

Mani and the Manichaeans
according to the
Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadim



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Arab.: G. Flügel and J. Rödiger (eds.), *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, I (Leipzig, 1871), 327.30-338.26.
Trans. Camilla Ferard (based on G. Flügel, *Mani, Seine Lehre und seine Schriften*, Dresden, 1861, 83-108)

The birth of Mani and his parentage
327.30-328.12

مذاهب المنانبة

³⁰ قال محمد بن اسحق ماني بن فتنق بابك بن ابي برزام من الحسكانية واسم امه ميس ويقال او اخيم ويقال مرمريم من ولد الاشغانية وقيل ان ماني كان اسقق قنى والعربان (?) من (328) اهل حوحى وما يلى بادرايا وباكساييا وكان احنف الرجل وقيل ان اصل ابيه من همدان انتقل الى بابل وكان ينزل المداين فى الموضع الذى يسمى طيسفون وبها بيت الاصنام وكان فتنق يحضى كما يحضى سائر الناس فلما كان فى يوم من الايام هتف به من هيكل بيت الاصنام هاتف يا فتنق لا تأكل احما ولا تشرب خمرا ولا تنكح بشرا تكرر ذلك عليه دفعات فى ثلاثة⁵ ايام فلما رأى فتنق ذلك لحق بقوم كانوا بنواحي دستميسان يعرفون بالغتسلة وبتيك النواحي والبطائح بقاياهم الى وقتنا هذا وكانوا على المذهب الذى امى فتنق بالدخول فيه وكانت امته حاملا بماني فلما وادته زعموا كانت ترى له المنامات الحسنة وكانت ترى فى اليقظة كأن آخذا يأخذا فيصعد به الى الجو ثم

Doctrines of the Mānīchaeans

(327.30) Muhammad ben Ishāk states: Mānī, the son of Futtak Bābak ben Abī Barzām, descended from the Ḥaskanīja family. His mother's name was Meis or, according to others, Ūtāchīm or Mar Marjam from the As'ānīja family. Mānī, as it is said, had (328) Ḥūhā. (Coche) namely the area in the homeland that borders on Bādarāja and Bākusājā, and he suffered from an inwardly twisted leg. It is said that his father could trace his origins back to Hamadan. From there his father went to Babylonia, and usually stayed in al-Madāin, in the part of town called Ctesiphon. In that place there is the idol temple that Futtak used to visit, as did the other residents. (5) One day a voice called out to him from the innermost sanctuary of the idol temple: O Futtak, do not eat meat, do not drink wine, and stay away from women. For three consecutive days, this call rang out repeatedly. After reflecting on this, Futtak allied himself with people who came from the Dastumeisān area and were known by the name of Muqtasila the Washers. There are still vestiges of them in this district, as well as in the swamp areas, right to this day. They confessed to the doctrine which Futtak had been asked to accept. After his wife, who became pregnant with Mānī, gave birth to him, they claim that she had beautiful dreams about him and, on waking, saw as if someone had taken him, carried him off into the air and then brought him back. Sometimes he would be away for a

يرده وربما اقام اليوم واليومين ثم يرد ثم ان اياه انفذ فحملة الى الموضع الذي كان فيه فربى معه وعلى ملته وكان يتكلم ماني على صغر¹⁰ سنه بكلام الحكمة فلما تم له اثنتا عشرة سنة اتاه الوحي على قوله من ملك جنان النور وهو الله تعالى عما يقوله وكان الملك الذي جلءه بالوحي يسمى التوم وهو بالنبطية ومعناه القرين فقال له اعتزل هذه الملة فلست من اهلها وعليك بالنزاهة وترك الشهوات ولم يأن لك ان تظهر الحداثة سنك فلما تم له اربع وعشرون سنة اتاه التوم فقال قد حان لك ان تخرج فتنادي بامرك

day or two, and then be brought back. Later his father left and took him to a place where he had relatives who were also fellow believers. Mānī spoke wise words despite his young age (10), and when he was 12 years old he received inspiration from the king of the paradises of light, and that is his own expression according to God the most exalted. The angel who brought him these inspirations was called at-Taum, which in Nabataean means companion. This latter said to him: Leave this congregation of faith. You do not belong to their confessors, your task is moral purity and the suppression of lusts. However, due to your young age, it is not yet time for you to emerge. When he was 24 years old, the angel at-Taum came to him again and said: The time has now come for you to publicly come to the fore and proclaim aloud your own teaching.

The words of the angel At-Taum

327.15-31

¹⁵ الكلام الذي قاله له التوم

(15) The words, namely, those that the angel At-Taum addressed to him, were as follows

¹⁶ عليك السلام ماني ومن الرب الذي ارسلني اليك واختارك لرسالته وقد امرك ان ¹⁷ تدعو بحقك وتبشر تبشري الحق من قبله و تحتمل في ذلك كل جهدك قالت المانوية فخرج ¹⁸ يوم ملك سابور بن اردشير ووضع التاج على رأسه وهو يوم الاحد اول يوم من نيسان ¹⁹ والشعس في الحمل ومعه رجالان قد تبعد على مذهبه احدهما يقال له شمعون والاخر زكوا ²⁰ ومعه ابوه ينظر ما يكون من امره

“Greetings, Mani, from me and from the Lord who sent me to you and who chose you for his mission. He commands you to preach your doctrine and proclaim the joyful promise of the truth that comes from Him and to use all your zeal for this”. The Manichaeans recount that Mani began his mission on the same day that Shapur the son of Ardashir was crowned (it was a Sunday, the first day of Nisan, while the sun was in Aries) and that he was accompanied by two men who followed him and adhered to his doctrine of the faith, one named Shamun (Simeon), the other named Zaku. (20) His father also came with him to see how his new teaching would be received.

²¹ قال محمد بن اسحق ظهى مانى في السنة الثانية من ملك الغالوس السرومى وظهر مرقيون ²² قبله بنحو مائة سنة في ملك ططوس انطونيانوس في السنة الاولى من ملكه وظهى ابن ديسان ²³ بعد مرقيون بنحو ثلثين سنة وانما سمي ابن ديسان لانه ولد على نهر يقال له ديسان وزعم ²⁴ مانى انه الفارقليط المبشر به عيسى عليه السلام واستخرج مانى مذهبه من المجوسية ²⁵ والنصرانية وكذلك القلم الذى يكتب به كتب الديانات مستخرج من التريانى والفارسى ²⁶ وجول مانى البلاد قبل ان يلقى سابور نحو اربعين سنة ثم انه دعا فيروز اذا سابورين ²⁷ اردشير فاوصله فيروز الى اخيه سابور قالت المنانية فدخل اليه وعلى كتفيه هتل السراجين ²⁸ من نور فلما راه اعظمه وكبر في عينه وكان قد عزم على الفتك به وقتله فلما لقيه داخلته له ²⁹ هيبة وسر به وسأله عما جاء فيه فوعده انه يعود اليه وسأله هانى عدّة حوائج منها ان الظلمة قال ثم ان يعزّ ³⁰ امحابه في البلد وسائر بلاد مملكته وان ينفذوا حيث شآؤا من البلاد فاجابه سابور الى ³¹ جميع ما سأل وكان مانى دعا الهند والصين واهل خراسان وخلف في كلن ناحية صاحباه

Muhammad ben Ishak reports “Mani began his mission in the second year of the reign of the Roman Gallus, about a hundred years after Marcion had begun his mission in the first year of the reign of Titus Antonius. Ibn Daişan (Bardesanes) began his mission around 30 years after Marcion. His name comes from the river Daişan, by which he was born”. Mani claimed that he was the paraclete whom Jesus - may peace be with him! – had announced as good news. His teaching came from the Magi and (25) the Christians, and the script in which the (Manichaean) religious books was written is borrowed from Syriac and Persian. Before Mani met with Shapur, he travelled through the countries for about forty years and after his return he invited Firuz, the brother of Shapur ben Ardashir, to accept his doctrine. Firuz also introduced Mani to his brother Shapur. The Manichaeans also say that when he went in to see Shapur, two lamps of light were hovering over his shoulders. When Shapur saw him his estimation of Mani grew in his eyes and he showed him great respect, even though he had made up his mind to capture him and kill him. But when Mani stood before him, he was seized with awe of him, was glad that he was there and asked him what he was bringing him, and yes, he promised that he want to be converted to him. Mani asked him about many issues, among others that (30) his students in Persia and all other countries of Shapur’s empire should be respected and be able to go anywhere they wished. Shapur granted him everything he asked. Mani had already called on the Indians, Chinese and the residents of Churasan to accept his teachings and had left a student behind in each one of the districts.

The teaching of Mani on the struggles between Light and Darkness

329.1-332.27

^{329.1} ذكر ما جاء به مانى وقوله في صفة القديم تبارك وتعالى وبناء

(329) Account of what Mani taught and his sayings about the nature of the Eternal, whose name is blessed and praised, and

2 العالم والحروب التي كانت بين النور والظلمة

about the structure of the world and the struggles between Light and Darkness.

3 قال ماني مبدأ العالم كونين احدهما نور والاخر ظلمة كل واحد منهما منفصل من الاخر 4 فالنور هو العظيم الاول ليس بالعدد وهو الاله ملك جنان النور وله خمسة اعضاء الحلم والعلم 5 والعقل والغيب والفتنة وخمسة اخر روحانية وهي الحب والايمان والوفاء والمرورة والحكمة وزعم 6 انه بصفاته هذه ازلى ومعه شئان اثنان ازليان احدهما الجو والاخر الأرض قال ماني واعضاء 7 الجو خمسة الحلم والعلم والعقل والغيب والفتنة واعضاء الارض النسيم والريح والنور والماء والنار 8 والكون الاخر وهو اظلمة واعضاؤها خمسة الضباب والحريق والسموم والسم والظلمة قال ماني 9 وذلك الكون النير مجاور الكون المظلم لا حاجز بينهما والنور يلقى الظلمة بصفحته ولا نهاية 10 النور من علوه ولا يمنته ولا يسرته ولا نهاية للظلمة في السفلى ولا في اليمين واليسرة قال 11 ماني ومن تلك الارض المظلمة كان الشيطان لا ان يكون ازليا بعينه واكن جواهره كانت في 12 عناصره ازلية فاجتمعت تلك الواهر من عناصره فتكونت شيطانا رأسه كراس اسد وبدنه كبدن تتين وحناحه 13 كجناح طائر وذنبه كذنب حوت وارجله اربع كارجل الدواب فلما تكون 14 هذا الشيطان من الظلمة وتسمى ابليس القديم ازرد واسترط وافسد ومر يمنا ويسرة ونزل

Mani teaches that the beginning of the world is formed by two beings, one is the Light, the other is the Darkness, and both are separated from each other. The Light, however, is the Sublime First, unlimited in number, God Himself, the King of the Paradises of Light. It has five members, meekness, (5) knowledge, understanding, mystery, insight, and five other spiritual properties, love, faith, fidelity, nobleness, and wisdom. He further asserted that the God of Light, having these properties, is without beginning, but at the same time there are two things equally without beginning with him, one is the Circle of Air (Ether of Light), and the other is the Earth. Mani adds that the members of the Circle of Air are five, meekness, knowledge, understanding, mystery, and insight; and the members of the Earth are the breeze, the wind, the light, the water, and the fire. The other being is the Darkness, and it has five members: the fog, the blight, the hot wind, the poison, and the darkness.

Mani teaches that the Being of Light being borders directly on the Being of Dark with no partition between the two; the Light touches the Darkness with its (lowest side), while it is (10) upwardly unlimited to the right and to the left. Likewise, the Darkness is downwardly unlimited to the right and the left. Mani teaches that it was from this dark earth that Satan arose, not in such a way that he was eternal from the beginning, but his substances were without beginning in their elements. These substances were then combined from their elements and Satan came forth, his head like the head of a lion, his body like the body of a dragon, his wings like the wings of a bird, his tail like the tail of a large fish and his four feet like the feet of the creeping creatures. This Satan, under the name of Iblis according to the eternal in time (First Devil), arose from the darkness,

¹⁵ | الى السفلى في كل ذلك يفسد ويهلك
 من غالبه ثم رام العلو فرأى لحات النور
 فانكرها ثم ¹⁶ | رآها متعالية فارتعد
 وتداخل بعضه في بعض ولحق
 بعناصره ثم انه رام العلو فعلمت
 الارض ¹⁷ | النيرة بامر الشيطان وماهم
 به من القتال والفساد فلما علمت به علم
 به عالم الفطنة ثم ¹⁸ | عالم العلم ثم عالم
 الغيب ثم عالم العقل ثم عالم الحلم قال ثم
 علم به ملك جنان النور ¹⁹ | فاحتال لقهرة
 قال وكان جنوده اولائك يقدرون على
 قهره ولكنه اراد ان يتولى ذلك بنفسه ²⁰ |
 فاولد بروح يمنته وبخمسة عالميه
 وبعناصره الاثنى عشى مولودا وهو
 الانسان القديم وندبه ²¹ | لقتال الظلمة
 قال فتدرّع الانسان القديم بالاجناس
 الخمسة وهي الالهة الخمسة النسيم
 والريح ²² | والنور والماء والنار
 واتخذهم سلاحا فاؤل ما لبس النسيم
 وارتنى على النسيم العظيم بالنور ²³ |
 المسبغ وتعطف على النور بالماء ذى
 الهباء واكتن بالريح الهابة ثم اخذ النار
 بيده كالمجن ²⁴ | والسنان وانحط بسرعة
 من الجنان الى ان انتهى الى الحدّ معا
 الى الحربى وعمد ابليس القديم ²⁵ | الى
 اجناسه الخمسة وهي الدخان والحريق
 والظلمة والسموم والضباب فتدرّعها
 وجعلها جنّة ²⁶ | له ولقى الانسان القديم
 فاقتتلوا مدة طويلة واستظهر ابليس
 القديم على الانسان القديم ²⁷ | واسترط
 من نوره واحاط به مع اجناسه
 وعناصره واتبعه ملك جنان النور بالهة
 اخر واستنقذه ²⁸ | واستظهر على الظلمة

engorged, and wasted (everything), spread
 ruin to the right and to the left, (15) and then
 sunk back into the depths, bringing down
 destruction and annihilation from above with
 all these movements. Then he strove for the
 heights and perceived the radiations of the
 Light, but he found them to be repugnant.
 When he later saw how these were increas-
 ing, he was horrified, crawled into himself,
 and united with his elements. Thereupon he
 again strove for the heights with such force
 that the Earth of Light saw the actions of
 Satan and his thoughts of murder and
 destruction. After hearing about him, the
 world experienced insight, then the world
 experienced knowledge, then the world
 experienced mystery, then the world
 experienced understanding, then the world
 experienced gentleness. Mani continues that
 when at last the King of the Paradises of
 Light experienced it, he considered subduing
 Iblis. Mani adds that although the King's
 army troops would have been powerful
 enough to conquer Iblis, the King wished to
 carry this out through his own power. (20)
 Accordingly, with the Spirit of his Rights, his
 Five Worlds, and his Twelve Elements he
 created a creature, and this is the First Man
 (eternal in time) and the King called on him
 to fight against the Darkness. Mani also said
 that the First Man armed himself with the
 five genera, and these are the five gods: the
 breeze, the wind, the light, the water, and the
 fire. He made them into his armour and the
 first thing he put on was the breeze. He then
 enveloped the sublime soft breeze with the
 burning light like a cloak, spread the atom-
 filled water over the light and covered
 himself with the blowing wind. Then he took
 the fire as a shield and as a lance in his hand
 and quickly threw himself down from the
 paradise until he reached the border of the
 area that meets the battlefield.

