into—or rather crucified in—matter in a similar way.⁵³

The surviving remains of Manichaean art also document the use of a cross motif. Although a cross with arms of equal length is used as an attribute of Jesus in both the line drawing of the now lost silk painting of the Primary Prophets from Kocho (see Fig. 11.9) and the Seiun-ji image, the two paintings portray distinctive cross-shaped objects. One of them is a cross-terminating staff, while the other is a devotional statuette suited for use as an altar display. Despite their different decorations, these two Manichaean crosses are not unlike the ones preserved on the surviving remains of early Christian art. Among the four basic types of cross shape, crosses with arms of equal length (Lat. *crux quadrata*) are often referred to as “Greek” crosses, due to their general popularity in the eastern part of the Mediterranean region. They are employed on architecture as well as on portable works of art from Egypt to Armenia, in remote provincial locations as well as on objects associated with imperial workshops of the Roman and Byzantine Empires. Early Christian examples convey the use of crosses with arms of equal length not only as general symbols, but also on devotional statuettes and staff ornaments in the ancient world—a world of which the Manichaeans, as well as a variety of early Christian groups, were a part. Deriving from this broader religious environment, the version of Syriac Christianity (“Nestorianism”) that spread east of Mesopotamia likewise favored this cross shape, as documented by the presence of such crosses in their art from Central and East Asia, in which both cross-terminating staffs and devotional cross statuettes are used. The *crux quadrata*, however, was

that it is proper for the person to watch his step while he walks on a path; lest he trample the *Cross of Light* with his foot, and destroy vegetation. Also, it counts first for any creeping creature, lest he tramples upon it and kill it with his foot.’ *Kephalaia*, 209, 11–20 (Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* (note 16), 216–217).

53 Alexander of Lycopolis IV.7.14 ff., in: *An Alexandrian Platonist against Dualism: Alexander of Lycopolis’ Treatise “Critique of the Doctrines of Manichaeus,”* translated with an introduction and notes by P.W. van der Horst and J. Mansfeld (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 56.

never the exclusive property of any particular religious group with Christian connections in West Asia during late antique and early mediaeval times. Since crosses such as these first emerge as Christian symbols at a time when the Manichaeans were already present in the region, it is reasonable to assume that the Manichaeans, too, employed such crosses to depict their Cross of Light concept during the earliest, West Asian phase of their history. This West Asian heritage seems to be preserved in the use of such crosses from Manichaean East Central Asia and from Manichaean southern China, as documented by the gilded devotional cross in the left hand of the Jesus figure in this silk painting preserved at Seun-ji.⁵⁴

Conclusion

Second only to Mani among the primary prophets, Jesus remained venerated throughout the fourteen-hundred-year history of Manichaeism across the Asian continent. His continued importance is reflected in the artistic remains of this religion in the currently known six Manichaean paintings surveyed above. Together these six images not only confirm that Jesus was featured during the Uygur (8th–11th centuries CE) and southern Chinese (12th–15th centuries CE) phases of Manichaean history, but also indicate that Jesus-related subjects started to be depicted already from the early Mesopotamian (3rd–6th centuries CE) era of Manichaean history. These images constitute unique examples for the study of visual syncretism, since their iconographic symbols and not just painting styles were adapted to the regional artistic vernacular in order to communicate distinctly Manichaean subjects through locally comprehensible images.

54 In his studies on the Manichaean Cross of Light, Hans-Joachim Klimkeit points out the use of crosses with arms of equal length in Buddhist wall paintings of Central Asia (Kizil) and the Tibetan cultural area (Alchi), raising the possibility of Manichaean influence; *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy* (note 22), 32–33, figs. 16–20; “Das Kreuzessymbol in der zentralasiatischen Religionsbegegnung: Zum Verhältnis von Christologie und Buddhologie in der zentralasiatischen Kunst,” *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 31 (1979) 99–115; and “Vairocana und das Lichtkreuz, manichäische Elemente in der Kunst von Alchi (West-Tibet),” *Zentralasiatische Studien* 13 (1979): 357–399. Historical evidence on Manichaean contact with the Tibetan Empire is discussed by Géza Uray in “Tibet’s Connection with Nestorianism and Manichaeism in the 8th–10th Centuries,” in: *Contributions on Tibetan Language, History, and Culture*, ed. Ernst Steinkeller and Helmut Tauscher (Vienna: Universität Wien, 1983), 399–429.

The lack of East Central Asian artistic influence is an important characteristic of the iconography in the *Life of Jesus* scenes and the three *Enthroned Jesus* images, which despite having been made in 10th century Kocho (with the use of contemporaneous Uygur Manichaean painting styles) are void of local motifs and instead appear similar to what is known from the visual language of the late ancient West Asia. This West Asiatic Manichaean visual language employs motifs seen in the arts of Sasanid Iran (flying victories, wreaths, arches, backless thrones, rulers seated with their knees spread holding a vertical sword between their legs). Another group of Manichaean paintings with West Asiatic traits from Kocho may feature motifs familiar from early Christian art, Byzantine art, and the late ancient art of Syro-Mesopotamia (such as God's hand in the upper right corner of a scene, sun disks and moon crescents, cross with arms of equal length, cross-terminating staff, garments with rectangular or square insignia, etc.). In either way, such West Asiatic traits are associated with pictorial themes that were developed prior to the Uygur phase of Manichaean history, already in early Manichaean art, somewhere in West Asia between the 3rd and 6th centuries. They remained preserved within the surviving corpus of Uygur Manichaean art through the work of artists active in 10th century Kocho, who relied on now-lost Manichaean prototypes to render traditional subjects on their newly created book paintings and temple banners. The memory of such early Manichaean art can be seen in the surviving three enthroned images of Jesus and the two narrative vignettes with the diatessaronic cycle of Jesus' life.

East Central Asian artistic influence characterizes the *Jesus image within the diagram of the Primary Prophets*. Much of Manichaean art discovered from Kocho includes motifs shared with the local art of the region. Some scenes show elements from local material and social culture (felt rugs and pile carpets as sitting areas, traditional sitting positions of nomadic cultures, nomadic garments and armor, as well as a display of special hierarchy according to social rank or gender).⁵⁵ Others, such as the scenes depicting the Primary Prophets, show motifs that are also seen in the local Buddhist art of the region, including lotus plants, lotus supports, figures sitting cross-legged, diagrams with arrangements analogous to mandalas, even communicative hand gestures similar to those seen in Buddhist art across the Asian continent. In either case, the visual language (but not necessarily the overall subject matter) of such

55 Zsuzsanna Gulácsi, "Textile Furnishings of Uyghur Manichaean Miniatures," in: *Turfan, Khotan und Dunhuang: Vorträge der Tagung 'Annemarie von Gabain und die Turfanforschung,' veranstaltet von der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin (9.–12. 12. 1994)*, ed. R. Emmerick et al. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996), 101–134.

scenes is indicative to the time and place of their actual production and use, and thus suggests the adaptation of Manichaean subjects, in this case that of the Primary Prophets, to the artistic milieu of the region. Nevertheless, since the subject of the Primary Prophets is discussed in Western Manichaean texts, and since the Manichaeans did have a didactic artistic tradition in West Asia, it is most likely that the Primary Prophets theme was not invented in East Central Asia, but only rendered in a locally comprehensible visual language.

The strong presence of an East Asian (specifically Chinese) artistic language characterizes the *Jesus with the Cross of Light* image. So much so that, since 1612, the image has been owned by Seiun-ji (a Rinzai Zen Buddhist temple), where it has functioned as a Buddhist work of art. The monks at Seiun-ji considered this painting to be a depiction of Kokûzô Bosatsu, the bodhisattva of Wisdom and Compassion, the Guardian of Infinite Treasures, known in Sanskrit as Âkâshâ-garbha, a celestial bodhisattva worshiped in Esoteric Buddhism.⁵⁶ The image, however, retains clear Manichaean roots most obviously through its uniquely Manichean garments (white cloak and red robe) and meaning communicated through the hand gestures (Dualism and the concept of the Cross of Light). Further elements in the visual language of this painting can also be traced back to a Manichaean heritage. Regarding its iconography, we have seen that what appears to be the dominant Chinese Buddhist character of the Seiun-ji image finds its roots during the East Central Asian phase of Manichaean art. Between the mid-8th and early 11th centuries in Kocho, Manichaean prophets were already portrayed with motifs common to both Buddhist and Manichaean art, including lotus supports, a cross-legged seated posture, long robes, and halos enclosing the head and body. Concerning the composition and subject matter, it has become clear that a tradition to paint formal depictions of Manichaean solo deities was present not only during the Uygur era, but also the earliest West Asian phases of Manichaean history.

56 Izumi, "A Possible Nestorian Christian Image" (note 46), 7. For a discussion of the iconography of Kokûzô Bosatsu in relation to the Chinese Manichaean Jesus image, see Gulácsi, "A Manichaean *Portrait of the Buddha Jesus*" (note 3), 93.

Two Manichaean Judgment Scenes— MIK III 4959 v and the Yamato Bunkakan Sandōzu Painting*

Gábor Kósa

Prior to the identification of a painting at present in the collection of the Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館 (Nara) in 2006, only one Manichaean scene was securely identified as that of a judgment: MIK III 4959 verso.¹ This fragment originates from 9–10th century Turfan (at present in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin-Dahlem), while the Yamato painting ultimately derives from 13–14th century Ningbo, Zhejiang. Despite numerous differences, the two depictions share some common thematic motifs: both display a judge with two figures standing in front of him,² and in both paintings these two figures are wearing nothing but cloths wrapped around their loins. However, these paintings

* The first version of the present study was composed with the help of a postdoctoral scholarship from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (FY2008), and later on completed with the financial support from the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange (PD003-U-09). I am greatly indebted to my former host researcher at Kyoto University, Prof. Yutaka Yoshida 吉田 豊, for introducing the Yamato Bunkakan painting to me. I also thank Jorinde Ebert and Michael Jamentz for reading and commenting on the present paper. My thanks also go to the Museum für Asiatische Kunst (Berlin), especially to Lilla Russell-Smith, and the Yamato Bunkakan (Nara), especially to Shoichi Furukawa 古川 攝一, for granting me permission to reproduce copyrighted material. The Chinese Manichaean texts are quoted according to the column of the manuscript: T = *Traité* (*Bosijiao canjing* 波斯教殘經 [BD00256; T54, n2141B: 1281a–1286a]), H = *Hymn-scroll* (*Monijiao xiabu zan* 摩尼教下部讚 [s.2659; T54, n2140: 1270b–1279c]), C = *Compendium* (*Moni guangfo jiao fayi lue* 摩尼光佛教法儀略 [s.3969 + P.3884; T54, n2141A: 1279c–1281a]), though I also give the Taishō references. Buddhist texts are quoted according to the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經.

- 1 Klimkeit 1982: 37, Gulácsi 2001: 79–81. At the Dublin conference a further painting (the Cosmology painting 宇宙圖) containing a judgment scene was introduced by Prof. Yutaka Yoshida. I gave a talk on the difference between the Yamato and the Cosmology judgment scenes on June 6, 2011 at the Symposium on the New Chinese Manichaean Paintings (Yamato Bunkakan, Nara) with the following title: “The Affiliation and the Meaning of the Judgment Scene in the Cosmology Painting”.
- 2 The MIK III 4959 is damaged, but the left part belongs to another scene: “The fourth figure, to the left of the judge, signals the start of a separate visual unit, since the shoulder remaining

derive from different cultural milieus, therefore they also differ greatly in both their depictions of the judge and his surroundings, the individuals under judgment and their surroundings, and in many other respects. In the present study, I will investigate these two paintings separately, and offer some new interpretations of some of their motifs. In my interpretation I will rely on the Song and Yuan dynasty Chinese artistic traditions, the written Manichaean and Buddhist material, and the internal iconographical logic of the representations.³

1 MIK III 4959 Verso (Fig. 12.1)

The scene depicted in MIK III 4959 v displays three *dramatis personae*: on the left side a man in a red garment, facing right, lifts his elongated, left index finger, and holds a rod in his right hand. In front of him stand two almost naked people; the first has the head of a horned animal tied around his neck, while the second wears only a cloth around his loins. Between the two nearly naked people are depicted the soles of two feet, above which is a green sheaf of grain. In this part of my paper, I concentrate on these rather strange elements (feet and sheaf of grain), since I suppose that they provide the clue to a more sophisticated interpretation of this illustration.

This fragment was published by A. von Le Coq, but he did not recognize the scene as that of a judgment.⁴ Hesitatingly, Le Coq gives an explanation of the two soles in the air as follows: “It is not clear what their [the soles] meaning is. Perhaps they represent someone’s footprints (...) who has directed his steps to the left?”⁵ In his explanation, Le Coq refers to an Aztec analogy.⁶

Being the first to interpret the painting as a judgment scene,⁷ H.-J. Klimkeit argued that the figure on the left side is a judge, while the two other figures on his right are the persons being judged, though Klimkeit did not exclude the possibility that the two human figures might represent a single person. As for

from him indicates that he is engaged with events shown on the now missing portion of the painting” (Gulácsi 2009: 18–19).

3 The precise rules of this last method might, of course, be a matter of debate, but it should be noted that all previous interpretations, even if not always explicitly articulated, apply this third method as well.

4 Le Coq 1923: 61, 8b.

5 Le Coq 1923: 61: “Was ihre Bedeutung ist, ist unklar; sollen sie vielleicht die Spur eines Menschen vorstellen (...), der seine Schritte nach links gerichtet hat?”

6 Le Coq 1923: 61.

7 Klimkeit 1982: 37: “The picture gives the impression of a scene of punishment or judgement.”

the motifs between them, Klimkeit writes as follows: “Between the two stands a bunch of greenery or a bound of green sheaf with two flesh-coloured footprints under it. It seems to us that this could indicate a causal nexus between the two figures (in the sense of karma?).”⁸ Thus Klimkeit suggests that what we see is the first person’s footprints which in fact indicate his deeds; these in turn make a link between the two persons, though the vegetation motif is not explicated in his hypothesis.

In her book on the Manichaean paintings of the Turfan Collections of Berlin, Zsuzsanna Gulácsi basically accepted Klimkeit’s general opinion, though not all details of his explanation, and described the painting as a judgment scene.⁹ She describes the two figures under judgment as follows: “On the neck of the scolded one, a decapitated head of a small horned animal has been hung, most likely to indicate his crime and to foretell his fate. Between the two figures a sheaf of green grain stalks, and a pair of soles of human feet are painted.”¹⁰ In a recent study in an issue exclusively dedicated to the Yamato Bunkakan Manichaean silk painting (discussed in the second part of the present paper), Gulácsi offered a new interpretation of the rather strange motif of the two human soles and the vegetation above it:

Visible in between the two loin-clothed men in the background of the scene, where a pair of footprints and a sheaf of green grain stalks are shown—possibly to indicate a person, already having been judged and thus already departed from the scene of judgment, having left behind only his footprints and signs associated with his crime of engaging in harvesting (an act prohibited for the elect).¹¹

8 Klimkeit 1982: 37.

9 Gulácsi 2001: 81. On the position of this fragment in the original codex, see Gulácsi 2005: 163–165. On the text on the recto, which is a prayer for blessings on the donors, see Klimkeit 1993: 275; Gulácsi 2001: 227–228.

10 Gulácsi 2001: 81. It should also be mentioned that recently Jorinde Ebert questioned the basic message of the painting as a judgment scene and offered a different interpretation of the soles and the vegetation motif: “This painting (M1K III 4959 verso) has, I think wrongly, hitherto been interpreted as a “judgement scene”. I think it is an admonition scene, where young men of good families (roots) are warned not to waste their time on worldly and hedonistic pursuits (indicated by the symbol of an animal over the breast of one of the youngsters), likened to the crop cut before it can develop seed, comparable to a human being who can neither stand nor walk if his feet (roots) are cut off” (Ebert 2009a: 6, n. 36. [Ebert 2009: 47, n. 36]).

11 Gulácsi 2009: 18; 2009a: 28.

Furthermore, in a footnote Gulácsi offers some reasons for this interpretation: “The idea of interpreting this part of the scenes as a location further back in space than the foreground is suggested by the higher positioning of the footprints in the picture plane than the level of the feet of the loin-clothed men.”¹² Gulácsi thus opines that between the two persons there was a third, now invisible one, whose departure is symbolized by his soles, while his sin is shown by the fresh vegetation which points to the sin of harvesting.

Here I would like to offer an alternative interpretation of these motifs, since I think that the inner logic of the picture makes this explanation less plausible: the two figures, as Gulácsi also notes, are lined up for the judgment, and it seems highly probable that the one with the horned head around his neck is under judgment (in the “narrative present” of the painting), while the second person is approaching his judgment and his turn will come after the judgment of the first one (in the “narrative future” of the painting).¹³ Therefore, it seems improbable that between the narrative “present” and “future” of the painting, a past event would be inserted, which would be indicated simply by the elevation of the soles. A more convincing case could be made if the soles were on the left side of the judge.

My interpretation was, in fact, inspired by the previous ones. Both Klimkeit and Gulácsi agree that the first naked person’s sin is indicated by the horned head hanging from his neck.¹⁴ Gulácsi interprets it as the sin of eating meat,¹⁵ which is of course a possible explanation, though I personally think that it is much more the sin of killing a horned animal that is being suggested in the painting. This might be corroborated by the fact that nothing points to the involvement of the mouth (eating), while the figure’s hands are tied behind his back, which suggests that the sin was committed with his hands. It is also obvious that tying up the hands is not a characteristic pose of these figures, as the second figure does not share this feature. On the contrary, his hand movements seem to indicate that his hands have not been involved in committing any crime. Thus the first person might have committed his sin with his hands, while the sin itself might have been the decapitating, that is the killing of an animal, probably some kind of cattle. This of course might have logically also involved the sin of eating the meat of the slain animal, but this

12 Gulácsi 2009: 18, n. 46; 2009a: 34, n. 46.

13 Also see Gulácsi’s (2009: 15; 2009a: 34) opinion: “The man next in line is shown waiting his turn to be judged, along the right edge of the scene.” On the category “narrative illustration”, see Murray 1998.

14 Gulácsi 2001: 81.

15 Gulácsi 2001: 81, n. 75.

They also say that if anyone walks on the ground he harms the ground, and if he moves his hand he harms the air, because air is the soul of men and animals, birds, fish and reptiles and everything there is in this world.¹⁹

The first three references in fact derive from scriptures found in the same region (Turfan) as the painting itself. Thus the two figures under judgment represent at least two kinds of sinners: the first committed his sin with his hands and harmed an animal, while the second used his feet (soles) and thus caused harm to the vegetation. This scene, which most probably is not intended to depict the judgment of two specific persons but has a more general didactic aim, perhaps indicated by the lack of individual facial characteristics, successfully encompasses many types of sins: those committed against animals and plants, and also those committed by hands and feet.

We also know that the commandment of non-violence against vegetation as a general rule was basically confined to the electi, as for example Augustine testifies:

They believe that the souls of their hearers are returned to the elect, or by a happier short-cut to the food of their elect so that already purged, they would then not have to transmigrate into other bodies. On the other hand, they believe that other souls pass into cattle and into everything that is rooted in and supported on the earth. For they are convinced that

19 Trans. M. Vermes (2001: 55). *Acta Archelai* x.8 (Beeson 1906: 17): Et illi dicunt, si quis ambulat in terra, laedit terram, et qui movet manum, laedit aërem, quia aër anima est hominum et animalium et volatilium et piscium et reptentium et si quid est in hoc mundo. [και εἴ τις περιπατεῖ χαμαί, βλάπτει τὴν γῆν· και ὁ κινῶν τὴν χεῖρα βλάπτει τὸν ἀέρα, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἀήρ ψυχή ἐστι τῶν ἀνθρώπων και τῶν ζώων και τῶν πετεινῶν και τῶν ἰχθύων και τῶν ἑρπετῶν. και εἴ τις ἐν κόσμῳ ἐστίν]. There is a widely quoted sentence which theoretically could be cited here: “If I should have touched snow, rain or dew; if I should have trod on the womb of the earth where something sprouted or grew up, so that harm (lit. mixture) was caused by me” (Trans. W.B. Henning (1937: 35 [449]); H.-J. Klimkeit (1993: 140), for a slightly different translation, see BeDuhn 2000: 44). M 801a: 577–582 (Henning 1937: 35 [449]): tyḥ wfr' w'r nmb ps'wṭḏ'rm z'yḥ / z'tyḥrcy tṣtyy kww / rwwḏ ptyrwḏ mn'h / prywyḏ wryḏ ptyḥḏḏ / 'skw't. However, the meaning of this sentence was challenged by I. Gershevitch (1961: 128, § 864¹), who remarked in a footnote about tṣtyy: “Thus probably also BBB 579: ‘it (viz. snow, rain, dew) entered the womb of the earth’”. For this reference I thank Prof. Yoshida, according to whom the sentence roughly means: “I touched snow, rain or dew; it entered the womb of the earth where something sprouted, so mixture was caused by me” (private communication, Aug. 20, 2009, Kyoto).

plants and trees possess sentient life and can feel pain when injured, and therefore that no one can pull or pluck them without torturing them. Therefore, they consider it wrong to clear a field even of thorns. Hence, in their madness they make agriculture, the most innocent of occupations, guilty of multiple murder. On the other hand, they believe that these crimes are forgiven their hearers because the latter offer food of this sort to the elect in order that the divine substance, on being purged in their stomachs, may obtain pardon for those through whose offering it is given to be purged. And so the elect themselves perform no labours in the field, pluck no fruit, pick not even a leaf, but expect all these things to be brought for their use by their hearers, living all the while, according to their own foolish thinking, on innumerable and horrible murders committed by others.²⁰

We can thus surmise that both persons were in fact electi, and that is the reason why causing injury to animals and plants would have the consequence of severe judgment indicated by the raised hands of the judge. In fact, in the case of the second person this was also hypothesized by Gulácsi.²¹

20 *De haeresibus* 46.12 (Gardner and Lieu 2004: 189–190). Animas Auditorum suorum in Electos revolvi arbitrantur, aut felicior compendio in escas Electorum suorum, ut iam inde purgatae in nulla corpora revertantur. Ceteras autem animas et in pecora redire arbitrantur et in omnia quae radicibus fixa sunt atque aluntur in terra. Herbas enim atque arbores sic putant vivere ut vitam quae illis inest et sentire credant et dolere cum laeduntur, nec aliquid inde sine cruciatu eorum quemquam posse vellere aut carpere. Propter quod agrum etiam spinis purgare nefas habent. Unde agriculturam, quae omnium artium est innocentissima, tanquam plurium homicidiorum ream dementer accusant. Suisque Auditoribus ideo haec arbitrantur ignosci quia praebent inde alimenta Electis suis ut divina illa substantia in eorum ventre purgata impetret eis veniam quorum traditur oblatione purganda. Itaque ipsi Electi nihil in agris operantes, nec poma carpentes, nec saltem folia ulla vellentes, exspectant haec afferi usibus suis ab Auditoribus suis, viventes de tot ac tantis secundum suam vanitatem homicidiis alienis (*Patrologia Latina* 42: 37).

21 Gulácsi 2009: 18, 2009a: 28. The only physical sign of their status is that they wear white cloths around their loins, white colour being a typical sign of the Manichaean chosen ones. One could naturally raise an objection against such a hypothesis and argue that everybody may have worn white cloths, thus the clothing is not necessarily evidence of the status of an electus. However, this is not the case. In another fragment (MIK III 6258a recto), which Gulácsi hypothesized part of another judgment scene (Gulácsi 2001: 82), one can see a half naked auditor who, while holding a golden cup, wears a violet loincloth. Gulácsi claims that here a wealthy auditor who committed the crime of drinking

2 The Yamato Bunkakan ‘Sandōzu 三道圖’ Painting (Fig. 12.2)

The Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館 silk painting has been identified as a Manichaean piece of art by Prof. Yutaka Yoshida in 2006.²⁴ The painting is a hanging scroll (142 cm × 59.2 cm, ca. 13–14th c.), which is composed of five clearly demarcated registers (R) of varying heights:²⁵ three shorter (from top to bottom: R1, R3, R5) and two taller ones (R2, R4). As former studies have assumed, R1, R3 and R5 portray a paradisiacal scene, a scene of human reincarnations and a scene of hellish torments, respectively. As is well known, according to the Manichaean tradition, these three destinations constitute the three possible places of rebirth.²⁶ Though this painting is generally referred to as Rokudōzu

24 Yoshida 2007, 2009, 2010.

25 For a description of the painting, see Gulácsi 2009: 2–3, 2009a: 17–18. Based on the essential message of the various part, Gulácsi (2009: 2–3) designates the five registers as follows: 1. The Light Maiden’s Visit to Heaven; 2. Sermon around a Statue of Mani; 3. States of Good Reincarnation; 4. The Light Maiden’s Intervention with a Judgment; 5. States of Bad Reincarnation.

26 See Sundermann 1998. As will be clear later on, the judgment scene of this painting is based on the Ten Kings of Hell imagery. In the Ten Kings of Hell type, however, five or six roads of possible reincarnations are depicted in the court of the tenth king, also called the King Who Turns the Wheel (of Rebirth) in the Five Paths (*wudao zhuanlun wang* 五道轉輪王). There were former hypotheses about a missing part of the painting so that it would conform to other Ten Kings paintings (Yoshida 2009: 4, n. 10; 2010: 699, n. 10). Though it is the Manichaean tripartite division of rebirths that are depicted here, nevertheless, in connection with the tenth king, there is an early reference (*Fo shuo Taizi ruiying benji jing* 佛說太子瑞應本起經, T003,0185: p0475c) to the division of a heavenly, a human and a hellish rebirth: “Then [the Crown Prince] arose and mounted his horse. Concealing his carriage he moved on several dozen *li* and suddenly saw the Great Spirit in Charge of the Five Paths, whose name was Great Knowledge. He was exceptionally hard and strong, holding a bow at the left and arrows at the right, and wearing a sharp sword at his waist. His dwelling was at the meeting-place of the three roads, the first named the Path of the Devas, the second the Path of Men, the third the Path of the Three Evil destinies. These names refer to where the souls of the dead must pass to be reviewed [即起上馬，將車匿前行數十里，忽然見主五道大神，名曰賁識，最獨剛強，左執弓，右持箭，腰帶利劍。所居三道之衢：一曰天道，二曰人道，三曰三惡道。此所謂死者魂神所當過見者也。]” In this passage (trans. Dudbridge 2005: 241–242), the three evil paths are contracted into one item, thus fundamentally paralleling the division of the Sandōzu (where the identity of the judge, as it seems now, is not defined). The contrast of heavenly abode and hellish prison is present in *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* itself: “Day in and day out all they see is the power of merit, / How the difference between the halls of heaven and the prisons underground lies in an instant” (Teiser 1994: 214). Furthermore, it

painting 六道圖, I will use the term Sandōzu 三道圖, since it contains three (and not six) major possible places of rebirth (paradise, human world, hell). In R2 a scene around Mānī or more probably the statue of Mānī with an incense burner in the foreground is depicted.²⁷ On the left side of R2, there is a seated

is also probable that the sophisticated concepts connected with the Ten Kings gradually became more simplified and in the popular imagination they were reduced to the duality of heaven or hell, naturally preserving the possibility of human reincarnations: “Steepest in Pure Land teachings and the sermons of preachers, lay people tended to conceive of an afterlife dominated by a simple binary opposition: damnation in underground hells versus salvation in a celestial paradise. More complex Buddhist teachings on rebirth within the six paths and, especially, the nebulous promise of the ultimate release of Nirvana had much less power over their imaginations than did the dramatically contrasting, repeated images of hellfire and golden palaces” (Phillips 2003: 129). Similarly, the contraction of the “three evil paths” (animals, hungry ghosts and hell beings) are also mentioned together as forming one category in the colophons of the Ten Kings paintings: “We pray that Mother’s (the supplicant’s wife’s, G.K.) shadow be entrusted and her spirit roam to be reborn in a fine place, and that she not fall into the calamities of the three paths. Offered fully and forever” or “We pray that her spirit be born in the Pure Land and that she not fall into the difficulties of the three paths” (Teiser 1994: 103). On further similar passages, see Teiser 1994: 105, 133, 202, 211. In sum, the conceptual background of the three (and not five or six) possible destinations of rebirth was not so far away from the contemporary popular religious/Buddhist notions.

- 27 This depiction of Mānī resembles the image from Seiun-ji 栖雲寺 (near Kōfu city, Yamana-shi prefecture, see Izumi 2006; Gulácsi 2009b), ultimately deriving from the same region and period (13–14th c. southeastern China), to such an extent that I cannot refrain from assuming that the Seiun-ji image in fact depicts Mānī (here I differ from Gulácsi 2009b). Although this interpretation definitely deserves a separate study, the following common motifs can be mentioned: 1. a white cloak (which seems to be associated exclusively with Mānī or his electi, but not with any major divine figure, as the two missionary paintings, the two Realm of Light fragments and the Cosmology painting attest, see Yoshida 2010a); 2. *segmenta* (rectangular insignia), appearing in both cases (and also see MIK III 6918, MIK III 4979 R, MIK III 8296, MIK III 6286, Kokka image, Huabiao Mānī), can most probably designate rank only in the church hierarchy, but not among the divine emanations (cf. Ebert 2004); 3. the gold-and-red border of the cloak (in the five new Manichaean paintings, it is only Mānī who appears in a white cloak with a red border, apparently also shared by the Huabiao Mānī figure); 4. the triple locks of hair on both shoulders (shared by the Kokka image, while a double lock is present on the shoulders of the Huabiao Mānī figure); 5. beard and thin moustache (also shared by the Kokka image); 6. specially elongated earlobes with a lock of entwined hair (also shared by the Kokka image); 7. halo and mandorla together (also shared by the Kokka image). It must be emphasized that Zs. Gulácsi (2009b: 104) also stressed the very close artistic connection between the Seiun-ji figure and Mānī in the Sandōzu painting. Theoretically, the golden cross with

and a standing lay figure, while on the right side, symmetrically arranged, two priest-like figures, a seated and a standing one, appear. In R4 two convicts are led by monstrous guards in front of a judge seated behind a table and flanked by two clerks, with some additional servants in the background. Following V. Mair's former research, Gulácsi convincingly argued that the painting, similarly to the genre of Japanese *etoki* 絵解き,²⁸ “functioned as a visual aid for religious teaching.”²⁹

It is generally agreed that the figure who appears twice in R1 and once in R4 is Daēnā, who is the manifestation of the deceased person's deeds.³⁰ On the left part of R1, Daēnā and her two acolytes are seen arriving to a palace of the Realm of Light and welcomed by a triad of hosts, while on the right part of

motifs of glistening waves around it could be the symbol of the Cross of Light (possibly also appearing on the green earth of the Birth of Mānī painting, see Yoshida 2012) as being preached, in my interpretation, by Mānī (cf. Gulácsi 2009b: 138–140); I presume that the similarity between the vajra held by the *Kokūzō* 虚空藏 bodhisattva (as Buddhists consider this figure) might be important (cf. Gulácsi 2009b: 93), since *jīngāng* 金剛 (diamond, vajra) appears in all three Chinese Manichaeic texts from Dunhuang. However, it is also possible that the cross indeed more directly refers to Jesus, for example in a mission directed towards Nestorians in southeastern China; in this case, the cross of Jesus could refer to Mānī as “the apostle of Jesus Christ”, the one who considers himself as representing the “real” Christian teachings. This epitheton appears as one of Mānī's constant (self-)designations. The examples include the Syriac inscription on the famous Sasanian rock-crystal seal (Klimkeit 1982: 50, Pl. xxx11), or the introductory sentence of *Epistula Fundamenti* quoted by Augustine (*Contra Epistulam Manichaei quam vocant Fundamenti* 5.6: “Manichaeus apostolus Iesu Christi providentia Dei Patris.”). In fact, Augustine claimed that Mānī began all his letters with the similar Pauline introductory phrase (*Contra Faustum* 13.4: “Omnes tamen eius epistulae ita exordiuntur: ‘Manichaeus apostolus Iesu Christi’”). For such an example in the Kellis material, see Gardner and Lieu 2004: 167. Similar wordings include the following ones: “I, Mani, the Apostle of Jesus, the Friend (’n m’ny prystg ’yg yyšw ’ry’ m’n)” (M17/v/i/12; MacKenzie 1994: 191); “Mār Mānī, apostle of Jesus Christ ((mrm)ny βry’št’g cy ’yšw [mšyx]())”, and the reconstructed Parthian version from *Wuzurgān Āfrīwān*: “Mār Mānī, the apostle of Jesus, the Messiah” (mrym’ny cy fryšt’g cy yyšw’ mšyh’h) (Ch/So20501/v+ Ch/U6546/v/12–13; Morano 2009: 217); “Mānī, the Apostle of Jesus, the Friend (m’ny frystg yy[šw’] ’ry’ m’n)” (Reck 2009: 228).

28 On *etoki*, see Kaminishi 2006.

29 Gulácsi 2008, Gulácsi 2009: 3, 2009a: 19.

30 On this identification, see Yoshida 2009: 6, 2010: 700–701. On Daēnā, see Sundermann 1992, Reck 1997, 2003. Involving both Manichaeic and Buddhist imagery, the iconography of the Daēnā figure in the Sandōzu is rather complex, thus it probably deserves a separate paper. Here I simply accept the unanimous scholarly opinion of the identification which was proposed by Y. Yoshida and accepted by Zs. Gulácsi and J. Ebert.

R₁, they are depicted as leaving this place.³¹ Between the two events, Daēnā and the host are depicted seated within the palace, with their banners on the building. Both Daēnā's and the host's triad are depicted twice symmetrically (though not without some changes),³² while Daēnā and the host themselves appear altogether three times in R₁. Thus Daēnā's actions of arriving (R₁, R₄) and leaving (R₁) are depicted in the same painting which clearly indicates that this painting uses spatial relations to express temporal events.

This type of narrative technique is, borrowing the term from ancient Greek, Roman and Hellenistic studies, often labelled as cyclic or continuous method of narration.³³ Though I propose that the narrative technique of this particular painting is even more sophisticated, the analysis of this aspect would go beyond the scope of this study. One of the key aspects of the "cyclic narrative" is that the protagonist(s) appears several times in the same painting which implies the temporal progress of events associated with the protagonist (like Japanese *iji dōzu* 異時同図).³⁴ This very ancient and widely used technique is applied to express temporality in the spatial coordinates of a medium which would

31 Gulácsi 2009: 2, 2009a: 17.

32 It must be noted, however, that the closer scrutiny of this scene reveals that though Daēnā and the welcoming deity do appear three times in an identical form, their two companions in the scene of arrival and departure seem to differ: the companions of the welcoming deity swap the designs on their robes, while a figure handing over a vase with flower (a usual attribute of Guanyin) is evidently not identical with any of Daēnā's consorts in the first scene of arrival. A similar (though probably not identical) vase reappears in R₄ in one of the companions' hands.

33 F. Wickhoff's (1895) "continuous style", later criticized and, partly inspired by Carl Robert's "chronicle method", expanded by K. Weitzmann (1970: 17–36) as the "cyclic method", features a protagonist who repeatedly appears in every scene. In the terminology of A. Snodgrass (1982), beside "monoscenic" ("frozen moment") and "synoptic" (numerous scenes without the repeated protagonist and implied causality or temporality) types of depictions, "cyclic" and "continuous" method is distinguished by the respective presence or lack of boundaries between the individual scenes. In this respect, the threefold appearance of Daēnā in R₁ can be labelled as continuous, while her repeated appearance in R₁ and R₄ reflects a cyclic style. On the other hand, in the Sandōzu, Daēnā appears only in R₁ and R₄, thus the general application of "the cyclic-continuous narration", if it implies the progress of a single protagonist, is questionable. It should be also noted that though all these terms were coined to describe the narrative structure of Greek, Roman, and Hellenistic art, they are generally used by art historians to describe among others Oriental art (for a well-known article on the early Buddhist narrative modes, see Dehejia 1990, who expands the use of synoptic narrative, and introduces the new "conflated" narrative mode).

34 I thank Michael Jamentz for this parallel.

otherwise lack any temporal aspect. As this feature indicates, far from being the depiction of a static world, this painting narrates a series of events.

As has been pointed out by former researchers, the lower part is in many respects based on the Ten Kings of Hell iconography.³⁵ Basically, there are two extant types of Ten Kings paintings. The first is intimately related to the 32 handwritten copies of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* (*Shiwang jing* 十王經),³⁶ six of which also contain illustrations, which come from 10–11th century Dunhuang.³⁷ The birth of the concept of the Ten Kings can be followed from the 7th century to the currently extant, first dated copy from 908.³⁸ Despite the fact that *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* never reached canonical status, it came down to us in several copies.³⁹ As for the relation of the text and the painting in this type, there are two poles (only pictures [e.g. P.4523], only text [e.g. P.5580]) and other forms in-between with texts (prose or hymns) and images alike [e.g. P.2003, P.2870].⁴⁰ The influence of this type was not confined to the Dunhuang region, but spread in the whole northern and southwestern parts of China, the text itself being widely used later on in other regions as well.⁴¹

The other important type of Ten Kings tradition was present in southeast China, especially the Ningbo 寧波 region (Zhejiang), during the 13–14th centuries. Though this type of Ten Kings paintings might have been spread in other parts of China as well, we only know about the ones produced in Ningbo. Pro-

35 Gulácsi 2009: 16, 2009a: 27. On the iconography of the Ten Kings of Hell paintings, see e.g. Tokushi and Ogawa 1963, Miya 1990, 1992, 1993, Ebine 1986, Kajitani 1974, 1979, Takasu 1993.

36 The complete title of the text is *Fo shuo Yanluo wang shouji sizhong yuxiu shengqi wangsheng jingtu jing* 佛說閻羅王授記四衆預修生七往生淨土經 [“The Scripture Spoken by the Buddha to the Four Orders on the Prophecy Given to King Yama Concerning the Sevens of Life to Be Cultivated in Preparation for Rebirth in the Pure Land”, Teiser 1994:7], but it is sometimes abbreviated as *Yanluo wang shouji jing* 閻羅王授記經, *Yuxiu shengqi wangsheng jingtu jing* 預修生七往生淨土經 or *Shiwang jing* 十王經. On the various manuscript copies, see Teiser 1994: 239–241, on a list of those containing illustrations, see Teiser 1994: 228–229, on the Japanese version of the scripture, see Teiser 1994: 58–61. Following Teiser, I will use *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* throughout.

37 Teiser 1999: 177. Most copies attribute the authorship to Zangchuan 藏川, who lived in Dashengcisi 大聖慈寺 in Chengdu 成都 (Sichuan).

38 Teiser 1999: 79–80.

39 Teiser 1999: 80–81.

40 Teiser 1999: 179–182.

41 Teiser 1994: 79. On the fragments of its Uygur version, translated from the Chinese between 1050–1250 (Teiser 1994: 56), see von Gabain 1973.

ducing is an appropriate expression here, since this type of painting was mass-produced for overt commercial purposes,⁴² as it is evidenced among others by the fact that they bear “commercial” inscriptions: “Painted by Lu Xinzhong in Flagstone alley, Cartbridge ward, Qingyuanfu.”⁴³ As Qingyuanfu 慶元府 was the official name of Ningbo only between 1195 and 1276/77, the paintings are generally considered to be the products of the 13th century. Though there are a lot of paintings which bear Lu Xinzhong’s 陸信忠 (fl. ca. 1195–1276) name, the quality of these works vary, thus, as Ledderose notes, “they must have been produced by ateliers with many employees.”⁴⁴ They were especially favoured by Japanese merchants, who brought many of them to Japan, where they sold them, triggering a unique and intensive fascination with the topic among later Japanese painters.⁴⁵ Most probably this was the way the Yamato Bunkakan painting itself reached Japan. The paintings by Jin Chushi 金處士 and Lu Xinzhong were intensively copied, and examples are at present housed in various collections.

Their fame in China was due in part to the use of stencils in mass-producing a new iconographic form. Several hundred paintings that in this century are housed in collections in Japan, Europe, and the United States were originally produced in just a few ateliers in Ning-po [Ningbo, G.K.] associated with the Chin [Jin, G.K.] and Lu families in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. These paintings consist of ten scrolls, each scroll depicting one of the ten kings.⁴⁶

Even a cursory view of the judgment scene in the Sandōzu reveals that it is affiliated to the Ningbo paintings, and not to the Dunhuang types.⁴⁷ The fact that the painting shares most of the features of the Ningbo paintings, complemented by our knowledge of Chinese Manichaeans in Zhejiang and Fujian, makes it probable that the closest iconographical analogies must be searched for among the

42 Ledderose 1981.

43 Ledderose 1981: 34.

44 Ledderose 1981: 34. Also see Ledderose 2000: 163–185.

45 Teiser 1993: 129: “By the fourteenth century pictures of the ten kings were a familiar sight throughout China and were gaining popularity in Korea and Japan.” On a summary of the Japanese concepts of hell, including the Ten Kings paintings, see Hirasawa 2008.

46 Teiser 1993: 129.

47 In my talk on the judgment scene in the Cosmology painting (mentioned before), I argued that this scene much more resembles one of the Dunhuang types (P.2870, ink on paper, 30 × 615,2 cm, 10th c., Bibliothèque nationale de France) than the Ningbo style.

Ningbo paintings. Nevertheless, the text of the *Shiwangjing* 十王經 is naturally to be taken into consideration during the analysis, as it constitutes the written religious background for both the Dunhuang and the Ningbo visual representations.

Before the detailed analysis, it should be generally noted that the application of the Ten Kings of Hell tradition was not an arbitrary choice of Zhejiang Manichaeans, but should be seen in a wider context. A survey of the Dunhuang samples has already revealed that the Ten Kings tradition was intimately intertwined with the Pure Land tradition, the importance of which for Chinese Manichaeans is well known.⁴⁸ As both the scripture itself and the colophons attest, the ultimate aim of the Ten Kings tradition was to avoid the three evil paths of reincarnation (animals, hungry ghosts, hell beings) and attain a pleasant human reincarnation, or more desirably, to be born in the Western Paradise of Amitābha.⁴⁹ Far from being a foreign body in Chinese Manichaean art, the Ten Kings tradition was most probably integrated through the intermediary of Pure Land doctrine and practice, inextricably linked to both religious traditions.

As for the more concrete analysis, according to the currently accepted interpretation, R4 depicts a judgment scene with the appearance of Daēnā as the deeds of the person(s) being judged, while R1, R3, and R5 display the possible outcomes of the judgment(s) (R1 = paradise, R3 = human forms, R5 = hell). According to former analyses, in the middle of R2 one can see the figure of Mānī, possibly in a form of statue, while on his right a seated elect is depicted wearing a white garment and giving a sermon on the possible fates of people, on his left there is an auditor-like figure who attentively listens to the elect's sermon.⁵⁰ In the following, I will elucidate my interpretation of the events in the painting. On several basic points I agree with conclusions previously drawn by others (e.g. the existence of judgment scene, three possible ways after death, the figure of Daēnā and Mānī), thus these topics will be treated only when my interpretation differs from the previous ones.

In R4 one can see a judge seated at his table, before him a paper is spread out, on which he is preparing to write the words of final judgment of the person with brownish skin in front him. After listening to the deeds of the person, read by the demon-clerk on his left (who is rolling back the scroll he has just finished reading), he is watching the sinner or more precisely to an

48 For a recent summary of this connection, see Mikkelsen 2009.

49 Teiser 1994: 105, 133, 197, 202, 205, 209; Phillips 2003: 129.

50 Gulácsi 2009: 6–10; 2009a: 20–23.

undefined distant place and is lifting his brush to finalize the judgment. This is a stereotypical scene in Ten Kings paintings, where one even encounters the same position of lifted hand, symbolizing the moment before the fate of a human being is decided (e.g. on the Berlin-Dahlem painting, Fig. 12.3).⁵¹ Also according to the accepted iconography, the two clerks on the two sides of the judge are responsible for reading the good and the bad deeds of the person under judgment. In the judgment scene of the Ten Kings paintings from Ningbo, the clerk in red clothes states the good deeds, while the clerk in green reads the records of bad deeds (Fig. 12.3),⁵² thus it is obvious that the colours used in the judgment scene of the Sandōzu (Fig. 12.2/a), which also seems to derive from Ningbo, essentially designates the same division of roles.

This seems to tally with the facial characteristics of the two clerks: though both exhibit bestial and demonic features, the green clerk seems to display a fiercer and more fearsome nature, which is again a general characteristic of the green clerks in Ningbo Ten Kings paintings.⁵³ In this specific case, based on the established iconography, the conclusion is that the brown-skinned person's good deeds outnumber his bad ones, since the red clerk has two scrolls containing his good deeds, already read and rolled up, while the green clerk has only one scroll, apparently in the process of being rolled up in the narrative present of the painting. The difference between the number of scrolls is emphasized not only by the actual depiction of the two vs. one scroll, but also by the character *yī* 壹 (one, first) appearing on the first scroll held by the red clerk.⁵⁴ The fact that the number of the scrolls is doubly stressed

51 Ledderose 1981: Pl. 1. The same gesture appears in the Cosmology painting (see Kósa 2013).

52 See e.g. Soymié 1981: 171–172 [*shan tongzi dan, e tongzi lü* 善童子丹, 惡童子綠]; Kwon 1999: 69–70; Nakano 1992: pl. 3; Soymié 1966: 46; 74. fig. 1; 46 (in this case on the scrolls it is explicitly stated that file of good and bad (deeds) [*shanbu* 善簿, *e'bu* 惡簿]; Fong 1992: 338–339. Pl. 74c, 74e, 74f.—(as for Fig. 12.3 cf. Ledderose 1981: Pl. 1; Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1992: 90).

53 On the other hand, in one respect, the Sandōzu differs from other Ten Kings paintings, as there the good deeds clerk is not depicted with bestial features, see e.g. Kajitani 1979: 23. Pl. 1; Nakano 1992: pl. 2; Nakano 1992: 32–33, pl. 20; Nakano 1992: 37, pl. 25. On another painting in Musée Guimet one can see the two clerks: that of the bad deeds has a menacing face and an open scroll, while the other has a calm face and a closed scroll (Soymié 1966: 55; 78. fig. 6). The 12–13th century paintings of Jin Chushi 金處士 in the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston) display the green-robed clerks with an ape- or monster-like face (Fong 1992: 338–339, pl. 74c, 74e, 74f).

54 Yoshida 2009: 9, n. 32; 2010: 704, n. 33.

clearly indicates its importance. Consequently, the painter draws the viewers' attention to the fact that in this case the good deeds surpass the bad deeds, thus the brown-skinned person should in theory pass with a mild judgment.

Behind the brown-skinned person we can see a white-skinned figure, accompanied by three demon-guards, with a cangue around his⁵⁵ neck. He will be evidently judged right after the first man is led away. The fact that his sins are graver than those of the person in front of him can be conjectured by two independent elements. First, the white-skinned person is accompanied by three guards with various weapons, while the brown-skinned person is guarded by only one demon-guard without any weapon. Secondly, the white-skinned person has a cangue around his neck, while the brown-skinned person has nothing that would hinder his movements. Cangues, borrowed from real-life judicial processes of medieval China,⁵⁶ were widely used motifs in Ten Kings paintings to express that the person was guilty (S.3961, P.2003, P.2870, P.4523), thus here a contrast is evidently emphasized. The slightly cowering pose of the second person (a common feature of those with cangues) contrasted with the upright bearing of the brown-skinned person (though evidently influenced by his demon-guard's firm grasp) further refers to the same difference. In sum, the painting seems to suggest that considering the number of his good "files", his single guard, the lack of cangue, and his upright standing, the first, brown-skinned person has committed much less sin than the one behind him.

Taking the amount of sins into consideration, it would be thus logical, if we met the brown-skinned person in R3 (i.e. at the level of human reincarnations) or even R5 (Paradise), while the white-skinned person was taken to R5 (the level of hellish tortures). This would be the expected outcome of a fair judgment, a commonplace of punishing the vicious ones and rewarding (or at least punishing to a lesser extent) the person with less sins. This truism, however, as the iconography suggests, is not the message of this particular painting.

Before we proceed, a further feature of the painting must be considered: the symbolism of the colours. At a first glance, the rather conspicuous difference between the skins of the two persons to be judged might be coincidental: people in medieval China evidently differed in the colour of their skin

55 In her talk at Dublin, J. Ebert (2009b) argued that the white-skinned person is a woman. Though this is a possibility, I will refer to this figure as a man, though the sex of this figure does not influence my interpretation. Moreover, it should be noted that I do not share J. Ebert's opinion that these two figures are identical with the donors mentioned in the inscription.

56 Legal and judicial terminology is also amply present in the text itself (Teiser 1994: 168).

(even if not to the extent present here). However, if one scrutinizes the figures that appear in the register of human incarnations and the ones in the hell scene, one cannot avoid the question: is it a realistic depiction or a symbolic one? This question arises because all the eight figures in R₃ (human reincarnations) have white skin, while all the four figures in R₅ (hell) have brown skin. Is it possible that merchants (being always on the roads) and farmers (working all day in the fields) here had a realistically depicted white skin, while all morally vicious people accidentally had brown skins in medieval China?

A more probable solution is that colours are used symbolically: those with white skin belong to the relatively luminous region, while those with brown skin belong to the darker region. This symbolical usage of white and brown is furthermore corroborated by the fact that all figures associated with the light principle (everybody in the paradisiacal scene, the Manichaean priests, the donors, the Mānī statue, all human reincarnations, the judge) have white skin, while everybody associated with the dark aspect (all the demon-guards and the demon-clerks, as well as all the persons tortured in the hell scene) have a different (brown or green) skin. There is no exception to this general rule.

Thus the colour of these two figures' skin should be interpreted in a symbolic way: they express their inner characteristics (not their physical appearance), which is evidently related to their deeds in the past and their fate in the future. If colours are thus used symbolically, it is difficult not to arrive at the conclusion that the brown-skinned person is heading towards his type (into hell where everybody has brown skin), while the white-skinned figure will ultimately go to the human reincarnations where everybody has a white skin. They belong to two different realms.

Furthermore, precisely under the brown-skinned person in R₄, there is another one, the left figure under the fiery wheel in R₅ (Fig. 12.2/b). Though these two figures are not necessarily identical, they are rather similar: they have exactly the same colour of their skin, exactly the same thin hair and the rather characteristic display of teeth. Neither the colour of the skin, nor the teeth are repeated in the case of any other figures in the painting.

The similarity between a person judged and later tormented is not confined to the Sandōzu. In one of the Ningbo Ten Kings painting mentioned above (preserved in Berlin-Dahlem,⁵⁷ in nearly the same form in the Nara National

57 Ledderose 1981: Pl. 1. As Ledderose (1981: 36) demonstrates, the Berlin-Dahlem painting belongs to the Kōtōin 高桐院 (Kyoto) set.

Museum⁵⁸ and in a Japanese private collection⁵⁹), a woman with long hair is being judged, while in the lower part, though it had not been noticed before, evidently a very similar (probably the same) woman is being tormented by a monster (Fig. 12.3/a).⁶⁰ These two figures are the only women in the painting, and not only are their hair, their dress and countenance the same, but they also display the same movement of head. This scene is typical of the continuous style: temporal events (a woman in cangue is judged, later on the cangue is removed, and being fixed to the ground/pole, she is exposed to cruel tortures) are expressed by repeating the same figure with all her characteristics without the physical boundary indicating temporal change. Moreover, similarly to the Sandōzu, the two figures of the woman are placed close to each other.

Therefore, the similarity between the brown-skinned persons in R4 and R5 probably suggests a future event; this person under judgment in the narrative present of the painting will be soon taken away to hell to suffer under the fiery wheel in the narrative future. In sum, the use of the technique of Ningbo Ten Kings paintings, the colour of the skin, the display of teeth and the positioning of the brown-skinned figures all point to the conclusion that here the brown-skinned person's future fate in hell is foreshadowed.

After the judge makes his detrimental decision, the guard will take the brown-skinned man to hell, and the white-skinned figure steps forward in front of the judge. Since he belongs to the “white ones”, he will evidently go to one of the human reincarnations (not to paradise because there are no human beings there).

It can be furthermore surmised, though not proved, that the four scenes in R3 do not only refer to the four possible human paths, but that the white-skinned man will go through these human forms, thus not one but four subsequent human reincarnations are assumed, probably to be read from left to right. This can be reinforced by the fact that all four scenes in R3 display two persons, which suggests that here four reincarnations of the white-skinned person in some social interaction is depicted in four situations: in the first three scenes, the relation between the two persons seems to be that of equals, while in the fourth case this relationship becomes hierarchical. The importance of social relations is expressed in *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* and also in

58 Nara National Museum 2009: 86.

59 Tokura collection, see Ledderose 1981: Pl. 2. Further similar examples include the Seventh King in the Art Museum of Princeton University and the Zendōji 善導寺 temple in Fukuoka (Ledderose 1981: 35).

60 Cf. Ledderose 1981: Pl. 1; Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1992: 90.

colophons attached to it: “If you wish to seek peace and happiness and to dwell among humans and gods ...”;⁶¹ “May she (the wife of the writer, G.K.) be born in a fine place, encounter good people, and always meet with kindness and goodness”;⁶² “(May she) be reborn in a happy place, and encounter good people.”⁶³

Moreover, according to the traditional Chinese view of four types of people (*simin* 四民), merchants (*shang* 商), depicted on the left side, are at the bottom of the social hierarchy, while the last figure on the right, a scholar-official (*shi* 士) in this traditional system, would be at the top of the society. Between them are the artisans, craftsmen (*gong* 工) and the peasants (*nong* 農).⁶⁴ This succession is, from the Chinese point of view, evidently a hierarchically progressing one from left to right. Thus, the painting might suggest that though the white-skinned person has committed numerous sins, after four human reincarnations he can even achieve the status of a scholar or an aristocrat.⁶⁵

61 Teiser 1994: 217.

62 Teiser 1994: 105.

63 Teiser 1994: 106.

64 Yoshida 2010: 698. For a similar, albeit later, depiction, see the illustration of the four social classes in *Xinbian duixiang siyan* 新編對相四言 (“A Newly Compiled Illustrated Four-Word Glossary”) from 1436. The representatives of the four social classes wear clothes covered with symbolic designs that seem to be similar to, or even identical with, those of Daēnā’s attendants in the Realm of Light register (one of the merchants: golden stars on a brown surface; one of the artisan: golden circle with two line segments under it on a reddish surface; peasants: without design; scholar-official: the same as in the artisan’s case but on a white surface). These eight figures also share some gestures, parts of clothing, and objects in their hand, which might be incidental or carry some symbolic meaning.

65 In addition to depicting the four social classes, it cannot be completely excluded that from a Manichaeon point of view the fourth figure in white robe and dark cap can be at the same time identified as an elect. This identification can be substantiated by the change of colour of the Manichaeon elects’ cap by Song and Yuan times in southeast China. The white headwear, often depicted in Turfan materials, probably because of the persecutions, became a dark (purple or black) cap (*mao* 帽) by this time, as illustrated by the following two quotations: “The ‘vegetarian demon worshippers’ are particularly numerous in Sanshan (i.e. Fujian). Their leaders wear purple caps and loose robes and their women wear black caps and white garments. They call themselves the Society of the Religion of Light. The Buddha whom they worship is clad in white and they cite from the scriptures the phrase ‘The White Buddha also called the Lord of the World’ as their proof text. They also take from the Diamond Sūtra the ‘First Buddha, Second Buddha, Third, Fourth and Fifth Buddha’ (i.e. the list of the five Tathāgatas), for they regard their Buddha as the Fifth Buddha. He is also known as Mo Moni [Mār Mānī, G.K.]” Trans. S.N.C. Lieu (1992: 287). *Fozu tongji* T2035: 0431a–0431b: 喫菜事魔三山尤熾，為首者紫帽寬衫，婦人黑冠，白服。稱為明教

Attaining rebirth in a noble family is also overtly emphasized in the *Scripture on the Ten Kings*, though the other three classes are never mentioned:

Uphold this scripture and you will avoid the underground prisons (hells, G.K.); / Copy it and you will be spared calamity and illness. (...) You will ascend to a high rank in your place of rebirth, / You will be rich, noble, and enjoy a long posterity. (...) If you wish to seek riches and nobility and a family with a long life span, / You should copy the text of this scripture, obey it, and uphold it. (...) You should cultivate the commissioning of this scripture, / and you will be able to do away with⁶⁶ the sufferings of the underground prisons, / Be reborn into a powerful and noble family, / and forever be protected by good spirits. (...) And you can be reborn into a powerful, rich, and devout family.⁶⁷

Consequently, according to this interpretation, the brown-skinned person with fewer sins goes to hell, while the second, white-skinned person with more sins will go to a human reincarnation, or, even more probably, through four human reincarnations, and might eventually become a scholar or an aristocrat.⁶⁸ What is thus the logic of these events, why is a seemingly less vicious person judged more severely than a person with more sins?

會，所事佛衣白。引經中所謂白佛言世尊。取金剛經一佛、二佛、三、四、五佛，以為第五佛又名末摩尼。“Its deity is called the ‘Messenger of Light’ and it also has names [of deities] like the ‘Buddha of Flesh’, the ‘Buddha of Bones’ and the ‘Buddha of Blood’. Its followers wear white garments and black caps.” Trans. S.N.C. Lieu (1992: 287). *Weinan wenji* 渭南文集 5.8a. (Wang 1992: 306–307): 其神號曰明使，又有肉佛、骨佛、血佛等號。白衣，烏帽。As “vegetarian demon worshippers” were not necessarily Manichaeans, in the first source I have quoted a longer passage from the text to show that the author in fact had Manichaeans in mind. It should be noted that the inscription of the Sandōzu probably also mentions a “vegetarian temple” (*caiyuan* 菜院).

66 Instead of ‘endure’, here I chose a variant reading (Teiser 1994: 208, n. 116).

67 Teiser 1994: 207–208.

68 Without the details expounded here, Gulácsi seems to share this interpretation: “Just as the heavenly scene, they (register 3 and 5, G.K.) too are connected to the judgment scene. In their case, however, the connection is expressed through physical links, since they are located directly above and below the depiction of the judgment. They both show the possible outcome of the judge’s verdict. The fourth scene, register 3, captures examples of good reincarnation as members of human society. (...) The fifth scene, register 5 captures another possible destination for reincarnation that would result from the unfavorable judgment of the soul” (Gulácsi 2008: 5).

The explanation, I think, was conspicuously and clearly indicated by the painter: the white-skinned person has the protective and helping Daēnā placed precisely above him in R₄, while the brown-skinned person is neither protected nor helped by anybody. Thus the different fate after the judgment is decided not simply by the objective evaluation of the deeds but also by the additional helping forces which appear at the moment of judgment. Floating above the white-skinned person with her entourage, Daēnā actually accompanies him to the judgment and will evidently offer help, perhaps witnessing the white-skinned captive's faith and good deeds. As we can surmise that a Manichaean deity would naturally protect and help Manichaean believers, it is probable that the white-skinned person is a Manichaean believer, who, despite committing several sins (especially if considered against the background of strict Manichaean rules), was an auditor with deep faith, who is thus saved by Daēnā at his last hour. If R₃ indeed visualizes the fate of the white-skinned person, evidently he can only be an auditor, as an elect would ideally go to the Realm of Light. The Chinese Manichaean *Hymnscroll* (H) abound with supplications for mercy and forgiveness of sins committed by Manichaean believers, usually auditors, nearly always directed to a certain Manichaean deity or certain deities.⁶⁹ Moreover, the inscription clearly states that the painting is an offering on behalf of a married Manichaean auditor, Zhang Siyi 張思義, who is the leader of the disciples (*toubao dizi* 頭保弟子), disciples here most probably referring to other lay followers (auditors):

Zhang Siyi from a parish(?) called Dongzheng, who is (a lead)er of the disciples, / together with his (wife), Xinniang from the family of (Zheng), joyously offer / a sacred [silk painting] of the King of the Underworld to be [respectfully] housed / in the temple of vegetarians [Manichaeans, G.K.] of the Baoshan mountain. They wish (to provide) it as [eternal] offering and prayer of preserving / peace, wishing (king's? sacred?) [- -] (peaceful) day!⁷⁰

69 H011, H028, H029, H046, H054, H064, H080, H121, H148–150, H358–359, H371, H393, H404, H414, H415.

70 東鄭茂(頭)保弟子張思義 / 偕(鄭)氏辛(娘)喜捨 / 冥王聖(頓恭)入 / 寶(山菜)院 [永](充)供養(祈保) / 平安(願)(王?聖?) [- -] (安?) 日。(Yoshida 2009: 8, 2010: 704, 2012: 8a). Round brackets mean partly damaged characters, square brackets indicate hardly visible characters. Trans. Takao Moriyasu with slight changes (Yoshida 2009: 11, n. 33; 2010: 704–705, n. 34; Gulácsi 2009: 1, n. 3). Though because of the physical visibility of the characters, the translation is not completely secure, the overall message is clear (cf. Yoshida 2009: 8, 2010: 704).

