Mani's Pictures

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Mani's Pictures

The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China

By

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Dedicated to Professor Michel Tardieu

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Acknowledgements

Over a decade ago when I began this project, only a few tantalizing references were known that alluded to "some paintings" associated with Mani and his *Book of Pictures* mostly in Coptic and Syriac writings. At that time, I though it would be a useful service to my chosen field of Manichaean Studies to find out what was actually documented about this subject. I imagined that maybe there was enough material for a short article. The amount of relevant sources, however, soon started to grow well beyond the East Mediterranean and late Antiquity, involving a great diversity of data from distant parts of the Old World where Manichaeism once existed. Assessing these sources and all the evidence they yielded demanded a global approach that brought to sharp focus the transcultural nature of Manichaeism, including its texts, but especially its canonical art and didactic practices—previously unexplored. The organization of the sources and the complex amount of evidence they yielded required structure. Being able to see order in them was much inspired by the publications of Michel Tardieu from the College de France (Chaire d'Histoire des syncrétismes de la fin de l'Antiquité, 1991-2008). Professor Tardieu's expertise in ancient religions cast light onto the all-but-lost structure present in the often-fragmentary remains of Mani's religion as reflected in its soteriology, prophetology, theology, and cosmology. To acknowledge the importance of Professor Tardieu's scholarship in shaping this project, I dedicate this book to him.

My study of the textual sources was aided by a large group of experts. Based on my training in Turkic philology, it was clear to me from the start that dealing with the already-translated passages would not be straightforward, since this project required working with the actual meaning and etymology of specific words in nine languages that were used by the Manichaeans and others who wrote about them. For providing linguistic clarifications and sometimes translations of passages of various lengths, I am most grateful to Lukas van Rompay (Duke University) for details related to Syriac and Greek sources; John Reeves (University of North Carolina at Charlotte) and Stefano Pellò (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia) for Syriac, Arabic, and modern Persian; Jason BeDuhn (Northern Arizona University) for Latin, Greek, Coptic, Parthian, and Middle Persian; Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst and the late Professor Werner Sundermann (Turfanforschung-BBAW, Berlin) for Parthian and Middle Persian; Yutaka Yoshida (Kyoto University) for Sogdian; Larry Clark (independent scholar) for Uygur; as well as Gunner Mikkelsen and Samuel Lieu (Macquarie University, Sydney), Victor Mair (University of Pennsylvania), Rob Campany (Vanderbilt University), Takao Moriyasu (Osaka University), and Yutaka Yoshida for Chinese texts and their transliterations. For assessing Japanese scholarship, I relied on translations by Suzanne Gay (Oberlin Collage) and Chie Okubo (Northern Arizona University), for whom I am ever grateful.

The fragmentary nature of the visual sources necessitated a two-fold approach to illustrations. In addition to reproducing the works of art, digital

linedrawings (and in three cases digital reconstructions) had to be prepared to make sense out of their fragmentary data. My access to the original art objects and their professionally produced photographs was most generously facilitated by my colleagues and friends—Lilla Russell-Smith (Museum für Asiatische Kunst) in Berlin; an anonymous private collector, Shoichi Furukawa (Yamato Bunkakan, Nara), Yutaka Yoshida (Kyoto University), and Takao Moriyasu (Osaka University) in Japan; Ikumi Kaminishi (Tufts University) in Boston, Sylvie Merian (Morgan Library) and Denise Leidy (Metropolitan Museum of Art) in New York; Samuel Lieu, Ursula Sims-Williams and Susan Whitfield (British Library) in London; as well as Frantz Grenet (College de France) and Mathilde Avisseau-Broustet (Bibliothèque Nationale de France), in Paris. The digital images illustrating the findings of this study were gradually prepared over the past ten years in collaboration with the staff of the IDEA Lab of the Bilby Research Center (Northern Arizona University) in Flagstaff—Ryan Belnap, Monica Saaty, Ronald Redseer, Patrick McDonald, Tony De Luz, Victor O. Leshyk, and Daniel Boone. Working with them to realize my hand-drawn prototypes in their digital masterpieces was a true inspiration. Their work was made possible by the financial support awarded to my projects by the Franklin Research Grant of the American Philosophical Society and the Dean's Office of the College of Arts and Letters together with five Intramural Grants of Northern Arizona University.

The writing of this book began in Research Triangle Park, North Carolina, where I was a resident fellow of the National Humanities Center during the 2006–07 academic-year. Thanks to a Charles A. Ryskamp Research Fellowship of the American Council of Learned Societies, I was released for that year from my regular duties heavy in teaching and service, in order to be able to devote 100% of my time to research. My exploration of the didactic aspects of the Uygur remains planned for that year was soon interrupted by the discovery of Chinese Manichaean silk paintings preserved in Japan. I am most grateful to Yutaka Yoshida for drawing my attention to one painting that at that time was not yet identified—the *Icon of Jesus*. Its identification led to the recognition that Manichaean Jesus images also survive in Uygur art, one of which turned out to be a fragment of a diatessaronic narration of Jesus' life. Soon after the publication of the latter study, Nils Arne Pedersen (Aarhus University) extended to me the honor to produce for the *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum* a short study of a rock crystal sealstone preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France that named Mani as an "apostle of Jesus Christ," and which turned out to be a most precious historical relic, since it was made for and used by the founder of the Manichaean religion. I am indebted to Frantz Grenet for his help with that project.

The last portion of research conducted for this book concerned Manichaean images of various cosmological teachings, sponsored by the Dean's Office of the College of Arts and Letters at my university. I owe much gratitude to Shoichi Furukawa and Yutaka Yoshida for answering my questions of provenance about the Chinese cosmological fragments. I was deliberate in leaving their

study for last, since these well-preserved paintings were already receiving considerable scholarly attention. Moreover, their didactic context of use was self-evident. The much-needed examination of their materiality, however, resulted in the matching of three fragments, which together constitute a *Diagram of the Universe*. My work on decoding the complex iconographical program of this painting was conducted in collaboration with Jason BeDuhn, whose expertise on Manichaean texts and religious practice allowed us to provide a comprehensive reading of the doctrines conveyed through the art. Our co-authored study was published in the *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. I am most thankful to Carol Bromberg for tirelessly editing and overseeing the superb production of that journal. The core findings of the above-mentioned paper became incorporated into this book. In addition to Jason, I would like to thank Sylvia Somerville and Bruce Sullivan (Northern Arizona University), together with Yutaka Yoshida and Johannes van Oort (Radboud University and the University of Pretoria) for their time and effort invested into proofreading this book.

Besides working in my home in Flagstaff, Arizona, I tested the structure of this book in Paris through a series of lectures and countless informal conversations with esteemed colleagues between 2011 and 2015. It all began with the invitation of Frantz Grenet (Religions of Ancient Iran) and Jean-Daniel Dubois (Gnostic and Manichaean Studies) in 2011, who requested that I give four lectures at the École pratique des hautes Études (Section des sciences religieuses) at the University of Paris. I returned in the summer of 2014 to contribute a paper on Manichaean mortuary banners to a symposium organized by Madeleine Scopello (CNRS Sorbonne, Paris) and Majella Franzmann (Curtin University, Perth); and again in the summer of 2015 in an informal capacity, accompanying Jason for his lectures at the College de France. During these times, it was my great pleasure to visit the country home of Professor Tardieu with other colleagues, enjoying discussions about Manichaeism over superb glasses of wine expertly paired with various culinary delicacies. These trips supplied me with renewed energy to continue my work at our home secluded in a ponderosa forest. Over the ten-year span of this project, Jason and I shared our lives most happily with a canine companion—an intelligent, perceptive, and proud black standard-poodle mix, named Juno. Her presence added a much-welcomed distraction from our busy academic lives. As if it was no effort at all, our 70-pound dog would gracefully leap up onto my desk next to me to rest on her mat or scout the scenery through the window while I wrote. When she was ready for a hike or just needed attention, she used to put her nose between my hand and the keyboard, or nudge me to signal that it was time to finish typing already and move on.

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Introduction

This book is about the artistic culture of religious instruction of a missionary world religion, which is now extinct—Manichaeism. More specifically, this study explores the available textual and visual sources in search of historical evidence about how the Manichaeans used works for teaching. The highly educated founder of this religion believed in writing down his wisdom to prevent its adulteration. Thus, he wrote books, which became the canon of his Church. He was also convinced that oral instruction of his doctrine would benefit from images displayed as visual aids during his sermons. He used a pictorial roll for this purpose. The original and the contemporaneous copies of that horizontal handscroll do not survive. This study demonstrates that fragments of later editions of Mani's legendary volume of paintings are preserved—in the form of solely pictorial handscrolls and solely pictorial codices—among the artistic remains of the Manichaean religion. Moreover, select images from the canonical picture books were adapted to other, non-canonical objects. These objects include the murals and hanging scrolls that the Manichaeans displayed on the walls of their temples (*manistans*), as well as the mortuary banners and the illuminated service books they employed in the course of certain rituals.

Religious art fulfills a great variety of spiritual and social-economical functions, among which a devotional context of use is often primary. The surviving remains of Manichaean art and the literature written about it, however, document an exceptional preference toward an instructional use. As demonstrated throughout this study, this approach toward what art is for was initiated by Mani and subsequently carried forward by his disciples throughout Manichaean history. When examined in light of literary evidence, the vast majority of Manichaean art known today still exhibit strong didactic associations.

The formation of the Manichaeans' didactic culture has never been explored before, although it is well attested across their 1400-year history. Many details of Manichaean history are lost. Its major phases, however, can be outlined as follows (**Figure 1**). This religion originated in mid-third-century Mesopotamia from the teachings of his founder, Mani (216–274/277 CE). From there it spread westward to the Mediterranean region, where it was persecuted to extinction by the sixth and seventh centuries. Manichaean communities were known in Iran and West Central Asia between the third and tenth centuries. Spreading further east along the Silk Road, Mani's teaching reached the realm of the Uygurs, whose ruling elite adopted it as their religion between the mid-eighth and early eleventh centuries. Appearing in China during the seventh century, Manichaeism was present in the major cities in the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE), surfacing in the historical records as the "Religion of Mani" (Ch. *monijiao*). For a brief period that corresponded with the zenith of Uygur military might and its political influence on the Tang, Manichaeism enjoyed imperial tolerance and was propagated among the Chinese inhabitants of the capitals. Soon after the fall of the Uygur Steppe Empire (840/841 CE), during the persecutions of all

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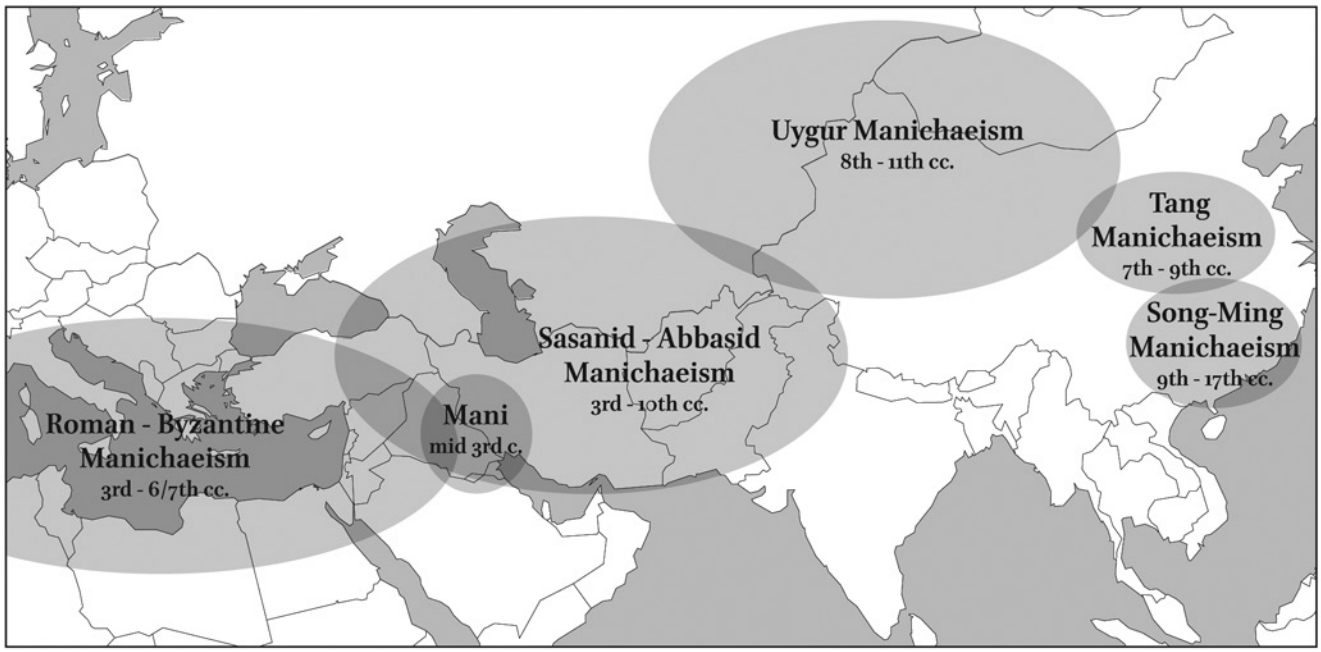


FIGURE 1 *Phases of Manichaean history (3rd–17th centuries CE)*

foreign religions from 843 to 845 CE, Manichaeism disappeared from northern China. Its Chinese converts fled westward, to the territories of the sedentary Uygur Kingdom (866–1209 CE) in the central Tien-shan and the Tarim Basin, and to the Uygurs of Shazhou (Dunhuang) and Gansu; and southward to the costal provinces of southern China. There, a Sinicized version of Manichaeism, known as the "Religion of Light" (Ch. *mingjiao*), was noted until the early seventeenth century mostly in Zhejiang and Fujian provinces.

Across this vast historical and cultural footprint, the survival of Manichaean primary sources, which are the sources most likely to provide the most reliable evidence about the practice of teaching with images, is limited. Manichaean texts are known today only from three contexts. From Roman Egypt and North Africa, portions of large papyrus codices and one miniature parchment codex are preserved in addition to letters and other documents written in Coptic, Greek, and Latin languages. From Uygur East Central Asia, the Manichaean texts found in Kocho (Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, China) and its neighboring archaeological sites are all fragments, with the exception of some intact manuscripts and letters from Bezeklik and Dunhuang (Gansu province, China). They were written in Parthian, Middle Persian, Sogdian, and Uygur languages, while only a few texts were in Chinese. Most recently, from Xiapu County (Fujian province, China) nineteenth-century copies of Ming Chinese Manichaean texts have been identified.[1] Similarly, the survival of Manichaean

1 This corpus of late Chinese texts was introduced to Manichaean studies by Xiaohe Ma at the Seventh International Congress of Manichaean Studies (Dublin, 2009). For an overview of

art is limited to four settings. From Sasanian Mesopotamia, Mani's engraved sealstone can be found today in the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. From Roman Dalmatia, an inscribed gravestone of a female elect from the city of Salona is housed in the Archeological Museum in Split, Croatia. From Uygur East Central Asia about one-hundred-and-ten fragmentary works of art survive, including examples of book art, painted textile displays, and remnants of wall paintings, most of which are kept in two Berlin collections. Finally, from Song-Ming Southern China, the currently known examples of Manichaean art include one statue in situ as well as five complete and three fragmentary hanging scrolls, the latter of which are preserved in one US and three Japanese collections.

Secondary and tertiary literature written by non-Manichaean authors also discusses the Manichaeans' artistic culture of religious instruction. Considering them together with primary sources yields a significant body of sources (thirty-five passages and forty artistic remains). While some of these sources have been studied in connection with Mani's *Book of Pictures*, they have never been assembled and subjected to a systemic analysis. This study aims to do just that.

This study analyzes all currently known textual and visual sources on Manichaean didactic art with respect to their diverse origins, and assesses what they convey about this subject. Based on their historical context, the evidence gained from these sources gradually reveals bits and pieces of the artistic culture of Manichaean religious teaching. The texts provide documentary information about this practice, while the art objects retain the very images used for religious instruction across Manichaean history—starting from mid third-century Mesopotamia with Mani's creation of the *Book of Pictures* and ending in early seventeenth-century southern China, when the last Manichaeans abandoned a *manistan* that contained a statue of Mani, whose iconography had been used for teaching Manichaean doctrine.

History of Research

Mani's legendary volume of paintings became a topic in Manichaean studies in the late eighteenth century, when Persian historical accounts began to be taken into consideration, supplementing the previous exclusively Latin-based studies in this field. Latin polemical texts did not know about Manichaean pictorial art—Augustine even noted the aniconic nature of the religion in the form known to him.[2] In 1760, Thomas Hyde was the first European scholar to learn about Mani's paintings, while studying a Persian dictionary (*Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*, 1608 CE) made for the Mughal emperor, Jahanghir. Subsequently, Gustav Flügel in 1862 and Konrad Kessler in 1889 drew attention to other

them, as well as discussion of the contemporary survival of a folklore version of the Religion of Light, including works of art, see Ma 2015, 228–258; and Wang and Lin 2015, 371–388.

2 See Augustine's *Contra Faustum* in "Assessment" of Chapter 1.

medieval Persian scholarship that, among various aspects of Manichaeism, also discusses Mani's didactic images, such as Abu al-Maʿālī's *Religions of the World* (1092 CE) and Mīrkhwānd's *Universal History* (bef. 1498 CE).[3] In 1918, Prosper Alfaric pointed out further examples of Persian literature that mention Mani's paintings and Mani's skill as an artist.[4]

The subsequent discovery of Manichaean primary sources in the deserts of Egypt and East Central Asia further contributed to this emerging topic. For the first time, the Manichaeans could speak for themselves, and they not only mentioned their founder's collection of paintings but also included it among their canonical books. During most of the twentieth century, remarks about Mani's paintings were exclusively based on textual sources and remained dominantly philological in nature. They were confined to brief discussions, often in footnotes, in the critical editions of Manichaean texts published by the founding fathers of modern Manichaean studies. In every case, merely the title of Mani's volume of pictures drew attention, noted from Coptic texts by Schmidt and Polotsky in 1933, Parthian texts by Andreas and Henning in 1934, and later, in 1952 by Haloun and Henning from a Chinese text that was discovered among the manuscripts deposited in Cave 17 of the Mogao Grottos near Dunhuang.[5] The only exception to this is the study of Peter Nagle, who provided a most through assessment of the Coptic and Syriac sources in 1981. Until the second decade of the twenty-first century, all scholarly discussions of Mani's "*Picture Book*" were based on the above data.[6]

During the twentieth century, art-historical scholarship about Manichaean art was in no position to contribute to the study of Mani's *Book of Pictures* due to multiple obstacles that this field of study had to face. The most pressing problem was the lack of a securely identified artistic corpus. Manichaean artistic remains were discovered from East Central Asia; but since they were found together with Buddhist and Syriac Christian remains, their identification was not self-evident. The studies of "corpus-formation" took about ninety years. Albert von Le Coq was the first to identify Manichaean art in 1913 and 1924. His work was continued in 1962 with Mary Boyce's catalog of manuscript fragments in Manichaean script, which listed a handful of previously unnoted illuminated pieces. In 1997, this author conducted a project that doubled the number of securely identified artistic fragments, and subsequently published a new catalog of Manichaean art from Berlin collections in 2001. Chhaya Bhattacharya-Haesner in 2003 and Jorinde Ebert in 2004 identified a few additional painted silk fragments as Manichaean from the Berlin collection, now known as the Asian Art Museum (Museum für Asiatische Kunst). The result of these works is a securely identified corpus of Uygur Manichaean art, which

3 Hyde 1760, 282–283; Flügel 1862, 38; and Kessler 1889, 210, 370ff. and 377ff.

4 Alfaric 1918–19, vol. 2, 41; also see Klíma 1962, 326 and 349.

5 Andreas and Henning 1934, 858 and 862; Henning 1937, 9; Schmidt and Polotsky 1933, 45 note 3; Polotsky 1934, 18 and note a; as well as Haloun and Henning 1952, 209–210, note 4.

6 E.g.: Klimkeit 1982, 2; Lieu 1992, 175 and 276; Sundermann 2005, 373–384; Tardieu 2008, 43–44.

consists of art produced and/or used by the Manichaeans of Kocho prior to 1024 CE under the rule of the Tien Shan Uygur Kingdom (866–1209 CE).

Another obstacle to learning about the *Book of Pictures* in light of visual sources during the twentieth century was the exclusive focus on iconography in Manichaean art studies. For close to an entire century, the few publications that appeared on Manichaean art focused on what the paintings showed—their iconography. This area of art history is the study of the symbolic connotation of motifs that communicate the subject matter in representational works of art. In Manichaean studies, the goal was to explain pictorial content in light of analogous subjects discussed in passages of Manichaean texts. This iconographic approach guided the work of Hans Joachim Klimkeit, who made the only attempt to be comprehensive in his *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy* in 1982. But even that project was designed as a catalog, in which all images were discussed one-by-one, with no interest in a thematic synthesis.

A methodological shift came with the turn of the century. In 2005, a new body of visual evidence became available, when all Manichaean illuminated manuscript fragments were subjected to a codicological assessment. The artistic sources remained the same; it was the method of researching them that had changed. Developed for the study of Byzantine and early Christian manuscripts, codicology is an effective research tool that takes an archeological approach to its subject. Previously in these fields, manuscripts were studied in parts. Their components were artificially separated from one another and from their physical contexts: their design, text, calligraphy and scribal decoration, illumination, cover, and the many functions they fulfilled, were all considered by different experts working in isolation from one another. Codicology has taken hold since the 1970s as an approach that requires seeing the illuminated handwritten book in its entirety—as one work of art. Although ironically not a single intact Manichaean book was recovered from Kocho, the all-inclusive nature of codicology boosted the research of Manichaean art, the vast majority (about 70%) of which derives from fragments of illuminated manuscripts. Studying these fragments in this way helps scholars to understand better the once intact works of art to which they originally belonged.

For the first time in Manichaean studies, codicology put the whole object in focus—books with paintings instead of just "miniatures." Codicology showed that each paper fragment derived from one of three formats (codex, handscroll, or *pustaka*), some of which were horizontally oriented and solely pictorial codices or handscrolls. In contrast, the vast majority of the fragments derived from vertically oriented illuminated manuscripts, most of which contained either ritual images (such as depictions of the annual *Bēma* celebration, alms service, or a royal conversion) or didactic images (such as icons of deities and diagrams of soteriology and prophetology) painted next to liturgical texts (such as blessings, hymns, or parables). In all three of these book formats, text and image were combined within the same book and the illuminations were systematically painted sideways (that is, at a ninety-degree angle) in relation to both the physical make of the manuscript and the alignment of the text

for reading. Moreover, in these manuscripts the illuminations did not depict subjects that matched the topic of the contiguous texts. Thus, even though the text and the image were next to one another, they remained independent from each other in these illuminated books.[7] Codicology was a good method for discovering these surprising facts, but it could not be used to find out the reasons behind them: *Why* did the Uygur Manichaean community need illuminated books? *Why* was the vertical codex their preferred format? *Why* did the illuminations not show what the texts discussed? Or vice-versa: *Why* did the texts not comment about the paintings? And most pressingly . . . *Why* were the images painted sideways? A different methodology is needed for answering such questions. Codicology, however, was essential for understanding some basic facts about the later history of Mani's legendary paintings. It proved, for example, the survival (although fragmentary) of picture books from the Uygur era. Moreover, it showed that the didactic illuminations of Uygur liturgical manuscripts (which neither "illustrated" their texts, nor were aligned with them) could not have originated in the context of their codices and *pustakas*. They most likely derived from an originally solely pictorial context, such as Mani's *Book of Pictures*.

Another boost to the research of Uygur Manichaean art that paved the way for the current study was the introduction of digital imaging technology to Manichaean scholarship. Digital imaging is the collective term for various computer-based illustration tools that can show the findings of visually based research. Its application faces significant hurdles, since it requires collaboration with digital imaging experts and the securing of grants to finance the cost of their labor. During the early twenty-first century, digital imaging started to be employed in Manichaean studies in three ways. In 2000, the first line-drawn diagrams of illuminated manuscript fragments were published in order to illustrate the fragments' codicological data and the interpretation of that data. In 2009, the first digital restoration of a faded book painting was published in order to bring out the preserved, but otherwise hard-to-see, iconographic content. In 2015, the first virtual matching of the fragments of a Chinese Manichaean silk painting was published in the festschrift honoring Yutaka Yoshida on his 60th birthday. Based on the analysis of the visual data preserved in the three fragments, an argument could be put forward for their precise alignment, based on which their original integrity could be restored on the computer screen (and subsequently in print) without impacting the actual object.[8]

The discovery of a new group of Chinese Manichaean visual sources shook up Manichaean studies and the research of Mani's legendary volume of paintings. This small but well-preserved corpus consists of five complete and three

7 See Gulácsi 2005a, 183–188.

8 See Gulácsi 2000, 287–325; 2009c, 145–168; 2015b; forthcoming, 2016b, forthcoming; and Yoshida 2015a, Plate 13 where the two upper fragments are shown digitally placed next to one another.

fragmentary silk hanging scrolls, seven of which are housed in Japanese collections and one in California in the Unites States. Since their visual language reflects the norms of late medieval Chinese religious art (best known from Buddhist and Taoist paintings), the Manichaean identification of many of these hanging scrolls required in-depth studies. This work started in 2006 with a soteriological painting first hypothesized to be Manichaean by Takeo Izumi in *Kokka*, which was affirmed based on an iconographical argument by Yutaka Yoshida in 2009 in *Yamato Bunka*. The work continued with a second painting, an icon of Jesus, identified as Manichaean in 2009 on art-historical grounds in *Artibus Asiae* by the author of this book. Independently, Takao Moriyasu explored the Chinese Manichaean historical setting of this image to support the plausibility of its identification as a Manichaean image of Jesus in his contribution to the festschrift honoring Johannes van Oort on his 60th birthday. Soon after, these two hanging scrolls were displayed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and discussed by Denise Leidy in the accompanying publication.[9] In 2009 at the Seventh International Congress of Manichaean Studies held in Dublin, Yoshida connected the rest of the silk paintings known at the time from Japan to the Chinese Manichaean corpus, including an icon of Mani, one possibly complete and two fragments of narrative scenes depicting missionary activities and Mani's birth, as well as, what turned out to be, the three matching fragments of a monumental diagram of the Manichaean universe.[10] Most recently, Miki Morita identified yet another fragment of a Chinese Manichaean hanging scroll in the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco, which shows especially close ties to one of the Japanese fragments.[11]

The hypothesis that these paintings have canonical roots has started to be discussed in two distinct ways soon after their discovery.[12] One approach was to point out the didactic nature of these hanging scrolls, which this author began in 2008 in connection with the soteriological painting and continued in 2015 with the cosmological painting in collaboration with Jason BeDuhn. The other approach was to equate these paintings with a Chinese version of Mani's *Book of Pictures*. First, Yutaka Yoshida raised the latter thesis in connection with the *cosmology fragment* in his Dublin lecture in 2009 (see Fig. 5/14). Soon after, Gábor Kósa explored a similar claim, which appeared in print in 2013. In both cases, the core argument was based on the correlation of Manichaean doctrine as depicted in the thirteenth/fourteenth-century Chinese painting with

9 See Izumi 2006, 1–17; Yoshida 2009a, 1–15; Yoshida 2009b, 697–714; Gulácsi 2009a, 91–145; Moriyasu 2011, 339–360; and Leidy 2010, 87–127.

10 See Yoshida 2015b, 389–398. For an illustration of these images, see Fig. 5/12, below.

11 This publication is forthcoming in *Orientations* in early 2016.

12 There are many other important recent studies of Chinese Manichaean art, which are not directly related to the subject of Mani's *Book of Pictures*. These include Furukawa 2009, 2011; Ebert 2009, 2015; Gulácsi 2009, 2010, 2015; Yoshida 2009, 2010, 2015; as well as Kósa 2011, 2013, 2015; and Izumi 2015. Additional publications are forthcoming by Kósa, Ma, and Yoshida in the yet-to-be-published proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Manichaean Studies held in London, in 2013.

early Manichaean literature, including Coptic accounts translated sometime during the fourth century from even earlier Syriac originals. There is a strong desire in Manichaean studies to explain this remarkable connection by suggesting that the Chinese Manichaean image of the cosmos belongs to an East Asian version of Mani's *Book of Pictures*. A great variety of sources explored in this study, however, indicate that the question is more nuanced than that. Explaining what this painting is in relation to Mani's *Book of Pictures* must take into account the surviving evidence about the overall history of transmitting, adapting, and excerpting the canonical collection of images in the artistic culture of religious instruction among the Manichaeans.[13]

In order to understand the complex history of Manichaean canonical paintings, it is essential to consider data about Mani's *Book of Pictures* from textual sources. Two sets of studies with this approach began to appear from the end of the twentieth century. Firstly, in 1997, Takao Moriyasu experimented with connecting a text about the origin of Mani's *Book of Pictures* with a scene in a damaged Uygur Manichaean illumination preserved in London. The text was a Chagatai-era polemical story that described Mani making a deceptive box-like object, which he claimed to be a heaven-sent book. The painting was a poorly preserved illumination, which contained a hard-to-see rectangular shape next to a high-ranking figure. At the Fifth International Congress of Manichaean Studies held in Naples in 2001, this author looked into the possible tie between the "picture box" of the Chagatai story and its supposed depiction. The box theme in the story proved to be a clever way to exaggerate the deceitfulness of a false prophet in an Islamic context; while the boxy shape in the Manichaean painting could be shown to be the red underdrawing that outlined a stepped dais in what proved identifiable as a *Bēma Scene*, similar to what is retained fully painted in another version of a *Bēma Scene* preserved in Berlin.[14]

Secondly, at the same conference in 2001, Werner Sundermann presented a philologically based study about the *Ārdhang*. He considered the surviving content of the "Sermon on the *Ārdhang*" (Parth. *Ārdhang Wifrās*) in relation to an ambiguous characterization of the format of Mani's *Book of Pictures* (Parth. *Ārdhang*) in an Islamic polemical account as a "book with pictures," which might be taken to mean an illuminated manuscript (i.e., an illustrated text). Professor Sundermann's argument stemmed from the fact that the *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments are not illuminated, nor do they discuss any images. This discrepancy led him to hypothesize that the *Ārdhang* might not have been the Parthian title of Mani's *Book of Pictures*, but the title of another book of Mani. At the Sixth International Congress of Manichaean Studies held in Flagstaff in 2005, this author presented a pilot study of the current project to consider all the available textual and pictorial sources on Mani's *Book of Pictures*, which was published with a delay in 2011. Subsequently, I assessed Professor Sundermann's data in light of the rest of the textual sources on this subject

13 See Yoshida 2015b, 389–398; and Kósa 2013, 49–84.

14 See Moriyasu 1997, 41–73; Gulácsi 2005b, 149–166.

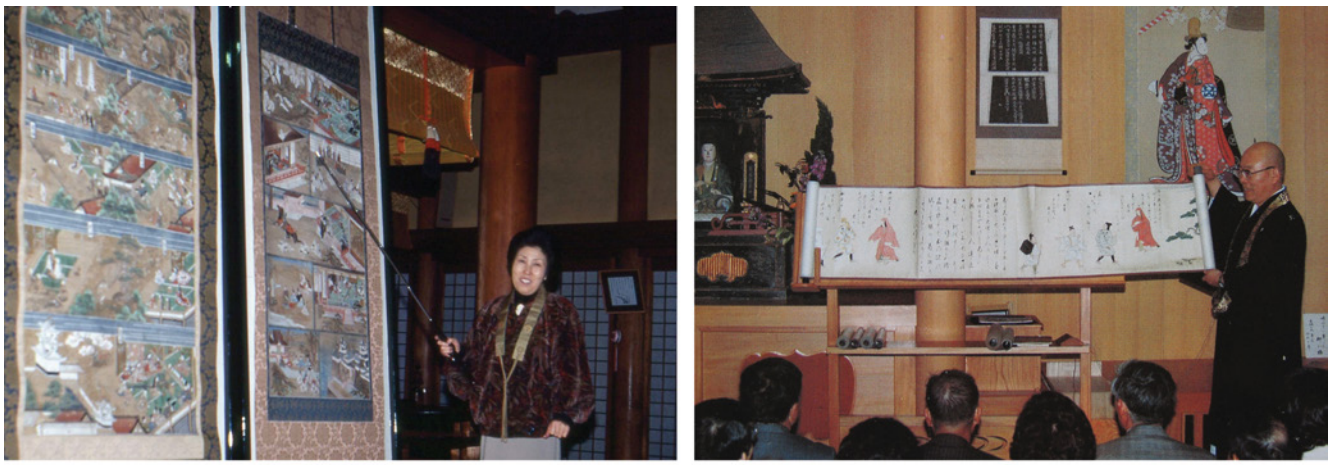
and came to a different conclusion—Mani's *Book of Pictures* was a solely pictorial book and the *Ārdhang Wifrās* was written to aid the didactic use of its paintings. In 2012, I shared with Professor Sundermann the further evidence in favor of the previous understanding of the *Ārdhang* as the Parthian title of Mani's canonical paintings, and he most graciously acknowledged that his previous doubts were settled. Soon after, Professor Sundermann passed away, and I was able to pay homage to his mentorship by publishing a contextualized codicological study of the largest *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragment (M 8255) in his memorial volume, which is planned to appear after much delay in 2016. That study demonstrated that the text of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* was not written in the full prose of a sermon script, but instead as a set of teachers' notes that contain references to similes and parables that could be brought up as needed during an oral sermon (*Wifrās*) given on the images of Mani's *Book of Pictures* (*Ārdhang*). Therefore, the Parthian Manichaean title, *Ārdhang Wifrās*, in itself is evidence about the practice of giving sermons based upon Mani's canonical images.[15]

The final set of studies that paved the way for recovering the story of Mani's canonical paintings started to demonstrate that some Manichaean works of art were designed to be used primarily as instruments of religious instruction. The Manichaean case is a prime example of a pan-Asiatic phenomenon that Victor Mair called "picture recitation" and "storytelling with pictures." In 1988, Mair surveyed historical and ethnographical data across the Asian continent (including Manichaean data) to find the ancient Indian origin of the picture storytelling practice that first appeared in China during the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE) and subsequently spread across East Asia in both secular and religious settings. In 2006, Ikumi Kaminishi explored the history of the Japanese versions of "storytelling with pictures" (Jp. *etoki*), which first appeared in Japanese sources in the tenth century. Since *etoki* is still offered today in some Pure Land Buddhist temples, Kaminishi was able to supplement textual and visual sources with participant observations of religious instruction conducted with vertical hanging scrolls and horizontal handscrolls (**Figure 2**). Writing from an art-historical perspective, she drew attention to the didactic function of religious art.[16]

The work of contextualizing the Manichaean artistic culture of religious instruction is in its infancy. In 2008, in the festschrift honoring Takeo Moriyasu on his 60th birthday, this author pointed out that the two formats noted by Kaminishi are also attested among the Uygur-era remains of Manichaean didactic art. In 2011, also this author explored some comparative non-Manichaean examples, tracing back the historical evidence from tenth-century East Central Asia all the way to third-century Mesopotamia. The goal of that study was to show that other religions also used images as visual aids to illustrate teachings, and thus to initiate seeing the Manichaean case in its broader art-historical

15 See Sundermann 2005, 373–384; Gulácsi 2011a, 233–262; and 2015c, forthcoming.

16 See Mair 1988 and Kaminishi 2006.



a. Pointing to scenes of a hanging scroll. *Etoki* performance at Saiko-ji, Nagano prefecture, Japan (Kaminishi 2006, Fig. 5/2)

b. Moving between scenes of a handscroll. *Etoki* performance at Dojo-ji, Wakayama prefecture, Japan (Mair 1988, plate 6)

FIGURE 2 *Modern examples of teaching with images in Japanese Pure Land Buddhist temples*

and religious studies contexts (**Figures 3 and 4**). While contemporaneous East Central Asian Buddhist examples of horizontal pictorial handscrolls and vertical hanging scrolls were preserved at the repository of Cave 17 at Dunhuang, earlier Buddhist examples are attested through depictions, for example, on a mural from seventh-century Kizil and a stone relief carving from third-century Kushan Gandhara.[17]

The most important comparative examples for contextualizing the origin of Manichaean didactic art come from third-century Mesopotamia. They were made and used just about a ten-day walking distance (ca. 270 miles = 430 km) north of where Mani lived. At that time, on the Roman side of the Sasanian border, there was a trading town known today by a combination of its Aramaic and Hellenistic names, hyphenated as Dura-Europos. The archeological remains discovered from this site famously preserve didactic images, which constitute visual libraries made to depict teachings from the scriptures of the two other religions of the book active in Mesopotamia at the time (**Figure 5**). A Jewish case of such a visual library is found on the walls of a synagogue, which contained about sixty mostly narrative scenes from the Hebrew Bible. They were arranged next to one another, separated by frames, and encircled the meeting hall in three horizontal registers. These images were most certainly referenced during instruction. A Christian case of a similar visual library came from the baptistery room of a church, the walls of which were covered with

17 See Gulácsi 2008, 1–16; and 2011a, 233–262.

a: Mural depicting a cloth painting with the four major events, Kizil, 7th century, Museum of Asian Art, Berlin

b: Pictorial handscroll depicting the Ten Kings, paper, Dunhuang, ca. 10th century, details, British Museum, London

FIGURE 3 *Buddhist didactic images documented from 7th–10th-century East Central Asia* (*after Guácsi 2011a*)

a: Scenes from the life of the Buddha, schist, Gandhara, Kushan Empire, 2nd century, Cleveland Museum of Art

b: Scenes from the life of the Buddha, schist, Gandhara, Kushan Empire, 1st-3rd century, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington DC

FIGURE 4 *Buddhist didactic images documented from 2nd/3rd-century Gandhara* (*after Guácsi 2011a*)

a: Painted synagogue, tempera on plaster, Dura-Europos, Roman Empire, ca. 240 CE, Damascus National Museum

b: Painted baptistery, tempera on plaster, Dura-Europos, Roman Empire, ca. 240 CE, model copy, Yale Univ. Art Gallery

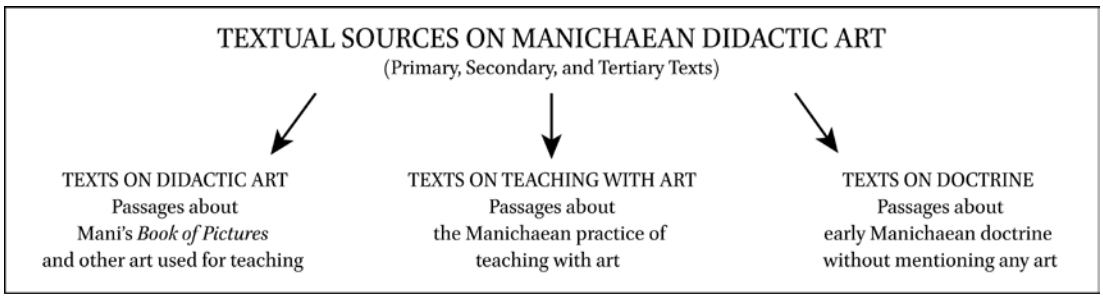
FIGURE 5 *Canonical visual libraries documented from 3rd-century northern Mesopotamia* (*after Guácsi 2011a*)

narrative scenes from the life of Christ. During this early era of Christianity, baptism was held mostly for adults, and thus it is conceivable that the rites performed in this baptistery included a didactic component. These images derive from a harmonized account of Jesus' life—such as Tatian's *Diatessaron*—the version of the Gospels that was used until the sixth century in Mesopotamia and Syria, including by Mani and his followers. Such comparative examples are essential to better understand a lost world, where oral instructions of religious teachings were routinely supplemented with didactic images. Manichaeism, however, was the only religion to *have* a canonical set of paintings. In a pictorial volume that was attributed to Mani, these paintings were stored together with the rest of the Manichaean canonical books.