The First Devil also took (25) his five
 genera, namely the fume (or smoke), the
 blight, the darkness, the hot wind, and the

ويقال لهذا الذي اتبع به الانسان حبيب
الانوار فنزل وخلص الانسان²⁹ | القديم
من الجهنمات معما اخذ وأسَى من
ارواح الظلمة قال ثم ان البهجة وروح
الحياة³⁰ | ظعنا الى الحد فنظرا الى غور
تلك الجهنم السفلى وابصرا الانسان
القديم والملائكة وقد احاط³¹ | بهم ابليس
والزحريون العتاة والحياة المظلمة قال
فدعا روح الحياة الانسان القديم بصوت
|³² عالى كالبرق في سرعة فكلن الها
أخى قال ماني فلما شابك ابليس القديم
بالانسان القديم (330) النور الخمسة
باجراء الظلمة الخمسة فخالط الدخان
النسيم فمنها² | هذا النسيم الممزوج فما
فيه من اللذة والترويح عن الانفس وحياة
الحيوان فمن النسيم وما³ | فية من
الهلاك والاذاء فمن الدخان وخالط
الحريق النار فمنها هذه النار فما فيها
من الاحراق والهلاك والفساد فمن
الحريق وما فيها من⁴ | الاضاءة
والانارة فهن النار وخالط النور⁵ |
الظلمة فمنها هذه الاجسام الكثيفة مثل
الذهب والفضة واشباه ذلك فما فيها من
|⁶ الصفاء والحسن وانظافة والمنفعة
فمن النور وما فيها من الدرر والكدر
والغلظ والقساوة فمن الظلمه⁷ | وخالط
السموم الريح فمنها هذه فما فيها من
المنفعة واللذة فمن الريح وما فيها من⁸ |
الكرب والتعوير والضرر فمن السموم
وخالط الضباب الماء فمنها هذا الماء فما
فيه من الصفاء والعذوبة⁹ | والملائمة
الانفس فمن الماء وما فيه من التغريق
والتخنيق والاهلاك والنقل والفساد¹⁰ |

fog, armed himself with them, made them into a shield and came to face the First Man. After they had fought with each other for a long time, the First Devil triumphed over the First Man, swallowed up his light and immediately surrounded him with his genera and his elements. Then the King of the Paradises of Light came with other gods, freed the First Man, and conquered the Darkness. And the one that came with the King of Light to free the First Man, is called the Friend of the Lights. The latter descended, and the First Man was at once freed from the infernal matter in which the Spirits of Darkness had hid him after his capture.

Mani also says that the Joyfulness and the Spirit of Life (30) made their way to the border, looked down into the abyss of this deep hell, and saw how the First Man and the angels were surrounded, in the same way as Iblis, by the boisterous hustlers and the dark lives. And Mani says that the Spirit of Life called the First Man in a loud voice as fast as lightning, and the First Man became another god. Mani goes on to say that when the First Devil had entangled the First Man (330) in the struggle, the five parts (of Light) mingled with the five parts of Darkness. The fume was mixed with the breeze, and from this comes the (present) breeze, so that what is found in it of comfort and refreshment of the soul and animal life comes from the breeze, and what is perishable and harmful in it comes from the fume. The blight mixed with the fire, hence what is found in it of burning, annihilation and destruction, comes from the blight, but what is found in it of illumination and enlightenment comes from the fire. The Light mixed with (5) the Darkness, so, what is found in it of thick solids, such as gold and silver and the like, and what furthermore is to be found in it of clarity, beauty, purity, and other useful things, comes from the Light, and what is found in it of dirt, impurity,

فمن الضبان قال ماني فلما اختلط
 الاجناس الخمسة الظلمية بالاجناس
 الخمسة النورية¹¹ | نزل الانسان القديم
 الى غور العمق فقطع اصول الاجناس
 الظلمية لئلا تزيد ثم انصرف صاعدا¹² |
 الى موضعه في الناحية الحربية قال ثم
 امي بعض الملائكة باجتذاب ذلك
 المزاج الى جانب من¹³ | ارض الظلمة
 يلي ارض النور فعلقوهم بالعلو ثم اقام
 ملكا اخر فدفع اليه تلك الاجزاء
 الممتزجة¹⁴ | قال ماني وامي ملك عالم
 النور بعض ملائكته بخلق هذا العالم
 وبنائه من تلك الاجزاء¹⁵ | الممتزجة
 لتخلص تلك الاجزاء النورية من
 الاجزاء الظلمية فبنى عشر سموات
 وثمانى ارضين¹⁶ | ووكل ملكا بحمل
 السموات وآخر برفع الارضين وجعل
 لكل سماء انوابا اثنى عشر بدھاليرها¹⁷ |
 عظاما واسعة كل واحد من الابواب
 بازاء صاحبه وقبالته على كل واحد من
 الدهاليز¹⁸ | مصراعين وجعل في تلك
 الدهاليز في كل باب من ابوابها ست
 عتبات في كل واحدة من¹⁹ | العتبات
 ثلثين سكة في كل سكة اثنى عشر صفا
 وجعل العتبات والسكك والصفوف من²⁰ |
 اعاليها في علو السموات قال
 ووصل الجو باسفل الارضين على
 السموات وجعل حول هذا²¹ | العالم
 خندقا لي طرح فيه الظلام الذى يستصفي
 من النور وجعل خلف ذلك الخندق
 سورا²² | لكى لا يذهب شىء من تلك
 الظلمة المفردة عن النور قال ماني ثم
 خلق الشمس والقمر²³ | لاستصفاء ما في

thickness, and hardness comes from the Darkness. What is found in it of utility and convenience comes from the wind, and what is found in it in of fear, injury and harm comes from the hot wind. Finally, the fog mixed with the water, so that what is found in it of clarity, sweetness and is congenial to the soul comes from the water, but what is found in it of sinking, suffocating and destructive power, heaviness and corruption (10) comes from the fog.

Mani continues that when the five dark genera were mixed with the five light genera, the First Man descended to the lowest depths of the abyss and cut off the roots of the five dark genera so that they would not grow. Then he ascended back up to his place on the battlefield. Thereupon, he ordered one of the angels to pull this mixture towards the side of the Earth of Darkness, which borders on the Earth of Light, and hung it up on high. Then he appointed another angel and handed over these mixed parts to him.

And Mani teaches that the King of the World of Light ordered one of his angels to create this world and build it from these mixed (15) parts in order to free those parts of light from the parts of dark. So, he built ten heavens and eight earths, entrusted one angel to carry the heavens and another one to hold up the earth.

He gave each heaven twelve gates with large and wide vestibules. Each of the gates was opposite its keeper, and on its opposite side, on each of the vestibules, were two winged doors. At each of the gates of these vestibules he made six steps and on each one of the steps he made thirty aisles and on each aisle he made twelve rows (seats), and he laid out the steps, the aisles, and the rows from (20) the uppermost vestibule at the height of the sky. **Mani also says** that he connected the air on the lowest earth with the heavens, dug a trench around this world in order to cast the Darkness into it, since he wanted to extract it from the Light. Behind this trench he erected

العلم من النور فالشمس يستصفي النور
الذي اختلط بشياطين الحر والقمر²⁴
يستصفي النور الذي اختلط بشياطين
البرد في عمود السبع يتصاعد ذلك
معما يرتفع من²⁵ التسابيح والتقايس
والتقايس والكلام الطيب واعمال البر
قال فيدفع ذلك الى الشمس ثم ان الشمس
²⁶ تدفع ذلك الى نور فوقها قبي عالم
التسبيح فيسير في ذلك العالم الى النور
الاعلى الخالص فلا²⁷ يزال ذلك من
فعلها حتى يبقى من النور شيء منعقد لا
تقدر الشمس والقمر على استصفائه²⁸
فعند ذلك يرتفع الملك الذي كان لحمل
الارضين ويدع الملك الاخر اجتذاب
السموات فيختلط²⁹ الاعلى على
الاسفل وتفور نار فتضطرم في تلك
الاشياء فلا تزال مضطربة حتى
يتحلل ما فيها³⁰ من النور **قال ماني**
ويكون ذلك الاضطراب مقدار الف سنة
واربعمائة وثمان وستين سنة³¹ **قال**
فاذا انقضى هذا التدبير ورأت الهامة
روح الظلمة خلاص النور وارتفاع
الملائكة والجنود³² والحفظة استكانت
ورأت القتال فيزجرها الجنود من حولها
فترجع الى قبر قد أعد لها ثم (331) يسد
على ذلك القبر بصخرة تكون مقدار
الدنيا فيردمها فيه فيستريح النور حينئذ
من الظلمة وادها وزعمت الماسية من
² المانوية ان النور يبقى منه شيء في
الظلم

a wall so that none of this Darkness, which would be extracted from the Light, would be able to escape.

Mani goes on to say that he then created the sun and the moon in order to entirely separate what would be of light in the world, so that the light of the sun, which was mixed with the hot devils, and the light of the moon, which was mixed with the cold devils, would be extracted at the Column of Glory, and the light thus extracted would rise on high with the soaring (25) glory, the hymns, the pure word, and the pious works. Mani adds that the moon handed over these parts of light to the sun, and then the sun handed them over to the light above itself in the World of Glory, and so these parts of light travelled through this world to the highest pure Light. The sun and moon continued to do this until the remains of the Light was so closely connected that the sun and moon could not extract any more. While this was happening, the angel charged with carrying the earth ascended, and the other angel **refrained** from drawing the heavens to itself, so that the highest would be mixed with the lowest, and a fire flared up and ate away at these confused things and did not stop burning until all (30) the light had had been dissolved in them. **Mani teaches** that its fire lasted years and that when this process was complete and the Humama, i.e., the Spirit of Darkness, saw the liberation of the light and the ascension of the angels, the army troops, and the guardian, it humbled itself after seeing the army troops crowding around it on the battlefield, and returned to a grave which had been prepared for it. Then the First Man closed the grave with a stone that is as big as the world and blocked Iblis within it. The Light was then safe (331) from the Darkness and from being damaged by it. Among the Manicheans, the Masija claim that some of the light remained in the darkness.

3 ابتداء التناسل على مذهب ماني

4 | قال ثم ان احد اولائك الاراكنة والنجوم والزجر والحرص والشهوة والاثم تناكحوا فحدث من 5 | تناكحهم الانسان الاول الذي هو آدم والذي تولّى ذلك اركونان ذكر وانثى ثم حدث تناكح 6 | اخى فحدث منه المرأة الحسنة التي هي حواء قال فلما رأى الملائكة الخمسة نور الله وطيبه 7 | الذي استلبه الحرص واسره في ذينك العولودين سألوا البشير وامّ الحياة والانسان القديم وروح 9 | الحياة ان يرسلوا الى ذلك امواد القديم من يطلقه ويخلصه ويوضح له العلم والبرّ ويخلصه من الشياطين 9 | قال فارسلوا عيسى ومعه اله فعمدوا الى الاركونين فحبسوهم واستنقذوا المولودين 10 | قال فعمد عيسى فكلم المولود الذي هو آدم واوضح له الجنان والالهة وجهنم والشياطين 11 | والارض والسماء والشمس والقمر وخوفه من حواء وأراه زجرها ومنعه منها وخوفه ان يدنو اليها 12 | ففعل ثم ان الاركون على الى ابته التي هي حواء فنكحها باشبق الذي فيه فاولدها ولدا 13 | اشوه الصورة اشقر واسمه قاين الرجل الاشقر ثم ان ذلك الولد نكح امه فاولدها ولدا ابيض 14 | سماه هابيل الرجل الابيض ثم رجع قاين فنكح امه فاولدها جاريتين تسمى احدهما حكيمة 15 | الدهر والاخرى ابنة الحرص فاتخذ ابنة الحرص قاين زوجة ودفع حكيمة الدهر الى هابيل 16 | فاتخذها امرأة له قال فكان

The beginning of the uninterrupted procreation according to the teaching of the Mani.

Then, **says Mani**, one of those archons and the stars and the urging violence, greed, sensual pleasure, and sin (5) mated, and from their copulation the first human being, Adam, came forth, and those who supervised this were two archons, one male and one female. Then a second copulation took place and the beautiful woman, who is the Hawwa (Eve), came forth from this.

Mani teaches that when the five angels saw the Light of God, which Greed, in its defilement, had secretly snatched when it trapped these two creatures, they asked the Messenger of Good News, the Mother of Life, the First Man and the Spirit of Life that they wished to send someone to this first creature who would set it loose and save it, reveal knowledge and justice to it and set it free from devils. (10) So, they sent Isa (Jesus), who was accompanied by a god. These seized the two archons, took them prisoner, and freed the two creatures.

Mani teaches that Isa (Jesus) arose and addressed the creature Adam, explained to him the paradises and the gods, the hell and the devils, the earth and the sky and the sun and the moon, made him anxious before the Hawwa when he explained to him about her violent intrusiveness, and he made him fearful of approaching her. And Adam obeyed.