It is well known that among Buddhists ‘the transfer of merits’ was a fundamental motivation behind copying scriptures and donating paintings or statues. This motivation eminently featured in Ten Kings scriptures and paintings where the severe judgment of a sinner could be alleviated by the donation of scriptures or statues, thus transferring this merit to annul or at least diminish the sins of the deceased, usually a kin of the donor.⁷¹ As some Uyghur texts attest, this practice was not unknown in Manichaean circles either.⁷²

In this respect it should be emphasized that the scene of R2 seems to be precisely the donation scene mentioned in the inscription: a young person in brown garment offers a scroll of painting (perhaps the one we are looking at) or a scripture to a Manichaean priest clad in white (Fig. 12.2). The act of donation most probably takes place in a Manichaean monastery (*baoshan caiyuan* 寶山菜院 in the inscription), which is indicated by the Mānī-statue and the incense burner in the middle. Though the exact identity of the left side figures in R2 might require further investigation, the overall message that R2 is a donation scene seems to me the most plausible interpretation. This act of donation might have been followed or accompanied by the seated elect’s sermon on the favourable consequences of the donation, thus Zs. Gulácsi’s label of the scene as the “Sermon around a Statue of Mani”⁷³ is also rather fitting. As the hand gestures of the four human figures in R2 indicate, in the foreground an act of donation takes place, during which the standing young figure holds the scroll to be donated and the white-clad Manichaean priest accepts it with hands joined and slightly raised. In the background the seated Manichaean priest offers a sermon on the consequences of this donation and the seated secular figure accepts this teaching with the same gesture of joined hands. Thus the scene of donation in the foreground and the scene of sermon in the background take place simultaneously and create a unique balance between the acts of offering (scroll and sermon) and the acceptance of these on both sides.

As for the identity of the figures on the left side of R2, if J. Ebert is right that the white-skinned person in the judgment register (R4) is a woman, then it cannot be excluded that the seated figure is her husband (mentioned in the inscription) and the standing figure is her son, since the facial features

71 Von Gabain 1973: 49; Teiser 1994: 202–203, 215, Teiser 1993: 121, Teiser 1999: 180–181.

72 Klimkeit 1993: 374–375, Clark 1982: 179–180, 190–191. L.V. Clark (1982: 156–158, 210) remarks that the transfer of merit (Uighur *buyan*, Sanskrit *puṇya*) in the *Pothi-book* can be most probably explained by the earlier Buddhist commitment of the donor (Āryaman Fristum Qoštr).

73 Gulácsi 2008: 4.

of these two men are rather similar. The close relation between these two secular figures and the white-skinned person is also evidenced by their spatial arrangement of being placed precisely along the same vertical axis in R2 and R4, respectively.

If this interpretation is correct, then the merits accrued by this act of donation might be the ultimate cause of Daēnā's appearance in R4 to help the white-skinned person on whose behalf the donation was performed by the brown-gowned young man, positioned in the same left part of the painting. The brown-skinned person most probably represents non-Manichaeans, who go to hell even if their sins are not as numerous, but not being under the protection of a member of the Manichaean pantheon, are bound to suffer eternal damnation, as the rather reliable *al-Fihrist* quotes Mānī himself saying: "These are the three roadways upon which the souls of men are divided. One of them leads to the Gardens [of Paradise] and is for the Elect. The second one, leading to the world and things horrible, is for those who guard the cult and help the Elect [auditors, G.K.]. The third leads to the underworld and is for the man who is a sinner."⁷⁴ Here the word 'sinner' evidently designates those who are neither elects nor auditors, i.e. those who are not Manichaeans. Gulácsi aptly labelled this scene as Daēnā's "Intervention with a Judgment",⁷⁵ though this intervention, I argue, is offered only for the white-skinned Manichaean person.⁷⁶

Perhaps it is not only a mere coincidence that the dedicational inscription was placed precisely between the beneficent Daēnā and the white-skinned Manichaean person, indicating that the dedicators confess that they, similarly to this person, have sinned, but they trust in Daēnā's saving help (Fig. 12.2/c). The inscription seems to connect precisely the group of the beneficent deity riding on the cloud and the group that are escorting the Manichaean convict.

In sum, this part of the painting, instead of offering some commonplace about sinners going to hell and more virtuous going to human reincarnations, rather gives a detailed and iconographically argued teaching about non-Manichaeans' fate and about Manichaean auditors who are helped by a Manichaean deity (Daēnā). The painter expressed his views with the help of the duality of contrasting colours (brown and white skin) and positions (Daēnā

74 Dodge 1970: 796.

75 Gulácsi 2009: 3.

76 If this hypothesis is correct, it is difficult not to observe that in this painting, since garments are removed, the Manichaean identity could be expressed only by the colour of the skin: a white one of the Manichaean believer (even if he was not an elect) and a conspicuously different colour (brown) in the case of the non-Manichaean person.

above the white-skinned person and the brown-skinned persons under one another).

On the other hand, if this interpretation is correct, it is also clear that the prototype of the present painting was not part of Mānī's *Picture-Book* since that book of paintings demonstrably lacked the depiction of the auditors' fate:⁷⁷

The Apostle is asked: Why when you drew every thing in the Picture (-Book), did you not draw the Purification of the Catechumens who shall be cleansed by Transmigration? (...) You [Mani] have made clear in that great *Picture(-Book)*; you have depicted the righteous one, how he shall be released and [brou]ght before the Judge and attain the land of li[ght]. You have] also drawn the sinner, how he shall die. [He] shall be [... s]et before the Judge and tried [...] the dispenser of justice. And he is thrown into gehenna, where he shall wander for eternity. Now, both of these have been depicted by you in the [grea]t *Picture(-Book)*, but why did you not depict [the ca]techumen? How he shall be released from his bo[dy], and how he shall be brought before the Judge and [...] reach the place ordained for him and [...] that he can rest in the place of rest f[or ever]. (...) Thus speaks the enlightener to t[hat] catechumen. It is not possible to depict the catechum[e]n in the *Picture(Book)*, because many [...] world[s] and [...] be[f]ore him from place to place. (...) However, it is not possible to depict the middle way of the puri[ficat]ion of the catechumen, because he shall not be purified in a single place; nor [clean]sed and washed there.⁷⁸

77 This information seems to be reinforced by the fact that the *Cosmology* painting, the content of which most probably derives from the *Picture-Book*, does not contain reference to the reincarnations of the auditors.

78 Trans. Gardner (1995: 241–242). *Kephalaia* 234,25–28, 235,1–13, 235,18–21, 236,1–4 (Polotsky, Böhlig 1940: 234–236): εὐαγγεῖον ἡπιοστολῶς καὶ καὶ εὐ/ακρεῖῖ ἔσθω νῆμ ἀτρίκων ἡπκ/ερεῖ πτοῦβο ἡπκατῆχοῦμενος / ετεωαγτοῦβαγ εἰμ πμεταγίςμος. (...) ἀκοῦ/ωνε̅ ἀβαλ εἰ̅ ἴνασ ἡρίκων εἰ̅ ἡνεῦ ἀκζωγρα[φ]ε ἡ/π/αδικαῖος ἡτρε ετεωαφωλ ἀβαλ ἡ̅ ἴνε ετεω[α]χι/τῆ εἰ̅ εἰ̅ ἡπκρίτης ἡφτερο τχωρα ἡποῦ[αῖνε ἀκ]ερεῖ ἀν ἡπρεφῆναβε ἴνε ετεωαφνοῦ φαγ ..[....]/[ε]ε]εῖ ἀρετῶ εἰ̅ εἰ̅ ἡπκρίτης ἡσετα.α.α.α.α. / πρεφῆεπ ἡσενα.α.α. ἀτρεεενα τετε-ωαφμαρε ἡεπ/τῆ φα ἀνηρε ἀζωγραφε οῦν ἡππνεῦ εἰ̅ τ[ἡ]σ ἡ/εἰκων ἡτεκ εἰ̅βε εῦ ἡπκ-ζωγραφε ἡταῦ μ[πκα]τῆ/χοῦμενος ἡτρε ετεωαφωλ ἀβαλ εἰ̅ πεφω[μα] ἡ̅ / ἴνε ετεωαγ-χιτῶ εἰ̅ εἰ̅ ἡπκρίτης ἡτε τερο / πμα εἰ̅ τῆω νεφ ἡπ . . ματ εἰ̅ φαῖταν α ... εἰ̅ ἡ̅ . / ἡαῖῆταν ω[α ἀνηρε] καὶ εἰ̅ εἰ̅ εἰ̅ ... (...) τότε πεξε πφωστῆρ ἀπκατῆχοῦμενος ε[ἴ]τῆνεῦ] ἡ̅ / σᾶμ ἀζωγραφε ἡπκατῆχοῦμε[ἡ]ος εἰ̅ τῆκων ε/πελῆ ἡωφε ἡ . . κοσμος ἡ̅ εἰ̅/[τ]εφερεν κατᾶ ἡα ἡα (...) ἀλλα ἴνεσότης ἡμετε ἡτε τῆι/[ἡ]το]ῦβο ἡπκατῆχοῦμενος πετε ἡ̅ σᾶμ ἀζωγραφε / [ἡ]να]ς εἰ̅ πελῆ εωαγτοῦβαγ εἰ̅ εἰ̅ οῦμα ἡοῦωτ ἡσε/[κα.α.α.]ριζε ἡμακ ἡσε.α.α.α.α.α.α. εἰ̅ εἰ̅. Cf. Sundermann 2005: 374.

Though distant in both time and space, this slightly fragmented chapter of the *Kephalaia* emphasizes the difficulties of depicting the auditors' (catechumens') fate, as it involves some kind of multiple process of purification. Interestingly, this might on the other hand reinforce the interpretation given above of the four human ways of rebirth as being a continuous chain of rebirths, rather than the depiction of four independent possibilities of rebirth in human forms. This would mean that Chinese Manichaeans in Zhejiang, borrowing from the iconography of the contemporary religious practice of Ten Kings tradition, in fact supplemented Mānī's *Picture-Book* with the depiction of the auditors' fate, understandably relevant information for all auditors (including the donors of the present painting).

This would in turn also account for the fact that the painter applied the already established Buddhist iconography of Ten Kings for this purpose: these Chinese Manichaeans in Zhejiang did not possess a transmitted version of the judgment scene from an earlier Manichaean tradition, thus they had to adopt an established Chinese iconography. It is, of course, also possible, that they used Ten Kings iconography simply because it was widespread and widely circulated, and also easily copied, an important aspect in Manichaean mission.⁷⁹

The two Manichaean judgment scenes analyzed in this paper derive from different cultural backgrounds (9–10th century Turfan and 13–14th Zhejiang), thus the iconography they apply differs greatly. Nevertheless, interestingly, both feature a judge with two persons under judgment in front of him and both place the emphasis on the difference between these persons: in my interpretation the Turfan painting distinguishes two different crimes (those committed with hands or feet, and those committed against animals and vegetation), while the much more complex Sandōzu contrasts the fate of a non-Manichaean and a Manichaean believer; the latter being more sinful, but still being less punished because of the intervention of the Manichaean Daēnā on his part. This intervention is in turn the result of the merits accrued by his (or his relative's) act of donation of a Manichaean painting or scripture to a Manichaean monastery.

Although both the MIK III 4959 v and the Yamato Bunkakan Sandōzu paintings depict a judgment scene, their main message lies not simply in describing but much more in admonishing Manichaean believers not to commit various kinds of misdeeds (MIK III 4959 v), and encouraging them to exercise possible means, such as donation (Sandōzu), to remedy already committed sins.

79 It should be noted that the Cosmology painting, which most probably goes back to the *Picture-Book*, also applies the Ten Kings of Hell iconography in its judgment scene.

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Remains of the Religion of Light in Xiapu (霞浦) County, Fujian Province

Ma Xiaohu

This paper draws attention to the recent discoveries in Xiapu County, Fujian province, on the development and survival of the Religion of Light in this area. Whilst this sect could have disappeared like many others, a legend about Lin Deng survived and won popularity among the locals. His merits were recorded in many local gazettes and he was conferred with the title of “Chief Thunder Apostle” by the officials with the approval of the imperial throne. Since then this cult has gained legal protection, tremendous influence among local people, and has survived for nearly a millennium. Most importantly, quite a few manuscripts of this cult survive and are now in the possession of priests in Baiyang Township.

Xiapu is a county in the northeast part of Fujian Province, bordering the East China Sea. Its administrative history over the centuries is summarized below:

Dynasty	Reign/year	Xiapu
Tang 唐 618–907	Wude 武德 6 (623)	Changxi County 长溪县
Yuan 元 1271–1368	Zhiyuan 至元 23 (1286)	Funing Prefecture 福宁州
Ming 明 1368–1644	Hongwu 洪武 2 (1369)	Funing County 福宁县
	Chenghua 成化 9 (1473)	Funing Prefecture 福宁州
Qing 清 1644–1911	Yongzheng 雍正 12 (1734)	Funing Prefecture 福宁府 Xiapu County 霞浦县
Republic 民国 1911–1949		Belongs to Minhai Circuit 闽海道
People's Republic of China 中华人民共和国 1949–		Belongs to Fuan District 福安专区 Ningde District 宁德地区 Ningde City 宁德市

Xiapu County is divided into two sub-districts 街道, six towns 镇, three townships 乡, and three townships of minorities. The remains of the Religion of Light are in: Baiyang Township 柏洋乡 and Yantian She Nationality Township 盐田畚族乡.

The *Moni Gong* 摩尼宫 (Mani Temple) in Taimu Mountain belonged to the Funing Prefecture until the 4th year of Qianlong 乾隆 (1739), but is now under the jurisdiction of Fuding City 福鼎市.

1 *Moni Gong* 摩尼宫 (Mani Temple)

Dr. Ralph Kauz, in his lecture “Der ‘Mo-ni-gong’ 摩尼宫—ein zweiter erhaltener manichäischer Tempel in Fujian?” delivered to the 4th International Conference of Manichaeism Studies (Berlin, July 1997), cited evidence from local gazettes regarding this temple. One of the earliest references to it appeared in an essay written in the year 879 about Mount Taimu 太姥山 by Lin Song 林嵩 which was published in a local gazette. Although Kauz mentioned the conversion of Lin Deng 林瞪 to the Religion of Light in his biography in *Xiapu Baiyang-xiang Lin-shi zu pu* 霞浦柏洋乡林氏族谱 (Genealogy of Lin Clan in Baiyang Township, Xiapu [County]), he did not cite the full text.¹ That was left to Prof. Lin Wushu who published it in 2003, but he stated that we needed more evidence than the name of the temple to establish whether it was used by the followers of Mani.² That evidence has now come to light.

Chanyang Village 禅洋村 (present-day Shenyang Village 神洋村) belongs to the Baiyang Township. Sun Mian 孙绵 one of the ancestors of the Sun Clan in Chanyang Village, established the Longshou Si (Dragon Head Temple) of the Religion of Light in Shangwan natural village in A.D. 966.

1 In: R.E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann, P. Zieme, eds, *Studia Manichaica. IV. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.–18. Juli 1997*, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berichte und Abhandlungen Sonderband 4 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000) 334–341.

2 Lin Wushu 林悟殊, *Zhong gu san yi jiao bian zheng* 中古三夷教辩证 (Debate and Research on the Three Persian Religions: Manichaeism, Nestorianism, and Zoroastrianism in Mediaeval Times), (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 2005) 54.

2 Sun Mian 孙绵 and Longshou Si 龙首寺 (Dragon Head Temple)

2.1 *Sun Mian's 孙绵 (fl. 966) Biography in Minguo Sun shi zongpu 民国孙氏宗谱 (Genealogy of Sun Clan Published During the Republic Period [1911–1949])*

This Genealogy was edited by the residents of Chanyang Village 禅洋村, Baiyang Township, in Minguo Renshen 壬申 (1932), where it states that there is “*Sun Mian dashi laili 孙绵大师来历*” (Background of Master Sun Mian) in it.³

摘抄《孙绵大师来历》

公，孙姓，讳绵，字春山，禅洋人，初礼四都本都渔洋龙溪西爽大师门徒诚庵陈公座下，宋太祖乾德四年丙寅肇朔本堂，买置基址而始兴焉，诚为本堂一代开山之师祖也。本堂初名龙首寺，元时改乐山堂，在上万，今俗名盖竹堂。门徒一人号立正，即林廿五公，幼名林瞪，上万桃源境人，真宗咸平癸卯年二月十三日诞生，天圣丁卯年拜孙绵大师为师。[廿]五公卒嘉祐己亥年三月初三日，寿五十七，墓在上万芹前坑。孙绵大师墓葬禅东墘对面路后。显扬师徒俱得习传道教，修行皆正果。

Excerpt from *The Background of Master Sun Mian*

Sire's surname is Sun, his first name is Mian, and he styled himself Chunshan and was from Chanyang. He at first gave a salute to Sire Chen Cheng'an who was disciple of Master Xishuang from Fourth District (native district) Yuyang Longxi. In the 4th year of Qiande of Taizu of Song

3 Chen Jinguo 陈进国 & Wu Chunming 吴春明, 论摩尼教的脱夷化和地方化—以福建霞浦县的明教史迹及现存科仪文本为例 (On the De-exoticism & Localization of Manichaeism—with reference to Historical Relics & Existing Ritual Scriptures of Mingjiao in Xiapu, Fujian, 台湾佛光大学“民间儒教与救世团体”国际学术研讨会 Taiwan Fo Guang da xue “Minjian Rujiao yu jieshi tuanti” guoji xueshu yantaohui (International Conference of Popular Confucianism and Redemptive Societies, Taiwan Fo Guang University), 2009-6-9–11. “Fujian Xiapu xian faxian Mingjiao yiwu 福建霞浦县发现明教遗物”, in *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu 世界宗教研究 (Studies in World Religions)*, 2009, no. 2, inside back cover. Chen Jinguo 陈进国 & Lin Jun 林颢, 2010. “Mingjiao de xin faxian—Fujian Xiapu xian Monijiao shiji bianxi 明教的新发现—福建霞浦县摩尼教史迹辨析” (New Manichaeism Discovery—an Analysis of the Relics of Manichaeism in Xiapu County, Fujian), in: Li Shaowen 李少文 (ed.) 2010. *Bu zhi yuyi—Zhongyang meiyuan “yiwu ketang” mingjiao jiangyan lu 不止于艺—中央美院“艺文课堂”名家讲演录 (Beyond Skill)*, Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, pp. 348–349, Fig. 6.

Dynasty (Bingyin) (966) he initiated the construction of this temple, bought the land and began to build it. He really was the founder of this temple. This temple at first was called Longshou Si (Dragon Head Temple) and was changed the name as Yaoshan tang (Loving Mountains Hall) during the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368). It is in Shangwan and its popular name is Gaizhu tang (Temple Covered by Bamboo). One of his disciples was Lizheng, i.e. Twenty Fifth Sire of Lin Clan who's original name was Lin Deng and was from Shangwan Taoyuan. He was born on the 13th day of the 2nd month of Xianping of Zhenzong (Guimao) (March 18, 1003) and formally acknowledged Master Sun Mian as his master in Tiansheng Dingmao (1027). [Twenty] Fifth Sire died on the 3rd day of 3rd month of Jiayou (Jihai) (April 17, 1059) at the age of 57 and his tomb is at Qinqiankeng of Shangwan. Master Sun Mian's tomb is behind the road opposite Chandongqian. Both prominent master and disciple studied and preached moral education and reached the spiritual state of an immortal by practicing the religion.

It is not certain whether the Dragon Head Temple was a temple of the Religion of Light in the guise of Buddhist or Daoist one when it was built.

2.2 Longshou Si 龙首寺 (*Dragon Head Temple*) (Yaoshan Tang 乐山堂 [*Loving Mountains Temple*])

According to “*Xiapu xian Mingjiao (Monijiao) shiji diaocha baogao* 霞浦县明教（摩尼教）史迹调查报告” (Report of the investigation of the remains of the Religion of Light [Manichaeism] in Xiapu County) (2009/5/25) by Wu Chunming 吴春明, etc., Longshou Si is in Tangmenlou 堂门楼 and the distance between it and Shangwan Village is about 2km. Facing west, its longitude and latitude are: N27°, 05', 586", E119°, 54', 494" and its height is 585 m above sea level. It was established in 966 and was repaired during the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties (1271–1911), but was destroyed by a typhoon in 2006.⁴ The name of the temple was changed to *Yaoshan Tang* 乐山堂 during the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368). “Yaoshan” may be from a Chinese idiom: *Renzhe yao shan, zhizhe yao shui* 仁者乐山，智者乐水 “A true man loves the mountains; a wise man loves the sea.” So the name of this temple can be translated as “Loving Mountains Temple”.

4 I really appreciate that Prof. Lin Wushu and Dr. Qian Jiang 钱江 of Hong Kong University sent the report to me.

Today the ruins of Yaoshan Tang can still be seen. The length of the ruin is 40.3 M and its width is 38.6 M, its area is 1560 m² and what remains consist of:

- A. Bases of columns constructed during the Song, Yuan and Ming dynasties; including the base of one column with lotus petals decoration, dating from the Song Dynasty.
- B. The foundations of the shrine.
- C. Columns, beams, square-columns, bucket arches. The date of last repair is recorded on the main beam: *Da Qing Jiaqing shiyi nian* 大清嘉庆十一年 (the 11th year of Jiaqing of Great Qing)—1806.
- D. Tiles.
- E. Flight of steps. A flight of nine steps leading up to the front door.

An ancient Chinese juniper (*Sabina chinensis*) 桧, several hundred years old, still grows in the original courtyard. This dry tree again sprouts leaves in the spring.⁵

It is not surprising that followers of the Religion of Light established a temple in the guise of Buddhist or Daoist one in southeast China in the 960's. One such disguised temple was *Chongshou Gong* 崇寿宫 which has been discussed by Prof. Samuel N.C. Lieu.⁶ Longshou Si survived for almost one thousand years while Chongshou Gong has disappeared. The survival of Longshou Si can be credited to Lin Deng although Sun Mian was his master and the founder of Longshou Si.

3 Lin Deng 林瞪 (1003–1059)

3.1 *Lin Deng's Biography in Jinantang Shangwan Lin shi zongpu* 济南堂上万林氏宗谱 (*Jinan Hall Genealogy of Lin Clan in Shangwan Village*)

Lin Wushu already mentioned Lin Deng in a note of an article written in 1995.⁷ He cited the text about Lin Deng in *Shangwan Lin shi zupu* 上万林氏族谱

5 Chen, Lin, 2010 (note 3), pp. 366, Figs. 15, 16.

6 S.N.C. Lieu, "A Lapsed Manichaeism's correspondence with a Confucian official (1264)—a study of the *Ch'ung-shou-kung chi* 崇寿宫记 of Huang Chen 黄震", in S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*, (Leiden: Brill, 1998) 98–125.

7 Lin Wushu 林悟殊, 摩尼教研究之展望 *Moni jiao yan jiu zhi zhan wang* (Prospects for the Studies of Manichaeism), 摩尼教及其东渐 *Moni jiao ji qi dongjian* (*Manichaeism and its Eastward Spread*), Taipei: Shuxin 淑馨 chubanshe, 1997, 263, note 13.

(Genealogy of Lin Clan in Shangwan village) copied by Lian Lichang 连立昌 in an article published in 2003.⁸ Lin Shundao cited the similar text copied by Lin Zizhou 林子周 in an article published in 2007.⁹

瞪公，宋真宗咸平六年癸卯二月十三日生，行二十五，字口，娶陈氏，生女二。长女屏俗出家为尼，卒附父墓左。次女适，卒亦附父墓左。天圣五年丁卯，公年二十五，乃弃俗入明教门，斋戒严肃，历二十有二年，功行乃成。至嘉祐四年己亥三月三日密时冥化，享年五十有六，葬于所居东头芹前坑。公歿后灵感卫民，故老相传，公于昔朝曾在福州救火有功，寻蒙有司奏封“兴福大王”，乃立闽县右边之庙以祀之，续蒙嗣汉天师亲书“洞天福地”四字金额一面，仍为奏封“洞天都雷使”，加封“贞明内院立正真君”，血食于庙，祈祷响应。每年二月十三日诞辰，二女俱崇祀于庙中，是日子孙必罗祭于墓，庆祝于祠，以为常式。¹⁰

Sire Deng was born on the 13th day of the 2nd month of the 6th year of Xianping of Song Zhenzong (Guimao) (March 18, 1003 A.D.), 25th in seniority among brothers and sisters and styled himself (...). He married with Miss Chen and had two daughters. His eldest daughter gave up the secular life, became a nun and was buried on the left side of her father's tomb. His second daughter married and was also buried on the left side of her father's tomb too. When Sire (Lin Deng) was 25 years old in the 5th year of Tiansheng (Dingmao) (1027), he gave up the secular life and converted to the Religion of Light (i.e. Manichaeism with Chinese characteristics). He abstained from meat, wine, etc. absolutely for 22 years and his merits and virtues were complete. He died on Mishi 密时 of the 3rd day of the 3rd month of the 4th year of Jiayou (Jihai) (April 17, 1059) at the age of 56 and was buried at Qinqiankeng—east from his residence. After his death, his spirit protected the people. It is said by the old people that Sire had merit of fighting fire in Fuzhou during the past dynasty and was soon conferred as “Great King of Promoting the Well-being” by the officials with the approval of the imperial throne and was offered

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- 8 Lin Wushu, 泉州摩尼教渊源考 *Quanzhou Moni jiao yuan yuan kao* (On the Origin of Manichaeism in Quanzhou), 华夏文明与西方世界 *Huaxia wen ming yu xi fang shi jie* (Chinese Civilization and the Western World), (Hong Kong: Bo shi yuan, 2003) 86–87.
- 9 Lin Shundao 林顺道, 摩尼教传入温州考 *Moni jiao chuan ru Wenzhou kao* (On the Spread of Manichaeism into Wenzhou), *Shi jie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究, *Studies of the Religions of the World*, 2007, 1, 129.
- 10 Chen, Lin, 2010 (note 3), pp. 344–345, Figs. 1–3.

sacrifices in the temple built in the right side of Min County city. Later the Heir of the Celestial Masters since the Han Dynasty personally wrote four characters which mean “Grotto-Heaven and Blissful Lands” on a horizontal golden board (for him). Sire was conferred as “Chief Thunder Apostle of the Grotto-Heaven” (by the officials with the court’s approval) and additional title of “Honest Perfect Lord of the Upright and Brilliant Inner Hall”, enjoys sacrifices in the temple, and responds to prays. On his birthday, the 13th day of the 2nd month in every year, his two daughters are offered sacrifices in the temple. His descendants certainly hold a memorial ceremony in front of his tomb and celebrate in the clan hall on this day. Such practice is (annual) routine.

Of all the emperors of the Song Dynasty, the most pious and enthusiastic believers in Daoism were the emperors Zhenzong 真宗 and Huizong 徽宗. In 1008, Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) issued an edict to the whole country “All the temples over the country which have been listed in the gazettes and have the capacity to benefit the people should be renovated and decorated with care.” Daoist temples have dotted the country since then. Zhenzong claimed a Daoist deity—Xuanyuan Emperor (軒轅皇帝, i.e. Yellow Lord 黃帝) as his ultimate ancestor in 1012.¹¹ É. Chavannes, P. Pelliot and S.N.C. Lieu outlined the story: Zhenzong initiated the compilation of a new collection of Daoist scriptures in 1016. The task was entrusted to Wang Qinruo 王钦若, who in turn had the assistance of other ministers, especially that of Zhang Junfang 张君房. In Fujian Zhang Junfang acquired “Daoist works and the scriptures of Mani, the Envoy of Light.” The Buddhist historian Zhipan 志磐 maintained that the Manichaeans managed to have one of their works included in the Daoist Canon by bribing the commissioners. The work concerned was the *Sūtra of the Two Principles and Three Moments* (*Er zong san ji jing* 二宗三际经).¹² If the Dragon Head Temple was a Manichaean temple in the guise of a Buddhist one at the beginning, it should be viewed as a pseudo-Daoist one in this circumstance. Manichaean works have not been found in the Daoist Canon, but some scriptures with Manichaean elements have been found at Xiapu.

11 Qing Xitai 卿希泰, *Zhongguo Dao jiao* 中国道教 (Chinese Daoism), Shanghai, 1994, v. 1, 45–47. Isabelle Robinet, *Taoism: Growth of a Religion*, tr. by Phyllis Brooks, Stanford 1997, 212–213.

12 É. Chavannes, P. Pelliot, “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine”, *Journal Asiatique*, 11^e sér., 1 (1913) 287–290, 292–301. Samuel N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, (Tübingen: Mohr, 1992) 268–270.

Previous dynasties had rewarded the accomplishments of a number of deities by granting titles to them, but starting in the eleventh century, the Song dynasty took this practice to new heights. In their enthusiasm to identify powerful local gods, bureaucrats awarded many honours to the more common deities. At the beginning of the twelfth century, local pantheons consisted largely of formerly human gods, who came from or had visited the districts in which they were worshipped. There is a story in Hong Mai's *Yijian zhi* 夷坚志 (*Record of the Listener*): in 1102, in Ningdu County 宁都县, Jiangxi province, a local man named Sun dreamt that a white-haired elderly man came to his house and asked him: "How can I get a title?" Sun realized that the man was a deity and responded, saying, "You must execute virtuous deeds, and you cannot hurt people." Five years later, local people prayed to the deity during a fire, and the fire suddenly ceased, just as though someone had put it out. The deity was then granted the title he had longed for.¹³ In such an atmosphere Lin Deng became a local god and was granted a title.

The Heir of the Celestial Masters since the Han Dynasty (*Si Han tianshi* 嗣汉天师) was the title of the successors of Zhang Daoling 张道陵 (34–156). This Zhang 张 family of Celestial Masters began to show their great influence during the North Song Dynasty (960–1127).¹⁴ The fact that one of the Celestial Masters wrote characters on a board for Lin Deng and the name—Great Perfected Zhang (*Zhang da zhenren* 张大真人) appeared in the list of gods of *The Divine Record of Loving Mountains Temple* (*Yaoshan tang shen ji* 乐山堂神记) indicate that this cult of Lin Deng has some relationship with *Tianshi dao* 天师道 (Celestial Masters School).

During the reign of Huizong (1101–1125) Daoism had reached its height again. The emperor was promoted by Lin Lingsu (林灵素, 1076–1120) to the rank of incarnate deity—"Great Thearch of Long Life" (*Changsheng dadi* 长生大帝). Lin Lingsu began to promote Thunder Rites and after his abrupt fall, Wang Wenqing (王文卿, 1093–1153) played a major role in establishing and propagating such Rites. His efforts made it popular among many *Shenxiao* (神霄 Divine Empyrean) traditions in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Guangdong, Fujian, Zhejiang, and Jiangxi. Those who venerated Chen Nan 陈楠, Bai Yuchan

13 V. Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127–1276*, Princeton, 1998, 9–10; 93–94. Its Chinese translation: 《变迁之神南宋时期的民间信仰》, tr. by Bao Weimin 包伟民, Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1999, 7, 90–91.

14 Qing Xitai 卿希泰, *Zhongguo Dao jiao* 中国道教 (Chinese Daoism), Shanghai, 1994, v. 1, 121–122. *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. By Fabrizio Pregadio, (London, New York: Routledge, 2008) v. 2, 981–984.

白玉蟾 (1194–1227?), and their disciples, meanwhile, also made Thunder Ritual central to their practice.¹⁵ It was in these circumstances that the title “Thunder Apostle” was granted to Lin Deng.

3.2 *“Ba shi zu Deng gong zan”* 八世祖瞪公赞 (*Eulogy of 8th Ancestor—Sire Deng*) in *Shangwan Lin shi zongpu* (*Genealogy of Lin Clan of Shangwan [Village]*)

“*Ba shi zu Deng gong zan*” was written by Lin Dengao 林登鳌 in the 22nd year of Jiaqing 嘉庆 (1816). Here is a selection of the Eulogy according to the photograph:

...试思庸人争利于生前，达人流芳于死后。古今当时则荣，没则已焉者，何可胜道哉。公于宋嘉祐间福州回禄救援有功，封为“兴福真人”，建庙于省垣，血食百世，其子若孙亦各立庙宇于城乡。每年二月度备祭品，庆祝华诞，以及岁时伏腊皆有祭，凡有求必灵，有祷必应焉。嗟乎！公以一布衣而享祀不忒，流芳百世，揆之古人，若矣公尽忠汉事，死为帝君；岳将竭力佐宋，没为正神；虽显晦不同，而乃圣乃神，宁不与之后先济美哉。裔孙庠生登鳌百拜敬撰¹⁶

Please think, a mediocre person scrambles for profit during his lifetime and a wise person hands down good reputation after he dies. How can we account for all the people who flourish at that time and leave nothing after their death from the ancient times till today. Sire made merit of fighting fire in Fuzhou during Jiayou reign (1056–1062) of Song Dynasty and was conferred as “Immortal of Promoting the Well-being”. A temple was established for him in the capital of the province and he enjoys the sacrifices for a hundred generations. His sons and grandsons established temples in cities and countryside too. Oblations are prepared piously and the celebrations for his birthday are held in the 2nd month of every year and there are memorial ceremonies (for him) in all the important festivals around the year. He responds to every plea and prayer. O! Sire has nothing wrong in his enjoying the sacrifices as a commoner and has a niche in the temple of fame. We can compare him with ancient people, such as Lord Guan (Guan Yu 关羽, ?–219) who sacrificed his life for the Kingdom of Shu Han (221–263) and became Saintly Emperor after his

15 Qing Xitai 卿希泰, *Zhongguo Dao jiao* 中国道教 (Chinese Daoism), Shanghai 1994, v. 3, 315–317. *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. By Fabrizio Pregadio (London, New York: Routledge 2008) v. 1, 627–629.

16 Chen, Lin, 2010, pp. 347–348, Fig. 5.

death and General Yue (Yue Fei 岳飞, 1103–1142) who did his utmost to assist the Song Dynasty and became god after his death. Although they are different in the degree of prominence, they are all saints and gods. How Sire of later period could not be on a par with them of the ancient time? Descendant, student of the County School, Dengao bows and writes with respect.

An initial impression might suggest that there is no relationship between the conversion of Lin Deng to the Religion of Light and the legend of his spirit. When the whole story is again considered, one realizes that: If this legend did not exist, Lin Deng's cult and Dragon Head Temple might have disappeared as did many other cults and temples of the Religion of Light. The legend made Lin Deng a local god of popular religion, although Lin Deng is not as prominent as Lord Guan and General Yue. This legend gave his cult legal protection and made it attractive to local people. So the legend is very important for the survival of this cult and Dragon Head Temple (i.e. Loving Mountains Temple).

3.3 *Records of Lin Deng's Fighting Fire in Local Gazettes*

More evidence of the deified Lin Deng are contained in the records of local gazettes.

“Xian Fan 仙梵” (Daoism and Buddhism) section of volume 15 of *Funing zhou zhi* 福宁州志 (Gazette of Funing Prefecture) published in the 44th year of Wanli 万历 (1616) of Ming Dynasty¹⁷ contains the account:

林瞪，上万人。嘉祐间，闽县前津门火，郡人望空中有人衣素衣，手持铁扇扑火，遂灭。遥告众曰：“我长溪上万林瞪也。”闽人访至其墓拜谒，事闻，勅书“兴福真人”。正德初，闽县令刘槐失辟，因祷之，夜梦神衣象服告以亡处，明日获之。

Lin Deng came from Shangwan. During the Jiayou reign, Qianjin Gate of Min County caught fire. People of the Prefecture saw that a person in white clothing in the sky used an iron fan in his hand to put out the fire and the fire was extinguished. He told the people in far distance: “I am Lin Deng from Shangwan of Changxi.” The people of Min County (then) visited his tomb and worshiped it. This event was reported to the court and Lin Deng was conferred as “Immortal of Promoting the Well-being”

17 *Wanli Funing zhou zhi* 万历福宁州志 (Gazette of Funing Prefecture published during the Wanli reign), (Beijing: Shu mu wen xian chu ban she, 1990) 403.

(for Lin Deng). During the early years of Zhengde (1506–1521) Liu Huai, the magistrate of Min County, lost a round flat piece of jade with a hole in its centre, he prayed for it, had a dream that the deity in clothing decorated with various images (i.e. Lin Deng) told him where it was. It was found next day.

Several local gazettes have similar accounts about Lin Deng's fighting fire: v. 32 "*Renwu zhi. Fang wai* 人物志. 方外" (Biographies. Buddhism and Daoism) of *Funing fu zhi* 福宁府志 (Gazette of Funing Prefecture) published in the 27th year of Qianlong reign (1762) of Qing Dynasty; "*Fujian liexian zhuan*. Song 福建列仙传. 宋" (Various immortals in Fujian. Song Dynasty) of *Fujian tong zhi* 福建通志 (Gazette of Fujian) published during the Republic period; v. 38 "*Liezhuan. Fangwai* 列传. 方外" (Biographies. Buddhism and Daoism) of *Xiapu xian zhi* 霞浦县志 (Gazette of Xiapu County) published during Republic period. All this evidence informs us that Lin Deng became a local god in the 11th century and was remembered by people until the 20th century. It is important for us to understand why the followers of his cult of the Religion of Light survive.

3.4 *Site of the Tomb of Lin Deng*

According to the report of the investigation of the remains of Religion of Light (Manichaeism) (25 May 2009) by Wu Chunming, etc., the site of Lin Deng's tomb is in the west of Qinqiankeng 芹前坑 and 1km from the village. Its longitude and latitude are: N27°, 05', 585", E119°, 54', 493" and its height above sea level is 588 m.

3.5 *Gupo gong 姑婆宫 (Female Electae Temple)*

In front of the tomb is the ruin of Gupo Gong 姑婆宫 (Female Electae Temple). It is a small level ground of about 90 m². It is surrounded by trees and faces south. Parts of the bases of the walls are still there. Three sides of the ruin are surrounded by walls of rubble.¹⁸

The title of the temple is of interest: Gupo 姑婆. In Longyan 龙岩 and Zhangping 漳平 of Fujian Province, Gupu Gong is the name of the temple of Mazu 妈祖—the protectress of seafarers, fisherman and merchants. In Xiapu, Gupo is a respectful form of address for a chaste woman who never marries and takes care of her family because her parents died early.¹⁹ But we can consider some historical records about Gupo.

18 Chen, Lin, 2010 (note 3), p. 366, Figs. 17, 18.

19 <http://www.ixiapu.com/bbs/read.php?tid-12171-fpage-1-page-7.html>.

In 1938, Mou Runsun 牟润孙 (1909–1988) cited a paragraph from *Song huiyao jigao* 宋会要辑稿 (Compiled manuscripts of the Important documents of the Song) in his article about Manichaeism of the Song Dynasty:

[宣和二年]十一月四日，臣僚言：一，温州等处狂悖之人，自称明教，号为行者。今来，明教行者各于所居乡村，建立屋宇，号为斋堂。如温州共有四十余处，并是私建无名额佛堂。每年正月内，取历中密日，聚集侍者、听者、姑婆、斋姊等人，建设道场，鼓扇愚民男女，夜聚晓散。²⁰

[Memorial submitted] on the fourth day of the eleventh month [of the second year of the Xuanhe reign period] [26 November 1120]

The officials say: “At the prefecture of Wen and other places are recalcitrant persons who proclaim themselves to be the ‘disciples’ (*xingzhe* = Sanskrit: *ācārin*) of the Religion of Light (*Mingjiao*)...

At present these followers of the Religion of Light set up buildings in the districts and villages of their abode which they called ‘vegetarian halls’ (*zhaitang*). In the prefecture of Wen for instance there are some forty such establishments and they are privately built and unlicensed Buddhist temples.

Each year, in the first (lunar) month, and on the day of mi (= Pth. myhr) in their calendar, they assemble together the Attendants [of the Law] (*Shi(fa)zhe*), the Hearers (*tingzhe*), the Paternal Aunts (*gupo*), the Vegetarian Sisters (*zhaijie*) and others who erect the Platforms of the Tao (Daochang = Bēma?) and incite the common folk, both male and female. They assemble at night and disperse at dawn.”²¹

A. Forte has explained *shizhe*, *tingzhe*, *gupo*, and *zhaijie* as male electi, male auditors, female electae, and female auditors respectively.²² *Gupo* 姑婆 in the name of the temple may mean female electa who should be the eldest daughter of Lin Deng.²³ The electa should be Qinqiankeng Long Feng Gupo 芹前坑龙

20 Mou Runsun 牟润孙: “Song dai zhi Moni jiao” 宋代之摩尼教 (Manichaeism of the Song Dynasty), *Furen xuezhì* 辅仁学志 (Furen Magazine) 1938, 7.

21 S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1992) 276.

22 A. Forte: “Deux études sur le manichéisme chinois”, *Toung Pao*, LIX, 1973, 234–235. Jason BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body: in Discipline and Ritual* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2000) 281, note 19.

23 Dr. Chen Jinguo believes that Long Feng gupo is the eldest daughter of Lin Deng and will

凤姑婆 (Dragon and Phoenix Female Electa of Qinqiankeng) in *The Divine Record of Loving Mountains Temple*. She was worshiped by this cult as goddess. According to the “Eulogy of 8th Ancestor—Sire Deng” by Lin Deng’ao, Gupo Gong should be one of the temples built by Lin Deng’s sons and grandsons. The Female Electae Temple was one of the temples of the Religion of Light. It should not be labeled as “unlicensed Buddhist temple” and destroyed around 1120.

It is difficult to compare ruin of Loving Mountains Temple and Female Electae Temple with Cao’an in Quanzhou. But we can compare some remains nearby with Cao’an.

4 *Feilu ta* 飞路塔 (Flying Road Pagoda)

It is well known that an inscription on the cliff surface of a mountain near Cao’an exhorts the worshippers to repeat:

勸念 清淨光明 大力智慧 無上至真 摩尼光佛 正統乙丑年九月十三日 住山弟子明書立

Please read: Purity, Light, Great Power, Wisdom, the highest and unsurpassable truth, Mani the Buddha of Light. Living disciple Ming wrote and established (it) in the 13th day of the 9th month of the Yichou year of the Zhengtong period (1445).²⁴

Feilu ta (Flying Road Pagoda) is located along the highway of Beiyang cun 北洋村 (Beiyang Village) of Yantian She zu xiang 盐田畲族乡 (Yantian She nationality Township). It faces south. There is an inscription in the front of the pagoda:

清淨光明 大力智慧

Purity (i.e. divinity), Light, Great Power, Wisdom

publish in his forthcoming article a photograph of the statue of Gupo in the local temple of Yangli village (洋里村), Baiyang Township (picture 20).

24 Lin Wushu, *Debate and Research on the Three Persian Religions: Manichaeism, Nestorianism, and Zoroastrianism in Mediaeval Times*, 6. Cf. S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism* (note 6), 189–190.

There are two inscriptions on the two columns:

時洪武甲寅太歲一陽月吉[日]立
東峰興口山人秋圃宗玄募款造

Established in a lucky day of the Yiyang month (5th month) of the Jiayin period of Hongwu (1374).

Dengfeng Xing ... fortune teller Qiupu Zongxuan raised funds and built.²⁵

5 *Sanfo Ta* 三佛塔 (Three Buddhas Pagoda)²⁶

In the hall of Cao'an was a statue of Mani as the Buddha of Light measuring 154 cm. in height. It was backed by a gold-plated halo with a diameter of 168 cm. The halo is uncommon for a Buddha-statue in China, but in Central Asia it is found with Buddhas associated with Light.²⁷

Sanfo Ta (Three Buddhas Pagoda) in Shangwan Village was built between 1514 and 1520. The village still keeps 11 pieces of the pagoda with statues of Buddha. Two of them are with halos of solar disk and moon disk. Chen Jinguo guesses that they are Moni guang fo 摩尼光佛 (Mani Buddha of Light) and Dianguang wang fo 電光王佛 (Lightning King Buddha).²⁸

One stone tablet has an inscription: “*Da Ming Zhengde jiu nian Jiayu sui zhengyue jidan* 大明正德九年甲戌歲正月吉旦” (in the 9th year of Zhengde of Great Ming, Jiayu [1514], on the lucky day of the 1st month).

6 *Wooden Statue of Mani*²⁹

In 2005, an Australian team made contact with the staff of the newly opened Jinjiang Municipal Museum where they were introduced to Mr. Nien Liangtu

25 Report of the investigation of the remains of Religion of Light (Manichaeism) (2009/5/25) by Wu Chunming, etc. Cf. Chen, Lin, 2010 (note 3), pp. 377–378, Fig. 29.

26 Chen, Lin, 2010 (note 3), pp. 368–377.

27 http://www.mq.edu.au/research/centres_and_groups/ancient_cultures_research_centre/research/cultural_ex_silkroad/zayton/.

28 Chen & Lin, 2010 (note 3), pp. 371–373, Fig. 19.

29 “Fujian Xiapu xian faxian Mingjiao yiwu 福建霞浦县发现明教遗物”, in *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究, *Studies in World Religions*, 2009, no. 2, inside back cover.

粘良图—a scholar who has done a great deal of field research on folk religions in the vicinity of the Manichaean shrine on Huabiao Hill 华表山. The team was shown a photograph of an old statue of Mani with a red-painted visage. With the help of local worshippers at the shrine, the Australian team (including international research partners) in 2005 was able to track down this extraordinary image to the village of Sunei 苏内 where several thousand local residents are still followers of the cult of Mani the Buddha of Light. A sinicized image of Mani the Buddha of Light is still venerated in the village of Sunei, near Cao'an.

Chen Jinguo believes that the wooden statue of Mani kept by priest Chen Peisheng 陈培生 in Baiyang Township may have been an item made before Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) and is similar to the statue of Mani in the village of Sunei.³⁰

7 Instruments Used in Daoist Ritual: Bronze Wares and Seals³¹

The priests still keep some instruments used in Daoist ritual. For example: a bronze censer with three legs; a bronze *Ludian* 角端 in the shape of a beast with horns whose four legs grasp a snake; and a bronze seal with the inscription “*Shengming jingbao* 聖明淨寶” (Holy Light Pure Treasure). It is said that these instruments were used by Lin Deng and both censer and seal are important for the rituals of the Religion of Light.³²

The priests there not only keep some instruments used in Daoist ritual, but also preserve quite a few documents.

8 Manuscripts³³

There are several rules and liturgies (*keyi* 科仪), memorials (*biaowen* 表文) and “blue-paper prayers” (*qingci* 青词) in the possession of priests Chen Peisheng and x in Baiyang Township. One manuscript without title was copied during the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) and includes *Hymn of Four Calmnesses* (*Sijizan* 四寂赞, 2 pages) and *The Divine Record of Loving Mountains Temple* (10 pages).

30 Chen, Lin, 2010 (note 3), pp. 380–381, Figs. 32, 33.

31 “Fujian Xiapu xian faxian Mingjiao yiwu 福建霞浦县发现明教遗物”, in *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究, *Studies in World Religions*, 2009, no. 2, inside back cover.

32 Chen, Lin, 2010 (note 3), p. 387, Figs. 38–40.

33 “Fujian Xiapu xian faxian Mingjiao yiwu 福建霞浦县发现明教遗物”, in *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究, *Studies in World Religions*, 2009, no. 2, inside back cover.

9 Sijizan 《四寂赞》 (Hymn of Four Calmnesses)³⁴

Hymn of Four Calmnesses is a phonetic hymn with a Chinese title. Siji 四寂 in the title is well known.³⁵ Moni guangfo jiaofa yilü 《摩尼光佛教法仪略》 (Compendium of the teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light) admires Mani:

又以三愿、四寂、五真、八种无畏，众德圆备，其可胜言；自天及人，拔苦与乐，谏德而论矣。³⁶

The virtues of the three resolves, the four calmnesses, five truths, and eight forms of fearlessness all perfectly provided (in Mani), those (qualities) which can (at all) be told may be discussed by gods and men for rising above grief as well as joy and for inducing virtuous ways.³⁷

§59 of Xiabu zan 《下部赞》 (Low section hymns, one scroll) (*Hymnscroll*) says:

开我法性光明手，遍触如如四寂身；遍触如如四寂身，遂免沉沦四大厄。³⁸

Open my Light-hands of the Law Nature, To touch thoroughly the four solitary Bodies of ruru (i.e. reality or absoluteness); To touch thoroughly the four solitary Bodies of ruru, I am therefore spared from sinking into the four great calamities.³⁹

34 Chen Jinguo 陈进国 & Lin Jun 林颢, 明教的新发现 (Rediscovery of the Religion of Light), 《不止于艺》 (Beyond Skill), Beijing: Beijing University Press, Oct. 2009, p. 378, Fig. 30.

35 G.B. Mikkelsen, *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts in Chinese*, Turnhout, 2006, p. 65.

36 Lin Wushu 林悟殊, 摩尼教及其东渐 Moni jiao ji qi dongjian (*Manichaeism and its Eastward Spread*), (Taipei: Shuxin 淑馨 chubanshe, 1997) 283.

37 G. Haloun, W.B. Henning, "The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light", *Asia Major*, n. s. III, 191.

38 Lin Wushu 林悟殊, 摩尼教及其东渐 Moni jiao ji qi dongjian (*Manichaeism and its Eastward Spread*), (Taipei: Shuxin 淑馨 chubanshe, 1997) 291.

39 Tsui Chi, Mo Ni Chiao Hsia Pu Tsan, "The Lower (Second?) Section of the Manichaean Hymns", *BSOAS* 11, 1943, 181.

I decipher several terms in *Sijizan: Yishu* 夷數 (Jesus), *Moni* 摩尼 (Mani), *fulixide* 弗里悉德 [MC **p̄iua*t lji *šjēt* tək] (= *foyisede* 佛夷瑟德 [MC **b̄iua*t i *šjēt* tək] < Pth. *fryšt*g, ‘envoy’),⁴⁰ *qiedushi* 伽度師 [MC. **ḡi*a-d’uo-*ši*] (= *qielushi* 伽路師 [MC. **ḡi*a-luo-*ši*] < Pth./MP. *k’dwš* [kādūš] ‘holy’) and *nanwu* 南無 (Sanskrit *namas*, ‘pay homage to’). Now Prof. Yutaka Yoshida already has done excellent studies on this document.⁴¹

10 Yaoshan tang shen ji 《乐山堂神记》 (The Divine Record of Loving Mountains Temple)

We give the text of the first 18 lines as follow:

- 1 ◎《乐山堂神记》
- 2 太上本师教主摩尼光佛、电光王佛、夷数
- 3 如来、净风、先意如来、天地化身卢舍
- 4 那佛、北方镇天真武菩萨、法相惠明
- 5 如来、九天贞明大圣、普庵祖师、观音、
- 6 势至二大菩萨、太上三元三品三官大
- 7 帝：上元一品天官锡福紫微大帝、中元二
- 8 品地官赦罪清虚大帝、下元三品水官
- 9 解厄洞阴大帝、三天教主张大真人、三
- 10 衍教主灵宝天尊、勅封护国太后元
- 11 君。~◎本坛明门都统威显灵相
- 12 感应兴福雷使真君济南法主四九真
- 13 人、移活吉思大圣、贞明法院三十六员
- 14 天将、七十二大吏兵、雄猛四梵天王、俱孚
- 15 元帅、唵峻明使。灵源传教历代宗祖：
- 16 ◎胡天尊祖师、胡古月祖师、高佛日祖师、
- 17 7乐山堂开山地主孙绵大师、玉林尊者、
- 18 陈平山尊者、张德源尊者、上官德水尊者、⁴²

40 I appreciate that Y. Yoshida pointed out: “the Middle Chinese form **šjēt* of *xi* 悉 instead of *se* 瑟 (MC **šjēt*) points to Middle Persian word *prystg* [frēstag] ‘angel, apostle’ rather than Parthian *fryšt*g.”

41 “Middle Iranian terms in the Xiapu Chinese—Four aspects of the Father of Greatness in Parthian”; “Xiapu 霞浦 Manichaean text *Sijizan* 四寂赞 ‘Praise of the four entitles of calmness’ and its Parthian original”, forthcoming. I appreciate that Y. Yoshida sent these two articles to me through email.

42 Chen, Lin, 2010 (note 3), pp. 353–354, Figs. 11, 12. Yang Fuxue 杨富学, “Leshantang shenji

Highest Lord, Original Master, Religion Leader—Mani Buddha of Light; Lightning King Buddha (i.e. Maiden of Light); Jesus Tathāgata; Pure Wind [Tathāgata] (i.e. Living Spirit); First Thought Tathāgata (i.e. First Man); Body of Transformation of Heaven and Earth—Vairocana Buddha (i.e. the Column of Glory); Guardian of Northern Celestial Quadrant—Perfected Warrior Bodhisattva; Glory of the Law Wise Light Tathāgata (i.e. Light-Nous); Great Upright and Brilliant Saint of the Nine Heavens; Master Puan; two Great Bodhisattvas—Avalokiteśvara (i.e. God Call) and Mahāsthāmaprāpta (i.e. God Answer); Most High Supreme Rulers of Three Primes Three Ranks Three Offices: Upper Prime First Rank Office of Heaven—the Emperor of Purple Tenuity Who Confers Happiness; Middle Prime Second Rank Office of Earth—the Emperor of Purity Void Who Liberates from Faults; Low Prime Third Rank Office of Water—the Emperor of Insight Femininity Who Eliminates Dangers; Original Master of Three Heaves—Great Perfected Zhang; Original Master of Three Bureaus—Heavenly Worthy of Numinous Treasure; Queen Mother Goddess Granted by the Edict to Protect the Country. ~◎ Governor of the Brilliant Gate of Our Altar—Majestically Showing Spiritual Signs, Thunder Apostle Perfect Lord who is Interactive and Promotes Well-being—Jinan Religious Leader—Four Nine Immortal (i.e. Lin Deng); Yihuoji Great Holy One; in the Upright and Brilliant Law Bureau: Thirty-six Heavenly Generals; Seventy-two Great Officers; Brave Four Foreign Heavenly Kings; Marshal Jufu (i.e. Jacob); Envoy of Light Qinjiao; Successive forefathers of spiritual original missionary: ◎ Master Hu Tianzun, Master Hu Guyue, Master Gao Fori, The Founder of Yaoshan tang (Loving Mountains Temple)—Master Sun Mian, Venerable Yulin, Venerable Chen Pingshan, Venerable Zhang Deyuan, Venerable Shangguan Deshui, ~

The Divine Record of Loving Mountains Temple is a complex document in which there are at least six parts. In the first part the priest invokes the gods of Manichaeism, Daoism and Buddhism. In the second and third parts he invokes Lin Deng and the masters of every generation of Loving Mountains Temple. In the fourth part he invokes Goddess Chen Shunyi 陳順懿 and spirits of Loving Mountains Temple. In the fifth and sixth parts he invokes Dragon and Phoenix

yu Fujian Monijiao—Xiapu yu Dunhuang, Tulufan deng Monijiao wenxian de bijiao yanjiu 《乐山堂神记》与福建摩尼教—霞浦与敦煌吐鲁番等摩尼教文献的比较研究 [The 'Spirit records of the Leshan Hall' and Manichaeism in Fujian—a comparative analysis of the Xiapu and Dunhuang, Turfan (etc.) Manichaean documents]”, *Wenshi* 文史 97 (2011.4) 136–140, Figs. 1, 2.

Female Electa (Lin Deng's daughter), the spirits of all the local temples in Baiyang Township, Yoga 瑜伽 school and Lüshan 闾山 school. In the third part there is a list of masters and the last two masters on the list were the masters of priest Chen Peisheng who lives in Baiyang today. This is just a brief survey of the first 17 lines.

10.1 *Deities Relevant to Manichaeism*

This part of the text is thought to have been written in about A.D. 966 when Master Sun Mian established the Dragon Head Temple, at which time the cult was manifestly Manichaean.

It is not difficult for us to recognize the Manichaean deities from this list. Many sources do not include Mani in the Manichaean pantheon, but there are many hymns, which praise him as a god. For example, one Middle Persian hymn praises him: "You have come with salvation, oh Twin of the gods! Hail to the bright gods of whom you are born!"⁴³ It is therefore not surprising to find that the first god in this list is Mani Buddha of Light.

After the studies of W. Sundermann, P. Bryder, P. Van Lindt, A. van Tongerloo and other scholars, and the publication of several volumes of the *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts*, we now have good sources to examine the names of the gods on this list. We only compare the most relevant terms here (MP. = Middle Persian, Pa. = Parthian, Skt. = Sanskrit):⁴⁴

Number	English name	Iranian or Sanskrit name	Dunhuang 敦煌	Xiapu 霞浦
4/3	Primal Man	<i>hndyšyšn nrxwstyn</i> MP. <i>handēšišn naxwistēn</i> First Reflection	先意 (佛) First Thought (Buddha)	先意如来 First Thought Tathāgata
3/5	God Answer	Skt. <i>Mahāsthāmaprāpta</i>	势至 One whose power reaches everywhere	势至 One whose power reaches everywhere

43 H.-J. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*, New York, 1993, 84.

44 W.B. Henning, *Selected Papers*, Leiden, 1977, v. 1, 277 f.; W. Sundermann, *Manichaica Iranica*, Roma, 2001, v. 1, 125–126; P. Bryder, *The Chinese Transformation of Manichaeism: A Study of Chinese Manichaean Terminology*, Lund, 1985, 93–94, 103–105, 101, 110–111, 111–114, 114, 122–123, 114–117; G.B. Mikkelsen, *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts in Chinese*, Turnhout, 2006, 77, 123, 23–24, 34, 63, 16, 100, 108, 19, 28, 19; D. Durkin-Meisterernst, *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Turnhout, 2004, 180–181, 249, 334–335, 206, 375–376, 229, 151.

Number	English name	Iranian or Sanskrit name	Dunhuang 敦煌	Xiapu 霞浦
2/8	The Living Spirit	<i>w'd jywndg</i> Pa. <i>wād žīwahrēn</i> Living Spirit	净风 (佛) Pure Wind (Buddha)	净风如来 Pure Wind Tathāgata
3/10	God Call	Skt. <i>Avalokiteśvara</i>	观音 Observer of the voice	观音 Observer of the voice
3/13	Column of Glory	Skt. <i>Vairocana</i>	卢舍那 Vairocana	卢舍那佛 Vairocana Buddha
1/14	Jesus the Splendor	<i>yyšw' Pa/MP /yišō'</i> Jesus	夷数 (佛) Jesus (Buddha)	夷数如来 Jesus Tathāgata
4/15	Maiden of Light	<i>qnygrwšn</i> Pa/MP <i>/kanīg rōšn</i> Maiden of Light	电光佛 Thunderbolt Buddha	电光王佛 Lightning King Buddha
2/16.1	Nous	<i>mnwhmyd rwšn Pa/MP</i> <i>/manohmed rōšn</i> Light-Nous <i>dyn frh Pa/ dēn farrah</i> glory of the religion	惠明法相 the Light-Nous (who is) the Glory of the Law	法相惠明如来 The Glory of the Law Light-Nous Tathāgata

There are three deities which are relevant to Manichaeism too.

A. *Yihuojisi* 移活吉思. In the understanding of Y. Yoshida *Yihuojisi* 移活吉思 represents what is spelled in Sogdian script as *yw'-rks*, possibly a Central Asian vernacular form of Georgis or George. *Yi* 移 is a good character for *i* or *yi*, and *huo* 活 is known to transcribe *wad* and *war*.⁴⁵

B. Brave Four Foreign Heavenly Kings.

The Head-lines of Sogdian folios M 7800 I (T II E) are: "... pronouncement" and "The Four angels (*iv fryštyt*) with the two hundred [demons ...]". This document tells us: four angels led one half of the demons eastwards, and the other half westwards, "on the skirts of four huge mountains, towards the foot of the Sumeru mountain, into thirty-two towns which the Living Spirit had

45 Personal email of Y. Yoshida. He refers also to N. Sims-Williams and J. Hamilton, *Documents turco-sogdiens du IX^e-X^e siècle de Touen-houang*, London, 1990, p. 68, Ch/U 6536, an unpublished Manichaean Sogdian text, which also attests *yw'-rks*.

prepared for them in the beginning. ... And those two hundred demons fought a hard battle with the [four angels], until [the angels used] fire, naphtha, and brimstone ...”⁴⁶

Henning’s text P of *The Book of the Giants* is *Keph.* 93,23–28: On account of the malice and rebellion that had arisen in the watch-post of the Great King of Honour (i.e. King of ten heavens), namely the Egrēgoroi (Ἐγγρηγοροι) who from the heavens had descended to the earth,—on their account the four angels received their orders: they bound the Egrēgoroi with eternal fetters in the prison of the Dark (?), their sons were destroyed upon the earth.⁴⁷

A memorial submitted to the throne in 1120 listed 19 scriptures and pictures and images of the followers of the Religion of Light. *The Portrait of the Four Heavenly Kings* (四天王幀 *Si tianwang zhen*) was one of them.⁴⁸

All these texts do not mention the individual names of the four angels or heavenly kings, but Xiapu manuscripts confirm that the names of four angels or heavenly kings can be traced back to fragments of *The Book of the Giants* in Dead Sea Scroll:

English	Raphael	Michael	Gabriel	Səra’el
Aramaic	רפאל Rapha’el	מיכאל Micha’el	גבריאל Gabri’el	שריאל Śari’el
Greek	Ῥαφαήλ	Μιχαήλ	Γαβριήλ	
Middle Persian	rwf’yl <i>rufaēl</i>	myx’yl <i>mīxaēl</i>	gbr’yl <i>gabraēl</i>	sr’yl <i>saraēl</i>
Parthian	rwf’yl <i>rufaēl</i>	myh’yl <i>mīhaēl</i>	gbr’yl <i>gabraēl</i>	sr’yl <i>saraēl</i>
Middle Chinese	luo b’iwak iēt lâ	mjię xâ iēt lâ	ngięp b’iwak lâ iēt lâ	sâ lâ iēt lâ
Mandarin (pinyin)	lu fu yi luo	mi he yi luo	ye fu luo yi luo	suo luo yi luo
Chinese	嚙嚙逸囉	弥訶逸囉	喋嚙囉逸囉	娑囉逸囉

46 W.B. Henning, “The Book of the Giants”, *BSOAS*, 11/1 (1943), pp. 68–69, 55–56.

47 W.B. Henning, “The Book of the Giants”, *BSOAS*, 11/1 (1943), p. 72. Cf. I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher. The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary*, Leiden, 1995, p. 98.