Structure of Research

An analytical study of textual and visual sources is required for this project. Many of these sources have been considered in a variety of publications with a variety of aims, but never before have they been collected together and exposed as a group to a methodology that systematically subjects them to a specific set of questions. The goal is to assess the evidence they contain about the history of the artistic culture of religious instruction. Accordingly, this project is organized into two parts. The textual sources are in the focus of Part I as the foundation for the study of the visual sources in Part II.

TABLE 1 *Textual sources of this study*



Textual Sources

Historical writings contain three different kinds of data about Manichaean didactic art (**Table 1**). Some writings explicitly discuss Mani's *Book of Pictures* and others mention the practice of teaching with images. Both such references document didactic art among the Manichaeans. Again other texts do not mention any art but explain doctrine, some aspects of which are depicted in visual sources. The latter passages are most valuable for understanding the Manichaean meaning of pictorial content when the texts are from the same communities that made and/or used the art. This, however, is rarely the case. In many instances, the surviving texts are significantly earlier than the art. Nevertheless, the demonstrable continuity of some of this later art with Mani's original *Book of Pictures* provides a historical link to the didactic meaning noted in earlier texts.

The documentary value of the textual sources depends (at least partially) on their temporal and cultural closeness to their subjects. Their classification as primary, secondary, and tertiary sources reflects proximity. Primary texts are written by Manichaeans for use within their religion. There is only one case of apologetics pertinent to this study, when the author writes about his Church to a non-Manichaean audience (*Compendium*). Secondary texts are written by non-Manichaean authors with first-hand knowledge of Manichaeism, who take a polemical or a scholarly interest, neither of which inherently proves or compromises the accuracy of their data. In contrast, tertiary texts are written by authors removed from a still-living Manichaean religion, with no access to primary sources. At best, their data relies on accurate secondary accounts. But often these tertiary texts involve imagining the canonical art of an ancient religion preserved at remote and exotic places, such as China, based on the formats of pictorial art in the authors' own times.[18]

18 Outside of Manichaean art, Mani is depicted in late mediaeval Persian painting. Sometimes, he is portrayed as a great painter. In other scenes, Mani is shown as a prophet discussing his teachings in Shāpūr's court or, the day after his death, when Mani's corpse was skinned in Bahrām's prison and his remains were displayed at a city

Accordingly, Part I of this study considers thirty-five passages that either discuss Mani's *Book of Pictures* or contain references to teaching with images among the Manichaeans. Based on their languages and cultural contexts, they are organized into four groups that constitute the first four chapters of this book. These four chapters are structured identically.

Firstly, each passage is surveyed and analyzed. After a brief introduction that contextualizes their authors and the books to which they belong, the passages are searched for six kinds of evidence they may contain about the canonical art of the Manichaeans. (1) Their data on *designation* concerns the titles and/or common nouns they use for Mani's own collection of images, the canonical volume of paintings, or any other kinds of art used for teaching. (2) Their data on *attribution* regards explanations given about the intellectual or artistic authorship of the paintings. (3) Their data on *dates* concern direct or indirect references to the time associated with the origin or continued use of didactic art among the Manichaeans. (4) Their data on *appearance* provides information about how these paintings looked, including their painting mediums, but also their materials, sizes, and any other remarks about formal qualities. (5) Their data on *content* informs us about what the art showed, including their subject matter, individual figures, or iconographic details. Finally, (6) their data on *function* regards information on how these works of art were used.

Secondly, in these four chapters, the body of evidence provided by each group of passages is assessed as a whole based on the above six criteria. The goal is to understand the nuances of their evidence specific to a distinct phase of Manichaean history and without mixing unrelated cultural contexts. Such a culture-specific understanding gained from the textual sources is essential for the analysis and interpretation of the visual data of the physical remains of Manichaeans didactic art, as well as the developmental stages in its overall history.

Separately from the texts about Mani's *Book of Pictures* and the practice of teaching with images, a third kind of texts—passages about Mani's doctrine—are considered in connection with the subject repertoire and iconography of the artistic remains in Chapter 6. Excerpts from such literature are employed to define the core topics of Mani's teaching as documented by the canonical texts and other writings of this religion. They concern teachings about dualism, soteriology, prophetology, theology, cosmology, and mythic history, all of which are conveyed in visual forms in the didactic art of the Manichaeans.

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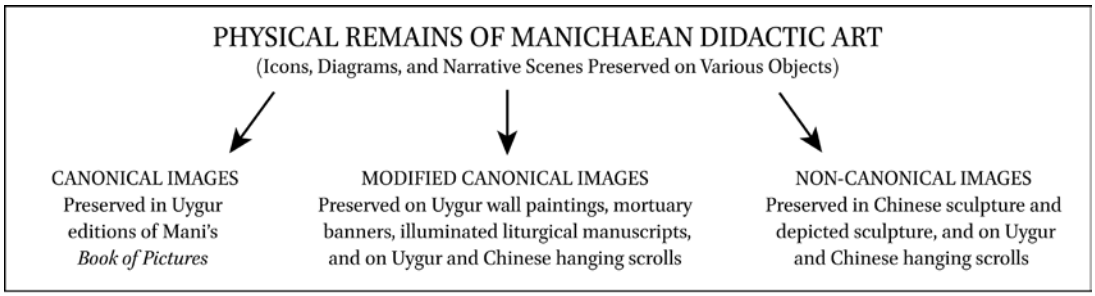
gate of Gondeshapur. Such fourteenth-to-sixteenth-century examples of Islamic art are far removed from the primary sources of this study. Nevertheless, due to the heritage they share with the tertiary textual sources about Mani's paintings, they are noted in the assessment section of Chapter 4 (see Figs. 4/1–4/3).

TABLE 2 *Artistic sources of this study*



Visual Sources

The visual sources of this study are Manichaean didactic images found in primary works of art; that is, they were made and used in Manichaean communities. Based on their closeness to Mani's original collection of paintings, they fall into three categories (**Table 2**). Since none of the first-generation of the *Book of Pictures* survives, the fragments that are closest to them derive from Uygur editions of picture books that were made some six to seven centuries after Mani's time. They retain parts of individual paintings, which are the only surviving examples of the Manichaeans' canonical images currently known. At a second degree of distance stand altered versions of canonical images adapted to various non-canonical objects, such as wall paintings, hanging scrolls, mortuary banners, and illuminated liturgical manuscripts. In this study, they are labeled as "modified canonical images," or more precisely as "modified versions of select canonical images." The third category includes non-canonical images (painted or sculpted icons of Mani and narrative scenes depicting Mani's life). The didactic functions of such non-canonical images are also documented, although they themselves were not contained in Mani's *Book of Pictures*. Therefore, they, too, are of interest in this study.

In terms of their pictorial genre, Manichaean didactic images can be icons, diagrams, or narrative scenes, all of which are attested in connection with Mani's *Book of Pictures*. Icons are majestic depictions of deities—divine "portraits" that focus on a god, enthroned on a dais or a lotus seat, enclosed in a halo and a mandorla, depicted in frontal view and at the center of a mirror symmetrical composition. The term "icon" is borrowed from the terminology of Christian/Byzantine and Buddhist studies, where icons denote objects primarily associated with devotional practices. In the Manichaean context, icons served this ritual function; but they also played a further didactic role. Diagrams are symmetrical depictions of groups of figures arranged to reflect their hierarchical status and/or spatial relationship. This term is used for explaining the meaning of the Sanskrit *mandala* in studies of Indian religions (Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism). The culturally neutral choice of "diagram" in the vocabulary of this project is intended to reflect that such designs existed before Buddhist artistic influences started to impact Manichaean art during the Uygur

era. The third term, "narrative scene," is used in this study to connote images that depict a story either by showing a single event or a sequence of events.

An image in itself, however, is not the full work of art. The image belongs to an object made with an aesthetic intent for a specific religious purpose. The material aspects of art provide critical information about the didactic culture of the Manichaeans otherwise not documented in the sources. Physical remains of such art survive from Uygur East Central Asia, dating from between the mid eighth and the early eleventh century, and from Song-Ming southern China, dating from between the twelfth/thirteenth and fifteenth century.[19] They include fragment of picture books, wall paintings, hanging scrolls, sculpture and depicted sculpture, mortuary banners, and illuminated liturgical manuscripts. These are the Manichaean *works of art*, on which the didactic images of the Manichaean religion were displayed. These objects fulfilled a variety of functions, including directly facilitating teaching and learning or indirectly reinforcing the teachings appropriate for the occasion of their use.

Accordingly, Part II of this book focuses on forty Manichaean didactic images, identified from their presence in the distinctive format of picture books, or based on subjects noted in textual sources in connection with either Mani's *Book of Pictures* or the practice of teaching with images. With just a few exceptions, all of the images are fragments that survive with various degrees of damage. Issues of their conditions make their study complicated and necessitate careful analyses. Therefore, they are subjected to a dual examination: a study of their materiality and a study of their content.

Firstly, their materiality—that is, the format and preservation of the works of art to which the forty images belong—is assessed in Chapter Five. The images appear in six kinds of objects: picture books, wall paintings, hanging scrolls, sculpture, mortuary banners, and illuminated liturgical manuscripts. (1) The *picture books* are solely pictorial horizontal handscrolls or solely pictorial, horizontal codices. In their original condition, they contained full sets of Mani's authored canonical paintings. Only a few scenes survive today from copies of Mani's collection of canonical pictures that were made and/or used during the Uygur era in tenth-century Kocho. The images of these books constitute the canonical images of the Manichaeans. The last textual record known today about the existence of such a picture book is from twelfth-century Wenzhou in southern China. Five other objects preserve modified versions of select canonical images. (2) The *wall paintings* adapt images to a mural format on the surfaces of plastered walls. (3) The *hanging scrolls* are

19 Arguing for the dates of individual Manichaean works of art is beyond the scope of this study. An overview concerning the dates of the Uygur fragments of picture books and illuminated service books was provided in connection with their codicological study (see 2005a, 39–58). A dating study (conducted based on a radiocarbon-dated illuminated bifolio and its association to the hand of the same artist on four additional illuminated fragments) proved that the West Asian ("Persian") and Chinese styles of Uygur Manichaean art coexisted in Kocho during the tenth and early eleventh century (see 2003, 5–33).

silk paintings that are suspended on a vertical support and could be rolled up for storage. (4) *Sculpture* is only attested among the Manichaeans as three-dimensional icons of Mani, conveyed either as freestanding statues or relief carvings. Located within the main halls of Manichaean temples, such images not only furnished a ritual space, but they are also noted in textual sources as didactic works of art. Thus, they constitute non-canonical didactic images. (5) The *mortuary banners* are double-sided versions of hanging scrolls made from plastered ramie. Their pictorial contents suggest that these banners were used in some mortuary contexts, such as vigils or various rites connected to funerals. (6) The *illuminated service books* are codices or palm-leaf formatted books that contain various texts supplemented with one or a few paintings. They are attested only from among the Manichaeans of Kocho.

Secondly, the content of the forty images, that is, their subject matter and iconography, is analyzed and interpreted in Chapter 6. This time around, the image itself is in the focus. The images are grouped based on their didactic themes, documented in the textual sources in connection with either the canonical collection of images or teaching with images. This approach reveals five didactic themes. (1) Images of *soteriology* depict subjects such as the salvation of the light, the salvation of the elect, and the salvation of the laity. (2) Images of *prophetology* regard the human messengers of God, depicting subjects such as the Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism and the Light Mind, the life of Jesus, and the life of Mani. (3) Images of *theology* concern the divine messengers of God and thus, include subjects such as the icon of the Light Maiden, the icon of the King of Honor, the icon of an unidentified deity, the icon of Jesus, and the icon of Mani. (4) Images of *cosmology* consider subjects such as the structure of the universe, Mani as a visionary witness to components of the universe, and various fragments of other unidentifiable cosmological subjects. Finally, (5) images of *mythic history* concern various subjects depicted from Mani's *Book of Giants*.

Illustrating Forensic Art History

Illustrations are essential for books on art-historical research. In this study, a unique challenge presents itself, since almost all Manichaean works considered in this book are fragments. The critical data preserved in these fragments is often hard to see even in person, let alone in photo reproductions. Their assessment requires detailed art-historical analyses before one is able to reach basic interpretations that are taken for granted in most areas of this discipline—so much so, that this kind of work maybe best labeled "forensic art history." This approach aims to recover and record art-historical data pertaining to the intact condition and overall design of damaged works of art. The communication of such research requires a variety of specialized illustrations. Therefore, in addition to the usual maps and photo reproductions, this book relies on tables, diagrams, analytical line drawings, and digital restorations as indispensable components of art-historical scholarship.

Tables are used for surveying and organizing large amounts of data, both visual and textual. The tables become especially handy in Part I of this book. The six-point analysis of each passage is illustrated in a small table that follows the quote of the passage. In turn, one large table provides an overview of the data in the assessment of each text group. This type of large table shows all the available culturally specific evidence about designations, attributions, appearances, contents, functions, and dates conveyed in connection with Mani's *Book of Pictures* and other art used for teaching among the Manichaeans. In Part II, both chapters begin with similar large tables. At the start of Chapter 5, two tables correlate the textual data about format with similar data attested among the physical remains. Analogously, at the start of Chapter 6, two such tables focus on what is known today about the pictorial content of Manichaean didactic art based on the textual sources and the physical remains.

Analytical line drawings are precise digital outlines that show the attested original formats of fragmentary works of art. They illustrate the evidence retained by the surviving portions of the objects about their lost parts, which otherwise would be obvious only for specialists who routinely work with the materiality of similar objects. Such analytical line drawings are found in Chapter 5, where the format and preservation of the objects, which contain the forty images that are the focus of this study, are assessed. They are especially useful for illustrating the physical contexts of didactic illuminations on the fragmentary folia of liturgical manuscripts. They allow one to see the otherwise hard-to-visualize fact that in the Uygur Manichaean service books the images were painted at ninety-degree angles in relation to not only the texts, but also the overall design of the codex (or *pustaka*) formats of their manuscripts.

Digital restorations aim to bring out hard-to-see but otherwise preserved visual data that is essential for the study of the iconography and composition. This technique is used most sparingly in this study. It is applied only in connection with three Uygur images (an icon of the Light Maiden, an icon of Jesus; and a image narrating the salvation of the light; see Figs. 5/25, 5/26a, and 5/31). The digital restoration of these Uygur images is argued step-by-step in previous publications.[20]

Discussing Manichaean Didactic Art

Art historical studies require a specialized vocabulary. Writing about the didactic art of the Manichaeans is particularly complicated, for it involves the study of historical texts written in a great variety languages. These texts not only have their own cultural-specific ancient and medieval vocabulary, but also they must be accessed through modern translations that align terms of the source languages with academic English. The multitudes of text and their translations introduce a confusing array of synonyms. Thus, this study

20 See Gulácsi 2009c, 145–168; and 2016b, forthcoming.

necessitates the employment of otherwise self-evident common nouns and adjectives with specific connotations. They include:

Book of Pictures —the title of one of Mani's canonical works that contained didactic images used by Mani for supplementing his oral instructions. After Mani's death, this collection of paintings became part of the Manichaean canon with the rest Mani's textual works.

book —used in reference to the shape of an object irrelevant to its content. The formats of manuscripts attested among the Manichaeans in Kocho include three designs: the codex (vertical codex, square codex, and horizontal codex), the handscroll (vertical handscroll used for letters and horizontal handscroll used for painting) and the design of a palm-leaf formatted book so named after (Skt.) *pustaka* 'book' or (Hind.) *pothi* 'book.'

picture book —book of any design that has solely (or primarily) pictorial content.

canonical —belonging to or associated with the canon, that is, the sacred books of a religion.

doctrinal —denoting objects as well as various categories of content (e.g., themes, subjects) that concerns core religious teaching.

didactic —related to teaching, including objects and techniques used in the course of instruction.

image —a representational work of art in any medium or genre. In the Manichaean context, two-dimensional images were painted on various supports (parchment, wood, plastered wall, paper, plastered ramie, and silk) by using various paints as well as ink and gold leaf. Three-dimensional images are carved from stone and wood and possibly modeled in dry-lacquer as either freestanding or relief sculpture. Such statues were also painted and gilded. For a discussion of the documented genres of images (icons, diagrams, and narrative scenes), see *Visual Sources*, above.

PART 1

Textual Sources on Manichaean Didactic Art

∵

There are thirty-five known textual references about Manichaean didactic art (**Table 1**). Although they originate from a great variety of distinct literary genres, temporal and cultural contexts, these passages are brought together by the fact that they all discuss either the characteristics of Mani's *Book of Pictures* or other works of art used for teaching among the Manichaeans. Their documentary value varies considerably. So, too, the length of their discussions ranges from the occasional single-line reference to a substantial paragraph, or a page at most. Taken together these sources provide critical data for understanding the historical formation of Manichaean didactic art.

Their analysis and assessment is organized according to languages and historical context of origin, labeled after the empires in which they were produced. They are clustered into culturally linked geographical groups, corresponding with the regions where distinct phases of Manichaean history took place. Chapter 1 is devoted eight passages written in Coptic, Syriac, Greek, and Arabic primary and secondary sources produced in Roman, Byzantine, and Abbasid contexts from between the third and tenth centuries. Chapter 2 contains seven passages written in Iranian Mesopotamia and West Central Asia, in Parthian and Middle Persian languages and subsequently copied. Their Uygur-era manuscripts are significantly later than the prose of the texts themselves signaling continuous use until the tenth century. Chapter 3 contains six passages dating from between the eighth and thirteenth centuries, including a Central Asian primary text that survives in Chinese translation associated with Northern China, an Uygur primary text from East Central Asia, and two Chinese secondary texts from southern China. Finally, Chapter 4 contains fourteen passages, all of which are tertiary in nature and derive from academic and historical literature written in Arabic, Chagatai, and Persian languages between the eleventh and seventeenth centuries—during the time when Manichaean communities no longer exist in the Islamic world.

TABLE I *Geographical and historical distribution of textual sources on Manichaean canonical art* (*35 texts*)

Primary and Secondary Texts in Coptic, Syriac, Greek, and Arabic (3rd–10th centuries)	**Primary and Secondary Texts in Parthian and Middle Persian (3rd–10th centuries)**	**Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Texts in Uyghur and Chinese (8th–13th Centuries)**	**Post-Manichaean Tertiary Texts in Arabic, Persian, and Chagatai (11th–17th Centuries)**
SASANIAN EMPIRE (0) (Texts survive only as later copies and/or translation)	SASANIAN EMPIRE (0) (Texts survive only as later copies and/or translation)	TANG EMPIRE (3) * Chinese texts (3)	SELJUK EMPIRE (3) * Arabic texts (2) * Persian text (1)
ROMAN EMPIRE (6) * Coptic texts (5) * Syriac text (1)	UYGUR EMPIRE (7) * Parthian texts (4) * Middle Persian texts (3)	UYGUR EMPIRE (1) * Uygur text (1)	GHAZNAVID EMPIRE (1) * Persian text (1)
BYZANTINE EMPIRE (1) * Greek text (1)		SONG EMPIRE (2) * Chinese text (2)	ILKHANID EMPIRE (1) * Persian text (1)
ABBASID EMPIRE (1) * Arabic text (1)			TIMURID EMPIRE (1) * Persian text (1)
			DELHI SULTANATE (2) * Persian text (2)
			SAFAVID EMPIRE (3) * Persian text (3)
			MUGHAL EMPIRE (2) * Persian text (2)
			OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1) * Arabic text (1)
			UNDATED (1) * Chagatai text (1)
8 texts	*7 texts*	*6 texts*	*14 texts*

CHAPTER 1

Primary and Secondary Records in Coptic, Syriac, Greek, and Arabic Texts (3rd–10th Centuries)

The early history of Manichaeism took place in territories ruled by the Sasanian and Roman Empires, where Mani's missionary religion spread rapidly and soon became persecuted. The first community emerged near Ctesiphon, the Sasanian capital from where, even during Mani's lifetime, missions were led to West Central Asia, and a stronghold was established in Merv. After enjoying royal support during the reigns of Shapur I (240–72 CE) and Hormizd I (272–74 CE), Manichaeism was banned by Bahrām I (274–76 CE). Thus began a suppression that continued throughout much of the Sasanian era (226–651 CE). In Roman territories, the first missionaries also appeared during the middle of the third century. Roman sources document Manichaean activities, including the religion's presence in influential circles during the fourth and early fifth centuries. Roman authorities became suspicious of the Manichaeans because of their Persian associations and later also because Manichaeism competed with Catholic Christianity, which increasingly relied on the state to eliminate its rivals. A similar trend is seen in Byzantine territories, leading to the extinction of this religion from the Mediterranean region between the sixth and the eighth centuries. During early mediaeval times, Manichaeism vanishes not only from North Africa and the East Mediterranean region, but also from West Asia. After enjoying a respite during Umayyad times (661–750 CE), severe persecutions returned under Abbasid rule (750–1258 CE) resulting in the disappearance of Manichaeans from Iran by the end of the tenth century.[1]

Eight texts concerning Manichaean didactic art are known today from late ancient West Asia and North Africa (**Table 1/1**). They include five primary texts in Coptic, and three secondary passages—one in Syriac, one in Greek, and one in Arabic. Although the Coptic and Syriac accounts were written in Roman Egypt and Syria during the fourth century, their data regards mid third-century Sasanian Mesopotamia and provides information about the origin and first employment of this art as it was invented and used by Mani himself. Similarly, the Greek text that was written in Byzantine Constantinople during the late ninth century concerns events that took place in the city during the late sixth century. The Arabic text dates from the late tenth century, at a time when, as the text itself relates, the last remnants of West Asian Manichaeism were facing extinction.

1 Lieu 1994, 22–129.

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TABLE 1/1 *Primary and secondary textual sources on Manichaean didactic painting in Coptic, Syriac, Greek, and Arabic languages* (*8 texts*)

PRIMARY TEXTS IN COPTIC (5 TEXTS)	SECONDARY TEXT IN SYRIAC (1 TEXT)
(1) *Kephalaion 7* (late 3rd–early 4th century)	(1) Ephrem, *Prose Refutations* (before 373 CE)
(2) *Kephalaion 92* (late 3rd–early 4th century)	
(3) *Kephalaion 151* (late 3rd–early 4th century)	SECONDARY TEXT IN GREEK (1 TEXT)
(4) *Kephalaion 191* (late 3rd–early 4th century)	(1) Theophanes, *Chronicle* (about 506/7 CE)
(5) *Homilies 18, 24–25, 27* (late 3rd–early 4th century)	
	SECONDARY TEXT IN ARABIC (1 TEXT)
	(1) Ibn al-Nadim, *Kitab al-Fihrist* (987 CE)

Survey and Analysis: Kephalaion 151, Kephalaion 92, Kephalaion 7, Kephalaion 191, Homilies 18, 24–25, 27 (Late 3rd–Early 4th Century), Ephrem (bef. 373 CE), Theophanes (about the Year 506/7 CE), and Ibn al-Nadim (987 CE)

The following survey considers these eight passages in an order reflecting their closeness to the subject and the quantity of information they supply. Most informative are the two primary texts, the *Kephalaia* (151, 92, 7, and 191) and the *Homilies* (18, 24, 25, 27); followed by the secondary texts by Ephrem, Theophanes, and Ibn al-Nadim. Surprisingly, no textual sources written in Greek and Latin mention Mani's paintings. There is, however, an early fourth-century Greek text by Eusebius on a devotional painting depicting Mani (i.e., an icon of Mani) and a Latin text by Augustine on the exquisite calligraphy and fine materials of plain (i.e., non-illuminated) manuscripts, which are considered in the assessment part of this chapter.

1 *Kephalaion 151* (*Late 3rd–Early 4th Century*)

The *Kephalaia of the Teacher* (Copt./Gr. *kephalaia* 'chapters') is one of the earliest surviving pieces of Manichaean literature. It was written by an unnamed early disciple in order to preserve Mani's oral instructions. The manuscript itself derives from Egypt as a fragmentary, but relatively well-preserved papyrus codex discovered during the early twentieth century. This Coptic-language text is most likely a translation from a lost Syriac original that was composed in the late third century. Thus, the *Kephalaia* is regarded as a highly authoritative and early primary Manichaean textual source, in which Mani's words take the reader back to Sasanid Mesopotamia in Late Antiquity.[2]

The 151st chapter of the *Kephalaia* contains a passage that discusses the superiority of Mani's religion, organized in the form of a 10-point list. The passage quoted below regards the point that concerns Mani's didactic images.

2 Gardner 1995, xviii–xix.

In it, Mani provides a reason for making records of his teachings, not only by writing them down but also by creating a visual rendering of them in a pictorial medium that is referred to here by the Coptic term *Hikōn*. Mani argues that the written and painted records make his religion superior to that of all other prophets. The relevant section reads:

> [Second:] My church is superior in the wisdom and [the secrets?], which I have revealed to you in it. As for this [immeasurable] wisdom I have written it in the holy books—in the great [*Gospel*] and the other writings—so that it not be altered [after] me. Just as I have written it in books, so [I have] also ordered it (Copt. *keleue* < Gr. *keleuein*) to be painted (Copt. *zōgraphe* < Gr. *zōgraphein*). For all the [apostles], my brothers, who have come before me, [have not written] their wisdom in the books (Copt. *n.jōme*) as I have written it. [Neither have] they painted their wisdom in the *Hikōn* (Copt. 'picture, image' < Gr. *eikon*) as [I have painted] it. My church surpasses the earlier churches [also in this point].[3]

The above passage is a brief, but highly informative, source about the *Hikōn*, confirming some basic data about its Coptic name, pictorial appearance, and doctrinal content. More importantly, this is the only text in which Mani states that he is the intellectual author of the *Hikōn* and not its actual painter. The passage further notes that one of the *Hikōn*'s intended functions was to provide a record and thus prevent the potential adulteration of Mani's teachings.

Kephalaion 151 gives an unambiguous reference to the Coptic version of the designation used for Mani's doctrinal collection of images. The noun *Hikōn* 'picture, image' is introduced at the end of this passage in a manner parallel to the "Gospel," mentioned at the beginning of the passage. Therefore, the context of the lines quoted above implies that the term *Hikōn*, just as the word "Gospel," is used as a title to label a collection of "wisdom" authored by Mani. As is customary in references to the contents of a work designated by its title, both the *Hikōn* and the *Gospel* are noted to contain teachings within: "in it," "in the great [*Gospel*]," and "in the *Hikōn*."

The evidence provided about the *Hikōn*'s origin in *Kephalaion 151* is two-fold. The first claim here expressly identifies Mani as the intellect behind the *Hikōn*. In the second sentence, Mani states unambiguously that he requested the *Hikōn* to be painted: "[I have] also ordered it to be painted." In the third sentence, however, Mani is credited with having painted the *Hikōn* himself by stating "[I have

3 *Kephalaion 151*, 371.20–30 (Funk 2000, 371; and Schmidt and Polotsky 1933, 41–43, who incorrectly cited this passage as *Kephalaion 154*, which is how it has been cited in all scholarship prior to Funk's edition). The English translation above is after BeDuhn (2000b, 14, note 2). In addition to this Coptic, a Middle Persian and a Sogdian version of this subject are preserved on two Turfan fragments, including M 5794 (Klimkeit 1993, 216) and Ch. 5554 (Sundermann 1985a, 27–28, lines 125–135). Those texts, however, do not mention the painted versions of Mani's teachings.

painted] it," as indicated by the phrase reconstructed in light of corresponding phrases such as: "I have written it," used in connection with Mani's writings; and "[neither have] they painted their wisdom," used to contrast Mani with the founders of other religions. The seemingly contradictory nature of these two statements indicates that a distinction between the intellectual authorship of the images and the artistic labor of their execution is not relevant in this passage.[4] Instead, the goal here is simply to credit Mani with authoring the *Hikōn* as a basis of the second claim, which states that providing a record of a prophet's teaching was exclusive to Manichaeism. Capturing the teachings in painted form was unique to Mani, but just as unique was writing down the teachings, since prior to Mani no prophets committed their thoughts to books or paintings: "For all the [apostles], my brothers, who have come before me, [have not written] their wisdom in the books as I have written it. [Neither have] they painted their wisdom in the *Hikōn* as [I have painted] it." In their respective temporal and cultural settings, the founders of the other religions used neither of these practices, only Mani engaged in them.[5]

Kephalaion 151 also conveys significant data concerning the question of the *Hikōn*'s appearance. It confirms that the *Hikōn* was a pictorial—a solely pictorial—work of art. The mere choice of the title "*Hikōn*" implies an artistic work, since this Greek-rooted Coptic noun connotes "picture" or "image." In addition, the passage specifies that the *Hikōn* was pictorial, by using the term "painted" three times: Mani requested the *Hikōn* "to be painted" and that none of the other prophets "painted" their teachings, as Mani has "[painted] it." Furthermore, *Kephalaion 151* contains an additional clarification about the pictorial nature of the *Hikōn*, since it distinguishes the "painted" *Hikōn* from the "written" books as the containers of a prophet's "wisdom," thereby suggesting that while "the books" contained Mani's teachings in a textual form, his *Hikōn* contained his teachings in a pictorial form. Thus, the separation of the written and visual means of communication was deliberate, making it beyond question that Mani's *Hikōn* discussed here was not an illuminated manuscript (i.e., a text interspersed with illustrations), but rather a collection of images, a solely pictorial medium, a *Hikōn*. The notion that the *Hikōn* is a medium for visual means of communication, analogous to the distinctive way the "book" serves as a medium for written means of discourse, can be gained from the last sentence of the passage, which states how the prophets of other religions did not create their *Hikōn*(s) (i.e., a collection of images) to convey their teachings: "[neither have] they painted their wisdom in the *Hikōn* as [I have painted] it."

Regarding the content (i.e., the subject matter captured by the paintings within Mani's *Hikōn*), this text clearly identifies the *Hikōn* as a doctrinal work.

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4 For a discussion about attitudes in Late Antiquity on intellectual authorship vs. the crafts of painting and the crafts of writing, see the interpretation of this data provided in the conclusion below.

5 A similar reference to this superiority is found in *Kephalaion 151*, 371.19–20: "One has not written or revealed the books in the way I have written them" (Funk 2000, 371).

First, it states that the *Hikōn* rendered Mani's teachings. Without being more specific, the passage emphasizes that Mani's "wisdom" was captured in the *Hikōn*, albeit in a visual form: "Just as I have written it in books, so [I have] also ordered it to be painted." Second, this passage mentions the *Hikōn* together with "the great *Gospel,*" while also referring to Mani's other books. By noting that its doctrinal content is analogous to that of Mani's written works, the passage compares, and arguably equates, the *Hikōn* to the books, since Mani conveyed his teachings in all of them.

Kephalaion 151 preserves some data concerning the function of the *Hikōn* by alluding to contemporaneous attitudes towards written and painted renderings of religious teachings and their use as a symbol of Mani's teaching. This passage specifies that capturing Mani's teachings in pictures, just as in texts, guarded against their adulteration by later generations. By referring to the conscious use of written and painted records, the passage indicates Mani's comfort with both textual and visual means of communication. It seems that in Mani's cultural environment in late ancient Mesopotamia, the idea of creating records via both of these means was a familiar practice. Mani adopted them deliberately to ensure that his message would not be compromised after his passing—as he himself says, "so that it not be altered [after] me." Mani's deliberate efforts to preserve his authentic message, he argues, distinguishes his church from all others and makes it superior; indeed, he says, it "surpasses the earlier churches." In addition, this passage documents the symbolic significance of the *Hikōn* as a reference to Mani's teaching together with his books: "Just as I have written it in books, so [I have] also ordered it to be painted."

Finally, this passage also supplies important evidence concerning the date of Mani's didactic paintings. The content of this passage (as opposed to its ca. fourth-century manuscript) discusses the *Hikōn* within the context of the 36-year era of Mani's ministry, which started from 240 CE and lasted until Mani's death in 274 or 277 CE.[6] Although we do not learn the actual date when Mani "ordered it [the *Hikōn*] to be painted" in the above passage, Mani discusses his *Hikōn* as one of the books used in his religious teachings. In light of this statement, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the *Hikōn* was made sometime during the middle decades of the third century.

2 *Kephalaion 92* (*Late 3rd–Early 4th Century*)

The 92nd chapter of the *Kephalaia* records a question from an auditor and Mani's answer regarding the *Hikōn*. The subject under consideration is Mani's depiction of his teachings on the afterlife. Specifically, the auditor wants to know why, among the three possible destinies, Mani depicted only the two extremes: the fate of the sinner, and the fate of the righteous elect; whereas he did not show the fate of the auditor (here referred to as a catechumen). Mani explains that the fate of the auditor is to be reborn in numerous bodies

6 The Parthian text M 2 states that Mani's possessions in prison included his volume of images and thus, gives the last record of Mani using his painted work. See quote in Chapter 2, below.

before his ultimate salvation. Therefore, to show the countless possible ways of rebirth in art is not practical, since in the end, the path of the auditor is identical to that of the elect. Text reads in abbreviation:

> Once again, at one of the occasions, the catechumen [. . .] stood up. He said to our enlightener [. . .]: 'Why have you marked every thing [. . . that exists], and what is provided to happen, in the great *Hikōn*? You have made clear in that great *Hikōn*; you have painted (Copt. *zōgraphe* < Gr. *zōgraphein*) the righteous one, how he shall be released and brought before the Judge and attain the land of light. You have also drawn (Copt. *shei*) the sinner, how he shall die. He shall be set before the Judge and tried [. . .] the dispenser of justice. And he is thrown into gehenna, where he shall wander for eternity. Now, both of these have been painted depicted by you in the great *Hikōn*; but why did you not paint the catechumen? How he shall be released from his body, and how he shall be brought before the Judge and reach the place ordained for him and [. . .] that he can rest in the place of rest forever. For if we can see [. . .] the path of the catechumen, and know [. . .] so have we recognized him with knowledge. If we can also see him face to face in the *Hikōn*] [. . .] in the sighting of him!
>
> Then speaks the enlightener to that catechumen: 'It is not possible to paint the catechumen in the *Hikōn*, because many [. . .] worlds and [. . .] before him from place to place [. . .] there are others existing [. . .] because to depict it, [. . .] since alone in a single place [. . .] you know [. . .] that the end of the catechumen [. . .] his path comes to be with the elect [. . .] of the elect. Look, he is drawn in the *Hikōn* [. . .] as the elect will [. . .] the catechumen will go [. . .] the path of the elect [. . .] will not go into the land of life [. . . of the] elect and the catechumen is a single one. However, it is not possible to paint the middle way of the purification of the catechumen, because he shall not be purified in a single place; nor cleansed and washed there.
>
> When that catechumen had heard these things, he was persuaded and [agreed] and kept his silence.[7]

The entire 92nd chapter of the *Kephalaia* is devoted to the *Hikōn*. The excerpts quoted above constituting the longest and most detailed currently known primary source on Mani's collection of paintings. This highly authoritative account confirms some of the fundamentals about the name, origin, and appearance of the *Hikōn*. More importantly, it introduces new information about a specific subject depicted in the *Hikōn*, and it records the *Hikōn*'s didactic function by describing an example of how Mani's disciples actively called upon the *Hikōn* for their religious education and how Mani relied on it in the course of his teaching.

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7 *Kephalaion 92,* 234.24–236.6 (Gardner 1995, 241–241).

Regarding the name, origin, and appearance of the *Hikōn*, *Kephalaion 92* provides basic data found also in other passages in the *Kephalaia*. Here, too, the Greek-rooted term *Hikōn* is used as the Coptic title of a work associated with Mani: "You (Mani) have made clear in that great *Hikōn*" and "... by you (Mani) in the great *Hikōn*." This text further corroborates that the *Hikōn* was an artistic work not only through the mere connotation of its title, 'picture' or 'image,' but also by stating that its subjects were rendered visually. *Kephalaion 92*, however, is silent about the appearance (as opposed to content) of the images themselves. Based on this passage, it is possible that the specific pictorial subject mentioned in this passage was portrayed in one complex composition, containing several subscenes in the *Hikōn*. But it is equally possible that an individual painting was devoted to the representation of each subtheme.

Kephalaion 92 is especially relevant for the specific information it provides about the content of the *Hikōn*. First, the text confirms that the *Hikōn*'s subject was doctrinal in nature by stating that one group of its paintings was devoted to the theme of *Judgment after Death*—a primal concern for the religious practice of the auditors. Second, the text makes it clear that the depiction of this *Judgment* theme was three-faceted. It showed (1) *death*, i.e., "how he shall be released" from his body, (2) *judgment*, i.e., how he shall be "brought before the Judge" or "set before the Judge and tried," and (3a) *the ultimate fate of the righteous in heaven*, i.e., how he shall "attain the land of light," as well as (3b) *the ultimate fate of the sinner in hell*, i.e., how "he is thrown into Gehenna, where he shall wander for eternity." We also learn that the numerous possible forms, in which the Manichaean laity could be reincarnated, were not illustrated but left for oral explanation (an example of which is recorded in this very chapter of the *Kephalaia*—a point that concerns function and will be discussed below). By confirming the doctrinal content of the *Hikōn*, *Kephalaion 92* further suggests that these images were didactic works of art, designed to effectively convey important aspects of Mani's teachings in a visual form.