Then the archon returned to his daughter the Hawwa (Eve) and slept with her with the lust inherent in him, and she bore a son who was ugly and reddish, named Cain, the reddish man. This son slept with his mother, and she bore a white son, named Habil (Abel), the white man. Cain then slept with his mother again, so that she gave birth to two girls, one named the Worldly Wise Woman Hakimat (15) ad-Dhar and the other named the Daughter of Greed Ibnat al-hir. Cain took the Daughter of Greed as his wife and handed the Worldly Wise Woman to Habil (Abel), who took her as his wife. The Worldly Wise Woman, **says Mani**,

في حكمة الدهر فضل من نور الله
وحكمته ولم يكن في ابنة¹⁷ | الحرص
من ذلك شيء ثم ان ملكا من الملائكة
جاز الى حكمة الدهر فقال لها احفظي
|¹⁸ نفسك فانه يولد منك جاريتان
مكملتان لمسرة الله ووقع عليها فولدت
منه جاريتين¹⁹ | فسمت احدهما فرياد
ولاخرى برفرياد فلما بلغ هابيل ذلك
احتشى غضبا وشمله الحزن وقال²⁰ |
لها ممن جننت بهذين الولدين احسبهما
من قايين وهو الذي خالطك فشرحت له
صورة²¹ | الملك فتركها ومضى الى امه
حواء فشكا اليها ما فعله قايين وقال لها
بلغك ما فعله باجتي²² | وامرأتى فبلغ
ذلك قايين فعمد الى هابيل فدمغه بصخرة
فقتله ثم اتخذ حكمة الدهر امرأة²³ | **قال**
مانى ثم ان اولئك الاراكنة وذلك
الصنديد وحواء اغتموا لما رأوا من
قايين وعلم الصنديد²⁴ | لحواء رطانة
السحى لتسحى آدم فمضت فغعلت
وتصدت له باكليل من زهر الشجر فلما
رأها آدم²⁵ | لشهوته وقع عليها فحملت
منه وولدت رجلا جميلا صبيح الوجه
فبلغ الصنديد ذلك فاغتم²⁶ | لهواعتل
وقال لحواء ان هذا المولود ليس منا
وهو غريب فرامت قتله فاخذه آدم وقال
لحواء انى²⁷ | اغذوه بألبان البقى وثمار
الشجر واخذه ومضى فانفذ الصنديد
الاراكنة ليحملوا الشجر والبقر²⁸ | و
يباعدوها من آدم فلما رأى آدم ذلك اخذ
ذلك المولود وادارحوله ثلث دائرات
ذكى على الاولة اسم ملك الجنان وعلى
|²⁹ الثانية اسم الانسان القديم وعلى

overflowed with the light and wisdom of God, while the Daughter of Greed had absolutely none of this. Then one of the angels came to the Worldly Wise Woman and said to her: “Guard your soul because, to the delight of God, you shall become the mother of two perfect girls”. And he slept with her so that she gave birth to two girls from him, one of whom she called Raufaijäd (Come to Help) and the other Barfarjad (Bring Help). When Habil (Abel) found out about this, he was filled with anger and completely overcome with sadness, and he said to her: (20) “From whom do you have these two children? I suspect they are from Cain; it is he who slept with you.” She, on the other hand, described the figure of the angel to him. Even though she had described the figure of the angel to him, he left her, went to his mother the Hawwa (Eve) to complain to her about what Cain had done, and said to her: “Have you heard what he did to my sister and my wife?”. Cain heard this, attacked Habil (Abel), smashed his brain with a stone and killed him. Then he took the Worldly Wise Woman as his wife.

Mani teaches that those archons, that Iblis (mighty) and the Hawwa (Eve) were saddened by what they saw of Cain, and the Iblis taught the Hawwa (Eve) the gibberish of sorcery so that she could bewitch Adam. She went away, obeyed the instructions, and met Adam with a wreath of tree blossom. As Adam found her (25) suitable for his sensual pleasure, he slept with her, and she became pregnant by him, and gave birth to a graceful son with a beautiful face. The Iblis heard about this, was filled with grief, and became ill, and said to the Hawwa (Eve): “This creature does not belong to us, he is a stranger”. She wanted to kill him, but Adam took him and said to the Hawwa (Eve): I will feed him with cow's milk and tree fruits. He took him and walked away. Then the Iblis sent the archons to take away the trees and the cattle and move them far away from Adam. When Adam saw this, he took the child and drew three circles around him. On the first he wrote the name of the King of the

الثالثة اسم روح الحياة وتتجى³⁰ |
 وضرع الى الله جلّ اسمه فقال له ان
 كنت انا اجترمت اليكم جرما فما ذنب
 هذا المواد ثم³¹ | ان واحدا من الثلاثة
 عجل ومغه اكليل البهاء اخذه بيده الى
 آدم فلما رآه الصنديد والاراكنة (332)
 مضوا لوجوهم قال ثم ظهرت لآدم
 شجرة يقال لها لوطيس فظهر منها لبن
 فكان يغدى الصبى² به وسماه باسمها
 ثم سماه بعد ذلك شائل ثم ان ذلك
 الصنديد نصب العداوة لآدم ولاولئك³ |
 المولودين فقال لحواء اطلعي الى آدم
 فلعلك ان ترديه الينا فانطلقت فاستغوت أ
 جم فخالطها⁴ | بالشهوة فلما رآه شائل
 وعظه وعذله وقال له هلمّ تنطلق الى
 المشرق الى نور الله وحكمته⁵ | فانطلق
 معه واقام ثم الى ان توفي وصار الى
 الجنان ثم ان شائل وروفریاد وبرفریاد
 وحكيمة الدهر امهما دبورا بالصديقت
 نحو واحد وسبيل واحدة الى وقت وفاتهم
 وصارت حواء وقاين وابنة الحرص الى
 جهنم

Paradises, on the second the name of the First Man and on the third the name of the Spirit of Life, went up to a higher place, humbled himself before God, whose name is glorious, (30) and implored him: "If I have committed a sin against you, is that not the fault of this child?". Thereupon one of the three made haste, taking with him the wreath of beauty, which he handed over to Adam. When the Iblis and the Archons saw this, (332) they immediately left. Then, says Mani, Adam saw a tree called the luti (lotus) from which milk came forth. He nourished the boy with this and named him after the tree. He later called him Schatil. But that Iblis, who had established constant enmity against Adam and those creatures, said to the Hawwa (Eve): "Go to Adam; maybe you can bring him back to us". She immediately hurried away and betrayed Adam, who slept with her with his sensual pleasure. When Schatil saw him, he admonished and reproached Adam, and said to him: "Well, let us set off to the east to the lights (5) and the wisdom of God". And at the same time, he went there with him and stayed there until he died and entered the paradise. And Schatil, Raufarjad and Barfarjad and the Hakimat ad-Dhar of the last two mothers followed the Siddkut (the community of the truthful one) in the same direction and on one and the same path until the time of their death, while the Hawwa (Eve), Cain and the Daughter of Greed went to hell.

8 **صفة ارض النور وجو النور وهما
الاثنان**

9 **اللدان كانا مع اله النور ازيين**

**Description of the Earth of Light and the
Ether of Light, both of which are
beginningless like the God of Light.**

10 **قال ماني** لارض النور اعضاء
 خمسة النسيم والريح والنور والماء
 والنار ولجو النور اعضاء¹¹ | خمسة
 الحلم والعلم والعقل والغيب والفتنة قال
 العظمة هذه الاعضاء العشرة كلها التي
 12 | هي الجو والارض **قال** وتلك الارض

(10) **Mani teaches** that the Earth of Light has five members, the breeze, the wind, the light, the water, and the fire; and in the same way the Ether of Light has five members, meekness, knowledge, understanding, mystery, and insight. **He continues** that this Earth of Light is endowed with a body, is illustrious, joyful, and has a gentle radiance and full resplendence, at the base of which

النيرة ذات جسم نضيرة بهجة ذات
وميض وشروق يشرق عليه صفاء
طهرها وحسن اجسامها صورةً صورةً
وحُسناً حسناً وبياضاً بياضاً وشفاء
شفاء وبهجاً بهجاً ونورا نورا وضياء
ضياء و منظرا منظرا وطيبا طيبا
وجمالا جمالا وابوابات ابوابات¹⁵ |
وبروجا بروجاً ومساكن مساكن ومنازل
منازل وجنانا جنانا واشجارا اشجارا
وغصونا غصونا ذات¹⁶ | فروع وثمار
بهجة المنظر ونور بهي بالوان شتى
بعضها اطيب وازهر من بعض وغماما
غماما¹⁷ | وظلالا ظلالات وذلك للاله
النبي في هذه الارض اله ازلّي قال
وللاله في هذه الارض عظمت اثني
عشر¹⁸ | يسمون الابكار صورهم
كصورته كلّها علماء عاقلون قال
وعظمت يسمون العمّار العامون
الاقوياء¹⁹ | قال والنسيم حياة العالم

the clarity of its purity and the beauty of its
bodies stand out, form upon form, beauty
upon beauty, white upon white, clarity upon
clarity, grace upon grace, light upon light,
resplendence upon resplendence, lovely sight
upon lovely sight, comfort upon comfort,
gracefulness upon gracefulness, rows of gates
upon rows of gates, (15) towers upon towers,
dwellings upon dwellings, inns upon inns,
gardens upon gardens, trees upon trees,
branches with branches with twigs and fruits,
graceful to look at, one light shining in
different colours, each one lovelier and more
blooming than the other, clouds upon clouds
and shadows upon shadows. **He goes on to**
say that the God on this earth has twelve
Glories, which are called the Firstborn,
whose forms are like his form, all of them
learned and sagacious. **And he says** that the
Glories are called the House Spirits, the
active, the strong. And the breeze, he adds, is
the Life of the World.

20 صفة ارض الظلمة وحرّها

(20) Description of the Earth of Darkness and its heat

²¹ قال ماني ارضها ذات اعماق واغوار
واقطار واطباق وردوم وغياض وآجام
ارض متفرقة متشعبة²² | مملوءة
حرشات وينابيع دخان منها من بلاد بلاد
ومن ردم ردم وينبع النار منها من بلاد
بلاد وينبع الظلمة من بلاد²³ | بلاد
وبعض ذلك ارفع من بعض وبعضه
اسفل والدخان الذي²⁴ | ينبع منه وهو
حمة الموت ينبع من ينبوع غور قواعده
من الزفيه تراب وعناصر النار
وعناصر²⁵ | الريح الشديدة المظلمة

Mani teaches that the Earth of Darkness starts
from the depths, the abysses, the inter-
sections, the layers, the dams, the swamps,
and the scattered stretches of earth filled with
branches and dense forests, which run out
into springs, out of which smoke rises from
country to country and from wall to wall, out
of which fire rises from country to country
and out of which darkness rises from country
to country. Some of these columns are higher
than the others, others are deeper, and the
smoke that gushes out of them is the poison
of death. It rises from the source of an abyss,
the foundations of which consist of cloudy
mud, in which are found the dusty earth, the
elements of fire, (25) the thick dark elements
of the wind and the elements of heavy water.

وعناصر الماء الثقيل والظلمة مجاورة
لتلك الارض النيرة فوق وتلك²⁶ اسفل
لا نهاية لواحد منها في جهة العاو
والظلمة من جهة السفلى²⁷

The Darkness borders on this Earth of Light above and this below. Both the Light above and the Darkness below are unlimited.

How a person should enter the religion

332.27-333.3

كيف ينبغي الانسان ان يدخل في الدين

How a person should enter religion

²⁸ قال ينبغي الذي يريد الدخول في
الدين ان يمتحن نفسه فان رآها تقدر
على قمع²⁹ الشهوة والحرص وترك
اكل اللحمان وشرب الخمر والتناكح
وترك اذية الماء والنار والسحر والرياء
³⁰ فليدخل في الدين وان لم يقدر على
ذلك كله فلا يدخل في الدين وان كان
يحب الدين (333) ولم يقدر على قمع
الشهوة والحرص فليغتنم حفظ الدين
والصديقين وليكن له بازاء افعاله²
القبیحة اوقات يتجرد فيها العمل والبي
والتهجد والمسئلة والتضرع فان ذلك
يقنعه في عاجله³ واجله ويكون
صورته الصورة الثانية في المعاد ونحن
نذكرها فيما بعد ان شاء الله تعالى

Mani commands that it is incumbent on anyone who wants to enter religion to examine himself. If he sees that he is able to tame sensual pleasure and greed, the consumption of all kinds of meat, the drinking of wine and the practice of intercourse and avoid the harmful effects of water, (30) fire, sorcery, and hypocrisy, he should enter religion. (333) But, if he is unable to do all of this, he should refrain from entering. If he loves religion, but is unable to dampen sensory stimulus and greed, he should make use of the preservation of religion and the truthful and counteract his reprehensible actions by (taking advantage of opportunities) to be active to righteousness, zealous vigilance, petition, and pious humility. Because that will make him contented in this perishable world and in the eternal world to come, and on the last day his form will be the second form of which we, God willing, will continue to speak of in the following.

The Ten Commandments imposed by Mani

333.4-12

4 الشريعة التي جاء بها ماني والفرائض التي فرضها

The law that Mani gave and the commandments that he imposed

⁵ فرض ماني على اصحابه عشر
فرائض على السماعين ويتبعها ثلث
خواتيم وصيام سبعة⁶ ايام ابدا في كل

(5) Mani imposed commandments on his disciples, (including) ten commandments on the auditors, followed by three seals and a fast of seven days in each month. The commandments are: belief in the four great and

شهر فالفرائض هي الايمان بالعظام
الاربع الله ونوره وقوته وحكمته فالله
7 | جل اسمه ملك جنان النفرونوره
الشمس والقمر وقوته الاملاك الخمسة
وهي النسيم والريح 8 | والنور والماء
والنار وحكمته الدين المقدس وهو على
خمسة معاني المعليين ابناء الحلم
9 | المشمسين ابناء العلم القسيسين ابناء
العقل الصديقين ابناء الغيب السماعين
ابناء 10 | الفطنة والفرائض العشر ترك
عبادة الاصنام ترك الكذب ترك البخل
ترك القتل ترك الزنا ترك 11 | السرقة
وتعليم العلل والسحر والقيام بهمتين وهو
الشك في الدين والاسترخاء والتواني في
12 | العمل

glorious beings, God, his light, his power, and his wisdom. God, whose name is glorious, is the King of the paradise of light, his light is the sun and the moon, his power are the five angels, the gentle breeze, the wind, the light, the water, and the fire, and (10) his wisdom is the holy church, which comprises five sorts: the teachers, which are the sons of understanding, the bishops, the sons of knowledge, the presbyters, which are the sons of intelligence, the electi, which are the sons of secret thought, and the auditors, which are the sons of reason. The ten commandments are: (i) prohibition of idol worship, (ii) lies, (iii) avarice, (iv) killing, (v) adultery, (vi) theft, (vii) teaching deceptive pretexts and magic, (viii) clinging to two lines of thought, which betrays doubts about religion, (ix) laxity, and (x) weariness in action.