48 S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, Tübingen: Mohr, 1992, pp. 276–277. Ma Xiaoho 馬小鶴, 《宋會要輯稿》所記明教經像考略 *Song huiyao jigao suo ji Mingjiao Jingxiang kao* ‘On the Scriptures and the Paintings of the Religion of Light in *Song Huiyao Jigao*’, 國際漢學研究通訊 *Guoji Hanxue Yanjiu Tongxun* (Newsletter for International China Studies), v. 5 (2012), Beijing, Beijing daxue chuban she, 2012, pp. 8–10.

The four heavenly kings in the Xiapu manuscripts may mean the four angels who bound the 200 demons from the Manichaean point of view.⁴⁹

c. *Jufu* 俱孚 is relevant to Manichaeism. *Hymnscroll*. 215c–d reads:

頭首大將耶俱孚，常具甲仗摧逆黨。

The Great General, *Yejufu*, at the head of us,
Always prepares armour and arms to shatter the rebellious partisans.

Jufu 俱孚 is an abbreviation for *Yejufu* 耶俱孚 which is a transliteration of Jacob.⁵⁰ Jacob (Hebrew: יַעֲקֹב), the ancestor of the 12 tribes of Israel in the Genesis of *The Old Testament* became an angel in the following texts: Greek “Prayer of Joseph”, Coptic *Gospel of the Egyptians* (ἰακωβ; ἰακωβος), the Sogdian version of the Karabalgasun Inscription (y’kwβ), Manichaean Middle Persian prayer (y’qwb), Iranian hymns (Pa/MP y’kwb), a Sogdian letter (y’kwβ), a Uyghur letter (yakoβ), Jacob also became a divine being that was invoked in the Greek magical texts (Ἰακωβ). In the folk religious manuscripts from Xiapu, he appears as one of the godly protectors of the law and has been called “*Jufu yuanshuai* 俱孚元帥”—Marshal *Jufu*, “*Yejufu dajiang* 耶俱孚大將”—*Yejufu*, the great general, and “*Jufu shengzun* 俱孚聖尊”—saintly venerable *Jufu*. The convoluted process of the evolution of Jacob from the ancestor of the Israelis to the godly protector of law in the Chinese folk religion is a fascinating case in the history of cultural exchange between China and the Western world.⁵¹

49 Ma Xiaohe 馬小鶴, 2013, 摩尼教四天王考—福建霞浦文書研究 *Moni jiao si tianwang kao* ‘On the Four Heavenly Kings of Manichaeism’, in 絲瓷之路 · *Sici zhilu (Viae Sericae)*, v. 3, Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 2013, pp. 122–155.

50 E. Waldschmidt, W. Lentz: *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, *APAW* 4, Berlin, 1926, 8–9; Tsui Chi: “摩尼教下部讚 Mo Ni Chiao Hsia Pu Tsan ‘The Lower (Second?) Section of the Manichaean Hymns’”, *BSOAS* XI, 1943, 194, 216, W.B. Henning’s note 5. G.B. Mikkelsen considers *Yejufu* from Pa./MP.y’kwb, y’qwb, cf: *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts in Chinese*, Turnhout, 2006, 108. D. Durkin-Meisterernst considers y’kwb, y’qwb is Semitic name of an angel, cf. *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Turnhout, 2004, 372. A. Böhlig, “Jacob as an angel in Gnosticism and Manicheism”, *Nag Hammadi and gnosis: Papers Read at the First International Congress of Coptology*, (Cairo, December 1976), ed. by R. McL. Wilson, Leiden: Brill, 1978, pp. 122–130.

51 Ma Xiaohe 馬小鶴, “Monijiao *Yejufu* kao—Fujian Xiapu wenshu yanjiu 摩尼教耶俱孚考” (On Manichaean Jacob: a study of the Xiapu manuscripts), *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中华文史论丛 2012.2: 285–308, 399.

And *Qinjiao mingshi* 秦皎明使 (Envoy of Light Qinjiao) may be relevant to Manichaeism too. Nian Liangtu found that the Envoy of Light *Qinjiao* 秦皎明使 is one of the five gods who are still worshiped by the people of Sunei 苏内 Village near Cao'an, his birthday is the 23rd day of the 3rd month. Lin Wushu believes that Envoy of Light Qinjiao should be a Manichaean god.⁵² We need the help of experts of Iranian materials to figure out who Qinjiao is. I suggest that he may be an Iranian Elect.

10.2 *Deities of Daoism, Buddhism and Local Popular Religion*

This section may have been written during Song to Ming Dynasties (960–1644). Since most of the gods are well known to Chinese and Western scholars, only the most relevant terms are compared here.⁵³

English name	Daoism	Xiapu 霞浦
Perfected Warrior (真武)	真武 Perfected Warrior	北方镇天真武菩萨 Guardian of Northern Celestial Quadrant Perfected Warrior Bodhisattva
Great Upright and Brilliant Saint of the Nine Heavens (九天贞明大圣)	九天贞明大圣 Great Upright and Brilliant Saint of the Nine Heavens	九天贞明大圣 Great Upright and Brilliant Saint of the Nine Heavens

52 Nian Liangtu 粘良图, "Quanzhou Jinjiang Cao'an yi dai xin fa xian Monijiao yi cun 泉州晋江草庵一带新发现摩尼教遗存" (New Findings of Manichaeism Remains in the Area of Quanzhou Jinjiang Cao Hut), *Quanzhou shi fan xue yuan xue bao (she hui ke xue)* 泉州师范学院学报 (社会科学) (Journals of Quanzhou Normal University [Social Science]), v. 26, no. 5 (Sept. 2008), 25–27.

53 *The encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. by Fabrizio Pregadio, London, New York: Routledge, 2008, v. 2, 1266–1267; v. 1, 795; v. 2, 856–858; 833–834; v. 2, 840–844. *Daoism handbook*, ed. by Livia Kohn, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2000, 423–424. Stephen Little, *Taoism and the Arts of China*, Chicago, Ill.: Art Institute of Chicago in association with University of California Press, 2000, 290–311, 237–239, 233–236, 228–231. *The encyclopedia of Taoism*, op. cit., v. 1, 203–206.

English name	Daoism	Xiapu 霞浦
Three Offices (三官) Three Primes (三元)	三官 (Three Offices, Three Bureaus) 三元 (Three Primes)	太上三元三品三官大帝 Highest Lords—Great Emperors of Three Primes Three Ranks Three Bureaus:
1. Office of Heaven (天官)	1. 天官赐福紫微大帝 Office of Heaven—the Emperor of Purple Tenuity Who Confers Happiness	1. 天官锡福紫微大帝 Office of Heaven—the Emperor of Purple Tenuity Who Confers Happiness
2. Office of Earth (地官)	2. 地官赦罪清虚大帝 Office of Earth—the Emperor of Purity Void Who Liberates from Faults	2. 地官赦罪清虚大帝 Office of Earth—the Emperor of Purity Void Who Liberates from Faults
3. Office of Water (水官)	3. 水官解厄洞阴大帝 Office of Water—the Emperor of Insight Femininity Who Eliminates Dangers	3. 水官解厄洞阴大帝 Office of Water—the Emperor of Insight Femininity Who Eliminates Dangers
Heavenly Worthy of Numinous Treasure (灵宝天尊)	灵宝天尊 Heavenly Worthy of Numinous Treasure	灵宝天尊 Heavenly Worthy of Numinous Treasure

There are four kinds of gods which should be explained.

A. *Puan zushi* 普庵祖师 (Master Puan).

Puan (1115–1169) was a native of Yichun 宜春 of Yuanzhou 袁州 (present-day Yichun City, Jiangxi Province) who became a monk in 1134. Because his spirit pardoned those guilty of transgressions and eliminated any disasters or misfortunes of the people, he was worshiped as a god of folk Buddhism. During the reign of Lizong 理宗 and Duzong 度宗 of South Song Dynasty (1225–1274), people from Fujian 闽, Guangdong 粤, Hunan 湘 and Sichuan 蜀 went to Yichun to worship him and he is still being worshiped in Fujian, Taiwan and Sichuan today.⁵⁴

54 Yang Yongjun 杨永俊, “Puan chan shi yu Gan xi bei Wanzai Ke jia jiao ji min su 普庵禅师与赣西北万载客家醮祭民俗” (Chan Master Puan and folk custom of the Jiao [offering])

B. *Zhang da zhen ren* 张大真人 (Great Perfected Zhang).

The Great Perfected Zhang in this document may not be Zhang Liusun 张留孙 (1248–1321) who received this title in 1307. Great Perfected Zhang here may be one of the 42nd to 51st Celestial Masters who all had this title (1368–1644?).⁵⁵ *Genealogy of Lin Clan in Shangwan Village* tells us that the Heir of the Celestial Masters Since the Han Dynasty personally wrote four characters which mean “Grotto-Heaven and Blissful Lands” on a horizontal golden board for Lin Deng. This cult of the Religion of Light might have had a link with Zhengyi 正一 (Orthodox Unity) school of the Celestial Masters.

C. *Chifeng Huguo Taihou Yuanjun* 敕封护国太后元君 (Queen Mother Goddess Granted by the Edict to Protect the Country)

She might have been *Bixia yuanjun* 碧霞元君 (Original Princess of the Jasper Mist). As documented in the *Bixia yuanjun huguo baosheng jing* 碧霞元君护国保生经 (Scripture on the Guarding of Life and Protection of the Country through the Goddess of the Morning Clouds), she was officially integrated into the Daoist pantheon through formal empowerment by the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning 元始天尊.⁵⁶

D. *San shi liu yuan tianjiang* 三十六员天将 (Thirty-six Heavenly Generals) and *Qi shi er da libing* 七十二大吏兵 (Seventy-two Great Officers).

Seiichiro Suzuki's compilation of old customs and beliefs of Taiwan was published in 1934. It includes a section on spirit soldiers where he reports the belief that some of the soldiers are in heaven where they are disposed into thirty-six (four times nine) stars of the bowl of the Dipper (*Tiangang* 天罡). These soldiers are 'malign spirits' (*xiushen* 宿神). On earth there are the soldiers of the seventy-two Earth Emanations (*Disha* 地煞). These are the Evil Influences (*Wusha* 巫刹). Stephan Feuchtwang reports: the 108 baleful stars include those of the Great Year, the White Tiger and the Heaven Dog, which are the most frequent objects of Daoist rites of exorcism in Mountain-street—a small town near Taipei 台北.⁵⁷

in the Hakkas of Wanzai in the Northwest part of Jiangxi Province), *Yichun xue yuan xue bao* 宜春学院学报 (Journal of Yichun University), v. 27, no. 1 (Feb. 2005) 62–67.

55 Qing Xitai 卿希泰, *Zhongguo Dao jiao* 中国道教 (Chinese Daoism), Shanghai, 1994, v. 1, 64.

56 *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, v. 1, 235–236. *Daoism handbook*, 393, 617.

57 S. Suzuki, (tr. Gao Xianzhi and Feng Zuomin) *Taiwan jiu guan xi su xin yang*, Taipei, 1934 (reprint 1978) 铃木清一郎著，高贤治、冯作民译，《台湾旧惯习俗信仰》(Taiwanese Customs and Beliefs), 台北, 1934 (1978重印). S. Feuchtwang, *The Imperial Metaphor*:

The Thirty-six Heavenly Generals in our document should be the soldiers of the Thirty-six stars of the bowl of the Dipper (*Tiangang* 天罡) and the Seventy-two Great Officers should be the soldiers of the seventy-two Earth Emanations (*Dissha* 地煞).

10.3 *Thunder Rites*

The Manichaean Goddess of Lightning (the Maiden of Light) is the second deity after Mani Buddha of Light in *The Divine Record of Loving Mountains Temple*. But in Manichaeism her function is limited to the seduction of the Archons. The Parthian document M 741, *Verses from a Hymn on the Third Messenger and the Archons*, reads: "(c) Bright Sadvēs (i.e. the Maiden of Light) shows her form to the Demon of Wrath. She seduces him with (her) own appearance, (and) he thinks it is real. (q) He sows (his seed), ... he groans when he no longer sees her form."⁵⁸ Mary Boyce analyses "Sadvēs": "This name, which has not been recorded previously in Manichaean texts, appears in Pahlavi as *Satwēs*, and is the Middle Iranian form of Avestan *Satavaēsa*-. In our text it has evidently been used as a 'translation' for the Maiden of Light; and as usually in such cases there is a reason for the equation of the Manichaean divinity with the Zoroastrian one. From the little that is said in the Avesta of *Satavaēsa* it is clear that this star was honoured as a divinity and regarded as the helper of Tištrya in the bringing of rain to the earth (see *Yt.* 8⁹, 13⁴³). The Maiden of Light, in her turn, was a supporting divinity, an evocation not of Zarwān himself, but of the Third Messenger. She was, moreover, the rain-goddess in the Manichaean pantheon."⁵⁹ The Twelve Dominions of Light and their related twelve gods in *Hymnscroll* 164–183 may be compared with Pelliot Chiois 3049. The 11th Dominion Equanimity, Chinese *qixin* 齐心, is connected with the Thunderbolt God, *dianguangfo* 电光佛, rendered in Manichaean Uighur precisely as *yašin t(ä)ñri* paralleling *kani rošan t(ä)ñri* "Maiden of Light Goddess". The triad Jesus, Virgin of Light, and the νοῦς appear in Chinese *Hymnscroll* 151d as *Yisu dianming guangdaxin* 夷数电明广大心 "Jesus, Thunderbolt, Great Mind", in Middle Persian M 74 as *yyšwʿ, knygrwšñ, whmn rwšñ*; in Uighur T II D 176 (= M1K III 201) as *yušoʿ, k(a)ñig, w(a)ñm(a)n roš(a)n*. *Yishu yu bi dianguangming* 夷数与彼电光明 "Jesus and that Thunderbolt Light" (*Hymnscroll* 126c) may be compared

Popular Religion in China, London & New York, 1992, 45–46. Its Chinese translation: tr. Zhao Xudong 赵旭东, *Di guo de yin yu: Zhongguo min jian zong jiao* 帝国的隐喻：中国民间宗教, Nanjing 南京, 2008, 51.

58 H.-J. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, New York, 1993, 37.

59 M. Boyce, "Sadvēs and Pēsūs", *BSOAS*, 12/4, 1951, pp. 908–909.

with TM 140 & 147 (= U70b+c) o2 ... [y(a)ruq ay t(ä)ηrii .. k(a)nig roš(a)n t(ä)ηrii “...] the Light Moon God, the Maiden of Light Goddess”.⁶⁰

Why this deity was so important in *The Divine Record of Loving Mountains Temple* may be explained by the relationship between Manichaeism and Thunder Rites through this deity.⁶¹ Just as the Goddess of Thunderbolt is the second Manichaean deity, Great Upright and Brilliant Saint of the Nine Heavens 九天贞明大圣 is the second Daoist deity after Perfected Warrior in *The Divine Record of Loving Mountains*. *Yushu jing* 玉枢经 (Jade Pivot Scripture) is said to have been revealed to the Thunder Master Luminous Elder (*Leishi Haoweng* 雷师皓翁) by a deity called the Heavenly Honored One of Universal Transformation (*Puhua tianzun* 普化天尊). In this Scripture, the Heavenly Honored called himself Great Upright and Brilliant Saint of the Nine Heavens 九天贞明大圣. He is the highest deity of the Thunder Rites. It was believed that this deity supervised a group of officers who controlled life and death, prosperity and failure, and that he was surrounded by an orchestra of thirty-six spirits who beat the drums that made the thirty-six different kinds of thunder. A commentator of this Scripture is Taoist master Bai Yuchan. One of Bai’s most important contributions was the promotion of *Yushu jing* and its revealing deity, the Heavenly Honored One of Universal Transformation.⁶² One word in Lin Deng’s title—Upright and Brilliant (*zhenming* 贞明) in his biography and the same word in *The Divine Record of Loving Mountains Temple* should be related to this god.

Scholars who study Manichaeism have known about Bai Yuchan for a long time. There is a commentary on Manichaeism in his collected sayings. Prof. Rao

60 Cf. A. van Tongerloo, “Manichaean female deities”, in: *Manicheismo e Oriente cristiano antico*, ed. a cura di Luigi Cirillo e Alois van Tongerloo, Turnhout: Brepols, 364–374.

61 After the 7th Conference of the International Association of Manichaean Studies, I realize more reasons why this god is so important in the Religion of Light and published an article for this topic: Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤, “Suoluoyaside jiao Sadeweisi shen yu Moni jiao Dianguang fo 琐罗亚斯德教萨德维斯神与摩尼教电光佛” (Sadwēs in Zoroastrianism and Goddess of Lightning in Manichaeism), *Wenshi* 文史 (Literature & history), 2013.4, pp. 23–41.

62 *Yushu jing* 玉枢经 (Jade Pivot Scripture), and *Yushu bao jing ji zhu* 玉枢宝经集注 (Jade Pivot Scripture with Commentaries) in *Daozang* 道藏 (Daoist Canon), Beijing: Wen wu chu ban she; Shanghai: Shanghai shu dian; Tianjin: Tianjin gu ji chu ban she, 1987. v. 1, 758–761; v. 2, 569–587; Stephen Little, *Taoism and the Arts of China*, Chicago, Ill.: Art Institute of Chicago in association with University of California Press, 2000, 237. *The encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. By Fabrizio Pregadio, London; New York: Routledge, 2008, v. 1, 203–205.

Zongyi 饶宗颐 is the first Chinese modern scholar who studied this commentary,⁶³ while Prof. Samuel N.C. Lieu is the first Western scholar to study it:⁶⁴

耜問：鄉間多有喫菜持齋以事明教，謂之滅魔，彼之徒且曰太上老君之遺教，然耶？否耶？

答曰：昔蘇鄰國有一居士號曰慕闍，始者學仙不成，終乎學佛不成，隱於大那伽山。始遇西天外道有曰毗婆伽明使者，教以一法，使之修持，遂留此一教，其實非理。彼之教有一禁戒，且云盡大地、山河、草木、水火，皆是毗盧遮那法身，所以不敢踐履，不敢舉動；然雖如是，卻是在毗盧遮那佛身外面立地。且如持八齋、禮五方，不過教戒使之然爾。其教中一曰天王，二曰明使，三曰靈相土地，以主其教。大要在乎清淨、光明、大力、智慧八字而已。然此八字，無出乎心。今人著相修行，而欲盡此八字可乎？況曰明教，而且自昧！

[Peng] Si [a disciple of Bai] asked him [i.e. Bai Yuchan] saying: 'In the countryside there are many people who are vegetarians and keep fasts as ways of practicing the Religion of Light and they say that it exterminates demons. Its followers say: "This is the doctrine handed down by Taishang Laojun [i.e. Laozi]." Is this really so?'

He [Bai] answered saying, 'In the country of Su-lin [i.e. Assuristan] there was a lay devotee with the title of Mu-she [i.e. Pe. *hmwç'g*, Sogd. *mwz'k'*]. At first he studied Daoist immortality but did not succeed. Finally he studied the Buddha without accomplishing it. He secluded himself in the Great Naga Hill [Da Najia shan] where he encountered "outer ways" [*waidao*, i.e. heterodoxies] from the Western Heaven [i.e. India]. There was a so-called *Pipojia* [?] Envoy of Light who taught him a (special) type of magic and commanded him to cultivate and practice it. He therefore retained this one doctrine. In actual fact it [i.e. this doctrine] is contrary to reason. Its teaching has on prohibition which says: "All the great earth, mountains, rivers, plants, trees, water and fire are the Piluzhena [= Sanskrit: *vairocana*] sacred body [*fashen* = Sanskrit: *Dharmakaya*]. Therefore, one dares not trample on them and one does not dare to make

63 Rao Zongyi 饶宗颐, "Mohu ge kao 穆护歌考" (On the Song of muy), in *Dagongbao zai Gang fu kan san shi zhou nian ji nian wen ji* 大公报在港复刊三十周年纪念文集 (Collected papers for the 30th anniversary of the Resuming Publication of *Ta Kung Pao* [*L'Impartial*] in Hong Kong), Xianggang 1978.

64 S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China: a Historical Survey*, Tübingen, 1992, 291–292. cf. *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts in Chinese*, ed. by G.B. Mikkelsen, Turnhout, 2006, 41, 51.

a move against them. But although his is so, taking one's stand outside the Piluzhena Buddha Body [*foshen* = Sanskrit: *Buddhakāya*], if one holds the eight fasts and pays obeisance to the five directions, this is merely the result of doctrines and prohibitions. There are, in this doctrine, one, the King of Heaven, two, the Envoy of Light, three, the spiritual and physical earth (?) [*lingxiang tudi*] which preside over the religion. Its main precept is summarized in eight characters: "Clear and calm, bright and light, great and strong, wise and intelligent". However these eight characters do not come from the mind. Would it be right that people of today should wish to express these eight characters by concentrating one's thought and cultivating their conduct? What is more, they call [their way] the Religion of Light and yet they make themselves blind.'

The knowledge of Bai Yuchan about *Piluzhena*, and "purity, light, power and wisdom" is not only confirmed by the scriptures from Dunhuang, but also proved by the remains of Xiapu. His knowledge about *Lingxiang tudi* 靈相(土地) ([Earth god of] spiritual signs) is backed by the remains of the Religion of Light in Sunei village 蘇內村 near Cao'an.⁶⁵ It is not accidental for Bai Yuchan to have such knowledge. Bai Yuchan was born Ge Changgeng 葛长庚 to Ge Yuxing 葛长兴 of Minqing 闽清, Fujian. From 1213–1215, Bai apparently lived as an itinerant religious practitioner, traveling up along the east coast of China from Leizhou 雷州 to Zhangzhou 漳州, Quanzhou 泉州, and Fuzhou 福州 (all now in Fujian province). After he realized the Dao, he established a hermitage on Mount Wuyi 武夷山 of northwestern Fujian. He had quite a few Daoist friends from Mount Wuyi area. Over the next seven years Bai frequented religious centers in Fujian, Jiangxi and Zhejiang.⁶⁶ He had enough opportunities to contact with the followers of the Religion of Light in Fujian and Zhejiang provinces. Although today's scholars recognize Bai mostly for his Golden Elixir (*jindan* 金丹) teaching, for several centuries after his demise he was equally well-known as a Thunder Rites master. He referred to himself as an Assistant Clerk for

65 Nian Liangtu 粘良图, "Quanzhou Jinjiang Cao'an yi dai xin fa xian Monijiao yi cun 泉州晋江草庵一带新发现摩尼教遗存" (New Findings of Manichaeism Remains in the Area of Quanzhou Jinjiang Cao Hut), *Quanzhou shi fan xue yuan xue bao* (she hui ke xue) 泉州师范学院学报 (社会科学) (Journals of Quanzhou Normal University [Social Science]), v. 26, no. 5 (Sept. 2008), 27.

66 J.A. Berling, "Channels of connection in Sung Religion: the case of Pai Yün-ch'an", *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*, ed. by P.B. Ebrey and P.N. Gregory, Honolulu, 1993, 308–313. Qing Xitai 卿希泰, *Zhongguo Dao jiao* 中国道教 (Chinese Daoism), Shanghai, 1994, v. 1, 341–342.

Administering the Thunder of the Divine Empyrean [Heaven] (*Shenxiao dian-lei xiaoli* 神霄典雷小吏) in “A Vermilion Petition Memorializing the Thunder Court on the Matter of Deliberating Merit-Titles”.⁶⁷ If Bai Yuchan was the specialist of Thunder Rites and Manichaeism mixed with Thunder Rites in *The Divine Record of Loving Mountains Temple*, are we likely to find more commentaries on the Religion of Light by Bai Yuchan? The answer is yes. Here is an example:

明教專門事滅魔，七時功德便如何？不知清淨光明意，
面色萎黃空自勞。⁶⁸

The Religion of Light specialized in exterminating the demons,
but merit of seven prayers a day is utterly helpless.
They do not understand the meaning of purity and light,
have withered-yellowish complexion and come to naught.

Qi shi gongde 七時功德 literally means the merit of seven hours. It should mean merit of seven prayers every day.⁶⁹ Bai laughed at the seven prayers everyday by the followers of the Religion of Light and wanted to make a clear distinction between himself and that belief, but the cult of Loving Mountains Temple still found the Thunder Ritual the best shelter they could find. We already know that Lin Deng was conferred as “Chief Thunder Apostle of the Grotto-Heavens” by the officials with the throne’s approval in his genealogy and was called “Thunder Apostle Perfect Lord who is Interactive and Promotes Well-being” in *The Divine Record of Loving Mountains Temple*. Lin Deng’s clan still keeps his spirit tablet with a similar title on the shrine of his ancestral temple. It

67 Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾, “Lei fu zou shi yi xun dan zhang 雷府奏事议勋丹章” (A Vermilion Petition Memorializing the Thunder Court on the Matter of Deliberating Merit-Titles), *Daozang* 道藏 (Daoist Canon), Beijing: Wen wu chu ban she; Shanghai: Shanghai shu dian; Tianjin: Tianjin gu ji chu ban she, 1987. v. 4, 808–810. Skar, “Administering Thunder: A Thirteenth-Century Memorial Deliberating the Thunder Rites”, *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 9 (1996–1997), 159–202.

68 Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾, “Wan fa gui yi ge 萬法歸一歌” (Song on the Unity to Which All Creeds Revert), in “Haiqiong Bai zhenren yulu 海瓊白真人語錄” (Recorded Sayings of Perfected Bai of Haiqiong), *Daozang* 道藏 (Daoist Canon), Beijing: Wen wu chu ban she; Shanghai: Shanghai shu dian; Tianjin: Tianjin gu ji chu ban she, 1987. v. 33, 134. cf. J.M. Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature, Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries*, Berkeley, 1987, 176–179.

69 Cf. A. Forte: ‘Deux études sur le manichéisme chinois’, *T’oung pao* LIX, 1973, 241; G.B. Mikelsen, *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts in Chinese*, Turnhout, 2006, 48.

measures 90 cm in height and 45 cm in width and was written in 1786, there are 8 characters on the tablet: *Dongtian ganying leishi zhenjun* 洞天感应雷使真君 (Interaction Thunder Apostle True Lord in Grotto-Heavens). There are 2 dragons with pearls in their mouths outside the tablet.⁷⁰ This is a vivid symbol of this hybrid cult from Manichaeism and Thunder Rites.

70 Report of the investigation of the remains of Religion of Light (Manichaeism) (2009/5/25) by Wu Chunming, etc.

Recent Research on Chinese Manichaean Texts

Gunner Mikkelsen

In 1987, the state of the field in Chinese Manichaean studies was assessed by Victor Mair in a lengthy review of two important monographs dealing with Manichaeism in China, Sam Lieu's *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* and Peter Bryder's *The Chinese Transformation of Manichaeism*.¹ Mair noted that the study of Chinese Manichaeism had reached an advanced level, and he commended Lieu and Bryder for including in their research of the Manichaean texts in Chinese a wide range of relevant texts in Middle Iranian and other languages and also the scholarship on these texts and languages.² He emphasised the necessity of further integration of non-Chinese texts in the investigation of the “shadowy, fragmented history of Manichaeism in China”,³ which he found was “assuredly worthy of intense study”.⁴ In 1989, Mair continued his assessment in a review of Lin Wushu's 林悟殊 collected essays in *Monijiao ji qi dongjian* 摩尼教及其東漸 [*Manichaeism and its eastward expansion*] (Beijing 1987).⁵ Lin was commended for single-handedly having “raised the level of research of Chinese Manichaean studies in China nearly to that elsewhere” and for his diligence in informing himself of research results in the field outside China by consulting European and Japanese language publications, an approach other Chinese scholars in this and other fields needed to emulate, or China would soon “lag far behind other countries in research on its own history and culture”.⁶

1 V.H. Mair, Review of S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), and P. Bryder, *The Chinese Transformation of Manichaeism: a Study of Chinese Manichaean Terminology* (Löberöd: Plus Ultra, 1985), *T'oung Pao* 73 (1987) 313–324.

2 *Ibid.*, 314, 324.

3 *Ibid.*, 324.

4 *Ibid.*, 313.

5 V.H. Mair, Review of Lin Wushu, *Monijiao ji qi dongjian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), *Sino-Platonic Papers* 14 (December, 1989) B/47–48.

6 *Ibid.*, B/47. Lin Wushu's strong contribution to Chinese research of Manichaeism is reflected in the report on research of Manichaeism in China delivered by Geng Shimin 耿世民 at the second international conference of the IAMS in 1989: “Recent studies on Manichaeism in

This concern was certainly valid in the 1980s, but not today. Chinese research on China's history and culture has taken giant leaps forward. The quality of scholarly publications in the field of religious studies in China is now generally on a par with international standards, and research published in other languages (not least English) is generally taken into consideration. The contribution by Chinese scholars to the research of Chinese Manichaeism has certainly grown in size and depth. In recent years, there has been a surge of Chinese-language articles on the subject, especially presenting analyses of the Chinese Manichaean texts and reporting on new discoveries of Manichaean art, inscriptions, etc., in China. The majority of studies on Chinese Manichaeism published in the last decade are published in Chinese. This increase in Chinese research output has contributed to a rise in the overall share of Chinese-language publications in the field of Manichaean studies from around 3.2% in 1997 to nearly 4.5% in 2009.⁷

New Editions and Translations

As this short survey of publications and projects will show, research on the Chinese Manichaean texts from Dunhuang and the Turfan region has intensified not just in China but also in Europe and elsewhere in recent years. The publication rate of translations of the texts has been remarkably high. The following translations appeared in 2008:

- (1) Annotated Italian translations of large parts of the Dunhuang *Sermon on the Light-Nous (Traité)* and the *Compendium of the teachings of Mani the Buddha of Light (Moni guangfo jiaofa yi lue 摩尼光佛教法儀略)* by Antonello Palumbo were published in *Il Manicheismo*, volume III.⁸

China", in G. Wießner and H.-J. Klimkeit, eds, *Studia Manichaica. II. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, 6.–10. August 1989, St. Augustin/Bonn* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz), 98–104.

7 Calculation based on my *Bibliographia Manichaica: A Comprehensive Bibliography of Manichaeism through 1996*, CFM, Subsidia, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997) (p. xiv) (3,600+ titles) and Addenda to *Bibliographia Manichaica* (2,200+ titles) from which selections have been published in the annual *Manichaean Studies Newsletter* (Turnhout, Brepols) since 2001.

8 A. Palumbo, "Il rotolo manicheo di Pechino (Ms. *bei* 8470, coll. 1–224)", in G. Gnoli, ed., *Il Manicheismo*, vol. III. *Il mito e la dottrina. Testi manichei dell'Asia centrale e della Cina*, a cura di Gherardo Gnoli, con l'assistenza di Andrea Piras, Scrittori greci e latini (Milano: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla—Arnoldo Mondadori editore, 2008), 317–336; "La dottrina manichea nel "Compendio" di Dunhuang", *ibid.*, 337–346; "Testi cinesi" [notes], *ibid.*, 498–534.

- (2) A Spanish translation of the *Traité* by Antonio Prevosti Monclús with an introduction and commentary by Fernando Bermejo Rubio appeared in the two-volume *El maniqueísmo—Textos y Fuentes* edited by Bermejo Rubio and José Montserrat Torrents.⁹
- (3) Annotated Russian translations of the *Traité* and the *Compendium* were included in a monograph by Armen Alexanyan entitled *Манихейство в Китае (опыт историко-философского исследования)* [*Manichaeism in China*].¹⁰
- (4) Hungarian translations of the *Compendium*, the *Traité* and the *Xiabuzan* 下部讚 *Hymn-scroll*, were published in Katalin Csornai's monograph *A dunhuangi sziklatemplom manichaeus kézirattekersei* [*The Manichaean scrolls from Dunhuang's rock-temple*].¹¹

In addition, a new annotated translation of the *Hymn-scroll* in French—the first in this language—has been prepared by Lucie Rault (in collaboration with Michel Tardieu).¹² A new edition and first English translation of the *Traité* with extensive commentary have been prepared by Sam Lieu and me in collaboration with Lance Eccles for publication in the *Series Sinica* of the *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum* (Turnhout: Brepols). Also included in this work are new editions and translations of all identified fragments from the Turfan region of various versions of the sermon in Middle Iranian languages, Old Uighur and Chinese.¹³ The included Chinese fragments found at Toyoq (Ch 3218

9 A. Prevosti Monclús and F. Bermejo Rubio, "Tratado maniqueo chino", in F. Bermejo Rubio and J. Montserrat Torrents, eds, *El maniqueísmo. Textos y Fuentes*, Estructuras y procesos. Religión (Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 2008), 337–365.

10 A.G. Alexanian, А.Г. Алексанян, *Манихейство в Китае (опыт историко-философского исследования)* (Moskva: Institute of the Far East, Russian Academy of Sciences, 2008).

11 K. Csornai, *A dunhuangi sziklatemplom manichaeus kézirattekersei* (Budapest: HUN-idea, 2008).

12 Announced as forthcoming in the series *Études gnostiques et manichéennes* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf).

13 For an early-stage report on this major work, see G. Mikkelsen, "Work in Progress on the Manichaean *Traité/Sermon on the Light-Nous* in Chinese and Its Parallels in Parthian, Sogdian and Old Turkish", in C. Benjamin and D. Christian, eds, *Realms of the Silk Roads: Ancient and Modern. Proceedings of the Third Conference of the Australasian Society for Inner Asian Studies (A.S.I.A.S.)*, Macquarie University, September 18–20 1998, *Silk Road Studies* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 13–29.

(= T III T 132) and Ch 3138)¹⁴ appear to derive from a closely related version of the *Traité*. The fragments were first published by Yoshida Yutaka in 1997,¹⁵ and then edited and translated into English by me for publication in 2004.¹⁶ A passage (cols. 8–27) of the forthcoming *CFM* translation of the Dunhuang *Traité* was cited by Lieu in a research paper on Manichaeism published in 2004.¹⁷

Since the publication of the first English translations of the London *Compendium* and *Hymn-scroll* more than half a century ago,¹⁸ only a few translations of minor parts of these texts have been published. A small number of verses of the lengthy *Eulogy of the Light-world* (*Hymn-scroll*, cols. 261–338) together with parallel verses from the first canto of the *Huyadagmān* hymn-cycle in Parthian and Old Uighur were published in an article by Peter Bryder in 1999,¹⁹ and translations by Robert Campy of a number of verses of the *Hymn-scroll* are cited in Jason BeDuhn's *The Manichaean Body: in Discipline and Ritual*, published in 2000.²⁰ Preparation of new English translations of some of the *gāthās* in the *Hymn-scroll* (cols. 339–414) forms part of my current research

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- 14 Nishiwaki Tsuneki, *Chinesische und manjurische Handschriften und seltene Drucke*, Teil 3: *Chinesische Texte vermischten Inhalts aus der Berliner Turfansammlung*, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band xii, 3 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001), 135–136.
- 15 Yoshida Yutaka, “On the Recently Discovered Manichaean Chinese Fragments”, *Studies on the Inner Asian languages* 12 (1997), 35–39.
- 16 G. Mikkelsen, “The Fragments of Chinese Manichaean Texts from the Turfan Region”, in D. Durkin-Meisterernst, S.-Chr. Raschmann, J. Wilkens, M. Yaldiz and P. Zieme, eds, *Turfan Revisited—the First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road*, Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 17 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2004), 217.
- 17 S.N.C. Lieu, “From Turfan to Dunhuang: Manichaean Cosmogony in Chinese Texts”, in D. Durkin-Meisterernst et al., eds, *Turfan Revisited* (note 16), 170–171.
- 18 G. Haloun and W.B. Henning, “The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teachings of Mani, the Buddha of Light”, *Asia Major* 3 (1952), 184–212; Tsui Chi, “摩尼教下部讚 Mo Ni Chiao Hsia Pu Tsan, ‘The Lower (Second?) Section of the Manichaean Hymns’”, *BSOAS* 11 (1943), 174–219.
- 19 P. Bryder, “Huyadagmān”, in Ji Zengxiang 季增祥, ed., *Geng Shimin xiansheng 70 shouchen jinian wenji 耿世民先生70寿辰纪念文集 [Collected works in commemoration of the 70th birthday of Mr. Geng Shimin]* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1999), 252–275.
- 20 J.D. BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body: in Discipline and Ritual* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), *passim*.

project concerning these short liturgical texts.²¹ It is anticipated that these translations are included in a new *editio major* of the *Hymn-scroll* planned for the *CFM*.

New annotated editions of the Dunhuang *Traité, Compendium* and *Hymn-scroll* were published earlier this year in Rui Chuanming's 芮传明 book *Dongfang Monijiao yanjiu* 东方摩尼教研究 [*Studies in Eastern Manichaeism*].²² In his annotation of the *Hymn-scroll*, Rui offers particular attention to its three phonetically transcribed texts (cols. 1–5, 154–158, 176–183). Translators of the *Hymn-scroll* have generally refrained from offering translations of these texts as this requires expertise in both Manichaean Middle Iranian philology and Middle Chinese phonology. Yoshida Yutaka offered important insights on the texts in a number of articles and reviews published in the 1980s and early '90s,²³ and Peter Bryder edited, translated and discussed the first and second of the texts in his 1985 monograph.²⁴ The third transcribed text, "First Voice" has more recently been analysed in detail by Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤, who compares it with versions in other languages.²⁵ Ma Xiaohe's study is included in his collective work, *Monijiao yu gudai xiyushi yanjiu* 摩尼教与古代西域史研究 [*Studies in*

21 The project *Manichaean hymns and prayers in Chinese translation: an investigation of the gāthās in the Dunhuang Hymn-scroll* was funded by a Macquarie University research grant (2009–2011).

22 Rui Chuanming 芮传明, *Dongfang Monijiao yanjiu* 东方摩尼教研究 [*Studies in Eastern Manichaeism*], Chuantong Zhongguo yanjiu congshu 传统中国研究丛书 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2009); editions on pp. 361–420.

23 Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊, "Manichaean Aramaic in the Chinese *Hymn-scroll*", *BSOAS* 46 (1983) 326–331; idem, 漢訳マニ教文獻における漢字音寫された中世イラン語について(上) 'Kanyaku Manikyō bunken ni okeru kanji onsha-sareta chūsei Iran-go ni tsuite' [On Middle Iranian terms transcribed in Chinese characters in the Manichaean literature in Chinese translation (1)], in *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* 2 (1986) 1–15; idem, "Review of P. Bryder, The Chinese Transformation of Manichaeism (Löberöd 1985)", *BSOAS* 50 (1987) 403–404; idem, "Remarks on the Third Phonetic Hymn of the Chinese Hymnscroll", in A. Wezler and E. Hammerschmidt, eds, *Proceedings of the XXXII International Congress for Asian and North African Studies, Hamburg, 25th–30th August 1986*, ZDMG, Suppl. 9 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1992), 206–207.

24 P. Bryder, op. cit. (note 1), 1985, 47–74.

25 Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤, "Monijiao *Xiabuzan* 'Chusheng zanwen' xinkao" 摩尼教 《下部赞·初声赞文》新考 [A new study of the hymn "First voice" in the Manichaean *Hymn-scroll*] and "Monijiao *Xiabuzan* 'Chusheng zanwen' xukao" 摩尼教 《下部赞·初声赞文》续考 [Further study of the hymn "First voice" in the Manichaean *Hymn-scroll*], in Ye Yiliang 叶奕良, ed., *Yilangxue zai Zhongguo lunwenji* 伊朗學在中國論文集 [*Collection of essays on Iranian studies in China*], 111 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2003), 81–105, 106–113.

Manichaeism and the ancient history of the western regions], published by the Renmin University of China Press in Beijing.²⁶ In an as yet unpublished article, Ma carries out a close investigation of the second of the transcribed texts and, based on this, proposes, among other things, that the deity by the name of *Jingfa feng* 淨法風 “Pure Law Wind” may be identified as the Light-Nous (*Huiming* 惠明), and that the deity by the similar name *Jinghuo feng* 淨活風 “Pure Living Wind” is unlikely to be *Jingfeng* 淨風 “the Living Spirit”.²⁷ Further editions and studies of the phonetically transcribed texts are included in new articles by Lin Wushu 林悟殊 and Zhang Guangda 張廣達.²⁸

In addition to the two fragments of the *Traité*, four fragments of Chinese Manichaean hymns have been identified in the Turfan collections in Berlin and Kyoto. The largest is a double-page fragment, found at Toyoq, of a hymnbook containing parts of four hymns and recitation texts which are paralleled in the Dunhuang *Hymn-scroll*, including the eulogies “Universal Petition and Praise” and “We laud and praise Mani, the King of Perfect Wisdom”, and, in addition, an unparalleled hymn to a deity who might be identified as the Third Messenger. A second fragment contains a part of an unparalleled Chinese Manichaean hymn or prayer directed to a “Great Saint” or “Great Holy One”. Most of these pieces

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- 26 Ma Xiaohu 马小鹤, *Monijiao yu gudai xiyu shi yanjiu* 摩尼教与古代西域史研究 [*Studies in Manichaeism and the ancient history of the western regions*], Xiyu lishi yuyan yanjiu congshu 西域历史语言研究丛书 [Monograph series of historical and philological studies of China's western regions] (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2008), 164–196, 197–205.
- 27 Ma Xiaohu 马小鹤, “Monijiao ‘Xiabuzan’ di’er shou yinyi shi yishi—Jinghuofeng, Jingfafeng bianxi” 摩尼教《下部赞》第二首音译诗译释—净活风、净法风辨析 [Interpretation of the second transcribed verses of the Manichaean Hymn-scroll—analysis of Pure Living Wind and Pure Law Wind] (forthcoming).
- 28 Lin Wushu 林悟殊, “Dunhuang Monijiao ‘Xiabuzan’ jing ming kaoshi—jianlun gaijing sanshou yin yi shi” 敦煌摩尼教《下部讚》經名考釋—兼論該 [The title of the Manichaean “Xiabuzan” from Dunhuang with a discussion of the three phonetically transcribed poems], in Lin Wushu 林悟殊, *Zhongguo san yijiao bianzheng* 中古三夷教辨證 [*Debate and research on the three Persian religions: Manichaeism, Nestorianism and Zoroastrianism in Medieval times*] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), 123–131; this was first published in *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 3 (1998) 45–51. Zhang Guangda 張廣達, “Tangdai Hanyi Monijiao canjuan—xinwang, xiang, sanchang, sichu, zhongzi deng yu shi shi” 唐代漢譯摩尼教殘卷—心王、相、三常、四處、種子等語詞試釋 [The Chinese Manichaean fragmentary texts from the Tang dynasty—an attempt to explain the terms xinwang, xiang, sanchang, sichu, zhongzi], *Tōhō gakuō* 東方學報 77 (2004).

were translated into German by Thomas Thilo and published in 1991.²⁹ New editions and English translations of all pieces were published in 2004 in my aforementioned paper.³⁰

Two further Chinese Manichaean fragments from the Turfan region have been identified and edited in recent years. One small fragment, kept in the Ōtani Collection, contains a few sentences (or lines) from two verses of the *Hymn-scroll* version of “We laud and praise Mani, the King of Perfect Wisdom” (cols. 161–162). It was initially published in 2003 in the third volume by Oda Yoshihisa 小田義久 of a series of works covering the complete collection of Ōtani manuscripts.³¹ In 2005, the fragment was edited and studied by Wang Yuanyuan 王媛媛 in an article published in the journal *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 [*Western Regions Studies*].³² The other small fragment belongs to the Berlin Turfan Collection (Ch 1363). The text appears to describe springs, trees, flowers and fruits of the new Light-world. The fragment was edited and studied by Wang Ding 王丁 in a paper published in 2007.³³ Editions and Hungarian translations of all identified Chinese Manichaean Turfan fragments together with their Dunhuang parallels were recently published in an article by Gábor Kósa.³⁴

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- 29 T. Thilo, “Einige Bemerkungen zu zwei chinesisch-manichäischen Textfragmenten der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung”, in H. Klengel and W. Sundermann, eds, *Ägypten–Vorderasien–Turfan. Probleme der Edition und Bearbeitung altorientalischer Handschriften*, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients 23 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1991), 161–170.
- 30 G. Mikkelsen, op. cit. (note 16), 2004, 213–220.
- 31 Oda Yoshihisa 小田義久, *Ōtani bunsho shusei (san)* 大谷文書集成 (參) [The complete collection of Ōtani documents, vol. 3], 龍大谷學善本叢書 23 (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 2003).
- 32 Wang Yuanyuan 王媛媛, “Xinchu Hanwen “Xiabuzan” canpian yu Gaochang Huigu de Hanren Monijiao tuan” 新出漢文《下部贊》殘片與高昌回鶻的漢人摩尼教團 [New fragment of the Chinese *Hymn-scroll* and the Chinese Manichaean community in the Qocho Uighur kingdom], *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 2005/2, 51–57.
- 33 Wang Ding 王丁, “Bailin Tulufan tezung zhong yi jian chuzi Jiaohe de Hanwen Monijiao wenshu” 柏林吐魯番特藏中一件出自交河的漢文摩尼教文書 [A Chinese Manichaean text from Jiaohe in the Berlin Turfan collection], in Takata Tokio 高田時雄, ed., *Tangdai zongjiao wenhua yu zhidu* 唐代宗教文化與制度 [Tang religious culture and institutions] (Kyōto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo 京都大學人文科學研究所, 2007), 41–65.
- 34 G. Kósa, “Az öröklét gyümölcssei—Kínai nyelvű Manicheus töredékek a Turfean-medencéből” [The fruits of eternity—Chinese Manichaean fragments from the Turfan Basin], *Távol-keleti Tanulmányok* [Far Eastern Studies] (2009), 1, 7–26.

Recent Studies

Among the numerous studies of the Chinese Manichaean texts published in recent years are a small number which deal with long-standing questions regarding their titles and translation into Chinese. One of the more significant contributions to the debate on these questions is a study by the late Antonino Forte on the title of the Dunhuang *Traité*.³⁵ Forte subscribes to the thesis once proposed by the Chinese historian Chen Yuan 陳垣 that the *Traité on the Light-Nous* may be the Manichaean *Scripture on the Two Principles* (*Erzong jing* 二宗經) that was presented to Empress Wu 武 of the Zhou 周 dynasty in AD 694. A dating of the *Traité* manuscript to the end of the 7th century is, according to Forte, probable as the manuscript contains instances of the special characters promulgated by Empress Wu. The *Traité* is therefore identifiable as the *Scripture on the Two Principles*, also known as *Scripture on the Two Principles and Three Times* (*Erzong sanji jing* 二宗三際經). A new study by Ma Xiaohé probes further into the question of the original identity of the *Traité*.³⁶ He argues that the *Traité* and its probable Parthian original as well as the 38th and 70th of the Coptic *Kephalaia* are all adaptations of Mani's *Book of the Giants*. He finds that more passages of the *Traité* than hitherto assumed correspond to the extant fragments of this canonical scripture.

Questions concerning the title of the *Hymn-scroll* were discussed by Lin Wushu in a research paper presented at the fifth IAMS conference in Naples in 2001.³⁷ Lin argued that *Xiabuzan* "Lower category hymns" is the title of the complete *Hymn-scroll*, referring to a certain type or category of Manichaean hymns rather than to a division of hymns within a larger hymn collection.

The great majority of recent studies on the Chinese Manichaean texts focus on their technical terminology and doctrinal concepts. In particular Rui Chuan-

35 A. Forte, "The Chinese Title of the Manichaean Treatise from Dunhuang", *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 62 (2002) 1–15; this is a modified version of "Il titolo cinese del *Traité manichéen*", in Ugo Marazzi, ed., *Turcica et Islamica. Studi in memoria di Aldo Gallotta*, Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale" Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici. Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, Series Minor LXIV (Napoli: Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale", dist. Herder, 2003), I, 215–243.

36 Ma Xiaohé 马小鹤, "Possible adaptation of the *Book of the Giants* in the Manichaean *Traité*" (forthcoming).

37 Lin Wushu, "Notes on the Title of the Dunhuang Manichaean Hymnscroll (s.2659 摩尼教下部讚 Mo-ni chiao hsia-pu tsan)", in A. van Tongerloo, ed., in collaboration with L. Cirillo, *Quinto Congresso Internazionale di Studi sul Manicheismo. Atti. Il Manicheismo—Nuove prospettive della ricerca. Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale", Napoli, 2–8 Settembre 2001, MAS 5* (Lovanii–Neapoli: Brepols, 2005), 255–262.

ming and Ma Xiaohe have contributed to the research of Chinese Manichaean terms, names, epithets and metaphors. Their studies are contextual and comparative in their approach, investigating both related and parallel Manichaean texts and terms in other languages and non-Manichaean, not least Buddhist texts and terms in Chinese. Among the numerous concepts systematically studied by Rui and Ma are the “five wonderful bodies” (*wu miao shen* 五妙身) and especially *xiang* 相 or *xiang* 想 which seem to have been employed interchangeably to name the first of these.³⁸ Zhang Guangda and Elio Provasi,³⁹ among others, have contributed to the discussion of the *xiang* 相 / *xiang* 想 problem. In his major article published in the *Tōhō gaku* in 2004,⁴⁰ Zhang Guangda comments on *xiang* 相 and several other ambiguous and problematic terms in the texts, including *xin* 心 “heart, mind, intention, thoughts”, *xinxing* 心性 “heart/mind and nature, disposition”, *xinwang* 心王 “king of the heart/mind”, *sanchang* 三常 “three constancies”, *sichu* 四處 “four places, everywhere”, *qingjing* 清淨 and *jing* 淨 “purity, pure, purified, to purify”, and *zhongzi* 種子 “grain, seed”. I have here inserted my own translations of these terms as they are listed in my *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts in Chinese*, recently published in the *Subsidia* of the CFM.⁴¹ The *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts* contains nearly 5,000 words and phrases covering all identified Chinese Manichaean texts and a large number of excerpts on Manichaeism and the Manichaean church from Chinese historical, institutional, literary and polemical sources. It is one of the products of the Dictionary of Manichaean Texts Project directed

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- 38 Rui Chuanming 芮传明, “Monijiao ‘wu miaoshen’ kao” 摩尼教“五妙身”考 (“On the ‘five wonderful bodies’ in Manichaeism”), *Shilin* 史林 2004/6, 86–95; idem, *Dongfang Monijiao yanjiu* 东方摩尼教研究 (*Studies in Eastern Manichaeism*), Chuantong Zhongguo yanjiu congshu 传统中国研究丛书 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2009), 72–86. Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤, “‘Xiang, xin, nian, si, yi’ kao” “相、心、念、思、意”考 [A study of “thought, feeling, reflection, intellect and reasoning”], *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中华文史论丛 2006/4, 237–264.
- 39 E. Provasi, “Sogdian *farn*”, in C.G. Cereti, M. Maggi and E. Provasi, eds, *Religious Themes and Texts of Pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia. Studies in Honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday on 6 December 2002*, Beiträge zur Iranistik 24 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2003), 303–322.
- 40 Zhang Guangda 張廣達, “Tangdai Hanyi Monijiao canjuan—xinwang, xiang, sanchang, sichu, zhongzi deng yu shi shi” 唐代漢譯摩尼教殘卷—心王、相、三常、四處、種子等語詞試釋 [The fragmentary Chinese Manichaean texts from the Tang dynasty], *Tōhō gaku* 東方學報 77 (2004) 336–376.
- 41 G. Mikkelsen, *Dictionary of Manichaean texts*, Vol. III. *Texts from Central Asia and China*, Part 4. *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts in Chinese*, CFM, *Subsidia* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

by Nicholas Sims-Williams at SOAS, London, and the Ancient India and Iran Trust in Cambridge in the years 2000–2005.

In an article published in 2007, Rui Chuanming studies the notion of the five-part Light-world referred to in the *Hymnscroll* and the *Traité* as *wuda* 五大 “five greatnesses” and *wu zhong da* 五種大 “five kinds of greatnesses”.⁴² Rui revisits the notion in his recent book.⁴³ His study includes a comparison with the Buddhist notion of the five great *dhyānibuddhas* residing in five parts of the world. In a new study, Ma Xiaohe compares relevant passages concerning the five parts of the Light-world in the *Hymn-scroll* with the Coptic *Psalm-book* and *Kephalaia* and also a Sogdian cosmogonic text and a Parthian version of Mani’s psalm “The Praise of the Lesser Ones”.⁴⁴ His investigation reveals that the notion is described with great consistency in these texts.

Ma has, furthermore, in an article published last year in the newly launched Chinese journal *Xiyu lishi yuyan yanjiu jikan* 西域歷史語言研究集刊 [*Historical and Philological Studies of China’s Western Regions*],⁴⁵ and now reprinted in his book,⁴⁶ investigated in great detail the notion of “twelve great kings” or “twelve dominions” and the seemingly stronger connection in Eastern texts of this notion with the notion of the “three light days”.

The use of imagery and metaphors in the Chinese Manichaean texts in comparison with other Manichaean texts, Buddhist texts, etc., has received much scholarly attention in recent years. Ma and Rui in particular have contributed to this research by investigating several important images and symbols attested in the texts, such as the “ship” and the “helmsman”,⁴⁷ the “bright pearl”,⁴⁸ the

42 Rui Chuanming 芮传明, “Monijiao ‘wuda’ kao” 摩尼教“五大”考 [A study of the “five greatnesses” in Manichaeism], *Shilin* 史林 2007/5, 107–117.

43 Rui, op. cit. (note 38), 2009, 87–107.

44 Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤, “Monijiao ‘wu zhong da’ xinkao” 摩尼教“五种大”新考 [A new study of the Manichaean “five great ones”], *Shilin* 史林 2009/3.

45 Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤, “Monijiao ‘shi’er dawang’ he ‘san da guangming ri’ kao” 摩尼教“十二大王”和“三大光明日”考 [On the Manichaean “twelve dominions” and “three great light days”], *Xiyu lishi yuyan yanjiu jikan* 西域歷史語言研究集刊 [*Historical and Philological Studies of China’s Western Regions*] 2008/1, 177–207.

46 Ma, op. cit. (note 26), 2008, 247–283.

47 Rui Chuanming 芮传明, “Monijiao wenxian suojian ‘chuan’ yu ‘chuanzhu’ kaoshi” 摩尼教文献所见“船”与“船主”考释 [A study of the concepts of the ship and the helmsman in Manichaean documents], *Ou-Ya xuekan* 欧亚学刊 1 (1999), 223–242; idem, “A Study of the Concepts of the Ship and the Helmsman in Manichaean Documents”, *China Archaeology and Art Digest* 4/4 (2002) 165; idem, op. cit. (note 38), 2009, 261–283.

48 Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤, “Monijiao zongjiao fuhao ‘mingzhu’ yanjiu—patiyawen mwrgr’ryd (zhenzhu) kao” 摩尼教宗教符号“明珠”研究—帕提亚文 mwrgr’ryd (珍珠) 考 [A

“treasure” or “jewel”,⁴⁹ “wonderful clothes”,⁵⁰ the “tree”,⁵¹ and the “medicine of the great Law”.⁵² The clothing metaphor in the *Hymn-scroll* and the *Hymn of the Pearl* was the topic of a paper delivered by Johan Ferreira at the IAMS conference held in Berlin in 1997.⁵³

The use of Buddhist terminology in the Chinese texts has attracted much scholarly attention in recent years as well. In his new book and in a number of articles before its publication, Rui investigates the Manichaean adoption and adaptation of the central Buddhist concepts *foxing* 佛性 “buddha-nature”,⁵⁴ *lunhui* 輪迴 ‘transmigration, rebirth’,⁵⁵ and *diyū* 地獄 ‘earth-prison, hell’.⁵⁶ Rui also compares the name of Mani with Buddhist *maṇi* and *cintāmaṇi*,⁵⁷ and he investigates the Manichaean Just Judge or *Pingdeng wang* 平等王 “King of the balance”, the Manichaean Jesus figures, and the Buddhist judge of the dead

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- study of the Manichaean religious symbol “bright pearl”—Parthian *mwrǵryd* (pearl)], *Xueshu kanyu* 学术刊于 17/4 (2000) 290–301; idem, op. cit. (note 26), 2008, 26–34.
- 49 Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤, “Monijiao zongjiao fuhao ‘zhenbao’ yanjiu—fanwen *ratna*, *patiyawen rdn*, *sutewen rtn*, *huihewen erteni kao*” 摩尼教宗教符号“珍宝”研究—梵文 *ratna*、帕提亚文 *rdn*、粟特文 *rtn*、回鹘文 *erteni* 考 [A study of the Manichaean “treasure” symbol—Sanskrit *ratna*, Parthian *rdn*, Sogdian *rtn*, Uighur *erteni*], *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 2002/2, 53–60; idem, op. cit. (note 26), 2008, 35–44.
- 50 Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤, “Monijiao zongjiao fuhao ‘miaoyi’ yanjiu” 摩尼教宗教符号“妙衣”研究 [A study of the Manichaean religious symbol “wonderful clothes”], *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中华文史论丛 59 (1999); idem, op. cit. (note 26), 2008, 4–25.
- 51 Rui Chuanming 芮传明, “Monijiao ‘shu’ fuhao zai dongfang de yanbian” 摩尼教“树”符号在东方的演变 [Evolution of the “tree” as a Manichaean symbol in the East], *Shilin* 史林 (2002) 3; idem, op. cit. (note 38), 2009, 192–218.
- 52 Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤, “Monijiao fuhao ‘dafayao’ yanjiu” 摩尼教宗教符号“大法药”研究 [A study of the Manichaean symbol “medicine of the great law”], *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐鲁番研究 1999/ 4, 145–163; idem, op. cit. (note 26), 2008, 45–63.
- 53 J. Ferreira, “A Comparison of the Clothing Metaphor in the Hymn of the Pearl and the Chinese Manichaean Hymnscroll”, in R.E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann and P. Zieme, eds, *Studia Manichaica. Iv. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin 14.–18. Juli 1997*, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berichte und Abhandlungen, Sonderband 4 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 207–219.
- 54 Rui Chuanming 芮传明, “Monijiao ‘foxing’ tantao” 摩尼教“佛性”探讨 [A discussion of Manichaean “Buddha-nature”], *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中华文史论丛 59 (1999) 9; idem, op. cit. (note 38), 2009, 219–239.
- 55 Rui Chuanming 芮传明, “Monijiao ‘pingdeng wang’ yu ‘lunhui’ kao” 摩尼教“平等王”与“轮回”考 [On the “king of the balance” and “rebirth” in Manichaeism], *Shilin* 史林 2003/6, 28–39; idem, op. cit. (note 38), 2009, 240–258.
- 56 Rui Chuanming 芮传明, op. cit. (note 38), 2009, 240–258.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 2009, 47–71.

and ruler of the hells, Yama (with whom the Manichaeen *Pingdeng wang* is deemed not identifiable).⁵⁸ Rui argues that Buddhist ideas were not directly “taken over” by the Manichaeans, and that the two religions held different views on transmigration and rebirth. The Buddhist-style presentation of the Manichaeen Jesus is also the main topic of my own study, published in 2002, of Christology and Buddhist terminology in the Manichaeen *Hymn-scroll*.⁵⁹

A recent project that deserves special mention is “Chinese Buddhism and Chinese Manichaeism—a comprehensive investigation of their interaction” directed by Imre Hamar and Gábor Kósa and sponsored by the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Exchange (Taiwan) 2005–2008.⁶⁰ The project centers on Buddhist expressions in the Chinese Manichaeen texts of which five different types had initially been identified, namely: (1) Buddhist expressions used in the original Buddhist sense; (2) Buddhist expressions employed in a sense close to their original meanings; (3) Buddhist expressions used in a particular Manichaeen sense; (4) Buddhist expressions that could be interpreted as both Buddhist or Manichaeen; and (5) “pseudo-Buddhist” expressions carrying a Manichaeen meaning and pretending to be of Buddhist origin, but not attested in any Chinese Buddhist text.⁶¹ One of the project objectives is to trace in Chinese Buddhist texts each Buddhist term or expression attested in the Chinese Manichaeen texts. Special emphasis is placed on the Buddhist Pure Land elements. Some of the results of this research have been published (in Hungarian) in a series of articles.⁶²

58 Rui Chuanming 芮传明, op. cit. (note 55), 2003, 28–39; idem, op. cit. (note 38), 2009, 126–138.

59 G. Mikkelsen, “‘Quickly guide me to the peace of the Pure Land’: Christology and Buddhist Terminology in the Chinese Manichaeen *Hymnscroll*”, in R. Malek, ed., *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ*, 1, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 50/1 (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica and China-Zentrum—Nettetal: Steyler, 2002), 219–242.

60 Cf. I. Hamar & G. Kósa, “Chinese Buddhism and Chinese Manichaeism: a Comprehensive Investigation of Their Interaction”, *Manichaeen Studies Newsletter* 21 (2006), 18–19.

61 Based on Gábor Kósa’s doctoral dissertation *A manicheizmusmal kapcsolatos kínai nyelvű szövegek terminológiai elemzése* [Terminological analysis of the texts of Chinese Manichaeism], Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) (Budapest 2006). For a resumé, see G. Kósa, “‘The Wings of Compassion’: a Terminological Analysis of Chinese Manichaeen Texts”, *Manichaeen Studies Newsletter* 21 (2006), 15–17.