Concerning the question of function, *Kephalaion 92* is uniquely informative on the use of the *Hikōn*, since it describes an actual teaching session conducted by Mani himself and remarks about the didactic value of the *Hikōn* as it concerns the religious life of an individual. First, it seems that this chapter of the *Kephalaia* records Mani using the *Hikōn* in the context of an ancient Manichaean practice. Indeed, this text allows us to witness an oral instruction held in front of the *Hikōn*. The auditors' inquiry, recorded in the second paragraph, and Mani's subsequent answer in the third paragraph, both make direct references to the *Hikōn*: The auditor lists the images that are depicted in relation to his question and those that are not, and Mani reinforces his explanation by directing the attention of his audience to the painting. Mani says, "Look, he is drawn in the *Hikōn*." Thus, the text both indicates that the participants had access to the images and implies that the *Hikōn* was part of the setting of the instruction. Second, this passage alludes to the circumstances of the *Hikōn*'s use. It describes how the auditors sat around it (standing up to ask a question), how the *Hikōn* was pointed to as a visual aid that captured the

essence of a specific teaching, and how the *Hikōn* became a catalyst of discussion in the course of religious instruction. As indicated by the auditor's query, the depictions themselves could not possibly exhaust every imaginable aspect of a topic. Used during oral instruction, the *Hikōn* could generate important questions that a well-trained teacher, in this case Mani, could answer. Third, this text makes a case for the effectiveness of visually reinforced instruction. Statements made by the auditor argue for the educational benefit of using images in service of religious teaching: "for if we can see [. . .] the path of the catechumen, and know [. . .] so we recognize him with knowledge. If we can also recognize him face to face in the *Hikōn* [. . .] in the sighting of him." At the same time, the latter sentences argue for the spiritual benefits of the *Hikōn* by stating how Mani's disciples are aided by its images to visualize the supernatural stages of their religious career, in this case their judgments after death and subsequent destinies. The text says: ". . . how he shall be released from his body, and how he shall be brought before the Judge and reach the place ordained for him and [. . .] that he can rest in the place of rest forever."

An indirect piece of evidence that dates Mani's *Hikōn* is also provided in *Kephalaion 92*. This text links the *Hikōn* to Mani's years as a teacher, which began in 240 CE and lasted until his death in prison in 274/277 CE. It discusses an occasion on which Mani used this painted work in the context of an oral instruction to his lay followers. Other than the 36-year long period of Mani's ministry, there is no more precise date indicated by this passage about when the teaching took place.

3 *Kephalaion 7* (*Late 3rd–Early 4th Century*)

In terms of its religious theme, the passage that discusses the *Hikōn* in the 7th chapter of the *Kephalaia* concerns an episode of salvation—more specifically, the way some of the dead will be greeted by the Light Maiden (referred to here as "this Form of Light") and given three gifts (a garment of light, headgear of light, and an undefined prize) by the Light Maiden's three angels. How the Light Maiden will appear to the dead elect and catechumens is compared to her image (Copt. *eine*) in Mani's *Hikōn.* Thus, this passage confirms that an image within the *Hikōn* showed a Manichaean mythological being, a deity, known as the Light Maiden. The text reads:

> . . . this Form of Light (is) the one (=feminine form) who appears to everyone who will come out of his body—corresponding to the image (Copt. *ahr^{e}n p.eine*) of the *Hikōn* of the Apostle (Copt. *t.hikōn m.p.apostolos*)—with the three great glorious angels (=masculine form) who have come with her ("this Form of Light"). One holds the prize in his hand. The second bears the garment of Light. The third is the one, who holds the diadem and the wreath and the crown of Light. These are the three angels of

> Light, the ones who come with this Form of Light, and appear with her to the elect and catechumens.[8]

The above passage is an important brief reference to Mani's painted work. It reconfirms some previously noted basic information about the *Hikōn*'s name, origin, and appearance. More importantly, this text provides new evidence about the *Hikōn*'s content.

Kephalaion 7 uses two Coptic nouns in order to refer to something pictorial: The Greek loan word *Hikōn* 'picture, image' and the native Coptic *eine* 'picture, image, representation, likeness.' Here, the text focuses on what appears to be a depiction of a deity (the Light Maiden i.e., "this form of Light") in Mani's *Hikōn*: "... this Form of Light (is) the one (feminine form) who appears to everyone who will come out of his body—corresponding to the image of the *Hikōn* of the Apostle (Mani)—with the three great glorious angels (masculine form) who have come with her (i.e., with this Form of Light)." As in other chapters of the *Kephalaia*, Mani's collection of didactic paintings is referred to by its Greek-rooted Coptic title *Hikōn*, while the Coptic noun *eine* is used to connote an image within the *Hikōn*.

Concerning the question of origin and appearance, the above passage attributes the *Hikōn* to "the "Apostle," that is to Mani by employing the phrase "the *Hikōn* of the Apostle (Copt. *hikōn m.p.apostolos*)" and thus, it defines the *Hikōn* as a canonical title. In addition, it implies that the *Hikōn* was a pictorial work not only through the mere meaning of its title, "picture" or 'image, but also by referring to one of its paintings by using a synonym (Copt. *eine*, 'image' or 'picture').

Kephalaion 7 preserves an important piece of evidence for the content of the *Hikōn* by stating that it included an image of a Manichaean deity depicted as part of the Salvation theme. First, we learn that the *Hikōn* showed a deity, most likely a form of the Light Maiden, who is referred to in this passage as "this (=female) Form of Light," and further defined as "the one (=feminine form) who appears to everyone who will come out of his body," i.e., who appears to everyone when they die and awaken in the afterlife. More specifically, the text states that the Light Maiden will be recognizable when the deceased encounters her, since her form is similar to her depiction in the *Hikōn*, i.e., "corresponding to the image of the *Hikōn* of the Apostle." Second, we also learn that this depiction of the Light Maiden was specific to the Salvation theme and included three male attendants, three angels: "... this Form of Light (is) the one (=feminine form) who appears to everyone ... with the three great glorious angels (=masculine form) who have come with her ("this Form of Light")," each holding a gift in his hands (a garment of light, headgear of light, and an undefined prize) for the afterlife. Thus, the passage confirms that the image of

8 *Kephalaion 7*, 36.12–20 (Polotsky and Böhlig 1940, 36). The English translation above is by Jason BeDuhn. For a different translation of the passage, see Gardner 1995, 40.

the Light Maiden with the "three great glorious angels" in the *Hikōn* was not a portrait of the deity but instead was part of a depiction of a larger didactic theme (Salvation). This was also noted in another Coptic Manichaean text (*Kephalaion 92*).

Concerning the function of the *Hikōn*, *Kephalaion 7* provides some fascinating information by referring to the value of the education gained through the *Hikōn* for the religious life of the Manichaean practitioner. This aspect of the *Hikōn* makes us consider again the sentence with the Light Maiden's appearance, this time regarding the painting's contextual use. The sentence implies that Mani's disciples will recognize the Light Maiden when they enter the afterlife because the deity's outer appearance will look familiar to them. She will look like her depiction in Mani's collection of didactic paintings: She will "appear to everyone who will come out of his body—corresponding to the image of the *Hikōn* of the Apostle." Thus, this passage implies that scenes in the *Hikōn*, including portraits of deities, aided the practitioners in imagining what will happen to them when they die and helped them identify the specific deity they would encounter at specific supernatural stages of their religious journey.

4 *Kephalaion 191* (*Late 3rd–Early 4th Century*)

Chapter 191 is a highly fragmented section of the *Kephalaia* that, nevertheless, preserves meaningful portions of Mani's teaching. It presents these teachings under a title that may be translated best as: "There are five likenesses in the *Hikōn* of the Apostle as a symbol of the five Fathers of Light." *Kephalaion 191*, however, is not a description of the *Hikōn*, and it would be a mistake to interpret this chapter's title to mean that the *Hikōn* contained five images. While undoubtedly very little is left of this text, its surviving semantic context confirms that in this case the statement that "there are five *n.eine* in the *Hikōn*," does not mean "five 'pictures' in the *Hikōn*," since the treatment that follows, which lists each of the five *n.eine*, clearly does not talk about any paintings. In this text, there are no descriptions of the images of Mani's collection of didactic paintings. Instead, in *Kephalaion 191* Mani discusses his *Hikōn* as part of a simile, in the figurative and somewhat poetic language of religious prose, in order to explain things that are nonmaterial (i.e., "characteristics," "traits," "reflections," or "images") in the disciple's heart, such as humility and wisdom—the two *n.eine* that actually survive from the original list of five. The fourth-century translator of the *Kephalaia* chose the Coptic word *n.eine* (literally, 'pictures,' 'images,' or 'representations'), which in this case may be best translated as 'likenesses.' The most intact sections of the chapter read:

> [Chapter] 191
> There are five likenesses (Copt. *n.eine*) in the *Hikōn* of our Apostle as a symbol (Copt. *p.meine*) of the five Fathers of Light

> Once again he (Mani) speaks to his [disciples]: There are five likenesses in the *Hikōn* . . . in the five . . .
>
> The first is the humble likeness [. . .]. Under this likeness I have received my church [. . .] and have borne the trials of the souls [. . .] Apostle. The twelve [. . .] the First Man . . . is chosen . . . The third type . . . is the First Man . . . *Hikōn*
>
> [The second: . . .]
>
> [The third: . . .]
>
> [The fourth: . . .] [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] the wicked bad . . . the wicked bad deserves . . . in this *Hikōn*, when . . . daily say to me . . . paints the *Hikōn*, it paints in their hearts [and] through my *Hikōn* completes their inner *Hikōn* . . . a likeness and an aspect of the silence.
>
> The fifth: Through my light wisdom I have separated that which is good for them from the bad, and the light from the darkness. I have removed them from error . . . I have given them the victory through my . . . victorious in it. All sects . . . in which their bodies . . . the land of light, from which they have come . . . rest forever.[9]

Despite being a highly lacunous and somewhat ambiguously figurative treatment of the *Hikōn, Kephalaion 191* confirms some of the elementary data regarding its name, origin, and appearance. More importantly, however, this passage records Mani's thoughts, which put this painted work in a new light. It preserves a statement that appears to be a fragment from Mani's philosophy of art.

Similar to other chapters of the *Kephalaia* surveyed above, this passage confirms basic data on the designation of Mani's collection of didactic paintings. It employs two Coptic nouns that connote something pictorial, including *eine* 'picture, image, representation, likeness,' and *hikōn* 'picture, image.' The latter term functions as the title of Mani's doctrinal collection of didactic paintings and not his own "picture," that is, not his own portrait. The evidence for this claim is circumstantial. In this teaching, when "once again he (Mani) speaks to his [disciples]," we are taken back to the world of mid-third-century southern Mesopotamia, to the earliest episode of Manichaean history. At that time, Mani was still active and devotional images of him did not yet exist, but his doctrinal painting, the *Hikōn*, did exist. Therefore, in a sermon by Mani that focuses on the "likenesses" of his *Hikōn*, the subject of this passage is unlikely to be Mani's own portrait and more likely to involve his proudly acclaimed collection of teaching-images.

The passage also contains some basic references concerning the questions of origin and appearance. Its author makes two remarks that attribute the *Hikōn* to Mani, including the title of the chapter that refers to him in the third person, "the *Hikōn* of our Apostle" and one phrase within the main text, when

9 *Kephalaion 151*, 372.20–373.30 (Funk, 2000, 372–373). The English translation of the Coptic passage quoted above is by Jason BeDuhn.

Mani speaks in the first person and calls this work "my *Hikōn*." Besides the mere connotation of the Greek-rooted Coptic title that alludes to an artistic and pictorial work, there is no data about the appearance of Mani's *Hikōn* in the surviving portion of this text.

Regarding the content and function of the *Hikōn*: While it seems that *Kephalaion 191* has no data about the actual doctrinal subjects of the paintings in the *Hikōn*, it preserves a brief remark about Mani's philosophy of art that concerns the *Hikōn's* didactic value. In this sermon, Mani discusses certain aspects of the *Hikōn's* content that go beyond mere iconography (i.e., visual subject matter) and instead concern the meaning of this art. Mani enumerates these aspects of his *Hikōn*, which he calls "likenesses," in a five-point list, out of which two survive: humility (i.e., "humble likeness"), which is listed as the first point, and wisdom (i.e., "light wisdom"), which is listed as the fifth item. One possible way to interpret the fragmentary remains of Mani's thoughts is that, through the *Hikōn*, Mani hoped to also impart moral values, such as humility and wisdom, and imprint them on the hearts of his disciples. At the end of the section that discusses the fourth "likeness," just before the considering the fifth "likeness," Mani states that his disciples may internalize these values in their hearts with the aid of his *Hikōn*: "It paints in their hearts [and] through my *Hikōn* completes their inner *Hikōn* . . . a likeness and an aspect of the silence."

5 *Homilies 18, Homilies 24–25, and Homilies 27* (*Late 3rd–Early 4th Century*)

The *Homilies* is a Coptic Manichaean text discovered in Egypt in the 1920s at the Faiyum Oasis at a site known as Medinet Madi. The text was acquired by Sir Alfred Chester Beatty (1875–1968), and today the manuscript is housed in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, Ireland. The manuscript has been restored superbly and its content has been translated.[10] The codex itself dates from the second half of the fourth century and contains a collection of Coptic language sermons that were originally composed in Syriac in Mesopotamia probably soon after the death of Mani, to which the manuscript refers.[11] The numerous texts belonging to the *Homilies* include the *Sermon on the Great War* written by one of Mani's disciples, Koustaios.[12]

In this sermon, Koustaios mentions the *Hikōn* in three brief passages. In the first passage (*Homilies* 18.3–18.6), Mani himself is quoted, speaking as he foresees the demise of his religion, and lamenting the loss of the Manichaean holy books that he created. The second and third passages (*Homilies* 24.13–25–5 and *Homilies* 27.18–27–25) both take the form of a prophecy about the

10 Ibscher's restoration is discussed in the introduction to Polotsky's translation (1934, IX–XIV).

11 For an overview of other proposed dates to the fifth century, see Pedersen 1993, 80–82.

12 The Coptic name *Koustaios* is known as *Koshtih* in Middle Persian, and *Kushtai* in Syriac Manichaean sources (Pedersen 1993, 46).

recovery of the religion, when the lost Manichaean works—the books and the *Hikōn*—will be recovered. The third passage mentions the "*bēma*"—this Greek loanword in Coptic connotes a 'dais' and is used in Manichaean studies as a reference to a throne. The three passages read as follows:

> *Homilies* 18.3–18.6
> "I weep [on behalf of] the *Prayers* and the *Psal*[*ms*]. I weep for the pa[in]tings (n.*zōgrapheia*) of my *Hikōn* (Copt. 'picture, image' < Gr. *eikon*), while I make their beauty. I weep for the *Kephalaia* and all the [- - -] . . ."[13]

> *Homilies* 24.13–24.14 and 25.1–25.7
> "Thousands of books will be sav[e]d by the believing [cat]echumen[s]. . . . They will come to the hands of the righteous and the believers: [The] [*Go*]*spel* and the *Treasury of Life*, the *Pr*[*agma*]*teia* and the *Book of Mysteries*, the *Book of Giants* and the *Epistles*, the *Psalms* and [the] *Prayers* of my lord, his *Hikōn* and his *Rev*[*ela*]*tions*, his *Parables* and his *Mysteries*. Not one will be lost."[14]

> *Homilies* 27.18–27.25
> "[Th]ousands and ten thousands will come and be calle[d. From] that time on the *bēma* will be glorified [- - -] in every city. The great *Hikō*[*n* - -], the *Gospel*, and the (other) books by my [lord will be] [gl]ori[fied] in the mouth of the whol[e new] generation [that] will come and be born into the world. There is [one who will] [s]it in front of his *Hikōn*, there are others who [will look?] to his *bēma*. The trumpet of the truth will sound.[15]

These three brief sections of the *Homilies* mention the *Hikōn* prestigiously with Mani's other works, in the course of lamenting the foreseen destruction of Mani's religion and prophesying its recovery through Mani's books and pictorial work. Analogous to what is seen in the *Kephalaia*, these passages reconfirm the basics on the *Hikōn*'s name, origin, content, and function. More importantly, one of the texts yields new evidence about the *Hikōn's* appearance, specifically that it consisted of more than just one painting.

Regarding the designation and origin of this Manichaean didactic work of art, these three passages confirm familiar data. As in other Coptic passages surveyed so far, here in the *Homilies*, too, the Greek-rooted Coptic noun, *Hikōn*, is employed as the designation for the title of a work created by Mani, mentioned together with the titles of other works Mani created. In this case, again, the *Hikōn* is attributed to Mani, as suggested by the possessive pronouns used in

13 *Homilies* 18.3–18.6 (Pedersen 2006, 18).

14 *Homilies* 24.13–24.14 and 25.1–25.7 (Pedersen 2006, 24–25).

15 *Homilies* 27.18–27–25 (Pedersen 2006, 27).

the first person singular in *Homilies* 18.6, where Mani speaks directly, claiming his authorship: "my *Hikōn*" and "I make their (i.e., the paintings') beauty," and in the third person singular in *Homilies* 24.13–25.7, where a disciple laments the loss of Mani's books, including "his *Hikōn*." In the latter passage, Mani's *Hikōn* is listed with the titles of other holy books in the Manichaean religion, which were created by Mani.

Regarding the appearance of the *Hikōn*, the *Homilies* confirms that it was a pictorial, aesthetically pleasing work, and more significantly that it consisted of multiple paintings. As always in the North African primary sources, in this text, too, already the Coptic connotation of the title *Hikōn* as 'Picture,' or 'Image' indicates the artistic, pictorial medium. Nevertheless, unlike any of the other texts surveyed so far, *Homilies* 18.4 states that Mani's *Hikōn* consisted of "paintings," in plural: "the pa[in]tings (*n.*z*ōgrapheia*) of my *Hikōn*." The plural sense of this phrase reiterated through the unmistakable Coptic plural prefix *n-*. This very passage also conveys that the images of the *Hikōn* were attractive and artistic, since Mani made "their beauty."[16]

The *Homilies* provide only minimal and indirect information on the *Hikōn*'s content. By listing the *Hikōn* together with Mani's written books, these passages imply that, just as the written books, the painted *Hikōn*, too, contained Mani's teachings (**Table 1/2**).[17] In *Homilies* 27, the *Hikōn* is singled out together with the *Gospel* as the two most important records of Mani's teachings: "The great *Hikō*[*n* - -], the *Gospel*, and the (other) books by my [lord will be] [glorified] in the mouth of the whol[e new] generation [who] will come and be born into the world." In addition, all three passages quoted above list the *Hikōn* among the holy books of Mani, suggesting that the *Hikōn* belonged together with, and ranked on a par with, Mani's written works, which again implies a doctrinal content analogous to that of Mani's books.

Homilies 27 also provides a tantalizing bit of evidence about the function of Mani's painted work. It notes that one may "[s]it in front of his (Mani's) *Hikōn*." The auditors' sitting may be interpreted here as a reference to the didactic context, in which Manichaean instruction with pictures took place in mid-third-century Mesopotamia. In this text, the act of sitting "in front of his [Mani's] *Hikōn*" is juxtaposed with the act of looking at Mani's throne (Copt. *bēma*), set

TABLE 1/2 *Manichaean holy books listed in the* Homilies (*25.2–25.6*)

(1) *Gospel*	(3) *Pragmateia*	(5) *Book of Giants*	(7) *Psalms*	(9) *Hikōn*
(2) *Treasury of Life*	(4) *Book of Mysteries*	(6) *Epistles*	(8) *Prayers*	

16 Nagel 1981, 228.

17 *Homilies* 25.2–25.5 (Pedersen 2006, 25). The list of the holy books begins with the *Gospel* and ends with the *Hikōn*, after which "revelations, parables, and mysteries" are mentioned as didactic genres used by Mani to communicate his teachings. They are not titles.

up annually in the spring for the *Bēma* Festival that commemorated Mani's death and celebrated the hope for his second coming: "There are others who [will look?] to his *bēma*." It is possible that this sentence makes a distinction between the didactic and devotional aspects of Manichaean lay practice. It suggests that some future auditors will be drawn to Mani's *bēma,* through which they will engage in ritual practices and prayers, while others will be drawn to Mani's *Hikōn*, through which they will acquire essential doctrinal knowledge and better comprehend Mani's teaching.[18]

6 *Ephrem's Prose Refutations* (*before 373 CE*)

Ephrem Syrus (306–373 CE) is an early Christian writer who lived in the Syrian city of Nisibis (modern Nusaybin in southeast Turkey) and later, after the Persian capture of the city in 363 CE, became active in the Syrian refugee community in Roman Edessa. He spoke and wrote in Syriac and is considered to be a classic writer of the Syriac-speaking Church. He was exceptionally talented and productive as an exegete, apologist, preacher, and poet. Ephrem wrote some of the earliest anti-Manichaean texts both in prose (*Prose Refutations*) and poetic forms (*Hymn Refutations*).[19]

Dating from the mid-fourth century, his *Prose Refutations* were composed against the three major competitors of Ephrem's version of Christianity in West Asia: the followers of Bardaisan (154–222 CE), Marcion (second century CE), and Mani (216–274/277 CE). Despite Ephrem's polemical tone, this text is especially relevant for Manichaean studies, since its author lived within a century of Mani and shared with him not only temporal closeness, but also a common linguistic and cultural environment. Equally significant is the fact that Ephrem quotes directly from Manichaean texts and credits Mani's disciples as his sources of information. About Mani's pictorial work, he writes:

> According to some of his disciples, Mani also painted (Syr. *ṣār*) (the) figures of the godless doctrine, which he fabricated out of his own mind, using pigments (Syr. *bᵉsammānē*) on a scroll (Syr. *mgalltâ*). He labeled the odious (figures) 'sons of Darkness' in order to declare to his disciples the hideousness of Darkness, so that they might loathe it; and he labeled the lovely (figures) 'sons of Light' in order to declare to them its

18 The Manichaeans' elaborate celebration of their *Bēma* feast for Mani and "paschal feast" (Easter) for Jesus is discussed by Augustine with no mention of an image of Mani. He writes: "I often asked you at that point when I was one of your Hearers, why you generally did not celebrate the paschal feast of the Lord or at times celebrated it without fervor and with only a few people—with no vigils, with no longer fasts imposed upon the Hearers, and finally without a more festive solemnity—although you celebrate with great honors your *Bēma*, that is the day on which Mani was killed, with the lectern raised up by five steps, adorned with precious cloths, placed in the midst, and facing towards the worshippers" (*Contra Epistulam Fundamenti* 8.9; see, Teske 2006, 239–240).

19 Döpp and Geerlings 2000, 195–198.

> beauty so that they might desire it. He (Mani) accordingly states: 'I have written them (the teachings) in books and painted (Syr. *u^{e}ṣāreṯ*) them in colors (Syr. *b^{e}sammānē*). Let the one who hears about them verbally also see them in the *Yuqnā* (Syr. 'picture, image' < Gr. *eikon*), and the one who is unable to learn them from the word(s) learn them from the picture(s) (Syr. *ṣurtā* 'picture, image, illustration').[20]

This paragraph is one of the most enlightening accounts of Mani's pictorial composition, which he calls "*Yuqnā*," and which may also be named "*Ṣurta*." Despite its polemical tone, Ephrem's text is filled with informative and reliable evidence that clarifies numerous questions regarding the name, origin, appearance, content, and function of this unique collection of Manichaean didactic art. As a testimony to Ephrem's scholarship, such a wealth of information is rarely—if at all—retained in a single and relatively brief section of a written source. Ephrem quotes an unnamed Manichaean source and uses Mani's own words to make his point: "He (Mani) accordingly states: 'I have written them (the teachings) in books and illustrated them in colors."

Concerning the title of this Manichaean pictorial work, Ephrem's passage contains two Syriac terms that may be used as titles: "*yuqnā,*" and "*ṣurtā*." The first of the two, the noun "*yuqnā*," is a Syriac adaptation of the Greek word *eikon*, connoting 'picture, image, or visual form,' which can be translated in either singular or plural forms depending on the context. Therefore, another way to translate Mani's quote in Ephrem's passage is: "Let the one who hears about them (the teachings) verbally also see them in visual form (Syr. *yuqnā*)."[21] By choosing this Greek-rooted term, however, it is likely that Ephrem intended to preserve the actual title of Mani's collection of paintings, as it was known in the eastern Mediterranean. This is suggested by the analogous Coptic form of the title used systematically in the surviving contemporaneous primary Manichaean accounts. If so, the translation would read: "Let the one who hears about them (the teachings) verbally also see them in the *Yuqnā* (lit. '*Picture*')." The same slight ambiguity of translation is present in connection with Ephrem's second term, "*ṣurtā*." This Syriac noun is synonymous with "*yuqnā*," connoting 'picture, image, or illustration,' but has an Aramaic etymology, and Ephrem introduces it at the end of the same sentence.[22] If "*Yuqnā*" is indeed used as a title in the first part of the sentence, it is possible that Ephrem employs its Aramaic synonym "*ṣurtā*" for the benefit of his Syriac-speaking audience as an explanation of a foreign loanword used as the title for Mani's painted work. Following this logic, the second part of this sentence may be translated as ". . . and [let] the one who is unable to learn them (the teachings)

20 Ephrem, *Refutations* 126.31–127.11 (Reeves 1997, 262–263).

21 Reeves 1997, 263.

22 Nagel 1981, 206.

from the word(s), learn them from the picture(s) (Syr. *ṣurtā*).[23] Nevertheless, it is not impossible that Ephrem introduces "Ṣ*urtā*" because it was the very title that Mani himself used when he wrote about his collection of pictures in Syriac.

Regarding the origin of the *Yuqnā*, Ephrem attributes its creation directly to Mani. He mentions that Mani not only wrote down his teachings, but that Mani himself "also illustrated (the) figures" of his doctrine. To support this claim, Ephrem quotes Mani's own words that specifically state this: "I have written them (the teachings) in books and painted them in colors." Therefore, Ephrem identifies Mani as the author of the texts and the painter of the visual representations of his religious message.

Regarding the question of appearance, Ephrem provides data on the solely pictorial medium and the format of the *Yuqnā*. First of all, Ephrem, too, conveys that this work captured its content in visual means: He says that in the *Yuqnā* the teachings "were painted" "in pigment" and "in colors," and he calls it "the picture" by using two different words, *yuqnā* and *ṣurtā*, both of which connote 'picture' or 'image' in Syriac. It is important to note that by distinguishing the "books" written by Mani from a *yuqnā* painted by Mani, Ephrem suggests a solely visual rendering of religious teachings created as a self-standing pictorial volume. By juxtaposing the written and the pictorial as two distinct vehicles of communication employed by Mani, Ephrem implies that Mani's pictorial work was not an illuminated manuscript, that is, it was not a text supplemented with illustrations, but instead it was solely pictorial, a *ṣurtā*.[24] An additional clarification is that this *yuqnā*/*ṣurtā* was a scroll: Mani used pigments "on a scroll" to create it. Thus, Ephrem implies the medium of a classical pictorial roll, a painted scroll consisting of a horizontal frieze-like arrangement of a series of images. Ephrem does not remark about its material. Nevertheless, he must have meant the format that, in his and Mani's part of the late ancient world could have reach about 40–45 cm in maximum height and was made of parchment or possibly Egyptian papyrus. In either case, it is clear that the scroll Ephrem writes about was a pictorial scroll made of an undefined portable medium and design.

Regarding the content of Mani's pictorial scroll, Ephrem's passage confirms its doctrinal theme and certain didactic devices that it employed in order to convey the dualistic theme of Mani's teaching on Cosmogony. First, Ephrem

23 John Reeves notes: The Syriac *yuqnā* (*yuqn'*) is in fact a loanword from Greek *eikon*, and it could have the same graphic form for both singular and plural (see the relevant entries in the "little" Payne Smith lexicon, p. 190, inner column top; and in the "big" Payne Smith lexicon, col. 1582 bottom). The Syriac synonym of *yuqn',* is the last word in the text: *ṣurtā* (*tzwrt'*) 'illustration(s), picture(s),' translated above as 'visual forms.' This word, too, can be read either in singular or plural; hence the ambiguity in the translation (personal communication).

24 On the difference between a luxurious illuminated manuscript (a bound text adorned with miniature paintings) and a solely pictorial collection of images (a pictorial scroll or a pictorial tableau) used as a didactic visual aid of oral instruction, see Chapter 5, below.

states the overall doctrinal nature of the *Yuqnā* by noting that it contained Mani's "doctrine" and "his teachings," it showed mythological beings (i.e., the "figures of the godless doctrine"), and that it was mentioned along with Mani's written books. Second, Ephrem remarks about certain didactic devices employed within the *Yuqnā* in order to convey its pictorial content effectively. The positive and negative role of the figures was indicated via the aesthetic value of their appearances ("odious" and "lovely"). The figures were further defined by labels ("sons of Darkness" and "sons of Light") written next to them: "He labeled the odious (figures) 'sons of Darkness' in order to declare to his disciples the hideousness of Darkness, so that they might loathe it; and he labeled the lovely (figures) 'sons of Light' in order to declare to them its (the Light's) beauty so that they might desire it." Third, within the latter sentence, Ephrem also alludes to a specific teaching on the duality of the Light and the Darkness that belongs to Manichaean Cosmogony and regards a primordial battle between the forces of Light ("sons of Light") and the forces of Darkness ("sons of Darkness") and their mythical collision that resulted in the birth of the Earth and the suffering that all life experiences upon it. By noting the depiction of the "sons of Light" and the "sons of Darkness," Ephrem implies that Mani's *Yuqnā* included the visual rendering of this Cosmogonical subject.

Especially informative is Ephrem's data on the function of Mani's pictorial scroll, by confirming that it supplemented oral instruction and that various visual didactic tools were built into its pictorial program. He writes that the scroll was meant to assist those "who hear the teachings verbally," and who are "unable to learn them from the words" (i.e., solely from an explanation). This statement is unique because it explicitly emphasizes the *Yuqnā*'s use as an adjunct to oral instruction. None of the sources discusses with such clarity the intended didactic function of Mani's pictorial work. In addition, Ephrem conveys the educational role of the *Yuqnā*, by noting a variety of didactic means that it employs to facilitate the teaching of the doctrine via visual means—i.e., its figures were identified by labels written next to them and allegoric images of beauty and ugliness were employed to attract viewers towards good and repulse them from evil. The paintings that Ephrem discusses were designed to function as effective visual aids of orally delivered religious instruction.

Lastly, an indirect reference to a broad date of Mani's *Yuqnā* is also provided in this passage of the *Prose Refutations*. In two sentences, Ephrem places the origin of the *Yuqnā* in the years of Mani's ministry (240–274/277 CE) by crediting Mani's disciples at the start of his passage and by quoting Mani with this information towards the end of the passage.

7 *Theophanes Confessor's Chronicle on the Events of Year 506/7 CE (before 813)*

The claim that the Manichaean pictorial repertoire included Jesus subjects during this early phase of their history seems to be supported by Byzantine documentary evidence from the early sixth century. The Byzantine historian, Theophanes Confessor (ca. 760–818) is best known for a *Chronicle* written

about Byzantine saints and emperors who lived between 284 and 813.[25] Writing about the year 506/7 in connection with Emperor Anastasius (491–518), Theophanes mentions (1) a Manichaean painter with an imperial commission, (2) a church that stood near the palace, (3) paintings with an unusual iconography, and (4) an uprising. The name and the fate of the painter is not recorded, but we learn that he was a Syrian man, originally from the Persian side of the border, who came to Constantinople from the town of Cyzicus in the Mysian region of northwestern Anatolia. He worked on the decoration of one of the imperial palaces as well as a church named after St. Stephen located in the Aurelianae district of the city.[26] We also learn that besides being a painter, this Manichaean was a leading elect, one of the 360 presbyters of the Manichaean Church. The passage reads:

> Anastasios brought a Syro-Persian Manichaean painter (Gr. *zōgraphon*) from Kyzicus, in a guise of a presbyter, who dared to depict certain fantastic subjects (Gr. *graphai phasmatōdē*), quite different from the holy images of churches (Gr. *allotria tōn ekklēsiastikōn hagiōn eikonōn*), in the palace of Helenianai and in St Stephen of Aurelianai, on the instruction of the emperor, who applauded the Manichaeans. This led to a great uprising among the people.[27]

Theophanes provides the only data known today about Manichaean wall paintings in this part of the world. Actual fragments of Manichaean wall paintings survive only from the region of Kocho. Unlike in East Central Asia and East Asia, where Manichaean buildings do survive, archeological records of *manistans* are not documented from Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean region.

Theophanes does not specify what part of the church and what subjects the elect painted. Nevertheless, it stands to reason that all that a Manichaean painter could contribute to the decoration of a Byzantine orthodox church would be related to Jesus (icon of Jesus, or narratives scenes from his life), since the Old Testament was rejected by the Manichaeans.[28] These paintings most likely included an enthroned Jesus image and narrative scenes on the life of Christ, as these two subjects were shared between early Byzantine and Manichaean art.[29] We may speculate that some iconographic details,

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25 Strayer 1989, 12:22. For the debated attribution of the text, see Mango 1978, 9–17.

26 Mango 1972, 33 and 265.

27 Mango and Scott 1997, 229–230. Theophanes also notes that Anastasios's mother was a "zealous devotee" of the Manichaeans, and that when her son became emperor in the year 490/1, the Manichaeans were delighted (209). For the above passage in Greek, see Boor 1963, 1:149.28–150.1.

28 On the Manichaeans' attitude towards the Old Testament, see Lieu 1992, 155, and 166–168.

29 The best-preserved Uygur Manichaean icon of Jesus is found on a painted temple banner from Kocho (MIK III 6286, side 2[?]; see Figs. 5/42 and 5/46). This long-haired Jesus figure with a pointed beard is shown dressed in a red-robe and a gold-hemmed white cloak,

which could go unnoticed in the provinces but were found to be unorthodox in Constantinople, gave away the painter's covert identity. But it is also plausible that the Syriac painter's identity was suspect already to the authorities and thus, his paintings were only claimed to be "quite different from the holy images of churches." Either way, Theophanes's passage is especially relevant because it confirms that during the early sixth century (1) painting was still practiced among the Manichaeans of Byzantium, (2) Manichaean pictorial art was comparable to subjects depicted in Christian contexts, and (3) the Manichaean repertoire of pictorial media included wall painting in West Asia.

8 *Ibn al-Nadim's Handbook* (*Ar. Kitab al-Fihrist, 987 CE*)

Ibn al-Nadim (ca. 932–990 CE) is the author of a much-celebrated Arabic catalog of books that has an extensive account of Manichaeism. This catalog is considered to be a reliable source even after the discovery of primary Manichaean texts. The little that is known about Ibn al-Nadim's life indicates that both he and his father earned considerable social standing for owning a large bookstore in Baghdad that was a popular meeting place for scholars. Making a living from copying and selling books, Ibn al-Nadim acquired an unusually extensive education, which allowed him to cultivated ties with the most celebrated members of Baghdad's learned society. Due to his expert knowledge of Persian, Ibn al-Nadim is often thought to be a member of an ethnically Persian, Shiite Muslim family—although this remains unconfirmed. Often noted is his choice of a rare Persian loan word (*pehrest* 'handbook, catalogue, or index') in the title of his book, which is otherwise written in Arabic. Completed in the year 987 CE, Ibn al-Nadim's *magnum opus* is a learned handbook of a bibliographer on "the books of all nations" known to him.[30]

Ibn al-Nadim's Manichaean chapter provides an extensive list of texts written by Mani and his first disciples together with a reliable description of Mani and his teachings. Surprisingly, Ibn al-Nadim does not mention Mani's pictorial work (much like Augustine). Mani's *Hikōn/Yuqnā* or Manichaean didactic paintings in general seems to be unknown to him with two exceptions. His anecdotes on persecution and martyrdom of the Manichaean across Iraq do include a few references to a portrait of Mani.[31] Nevertheless, his list of 76 epistles of Mani includes a tantalizing reference to one letter on a work titled "The Pictures." The title of Mani's letter reads:

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seated on a backless throne gesturing with his right hand. Its iconography is analogous to early Christian images of Jesus (Gulácsi 2009a, 135–139, Figs. 13 and 15).

30 In addition, it chronicles the fate of the Manichaeans across the Abbasid Empire. See Rudolf Sellheim and Mohsen Zakeri, François de Blois, and Werner Sundermann "Al-Fehrest," in *Encyclopedia Iranica.*

31 The Persian literary legend of "Mani the painter" is not part of al-Nadim's knowledge of Manichaeism, either. For al-Nadim's references to icons of Mani, see the assessment, below.

The Epistle to Sīs and Fatiq about *The Pictures* (Ar. *al-ṣuwar*)[32]

The evidence provided by this single title is fully aligned with already noted facts about the designation, the appearance, and the dates of early Manichaean didactic art.

Ibn al-Nadim chooses the plural form (*al-ṣuwar*) of the noun *al-ṣura* that connotes 'picture, image, or illustration' for his Arabic translation of the key word in this title. With this noun, he references a title within the title of this epistle, since his word-choice corresponds with the only "*Picture*" known from Mani's writings—the collection of didactic images titled *Hikōn* in Coptic and *Yuqnā* in Syriac. Regarding the question of appearance, the connotation of *al-ṣuwar*, in itself confirms that the work of art, about which the epistle was written, was pictorial. Ibn al-Nadim's terminology implies an undefined painting medium and multiple images. Concerning the question of dating, a final piece of data is implied by the fact that Mani is noted here to have written an epistle to his disciples about the *Al-ṣuwar*. This confirms that the work referenced in the letter already existed during Mani's lifetime.

Assessment of Data: Designation, Attribution, Dates, Appearance, Content, and Function

The above survey of Coptic, Syriac, Greek and Arabic passages yields a significant quantity of reliable evidence about the didactic paintings of the Manichaeans in West Asia and North Africa (**Table 1/3**). Specific to their time and place, these textual sources answer a variety of questions related to the designation, dates, attribution, appearance, content, and function associated with the pictorially rendered versions of Mani's teachings. Their data supply us with a historically informed understanding of Manichaean didactic art during the earliest era of Manichaean history. Considering this body of evidence together for the first time eliminates false assumptions and, in some cases, proves previously hypothesized, yet unsubstantiated, claims. More importantly, the information gained from these texts leads to new discoveries fundamental for writing an informed history of didactic pictorial art among

32 Reeves 2011, 117. Ibn al-Nadim's list includes 75 epistles, most of which are about specific Manichaean teachings, such as the seal of the mouth, patience, time, commemorating the Good, almsgiving, etc. The only other epistle that names a book by Mani is number 74: "The Epistle to/of 'Abd Yāl about the *Book of Mysteries*" (119). While Reeves' translation accurately reflects the ambiguity of the Arabic grammar, he also notes that the epistle on *The Picture* is known to had been written by Mani, based on M 915, a Turfan Manichaean fragment written in Sogdian. Although without mentioning that it concerns "the Picture(s)," M 915 lists this "Sīsīn-Pāti Epistle" together with Mani's other works, thus establishing that its author is Mani and his two disciples, Sīsīn and Pāti, are the two addressees (Haloun and Henning 1952, 206). A possible reference within this title to Mani's *Ārdhang* is considered by Reeves (2011, 117, note 221).