The incumbent Four or Seven Prayers

333.13-334.2

13 وفرض صلوات اربع او سبع

The duty of four or seven prayers

14 | وهو ان يقوم الرجل فيمسح بالماء
الجاري او غيره ويستقبل النير الاعظم
قائما ثم يسجد 15 | ويقول في سجوده
مبارك هادينا الفارقليط رسول النور
ومبارك ملائكته الحفظة ومسبح جنوده
16 | النيرون يقول هذا وهو يسجد ويقوم
ولا يابث في سجوده ويكون منتصبا ثم
يقول في السجدة 17 | الثانية مسبح انت
ايها النير ماني هادينا اصل الضياء
وغصن الحياء الشجرة العظيمة التي 18 |
هي شفاء كلها ويقول في السجدة الثالثة
اسجد واسبح بقلب طاهر ولسان صادق
لالله العظيم 19 | ابي الانوار وعنصرهم

The man stands upright with this, anoints himself with running water or with something else and, while standing, turns to the great light, then prostrates himself (15) and speaks while prostrating: blessed be our leader, the Paraclete, the messenger of light, blessed be his angels, the guardians, and exalted be his hosts, the shining ones. He says this while lying prostrate, then he gets up and no longer remains in his prostrate position and stands upright. At the second prostration he says: you highly praised one, oh you the luminous one, Mani, our guide, you root of enlightenment, branch of respectability, you great tree, you who are all remedies. At the third prostration he says: I prostrate myself and praise with a pure heart and a sincere tongue the great God, the Father of lights and their element, Blessed One, Sacred One, you and all your great glory and your worlds are the

مسيح مبارك انت وعظمتك كلها
وعالموك المباركون الذين دعوتهم
²⁰ | يسبحك مسيح حنودك وابرارك
وكلمتك وعظمتك ورضوانك من اجل
انك انت الاله الذى كله ²¹ | حق وحياء
وبر ثم يقول في الرابعة اسبح واسجد
للالهة كلهم وللملائكة المضيئين كلهم
²² | وللانوار كلهم وللجنود كلهم الذين
كانوا من لاله العظيم ثم يقول في
الخامسة اسجد واسبح ²³ | للجنود الكبراء
وللاله النيرين الذين بحكمتهم طعنوا
واخرجوا الظلمة و قمعوها ويقول في
²⁴ | السادسة اسجد ولسبح لابي العظمة
العظيم المنيرالذى جاء من العلمين
وعلى هذا الى ²⁵ | السجدة الثانية عشرة
فاذا فرغ من الصلوات العشر ابتداء في
صلوة اخرى ولهم فيها تسبيح لا ²⁶ |
حاجة بنا الى ذكره فاما الصلوة الاولى
فبعد الزوال والصلوة الثانية بين الزوال
وغروب ²⁷ | الشمس ثم صلوة المغرب
بعد غروب الشمس ثم صلوة العتمة بعد
المغرب بثلاث ساعات ²⁸ | ويفعل في كل
صلوة وسجدة مثل ما فعل في الصلوة
الاولى وهى صلوة البشير فاما الصوم
فاذا ²⁹ | نزلت الشمس القوس وصار
القمر نوراً كله يصام يومين لا يفطر
بينهما فاذا اهلّ الهلال يصام ³⁰ | يومين
لا يفطر بينهما ثم من بعد ذلك يصام اذا
صار نوراً يومين في الجدى ثم اذا اهلّ
³¹ | الهلال ونزلت الشمس الدلو ومضى
من الشهر ثمانية ايام يصام حينئذ ثلثين
يوماً يفطر (334) كل يوم عند غروب
الشمس والاحد يعظمه عامّة لمنايئة

blessed ones whom you have called. (20) He who praises you praises your hosts, your righteous ones, your word, your great glory, and your pleasure, because you are the God who is all truth, life, and righteousness. At the fourth prostration he says: I praise and prostrate myself before all the gods, all the shining angels, especially the light ones and all hosts that are of the great God. At the fifth prostration he says: I prostrate myself and praise the great hosts and the shining gods whose wisdom penetrates the darkness, casts it out and conquers it. At the sixth prostration he says: I prostrate myself and praise the Father of great glory, the Exalted One, the Illuminated One, who came from the two sciences, and so forth up to the (25) twelfth prostration. As soon as he has completed the ten prayers, he begins another prayer and in it he utters praise that is not necessary to repeat here. The first prayer, however, is performed immediately after midday and the second prayer is between that moment and the setting of the sun, then the sunset prayer after the setting of the sun, then the prayer of nightfall three hours after sunset, and at every prayer and prostration, he does just as he did at the first prayer, and it is the prayer of the (Third) Messenger.

As for the fasts, when the sun has taken up residence in Sagittarius and the whole of the moon has become light, one fasts for two days without breaking the fast between them. And when the new crescent has appeared, when the sun has entered the sign of Capricorn, one fasts (30) for two days without breaking the fast between them. Then, after that one fasts for two days when the moon has become all light and the sun is still in Capricorn. Then when the new crescent has appeared, and the sun has taken up residence in Aquarius and eight days of the month have passed, then one fasts for thirty days, breaking (334) the fast every day every day at the setting of the sun. The auditors honour Sunday, but the elect honour Monday. Mani thus made this an indispensable duty.

والاثنين يعظمه خواصهم كذا² | اوجب
عليهم ماني

Disputed leadership after the death of Mani

334.3-18

اختلاف المانوية في الامامة بعد ماني³

**The various opinions of the Manicheans
about the leadership of the community
(religious leaders) after Mani's death**

قال المانوية⁴ | لما ارتفع ماني الى
جنان النور اقام قبل ارتفاعه سيس
الامام بعده فكان يقيم⁵ | دين الله
وطهارته الى ان توفي وكانت الائمة
يتناولون الدين واحدا عن واحد لاختلاف
بينهم⁶ | الى ان ظهرت خارجة منهم
يعرفون بالديناورية فطعنوا على امامهم
وامتنعوا من طاعته⁷ | وكانت الامامة لا
تتم الا ببابل ولا يجوز ان يكون امام في
غيرها فقالت هذه الطائفة بخلاف هذا⁸ |
القول ولم يزالوا عليه وعلى غيره هن
الخلاف الذي لا فائدة في ذكره الى ان
افضت الرياسة⁹ | الكلية الى مهر وذلك
في ملك الوليد بن عبد الملك في ولاية
خالد بن عبد الله القسري¹⁰ | العراق
وانضم اليهم رجل يقال له زادهرمز
فمكث عندهم مدة ثم فارقه وكان رجلا
له دنيا¹¹ | عريضة فتركها وخرج الى
الصدىقوت وزعم انه يرى امورا ينكرها
واراد اللحق بالديناورية وهم¹² | وراء
نهربلخ فاتي المدائن وكان بها كاتب
للحجاج بن يوسف ذو مال كثير وقد
كانت¹³ | بينهما صداقة فشرح له حاله
والسبب الذي اخرج من الجملة وانه
يريد خراسان لينضم¹⁴ | الى الديناورية
فقال له الكاتب انا خراسانك وانا ابني

The Manicheans report that, when Mani was raised to the paradise of light, and before his ascension he established the rule of the religious leadership after him. He upheld (5) the religion of God and his purity until he died, and the religious leaders took over the religion one after the other without any difference of opinion among them, until there was an apostate sect known as the Dunjawarians, who came out and criticized their religious leader and disobeyed him. The seat of the religious leadership was only considered fully legitimate in Babylon, and a religious leader was not allowed to have its seat in any other city. That sect, the Dunjawarians, however, contradicted these statutes and its followers maintained their contradiction (which is unnecessary to mention here) against this same as against other allegations, until the entire leadership was transferred to Mihr, which happened under the government of Walid ben Abdalmalik, when Khalid ben Abdallah al-Kasri was governor of (10) Iraq. Then they were joined by a man named Zadhurmuz, who stayed with them for a while, but then separated from them. He was a man who was richly blessed with worldly goods. He renounced these latter and turned to the class of the truthful. But even there he claimed that he saw things that he had to reject, and he intended to join the Dunjawarians, who had their seat behind the river of Balkh. So, he went to Madain, where there was a secretary of Hajjaj ben Jusuf, who possessed great wealth. Both were on friendly terms with each other, and so Zadhurmuz acquainted the secretary with his plan and why he felt forced to leave the main congregation, and that he

لك البيع واقيم لك ما تحتاج اليه فاقام
 15 | عنده وبنى له البيع فكتب زادهرمز
 الى الديناوريّة يستدعى منهم رئيساً
 يقيمه فكتبوا اليه 16 | انه لا يجوز ان
 يكون الرياسة الا في وسط الملك ببابل
 فسأل عمن يصلح لذلك فلم يكن غيره
 17 | فنظر في الامر فلما انحلّ ومعناه
 حضرته الوفاة سألوه ان يجعل لهم
 رئيساً فقال هذا مقلّص 18 | قد عرفتم
 مكانه وانا ارضاه واثق بتدبيره لكم فلما
 مضى زادهرمز اجمعوا على تقديم
 مقلّص

wanted to go to Churasan to join the Dunjawarrians. Then the secretary said to him: I am your Churasan, I will build you the temples and procure what you need. So, he resided with him (15) with him, and the secretary built the temples for him. Zadhurmuz then wrote to the Dunjawarrians to ask them to appoint a community council. They wrote back saying that it was not permissible for the leadership of the community to be anywhere other than in the centre of the empire at Babylon. He continued to ask around for someone who would be suitable, but no one was found except himself. So, he did this job, and when he saw his end nearing, that is, death was approaching, they asked him to appoint a supervisor for them. This is Miklas, he replied; you know his worthy behaviour. I am satisfied with him, and I trust his administration for your good. When Zadhurmuz died, they unanimously handed over the leadership of the community to Miklas.

The Manichaeans in Irak split into two sects

334.19-335.1

19 | قصارت المانويّة فرقتين المهريّة والمقلّصية

*Division of the Manichaeans into two sects,
 the Mihrija and the Miklasia*

20 | وخالف مقلّص الجماعة الى اشياء
 من الدين منها في الوصلات حتى قدم
 ابو هلال 21 | الديحورى من افريقية وقد
 انتهت رياسة المانوية اليه وذلك في أيام
 ابي جعفي المنصور فدعا المقالصة الى
 ترك ما رسمه لهم مقلّص في
 الوصلات فاجابوه الى ذلك وظهى من
 المقالصة في ذلك الوقت رجل يعرف
 ببزرمهى واستمال جماعة منهم واحداث
 اشياء اخى وام يزل امرهم على ذلك الى
 ان انتهت الرياسة الى ابي سعيد رحا
 فردهم في الوصلات الى راي المهريّة

(20) Miklas differed from the main church even down to things in religion e.g., regarding social institutions, until the time that Abu Hilal al-Deihurt came from Africa and took over the leadership of the Manichaeans, which occurred in the days of Abu Ja'far al-Mansur. Abu Hilal al-Deihurt urged the followers of Miklas to give up observing what Miklas had prescribed them regarding social institutions, and they obeyed him in this. During this time, a man named Buzurmihir appeared among the Miklasia and made a number of them his followers and introduced some strange things as innovations. This state of affairs continued among them until Abu Said Raha took over the leadership. This latter guided them back to the view of the Mihrija in

وهو الذى ²⁵ لم يزل الدين عليه في
الوصلات ولم يزل حالهم على ذلك الى
ان ظهى في خلافة المأمون رجل ²⁶
منهم احسبه يزدانبحث فخالف في
الأمر واد ومالت اليه شردمة منهم

regard to social institutions, and so their religious belief and their position (25) remained unchanged until a man appeared among them under the Khalifate of Mamun. I believe his name was Jazdanbacht (God's happiness). He disagreed with all things and tried to win them over by cunning. He also had the following of a small crowd.

²⁷ومعاً نقتته المقالة على المهريّة

One of the things that the Miklasia reproach the Mihrija for

²⁸انهم زعموا ان خالد القسرى حمل
مهرا على بغلة وختمه بخاتم فضة وخلع
عليه شياى ²⁹ وشى وكان رئيس
المقالصة في أيام المأمون والمعتصم أبو
على سعيد ثم خلفه بعد كاتبه نصى ³⁰
بن هرمزد السمرقندى وكانوا يرخصون
لاهل المذهب والداخلين فيه أشياء
محظورة فى الذين (335) وكانوا
يخالطون السلاطين ويواكلونهم وكان
من رؤسائهم أبو الدسن الومشقى وقتل
مانى فى ² مملكة بهرام بن سابور ولما
قتله صلبه نصفين النصف الواحد على
باب والاخى على الباب ³ الاخى من
مدينة جندسابور ويسمى الموضعين
المار الاعلى والمار الاسفل ويقال انه
كان فى ⁴ محبس سابور فلما مات
سابور اخرج بهرام ويقال بل مات فى
المحبس والصلب لاشك فيه وحكى ⁵
بعض الناس انه كان احنف الرجلين
وقيل الرجل اليمنى ومانى ينتقص سائى
الانبياء فى كتبه ⁶ ويزرى عليهم
ويرميهم بالكذب ويزعم ان الشياطين
استحوذت عليهم وتكتمت على سنتهم
⁷ بل يقول فى مواضع من كتبه انهم

is their claim that Khalid al-Qasri lifted Mihr onto a mule, gave him a silver signet ring and clothed him in brightly coloured garments. Abu Ali Said was the leader of the Miklasia under the rule of Mamun and Mutasim and was later succeeded by his scribe Nasr (30) ben Hurmuzd from Samarkand. They allowed the followers of the sect and those entering into it to indulge in things forbidden in religion, (335) they had contact with the sultans, and they ate together with them. Abu lhasan al-Dimischki (from Damascus) was also one of its leaders.