62 G. Kósa, “Az ötödik buddha—Māni buddhista címei (Buddho-Manichaica 1)” [The fifth Buddha—Buddhist titles of Mani], *Keréknymok* 2 (2007), 47–63; idem, “A Világ Tiszteltje és a Nagyság Atyja (Buddho-Manichaica 11)” [The World-Honoured One and the Father of Greatness (Buddho-Manichaica 11)], *Keréknymok* 3 (2008) 95–110; idem, “‘A hatalmas felhő fényessége’: Áttekintés a kínai buddhizmus és manicheizmus viszonyáról a történeti

Other major investigations are focussed on the Chinese Manichaean employment of Buddhist terms, phrases, metaphors, etc., and adaptation of Buddhist concepts. In my paper for the Sixth International Conference of the IAMS, held in Flagstaff in 2004, I compare the depiction of the Light-world in the *Eulogy of the Light-world* with that of Sukhāvātī, the Western paradise and pure land of the Buddha Amitābha, in the popular Chinese *Sukhāvātīvyūhasūtras*.⁶³ This study shows that the Light-world is presented elaborately as a “new pure land” almost identical to and in every way as splendid as Sukhāvātī without, however, losing its original Manichaean identity. Further observations on Chinese Manichaean adaptation of Buddhist terms and concepts are included in my work on Chinese Manichaean translation techniques.

Finally, mention must be made briefly of two comparative studies of the texts of the Church of the East and the Manichaeans in China: Lin Wushu’s broad comparative study of Chinese “Nestorian” and Manichaean texts, presented at a conference at Kyōto University in 2004,⁶⁴ and my own paper on shared features in the terminology of these texts, presented at the IAMS confer-

források tükrében (Buddho-Manichaica III) [The great cloud of light: an overview of the relationship of Buddhism and Manichaeism as reflected in historical sources (Buddho-Manichaica III)], in Imre Hamar & G. Salát, eds, *Kínai történelem és kultúra: tanulmányok Ecsedy Ildikó emlékére* [Chinese history and culture: studies in memory of Ecsedy Ildikó] (Budapest: Balassi, 2009); idem, “A három bölcs visszatérése—Buddha, Konfuciusz és Mānī alakja a *Huahujingben* (Buddho-Manichaica IV)” [Return of the Three Sages—Buddha, Confucius and Mānī in the *Huahujing* (Buddho-Manichaica IV)], *Keréknyomok* 4 (2008) 25–38; idem, “Kincsfá-virágok, drágakő-gyümölcsök (Buddho-Manichaica V)” [Flowers of the jewel-tree, fruits of precious stones (Buddho-Manichaica V)], *Vallástudományi Szemle* 2008/3, 69–86.

63 G. Mikkelsen, “Sukhāvātī and the Light-World: Pure Land Elements in the Chinese Manichaean *Eulogy of the Light-World*”, in J.D. BeDuhn, ed., *New Light on Manichaeism. Papers from the Sixth International Congress on Manichaeism*, NHMS 64 (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2009), 201–212.

64 Lin Wushu 林悟殊, “Hanwen Moni jing yu Jingjiao jing qi hongguan bijiao” 汉文摩尼经与景教经及其宏观比较 [A general comparison of Chinese Manichaean and Nestorian texts], in Tokio Takata 高田時雄, ed., 中國宗教文獻研究國際シンポジウム報告書 *Chūgoku shūkyō bunken kenkyū kokusai shinpojiumu hōkokusho* [Proceedings of the International Symposium “Religions in Chinese script”] (Kyōto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo 京都大学人文科学研究所 [Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyōto University], 2004), 131–149; Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, ed., *Chūgoku shūkyō bunken kenkyū* 中國宗教文獻研究 [Religions in Chinese Script] (Kyōto: Rinsen shoten 臨川書店, 2007).

ence in Naples in 2001 and published in 2005.⁶⁵ The “Nestorians” and Manichaeans seemed to have shared a few elements, including trinitarian formulae, but this matter awaits further research.

As this selective survey shows, great progress has been made in the research of the Chinese Manichaean texts in recent years. There is no doubt that the momentum will continue, and that new detailed and comparative research will add further to our knowledge of these texts and reveal more about the true nature of Chinese Manichaeism.

65 G. Mikkelsen, “Shared Features in the Terminology of Chinese Manichaean and Nestorian Texts”, in A. van Tongerloo, ed., in collaboration with L. Cirillo, *Quinto Congresso Internazionale di Studi sul Manicheismo. Atti. Il Manicheismo—Nuove prospettive della ricerca. Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”, Napoli, 2–8 Settembre 2001*, MAS 5 (Lovanii and Neapoli: Brepols, 2005), 263–275.

Fragen an Kephalaia Kapitel 151 (Ed. Funk) – Kephalaia Kapitel 154 (Ed. Schmidt/Polotsky) *Revisited**

Wolf B. Oerter

1933 machten Carl Schmidt und Hans Jacob Polotsky die Öffentlichkeit erstmals mit Auszügen aus dem wenige Jahre zuvor entdeckten koptisch-manichäischen Handschriftenfund aus Medinet Madi bekannt. In ihrer Vorabübersetzung legten sie unter anderem auch Teile aus einem Kapitel der Kephalaia vor, das sie als 154. Kapitel zählten und „Vorzüge der manichäischen Religion“ nannten.¹ An der Benennung dieses Kapitels als „Vorzüge“ dürfte sich auch nach der nunmehr vorliegenden vollständigen Edition durch Wolf-Peter Funk² nichts mehr ändern, denn die ursprüngliche Kapitelüberschrift ist derart fragmentarisch, dass man ihren vollen Wortlaut nicht mehr rekonstruieren kann.³

Die eingebürgerte Bezeichnung der „Vorzüge“ kann also durchaus beibehalten werden. Was sich aber gegenüber der Vorabübersetzung mit der neuen Edition geändert hat, ist die Kapitelzählung – der von Funk edierte koptische Text zeigt ganz klar die Zählung „151“,⁴ weshalb man jetzt auch stets Kapitel 151 statt Kapitel 154 zitieren sollte, wenn von der koptischen Fassung der „Vorzüge“ die Rede ist.

Schon Schmidt und Polotsky wussten, dass es zu den koptischen „Vorzügen“ auch eine mittelpersische Version gab. Sie war seinerzeit von F.C. Andreas und

* Der Abdruck meines Beitrags erscheint in seiner 2010 redigierten Fassung; alle seitdem erschienenen neueren Arbeiten zu diesem Thema sind nicht berücksichtigt.

1 Schmidt, Polotsky, *Mani-Fund*, 1933, 40–44 (Übersetzung), 85 f. Nr. II und III (auszugsweiser koptischer Text).

2 W.-P. Funk (ed.), *Kephalaia I*, Zweite Hälfte. Lieferung 15/16, 2000.

3 Dass das Kapitel aber offenbar anders lautete, daran lässt das fragmentarisch Erhaltene keinen Zweifel: „Über (?) ... |[die] Städte sind zahlreich ... |in dem ...“ W.-P. Funk (ed.), *Kephalaia I*: 370,17–19.

4 Deutliche Zählung über (S. 370,16) und beiderseits des Titels (jeweils Z. 18): 𐩪𐩣𐩪. S.N.C. Lieu hat in seinem Festschriftbeitrag für Wolf-Peter Funk (s. Anm. 15) konsequent die alte Zählung beibehalten.

W. Henning als Fragment T II D 126 veröffentlicht worden⁵ und trägt heute die Signatur M 5794 I. Im Jahre 1981 konnte Werner Sundermann dazu zwei weitere Fragmente ausfindig machen und den mittelpersischen Text dementsprechend ergänzen.⁶

In der Forschung waren die „Vorzüge“ mehrfach Gegenstand von Betrachtungen. Während man sich dabei im großen und ganzen darin einig war, dass es sich bei beiden Fassungen um miteinander verwandte Texte handeln musste, gab und gibt es noch heute bei der Beurteilung ihres literarischen Charakters und der Überlieferungsgeschichte unterschiedliche Ansichten.

W. Henning hatte in dem von ihm und F.C. Andreas 1933 publizierten mittelpersischen Text „das Bruchstück aus einer Schrift Manis“ gesehen, „in der der Religionsstifter sich über die besonderen Vorzüge seiner Religion äußert“.⁷ C. Schmidt war der Frage nach literarischem Charakter und Überlieferungsgeschichte der koptischen Fassung 1933 nicht weiter nachgegangen, er hatte sich mit dem Hinweis auf diesen mitteliranischen Paralleltext begnügt.⁸ A. Adam ging dann 1954 einen Schritt weiter, indem er den mittelpersischen Text als Auszug aus dem Šābuhragān, der Šābuhr 1. gewidmeten Schrift Manis ansah.⁹ A. Henrichs und L. Koenen, die Herausgeber des Kölner Mani-Kodexes, folgten ihm 1970 in dieser Ansicht.¹⁰ Dem widersprach 1981 W. Sundermann. Seiner Meinung nach handele es sich bei dem uns überlieferten mittelpersischen Text weder um einen Auszug aus dem Šābuhragān noch um ein „Bruchstück eines Schriftwerkes Manis“. Vielmehr hätten wir es hierbei mit dem Fragment eines Gespräches Manis zu tun, das er mit einem ungenannten Jünger im Gefängnis führte und das als Memorandum des Manijüngers Mar Ammo überliefert wurde.¹¹ Diese Auffassung bekräftigte er dann noch einmal 1986 und präziserte sie: die in Frage kommenden mittelpersischen Fragmente enthielten „eine Gefängnisrede Manis, in der dieser in 10 Punkten die Vorzüge seiner Religion darlegt.“ Und das 154. (sic) Kephalaion biete eine ausführliche Parallele dazu.¹² 1988 nahm A. Böhlig unter Verweis auf Sundermann für den mit-

5 Andreas/Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica II*, 1933, 4f.

6 Es handelt sich um die mittelpersischen Fragmente M 5761 und M 6062: Sundermann, *Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, 1981, Nr. 24.1, 131 ff.

7 Andreas/Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica II*, 1933, 3.

8 Schmidt/Polotsky, *Mani-Fund*, 1933, 40, Anm. 6.

9 Adam, *Texte zum Manichäismus*, 1954, 6f., Nr. 3 d.

10 Henrichs/Koenen, „Ein griechischer Mani-Codex“, 1970, 97 Anm. 1.

11 Sundermann, *Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, 1981, 131.

12 Sundermann, „Studien II“, 1986, 266.

telpersischen Text „Worte (Manis) im Gefängnis“ an.¹³ Ich selbst hatte 1990 zwischen beiden Textfassungen überlieferungsgeschichtliche Verwandtschaft angenommen und in den Vorzügen eine „programmatische Selbstdarstellung des Manichäismus“ gesehen, wobei ich offenließ, ob es sich hierbei um eine selbständige Schrift Manis oder um einen Teil eines seiner zahlreichen Werke handelte.¹⁴ Eine erneute Beschäftigung mit beiden Textfassungen, der koptischen und der mittelpersischen, erfolgte unlängst durch S.N. Lieu. Er räumte 2006 die Möglichkeit ein, dass beiden sprachlichen Fassungen eine gemeinsame Quelle zugrunde liegt und dass die mittelpersische Version ursprünglich vom Šābuhragān stammen könnte.¹⁵

Die genannten Untersuchungen repräsentieren also vier Möglichkeiten der ursprünglichen literargeschichtlichen Einordnung der „Vorzüge“, wobei man hauptsächlich von der mittelpersischen Fassung ausging: Die „Vorzüge“ seien 1. Bruchstück einer nicht näher genannten Schrift Manis (so Henning, z. T. auch Oerter), 2. Teil einer Gefängnisrede Manis, die in den sogenannten Memoranda des Manijüngers Mar Ammo überliefert ist (Sundermann; z. T. auch Böhlig), 3. Teil des Šābuhragān (Adam; Lieu), und 4. eine selbständige programmatische Schrift Manis (Oerter).

Im Folgenden möchte ich einige Fragen zur Diskussion stellen, die sich mir aus den hier skizzierten unterschiedlichen überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Zuordnungsversuchen ergeben haben.

1. Hypothese: Die „Vorzüge“ als Bruchstück einer Schrift Manis

Da sich dieser Zuordnungsversuch weitestgehend mit der 4. Hypothese deckt, gehe ich erst am Schluss auf sie ein.

13 Böhlig, „Zur religionsgeschichtlichen Einordnung“, 1988, 32.

14 Oerter, „Vorzüge der manichäischen Religion“, 1990, 269 f.

15 Lieu, „Mani's Missionary Statement“, 2006, 519–527, bes. S. 526: „Though the points are ordered differently they resemble each other sufficiently to suggest a common source and it is not impossible that the Middle persian version originally came from the semi-canonical Šābuhragān ...“ – Die Feststellung Lieus loc. cit. mit Anm. 20, der dritte Punkt in den koptischen „Vorzügen“ „is paralleled by the fourth point in the Middle persian“, wobei er auf Böhlig, „Zur religionsgeschichtlichen Einordnung“, S. 30–32 verweist, beruht auf einem Missverständnis der Aussage Böhligs.

2. Hypothese: Die „Vorzüge“ als Teil einer Gefängnisrede Manis

Hier ist zunächst festzuhalten, dass Sundermanns Urteil über den mittelpersischen Text M 5794 I in erster Linie natürlich den konkreten Überlieferungssachverhalt dieses Textfragments betrifft, was aber nicht ausschließt, dass man es literargeschichtlich noch weiter hinterfragt. Das Fragment M 5794 I, welches die in (zehn) Punkten gefasste Überlegenheit der Religion Manis gegenüber all den früheren Religionen enthält und an die sich eine Erläuterung der für die Hörer geltenden Verbote anschließt,¹⁶ ist zusammen mit noch weiteren acht Fragmenten Teil ein und derselben Handschrift.¹⁷ Diese Fragmente enthalten unter anderem die unmittelbare Überleitung zu den „Vorzügen“ selbst, ferner Sachverhalte aus Manis Passion sowie Reste von Blattüberschriften. Insbesondere die Schilderungen über Manis Passion, die also zusammen mit den „Vorzügen“ Teil ein und derselben Handschrift sind, sprechen gegen eine Zuordnung der „Vorzüge“ zum Šābuhragān, das von Manis Leiden noch nichts wissen konnte.¹⁸ Zudem enthält die Handschrift Prophezeiungen darüber, dass die manichäische Kirche in ihrer zentralasiatischen Provinz einer Blütezeit entgegensteht. Damit werden später eintretende geschichtliche Ereignisse antizipiert, was für eine nachträgliche Aktualisierung des Textes spricht.¹⁹ Was die Blattüberschriften angeht, so kann man sie zu einer fortlaufenden Überschrift verbinden, so dass man dann als Gesamtüberschrift „Die Emporleitung des Lichtapostels“ erhält.²⁰ Dies deutet nach Sundermann auf die bevorstehende Erhebung Manis in den Lichthimmel hin. Die gesamte Handschrift interpretiert Sundermann als ein „Bruchstück jener belehrenden und ermahnenden Gespräche (...), die Mani während seiner sechsundzwanzigtägigen Kerkerhaft führte und die sein Vermächtnis an seine Kirche darstellen.“²¹ Dieser Zuordnungsversuch gilt meiner Ansicht nach aber nur unter der Voraussetzung, dass die aus acht Fragmenten bestehende Handschrift in sich kohärent ist und von Anfang an auch so konstruiert war, das heißt, ich muss ausschließen können, dass die „Vorzüge“ nur sekundäre Zutaten sind.

16 Sundermann, „Studien I“, 1986, 55.

17 Kriterium ihrer Zugehörigkeit ist vor allem der gemeinsame Schriftduktus, doch dürften auch physische Merkmale wie Bruchstellen, Faserlinks und anderes eine Rolle gespielt haben.

18 Sundermann, *Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, 1981, 131.

19 Sundermann, „Studien III“, 1987, 54.

20 Sundermann, „Studien I“, 1986, 71.

21 Sundermann, *Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, 1981, 131.

Dass auch die Kephalaia denselben Gegenstand wie unser mittelpersischer Text „in einer inhaltlich und formal so ähnlichen Weise“ behandeln, erklärt Sundermann damit, dass „sowohl die Kephalaia wie die kirchengeschichtliche Literatur der Manichäer hier ἀπομνημονεύματα Ammōs selbst über Manis Gefängnisreden verwenden oder doch Überlieferungsstücke, die den Anspruch erhoben, auf Ammō zurückzugehen.“²² Vergleicht man die auf uns gekommene koptische Fassung mit der mittelpersischen, so gibt es neben formalen, inhaltlichen und sprachlich-stilistischen Übereinstimmungen²³ Unterschiede,²⁴ darunter auch im Überlieferungskontext. Die koptische Fassung, die übrigens schon in ihrem ersten Punkt viel länger ausfällt als die mittelpersische, ist als Kephalaion Teil der sogenannten „Lehrvorträge“ Manis bzw. solcher ihm zugeschriebener Unterweisungen, und zwar in der für diese Textsorte üblichen Form, die meistens mit einer Jüngerfrage an Mani selbst beginnt. Hier zielt diese Frage offensichtlich auf einen Gebetstext (über den aber nichts Näheres mitgeteilt wird) und ist Anlass für Manis weitschweifende Antwort, wie sich aus dem Ende dieses Kephalaions ergibt, in welchem für die „Erklärung in bezug auf das Gebet, nach welchem wir dich gefragt hatten,“ gedankt wird.²⁵ Damit endet das 151. Kephalaion, das im übrigen nur die „Vorzüge“ thematisiert; durch Manis Rede von den „Vorzügen“ seiner Religion empfangen seine Jünger nach eigenen Worten Stärkung und Erleuchtung.

22 Sundermann, „Studien II“, 1986, 265 ff.

23 An Übereinstimmungen sind mir folgende aufgefallen: formal – eine Gliederung in jeweils 10 Punkten und eine Darstellung in Ich-Form; inhaltlich – identisch ist in beiden Fassungen ihr jeweils erster Punkt: die darin behandelten Themen sind universale Ausbreitung der manichäischen Lehre und Forderung nach Mehrsprachigkeit der Botschaft Manis; thematisch – Überlegenheit der manich. Dogmatik in koptisch 2 und mittelpersisch 4 und der synkretistische Zug des Manichäismus in koptisch 4 und mittelpersisch 5; sprachlich-stilistisch – der Beginn von Punkt 5 in der mittelpersischen Fassung lässt Übereinstimmungen in der Formulierung von Punkt 4 der koptischen Fassung erkennen.

24 Der auffälligste formale Unterschied besteht darin, dass der koptischen Langversion eine mittelpersische Kurzfassung gegenübersteht. Zu den unübersehbaren inhaltlichen Unterschieden würde ich beispielsweise die Seelenwanderung (mittelpersisch der 3. Punkt, in der koptischen Fassung fehlt sie offenbar – oder ist unter koptisch Punkt 6 abgehandelt?) oder die Stärkung der manichäischen Kirche durch ihre hierarchische Struktur zählen (mittelpersisch 2. Punkt /?/, in der koptischen Version kann ich nichts dergleichen erkennen).

25 „Gebet“: W.-P. Funk (ed.), *Kephalaia I*: 370,21. Am Schluss des Kapitels ist dann von mehreren Jüngern, die Mani für seine Erklärung danken, die Rede: W.-P. Funk (ed.), *Kephalaia I*: 375,7–15.

Im mittelpersischen Fragment hingegen scheint mir der Anlass zu Manis Erklärung der Vorzüge seiner Religion ein anderer zu sein: Wenn ich die ergänzte Überleitung zu Manis Antwort richtig deute, ist es hier die Frage nach dem Zustand am Ende der Welt, nämlich die Frage nach „etwas, was zum Schluss in der Welt fortdauert“. Und das Thema sind nicht nur die eigentlichen „Vorzüge“, denn im Anschluss daran folgt noch eine Erläuterung der für die Hörer geltenden Verbote sowie eine Prophezeiung, die von einer Blütezeit in den ostmanichäischen Kirchenprovinzen Abaršahr und Xwarāsān spricht.²⁶ Das koptische Kephalaion aber lässt Anspielungen oder gar Prophezeiungen dieser Art vermissen. Die einzigen Prophezeiungen, allerdings ganz allgemeiner Natur, sind Bestandteil der „Vorzüge“ selbst und finden sich in den Punkten 7–10.²⁷

Auffällig ist, dass sowohl die mittelpersische wie die koptische Fassung jeweils dieselbe Einleitung enthalten, nämlich: „Diese Religion, die ich erwählt habe, ist in zehn Punkten vorzüglicher und besser (?) als die anderen, früheren Religionen“.²⁸ Diese nahezu wortwörtliche Übereinstimmung dürfte nicht zufällig sein; sie scheint so etwas wie das Markenzeichen der unter Punkten subsummierten Merkmale des Manichäismus zu sein. Insofern gehört die Einleitung (incipit) fest zum eigentlichen Korpus der Aussagen – wenn man es nicht sogar als impliziten Titel für das Folgende zu sehen hat – und wandert mit dem Textkörper, wie wir bereits gesehen haben, durch verschiedene sekundäre literarische Einbettungen, zu denen ich sowohl den mittelpersischen als auch den koptischen Überlieferungszusammenhang zähle.

3. Hypothese: Die „Vorzüge“ als Teil des Šābuhragān

Das Šābuhragān selbst, die einzige Schrift, die Mani in persisch verfasste und dem Sasanidenherrscher Šābuhr I. widmete, ist in nur wenigen mittelpersi-

26 Siehe die Zusagen einer Blütezeit in den ostmanichäischen Kirchenprovinzen Abaršahr und Xwarāsān, Sundermann, „Studien III“, 1987, 53.

27 Sie handeln davon, dass die manichäische Kirche den apokalyptischen Großen Krieg übersteht und aus sämtlichen Anfeindungen gestärkt hervorgeht, um am Ende der Welt siegreich dazustehen – s. W.-P. Funk (ed.), *Kephalaia I*: 373,10–375,2.

28 So der Wortlaut der mittelpersischen Fassung; der koptische Text zur Stelle, streckenweise ergänzt, lautet: „[Die] Kiche (ἐκκλησία), [welche ich] [erwählt habe], übertrifft in zehn Gesichtspunkten (πρόσωπον) [die früheren] Kirchen (ἐκκλησία)“, W.-P. Funk (ed.), *Kephalaia I*: 370,29–31.

schen Handschriften und Übersetzungen überliefert.²⁹ Ob ein Text Bestandteil des Šābuhragān ist, verraten uns 1. ein inhaltlicher Vergleich des in Frage kommenden Textes mit der arabischen Überlieferung des Šābuhragān, oder 2. der Sachtitel „Die beiden (großen) Prinzipien“ [*dw bwn (wzrg)*] bzw. seine Varianten in den parthischen, türkischen und chinesischen Übersetzungen,³⁰ oder 3. der Dedikationstitel Šābuhragān. Als Inhalt dieser „dogmatischen Lehrschrift“ (M. Hutter) können vor allem anhand der arabischen Überlieferung folgende Themenbereiche postuliert werden: 1. ein Kapitel, das die *successio apostolica* thematisiert und vom „Kommen des Apostels“ (= Mani als letzter Apostel) handelt; 2. Schilderungen des kosmogonischen und anthropogonischen Mythos; und 3. Darstellungen der manichäischen Eschatologie, und zwar sowohl der individuellen (die drei Menschenklassen betreffend) wie der universellen (Stichwort: Weltenbrand).³¹ Inhaltlich passten die „Vorzüge“ wohl am ehesten ins 1. Kapitel des Šābuhragān, weil dies der Selbstdarstellung Manis Raum bietet. Wenn wir aber die „Vorzüge“ dem Šābuhragān zuordnen wollen, dann einzig und allein aus inhaltlichen Gründen, denn das mittelpersische Fragment M 5794 1, der bislang einzige Textzeuge für die „Vorzüge“ im iranischen Bereich, weist keine äußeren Merkmale auf (trägt also weder Sach- noch Dedikationstitel noch enthält es sonstige namentliche Hinweise), aufgrund deren wir es den bisher nachgewiesenen Handschriften des Šābuhragān zuweisen können. Es setzte außerdem Nichtzugehörigkeit zu den von Sundermann vorgelegten Textergänzungen voraus.³²

„Wenn die Manichäer“, so Sundermann, „das Šābuhragān als das ‚Buch von den beiden Prinzipien‘ überlieferten, so bedeutet dies, daß seine historische Rolle als Denkschrift für den sasanidischen König Šābuhr I. keine Bedeutung mehr besaß und in Vergessenheit geriet. Für spätere Manichäer war es eine Lehrschrift über die Grundwahrheiten ihres Glaubens, und als solche wird sie gewiß ihren festen Platz im Gottesdienst gehabt haben, so wie die Homilien und Parabeln.“³³ Denkbar wäre aber auch der umgekehrte Fall, dass nämlich das „Buch von den beiden Prinzipien“, die Lehrschrift über die Grundwahrheiten des manichäischen Glaubens, erst später zu einer Denkschrift für

29 Sundermann, „Studien I“, 1986, S. 70. Die Forschungsgeschichte zum Šābuhragān ist skizziert bei Hutter, *Manis kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte*, 1992, 4–6.

30 Siehe Sundermann, „Studien I“, 1986, 84, und ausführlich Hutter, *Manis kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte*, 1992, 144–146.

31 Vgl. Hutter, *Manis kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte*, 1992, 134.

32 Siehe dazu schon Sundermann, *Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, 1981, 131 in seiner Argumentation gegen Adam.

33 Sundermann, „Studien I“, 1986, 84.

den Sasanidenherrscher Šābuhr gemacht wurde.³⁴ Wenn nämlich die Vermutung zutrifft, dass Mani die Šābuhr-Denkschrift dem Herrscher anlässlich einer Audienz bei ihm überreichte und dass diese Audienz erst einige Zeit nach Regierungsantritt des Herrschers erfolgte,³⁵ wenn nicht sogar erst gegen Ende seiner Herrschaft,³⁶ dann geschah dies zu einer Zeit, als die manichäische Mission bereits angelaufen war. Das heißt aber auch, dass sich Mani über die Grundzüge seiner Lehre – über Kosmologie, Anthropologie und Eschatologie – bereits im Klaren gewesen sein musste und sie bereits schriftlich fixiert vorlagen, denn ohnedem wäre eine erfolgversprechende Mission nicht sicher gewesen.³⁷ Deshalb liegt die Annahme nahe, dass nicht die Šābuhr gewidmete Denkschrift das Kompendium manichäischer Lehre wurde,³⁸ sondern dass ein Exemplar jener uns unbekanntes Lehrschrift über den manichäischen Glauben später den Dedikationstitel Šābuhragān erhielt. Auf diesem Wege könnten dann natürlich auch die „Vorzüge“ Eingang in die Šābuhr gewidmete Denkschrift gefunden haben, entweder schon als Bestandteil jener Lehrschrift oder als Zusatz zur Denkschrift Šābuhrs.

4. Hypothese: Die „Vorzüge“ als selbständige programmatische Schrift Manis

Diese Hypothese geht davon aus, dass die zwischen beiden Sprachfassungen der „Vorzüge“ bestehende literargeschichtliche Verwandtschaft am besten durch eine gemeinsame Vorlage erklärt werden kann.³⁹ Ihre Unterschiede ließen sich durch eine Trennung der ost- und westmanichäischen Überlieferung, die je ihre eigenen Wege gingen, erklären. Eine gemeinsame Vorlage muss also noch vor dieser Trennung gelegen haben, und das heißt, dass wir ihren Ursprung auf jeden Fall in der mesopotamischen Urgemeinde und sehr wahr-

34 Wie ist eigentlich der Beginn zu Punkt 4 in den mittelpersischen „Vorzügen“ (M 5794): „Diese meine Offenbarung der beiden Prinzipien“, zu interpretieren – als Titel einer solchen Lehrschrift Manis generell oder, wenn man die Betonung auf „diese“ legt, auf eine hier mit den „Vorzügen“ vorliegende konkrete Lehrschrift Manis?

35 Vgl. Hutter, *Mani und die Sasaniden*, 1988, 21.

36 Sundermann, „Studien I“, 82 Anm. 172.

37 Die Notwendigkeit, die sich für den Manichäismus als Missionsreligion ergibt, wesentliche Elemente seines Systems zu propagieren, unterstreicht auch I. Colditz in ihrem Beitrag (wie Anm. 41).

38 So die Vermutung Hutters, *Mani und die Sasaniden*, 1988, 22.

39 So übrigens auch Lieu (s. oben Anm. 15).

scheinlich zu Beginn von Manis Missionsreisen und der manichäischen Mission um die Mitte des 3. Jh. zu suchen hätten.⁴⁰ Ob diese Vorlage irgendeinem Werk Manis zugeordnet werden kann, ist beim jetzigen Kenntnisstand schwer zu sagen. Nicht ausgeschlossen scheint mir aber auch die Möglichkeit, in ihr eine selbständige programmatische Schrift zu erblicken, in welcher immer wieder behandelte Einzelthemen zum Zwecke der Mission zusammengefasst und auf den Punkt gebracht werden: eben als Überlegenheit der Religion Manis.⁴¹ Mani und seine Jünger missionierten auch unter Anhängern anderer Religionen, die nicht nur von der Richtigkeit der manichäischen Lehre überzeugt werden mussten, sondern auch davon, dass Manis Religion besser als die ihre sei – nicht zuletzt auch deshalb, weil sie aus sämtlichen Unheilssituationen stets gestärkt und siegreich hervorgehen werde. In diesem Zusammenhang sei auf Themen hingewiesen, welche Mani und seine Gemeinde immer wieder beschäftigt haben, prinzipielle Äußerungen ihres Selbstverständnisses widerspiegeln und deutlich auf derselben Argumentationsebene wie beide Sprachfassungen der „Vorzüge“ selbst liegen. Ich denke dabei an Themen wie die Seelenwanderung als Teil der Individualeschatologie (so in Punkt 3 der mittelpersischen Fassung), Synkretismus und Exklusivität (koptisch Punkt 4 – mittelpersisch Punkt 5), Autorisierung der Schriften durch Mani, Irrwege der früheren Religionen als Anlass für Manis Sendung, die manichäische Kirche als *ecclesia triumphans* (koptisch Punkt 2), Universalismus der Heilsbotschaft Manis (koptisch und mittelpersisch Punkt 1), um nur einige zu nennen.⁴² Erwähnenswert ist vielleicht auch noch die Tatsache, dass der Verfasser der soghdischen Parabel von der Religion und dem Weltmeer literarische Anleihen bei den „Vorzügen“ machen konnte, insbesondere bei ihrem Zehn-Punkte-Aufbau und bei Punkt 1.⁴³

40 Zu den Gemeinsamkeiten historiographischer manichäischer Texte vgl. Sundermann, „Studien II“, 1986, 267 f. Zur manichäischen Mission ausführlich und mit Diskussion der Quellen: S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia*, 1999, 22–131.

41 Siehe dazu auch die Themenzusammenstellung bei I. Colditz, „The Abstract of a Religion or: What is Manichaeism?“, in diesem Band S. 47–70, bes. 57–66.

42 Zu den Themen im einzelnen und ihrer Behandlung in den koptischen Manichaica und im Kölner Mani-Kodex: Oerter, „Vorzüge der manichäischen Religion“, 1990, 261–267.

43 Zu Edition und Kommentar dieser Parabel: Sundermann, *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch*, 1985, insbesondere S. 19–28. Vgl. dazu Oerter, „Drei manichäisch-soghdische Parabeln“, 1988, 172–176.

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Syriac Texts in Manichaean Script: New Evidence*

Nils Arne Pedersen

According to al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, "Mānī wrote seven books, one of them in Persian and six in Syriac, the language of Syria".¹ Also Titus of Bostra and a number of other authors testify that Mani wrote in Syriac,² which could signify a somewhat different form of East Aramaic than the classical Syriac.³

So the first and original language of Manichaeism was Syriac. It therefore seems paradoxical that almost no texts in Syriac are preserved—except, of course, Manichaean quotations in authors like Ephrem or Theodore bar Kōnai.⁴ Otherwise, the agenda for the study of Manichaeism has constantly since the end of the nineteenth century been set by new finds and editions of manuscripts in a number of different languages.⁵ Small remnants of the lost

* The edition of the Syriac-Manichaean fragments have been edited after the completion of this article, cf. N.A. Pedersen and J.M. Larsen, *Manichaean Texts in Syriac: First Editions, New Editions, and Studies*. With Contributions by Zs. Gulácsi and M. Krutzsch. CPM, Series Syriaca 1, Turnhout 2013.

1 Cf. B. Dodge, ed. and transl., *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm. A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, vol. 11, New York, London 1970, 797.

2 Cf. N.A. Pedersen, "Titus of Bostra in Syriac Literature", *LTP* 2 (2006) 359–367.

3 Actually, it has been debated whether Mani's Aramaic was simply the classical Syriac of Edessa or something else; cf. for example M. Lidzbarski, "Warum schrieb Mānī aramäisch?", *OLZ* 30 (1927) 913–917; F. Rosenthal, *Die aramaistische Forschung seit Th. Nöldeke's Veröffentlichungen*, Leiden 1939, 207–211; R. Contini, "Hypothèses sur l'araméen manichéen", in: *Annali di Ca' Foscari. Rivista della Facoltà di lingue e letteratura straniere dell'Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia* xxxiv,13, *Serie orientale* 26 (1995) 65–107.

4 Cf. these most important editions: C.W. Mitchell, ed., *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan of Which the Greater Part Has Been Transcribed from the Palimpsest B.M. Add. 14623 and Is Now First Published by C.W. Mitchell*, vol. 1: *The Discourses Addressed to Hypatius*, London, Oxford 1912; C.W. Mitchell, ed., *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan Transcribed from the Palimpsest B.M. Add. 14623 by C.W. Mitchell and completed by A.A. Bevan and F.C. Burkitt*, vol. 11: *The Discourse called 'Of Dominus' and Six Other Writings*, London 1921; E. Beck, ed., *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen contra haereses*, CSCO 169 (= *Scriptores Syri* 76), Louvain 1957; A. Scher, ed., *Theodorus bar Kōnī. Liber scholiorum* I, CSCO 55 (= *Scriptores Syri* 19), Louvain 1960 [= Scher 1960].

5 It should be mentioned here that Y. Yoshida, in 1983, showed that the Turfan fragment M 260 contains an Aramaic text corresponding to a transcription in the Manichaean Chinese Hymn-

world of Syriac-Manichaean literature and Syriac-speaking Manichaeans, however, have come to light. I will now present such fragments—hitherto almost unknown—but first of all a short overview.

It was James Montgomery who, in the beginning of the twentieth century, first observed that the characters on certain incantation bowls from Nippur in the present Iraq had many similarities with the so-called “Manichaean script” used on the newly found Turfan texts from Central Asia.⁶ Other magical bowls in Manichaean or Proto-Manichaean script have since then been published, but it remains controversial whether they really stem from Manichaeans.⁷

Besides the bowl-inscriptions, there exists a short Syriac inscription in Manichaean script on the so-called “seal of Mani”⁸ but most importantly, as far as my research is concerned, is the find of fragmentary literary texts.

scroll from Dunhuang, cf. Y. Yoshida, “Manichaean Aramaic in the Chinese Hymnscroll”, *BSoAs* 46 (1983) 326–331.

- 6 Cf. J.A. Montgomery, “A Magical Bowl-Text and the Original Script of the Manichaeans”, *JAOS* 32 (1912) 434–438; J.A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur, Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Publications of the Babylonian Section* 111, Philadelphia 1913. Concerning the so-called Manichaean script, cf. M. Lidzbarski, “Die Herkunft der manichäischen Schrift”, *SPAW.PH*, Berlin 1916, 1213–1222; J. Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet. An Introduction to West Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography*, Jerusalem 1987, 151–153; D. Durkin-Meisterernst, “Erfindung Mani die manichäische Schrift?”, in: R.E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann, P. Zieme, eds, *Studia Manichaica. IV. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.–18. Juli 1997*, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berichte und Abhandlungen, Sonderband 4, Berlin 2000, 161–178; J. Fariwar-Mohseni-Najafi, *Die manichäische Schrift der mitteliranischen Sprachen*, EH 269, series XXI (Linguistik), Frankfurt am Main 2005.
- 7 Thus it was argued by J.D. BeDuhn that all bowl inscriptions in Manichaean script were of Manichaean origin, cf. J.D. BeDuhn, “Magical Bowls and Manichaeans”, in: M. Meyer, P. Mirecki, eds, *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* 129, Leiden 1995, 419–434. However, S. Shaked would only allow some bowl inscriptions in Manichaean script to be of Manichaean origin, viz. some which he believed to be of Manichaean contents, cf. S. Shaked, “Manichaean Incantation Bowls in Syriac”, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 24 (2000) 58–92; compare also J.C. Reeves, “Manichaica Aramaica? Adam and the Magical Deliverance of Seth”, *JAOS* 119 (1999) 432–439. E.C.D. Hunter, however, has argued very convincingly that we have no secure evidence that any of these bowl inscriptions be of Manichaean origin, cf. E.C.D. Hunter, “Theodore bar Kōnī and the Manichaeans”, in: A. van Tongerloo, L. Crillo, eds, *Quinto Congresso Internazionale di Studi sul Manicheismo, Atti, Il Manicheismo. Nuove prospettive della ricerca. Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”, Napoli, 2–9 Settembre 2001*, MAS 5, Louvain, Naples 2005, 167–178.
- 8 P. de Menasce, A. Guillou, “Un cachet manichéen de la Bibliothèque Nationale”, *RHR* 131 (1946) 81–84.

In 1915, D.S. Margoliouth published some papyrus fragments from Oxyrhynchus,⁹ belonging to the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Some years later, Walter Ewing Crum published the photograph of a parchment fragment in the British Museum.¹⁰ The important edition, however, is the one made by Francis Crawford Burkitt in 1925 in his book *The Religion of the Manichees*. Burkitt reedited Margoliouth's fragments from Oxyrhynchus in a better way, and he edited the fragment from the British Museum, now in the British Library. He also edited five tiny vellum scraps belonging to Crum.¹¹

In the 1990s followed the find of Manichaean texts from Ismant el-Kharab, ancient Kellis, in the Dakhleh Oasis, among which were also Syriac texts in Manichaean script, edited by Majella Franzmann.¹²

The texts edited by Burkitt and Franzmann are very fragmentary. A few years ago I obtained access to similar fragments. The most important fragments are from the papyrus collection in Berlin, which did not get an inventory number, P22364, until 2008. Already in the 1970s, however, the museum conservator, Mrs. Myriam Krutzsch, found P22364 in a box. She contacted Werner Sundermann, who identified the characters as Manichaean script, and he told me about it during a lunch in 1988. Thanks to Professor Sundermann and Mrs. Krutzsch, I have recently obtained access to P22364, and I am now preparing an edition together with Dr. John Møller Larsen. It will also contain an edition of an unpublished Syriac parchment from Heidelberg (P Heid. Syr. 1), which was first mentioned in 1998 in a footnote to an article by the late William Brashear,¹³

9 D.S. Margoliouth, "Notes on Syriac Papyrus Fragments from Oxyrhynchus", *JEA* 2 (1915) 214–216, plate XXXI.

10 W.E. Crum, "A 'Manichaean' Fragment from Egypt", *JAS* 51,2 (1919) 207–208.

11 F.C. Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees, Donnellan Lectures for 1924*, Cambridge 1925, 111–119. Concerning these fragments, cf. also S. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 118, Leiden 1994, 62–64.

12 I. Gardner, ed., *Kellis Literary Texts*, vol. 1, with contributions by S. Clackson, M. Franzmann, and K.A. Worp. Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph No. 4, Oxford 1996, 101–131; I. Gardner, A. Alcock, W.-P. Funk, eds, *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis*, vol. 1, *P. Kell. v (P. Kell. Copt. 10–52; O. Kell. Copt. 1–2)*, Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph No. 9, Oxford 1999, 344–364; I. Gardner, ed., *Kellis Literary Texts*, vol. 2, with contributions by M. Choat, M. Franzmann, W.-P. Funk, and K.A. Worp, Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph No. 15, Oxford 2007, 136–137. Cf. also the name written in Syriac on a private letter from the fourth century, edited pp. 178–179 in K.A. Worp, ed., *Greek Papyri from Kellis: I (P.Kell.G.) Nos. 1–90*, Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph No. 3, Oxford 1995, and (correctly read) in I. Gardner, "P. Kellis 1 67 Revisited", *ZPE* 159 (2007) 223–228.

13 W.M. Brashear, "Syriaca", *APF* 44 (1998) 86–127 (P. Heid. Syr. 1 is mentioned on p. 90, note 18).

lated as “and of the shining God”. The words “God” and “light” together already remind one of Manichaeism, but there is a phrase with an even more Manichaean ring: On fr. 4, hair side, I read in lines 2–3 of the middle column: ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܝܘܒܐ ܕܥܠܝܘܬܐ “and God’s shining and victorious clothing”. I am not sure whether this refers to one of the many mythological hypostases of God which are often referred to as “clothing” in Manichaean literature or to the garment of light given to the soul after death. But at least it seems very Manichaean—though a Syriac Christian meaning cannot be excluded either.

I will also mention the word ܠܥܝܢܐ in the third line of the right column of the flesh side of fr. 2. The word means “mind”, “intellect” etc., but it is worth remembering that ܠܥܝܢܐ is the third of the “shekinahs”, ܠܥܝܢܐ in Syriac, that is the dwellings or tabernacles of the Father of Greatness in Theodore bar Kōnai’s Manichaean excerpts, corresponding to φρόνησις in *Acta Archelai* x,1.¹⁶ In P22364, however, the word is in plural.

Also on the hair side of fr. 4, but in the left column, phrases indicating address to a group are found in lines 2–4: ܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܝܘܬܐ [ܠܥܝܢܐ] ܕܥܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܘܬܐ “but you, blessed beloved ones, sons of the race”. If the text is Manichaean, this could, for example, be phrases used by Mani to address his congregation. In another fragment, we also find the direct address ܠܥܝܢܐ with the suffix in first singular, “my beloved ones”.

In some instances, it is possible to read lines with consecutive text, especially where fragments can be joined together. But the understanding of such lines can be obscured by the lack of context. For example the right column of the hair side of fragments no. 1 and no. 3, where five consecutive lines can be read: ܕܥܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܘܬܐ “and some of them resided on the mountains for eternal ages, and because of the scent and the odour of the mountains they made for themselves their dwelling places.”

It is possible that the fragments actually contain parts of the Syriac original of Mani’s *Book of Giants*. The line of reasoning behind this hypothesis must, however, be unfolded in connection with the forthcoming edition.

¹⁶ Scher, ed., *Theodor bar Kōni* (note 4), 313,17.

Sogdian Manichaean Confessional Fragments in Sogdian Script in the Berlin Turfan Collection: The Fragments of the *Xwāstwānīft**

Christiane Reck

The confession of sins was one of the central elements of the Manichaean service and several Turfan fragments, now widely dispersed, preserve the Manichaean confessional texts in various languages. The most extensive texts are the Sogdian confessional part in the so-called *Bet- und Beichtbuch*, published by W. Henning in 1936, a Sogdian confessional for the elects and the so-called *Xwāstwānīft*, a confessional for the laymen. The Old Turkish version of the *Xwāstwānīft* has survived almost in its entirety; preserved in several manuscripts in London, St. Petersburg and Berlin.¹ The most important texts are the scroll in Manichaean script in London (Or 8212₍₁₇₈₎), the scroll in Uigur script in St. Petersburg (SI D₁ = SI 3159)² and the collection of various manuscripts in Berlin.³ Most fragments belong to a peculiar hand and format, called by Peter Zieme hand c. The fragments U 8 and U 10 fill the gap at the beginning of the scrolls,⁴ so that almost the complete text of the Old Turkish version of the *Xwāstwānīft* survives, save for the very beginning which is missing. The title is given in the colophon of the scroll in St. Petersburg: *bütürmiš t(a)rhan tükädi n(i)gošaklar-nıy suyin yaz-okın öküngü hwastwan(i)ft*⁵ “Tarqan Bötürmiš has ended the X^uāstvānīft of the Auditors’ errors and sins to be repented”⁶ and in Sogdian: xw’stw’nyft ɣw’ny ’nz-’n’m’nty “*Xwāstwānīft*, confession of

* I thank D. Durkin-Meisterernst, Z. Özertural and in memoriam W. Sundermann for reading my manuscript, giving helpful advice and corrections. I myself am responsible for all shortcomings.

1 Asmussen 1965.

2 *Xuastvanift* 2008.

3 Zieme 1975, pp. 19–21.

4 Wilkens 2000, pp. 342–343 (Kat.-nr. 386 u. 387).

5 Zekine Özertural kindly transformed the Old Turkish transliteration according to the current rules. I thank her for this painstaking work and all the other advice, mentioned at the relevant places.

6 Asmussen 1965, p. 186, ll. 159–160.

sins”.⁷ The formula “*man āstār hirzā*” shows the Parthian origin of the text and H.H. Schaefer proved that this text was composed in a Zurvanite environment in the 3rd or at the beginning of the 4th century.⁸ The usage of Sogdian words in the Old Turkish text led W. Henning to the assumption of a Sogdian intermediary.⁹ W.B. Henning published in 1940 in *Sogdica*, paragraph iv, two Sogdian fragments of the *Xwāstwānīft*, So 10900 and So 10700b I.¹⁰ These are the most representative pieces of the Sogdian fragments of the *Xwāstwānīft*. So 10900 contains the final § xv c,¹¹ which summarizes the confession of sins once again. One might assume that the preceding part should be the end of § xv B, but as Henning stated in his introduction to the edition, the preserved words do not agree with their Turkish equivalents and the poor stage of preservation of the Sogdian text “does not permit definite conclusions in this respect”.

So 10700b I contains the § x A and B and the beginning of § xi.

In 1991 Nicholas Sims-Williams published the Sogdian fragments of the *Xwāstwānīft* housed in the St. Petersburg branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences.¹² These are L 34 (Kr IV-326), L 80 (2Kr-81) and L 106 (O 119).¹³ They contain parts of the §§ III C–IV B¹⁴ (L 106), § x A–B¹⁵ (L 34) and §§ XIV B¹⁶–XV B (L 80).

7 Henning 1940, pp. 64–65, ll. /5/ and /28/.

8 Schaefer 1936, pp. 105–106.

9 Henning 1936, pp. 586–588.

10 Henning 1940, pp. 64–67. Facsimiles: Weber 2000, pl. 161 and 162 (CII, Suppl. Ser. Vol. IV).

11 The recent investigations by Zekine Özertural have led to a revision of the division of § xv. She describes it as one confession without any division in her e-mail communication to me of 5th July 2010. Remarkable remains that the Sogdian text mentions one part, obviously separated in agreement with Bangs’ and Hennings’ division. The division of the paragraphs refers to a kind of interpretation. The paragraphs are often divided into an abstract (A) and a more detailed explanation (B) and the repentance of the sins being referred to (C). Zekine Özertural explained the results of her research at a workshop in Göttingen, 4–5 March 2010, published in Özertural 2011. She kindly checked the draft of my article and sent me some remarks, which I mention at the appropriate places. Larry Clark analyzed this paragraph xv as well. He decided for a division into two parts, see Clark 2013, pp. 8–10.

12 Sims-Williams 1991, pp. 323–328.

13 Ragoza 1980, pl. 16, 42 and 61.

14 Zekine Özertural kindly informed me that she interprets the part IV B (Bang, Sims-Williams) as IV C.

15 Zekine Özertural kindly informed me that she does not agree with the division of this paragraph. She interprets x A as x B and x B as x C.

16 Zekine Özertural kindly informed me that she does not agree with the division of this paragraph. She interprets XIV B (Bang, Sims-Williams) as XIV C.

In the course of my work on the catalogue of the Manichaean fragments in Sogdian script, I have come across some texts with ordinals:

a) So 10085+So 13910+So 20186~So10650(8).¹⁷ The end of the text agrees with that of So 10700b and L 34 and represents the end of §§ IX and the beginning of § X.¹⁸ This is the first evidence of § IX in Sogdian. It was not so easy to find its corresponding text in the Turkish version and the Sogdian version appears to be shorter.

Turkish:

Ninthly: (Ever) Since we have obeyed the Ten Commandments, it was necessary to obey closely three with the mouth, three with the heart, three with the hand, (and) one with the whole self.

My God, if we should wittingly (or) unwittingly, as we lived (went, walked) in love of ourselves (in selfishness) (or) caught (accepted) a bad companion's (hend.) and friend's (hend.) word (and) saw with his mind (heart)¹⁹ (or) troubled about cattle and property, or our grief and our distress appeared (fell upon (us)), have broken these Ten Commandments, (or) if we should somehow have put up with defects and errors (viz. in keeping of these commandments), (then), my God, we now pray to be liberated from sin. Forgive my sins!

Tenthly: there is a rule that one must every day direct four acts of praise (prayers) to Āzrua täjri, to the God of the Sun and Moon, to the powerful God, and to the prophets, in simplicity (sincerity) and with a pure heart.²⁰

Sogdian:

]the commandment, which I received, wittingly ⟨or⟩ unwittingly, referring the body (in) [per]verted wish because of greed and (cattle), bad relatives, because of bad advice. Concerning the ten commandments, which are soiled and disregarded. Concerning [] sin/fault, eternally I am penitent and request absolution and forgiveness.

¹⁷ Reck 2006, pp. 25–26, nr. 14 and pp. 55–56, nr. 53.

¹⁸ Identified by W. Sundermann.

¹⁹ Zekine Özertural stated in the e-mail quoted above, that *köñülün körüp* should be translated “to please somebody” like modern Turkish *gönlünü görmek*. Unfortunately the Sogdian text is very badly damaged, so it cannot confirm this detail.

²⁰ Asmussen 1965, p. 197.

Tenthly: concerning these four acts of praise which it [was my] (duty to offer) every day [in purity] to the four [divinities.]

It is worth noting the partly reconstructed formula $p(r\ ȳr)[\beta](y)\ nww\ ȳr\beta y$ “wittingly (or) unwittingly”.²¹ The formula “wittingly or unwittingly” is remarkable because it occurs in different forms in the Sogdian texts as discussed below. Unfortunately it is preserved only defectively.

The extended closing formula (ll. v/2–4/): ”y-kwn(w) [n](m’ny) k(y)n h ’sk [w’](m) krm(šw)[xn]h ȳw(’n)w’cy (p)[ckwy’]m’skwn(w) “eternally I am penitent and request absolution and forgiveness” can also be found in L 106 at the end of § III.²²

b) Another attestation can be found for a part of § IX in So 13425(2)~So 13426(2).²³ The text of the lines, 1st side/1–4/, agrees with that of a) ll. r/5–v/1/. Unfortunately these fragments are very badly damaged, so that it cannot be decided with certain which side is recto and which is verso and as yet it has not been possible to find a matching passage to reconstruct the second side.

At the 35th ICANAS in Budapest in 1997, I spoke about these fragments in the expectation that more fragments would be found among the collection, and that has proved to be the case.

c) The fragments So 10650(14) and So 20191²⁴ belong to the same hand as So 10700b, which contains the §§ x–xI. They can be joined, as shown in Fig. 17.3. As the ordinal number XIIIth can be found in l. v/2/, one can assume that one page is missing between these fragments containing § xI and the beginning of § xII. That part of § xIII preserved on the verso of our fragments agrees well with the Turkish version. The recto page contains the § xII. It is more difficult to find the corresponding parts in the Turkish text.

Turkish:

Twelfth. There is a rule that like the holy Electi one is in one year to celebrate wusantī for 50 days, (and) it is necessary to praise God (repay

21 I thank here Peter Zieme with whom I discussed this text for his help and I would like to thank N. Sims-Williams, who read these fragments some years ago and gave me valuable suggestions.

22 Sims-Williams 1991, p. 324. For nm’nykyn p. 325 note a1.

23 Reck 2006, pp. 78–79, nr. 80–81.

24 Reck 2006, pp. 57–58, nr. 56.

God) by observing the sacred (pure)²⁵ fast. And if we, as we, in order to maintain house and property, worried about (were occupied by) cattle and goods, or because our need and our distress²⁶ supervened, (or) still because of the insatiable and shameless Āz demon and our heart devoid of fear (of god), (or) because we were lazy and indolent (negligent), voluntarily (or) involuntarily should have broken the fast (or) further, while we were fasting, did not fast correctly according to the religion and the doctrine, (then), my God, we now pray to be liberated from sin. Forgive my sins!

In the thirteenth place. It is necessary that every Monday we should pray to God, religion, (and) the holy (pure) Electi to forgive our errors and our sins. And should we not, voluntarily (or) involuntarily, because we were lazy and indolent (negligent), (or) because we mentioned business (or another) undertaking as a pretext, have gone to obtain forgiveness for (be liberated from) sin, (then), my God, we now pray to be liberated from sin. Forgive my sins!

Sogdian:

] offer to god. And because of the greed and need, of the negligent, weak mind, without fear, and with wish [un]wittingly. And [request forgiveness]. Thirteenthly, concerning the request for *āstār hištan* and forgiveness every Monday, which is necessary {to pray for} to God, the religion and the pure Electi, referring [

d) The fragments Ch/So 20146+Ch/U 7080²⁷ also preserve the beginning of paragraph XIII. Again, it is notable that in l. v/3/ a part of the formula *man āstār hirzā* occurs for a second time after So 10900. Unfortunately only a few words are preserved. The Chinese side has been identified as T.T. 665 = vol. 16, 424b22–28 = *Suvarṇaprabhāsa[uttamarāja]sūtra*.²⁸

25 Zekine Özertural prefers “pure” on the basis of the references in the Uigur Dictionary by K. Röhrborn.

26 Zekine Özertural translates *muṇumuz takm(i)z* as “we are weary to (fill the commandments)”. The Sogdian text mentions rty MN ’z-y ZY MN ny’z-y “And because of the greed and need”.

27 Reck 2006, p. 229, nr. 309, identification: Kudara.

28 Kudara 2000, p. 340.

e) As the Chinese recto side can be identified (T.T. 665 = vol. 16, 424c15–17 = *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*[*uttamarāja*]sūtra), it was possible to reconstruct that Ch/U 6050²⁹ belongs to the same text as Ch/U 20146+Ch/U 7080 and that it is situated nearly 25 cm above it. So presumably 12–13 lines of the Sogdian text are lacking between both parts. The preserved text can be identified with passages from L 80 as part of paragraph xv.

L 80/v/4–7/:

/4/ [wysp z-](m)nw cw ʔnt'kw šm'r'k(h)
 /5/ ["](y')βty wy"βr w(y)"βrym Z(Y)
 /6/ [γryw]mynch ʔnpnh pr py(š)-
 /7/ [trcyk z-mnw?

“... if [we alw]ays [think] evil thoughts, speak wrong speech, and [perform improper acts, we cause] pain for [ourselves] in the fut[ure]³⁰

The texts show minor differences between both versions. Ch/U 6050/v/2/ has a clear mistake: wy'r(y)m instead of wy"βrym (L 80/v/5/). Since both pieces are very fragmentary, there is little additional text to be gained. But the clearly legible word pyšnβnt “successively”³¹ differs from the proposal given by Nicholas Sims-Williams³² L 80/v/6–7/py(š)[trcyk z-mnw? “in the future”.

f) ST 090 represents another fragment of § XIII. I would like to thank my Japanese colleagues and especially Yoshida Yutaka for the information about the fragments in the papers of Tachibana. Yoshida described this text as a confessional text in the short catalogue of this collection. When I saw the photograph I found the word m'xz-mcyk (l. /v/4/, lacking n). We also find the formula: ”str xyš(t)[n] (l. v/4/) *āstār hištan* “forgiving of sins”.³³ Comparing the text with the other fragments, one finds another mistake in l. v/2/: ”my'tr for ”k'rt'y. But it is debatable whether these passages actually correspond.

Comparing all the fragments of § XIII, one finds the interesting quotation mentioned above: ”st'r xyštn “forgiving of sins”, the main purpose of the Mon-

29 Reck 2006, p. 258, nr. 352.

30 Sims-Williams 1991, p. 325.

31 MacKenzie 1976, p. 114.

32 Sims-Williams 1991, p. 325.

33 See Henning 1937 (BBB) 740. In this form the formula could be Middle Persian as well as Parthian, though with the reference to the occurrence of the formula *man āstār hirzā* in the *Xwāstwānift* it is likely to be Parthian.

day service in So 10650(14)+So 20191/v/3-4/ and ST 090/v/4/. We do not find this formula in the Turkish text. On the other hand we do not find in every Sogdian part of the *Xwāstwānīft* the Parthian formula *man āstār hirzā*. It is preserved only in So 10900/4/, /7/, Ch/So 20146+Ch/U 7080/v/3/, Ch/U 6440/v/3-4/ and *Ch/U 21003/v/2/.

g) The following three other fragments, Ch/U 6440, Ch/U 8123a and b,³⁴ represent possibly another manuscript of the *Xwāstwānīft*. They belong to a scroll, written on the recto side in Chinese (T.T. 1339, 21, 643b20-26 and 643c4-14 = *Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthita-samādhisūtra*)³⁵ and in Sogdian on the verso side. Ch/U 6440 shows the complete lines which are 12 cm long. That means that the Sogdian scroll was 13 cm high. The Chinese scroll was cut in the middle.

The colophon on the Chinese recto side and the beginning of the text seem to belong to a letter. As yet it has not been possible to find matching passages with § 1 of the Turkish version of the *Xwāstwānīft*. But Ch/U 6440 contains the final formula of the paragraphs of the *Xwāstwānīft* including the formula *man āstār hirzā* and after a lacuna the beginning of paragraph 2 of a text. Unfortunately the text is damaged at this point.

h) Another fragment has been preserved only as transliteration found in the papers by Lentz in Hamburg. The original of this fragment is lost. It is called today *Ch/So 21003 (TID).³⁶ If we compare this text with the Uigur version (§ 11) we do not find any corresponding words except “gods”.

There are some more confessional texts, which we cannot identify with a specific paragraph of the *Xwāstwānīft*, or which are parts of letters, for example (i) Ch/U 6782c.³⁷

Possibly it preserves parts of § XI B.

Turkish text: “If we, either because of distress, or being miserly about giving alms, should not have been able to give the sevenfold alms to its full extent to religion, if we should have tied the light of the fivefold god, which goes up to Heaven and is liberated, to house and property (or) have given it to a person of bad action (or) an evil being (hend.) ...”

34 Reck 2006, p. 269, nr. 371 and pp. 291-292, nr. 414.

35 Identification see Reck 2006, pp. 291-292, nr. 414.

36 Reck 2006, p. 305, nr. *440.

37 Reck 2006, p. 279, nr. 389.

This passage includes “seven” (l. 2), possibly part of the “sevenfold alms”. In line 4 ’stwrpδy “cattle” may possibly be understood as a part of “house and property”.

Another example is (j) Otani 1829.³⁸ Here we have only the formulas for forgiveness, which may also be part of a letter.

Maybe (k) Otani 7060+7482³⁹ also preserves the beginning of paragraph XIII? One can compare it with the texts (c) and (d). In line 5 wyspw (m)[could be completed in this way: wyspw (m)l’x-zmnw. But not every m[is the beginning of m’x-zmnw. Unfortunately we do not know the complete end of § 12 which makes identification of this fragment very difficult.

The transliteration and translation of these fragments of the Otani collection are included in the text edition to provide an English translation for comparison.

Two further fragments of the Otani collection (Otani 7222 and 7535)⁴⁰ have ordinals (ctβ’r-myk / pncmyk) without contexts. They might belong to the *Xwāstwānīft* as well, but could equally be parts of other kinds of texts.⁴¹

Table 1 shows the fragments containing parts of the *Xwāstwānīft* with some certainty. It is a little bit disappointing that only traces of the *Xwāstwānīft* in Sogdian have been preserved; amounting to about 20 fragments, written in presumably 13 different hands. Nevertheless the variety of copies of this text reflect its great importance.

Table 2 shows which paragraphs of the *Xwāstwānīft* are represented by the several Sogdian fragments. There are a lot of question. The most frequently represented paragraph is § XIII, which may simply be a result of chance survival. It is possible that there are still more texts among the Manichaean Turfan fragments, which have not yet been identified, because of the lack of ordinalia or because of the fact that the content is not clearly recognizable. It is remarkable that no fragment of the *Xwāstwānīft* has been identified in either the Western Middle Iranian fragments or among the Sogdian fragments in Manichaean script.

38 Yoshida, Kudara, Sundermann 1997, pp. 67–68, photograph p. 11.

39 Yoshida, Kudara, Sundermann 1997, p. 116, photograph p. 44.

40 Yoshida, Kudara, Sundermann 1997, pp. 126 and 151, photographs, pp. 54 and 76.

41 I thank Yutaka Yoshida for his personal information, that also the Fragment SI Kr IV/809 = L 65 (Ragoza 1980, p. 45, tab. xxxiv) of the collection in St. Petersburg could belong to the *Xwāstwānīft*, possibly §§ VI B or VII A. In this case it would belong to an additional (14.) different manuscript of this text. The Chinese back side could be identified by Yoshida as T.T. 374 = vol. 12, 460c21–461a3 (Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra).