TABLE 1/3 *Summary of data about Manichaean didactic paintings in Coptic, Syriac, Greek, and Arabic textual sources*

DESIGNATION

(1) Five common nouns connoting 'picture' (all texts)
Coptic common noun: *hikōn* 'picture, image' (*Kephalaia 7, 92, 151, 191; Homilies 18, 24, 25, 27*)
Coptic common noun: *eine* 'picture, image, representation, likeness' (*Kephalaia* 7, 191)
Syriac common noun: *yuqnā* 'picture, image,' (Ephrem)
Syriac common noun: *ṣurtā* 'picture, image, illustration' (Ephrem)
Arabic plural common noun: *al-ṣuwar* 'pictures, illustrations' named in epistle (Ibn al-Nadim)

(2) Two titles connoting Mani's collection of images in Coptic, Syriac, and Arabic (*Kephalaia 7, 92, 151, 191, Homilies* 18, Ephrem, Ibn al-Nadim)
Coptic *Hikōn* listed together with Mani's other books (*Kephalaion 151, Homilies 25, 27*)
Coptic *Hikōn* listed together with Mani's *Gospel* (*Kephalaion 151, Homilies 27*)
Syriac *Yuqnā*—Greek etymology analogous to Coptic *Hikōn* (Ephrem)
Arabic *Al-ṣuwar* 'pictures, illustrations' named in epistle (Ibn al-Nadim)

ATTRIBUTION

(1) Attributed to Mani (*Kephalaia 7, 92, 151, 191; Homilies 18, 24, 25;* Ephrem)
Mani noted as intellectual author, i.e., "commissioner" (*Kephalaia 151*)
Mani noted as creator, i.e., "painter" (*Kephalaia 92, 151; Homilies 18,* Ephrem)

(2) Reason of origin noted (*Kephalaia 151, Ephrem*)

(3) Exclusive to Mani among founders of religions (*Kephalaia 151*)

DATES

(1) 240–274/277 CE: Created by Mani during his ministry (*Kephalaion 151,* Ephrem)
240–274/277 CE: Used by Mani during his ministry (*Kephalaion 92*)
240–274/277 CE: Mani wrote an epistle about it (Ibn al-Nadim)

(2) 506/7 CE: Repertoire of Manichaean didactic painting includes Jesus theme (Theophanes)

APPEARANCE

(1) Pictorial, i.e. "painted" (*Kephalaia 92, 151, Homilies 18,* Ephrem)

(2) Employs didactic pictorial devices, i.e., labels and aesthetic values (Ephrem)

(3) Scroll format noted in the fourth century, (Syr.) *mgalltâ* 'scroll' (Ephrem)

(4) Contains multiple pictures (*Homilies 18*)

(5) Solely pictorial (*Kephalaion 151,* Ephrem)

CONTENT

(1) Doctrinal content as in Mani's written books (*Kephalaion 151, Homilies 25, 27;* Ephrem)

(2) Themes included:

Soteriology (*Kephalaion 7*, 92)

Stages of afterlife before and after the *Judgment* (*Kephalaion 92*)

Arrival of *Light Maiden* and three angels (*Kephalaion 7*)

Prophetology, implied

Repertoire of Manichaean painting included theme suited for Byzantine church (Theophanes)

Life of Jesus, implied (Theophanes)

Icon of Jesus, implied (Theophanes)

Theology

Icon of the *Light Maiden* (*Kephalaion 7*)

Cosmology/Cosmogony

Figures of *Light* and *Darkness* (Ephrem)

FUNCTION

(1) Used in context of oral instruction (Ephrem, *Kephalaion 92*)

Catalyst for question-and-answer discussion (*Kephalaion 92*)

Pointed to during instruction (*Kephalaion 92*)

Disciples sit in front of it (*Kephalaion 151, Homilies 27*)

Mani employs it himself to teach his lay followers (*Kephalaion 92*)

Unique to Mani (*Kephalaion 151,* Ephrem)

(2) Effective in reinforcing teaching visually (*Kephalaia 7, 92, 151,* Ephrem)

Teaches via pictorial devices, i.e., labels and aesthetic values (Ephrem)

Aids in visualizing mythical stages of a person's religious career (*Kephalaia 7, 92*)

Deities recognized based on their depiction (*Kephalaion 7*)

(3) Guards against corruption of Mani's teaching (*Kephalaion 151*)

(4) Symbolizes Mani's teaching together with his book(s)

the Manichaean communities of Mesopotamia and the East Mediterranean region between the mid-third and the late tenth century.

1 *Designation of the Canonical Collection of Images in Coptic, Syriac, and Arabic vs. References to Icons of Mani in Greek and Arabic Sources*

The passages surveyed above contain five nouns that mean "picture/image"—two in Coptic, two in Syriac, and one in Arabic language. From among them, three are used as a title to refer to Mani's didactic pictorial volume, which is

listed with Mani's other didactic compositions that he wrote for his disciples (see Tab. 1/3: Designation).

The Coptic texts name Mani's collection of didactic paintings as the *Hikōn* (*Kephalaia* 7, *92, 151, 191*; *Homilies 18, 24, 25*, and *27*). It seems that the Syriac passage calls it *Yuqnā* (Ephrem). In their respective languages, both nouns are Greek loanwords (< Gr. *eikon* 'picture, painting, image') that retain the connotation of 'picture, painting, or image,' and thus the collection of didactic paintings is translated as "*The Picture*."[33] Due to the foreign origin of both words, some of the texts introduce a native synonym in their respective passages such as the Coptic *eine* 'picture, image, representation, likeness' (*Kephalaia 7, 191*), and the Syriac *ṣurtā* 'picture, image, illustration' (Ephrem).[34]

Regarding the use of these nouns as titles, all texts connect the *Hikōn*/*Yuqnā*, with other holy books written by Mani. The term *Hikōn* appears clearly in such a role in the Coptic sources (*Kephalaia 7, 92, 151 191*, and *Homilies 18*). Specifically, it may be listed together with either a general reference to "the holy books" written by Mani (*Kephalaion 151*), with Mani's eight listed books (*Homilies 24*), or with "the *Gospel*, and the (other) books" by him (*Homilies 27*), in order to emphasize Mani's effort for dual (pictorial and textual) means of communicating his teachings. Although somewhat less obvious in the Syriac passage, it seems that Ephrem too uses the Greek-rooted *Yuqnā* as a title, mentioning this pictorial work specifically in contrast to Mani's written "books", which is analogous to the systematic use of *Hikōn* in Coptic. In the Arabic text, *Al-ṣuwar* is a title noted in a title of an epistle by Mani (Ibn al-Nadim).

While only two terms, the Coptic *Hikōn* and the Syriac *Yuqnā*, are actually documented in the textual sources, Manichaean scholarship routinely employs the not-attested assumed Greek version of the title, *Eikon*, in reference to Mani's collection of didactic art.[35] This jargon seems to acknowledge Mani's partiality towards Greek words in the titles of his works (as seen in the *Pargameteia* and *Evangelion*). Since all the currently known primary textual sources are in Coptic and the one polemical account is in Syriac, there is not a single case of "*Eikon*" documented in the historical record. The only Greek Manichaean text known today, the *Cologne Mani Codex*, discusses Mani's youth and breaks off before getting far into Mani's ministry. It mentions no didactic paintings, and the noun *eikōn* does not come up in its vocabulary.[36]

There is only one Greek text, a secondary account from Late Antiquity, which discusses Manichaean art and uses the term *eikon,* and does so even in

33 Despite the fact that the Coptic title is in the singular, one Coptic passage (*Homilies 18*) specifically mentions the multiple paintings of the *Hikōn*, while others provide indirect evidence to suggest that the *Hikōn* was a collection of paintings. For more on this subject, see the summary of data on appearance below.

34 Nagel 1981, 206. While in Arabic, *al-ṣuwar*, is the plural from of the noun *ṣura* (Ibn al-Nadim) that can mean 'shape, picture, painting, image, or illustration' (Reeves 2011, 117).

35 E.g., Nagel 1981, 200; Klimkeit 1982, 16; Heuser and Klimkeit 1998, 16 and 273; Gardner and Lieu 2004, 295; Sundermann 2005, 374; and Kósa 2013, 49–84.

36 Cameron and Dewey 1979.

connection with Mani.[37] Even thought it is about devotional art (as opposed to didactic art), its use of *eikon* justifies a closer look of this passage. This text is an important polemical account written in Greek by the Christian writer, Eusebius (ca. 264–339 CE), who lived in Caesarea, the Hellenized political and commercial center of the Roman province of Palestine.[38] In his *Letter to Augusta Constantia*, a sister of the emperor Constantine I (r. 324–337), Eusebius explores the question of whether the Divine can possibly be illustrated by an image. Based on Paul (who advised against seeing value in any form "according to the flesh"), Eusebius asserts that Christians do not use images. In contrast, he mentions examples when mistaken Christians and mostly heretics, such as Simon the Magus and the Manichaeans, depicted their "godless heresy in lifeless matter." He concludes by mentioning the Manichaeans standing in attendance (literally, 'attended/escorted') around a depiction of Mani "[painted] in an *eikon*" (dative form *eikoni*):

> It is said that Simon the Sorcerer is worshiped by godless heretics, painted in lifeless material. I have also seen myself the man who bears the name of madness (Mani) [painted] in an image (Gr. *eikoni*) and escorted (or 'attended,' Gr. *doruphoroumenon*) by the Manichaeans.[39]

This text provides the very first evidence of pictorial portraits of Mani and the existence of a devotional practice associated with Manichaean pictorial art. Eusebius's data is especially relevant, since all the other currently known textual sources on Manichaean art from this era discuss a different genre of paintings (Mani's collection of didactic images) and their pointedly educational context of use. One must consider the possibility that Eusebius might mean here not an *eikon* of Mani, but the title of one of his works, Mani's collection of didactic paintings (which most likely was called in Greek, the *Eikon* of Mani), around which the Manichaeans could have gathered to listen to a teaching conducted with images. Eusebius' grammar, however, is clear. He reports about seeing Mani "in a painting," escorted/attended by the Manichaeans.[40] Such a devotional use of a painting of a prophet is substantiated only by indirect evidence provided in Coptic Manichaean hymns to Mani and Jesus, which already imply a worship practice, but which fall short in referencing the use of

37 Besides this fourth-century Greek source, there are three Arabic accounts referring to the eighth to tenth centuries in Iraq that note a "picture/portrait of Mani" (Lieu 1992, 113 and 216; Reeves 2011, 231, 246, 255; and Vajda 1937–38, 184–185). See discussion below.

38 Döpp and Geerlings 2000, 195–198 and 212–216.

39 Mango 1972, 18. For the Greek text, see Migne, *Patrologiæ cursus completus. Series Graeca*, 20, 1548 D.

40 Starting from 313 CE, the Constantinian era of religious tolerance (also referred to as the "Peace of the Church") allowed for a free and open practice of all religions of the Roman Empire, including the Manichaeans. Therefore, it is possible that what Eusebius saw was an open-air celebration of the Manichaean *Bēma* Festival as Klimkeit also hypothesized (Klimkeit 1982, 50).

any devotional portraits. Eusebius' text confirms that the Manichaeans used pictorial art during the early fourth century in Roman Palestine, but it does not mention their didactic paintings.

Arabic authors confirm the continued existence of Mani images in West Asia, while writing about three different events of persecution that took place during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries in Umayyad and Abbasid Mesopotamia. They all use the Arabic noun *ṣura,* 'picture, image,' as a reference to Mani's portrait. The earliest of them is from the middle of the eighth century, from the time of the Umayyad caliph, Walīd II (r. 743–744 CE) who was rumored to have Manichaean sympathies. Writing about this caliph, about 170 years after his reign, Abu'al Faraj al-Iṣfahani (d. 923 CE) mentions the following in his *Kitāb al-aghāni*:

> . . . Al-Walīd was a *zindīq*. There was a man from Kalb advocating the doctrine of dualism. I visited al-Walīd one day and that Kalbī was with him, and between them there was a basket whose top was fastened with what appeared to me to be green silk. He (i.e., the caliph) said, "Come closer, O 'Alā'," and so I approached; and he lifted up the silk. Inside the basket was a human image. Because mercury and ammonia had been applied to its eyelid, it would blink as if it were moving. He said, "O 'Alā', this is Mānī! God sent no prophet prior to him, nor has He sent a prophet after him!" I replied, "O Commander of the Faithful! Fear God and do not allow this charlatan to mislead you from your faith!" The Kalbī said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful! Did I not warn you that 'Alā' could not tolerate this tradition?"[41]

Another mention from the early ninth century concerns the reign of the Abbasid caliph, al-Ma'mūn (r. 803–833 CE). The historian Ma'sūdī (d. 956 CE) in his book titled *Murūj al-dhahab* notes an event that took place about 130 years before his own time, when an image of Mani was used to validate the honesty of an ex-Manichaean's conversion to Islam:

> . . . As for us, we are Manichaeans who have been defamed before al-Ma'mūn, and we are now being brought before him. He will question us about our affairs and interrogate us about our doctrine, and he will exhort us to repent and renounce it by subjecting us to different kind of trials. Among these include his showing us a picture of Mani and ordering us to spit on it and thereby clear ourselves of suspicion. He will also order us to sacrifice an aquatic bird or a pheasant. Whoever complies with these orders saves himself, and whoever disobeys them is put to death.[42]

41 Reeves 2011, 255.

42 Reeves 2011, 246–247.

The last known Arabic example takes us to the early tenth century, to the year 923 CE. Writing about an event that occurred mote than 250 years before his generation, Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1201 CE) in his *Muntaẓam* notes that an image of Mani and four sacks of Manichaean books were burnt in front of the Public Gate of Baghdad:

> At the midpoint of Ramadan (in the year AH 311, which was 923 CE) he (the caliph Muqtadir) incinerated besides the ʻĀmmah Gate (i.e., 'Public Gate' in Baghdad) an image of Mānī and four sacks of books which promoted *zanādiqa*. There dripped out of it (the fire) a quantity of gold and silver from what had adorned the volumes.[43]

There is no reason to doubt that painted images of Mani are mentioned in these Arabic accounts. The passage of Abu'al Faraj al-Iṣfahani is descriptive enough to positively confirm that a portrait was conveyed on an unspecified support (possibly wood), since it mentions some of the materials that created the illusion of moving eyelids, as well as an appropriately luxurious green silk wrap that protected the image. In addition, all three texts use the same Arabic word for image/portrait with arguably the same connotation. Therefore, besides Eusebius' somewhat ambiguous Greek reference to an early fourth-century *eikon* of Mani in Roman Caesarea, these three Arabic texts confirm the continued existence of Mani's portraits from West Asia until the early tenth century.

Like the Greek sources, the Latin sources are silent even about Manichaean art in general. The few Latin primary texts known today are written with subjects unrelated to art and therefore they do not mention Mani's doctrinal collection of paintings. Curiously, the relatively substantial quantity of Latin polemical accounts also ignores art used by the Manichaeans. This includes Augustine of Hypo, who, more then simply ignoring it, actually makes two rather unambiguous references to the *lack* of didactic imagery among the Manichaeans, with whom he was familiar in fourth-century North Africa:

> These and countless other absurdities are not represented in painting, or sculpture, or in any explanation. [...] Indeed, your gods have innumerable occupations, according to your fabulous descriptions, which you neither explain, nor represent in a visible form.[44]

Augustine discusses the "finely ornamented binding," the "finest parchment," and the exquisite calligraphy of Manichaean books, but he remains silent on any pictorial art. Contrary to the commonly held misconception in Manichaean studies, Augustine does not mention an image of Mani displayed

43 Reeves 2011, 231.

44 *Contra Faustum* 20:9 and 20:10 (Schaff 1952, 256 and 257). For a different translation, see Teske 2006, 268 and 270.

on the *bēma*.[45] On closer examination, the idea that literary sources record such a display turns out to be a fallacy in Manichaean studies that has been repeated in later scholarship without presenting any evidence to substantiate it. While "the *bēma* throne" is indeed discussed in primary sources[46] and one polemical secondary account,[47] we are yet to find any texts stating that an image of Mani was displayed on this throne. In his extensive writings about the Manichaeans, Augustine does not note any didactic paintings, portraits of Mani, or illuminated manuscripts. Pictorial art was not part of Augustine's Manichaean experience—a point that will be revisited later in this study.[48]

The existence of devotional portraits, that is, icons of Mani from West Asia is positively confirmed between the fourth and tenth centuries, when four textual sources refer to them. They include the Greek account of Eusebius writing

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45 Asmussen in his *Enc. Iranica* entry on *Aržang* writes: "it [i.e., the *Aržang*] is distinguished from the picture (Gr. *eikon*, M.Pers. *phykyrb*, Parth. *padgyrb*, Uyg. *körk*) of Mani which, at the time of the *Bēma* Festival was placed on a throne in front of the community (Henning, *BBB*, 9, Haloun-Henning, "Compendium," p. 210 n.4)." Most recently, this claim is repeated by Pedersen (1993, 273) and Reeves (2011, 231 note 47), who rely on previous Manichaean studies scholarship. Klimkeit also asserts that "the fact that there was a portrait of Mani on the *Bēma* throne in the Western tradition is known to us from primary and secondary sources like the Coptic *Psalm-Book* and Eusebius (*Letter to Empress Constantia*)" (Klimkeit 1982, 50). It must be noted, however, that these textual references, including the Coptic *Psalm-Book* (Allberry 1938, 16:24 and 26:5), are highly imaginative interpretations of the actual words, none of which actually state what is claimed here.

46 Manichaean sources on the *bēma* throne include the above-mentioned *Psalm-Book*, which does not contain the phase "image of Mani," and the above-mentioned *BBB* (Henning 1937), which provides only a long list of deities that the community praises in context of the prayer, performed on the occasion of the *Bēma* Festival, but make no reference to any image or portrait of Mani.

47 Augustine, *Cont. Fund.* 8.9: "... you celebrate with great honors your *Bēma*, that is the day on which Mani was killed, with the lectern raised up by five steps, adorned with precious cloths, placed in the midst and facing towards the worshippers" (Teske 2006, 239–240).

48 While acknowledging this perplexing lack of concrete evidence on Manichaean painting in Augustine's writings, Johannes van Oort notes that supplementary books may refer "in guarded terms to the drawings and graphics in the books. As may be inferred from the subsequent remarks in *conf.* III, 6, 10, the depictions of the sun and the moon were intended to be representations of God. In *conf.* III, 6, 11 Augustine speaks of the 'five elements, which take on different colours, each in accordance with one of the five caverns of darkness.' If our preceding analysis of correct, one may assume that the picture book(s) of the Manichaeans in Roman Africa also contained (coloured) delineations of these '*quinque elementa varie fucata propter quinque antra tenebrarum.*'—The whole passage (*conf.* III, 6, 10–11), like several other anti-Manichaean passages in Augustine's oeuvre, requires a fresh analysis because of the likely presence of picture books among the Manichaeans in the Latin West. In any case, a reference like 'Manichaeans had exquisitely decorated liturgical books, finely bound, as orthodox Churches outside great cities, had not' is vague and moreover, lacks specific evidence in regard to the supposed 'liturgical' (?) use" (2008, 448–451, note 29). For a curiously similar statement about the luxurious books of the Manichaeans vs. the decorated churches of the Christian, see a quote from the Abbasid historian Ibn al-Jawzī, discussed in Chapter 2 under "Designation."

before 339 CE and three Arabic historical passages that document the persecution of the last Manichaean communities in Abbasid Iraq in the years 753, 826, and 923 CE. In the Arabic texts, the common noun *ṣura* is used to connote a depiction of Mani. Unlike any other language, in Arabic a grammatical feature distinguishes the title of Mani's pictorial work from Mani's portrait. As confirmed by Ibn al-Nadim, the noun is used in plural form, when the title of Mani's pictorial work the *Al-ṣuwar*, (literally, '*The Pictures*') is meant.

2 *Attribution: Mani as Intellectual Author versus Actual Painter*

All eight textual passages acknowledge Mani's ties to the collection of didactic paintings they chronicle. Some of them even name the reason behind the origin of Manichaean didactic art and note the exclusive nature of their existence and use (see Tab. 1/3: Origin).

The attribution of this art to Mani is unambiguous and direct (*Kephalaia 7, 92, 151, 191*; *Homilies 18, 24, 25*; Ephrem). No matter what genre and whether composed in prose or verse, they all make a point of emphasizing Mani's association with it. They quote Mani's words directly or people addressing Mani in the second person, and some of them discuss Mani's *Hikōn* and his role as painter in the third person. The idea that Mani was the intellectual author of his collection of didactic images, that is, its commissioner as opposed to its actual painter, is suggested in the 151st chapter of the *Kephalaia*. This highly authoritative Coptic primary source, composed originally in Syriac, quotes a text most likely written by Mani himself, in which he declares that "just as I have written it in books, so [I have] also ordered it (< Gr. *keleuein*) to be painted" (*Kephalaion 151*). One may imagine that ordering a picture to be painted was not unlike the act of an author dictating a text to a scribe. In the late ancient world, both painters the scribes provided skilled labor. The celebrated intellectual achievement, however, was credited to that of the mental creator, i.e., the person who conceived of the idea. In the case of architecture, the credit routinely went to the sponsor and/or commissioner of the work. Therefore, statements about Mani painting the images of his *Hikōn* (e.g.: *Kephalaion 92*, Ephrem) is best seen as a claim of intellectual authorship, which in its original context was a figure of speech. The literal understanding of this classical phrase of authorship outside the Manichaean community gave rise to the legend that Mani was a great artist, an admired painter. This notion in late mediaeval Persian literature overshadows and eventually replaces Mani's memory as founder of a religion.

Additional data related to the question of origin supplied by these texts casts light upon yet another aspect of creation—one that concerns the ultimate question of *why*, that is, the rationale behind the act of the maker. Two of the texts quote Mani about why he wanted didactic pictorial art in his religion. In both cases, the paintings are bundled with the books. In this way, Mani's two distinct explanations justify both acts: the writing of his books and the painting of his didactic pictures. The first reason suggests that Mani created them as a record of his teaching in order to prevent the later corruption of his message: "so that it not be altered" after him (*Kephalaion 151*). The second reason Mani

gives specifically concerns his paintings, which were intended to help communicate his teachings: "Let the one who hears about them verbally also see them in the *Yuqnā*, and the one who is unable to learn them from the word(s), learn them from the picture(s) (Syr. *ṣurtā*)" (Ephrem).

A final issue of note is Mani's deliberate application of visual communication in service of his mission. This is indeed an exclusively Manichaean phenomenon, unparalleled in any other religion of the time. Mani himself sees it so, and refers to it when listing why his church is superior among the religions of Late Antiquity: "For all the [apostles], my brothers, who have come before me, [have not written] their wisdom in the books as I have written it. [Neither have] they painted their wisdom in the *Hikōn* as [I have painted] it. My church surpasses the earlier churches [also in this point]" (*Kephalaion 151*).

While none of the Christian polemicists addresses this aspect of Mani's claimed superiority (i.e., the use of visual communication in service of the mission), the ones that do talk about Manichaean paintings, Eusebius and Ephrem, do see pictorial art as one of the major differences between their Christian ways and the practices of the Manichaeans. For Eusebius, this art is devotional imagery and the practice is a kind of idolatry: "an image (Gr. *eikoni*) escorted (or 'attended,' Gr. *doruphoroumenon*) by the Manichaeans." For Ephrem, it is didactic art with its heretical message in the *Yuqnā*, where "Mani also illustrated (the) figures of the godless doctrine, which he fabricated out of his own mind, using pigments on a scroll."

3 *Dates: The Era of Mani's Ministry* (240–274/277 CE)

The texts considered in this chapter also date early Manichaean didactic art (see Tab. 1/3: Date). They infer one date—the ca. 30-year period in the mid-third century, which stretches between the 240s and the 270s CE. Thus, these texts anchor the origin of this art to the era of Mani's ministry. They do so by mentioning that Mani commissioned or "painted" the *Hikōn*/*Yuqnā* (*Kephalia 7, 92, 151, 191*; *Homilies 18, 24, 25*; Ephrem). One of the passages focuses on an event that happened, when Mani gave a teaching with his *Hikōn* (*Kephalaion 92*). The latter passage is the only primary source that attests Mani's use of his didactic paintings in the course of oral instruction.

In contrast, they do not discuss the *Hikōn*/*Yuqnā*/*Al-ṣuwar* durin the post-Mani era, when these texts were translated or composed in Roman Egypt, Roman Syria, and Abbasid Baghdad. In fact, there is no direct evidence in them about contemporaneous use of Mani's collection of didactic paintings. As noted above, even auditors, relatively learned in Manichaean matters, such as Augustine of Hippo, were not aware of Mani's canonical collection of paintings (*Contra Faustum*). The reason for this may be due to the origin and function of these texts. The Coptic passages are translations of earlier Manichaean writings in Syriac, most likely by the first generation of Manichaeans active after Mani during the late third century. Similarly, Ephrem's secondary passage has its focus on Mani, and it relies almost certainly on Syriac Manichaean texts when it quotes Mani. Even by writing that "according to some of his

disciples," it is unclear if Ephrem means whether he personally talked to some Manichaean elects, or if he is reading a text written by them at an earlier time. In any case, Ephrem's concern is Mani and how Mani communicated his teachings with the aid of his *Yuqnā* during the middle of the third century in the Mesopotamian regions of Sasanid Iran. The same is true for Ibn al-Nadim, who only gives the title of epistle that Mani wrote about the *Al-ṣuwar*.

The only other date that surfaces in these sources in connection with Manichaean didactic art is 506/7 CE. For this year, Theophanes Confessor provides the first record for the wall painting medium among the Manichaeans. In addition, he implies that the repertoire of Byzantine Manichaean art included a theme that was common between Christian art and Manichaean art—Jesus. His reference from Constantinople therefore, provides the earliest date for the existence of the Jesus subject among the Manichaeans, which most likely included not only majestic, single-figure icons of Jesus, but also narrative scenes that depicted episodes from Jesus' life with a didactic intent.

There are four textual references to icons of Mani between the fourth and tenth centuries, including one Greek (Eusebius) and three Arabic passages (Abu'al Faraj al-Iṣfahani, Ma'sūdī, Ibn al-Jawzī). Nevertheless, since none of them notes the educational use of such paintings, these passages were not included among the main texts surveyed in this chapter.

4 *Appearance: A Solely Pictorial Scroll with Multiple Images*

Regarding the question of the appearance, all the eight texts convey that the *Hikōn*/*Yuqnā*/*Al-ṣuwar* was a pictorial. Individually, they supply further pieces of evidence about how this work of art looked: it was pictorial roll of multiple images, which were supplemented with didactic devices to enhance their educational use (see Tab. 1/3: Appearance).

The solely pictorial nature is unambiguous in these sources. The connotation of the Greek-rooted Coptic and Syriac titles (*Kephalaion 7, 191*; *Homilies 24, 27*) is affirmed by synonyms, such as the Coptic *eine* 'picture, image, representation, likeness' (*Kephalaion 7, 191*), and the Syriac *ṣurtā* 'picture, image, illustration' (Ephrem); as well as by introducing adjectives, such as "painted" (Copt. *zōgraphe*) and "drawn" (Copt. *shei*). Ephrem, writing as an outsider to readers equally alien to Manichaeism, goes further by providing two descriptive explanations. He states that Mani "painted (Syr. *ṣār*) (his doctrine)," "in colors (Syr. *b^{e}sammānē*)," and by "using pigments (Syr. *b^{e}sammānē*)" (Ephrem).

This connotation is further affirmed in two passages. In *Kephalaion 151*, Mani separates the written teachings from the pictorial teachings. The former is confined to his "books." The latter is contained in his *Hikōn*. He states: "for all the [apostles], my brothers, who have come before me, [have not written] their wisdom in the books as I have written it. [Neither have] they painted their wisdom in the *Hikōn* as [I have painted] it." Analogously, in the *Prose Refutations*, Ephrem distinguishes the verbal means of communication of the texts from the visual means of communication of the *Yuqnā*: I have written them (the teachings) in books and illustrated them in colors." This overlap forms an

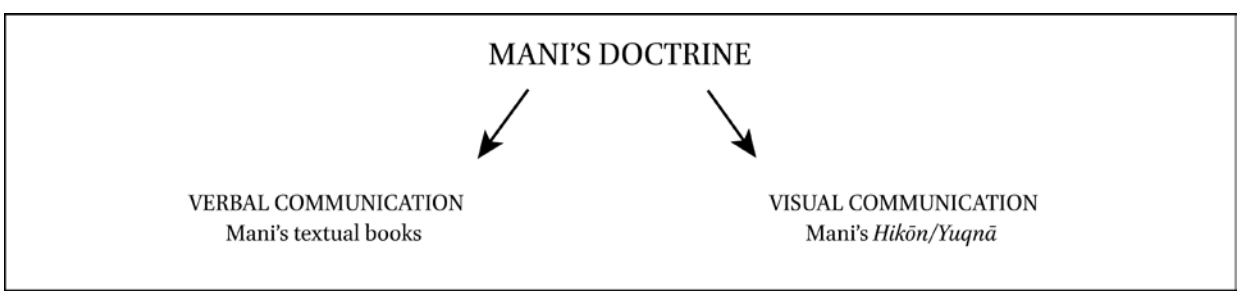
additional point of similarity between the passages of *Kephalaion 151* and the *Prose Refutations* (**Table 1/4**).

The format is noted only by Ephrem who, although implies that he had never seen Mani's pictorial work, credits Mani's disciples, when stating that the *Yuqnā* was a pictorial roll: "According to some of his disciples, Mani also illustrated (the) figures of the godless doctrine [. . .], using pigments on a scroll (Syr. *mgalltâ*)." This portable format fits well with the reality of the itinerant life of the Manichaean elect, as well as the artistic reality of Late Antiquity. Although the scroll is known primarily for storing texts (book roll), some evidence of its use as a solely pictorial medium is documented in the late ancient art of the Roman Empire.

As to be expected from a painted roll, *Homilies 18* notes multiple images of Mani's painted work by using the plural noun *n.zōgrapheia* 'paintings' in the passage where Mani foresees the destruction of his religion, lamenting the loss of his paintings by saying: "I weep for the paintings (Copt. *n.zōgrapheia*) of my *Hikōn*." Various authors pointed to this passage, while emphasizing the multiple images and the solely pictorial nature of the *Hikōn*.[49] Additional support that confirms the multiple images in this group of texts is provided by references to the doctrinal themes that were depicted in Mani's *Hikōn*, the topic of which will be considered in connection with assessing the data on content, below.

There is no reference about the material from which of Mani's pictorial roll was made in these texts. Based on Mani's geographical and cultural setting in mid-third-century southern Mesopotamia, parchment is the most likely material, despite the Manichaeans' noted strict observance of not harming animals. Augustine points out this contradiction, while talking about the parchment codices of the Manichaeans in fourth-century North Africa.[50] In his *Contra Faustum*, Augustine writes:

TABLE 1/4 *Mani's doctrine conveyed in books and the* Hikōn/Yuqnā *as noted in* Kephalaion 151 *and the* Prose Refutations



49 Nagel 1981, 201; Klimkeit 1982, 15–16; Tardieu 2008, 43; Gulácsi 2011, 239 and note 14; and most recently Kósa 2013, 54.

50 Augustine does not mention the papyrus codices of the Manichaeans, which do survive in large numbers from Roman Egypt.

> . . . Burn all your parchments with their finely-ornamented bindings; so you will be rid of a useless burden, and your God who suffers confinements in the volume will be set free. What a mercy it would be to the members of your God, if you would boil you books and eat them! There might be a difficulty, however, from the prohibition of animal food. Then the writing must share in the impurity of the sheepskin. Indeed you are to blame for this, like what you say was done in the first war between light and darkness: You brought what was clean on the pen, in contact with the uncleanliness of the parchment. Or perhaps for the sake of colors, we might put it the other way: So the darkness would be yours in the ink, which you brought against the light of the white pages.[51]

The final character of Mani's collection of images gained from these sources concerns the employment of didactic devices. According to Ephrem, one such device was the use of labels written next to groups of figures, while another was the didactic the use of contrast created by opposing aesthetic values, such as the "hideousness" of a depiction versus the "lovely" features of others. Although both fulfill an educational role, at the same time they contribute to the overall appearance of the *Yuqnā*. In Ephrem's words, Mani "labeled the odious (figures) 'sons of Darkness' in order to declare to his disciples the hideousness of Darkness, so that they might loathe it; and he labeled the lovely (figures) 'sons of Light' in order to declare to them 'its beauty so that they might desire it'" (Ephrem).

5 *Content: A Collection of Paintings on Various Themes*

In lieu of any physical remains of the *Hikōn*/*Yuqnā*/*Al-ṣuwar* from the time of these sources, the closest we can get to the pictorial content of early Manichaean didactic art is through the analysis of a few brief descriptive remarks made in five of the textual sources surveyed above. The five passages that address this question are found in *Kephalaia 7, 92,* and *151*, *Homilies* 27, and in Ephrem's *Prose Refutations*. In general, they all convey the doctrinal content of the paintings. In three cases, they go further and refer to specific subjects. Through their information on content, these sources support the understanding already gained from data on the appearance (*Homilies* 18), according to which Mani's pictorial work was more than a single all-inclusive image and instead contained a series of individual paintings about his teachings (see Tab. 1/3: Content).

The overall doctrinal content of Mani's didactic paintings is conveyed by discussing it with the books written by Mani. In two cases, this includes a specific mention of Mani's *Gospel* paired together with Mani's *Hikōn* (*Kephalaion 151, Homilies 27*). The routine pairing of the *Hikōn/Yuqnā* with Mani's books is a pattern deliberately used in this literature in order to capture an essential element in the design of Mani's religion. Mani explains the reason for this in *Kephalaion*

51 Schaff 1956, 206.

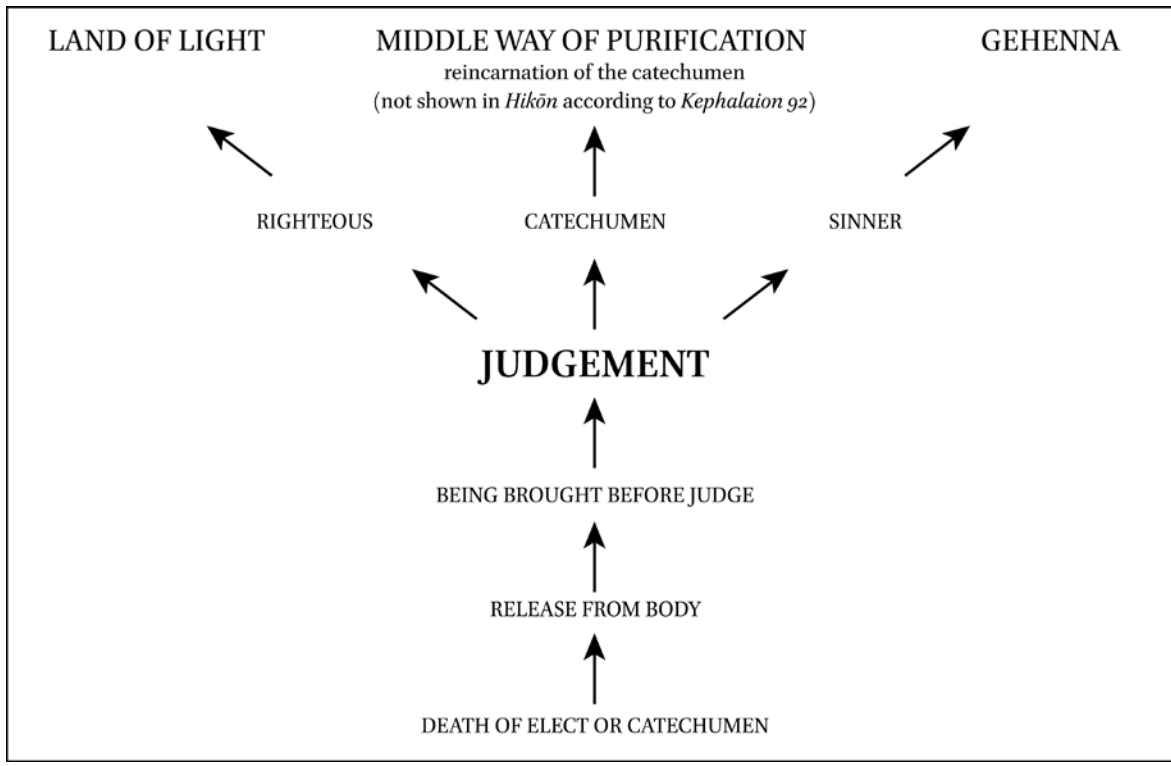
151 by stating that his idea of creating and using both written and pictorial records of his teachings serves to prevent the corruption of his message. This pointed pairing of the pictorial and written records of Mani's religion occurs also in the *Prose Refutations*. To explain the unique need for pictorial records, Ephrem brings up a pedagogical reason. He quotes Mani, stating that although the teachings can be understood through their written/verbal communication, some may benefit from also accessing them through pictorial/visual means. Mani sees this dual means of communication as a great asset and mentions it as the second claim a 10-point list of why his religion is superior (*Kephalaion 151*). Indeed, no other prophets used books, let alone paintings, to communicate and safeguard their doctrines. This conscious attention to clear communication undoubtedly presented an advantage in "the religious marketplace" of Late Antiquity, as indicated by the rapid spread of Manichaeism during the second half of the third and fourth centuries across the Roman and Sasanian Empires.

Two main pictorial themes can be inferred through the brief references found in three of these texts (*Kephalaia 7, 92*; Ephrem), which suggest depictions of teachings on soteriology and what appears to be either cosmology or cosmogony. Being doctrinal in nature, they were painted with the intent to provide visually rendered summaries of Mani's teachings. Although these two themes hardly constitute a full table of contents, it remains unknown what other themes were shown in the *Hikōn*/*Yuqnā*/*Al-ṣuwar* during this early era of Manichaean history.

Salvation (i.e., human eschatology) provides the ultimate rational for practicing a religion. It is told from a human perspective with cosmic implications. Understanding it prepares the individual for the supernatural phase of the religious experience. The portrayal of this theme in Mani's *Hikōn* is described in the best-preserved and clearest of the three references known today from Late Antiquity concerning the contents of early Manichaean didactic pictorial art—*Kephalaion 92*. This chapter records a dialogue between a layman and Mani that took place in the course of a teaching conducted with the aid of the *Hikōn*. The details of the description suggest that the image discussed showed the stages of salvation in two tracks, one for the righteous and another for the sinner: "You have depicted the righteous one, how he shall be released and brought before the Judge and attain the land of light. You have also drawn the sinner, how he shall die. He shall be set before the Judge and tried [. . .] the dispenser of justice. And he is thrown into Gehenna, where he shall wander for eternity." The stages of salvation here include: (1) death, (2) release form the body, (3) being brought to the Judge and tried, (4) judgment, (5) arrival to the place ordained for the sinner in Gehenna and for the righteous in the Land of Light (**Table 1/5**). But the main reason for writing this chapter is to have Mani explain the middle experience between these two extremes—a series of reincarnations by the catechumen, i.e., the "middle way of purification," something that was not depicted in the *Hikōn*.