Mani was killed under the reign of Bahram, son of Sabur (I. Hurmuz), and after this had taken place, he left him crucified in two halves, each half being hung from a different gate in the city of Jundisabur, these two places being called the upper Marr (passage) and the lower Marr. Some say that Sabur locked him in a prison, but that when Sabur died, he was freed by Bahram(?). Others, however, say that he died in prison. There is no doubt that he was crucified. (5) Some reports say that his legs were turned inwards, while others say that only the right leg was turned inward(?).

In his books Mani treated all the prophets in a defamatory manner, belittled them, accused them of lying and claimed that the devils had taken control of them and spoke out of their mouths; yes, in some places in his books he even says that they are devils. He claims that the Isa (Jesus), whom we and

شياطين فامّا عيسى المشهور عندنا وعند
النصارى⁸ فيزعم انه شيطان

The future life according to Mani

335.9-29

قول المانوية في المعاد

¹⁰ | قال ماني اذا حضرت وفاة الصديق
ارسل اليه الانسان القديم الها نيدا
بصورة الحكيم¹¹ | الهادي ومعه ثلاثة
الهة ومعهم الركوة واللباس والعصابة
والتاج واكليل النور ويأتي معهم¹² |
البكى الشبيهة بنسمة ذلك الصديق
ويظهي تة سيطان الحرص والشهوة
والشياطين فادا¹³ | رآهم الصديق
استغاث بالا لهة التي على صورة
الحكيم والالهة الثلاثة فيقربون منه فاذا
رأتهم¹⁴ | الشياطين ولت هاربة واخذوا
ذلك الصديق والبسوه التاج والاكليل
واللباس واعطوه الركوة¹⁵ | بيده
وعرجوا به في عمود السبح الى فلك
القمرى والى الانسان القديم والى النههة
لم الاحياء الى¹⁶ | ما كان عليه أولاً في
خنان النور ثم يبقا ذلك الجسد ملقا
فتجتذب منه الشمس والقمرى والالهة¹⁷ |
النيرون القوى التي هي الماء والنار
والنسيم فيرتفع الى الشمس ويصبي الها
ويقذف باقى¹⁸ | جسده التي هي ظلمة
كله الى جهنم فاما الا نسان المحارب
القابل الدين والبي الحافظ¹⁹ | لهما
والصديقين فاذا حضرت وفاته حصى
اولئك الالهة الذين ذكرتهم وحضرت
الشياطين²⁰ | واستغاث ومت بما كان
يعمل من البى وحفظ الدين و الصديقين

Manichaean teaching on future life.

(10) Mani teaches that, when death approaches a truthful one, a god of light is sent to him in the form of the chief sage and together with him three gods and also with these the water vessel, the attire, the bandeau, the crown, and the wreath of light. With them comes the virgin, who is like the soul of this truthful one. The devil of greed and sensual pleasure also appears to him along with other devils. As soon as the truthful one sees these latter, he calls for help from the goddess, who has assumed the form of the sage and the other three gods, and these approach him. As soon as the devils become aware of them, they turn around and flee. The gods, however, take this truthful one, clothe him with the crown, the wreath, and the cloak, (15) hand the water vessel to him, and climb with him to the pillar of praise, to the sphere of the moon, to the first man and to the Nahnaha, Mother of the Living, up to the state in which he was first in the light paradises. But then his body remains lying, so that the sun, the moon, and the light gods can extract the forces i.e., the water, the fire and the gentle breeze, and then he rises up to the sun and becomes a god. The rest of his body, however, which is completely dark, is thrown into hell.

When death approaches the striving man, who is receptive to religion and justice²⁹⁴, who protects both of these and the truthful ones²⁹⁶, those gods that I have mentioned appear, and the devils are also there. (20) He calls for help and seeks mediation to be inclined to him on account of the good works he has performed and for having preserved religion and the truthful ones. These gods also free him from the devils. But he continues to be similar to the person in the world,

فيخلصونه من الشياطين²¹ | فلا يزال في العالم شبه الانسان انذى يرى في منامه الاهوال ويغوص في الوحل والطين فلا²² | يزال كذلك الى ان يتخلص نوره وروحه ويلحق بملحق الصدّقين ويلبس لباسهم بعد²³ | المدة الطويلة من ترده فاما الا نسن الاثيم المستعلى عليه الحرص والشهوة فاذا حضرت وفاته حضرته الشياطين²⁴ | فاخذوه وعذبوه واروه الاهوال فيحضى أولئك الالهة ومعهم²⁵ | ذلك اللباس فيظنّ الانسان الاثيم انهم قد جاموا خلاصه وانما حضروا لتوبيخه وتذكيره²⁶ | افعاله والزامه الحجة في ترك اعانتة الصديقين ثم لا يزال يتردد في العالم في العذاب الى وقت²⁷ | العاقبة فيدعى به في جهنّم قال مانى فهذه ثلث طرق يقسم فيه نسمات الناس احدها الى²⁸ | الجنان وهم الصديقون والثانى الى العالم واتهوال وهم حفظة الدين ومعينى الصديقين²⁹ | والثالث الى جهنم وهو الانسان الاثيم

who sees the terrifying figures in his dreams, and who sinks into mud and faeces. He remains in this state until his light and spirit are liberated, and he comes to the place of assembly of the truthful ones and, after a long period of wandering back and forth, puts on their garb.

But when death appears to the sinful man, over whom greed and sensual lust has gained the upper hand, the devils approach him, seize him, and torment him, and let him see the terrifying figures²⁹⁸. Those gods are also there, (25) together with the aforementioned garb, and the sinful man believes that they have appeared for his redemption. But they are only there to fill him with reproaches, remind him of his deeds and make him understand that he must give up the conviction of expecting help from the truthful ones. Then he wanders ceaselessly around the world, afflicted by torments until the time comes when this state ends, and he is thrown into hell together with the world.

Mani teaches that there are three ways in which the souls of men are divided. One of them leads to the paradises, which is the path of the truthful ones, the other into the world and its horrors, which is the path for the guardians of religion and helpers of the truthful ones, and the third to hell, which is the path for the sinful man.

After-life posterior to the End of the World

335.30-336.6

³⁰كيف حال المعد بعد فناء العالم وصفة الجنة والجحيم

What the state of the future world will be like after the downfall of the earthly world, and the description of paradise and hell.

³¹ | قال ثم ان الانسان القديم يأتى من عالم الجدى والبشير من المشرق والبناء الكبير من (336) اليمن وروح الحياة من عالم المغرب فيقفون على البنيان العظيم الذى هو الجنة الجديدة² | مطيفين بتلك

Mani teaches that the primal man will then come from the realm of Capricorn (the northern region) and from the movement from the east, and from the many buildings (336) from the south, and the spirit of life will come from the realm of the west, and they will perceive the great building, which is

الجحيم فينظرون اليها ثم يأتي
الصدّيقون من الجنان الى ذلك النور³
فيجلسون فيه ثم يتعجلون الى مجمع
الالهة فيقومون حول تلك الجحيم ثم
ينظرون الى عملة⁴ | الاثم يتقلبون
ويتردّدون ويتضوّرون في تلك الجحيم
وليست تلك الجحيم قادرة على الاضرار
| بالصدّيقين فاذا نظر اولئك الآثمون
الى الصدّيقين يسئلونهم ويتضرّعون
اليهم فلا يجيبونهم⁶ | الا بها لا منفعة لهم
فيه من التوبيخ فيزداد الاثمة ندامة وهما
وغما فهذه صورتهم ابد الابد

the new paradise, as they walk around this hell and look down into it. Then the electi will come from the paradise to this light to take their seat in it, and then they will rush to the meeting place of the gods and stand around this hell. Then they will look at the sinners; how these turn in circles and wander back and forth and sink deeper and deeper into this hellfire, which is not able to harm the electi in any way. (5) Now, when those sinners see the electi, they will implore them and humbly throw themselves at their feet. But these will only answer them with reproachful words telling them that it is of no use and that, on the contrary, the sinners will only become more sorrowful, more distressed, and more grievous and that that is their lot for all eternity.

Books written by Mani

336.7-18

7 اسماء كتب ماني

8 | لماني سبعة كتب احدها فارسي وستة
سوري بلغة سوريا فمن ذلك **كتاب** سفر
الاسرار⁹ | ويحتوي على ابواب, باب
ذكي الديصانيين, باب شهادة يستاسف
شهادة ... على¹⁰ | على الحبيب, باب
نفسه ليعقوب, باب ابن الارملة وهو عند
ماني المسيح المصلوب الذي¹¹ | صلبوه
اليهود, باب شهادة عيسى على نفسه في
يهودا, باب ابتداء شهادة اليمين بعد
12 | غلبه, باب الارواح السبع, باب القول
في الارواح الاربع الزوال, باب
الضحكة, باب شهادة¹³ | آدم على
عيسى, باب السقاط من الدين, باب قول
الديصانيين في النفس والجسد, باب الرد
على الديصانيين في نفس¹⁴ | الحياة,
باب الخنادق الثلاثة, باب حفظ العالم,
باب الايام¹⁵ | الثلاثة, باب الانبياء, باب

The names of the books written by Mani.

Mani wrote seven books, one in the Persian language and six in the Syrian language. The most important of these are:

I. **The Book** of Mysteries, (10) which includes the following chapters: 1. Of the Bardaisanites (*Daysaniyya*). - 2. Of the testimony of Hystaspes on (Jesus) al-Ḥabīb (the beloved). - 3. Of the testimony of Jacob about himself. - 4. Of the son of the poor widow, who according to Mani is the crucified Christ whom the Jews crucified. - 5. Of the testimony of Jesus about himself in Judaea. - 6. First part of the testimony of (the son of) Jamīn right after his victory. - 7. Of the Seven Spirits. - 8. Of the discourse on the four ephemeral spirits. - 9. Of laughter. - 10. Of the testimony of Adam about Jesus. - 11. Of apostasy from religion. - 12. Of the doctrine of the Bardaisanites on the soul and the body. - 13. Refutation of the Bardaisanites on the soul of life. - 14. Of the three graves. - 15. Of the preservation of the world. - 16. Of the (15) three days. - 17. Of the prophets. - 18. Of the resurrection - These are the chapters that the Book of Mysteries contains.

II. **The Book** of Giants, containing. . . .

القيامة فهذا ما يحتوى عليه سفرى الاسرار, **كتاب** سفر¹⁶ الجبابة ويحتوى ... كتاب فرائض السماعين باب فرائض الْمُجْتَبِينَ **كتاب** الشابرقان¹⁷ ويحتوى على باب انحلال السماعين, باب انحلال المجتبيين, باب انحلال الخطاة, **كتاب**¹⁸ سفر الاحياء ويحتوى ... كتاب فرقماطيا ويحتوى...

III. **The Book** of Obligations of the Electi, together with a chapter of Obligations of the Enticed.

IV. **The Book** Šābuhragān. - This book comprises the chapters: 1. On the Dissolution of the Auditors. - 2. On the Dissolution of the Enticed. - 3. On the Dissolution of the Sinners.

V. The Treasury of the Living, containing. . .

VI. **The Book** Pragmateia (Gr. Πραγματεία), containing.. .

The Epistles of Mani

336.19-337.11

19 اسماء الرسائل التى لمانى والائمة بعده

²⁰ رسالة الاصلين ٨ رسالة الكبراء ٨ رسالة هند العظيمة ٨ رسالة هياء البر ٨ رسالة²¹ قضاء العدل ٨ رسالة كسكر ٨ رسالة فتق العظيمة ٨ رسالة ارمينية ٨ رسالة اموليا²² الكافر ٨ رسالة طيسفون في الورقة ٨ رسالة الكلمات العشر ٨ رسالة المعلم في الوصالات ٨²³ رسالة وحنن في خاتم الفم ٨ رسالة خبرهات في التعزية ٨ رسالة خبرهات في ... ٨ رسالة²⁴ امهسم الطيسفونية ٨ رسالة يحير في العطر ٨ رسالة خبرهات في ... ٨ رسالة طيسفون²⁵ الى السماعين ٨ رسالة فافي ٨ رسالة الهدى الصغيرة ٨ رسالة سيس ذات الوجهين ٨²⁶ رسالة بابل الكبيرة ٨ رسالة سيس وفتق في الصور ٨ رسالة الجنة ٨ رسالة سيس في²⁷ الزمان ٨ رسالة سعيوس في العشر ٨ رسالة سيس في الرهون ٨ رسالة التدبير ٨ رسالة²⁸ ابا التلميذ ٨

Titles of the Epistles, which Mani and the Religious leaders who came after him wrote.