TABLE 1 *Manuscripts*

Nr.	Shelf-number	§	Publication	Manuscript
1	So 10900	XV C	Henning, Sogdica	codex
2	So 10700b, So 10650(14)+ So 20191	X A,B; XI XII B; XIII A	Henning, Sogdica c)	codex
3	So 10650(8)~So 10085+ So 13910+So 20186	IXA-B; X A	a)	codex
4	So 13425(2)~So 13426(2)	IX B	b)	codex
5	Ch/So 20146+Ch/U 7080, Ch/U 6050	XII B; XIII A	d), e)	scroll
6	Ch/U 8123a~ Ch/U 8123b~Ch/U 6440	I?; II?	g)	scroll
7	*So 21003 (T I D) (fragment lost)	I?; II?	h)	scroll
8	Ch/U 6782	XI?	i)	scroll
9	L 80	XIV B~XV B	Sims-Williams	scroll
10	L 106 and L 34 (possibly one hand)	III C~IV B; X A~B	Sims-Williams	scroll
11	ST 090	XII B~XIII A	f)	scroll
12	Otani 1829	?	Yoshida	scroll
13	Otani 7060+7482	XII B~XIII A	Yoshida, k)	scroll
14	L 65	VI B~VII A?	Ragoza	scroll

An interesting point of investigation is the choice of formulas for “unwittingly” respectively “voluntarily” or “involuntarily”.

L 106/4/ nwr'(y-)[zy?	“unintentionally” (§ IV)
a) So 10650(8)+/r/2/ p(r yr)[β](y) / nww y(rβ)y	“wittingly” or “unwittingly” (§ IX)
c) So 10650(14)+/r/7/ nw] wr'nty	“unwittingly” (§ XII)
k) Otani 7060+/v/2/ nw xwšw	“involuntarily” (§ XII)

Unfortunately most of these words are badly preserved and as they are only partly restored it is impossible to draw a conclusion referring the usage of these formulas.

TABLE 3 *1st sg.*

Attestation (line)	Shelf number	Manuscript
pt(škw)wy'mskwn (4) 'skw'm (8) yw'nkry 'ym (15) etc.	So 10900	codex
ptškwym (8) ZY-'my	So 10700b So 10650(14)+ So 20191	codex
pcytwδ'r'm (r/1/) 'tmy (v/6/)	So 10650(8)+	codex

1st pl.

Attestation (line)	Shelf number	Manuscript
]mstym (1)	L 34	scroll
ptškwym-skwnw (3) w(y)''βrym (5)	L 80	scroll
ptškwym-(s)[kwnw (2)	L 106	scroll
ptškwymskwn (3)	Ch/So 20146+Ch/U 7080	scroll
pckw'ymskwn (3)	ST 090	scroll
ptškwymskwn (3)	Ch/U 6440	scroll
ptškwymskwn (3)	*Ch/So 21003	scroll

Table 3 shows which texts use the 1st sg. and which texts use the 1st pl. Nicholas Sims-Williams has already remarked that the fragments housed in St. Petersburg have the 1st pl. and agree in this respect with most of the Turkish fragments, against the fragments published by Henning in *Sogdica* which have the 1st sg. and agree with the one particular Turkish manuscript housed in Berlin (U 7, U 10 etc.).⁴² The table shows that one can distinguish between the codex fragments and the scroll fragments systematically. The codex fragments use the 1st sg. whereas the scrolls, mainly with Chinese recto-sides, use the 1st pl. If we

42 Sims-Williams 1991, pp. 325–326, note a2.

assume, following W. Sundermann,⁴³ that the codices represent an earlier state of Sogdian texts and the less carefully written scrolls represent a final stage of Sogdian Manichaean literature, then additionally a redaction should have taken place in which the individual confession was transformed into a common one. It is possible that the text was translated more often, at least before and after the change of the persons, because of the fact that the Turkish texts also show this change.

The differences between the Sogdian and the Turkish versions, especially in the first sections, are remarkable. On the other hand, the Turkish versions do not differ to such an extent that one could assume several sources.

The Turkish text which uses the 1st sg. is also part of a codex book, a *Sammelhandschrift* where a lot of other texts, also Parthian hymns are gathered. Also the Sogdian fragments of *Xwāstwānīft* from codices belong to so-called *Sammelhandschriften* where text of various genres and languages are combined. These books deserve further investigation in cooperation with specialists of Turkish and Sogdian studies.⁴⁴

Table 4 shows the relation between finding sites and book format. The codex fragments were found in Qočo (Dakianusšahr) during the first expedition. Unfortunately the finding sites of most of the fragments of scrolls are not specified. Only the three fragments of text g) (Ch/U 8123a, b and Ch/U 6440) are labelled as having been found at Murtuk (Bezekli) during the third expedition: T III M 173 and at Toyok during the second expedition T II T 1165. Presumably, they belong to the same scroll. This shows that even if the finding site is indicated, the information may not in fact be reliable. The finding site of text h) (*Ch/So 21003, transliteration only) is indicated as T I D. It would mean that one fragment of a scroll was found in Qočo but as very few fragments of scrolls indicate Qočo as the finding site, their provenance remains uncertain.

To conclude, we can state that Uigur and Sogdian versions of the *Xwāstwānīft* existed in the library of the Manichaean community of Qočo, written in codices and using the 1st sg. The provenance of the fragments of scrolls is not known in the most cases and is doubtful in those cases where it is indicated. Generally these scrolls were found in Toyoq. But it is unfortunately not possible to decide with certainty whether the communities of Qočo, Toyoq and Murtuk used different versions, in the respect of the usage of the 1st sg. or 1st pl.

43 Sundermann 1991, pp. 287–288.

44 Reck, Ch.: "Fragmente von Büchern: Zwei Sammelhandschriften im Vergleich". In: Z. Özer-tural and J. Wilkens (eds.), *Der östliche Manichäismus: Gattungs- und Werkgeschichte*. Vorträge des Göttinger Symposiums vom 4./5. März 2010. AAWG, N.F. 17. Berlin 2011, 133–159.

TABLE 4 *List of the finding places of the fragments*

Shelf number	Format	Finding site sigla	Custody
HS 1: So 10900	codex	T I D a	Berlin, BBAW
a) So 10650(8)	codex	T I D	Berlin, BBAW
So 10085		T I D	Berlin, BBAW
So 13910		T I	Berlin, BBAW
So 20186		T II D 63	Berlin, BBAW
b) So 13425(2)	codex	T I D	Berlin, BBAW
So 13426(2)		T I D	Berlin, BBAW
c) So 10650(14)	codex	T I D	Berlin, BBAW
So 20191		T I	Berlin, BBAW
HS 2: So 10700b		T I Da	Berlin, BBAW
d) Ch/So 20146	scroll	without	Berlin, BBAW
Ch/U 7080		without	Berlin, BBAW
e) Ch/U 6050	scroll	without	Berlin, BBAW
f) ST 090	scroll	without	Seigonji, assets Tachibana
g) Ch/U 8123a	scroll	T III M 173	Berlin, MIK 028473
Ch/U 8123b		T III M 173	Berlin, MIK 028473
Ch/U 6440		T II T 1165	Berlin, BBAW
h) *Ch/So 21003	scroll	T I D	Hamburg, assets Lentz
i) Ch/U 6782c	scroll	without	Berlin, BBAW
j) Otani 1829	scroll	without	Kyōto, Ryūkoku-University
j) Otani 7060	scroll	without	Kyōto, Ryūkoku-University
Otani 7482		without	Kyōto, Ryūkoku-University
L 106	scroll	without	St. Petersburg RAN
L 34	scroll	without	St. Petersburg RAN
L 80	scroll	without	St. Petersburg RAN

In appendix 1 the transliterations and translations of the as yet unpublished texts are presented in the order of their treatment in the text of the article. (a)–(k)

Appendix 2 gives a synoptic text in the sequence of the sections of the *Xwāstwānīft*. The several examples of Sogdian text are given first and then the Turkish text is printed in italics. The Turkish transcription is based on the text given by Asmussen, with corrections in accordance with current Turcologist practise.⁴⁵ After the preparation of this article Larry Clark's new edition of the

45 I would like to thank Zekine Özertural for giving me her transcription.

Uyghur Manichaean texts has been published. The fragments of the *Xwāstwānīft* are edited on pp. 7–111. The numbers of the lines quoted in Appendix 2 as AX are mentioned in Clark's edition in square brackets. The English translation of the Sogdian text follows. There the English translations of the published fragments presented by Henning and Sims-Williams with a few changes are used for the referring passages.

Appendix 1

a) So 10650(8) ~ So 10085+So 13910+So 20186 (§§ IX und X), Fig. 17.1:

r/1/ cxš'pδ ○○ cw ZY pcytwδ'r'm⁴⁶
 /2/ p(r yr)[β](y) nww y(rβy) pr tn(w)['r]
 /3/ nw'rt (pr) [2 ''](y')'(βt)y ryz
 /4/ ○○ MN ''z-y ZY MN y['w]y ○○ MN
 /5/ ynt'kw wkw(r)y ○○ (cnn) 'βz-yk
 /6/ [']βs'ky py-(δ)'(r) ○○ pry-my-(δδ)
 /7/ δs'cxš'p(δ) ○○ cw rym 'ty

v/1/ kmpwny 'krtnt⁴⁷ ○ pry-my-δδ
 /2/ [1](.nt) yw'nw ○○ ''y-kwn(w) [n](m'ny)
 /3/ k(yn)h 'sk[w'](m) krm(šw)[x](n)h
 /4/ yw('n)w'cy (p)[ckwy']m'skwn(w)
 /5/ ○○ ○○ δsmykw prym(yδδ)
 /6/ ctβ'r (')[']p(r)y-wn(h) ○○ cw 'tmy
 /7/ wy-s(pn)y my-δy ○○ kw ctβ'r

r/1/ commandment, which I received,
 /2/ wittingly (or) unwittingly referring to the body
 /3/ (in) [per]verted wish
 /4/ because of greed and (cattle),
 /5/ bad relatives, because of bad
 /6/ advice. Concerning the
 /7/ ten commandments, which have become soiled and

46 Yoshida, review Reck, Christiane, *Mitteliranische Handschriften Teil I: Berliner Turfanfragmente manichäischen Inhalts in soghdischer Schrift*, in: *Indo-Iranian Journal* 51 (2008), p. 57.

47 Yoshida reads 'krt't, review Reck, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

- v/1/ disregarded. Concerning
 /2/ [] sin/fault, eternally I am
 /3/ penitent and request absolution and
 /4/ forgiveness.
 /5/ Tenthly, concerning
 /6/ these four acts of praise which it [was my] (duty to offer)
 /7/ every day [in purity] to the four [divinities].

b) So 13425(2) ~ So 13426(2): §§ IX? or XI? and x), Fig. 17.2:

1st side

- /1/ (wk)[wry ⊙⊙] cnn '[βzyk]
 /2/ (ʔβ)s'ky pyδ'r ⊙⊙ p(r)y(m)[yδ]
 /3/ δs' (c)x(š'pδ) ⊙⊙ c[w rym]
 /4/ (Z)Y kmp(w)[ny 'krnt]
 /5/ [4](')[11]

2nd side

- /1/ [4]⊙ MN (...)[4](..)rm
 /2/ [3] pr (.)[2](.)[1](.)r(w)[2](x)wyz-²(wy)
 /3/ [4]»m(.)[2](ty..)t ⊙ ZY
 /4/ [4](.)[7](k)rmšwx(n)
 /5/ [11](..)[2]

1st side

- /1/ relatives. Of bad
 /2/ advice. These
 /3/ ten commandments, which have become soiled
 /4/ and disregard[ded]
 /5/

2nd side

- /1/ []. Of []
 /2/ [] wish/very
 /3/ []. And
 /4/ []forgiveness
 /5/ []

- /4/ [XIII mykw wy](s)pw m'xz-mcykw⁵² 'st'r xyš(t)[n]
 /5/ [krmšwxn cw ZY-'my]cnn βγ' ZY (c)nn
 /6/ [δyn ZY cnn 'z-prt 'rt'wt] m'x zywt' p[5]
 /7/ [s'c](δ)['r]t []

/1/

/2/ have been bro]ken(?) ready

/3/ [] we request [absolution and forgiveness.]

/4/ Thirteenthly: Concerning] the request for *āstār hištan* and forgiveness every Monday,

/5/ [which is necessary to pray for] to god and to

/6/ [the religion and to the pure Electi to forgive] our cruel []

/7/ [](necessary)[]

g) Ch/U 8123a ~ Ch/U 8123b ~ Ch/U 6440 (§ I (?) and beginning of § II)

g1) Ch/U 8123a ~ Ch/U 8123b/

r/1/ MN βγγ-(š)[ty⁵³ ?]

/2/ ywtlwγ nz-wk-δ⁵⁴[?]

v/1/ xypδ γr(yw) (.)[½ Z.]

/2/ r'm'nty pr šy[r']kty'h [5]

/3/ '(t...sy)/'ntwxsy(?) myn(?n)wt yw'(r)[4]

/4/ (δ...) [2](c) βz-yk (ptmw)[k 5]

/5/ ptmwtxy δ'ry(m) [5]

/6/ prn'n z-'m kwyz-py '[4]

/7/ [3](.) (z)-'m nywš'k'ny (prn'n)[3]

/8/ mγwn zwk 'spty (L/δ)[' 6]

/9/ ty(m) kw XIII IIII (.) [8]

/10/ 'z-yrym δβyšym skwn (⊙)[4]

/11/ [3](..m.t?) ('...t) (pnc)[δ'rwkync]

/12/ δ'm ⊙ pnc ptync δ'm [5]

approx. 6 lines missing

52 Defective for m'xz- mncykw.

53 A possible completion: MN βγγ-(š)[ty prnβyryty, see Yoshida 2009, p. 573.

54 The reading and interpretation of the part -δ' is not clear. The first words of this line form presumably a hybrid (Uigur-Iranian) personal name. We do not know whether there is still text missing.

g2) Ch/U 6440

- v/1/ [3](yrty) m[1-2](.)([1](.m) (cw)[1-2]
 /2/ 'k(rt'n)y kmpwny 'skw't krmšwxn
 /3/ yw'nw'cy ptškwym skwn (⊙) [mn 'st'r]
 /4/ x(yr)z-² ⊙ ⊙ δβtykw
 /5/ ptškwym (skw)[n] (β)γyšt (...)
 /6/ [4](.)([1](. [3]('m)[3]ptt(št)

g1) Ch/U 8123a ~ Ch/U 8123b/

- r/1/ From the god(s)[]
 /2/ *Kutluq Nāzūk(dā)*[]
 v/1/ self/own ...[]
 /2/ always in good deed/grace []
 /3/ endeavour ... separation/but
 /4/ ... evil (gar)[ment?
 /5/ we have dressed[]
 /6/ pardon/order fine zeal/energy[]
 /7/ [] fine hearer's ord[er]
 /8/ all healthy complete(ly) (not?)
 /9/ Furthermore, to the 17 []
 /10/ we hurt and we harm/damage.[]
 /11/ (five) [herbal]
 /12/ beings and the five fleshly beings[]

g2) Ch/U 6440/

- v/1/ []
 /2/ sins, faults may be. Forgiveness
 /3/ and pardon we ask for. [Forgive my]
 /4/ sins! Secondly,
 /5/ we ask the gods ...
 /6/ []

h) *Ch/So 21003 (end of § I and § II)

- v/1/ ?]pr .. krmšwxnw Ƴw[ʔnwʔcy ptškwym⁵⁵]
 /2/ skwnw mnʔstʔr xy[rzʔ]
 Spatium
 /3/ δβtykw ptškwym
 /4/ ʔnsδ⁵⁶ pr βƳʔyšty x[wr ZY mʔxʔ]
 /5/ ʔnsδ⁵⁷ pr pwtʔny k(wt)[rʔ]
 /6/ ʔzrm prsyδty ʔskwδʔ
 /7/ pr tnpʔr šyrʔkw ʔz(.)[]
 /8/ pr rwʔn kw nwšy wšt[mʔxwʔ sʔr]
 /9/ škrβʔy ZY pr..wy ʔnsδʔ
 /10/ sʔcy pδkʔ xcy srβʔ(.)[]
 /11/ x[y]pδʔwnty sƳtmʔn βƳʔ[yšt]
 /12/ ʔrtʔwty pr ptzʔn⁵⁸ βʔ(.)n[]
 /13/ znkʔny⁵⁹ δβʔr. prδ
 /14/ ʔspxšym cʔnkwr krz kry wr[z] kry
 /15/ βƳyšty Lʔδn nyʔznk cw
 /16/ βƳy xypδʔwnty pr ʔβrz.[]
 /17/ δ[.ʔ.] spxšt kδʔrym c[]
 /18/ []y m[]

- v/1/]... we request absolution and forgiveness
 /2/ of sins. Forgive my sins!
 Spatium
 /3/ Secondly, we request.
 /4/ You are in the gods, [sun and moon, (?)]
 /5/ you are in the Buddha's [family(?)]
 /6/ you ... damage
 /7/ in the body ... well []
 /8/ in the soul, to the Eternal par[adise]
 /9/ lead and ... you are.
 /10/ It is the proper rule. Thing[(?)]
 /11/ of the Lord all god[s]

55 ptškwym ist not mentioned in the transliteration in Nachlaß Lentz, it is added by myself.

56 Lentz: ʔsδʔ.

57 Lentz: ʔsδʔ.

58 Lentz: ptzʔwr.

59 Lentz: nʔkʔny.

- v/1/ [] moon/our/us [hearers]
 /2/ [we re]quest absolution and forgiveness of sins
 /3/ hearers our servants[]
 /4/ [request] absolution and for[giveness]

k) Otani 7060 + 7482 (end of § XII ? and beginning of § XIII ?)

- v/1/ [](t)r Ƴ(wʳ)n(wʳcy)[]
 /2/ []w nw-xwšw Ƴ(w)[]
 /3/ (p)ry-wyδ pr wyspw []
 /4/ krmšwxnw (pt)[škwym]
 /5/ wyspw (m)[ʳxzmnw ?

- v/1/ [] absolution[]
 /2/ [] involuntarily []
 /3/ this in all []
 /4/ [we requ]est absolution []
 /5/ every M[onday?]

Appendix 2

§ I?

- g1/1-2/ xypδ Ƴr(yw) (.)[½ Z.] / rʳmʳnty pr šy[rʳ]ktyʳh [5]
 self/own ...[] / always in good deed/grace []
- g1/3-4/ ʳ(.t...sy)ʳntwxsy(?) myn(ʳ)nwt ywʳ(r)[4] / (δ...)[2](c) βz-yk (ptmw)[k 5]
 endeavour ... separation/but / ... evil (gar)[ment?
- g1/5-6/ ptmwxy δʳy(m)[5] / prmʳn z-ʳm kwyz-py ʳ[4]
 we have dressed[] / pardon/order fine zeal/energy[]
- g1/7-8/ [3](.) (z)-ʳm nywšʳkʳny (prmʳn)[3] / mywn zwk ʳspty (L/δ)ʳ [6]
 [] fine hearers' ord[er] / all healthy complete(ly) (not?)
- g1/9-10/ ty(m) kw XIII IIII (.)[8] / ʳz-yrym δβyšym skwn (⊙)[4]
 Furthermore, to the 17 [] / we hurt and we harm/damage.[]

g1/11-12/ [3](..m.t?) ('...t) (pnc)[δ'rwkync] / δ'm ⊙ pnc ptync δ'm [5]
 (five) [herbal] / beings and the five fleshly beings[]⁶⁰

approximately 6 lines missing

g2/1-2/ [3](yrty) m[1-2](.)[1](.m) (cw)[1-2] / 'k(rt'n)y kmpwny 'skw't
 [] sins, faults may be.

h/1/ []pr.

g2/2-4/ krmšwxn / γw'nw'cy ptškwym skwn (⊙) [mn 'st'r] / x(yr)z-' ⊙

h/1-2/ krmšwxnw / γw['nw'cy ptškwym] skwnw mn'st'r xy[rz']

AX 37-38 *yazokda boşunu ötünür {m(ä)n⁶¹}—m(a)n astar hirza*

Forgiveness and pardon we ask for. Forgive my sin!

§ II A(?)

g2/4-5/ ⊙ δβtykw ptškwym (skw)[n] (β)yyšt (...)

h/3-4/ δβtykw ptškwym 'nsδ⁶² pr βγ'yšty x[wr ZY m'x?]

AX 40- *ikinti ymä [kün ay] t(ä)ηrikä⁶³*

Secondly, we ask the gods ... / Secondly we request. You are in the gods,
 [sun and moon, (?)]

g2/6/ [4](.)[1](.) [3]('m)[3]ptt(št)

h/5-6/ 'nsδ⁶⁴ pr pwt'ny k(wt)[r?] / 'zrm prsyδty 'skwδ'

you are in the Buddha's [family(?)] / you ... damage

h/7-8/ pr tnp'r šyr'kw 'z(.)[] / pr rw'n kw nwšy wšt[m'xw? s'r]

in the body ... well [] / in the soul, to the Eternal par[adise]

h/9-10/ škrβ'y ZY pr.wy 'nsδ⁶⁵ / s'cy pδk' xcy srβ'(.)[]

lead and ... you are. / It is the proper rule. Thing⁶⁶[]

60 This formula we find in § xv c: biş türlüg ootqa 'ıyaçqa biş türlüg tñl(ı)ıyqa.

61 In the Old Turkish text there only one *män* is written (P. Zieme).

62 Lentz: 'nsδ'.

63 The Turkish text uses the sg. here and pl. one line later.

64 Lentz: 'nsδ'.

65 Lentz: 'nsδ'.

66 Possibly one could restore srβ'k' "thing, matter".

- h/11–12/ x[y]pδʷwnty sytmʷn βyʷ[yšt] / ʷrtʷty pr ptzʷn⁶⁷ β(·)n[]
of the Lord all god[s] / of the Electi in understanding/intentionally ... []
- h/13–14/ znkʷny⁶⁸ δβʷr. prδ / ʷspxšym cʷnkw krz kry wr[z] kry
-kinds of gifts / we serve, so the miracle doing
- h/15–16/ βyʷšty Lʷδn nyʷzkn cw / βyʷy xypδʷwnty pr ʷβrz .[]
of the gods not/with the different what ... god, lord in care []
- h/17–18/ δ[.?.] spxšt kδʷrym c[] / [] y m[]
... we do service, so[]

§ III C

- L106/1/ [s](k)wnw nmʷny-(k)[yn ʷskwym]
[we are] peni[tent ...]
- L106/2/
AX 61–63 ywʷnwʷc(y)ptškwym-(s)[kwnw]
amtu t(ä)ŋrim yazokda boşunu ötünür biz- m(a)nastar hirza.
we request [absolution and] forgiveness of sins. Forgive my sin!

§ IV A–B

- L106/2–3/
AX 64–67 [ctβʷrmyk] / (p)r wyspw z-wrnycyktw p(w)[tʷyšt]
*törtünç söki t(ä)ŋri yalavaçi burhanlarka buyançi bügtäğçi arıy dintar-
larka*
[Fourthly,] concerning the Bu[ddhas] of all periods.
- L106/4/
AX 67–68 cw (n)wrʷ(y-)[z-y?] ... ʷw.[.][]
bilmätin näčä yaz(t)nt(t)m(t)z ärsär ...
If uninten[tionally(?) ...

§ IX A

- a/r/1–2/ cxšpδ ⊙ cw ZY pcytwδʷrʷm / p(r ʷr)[β](y) nww ʷ(rβy) pr tn(w)[ʷr]
AX 192, {196–197} č(a)xšap(a)t tutdukumuzda b(ä)rü ... {ätöz} s(ä)viginčä yorıp⁶⁹

67 Lentz: ptzʷwr.

68 Lentz: nʷkʷny.

69 The order of topics differs in the Sogdian text from that of the Turkish text. This part follows later in § IX B. Zekine Özertural translates “lebend gemäß meinem eigenen Belieben”.

the commandment, which I received, wittingly (or) unwittingly referring to the body

§ IX B

a/r/3-4/ nwʷrt (pr) [2 ʷ](yʷ)(βt)y ryz / ⊙⊙ MN ʷz-y ZY MN y[ʷw]y ⊙⊙ MN
AX 197 *yavlak iş*

(in) [per]verted wish because of greed and (cattle),

a/r/5-6/ ynt'kw kwk(r)y ⊙ (cnn) 'βz-yk / [ʷ]βs'ky py-(δ)'(r) ⊙ pry-my-(δδ)
b1/1-2/ (wk)[wry ⊙⊙] cnn ' [βzyk] / ('β)s'ky pyδ'r ⊙⊙ p(r)y(m)[yδ]
AX 198-201 *tuş adaş kudaş savın alıp köñülin körüp yulkuka bar(ı)mka bolup*⁷⁰... *bo*
bad relatives, because of bad advice. Concerning the

a/r/7-v/1/ δs'cxš'p(δ) ⊙ cw rym 'ty / kmpwny 'krtnt ⊙ pry-my-δδ
b1/3-4/ δs' (c)x(š'pδ) ⊙⊙ c[w rym] / (Z)Y kmp(w)[ny 'krtnt]

AX 201-202 *on č(a)hšap(a)t(t)g sid(t)m(t)z ärsär:*

ten commandments, which are soiled and disregarded. Concerning

a/v/2-3/ [6](.)nt yw'nw ⊙⊙ ʷy-kwn(w) [n](m'ny) / k(yn)h 'sk[w'](m) krm(šw)[x]
(n)h

b1/5/ [4](°)[II]

AX 202-203 *näčä ägsütümüz k(ä)rgät(t)imiz ärsär: amtı t(ä)ñrim*

[] sin/fault, eternally I am penitent and request absolution and

a/v/4/ yw'(n)w'cy (p)[ckwy']m'skwn(w)

AX 204 *yazokda boşunu ötiünürbiz*⁷¹

forgiveness

§ X A

HS II/1/ [x-mykw pr ctβ'r ʷβrywn p'šyk] cw ZY-my

L 34/1/](m)stym (δsm)[yk pr ctβ'r ʷβrywn cwZYmn]

a/v/5-6/ ⊙⊙ ⊙⊙ δsmkw prym(yδδ) ctβ'r (°)[ʷ]p(r)y-wn(h) ⊙⊙ cw 'tmy

AX 206 *onunč künkä tört alkış*

Tenthly, concerning these four acts of praise which it was my duty to offer

HS II/1-4/ wyspny [myδy] kw ctβ'r βy'y 'kw [sic] s'r pr 'z-prty-' s'cδ'rt ptwysty ⊙

L 34/2/ [wyspny myδy kw] ctβ'r βyy'kh pr[z-prty' s'cδ'rt ptwysty]

70 This part follows after the next part in the Turkish text.

71 The Turkish text continues with *m(a)nastar hürz* at this place.

- a/v/7/ wy-s(pn)y my-δy ⊙⊙ kw ctβ'r
 AX 209–210 ... *arıg köñülün alkansıg törö bar ärti:*
 every day in purity to the four divinities.⁷²
- HS II/4–6/ rty cw MN / ɣw't pw pckwyr m'ny ⊙ / ZY MN (ky)šty pr'k'nty
 L 34/3/ [rty cw MN xw](?)'t pw pckwyr (m')n (c)[n kyšty pr'k'nty]
 AX 211 *ymä korkmatın ärmägürüp*
 If, with a lax mind lacking in fear (of God), f[or the sake of planting and sowing,
- L 34/4/ [pyδ'r](ptm')n [z-]prt [
 AX 212–213 *ädgüti tükäti alkanmad(t)m(t)z ärsär ...*
 We should not have performed the acts of praise] completely (?) (and) purely (?) ...
- HS II/7–8/ [...] prymyδ ɣw'nw'cy krmšwxn ptškwym
 AX 219–220 (*yazokda boşunu ötünürbiz*)⁷³
 []for this I/we say: pardon! Forgiveness for my sins.

§ XI

- HS II/9–10/ ⊙ ⊙ xi-mykw pr ptmyδy δβ'r ⊙ cw (ZY)-'my
 AX 221–222 *bir y(e)g(i)rminč ymä yeti törlüg puşı*
 Eleventh: on the daily gifts which it was my
- HS II/11–12/ s'cδ'r't ⊙ kw δyns'r ptwysty ⊙ rty cw 'xw
 AX 222–223 *arıg nomka ančolasıg törö bar ärti. ymä ...*
 duty to offer to the church. If the ...

§§ IX or XI?

- b2/1/ [4]⊙ MN (....)[4](.)rm
 b2/2/ [3] pr (.)[2](.)[1](.)r(w)[2](x)wyz-'(wy)
 wish/very

72 Henning's note: "*tört türlüg täñrilärkä*, cf. viii C", see AX 185–186. The Turkish text mentions: "to Äzrua täñri, to the God of the Sun and Moon, to the powerful God". See also Sims-Williams 1991, p. 326 n. b1–3.

73 The Turkish text continues with *m(a)nastar hürz* at this place. *Ötünürbiz* is 1st pl. The Sogdian text mentions the 1st sg. (ptškwym).

- b2/3/ [4]”m(.)[2](ty..)t ⊙ ZY
 b2/4/ [4](.)[7](k)rmšwx(n)
yazokda
 Forgiveness
- b2/5/ [11](..)[2]
- § XII B**
- c/r/1–2/ [5–6](.δ”[1–2](.) [3](.)(k.t) / (kw β)γ’y s’r ptwysty ⊙
 [] offer to god.
- c/r/3–4/ rty MN ”z-y ZY MN / ny’z-y pyδ’r MN
 AX 251 *azu muḡumuz takim(t)z⁷⁴ t(ä)gip*
 And because of the greed and need, of the
- c/r/5–6/ βrkyr(ny)[xw](‘)t pw pckwyr / m’ny ⊙ Z[Y pr]”βr’xsy
 AX 252 *ymä todunčsuz uvutsuz suk yäk üčün*
 negligent, weak mind, without fear, and with wish
- c/r/7–8/ [2](..r)[4 nw]wr’nty ⊙ ZY / [11](.)[2](.)ykw
 f/1/ [](.)’ykw
 [un]wittingly. And []
- c/r/9/ [](.)[1]
 k/1/ [](t)r γ(w’)n(w’cy)[]
 [] absolution []
- d/1/ [5–6](pr’)[]
 [] in []
- k/2/ []w nw-xwšw γ(w)[]
 AX 254–256 *arınip ärmägürüp ärkligin ärksiz(i)n baçak sud(t)m(t)z ärsär*
 [] involuntarily []
- d/2/ ’nxwst’kw ’krt(y) ZY pr ’x(š)[]
 f/2/ [] ’nxws[t’k]m’ytr
 k/3/ (p)ry-wyδ pr wyspw []

74 See fn. 22 of the article.

AX 256–258 *ymä bačak olurup ädgüti nomča töröčä bačamad(t)m(t)z ärsär*
 this in all [] have been broken / ready (and in)

c/v/1/ (krm)[šwx](n p)[tškw'y'm]

d/2–3/ krmšwxnw yw'n] / w'cy ptškwym skwn mn'[st'r xyrz']

f/3/ [krmšw](xn) pckw'y'm skwn

k/3–4/ [] / krmšwxnw (pt)[škwym]

AX 259–260 *t(ä)ñrim ämti yazokda boşunu ötünürbiz m(a)nastar hirz(a)*
 I/we request [absolution and for]giveness. For[give my sin!]

§ XIII A

c/v/2–4/ ○○ ○○ X[I]IImykw (pr) / wyspw m'x(z)-mncyk 'st'r / xyšt('n)
 [kr]mšwxn ○

d/4–5/ XIII-mykw p(r w)[yspw m'xz-mncyk 'st'r xyšt'n] / ZY (kr)[mšwxn

f/4–5/ [XIIIImykw pr wy](s)pw m'xz-mcykw 'st'r xyšt(t)[n] / [krmšwxn

k/4–5/ [] / wyspw (m)['xz-mnw

AX 261–262 *üč y(e)girminč ay t(ä)ñri künin sayu t(ä)ñrikä nomka*

Thirteenthly, concerning the request for *āstār hiştan* and forgiveness every Monday, which is necessary to pray for

c/v/5–7/ cw ZY-'my (M)[N](β)γ' / ZY MN δy(n)[ZY] MN / 'z-prt 'r[t'wt s'c]δ'rt

f/5–7/ cw ZY-'my]cnn βγ' ZY (c)nn / [δyn ZY cnn 'z-prt 'rt'wt]

AX 263–264 *arıg dintarlarka*⁷⁵: *suyumuznu yazokumuznu boşuyu kolmak*
 to god, religion, the holy Electi.

c/v/8/ (pr w)[]

f/7/ m'x zywt' p[5] s'c][δ][r]t []

AX 265 *k(ä)rgäk ärti*

Referring / our cruel []

§ XIV B

L 80/1–2/].[].'m 'skw't() []

AX 289–290 *näčä äğsük k(ä)rgäk boltı ärsär.*

[] should be⁷⁶ []

75 I thank P. Zieme for his completion *dintarlarka*, see *Xuastvanift* 2008, p. 16 (l. 123).

76 See Sims-Williams 1991, p. 327, n. c2.

L 80/3-4/ [krmšwx](n) ptšk(w)ym-sk(wnw)[/]
 AX 290-292 *täyrim amtu yazokda boşunu ötünür biz m(a)nastar hirz:*
 we request absolution and forgiveness of sins []

§ XV A

L 80/4/ [wyspw z-](m)nw cw ɣnt'kw šm'r'k(h)
 e/1/ šmr'kh (šm)['ry](m)[
 AX 293-294 *bes y(e)girminč kün sayu näčä y(a)vlaq sakinč saqunurbiz:*
 If we always think evil thoughts,

L 80/5-6/ [»](y')βty wy»βr w(y)»βrym Z(Y) / [ɣryw]
 e/1-2/ »y»βty wy»βr / wy'r(y)m ZY tym cw 'st(')[npr'k]
 AX 295-297 *näčä sözlämäsig erinčülüg söz sözläyürbiz: näčä islämäsig iş isläyürbiz:*
 speak [wrong speech] and furthermore [perform] violent [acts]

§ XV B

L 80/6-7/ -mynch ɣnpnh pr py(š)- / [
 e/3-4/ ɣnp(nh) prw pyšnβnt [] / [4](δ.)[
 AX 298-299 *aŋu kulnčka erinčükä k(ä)ntü özümüzni ämgätirbiz:*
 pain successively [

L 80/7/ pwt'ny kwt(')(r) ZY rxwšny'kh ZKw[]
 AX 300-301 *ymä künkä ašadukumuz beš t(ä)ηri y(a)ruki*
 and the Buddhagotra (?) and the light [of the five elements,

L 80/8/ [].srδ'nkt ZY pr tn(p)['ry]
 AX 301-303 *k(ä)ntü özümüz özütümüz: todunčsuz uvutsuz suk yäk*
 through (love of) the three (?) 'leaders'⁷⁷ and through [love of] the
 bod[y ...,]

L 80/9/ []'(β)z-'ykh wy'kh pr['yst]
 AX 303-304 *s(ä)viginčä yoruduk üçün y(a)vlaq yergärü barır:*
 co[mes to] an evil place;

HS I/1-2/ [..] -.[] / [..] kštr(t)[]
 [] lower[]

77 See Sims-Williams 1991, p. 327, n. c8.

HS 1/3/ [.....]r pr RBkw z-ʿrcnwkyʿ ⊙ .yš.. (ʿ)yy.[]
[] in great mercy. []

HS 1/4/ [krmšwxn γ]wʿnwʿcy pt(šk)wyʿmskwn βγ mnstʿ(?)[r xyrzʿ]

L 80/10/ [krmšwx](n) γwʿnwʿcy ZY βγʿ []

AX 305–307 *anu üčün t(ä)ñrim yazokda boşunu ötünürbiz m(a)nastar hırza:*
I say: pardon! Forgiveness for my sins, oh God, forgive my sin!

L 80/11/ []-[] δ[]δ[]-[]

HS 1/5/ []xwʿstwʿnyft (γ)wʿny ʿn(z)[-ʿnʿmʿnty]

Xwāstwānift, confession of sins.

HS 1/6/ ʿyny sʿnk(?) xwʿstwʿn[yβt]

This is the Xwāstwānift of the Saṃgha(?)⁷⁸

§ XV C

HS 1/7/ mnstʿr xyrzʿ βγ ⊙ knpy ZY γwʿnk(r)[y ʿym ZYms]

AX 308–309 *t(ä)ñrim ägsüklüg yazoklug biz*

Oh God, forgive my sin! Lacking am I and sinning

HS 1/8/ (s)rwšy ptykʿnw ʿskwʿm ⊙ pr ʿz-ʿnβ:rʿ [kw nwβznʿy]

AX 309–310 *ötägçi berimçibiz todunčsuz uvutsuz*

indebted and a debtor, instigated by the greed-breeding (?),

HS 1/9/ (ʿ)[ʿzy ? ʿnβ](ʿn)ty ⊙ pr ʿšmʿrʿ wyʿβrty [ZY ʿkrtyʿ ZY pr]

AX 310–312 *suk yäk üčün: sakınçin sözün klünçin ymā*

shameless Greediness, in thoughts, words and deeds, by

HS 1/10/ cšmy [wy](n) ⊙ [γwš]y ptywš ⊙ z-βʿky (w)[ʿβ ⊙ δstyʿ]

AX 312–314 *közin körüp kulkakin äšidip tilin sözlöp älgin*

the looking of the eyes, the hearing of the ears, the speaking of the tongue,

HS 1/11/ βryʿz ⊙ pʿδy ʿγmp ⊙ cw pr wyspw (ž)[-mnw]

AX 314–315 *sunup adakın yorıp ürkä üzüksüz*

the grasping of the hands, the walking of the feet, since at every moment

78 Henning wrote: “This is the Saṃgha (?) Khwastwanefit”. My thanks to Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst for his proposal to connect the words.

- HS 1/12/ (')[z-](y)r'm ZY δβyš'm ⊙ pnc mrδ'spnt [about 12 or less]
 AX 315–316 *ämğätirbiz: beš t(ä)ηri y(a)rukun*
 I hurt and injure the five elements []
- HS 1/13/ pwt'ny kwt'r (sic) s'r ⊙ pr '(š)kwc' ZY nβt[c' z'y ⊙⊙]
 AX 316–317 *kurug ölyerig*
 the Buddhagotra (which is) in the dry and the wet ground,
- HS 1/14/ pnc z-nk'ny (δ)[r](w)kync δ'm s'r ⊙ pnc z-nk'ny [ptync δ'm s'r]
 AX 317–318 *beš törlüg tunl(i)g(i)g beš törlüg otug ıgaçug*
 the five-fold herbal beings, the five-fold fleshly beings.⁷⁹
- HS 1/15/ ⊙ ms knpy ZY yw'nkry 'ym ⊙ pr 'δs' cx[š'pt ⊙ 'βt]
 AX 318–320 *ymä ägsüklüg yazoklugbiz: on č(a)hšap(a)tka yeti*
 Again: Lacking am I and sinning against the ten commandments,
- HS 1/16/ δβ'r ⊙ 'dry t'py ⊙ nywš('k) (?) n'm δ'r'm ⊙ [pyšt 'krty']
 AX 320–322 *puška üč t(a)mgaka n(i)gošak atın tutarbi: kulnčın*
 the seven pious gifts, the three seals. By name I am an auditor,
- HS 1/17/ L' (')k(r)t' [kwn']m ⊙ (pr) [rxw]šnt' βy'(y)[št...]
 AX 322–323 *kulu umazbiz ymä y(a)ruk t(ä)ηrilärkä*
 but I am unable to perform the actions. Against the light gods ...
- (End of page missing)
- Verso
- HS 1/18–19/ []..[]/[](y) βws'nt[k]
 AX 329–330 *ymä y(i)mki bačak*
 I am unable to observe the
- HS 1/20/ [βryn] (p)'šyk [cxš'pt] (L') p't kw(n)[r'm]
 AX 330–331 *alkış č(a)hšap(a)t nomča töröčä tutu*
 [Yimki], the fast, the prayers and hymns, and the commandments
- HS 1/21/ [pr']sp[wrny'k ZY 'spty'k ?] ⊙ (c)w pr wysp[w ž-mnw ⊙?]

79 The order of the five kinds of plants and of living beings differs between the Turkish and the Sogdian text.

- AX 331–333 *umad(i)m(i)z ärsär: näčä ägsüttümüz k(ä)rgät(t)im(i)z ärsär*⁸⁰
completely [and without fail].⁸¹ If at any [time],
- HS 1/22/ [rtw] (rtw) ⊙ myδ m[y](δ) [⊙] (m')x [m'x ⊙] srδ srδ [cn mn']
AX 333–334 *kün sayu ay sayu ...*
any moment, any day, any month, any year there was
- HS 1/23/ [kyr'n knpy βw](t) ⊙ pr('x)sty ⊙ pr(?) mn' (?) [about 7]
AX 334–335 *suy yazok kulur biz:*
a failing or an omission from my side, if through my [forgetfulness]
- HS 1/24/ [](c)ywyδ 'nz-'n pr(ys)[ty ⊙ rxwšnt']
AX 335 *yaruk*
anything] has been omitted from this confession—for this
- HS 1/25/ [βy'yšty δyny ZY] 'rt'wty frny pyrn-'m s'r p(r)[ymyδ]
AX 335–336 *t(ä)yrilärkä nom kutıya arıg dintarlarka*
[in the presence of the light gods, the glory of the religion, and the glory of the electi.
- HS 1/26/ ['zw n]'m⁸² ⊙ krmšwx'nw yw'n(w)['cy]
AX 336–337 *suyda yazokda boşunu*
[I, by name so-and-so, say:] pardon!
- HS 1/27/ [ptškwy'mskwn mnst'r ??xy]l'yδ⁸³ ⊙ ⊙
AX 337–338 *ötünürbiz m(a)nastar hirz.*
[Forgiveness for my sin!]
- HS 1/28/ [xw'stw'nyβt] yw'ny 'nz-'n m'nt[y]
Xwāstwānift, confession of sins

80 The order of the Turkish text differs from that of the Sogdian text.

81 The order of the liturgical elements differs between the Turkish and the Sogdian text.

82 Henning assumes that the individual confessor identified himself here. His remark: “[*cf. I end: amti män Rainast Frazend*]”. This is possible. But it is also possible that the letters]'m belonged to a verbal ending of 1st sg.

83 Surprisingly the traces]l'yδ belong clearly to the Middle Persian verb *hylyd*. It corresponds to the Mp. passage in the BBB, ll. 739–744: kw pd wysp zm'n 'w 'st'r hyšt'n 'wd hw' [.].r[r].[y]h' 'w 'gny[n] hyb bwyd ⊙ hylyd ' wd xw'hyd yk 'c yk ⊙ ky ny hylyd 'wyž ny hylynd “Zu jeder Zeit sollt ihr zum Erlassen und Abbitten (?) der Sünden zusammenkommen (?); erlasst und erbittet voneinander: wer nicht erläßt, dem wird auch nicht erlassen.”

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Abbreviations

- AX Asmussen 1965, pp. 167–230
- HS I Henning, *Sogdica*, IV: Fragments of the Sogdian Khwastwaneft, Fragment 1 (So 10900) London 1940, pp. 63–66. (*Selected Papers* II, pp. 64–67)
- HS II *ibid.*, Fragment 2 (So 10700b), London 1940, pp. 66–67 (*Selected Papers* II, pp. 67–68)
- L 34 Sims-Williams 1991, pp. 324.
- L 80 Sims-Williams 1991, pp. 325.
- L 106 Sims-Williams 1991, pp. 324.
- a/ So 10650(8) ~ So 10085+So 13910+So 20186
- b/ So 13425(2) ~ So 13426(2)
- c/ So 10650(14)+So 20191
- d/ Ch/So 20146+Ch/U 7080
- e/ Ch/U 6050
- f/ ST 090
- g1/ Ch/U 8123a~Ch/U 8123b
- g2/ Ch/U 6440
- h/ *Ch/So 21003
- i/ Ch/U 6782c
- k/ Otani 7060 + 7482 (Yoshida e.a. 1997)

The “Seal of the Mouth” in the Anti-Manichaean Polemic of Ephrem the Syrian

Flavia Ruani

In his works Ephrem the Syrian (c. 306–373 A.D.) wrote about some of the practices and the behavioural prescriptions of the Manichaean community. The examination of how one of the Manichaean “Three Seals” appears in works like the well-known *Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan*¹ and the *Hymns against the False Teachings*² enables us to determine the relationship between the heresiological texts of the Syriac writer on the one hand and the genuine doctrine elaborated by the Manichaeans on the other. Through the comparison with the Manichaean original sources, it will be possible to highlight the polemical devices used by Ephrem to present to his audience a distorted Manichaean teaching.³

The Three Seals of mouth, hands and breast characterise the Manichaeans’ prescribed behaviour for living a pure existence: they represent the nucleus of the Manichaean ascetical practice and are attested by a number of texts,

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- 1 J.J. Overbeck, ed., *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae Episcopi Edesseni, Balaei aliorumque Opera Selecta* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1865), *First Discourse* 21–58; C.W. Mitchell, A.A. Bevan, F.C. Burkitt, ed. and transl., *Saint Ephraim’s Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan*, Londres-Oxford, 2 vols, 1912/1921; see also J.C. Reeves, “Manichaean Citations from the Prose Refutations of Ephrem”, in: P. Mirecki, J. BeDuhn, eds, *Emerging From Darkness. Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources*, NHMS 43 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 217–288.
 - 2 E. Beck, ed., *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen contra Haereses*, CSCO 169, Syr. 76 (Leuven: Peeters, 1957), (German translation in CSCO 170, Syr. 77).
 - 3 Even if almost each work of Ephrem is full of references or indirect allusions to his copious adversaries’ doctrinal systems, this analysis is limited to these two openly controversial texts. Ephrem’s heresiology and polemic against the Manichaeans have been studied by E. Beck, *Ephräms Polemik gegen Mani und die Manichäer im Rahmen der zeitgenössischen griechischen Polemik und der des Augustinus*, CSCO 391/ Subsidia 55 (Leuven: Peeters, 1978), and have been the subject of two mutually independent PhD dissertations: R.J. Morehouse, *Bar Daysān and Mani in Ephraem the Syrian’s Heresiography*, The Catholic University of America, Washington DC, 2013, and my *Le manichéisme vu par Éphrem le Syrien: analyse d’une réfutation doctrinale*, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris-La Sapienza, Università di Roma, 2012.

original and polemical, originated in the Western part of the Roman Empire as well as in the Eastern regions of the Sassanian Empire, and into the Western provinces of China.⁴

With regard to the “seal of the mouth”, the various sources (the Coptic *Kephalaia* and *Psalms*, the Pehlevi fragments from Turfan, the Chinese Hymnbook, Augustin, Ibn an-Nadīm, etc ...) all agree in presenting two main aspects concerning:

- a) the alimentary rules, which impose a vegetarian diet devoid of wine or fermented drink and which regulate fasting, in order to refine the Light mixed in with organic nature, and
- b) the purity of speech, which forbids telling lies, blasphemy and calumny with respect to the truth revealed by the prophet Mani.

Ephrem never names the Three Seals. He alludes to them, nevertheless, in many places, always in a polemical way; furthermore, it seems that he has a particular preference for one of them: the “seal of the mouth” is evoked most frequently.

In order to examine how the *signaculum oris* is presented by the Syrian hesiographer, I will consider three major points: I will first discuss the occurrences of the word “seal”, in Syriac *tab’û*, in Ephrem’s writings; then I will analyse the two contexts linked to the “seal of the mouth”: the words coming out the mouth, the source of blasphemy and lie; and the food entering the mouth, that is the sphere related to the refining of Light and which is connected to the practice of confession and forgiveness of sins in the development of Ephrem’s refutation.

1 The Occurrences of the Word “Seal” (*tab’û*, ܬܒܘܘܬܐ): The Metaphor of the Coin

In Ephrem’s works, the term “seal” is invested with an important meaning which can be understood as implying two conflicting concepts: for Ephrem, there is the seal of God and the seal of the Devil.

The *Hymns* offer the best examples of this dichotomy. Here the opposition between “seal of God” and “seal” as an instrument of Satan is expressed by the metaphor of a coin.

4 See J. BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body: In Discipline and Ritual* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2000).

(ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܢܝܐ), for the heretics, who named themselves “after the name of a man”.⁷

Insofar as it relates to the Manichaeans, this accusation is entirely heresiological. All direct sources of Manichaeism deny the custom Ephrem condemns, that is the self-designation of the religious community in the name of Mani.⁸ We know, on the contrary, that the Manichaeans considered themselves to be the true Christians, the only ones who interpreted the message of Christ in the correct way,⁹ and that Mani claimed to have accomplished Christ’s teaching as

means of which men who learn are sealed that they may be an image for Him who knows all” (*Prose Refutations* [note 1], p. ii; text in J. Overbeck, *Ephraemi Syri* [note 1], 22). Compare *Kephalaion* LVI, where Mani answers the question concerning the creation of Adam and Eve: how could they receive the “the seal of the image of the Ambassador” if they were fashioned by the Powers of Darkness? (cf. I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher. The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary*, NHMS 37 [Leiden: Brill, 1995], 145 and ff.).

7 *Hymn* XXII, 10:

The gold is rejected by our King
 who does not coin his effigy on money.
On man, who is greater than all,
our Saviour coins His beauty.
 He who believed to the name of God
 received the **seal of God**.
 But if he named himself after the name of a man,
 he received a **human seal**,
 which is impious for the Living Name!
 Blessed be He Who elected us by His names!

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8 The only exception, to my knowledge, is in *Kephalaion* CXV, 271,15, but, as the translator I. Gardner notes, it is a reconstruction that “should be treated with caution. This form of self-designation does not occur elsewhere in the text” (I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* [note 6], 278 n. 146). The accusation against the heretics of calling themselves after the name of a man and not after Jesus Christ’s name is a Christian heresiological topos going back to Justin Martyr (second century) and his assimilation between philosophical sects and heretical groups: see A. Le Boulluec, *La notion d’hérésie dans la littérature grecque 11e–111e siècles. I. De Justin à Irénée; II. Clément d’Alexandrie et Origène*, 2 vols (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1985), vol. I, 40–41 and 48–51.

9 See, in particular, the debate between Faustus, the Manichaean Bishop of Mileve, and Augustin, in the latter’s work *Contra Faustum* 1, 1–3 over the polemical terms *semichristiani* and *pseudochristiani* opposed to *christiani*. See M. Tardieu, “Une définition du manichéisme comme secta christianorum”, in: A. Caquot, P. Canivet, eds, *Ritualisme et vie intérieure: religion et culture* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), 167–177.

who prays this prayer frequently [...] with a pure heart and forthright speech (εὐθελεία γλωσση), asking for forgiveness of sins" (lines 124–130).

Finally, Mani is represented as the epitome of the purity of the mouth, having come to reveal the true doctrine as the Paraclete and being called "the Tongue which speaks no lie" in the Coptic *Hymn to the Pantheon* (*Psalm-Book* 139,47–49). Another document from Kellis underlines the importance of Mani's true teaching: it is *Papyrus Kellis Coptic* 53²³ which probably contains the epistle called of the "ten words" mentioned by Ibn an-Nadim. In this text we notice Mani's urgent interest in defending the faith in opposition to other false teachings circulating in his church.²⁴ Mani contrasts the wisdom of his words with the stupidity of the adversaries' assertions. We read that Mani has sealed his disciples in the "God of truth"²⁵ (12,10–14), while voices proclaiming a different faith are rejected as speaking "in envy and foolishness" (32,1–2). The one who diffuses these "wicked words" is said to sin not only against his own soul, but even against the universal salvation (32,2–12).²⁶

An "Anti-Seal of the Mouth": The "Seal of the Ears"

Not content with qualifying Manichaeans as liars and blasphemers, Ephrem describes them as condemned to being unable to hear anything other than their own lies. For this to make sense, he conceives a new sort of seal, which we can label "the seal of the ears" and which appears ironically as an "anti-seal of the mouth". According to Ephrem, this seal derives from the Devil, who puts it into the heretics in order to restrict the influence of the true Church and to incite troubles against it; furthermore, it acts as a shield against words of purity and holiness which could otherwise enter from the outside: "The Church called them, Evil feared her: / he saw the holy ones inside her and he was terrified; / he closed the ears of his tares with controversy, for he feared her voice (or: melody)

23 I. Gardner, ed., *Kellis Literary Texts* (note 22), 11–83.

24 33,24–34,2: "they look for excuses and empty words that they have heard in the church [from] [time to time (?)]".

25 "He [is with you], namely the Father, the God of Truth, the one in whom you are saved all the time. I have sealed you all in him".

26 "It is a great impediment and sin that he has done for his soul, namely the one who generated these wicked (?) words and became their interpreter. Thinking that it is only one (person) whom he has despised, troubled and wounded; thus, he does not realise that it is the entire righteousness and godliness and every +godliness+ that [...] that he has [...] a great sin for the soul".

would seep inside their ears” (*Hymn* 11, 8,3–6).²⁷ And in the following stanza the Devil is told to seal his tares with the “seal of controversy” (ܩܚܪܘܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ).

In Ephrem’s polemic, Satan is often connected with the sense of hearing,²⁸ but here Ephrem seems to ridicule the Manichaeans’ praxis of purity, by reversing the Manichaean concept of the gates of the body. As the Coptic *Kephalaion* LVI (141,14–144,12) explains,²⁹ the corporeal senses are seen as orifices which act like doors, allowing or forbidding access from outside: with the coming of the Living Spirit, the body, previously controlled by evil powers, opens to “receive all that is pleasing to God” (142,29).³⁰ Clearly, Ephrem’s polemic is aimed at undermining this doctrine by denying that anything good can ever enter the heretics’ ears.

27 Syriac text:

ܩܚܪܘܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ
 ܩܚܪܘܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ
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 ܩܚܪܘܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ

28 For instance in *Hymn* XL, 9, where the Devil suffers because of the soft melodies (ܩܠܐ ܩܚܪܘܬܐ) emitted by the harp of Christ, until his ear is rent, he who troubled the auditors (ܥܝܢܐ) in order to prevent them from hearing the harp.

29 There are other Manichaean texts on the subject: in the *Kephalaion* LXXXVI (215,11–22), the mouth is a door open to evil food; in the Sogdian section of the *Bema-handbook*, hymn M 801, after the exposition of the five commandments, presents a section called “The closing of the five gates”, which regulates the control of the senses: “[...] If I have left open my eyes to sight, my ears to sound, my nose to smell, my mouth to improper food and ugly speech and my hands to improper contact and touch [...] for all these things, forgiveness!” (transl. by J. BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body* [note 4], 50; see also p. 287, n. 155 for further references on the topic). The Coptic *Homily* 1, 5,12–13 (ed. H.J. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty, Band 1, [Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1934]) identifies the senses to the “doors”: “die drei Tore meines Körpers sie [werden geöffnet durch?] / den grossen herrlichen Schlüssel”.

30 A paragraph (143,10–19) concerns the orifice of the ears: “[these] ears were first opening to empty sounds and to the melodies of lust, to the secrecies of [wic]kedness [...] Yet, now, by the power of the Light Mind, the sounds of lust and the words of magic and evil mysteries have become loathsome in his presence. [...] Rather, he likes all the time to listen to the sounds of the lessons of the righteousness, the words of the psalms and of the prayers, the praise of the hymns and the lessons of truth, and the knowledge of charity” (I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* [note 6], 150).

3 Food Coming In: The Refining of Light and the Forgiveness of Sins

As stated before, the “seal of the mouth” concerns, in Manichaean terms, the alimentary rules. In the Manichaean system, vegetarianism and fasting are not only simple rules of life, but have soteriological implications. The choice of food and the way of eating it are practical instruments to avoid humans being corrupted by the evil power inhabiting matter and to enable them to take part in the cosmological process of refining the Light, captured in the world, through the digestive processes.

In his polemic, Ephrem is aware of this dimension; in one place in *Prose Refutations* he writes: “Although the *ziwane* were mixed with ‘sin’ in Darkness, they could be refined through fasting and prayer”.³¹ This awareness allows him to put forth his polemic. He adopts two main arguments against the concept of refining the Light: the first uses the image of vomit and of dogs; the second is an ironical objection which employs the symbolism of the Christian Eucharist, that is the breaking of bread.

In two passages from *Prose Refutations*³² Ephrem ridicules the presence of Light in the food in demonstrating rationally that the vomit of a “righteous one” (ܩܘܕܫܐ), who is compared to a dog, should contain luminous parcels like the food entering his mouth and should have a pleasant taste. As is customary

31 *Prose Refutations* (note 1), *Against Mani* 204,17–21, translation J.C. Reeves, “Manichaean Citations” (note 1), 244, fragment 49. Many other passages of this text mention the fact that “the Light is refined and goes up” (in syriac ܩܘܕܫܐ ܗܘܘܢܐ) and that food is for the body like a poison, born from the Devil (*Prose Refutations* [note 1], *First Discourse to Hypatius* 51,11–12—p. xxiii: “For, behold, just as poison becomes excessive in us from nutriment, thus they assert that ‘Evil collects and increases within us from foods’”, text in J. Overbeck, *Ephraemi Syri* [note 1], 51; cf. also J.C. Reeves, “Manichaean Citations” [note 1], 260, fragment 95).

32 *Second Discours to Hypatius* 31,10–31: “For if, as they say, the pleasant taste of foods is due to the Light that is mixed in them, then it should be the case that just as the mouth perceives the delicious taste of the Light when (food) enters (it), so too should it perceive (the same delicious taste) when it emerges (i.e. vomit should taste good also)”. (translation by J.C. Reeves, “Manichaean Citations” [note 1], 261 fragment 97).

Second Discourse to Hypatius 30,12–30: “Especially if a dog should come and swallow it (i.e., vomit)! Behold, that Light which has emerged in the vomit of a Manichaean termed a ‘righteous one’ has entered and is (now) imprisoned in the defiled stomach of a dog. Instead, had the Manichaean turned and re-swallowed his vomit immediately, an ascent to the height would have taken place for the captured Light so that it would fly and ascend to the house of its father”. (translation J.C. Reeves, “Manichaean Citations” [note 1], 261 fragment 98).

for Ephrem, the Bible offers the best material to refute his adversaries: the reference to “dog” and “vomit” is borrowed, in fact, from *Proverbs* XXVI, 11.³³

A dog is also alluded to in two passages of the *Hymns* in relation to the “seal of the mouth” as representing a Manichaean disciple. In *Hymn* LII, 2 Mani himself is said to be guided by his belly (ܠܚܡܘܗ) like a dog, which “loves his owner’s door”;³⁴ Manichaeans are referred to as “mute dogs” (ܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܘܓܝܢ), as opposed to the lambs of the true Church (verses 3–6). Once again the Bible provides the source of Ephrem’s metaphor: in *Psalms* LIX, 7–8, 15–16 and *Isaiah* LVI, 10–12 dogs, represented as animals in permanent search for food, signify God’s enemies: “They are dogs with mighty appetites; they never have enough”, “they are all mute dogs”.

In the second passage, the “seal of the mouth” is associated with the “seal of the hands”, which forbids any cruel actions. In particular, the “seal of the hands” concerns the breaking of bread: *Hymn* II, 2: “And behold, the dogs of Mani, rushing on every human being! / They wag their tails at every one they find, for the daily bread. / They are sick dogs, who are not able to break (bread). / Sins and faults—they say—they remit: / in this, they are completely furious and it is right they are beaten. / Because one is He Who can remit sins to sinners”.³⁵ We find almost the same sentence in prose: *Second Discourse to Hypatius* 4,12–17 “And they moreover are unwilling to break bread lest ‘they pain Light which is mixed in it’”.³⁶

The allusion to the Manichaean Elect is here apparent; called “dogs of Mani”, they are presented as wandering in search for food, for their “daily bread”. And also apparent is the scorn Ephrem directs at the Manichaean concept of Light

33 “As a dog returns to its vomit, so a fool returns to his folly”.

34 *Hymn* LII, 2,1–2, Syriac text:

ܘܥܘܕ ܕܠܗܘܬܐ ܠܗ ܕܘܓܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܘܓܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܘܓܝܢ
ܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܘܓܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܘܓܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܘܓܝܢ

35 *Hymn* II, 2, Syriac text:

ܘܥܘܕ ܕܠܗܘܬܐ ܠܗ ܕܘܓܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܘܓܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܘܓܝܢ
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36 See fragment 94 of J.C. Reeves’ selection, “Manichaean Citations” (note 1), 260.

captured in food. In this regard, one should take note of the so-called “Apology to the bread”, the famous paragraph 6 in chapter x of the *Acta Archelai* which contains a ritual *formula* the Elect (are polemically supposed to) proclaim not to hurt the luminous parcels inside the bread and to evade sin for having broken it.³⁷

In Ephrem’s stanza, the choice of bread is deliberate: it allows Ephrem to draw a parallel with the Christian Eucharist and, as a preliminary condition for it, with confession and forgiveness of sins. The exclamation “They are sick dogs, who are not able to break bread”, in fact, sounds like “They are even unable to take part in the Eucharist!”. This link is supported by the following verses, which dispute the forgiveness of sins as exercised inside the Manichaean community: for Ephrem, Manichaeans cannot remit sins, because they are not true Christians, as they do not practise the Eucharist. Now, it is clear that Ephrem interprets the daily ritual meal of the Manichaean Elect as a misunderstanding of the Christian Eucharist.

The following stanzas (3, 4, 5) of the second hymn develop Ephrem’s reasoning, in adding a new analytical perspective. In opposition to the Christian tradition—Ephrem argues—which conceives the forgiveness of sins “at the cost of our suffering” (ܘܫܘܥܐ), the Manichaeans elaborate a system of bribes (ܘܫܘܥܐ), which consists in giving pieces of bread in exchange for the remission of sins. We read in *Hymn* II, 4: “For, it is right that he who sinned with contentment will be tormented. / If He, Who absolves all, absolves us at the cost of our suffering, / it is derisive that they claim to absolve us at the cost of morsels of bread (ܘܫܘܥܐ ܕܠܫܘܥܐ). The prophet, Buzi’s son, persuades you: / they gave morsels, wages of diviners, to the impure (prophetesses) [cf. *Ez* XIII, 19]. / And repentance was abolished, thanks to the bribe of the bellies (ܘܫܘܥܐ ܕܘܫܘܥܐ)!”.³⁸

37 M. Vermes, transl., *Acta Archelai*, with Introduction and Commentary by S.N.C. Lieu, MAS 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001): “6. and when they want to chew bread, they first pray, saying this to the bread: “I did not harvest you nor grind you nor knead you nor put you in the oven; someone else made you and brought you to me; I am innocent as I eat you”. When he has said this to himself, he replies to the person who brought it: “I have prayed for you” and then the person goes”.