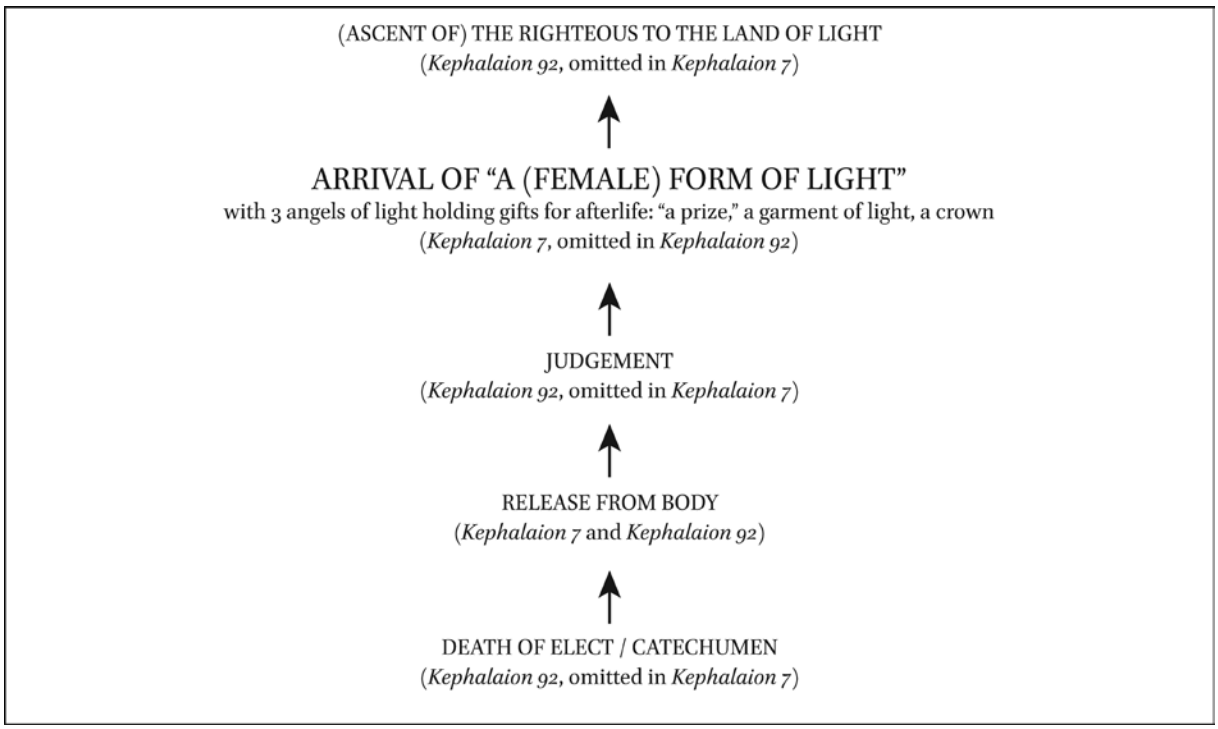
Albeit more obscure and much shorter, the theme of salvation surfaces in yet another source, *Kephalaion 7*. Its brief reference concerns a female deity

TABLE 1/5 *Salvation theme depicted in the* Hikōn *as described in* Kephalaion 92



and three angels who play a role in the events of Salvation as depicted in Mani's *Hikōn*. The female deity referred to as "this Form of Light," is a manifestation of the Light Maiden. The passage states that the way she looks corresponds to her depiction that occur in connection with the events of the afterlife: "... this Form of Light (is) the one (=feminine form) who appears to everyone who will come out of his body—corresponding to the image of the *Hikōn* of the Apostle." To clarify this, further elements from the pictorial context are noted. We learn that three angels are painted with her, each bearing a gift for the afterlife of the righteous: "... this Form of Light (is) the one (=feminine form) who appears [...] with the three great glorious angels (=masculine form) who have come with her. One holds the prize in his hand. The second bears the garment of Light. The third is the one, who holds the diadem and the wreath and the crown of Light. These are the three angels of Light, the ones who come with this Form of Light, and appear with her to the elect and catechumens." The appearance of the Light Maiden and her three angels takes place within the broader context of Salvation, after the Judge decrees the eternal destiny of the righteous elect or catechumen in the Land of Light. The details, which are noted only in *Kephalaion 7,* supplement well what is discussed in *Kephalaion 92* (**Table 1/6**). They imply that after the judgment, the three angels will give the undefined "prize," together with the garment of Light

TABLE 1/6 *The light maiden within the salvation theme depicted in the* Hikōn *as described in* Kephalaion 7 *and* Kephalaion 92



and the crown of Light to be worn by the righteous one as s/he starts an eternal life in the Realm of Light.

Further support for the early existence of this pictorial subject may be seen in the continued use of artistic representations of salvation in later Manichaean art. Actual examples of soteriological images are documented not only among the mostly fragmentary remains of Uygur Manichaean art, dating from between the mid-eight and early eleventh centuries, but also among the exquisitely well-preserved and newly discovered examples of Chinese Manichaean art, dating from between ca. twelfth and fourteenth centuries, as will be discussed in Chapter 6. This fact of thematic continuity in Manichaean didactic art is especially relevant since, while physical remains of Manichaean paintings do not survive from this first episode of Manichaean history, the existence of Salvation imagery in early Manichaean art is positively confirmed by the two Coptic textual references to Mani's *Hikōn* noted above.

The second pictorial theme of early Manichaean didactic art is noted by Ephrem who states that Mani's *Yuqnā* showed the figures of Light and the figures of Darkness. Unfortunately, this tantalizing statement is not detailed enough to identify a single pictorial subject; since this duality is at the core of Mani's worldview, the subject of Light and the Darkness comes up in most Manichaean doctrine. Nevertheless, supernatural beings associated with the two principles seem to be most integral to Mani's teachings about the universe,

surfacing especially prominently both in the history of its formation (cosmogony) and the description of its structure (cosmology). Therefore, it is possible that Ephrem notes either a cosmology or a cosmogony theme depicted in Mani's *Yuqnā*.

The idea that the early Manichaean pictorial repertoire included prophetology is raised by the Byzantine historian, Theophanes Confessor. Theophanes discusses a Manichaean painter with an imperial commission to decorate a Byzantine church—most likely its interior walls with an icon of Jesus and scenes from the life of Jesus that ended up looking "quite different from holy images of churches." While the Jesus theme is attested in Manichaean pictorial art from East Central Asia and East Asia, Theophanes' passage is the earliest and the only currently known evidence on this subject from West Asia. The claim that Jesus' life was depicted in early Manichaean didactic art is supported by the importance of the Jesus theme in Manichaean doctrine. Indeed, Jesus is the most important human messenger for Mani.[52] With a uniquely Manichaean take, Mani explains Jesus' suffering to be symbolic of the suffering of the Light, the elemental component of the Good and the Divine in the universe that the Manichaeans aim to liberate from its captivity by Darkness, through what they call "the work of [their] religion." Jesus' suffering becomes a central symbol of the religion, referred to as the *Cross of Light*.[53] After Mani's passing, his death was discussed in comparison with that of Jesus, as documented by Parthian, Coptic, and Greek language sources,[54] including the originally Syriac prose behind the Greek *Cologne Mani Codex*.[55] Overall, Jesus plays a variety of roles in Manichaeism among which that of the human messenger is an important one, as documented in a recent monograph by Majella Franzmann.[56] Mani gave sermons on Jesus' life;[57] and identified himself as "the Apostle of Jesus Christ" in the starting formula of his letters and in the inscription engraved on his official seal.

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52 See e.g., Gardner 2009, 147–158.

53 BeDuhn 2009, 51–70.

54 A Coptic example is found in the *Homilies* (42:9–85:34), see Pedersen 2006, 42–85. The codex itself dates from the second half of the fourth century and contains a collection of sermons that were originally composed in Mesopotamia probably soon after the death of Mani, to which it refers. For other proposed dates, see Pedersen 1996, 80–87. For the Parthian example, see Sundermann 1968, 386–405.

55 The text of the *Cologne Mani Codex* follows hagiographic convention and in many places it is based on themes analogous to the life of Christ (see Henrichs 1979, 339–67; and Sundermann entry on the "Cologne Mani Codex" in *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online*).

56 In her monograph, Franzmann surveys Manichaean literature to identify the various roles Jesus plays in Manichaean Christology, including "Jesus the Apostle of Light" (2003, 51–87).

57 An example of such a sermon is preserved in Coptic translation in the *Kephalaia* Prologue 12.21–13.11 (Gardner 1995, xviii–xix). In this brief sermon, Mani begins with an introduction followed by a reference to Jesus' Incarnation and Ministry. The bulk of the text is devoted to the Passion and concludes with a brief discussion of the Resurrection. For a more detailed discussion, see Gulácsi 2012, 159.

The earliest Manichaean work of art that mentions Jesus is Mani's own seal (INT. 1384 BIS) housed in the Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (**Figure 1/1**). This engraved clear rock crystal is a remarkable one-of-a-kind object. Its uniqueness is due not only to its historical significance, but also to its artistic characteristics that distinguish it among the hardstone stamp-seals of late ancient Iran.[58] It is a double-sided object that originally was enclosed in a metal frame to fulfill a dual function. Primarily, this crystal was designed as a hardstone seal, with an intaglio side made to function as a stamp used for authenticating documents. Its flat side fulfilled a secondary function, since on this side the carved content shows through from behind as a positive image, with a legible inscription and the main figure facing to the right, confirming that this side was designed as an engraved gemstone. As an integral part of this work of art, the inscription shows through clearly on the flat side of the crystal. The four-word Syriac phrase, *M'ny šlyḥ' d-yyšw' mšyḥ'*, i.e., 'Mani, apostle (lit. messenger) of Jesus Christ (lit. messiah),' is an epithet of Mani—well attested in early Manichaean literature as Mani's self-designation in the starting formula of his epistles, surviving in Coptic, Latin, and Greek translations.[59] The inscription in Mani's sealstone, therefore, further supports the evidence provided by M 4570, that Jesus was featured not only in the texts, but also in the didactic paintings of the early Manichaeans in Syro-Mesopotamia.[60]

6 *Function: Instruction of Doctrine with Pictures*

The use of pictorial art in the context of oral instruction is arguably the most important previously unnoted body of evidence yielded by these sources. In their own ways, six texts remark upon this function of Mani's *Hikōn*/*Yuqnā*/*Al-ṣuwar*. This data may be best assessed in light of three practical aspects of function, each of which casts light upon a different characteristic of teaching with images and is supported by numerous individual details supplied by the passages (see Tab. 1/3: Function).

The first issue these texts elaborate upon concerns the oral context of instruction with images. As we have seen, the art was used as a catalyst for question-and-answer discussion (*Kephalaion 92*), it was pointed to during instruction (*Kephalaion 92*), the disciples sat in front of it (*Kephalaion* 151, *Homilies* 27), and Mani used it himself to teach the laity (*Kephalaion 92*). Finally, the uniquely Manichaean nature of this practice is also remarked upon (*Kephalaion 151*, Ephrem). The ancient Manichaean practice described in these

58 For recent research on seals and gemstones of late antiquity, see Entwistle and Adams 2011; and Spier 2007.

59 For a list of examples, see Gardner 2007, 40.

60 For the identification of the seal, see Gulácsi 2013, 245–267; and 2014, 161–185.

a: Profile view of rock crystal cabouchon, diameter: 2.9 cm, height 0.9 cm; Mesopotamia (modern Iraq), mid-third century CE, Sasanian dynasty. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (INT. 1384 BIS)

b: Flat side with positive image and analysis of inscription: "Mani, apostle (lit. messenger) of Jesus Christ (lit. messiah)"

FIGURE 1/1 *Crystal sealstone of Mani* (*active 240–274/277 CE*)

Coptic sources is comparable to a modern Japanese *etoki* performance, i.e., a religious instruction conducted with the aid of displayed didactic images.[61]

Mani's unique reason for using paintings in the course of oral instruction is especially well explained by Ephrem. In the polemical language of his *Prose Refutations*, he highlights something strikingly different about the Manichaeans among the religions of Late Antiquity that Ephrem considers heretical, as he points to their *Yuqnā* and quotes Mani's rationale for its creation and use. He explicitly states that Mani's paintings were designed to be seen by those "who hear the teachings verbally" and who are "unable to learn them just from the words." As Ephrem notes, such teachings were delivered in an oral environment, in which the paintings had an essential role. They captured the content of the teaching by visual means, in a medium different from that of the spoken word, in order to make comprehension easier for the audience. In light of Ephrem's passage, it would be wrong to assume that Mani aimed his paintings at an illiterate audience in contrast to his books, which were meant for the literate members of his community. The vast majority of people listening to any religious teaching in late ancient Mesopotamia, just as in the eastern Mediterranean region, were illiterate. Illiteracy, however, is not the point here. Instead, Ephrem clearly states that these images supplemented oral teachings, which was an intrinsic part of Manichaean instruction to any, and all, audiences.

So far, the oral environment in the function of early Manichaean art has been noted only briefly in Manichaean studies' scholarship. In his study of the Ephrem passage published in 1979, A. Henrichs writes: "As a missionary of his own creed, Mani liked to appeal not only to the ears but also to the eyes of his largely illiterate audiences; so he painted a picture book, which illustrated his religious beliefs in colorful and graphic detail."[62] Ephrem confirms that the paintings were didactic pictorial displays and the Manichaean tradition of using them began with Mani himself in mid-third-century southern Mesopotamia. Recently, Johannes van Oort emphasized the oral context of religious teaching in connection with Augustine's experiences with the Manichaeans in Roman North African. He points out that Augustine, too, "makes a marked distinction between their oral proclamation (*uoce sola*), on the one hand, and the proclamation by means of their books on the other. The role they attach to their 'huge tomes' he does not explicitly detail." While admittedly it remains unconfirmed, it seems to van Oort that in such a setting the Manichaeans in Augustine's circle may have shown the "illustration

61 As the best-documented contemporary example of teaching with images, the Japanese Pure Land Buddhist *etoki* (i.e., the act of religious instruction conducted with didactic paintings) aids the interpretation of the Manichaean evidence considered in this book (see discussion of Fig. 1 in the Introduction, above).

62 Henrichs 1979, 94.

of their doctrine by means of pictorial books" (i.e., didactic art within picture books) as "supplementary books, placed before a person to be converted."[63]

A second aspect of function remarked upon in these sources concerns the effectiveness of pictorial art in reinforcing religious teaching visually, including visualizing supernatural stages of a person's religious career. The pictorial devices, such as labels and aesthetic values were to provide additional help to facilitate an efficient use of didactic art (Ephrem). Two additional references bring up an important practical concern about preparing a person for salvation. In the words of a Manichaean auditor: "for if we can see [. . .] the path of the catechumen, and know [. . .] so have we recognized him with knowledge. If we can also see him face to face in the *Hikōn*] [. . .] in the sighting of him . . ." (*Kephalaion 92*). Although the record of his argument is somewhat fragmentary, the auditor's message still comes through, conveying that the paintings encountered while learning from the *Hikōn* help the disciples to recognize certain beings (most likely deities) as they appear during the supernatural stages of the disciples' religious experience. Thus, the Manichaeans themselves point out the *Hikōn's* role in visualizing the upcoming stages of personal religious life. The same notion is conveyed while mentioning the Light Maiden as she is shown in the depiction of Salvation.

A third aspect of function that emerges from this body of data is how Mani's *Hikōn*/*Yuqnā* was intended to guard against the corruption of Mani's teaching. This role of Mani's didactic art is recorded only in one of the passages, in *Kephalaion 151*, where Mani states that he ordered the *Hikōn* to be painted (just as he wrote his books) "so that it [his teaching would] not be altered" after he is gone. This foresight, which allows Mani to deliberately guard against the adulteration of his doctrine, is unique among the religions of Late Antiquity. Mani sees it as a practice in which his church "surpasses the earlier churches" and includes it on a 10-point list of superiority that distinguishes his religion from all others.

A final and less practical issue concerns the symbolic role that Mani's *Hikōn*/*Yuqnā* has not only as a manifestation of the nonverbal aspects of Mani's teaching, being noted together with Mani's books, but also as a record of his teaching. This symbolic significance of the *Hikōn*/*Yuqnā* as a reference to Mani's teaching, together with his books, is stated both in *Kephalaion 151* ("Just as I have written it in books, so [I have] also ordered it to be painted") and in an analogous statement by Mani, which is quoted in Ephrem's *Prose Refutations* ("He [Mani] accordingly states: 'I have written them [the teachings] in books and illustrated them in colors'"). This reason explains the routine pairing of the *Hikōn*/*Yuqnā* with the *Gospel* (*Kephalaion 151, Homilies 27*) and Mani's other books (*Homilies 18, 25, 27*; Ephrem).

63 Van Oort 2008, 448–451.

CHAPTER 2

Primary Records in Parthian and Middle Persian Texts (3rd–10th Centuries)

Spreading further east along the Silk Road, the Manichaean mission reached the trading centers of East Central Asia by at least the seventh century.[1] Initially, funds for artistic activities must have been limited, as suggested by the modest quality of secular and Buddhist art documented in the region from that time.[2] This situation dramatically changed when Mani's teachings were introduced to the Uygurs. Among the Uygurs, Manichaeism enjoyed the patronage of the ruling elite between 755/762 CE and the early eleventh century. Their support resulted in an unparalleled flourishing of Manichaean activities at Kocho (Ch. Gaochang, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region), which was a booming mercantile and agricultural center that became incorporated into the sedentary Tien Shan Uygur Kingdom (866–1209 CE). This era of Manichaean history is richly documented in the archeological findings. They consist of about 5000 manuscript fragments and about 120 fragments of works of art, including remnants of illuminated manuscripts and decorated book covers, picture books and pictorial textile displays (hanging scrolls and mortuary banners), as well as wall paintings and remnants of a few buildings and caves.

Seven passages are known today on Manichaean didactic art from mediaeval East Central Asia (**Table 2/1**). They derive from primary texts composed by the first few generations of Manichaeans in Mesopotamia and West Central Asia that were subsequently copied into anthologies of Manichaean literature in Kocho sometime between the second half of the eighth and the late tenth centuries, when Parthian and Middle Persian were no longer spoken. Thus, despite the actual age of the manuscripts surviving from Kocho (ninth–tenth century), the archaic languages used in them already indicate their early origin. In some cases, these texts specifically concern figures and events from Manichaean church history as early as the second half of the third century.

1 Liu Ts'un-yan dated Manichaeism in Turfan to the early seventh century. His argument that Manichaeism was introduced to China already during the Sui dynasty (581–618 CE) was based on evidence already published by Chavannes and Pelliot, who did not find the material sufficiently conclusive to establish a Manichaean presence in China earlier than the late seventh century (Liu Ts'un-yan 1976, 46; and Bryder 1988, 2).

2 See Fraser 1999.

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TABLE 2/1 *Primary textual sources on Manichaean didactic painting Parthian and Middle Persian languages (7 texts)*

PRIMARY TEXTS IN PARTHIAN (4 TEXTS)	PRIMARY TEXTS IN MIDDLE PERSIAN (3 TEXTS)
(1) Turfan fragment M 5569 (240–700 CE)	(1) Turfan fragment M 2 (240–800 CE)
(2) Turfan fragment M 5815 (240–700 CE)	(2) Turfan fragment M 47 (240–800 CE)
(3) Turfan fragments of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* (240–700 CE)	(3) Turfan fragment M 219 (240–800 CE)
(4) Turfan fragment M 4570 (240–700 CE)	

Survey and Analysis: M 5569, M 5815, M 2, Fragments of the Ārdhang Wifrās, M 4570, M 219, and M 47 (240–700/800 CE)

The survey of these texts below is organized based on content. The first three are documents on Church history with passages that remark about Mani's collection of images, including a Parthian eyewitness account on Mani's death (M 5569), a Parthian letter by Sisin (M 5815), and a Middle Persian letter by Mani (M 2). An additional three texts are didactic literature that mention the use of images for teaching, including an unique text that is titled "Sermon on the *Ārdhang*" (*Ārdhang Wifrās*, documented by sixteen fragments) and two transcripts of sermons given with the aid of paintings: one in Parthian (M 4570) and the other in Middle Persian (M 219). The last text is a Middle Persian parable that notes Mani's canonical volume of pictures (M 47).

1 *M 5569: A Parthian Eyewitness Account of Mani's Death (240–700 CE)*

M 5569 is a small paper fragment with a historical text that constitutes an eyewitness account of Mani's death. It is preserved on the verso of a folio (between lines 1 and 19) that originally belonged to a codex-formatted book of unknown overall content, which was produced in Turfan sometime during the era of Uygur Manichaeism, between the mid-eighth and early eleventh centuries.[3] Written in the Parthian language and in Manichaean script, the text itself is a poetical composition based on the account, given by Uzzi, an elect with the rank of a Teacher, about the events surrounding Mani's passing in prison.[4] Thus, this important primary source takes the reader back to 274/277 CE, when the imprisoned Mani died in the Sasanian town of Gondeshapur (Syro-Aram, Bēth Lāpāṭ). Gondeshapur's Sasanian ruins are still visible near the modern city of

3 M 5569 (=T II D 79) was catalogued by Boyce (1960, 111). The transcription of the text is published in her *Reader* (1975, 47–48). For the photo reproduction of the manuscript with both two sides of the folio visible, see Sundermann 1996, Pl. 127.

4 The authenticity of the surviving copy of the text is not in doubt. Its account is comparable to that of the Coptic *Homilies* (50ff) neither of which contains the event of Mani's martyrdom, which was referred to only in later Islamic sources (Boyce 1975, 47; and Klimkeit 1993, 214–215).

Dezful in the province of Khuzestan, which is located north of the Persian Gulf along what is today the western border of Iran.[5]

The portion of the text that is relevant for this survey mentions the possessions that Mani had in prison at the time of his death, including what is called here "his *Ārdhang*," along with his *Gospel*, his garment, and "his hand" (traditionally interpreted as either Mani's staff or his severed right hand).[6] These items were taken to Sisin (Sisinnius), who succeeded Mani in heading the Manichaean Church until his own martyrdom in 291/2 CE.[7] The passage reads:

> And it was under the ascendency of the star . . ., on the fourth day of the month of Shahrevar, on the day of Shahrevar, Monday, at the eleventh hour, in the province of Khuzistan and in the city of Bēth Lāpat, when this Father of Light, full of power, was taken up to his own Home of Light. After the Parinirvāṇa of the Apostle, Uzzi, the Teacher gave this testimony to the whole Church with regard to what he had seen among the soldiers, for on that Saturday night, he, Uzzi, had been left there with the Apostle of Light. And he communicated many pious injunctions from the Apostle to the whole Church community. After the Parinirvāṇa of the Apostle of Light, the *Gospel*, the *Ārdhang*, the garment, and the hand [were taken to] the province . . . Sisin.[8]

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5 Founded in ca. 260 CE by Šāpūr I and built by prisoners of war from Valerian's army, Gondeshapur was the capital of Sassanian Ḵūzestān and occasionally the location of the Sassaian royal court. Bahrām (Varahrān) I (r. 273–76 CE) held his court there during Mani's imprisonment and death. For an overview of the history of the city that was still populous during the fourteenth century, see th Michael Morony's entry at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bet-lapat).

6 Only the word *dast* 'hand' is in the text, which Mary Boyce translates as "[severed] hand" (1975, 48, line 5). Werner Sundermann translates it as "staff" based on *dast *avestām* lit. 'hand [support]' (Klimkeit 1993, 215 and 220, note 105).

7 Boyce 1975, 3 and 48.

8 M 5569 verso lines 1–19 (Klimkeit 1993, 215), with mistaken transliteration ("*Ārdahang*") corrected after Sundermann 2005, 373. The first part of this text about Mani's death reads: "Just as the sovereign who takes off his armor and battle garment and puts on another royal garb, so did the Messenger of Light put off the warlike garment of (his) body; and he sat down in the Ship of Light (the Sun) and received the divine garment, the diadem of Light and the beautiful garland. And in great joy he flew up together with the bright gods that accompanied him on the right and left, to the sounds of harps and songs of joy in divine miraculous power, like a swift (bolt of) lightning and a bright, quick apparition (shooting star), to the column of Glory, the path of Light, and the chariot of the Moon, the meeting place of the gods. And he stayed there with God Ohrmizd, the Father. He left behind the whole flock of the righteous (the Manichaean community), orphaned and sad, for the "master of the house" had entered Parinirvāṇa" (M 5569, Klimkeit 1993, 215).

M 5569 is the only currently known source that anchors the existence of Mani's collection of didactic paintings to a specific year—274 or 277 CE.[9] In addition, while it reiterates some basic information about the name, origin, appearance, and content of Mani's didactic images, it also introduces a new body of evidence regarding the function of this set of paintings in the early Manichaean Church.

Concerning the question of name and origin, M 5569 confirms some basic evidence regarding the *Ārdhang*. Although the noun *ārdhang* does not have a clear etymology in Parthian and its connotation is not clarified in this text with any descriptive remark, it is used here as a title of a work attributed to Mani ("his *Ārdhang*").[10] In light of the overall context of this passage that attributes the *Ārdhang* to Mani and lists it together with another title of Mani's books ("his Gospel"); it is clear that *Ārdhang* is analogous to the use of *Hikōn* in Coptic sources, and thus it most likely connotes Mani's collection of didactic paintings.

Regarding the *Ārdhang*'s appearance and content, M 5569 provides some indirect evidence. It implies a portable format by stating that the *Ārdhang* was with Mani in prison and that, after Mani's death it was taken to Sisin. This statement suggests that Mani and the members of his entourage carried the *Ārdhang* as they traveled. Concerning the question of content, M 5569 alludes to Mani's *Ārdhang* as a doctrinal work by listing it together with Mani's *Gospel*. This pairing of the *Ārdhang* with one of Mani's written books (here "his Gospel") corresponds to what is found in Coptic Manichaean sources, several of which pointedly name one of Mani's books together with the title of Mani's paintings.[11]

M 5569 is uniquely informative on the function of the *Ārdhang* within the community surrounding Mani. First, this passage states that Mani kept the *Ārdhang* and his *Gospel* with him, since these two titles were listed as part of his belongings at the time when he was imprisoned. Although the reason for why the *Ārdhang* was with Mani is not stated here, it can be deduced in light of Coptic and Syriac accounts, which emphasize the didactic role of images as visual aids in the course of Mani's oral instructions. M 5569 confirms that as a portable teaching tool, the *Ārdhang* was taken along on Mani's travels. Second, this passage identifies the *Ārdhang* as a symbol of authority. Even without Mani being present, his *Gospel* and *Ārdhang* would have been considered authoritative sources on his teachings, since, in Coptic texts, Mani himself

9 While no source provides a reliable absolute date, Mani' death can be narrowed to two either 274 CE was argued by Henning or the year 277 CE was argued by Takizade. For an overview, see Henning 19952–53, 197–201.

10 On the interpretation of the Middle Persian *ārdhang* as 'drawings' (Middle Persian *-hang* deriving from Old Iranian *ϑang-* 'to draw'), see Haloun and Henning 1952–53, 210 and note 5.

11 In Coptic Manichaean texts, the *Hikon* is mentioned with Mani's *Gospel* in *Kephalaion 151* and *Homilies 27*; see Chapter 1.

notes that their function was to guard against the adulteration of his teaching. Accordingly, following Mani's death, handing over Mani's *Ārdhang* and Mani's *Gospel* to Sisin symbolizes the transmission of Mani's doctrinal authority to the next head of the Manichaean Church. Third, this passage further suggests that Mani's *Ārdhang* was considered a relic of Mani. While already through their contents Mani's *Ārdhang* and *Gospel* provide an intellectual tie between the disciples and their teacher, as physical objects regularly handled by Mani, these two had an even stronger significance. By listing them together with Mani's garment and "his hand," all of which were taken to Sisin, M 5569 emphasizes the physical in the holy and confirms that the very *Ārdhang* once used by Mani was now one of the sacred objects that connected the community to its departed founder.

Concerning the date of Mani's didactic paintings, M 5569 is the only currently known source that anchors the existence of Mani's collection of didactic paintings to a specific date: on the fourth day of the month of Shahrevar, on the day of Shahrevar, Monday, in 274/277 CE. Thereby, it confirms the implications of Coptic primary sources that Mani's didactic paintings were made and used prior to this year, within the era of Mani's ministry (240–274/277 CE), starting sometime during (or after) the 240s CE.

2 *M 5815: A Parthian Letter about Early Manichaean Church History (240–700 CE)*

Another important record about early Manichaean Church history is preserved on a Turfan manuscript fragment catalogued as M 5815. This relatively large piece of paper constitutes a portion of a bifolio that once belonged to an *Anthology of Manichaean Literature* within a codex made in Turfan sometime during the era of Uygur Manichaeism, between the mid-eighth and early eleventh centuries.[12] This fragment retains parts of two Parthian language texts in Manichaean script. Relevant to this survey is the second text (lines 112–223), which is a copy of a letter written by an un-named high-ranking elect to another unnamed figure, who was also most likely another important Manichaean Church leader, regarding matters related to logistics of new missions to West Central Asia.

The section of the letter discussed below involves four figures from early Manichaean history and three locations from West Central Asia. The unnamed writer of the letter refers to himself in the first person singular. Based on his prose, he seems to be the head of the Manichaean Church at that time. It has

12 M 5815 (=T II D 134) belongs to the collection of the Museum of Indian Art, where it is catalogued under the number MIK III 102. Being an important and relatively well-preserved fragment, it has been published numerous times (Boyce 1960, 115). The first letter on M 5815 (lines 1–111) is a fictitious letter by Mani to Mār Ammō (Boyce 1972, 50–52). For the photographs of the two sides of the bifolio, see Sundermann 1996, Pls. 130–131.

been traditionally assumed that this elect is the above-mentioned Sisin (r. 274/277–291/2 CE).[13] The unnamed addressee is alluded to in the second person singular by the formulaic phrase "you know this." Besides the addressee, the writer refers to two other elects—Mar Ammō and Zurvāndād. Mar Ammō, who lived during the second half of the third century, was one of the principal disciples of Mani. He was in charge of heading missionary work in the old Parthian homeland, which at that time constituted the northeastern provinces of the Sasanian empire; these are referred to today as Ancient or Greater Khorasan.[14] The elect named Zurvāndād is known only from this letter, which was most likely written during the first decades following the death of Mani. By this time, Manichaeism was already banned in Sasanian Persia, but it was successfully established across most of West Central Asia. Regarding the three locations, the passage names two cities, Merv and Zamb, and alludes to a third unnamed site. Merv (located in what is today Turkmenistan) was a major cultural and economic center that housed a large Manichaean community starting from the late third century.[15] The letter states that Zurvāndād was in Merv, and from there he was sent to Zamb by the writer of the letter. Zamb was a smaller town on the left bank of the Oxus River in the Khorasan region, about 220 miles northeast of Merv.[16] The letter states that Mār Ammō was also in Khorasan at this time, but it does not specify where in Khorasan, and, thus, it remains unclear whether Mār Ammō was in Zamb or not. The third unnamed site is the place where the letter writer was located and from where his letter was sent. The letter seems to imply that the location was somewhere south of Merv, since the writer discussed his previous visit to Merv, when he "came up to Merv." The writer most likely traveled from the seat of his office, a location well-known to the addressee, and thus it did not need to be named.

The passage quoted below discusses how the writer of the letter (most likely Sisin) dispatched an elect named brother Zurvāndād, with two books (the *Book of the Giants* and the *Ārdhang*) from Merv to the town of Zamb, probably to aid the work of Mār Ammō, who was leading the Manichaean mission northeast of Merv in the Khorasan region. The writer specifies that before sending these books with Zurvāndād, he made copies of both. The text reads:

13 Boyce 1975, 3 and 48. It is unlikely that Mani is writing here, despite the fact that another letter written by Mani preserved on a Turfan fragment (M 2) addresses Mār Ammō, directing him on a mission.

14 Boyce 1975, 40, note 3.

15 Lieu 1992, 97, 220, and 224.

16 Zamb (later Zamm) is the Mediaeval name of the modern city of Karkhî located on the left bank of the Oxus, about 100 miles above Ãmul, which lies approximately 120 miles northeast of Merv. The name *Zamb* means "shore," after the Persian "*damb, dam*" (Boyce 1975, 49; Klimkeit 1993, 268 note 26).

> . . . And you should know this: I do not believe that the love and respect for you which now exists in Merv could be any greater. And you should know this: When I came up to Merv, I found all the brothers and sisters to be devout. And to dear brother Zurvāndād, I am very very grateful, because he, in his goodness, has watched over all the brothers. And I have now dispatched him to Zamb, and I have sent him to dear Mār Ammō and to (the province of) Khorasan. He [brother Zurvāndād] has taken the (*Book of the*) *Giants* and the *Ārdhang* with him. I have made another (copy of the Book of the) Giants and the *Ārdhang* in Merv.[17]

The above passage is an important primary source on early church history that documents the existence of multiple copies of the volume that contained Mani's didactic paintings. It confirms familiar data about the name, appearance, and content of the *Ārdhang*. In addition, it provides new evidence about the circumstances of how the *Ārdhang* was used in West Central Asia during the late third century.

Concerning the question of name, origin, appearance, and content, M 5815 retains some basic information. Twice, it uses the Parthian title, *Ārdhang,* paired with the (*Book of*) *Giants.* Analogous to the other Parthian letter (M 5569) considered above, the connotation of the *Ārdhang* is self-evident to all parties involved. While, as noted above, *ārdhang* has no clear etymology in Parthian, it is best interpreted as the title of Mani's collection of didactic images, in light of other Manichaean texts written in Parthian, Middle Persian, and Chinese that also use it as a the title of Mani's pictorial work.[18] This interpretation is supported by the overall context of the passage, which lists the *Ārdhang* together with the title of one of Mani's written books, in this case the (*Book of*) *Giants*. The *Ārdhang*'s portable format is confirmed here by stating that it was carried from one location to another, from Merv to Zamb and from Zamb to Khorasan, when Sisin sent brother Zurvāndād with it. Mani's authorship and the doctrinal content of the *Ārdhang* is not discussed, but implied by mentioning the *Ārdhang* together with another work authored by Mani, corresponding to what is seen in Coptic Manichaean texts. Instead of the Mani's *Gospel*, in this passage the *Book of Giants* represents Mani's teachings conveyed in a written form. As is customary in Manichaean sources, one of the written records of Mani's teaching is paired with the visual means of rendering the doctrine, which in Parthian language sources is called *Ārdhang*.

With reference to the function of the *Ārdhang,* M 5815 notes various important aspects of its usage during the early Manichaean missions to West Central Asia, including its multiple copies, its association with the most senior

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17 English translation of M 5815 lines 112–223 is published by Klimkeit (1993, 260) with mistaken transliteration ("*Ārdahang*") corrected here after Sundermann 2005, 373. Mary Boyce provides a detailed discussion of the letter in notes to the transliteration of the text published in her *Reader* (1975, 48–49).

18 Haloun and Henning 1952–53, 210 and note 5.

members of the Manichaean Church, and its use as a didactic tool along with written books. First of all, this passage documents that multiple copies of the *Ārdhang* (at least two copies in addition to the original) were in circulation in this region at this time.[19] Sisin dispatched Zurvāndād and one copy of "the *Ārdhang* with him" and promptly made "another" new copy "the *Ārdhang* in Merv," most likely from the original that Sisin inherited with his office upon Mani's death. While writing about these copies, Sisin gives the impression that he is making an account of the copies in use to the addressee of his letter. Second, M 5815 implies that copies of the *Ārdhang* were entrusted to the care of the most senior members of the community: the teacher in charge at Merv, and now Zurvāndād, who is noted to have previously "watched over all the brothers" at Merv, but who was given a new assignment and was "now dispatched to Zamb." It is possible that the new copy made in Merv was produced from Mani's *Ārdhang* that now was under Sisin's care. Finally, M 5815 also confirms that the *Ārdhang* was employed as a teaching tool in West Central Asia during the late third century. It was paired with a written work authored by Mani, in this case the *Book of the Giants*. We learn that Sisin dispatched Zurvāndād, who took both "the (*Book of*) *the Giants* and the *Ārdhang* with him."

Concerning the question of date, M 5815 suggests that making copies of Mani's painted work, just as his written texts, was routinely done during the time when the writer of this letter headed the Manichaean Church. It has been generally accepted that this leader was Sisin (r. 274/277–291/2 CE).[20] Thus, the prose of this letter can be dated to Sisin's leadership dates, sometime within a 15-year period that started after Mani's death. In turn, the act of making copies of the *Ārdhang* as well as using it for missionary work in West Central Asia can be dated to ca. the 280s CE.

3 *M 2: A Middle Persian Account of Early Manichaean Church History (240–800 CE)*

M 2 is a paper fragment that constitutes a large portion of a bifolio that once belonged to a codex made in Kocho sometime during the era of Uygur Manichaeism, between the mid eighth and early eleventh centuries.[21] It preserves a Middle Persian text written in Manichaean script about Mani

19 Another Turfan text (M 2) also conveys the idea that both a textbook and the "*Nigār*" were used during the early missions in West Central Asia

20 Boyce 1975, 3 and 48. It is unlikely that Mani is writing here, despite the fact that another letter written by Mani and preserved on a Turfan fragment M 2 addresses Mar Ammō.

21 A Sogdian language version of this narrative written in Manichaean script (M 18220) was edited by Sundermann (1981, Text 3.2), but has a lacuna where the key term would appear, which Sundermann filled with the Sogdian equivalents of the words appearing in M 2 (1981, 39 lines 405–406). An actual Sogdian version (*rd'nk*) of the Parthian *Ārdhang* may be found in one of the Bezeklik Sogdian letters (Letter B) edited by Yutaka Yoshida (see Yoshida and Moriyasu 2000, 135–178). The English translation of lines 52–55 reads:

> "(Your) slave Rōshn Pērōz the *shāxān*(?), carolled the 'Without-fault' twice in Sogdian at the table on the first day of the month of Pushnu, (recited) forty teachings and three

organizing missions to the ethnically Parthian regions of West Central Asia, sometime during the 260s CE.[22] At that time, these regions constituted the northeastern part of the Sasanian Empire and included the historical provinces of Khorasan and Abarshar.

The section of the text that is relevant to this survey makes a brief reference to the launching of a new mission to Parthia. It names three people. The first is Mani, called here "the Apostle of Light," who organized this mission. The second is Mār Ammō, who was Mani's trusted disciple chosen to head this mission because he "knew the Parthian script and language and was familiar with" this part of Persia. The third is the prince Ardabān, who seems to be a member of the Parthian elite already sympathetic to Mani's message and possibly acted as a host and protector of Mār Ammō. In addition, the text introduces two place names. One of the two is the ancient city of Holvān (or Hulwan, the provincial capital city of Hulwan province of modern Iran), located in the Zagros Mountains, northeast of Seleucia-Cteciphon along the road to Hamadan.[23] Holvān is where Mani was located this time, dispatching a new Parthian mission discussed in this letter. The second place name is Abarshahr, which is the name of a northern province of the Sassaian state that translates as the 'Upper Lands.'[24] In addition to Mār Ammō and prince Ardabān, people traveling with this mission included some further lesser-ranking elects, referred to here as "brother-scribes." Carried with the group were some unnamed holy "books" and (what was most likely a copy of) the pictorial volume of didactic paintings, named here after its Middle Persian title as the "*Nigār*." The passage reads:

> And when the Apostle of Light was in the provincial capital of Holvān, he let the teacher Mār Ammō come, who knew the Parthian script and language and was familiar with . . . He sent him to Abarshahr. He [Mār

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hundred (short) hymns, and read the <*sani*?> book of *rd'nk* (*rd'nk s'ny npykw ptybs*)" (personal communication).