(20) 1. The Epistle on the two principles. - 2. The Epistle on the elders. - 3. The great Epistle to the Indians. - 4. The Epistle on the armaments of justice. - 5. The Epistle on the just judicial system. - 6. The Epistle to Kaskar. - 7. The great Epistle to Futtaḡ. - 8. The Epistle to Armenia. - 9. Epistle to Amulijâ the unbeliever. - 10. Epistle to Ctesiphon. One sheet. - 11. Epistle on the Ten Words. - 12. Treatise of the Teachers on social institutions. - 13. Epistle of Wahman on the seal of the mouth. - 14. Epistle of Khabarhât on consolation. - 15. Epistle of Khabarhât on... - 16. Epistle to Amhasam from Ctesiphon. - 17. Epistle of Jahjâ (John) on the fragrance. - 18. Epistle of Khabarhât on... - 19. Epistle from Ctesiphon (25) to the auditors. - 20. Epistle to Fâfi. - 21. The small Epistle on the right path. - 22. The ambiguous Epistle of Sîs. - 23. The great Epistle to Babel. - 24. Epistle to Sîs and Futtaḡ on the forms. - 25. Epistle on Paradise. - 26. Epistle of Sis on time. - 27. Epistle of Sa'jus on tithes. - 28. Epistle of Sis on pledges. - 29. Epistle on administration. - 30. Epistle of Abâ of the pupil. - 31. Epistle of Ibrai to Rohâ. - 32. Epistle of Abâ on love. - 33. Epistle of Meisan on the day. - 34. Epistle of Abâ on ... - 35. Epistle of Bahrâjâ on the terrifying

رسالة ابربي الى الرها ٨ رسالة ابا في
 الحب ٨ رسالة ميسان في النهار ٨²⁹
 رسالة ابا في ... ٨ رسالة بحر ابا في
 الهول ٨ رسالة ابا في ذكي الطيب ٨
 رسالة عبد يسوع³⁰ في العصابات ٨
 رسالة بحر ابا في الوصالات ٨ رسالة
 شائل وسكنى ٨ رسالة ابي في الزكوات
 (337) رسالة حدابا في الحمامة ٨ رسالة
 افقوربا في الزمان ٨ رسالة زكو في
 الزمان ٨ رسالة سهراب² في العثر ٨
 رسالة الكرخ والعرب ٨ رسالة سهراب
 في الفرس ٨ رسالة ابا حيا ٨ رسالة ابي
 يسام المهندس ٨ رسالة³ ابراحيا الكافر
 ٨ رسالة المعمودية ٨ رسالة يحيى في
 الدراهم ٨⁴ رسالة افعد في الاعشار
 الاربعة ٨ وبعد ذلك رسالة افعد في
 السعد الاول ٨ رسالة ببو في⁵ ذكر
 الوسائد ٨ رسالة يوحنا في تدبير
 الصدقة ٨ رسالة السماعين في الصوم
 والنذر ٨ رسالة⁶ السماعين في النار
 الكبرى ٨ رسالة الاهواز في ذكي الملك
 ٨ رسالة السماعين في تعبير⁷
 يزدانخت ٨ رسالة مينق الفارسية
 الاولى ٨ رسالة مينق الثانية ٨ رسالة
 العشر والصدقات ٨ رسالة⁸ اردشير
 ومينق ٨ رسالة سلم وعنصرا ٨ رسالة
 حطا ٨ رسالة خبرهات في المك ٨
 رسالة ابراحيا في الاصحى والمرضى
 ٨⁹ رسالة اردد في الدواب ٨ رسالة اجا
 في الخفاف ٨ رسالة الحملان النيرة ٨
 رسالة مانا في التصليب ٨ رسالة مهر
 السماع ٨ رسالة فيروز وراسين ٨¹⁰
 رسالة عبدبال في سفر الاسرار ٨ رسالة

form. - 36. Epistle of Abâ on the mention of
 fragrance. - 37. Epistle of Abdjesu on (30)
 distant relatives. - 38. Epistle of Baḥrâjâ on
 social institutions. - 39. Epistle to Schâil
 (Schâtil?) and Sakanî. - 40. Epistle of Ubajji
 on the various types of property taxes. -
 (337) 41. Epistle of Ḥudâjâ on the Pigeon. -
 42. Epistle of Afḡurijâ on time. - 43. Epistle
 of Zakû on time. - 44. Epistle of Suhrâb on
 tithes. - 45. Epistle on the cell of the hermit,
 and the Arabic fruit, from which the beads for
 the rosaries are prepared (?). - 46. Epistle of
 Suhrâb on the Persians. - 47. Epistle to
 Abrâhijâ. - 48. Epistle to Abû Jasâm the
 geometer. - 49. Epistle to Abrâhijâ the
 unbeliever. - 50. Epistle on the baptism. -
 51. Epistle of Jahjâ on the dirham. - 52.
 Epistle of Af'and on the four types of tithing.
 In addition, the following Epistles are
 mentioned: 53. Epistle of Af'and on the first
 bliss. 54. Epistle of Janû (Innaeus?) on (5) the
 poll tax. 55. Epistle of Juhannâ on the
 administration of alms. - 56. Epistle to the
 auditors on fasting and keeping vows. - 57.
 Epistle to the auditors on the great fire. - 58.
 Epistle of Ahwâz on property that can be
 freely alienated. - 59. Epistle to the auditors
 on the dream interpretation of Yazdânuxt. -
 60. First Epistle to the Persian Meinaḡ
 (Menoch). - 61. Second Epistle to the
 Meinaḡ. - 62. Epistle on tithes and the
 various kinds of alms. - 63. Epistle to
 Ardashir and the Meinaḡ. - 64. Epistle to
 Salam and Ansaḡâ. - 65. Epistle of Haḡâ. - 66.
 Epistle of Khabarhât on property that can be
 freely alienated. - 67. Epistle of Abrâhijâ on
 the healthy and the sick. - 68. Epistle of
 Ardad on the beasts of burden. - 69. Epistle
 of Adscha on the sandals. - 70. Epistle on the
 two luminous burdens. - 71. Epistle of Mânâ
 on the crucifixion. - 72. Epistle on the
 excellence of religious music. - 73. Epistle of
 Fîrûz and Râsîn. - 74. (line 10) Epistle of
 Abdîâl on the Book of Mysteries. - 75.
 Epistle of Sam'ûn (Simeon) and Ramîn. - 76.
 Epistle of Abdîâl on clothing.

سمعون ورمين ٨ رسالة عبدبال في
الكسوة

Manichaeism beyond the Oxus

337.12-28

¹²قطعة هن اخبار المنائية وتنقلهم في
البلدان ¹³ واخبار رؤسائهم

**A fragment from the history of the
Manichaeans, their emigration to different
countries and news on their rulers.**

¹⁴ اول من دخل بلاد ما وراء النهر من
غير السمنية من الاديان المنائية وكان
السبب فيه ¹⁵ ان ماني لما قتله كسرى
وصلبه وحرّم على اهل مملكته الجدل
في الدين جعل يقتل اصحاب ¹⁶ ماني
في اى موضع وجدهم فلم يزالوا
يهربون منه الى ان عبروا نهر بلخ
ودخلوا في مملكة ¹⁷ خان فكانوا عنده
وخان باسانهم لقب يلقبون به ملوك
الترك فلما نزل المنائية بما وراء النهر
¹⁸ الى ان انتثر امر الفرس وقوى امر
العرب فعادوا الى هذه البلاد وسيما في
فتنة الفرس وفي ايام ¹⁹ ملوك بنى امية
فان خالد بن عبد الله القسرى كان يعنا
بهم الا ان الرياسة ما كانت تعقد ²⁰ الا
ببابل في هذه الديار ثم يمضى الرئيس
الى حيث يامن من البلاد واخى ما
انجلوا في ايام ²¹ المقتدر فانهم لحقوا
بخراسان خوفا على نفوسهم ومن تبقى
منهم ستر اهره وتنقل في هذه ²² البلاد
وكان اجتمع منهم بسمرقند نحو خمس
مائة رجل فاشتهر امرهم واراد صاحب
خراسان ²³ قتلهم فارسل اليه ملك
الصين واحسبه صاحب التغزغز يقول
ان قي بلادى من المسلمين ²⁴ اضعاف

Apart from the Samanaans, the first to emigrate to the cities beyond the Oxus belonged to the Manichaean religious sects. The reason for this was as follows. (15) After Khosrow had Mani killed and crucified, he forbid the inhabitants of his kingdom from engaging in religious contentions. He began to execute Mani's followers wherever he might find them. So, they continually fled from him until they had crossed the river Balkh and reached the area of the Khân, in whose states they settled. Khân is a title in the local language with which the inhabitants designate the princes of the Turks. After the Manicheans had settled in Transoxania, (they stayed there) until the time when the power of the Persians was dispersed to the winds and the Arabs asserted the upper hand. They therefore returned to the cities of Iraq, mainly at the time of the dissolution of the Persians and under the rule of the Banu Umayya, Khalid ben Abdallah al-Qasrî took care of them, since in these areas the Manicheans stationed the headship, which had previously (20) only been stationed in Babylon. The headship later mutated towards the cities where it was safest. They emigrated a second time under the rule of MuktaDir. They went to Khurasan out of fear for their lives, and whoever stayed behind hid their attitudes and wandered around in these cities. About five hundred men had gathered in Samarquand. Their cult became known and the ruler of Khurasan wanted to kill them. Then the king of China (I believe it was the lord of the Tughuzghuz (Uyghurs)) sent a message to him: "In my country there are several times more Muslims as there are followers of my

من في بلادك من اهل ديني ويحلف له
ان قتل واحدا منهم قتل الجماعة به
واخرب²⁵ المساجد وترك الارصاد
على المسلمين في سائر البلاد فقتلهم
فكف عنهم صاحب خراسان²⁶ واخذ
منهم الجزية وقد قتلوا في المواضع
الاسلامية فاما مدينة السلم فكنت اعرف
منهم في²⁷ ايام معز الدولة نحو ثلثمائة
واما في وقتنا هذا فليس بالحضرة منهم
خمسة انفس وهؤلاء القوم²⁸ يسمون
اجارى وهم برستاق سمرقند والصغد
وخاصة بنونكث

religion in your country”, and he swore to him that should he kill even one of these, he would in return kill the entire community, destroy (25) the mosques, and deploy persons in every country to ambush the Muslims and kill them. Then the ruler of Khurasan desisted from harming them and had them pay the poll tax. There are now only a few of them in the states of Islam. In the City of Salvation (Baghdad) I made the acquaintance of three hundred of them under the rule of Mu'izz-ad-daula, but there are now hardly more than five of them residing there. These Manichaeans are called Adschäri and live in the villages of Samarquand, Sogdiana and especially in Nawekav.

Manichaeans in Abbasids Irak

337.29-338.26

²⁹اسماء وذكر رؤساء المنائية في دولة
بنى العباس³⁰ وقبل ذلك

**The names and listing of the rulers of the
Manichaeans under the rule of the
Abbasids and before this time.**

³¹ كان الجعد بن درهم الذي ينسب اليه
مروان بن محمد فيقال مروان الجعدى
وكان مؤدبا (338) له ولولده فادخله في
الزندقة وقتل الجعد هشام بن عبد الملك
في خلافته بعد ان اطال² حبسه في يد
خالد بن عبد الله القسرى فيقال ان آل
الجعد رفعوا قصة الى هشام يشكون³
ضعفهم وطول حبس الجعد فقال هشام
اهو حى بعد وكتب الى خالد في قتله
فقتله يوم اضحى⁴ وجعله بدلا من
الاضحية بعد ان قال ذلك على المنبر
بامر هشام فانه كان يُرمى اعنى⁵ خالدا
بالزندقة وكانت امه نصرانية وكان
مروان الجعدى زنديقا

Al-Ja'd ben Darham is the same from whom Marwân ben (338) Muḥammad got his nickname, so that he was called Mârwân al-Ja'dî. He was the educator of the same and his son and enticed them into unbelief. Hisham ben 'Abdalmalik killed Ja'd under his Khalifate after he had long been held prisoner at the hands of the Khâlid ben' Abdallah al-Kasrî. It is said that the Ja'd family petitioned Hisham, complaining of their helplessness and Ja'd's long imprisonment. So, he is still alive then? replied Hishâm and wrote to Khâlid with the order to kill him, which actually took place at a festival of sacrifices, by having him killed instead of the sacrifices, having announced from the pulpit that this was being implemented on the orders of Hishâm. He, namely Khâlid, was himself accused of unbelief (5) in that his mother was a Christian, and also Marwân al-Ja'dî was an unbeliever.

**٦ ومن رؤسائهم المتكلمين الذين
يظهرون^٧ | الاسلام ويبطنون الزندقة**

٨ | انن طالوت ٨ ابو شاكِر ٨ ابن اخي
ابن شاكِر ٨ ابن الأعدى الحريرى ٨
نعمان ٨ | ابن ابى العوجا ٨ صالح بن
عبد القدوس ٨ ولهؤلاء كتب مصنفة في
نصرة الاثنى عشر ومذاهب^{١٠} | اهلها وقد
نقضوا كتباً كثيرة صنّفها المتكلمون في
ذلك ومن الشعراء بشار بن بُرد ٨ |^{١١}
اسحف بن خلف ٨ ابن سابه ٨ سلم
الخاصر ٨ على بن الخليل ٨ على بن
ثابت ٨ |^{١٢} ومعن تشهر اخيوا ابو
عيسى الوراق ٨ وابو العباس الناشى ٨
والجبهانى محمد بن احمد

**١٣ ذكى من كان يرمى بالزندقة من
الملوك والرؤساء**

١٤ | قيل ان البرامكة باسرها الا محمد بن
خالد بن برمك كانت زنادقة وقيل في
الفضل واخيه^{١٥} | الحسن مثل ذلك وكان
محمد بن عبيد الله كاتب المهدي زنديقا
واعترف بذلك فقتله^{١٦} | المهدي قرأت
بخط بعض اهل المذهب ان المأمون
كان منهم وكذب في ذلك وقيل كان
محمد^{١٧} | ابن عبد الملك الزيات زنديقا

**١٨ ومن رؤسائهم في المذهب في الدولة
العباسية**

١٩ | ابو يحيى الرئيس ٨ ابو على سعيد
٨ ابو على رجا ٨ يزدانبخت وهو الذى

**Some of the Manichaeans who were
devoted to scholasticism who outwardly
professed Islam, but inwardly paid
homage to unbelief.**

Ibn Tâlût - Abû Shâkir - Ibn Achî Abî Shâkir
(brother/son of the previous one) - Ibn al-
A'dâ al-Ḥarîzî Nu'mân - Ibn Abî'l'audschâ -
Şâliḥ ben 'Abdalkaddûs. All these men wrote
books in defence of the two principles and
the schools of (10) their followers and
contested many writings which the
scholastics had written on them. - Among the
poets the following are mentioned: Basch-
schâr ben Burd, Ishâk ben Khalaf, Ibn
Sinâna, Salim al-Ḳhâsir, Ali ben al-Ḳhalîl,
Ali ben Tâbit and those who were last known
by them: Abû Isâ al-Warrâk - Abû l'abbâs
an-Nâschî - al-Jubhânî Muḥammad ben
Aḥmad.