38 *Hymn* II, 4, Syriac text:

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Ephrem's argument is based on the role that repentance and punishment have in the practice of forgiveness: in his opinion, these two *criteria* are completely eliminated in the confession the Manichaeans exercise. He refutes, in fact, the practice of alms-giving in the Manichaean tradition: he considers the alms, given by the Auditors to the Elect, like help to sustain those charged with the remission of sins, as a bribe in the form of food. In this regard, in stanza 5 he defines this system an "easy way-out" (ⲛⲁⲃⲏ ⲛⲁⲃⲏⲛⲁⲃⲏ) to evade Hell.³⁹

As we can see, the construction of Ephrem's polemic joins two distinct praxes of the Manichaean ritual code—the alms-giving, on the one hand, and the forgiveness of sins, on the other—and he distorts them in order to banish the system of his adversaries and confines it within the magic and pagan sphere, as the allusion to the book of *Ezekiel* suggests.

Now, if Ephrem establishes a direct link between the giving of alms and the forgiveness of sins to the point that the alms become a corrupting way to obtain it, the Manichaean sources attest to the contrary. In the Manichaean doctrine there is no cause-effect link between the offerings and the absolution of sins, but the action itself of giving alms contributes, with other deeds, to the salvation of the Catechumen, as we can read, for instance, in a *Psalm to Jesus* (CCLXXV 95,25–31): "I beseech you, my beloved, send my / almsgivings to meet me [...] Give me now / the reward of my deeds according to the agreement of my Saviour".⁴⁰ Therefore in the Manichaean perspective, it is the respect of duties which allows forgiveness of the Catechumens' sins, because they take part in the cosmic machinery for the salvation of the world.

In conclusion, this analysis reveals that the "seal of the mouth" was an important concept indentifying the Manichaeans at the time and in the area of Ephrem the Syrian. Moreover, the implicit and multiform polemic of this latter shows a great knowledge of Manichaean texts which we have today in Coptic.

ⲛⲁⲃⲏ ⲛⲁⲃⲏⲛⲁⲃⲏ ⲛⲁⲃⲏⲛⲁⲃⲏⲛⲁⲃⲏ
ⲛⲁⲃⲏⲛⲁⲃⲏⲛⲁⲃⲏⲛⲁⲃⲏⲛⲁⲃⲏⲛⲁⲃⲏ

39 *Hymn* II, 5,5–6: "And there would be nobody who would go to Gehenna. / I too, I would be content with this, because it is an easy way-out!".

40 C.R.C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book* (note 19), 95. Similarly, the *Kephalaion* XCIII (238,27–28) presents the prayer that the alms "shall become an intercessor" and shall "cause" the auditor "to be absolved of a mass of impediments" (I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* [note 6], 245).

Examination of Ephrem's implicit literary references confirms the hypothesis that these texts, from the *Psalms* to the recent discoveries of Kellis, could be of Syriac origin and circulated in his time and world.

The Concept of Body and the Body of Christ in the Manichaean Coptic Psalm-Book

Cristos Theodorou

Introduction

The paper deals with Manichaean Christology, docetism and the ambivalent concept of body, as set out in the Manichaean Psalm-Book edited by Charles Allberry. Jesus is not docetic in the Manichaean Psalm-Book, he is polymorphic.

He passed the powers by taking their likeness. He mocked the principalities by likening himself to them. The powers and the dominions, he darkened them all. He did these things on high, floating in the skies. He did ... likeness of the flesh, the vesture of God became man, he went about in all the world. He received a man's likeness, a slave's vesture.¹

For the purpose of mocking the Principalities in the Skies, Jesus is like an angel among the angels. Jesus has a real body for the purpose of mocking death, when he is among men, so that he can die and descend into hell. Being fully human, Jesus can suffer on the cross and his crucifixion is a deception for death. Jesus descends into hell in a human likeness and not in a real body in order to defeat death. He is not subject to death, because he does not know concupiscence. This idea is widespread in the Gnostic and Judeo-Christian tradition. These events can be found in the Manichaean Coptic Psalm-Book, in the "Ascensio Isaiae", also in Origen, and other Church Fathers. Mani and Jesus have similar bodies and similar roles, except for the defeating of death. The idea of the body in relation to Christ is also connected with the Manichaean ritual meal. Because of their purity, the Elects can set free the Light concealed in food,

1 C.R.C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II*, Stuttgart 1938, 193:27–194:3. New edition of three groups of Psalms in: G. Wurst, *Die Bema-Psalmen*, The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library, CFM, Series coptica 1, Liber psalmodum pars II, fasc. 1. Turnhout 1996. S.G. Richter, *Die Herakleides-Psalmen*, The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library, CFM, Series coptica 1, Liber psalmodum pars II, fasc. 2. Turnhout 1998. In the following: PsB II.

therefore they set free Jesus. This concept occurs similarly in the Gospel of Philip too, in which the Holy Man appears “completely holy, down to his very body”² and is able to consecrate any possible object.

The Negative Meaning of the Body

In Manichaeism the body usually has a negative connotation; examples of this concept can be found in the Manichaean Psalms: “Like a bird in a snare, so also am I while I am in the body of death”.³ At the same time, the body is made from the dust of the earth⁴ and enshrouds the soul as its enemy. It is claimed in the Manichaean Coptic Psalm-Book that “the body of death indeed and the soul are never in accord”.⁵ The body is the “dead body”,⁶ “the body of death”.⁷ The body is “full of Darkness”,⁸ “The creature of the Darkness”,⁹ it is “The evil body of the Enemy”,¹⁰ a “habitation of the robbers”,¹¹ “the sea and its waves”,¹² like “fire”,¹³ “nets”,¹⁴ “beasts”,¹⁵ “the abode of Darkness that is full of fear”,¹⁶ “... the garment of sickness”.¹⁷ The body is conceived of in terms of “its affections”,¹⁸ examples being “hunger and thirst”,¹⁹ “drunk in its drunkenness”,²⁰ and, in particular, “The bitter darts of lust, the murderers of souls”.²¹ The Elects have to

2 J.M. Robinson, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, Leiden 1977, chapter II 3, 77:1–4. “The Gospel of Philip”, p. 146.

3 PsB II 95:20–21.

4 PsB II 75:16–17.

5 PsB II 56:29–30.

6 PsB II 17:5.

7 PsB II 56:29–30; 57:17; 70:2; 70:30; 79:20.

8 PsB II 53:4.

9 PsB II 159:31.

10 PsB II 55:19.

11 PsB II 70:1–2.

12 PsB II 70:3.

13 PsB II 40:29; 70:8.

14 PsB II 70:11.

15 PsB II 70:4.

16 PsB II 55:19–20.

17 PsB II 64:23.

18 PsB II 57:28.

19 PsB II 40:29–30; 65:21; 70:23.

20 PsB II 152:14.

21 PsB II 64:25.

strangle the lion that is in them,²² to “leave the things of the body behind”,²³ its pollutants²⁴ and “the world” in general.²⁵ The negative meaning of the material body is particularly associated with lust and sexual desire. In addition to the Coptic Manichaean Psalms, this conception of sexuality is also prevalent in most contemporaneous literature; as in the Gnostic texts and the Apocrypha. It is a concept we sometimes also find in the New Testament. The idea that concupiscence produces death is found, also, in the Epistle of James 1:14–15.

The Positive Meaning of the Body

“There is none in this flesh that is free from sin in his hearth”,²⁶ “While we are in the body we are far from God: rest has not overtaken us, for we have been housed in it”²⁷ but also Mani “hath stripped us of the Old Man and put upon us the New Man”.²⁸ The concept of the body is less negative in the Coptic Manichaean Psalms than we might expect of Manichaeism. The concept of the body in the Manichaean Coptic Psalm-Book is also associated with a positive meaning,²⁹ while the concept of flesh always carries a negative meaning.³⁰ There is no reason to award the flesh with a spiritual meaning in the Manichaean Psalms, as it is possible in the case of some Gnostic texts.³¹ The concept of the body is ambivalent in the Manichaean Psalm-Book because the body in the Manichaean Coptic Psalms can be purified to obtain a body of Light,³² although it is conceived of as evil. We note a big difference between the notion of the body as attributed to the Elects, the Virgins, Mani and Jesus on the one hand, and the notion of the material body on the other. With the help of faith, prayers, alms and fasting,³³ the body, together with the soul and

22 PsB II 69:20.

23 PsB II 69:7.

24 PsB II 69:12; 69:21.

25 PsB II 69:17; 75:22; 84:27; 87:26.

26 PsB II 25:21–22.

27 PsB II 135:21–23.

28 PsB II 25:13–14.

29 PsB II 17:15; 19:29; 40:21; 98:7; 121:32; 130:25,29; 160:9–10.

30 PsB II 19:27; 45:11; 85:29; 99:27; 111:8–9.

31 M. Franzmann, M. Lattke, “Gnostic Jesuses and the Gnostic Jesus of John”, in: H. Preissler, H. Seiwert, H. Mürmel, eds, *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte, Festschrift für Kurt Rudolph zum 65. Geburtstag*, Marburg 1994, 143–154.

32 PsB II 148:21–30; 160:8–13; 162:25–26.

33 PsB II 84:14–18.

the spirit, can be purified and made perfect by Jesus and by Mani.³⁴ Avoiding sexuality, practising fidelity and constancy in fulfilling the commandments, the bodies of holy people become different from material bodies, they are “men of heaven”.³⁵ The purified body is free from the snares of concupiscence and of evil matter.³⁶ The bodies of the Elects and the bodies of the Virgins are purified and glorified, similar to the body of Jesus:

“I kept myself holy, that I might be counted worthy of it”,³⁷ “Come to me, my kinsman, the Light, my guide”³⁸ and “Purify [me, my God], purify me within, without: purify the [body, the] soul and the Spirit. Let ... be a holy body for me; the knowledge ... Spirit and Mind for me. Purify me, [my God,] ... me in these three ..., my mouth, ..., and the purity of my virginity”.³⁹

Also, the body of Mani is similar to that of Jesus.⁴⁰ Mani is the “noble holy image of the mysteries of God!”⁴¹ The distinction between the bodies of holy people, Mani and Jesus is not always strict. It seems that the Elects are more like Jesus than they are like men. Mani also “might divest” himself “of the image of the flesh and” so “put off the vesture of manhood”.⁴² I would like to give prominence that here “vesture” has neither positive nor apparitional meaning. Such as the concept of body, the concept of “vesture” and “image”, both could have positive⁴³ or negative meaning.⁴⁴ It is true therefore that Mani, in other words has a body of Light.⁴⁵ The body of Mani is a “holy body”⁴⁶ even though he is still alive, like a man,⁴⁷ and it is holy even with its flesh and blood.⁴⁸ His

34 PsB II: pp. 38:24–25; 49:27; 62:13–15,19; 100:28; 162:25–26; 165:9–10; 167:36.

35 PsB II 38:14.

36 PsB II 103:9,29–33; 150:12–14.

37 PsB II 84:26.

38 PsB II 54:8.

39 PsB II 160:8–13.

40 PsB II 14:7–8.

41 PsB II 16:28.

42 PsB II 19:26–28.

43 PsB II 46:18; 196:26.

44 PsB II 19:27; 194:1,3.

45 PsB II 16:10.

46 PsB II 17:15; 43:16.

47 PsB II 43:15–16.

48 PsB II 17:21; 44:18.

blood is shed for the sake of his followers.⁴⁹ Tecla also has a special body that cannot be consumed by fire.⁵⁰ The fact that the Elects are not normal human beings does not appear to typify the Coptic Manichaean Psalms only. In the Manichean eschatology of the Coptic Manichaean Homilies,⁵¹ for example, it is mentioned that the Elects participate in the Last Judgement only as spectators, because they have already been made into angels by Jesus. They are placed next to Jesus and are not subject to Judgement; therefore, they are not human beings. In the Nag Hammadi texts too, humanity is represented as being able to attain perfection: “So, therefore, you are babes until you become perfect”.⁵² The “elect abandon bestiality, then this light will withdraw up to its essence, and its essence will welcome it, since it is a good servant”.⁵³ “The spiritual race, being like light from light and like spirit from spirit, when its head appeared, it ran toward him immediately. It immediately became a body of its head”.⁵⁴ The difference, at least in the Manichaean Psalm-Book, is that they can always fall back into Sin and so forfeit their special virtue.⁵⁵ Holy men seem to have the characteristics of angels, while Jesus himself has characteristics that can be compared to angels. Mani and Jesus share the same function of Revealer, Judge and Defender of the Elects, who ascend to heaven to wage war against the demons.⁵⁶ They manifest the same features that Judaism traditionally ascribes to angels and archangels.

The Manichaean Ritual Meal

Because of their purity, the Elects can set free the Light concealed in the food that they eat: “I have purified thee, my God”,⁵⁷ “My Lord Jesus, come and wear me until I purify the body of the first Man”⁵⁸ and “... from the height is this

49 PsB II 45:3.

50 PsB II 143:4–5.

51 N.A. Pedersen, *Manichaean Homilies*, CFM, Series Coptica 2, Turnhout 2006, 38:15–16.

52 Robinson, *Nag Hammadi* (note 2), II 7, 139:10–11. “The Book of Thomas the Contender”, p. 189.

53 Robinson, *Nag Hammadi* (note 2), II 7, 139:29–30. “The Book of Thomas the Contender”, p. 190.

54 Robinson, *Nag Hammadi* (note 2), I 5, 118:29–35. “The Tripartite Tractate”, p. 89.

55 PsB II 25:21–22.

56 PsB II 20:31; 25:22–26; 39:19–32; 45:4–16; 45:25–30; 46:1–19; 61:12–31; 62:4–13; 62:21–23; 62:25–26; 65:29–32; 66:13–24; 67:24.

57 PsB II 52:27.

58 PsB II 162:25–26.

power which we eat".⁵⁹ The Elect has "purified" Jesus "from flesh and blood".⁶⁰ In the Manichaean Coptic Psalm-Book, the Elects can purify the soul, the body and everything they consume, setting free Light from the food they eat, owing to the fact that they are holy. This particular conception of the body of the Elects can also be found in other texts apart from the Manichaean Coptic Psalms. In the Gnostic texts, the Elects can bless everything they touch:

The priest is completely holy, down to his very body. For if he has taken the bread, will he consecrate it? Or the cup or anything else that he gets, does he consecrate them? Then how will he not consecrate the body also?⁶¹

Christ's Descent into Hell

Mani and Jesus have similar roles except for the defeating of death. Even if the deaths of Mani, Peter, James, Thomas, the Apostles, Thecla, Druisiane, Maximilla, Aristobula and other Elects imitate that of Jesus,⁶² Jesus' death carries a special meaning. Christ's descent is depicted particularly in the Apocrypha of the New Testament such as those of Bartholomew, Paul and Andrew, Nicodemus and Pilate. The connections between some of these Apocrypha and the Herakleides Psalm⁶³ were studied by Van den Berg-Onstwedder.⁶⁴ The story of Christ's descent also occurs in Origenes' "Against Celsus",⁶⁵ Melito of Sardis also relates to the same episode in his "Homily on the Passion".⁶⁶ In the Herakleides Psalm, Christ is never mentioned, but it is obvious because of the context that Jesus is being described. This myth implies that Jesus died and went down to the realm of death in order to open its gates for the just people

59 PsB II 172:4–5.

60 PsB II 87:16–18.

61 Robinson, *Nag Hammadi* (note 2), II 3, 77:1–5. "The Gospel of Philip", p. 146.

62 PsB II 4:31; 15:15–31; 16:1–27; 17:4–28; 18:5–30; 19:1–31; 21:12–15; 23:22–32; 24:1–3; 62:1; 142:1–10; 142:17–33; 143:1–16.

63 PsB II: 196:15–31.

64 G. van den Berg-Onstwedder, "The Descent into Hell in one of the Herakleides Psalms", in: A. van Tongerloo, L. Cirillo, eds, *Atti del terzo Congresso Internazionale di Studi "Manicheismo e Oriente Cristiano Antico": Arcavacata di Rende—Amantea, 31 agosto–5 settembre 1993*, Louvain, Naples 1997, 1–9.

65 M. Marcovich, ed., *Origenis Contra Celsum libri VIII* [= *VigChr Supplement 54*], Leiden, Boston, Köln 2001, 2:43, p. 115.

66 B. Campbell ed., *The Homily on the Passion by Melito Bishop of Sardis with Some Fragments of the Apocryphal Ezekiel*, London 1940, 161:100–102; 180:100–102.

who died before him. Even if there are very ancient Egyptian and Babylonian myths referring to similar tales, as quoted by Van den Berg-Onstwedder,⁶⁷ the origin of this myth in Christian and Gnostic tradition can perhaps be found in the Gospel of Matthew which states that, following Jesus' death many people rose from the dead and walked in Jerusalem.⁶⁸ The story of the descent into hell consists primarily of the confrontation between Jesus and death on the one hand, and between Jesus and the prisoners of hell on the other. Moreover, the story requires a specific end: Jesus must remain victorious over death and the just people must be rescued. Segments of the descent into hell can be found in parallel texts in both New and Old Testaments. The Psalm of Herakleides is conformant with certain biblical passages,⁶⁹ as Van den Berg-Onstwedder has stressed.⁷⁰ Jesus had to die on the cross because, by descending into hell, he could set free those imprisoned there. Having nothing in common with lust or concupiscence makes one holy and sets the individual free from the bondage of death. This is especially the case with Jesus' descent into hell, where Jesus is presented as docetic in the Coptic Psalms. Jesus in hell has only a human likeness. When Jesus died and descended into hell, death found no flesh and blood about him, as evidenced in the Psalm:

He opened the doors that were closed by his resurrection. The doors and bars of the men of Hades he broke. He shone forth with his Light upon the Darkness that is without light. A new Light was seen beneath the earth. His trumpet summoned the multitude of his armies. He escaped from death in the midst of his host. He saved the prisoners that were shut up in death. Death sought in him, it found nothing belonging to it. It found not flesh and blood, the things of which it eats. It found not bone and sinew, which it consumes daily. It found not its likeness in him—the fire, the lust. A figure is what it found, like a mask. It grieved, it wept, because of the deception that came to pass. He left them in their shame, he went up victorious. He broke the sepulchres, the ancient tombs. He revived first the Righteous, he took them with him to his Father.⁷¹

67 Van den Berg-Onstwedder, "The Descent into Hell" (note 64), 2–3.

68 Matthew 27:53.

69 Eph. 4:8–10; Hosea 13:14; 1 Cor. 15:24–26; Matthew 12:40; 1 Peter 4:6; Hebr. 2:14; 1 Cor. 2:81.

70 Psalm 102:19–20; 107:16; 116:3; 139:11–12; 146:7; Job 10:21–22; 17:13; 38:17; Isaiah 42:7; Ezekiel 37:12; Matthew 8:12; 22:13; 24:31; 25:30; 1 Peter 2:9–10; 3:18–19, according to Van den Berg-Onstwedder, "The Descent into Hell" (note 64), 3–7.

71 PsB II 196:15–31.

Jesus appears, therefore, as having a special body that can defeat death. At the end “Death cried out and lamented”⁷² and “The cross was a ship, the souls were passengers.”⁷³ In the Kephalaia, we can also find the contradiction between the two possible forms of Jesus’ body. According to the Kephalaia, Jesus “came [... / ...] in a spiritual one, in a body [... / ...]”, “for he came without body!” and “he received a servant’s form, an appearance as of men.”⁷⁴ Christ’s descent into hell occurs also in many Nag Hammadi texts. In “the Apocryphon of John”, we find Jesus “enter[ing] into the middle of darkness and the inside of Hades” into “the middle of their prison which is the prison of the body”. His body having “raised him up and sealed him in the light of the water with five seals, in order that death might not have power over him from this time on”.⁷⁵ In “the Teachings of Silvanus” we read:

How many likenesses did Christ take on because of you? Although he was God, he [was found] among men as a man. He descended to the Underworld. He released the children of death. They were in travail as the scripture of God has said. And he sealed up the (very) heart of it (the Underworld). And he broke its (the Underworld’s) strong bows completely. And when all the powers had seen him, they fled so that he might bring you, wretched one, up from the Abyss, and he might die for you as a ransom for your sin. He saved you from the strong hand of the Underworld.⁷⁶

This one, being God, became man for your sake. It is this one who broke the iron bars of the Underworld and the bronze bolts. It is this one who attacked and cast down every haughty tyrant. It is He who loosened from himself the chains of which He had taken hold. He brought up the poor from Abyss and the mourners from the Underworld. It is he who humbled the haughty powers; he who put to shame haughtiness through humility; he who has cast down the strong and the boaster through weakness; he who in his contempt scorned that which is considered an honour so that humility for God’s sake might be highly exalted; (and) he who has put on humanity.⁷⁷

72 PsB II 123:27.

73 PsB II 123:35.

74 I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary*, NHMS 37, Leiden 1995, 12:24–26, p. 18.

75 Robinson, *Nag Hammadi* (note 2), II 30:35–31:25. “The Apocryphon of John”, pp. 115–116.

76 Robinson, *Nag Hammadi* (note 2), VII 103:30–104:14. “The Teaching of Silvanus”, p. 355. See also Van den Berg-Onstwedder, “The Descent into Hell”, 7.

77 Robinson, *Nag Hammadi* (note 2), VII 110:18–111:4. “The Teaching of Silvanus”, pp. 357–358. See also Van den Berg-Onstwedder, “The Descent into Hell”, 7–8.

In “the Testimony of Truth” is written:

For the Son of [Man] clothed himself with their first fruits; he went down to Hades and performed many mighty works. He raised the dead therein; and the world-rulers of darkness became envious of him, for they did not find sin in him.⁷⁸

In “Trimorphic Protennoia” we read:

“I [descended to the] midst of the underworld and I shone down [upon the darkness]”⁷⁹ and “Every bond I loosed from you, and the chains of the Demons of the underworld I broke, these things which are bound on my members as restraints. And the high walls of darkness, I overthrew, and the secure gates of those pitiless ones I broke and I smashed their bars.”⁸⁰

Christ’s descent into hell in Manichaeism occurs not only in the Manichaean Coptic Psalm-Book but also in Augustine,⁸¹ as Rose has already argued⁸² and in a “Parthian Hymn of Crucifixion” as well:

“The noble king changed his garment and appeared in power to Satan. Heaven and Earth then trembled, and Sammael fell into depth. The true Interpreter had mercy on the light which the enemies had devoured; he had raised it from the deep pit of the death to that place of zeal from which it had descended” and “His compassion hides all the evil that he destroyed and ... returned to righteousness ... Great is the profit which from ... the raised up Power of Light (coming) from the lower abyss.”⁸³

Those who think Manichaeism is influenced by Marcion need to remember that Christ’s descent into hell was very important for Marcion too. The afore-

78 Robinson, *Nag Hammadi* (note 2), IX 32:24–33:1. “The Testimony of Truth”, p. 408. See also Van den Berg-Onstwedder, “The Descent into Hell”, 6.

79 Robinson, *Nag Hammadi* (note 2), XIII 36:4–5. “Trimorphic Protennoia”, p. 462.

80 Robinson, *Nag Hammadi* (note 2), XIII 41:5–10. “Trimorphic Protennoia”, p. 465. See also Van den Berg-Onstwedder, “The Descent into Hell” (note 64), 4.

81 Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, XXXIII 1.

82 E. Rose, *Die manichäische Christologie*, Wiesbaden 1979, 128.

83 E. Morano, “A Survey of the Extant Parthian Crucifixion Hymns”, in: R.E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann, P. Zieme, eds, *Studia manichaica, IV. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus, Berlin 14.–18. Juli 1997*, Berlin 2000, 398–429, here p. 400 and p. 402.

mentioned examples give evidence to the fact that Christ's descent into hell was widespread in the Gnostic and Judeo-Christian tradition and could, therefore, be more relevant in Manichaeism than is normally thought.

Docetic Jesus

The apparitional body of Jesus descending into hell raises the question as to whether the historical Jesus of the Coptic Manichaean Psalms is docetic or not. While scholars generally agree that the historical Jesus in Manichaeism is docetic, I would argue that in this collection of Psalms Jesus has a real body as well, as highlighted by Richter's "Zwei-Naturen-Konzeption".⁸⁴ According to Richter, the Manichaean Christology is not docetic, but characterized by the same doctrine of the two natures described by Tröger⁸⁵ for the Gnostic Christology. According to this theory, Jesus in the Manichaean psalms is twofold: human and divine. The divine nature is essential, while the human condition is deliberate. Jesus on the cross has really suffered in his body, but his divine essence is incapable of suffering. The special flesh of Jesus allows Jesus to look like a human being but Jesus is more than a human being. Richter thinks of a polymorphic Jesus by depicting Jesus' body after the Resurrection as an intermediate state, that is not the same as the human body of the historical Jesus.⁸⁶ It is clear that the cosmic Jesus is God and not a human being. In Manichaeism, Jesus mostly occurs as a cosmic and not as an historical figure. The problem of docetism arises only for the historical Jesus, as he is understood by Manichaeism and Gnosis, not for the cosmic Jesus. For docetism, Jesus' physical body and his crucifixion are an illusion. Jesus only seemed to possess a physical body and to physically die. In the docetic perspective, the historical Jesus was in reality incorporeal having only a human likeness; he could not be born and he could not die. In the Psalms as well, it is clearly stated that Jesus

84 S. Richter, *Exegetisch-literarkritische Untersuchungen von Herakleidespsalmen des koptisch-manichäischen Psalmenbuches*, Arbeiten zum spätantiken und koptischen Ägypten 5, Altenberge 1994, 137–140, 233–237, 267–272. I thank Professor Richter for alerting me to this source.

85 K.W. Tröger "Doketistische Christologie in Nag-Hammadi-Texten", in: *Kairos* 19 (1977) 45–52.

86 S. Richter, "Untersuchungen zu Form und Inhalt einer Gruppe der Herakleides-Psalmen (PsB 187,1–36)", in: G. Wießner, H.-J. Klimkeit, eds, *Studia Manichaica, 11. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus, 6.–10. August 1989, St. Augustin/Bonn*, StOR 23, Wiesbaden 1992, 248–265.

was not born by a woman.⁸⁷ In the Psalms Jesus has an apparitional body, very different from his natural body before the Resurrection; this is evidenced in the fact that Jesus does not permit Mary Magdalene to touch him after the Resurrection. We read in the Manichaean Psalm-Book:

Mariam, Mariam, know me: do not [touch me. Stem] the tears of thy eyes and know me that I am thy master. Only touch me not, for I have not yet seen the face of my Father. Thy God was not stolen away, according to the thoughts of thy littleness: thy God did not die, rather he mastered death.⁸⁸

He may not be contaminated by Mary Magdalene's human flesh, because he has not yet ascended to his Father. Even if not explicitly stated, this event assures us that the body of Jesus after the Resurrection is not the same as the body of the historical Jesus; rather, it is a purified entity and should not be touched by a person still inhabiting a body. Therefore, Jesus' body has only a human appearance after his death, both in hell and post Resurrection. The aforementioned examples give evidence to the fact that Jesus could be considered docetic in Manichaean Psalms and throughout Manichaeism in general. Traditionally, the Church Fathers attest that in Manichaeism Jesus was considered docetic. The Manichaean sources and also the Manichaean Psalm-Book both agree and disagree on this issue.

Polymorphic Jesus and the Overcoming of Death

The key feature of the body of Jesus in the Coptic Manichaean Psalms is not docetic but polymorphic. To suppose that the historical Jesus, according to Manichaean Coptic Psalm-Book, was polymorphic would mean that Jesus could manifest more than a single form; i.e., he had the ability to assume different forms during his descent to Earth, his time on Earth and in the Underworld. Jesus in the Manichaean Coptic Psalm-Book is polymorphic, not docetic; he appears as an angel among the angels and as a man among men. The body of Jesus has to be real in order to defraud death and the demons, but the body has to be pure from all which is in death's power if it will be able to defeat death. The Manichaean Coptic Psalm-Book introduces the descent of Jesus through the spheres:

87 PsB II 52:25; 120:25–26; 121:29–32; 122:23–25; 175:16.

88 PsB II 187:1–8.

He passed the powers by taking their likeness. He mocked the principalities by likening himself to them. The powers and the dominions, he darkened them all. He did these things on high, floating in the skies. He did ... likeness of the flesh, the vesture of God became a man, he went down to the world. He received a man's likeness, a slave's vesture.⁸⁹

His body was crucified and pierced, it suffered, but he was also not crucified or pierced and he did not suffer, because he did all this in order to mock the world:

Amen, I was seized; Amen again, I was not seized. Amen, I was judged; Amen again, I was not judged. Amen I was crucified; Amen again, I was not crucified. Amen, I was pierced; Amen again, I was not pierced. Amen, I suffered; Amen again, I did not suffer. Amen, I am in my Father; Amen again, my Father is in me. But thou desirest the fulfilment of Amen. I mocked the world, they could not mock me.⁹⁰

The crucifixion is, for Jesus, the way to overcome death; therefore Jesus with his crucifixion mocked the world. In this Psalm, the idea of "mocking" is not related to a feigned crucifixion or the fact that he was substituted on the cross by another person. The death was nailed to the cross, together with Jesus: "Thy cross, the enemy being nailed to it. My Lord. ... his cross, he burst the gates. My Lord. ... thy cross ... would take wing".⁹¹ Even if what is depicted here is very similar to the hymn of the Acts of John, it is not possible to analyse the hymn of the Acts of John in this context. He was really crucified, as it is narrated in the verses following:

Envy filled the scribes, they rose against the shepherd. They persuaded the traitor, they gave silver for Him. He accused him before them, they thinking that he is a man. They judged him among them, in the midst of them all. They delivered him to the judge, sin was not found in him. They brought his death upon themselves and his victorious blood. They hanged him to the cross at the sixth hour of the day. They went that they might kill him, they made him a king. They put a garland on his head because he humbled their kings. They put a cloak upon him because he

89 PsB II 193:27–194:3.

90 PsB II 191:4–11.

91 PsB II 123:5–9.

stripped their authorities. They put a robe of purple upon him because he destroyed their desire. They put a reed in his hand because he wrote of their sins. They made him drink vinegar and myrrh for the sign of their grief. They pierced him with the spear because he destroyed their⁹²

Both of the previous excerpts are from the Psalms of Heracleides; the first contains docetic tendencies, the second has no trace of docetic meaning, therefore, we can assume that both the Psalms are not meant to be docetic, as consequence of the coherence between the two Psalms. The concept of polymorphism, I think, explains the Manichean Jesus better than docetism, at least in the case of the Coptic Psalms, because all the contradictions between the different figures of the Manichaeon historical Jesus can be resolved by adopting the notion of a polymorphic Jesus. This idea has been discussed by Gardner.⁹³ Gardner adheres to the notion that the Manichaeon Jesus is docetic, referring this to Manicheism in general and not to any particular focus in the Manichaeon Coptic Psalms, even though he does quote from them. However, we do find contradictory references in the crucifixion and the descent from heaven. Especially the Coptic Psalms of the Crucifixion⁹⁴ and short references in the Manichaeon Coptic Psalms⁹⁵ describe both the blood and the suffering of Jesus. Those who see Jesus as docetic will claim that Jesus is without blood. 1John 5:6 defines the body of Jesus as possessing blood. The Epistle was most likely written against a very early heretical docetic conception of the body of Jesus. In the Manichaeon Coptic Psalm-Book, Jesus undergoes his Passion⁹⁶ and suffers on the cross. We can also assume that the cross of Jesus truly existed because the cross of Jesus is associated with wonders: "Many the marvels of thy begetting, the wonders of thy cross".⁹⁷ Jesus' crucifixion actually occurred because he had to descend into hell in order to set free the souls imprisoned there. In the Manichaeon Coptic Psalm-Book, the blood of Jesus flowed from his body and is said to be "victorious". We read in the Manichaeon Coptic Psalm-Book: "They brought

92 PsB II 195:23–196:7.

93 I. Gardner, "The Docetic Jesus—Some Interconnections between Marcionism, Manicheism, and Mandaicism", in: I. Gardner, ed., *Coptic Theological Papyri 1: Edition, Commentary, Translation*, Wien 1988, 57–85.

94 PsB II 123:1–35; 129:18–26; 142:12–16; 191:4–10.

95 PsB II 15:12; 23:30–31; 35:15; 43:13–14; 122:7.

96 PsB II 129:18–26.

97 PsB II 126:19–20.

his death upon themselves and his victorious blood”.⁹⁸ The historical Jesus in Manichaeism, or at least in the Manichaean Coptic Psalm-Book, suffers the pain of the cross.

“They hanged him to the cross at the sixth hour of the day”⁹⁹ and “They put a crown of thorns on him, they They smote him in his face, they spat upon him. They hung him to a cross, they nailed to him four Wine, vinegar, and myrrh they him and he took them. All these things which he suffered he endured for our sake”.¹⁰⁰

The idea that Jesus suffered on the cross can also be found in the Manichaean Homilies:

[...] mo[c]k him. Also the time of the cr[oss]. [...] They did not release him [...]. [...] they cr[u]cified some robbers [... a]ll of them; for they offered him gall to drink [...] [they divide]d his garments among themselves [...] [poured out his] blood by their spears, and they [...] it is our God’s [so]n.¹⁰¹

Also in the *Kephalaia* we read: “He suffered tribulation and persecution. They hung h[im] on the cross, and his enemies perpetrated against him the tor[ment] and shame of their evil doing”.¹⁰² Neither the suffering of Jesus on the cross nor his blood could have been written about if the body of Jesus had been conceived of as docetic. There is no evidence in the Manichaean Coptic Psalm-Book that Jesus only appeared to suffer or did so only to recall the Gnosis to humanity, as is supposed by Rose.¹⁰³ The Manichaean Coptic Psalm-Book is more important for understanding Manichaean Christology than Rose is prepared to concede.¹⁰⁴ We find a fundamental difference between the body of Jesus descending from heaven to Earth and Jesus descending into hell. While Jesus has a real body prior to the crucifixion, he has an apparitional body as well, this “body” he assumes in hell in order to defeat death. His fundamental intention is to overcome death; he does this with the help of either a real or an apparitional body, depending on the requirements of the three worlds

98 PsB II 195:28.

99 PsB II 195:29.

100 PsB II 142:12–16.

101 Pedersen, *Manichaean Homilies* (note 51), 68:24–30.

102 Gardner, *Kephalaia* (note 74), 267:23–27, p. 273.

103 Rose, *Christologie* (note 82), 128.

104 Rose, *Christologie* (note 82), 18.

(Earth, heaven and hell). This problem has been noted by many scholars in the Manichaean and Gnostic texts, not exclusively in the Psalms. The opinion that the Manichaean Jesus is not docetic has been proposed by Richter.¹⁰⁵ In connection with this opinion, I would also like to cite Franzmann,¹⁰⁶ Gardner,¹⁰⁷ Sundermann,¹⁰⁸ and this problem was also observed in the Gnostic texts by Tröger.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, attributing the Manichaean docetic Jesus to Marcion's influence does not prove that the Manichean Jesus is docetic. In Marcion and in Manichaeism the same problem occurs. According to Tertullian, Marcion thought that the body of Jesus was apparitional¹¹⁰ and therefore, could not be constituted by flesh full of excrement: "quo Christum suum non in veritate carnis exhibuit. Si aspernatus est illam ut terrenam et, ut dicitis, stercorebus infersam, cur non et simulacrum eius proinde despexit?"¹¹¹ However, Marcion also thought that Jesus had truly suffered on the cross.¹¹² In the Christology of the Great Councils, it is essential for Jesus to be truly man in body and also in soul, so that he may sacrifice himself on the cross and redeem humanity. In the Coptic Manichaean Psalms, there is no notion of atonement; rather, Jesus should not be recognised by the Principalities of Evil during his descent from heaven, into hell and during his time on Earth—it is this concept that plays the central role. This idea of a polymorphic Jesus during his descent from heaven is also widespread in the Gnostic and Judeo-Christian tradition, the Church Fathers tradition and in the Kephalaia: "He took the likeness [... / ...]

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- 105 S.G. Richter, "Bemerkungen zu verschiedenen 'Jesus-Figuren' im Manichäismus", in: J. van Oort, O. Wermelinger, G. Wurst, eds, *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West. Proceedings of the Fribourg-Utrecht Symposium of the International Association of Manichaean Studies (IAMS)*, NHMS 49, Leiden, Köln 2001, 174–184 (esp. 179). Also S.G. Richter, "Christology in the Coptic Manichaean Sources", *BSAC* 35 (1996), 117–128 (esp. 119).
- 106 M. Franzmann, *Jesus in the Manichaean Writings*, London, New York 2003, 67–81.
- 107 Gardner, "Docetic Jesus" (note 90), 76–85.
- 108 W. Sundermann, "Das Leiden und Sterben Jesu in manichaischer Deutung", in: W. Gantke, K. Hoheisel & W. Klein (ed.), *Religionsbegegnung und Kulturaustausch in Asien. Studien zum Gedenken an Hans-Joachim Klimkeit*. Wiesbaden 2002, 209–217.
- 109 K.W. Tröger, *Die Passion Jesu Christi in der Gnosis nach den Schriften von Nag Hammadi*, Berlin 1978. I thank Professor Richter for alerting me to this source and for supplying me with a copy.
- 110 C. Moreschini, ed., *Tertulliani Adversus Marcionem*, Varese-Milano 1971, III.8, pp. 117–119. In the following: *Adversus Marcionem*.
- 111 *Adversus Marcionem*, III.10, 122.
- 112 *Adversus Marcionem*, III.22–23, pp. 147–152; IV.52, pp. 323–326. See also E. Riparelli, *Il volto del Cristo dualista. Da Marcione ai catari*, Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt a. M., New York 2008, 71.

he made himself like the angels in [...] until he travelled and descended to the form of flesh".¹¹³ We find it in the "Parthian Hymn of Crucifixion" as well:

Jesus Christ [... then ...] compassion became visible. Understand, ye all Believers, the righteous Christ. Be aware and fully recognise his mystery: he changed his form and appearance. There were five things at his coming and the whole world stood astonished.¹¹⁴

We also find the descent of Jesus from heaven in Nag Hammadi¹¹⁵ and in the Ophites tradition. It is evident that "Christ was then sent forth and descended to his sister and to moisture of light" and "descended through the seven heavens, and was made like to their sons and gradually deprived them of power".¹¹⁶ In "the Ascension of Isaiah" we find the same tale:

And I heard the voice of the Most High, the Father of my Lord, saying to my Lord Christ who will be called Jesus: 'Go forth and descent through all the heavens, and Thou wilt descent to the firmament and that world: to the angel in Sheol Thou wilt descend, but to Haguël Thou wilt not go. And Thou wilt become like unto the likeness of all who are in the five heavens. And Thou wilt be careful to become like the form of the angels of the firmament [and the angels also who are in Sheol]. And none of the angels of that world shall know that Thou art Lord with Me of the seven heavens and of their angels. And they shall not know that Thou art with Me, *till* with a *loud* voice I have called (to) the heavens, and their angels and their lights, (even) unto the sixth heaven, in order that Thou mayst judge and destroy the princes and angels and gods of that world, and the world that is dominated by them. For they have denied Me and said: 'We alone are and there is none beside us'. And afterwards from the *angels* of death Thou wilt ascend to Thy place, and Thou wilt not be transformed in each heaven, but in glory wilt Thou ascend and sit on My right hand.'¹¹⁷

In Origen's "Commentary on the Gospel of John", Jesus became an angel among angels, a man among men: "The Saviour, therefore, in a way much more divine

113 Gardner, *Kephalaia* (note 74), 61:22–23, p. 65.

114 Morano, "Parthian Crucifixion Hymns" (note 83), 401–402.

115 Robinson, *Nag Hammadi* (note 2), VII 103:30–104:14. "The Teaching of Silvanus", p. 355.

116 D.J. Unger, J.J. Dillon, eds, *Irenaeus of Lyons, "Against the Heresies Book 1"*, New York 1992, 1.30:12–13, pp. 100–101.

117 R.H. Charles, ed., *The Ascension of Isaiah*, New York 1919, IV.10:7–14, p. 56.

than Paul, has become 'all things to all', that he might either 'gain' or perfect 'all things'. He has clearly become a man to men, and an angel to the angels".¹¹⁸ Polymorphism is not attributed only to Jesus, but also to historical figures such as Mani and Simon Magus. Mani existed prior to his entrance into the world: he assumed different forms in the Manichaean Coptic Psalm-Book, as evidenced: "Thou didst put off thy glory"¹¹⁹ and "For thou didst leave thy great glory, thou didst come and give thyself for souls. Thou didst assume different forms until thou hadst visited all races".¹²⁰ It was also thought that Simon Magus descended from heaven, becoming an angel among the angels and a man among men:

He himself came for this reason that he might first take her to himself, free her from the bonds, and then bring salvation to human kind by his own knowledge. The Angels governed the world badly, because each one desired to be sovereign. So he came, he said, to set matters right; having been transformed and made like the Principalities and Powers and Angels, he appeared in turn as a man, though he was not a man.¹²¹

Conclusion

In conclusion, I wish to stress that the body of Mani, the bodies of the Elects and the Virgins are purified and glorified, analogous to the body of the historical Jesus. Through their purity, the Elects can free the Light imprisoned in the food they consume. Jesus in the Manichaean Coptic Psalm-Book is polymorphic, not docetic; he appears as an angel among the angels and as a man among men for purpose of mocking and defeating the Powers of Evil. Jesus' body is a body existing of flesh prior to and during the crucifixion. He must not be recognised as Christ. His crucifixion is truly occurred because he had to die and descend into hell in order to free the souls imprisoned there. He also becomes an apparitional body, pure from all that which is in death's power, in hell and after the Resurrection, if it is to be able to defeat death. The fundamental ideas concerning the body of Jesus in the Manichaean Coptic Psalm-Book are comparable to those of the Judeo-Christian and Gnostic tradition.

118 R.E. Heine, ed., *Origen: "Commentary on the Gospel according to John, Book 1-10"*, Washington 1989, Book I. 217, p. 76.

119 PsB II 21:12-13.

120 PsB II 42:30-32.

121 *Against the Heresies* (note 116), I.23:3, p. 83.

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La manifestation de l’image dans l’« Homélie sur la Grande Guerre »

Agnès Le Tiec

On sait que les manichéens ont diffusé leur doctrine par les textes, mais également grâce au livre des miniatures persanes peintes par Mani. Consciente de l’impact particulier que les images pouvaient produire sur les croyants et des informations supplémentaires qu’elle apporte, je me suis intéressée à la façon dont les manichéens vénéraient le portrait de Mani et au rôle que pouvait prendre la diffusion des images du fondateur dans l’expansion du manichéisme. Il m’a paru pertinent de chercher à comprendre, dans les textes manichéens, de quelle manière et dans quel but était utilisé le terme de εἰκῶν en grec ou ρικῶν en copte, c’est-à-dire *image* dans leur système théologique. Les pages 39, 40 et 41 de *l’Homélie sur la Grande Guerre* attestent de la présence du terme εἰκῶν en relation avec la figure de Jésus, en contexte apocalyptique.

Le *Sermon sur la Grande Guerre*¹ est consacré à l’eschatologie manichéenne qui oppose deux mondes, celui de la lumière et celui des ténèbres. Ce texte, rédigé en copte lycopolitain, malheureusement aujourd’hui lacunaire, est l’œuvre de Koustaïos. Le titre de cette homélie, πλογοϛ κηριαϛ κηπολεμοϛ et son auteur, πλογοϛ κκογϛταιοϛ, sont donnés par les premières phrases du texte. Koustaïos est un personnage que l’on connaît par *l’Homélie sur la Grande Guerre*, le *Codex manichéen de Cologne* et un fragment de Turfan². Il est pré-

1 Le manuscrit, conservé à la Chester Beatty Library, a fait l’objet d’articles mais surtout de trois études importantes. Les deux premières sont des éditions du texte, tout d’abord en 1934 par Hans Jacob Polotsky sous le titre *Manichäische Homilien* (Manichaïsche Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty, Bd. 1), Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, puis en 2006 par Nils Arne Pedersen, sous le titre *Manichaean Homilies* dans la collection *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum* (Series Coptica, vol. 11), Brepols, Turnhout. Les traductions françaises du texte proposées dans cet article ont été faites à partir de la transcription copte de N.A. Pedersen. La troisième étude, qui a servi de base à cet article, est un ouvrage consacré à l’étude de cette homélie, publiée à nouveau par N.A. Pedersen sous le titre *Studies in the Sermon on the Great War*, Aarhus, Aarhus University Press, en 1996.

2 Ce fragment a été signalé par H.-H. Schaeder, cf. son *Compte rendu de C. Schmidt et H.-J. Polotsky, Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten. Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler*, SPAW.PH.1,

senté par le *CMC* comme «le fils du Trésor de la vie»³. Koustaïos est un des deux premiers disciples de Mani qui auraient quitté avec lui la communauté elchasaïte dans laquelle Mani avait vécu étant enfant⁴. Compagnon de Mani, sans doute était-il même son secrétaire⁵.

Dans l'homélie, Koustaïos décrit de l'organisation du cosmos à la fin des temps que l'on peut retrouver dans les *Kephalaia* de Berlin. Bien que parcelaires, les pages 39 à 41 présentent une description des derniers temps et de la participation du Père de la Grandeur et de Jésus à cette fin. Alors que le Père y est évoqué comme un être lumineux, mention similaire à la représentation du Dieu biblique, et est associé à la «Grande Statue», la venue de Jésus apparaît comme capitale dans le processus d'anéantissement du monde et du sauvetage des âmes. Dans cet article, nous essaierons de mettre en évidence ce qu'il est possible de comprendre des dernières pages, tout d'abord, sur la cosmogonie, puis sur le processus du dévoilement de l'image, et son implication dans l'apparition de la «Grande Statue», afin de tenter de percevoir dans quelle mesure on peut appréhender l'image du Père de Grandeur comme image lumineuse.

L'organisation du cosmos à la toute fin des temps

L'Homélie sur la Grande Guerre évoque la dernière guerre entre les ténèbres et le royaume de la lumière. D'après le récit de Mani dans son *Shabuhrağan*⁶, le monde terminera sa course par une grande guerre qui se déroulera en plusieurs temps⁷.

Le temps premier est celui de la persécution des manichéens⁸, qui sera suivi d'une période d'apaisement où le «Royaume de la Paix» sera gouverné par ces

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- 1933, 4–82, dans Gnomon 9 (1933). Voir H.J. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*. Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty, Stuttgart, 1934, p. XVI et G. Stroumsa, «Aspects de l'eschatologie manichéenne», dans *RHR*, Paris, PUF, Avril–juin 1981, p. 165, note 8.
- 3 *CMC* 114, 6, L. Koenen, «Manichaean Apocalypticism at the Crossroads of Iranian, Egyptian, Jewish and Christian Thought» dans L. Cirillo, *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis, Atti del Simposio Internazionale (Rende-Amantea 3–7 settembre 1984)*, Cosenza, Marra Editore, 1986, p. 298.
- 4 G. Stroumsa, op. cit. (note 2), p. 165.
- 5 Le fragment en question est le fragment de Turfan M 3 R 2.
- 6 M. Tardieu, *Le Manichéisme*, Que sais-je, Paris, PUF, 1981, p. 100.
- 7 Voir L. Koenen, op. cit. (note 3), 1986, p. 299 à 307, qui met en évidence succinctement la structure et l'organisation de l'*homélie sur la Grande Guerre* et qui compare les informations qu'elles apportent au *Shabuhrağan*.
- 8 N.A. Pedersen, op. cit. (note 1), p. 12.

mêmes manichéens. Mais après cette accalmie, les forces du mal retrouveront leur puissance. Cependant le quatrième temps verra l'anéantissement de ces forces néfastes et l'avènement du « Grand Roi », mentionné par l'homélie en 32, 20 et par ailleurs identifié au Christ⁹. Le cinquième temps est celui de la parousie de Jésus pour le jugement du genre humain.

Le sixième et dernier temps est abordé à partir de la page 39. Une période de bonheur précède le retour de Jésus dans le royaume de lumière et l'effondrement du monde. A ce moment, les dernières âmes sauvées rejoindront les dieux au royaume de la lumière (*Hom.* 40, 17–19). « La sphère¹⁰ tombera sous son poids » (*Hom.* 40, 23) et les âmes des pécheurs, restées sur terre dans une « tombe éternelle »¹¹ (*Hom.* 40, 21–25), seront tourmentées. Les pages qui nous intéressent ici présentent donc l'histoire de l'apocalypse, d'après les manichéens, à partir de ce sixième temps jusqu'à la délivrance des âmes sauvées.

Comme l'explique N.A. Pedersen dans son chapitre sur « la Révélation de l'Image du Père », la doctrine eschatologique correspond aux espérances des élus manichéens sur ce qui suit immédiatement la mort. La fin du monde pour les manichéens est un retour au « commencement »¹². Les pages 39, 40 et 41 se réfèrent ainsi au système de la création du monde. Ces trois passages rappellent les trois séries de créations successives qui permettent d'« appréhender la nature de la lumière : physique, cosmologie, psychologie »¹³, et que l'on trouve aussi exposées dans le résumé de Théodore bar Konai.

Dans les pages 39 et 41 de l'homélie copte est nommé le Père de la Grandeur (41, 12)¹⁴ ou Père/ Roi de Lumière (39, 9)¹⁵.

La première création est évoquée en 40, 3 et 41, 20, par la mention de l'Homme Primordial (παρρι ἡρώμε), et en 40, 9 du « Prince/Préposé des/aux vêtements » (ταρχη ἡῤῥεβαγε). La deuxième création est, quant à elle, l'objet du chapitre 40. Koustaïos mentionne l'Esprit vivant (40, 5: πῖνᾶ ετανῆ) qui « amènera ses fils à lui » qui seront alors « dispersés ». On trouve successivement

9 Eriphane, *Pan* 19-3-4: ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν δῆθεν μὲν χρῖστον ὀνόματι ὁμολογεῖ λέγων ὅτι χρῖστος ὁ μέγας βασιλεύς. Voir aussi G. Stroumsa, op. cit. (note 2), p. 167, note 17.

10 G. Stroumsa, op. cit. (note 2), p. 168, note 24, note que cette sphère est identifiée par les *Kephalaia* et qu'il s'agit de la sphère du zodiaque.

11 N.A. Pedersen, op. cit. (note 1), p. 13.

12 N.A. Pedersen, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 392–398.

13 M. Tardieu, op. cit. (note 6), p. 106.

14 Le texte ne conserve plus que le mot τῆας mais N.A. Pedersen propose de restaurer la lacune par [πῖωτ ἡῤῥῖ]τῆας, voir N.A. Pedersen, op. cit. (note 1), p. 394 note 669.

15 En 41, 19 le texte dit: ἡταϩ νε πωτ ἡῤῥο ἡογαῖν[ε] c'est-à-dire: « c'est lui, le Père, le Roi de Lumière ».

le φεργο[κατοχο]ς, celui qui retient les Splendeurs (40, 8)¹⁶, le roi d'Honneur (40, 10), Adamas lumière (40, 13), le roi de Gloire (40, 11) et l'Omophore (40, 6)¹⁷. La troisième et dernière création apparaît par la mention de Jésus en 39, 22. Ce Jésus est le Jésus Splendeur, l'image de lumière, la forme de lumière qui descend et remonte au temps final.

L'*Homélie sur la Grande Guerre* donne la même description de la cosmologie manichéenne que les *Kephalaia* de Berlin. Le *Kephalaion* 7 mentionne ainsi ces entités mais évoque aussi les trois Pères des Créations, la Mère des Vivants, l'Ami des Lumières et le Troisième Envoyé.

Koustaïos explique page 39 que les dieux, les anges et les élus se mélangeront et seront ensemble dans la gloire, à la fin des temps, pour balayer tout le mal et le péché du monde. Le roi de lumière régnera alors parmi ses élus et, après un temps long, s'élèvera jusqu'à ses dieux et ses anges. La venue de Jésus marquera le commencement de l'anéantissement du monde. Le contexte apocalyptique, similaire à *Mat.* 24, *Mc.* 23 et *Lc.* 21, est très présent par les mentions, tout au long de ces pages, du feu (*Hom.* 41, 5), de la destruction (*Hom.* 40, 25) et de la désolation. L'auteur de cette homélie précise à la page 39 que «les chairs s'useront peu à peu (...) elles seront exterminées du monde (...) (et) la chair anéantie périra». Au moment de la fin des temps, le Père de la Grandeur donnera la grâce aux guerriers qui auront combattu les ténèbres (*Hom.* 41, 13–14). Dans les pages 40 et 41, Koustaïos précise que c'est à ce moment qu'aura lieu la révélation de l'image du Père comme un Nouvel Eon¹⁸. Le Père de la Grandeur, dont la vision était cachée, dévoilera son image¹⁹.

16 Voir M. Tardieu, op. cit. (note 6), pp. 102–105 pour les détails de la théogonie manichéenne.

17 Le texte mentionne que l'Omophore «monte et s'élève vers le haut». L'Omophore est le Porteur, il est aussi identifié dans le *Kephalaion* 35, 10–13 à l'Homme parfait et à la Colonne de Gloire, cf. G. Stroumsa, op. cit. (note 2), p. 172, et note 43.

18 N.A. Pedersen, op. cit. (note 1), p. 393 et L. Koenen, op. cit. (note 3), pp. 306–307. Cf. G. Wurst, *Die Bêma-Psalmen*, The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library «Psalm Book», CFM, Series Coptica I, Liber Psalmorum, Pars II, Fasc I, Turnhout, Brepols, 1996, ligne 11, 21, pp. 40–41.

19 G. Stroumsa, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 170–172 propose une autre interprétation. Pour lui, l'image révélée n'est pas celle du Père de la Grandeur mais celle de Mani qui est le troisième apôtre envoyé pour sauver l'humanité. Stroumsa s'appuie tout d'abord sur l'*Apocalypse d'Adam* qui mentionne le troisième passage de «l'Illuminateur de Gnose» qui est une des appellations de Mani. Dans un deuxième temps, il se réfère au *Second Traité du Grand Seth* (NHG VII/2) dans lequel «le Sauveur parle de son 'troisième baptême dans une image révélée'». Pour lui, la page 41 de l'*Homélie sur la Grande Guerre* fait donc explicitement mention de Mani qui vient en gloire comme dans l'*Apocalypse d'Adam* et dévoile son image comme dans le *Second Traité du Grand Seth*. Il est à mentionner

Le dévoilement de l'image du Père de la Grandeur et le ΟΥΗΛΟΝ

Le récit de l'*Homélie sur la Grande Guerre* place l'apparition de l'image du Père de la Grandeur comme profondément imbriquée dans le processus apocalyptique. La page 41 nous apprend que « Les voiles tissés se disperseront. Il leur dévoilera son image. (...) C'est lui, le Père, le Roi de Lumière »²⁰. Après sa mort, l'âme connaîtra donc l'expérience du voile, qui une fois écarté, révélera l'image divine. Mais ces « rideaux » ne se disperseront qu'après le combat contre les ténèbres. En effet, le texte mentionne que le Père de la Grandeur « donnera la grâce aux guerriers, ceux qu'il a envoyés pour le combat des ténèbres » et après cela, « les voiles se disperseront » (*Hom.* 41, 13–14). L'image du Père était donc cachée derrière un voile mais Koustaïos utilise la forme $\bar{\eta}\varphi\sigma\omega\lambda\pi\bar{\eta}\ \eta\epsilon\gamma\ \delta\beta\alpha\lambda$ (*Hom.* 41, 15) ce qui signifie que le Roi de Lumière dévoile volontairement son image aux élus pour qu'ils puissent trouver le Salut. L'homélie présente donc un dieu qui doit montrer son visage.

On ne trouve pas le terme de voile, c'est-à-dire le mot ΟΥΗΛΟΝ, dans les *Kephalaia* mais la question du dévoilement de l'image est abordée dans les *Kephalaia* 24 et 39. Le *Kephalaion* 24 explique que « le visage du Père sera dévoilé à tous les dieux »²¹ et on peut lire au *Kephalaion* 39 que le « troisième jour est le temps où le Père leur dévoilera son image »²². En revanche, on trouve la mention de ce voile trois fois dans les *Psaumes* manichéens coptes. En 127, 29, le passage est malheureusement trop lacunaire pour être compréhensible. En 196, 13, dans le *Psaume à Héraclide*, le terme de ΟΥΗΛΟΝ apparaît en rapport avec le temple :²³ « $\lambda\varphi\omega\delta\alpha\rho\omega\bar{\rho}\ \bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\gamma\bar{\rho}\pi\epsilon. \lambda\varphi\pi\omega\zeta\ \bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\eta\eta\lambda\omicron\eta\eta$ » autrement dit « il a démolé leur temple, il a aussi déchiré leur voile ». Il s'agit ici clairement du déchirement du voile du Temple de Jérusalem dans une interprétation manichéenne du récit de la crucifixion de Jésus. On peut en effet lire en *Mat.* 27, 51

qu'A. Henrichs s'est également rangé à cet avis. Le problème en fait se trouve dans la lacune dont j'ai déjà fait état en note 14. H.J. Polotsky, avait quant à lui, restitué « $\bar{\eta}\eta\bar{\eta}\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\sigma$ » soit « Grandeur ». La reconstitution de la lacune proposée par Pedersen, au vu des parallèles dont il fait état, est très convaincante.

20 $\sigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\delta\sigma\omega\lambda\ \bar{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\sigma\omega\zeta\ \bar{\eta}[\eta\omicron\gamma\eta\lambda\omicron\eta\eta\ \bar{\eta}\varphi\sigma\omega\lambda\pi\bar{\eta}\ \eta\epsilon\gamma\ \delta\beta\alpha\lambda\ \eta\tau\varphi\zeta\iota\kappa\omega\eta\eta\ (\dots)\ \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\varphi\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\omega\tau\ \pi\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron\ \bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\delta\bar{\eta}\eta[\epsilon\ \dots]$ (*Hom.* 41,14–19).

21 H.-J., Polotsky, A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia*, Manichäische Handschriften der staatlichen Museen Berlin 1, Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1935–1937, p. 73, 17–18 et 73, 23. Toutes les références au *Kephalaia* renvoient à cette édition. I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher, The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary*, NHMS 37, Leiden, Brill, 1995, pp. 74–75.

22 103, 10–11. I. Gardner, op. cit. (note 21), p. 107.

23 Cf. C.R.C. Allberry, *The Manichaean Psalm-Book*, Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1938, p. 196.

« Et voilà que le voile du sanctuaire se déchira en deux (...) »²⁴. La déchirure du voile permet l'accès à la Résurrection. L'évangile continue d'ailleurs ainsi : « Les tombeaux s'ouvrirent et de nombreux corps de trépassés ressuscitèrent ». Ce thème est également présent dans l'*Homélie sur la Crucifixion*, qui suit l'*Homélie sur la Grande Guerre*. En 52, 10, on peut lire en effet « ἀνεκαταπετασμα μὴ νῶγυλον », c'est à dire « les rideaux et les voiles ». On retrouve une troisième fois ce terme de ογυλον dans un psaume du groupe des *Psaumes à Jésus* ou plutôt des *Psaumes de l'ascension de l'âme*. En 84, 30, on trouve cette formulation liturgique particulière : « Tire le voile de tes secrets jusqu'à ce que je puisse voir la beauté de l'Image joyeuse de ma mère, la Vierge Sainte, qui me transbordera pour me faire parvenir à ma cité »²⁵. Dans ce passage du psaume, la figure évoquée renvoie à la figure christologique de la Vierge de Lumière, la face féminine du Jésus Splendeur au moment de la troisième création. Ce passage est particulièrement intéressant puisqu'on peut y lire les termes de ογυλον et de ρικων mis en relation. Ici, le voile tiré rappelle la partie de la cérémonie liturgique de la fête du Bêma où l'on découvre le visage de Mani pour le célébrer et l'honorer. D'autant plus qu'en 84, 24–25, celui qui s'adresse à Jésus dit « Je vénère cela, l'image (ρικων) de mon maître, que j'aimais avant de le voir ».

Mais ce passage de l'homélie doit être aussi lu en regard d'un autre passage du Nouveau Testament où le thème du voile est également abordé. En effet, en *II Corinthien* 3, 16, on apprend que « c'est quand on se convertit au Seigneur que le voile est enlevé ». Il s'agit ici de la thématique classique de Paul. La vision était obscurcie par le voile de Moïse qui empêchait « de voir la fin de ce qui était passager » (*II Cor.* 3, 13). Plus loin en 4, 3–4, Paul se montre encore plus explicite en précisant « que si notre Evangile demeure voilé, c'est pour ceux qui se perdent qu'il est voilé, pour les incrédules, dont le dieu de ce monde a aveuglé l'entendement afin qu'ils ne voient pas briller l'Evangile de la gloire du Christ, qui est l'image de Dieu ». Ainsi, l'aveuglement venait du voile de Moïse, mais par la croyance et la conversion il sera possible de voir sans ce voile. Dans le royaume du Christ tout sera limpide. C'est exactement la même thématique en 41, 15–16 de l'*Homélie sur la Grande Guerre*. Après le combat contre les ténèbres, le Père de la Grandeur apparaîtra aux guerriers, son voile ayant disparu.