Sims-Williams and Durkin-Meisterernst's Sogdian dictionary (2012, 167), credits Sundermann's *Ārdhang* article from 2005 for their entry on the Sogdian *rd'nk*, which they transliterate as "*Ardahnag*." There is, however, no such Sogdian word in Sundermann's study. Their source must have been Yoshida's Japanese publication of the letters (Yoshida and Moriyasu 2000, 156, line 54).

22 Boyce 1960, 1. The codex folio fragment M 2 was lost during the WWII. Only photographs of its two sides remain available in the *Turfanforschung*. For their reproduction, see Sundermann 1996, Pls. 3–4.

23 Boyce 1975, 40. Al-Mada'in (lit. 'the Cities) is the Arabic name of the ancient metropolis formed by Seleucia and Ctesiphon (also referred to as Seleucia-Cteciphon) on the opposite sides of the Tigris River in present-day Iraq. Hamadān or Hamedān (M. Pers. Hagmatana; Gr. Ecbatana) is the capital city of Hamadan Province of modern Iran (Le Strange 1930, 191).

24 Transcribed as *Abarshar* by Klimkeit (1993, 217 note 19).

> Ammō] went to Abarshar with prince Ardabān[25] and brother-scribes, with books and the *Nigār*. He said, "Blessed be this religion. May it flourish through teachers, hearers, and soul-service.[26]

The authoritative nature of this passage is confirmed by the fact that a variety of its evidence concerning the *Nigār* is analogous to not only other Middle Persian and Parthian Manichaean texts, but also Coptic Manichaean sources from Egypt.

Regarding the question of name and appearance, this Middle Persian passage introduces the term *nigār*, which connotes 'picture.' *Nigār* is used here as a title of a holy book, listed paired with other Manichaean books, as seen in numerous other instances in early Manichaean literature. Although no direct information is imparted by these lines about the actual appearance of the *Nigār,* an indirect allusion is made to its portable format, since we learn that it was taken along with Mār Ammō to Abarshar province just as the other books were.

Concerning the *Nigār*'s content, function, and date*,* this passage suggests that the *Nigār* was a one of the missionary tools essential for religious teaching. It was needed for missionary work, just as the books were. M 2 further suggests that the highest-ranking members of the Manichaean community, who were in charge of heading missions, had copies of Mani "books and the *Nigār*" under their care. Here, Mār Ammō is noted to have taken a set of them with him to Abarshar province. M 2 also casts light on the elite context of this particular mission by noting the Parthian prince, Ardabān. Thereby, M 2 implies a well-to-do setting, in which the "books and the *Nigār*" were used. Finally, M 2 implies a date by mentioning a mission that Mani assigned to Mār Ammō, entrusting him with (what were most likely copies of) the "books and the *Nigār.*" Thus, M 2 confirms the use of these works by the highest-ranking elects (the teachers) already during Mani's years of ministry (240–274/277 CE) across Parthian territories in West Central Asia.

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25 Boyce notes about prince Ardabān that he belonged to the house of the Arsacids (Parthians), and thus he was a kinsman of Mani's (Boyce 1975, 40; also cited in Klimkeit 1993, 217 note 20).

26 The text was first mistranslated by Andreas and Henning, and since then it was cited numerous times with the translation mistake that renders the Middle Persian term *nigār* (lit. 'picture') incorrectly as 'painter or book-painter' (Andreas and Henning 1933, 303; Boyce 1975, 39; Klimkeit 1982, 2; and Klimkeit 1993, 203–04). The mistranslated passage reads: "… He sent him to Abarshahr together with prince Ardaban and some brethren who could write well, as well as an illuminator" (Klimkeit 1993, 203). The correct reading cited above was first offered by Werner Sundermann, see discussion of *ng'r* in Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, 240; and Sundermann 2005, 382–383.

4 *Ārdhang Wifrās: A Parthian Text of an 'Oral Sermon on the Ārdhang'* (*240–700 CE*)

The Parthian phrase *Ārdhang Wifrās* is a title in Manichaean literature that may be best translated as "Sermon on the *Ārdhang*" or "Oral Sermon on the *Ārdhang*."[27] Based on the unambiguous connotation of this title, it is reasonable to assume that this text was the closest and thus, the most authoritative primary source on the *Ārdhang*—Mani's collection of didactic paintings. Numerous obstacles stand in the way of analyzing and interpreting what the *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments convey about the *Ārdhang*: (1) the complete critical edition of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments is yet to be published; (2) the already published material indicates a highly fragmentary survival; (3) the original length of the text is unknown; and (4) the surviving text preserves only a few intact sentences at a time, making it impossible to determine the significance of the available content in relation to the original full composition. Nevertheless, by focusing on the best-preserved fragments, it is possible to gain critical data regarding the appearance, content, and function of Mani's collection of didactic paintings.

The term *wifrās* indicates a practical, didactic, and originally oral function. It is a well-attested word in Parthian Manichaean literature surviving from Turfan. In its verbal form, *wifrās-* is a transitive verb with meanings such as 'to teach something, to show something, to proclaim something.' As a noun, it connotes 'teaching, instruction, sermon, homily,' and 'oral sermon.'[28] It is also used as the name of a distinct literary genre. As noted by Werner Sundermann in his 1984 study on the genres of Manichaean literature, *wifrās* is originally an oral preaching that became reduced to a written form in the formalization of Manichaean liturgy.[29] Its original connotation as an 'oral sermon' is especially relevant in connection with the *Ārdhang*, since the mere existence of a *wifrās* on the *Ārdhang* implies the existence of the practice of giving an 'oral sermon' on 'the Picture.'[30]

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27 Sundermann translates *Ārdhang Wifrās* as 'Sermon/discourse/commentary of/on the *Ārdhang*' and 'Treatise (or sermon) on the *Ārdhang*' (2005, 373 and 383) and 'Oral Proclamation/teaching/recitation' as the original Parthian meaning of *wifrās* (Sundermann 1985c, 236).

28 Durkin-Meisterernst 2004 Vol. III, Part 1, 352.

29 Sundermann 1985c, 232.

30 In this sense, this Parthian Manichaean phrase *Ārdhang Wifrās* has a connotation that is analogous to the historically unrelated Japanese phrase, *etoki*, which is a verb connotes 'oral instruction with religious pictures,' that is the act of 'religious (Buddhist) teaching with images;' while as a noun, it connotes the actual 'didactic painting used for religious instruction,' and also 'the person giving the sermon' (Kaminishi 2006, 4–8). Although undoubtedly the two terms constitute culturally, geographically, and historically remote examples, they attest to a widespread phenomenon of using religious pictorial art publically displayed during oral instructions of religious doctrine. A Manichaean example of an actual image used for such a didactic practice was noted first from the era of the Yuan dynasty (Gulácsi 2008 and 2011).

Among the culturally, geographically, and temporally distinct historical phases of Manichaean literature, the *Ārdhang Wifrās* is documented only in the Parthian language and only from among the Mediaeval manuscript remains discovered in the Turfan region. Its Parthian language implies an early origin, most likely within the era of Mesopotamian and West Central Asian Manichaeism, sometime during the late third and fourth centuries, when Parthian was one of the primary living languages of the Manichaean community. Its survival among the Turfan fragments as a Parthian text suggests a continued usage that stretched from the Parthian era through the Uygur era of Manichaean history until the early eleventh century in East Central Asia. By that time, Parthian was no longer a living language, but used only as a *lingua sacra* of the Manichaean Church. Therefore, it is unclear how much actual practical use a text could have had that was written in an archaic language to aid oral teachings in Mediaeval East Central Asia where Sogdian and Uygur were spoken.

In the collection of the *Turfanforschung*, Werner Sundermann identified parts of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* on 15 pieces of torn paper fragments from several different copies **(Table 2/2).**[31] While one of them derived from a pustaka folio (M 871m),[32] the rest are codex fragments, including 13 folio fragments and one bifolio fragment with its two folia still attached to one another. Four fragments retain the phrase, *Ārdhang Wifrās*, in the header of their respective folia. The phrase was written along the upper margin of the codex page in order to identify the content of that page: *Ārdhang* on the verso (on the right) and *Wifrās* on the recto (on the left page of the open codex, see Fig. 1).[33] Since these fragments did not contain regular literary prose, but instead what appears to be a series of terse references in forms of expository lists to explain, inform, or describe a topic, Sundermann grouped them based on the two thematic patterns attested in their texts: (1) *a list of references to parables/stories, each beginning with the phrase "of/about," as* documented on six fragments (M 186, M 258, M 4637, M 6061, M 6898 and M 8255 folio 1); and (2) *a list of references to similes*

31 Sundermann lists 14 *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments (2005, 374–375). Based on the internal catalogue assembled by the Turfan Research Group of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy, Hans-Joachim Klimkeit also lists some of these texts (1982a, 16 note 4). The 15th fragment, M 416, is noted by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst (2004, Vol. III, Part 1, 52) and discussed in a footnote by Sundermann (2005, 373).

32 The codicological characteristics of the double-sided paper fragment, M 871m, are analogous to other Manichaean *pustaka* (i.e., book in palm-leaf format) folia surviving from Turfan (see Gulácsi 2005, 188–191).

33 Written across the upper margin, the single line in the header was to be read continuously from right to left across the two facing pages of the open book. Accordingly, the verso of the previous page contained the one word *Ārdhang* while the recto of the following page contained *Wifrās*. Based on this practice, the headlines on the two sides of a single folio fragment always features *Ārdhang* on its verso and *Wifrās* on its recto.

TABLE 2/2 *Fifteen fragments of the* Ārdhang Wifrās (*16 texts*)

FRAGMENTS WITH LISTS OF STORIES (6 TEXTS)	FRAGMENTS WITH LISTS OF SIMILES (9 TEXTS)[34]
(1) M 186 (folio)	(1) M 35 (codex folio with header)
(2) M 258 (folio)	(2) M 205 (folio)
(3) M 4637 (folio)	(3) M 740a (folio)
(4) M 6061 (folio)	(4) M 833 (folio)
(5) M 6898 (folio)	(5) M 836 (folio)
(6) M 8255 folio 1 (bifolio with header)	(6) M 852 (folio)
	(7) M 871m (pustaka folio)
FRAGMENTS WITH HEADER ONLY (1 TEXT)	(8) M 907 (folio with header)
(1) M 416 (folio with header)	(9) M 8255 folio 2 (bifolio with header)

of various eschatological subjects introduced by the comparative phrase "(it is) like" as seen in a total of nine fragments (M 35, M 205, M 740a, M 833, M 836, and M 852, M 871m, M 907, and M 8255 folio 2).[35] One fragment retains only the header (M 416).

Regarding their codicological features, it is important to note that there is no evidence of pictorial art in the physical context of any of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments. These 15 fragments did not belong to illuminated manuscripts, nor do they retain any descriptions of paintings. Based on what is known today about Manichaean codicology and pictorial art, there is no reason to assume that any figural decoration adorned and/or illustrated (i.e., visually commented upon) the passages of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* either in codex or in *pustaka* formats.[36] Instead, these 15 fragments are best interpreted as practical texts written to aid the preparation or guide the performance of those learned elects who were entrusted with the task of delivering oral sermons (*wifrās*) with the aid of didactic pictorial art (*ārdhang*) displayed in the course of their instructions. While none of the currently known *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments mentions paintings, the stories and similes listed on many of them seem to indicate a culturally and religiously appropriate repertoire of references that can be called upon to aid oral instruction in core teachings of Mani as depicted in the *Ārdhang*.

34 Although these fragments do not match (i.e., they represent folio fragments of different codices, all of which included the *Ārdhang Wifrās* text), Sundermann notes the overlapping content among these texts that give two continuous passages from the end of the *Ārdhang Wifrās*, including one on M 35 + M 740a + M 871m + M 907 and another on M 8255 + M 205 (2005, 374).

35 Sundermann 2005, 374.

36 For a monograph on Manichaean codicology, see Gulácsi 2005a with special attention to Chapter 5.

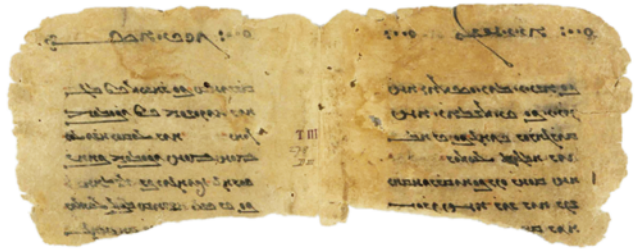
Codicological data documents how the *Ārdhang Wifrās* text was incorporated into the physical context of its codex, which also contained other texts. The bifolio fragment, M 8255, is especially informative in this regard **(Figure 2/1)**. This torn paper fragment (H: ca. 8.3 cm, W: ca. 21.8 cm) constitutes a portion from the upper part of a bifolio. What survives today may represent as little as one-third of the original height (i.e., if ca. 3 x 7 lines = 21 lines were on each page) or as much as one-half of it (i.e., if ca. 2 x 7 lines = 14 lines were on each page).[37] On each side of each folio (i.e., on all four fragmentary pages), a text of seven lines is preserved in a single column flanked by side margins and topped by a headline (header) written across the upper margin. Two long headlines in red ink distinguish the outer side of this bifolio, indicating the content of the first page as "Begun (is) the *Ārdhang Wifrās*" on folio 1" recto, and the content of the last pages as "Ended (is) the *Ārdhang Wifrās*" on "folio 2" verso (see Fig. 2/1a). On the inner side of this bifolio, the two headers read continuously across the two pages: "*Ārdhang*" on the verso of folio 1 and "*Wifrās*" on the recto of folio 2 (see Fig. 2/1b).

This bifolio retains no evidence that would allow us to confirm where it was located within its quire. It is possible that these four pages constituted the very middle of the quire (with the bifolio's inner side constituting actual facing pages), since the words in these two headers can be read together. If so, the *Ārdhang Wifrās* text was only four pages long in this quire that contained other texts both before and after the *Ārdhang Wifrās* (see Fig. 2/1c: minimum length). This bifolio could have been located at any other part of its quire, which in Manichaean Turfan are proven to contain as many as 15 paper bifolia. If the four pages of M 8255 formed the very last bifolio in the quire—as Sundermann Werner hypothesized in 2005 (see Fig. 2/1c: maximum length), then the *Ārdhang Wifrās* text could have been as long as 60 pages (4 pages per each of 15 bifolia). Sundermann considers this substantial length for the *Ārdhang Wifrās* possible, based on the 15 bifolia that survive from a single quire of the so-called BBB (Germ. *Bet-und Beichtbuch*, MIK III 53 [M 801a]).[38] If so, the first two and the last two pages of a ca. 60-page long *Ārdhang Wifrās* text are preserved by M 8255. According to Sundermann, the overall codex contained a minimum of three quires and a minimum of three texts as suggested by traces of the two texts that preceded and followed the *Ārdhang Wifrās*, from which only a few lines remain on M 8255 folio 1 recto and M 8255

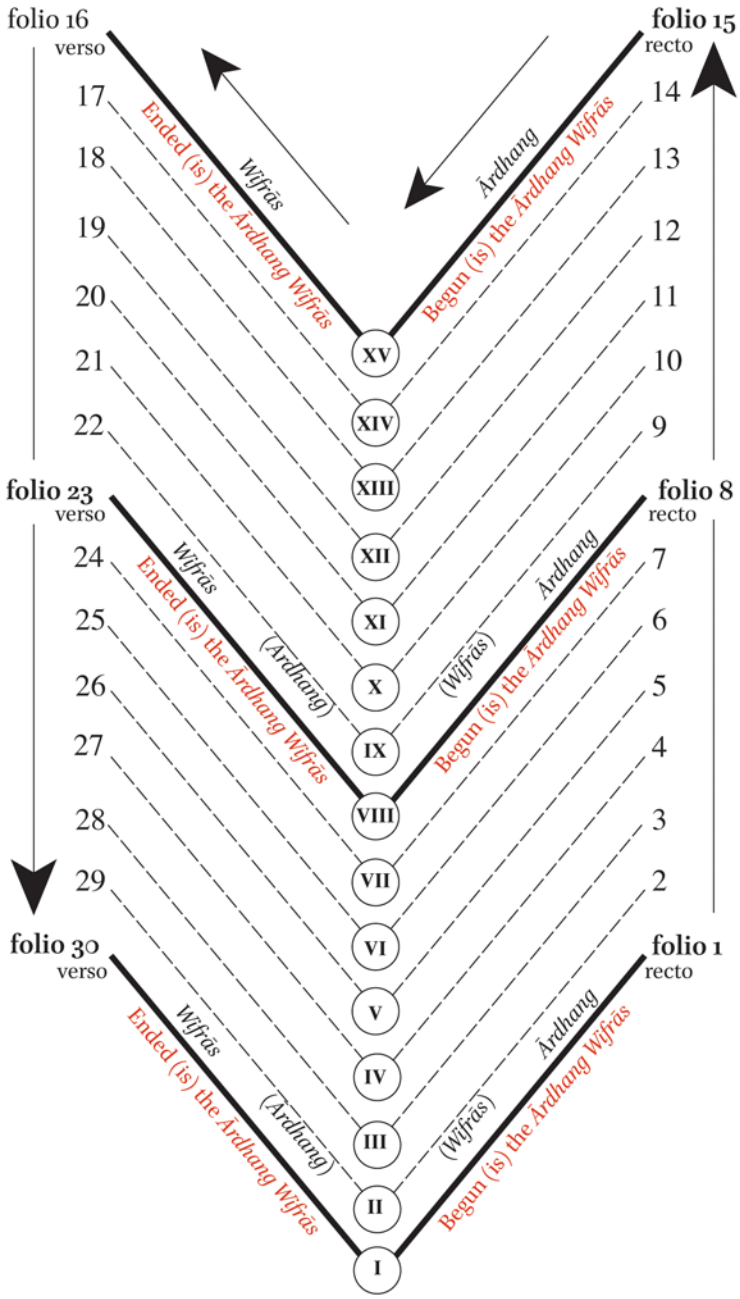
37 Assuming that this was neither a horizontal codex nor a square-shape codex (with seven lines of text on each page), but rather a vertical codex (the shape most commonly used in Turfan), the surviving seven lines still could have been on a page with as many as 28 lines (if one quarter of the original height survives) or as little as 14 lines (if one-half of the original height survives). For codicological diagrams illustrating the proportions on non-illuminated Manichaean codices, see Gulácsi 2005a, Figs. 3/9–3/11.

38 For a description and a codicological diagram that illustrates the quire structure of the BBB with its 15 bifolia and color coded headers, see Gulácsi 2005a, 61ff and Figs. 3/1 and 3/2.

a: Outer side of bifolio fragment M 8255 (H: 8.3 cm, W: 21.8 cm)
Header on folio 1 recto: "Begun (is) the *Ārdhang Wifrās*"
Header on folio 2 verso: "Ended (is) the *Ārdhang Wifrās*"



b: Inner side of bifolio fragment, M 8255
Header on folio 1 verso: "*Ārdhang*"
Header on folio 2 recto: "*Wifrās*"



MINIMUM LENGTH (4 pages)
If M 8255 was the last bifolio in its quire, then the *Ārdhang Wifrās* text began on folio 15 recto and concluded on folio 16 verso, totaling 4 pages in length

EXAMPLE OF OTHER POSSIBLE LENGTH
If M 8255 was a middle bifolio in its quire, then the *Ārdhang Wifrās* text began on folio 8 recto and concluded on folio 23 verso, totaling 46 pages in length

MAXIMUM LENGTH (60 pages)
If M 8255 was the first bifolio in its quire, then the *Ārdhang Wifrās* text began on folio 1 recto and concluded on folio 30 verso, totaling 60 pages in length

c: Diagram of quire with undetermined location of bifolio fragment, M 8255

FIGURE 2/1 *Codicological analysis of the* Ārdhang Wifrās *bifolio fragment* (*M 8255, Depositum der* BBAW *in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung*)

folio 2 + M 205 verso, respectively.[39] The bifolia of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* quire contained headers that read across the facing pages identical to the ones that are preserved on folio 1 verso and folio 2 recto. In short, codicological data confirms only that this text occupied a minimum of four pages (equal to one bifolio) or any multiple of four pages (8 pages = 2 bifolia, 12 pages = 3 bifolia, 14 pages = 4 bifolia, etc.,) up to a maximum of 60 pages (= 15 bifolia). The length of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* composition remains uncertain, since we do not know the position of the bifolio M 8255 in the quire, how many bifolio constitutes this quire, or even the length of the individual pages.

When considering the content of the *Ārdhang Wifrās*, it is reasonable to assume that, at the time when its Parthian prose was written, the main themes (i.e., large thematic units that regard the main religious teachings) of the text corresponded with the main themes depicted in the *Ārdhang*. Yet, the identification of the main themes of the *Ārdhang Wifrās*, along with the decoding of its numerous concise references to what we may call "subsidiary stories" (i.e., stories that add succinct cultural/religious allegories in individual sentences in order to help explain a main theme), is not an easy task. An example of this can be seen on the verso of M 35. The main theme of this passage is the "Great Fire," also known as the "World Fire," which will consume the universe at the end of time according to Manichaean teaching. Instead of providing the prose of a sermon text on this fire, here the character of the fire is referenced through a series of allegories:

> The story of the *Great Fire*:
> Like the fire, with powerful wrath, swallows this world
> and enjoys it;
> Like this fire that is in this body, swallows the exterior fire
> that comes in fruit and food, and enjoys it;
> Like two brothers who found a treasure were lacerated by
> a pursuer, and they died;
> Like Ohya, Leviathan, and Raphael
> lacerated each other, and they vanished;
> Like a lion-cub, a calf in a wood (or in a meadow),
> and a fox, who lacerated each another, [and they vanished or died];
> So [the *Great Fire* swallows] both of the fires.[40]

Although the subjects of these listed brief references are clearly stated, alluding to elements of local popular culture and Manichaean religious folklore that were readily comprehensible in the world of the intended audience, their nuanced meanings are not self evident today. For example, the text may

39 Sundermann 2005, 375.

40 For this passage on M 35 verso (without the above interpretive formatting) as published by Henning, see quote below.

TABLE 2/3 *Textual content of the* Ārdhang Wifrās *vs. the pictorial content of the* Ārdhang

MAIN THEMES MENTIONED in the *Ārdhang Wifrās*	=	MAIN THEMES DEPICTED in the *Ārdhang*
FIGURES MENTIONED in analogies listed in *Ārdhang Wifrās* as possible explanations of a theme	≠	FIGURES DEPICTED in corresponding pictorial theme of the *Ārdhang*

refer to a list of stories or parables, as noted above. In other cases, the text may mention something that was done by a well-known Manichaean deity, such as the Light Maiden (as on M 740 verso), or the Third Messenger (who is called after his Parthian name *Mihr Yazad* lit. 'the God Mithra' on both folio 1 verso and folio 2 verso of M 8255). It is clear that all such references were meant to provide analogies by which to elucidate major didactic themes that remain evident only rarely in what survives from the original text. Therefore, we cannot assume that all figures mentioned in these analogies in the *Ārdhang Wifrās* (Ohya, Leviathan, and Raphael; lion-cubs, calves, and foxes; or even Manichaean figures such, as the Light Maiden and the Third Messenger) were necessarily depicted within the corresponding image of the *Ārdhang* (**Table 2/3**). In the above example from M 35, the theme is the Great Fire, which is likely the element of the *Ārdhang*, for which the listed comparisons supply exposition.

Six passages preserved on the two largest *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments are quoted below; one of them mentions the Third Messenger (M 8255), and the other mentions Jesus (M 35) in the context of eschatological discussions with recognizable themes. Based on Werner Sundermann's research, it is clear that the beginning portion of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* (as seen on M 8255 folio 1 recto and verso) features a ca. two-page long list of brief references to a set of parables/stories. These may be best compared to the lecture notes of a teacher, which can be reviewed before the oral instruction begins or used as a reference during the instruction. Each parable/story starts with the phrase "about/of" such as: "About a man who is granted much desire [. . .]," or "About a ruler who [gave] a meal to the noblemen [. . .]." In these cases, we remain in the dark not only about the details of the referenced subsidiary stories, but also about the main didactic theme that brought them together for an oral sermon. Sundermann's study also identified an example of the ending portion of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* (M 8255 folio recto and verso) and discovered that the latter text partially overlaps with the sentences preserved on the two sides of an independent folio fragment (M 205 recto and verso), which represents another copy of the same text. Thus, these two folio fragments together (M 8255 folio 2 + M 205) document the ending portions of the *Ārdhang Wifrās*

and contain a list of similes, each of which begins with the phrase "like [it is]."[41] This part of the text also gives the impression of a note with a list of brief references, rather than regular prose. On the very last page, where the *Ārdhang Wifrās* concluded (M 8255 folio 2 verso + M 205 verso), however, a main didactic theme is recognizable. It concerns individual eschatology, "*the soul departing the body*," which is compared to a variety of human experiences through a set of similes. The soul departing the body is "like a bright lamp when it is taken out from a dark house," "like a house which people leave (so that) it becomes deserted," and "like *Mihr Yazad* when he goes forth from this world." Similarly, the second fragment (M 35) preserves two passages with recognizable main themes. Both deal with events of cosmic eschatology to take place at the end of the time, including the theme of *Jesus' second coming*, which remains a still largely an unexplored theme of Manichaean teaching (M 35 recto), and the theme of *"the Great Fire,"* that is, the "World Fire," that consumes the universe at the Eschaton (M 35 verso):

Bifolio fragment from the Ārdhang Wifrās mentioning the Third Messenger (*M 8255 + M 205*)

Folio I recto/hl/ The beginning of *Ārdhang Wifrās*
] *grew hot. About a golden *substitute which is reckoned as flint. About a man who is granted much desire(?), and they bind him secretly at a finger's hint. About a ruler who [gave] a meal to the noblemen [and ?]. And [
(*lacuna*)

Folio I verso/hl/ *Ārdhang*
] who is in the garden. About the heart in the body. About the pure pearl which stays in water and mud. About *Mihr Yazad* who is near to men and far away. About the sea and [
(*lacuna*)

M 8255 folio 11 + M 205 (matching only in content)
Recto /hl/ *Wifrās*
] the pious man who is righteous to God and well attending his own soul. And the work of all these, one by one, becomes manifest. (It) is like the body, which is divided into five limbs. The heads of [the Church] are like the head, [
(*lacuna*)

41 Sundermann 2005, 374.

Verso/hl/ The end of *Ārdhang Wifrās*
] like *Mihr Yazad* when he goes forth from this world; like a bright lamp when it is taken out from a dark house; like a house which people leave (so that) it becomes deserted and *dangerous. So (it is with) the soul. When it abandons the body, (the body) becomes small and despised with every fleshly creature. Truly, in [
(*lacuna*)[42]

Folio fragment of the Ārdhang Wifrās mentioning Jesus (*M 35*)

Recto /hl/ *Wifrās*
[Ninth . . .*greed] disappears, and belief descends to humans. Tenth, that Jesus' wound becomes visible to everyone. Eleventh, that the religious (Parth. *dinawars*) become rulers over (the time of) their bodily exit. Twelfth, that they become painless, without cold and heat, and without lust, because angels (lit. apostles) and. . . . . And the Messiah (Jesus) dwells for 120 years together with (the community of the) righteous. And 100 years the world will remain void of (its) inhabitants. The trees will . . . and tremble (*lacuna*).[43]

Verso /hl/ *Ārdhang*
will be consumed. And there will be no plants/trees anymore. But they will pass away. [double punctuation]. And the story (*āzend*) about the *Great Fire*: like (the way in which) the fire, with powerful wrath, swallows this world and enjoys it; like (the way in which) this fire that is in this body, swallows the exterior fire that is (lit. comes) in fruit and food, and enjoys it. Again, like (the story in which) two brothers, who found a treasure, and a pursuer lacerated each other, and they died; like (the fight in which) Ohya, Leviathan (lit. Lewyātīn), and Raphael lacerated each another, and they vanished; like (the story in which) a lion-cub, a calf in a wood (or in a meadow), and a fox, who lacerated each another, [and they vanished, or died]. Thus [the *Great Fire* swallows, etc.] both of the fires. . . . (*lacuna*).[44]

Although the critical edition of the texts preserved on the currently known 15 *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments is yet to be published, a preliminary analysis of them has already yielded a useful set of data that is informative about the *Ārdhang*.

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42 The translation of M 8255 + M 205 was kindly provided by Werner Sundermann (personal communication), from his critical edition of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* texts. Asterisks mark previously unknown words.

43 English translation after Sundermann 2003, 423–424.

44 Since M 35 verso mentions some figures from the Hebrew Bible, Henning published this translation in his study on Mani's *Book of the Giants* (1943, 71–72).

Those four *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments that retain their headers (M 35, M 416, M 907, and M 8255) use *Ārdhang* in the role of a title—a designation for the same work by Mani, referred to by the two Parthian texts from Turfan surveyed above.[45] *Ārdhang* has no known etymology in Parthian.[46] Its connotation is taken for granted in Parthian Manichaean sources, as indicated by the lack of any clarifications about its meaning. Starting in the eleventh century, however, outside of a Manichaean context, the use of this term required an explanation as the title of Mani's collection of paintings in Persian dictionaries as well as in Arabic, Persian, and Chagati historical writings.[47] These tertiary sources appear to confirm the connotation of *Ārdhang* as the title of Mani's collection of paintings in Parthian Manichaean sources.[48]

Concerning the appearance of the *Ārdhang*, the *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments provide important pieces of evidence that eliminate any hypothesis that the text of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* might have been in the physical context of the *Ārdhang* itself. First, the codicological data preserved in these fragments prove that the *Ārdhang Wifrās* text was not accompanied by any paintings. Being written in plain columns, they confirm that the *Ārdhang* was not an illuminated manuscript. Instead of being a luxurious painted book that supplements its text with illustrations, the *Ārdhang Wifrās* text was kept within the context of regular religious books, which only contained texts. Second, the text of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* was not written in a regular religious prose, but instead what appears to be a set of notes that can be consulted by an elect in preparation for giving teaching, i.e., an "oral sermon" or *wifrās*. This practical function does not justify the luxury of an expensively produced illuminated book. Whatever luxury was involved in a *wifrās* given on the *Ārdhang* came form an *Ārdhang* that was displayed as an essential visual aid of this teaching. All these considerations therefore lead to the conclusion that the *Ārdhang Wifrās* was a plain text that guided the oral expositions of a solely pictorial work.

45 The two other Parthian Manichaean fragments (M 5569 and M 5815) that use the term *Ārdhang*, without being associated with the *Ārdhang Wifrās*, are discussed above.

46 Sundermann 2005, 377. As part of his study, Sundermann provides an overview of Henning's tentative etymology, which points to the Middle Persian *-hang* < Old Iranian **ϑang-* 'to draw' in order to explain the second part of the word *Ārdhang* (Haloun—Henning 1952–53, 210 and note 5), and notes that the first part of the word *Ārd-* remains unexplained.

47 The earliest Persian and Arabic sources that discuss the meaning of the term *Ārdhang* (i.e. *Arthang/Erzheng*) date from the second half of the eleventh century. They include (1) a brief entry in the Persian dictionary of *Asadī Ṭūsī* (1066 CE) and (2) an Arabic passage discussing Mani and his prophetic miracle by Abū al-Maʿālī (1092 CE). See their discussion in Chapter 4.

48 Motivated by the lack of images and the lack of references to pictures in the *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments (in addition to the lack of etymology for the term *Ārdhang*), Sundermann questioned the traditional interpretation of Parthian title *Ārdhang* as the collection of Mani's didactic paintings. Instead, he considered the possibility of translating it as "The Painstaking [Book]," to indicate the title of a lost (non-pictorial) book by Mani (2005, 383). Subsequently, he abandoned this proposition.

Information about the *Ārdhang*'s content provided by the currently known relatively small surviving portions of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* text allows us to confirm two main themes that were part of the repertoire of images depicted in Mani's collection of didactic paintings: salvation and eschatology. The depiction of the salvation theme included a scene with *the soul departing the body* (M 8255). The depiction of eschatology featured scenes such as *the second coming of Jesus* (M 35 recto) and *the World Fire*, referred to here as "*the Great Fire*" (M 35 verso). Although the two additional *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments mention two important figures of the Manichaean Pantheon, the Light Maiden (M 740) and the Third Messenger (M 8255), the idea that deities formed major themes in the *Ārdhang* cannot be confirmed based on these fragments, since the main themes of their passages, in the context of which these deities are mentioned, do not survive (see Tab. 2/3). Jesus' case is different. His figure is integral to the depiction of his second coming, discussed in connection with the identifiable main theme: cosmic eschatology.

Concerning the question of the *Ārdhang's* function, the *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments contain a unique set of data, revealing otherwise undocumented details on the "oral sermon" (*wifrās*), for which the *Ārdhang* was designed. We have already seen from some of the Coptic texts that Mani's collection of paintings was used in the course of oral instruction. During such an instruction, a group of disciples listened to the explanation of Manichaean teachings delivered to them with the help of a visual aid. They asked questions and received answers about the religion, while referencing didactic images displayed in front of them. This very didactic practice seems to be confirmed by the unusual compositional style of the *Ārdhang Wifrās*. The assessment of the text above showed that the *Ārdhang Wifrās* contains various listings and thus, it could not have been intended for use as regular religious prose to be read out verbatim. The *Ārdhang Wifrās* was not a text that can be read as such. It could not be used for public readings or self-study. Six of the surviving *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments (M 186, M 258, M 4637, M 6061, M 6898, M 8255 folio 1) retain an inventory of references to parables from the beginning of the text. Nine fragments (M 35, M 205, M 740a, M 871m, M 833, M 836, M 852, M 907, M 8255 folio 2) list references to similes from the ending of the text. In both cases, the references are brief and coded, requiring background knowledge, since the bulk of their contents (the actual stories) come from the memory of the elect, i.e., they have to be brought to the performance of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* by the sermonizer. Occasionally, the references are enumerated (M 35 recto), as if to help the instructor to remember them, when needed. All this suggests that this text contains the notes to be consulted in preparing to give a sermon (*wifrās*) on the *Ārdhang*, or as an *aide memoire* consulted during the sermon, thus confirming that the *Ārdhang Wifrās* functioned as a resource for oral instruction.

Assessing the complex data preserved on the date requires us to think separately about the physical remains and the intellectual content of the *Ārdhang Wifrās*. Concerning physical remains, that is, the production of the 15 folio frag-

ments (14 codex and one *pustaka* folio), it is certain that they were made in multiple copies, and most likely during the Uygur era (ca. 755/762–1024 CE) in Kocho, where they were found in the Turfan oasis. The text, however, could not have been composed (let alone used) there, because Parthian was not a living language in East Central Asia at that time. The text must have originated during the 400-year era stretching between the mid-third and the mid-seventh centuries within the western parts of the Iranian cultural area, where Parthian was one of the languages at that time.

5 *M 4570: A Parthian Sermon on the Deaths of Mani and Jesus (240–700 CE)*

The last Parthian-language text related to the didactic paintings of the Manichaean community is found on the folio fragment M 4570. Like the others, it was also written in Manichaean script on nonilluminated codex folia, containing a sermon that discusses Mani's death in relation to Jesus' crucifixion. Important for this study is that it mentions some sort of a teaching aid two times, which the disciples were shown while they were listening to this originally orally performed sermon. Arguably, that this teaching aid was a visual display containing a set of images depicting the Passion of Jesus.

The references made to the events of Jesus' Passion in M 4570 accord not with the text of the canonical gospels, but with that of the *Diatessaron* (Gr. διὰ τεσσάρων, lit. 'through four'), the earliest known gospel harmony, dating from the 170s CE. Composed in Syriac, probably by the early Christian writer Tatian (ca. 120–180 CE), this text remained the standard gospel text in the Syriac-speaking part of the Christian world until the late fifth century. The Manichaeans were exposed to Tatian's work most likely already during the life of Mani in the Mesopotamian phase of their history. Subsequently, they were noted for a continued use and preservation of the *Diatessaron* especially in the Latin-speaking part of the Roman Empire until the late fifth century.[49] Direct quotations from Tatian's prose, given in Parthian translation in an East Central Asian Manichaean text, confirm a continued use of the *Diatessaron* until the early eleventh century.

The diatessaronic content of M 4570 was famously identified by Werner Sundermann in one of his first publications on Iranian Manichaean literature, which appeared in 1968.[50] Sundermann's revised interpretation of

49 In a series of studies between 1968 and 1993, Quispel argues that it was the Manichaeans who preserved the most authentic version of Tatian's *Diatessaron* in the West (1993, 374–378). Unlike the *Diatessaron* in Syriac Christian use, where its content was gradually brought into greater alignment with the standard texts of the Greek gospels, the Manichaean version of the *Diatessaron* in the Latin West remained "archaic" and "wild," since the Manichaeans were under no pressure to "vulgatize" or "domesticate" it. For a summary of Quispel's argument, see Petersen (1994, 282, 336, and 441).

50 Sundermann 1968, 398. In addition, two smaller Parthian fragments (M 6005 and M 18) are known to be diatessaronic. They both quote two passages from the *Diatessaron* that cover Jesus addressing his disciples before his death and the women arriving at Jesus'

M 4570 is incorporated into his study of the *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts* published in 1981. Found on the two sides of a relatively large paper folio (min. 17.8 x ca. 28.0 cm) and titled by its header as a *Sermon on the Crucifixion*, the text is a teaching given on Mani's death, as compared to that of Jesus.[51] The bulk of the surviving text (ca. 80% of it) regards Christ's Passion that, as Sundermann pointed out, is identical to two sections of the *Diatessaron*—a shorter and a larger passage. The two passages are given as comparisons to Mani's "Parinirvāna," that is, his death, the discussion of which governs the overall content of the sermon.[52]

This Parthian sermon is written as a word-by-word record of an oral instruction, allowing its reader to witness a teaching once given by an elect. To emphasize the main points, this instruction relies on comparison: "as we all know, as also Jesus Christ," and "[as] also our beneficent father [Mani] . . . so those corresponding to the Jews." In addition, it is clear from the text that this teaching was supplemented with some sort of demonstration, since the author actually uses the phrase "as it shows" (Pa. *'w'gwn nm'yd*) and "so it shows" (Pa. *cw'gwn nm'yd*). This fact led Sundermann to suggest that the writer refers to another text,[53] which is only *one* of two possible explanations. There is,

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tomb, respectively. For M 6005, see Sundermann 1973, 106–108. For M 18, see Petersen 1988, 187–192.

51 The sequence of the two sides of M 4570 is established by its header (*Sermon on the Crucifixion*), which was written across the facing pages of the codex. Accordingly, the recto contains the second half of the header (since the preceding verso page with the start of the header is now lost), while the verso of the folio preserves the first half of the header's text. On the recto, Jesus' death is discussed, while subsequent passages on the verso mention events leading up to his death (Sundermann 1981, 76 and Tafel 33).