**Mention of the princes and state
secretaries who were accused of being
unbelievers.**

All the Barmakids, it is said, with the
exception of Muḥammad ben Ḳhâlîd ben
Barmak, were unbelievers and the same is
said of al-Fadl and his brother (15) al-Hasan.
Mahdi's secretary, Muḥammad ben Ubei-
dallah, was an unbeliever and he himself
openly admitted it, which is why Mahdî had
him killed. Someone who belonged to the
sect remarked to me that Mâmûn counted
among their number. But this was a lie.
Furthermore, Muḥammad ben Abdalmalik
az-Zajjât is said to have been an unbeliever.

**Some of the chiefs of the Manicheans
under the rule of the Abbasids.**

Abû Jahjâ the head - Abû Ali Said - Abû Ali
Raja - Yazdânbuxt. This is the one whom al-
Ma'mûn from Rei instructed him to come

احضره²⁰ | المأمون من الرى بعد ان
 امنه فقطعه المتكلمون فقال له المأمون
 اسلم يا يزدانبخت فلولا²¹ | ما اعطيناك
 اياه من الامان لكان لنا ولك شان فقال له
 يزدانبخت نصيحتك يا امير²² | المؤمنين
 مسموعة وقولك هقبول ولكنك ممن لا
 يُجبر الناس على ترك مذاهبهم فقال
 المامون²³ | اجل وكان انزله بناحية
 الحرم ووكل به حفظة خوفا عليه من
 الغوغاء وكان فصيحاً لساناً

(20) after giving him a letter of protection. But the scholastics defeated him to the point of silence, whereupon al-Ma'mūn said to him: "Become a Muslim, Yazdānbuxt, and was it not for the letter of protection that we gave you, you would have disputes with me". Yazdānbuxt replied: "Your exhortation, Prince of the Faithful, should be obeyed and your word should be accepted. Yet, you belong to those who do not force people to give up their beliefs". "Of course," replied al-Ma'mūn. And he ordered him to stay in the al-Muḥarram district and entrusted his protection to guards for fear that the common mob might pursue him. Incidentally, he was a good speaker and verbally fluent.

²⁴ومن رؤسائهم في وقتنا هذا

Some of the chiefs of them at the current time.

²⁵ | انتقلت الرياسة الى سمرقند وصاروا
 يعقدونها ثم بعد ان كانت لاتتم الا ببابل
 وصاحبهم²⁶ | ثم في وقتنا هذا

The headship was moved to Samarquand, and it was determined that it should be stationed exclusively in this city, after the headship had (so far) only been stationed in Babylon, (25) and the chief of the Manicheans is currently staying there.



APPENDIX I



The *Fihrist* on the Manichaean script

(G. Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 167-68)

لكلام على القلم المناني

On the Manichaean written characters.

الخطّ امناني مستخرج من الفارسي
والسورياني (السرياني) استخرجه ماني
كما ان المذهب (مذاهب) مركّب من
المجوسية والنصرانية وحروفه زائدة
على حروف العربية وبهذا القلم يكتبون
اناجيلهم وكتب شرائعهم واهل ما وراء
النهر وسمرقند بهذا القلم يكتبون كتب
الدين ويسمى ثم قلم الدين والمرقيونية
(وللمرقونية). قلم يختصون به اخبرني
الثقة انه راه قال ويشبه امناني الا انه
غيره وهذه احرف المناني.

ولهم صورة والحروف تختلف (يختلف
نحلف) منها انهم يكتبون الصاد والعيم
والحاء والكاف والقاف والها.

The inventor of the Manichaean script is Mani, who derived it from Persian and Syriac, just as he assembled his teachings from the Magical and Christian religions. The letters are more numerous than in the Arabic language. The Manichaeans use this script to write their gospels and their books of law. The inhabitants of Transoxania and Samarkand use this script in their religious books, and it is called the script of religion. The Marcionites also have their own script.

A credible man reported to me that he had seen this. He says that it resembles the Manichaean script, except for that which he (Mani) altered. These are the letters of the Manichaean script:

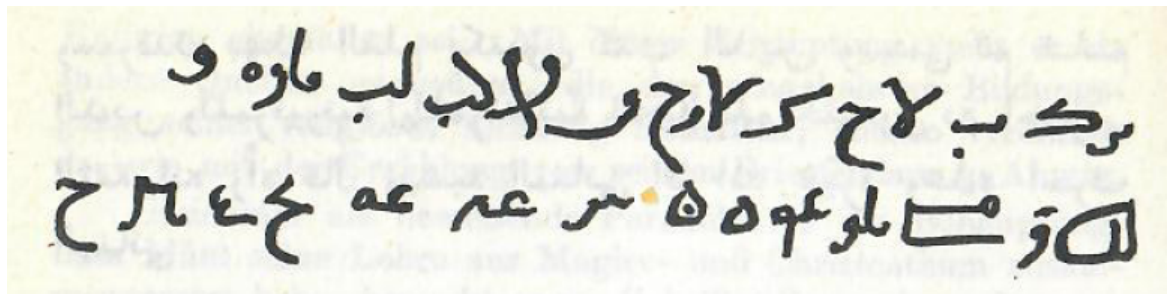


Table of Palmyrene¹ and Manichaean² scripts

	Palmyrene	Manichaean		Palmyrene	Manichaean
' (Aleph)			X		
B			L		
β			M		
G			N		
γ			S		
D			' (Ayin)		
δ			P		
Ḥ			F		
W			Š		
U			J		
Z			Q		
Ž			R		
H			Ṧ		
Ṭ			Ṧ		
Y			T		
K					

¹ Palmyrene letters provided by *The Unicode Standard, Version 15.0*[®].

² The Manichaean script has been included in the chart as it is clearly derived from the Palmyrene script.

APPENDIX II



ALBIRUNI
Athar-Ul-Bakiya

Ed. C. E. Sachau, *Chronologie, orientalischer Völker von Alberuni*, pp. 207-209
Tr. C. E. Sachau, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations of Alberuni*, pp 189-192

(207) ثم جاء من بعدها ماني تلميذ فادرون وكان عَرَفَ مذهب المجوس والنصارى والثنوية قَتَنبًا وزعم قي اول كتابه الموسوم بالشابورقان وهو الذي ألفه لشابور بن اردشير أَنَّ الحِكْمَةَ والأَعْمَالَ¹⁵ هي التي لم يَنَزَلْ رُسُلُ الله تَأْتِي بها في زَمَنٍ دون زمن فكان مَجِيهِم في بعض القرون على يَدَيِ الرسول الذي هو البد الى بلاد الهند وفي بعضها على يَدَيِ زرادشت الى ارض فارس وفي بعضها على يَدَيِ عيسى الى ارض المغرب ثم نزل هذا الوحي وجاءت هذه النبوة في هذا القرن الاخير على يَدَيِ انا ماني رسول اله الحق الى ارض بابل، وذكر في انجيله الذي وضعه على حروف الابد الاثنتين والعشرين حرفاً أنه الفارقيط الذي بشي به المسيح وأنه خاتم النبيين²⁰ وأخبر عن كَوْنِ العالم وهَيْئَتِهِ بما يُضَادُّ نتائج البرهين والدلالات ودعا الى مُلْكِ عوالم النور والانسان القديم وروح الحيوه وقال بِقَدَمِ النور والظلمة وأزليتهما وحَيَّ مَ دَبْحِ الحَيوان وايلامه وايداء النار والماء

(p. 207) **Mani.** — After Bardaisan and Marcion, *Mani* the pupil of Fadarun came forward. On having acquainted himself with the doctrines of the Magians, Christians, and Dualists, he proclaimed himself to be a prophet. In the beginning of his book called *Shaburqan*, which he composed for Shapur b. Ardashir, he says: “Wisdom and deeds |¹⁵ have always from time to time been brought to mankind by the messengers of God. So, in one age they have been brought by the messenger, called Buddha, to India, in another by Zaradusht to Persia, in another by Jesus to the West. Thereupon this revelation has come down, this prophecy in this last age through me, Mani, the messenger of the God of truth to Babylonia.” In his gospel, which he arranged according to the twenty-two letters of the alphabet, he says that he is the Paraclete announced by Messiah, and that he is the seal of the prophets (i.e., the last of them). |²⁰ His doctrines regarding the existence and the form of the world are contradicted by the results of scientific arguments and proofs. He preached of the empire of the worlds of light, of the First Man (= Gr. Πρῶτος Ἄνθρωπος) and of the spirit of life. He taught that light and darkness are without beginning and end. He absolutely forbade his followers to slaughter animals and to hurt them, to hurt the fire, water, and plants. He established laws which are obligatory only for the *Siddiks*, i.e. for the saints and ascetics among the Manichaeans, viz. to prefer poverty to riches, to suppress cupidity and lust, to abandon

والنبات على أبلغ وجهه وشى ع
 نواميس يفترضها الصديقون وهم
 الأبرار المانوية وزهادهم على أنفسهم
 من ايثار المسكنة وقمع الحرص
 والشهوة ورفض الدنيا والزهد فيها
 (208) الصوم والتصدق ومواصلة
 بما أمكن وتحريم اقتناء شىء خلا
 فوت يوم واحد ولباس سنة وترك
 السفاد وادامة التطواف في الدنيا
 الدعوة والأرشاد ورسوماً آخر
 يفرضونها على السماعين أغنى
 أتباعهم والمستجيبين لهم من
 المختلطين بالأسباب الدنياوية من
 التصدق بعشر المالك وصوم سبع
 العمی والاقتصار على امرأة واحدة
 ومواساة الصديقين وازاحة عليهم
 ويحكي عنه أنه حلل قضاء الشهوة
 في الغلمان ان أحتاجت على الانسان
 ويستشهد على ذلك باختصاص كل
 واحد من المنانية بخادم يخدمه أمرد
 اجرد غير أتى لم أجد فيما وقفت
 عليه من كُتبه ذكرًا لما يشبه ذلك بل
 سيرته تدل على خلاف ما حكي
 وكانت ولادة مانى بابل في قرية
 تدعى مردينو من نهر كوئي الأعلى
 على ما حكاه في كتاب الشابورقان
 في باب مجيء الرسول في سن
 خمسمائة وسبع وعشرين من سني
 منجمي بابل يعنى تاريخ الاسكندر
 ولأربع سنين خلون من سني اذربان
¹⁰ الملك وجاء الوحي وهو ابن
 ثلاث عشرة سنة في سنة خمسمائة
 وتسع وثلثين من سني منجمي بابل

the world, to be (p. 208) abstinent in it, continually to fast, and to give alms as much as possible. He forbade them to acquire any property except food for one day and dress for one year; he further forbade sexual intercourse and ordered them continually to wander about in the world, preaching his doctrines and guiding people into the right path.

Other laws he imposed upon the Samma (laymen), i.e., their followers and adherents who have to do with worldly affairs, viz. to give as alms the tithe of their property, to fast during the seventh part of life-time, to live in monogamy, to befriend the *Siddiks* (saints), and to remove everything that troubles and pains them.

Some people maintain that he allowed ⁵ pederasty, if a man felt inclined, and as proof of this they relate that every Manichaean used to be accompanied by a young, beardless and hairless servant. I, however, have not found in what I have read of his books a word indicating anything of this kind. Nay, even his life proves the contrary of this assertion.

Mani was born in a village called Mardinu on the upper canal of Kutha, according to his own statement in his book *Shaburkan*, in the chapter on the coming of the prophet, in the year 527 of the era of the Babylonian astronomers, i.e., the *Aera Alexandri*, in the 4th year of the king Adharban. ¹⁰ He received the first divine revelation in his 13th year, *Anno Astronomorum Babylonioe* 539, in the 2nd year of Ardashir, the King of Kings. This part of chronology we have already tried to correct in the chapter preceding that of the duration of the rule of the Ashkanians and the *Muluk altawa'if*.

According to Yahya b. Alnu'man, the Christian, in his book on the Magians,

وَلَسَنَتَيْنِ خَلَّتَا مِنْ سَنَى اِرْدَشِيرِ مَلِكِ
 الْمُلُوكِ وَقَدْ صَحَّحْنَا هَذَا الْفَصْلَ فِيمَا
 تَقَدَّمَ مَدَّةَ مُلْكِ الْأَشْكَانِيَّةِ وَمُلُوكِ
 الطُّوَالِفِ، وَاسْمُ مَانِي عِنْدَ النَّصَارَى
 عَلَى مَا ذَكَرَهُ يَحْيَى بْنُ النُّعْمَانَ
 النَّصْرَانِيَّ فِي كِتَابِهِ عَلَى الْمَجُوسِ
 قُورْبِيْقُوسِ بْنِ فَتَقٍ وَلَمَّا ظَهَرَ كَثْرَ
 مُصَدِّقُوهُ وَأَتْبَاعُهُ وَأَلْفَ كُتُبًا كَثِيرَةً
 كَانَجِيلِهِ وَالشَّابُورِقَانَ وَكُنْزِ الْأَحْيَاءِ
 وَسَفْرِ الْجَبَابِرَةِ وَسَفْرِ الْأَسْفَارِ
 وَمَقَالَاتٍ كَثِيرَةً زَعَمَ فِيهَا¹⁵ أَنَّهُ بَسَطَ
 مَا رَمَزَ بِهِ الْمَسِيحُ، وَلَمْ يَبْلُغْ أَمْرُهُ
 يَزْدَادُ أَيَّامَ اِرْدَشِيرِ وَابْنِهِ سَابُورَ
 وَهَرْمَزَ ابْنِهِ إِلَى أَنْ مَلَكَ بَهْرَامُ بْنُ
 هَرْمَزَ فَطَلَبَهُ حَتَّى وَجَدَهُ وَقَالَ أَنَّ هَذَا
 خَرَجَ دَاعِيًا إِلَى تَخْيِيبِ الْعَالَمِ
 فَالْوَاجِبُ أَنْ نَبْدَأَ بِتَخْرِيْبِ نَفْسِهِ قَبْلَ
 أَنْ يَنْتَهِيَا لَهُ شَيْءٌ مِنْ مُرَادِهِ
 فَالْمَشْهُورُ مِنْ حَالِهِ أَنَّهُ قَتَلَهُ وَسَلَخَ
 جِلْدَهُ وَحَشَاهُ تَبْنًا وَعَلَّقَهُ مِنْ بَابِ
 مَدِينَةِ جَنْدِيسَابُورِ يُعْرَفُ إِلَى زَمَانِنَا
 هَذَا بِبَابِ مَانِي وَقَتْلَ خَلْفًا مَمَّنْ
 اسْتَجَابَ لَهُ وَقَدْ حَكَى جِبْرَائِيلُ بْنُ
 نُوحِ النَّصْرَانِيِّ فِي جَوَابِهِ عَنِ رَدِّ
 يَزْدَابَخْتِ عَلَى²⁰ النَّصَارَى أَنَّ لِأَحَدِ
 تَلَامِذَةِ هَانِي كِتَابًا يُخْبِرُ فِيهِ عَنِ مَدِينَتِهِ
 وَأَنَّهُ حُبِسَ بِسَبَبِ قَرَابَةِ الْمَلِكِ كَانِ
 زَعَمَ أَنَّ بِهِ شَيْطَانًا وَوَعَدَ شِفَاءَهُ فَلَمْ
 يَقْدِرْ عَلَيْهِ فَجُعِلَتْ الْقَيْوُودُ فِي رِجْلَيْهِ
 وَالْجَوَامِعُ فِي يَدَيْهِ حَتَّى مَاتَ فِي
 الْحَبْسِ فَنُصِبَ رَأْسُهُ بِبَابِ السُّرَادِقِ
 وَطُرِحَتْ جُثَّتُهُ فِي الْمَدْرَجَةِ تَنْكِيلًا
 بَعْدَ وَبَقَى مِنْ وَتَمَثِيلًا (209)

Mani was called by the Christians *Corbi-
 cius the son of Patecius*.