Koustaïos continue son récit sur ce qui adviendra après la disparition des voiles : « Toute la lumière sortira hors de lui : ils entreront dans la resserre : ils

24 Toutes les traductions bibliques utilisées dans ce présent travail sont celles de la *Bible de Jérusalem*, Paris, Cerf, 1998.

25 C.R.C. Allberry, op. cit. (note 23), p. 84.

partiront de lui dans la gloire (...); dans la deuxième royauté : le Roi et les Eons de Lumière »²⁶. Après la disparition des voiles, le Père de la Grandeur apparaîtra dans toute sa réalité. L'homélie présente le Père comme un être d'où émerge la lumière : πο[ΥΓΑΙΝΕ] [Τ]ΗΡῆ ΝΑΩΜῆ ἈΖΟΥΝ ἈΡΑΥ. En *II Cor.* 3, 6, Dieu dit « Que des ténèbres resplescisse la lumière ». La lumière, base de la religion manichéenne, prend alors toute sa dimension. En opposition aux ténèbres, elle est source de vie.

L'image de lumière et la question de la « Grande Statue »

En effet, dans ce contexte eschatologique, la mention de cette image de lumière est assimilée à la Statue, sorte de faisceau lumineux. Le passage de l'homélie où l'on trouve le terme de « Grande Statue » (ΠΑΜΔΡΕΙΑΣ ΝΞΑΕ) est malheureusement très lacunaire. On peut en effet lire « (...) le Roi de lumière. Le roi des nouveaux Eons est l'Homme Primordial (lacune) et la dernière Statue »²⁷. Le *Psaume du Bêma* donne une définition claire de ce qu'est la Grande Statue, « La vie toute entière, le reste de Lumière qui est dans chaque place, s'accumule en lui pour former une statue »²⁸. Les *Kephalaia* font aussi référence à la rencontre par l'âme de la forme lumière. A la page 41 de notre homélie, l'image semble se manifester de la même manière que dans le *Kephalaion* 19 où l'on peut lire que « son image lumineuse est dans la dernière Statue »²⁹. Ce qui apparaît derrière cette image, ce n'est pas uniquement la notion de ressemblance mais également l'idée de l'εἰκὼν, c'est-à-dire de la représentation iconographique. Cette statue n'a pas seulement une signification, un but dans le processus apocalyptique, sa description comme image lumineuse vise à faire naître dans l'esprit du lecteur quelque chose de beau, d'attirant. L'ΑΜΔΡΕΙΑΣ (comme σῦλος ou κίωv)³⁰ est telle l'Adam cosmique qui s'étend du monde d'en bas au monde d'en haut. Le visuel est sous-jacent à la lecture de cette homélie. Ce rapport à la beauté est essentiel dans le processus missionnaire des manichéens.

26 πο[ΥΓΑΙΝΕ] [Τ]ΗΡῆ ΝΑΩΜῆ ἈΖΟΥΝ ἈΡΑΥ: ΣΕΝΑΒΩΚ ἈΖΟΥΝ [ΑΠ]ΤΑΜΙΟΝ: ΣΕΝΑΕΙ ἈΒΑΛ ἤΡΗΤῆ ἈΝ Ζῆ ΟΥΕΑΥ. [...] ΠΡΟ · Ξῆ ΤῆΝΤῆΡΟ ΣῆΤΕ: ΠῆΡΟ ΜΕΝ ἸΝΑΙΩΜῆ [Ἰ]ΠΟΥΓΑΙΝΕ (*Hom.* 41,15–18).

27 ΠῆΡΟ ἸΟΥΓΑῖΝ[ε ...] [Πῆ]ΡΟ ΖΩΩΥ ἸΠΑΙΩΜῆ ἸΒΡΡΕ ΠΕ ΠΩΔΡῆ Ἰ[ΡΩΜΕ] (...) ΝΞ (...) Ἰῆ ΠΑΜΔΡΕΙΑΣ [ἸΞΑΕ] (*Hom.* 41, 19–21).

28 Voir G. Wurst, op. cit. (note 18), lignes 11, 8–9 du *Psaume*, pp. 40–41 texte copte et traduction allemande.

29 I. Gardner, op. cit. (note 21), p. 65: 62, 19–20.

30 Voir G. Stroumsa, op. cit. (note 2), p. 177 et note 56, à propos de la proximité sémantique de ces termes.

La dernière Statue est liée au jugement des âmes. Dans le *Kephalaion* 5, on apprend en effet qu'« à la fin, au moment de la dissolution de l'univers, un grand Conseil se réunira et sculptera ces âmes dans la Grande Statue »³¹. On peut également lire dans le *Kephalaion* 19, malheureusement lacunaire, cette formulation : « (...) la vie de la Statue et il juge les âmes »³². Jésus Splendeur est assimilé à la dernière Statue qui réunira, à la toute fin de l'humanité, après le jugement universel, les âmes montantes. Ainsi peut-on lire également dans le *Psautier* copte (59, 17) « Jésus est l'Homme parfait dans la colonne » ou encore dans un *Psaume d'Héraclide* (103, 34–35) « Ô Sauveur, ô Fils de Dieu amène-moi vite à toi. Lave-moi dans les rosées de la Colonne de Gloire ». Le *Kephalaion* 28 confirme le rôle de Jésus : « Alors ils ont envoyé Jésus Splendeur. Il est venu (...) il est descendu et a rendu un jugement dans le firmament »³³. Ce thème du jugement apparaît également en *Jn.* 12, 31–32, dans une métaphore de la crucifixion au moment de l'apocalypse : « C'est maintenant le jugement du monde ; maintenant le Prince de ce monde va être jeté bas ; et moi, une fois élevé de terre, je les attirerai tous à moi ». Les dernières âmes, telles une « Grande Statue », rejoindront les dieux au royaume de lumière. Ainsi le *Kephalaion* 7 mentionne que « la troisième est la forme lumière, celle que les élus et les catéchumènes recevront, s'ils renoncent au monde »³⁴. Cette thématique de la Statue apparaît aussi dans le *Panarion* d'Epiphane³⁵ (19, 4–2) qui rapporte la vision elchasaïte du Christ et du Saint Esprit « L'Esprit Saint est dit être une figure féminine, semblable au Christ, comme une statue s'élevant au-dessus de la nuée, érigée entre deux montagnes ». Dans son article sur les « Aspects de l'eschatologie manichéenne », G. Stroumsa se pose la question de l'identification de la Grande Statue au Christ ou au Saint Esprit, le Christ étant assimilé à la Colonne de Gloire et le Saint Esprit à la Grande Statue. Mais il réfute presque immédiatement cette vision qui les oppose puisque, explique-t-il, « c'est toujours l'un ou l'autre qui se révèle et s'élève à la fin du monde »³⁶. Il serait donc plus opportun de voir dans la Grande Statue ou la Colonne de Gloire, dans le Christ ou dans l'Esprit Saint ainsi figuré, la manifestation de la même « personnalité », c'est à dire l'Homme Parfait.

31 29, 1–4. I. Gardner, op. cit. (note 21), p. 32.

32 63, 6. I. Gardner, op. cit. (note 21), p. 65.

33 80, 22–24. I. Gardner, op. cit. (note 21), p. 82.

34 36, 9–10. I. Gardner, op. cit. (note 21), p. 40.

35 Merci à Luigi Cirillo qui a eu la gentillesse de me rappeler ce passage du *Panarion* d'Epiphane. Le texte grec dit : « ἀωδριάτος δίκην ὑπὲρ νεφέλην καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον δύο ὀρέων ἐστὸς ». Voir également G. Stroumsa, op. cit. p. 175, et note 52.

36 G. Stroumsa, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 176–177.

Cette révélation de l'image se produit donc en trois temps. Dans un premier temps, le Père de la Grandeur découvrira son visage, puis la lumière émanera de lui et enfin les âmes se réuniront en une « Grande Statue ». Ainsi, il est manifeste que la délivrance vient de la Lumière.

Comme le mentionne M. Pedersen, ce qui est concerné ici c'est l'archétype fondamental de tous les dieux³⁷ qui est pur et libre de souffrance. Koustaïos mentionne (page 39) qu'ils « frapperont le péché, ils balayeront tout le mal qui est dans le monde³⁸ ». Ce qui prime ici c'est l'espoir manichéen de leur délivrance de ce monde au temps final et toute l'organisation eschatologique manichéenne s'organise autour de ce désir³⁹. A l'étude de ce processus du dévoilement de l'image jusqu'au moment du sauvetage des âmes, il apparaît que dans la religion manichéenne l'individuel et le collectif sont étroitement liés. Ce sont les âmes sauvées des élus et des dieux qui formeront cette « Grande Statue ». Autrement dit, ces individualités vont se rejoindre, se mélanger pour former un tout mais en restant des entités à part entière⁴⁰. L'idée principale est celle d'un « microcosme dans le macrocosme ». Koustaïos l'explique page 41, au moment où « toute la lumière sortira de lui », « ils iront dans la resserre, ils partiront de lui dans la gloire (...), dans la seconde royauté, le Roi et les Eons de Lumière, c'est lui, le Père, le Roi de Lumière ». Cette description du temps final est identique à celle du *Kephalaion* 34: « au moment où le Père se dévoilera à tous les dieux (...) ils iront dans ses 'greniers cachés' et le Père appellera chacun d'entre eux à s'établir à sa place »⁴¹. Ce processus qui amènera les âmes sauvées et les dieux au royaume de lumière préserve donc dans le collectif l'indépendance des âmes et des dieux.

N.A. Pedersen rapproche cette mention par Koustaïos de la révélation de l'image et dans une plus large mesure, l'espérance de la délivrance de la persécution de l'empire romain dont sont victimes les manichéens.

37 N.A. Pedersen, op. cit. (note 1), p. 394.

38 ⲛⲁⲗⲉⲣⲏⲕ ⲡⲏⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲥⲁⲗⲣⲉⲥ ⲁⲃⲁⲕ · ⲛⲓⲛ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲩ ⲡⲓⲕⲣⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ (*Hom.* 39,5–6).

39 N.A. Pedersen l'explique très bien [op. cit. (note 1), p. 396]: « The correspondence between «individual» and «collective» eschatology indicates that it should also be possible to relate the doctrine of the ultimate to the Manichees' longings for release from the physical, temporal world. »

40 N.A. Pedersen, op. cit. (note 1), p. 396.

41 73, 17–25. I. Gardner, op. cit. (note 21), p. 75.

L'image du Père de la Grandeur, image de lumière

Koustaïos encourage les hommes à voir Jésus comme l'image de lumière. A la page 39, il explique que «le Roi de Lumière (...) s'est manifesté hors de (...). Ils le verront (...), l'image de lumière, ils exultent tous d'allégresse à son sujet. La convoitise s'éloignera d'eux et aussi les autres tentations. Quand ils voudront, ils se dépouilleront de leur corps et ils recevront de lui la victoire»⁴². Jésus est une image de lumière et les manichéens sont des images de Jésus. On peut également lire cette réciprocité en *II Cor* 3, 18 «et nous tous qui, le visage découvert, contemplons comme en un miroir la gloire du Seigneur, nous sommes transformés en cette même image (...)». On peut aussi lire dans le *Kephalaion* 7 que «le cinquième Père est la forme lumière, celle qui doit apparaître à ceux qui sortiront de leur corps, correspondant au modèle de l'image de l'apôtre»⁴³. Le *Kephalaion* 65 nous apprend également que «Jésus Splendeur a dévoilé son image devant les firmaments et purifié la lumière qui est au dessus. (...) Il s'est fait comme les anges (...) il a voyagé et est descendu sous une forme de chair»⁴⁴.

Cette vision d'un être lumineux n'est certes pas sans rappeler les mentions que l'on trouve du Dieu biblique. La religion manichéenne s'inspire bien évidemment du christianisme et Mani se place dans le prolongement de Zoroastre, de Bouddha et de Jésus. Le Dieu biblique apparaît également dans toute sa splendeur et les textes insistent sur la lumière qui est issue de lui⁴⁵. Ainsi en *Lc.* 2, 32 Dieu est «lumière pour éclairer les nations» et en *Isaïe* 49, 6, il est dit «lumière des nations».

D'autre part la conception manichéenne assimile, comme nous l'avons dit précédemment, Jésus Splendeur à une image de lumière et les manichéens à l'image de Jésus. Au temps final, faisant partie intégrante de la «Grande

42 πῆρο σε ἴτε πογα[ῖ]ν[ε] (...) εφογαντ' αβαλ ἡνη (...) η]ο αραχ ρῖ ἡβελ ἡπσωμα ἡθε (...) ἀνη (...) ἡποογε: σενανο αραχ ρω . [...] οικων ἡπογαῖνε · εγρεθε τηρογ εγ[ταλληλ δ.]χωγ: τεπι-ογνια ντογῖας αραγ · ἡ ἡ[κεν]ηε ἀη ἡπρασνος: εγφαναογωφε σε[ἡβα]ωγυ ἡπογσωνα · ἡσεχι πσρο ρατηγ (*Hom.* 39,9–16).

43 36, 12–15. I. Gardner, op. cit. (note 21), p. 40.

44 61, 18–23. I. Gardner, op. cit. (note 21), p. 179. Sur cette question de la figure de Jésus, voir aussi l'article de S.G. Richter, «Bemerkungen zu «Jesus-Figuren» dans *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West*, Proceedings of the Fribourg-Utrecht International Symposium of IAMS, éd. J. van Oort, O. Wermelinger, G. Wurst, NHMS 49, Brill, Leiden, 2001.

45 M. Lods, *Dieu est-il beau? De l'Ancien Testament aux Pères de l'Eglise*, Positions luthériennes, 1984, p. 187.

Statue», les élus deviennent alors images de lumière. Cette même idée qui apparaît également dans le *Psaume pour la direction des sens* où l'on peut lire «Dirige mon 'homme nouveau', lui qui a revêtu l'image du Dieu, qui est grande»⁴⁶, n'est pas sans rappeler *Genèse* 1, 26: «Dieu dit: faisons l'homme à notre image, comme notre ressemblance (...)» et *Genèse* 1, 27: «Dieu créa l'homme à son image, à l'image de Dieu il le créa». Derrière l'image de Mani, dévoilée lors de la fête du Bêma, c'est l'image de Jésus que l'on retrouve; celle d'un homme à l'image de Dieu. *L'Épître aux Colossiens* 1, 15: «Il (Jésus Christ) est l'image du Dieu invisible», pour ne donner que cet exemple, va également dans le même sens. Il est intéressant de constater que cette idée de ressemblance des hommes à Dieu au moment de la création du monde dans le christianisme revient en contexte eschatologique dans cette homélie. Cependant, la manifestation de l'image lumineuse apparaît également dans la Bible à la fin des temps. En effet, dans l'*Apocalypse*⁴⁷, dans le passage sur la Jérusalem future, Jésus dit: «De malédiction, il n'y en aura plus; le trône de Dieu et de l'Agneau sera dressé dans la ville, et les serviteurs de Dieu l'adoreront; ils verront sa face, et son nom sera sur leurs fronts. De nuit, il n'y en aura plus; ils se passeront de lampe ou de soleil pour s'éclairer, car le Seigneur Dieu répandra sur eux sa lumière, et ils régneront pour les siècles des siècles». Ainsi, de même que dans notre homélie, la lumière divine s'étend sur les élus et les sauve.

Ces exemples et ces pages de l'*Homélie sur la Grande Guerre* présentent donc une image du Père de la Grandeur semblable ou proche de celle du Dieu biblique. Même s'il l'on est mal informé quant aux ouvrages issus du christianisme (ou du judaïsme) lus et utilisés par les manichéens, on sait que les elkasaites utilisaient, méditaient le Nouveau Testament⁴⁸. Comme le mentionne également M. Tardieu, «les épisodes successifs qui marquent ces dernières fins (...) appartiennent tous pour l'essentiel à la littérature apocalyptique judéo-chrétienne dont s'était nourri Mani adolescent»⁴⁹. Il n'est donc pas surprenant de trouver des similitudes entre le Dieu Sauveur de la Bible dont le fils va se sacrifier pour sauver l'humanité et l'image du Père de la Grandeur au moment de la fin des temps.

L'*Homélie sur la Grande Guerre* et en particulier les pages 39, 40 et 41 ont un intérêt considérable pour la description qu'elles offrent de la vision manichéenne des derniers temps et de l'image, de l'εἰκὼν du Père de la Grandeur.

46 A. Villey *Le Psaume des errants, Ecrits manichéens du Fayyum*, Paris, Cerf, 1994, p. 150, 29.

47 *Apocalypse* 22, 3-5.

48 S. Mimouni, «Le mouvements des baptistes elkasaites et Mani», dans «Le Manichéisme», *Religion et Histoire*, juillet-août 2005, p. 27.

49 M. Tardieu, op. cit. (note 6), p. 101.

C'est en effet par la manifestation de cette image que survient la délivrance. Même si ces dernières pages sont malheureusement fragmentaires, elles livrent néanmoins des informations essentielles à la compréhension apocalyptique de la religion manichéenne.

Comme je l'ai mentionné en introduction, au départ de ce travail se plaçait une volonté de voir s'il était possible de faire un parallèle entre la vénération des portraits de Mani, dont l'image était dévoilée lors de la célébration de la fête du Bêma, et cette interprétation du rôle du Père de la Grandeur et de Jésus à la fin des temps et, au-delà, la question de l'image. Les manichéens sont redevables à la perspective biblique de l'homme créé à l'image de Dieu. Les visions cosmologique et théologique de Mani n'étaient pas celles d'un philosophe mais d'un peintre⁵⁰. Les images chrétiennes diffusent un message. Les images manichéennes avaient un caractère missionnaire. On sait parfaitement que les manichéens avaient organisé la structure de leur Eglise dans le but de diffuser le plus largement possible leur religion.

Cependant la question sous jacente à cette étude est de savoir s'il est possible de voir une notion « d'icône » derrière ce terme de εἰκών. A travers à la lecture de ces chapitres et au long de mes recherches pour ces quelques pages, la possibilité de trouver un lien entre cet εἰκών et l'image en tant qu'icône, en tant qu'image vénérable et vénérée s'est avéré tenue. On peut espérer que les recherches à venir sur d'autres textes et celles plus particulièrement sur le livre de *l'Image* permettront d'avancer sur cette question.

50 M. Tardieu, op. cit. (note 6), p. 109.

The Last Remains of Manichaeism in Villages of Jinjiang County, China*

Wang Yuanyuan and Lin Wushu

In terms of archaeological findings relating to Manichaeism in China, Western academic literature has focused primarily on the sites of Turfan and Dunhung in northwestern China. Those materials documented, however, only original Manichaeism introduced by foreign Manichaean priests before the Persecution on Buddhism in 843. However, the popular version of Manichaeism in China was actually a sinicized Manichaeism, as argued by E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot.¹ Sinicized Manichaeism gained popularity in the name of “Mingjiao” 明教 for worshipping the Sun and the Moon in southeast China during the Song-Yuan periods (960–1368). The most famous existing site is the Cao’an Temple 草庵 in present-day Jinjiang county of Quanzhou (Fig. 21.1), which was built around the 5th year of Zhiyuan Era (1339). We know the sinicized image of Mani from the stone statue preserved in Cao’an (Fig. 21.2) and the sixteen-character inscription “清淨光明 大力智慧 無上至真 摩尼光佛 (Purity, Light, Great Power, Wisdom, Supreme Perfect Truth, the Light Buddha of Mani)”, can still be seen on a rock near the temple (Fig. 21.3).² Scholars have regarded the Cao’an Temple as the last sinicized Manichaean remains since its discovery.

* We would like to express our sincere thanks to Dr. Wang Jinping 王錦萍 of the History department of National University of Singapore who corrected our English text. We are the only ones responsible for any errors or mistakes in this paper.

1 E. Chavannes, P. Pelliot, “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine, traduit et annoté (Deuxième partie, suite et fin)”, *Journal Asiatique*, 11. sér., I, 1913, p. 303.

2 The first report on Cao’an temple was Zhuang Weiji’s 莊為璣 “On Recently Discovered Relics Concerning the Sino-foreign Exchanges of Quanzhou” 談最近發現的泉州中外交通的史迹, *Kaogu Tongxun* 考古通訊 No. 3, 1956, pp. 43–48. For detailed studies, please refer to Wu Wenliang’s 吳文良, *Religious Inscriptions of Quanzhou* 泉州宗教石刻, Beijing, 2005, pp. 441–448. The first report on Cao’an published in the western academia was L. Carrington Goodrich’s “Recent Discoveries at Zayton”, *JAOS* 77, 1957, pp. 161–165. Prof. Peter Bryder of Lund University is the first foreign scholar who visited Cao’an in 1986. P. Bryder, “... Where the faint traces of Manichaeism Disappear”, *AoF* 15, 1988, pp. 201–208. He introduced the visit and photos of Cao’an taken by himself on the first International Conference of Manichaean Studies held in August 1987, which marked the formal debut of Cao’an temple into the

Mr. Nian Liangtu's 粘良圖 recent study reveals that Qian Geng 錢梗, the Magistrate of Jinjiang County between 1529 to 1531, integrated the Cao'an Temple into Longquan Shuyuan 龍泉書院 [the Academy of Dragon Spring], which was later destroyed in wars during the mid-17th Century.³ In the early 20th Century, Buddhist monks renovated the Cao'an Temple and regarded the statue of Mani as that of Sakya. The famous Buddhist Master Hongyi 弘一法師 (1880–1942) once stayed in the temple in the 1930s.⁴ The monastic history of the temple demonstrates that since the mid-17th Century, the Cao'an Temple has no longer been a religious institution for local Manichaeans. No further historical sources about Manichaeism in Jinjiang since then are available. Mr. Nian Liangtu has furthered his field research in the villages adjacent to Cao'an in recent years, and it is encouraging that some more recent remains of Manichaeism have been found.⁵ Yet, thanks to Nian Liangtu's recent exciting finding of some Manichaean remains in a few villages near the Temple, our exploration of the final form of Manichaeism now becomes possible.

1 The Manichaean Remains of Jingzhu Gong 境主宮 in Sunei Village

The most important site discovered by Nian is a village shrine of Sunei 蘇內村 called "Jingzhu Gong 境主宮 [Temple of the Protection god of the village]". The shrine dedicated to several Manichaean deities was rebuilt in the 1930s. It was made up of stone and wood in a measurement of 560 × 650 cm. There are two stone pillars, with 133 cm in height and 40 cm in diameter, originally moved from the Cao'an Temple nearby. The most interesting is the wall-painting of five deities (Fig. 21.4); with Mani in the center and four other deities on his left and right. These four deities are named as Dutian Lingxian 都天靈相 [Spiritual sign in the Heaven], Lord Jingzhu 境主公 [The Protection god of the village], Qinjiao

world. In the beginning of 21st Century, the history department of Zhongshan University and Quanzhou Maritime Museum had planned to hold in Quanzhou an International Conference themed on Manichaeism and Ancient China but unfortunately, it was forced to cancel for non-academic reasons.

3 Nian Liangtu, *A Study on Cao'an of Jinjiang* 晉江草庵研究, Xiamen University Press, 2008, pp. 64–73, 78–80.

4 Ibid, pp. 112–116.

5 Nian Liangtu, "The Manichaean Faith in Jinjiang" 摩尼教信仰在晉江, *Fujian Religion* 福建宗教 No. 6, 2004, pp. 24–26; "Observation on the Tendency of Manichaeism of Quanzhou in Ming-Qing Period from Field Researches" 從田野調查看明清時期泉州明教的走向, *Maritime History Studies* 海交史研究 No. 2, 2008, pp. 102–114, 87.

Mingshi 秦皎明使 [Messenger of Light], and Shiba Zhenren 十八真人 [a Taoist master attaining *Dao* (principle or truth) through immortality practice]. These deities are all painted in size of 85 × 42 cm. The image of Mani in the Jingzhu Gong resembles the stone statue in the Cao'an Temple.

In addition, the names of two deities, Qinjiao Mingshi and Dutian Lingxiang, are clearly related to Manichaeism. The term “Mingshi” 明使 [Messenger of Light] often refers to Manichaean deities in the Kingdom of Light in Chinese sources, especially in the Chinese Manichaean manuscripts discovered in Dunhuang. It appears 20 times in the *Traité* preserved in the National Library of China,⁶ and 22 times in the Chinese *Hymnscroll* in the British Library.⁷ Even in the first section of *the Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light* (s.3969), the name of Mani is rendered as “光明使者 [Messenger of Light]” in Chinese.⁸ Han-Chinese never named their deities as “Messenger of Light” before the introduction of Manichaeism into China. After the Tang Dynasty (AD 618–907), Chinese people often referred to Manichaeism by its the sinicized name “Mingjiao”, but continued to use the distinctive term “Messenger of Light”. For instance, Lu You 陸遊 (1125–1210), a famous Southern Song literatus, mentioned in his works that Mingjiao prevailed in Fujian worshipped a deity “Mingshi”. In ancient China, people often used the name of the place where they came from as their surname, so the character “Qin” 秦 might stem from the cradleland of Manichaeism, which was regarded by Chinese

6 Cf. *Traité*. The plate and text of *Traité* can be referred to Lin Wushu 林悟殊, *Manichaeism and Its Eastward Expansion* 摩尼教及其東漸, Taipei, 1997, pp. 268–282, 477–485. For French translation, compare E. Chavannes, P. Pelliot, “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine”, *Journal Asiatique* 10. sér., XVIII, 1911, pp. 499–617; as to the German version, see H. Schmidt-Glitzner (ed., trans.), *Chinesische Manichaica. Mit textkritischen Anmerkungen und einem Glossar*, StOR 14, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987.

7 Cf. *Hymnscroll* (s.2659); Lin Wushu, *Manichaeism and Its Eastward Expansion* (note 6), pp. 287–325; for English version, see Tsui Chi, “Mo Ni Chiao Hsia Pu Tsan, The Lower (Second?) Section of the Manichaean Hymns”, *BSOAS* 9, 1943–1946, pp. 174–215, and for German version, see H. Schmidt-Glitzner (ed., trans.), *Chinesische Manichaica* (note 6).

8 Cf. *The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light* (s.3969); Lin Wushu, *Manichaeism and Its Eastward Expansion* (note 6), pp. 283–286. The plate and English translation of the first section, compare G. Haloun, W.B. Henning, “The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teachings of Mani, the Buddha of Light”, *Asia Major* III, 1952, pp. 184–212. For French version, see N. Tajadod (trans.), *Mani le Boudha de Lumière. Catéchisme manichéen chinois* (Sources gnostiques et manichéennes 3), Paris, 1990; German translation, see H. Schmidt-Glitzner (ed., trans.), *Chinesische Manichaica* (note 6).

as “Daqin Kingdom at the Western Sea” 西海大秦國.⁹ It seems that the character “Jiao” 皎 also relates to the worship of light in Manichaeism, because “Jiao” means pure white or light in Chinese. “Qinjiao” 秦皎 is a name of typical Chinese style. The image of Qinjiao Mingshi 秦皎明使 in the Jingzhu Gong is painted as a general or military officer of ancient China without any exotic features. It finds no parallel in miniatures excavated in Turfan.

The term “Lingxiang” 靈相 [spiritual sign] appears in the Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light:

形相儀第二

摩尼光佛頂圓十二光王勝相，體備大明，無量秘義；妙形特絕，人天無比；串以素帔，儼四淨法身；其居白座，像五金剛地；二界合離，初後旨趣，宛在真空，觀之可曉。諸有靈相，百千勝妙，寔難備陳。

The second article: On the style of (His) bodily signs

The nimbus of Mani, the Buddha of Light being twelve-fold is the excellent sign of the King of Light. (His) body, which fully displays the Great Light, has the esoteric meaning of the Limitless. (His) wonderful appearance is outstanding, without equal among men and gods. (His) being clad in a white robe symbolizes the four pure dharmakayas. His occupying the white throne depicts the five vajra-lands. The union and the separation of the two realms, and the purport and trend of the before and the after are apparent in true bearing. People will understand them immediately once looking at Him. All the *spiritual signs* that He possesses, in (their) hundred-and-thousand-fold wonder and subtleness, are, indeed, difficult to describe completely.¹⁰

No Chinese Manichaean manuscripts of the Tang Dynasty referred a Manichaean deity to Lingxiang or the spiritual sign. But in the Song period (960–1279), a well-known Daoist named Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 (1194–1229) mentioned Lingxiang in his remark on the Mingjiao, which was popular in the Southern Song dynasty:

9 There is a text in Vol. 39 of *Fozu Tongji* 佛祖統紀, which says: “In the first year of Yancai (AD 694), a man from the Kingdom of Persia, Fuduodan (i.e. a man from Daqin Kingdom at the Western Sea) paid homage to the court, bringing with him the false religion of ‘The Book of the Two Principles’.”

10 G. Haloun, W.B. Henning, “The Compendium” (note 8), p. 194.

昔蘇鄰國有一居士號曰慕闍，始者學仙不成，終乎學佛不就，隱於大那伽山。始遇西天外道有曰毗婆伽明使者，教以一法，使之修持，遂留此一教，其實非理。彼之教有一禁戒，且云盡大地山河草木水火，皆是毗盧遮那法身，所以不敢踐履，不敢舉動；然雖如是，卻是毗盧遮那佛身外面立地。且如持八齋、禮五方，不過教戒使之然爾。其教中一曰天王，二曰明使，三曰靈相，土地以主，其教大要在乎清淨光明、大力智惠八字而已。There was a lay devotee named *mu-shê* [the Teacher, Sogd. Možak] in the country of Sulin Kingdom in the past. He first learned the way of immortals, but failed. He then learned the Buddhist teaching, yet still did not succeed. He retired in the Great Naga Mountain, where he encountered outer ways [i.e. heterodoxies] from the Western Heaven named Envoy of Light of Pi-po-jia. The Envoy taught Mushe a way and ordered him to practice. This teaching then remained in the world, but is actually unreasonable. The teaching contains a commandment saying that “All the earth, mountains, rivers, plants, trees, water and fire are the *Dharmakāya* of *Vairocana*.” So one dares not trample on them and make a move against them. But even if it is so, taking one’s stand outside the *Buddhakāya* of *Vairocana*. The practice of holding eight fasts and paying obeisance to five directions is merely the result of doctrines and prohibitions. Three deities are worshipped in the teaching: the King of Heaven, the Messenger of Light, and the Spiritual Signs (Lingxiang) among which the Earth with spiritual sign (Lingxiang Tudi) is the greatest one. The essence of practicing the teaching lies in eight characters: Purity, Light, Great Power, and Wisdom.¹¹

Both “Lingxiang Tudi” 靈相土地 [Earth with spiritual sign] and “Dutian Lingxiang” 都天靈相 in the Jingzhu Gong share the same term of “spiritual sign” 靈相. Bai Yuchan’s comment demonstrates that the “Lingxiang Tudi” was a Manichaean deity worshipped by the commoners in Song China. It is highly possibly, the Lingxiang was also a Manichaean deity in popular culture, even if it might have differed from the Lingxiang Tudi. “Spiritual sign” 靈相, as a deity name, is obviously a typical Chinese expression, while no extant Manichaean manuscript includes such a deity. The image of “Dutian Lingxiang” 都天靈相 in the Jingzhu Gong is portrayed like the literati of ancient China, and is totally different from images of Manichaean deities on the Turfan fragments.

11 *Haiqiong Bai Zhenren Yulu* 海瓊白真人語錄, Vol. 1, *Taoist Canon* 道藏 Vol. 33, Shanghai Bookstore Publishing House, Cultural Relics Press, Tianjin Ancient Books Publishing House, 1988, pp. 114–115.

The fact that the present Jingzhu Gong was rebuilt in the 1930s¹² raises a fundamental question; were the names, arrangements, and images of deities in it original? Obviously, it would be indiscreet or even meaningless to treat them as Manichaean remains, if they were already misrepresented subjectively by the re-builders.

The image of the Mani in the center of the mural cannot serve as the self-evidence for local worship of the deity before the 1930s, since the image could be newly painted modeling after the stone statue of Mani in the Cao'an Temple during the temple reestablishment. Judging from appearance, the images of Qinjiao Mingshi 秦皎明使 and Dutian Lingxiang 都天靈相 reveal nothing special. If there were no original images to follow at that time, people could also create new ones on the basis of local deities' images. Yet, unlikely, they invented entirely names of these deities. The Manichaean features in the images are undeniable and people who rebuilt the shrine in the 1930s obviously had no Manichaean documents for reference. Local historical documents, including *Min Shu* 閩書 [*the Book of Min*] written by He Qiaoyuan 何喬遠 (1558–1631), made no mention of these two deities.¹³ *Min Shu* was well-known for its inclusion of Manichean sources. The rebuilders of the Jingzhu Gong in the 1930s could hardly have created the names Qinjiao Mingshi 秦皎明使 and Dutian Lingxiang 都天靈相, as the worship of these two deities must have already existed before the time. Thus, the present images and the settings in the shrine could have resembled those that had been there before the 1930s.

Mr. Nian Liangtu argues the term “Jingzhu” 境主 refers to “Caifo” 菜佛 [a vegetarian Buddha] to whom vegetables and fruits are offered ritually,¹⁴ and

12 Mr. Nian expressed his idea in an e-mail sent on 21 July 2006 to the present author: it is undoubtedly that the village shrine of Jinzhu Gong worshipping Manichaean deities was initiated in the Ming Dynasty according to the fact that the ancestor of Sunei Village moved to the present site in the Yuan Dynasty (AD 1271–1368) and already had relations with the Cao'an Temple at that time.

13 He Qiaoyuan, *Minshu*, Fuzhou, 1994, p. 171.

14 Nian Liangtu, “The Manichaean Faith in Jinjiang” (note 3), p. 26. The note of Huangbiao Hill in *Min Shu* (Vol. 1, pp. 171–172) reads: “摩尼佛，名末摩尼光佛，蘇隣國人；又一佛也，號具智大明使。云老子西入流沙，五百餘歲，當漢獻帝建安之戊子，寄形柰暈。國王拔帝之后，食而甘之，遂有孕。及期，擘胸而出。柰暈者，禁苑石榴也。其說與攀李樹、出左脇相應。” (The Buddha of Mani was named as Light Buddha of Mo-mo-ni, who came from the Kingdom of Sulin and was also a Buddha entitled as “Messenger of Light with perfect wisdom”. It is said that over five hundred years after Lao Zi traveled to the shifting sands of the West in the year of Wuzi

such rites are still performed now. The worshipping of “Caifo” also indicates the present Jingzhu Gong was reconstructed after the old one that had been there before the 1930s. Because people were totally unfamiliar with Manichaeism, especially after the Cao’an temple was converted into a Buddhist shrine in early 20th Century.

From the above discussion, we learn that Mani, flanked by Qinjiao Mingshi 秦皎明使 and Dutian Lingxiang 都天靈相, was actually respected as the supreme god in the Manichaean community of Jinjiang. In original Manichaean doctrines, the ruler of the Kingdom of Light, “Zawān” in Middle Persian (or “Father of Greatness” 明父 in Chinese manuscripts) is said to be the greatest one. But it is invisible as the God of Christianity. Probably because Chinese followers favored idolatry, the worship of visualized Mani then replaced that of Zawān. Scholars concur that the stone statue in the Cao’an Temple represents the sinicized image of Mani. As to 秦皎明使 (Qinjiao Mingshi) and 都天靈相 (Dutian Lingxiang), we can also trace their prototypes in Manichaeism despite their totally sinicized names and images.

He Qiaoyuan mentioned in *Min Shu* about two Saints 二聖 of Mingjiao: Xian Yi 先意 [Primal Man] and Yi Shu 夷數 [Jesus].¹⁵ These two deities play important roles in the Manichaean mythology. Chinese Manichean documents of the Tang Dynasty, such as *Traité*¹⁶ and *Hymnscroll*,¹⁷ mention these deities frequently. In the Song period, Chinese followers of Mingjiao still worshiped them. According to the *Song Huiyao Jigao* 宋會要輯稿 [*The Collected Statutes of the Song Dynasty*], portraits of six Manichaean gods, including those of Primal

of Jian’an era of Emperor Xiandi of Han [AD 208], he was transformed into Naiyun. The queen of the King Badi ate and like it, on which she became pregnant. When the time came, the baby came forth through her breast. Naiyun is the pomegranate of the imperial garden. This story is similar to that of the grasping of the plum tree and the coming forth from the left side).

15 He Qiaoyuan, *Min Shu*, Vol. 1, Fuzhou 1994, p. 172.

16 Cf. *Traité*, Line 17–18: 其十三種大勇力者，先意、淨風各五明子.....；Line 146: 先意淨風各有五子.....；Line 204: 十二時者，即是十二次化明王，又是夷數勝相妙衣.....；Line 206–207: 十二時者，即像先意及以淨風各五明子.....。E. Chavannes, P. Pelliot, “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine” (note 6), pp. 519, 559, 566–567; German translation in H. Schmidt-Glintzer (ed., trans.), *Chinesische Manichaica* (note 6), pp. 78, 88, 92.

17 Cf. *Hymnscroll*, Line 029: 廣惠庄嚴夷數佛，起大慈悲捨我罪.....；Line 076: 具智法王夷數佛.....；Line 169: 三者常勝先意佛.....；Line 171: 十者知恩夷數佛.....；Line 382–383: 自是夷數佛，能蘇諸善種.....。H. Schmidt-Glintzer (ed., trans.), *Chinesische Manichaica* (note 6), pp. 13, 19, 32, 61.

Man and Jesus, were prevalent in Southeast China.¹⁸ In Mani's Creation, Primal Man battles against the invasion of Darkness, while Jesus brings salvation. Though the Manichaeism mythology introduced a complex system of Light divinities, Chinese followers simplified it a great deal by only shedding lights on Primal Man and Jesus. Such change almost conforms to the general rule of a foreign religion's spread and adaptation in China, for example, Zen Buddhism might have simplified the Buddhist teachings. Therefore, He Qiaoyuan's record suggests that the devotees of Mingjiao in Jinjiang area might have worshipped three Manichaeism deities: Mani, Primal Man and Jesus.

Bai Yuchan's aforementioned comment on three deities of Mingjiao, including Tianwang 天王 [King of Heaven], Mingshi 明使 and Lingxiang Tudi 靈相土地, furthermore testifies to our hypothesis. Nevertheless, after the Persecution of Buddhism in the Huichang period (840–845), Chinese followers of Manichaeism lost contact with their counterparts in Central Asia. They survived the religious persecution, but dispersed in different regions and developed respective traditions of deities they worshipped. Tianwang 天王 [King of Heaven] might be the highest god that can be defined as the "Father" in Chinese Manichaeism manuscripts of the Tang Dynasty, who was then replaced by Mani as a result of further sinicization. For instance, Sakyamuni is also respected as the supreme God of the Western Pure Land in Chinese folk society. In term of He Qiaoyuan's *Min Shu*, Primal Man and Jesus were worshiped by Manichaeism followers of Jinjiang. Is it possible that Qinjiao Mingshi 秦皎明使 and Dutian Lingxiang 都天靈相 in the village shrine of Jingzhu Gong 境主宮 originated from Primal Man and Jesus? Qinjiao Mingshi 秦皎明使 in appearance of a general corresponds to the role of Primal Man as a fighter against Darkness, while Dutian Lingxiang 都天靈相 dressed as a literati is almost in accord with Jesus bringing salvation.

In summary, though the Manichaeism Cao'an temple was made into a Buddhist shrine and its real religious attribute has been long forgotten, the sinicized Manichaeism deities in Jingzhu Gong were still worshipped by the villagers as Protection Gods.

2 Manichaeism Elements in *Fuzhou* 符咒 Found in the Cao'an Temple

At the time He Quanyuan lived, sinicized Manichaeism in Quanzhou was integrated into Chinese folk religions with several borrowed elements from Dao-

18 *Song Huiyao Jigao*, Vol. 165, Beijing, 1957, p. 6534.

ism, such as *Fuzhou* 符咒. The term *Fuzhou*, in ancient Chinese documents, combines “Fu Lu” 符籙 [magic formulas with so-called supernatural power made by Taoist] and “Zhou Yu” 咒語 [incantation] which refers to Taoist talisman only. According to He Qiaoyuan, the use of *Fuzhou* was popular among the followers of Mingjiao.¹⁹

Mr. Nian Liangtu also found some talismans that relate to Manichaeism in places near the Cao'an Temple. The first one can be read as “An Mo-ni Yi Lifeng” 安摩尼以里奉 in Chinese. Of course, maybe it needs further examination by experts on talisman. The word “摩尼” indicates that the maker of the talisman summons the divinity of Mani in the Cao'an temple. The second one is more difficult to identify, but it's very likely to be related to Mani for its discovery in the Cao'an Temple. There are seven characters “南無摩尼幢光佛 Nanwu Moni Chuang Guang Fo”²⁰ on the upper top of the talisman and four characters “鎮宅平安 (Zhenzhai Ping'an, i.e. Protecting the safety of the residential house)” on the bottom. The main figure is named as “摩尼幢光佛 Moni Chuang Guang Fo”, with a similar image as the statue of Mani in the Cao'an Temple. The phrase of “Zhenzhai Ping'an” 鎮宅平安 shows the talisman functions to protect a house from ghosts or evil spirits. The words and image on it seem to relate to Chinese Buddhism, while its function resembles Daoist talismans.

Field researches also demonstrate the present prevalence of Manichaean incantation. The original sixteen-character inscription of 清淨光明 大力智慧 無上至真 摩尼光佛 in the Cao'an temple was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution,²¹ and what we can see now is just a replica. From the photo of the original one, we can read it as:

勸唵 清淨光明 大力智慧 無上至真 摩尼光佛 正統乙丑年九月十三日 住山弟子明書立
Please Chant: Purity, Light, Great Power, Wisdom, Supreme Perfect Truth, the Light Buddha of Mani, inscribed in the 13th Day of the 9th month of Yichou year of Zhengtong era by Mingshu, a disciple.²²

正統乙丑年 is the year of AD 1445 in the ancient Chinese calendar. Scholars view this inscription as the last sinicized Manichaean relic, but are uncertain about its actual religious function. Mr. Nian Liangtu argues that the inscription

19 He Qiaoyuan, *Min Shu*, Vol. 1, Fuzhou 1994, p. 172.

20 南無, Namō; 摩尼, Mani; 幢光佛 is a Buddhist appellation.

21 Lin Wenming 林文明, “Relics of Manichaeism and Cao'an Temple” 摩尼教和草庵遺跡, *Maritime History Studies* 海交史研究, No. 1, 1978, pp. 22–40.

22 Zeng Yue 曾閱, “Notes on Manichaean Remains of Cao'an” “草庵”摩尼教遺跡漫紀, *Fujian Wenbo* 福建文博, No. 1, 1980, p. 53.

is always regarded as an incantation stone²³ by villagers who place ossuaries of their ancestors under it.²⁴ Villagers seem to believe that the inscription can rescue the deceased from the abyss of misery and protect the living against misfortune. Now in Sunei Village 蘇內村, there is a man acting as a conjurator who calls the sixteen-character-inscription as “Light incantation of Mani”. He insists that reciting it together with certain hand gestures can expel evil spirits. The hand gestures are as follows: placing right hand upright on the chest, with the middle finger close to the thumb and erecting other three fingers; stretching left hand at the same time with palm outward and five fingers splayed. It is said that reciting the so-called “Light incantation of Mani” with these gestures will summon a kind of auspicious red light, which will protect people from the evil one.²⁵

Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 concluded the essence of Manichaeism of the Southern Song Dynasty as “清淨光明、大力智慧 Purity, Light, Great Power, Wisdom”. After being surfixed with “無上至真、摩尼光佛 Supreme Perfect Truth, the Light Buddha of Mani”, the whole expression became an incantation with divine power, and the stone on which it was inscribed also turned to be magical. Two inscriptions with these sixteen characters were found respectively in Hanjiang District 涵江區 and Beigao Town 北高鄉 of Putian 莆田 in Fujian Province.²⁶ It is said that the one from Beigao Town was installed on the top of a stone pagoda destroyed in 1966.²⁷ Probably, this inscription

23 Mr. Nian Liangtu's e-mail sent on 25 July 2006 to the author.

24 Wu Wenliang, *Religious Inscriptions of Quanzhou* (note 2), p. 442.

25 Mr. Nian Liangtu's e-mail sent on 23 July 2006 to the present author. The conjurator surnamed as Zeng 曾 adds that muttering incantation is very efficacious and popular in the village. But since a woman muttered it as going out in the night for clearing the chamber pot, the incantation has become invalid occasionally. Compare to Nian Liangtu, *A Study on Cao'an of Jinjiang* (note 3), p. 88. The safeguarding power of muttering incantation is beyond our present discussion. Anyway, believing it or not is just up to the followers.

26 Lin Wushu, “Study on the Sixteen-character-inscription of Mingjiao Found in Fujian” 福建明教十六字偈考釋, *Debate and Research on The Three Persian Religions: Manichaeism, Nestorianism and Zoroastrianism in Medieval Times 中古三夷教辨證*, Beijing, 2005, pp. 5–32. As to the inscription found in Hanjiang District of Putian city, please refer to Lin Wushu, “A New Find of a Manichaean Stone Carving in Fujian, China”, *Manichaean Studies Newsletter*, Leuven, 1989/1, pp. 22–27.

27 Lin Wushu, “Research on Sincization of Persian Manichaeism on the Basis of the Relics of Mingjiao in Fujian” 從福建明教遺物看波斯摩尼教之華化, appendix to H.-J. Klimkeit (trans. by Lin Wushu), *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy 古代摩尼教艺术*, Taipei, 1995, pp. 121–137.

was also believed as having a guardian power, and people of Putian would keep worshipping it if it were not destroyed.

3 Manichaean Features in the Poem-lots for Sortilege Used in the Cao'an Temple

Sortilege is a special Chinese traditional activity, which is still popular even among Chinese emigrants across the world. Some poem-lots concerning Manichaeism are found in Sunei Village, with three versions in prevalence now. The poem-lots can be traced back to the period from the late Ming to early Qing (1616–1911A.D.), because it mentioned Li Zicheng 李自成 (1606–1645), a leader of peasant uprisings in the late Ming Dynasty, and Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢 (1568–1627), an infamous eunuch of late Ming period. Moreover, addressing the Ming Dynasty as “Great Ming 大明” shows the composer of the poem-lots might live in the late Ming or in early Qing period as an adherent to the Ming dynasty. Poem-lots (Fig. 21.5) as below also include some Manichaean terms:

Poem-lot No. 11: “明來降伏暗，德盛受恩波；道賈傳今古，圓峰絕頂高。”
The Light subdues the darkness, great virtue blesses us; the teachings that have been handed down from ancient times till now achieves perfection.

Poem-lot No. 14: “加被善神背，護法佑明使；勇健常隨護，報應決無私。”
Being backed with the Righteous God and blessed by the Messenger of Light; and protected by the martial one, you will keep good Karma.

Poem-lot No. 17: “善神扶我背，剿絕暗魔軍；福力宜收健，皓月出重雲。”
With support of the Righteous God on the back, I annihilate the demonic forces; it's better to be endowed with blessings, and the moon cannot be mantled by the clouds.

Poem-lot No. 34: “障礙為妖暗蠱生，家神引透外精神；可宜急作商量計，免被侵侵入骨城。”
Obstructions haunt and darkness appears, family deities conspire with outer spirits; it would be better to discuss soon on avoiding their intrusion into the city of bones.

Poem-lot No. 41: “禮拜勸求功得力，須存方寸覓前程；黑雲捲盡生明月，回首江山萬里晴。”
Worshipping regularly for merits and virtues, seeking brilliant future wholeheartedly; dark cloud is dispersed and the

moon comes out, when looking back, you can find ten thousand miles of river and mountain without a cloud.

Poem-lot No. 50: “助法善神常擁護，持刀寶劍剉邪魔；太陽正照群陰伏，萬里民心喜氣多。” Righteous God usually gives protection, subduing evil spirits by sword; darkness is overcome by the radiance of the sun, which delights people greatly.

Poem-lot No. 57: “正好樓前望明月，無端數陣黑雲行；何如點起銀台燭，自有光輝滿室生。” When you are watching the moon before a storied building, dark clouds scudding across the sky suddenly; you may as well lighten a silver candleabrum, sending radiance to every corner of the room.

Poem-lot No. 62: “諸福迎春長，災迺一掃空；愁雲風捲盡，紅日掛天中。” Blessings greet the fall of Spring, freeing people from misfortune and disaster; Wind blows the cloud of grief away, and red sun hangs in the sky.

Poem-lot No. 63: “靈威張法駕，佛日鎮長明；財寶豐盈足，家聲刻日成。” Divine power highlights the god's carriage, and the radiance of Buddha is always glorious; with an abundance of wealth, your family will rapidly rise in fame.

These poems highlight an idea that the Light and the goodness will certainly succeed in the battle against the Darkness and the evil. This idea is the essential teaching of Manichaeism. Similar expression can be found in *the Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light* as “the teaching expounds the principle of light, thus removing the delusion of darkness 教闡明宗，用除暗惑” and “exterminating the false and protecting the right, removing the impure and exalting the pure 誅耶（邪）祐正，激濁揚清”.²⁸ The main theme of *Traité* is also on the war between Light and Darkness. Line 217–218 of *Traité* has the same description as the above poem-lot No. 11:

時惠明日，對彼無明重昏暗夜，以光明力降伏暗性，靡不退散。Zu dieser Zeit widersetzte sich der Tag des wohlthätigen Lichts jenen unerhellten und äußerst obskuren finsternen Nächten und unterwarf mit der

28 G. Haloun, W.B. Henning, “The Compendium” (note 8), pp. 191, 193.

Kraft des Lichts die Natur der Finsternis, und es gab nichts, was sich nicht zurückzog und sich nicht zerstreute.²⁹

Line 187 of *Hymnscroll* also expresses a similar idea:

真斷事者神聖者，遊諸世間最自在，能降黑暗諸魔類，能減一切諸魔法。Die wahr richtenden göttlichen Heiligen, die in allen Welten umherwandern, höchst frei, die die finsternen Mara-Gruppen zu unterwerfen vermögen, die sämtliche Gesetze der Maras untergehen lassen können.³⁰

Of course, the teaching of Light and Darkness is embraced by many religions, and not unique for Manichaeism. This set of lots has 81 pieces of poems, and more than one tenth of them focus on the idea of the Two Principles. Their relations to Manichaeism are, therefore, self-evident. In addition, the poem-lots include some special terms that always appeared in the Chinese Manichaean manuscripts of the Tang Dynasty discovered in Dunhuang, such as Messenger of Light 明使 mentioned above and another proper term “city of bones 骨城”.

In the cosmic mythology of *Traité*, five elements of the Kingdom of Light, designated as pure air 清淨氣, wonderful wind 妙風, light power 明力, wonderful water 妙水 and wonderful fire 妙火, are devoured by the demon of the Darkness. The demon then creates human body and imprisons the light within five cities of bones 骨, sinews 筋, arteries 脈, flesh 穴, skin 皮, while gods from the Kingdom of Light strive for the salvation of the elements. This cosmic scene is described from line 30–68 of *Traité*, which mentions the term “city of bones” three times.³¹

Chinese Manichaean manuscripts in particular used words such as bones 骨, sinews 筋, arteries 脈, flesh 穴, skin 皮 to symbolize cities that bind light elements. The term “city of bones 骨城” is never found in other religious documents or other Chinese materials.³² Therefore, “city of bones 骨城” in poem-lot No. 34 illuminates its Manichaean background.

29 H. Schmidt-Glitzner (ed., trans.), *Chinesische Manichaica* (note 6), p. 93.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

31 As to the text, please compare to Lin Wushu, *Manichaeism and Its Eastward Expansion*, pp. 269–270; E. Chavannes, P. Pelliot, “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine” (note 6), pp. 528–540; H. Schmidt-Glitzner (ed., trans.), *Chinesische Manichaica* (note 6), pp. 79–82.

32 Ma Xiaohu 馬小鶴, “On a Sogdian word *t'mp'r* 粟特文 *t'mp'r* (肉身)考”, in: Rong Xinjiang 榮新江 (eds), *Sogdians in China: New Perspectives on History, Archeology and Languages* 粟特人在中國……歷史、考古、語言的新探索, Beijing, 2005, pp. 478–502.

Furthermore, although some words, such as “dark demon 暗魔”,³³ “demonic forces 魔軍”,³⁴ “Righteous God 善神”,³⁵ are not characteristic of Manichaeism, they often appear in Chinese Manichaean manuscripts. It is difficult to conclude the Manichaean origin from these words alone. But together with the above-mentioned terms, we can easily recognize the Manichaean attribute of the poem-lots.

Some common characters or words in the poem-lots also deserve scholarly examination, because they appear very often in Chinese Manichaean manuscripts. The writing of the poem-lots is supposed to be influenced by such expression. For example, the character of “Zhen 鎮” appears five times in *Hymnscroll*:

Line 27: 今還與我作留難，枷鎖禁縛鎮相縈。令我如狂復如醉，遂犯三常四處身。Aber jetzt wieder bereitet er mir Hindernisse und Schwierigkeiten, Halsringe, Ketten, Gefangenschaft und Fesseln binden mich machtvoll ein, und er macht mich wie verrückt und wie betrunken, so daß ich die drei Beständigen und die vier stillen Körper verletze.³⁶

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- 33 Line 10–13 of *Traité*: 其五類魔，黏五明身，如蠅著蜜，如鳥被羈，如魚吞鈎。以是義故，淨風明使以五類魔及五明身，二力和合，造成世界……十天八地。如是世界，即是明身醫療藥堂，亦是暗魔緊緊牢獄。E. Chavannes, P. Pelliot, “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine” (note 6), pp. 514–515; H. Schmidt-Glitzter (ed., trans.), *Chinesische Manichaica* (note 6), pp. 77–78.
- 34 It is described at the beginning of *the Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light* as: “佛夷瑟德烏盧訖者，本國梵音也，譯云光明使者，又號具智法王，亦謂摩尼光佛，即我光明大慧無上醫王應化法身之異號也。當欲出世，二耀降靈，分光三體；大慈湣故，應敵魔軍。” (Fo-i-sê-tê wu-lu-shên [original gloss: this is transliterated from the author's native speech], in translation the Apostle of Light, is also called the King of Law (*dharmarāja*) of perfect wisdom, and again Mani, the Buddha of Light. These are different designations of the *nirmānadharmakāya* of our insurpassable, bright, and all-wise Healing King. At the time when He was about to be born, the two radiant-ones having sent down spiritual power to lighten each part of the *trikāya*, He, because of His great compassion opposing the demonic forces ...); G. Haloun, W.B. Henning, “The Compendium” (note 8), pp. 189–190.
- 35 Line 345 of *Hymnscroll*: 今日所造詣功德，請收明使盡迎將；一切天仙善神等，平安遊止去災殃。Line 317–318 of *Traité*: 諸天善神，有得無得，及諸國王、群臣、士女、四部之眾，無量無數，聞是經已，皆大歡喜。E. Chavannes, P. Pelliot, “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine” (note 6), pp. 585–586; H. Schmidt-Glitzter (ed., trans.), *Chinesische Manichaica* (note 6), pp. 53, 101.
- 36 H. Schmidt-Glitzter (ed., trans.), *Chinesische Manichaica* (note 6), p. 13.

Line 38: 令我昏醉無知覺，遂犯三常四處身。無明癡愛鎮相榮，降大法藥令療愈。Er machte mich blind und trunken, und ich hatte keine Einsicht mehr, so habe ich die drei Beständigen und die vier stillen Körper verletzt; Unkenntnis, Dummheit und Begierde haben mich so ganz umgarnt. Gewähre mir das Heilmittel des großen Gesetzes und laß' mich gesunden.³⁷

Line 174: 無上光明王智慧，常勝五明元歡喜，勤心造相恆真實，信心忍辱鎮光明 Allerhöchster Licht-König. Weisheit. Ewiger Sieg. Die fünf Lichten, uranfängliche Freude, Strebsamkeit, schaffende Glorie: Beständige Wahrheit, Glaube, Geduld: (Der) das Licht regiert.³⁸

Line 275: 彼無怨敵侵邊境，亦無戎馬鎮郊軍：魔王縱起貪愛心，於明界中元無分。Dort gibt es keinen Widersacher, der in die Grenzgebiete einziele, noch gibt es dort Kriegspferde oder Truppen zur Verteidigung der Grenzgebiete; Der Mara-König ist seinem begierigen und leidenschaftlichen Herzen verfallen und hat ursprünglich keinen Teil an der Welt des Lichts.³⁹

Line 336: 諸邊境界恆安靜，性相平等地無異。三常五大鎮相暉，彼言有暗元無是。Alle Enden und Grenzen sind stets friedlich und ruhig; Die Naturen und Formen sind gleich, und die Orte sind nicht verschieden; Die drei Beständigen und die fünf Großen bescheinen ständig einander; Dort von Finsternis zu reden, ist nicht wahr.⁴⁰

Here, “鎮” means usually, always and for a long time, which might be an idiomatic expression in Chinese Manichaean manuscripts. Interestingly, a similar usage of 鎮 can be found in 佛日鎮長明 of poem-lot No. 63.

There is an adjective, “勇健 [streitbar, tapfer in German, or martial in English]”, which is used to describe deities in Chinese Manichaean manuscripts. We can refer to *Hymnscroll*:

Line 152: 又啟真實平等王，能戰勇健新夷數，雄猛自在忙你尊，並諸清淨光明眾。Und wir rufen an die Wahrheit, den König der Gerechtigkeit-

37 Ibid, p. 14.

38 Ibid., p. 32.

39 Ibid., p. 45.

40 Ibid., p. 52.

keit, den kampfbereiten, starken Neuen Jesus, den heldenhaften, freien Mani, den Erhabenen, und die Scharen der Reinheit und des Lichts.⁴¹

Line 216: 大雄淨風能救父，勅諸言教及戒約。福德勇健諸明使，何故不勤所應事。Der große heldenhafte reine Wind, der rettungsmächtige Vater, hat Worte erlassen und Lehren, Vorschriften und Verträge: Ihr tugendhafte, starke Gesandte des Lichts, warum müht ihr euch nicht in dem, was euch als Aufgabe gegeben ist?⁴²

Line 240: 復作上性諸榮顯，又作勇健諸伎能：是自在者威形勢，是得寵者諸利用。Die auch Ruhm und Bekanntheit eines Mannes von überragender Natur machen und die Fertigkeiten und Fähigkeiten eines tapferen Mannes; Die strenge Gestalt und Einfluß der Freien sind und Vorteil und Nutzen der Begünstigten.⁴³

Line 249: 復告善業明兄弟，用心思惟詮妙身，各作勇健智船主，渡此流浪他鄉子。Ferner sage ich euch, den Gutes tuenden Brüdern des Lichts, bedenkt sorgfältig in eurem Herzen den erwählten wunderbaren Leib: Jeder von euch sei ein tapferer und weiser Schiffsherr und setze diese umhertreibenden aus der Fremde über.⁴⁴

And in *Traité*:

Line 139–141: 惑時白鴿微妙淨風，勇健法子，大聖之男，入於此城，四面顧望，唯見煙霧周鄣屈曲，無量聚落。Dann geschah es, daß die tapferen Söhne des Gesetzes des wunderbaren reinen Windes, der eine weiße Taube ist, und die Söhne des großen Heiligen diese Stadt betraten. Sie betrachteten die vier Seiten und sahen nichts als Rauch und Nebel, die ringsum die unzähligen verderbten Wohnstätten beschirmten.⁴⁵

The very word also appears in poem-lot No. 14: “加被善神背，護法佑明使；勇健常隨護，報應決無私 Being backed with the Righteous God and blessed by the Messenger of Light; and protected by the martial one, you will

41 Ibid., p. 29.

42 Ibid., p. 37.

43 Ibid., p. 41.

44 Ibid., p. 42.

45 Ibid., p. 88.

keep good Karma”. Terms of “Messenger of Light 明使”, “Righteous God 善神” and “streitbar, tapfer or martial 勇健” in this verse demonstrate an obvious Manichaean context of the poem-lot.

As we all know, only three Chinese Manichaean manuscripts of the Tang Dynasty are preserved, and the ones of the Song period are lost. So we can only make comparison between the poem-lots and extant manuscripts. But from the similarities concluded above, we think it highly possible that the writer(s) of the poem-lots referred to Manichaean hymns or psalms that were available at that time.

In general, the poem-lots have a close relationship to Manichaeism. In the village adjacent to the Cao'an Temple, we find not only the poem-lots originated from Mingjiao but also some diviners, who worship the Buddha of Mani, who still use the lots. Mr. Nian Liangtu obtained a hand-writing copy of interpretation of the poem-lots in Sunei Village in 2005. The owner of this copy worships a wooden statue of Mani in his home. This so-called statue of Mani is said to be inherited from his ancestor, with a history of at least 100 years. His ancestor, as a renowned diviner of Manichaean Cao'an temple at that time, was always consulted by people from neighboring areas, such as Dongshi 東石 and Shishi 石獅.⁴⁶ Local belief in the diviner and his power of being a messenger of God maybe related to the wooden statue of Mani in his home. More importantly, it's not the only one in Jinjiang, because similar statues were also found in believers' families of neighbouring villages.