52 Sundermann argues that M 4570, although abbreviated, is a diatessaronic account for two reasons. First, because it narrates the life of Jesus in accordance with text of the *Diatessaron*, which was accessible to Mani and his disciples in its Syriac version. Although the Syriac original, just as its Greek translation, is lost today (except for a few fragments), a comparison with the Arabic translation of the Syriac and a Latin translation of Victor of Capua supplies adequate proof. Second, M 4570 does not expand on the *Diatessaron* to suggest the use of a further source. Nevertheless, Sundermann notes some uniquely Manichaean characteristics that color this text. While the Arabic version of the *Diatessaron* reproduces the biblical original incorrectly (XLIX, 10: "The servants of all the leaders of the Priests," cf. Luke. 22:66) the Parthian text does not (/R/I/3–5/). In addition, he points out that the Parthian text is rather freely formulated and reflects already known Manichaean gospel citations. It is especially interesting that in this text, too, the Manichaeans assign distinct roles to the Jews and the Romans in their attitudes towards Jesus. The mocking homage "The King of the Jews" (Mat. 27:29) was rendered as "Our Messiah" (/V/I/11/), which does not appear in the canonical gospels. Instead, it reflects the Manichaean view, according to which the Jews mocked Jesus, not the Roman soldiers (Sundermann 1968, 393–394). The relationship of the Manichaean sermon text to Tatian's prose becomes evident by correlating the Parthian text and the Arabic version of the *Diatessaron*. For a comparison, see Gulácsi 2012, 155–157.

53 Asmussen (1975, 101) agrees with Sundermann (1981, 76 note 3; and 1968, 392, note 32). Based on Sundermann's interpretation, Durkin-Meisterernst suggests that the Parthian

however, alternative and equally plausible way to think about these phrases. In light of the growing evidence about the Manichaeans' practice of teaching with images, this passage may be best understood to preserve a record for a visual aid used for oral instruction. During the original lecture recorded in this sermon text, the elect might have pointed to a displayed set of images that literarily "showed" the very events of Christ's Passion that the Parthian diatessaronic quotations describe.[54]

The passage quoted below from M 4570 reads as a transcript of a sermon, in the course of which a demonstration was used; this is indicated by referring to an object that "showed" (Pa. *nm'yd*, lit. 'it shows') Jesus' Passion. It is possible that this object was not a text describing the events of Jesus' suffering, but rather a depiction of it. An image representing one of the core Manichaean teachings (the cross of Light symbolized by Jesus' death) was part of Mani's collection of didactic paintings used for oral instruction. Accordingly, M 4570 preserves important evidence about the content and the function of the *Ārdhang*. The text reads:

> . . . and he [Mani] lost consciousness and died. [two blank lines]
>
> So was the Parinirvāna of our Lord [Mani], as it is written. And no one should esteem it as more glorious. [up to six lines missing]
>
> . . . Redeem (us) from these things that have come upon us. As we all know, as also Jesus Christ, the Lord of us all, was crucified, as it shows (Parth. *'w'gwn nm'yd*) about him. They seized him like a sinner. And they clothed (him) in a robe and [gave] him a stick in [his hand]. And they venerated him . . . and said, '. . . King, our Christ!' And they led him to the Cross. [eight lines badly preserved or missing]
>
> . . . [There are] also others [who] have [left the world?] through crucifixion. They are many, who have been killed by the sword. [up to three lines missing] . . . And there are some who went into distant lands, and, having arrived there, were killed. And every one of these Apostles was known [throughout the world], for it has been reported [to us] how they suffered and by what sort of crucifixion they left the world. And they also had disciples, some who were thrown to wild beasts, others who were chased from land to land. And they were like aliens and enemies

verb *nimāy-* 'to show,' is used to introduce a quotation. Other texts with this phrase include M 4570, M 6040, M 741, M 5860, and M 55661 + M 5562 + M 847 + M 4350 (2004, 243). If so, it is possible these expressions allude to the very diatessaronic passages, which were given as direct quotations from Tatian, since in both cases, the quotations directly follow the "as/so it shows" phrases (Gulácsi 2012, 157–161).

54 The early Manichaean roots of the two vignettes preserved on MIK III 4967a prove that not only did they have a repertoire of images depicting such subjects, but also that these paintings were specifically diatessaronic. The elect giving the sermon could have pointed to large versions of such images painted on the surface of a display medium. An actual example of such a didactic Manichaean painting was first pointed out from southern China (Gulácsi 2008, 1–16).

> in the entire world, and everywhere they were said to be deceived and corrupted. And many are the temptations (that they) [faced] and that they bore . . . [two lines badly preserved]
>
> . . . [as] also our beneficent father [Mani], . . . our living . . ., so those corresponding to the Jews desired to remove him [Mani] from the world, so it shows (Parth. [*c*]*w'gwn nm'yd*); . . . on the morning, the teachers, priests, scribes [and] the religious heads held deliberations, taking counsel with each other in order to [kill] him. And they sought false witness, but their testimonies did not agree. And they brought forth two and they said. "This man says, 'I am able to destroy this temple that is made with hands, and to build another that is not made with hands in three days.' " And their testimony, too, [did not agree]. And the High Priest demanded, "By the living God, I admonish you to take an oath, telling me whether you are Christ the Son of God, the Blessed One." Jesus said to him, "At first you yourself said that I am he . . ." [up to six lines missing]
>
> . . . But from now on you will see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of the Divine Power, when he comes from heaven in a chariot . . ." At this time the High Priest [tore] his robe and said: "to me [."] And they spoke to each other: "[ ] witness what [is still] needed? [ ] we have all further heard [the blasphemy] from his own mouth [ ] one must kill [him].[55]

While M 4570 does not name the *Ārdhang* or comment about its origin and appearance, it nevertheless conveys important data about the thematic content represented in Manichaean didactic art used during oral instruction. It confirms that the Life of Christ (Jesus' Passion) was included as a main theme that was illustrated in numerous details. In addition, M 4570 also supplies some basic data about how these images were used for oral instruction.

Concerning the question of pictorial content, M 4570 implies that that Passion of Jesus was included in the repertoire of themes featured in early Manichaean didactic art. The lines surviving from the recto discuss Jesus' arrest, his being mocked and lead to the cross: ". . . as it shows about him. They seized him like a sinner. And they clothed (him) in a robe and [gave] him a stick in [his hand]. And they venerated him . . . and said, '. . . King, our Christ!' And they led him to the Cross." The lines of the verso refer to further details concerning the condemnation of Jesus and Jesus in front of Caiaphas, who is mentioned as "the High Priest" two times in this part of the surviving text.

Regarding the function of the didactic images, M 4570 indicates that they were used during oral instruction. First, the illustrations were drawn to the attention of the audience as documented through the phrases: "as it shows"

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55 The English translation presented here follows that of Klimkeit (1993, 72) with the inclusion of some minor sections omitted by Klimkeit, based on Sundermann's German translation from 1981. An English translation of part of this text is included in Asmussen's study (1975, 101).

(Pa. 'w'gwn nm'yd) on the recto, and "so it shows" (Pa. [c]w'gwn nm'yd), on the verso. Both precede descriptive explanation of some teaching aid, which arguably was not a text consulted by the audience, but an image looked at by them.[56] Second, the illustrations were elaborated upon extensively by the instructor: "as it shows . . . on the morning, the teachers, priests, scribes [and] the religious heads held deliberations, taking counsel with each other in order to [kill] him. And they sought false witness, but their testimonies did not agree. And they brought forth two and they said. 'This man says: I am able to destroy this temple that is made with hands, and to build another that is not made with hands in three days.' And their testimony, too, [did not agree]. And the High Priest demanded, 'By the living God, I admonish you to take an oath, telling me whether you are Christ the Son of God, the Blessed One.' Jesus said to him, 'At first you yourself said that I am he . . .' [. . .]." Based on their somewhat random nature, these lines are not direct quotations from another text, but more likely comments recalled from memory in the course of teaching with images.

6 *M 219: A Middle Persian Text on the Practice of Teaching with Images (240–800 CE)*

The manuscript fragment, M 219, retains most of one, long, narrow column of a Manichaean script text written in Middle Persian on each sides of a paper codex folio. The fragment contains a polemical teaching against idolaters and two magical texts.[57] The text on idolaters has some fascinating data about how images were used for teaching in Manichaean Turfan, while referring to a *nigār*. As to be expected from a Middle Persian text, the noun *nigār* is used here in the sense of 'a picture' or 'an image.' This broad meaning, however, becomes qualified, since in M 219, *nigār* connotes not just any picture, but specifically a picture to be looked at during the course of a religious instruction delivered in an oral setting.

The passage below is a transcript of an oral sermon. In this text, the elect, who is giving the teaching, addresses his disciples directly in present tense and in the second person: "Listen" and "direct eye and face (to see) how it is depicted (. . . .) here in front of you." This grammar eliminates the possibility of the interpretation put forward by Henning, who suggests that the author of the text is writing to a reader, and directing the reader's attention to a now-lost illumination that originally might have been part of the codex page, located next to the text.[58] Not only is there no evidence of any illumination on M 219, but

56 This interpretation is supported by M 219, which preserves similar textual clue about a picture used in the course of an oral instruction: "Listen delicate humankind! Direct eye and face (towards this and see) how it is depicted here in front of you. On this *nigār* . . .," see discussion below.

57 Boyce 1960, 16.

58 In his publication, Henning briefly entertains the hypothesis that the discussion of a picture (*nigār*) on M 219 might be interpreted as a reference to a now-lost image that once

moreover, no such assumed close connection between text and book painting is known today from Manichaean book art. Instead, now there is a vast body of data about teaching with images, including actual transcripts of oral sermons. Therefore, in light of the growing amount of evidence about the Manichaean practice of giving a religious instruction with the aid of didactic pictorial art displayed in front of the audience, it seems most likely that in M 219 the term *nigār* connotes one specific "picture" from *the Nigār* of the Manichaeans. Supporting this interpretation are two additional Middle Persian texts that use *Nigār* as a reference to the title of Mani's collection of didactic images (M 2 and M 47). The text reads:

> . . . we will go out of [the land of] the sinners to the land of the beneficent. The young disciple says: "Well-being to all people who want and ask for this." [Well-be]ing also to you who wish [that] you make your mind patient and understand what is revealed [to] you: the deceit of the dogmas—the teaching of the Gods, life—and death, piety and its teacher—sinfulness and its sower. Listen delicate humankind! Direct eye and face (towards this and see) how it is depicted here in front of you. On this *nigār*: idols, idol priests, altars, and their gods. Close (lit. collect) my mind (to impressions from them): the sacrament(s), the profession, and the belief in them.
>
> I will send the preaching . . . they raise their voices like dogs. Truth is not in their speech. But you, know your own Self! Seize the road of the Gods! Now in the first place [at] the hand of all these (things) that are depicted here, this is the temple of the idols, which they call "The Dwelling of the Gods." And corresponding to the name of the dwelling, there are many gods (there). Many are running about, (and) when you ask: "Where (are you going)?" they say: "To the Dwelling of the Gods. To offer reverence, love, gifts in front of them!" The idol priests raise their voices: "Come forth to The Dwelling of the Gods!" However, inside "The Dwelling of the Gods," here are no gods! The deceived do not realize that, because their spirits have been made intoxicated. But you . . .[59]

M 219 retains an important and nuanced meaning of the term *nigār*, the understanding of which requires us to contemplate its connotation in relation to the context. As documented by two Middle Persian Manichaean texts (M 2, M 47), the title of Mani's collection of didactic paintings in this language is also *Nigār*. In M 219, however, this word seems to be used *not* in the role of a title, (*The*

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illuminated the codex folio, illustrating the text surviving on M 219. He writes: "Das Buch, dem dieses Blatt entstammt, war vermutlich mit Miniaturen geschmückt, die das Treiben der Götzendiener veranschaulichen sollen" (Andreas and Henning 1933, 313, note 3).

59 The English translation given above is after Asmussen (1975, 13). Sundermann also discusses parts of this passage (2005, 374).

Picture) but as the common noun—a picture, that is, an image, a to be looked at during a religious instruction.

M 219 supplies evidence about the appearance of Manichaean pictorial art used for oral instruction. First, the text states that the *nigār* under discussion was a pictorial work, executed in a painting medium, and containing depictions: "It is depicted here" and "all these (things) that are depicted here." The material support on which these paintings were made is not noted. Second, the text implies that this *nigār* was suited to be used for doctrinal instruction. The elect, whose teaching is described in M 219, requests his disciples to "direct eye and face (towards this and see) . . . here in front of" them. This statement suggests that the *nigār* was displayed "in front of" the disciples. If so, this *nigār* must have been executed on a scale large enough to be shown during a teaching, which, one may assume, was conducted for a small group of people. Third, it is most likely that labels supplemented some of the motifs depicted, since the text uses a specific phrase, "The Dwelling of the Gods." Not only does it repeat this phrase four times but it also provides a long definition for an already descriptive term: "This is the temple of the idols, which they call 'The Dwelling of the Gods.' And corresponding to the name of the dwelling, there are many gods (there)."

Regarding the question of the pictorial content featured in this *nigār*, the surviving portion of M 219 describes one main theme portrayed in it as well as some of its details. The text that the didactic theme focused upon during this instruction regards the false beliefs concerning the worship of idols in the context of another, unnamed religion. In addition, the text describes some of the pictorial details (motifs) of the image consulted for this teaching by stating: "It is depicted here in front of you. On this *nigār*: idols, idol priests, altars, and their gods."

Several details that are informative about the function of this nigār are revealed in M 219. First of all, the text states clearly that this painting was explained in the context of oral instruction, since the elect turns to his audience, asking them to "listen." Next the elect asks the disciples to look at the painting displayed in front of them: "Direct eye and face (towards this and see) how it is depicted here in front of you." Third, the instructor refers to a specific section of the painting as he explains certain motifs depicted in this nigār to qualify the depictions. After giving a basic summary of what the painting showed, the elect explains some of the features as follows: "However, inside 'The Dwelling of the Gods,' here are no gods! The deceived do not realize that, because their spirits have been made intoxicated."

The Middle Persian language of M 219 provides some circumstantial evidence for when this sermon text was most likely composed. Middle Persian was only used as *lingua sacra* among the Manichaeans during the Uygur era in East Central Asia. Therefore, although the codex that contained the folio fragment was made in Kocho during the Uygurs' support of Manichaeism there, the content of this text must have originated West of Kocho and possibly much earlier. The Manichaean communities used Middle Persian as a living

language while they were active across the Iranian cultural sphere between the mid-third and ninth centuries. Sometime within this ca. 600-year long period, a sermon was delivered focusing on a *nigār* depicting polemics. Its text was committed to writing and became part of Manichaean literature.

7 *M 47: A Middle Persian Parable on the Manichaean Church (240–800 CE)*

M 47 is a relatively large paper fragment that originally belonged to a codex-formatted book that was produced in Turfan sometime during the era of Uygur Manichaeism between the mid-eighth and early eleventh centuries. The book was most likely an anthology of Manichaean literature as suggested by the divergent content of its surviving texts. This folio preserves two texts written by two different hands in Manichaean script, including one that is an account of an early mission written in the Parthian language and another that is a parable on various components of the Manichaean Church written in late Middle Persian.[60] The latter text contains a poetic reference to Mani's *Nigār*.

The passage quoted below is a parable on the Manichaean Church, expounding characters and objects in the story as analogies to the most important building blocks that make up the earthly world of the Manichaeans. They include the *Apostle* (i.e., Mani), the variety of *alms* provided by the laity, the *elect*, the *teaching* that is symbolized here by a reference to Mani's holy works (i.e., his scriptures and the *Nigār*), and finally the *wisdom* that is the foundation of faith symbolized here by a lamp. The portion of the text relevant to this survey reads:

> . . . The messenger [is the] Apostle . . . of the gods; . . . garden, vineyard, house, shade: these are the alms. The auditors give them to the Church (and) build *manistans*. The intimate friends of the king are the elect. The clothes (and) ornaments that he made are the *Nigār* and the scripture (of the sacred teaching). The lamp is wisdom. The lamp that is not lit immediately is that of the auditors. From time to time, they become slack and forgetful of their works. [They] are [then] called to account (for their negligence). They gain victory thereupon and they are redeemed.[61]

Despite its poetical nature, M 47 retains some data concerning the question of the name, origin, and the implied content associated with Manichaean didactic art.

The Middle Persian noun, *nigār*, with its traditional connotation of 'picture' or 'image,' is used here as a title, paired together with a general reference to the holy texts of the Manichaeans. The title *Nigār* in this text is employed

60 Boyce 1962, 5. The transcriptions of the two texts are published in her *Reader* (1975, 37–38, and 179–180). For an illustration of the fragment, see Sundermann 1996, Pls. 47–48.

61 English translation after Klimkeit (1993, 190). For the translation of the *nigār* as 'picture' in M 47, see Müller (1904, 85) and Henning (1936, 10), who contemplates alternatives such as 'miniature,' i.e., 'painting or book painting.'

analogously to the designation and context of Mani's painted work as discussed in other Manichaean accounts written in Coptic, Syriac, and Parthian languages. M 47 attributes the *Nigār* to Mani, together with Mani's textual works, comparing them to the garments ("clothing") and jewelry ("ornaments") worn by a person: "The clothes (and) ornaments that he [Mani] made are the *Nigār* and the scripture (of the sacred teaching)." The importance of the *Nigār* is further emphasized by ranking it with a small number of the most significant elements of the Manichaean religious practice—the elect, the auditor, the alms, the *manistan*, and the scripture.

Assessment of Data: Designation, Attribution, Dates, Appearance, Content, and Function

The currently known passages on Manichaean didactic paintings from Mediaeval East Central Asia are found in seven primary texts written in Iranian (Parthian and Middle Persian) languages. Analogous to the late ancient sources, this mediaeval group of texts reveals a large body of documentary evidence that is essential for a historically informed understanding of the formation of didactic pictorial art used by the Manichaean communities during this era of their history (**Table 2/4**).

1 *Designation in Parthian and Middle Persian*

Information concerning the various designations used for Manichaean didactic paintings is provided by five sources surveyed above (M 2, M 47, M 5569, M 5815, *Ārdhang Wifrās* headers). They employ the Parthian and the Middle Persian titles of Mani's collection of images (see Tab. 2/4: Designation). In one of the texts, the title, *Ārdhang*, is preserved in the headers of the codex folia (*Ārdhang Wifrās*). In the four additional Manichaean texts, this title is paired with Mani's book(s). It is listed along with the *Gospel* (M 5596) and with the *Book of Giants* (M 5815). The Middle Persian title, *Nigār*, is listed together with the book(s) in general in two additional texts (M 2, M 47). This pairing is also present in Coptic Manichaean texts (*Kephalaion 151*, *Homilies* 27) and goes back to the reasons Mani gave for deliberately using dual (pictorial/visual and written/verbal) means of communication. As we have seen, *Ārdhang* does not have a clear etymology in Parthian.[62] It is best explained today as a loanword used as the title of Mani's volume of didactic paintings. This Parthian designation fits the preference to use loanwords as the titles of Mani's works in Manichaean literature, including in this case the Coptic *Hikōn* and the Syriac *Yuqnā*, both of which derive from a Greek common noun (*eikon*) and are used to designate Mani's pictorial volume among the holy books of this religion.[63]

62 Sundermann 2005, 377.

63 For the possible Sogdian version (*rd'nk*) of the Parthian *Ārdhang*, see the discussion of M 18220 (Sundermann 1981, Text 3.2) and the Bezeklik Sogdian Letter B (Yoshida and Moriyasu 2000, 156, line 54) in note 21, above.

TABLE 2/4 *Summary of data about Manichaean didactic art in Parthian and Middle Persian textual sources from mediaeval Central Asia*

DESIGNATION

(1) One common nouns connoting 'picture' in Middle Persian language (M 2, M 47, M 219)
Middle Persian common noun: *nigār* 'pictures, image, illustration' (M 2, M 47, M 219)
Middle Persian *nigār* 'a didactic painting employed for oral instruction' (M 219)

(2) Two titles of Mani's collection of images in Parthian and Middle Persian languages (M 2, M 47, M 5569, M 5815, *Ārdhang Wifrās* headers)
Parthian *Ārdhang* with unknown etymology attested only as a title (M 5596, M 5815, *Ārdhang Wifrās*)
Parthian *Ārdhang* listed together with *Gospel* (M 5596) and *Book of Giants* (M 5815)
Parthian *Ārdhang* named in header (*Ārdhang Wifrās* headers)
Middle Persian *Nigār* listed along with the books (M 2, M 47)

ATTRIBUTION

(1) Attributed to Mani as its painter (M 47)
Implied attribution to Mani, since paired with Mani's book(s) (M 2, M 5569, M 5815)

(2) Copies noted as being those of Mani's books (M 2, M 5815)

DATES

(1) 240-274/277 CE: used by Mani during his ministry (M 2, M 5569)
240-274/277 CE: copies already made during Mani's ministry (M 2)
274/277 CE: Mani's copy given to Sisin (M 5569)

(2) 280s CE: used for missions in West Central Asia (M 5815)

(3) 240-700 CE: *Ārdhang Wifrās* composed in Parthian (*Ārdhang Wifrās*)

(4) 240-900 CE: sermon about *nigār* on polemics produced in Middle Persian (M 219)

APPEARANCE

(1) Pictorial, contained depictions (M 219)
Employed labels to identify elements of the painting (M 219)
Large size implied by use during oral instruction (M 219)

(2) Not an illuminated codex (*Ārdhang Wifrās*)
Text of *Ārdhang Wifrās* is not in the physical context of the *Ārdhang* (*Ārdhang Wifrās*)

(3) Implied portable format (M 2, M 5569, M 5815)

CONTENT

(1) Doctrinal content implied by being mentioned with Mani's other books (M 2, M 47, M 5569, M 5815)
Mentioned with Mani's *Gospel* (M 5569)
Mentioned with Mani's *Book of Giants* (M 5815)
Mentioned with books/scripture (M 2, M 47)

(2) Themes of *Ārdhang* included
Dualism (*Pre-creation Myth*): Combat of Light and Darkness (*Ārdhang Wifrās*: M 8255 f.1)
Eschatology: Jesus's Second Coming and the World Fire (*Ārdhang Wifrās* headers: M 35)
Salvation: Soul Departing the Body (*Ārdhang Wifrās*: M 8255 f. 2)

Prophets: Life of Jesus (M 4570)
Scene(s) showed Jesus' arrest, his being mocked, led to the cross, and wounds (M 4570)
Scene showed Jesus in front of the High Priest (M 4570)
Polemics: False Beliefs of Idol Worship (M 219)
Scene showed idol temple, idol priest, and people worshipping idols (M 219)

FUNCTION

(1) Explained in the context of oral instruction (M 219, M 4570)
Displayed in front of an audience (M 219)
Audience asked to look at painting (M 219)
Instructor referred to sections of painting (M 219)
(2) Required explanation (M 219)
(3) Literature aided its instructional use (M 2, M 219, M 4570, M 5569, M 5815, *Ārdhang Wifrās*)
Used together with Mani's books (M 2, M 5569, M 5815)
Supplementary notes produced to aid oral instruction (*Ārdhang Wifrās*)
Notes for oral instruction listed references to parables (6 *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments)
Notes for oral instruction listed references to similes (9 *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments)
Transcripts of sermons delivered with images (M 219, M 4570)
(4) Multiple copies used for missions by Mani & Sisin in West Central Asia (M 2, M 5815)
Implied use for missionary work (M 2)
Mani sent (a copy of) the Nigār from Holvān with Mār Ammō to Abarshar (M 2)
Zurvāndād took the Merv copy of the Ārdhang to Zamb (M 5815)
Sisin made a new copy of the Ārdhang in Merv (M 5815)
Copies produced when needed just as were copies of Mani's texts (M 5815)
Copies accounted for (M 5815)
(5) Signals high authority in the Manichaean Church (M 5569, M 5815)
Carried with Mani as one of two teaching tools (M 5569)
Head of Church keeps Mani's copy (M 5569)
Handing it (and other items) over symbolizes transmission of authority (M 5569)
Later copies in care of senior members of community (M 5815)
Implied use in well-to-do setting (M 2)
(6) Handled as a relic (together with other items) from Mani's personal possessions (M 5569)

Only *nigār* is used as a common noun in one of these texts (M 219). The general connotation of this word in both Modern Persian and Middle Persian is 'picture, painting, image.'[64] The Turfan text using it, however, adds to this meaning a nuanced connotation. Since this Manichaean text is a transcript of a teaching given with the aid of didactic art, its overall textual context positively confirms that the *nigār* under discussion connotes not just any 'picture, painting, image,' but rather specifically 'a *didactic* picture/painting/image

64 Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, 240.

employed for oral instruction:' "Listen (. . . .) delicate humankind! Direct eye and face (towards this and see) how it is depicted (. . . .) here in front of you. On this *nigār* . . ." (M 219 recto).

Concentrating on the Iranian etymology of *Ārdhang*, in 2005 Werner Sundermann published a hypothesis based on his preliminary study of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments, suggesting that may be the *Nigār* is the only Iranian title for Mani's *Hikon*—but not the *Ārdhang*.[65] The core of Sundermann's argument is the assumption that Mani's collection of images belonged to an illuminated manuscript. Since he finds no evidence of such an illustrated text in any of the Parthian sources (including the *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments), Sundermann begins to explore a possible etymology for *ārdhang* in Middle Persian in order to identify it with an alternative meaning that connotes the title of another known book of Mani.[66] The evidence provided by both visual and textual sources confirming that Mani's canonical paintings were in a solely pictorial book, and that the *Ārdhang* was the Parthian title of that book, is overwhelming.

The understanding that the *Ārdhang* is one of the Iranian titles of Mani's picture book has a long history in Manichaean studies. Walter Bruno Henning drew attention to the term *Ārdhang* as the Parthian version of the title and proposed a tentative Parthian root for its etymology. He also connected the *Ārdhang Wifrās* to the *Ārdhang,* interpreting the former as a textual commentary, that is, a supplementary text, which was a physically independent from the paintings.[67] Hans Jacob Polotsky noted a connection between the Coptic title *Hikōn* and the later Persian reference to Mani's *Erzheng*. He further suggested that Mani's collection of images was an album of paintings (an "eine Art Tafleband") depicting Mani's teaching in visual form and hypothesized that this painted work might have accompanied a book, such as Mani's *Gospel*.[68] Although voiced as brief remarks in philological studies of broader concerns, Henning and Polotsky pointed out a continued existence of Manichaean didactic art across the history of this religion. The Parthian title of Mani's canonical painting is continued to be used in the post-Manichaean Islamic literature in Arabic, Chagatai, and Persian language texts as detailed in Chapter 4 below.

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65 Sundermann writes (2005, 382): "I should like to make it clear that it was my intention to argue against the identity of the *Ārdhang* and Mani's picture-book. I do not deny that a picture-book illustrating Mani's doctrine did exist. [. . .] Nevertheless, if there was a picture book of Mani, what was it called in the Iranian languages? Its Middle Persian name was, I think, *nigār* 'painting, picture,' which exactly corresponds with the *Hikōn* of the Coptic texts."

66 Sundermann suggests that the root meaning "painstaking/troubling" may be at the core of the word *ārdhang*, and if so, it could be the Parthian title of Mani's *Treatise* otherwise known by its Greek designation as the *Pragmateia* (2005, 378–380).

67 Andreas and Henning 1934, 858 and 862; Henning 1937, 9; Haloun and Henning 1952, 209–210, note 4.

68 Polotsky 1935, 244.

The Iranian Manichaean passages on art surveyed for the first time above confirm the latter understanding. Their analysis provides two reasons that support the interpretation of *Ārdhang* as the Parthian title of Mani's collection of didactic images. Firstly, the pairing of the *Ārdhang* with a written work of Mani: "the *Gospel*, the *Ārdhang* . . . [were taken to] . . . Sisin" (M 5569), and "he has taken the (*Book of*) *the Giants* and the *Ārdhang* with him" (M 5815). This coupling of a textual/verbal work by Mani with his pictorial/painted in Parthian texts is analogous to what is seen in Coptic and Syriac Manichaean sources. It is also mentioned in Middle Persian sources: "with books and the *Nigār*" (M 2), and "the *Nigār* and the scripture" (M 47). Secondly, there is a preference in Manichaean literature to use loanwords (or the foreign titles) for Mani's works, including his painted work. The Coptic *Hikōn* and the Syriac *Yuqnā* both derived from the Greek noun *eikon*.[69] Similarly, the Chinese title of the canonical collection of images in the Compendium, the *Great Ménhéyì*, captures phonetically a foreign title that contains a Manichaean loanword from an unidentified language, *Ménhéyì*. With its unknown etymology and likely foreign root, the Parthian *Ārdhang* fits this pattern of titling Mani's pictorial volume among the holy books of this religion.

2 *Attribution: Implied Authorship of Mani*

The origin of the Manichaeans' collection of didactic images is mentioned only one Manichaean text (M 47). It seems that crediting Mani as the painter of the *Ārdhang/Nigār*, is not an important issue in mediaeval primary sources (see Tab. 2/4: Origin).

An implied attribution of the *Ārdhang/Nigār* to Mani, however, is present in three texts (M 2, M 5569, M 5815). They acknowledge Mani indirectly by mentioning the *Ārdhang/Nigār* with other books written by him, naming either the *Gospel* (M 5569), or the *Book of Giants* (M 5815), and in one case, just "the books" in general (M 2). This prominent pairing of Mani's written works and his painted work is a motif in Manichaean literature that goes back all the way to Mani himself. As is noted also in the Coptic and Syriac sources, Mani introduces these two distinct means of communication firmly linked to one another. On the one hand, he does so with the aim to guard against the adulteration of his teaching (*Kephalaion 151*), noting this as a distinction between him and the founders of other religions and as a sign of the superiority of his religion. On the other hand, Mani claims that employing both written/verbal and painted/visual delivery provides a more efficient way to transmit his messages to his disciples (*Prose Refutations*). It seems that this underlying logic is the reason for frequently mentioning the books along with the *Ārdhang/Nigār* in Iranian (Parthian and Middle Persian) translations of early Manichaean literature.

69 If any Greek text had survived mentioning Mani's collection of didactic paintings, most certainly this would have been their title. Unfortunately, no such text is known today, as noted in Chapter 1.

Copies made of Mani's collection of didactic paintings do not change its implied attribution, which is similar to that of the rest of the Manichaean holy books. Unlike the books that Mani authored, however, the *Ārdhang/Nigār* is a pictorial work. Therefore, its attribution brings up an inherent contradiction from the perspective of art history. This, however, is not an issue in these sources. A painter, who creates a copy of Mani's pictorial work, is just like a scribe, who makes a new copy of one of Mani's books or letters. The two passages (M 2, M 5815) credit Mani as the intellectual author of the *Ārdhang/Nigār*, in a manner analogous to Mani's written works, such as the *Gospel* (M 2) and the *Book of Giants* (M 5815).

3 *Dates: The Ārdhang/Nigār in late Ancient and Mediaeval Times*

Five passages (M 2, M 219, M 5569, M 5815, *Ārdhang Wifrās*) imply dates in connection with the *Ārdhang/Nigār* (see Tab. 2/4: Dates). Most of their data is specific for the second half of the third century (M 2, M 5569, M 5815) and is in harmony with the records provided by Coptic and Syriac accounts (**Table 2/5**). The origin of two other texts (M 219, *Ārdhang Wifrās*) implicates broader periods from the mid-third to the seventh and ninth centuries. although these Iranian texts were copied and used in Kocho sometime between the mid-eighth and early eleventh centuries, they do not contain any evidence about Manichaean didactic art from the Uygur era. This lack of data is especially troubling in the Sogdian Manichaean texts, since Sogdian was the most prominent language for the Manichaeans during this era. The single

TABLE 2/5 *Manichaean didactic art noted in Coptic, Syriac, Parthian and Middle Persian textual sources*

ERA OF MANI IN IRAN, 240–274/7 CE (37-YEAR PERIOD)

(1) Created by Mani during his ministry, between 240 and 274/277 CE (*Kephalaion 151, Prose Refutations*)
(2) Used by Mani during his ministry, between 240 and 274/277 CE (*Kephalaion 92*)
(3) Used by Mani during his ministry, between 240 and 274/277 CE, implied (M 5569)
(4) Copies already made during Mani's ministry, between 240 and 274/277 CE (M2)
(5) Mani's copy was taken to Sisin upon Mani's death in 274/277 CE (M 5569)

ERA OF SISIN IN IRAN, 274/7–291 CE (16-YEAR PERIOD)

(1) Mani's copy was taken to Sisin upon Mani's death in 274/277 CE (M 5569)
(2) Used for missions in West Central Asia during ca. the 280s CE (M 5815)

PARTHIAN ERA IN IRAN, CA. 240–CA. 700 CE (CA. 450-YEAR PERIOD)

(1) *Ārdhang Wifrās* text produced in Parthian language (*Ārdhang Wifrās*)

MIDDLE PERSIAN ERA IN IRAN, CA. 240–CA. 800 CE (CA. 550-YEAR PERIOD)

(1) Sermon text for a *nigār* on Polemics produced in Middle Persian (M 219)

Uygur passage (Käd Ogul) that mentions Manichaean didactic art will be considered in Chapter 3, along with a Chinese Manichaean text (*Compendium*) that ultimately also most likely originated in Kocho.

As to be expected, the era of Mani's ministry between 240 and 274/277 CE is noted as the origin of Manichaean didactic art (M 2, M 5569). Sometime during this 37-year long period (probably during its second half), copies of the *Ārdhang/Nigār* were made under the direction of Mani (M 2). Firmly anchored to the year 274/7 CE, there is a further evidence, which marks the conclusion of Mani's association with his collection of his didactic paintings, noting that the *Ārdhang* was with Mani at the time that he was arrested and taken to prison at Bēth Lāpat (M 5569).

The 16-year long period when Sisin headed the Manichaean Church, between 274/277 and 291 CE, is noted by two texts in connection with Manichaean didactic art (M 5569, M 5815). The above-mentioned event in 274/277 CE marks the start of Sisin's association with the *Ārdhang/Nigār,* since he received it after Mani's death (M 5569). In addition, the Parthian letter (M 5815) notes how Sisin managed resources while organizing missions directed to the province of Khorasan in West Central Asia, linking this collection of didactic paintings to Sisin's era during the late third century.

Sometime between the mid-third and seventh centuries, the text of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* was composed in the Parthian language in order to provide a textual resource for the oral sermon (*wifrās*) in the context of which the Mani's collection of didactic paintings (*Ārdhang*) were discussed. The time frame, within which this text was composed, is defined by the documented use of Parthian as one of the Iranian languages among the Manichaeans communities, understood separately from the time when the copies of the text were written. The codex that contained the *Ārdhang Wifrās*, among numerous other texts, was made most likely in a Manichaean monastic center (*manistan*) that operated in Kocho under the imperial support of the Uygur ruling elite between the mid-eighth and early eleventh centuries. During the latter time, however, Parthian was no longer a spoken language. Its daily use had vanished after the Sasanian Dynasty (224–651 CE), and it was preserved as one of the *lingua sacra* of the Manichaean Church. Therefore, the date of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* text must precede the date of the manuscript folia on which fragments of the text survive.

Sometime during a ca. 550-year period between mid-third and ninth centuries, the sermon text for a *nigār* that depicted Polemics was composed in the Middle Persian language (M 219). The very same dual consideration that we have seen in connection with the Parthian *Ārdhang Wifrās* text, which distinguishes the date of a composition from the date of the writing of the manuscript that preserves a copy of a text, is true for the prose of this sermon. Middle Persian is preserved only among the Manichaean communities of West and East Central Asia beyond the Sasanian Dynasty (224–651 CE).

4 *Appearance: Lack of Evidence about Changes in Format and Material*

The appearance of the *Ārdhang/Nigār* is addressed in five textual sources from East Central Asia (M 2, M 219, M 5569, M 5815, the *ĀW* fragments). While most of them concern the time of Mani and the late third century in Iranian Mesopotamia and West Central Asia, others are specific to the Uygur-sponsored era of Manichaeism during the mid-eighth and early eleventh centuries in East Central Asian. Taken together, they indicate a solely pictorial medium in an unspecified portable format (see Tab. 2/4: Appearance).

The pictorial character of the *Ārdhang/Nigār* is addressed by one of the primary texts (M 219). The Manichaean passage states: "Direct eye and face (towards this and see) how it is depicted (. . . .) here in front of you. On this *nigār*, . . ." and suggests that "on this *nigār*" labels identified elements of the painting. It further implies a size suited for viewing in the setting of an oral instruction (M 219).

The *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments also imply the solely pictorial nature of the *Ārdhang/Nigār*. As we have seen, the text itself is a composition made in order to aid the preparation of the elect giving a teaching (Parth. *wifrās* '[oral] sermon') on the *Ārdhang*. None of the fragments shows any signs of luxury customarily associated with the production of illuminated manuscripts. Instead, they seem to derive from plain, albeit carefully written, books of Manichaean religious texts. Thus, they put to rest previous considerations that imagined the *Ārdhang* as an illuminated manuscript.[70] In addition, M 219 implies that the *nigār* it mentions must have been large enough for a public instruction and that certain themes depicted in its images were most likely labels, such as "Dwelling of the Gods." The use of labels to identify certain motifs within the images of Mani's *Yuqnā* is also mentioned by Ephrem (*Prose Refutations*).

These textual records do not provide evidence for the changing pictorial format of the *Ārdhang/Nigār*. Three texts only allude to the portable format of Mani's *Ārdhang/Nigār* during the middle and late third centuries in western Iran (M 2, M 5569, M 5815). Their reference accords not only with Ephrem's mention of the scroll format, but also with the argument presented for parchment as the scroll's most likely material. Without noting any specific shapes, sizes, or materials, the three Turfan texts state only that Mani's collection of pictures was carried along with the elect missionizing across the western and

70 Sundermann (2005, 376) questioned the traditional interpretation proposed by Polotzky (1935) and Henning (1948) that the *Ārdhang* was a solely pictorial work of art—a "*Tafleband*" (i.e., an album containing a collection of plates), the format of which was much favored in the late mediaeval and early modern imperial art of Safavid Persia, Mughal India, and Ottoman Turkey; and thus familiar in European scholarship of the time. While the *Ārdhang* was a "Tafelband" for Polotsky (1935, 244) and Henning; it was a "picture-book" and the "picture volume" for Klimkeit (1982, 2). In 1987, Asmussen also explained it as a "volume of drawings and paintings" (*Encyclopædia Iranica Online*, s. v. "ARŽANG," accessed June 05, 2013, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/arzang-mid).

northern region of Iran. Subsequently, they imply a small portable format similar to that of used for textbooks at the time—scroll (or maybe even codex) made of parchment. The Parthian text with the earliest content, referring to 274/7 CE (M 5569), suggests that Mani was traveling with his *Gospel* and his *Ārdhang* at the time of his arrest, and that he was allowed to take these items with him to prison. Further, we learn that the *Ārdhang* was among the items that were taken to the new head of the Church after Mani's death. The other two texts both suggest that, just like Mani's prose books (such as the *Book of the Giants*), his *Ārdhang/Nigār* was routinely carried along with the elects on mission assignments (M 5596 and M 2)—an important point that is also relevant for the function of the *Ārdhang/Nigār*.