When he came forward, many people believed in him and followed him. He composed many books, his gospel, the Shaburkan, *Kanz-al'ihya (Thesaurus Revivicationis)*, the Book of the Giants, the Book of Books,¹⁵ and many treatises. He maintained that he had explained *in extenso* what had only been hinted at by the Messiah.

Manichaeism increased by degrees under Ardashir, his son Shapur and Hurmuz b. Shapur, until the time when Bahram b. Hurmuz ascended the throne. He gave orders to search for Mani, and when he had found him, he said: "This man has come forward calling people to destroy the world. It will be necessary to begin by destroying him before anything of his plans should be realized."

It is well known that he killed Mani, stripped off his skin, filled it with grass, and hung it up at the gate of Gundisapur, which is even still known as the "Manigate." Hurmuz also killed a number of the Manicheans.

Jibra'il b. Nuh, the Christian, says in his reply to Yazdanbakht's refutation²⁰ of the Christians, that one of Mani's pupils composed a book, in which he relates the fate of Mani, that he was put in prison on account of a relative of the king who believed that he was possessed by the devil; Mani had promised to cure him, but when he could not effect it, he was chained hand and foot, and died in prison. His head was exposed before the entrance of the royal tent, and his body was thrown into the street, that he should be a warning example to others (p. 209).

Of his adherents, some remnants that are considered as Manichean are still extant: they are scattered throughout the world and do not live together in any particular place of Muhammadan countries, except the community in Samarkand, known by the name of *Sabians*. As regards non-

مُسْتَجِيبِهِ بَقَايَا مَنْسُونَةٌ إِلَيْهِ مُفْتَرِقَةٌ
 الدِّيَارِ لَا يَكَادُ يَجْمَعُهُمْ مَوْضِعٌ وَاحِدٌ
 فِي بِلَادِ الْإِسْلَامِ إِلَّا الْفِرْقَةَ الَّتِي
 بِسْمَى قَنْدِ الْمَعْرُوفَةِ بِالصَّابِيِّينَ فَمَا
 خَارِجَ دَارِ الْإِسْلَامِ فَإِنَّ أَكْثَرَ الْأَثْرَاكِ
 الشَّرْقِيَّةِ وَأَهْلِ الصِّينِ وَالنُّبْتِ وَبَعْضَ
 الْهِنْدِ عَلَى دِينِهِ وَمَذْهَبِهِ وَهُمْ فِي أَمْرِهِ
 عَلَى قَوْلَيْنِ فِرْقَةٌ تَقُولُ أَنَّهُ لَمْ يَكُنْ
 لِمَانِي مُعْجِزَةٌ وَتَحْكِي عَنْهُ أَنَّهُ أَخْبَرَ
 بِأَرْتِفَاعِ الْآيَاتِ عِنْدَ مُضَى الْمَسِيحِ
 وَأَصْحَابِهِ وَأُخْرَى⁵ | تَزْعُمُ أَنَّهُ كَانَ
 ذَا آيَاتٍ وَمُعْجِزَاتٍ وَأَنَّ سَابُورَ الْمَلِكِ
 آمَنَ بِهِ حِينَ رَفَعَهُ هُوَ نَفْسَهُ إِلَى
 السَّمَاءِ وَوَقَّفَا بَيْنَهَا وَبَيْنَ الْأَرْضِ فِي
 الْهَوَاءِ وَأَرَاهُ بِذَلِكَ الْأَعْجُوبَةَ قَالُوا
 وَإِنَّهُ كَانَ يَصْعَدُ مِنْ بَيْنِ أَصْحَابِهِ إِلَى
 السَّمَاءِ فَيَمْكُثُ فِيهَا أَيَّامًا ثُمَّ يَنْزِلُ
 إِلَيْهِمْ، وَسَمِعْتُ الْإِسْبَهْدَ مَرْزُبَانَ بْنَ
 رَسْتَمٍ يَحْكِي أَنَّ سَابُورَ أَخْرَجَهُ عَنِ
 مَمْلَكَتِهِ أَخْذًا بِمَا سَنَّهَ لَهُمْ زَرَادُشْتُ
 مِنْ نَفْيِ الْمُتَنَبِّئِينَ عَنِ الْأَرْضِ
 وَشَرَطَ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ لَا يَرْجِعَ فَغَابَ إِلَى
 الْهِنْدِ وَالصِّينِ وَالنُّبْتِ وَدَعَا هُنَاكَ ثُمَّ
 رَجَعَ فَحَبِئِبْدُ أَخَذَهُ بِهَرَامٍ وَقَتْلَهُ لِأَنَّهُ
 نَقَضَ¹⁰ | الشَّرِيطَةَ وَأَبَاحَ الدَّمَ

Muhammadan countries, we have to state that most of the eastern Turks, of the people of China and Tibet and some of the Hindus, adhere still to his law and doctrine.

Regarding their prophet Mani they hold two different opinions, one party maintaining that he never worked a miracle, and relating that he only informed people of the signs and wonders indicative of the coming of the Messiah and his companions, whilst the other party maintains⁵ that he in fact worked signs and miracles, and that the king Shapur came to believe in him when he had ascended with him towards heaven, and they had been standing in the air between heaven and earth. Mani, thereby, made him witness a miracle. Besides, they relate that he sometimes used to rise to heaven from among his companions, to stay there for some days, and then to redescend to them.

I have heard the Ispahbadh Marzuban ben Rustam say that Shapur banished him out of his empire, faithful to the law of Zaradusht which demands the expulsion of pseudo-prophets from the country. He imposed upon him the obligation never to return. So, Mani went off to India, China, and Tibet, and preached there his gospel. Afterwards he returned, was seized by Bahram and killed for having broken the stipulation, as he had thereby forfeited his life.

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- Adam آدم *ādam Fih.*, p. 331.5 (DMT ii, 27a)
- Aether, breeze نسيم *nasīm Fih.*, p. 329.6 (DMT ii, 80a)
- Archon اركونان *arkūnūn Fih.*, p. 331.5 (DMT ii, 28a); pl. أراكنة *arākinatūn Fih.*, p. 331 (DMT ii, 28a)
- Babylon بابل *bābil Fih.*, p. 333.7 (DMT ii, 31b)
- Being كون *kawn Fih.*, p. 329.8 (DMT ii, 73a)
- Beloved of the lights حبيب الاضواء *habib aladwa Fih.*, p. 329.28, (DMT ii, 38d) - حبيب الأنوار - *habib alanwar* - also “Beloved of the lights”
- Column of Glory عمود السبع *‘amūdu s-subah Fih.*, p. 330.24 (DMT ii, 66)
- Dark Earth المظلمة الارض *al-’rḍu l-muzlimahi, Fih.*, p. 329.11 (DMT ii, 28a)
- Dark Earth ارض الظلمة *’rḍu z-zulmat Fih.*, p. 332.8 (DMT ii, 27b)s
- Dark Wind الريح الشديدة المظلمة *ar-rīḥu š-šadīdatu l-muzlimah Fih.*, p. 332.25 (DMT ii, 50b)
- Darkness ظلمة *zulmah* (one of the two principles) *Fih.*, p. 329.3 (DMT ii, 62b)
- Deliberation فطن *fiṭnah Fih.*, p. 329.5 (Dict., 69a)
- Devil إبليس *’iblis Fih.*, p. 331.9 (DMT ii, 26a)
- Ditch خندق *xandaq Fih.* 335.14 (DMT ii, 44a)
- Earth أرض *’arḍ Fih.*, p. 329.6 (DMT ii, 27b)
- Eight Earths ارضين ثمانى *ṯamānī ’araḍīn Fih.*, p. 330.15 (DMT ii, 35a)
- Essence, Being, Principle كونين *kawn, kiyān Fih.* 329.3 (DMT ii, 73a)
- Eve حواء *ḥawwā’ Fih.*, p. 331.6 (DMT ii, 41a)
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- Father of Greatness أبو العظمة *’abū l-’azamah Fih.*, p. 333.24 (DMT ii, 26a)
- Fire نار *nār Fih.*, p. 329.7 (DMT ii, 82a)
- Five Angels الملائكة الخمسة *al-malā’ ikatu l-xamsah Fih.* p. 331.6 (DMT ii, 42b)
- Five gods الالهة الخمسة *al-’ālihatu l-xamsah Fih.* p. 329.21 (DMT ii, 43a)
- Five Members خمسة اعضاء *xamsatu ’a ’dā’in Fih.* p. 329 (DMT ii, 63b)
- Fog ضباب *ḍabāb Fih.*, p. 329.8 (DMT ii, 60b)
- Friendliness مودة *mawaddah Fih.*, p. 329.5 (DMT ii, 86b)
- God الله *allāh Fih.* p. 333.6 (DMT ii, p. 30b)
- Great Builder البناء الكبير *al-bannā’u l-kabīr Fih.* p. 335.31 (DMT ii, 33b)
- Greed, desire حرص *ḥirṣun Fih.*, p. 333.1 (DMT ii, 39a)
- Heavy Water الماء الثقيل *al-mā’u ṯ-ṯaqīl Fih.* p. 332.25 (DMT ii, 79a)
- Hell جهنم *jahannam Fih.*, p. 329.29 (DMT ii, 37b)
- Iblis إبليس *’iblis Fih.*, 329,14 (DMT ii, 26a); also Eternal Iblis / Primal Iblis إبليس القديم *’iblisā l-qadīma Fih.*, 329,13/14 (DMT ii, 26a)
- Intellect حلم *ḥilm Fih.*, p. 329.4 (DMT ii, 41a)
- Intelligence عقل *’ql, Fih.*, p. 329.5 (DMT ii, 65a)
- Intention فطن *fiṭnah Fih.*, p. 329.5 (Dict., 69a)
- See also ‘Deliberation’.
- Jesus عيسى *yasū’ Fih.*, p. 328.24 (Dict., p. 87b)
- King of the Paradise of Light ملك جنة النور *maliku jināni n-nūr Fih.* p. 328.10 (DMT ii, 77b)
- Knowledge علم *’ilm, Fih.*, p. 329.4 (DMT ii, 65a)
- Light نور *nūr Fih.*, p. 329.2 (DMT ii, 81b)
- Light Earth ارض النيرة *arḍu n-nūr Fih.*, p. 329.16-17 (DMT ii, 27b)
- Love حب *ḥubb Fih.*, p. 329.5 (DMT ii, 38a)
- Loyalty وفاء *wafā’ Fih.*, p. 329.5 (DMT ii, 87a)
- Mani ماني *mānī Fih.*, p. 335.3 (DMT ii, 74b)ī
- Manichaean مانوية *mānawīyy Fih.*, p. 331.2 (DMT ii, 76a)
- Messenger (Third) البشير *al-bašīr Fih.*, p. 331.7 (DMT ii, 33a)
- Moon قمر *qamar Fih.*, p. 330.23 (DMT ii, 71a)
- Mother of Life ام الحياة *’ummu l- ḥayāh Fih.*, p. 331.7 (DMT ii, 30b)
- Paraclete الفارقليط *fāraqliṭ Fih.*, p. 328.24 (DMT ii, 68b)
- Paradise of Light جنة النور *jinānu n-nūr Fih.*, p. 334.4 (DMT ii, 37a)
- Poison سم *samm Fih.*, p. 329.8 (DMT ii, 53b)
- Primal or Eternal Man الانسان القديم *al-’insānu l-qadīmu Fih.*, p. 329.20 (DMT ii, 31a)
- Saklas صنديد *šindīd Fih.*, p. 331.23 (DMT ii, 59)
- Sandstorm سموم *samūm Fih.*, p. 329.8 (DMT ii, 53b)
- Satan شيطان *šayṭān Fih.*, p. 329.11 (DMT ii, 56a)
- Shaburagan* شابرقان *šāburaqān Fih.*, p. 336.16 (DMT ii, 54b)
- Smoke دخان *duxān Fih.*, p. 329.25 (DMT ii, 44b)
- Spirit of Life, Living Spirit روح الحياة *rūḥu l-ḥayāh Fih.*, p. 329.29 (DMT ii, 49b)
- Sun شمس *šams Fih.*, p. 330.22 (DMT ii, 55a)
- Ten Heavens عشر سموات *’ašru samāwāt Fih.*, p. 330.15 (DMT ii, 63b)
- Thought عقل *aql Fih.*, p. 332.11 (DMT ii, 65a)
- Transcendence, Secret thought غيب *ḡaybun* 329,5 (DMT ii, 68b)
- Two beings كونين *kawnayni Fih.*, p. 329,3 (DMT ii, 73a)
- Water ماء *mā’ Fih.*, p. 338.9 (DMT ii, 78b)

Wind رباح rāḥ *Fih.*, p. 329.7 (DMT ii, 50a)

Wisdom حكمة ḥikmah *Fih.*, p. 329.5 (DMT ii,
40a)

Zindik زندق zindīq *Fih.*, p. 338.5 (DMT ii, 51b)