4 Conclusion

After analyzing the field research data collected from the villages adjacent to the Cao'an Temple, we learn that villagers are still respecting Mani with a name of Buddha of Mani or Moni Gong 摩尼公 [Lord Mani] despite various socio-historical changes. Of course, it is indiscreet to conclude that the faith in Mani continues to be popular in present society.⁴⁷ Probably, the statue of Mani in Cao'an, the wall-paintings in Jingzhu Gong and the wooden statue preserved in the villager's home are associated with Mani, the founder of Persian Manichaeism in the mid-3rd Century. But the Buddha of Mani in Jinjiang has been changed beyond recognition, and has totally different essence

46 Nian Liangtu, *A Study on Cao'an of Jinjiang* (note 3), pp. 83–84.

47 M. Franzmann, I. Gardner, S.N.C. Lieu, “A Living Mani Cult in the Twenty-first Century”, *Redazione della Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa*, Firenze, 2005, pp. VII–XI.

from Mani himself after sinicization. If it were not for the influence of the academic interest, the Buddha of Mani would only be an ordinary deity in the folk pantheon in the eyes of present day worshipers, not the head or founder of a world religion. It would just have the same religious function as other local deities. The worshipers of Jinjiang certainly know nothing about Manichaeism teachings or classics. Mr. Nian's field research shows that the worship of the Buddha of Mani is owing to the villager's belief in its divine power of foretelling, and blessing and protecting against disaster and evil spirits. In other words, the favour toward the Buddha of Mani is just a reflection of the utilitarian character of the religious motive and behavior of the Chinese people.

Manichaeism, as an independent world religion, had already perished. However, the Manichaean community in Medieval China had to affiliate itself with mainstream religions and sinicized incessantly for survival after suffering numerous persecutions. It finally merged into the Chinese folk beliefs under the humanistic environment of China. Mani together with other major deities of Manichaeism has been transformed completely. They are embraced by some people, finding positions in the pantheon of Chinese folk religions. The latest field research by Mr. Nian furthers our understanding of the final form of existence of Manichaeism in China.

Southern Chinese Version of Mani's Picture Book Discovered?

Yutaka Yoshida

Introduction

During the last four years as many as seven Manichaean silk paintings have been discovered among Buddhist art objects preserved in Japan; in light of their styles they are most likely to have been produced in Southern China, in particular Ningbo in Zhejiang 浙江 during Southern Sung, Yuan and Ming Dynasties. The subject of the present paper is about one of the seven which depicts the Manichaean cosmogony.

1 Seven Paintings

In 2006 T. Izumi published an article entitled: “A possible Nestorian Christian image: Regarding the figure preserved as a Kokūzō Bosatsu image at Seiunji” (in Japanese).¹ In the article, Izumi proposed a Christian origin for one silk painting preserved in the Seiunji Zen Temple in Kofu City, Japan, which has been believed to be Buddhist art, and whose main figure is identified with Kokūzō Bosatsu or Bodhisattva Akāśagarbha. When he tried to prove its Christian affiliation, Izumi referred to another silk painting now housed in the Museum Yamato Bunkakan in Nara City, Japan, because the main figure of the latter looks very similar to the Seiunji figure. Izumi then pointed out that the main figure of Yamato Bunkakan painting bears a striking similarity to the well-known relief of Mani found in the Cao'an temple in Southern China, although he was not able to decide the former's religious affiliation.

In the following years the two paintings have been proved to be Manichaean rather than Christian. First, the present author proved that the Yamato Bunkakan painting, which has been called Rokudōzu or “Scene of the six realms in

1 Published in *Kokka* 1330 (2006), pp. 7–17 with plates 1–2.

Buddhism”, in fact illustrates the Manichaeian individual eschatology.² Quite independently, Zs. Gulácsi was able to show that the main figure of the Seiunji painting is to be identified with Manichaeian Jesus.³

When the news of the Manichaeian affiliation of Rokudōzu was published in as may as five newspapers in May 2008, one reader, Professor A. Donohashi of Kobe University contacted with one of the curators of the Museum Yamato Bunkakan, Dr. Sh. Furukawa, and imparted the story that he was once shown three very similar paintings by a private owner. Then Professor Donohashi sent his old photographs to Dr. Furukawa, who was kind enough to transfer them to me. To my astonishment the four paintings are all Manichaeian and among others one of them illustrates the Manichaeian cosmogony as I know from the Iranian and Chinese texts discovered in Turfan and Dunhuang as well as from Bar Konai and Al-Nadīm’s descriptions. The Manichaeian origin of the other three can be proved by referring to a monk, who appears in all the four paintings and seems to be identical; the monk wears a white robe and a white shawl with red borders typical of Manichaeian dignitaries. Meanwhile, Dr. Furukawa discovered, or rather recognized, yet another Manichaeian silk painting in a pre-war issue of the *Kokka* (No. 558, 1937, pp. 139–140). It is a portrait of a deity or a high dignitary very similar to Seiunji Jesus and Mani of the Yamato Bunkakan painting. In view of its forked beard the portrait is likely to represent Mani.

Before discussing the one illustrating Manichaeian cosmogony, I give a list of the seven Manichaeian paintings found in Japan:⁴

- (1) Individual Eschatology (Museum Yamato Bunkakan, Nara; complete): 142.0 cm tall and 59.2 cm wide
- (2) Jesus (Seiunji, Kofu; complete): 153.3 cm tall and 58.7 cm wide
- (3) Cosmogony (private collection; complete): 137.1 cm tall and 56.6 cm wide

2 I read a paper on this subject at a conference “A Hundred Years of Dunhuang, 1907–2007” held in London in May 2007. The paper was subsequently published in a Festschrift for Professor M. Tardieu: Y. Yoshida, “A Newly Recognized Manichaeian Painting: Manichaeian Daēnā from Japan”, in: M.-A. Amir Moezzi, J.-D. Dubois, C. Jullien, and F. Jullien, *Pensée grecque et sagesse d’Orient. Hommage à Michel Tardieu*, Turnhout 2009, 697–714.

3 Zs. Gulácsi, “A Manichaeian ‘Portrait of the Buddha Jesus’: Identifying a Twelfth- or Thirteenth-Century Chinese Painting from the Collection of Seiun-ji zen Temple”, *Artibus Asiae* 69/1 (2003) 91–145.

4 For further information see my article published in Japanese: Y. Yoshida, “Cosmogony and Church History Depicted in the Newly Discovered Chinese Manichaeian Paintings”, *Yamato Bunka* 121 (2010) 3–34 with plates 1–9 and English summary in p. 55.

- (4) Realm of Light, two fragments from one and the same painting (private collection)
 Fragment (A): 17.0 cm tall and 37.4 cm wide
 Fragment (B): 17.2 cm tall and 22.5 cm wide
- (5) Hagiography (1) (private collection; complete?): 119.9 cm tall and 57.6 cm wide
- (6) Hagiography (2) (private collection; fragment): 32.9 cm tall and 57.4 cm wide
- (7) Mani (present whereabouts not known; complete): 180.3 cm tall and 67.3 cm wide

2 Ten Heavens

When one sees the cosmogony painting, one's attention is drawn to the ten bow-shaped layers (Fig. 22.1). Each arch has twelve houses or gates and at the right and left ends of each arch, two people are holding up an arch with one arm. Four people stand on each arch and altogether forty men are found among the ten arches. No student of Manichaeism would fail to discern here the ten firmaments each with twelve gates described in the texts expounding Manichaean cosmogony. For the sake of convenience I cite a relevant passage from a Sogdian text of M 178 as translated by W.B. Henning:⁵

Thereupon at once the Lord of the Seven Climes and the Mother of the Righteous began to plan how to arrange this world. Then they began to fashion it. First they made Five *Rugs; there they seated the Splendite-nens. Thereunder they formed ten Firmaments, set up one magic twelve-faced *Lens. There they seated a Son of God as watcher, so that in all the ten Firmaments the demons could do no harm. Furthermore he evoked (created) forty angels, who hold the ten Firmaments upraised. In each firmament they fashioned twelve Gates; another four Gates each they constructed in the four directions, there where those angels stand. ... Thereupon the All-maker (Wišparkar)⁶ called the Lord of the Firmaments. They seated him on a throne in the seventh heaven and made him the lord

5 W.B. Henning, "A Sogdian Fragment of the Manichaean Cosmogony", *BSOAS* 12 (1948) 306–318, in particular pp. 312–313.

6 The correct meaning of this word was later discovered by H. Humbach, cf. idem "Vayu, Śiva und der Spiritus Vivens im ostiranischen Synkretismus", in: *Monumentum H.S. Nyberg*, I, *AcIr* 4, Tehran, Liège 1975, pp. 397–408, esp. pp. 402–408.

and king over all the ten Firmaments. Then, below the ten Firmaments, they fashioned a rolling wheel and zodiac. Within the zodiac they fettered those of the demons of Darkness that were the most iniquitous, vicious, and rebellious.

As one reads in the Chinese *Traité*, “Ainsi donc l’univers est la pharmacie où les corps lumineux guérissent, mais il est en même temps la prison où les démons obscurs enchaînent”, one sees several demons among the ten heavens, and in the sixth heaven from below one demon or archon is in fact imprisoned in a jail⁷ (Fig. 22.2).

The seventh heaven is slightly wider than the others and one sees a round object with twelve human faces on the right side (Fig. 22.3). This is obviously the object that Henning translates as “a magic twelve-faced lens”. Accordingly, the deity depicted there twice as seated on a throne is to be identified with the Lord of the Firmaments or the King of Honour. It is particularly interesting to note that St. Augustine remarks in connection with the King of Honour that he is “surrounded by armies of angels” ([*et alterum regem honoris*] *angelorum exercitibus circumdatum*), because in our painting he is accompanied by eight soldiers.⁸ This may indicate that when he was an auditor St. Augustine saw a similar scene in a North African version of the Picture Book.

In the centre of the lowest heaven another round object is placed between two angels, one male and the other female⁹ (Fig. 22.4). Inside of it are zodiacal signs, among which Pisces, Libra, Scorpio, etc. are easy to recognize. Within a smaller circle are five ugly creatures, which may be equated with “the demons of Darkness that were the most iniquitous, vicious, and rebellious” of M178. Although not all that one finds in M178 have the counterpart in the cosmogony painting, there is practically no doubt about the fact that the painting depicts the Manichaean cosmos, which is variously described in the texts expounding Manichaean cosmogony.¹⁰

7 E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine”, *Journal Asiatique*, sér. 10, 1911, pp. 499–617, in particular p. 515.

8 I cite the English translation of the passage from A.V.W. Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism With Special Reference to the Turfan Fragments*, New York, 1932 (reprint New York 1965), p. 300.

9 In a Middle Persian text M98 I recto 5–6, the two angels are described as *nr u m’yg* “male and female”, cf. M. Hutter, *Manis kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte*, Wiesbaden 1992, p. 10.

10 A basket woven of six snakes is suspended from the lowest sky. It is the eleventh sky and is referred to as *gyrd’sm’n* in M99 I recto 19, cf. Hutter, *op. cit.* (note 9), p. 15. It is surrounded by seven warriors, who seem to be referred to as *tskyrb hpt ’stwn* “sieben quadratische Säulen”, cf. Hutter, *op. cit.*, line 70.

3 Structure of the Painting

Realizing that we have an illustration of the Manichaean cosmos before us, let us examine the rest of the painting. On the top we expect to see the Realm of Light with the Father of Greatness and actually we find one deity in the centre surrounded by twelve goddesses, who are most likely to be twelve aeons (Fig. 22.5). Between the ten heavens and the Realm of Light are two round objects (Fig. 22.6). One can easily think of two vessels, ships, or chariots in the heaven, that is to say the sun and the moon. The ships of the sun and the moon look very similar, but one can easily distinguish one from the other. There is difference in the number of gates in the front, into which a beam or a stream of light particles is going. The one on the right shows twelve gates while that of the left fourteen. According to a Middle Persian text M98 I recto the sun has twelve gates and the moon fourteen.¹¹ Thus, one on the left is to be identified with the moon and the other the sun. There are total five rooms or sections in each ship and the number of people in the front section of the moon is seven while that of the sun is twelve. Lines 362 and 370 of the Chinese hymnscroll mention 12 and 7 ship-masters, the former for the sun and the latter for the moon.¹² No doubt five people each behind them are the five light-gathering envoys (*rw'ncyn prystg*) referred to in M98 recto and the *Hymnscroll*.¹³ Consequently, three deities on the ship of the sun are to be identified with Third Messenger, Mother of Life, and Living Spirit, while those of the moon, Jesus the Splendour, Maiden of Light, and First Man. Nevertheless, they look so similar that one can hardly distinguish among them.

Below the ten firmaments one notices an oval continent surrounded by water, from the centre of which grows a mountain like a mushroom (Fig. 22.7). This is most likely to be Mt. Sumeru and it really looks like Sumeru Mountain of Buddhist paintings.¹⁴ In a Sogdian fragment of the Book of Giants again published by Henning, one reads that the 32 towns exist in the Manichaean Sumeru Mountain or *smryryy*.¹⁵ When one counts small houses on the mountain they turn out to be 32.

11 Cf. Hutter, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp. 10–13.

12 Cf. H. Schmidt-Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica mit textkritischen Anmerkungen und Glossar*, Wiesbaden, 1987, pp. 56, 58. On this point see also M. Vermes (trans.), *Acta Archelai*, Turnhout 2001, p. 57, n. 76.

13 Cf. Hutter, *ibid.* and Schmidt-Glintzer, *ibid.*

14 Weak traces of the sun and the moon are visible respectively on the right and left sides just as in illustrations of the Buddhist Sumeru Mountain.

15 Cf. Henning, "The Book of Giants", *BSOAS* 11 (1943) 52–74, esp. pp. 55–56 (Text G).

On the surface of the continent, that is to say on the eighth earth, one sees two demons lying (Fig. 22.8). One of them is apparently knocked down by a warrior. The warrior can easily be identified with Adamas. As St. Augustine describes in the *Contra Faustum* 15.6, he is holding a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left.¹⁶ The other demon is also lying, but one can only see his head, while his body is apparently covered under a crude piece of cloth like a blanket. It took me some time to understand that it represents a demon deprived of its skin and body, from which were fashioned the skies and earths as stated by Theodore Bar Kōnay.¹⁷

Under the eighth earth one expects to see the remaining seven earths. However, one does not recognise seven layers comparable to the ten firmaments. Toward the very bottom of the painting there are five registers, in each of which one sees from below birds, snakes, ferocious animals, fish, and bipeds (Fig. 22.9). This no doubt corresponds to what St. Augustine stated in his *Contra Epistulam Fundamenti*, chapter 28:

Remarquons que ces cinq natures sont comme les parties d'une seule nature, que Mani appelle "la terre pestilentielle". ... Les Manichéens répondent que ces espèces étaient différentes et en, invoquant d'autres livres, ils enseignent que dans les ténèbres il y avait des serpents, dans les eaux des bêtes nageant comme les poissons, dans les vents des bêtes volant comme les oiseaux, dans le feu des quadrupèdes, comme sont les chevaux, les lions, etc., dans la fumée des bipèdes, tel que l'homme.¹⁸

Upon these five layers or chasms (cf. M98 I verso 7: *pnz knd'r ymrg* "fünf Gräben des Todes") one expects to find the fifth earth on which Atlas stands. In fact in the centre of the layer just above the five registers one sees one deity standing before a mansion. Unfortunately his face is missing due to the damage on the surface. To his right are three spirals accompanied by two deities, one of whom is holding a red ribbon. According to Bar Kōnai, the Living Spirit made three wheels of wind, water, and fire and placed them near Atlas; he appointed the King of Glory for raising wind, water and fire.¹⁹ Thus, one with a ribbon is to be identified with the King of Glory who controls the three wheels.

16 Jackson, op. cit. (note 8), p. 300.

17 Jackson, op. cit. (note 8), pp. 233–235.

18 Cited from *Six traités anti-manichéens*, texte de l'édition bénédictine, traduction, introduction et notes par R. Jolivet et M. Jourjon, Paris 1961, pp. 464–467.

19 For Bar Kōnai's description of Atlas and the King of Glory see Jackson, op. cit. (note 8), pp. 238–240.

4 Other Scenes

4.1 *Judgment Scene*

In my paper discussing the Manichaean affiliation of the Yamato Bunkakan painting, I supposed that the scene of the judgment after death found in it is most likely to have derived from Mani's Picture Book.²⁰ I was very glad when I discovered the similar scene of judgment in the new painting. (Fig. 22.10) To the right of Sumeru Mountain a judge is seated in a building with two assistants. His seat is situated between the ten heavens and the eight earths, in other words, in the air. One may be reminded again of the fact that in the *Kephalaia*, chapter 30 and in one Parthian text the Just Judge's seat is placed in the air.²¹ In this scene those who are taken in front of the Just Judge are the five kinds of creatures typical of the Manichaean cosmogony: biped, quadruped, bird, snake, and fish.²² Just as in the Yamato Bunkakan painting, Daēnā and her two attendants are riding on a cloud and are observing the judgment. Before the five kinds of creatures are placed five human heads, which obviously represent living souls. The reason why I believe so will become clear if we see the next scene.

4.2 *Maiden of Light*

On the left side of the Sumeru Mountain one sees a female deity standing on a very dark cloud, on which several heads of a lion like creature are painted. (Fig. 22.11) That these creatures represent demons is clear, since a demon is described as *šgrqyrbnd* "lion-shaped" in a famous Middle Persian cosmogony text.²³ The scene corresponds very well to what one finds in the *Kephalaia*, chapter 95, which reads in I. Gardner's English translation as follows:

Behold now, I have instructed you about this cloud: How it shall ascend above, and the lives that are in it are purified. I have also taught you of the rulers that are in it: how they shall make these rebellions and how they shall be caught. And they are cast to the outer prison by the angels, when

20 Cf. Yoshida, *op. cit.* (note 2), pp. 702–703 with n. 26.

21 Cf. I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, NHMS 37, Leiden, New York, Köln 1995, p. 85. On the Parthian text, see W. Sundermann, "Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und Menschen in iranischen Version des manichäischen Mythos", *AoF* 6 (1979) 95–133, esp. p. 124, n. 132.

22 Cf. F.C. Andreas and W.B. Henning, "Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan, I", *SPAW.PH* 1932, x, pp. 173–222, esp. p. 183, n. 1.

23 Cf. Hutter, *op. cit.* (note 9), lines 884, 936, and 1021.

the command is given to them through the power of the Virgin of Light. She has authority over the entire zone, and cleanses the life that is in it.²⁴

One also finds a similar reference in a Parthian text published by Sundermann.²⁵ The reason why the Maiden of Light is called “Thunderbolt Buddha” or “Thunderbolt Light” in Chinese Manichaean texts seems to lie in her meteorological activities. The outer ditches mentioned in the *Kephalaia* seem to be depicted as surrounding the sea in our painting. Incidentally, two heads held by the Light Virgin are most likely to represent particles of light purified by her. This gives a hint to the interpretation of a number of Turfan pictures where human heads are piled on a disc like vessel.²⁶

4.3 *Light Ships*

In the very centre of each sky one sees small crescents with two people. Besides those among the firmaments, another three ships are also seen between the chariots of the sun and the moon. (Fig. 22.6) They are no doubt light ships on which Living Souls are on board and are sent to the New Paradise. The fact that a light ship is depicted as a crescent induces one to suspect that a similar crescent found in Turfan miniatures also represents a light ship which ferries light elements to the New Heaven. Apart from the two paper fragments mentioned in note 26, one may be reminded of a piece of a silk painting (M1K III 6278, Gulácsi, op. cit. [note 26], pp. 174–175, No. 79; Fig. 22.12). H.-J. Klimkeit describes the painting and interprets its motif as follows:²⁷

In the middle of the book we see the gilded disk of the moon, represented as a sailing boat. Centrally enthroned upon it is a saviour figure arrayed with a diadem, whose facial features have not been preserved, any more than those of the flanking and worshipping figures. Of the three saviour figures who had their seat in the moon, “Jesus the Splendour”, the “Maiden of Light” and “First Man”, this central figure is perhaps “Jesus the

24 Cf. Gardner, op. cit. (note 21), p. 250.

25 See W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Berlin, 1973, pp. 46–48. A Parthian abecedarian hymn on the same subject was edited by M. Boyce, “Sadwēs and Pēsūs”, *BSOAS* 13 (1951) 908–915.

26 Cf. M1K III 7283 (Zs. Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*, Turnhout 2001, pp. 112–113) and M1K 6272 (Ch. Bhattacharya-Haesner, *Central Asian Temple Banners in the Turfan Collection of the Museum für Indische Kunst*, Berlin 2003, pp. 369–370, no. 544).

27 Cf. H.-J. Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy*, Leiden, 1982, p. 46.

Splendour”, the figure of light who in Uighur texts is invoked simply as “Moon God” (ai tängrı) and who here functions as conductor of souls.

However, now that we know how the ship of moon really looks like in the Picture Book, this identification is to be discarded. The sailing boat of MİK III 6278 is not the moon but a light ship ferrying a deceased soul or a light element. I propose to identify the one deity sitting in the centre with Mani, because in a Parthian hymn in memory of Mani's death we read as follows:²⁸

... wie ein Herrscher, der die Waffen und sein (Kriegs-)Kleid ablegt und ein andres königliches Gewand anlegt, so legte der Gesandte des Lichts des Körpers kriegerische Tracht ab, setzte sich nieder in ein Licht-Schiff und ergriff das göttliche Kleid, das Diadem des Lichts und schönen Kranz. Und in großer Freude flog er zusammen mit Lichtgöttern, die rechts und links (neben ihm) einhergehen, unter Harfenklang und Freudensang,— flog er in göttlicher Wundermacht, wie ein rascher Blitz oder eine eilende Strahlenscheinung (Sternschnuppe), hin zur lichten Säule der Herrlichkeit und zum Mondgefährt, dem Treffpunkt der Gottheiten, und blieb (dort) bei Gott Ohrmizd, dem Vater.

In my opinion this painting represents the scene in which Mani's soul is sailing to paradise. As for the four female deities in front of the ship, I venture to suggest that they are Daēnā and her three followers.

5 Conclusion

Hopefully, what I have argued in this paper is persuasive enough to proof that the painting illustrates the Manichaean cosmogony. In my opinion, our painting is one piece from a Southern Chinese version of Mani's Picture Book.²⁹ As one can see from the photographs, it is simply impossible to discuss all the

28 F.C. Andreas and W.B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, III, SPAW.PH, 1934, pp. 846–912, esp. pp. 860–861.

29 A. Forte was of opinion that *shan e zheng* 善惡幀 “Peiture du bien et du mal” is the designation of the Picture Book employed by the Manichaeans of Wenzhu 温州 in Southern China, cf. *T'oung Pao* 59, 1973, p. 250. Another candidate is *kai yuan kuo di bian wen* 開元括地變文 mentioned in the *fo zu tong ji* 佛祖統記, vol. 39 (cf. Chavannes and Pelliot, *Journal Asiatique* 1913, p. 357), because the title means “Texts and illustrations of the foundation of cosmos and the construction of the earth”.

details of the cosmogony painting in this short paper.³⁰ Here I have selected mainly those scenes for which one can easily adduce corresponding textual sources. In connection with Mani's Picture Book, Henning once remarked:³¹

The drawings, which are lost (a copy existed in Ghazna as late as the eleventh century), would no doubt have helped us to understand many puzzling points; nevertheless one cannot help wishing Mani had made himself a little wax model of the world and kept it by his side and looked at it from time to time when talking on such enthralling subjects as the Eight Earths, the Exterior Hells, the Three Wheels, the Seven Great Columns, the posture of Atlas, the Giant of the Sea, the Veins of Connections, the Column of Glory, etc., etc.

It is true that our painting helps us to understand Mani's cosmogony better than before. The twelve-faced object in front of the King of Honour is a case in point. However, it is also true that the painting itself poses more questions than it solves problems of the Manichaean cosmogony.

30 For further identification see my article in Japanese mentioned above in note 4.

31 Henning, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 310–311.

Plates



FIG. 1.1 *Exhibition entrance area introducing the Manichaean Collection of the Chester Beatty Library*
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FIG. 1.2 *Video zone with the 'Sod-of-Turf' exhibit in the foreground*
© THE TRUSTEES OF THE CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY, DUBLIN



FIG. 1.3 *The central area of the exhibition illustrated the spread of Manichaeism and the papyrus-codices from Medinet Madi*
 © THE TRUSTEES OF THE CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY, DUBLIN



FIG. 1.4 *The final area 'A Lost Religion-A Restored History' outlined the work of academics and conservators in preserving the ancient texts*
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FIG. 9.1 *Chinese Manichaean painting of the 13th century—the Yamato Bunkakan painting*



FIG. 9.2 *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: The Just Judge*



FIG. 9.3A *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: Däenā with her attendants*



FIG. 9.3B *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: Dāenā with her attendants*



FIG. 9.4 *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: Fate after death*



FIG. 9.5 *MIK III 4979 a, b verso*



FIG. 9.6 *MIK III 6265 and III 6966 c recto*

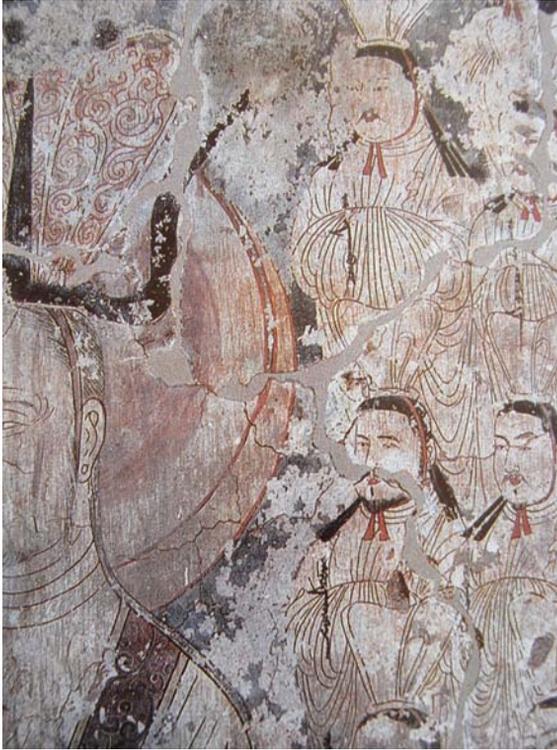


FIG. 9.7 *MIK III 6918*



FIG. 9.8 *MIK III 4956 b recto[?]*



FIG. 9.9 *MIK III 6286 side 1*[?]



FIG. 9.10 *MIK III 6286 side 2*[?]



FIG. 9.11 *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: inscription*



FIG. 9.12A *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: Fate after death*



FIG. 9.12B *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: Fate after death*



FIG. 9.13 *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: Mani (detail)*

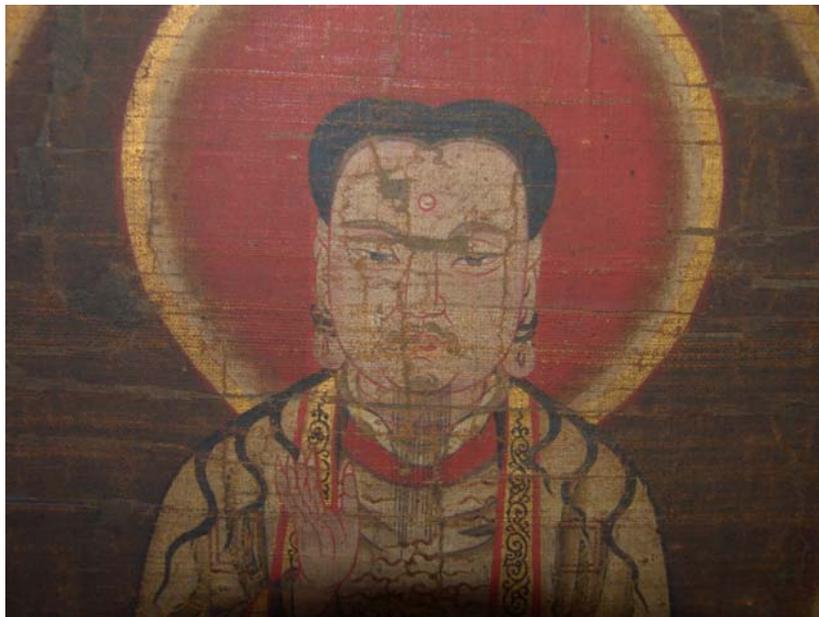


FIG. 9.14 *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: Mani (detail)*



FIG. 9.15 *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: Mani flanked by four persons*



FIG. 9.16A *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: lacquer stand*



FIG. 9.16B *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: electus (detail)*



FIG. 9.17 *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: auditor (detail)*



FIG. 9.18 *MIK III 6368 (detail)*



FIG. 9.19 *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: auditor (detail)*



FIG. 9.20 *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: paradisaical scene*



FIG. 9.21A *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: Dāenā and attendants*



FIG. 9.21B *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: Dāenā and attendants*



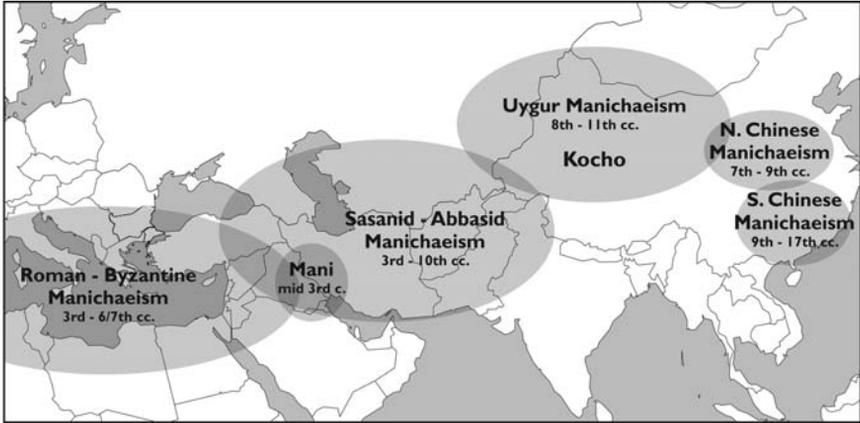
FIG. 9.22A *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: Dāenā and attendants*



FIG. 9.22B *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: Dāenā and attendants*



FIG. 9.23 *The Yamato Bunkakan painting: Zhang Siyi and his wife Zhen Xinniang*



MAP 11.0 *Phases of Manichaean History (3rd–17th Centuries CE)*

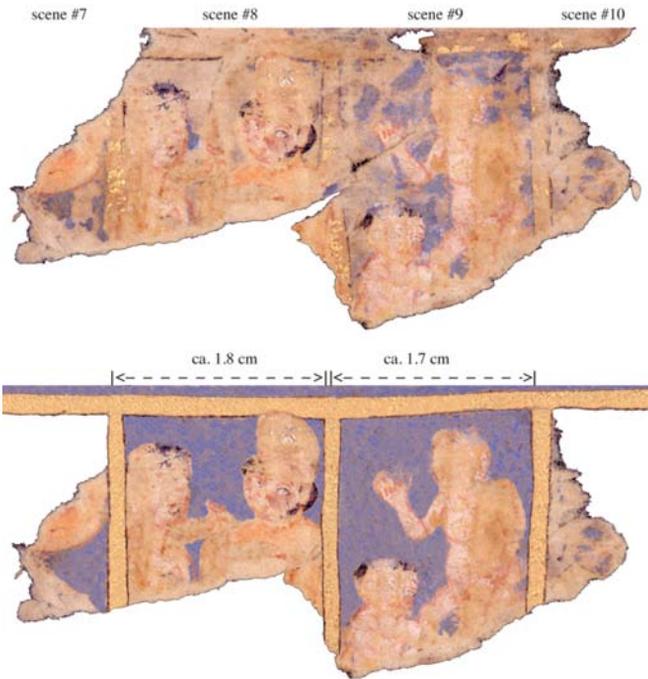


FIG. 11.1 *Life of Jesus Depicted according to the Diatessaron on Manichaean Folio Fragment (MIK III 4967a recto, detail) before and after Digital Reconstruction (after Gulácsi 2011, Fig. 2). Upper (a): Four remaining scenes in actual condition (W: 7 cm). Lower (b): Four remaining scenes with digitally enhanced backgrounds and frames*

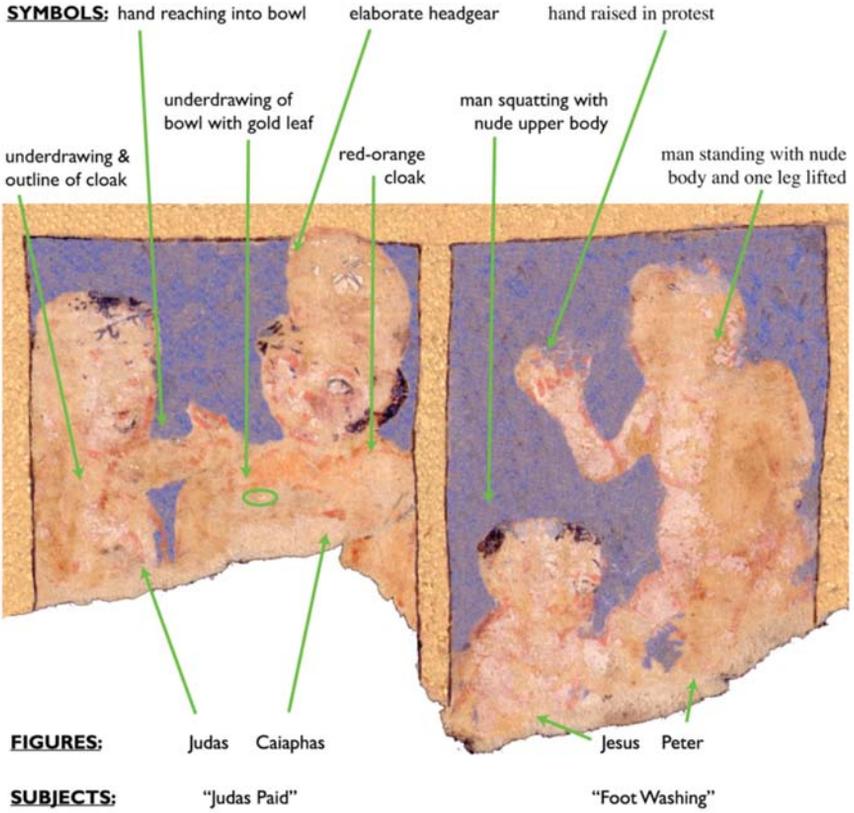


FIG. 11.2 *Analysis of Iconography on the Two Identifiable Scenes from the Life of Jesus (MIK III 4967a recto, detail, shown with digitally enhanced backgrounds and borders)*

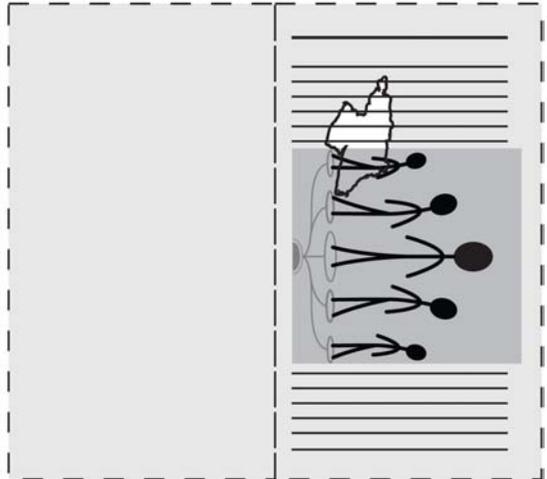
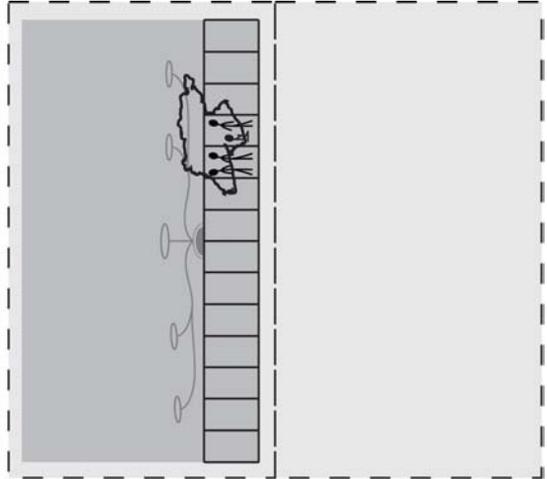


FIG. 11.3 *Reconstruction of an Illuminated Folio (MIK III 4967a). Upper left (a): MIK III 4967a recto. Upper right (c): MIK III 4967a recto (H: min. 29,6 cm, W: ca. 16.0 cm). Lower left (b): MIK III 4967a verso (H: 7.3 cm, W: 4.3 cm). Lower right (d): MIK III 4967a verso*

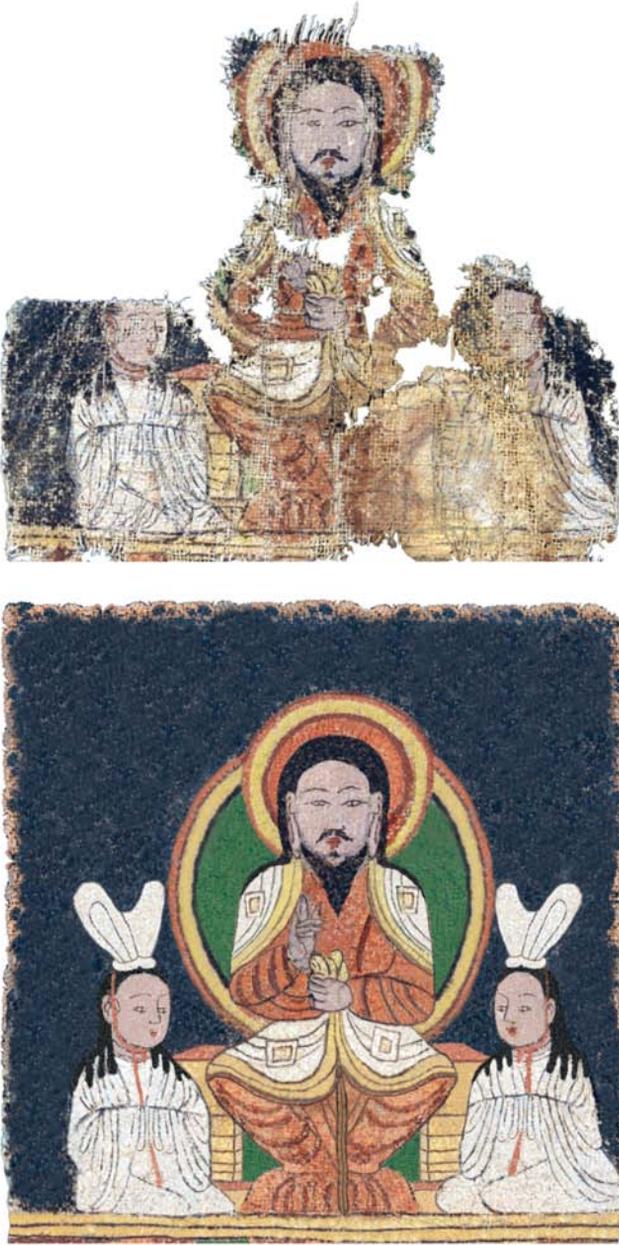


FIG. 11.4 Enthroned Jesus on a Manichaean Temple Banner (MIK III 6286, side 2[?]) before and after Digital Reconstruction (after Gulácsi 2009, Fig. 13). Upper (a): Actual Condition (W: 16 cm). Lower (b): Reconstructed Image



FIG. 11.5 Enthroned Light Maiden on a Manichaean Temple Banner (MIK III 6286, side 1[?]) before and after Digital Reconstruction (after Gulácsi 2012, Fig. 5/3). Upper (a): Actual Condition (W: 16 cm). Lower (b): Reconstructed Image



FIG. 11.6 *Double-sided Manichaean Temple Banner Fragment (MIK III 6286), Kocho, 10th century CE, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin. Left: Side 1(?) with Enthroned Light Maiden in upper register (H: 45.5 cm, W: 16 cm). Right: Side 2(?) with Enthroned Jesus in upper register*

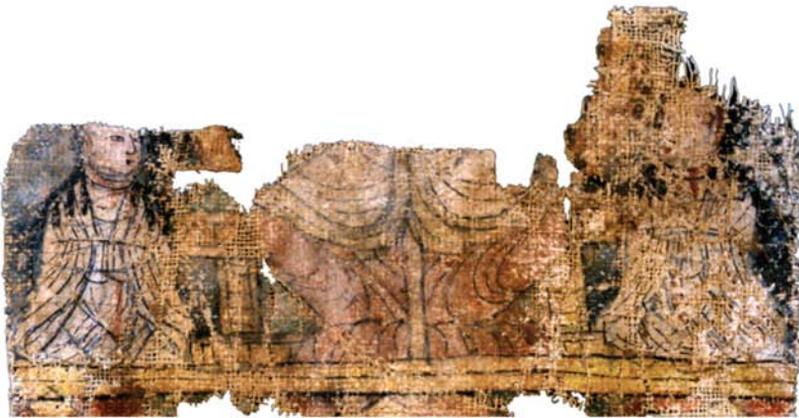


FIG. 11.7 *Two Enthroned Jesus Images on a Manichaean Temple Banner (MIK III 6283, sides 1[?] and 2[?], after Le Coq 1913 and Gulácsi 2001). Upper (b): Partially reconstructed image on side 1(?). Middle (a): Condition of image on side 1(?) with torso intact (after Le Coq 1913, Taf. 3b). Lower (c): Actual condition of image on side 2(?) (after Gulácsi 2001, Fig. 80/1; W: ca. 17 cm)*



FIG. 11.8 *Double-sided Manichaean Temple Banner Fragment (MIK III 6283), Kocho, 10th century CE, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin. Left: Side 1(?) with Enthroned Jesus in upper register (H: 75.5 cm, W: 17 cm). Right: Side 2(?) with Enthroned Jesus in upper register*

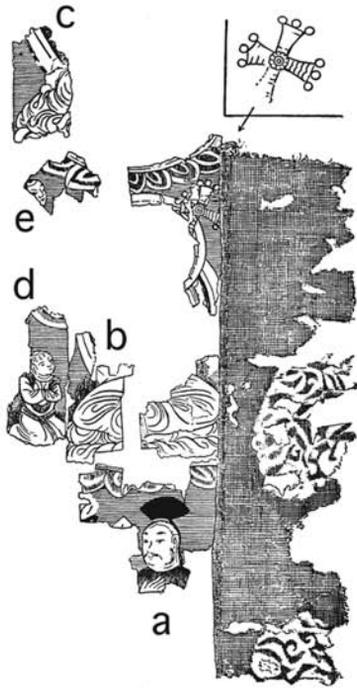
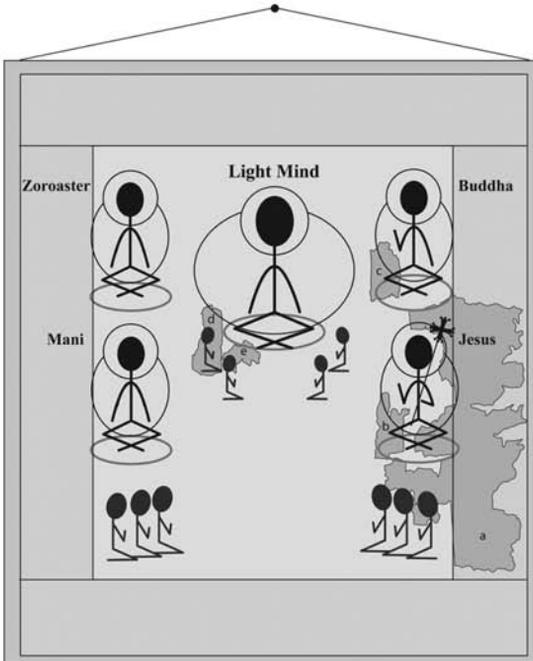


FIG. 11.9

Jesus among Primary Prophets on a Manichaean Hanging Scroll Fragment (lost, unnumbered item), Kocho, 10th century, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin. Upper (a): Painted and gilded silk fragment with Jesus figure (after Le Coq 1923, p. 26; H: ca. 60 cm). Lower (b): Reconstruction of composition (after Gulácsi 2009, Fig. 1b; H: ca. 10 cm, W: ca. 90 cm)



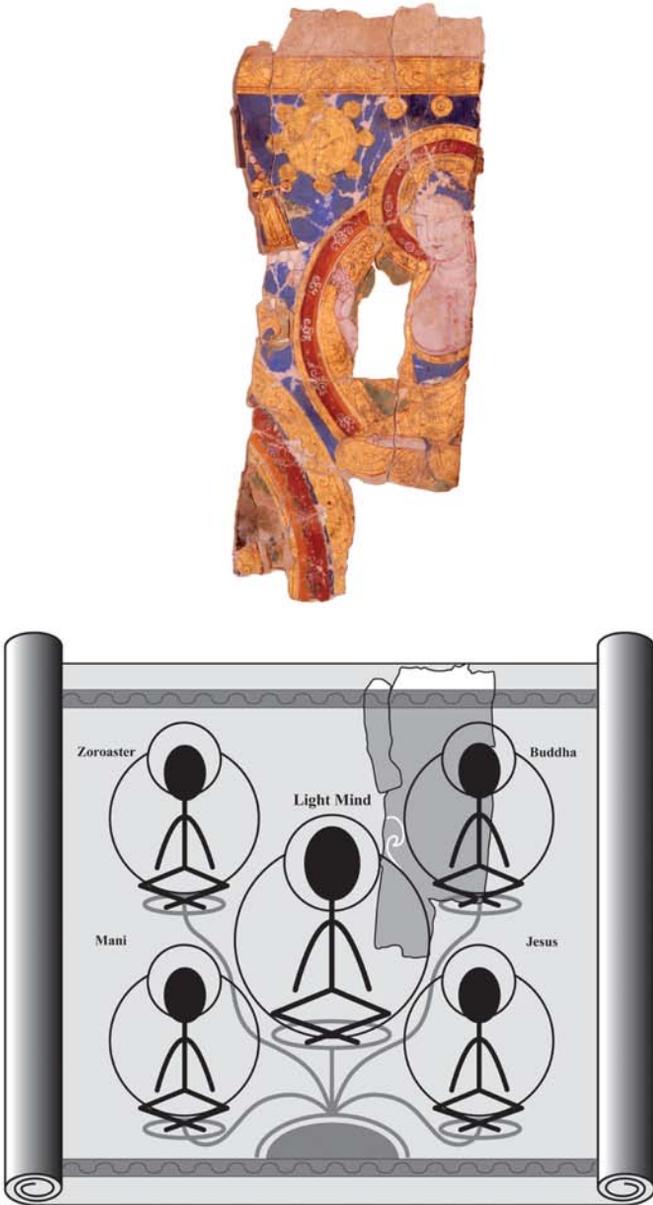


FIG. 11.10 Shakyamuni among Primary Prophets on Manichaean Handscroll Fragment (MIK 111 4947 & 1115d), Kocho, 10th century, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin. Upper (a): Painted and gilded paper fragment with Buddha figure (H: 5 cm W: 1.4 cm). Lower (b): Reconstruction of composition (after Gulácsi 2005, Fig. 5/26; H: 27.6 cm, W: 20.6 cm)



FIG. 11.11

Jesus with the Cross of Light on a
Manichaean Hanging Scroll,
Southern China, 12th–13th
century, Seiun-ji, Kofu, Japan.
Painted and gilded silk (H: 153 cm)



FIG. 12.1 *Manichaean book illustration (fragment), colours and gold on paper, 11 × 8,2 cm, Object No. MIK III 4959 v*
COPYRIGHT © MUSEUM FÜR ASIATISCHE KUNST, SMB, PHOTO: JÜRGEN LIEPE



FIG. 12.2

*The Yamato Bunkakan
silk painting Complete
hanging scroll, colours
on silk, 142 × 59,2 cm*

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YAMATO BUNKAKAN,
NARA



FIG. 12.2A Clerks in red and green robes in *R4* of the *Sandōzu* (detail)
 COPYRIGHT © YAMATO BUNKAKAN, NARA



FIG. 12.2B

Similarity of the brown-skinned persons. Sandōzu (detail)
 COPYRIGHT © YAMATO BUNKAKAN, NARA



FIG. 12.2C *Dedicational inscription in R4 positioned between the Daēnā group and the white-skinned person group (detail)*

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FIG. 12.3 *Lu Xinzong (studio of): The Seventh King of Hell (detail), Clerks in red and green robes. 13th century. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 85×50,5 cm, Object No. 1962-14*
 COPYRIGHT © MUSEUM FÜR ASIATISCHE KUNST, SMB, PHOTO JÜRGEN LIEPE



FIG. 12.3A *Lu Xinzong (studio of): The Seventh King of Hell (detail), Female sinner being judged and tortured 13th century. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 85×50,5 cm, Object No. 1962-14*

COPYRIGHT © MUSEUM FÜR ASIATISCHE KUNST, SMB, PHOTO JÜRGEN LIEPE

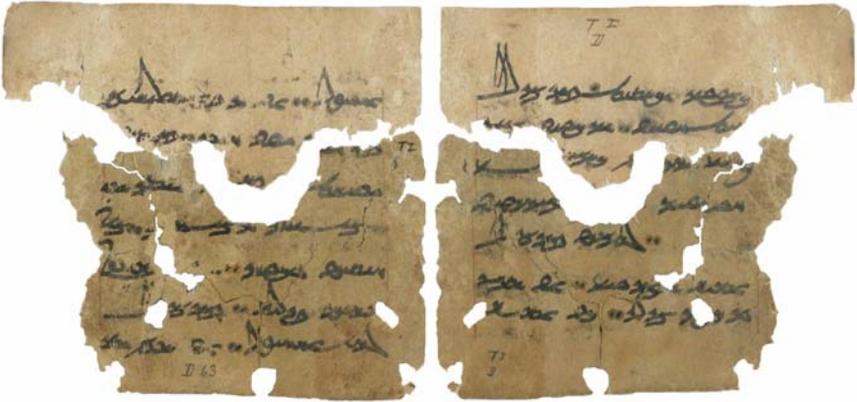


FIG. 17.1 *So 10650(8) ~ So 10085+So 13910+So 20186 (text a). Left: recto, right: verso*
 PHOTOGRAPHS: BERLIN STATE LIBRARY



FIG. 17.2 *So 13425(2) ~ So 13426(2) (text b). Left: 1st side, right: 2nd side*
 PHOTOGRAPHS: BERLIN STATE LIBRARY



FIG. 17.3 *So 10650(14)+So 20191 (text c). Left: recto, right: verso*
 PHOTOGRAPHS: BERLIN STATE LIBRARY



FIG. 17.4 *Ch/So 20146+Ch/U 7080 (text d). Left: recto, right: verso*
 PHOTOGRAPHS: BERLIN STATE LIBRARY



FIG. 21.1 *The Cao'an temple 草庵 of jinjiang 晉江*
 PHOTO: MR. NIAN LIANGTU 粘良图



FIG. 21.2 *The stone statue of Mani in the Cao'an temple*



FIG. 21.3 *The sixteen-character inscription near the Cao'an temple (This is a replica, the original one was destroyed)*



FIG. 21.4 *The wall-painting of five deities in Jingzhu Gong 境主宮*
 PHOTO: MR. NIAN LIANGTU 粘良图

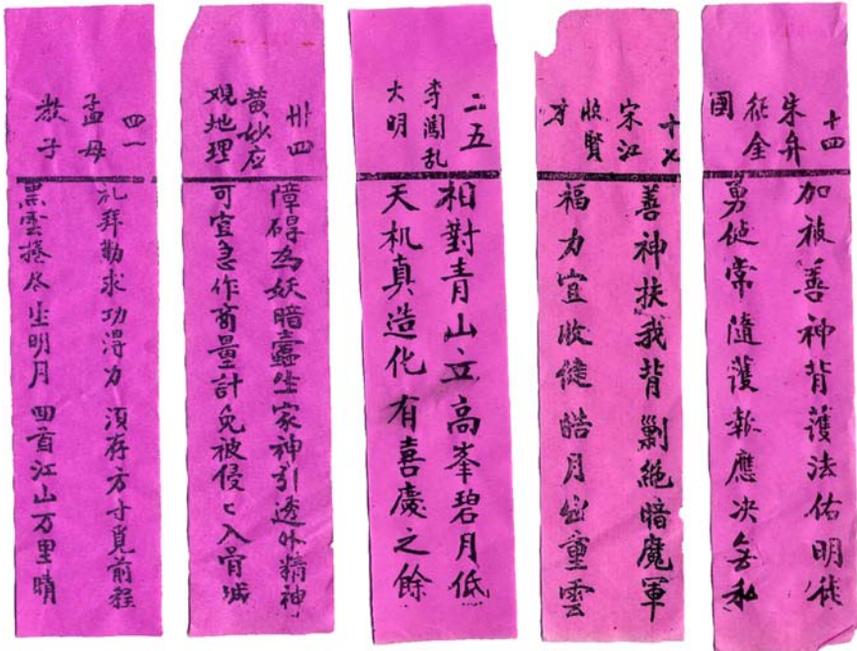


FIG. 21.5 Poem-lots found in Sunei Village 蘇內村
 PHOTO: MR. NIAN LIANGTU 粘良图

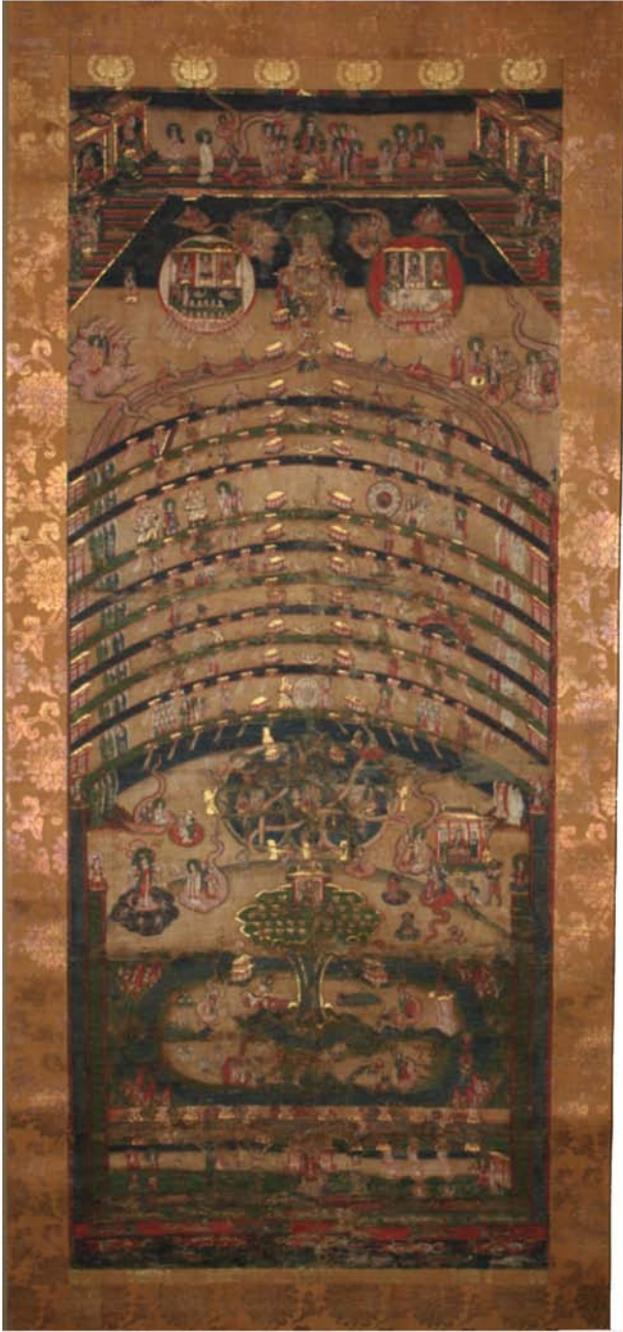


FIG. 22.1 *Cosmogony painting (private collection; colours on silk; overall view) 131.1 × 56.6*



FIG. 22.2 *The 6th and 7th heavens showing the King of Honour on the 7th heaven and an imprisoned demon on the 6th*

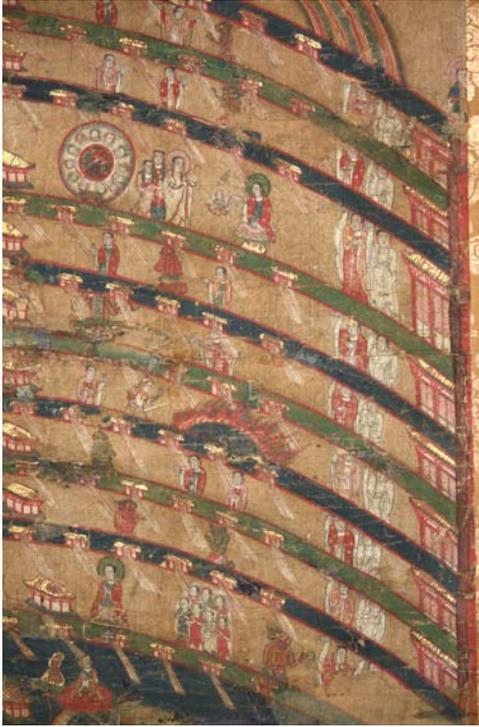


FIG. 22.3

*The right half of the ten heavens
showing a round object containing 12
human faces on the 7th heaven*

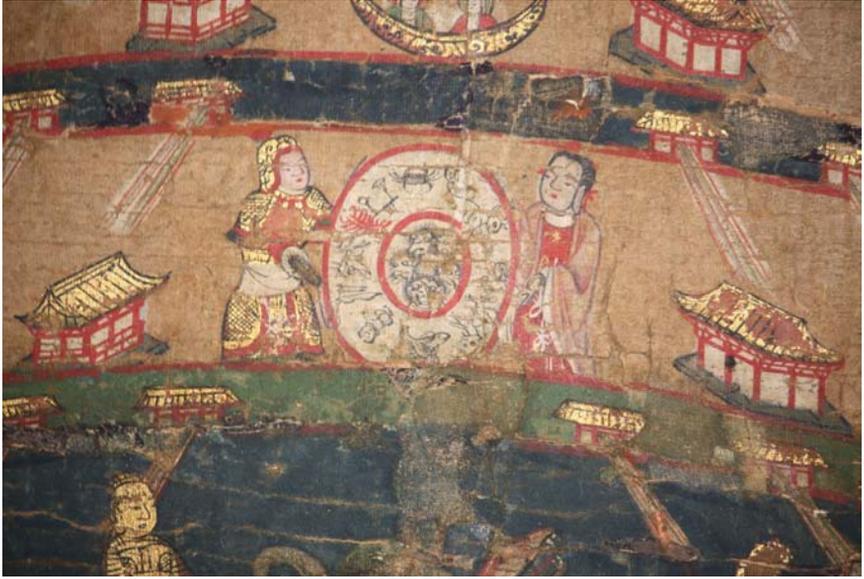


FIG. 22.4 *The lowest heaven with a round object containing the 12 signs of the zodiac and flanked by two angels*



FIG. 22.5 *From the top centre: Father of Greatness surrounded by 12 aeons in the Realm of Light*



FIG. 22.6 *Between the Realm of Light and the 10th heaven: Ships of the sun (right) and the moon (left). Light ships on the stream of light particles heading upwards*

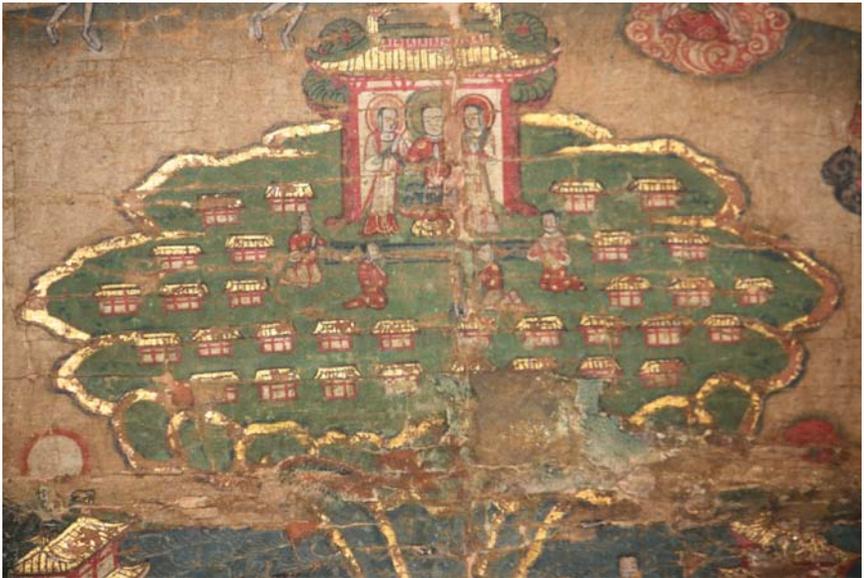


FIG. 22.7 *The upper part of Mt. Sumeru or the world mountain showing 32 houses. Weak traces of the sun (right) and the moon (left)*



FIG. 22.8 *The 8th earth showing Adamas knocking down a demon on the left side of Mt. Sumeru and a demon deprived of skin and body on its right*



FIG. 22.9 *The lowest earths with five layers each containing birds, snakes, ferocious animals, fish, and bipeds. Atlas and the King of Glory with the three wheels on the fifth earth*



FIG. 22.10 *The Judgment scene in the air with the Just Judge and five kinds of creatures in front of him*



FIG. 22.11 *Maiden of Light standing on a dark cloud and holding heads representing particles of light purified by her*



FIG. 22.12 *After H.-J. Klimkeit, Manichaean Art and Calligraphy, Brill 1982*

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