Although the surveyed primary texts do not mention paper as the material of Manichaean didactic painting (as to be expected from sources concerning the second half of the third century in Mesopotamia and West Central Asia), later evidence does confirm its preferred use. Paper is dominant among the physical remains surviving from the Uygur era as one of the favored materials of Manichaean pictorial art and the chief material of Manichaean books at that time. Supporting documentary data about its widespread use among the Manichaean communities is found in a polemical passage that concerns Baghdad during the middle of the ninth century. It is written by the Abbasid scholar, al-Jahiz (781–869 CE), who notes the Manichaeans' use of this expensive material that was still relatively new to West Asia at this time. Prior to 847 CE, al-Jahiz writes:

> I am pleased to see the eagerness of the Zindiqs [Manichaeans] in spending money on fine white paper and brilliant ink with a sheen on it, and their desire to get the best possible handwritten and most competent calligraphists, for I have never seen finer paper or better handwriting that what they have in their books. [...] We may compare the lavish expenditure of the Zindiqs on the production of their books with that of the Christians on their churches.[71]

Paper replaced parchment in Manichaean material culture in West Asia by this era. It was most certainly a welcome innovation.[72] Similar to adopting papyrus as the material of their codices in North Africa, using paper seems to have eased the violation of a precept (*Seal of the Hand*) that requires the Manichaean

71 *Kitab al-hayawan* (Reeves 2011, 226).

72 After its invention in second-century China, imported paper was used in East Central Asia by the early third century CE as attested by the manuscripts discovered at Niya. Although the first record of paper-makers working in Samarkand is from 751 CE, papermaking was already known in West Asia by the mid seventh century (Hunter 1947, 468–9). In addition to the Manichaeans, the Buddhists also have a moral motivation to not use parchment as a writing material (Nattier 1990, 205).

elect to avoid harming life.[73] As we have seen in Chapter 1, Augustine mocked this contradiction. Indeed, using parchment presented a dilemma that the Manichaean church had to face in order to maintain not only its famously sophisticated book culture, but also, as we are discovering, its didactic pictorial tradition used in service of communicating and preserving Mani's doctrine. The precept prohibited the elect from ingesting animal products and even riding animals. The Manichaeans continued strict observation of this rule was well known in their environment, as documented by al-Jahiz's ostrich story in his above-mentioned *Kitab al-hayawan*. The story took place in the town of Ahvaz (located in the Khuzestan province of southwestern Iran) sometime during the middle of the ninth century. At this site, two elects witnessed an ostrich swallowing a large precious stone that spilled onto the street along with other jewels from a chest that was accidentally dropped. The elect preferred to suffer the consequences of being accused of stealing and being beaten nearly to death by a mob, rather than pointing to an ostrich moving about nearby that had swallowed the expensive stone. Realizing what had happened, a passerby solved the case, and the stone was found in the ostrich's gizzard.[74]

This evidence suggests the *Ārdhang/Nigār* was most likely indistinguishable from other Manichaean books when closed-up and stored. If so, it is conceivable that it shared the fate of books that were routinely burnt in the course of Abbasid persecutions. An incident reported about by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1201 CE) concerning the year 923 CE suggests that this is what possibly happened. The author emphasizes that large amounts of gold and silver were seen trickling out from the piles of Manichaean books burnt at the public gate of Baghdad: "There dripped out of it (the fire) a quantity of gold and silver from what had adorned the volumes."[75] We must acknowledge the possibility that the source of the liquid precious metal in that pile of burning books was not volumes of the illuminated manuscripts,[76] but rather one volume that contained solely pictures.

5 *Content: Five Recorded Themes*

The content is the second most richly documented aspect of the *Ārdhang/Nigār* noted in all passages surveyed from East Central Asia (M 2, M 47, M 219, M 4570, M 5569, M 5815, and *Ārdhang Wifrās*; see Tab. 2/4: Content). The body of evidence they provide confirms the overall doctrinal nature of Manichaean didactic art. At the same time, it reveals a variety of subjects depicted in connection with four main themes of Manichaean teaching shown during oral

73 The *Three Seals* (the Seal of the Mouth, the Seal of the Hand, and the Seal of the Chest) designate a disciplinary construct attested in all part of the Manichaean world. For a survey of the textual sources, including discussions of the Seal of the Hand, see BeDuhn 2000a, 33–40.

74 Reeves 2011, 206.

75 Reeves 2011, 231.

76 Arnold 1936, 1817.

instruction. These include *Eschatology* (Jesus' second coming and the Great Fire), *Salvation* (soul departing body), the *Prophets* (Jesus' life), and *Polemics* (false beliefs of idol worship).

The Iranian sources leave no doubt that the paintings of the *Ārdhang/Nigār* conveyed doctrinal themes. Besides naming the individual subjects of Manichaean teaching that were shown by the paintings (assessed below), they imply the overall doctrinal nature of this art in various other ways. Some of the primary sources follow the Manichaean tradition of pairing the art together with Mani's books, including the *Gospel* (M 5569) and the *Book of Giants* (M 5815), and in two other cases by mentioning the *Ārdhang/Nigār* together with the Manichaean books/scriptures in general (M 2, M 47).

One of the main pictorial themes referenced in the Iranian texts surveyed above is the theme of salvation, as defined by the events of human eschatology such as the soul departing the body. The latter subject is discusses in the *Ārdhang Wifrās*, prefaced with a set of similes: "... like a bright lamp when it is taken out from a dark house; like a house which people leave (so that) it becomes deserted and dangerous. So (it is with) the soul. When it abandons the body, (the body) becomes small and despised with every fleshly creature" (*Ārdhang Wifrās*: M 8255 folio II verso + M 205 verso). The survival of this data within a set of Iranian notes to the *Ārdhang* is especially valuable, since it corresponds with two Coptic passages on Manichaean didactic art that also mention the theme of Salvation by listing its various stages, including the soul departing the body, the judgment, and the destiny of the righteous in the Land of Light and that of the sinner in Gehenna (*Kephalaion 92*), as well as the appearance of the Light Maiden with her three angels bearing gifts for the righteous (*Kephalaion 7*). A continued focus on salvation in Manichaean didactic art is documented not only in the primary textual sources from Coptic and Iranian literature, but also in primary visual sources that were made and used during the Uygur and southern Chinese phases of Manichaean history.

A new pictorial theme of the *Ārdhang/Nigār* discovered through the above survey concerns Mani's teachings on the end of the world, that is, Manichaean eschatology. An important component of this teaching, the cosmic vision of Jesus' rulership at the end of time, has been recently studied by Werner Sundermann in light of two Parthian pages remaining from the *Ārdhang Wifrās* (M 35).[77] As we have seen, the text on the recto contains the last four items from an originally 12-point list of events centered on *Jesus' Second Coming*. On the verso of the same folio, an additional eschatological subject concerns yet another component of this theme, the *World Fire* that consumes all life on the Earth. Besides this small text, Mani's eschatology is known today from two main sources. One of them is Mani's discussion of this subject that occupies the substantial concluding portion of his *Shabuhragan* (a book-length summary of Mani's teachings dedicated to Shapur I, 240–272 CE), long parts of

77 Sundermann 2003, 421–427. A significant portion of Sundermann's study is devoted to the uniquely Manichaean number, 120 years, given as the length of Jesus' rule (2003, 425–427).

which survive in Middle Persian and noted in connection with Mani's depiction of his teachings in Sam'āni's encyclopaedia (before 1160 CE). The other is a Coptic summary of this teaching given by one of Mani's disciples, most likely Koustiaos (Iranian: Kustai) in the "Sermon on the Great War," which is preserved in the *Homilies*. These two texts were compared by Nils Arne Pedersen, who pointed out their many similar details that prove the conservative preservation of core Manichaean teachings across different phases of Manichaean history.

Another theme deduced from the Iranian texts on the *Ārdhang/Nigār* concerns the prophet Jesus, as documented by references made to various events of Jesus' life in a unique Middle Persian text (M 4570) that preserves the transcript of a sermon conducted with the aid of pictorial art. The depiction seemed to have featured Jesus' arrest, his being mocked and led to the cross, and his wounds (M 4570 recto), and Jesus in front of the High Priest (M 4570 verso), as suggested by the discussion of these events in the passage. This documentary evidence becomes even more relevant in light of a scene-by-scene depiction of Jesus' life arranged in a row of gold-framed vignettes (MIK III 4967a recto).

The third new theme of Manichaean didactic art noted in Iranian primary textual sources is polemics. As we have seen, a unique Middle Persian passage (M 219) describes a painting (*nigār*) that depicted the false beliefs of idol worship. It discusses a scene that showed an idol temple, idol priests, and people worshipping idols: "direct eye and face (towards this and see) how it is depicted (. . . .) here in front of you. On this *nigār*: idols, idol priests, altars, and their gods" (M 219 recto); and "depicted here, this is the temple of the idols, which they call 'The Dwelling of the Gods.' And corresponding to the name of the dwelling, there are many gods (there)." The negative connotation of these motifs is defined by the rest of the text that records the instruction itself that accompanied this particular *nigār*.[78]

Taken together, the Coptic, Syriac, and Iranian textual sources surveyed so far reveal five main doctrinal themes in Manichaean didactic art. Eschatology, Prophets (Jesus), and Polemics are noted by the Iranian texts. Cosmology (or Cosmogony) is mentioned by the one Syriac text. A wider documentation supports the depiction of the *Salvation* theme, since its existence is recorded by two of the Coptic texts (*Kephalaion 2* and *Kephalaion 92*) and one of the Iranian texts (*Ārdhang Wifrās*). As we shall see, actual remains of Manichaean paintings known today from East Central Asia and southern China document the continued existence of these themes in Manichaean visual doctrine.

78 In light of this expressed objection to idolatry, it is rather ironic that the very practice the Manichaeans protest against, is what Mani was accused of due to his own famed association with images and image-making in Ferdowsī's polemical tale (Davis 2006, 597–598); see discussion under assessment of origin in Chapter 4.

6 *Function: The Original Ārdhang/Nigār and Its Copies in Educational and Symbolic Roles*

By far the largest body of evidence collected in this chapter concerns details of how the Manichaeans used their didactic art. The texts provide numerous bits and pieces of documentary information about the various educational and symbolic roles this art had played. They document the Parthian term used for conveying the act of teaching with images (*Ārdhang Wifrās*). They refer to copies, and they even allude to an *Ārdhang*-relic (see Tab. 2/4: Function).

Arguably, the most important characteristic feature that concerns the function of Manichaean didactic art is its oral context of use. The Iranian primary textual sources leave no doubt that the *Ārdhang/Nigār* was employed in the course of a sermon that was supplemented with paintings displayed in front of the audience. Two passages note this most unambiguously (M 219, M 4570). Both passages indicate that a painting was displayed in front of an audience, who were asked to look at it: "Listen (. . . .) delicate humankind! Direct eye and face (towards this and see) how it is depicted (. . . .) here in front of you" (M 219). While looking they listened to a sermon, in the course of which the instructor referred to specific sections of a painting: "on this *nigār* . . ." (M 219), and "as it shows [. . .] so it shows" (M 4570). Similar data emphasizing the oral religious culture around early Manichaean art is conveyed in a Coptic (*Kephalaion 92*) and a Syriac account (Ephrem). The importance of religious teachings delivered by a leading member of the elect, starting from the earliest era of Manichaean history, is well documented. Mani enjoined the elect to make preaching a primary part of their work on behalf of the faith. The sermons given by Mani in mid third century southern Mesopotamia survive today in Coptic translations from fourth-century North Africa, as well as in various languages in East Central Asia.

One reference seems to go even further by suggesting that the Ārdhang/Nigār required an explanation from a learned guide, who explained how to understand what the disciples were observing. This idea is conveyed clearly in connection with a particular painting (nigār) used in a teaching with a polemical theme. The passage states that the painting showed a temple with its idols and its priests. If we were to find such a Manichaean painting, we would have no idea whether its content is to be understood in a positive or in a negative sense. In this fortunate instance, the record of the accompanying sermon provides the needed qualification, namely that what is shown represents a false religious practice rooted in a deceptive spiritual illusion. In the words of the elect, whose sermon is recorded here: ". . . however, inside 'The Dwelling of the Gods,' there are no gods! The deceived do not realize that, because their spirits have been made intoxicated. But you . . ." (M 219). This Iranian data accords with earlier Coptic evidence that allows us to learn how the teaching of the Salvation theme with the aid of the Hikōn required an erudite understanding of Manichaean doctrine in order to perfect the disciples' comprehension. This point is documented in the records of a sermon given by Mani himself with the aid of his didactic art (*Kephalaion 92*).

The Manichaean Church was a highly literate institution. Even its didactic art was used in close connection with the core doctrinal literature (i.e., Mani's books) and other texts. From among the Iranian textual sources, four provide strong evidence in support of this claim. We have already noted the tradition of pairing Mani's *Ārdhang/Nigār* with his books (M 2) and specifically the *Gospel* (M 5596) or the *Book of Giants* (M 5815). One possible explanation for this is that the books provide a doctrinal resource that can be consulted in order to refresh one's understanding of the teaching before giving an oral sermon supplemented with the depictions. Other Manichaean literature was generated specifically to aid the efficient use of pictorial art as a visual tool for explaining important themes of Mani's teachings. A good example of such a text is the *Ārdhang Wifrās*. This text is a unique textual resource; much of it is not even particularly religious. It is designed to help the elect preparing to present a teaching with images, by providing a list of parables and similes from local Iranian and popular folklore that the audience can relate to with ease and that the elect can call upon when needed. An elect preparing to give a sermon with images may also benefit from reading transcripts of such sermons, the texts of which became part of Manichaean literature starting already from the early era of Manichaean history. Besides the Parthian (M 4570) and the Middle Persian (M 219) sermon texts surveyed above, a Coptic text (*Kephalaion 92*) belongs to this literary genre. Although the *Kephalaia* was written with the primary goal to preserve Mani's sermons, its 92nd chapter seems to fulfill a secondary function related to the practicalities of using didactic art. We may assume that teaching religion with images required the skill of an orator, who could deliver a good sermon, combined with an additional skill that enabled the elect to reference paintings displayed in front of the audience in an equally skillful manner. Texts that document examples of such sermons were most certainly a valuable didactic resource.

As is to be expected from a missionary religion with a collection of didactic paintings in its arsenal, multiple copies of the *Ārdhang/Nigār* are attested to in the early history of the Manichaean missions. This is noted in two Iranian primary sources (M 2, M 5815). The missions under discussion were aimed at the northwestern territories of Iran. They involved the towns of Holvān, Merv, Zamb, and the provinces of Abarshar and Khorasan. It is most interesting to learn that multiple copies of this pictorial collection were already in circulation during the time of Mani (240–274/277 CE). Mani sent the *Nigār* with Mār Ammō from Holvān to Abarshar (M 2). This *Nigār* was unlikely the only copy. We can assume that the original, or at least the one that Mani had at the time, was not the *Nigār* that Mār Ammō took with him. From the time of Sisin (274/277–291 CE), multiple copies are also confirmed. Arriving in Merv, Sisin could send an *Ārdhang* with Zurvāndād to Zamb, since he was able to arrange for a new copy to be made in Merv (M 5815). The copies were carefully accounted for. Both passages give this impression, since they note who had a copy with him and on what mission. In one case, we are informed that "another *Ārdhang*" was produced when needed together with Mani's *Book of*

Giants (M 5815). Although, the word "copy" is not in the vocabulary of these texts, most likely what Sisin was making was indeed a newly produced manuscript of Mani's *Book of Giants*. Based on this logic, we can only assume that this was the case with the pictorial volume as well. Its reproduction was based most likely on the *Ārdhang* that Sisin had—the one that was sent to him from the prison in Bēth Lāpat after Mani's death (M 5569).

A symbolic role that the *Ārdhang/Nigār* played in the material culture of this religion is also evident in the data collected on function. The routine association of this art with the highest-ranking members of the Manichaean Church seems to indicate that its mere presence was an emblem of spiritual authority. Two Iranian texts give this impression (M 5569, M 5815). They connect the *Ārdhang/Nigār* with the two uppermost positions known in the hierarchy of the Manichaean elect, including the head of the Church, i.e., "the Manichaean Pope" (Lt. *primate*, central authority, successor to Mani) and the 12 "Teachers" (Parth. *mozak*, Lt. *maior*).[79] It is clear that Mani carried an *Ārdhang* as one of two teaching tools. After Mani's death, his *Ārdhang* was inherited by his successor, Sisin (M 5569). Further copies are noted in the care of senior members of the Manichaean community, such as Mār Ammō (M 2) and Zurvāndād (M 5815). Although neither of their ranks is identified, the texts mentioning them indicate that these two elect were trusted with important leadership tasks by the head of the Church, and thus are best associated with the position of a Teacher. Nevertheless, a systematic distribution of the *Ārdhang/Nigār* among "the 12" is not documented. Another example of the symbolic role that the *Ārdhang/Nigār* played in early Manichaeism concerns the transmission of authority from a dead leader to his successor. The Parthian text on Mani's death suggests this, since in it, the *Ārdhang* is used in an emblematic manner. Handing Mani's pictorial volume over (along with other items) to Sisin symbolized the transmission of spiritual authority from Mani to him (M 5569).

This association of the *Ārdhang/Nigār* with high-rank and spiritual authority is in harmony with the well-to-do setting of the early missions noted in several additional sources. Such literature takes us to royal courts and principalities across third-century West Asia, including that of Palmyra, Armenia, and the Parthian princely homeland of prince Ardabān, where Mani sends Mār Ammō (M 2).[80] Later, starting from 755/762 CE, the Manichaean elects are noted at the court of the Uygur kaghans held at Karabalgasun, located on the south Siberian Steppe (Gardīzi). Mani is known to have visited numerous times the Sasanid court of Shapur I. Befitting this privileged environment, the highly educated Mani relied on elite tools to communicate and safeguard

79 The Manichaean authority structure included the following ranks: the *primate* ("pope," central authority, successor to Mani), the 12 *maiores* ("teachers"), the 72 *episcopi* ("bishops") and the 360 *presbyteri* ("presbyters"); see Tardieu 2008, 56–59.

80 Boyce notes that prince Ardabān belonged to the house of the Arsacids (Parthians), and thus was a kinsman of Mani's (Boyce 1975, 40; this was also cited in Klimkeit 1993, 217 note 20).

the authenticity of his teachings: books and a collection of paintings. Pictorial art was a sophisticated and expensive instrument within the intellectual toolbox of the Manichaean Church. In the material culture of late ancient West Asia, however, Mani's long books (made of parchment in either scroll or codex formats) were just as precious as his portable collection of didactic pictures painted on a parchment roll. Indeed, it is hard to find an early text, where the *Ārdhang/Nigār* is not mentioned together with a book (or the books). Not only is it not distinguished from the books by being discussed separately, but also it is systematically listed after the books, which gives the impression that this pictorial roll was second to the books—an important, albeit a supplementary tool for the early Manichaean missions.

Mani's *Ārdhang/Nigār* may have functioned also as a relic that connected the community to its dead founder. While the beginning of a Manichaean relic cult in West Asia is only alluded to in the Parthian text that discusses what happened to the *Ārdhang* after Mani's death (M 5569), later traces of it (in some sense its end) are definitely noted in Arabic secondary sources. As we have seen, the Parthian passage mentions the *Ārdhang* among the four items that were collected and taken to Sisin from the prison at Bēth Lāpāṭ. These were "the *Gospel*, the *Ārdhang*, the garment, and the hand-press," the later of which may refer to an object, such as a walking stick (as Sundermann hypothesized) or possibly a seal (as proposed above); or it also could have meant a physical remain in the form of Mani's severed right hand, as Boyce suggested. If Boyce's hypothesis correct, these four item are listed in the passage in order of their increasing physical closeness to Mani: the teaching tools that he handled, the cloth that covered his body, and finally an actual part of his body. If either Sundermann's or my hypothesis is correct, all four items constitute objects handled by Mani. In either case, the *Ārdhang*-relic belongs to an important category of relics ("objects of use"). The existence of this category of relics is positively confirmed in a mediaeval Arabic source that mentions Mani's "*qalansūwa*-relic." The Arabic term *qalansūwa* connotes 'a cone-shaped hat.' This *qalansūwa* was kept by the Manichaean community in Baghdad until the late eighth or early ninth century as recorded in the *Kitāb al-ānsāb* written by Sam'āni (before 1166 CE). Sam'āni discusses an event of Abbasid persecution, in the course of which a Manichaean book ("the *Zand*") and this hat-relic were both ordered to be burnt by the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–809 CE):

> People who were his (i.e., Mani's) followers remained in the areas of China and among the Turks and regions of Iraq and areas of Kirmān until the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He placed his (i.e., Mani's) book known as the *Zand* on trial and condemned it to be burnt, and he confiscated a *qalansūwa*-relic that was in the possession of his adherents and ordered its burning. They were suppressed.[81]

81 This event is also discussed by Ibn al-Āthīr (d. 1233): "Factions of his followers remain in areas populated by the Turks and China and regions of Iraq and Kirmān until the time

Sam'āni also notes that before burning the hat-relic with the book, the people accused of being Manichaeans were ordered one-by-one to defile these objects to disprove the accusation and thus save their lives:

> . . . they were seated before a leather drop-cloth and a sword. They brought out the book which they had and Mani's *qalansūwa* (Ar., 'cone-shaped cap') and said to each one: 'Spit on it!' And if he refused to do so, he was killed.[82]

The currently known sources are silent on the fate of the *Ārdhang*-relic beyond that it was handed over to Sisin (M 5569), who proceeded to make further copies of it (M 5815). It is likely that we shall never learn what happened to it. Mani's *Erzheng* in the treasury at Gazna that is reported by Abu'l-Ma'âlî was unlikely *the Ārdhang*-relic still in existence during the late eleventh century for two reasons. First, there were numerous copies of the *Ārdhang/Nigār* in circulation, any one of which was likely to be referenced with an attribution to its ultimate intellectual author. As we have seen, the *Ārdhang/Nigār* was already being reproduced under Mani (M 2), and it is possible that later all 12 Teachers (besides the head of the Manichaean Church) had copies of it. If so, this would mean 13 copies that were actively used at the same time across the Manichaean world, which still centered on the Iranian cultural region prior the ninth century. The frequent historical acc ounts of burning Manichaean books and paintings (i.e., pictures of Mani) are a further reason to think that the *Ārdhang*-relic was not preserved until the eleventh century. As a portable, book-like object, this painted volume could have been burnt within the "piles of books." It is even conceivable that the very volume, which Mani had in prison and was taken to Sisin, already perished in 291/2 CE, when Sisin was martyred during a renewed wave of persecution. In any case, it is most unlikely that Mani's *Ārdhang*-relic would have survived the Abbasid persecution when West Asia was cleansed of the "*zindiqs*."

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of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He burnt his book, and there was a hat (*qalansūwa*), with it which was a relic from Mani that he also put to the flame. He carried out many executions and stamped out their tradition" (*Lulāb fī tahdhīb al-ānsāb,* Reeves 2010, 23–231).

82 Reeves 2011, 245.

CHAPTER 3

Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Records in Uygur and Chinese Texts (8th–13th Centuries)

As the first half of Manichaean history concludes by the gradual disappearance of this religion from the western parts of the Asian continent, its second half begins in the Uygur-controlled regions of East Central Asia and Chinese East Asia. The role of the Uygur military elite in establishing Manichaeism not only in East Central Asia, but also in the Chinese territories of East Asia, cannot be overstated. Due to their support, this foreign religion appears in the capitals and other major cities garrisoned by Uygur troops during the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE), surfacing in the historical records as *Monijiao* (摩尼教 lit. 'Religion of Mani'). For a little over 100 years corresponding with the height of Uygur military might and political influence on the Tang, Manichaeism enjoyed imperial tolerance and even was allowed to be propagated among the Chinese inhabitants of the capitals.[1] Soon after the fall of the Uygur Steppe Empire (840/1 CE), during the persecutions of all foreign religions in 843–845 CE, Manichaeism disappeared from northern China. Its Chinese converts fled westward—to the territories of the Tien Shan Uygur Kingdom (866–1209 CE) in the region of Beshbaliq and Kocho, and the Gansu Uygur Kingdom (848–1036 CE) in the region of Ganzhou, east of Dunhuang; as well as towards the southern regions of China. There, a fully Sinicized version of Manichaeism, referred to in Chinese sources as *Mingjiao* (明教 lit. 'Religion of Light') soon emerged and maintained an institutional integrity possibly through the fourteenth/fifteenth century. Subsequently, Chinese Manichaeism gradually dissolved into a folk religion that, although it no longer had any elects, still retained some of its literature and art, and recognized Mani as a deity.[2]

From this context, one Uygur and five Chinese texts discuss Manichaean didactic art (**Table 3/1**). The earliest four passages belong to one Chinese and one Uygur text, both of which were the products of East Central Asia Manichaeism. The fifth passage is found in a Chinese secondary account. The sixth passage derives from a tertiary source—a polemical book that was based on earlier polemical sources.

1 Lieu 1992, 231–239. For studies about the impact of the Uygur Steppe Empire on Tang history, see Mackerras 1972; and 1990, 317–342.

2 The identity and continuity between the "Religion of Mani" (*Monijiao*) and the "Religion of Light" (*Mingjiao*) is unquestionable through a number of details in the discussion of *Mingjiao* and expressed in statements such as "His (Mani's) religion is called 'luminous' (*ming*, 明)," as demonstrated by Lin Wushu (2005, 258).

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TABLE 3/1 *Primary and secondary textual sources on Manichaean didactic painting in Uygur and Chinese languages (6 texts)*

PRIMARY TEXTS IN CHINESE (3 TEXTS)	SECONDARY TEXT IN CHINESE (1 TEXT)
(1) *Compendium: Article 2* (731 CE)	(1) *Wenzhou Memorial* (1120 CE)
(2) *Compendium: Article 3* (731 CE)	
(3) *Compendium: Article 5* (731 CE)	TERTIARY TEXT IN CHINESE (1 TEXT)
	(1) Zhipan (about before 1208 CE)
PRIMARY TEXT IN UYGUR (1 TEXT)	
(1) Käd Ogul (after 983 CE)	

Survey and Analysis: Articles 2, 3, and 5 of the Compendium (731 CE), Käd Ogul (after 983 CE), Wenzhou Memorial (1120 CE), and Zhipan's Fozu Tongji (1208 CE)

The six passages are analyzed below in a chronological order. They derive not only from distinctly different genres, but were also written in communities that were separated from one another by more than a 1000 miles, 100–500 years, and distinct ethnic and cultural identities. The earliest three Chinese passages belong to a Manichaean text that was composed as an executive summary describing the religion as viewed by its leadership at that time. The Uygur Manichaean passage captures the sorrow of an Uygur elect upon witnessing the dismantlement and Buddhist re-appropriation of a *manistan* in Kocho in (or soon after) 983 CE. The Chinese passage from 1120 CE is a government inventory on the *manistan* of Wenzhou run by a prospering, ethnically Chinese Manichaean community in southern China during a time when Manichaeism no longer existed in other parts of the Asian continent. The latest passage known today about Chinese Manichaean didactic art is from a book written by a Buddhist monk named Zhipan, that goes back to a source from earlier in the thirteenth century.

1 *The Compendium: Article 3 (731 CE)*

In its full title, the *Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light* is an abridged Chinese translation of a report on the characteristics of the Manichaean religion. It is preserved in two parts of a single paper handscroll that was found in Cave 17 of the Mogao Grottoes, near the town of Dunhuang (Gansu province, China). The longer and first part of the scroll is housed in the British Library, London.[3] The shorter and second

3 Handscroll, ink on paper (26 cm × 150 cm). For a photo of the manuscript, see database of the *International Dunhuang Project*: Or.8210/S.3969.

part of the scroll is kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.[4] Clearly compiled from Iranian sources, this document was prepared by a high-ranking elect probably at the request of the Chinese government, and then translated into Chinese—or rather, rendered into the elegant literary jargon of religious Chinese—on July 16, 731 CE.[5] The text consists of a colophon (with the date and place of completion) and six articles. The first article is on Mani's biography. The second is on Mani's bodily signs (i.e., those appearing in his representations). The third is on the components of the Manichaean canon. The fourth is on the hierarchy of the Church.[6] The fifth is about the *manistan*, including its layout and special officers. The sixth, which is the last surviving and fragmentary article that breaks off, concerns the rules of entering the religion.[7]

The third article is a relatively short section that lists the "canon of scriptures and the picture." It gives the titles that are rendered phonetically from a foreign language and adds a brief explanation of the content of each work from among the total of eight, including seven volumes of "scriptures" and one "picture" volume. The term "picture" (Ch. *tú*, 圖) is mentioned five times. The transcribed title of the pictorial volume, "*Great Ménhéyì*," is mentioned once. The passage reads:

> *Third Article*: On the style of the canon of scriptures and the picture/drawing (*tú*, 圖).
>
> All in all there are seven parts, together with a picture/drawing (*tú*, 圖):
>
> The first: *Da Yinglun* (大應輪 lit. Great *Yinglun* 應輪 [= Great Gospel]) interpreted as 'book of wisdom that thoroughly understands the roots and origins of the entire doctrines';
> The second: *Xintihe* (尋提賀), interpreted as 'the sacred book of the treasure of the pure life';
> The third: *Niwan* (泥萬), interpreted as 'the sacred book of discipline,' also called "the sacred book of healing';
> The fourth: *Aluozan* (阿羅瓚), interpreted as 'the sacred book of secret law'
> The fifth: *Bojiamodiye* (鉢迦摩帝夜), interpreted as 'book of instruction which testifies the past';
> The sixth: *Juhuan* (俱緩), interpreted as 'book of strong heroes';

4 Handscroll, ink on paper (26 cm × 52 cm). For a photo of the manuscript, see Chavannes and Pelliot 1913, Plate 1. The database of the *International Dunhuang Project*: Pelliot no. 3884.

5 Haloun and Henning 1952–53, 188 and note 3. To better understand how such a nuanced Chinese religious prose could have been produced prior to the existence of an ethnically Chinese Manichaean community, one may turn to studies about the teamwork and sponsorship associated with translating Buddhist texts into the Chinese language that was established by the seventh century (see Jong 1996 reprint, 54–57; and Nattier 1990, 207–8).

6 Haloun and Henning 1952–53, 188–196.

7 Chavannes and Pelliot 1913, 105–166.

The seventh: *Afuyin* (阿拂胤), interpreted as 'book of praises and wishes (vows)'

One picture/drawing (*tú*, 圖): *Dà Ménhéyì* (大 門荷翼 lit. Great *Ménhéyì* [= Great Picture]) interpreted as 'the picture/drawing (*tú*, 圖) of the two great principles.'

> The seven great scriptures and the (one) picture/drawing (*tú*, 圖) mentioned above, Mani the Buddha of the Light, [. . .], on the day of the establishment of the law, transmitted (them) to the five grades (of believers). As to the authorized teachings (*dharma*) stated during the remainder of (His) 60 years, the disciples noted them down according to opportunity. Those (we) do not enumerate.[8]

This passage is a valuable primary source on the introduction of the Manichaean canon to China in 731 CE, including Mani's collection of didactic paintings. It reiterates some basic information about the designation, dates, origin, appearance, content, and function of the canonical images.

The vocabulary of the *Compendium*'s third article employs two designations for the pictorial volume of the Manichaean canon. On the one hand, it uses the common noun, *tú* (圖) that connotes 'picture' or 'drawing' in mediaeval Chinese, as a general reference.[9] On the other hand, the passage uses the phrase *Dà Ménhéyì* (大 門荷翼, lit. '*Great Ménhéyì*') that constitutes an undeciphered Chinese transcription, which was intended to capture phonetically the foreign title of this supplementary pictorial volume. Although the original term *Ménhéyì* has not been decoded, its context of use confirms its connotation as the title of Mani's painted work, the *Book of Pictures*, familiar from early Manichaean literature.[10] The Chinese adjective *dà* (大) 'great,' occurs only one other time in this passage. It marks the title of the first book on the list, Mani's *Gospel*, the *Great Ying-lun*. The use of this adjective reflects the pairing of the *Gospel* with the *Book of Pictures* as also seen in early Manichaean literature to highlight the textual and pictorial duality of Mani's teaching methods.

The dates and origin of this *Great Ménhéyì* are noted indirectly by mentioning that "Mani the Buddha of Light . . . transmitted (the seven great scriptures and the one *tú* mentioned above) to the five grades (of believers)." The passage also notes other "authorized teachings (*dharma*) stated during the remainder of (Mani's) 60 years," not listed.[11] Just as the scriptures are understood to be later copies (and translations) of Mani's books, so, too, does the reference to

8 *Compendium: Article 3* (Haloun and Henning 1952–53, 194–195).

9 Forte (1973, 240–241) points out that the word, *tú* 圖 'picture/drawing,' is used to refer *Tújing* 圖经 '*Picture-Book* in the text of the *Wenzhou Memorial*. See discussion below.

10 Specifically as the "Great *Hikōn*" is noted in *Kephalaion 92* and *Homilies 27*. See survey of Coptic texts, above.

11 Haloun and Henning point out that the last sentences of the *Article 3* seem suggest that scriptures and the "drawing" were "like the Koran, pre-existent: Mani was possessed of them when he descended into the world" (1952–53, 208–209).

the *Ménhéyì* seem to connote an eighth-century copy of Mani's canonical volume of pictures that was introduced to China and kept in a Manichaean center in the capital city along with the rest of the canon. Therefore, while Mani's dates concern the origin of the *Ménhéyì* during Mani's ministry (240–274/277 CE), the Compendium's date informs about the existence of the *Ménhéyì* in a Tang Chinese Manichaean community following the year 731 CE.

Regarding the appearance of the *Ménhéyì*, the use of the noun *tú* and its explanation indicates a solely pictorial work consisting of picture(s)/drawing(s). Furthermore, an undefined portable medium, possibly a single pictorial roll (i.e., a horizontal handscroll), featuring multiple scenes, is implied here, since the *Ménhéyì* was listed along with the canonical scriptures that were in scroll (i.e., horizontal handscroll) format in China.

The *Compendium's* third article also preserves some data on the content and function of the pictorial volume of the Manichaean canon. To aid the intended non-Manichaean audience with the foreign vocabulary and/or concepts of the titles, the author of the *Compendium* volunteers an explanation for each in accordance with his informative purpose. Thus, he makes it clear that the *Ménhéyì* was a doctrinal work, since it was "the drawing of the two great principles." Understandably, individual themes are not discussed for the scriptures, nor for the *tú* in this basic list. Nevertheless, the fact that the *Ménhéyì* and scriptures are listed together implies the doctrinal content and subsequently instructional use for both.

2 *The Compendium: Article 5 (731 CE)*

The fifth article of the *Compendium* also preserves some data on Manichaean didactic art. Although relatively short, this section lists the rooms of a *manistan*, specifying the function of each room, including its library that held the "scriptures and the picture." The five halls found in a Manichaean temple are:

> *Fifth Article*: Rules concerning the buildings of the *manistan*:
> (1: Library) one hall of holy books (. . .) and pictures (*tú* 圖)
> (2: Meditation Hall) one hall of fasting and explication
> (3: Ritual Hall) one hall of adoration and confession
> (4: Lecture Hall) one hall of instruction
> (5: Infirmary) one hall for sick elects[12]

This passage states that pictorial art was stored along with the books in the Library Hall of the *manistan*. Pairing these "picture(s)" with the "holy books" in this text seems to indicate that the volume of the canonical images was meant here.

As is customary in a variety of other languages, the designation "picture(s) (*tú*, 圖)" conveys unambiguously the pictorial nature of the art. Mentioning the pictures with the books implies the portable format of the pictures that

12 Haloun and Henning 1952–53, 195.

allowed for storing them in the library and bringing them to another part of the *manistan*, such as the lecture hall, as needed. The same statement also implies the doctrinal content of the pictures. Along the same line of argument, keeping the "picture" in the library of the *manistan*, as opposed to its ritual hall, seems to imply a didactic use. Finally, the single date provided in the colophon of the *Compendium* anchors the implications of this highly authoritative primary source to the third decade of the eighth century in East Central Asia, where the text was composed in an Iranian language, and northern China, where it was submitted for approval to the Tang authorities in Chinese language.

3 *The Compendium: Article 2* (*731 CE*)

The second article of the *Compendium* deals with Mani and reads as a transcript of an oral sermon presented by a learned elect that was supplemented with a pictorial illustration (Parth. *ārdhang wifrās*). The didactic impulse of this anonymous teacher to explain Manichaean doctrine while alluding to an image and discussing its iconography is apparent in how he decodes the symbolic connotation of each component: the halo, the body, the robe, the throne, and possibly a hand gesture. The passage reads:

> The nimbus of Mani, the Buddha of Light, being twelve-fold is the excellent sign of the King of Light. (His) body fully displaying the Great Light has the esoteric meaning of the Limitless. (His) wonderful appearance is outstanding, without equal among men and gods. (His) being clad in white robe symbolizes the four pure *dharmakâyas*. His occupying the white throne depicts the five *vajra* lands. The union and separation of the two realms and the purport and trend of the before and the after are apparent in true bearing and can be perceived if (one) looks at Him. All the spiritual signs He possesses in (their) hundred- and thousand-fold excellency and subtleness, are, indeed, difficult to set forth fully.[13]

This passage displays the characteristics of a sermon about Mani guided by a representation of him. While the pictorial medium of this representation is not discussed, its subject matter and iconography are clearly defined. Images of Mani (and Jesus) were the focus of devotional practice among the Manichaeans as suggested by the large numbers of hymns written to them in Iranian, Uygur, and Chinese languages. The instructional use of such images can be deduced from the systematic explanation of each iconographic element employed in this passage about Mani. Thus, the *Compendium* documents the practice of giving illustrated sermons with such images during the early eighth century in East Central Asia (where the text was composed in an Iranian language) and subsequently, most likely also in northern China (where it was submitted for approval to the Tang authorities in Chinese language in 731 CE).

13 *Compendium: Article* 2, emphasis added (Haloun and Henning 1952–53, 194).

The interpretation of this passage as a text of a pictorial sermon is evident in two ways. First, the author states that the points he makes about Mani "are apparent in true bearing and can be perceived if (one) *looks at Him*." Since Mani is clearly not present in the flesh, this reference must mean a representation, most likely a painting, since statues are unknown at this stage of Manichaean history. Second, the author contrasts the effectiveness of the verbal in favor of the visual, when it comes to communicating Mani's "hundred- and thousand-fold excellency and subtleness," which "can be perceived if (one) looks at Him," but remains "difficult to set forth fully." In addition to Mani, the doctrine of Dualism (i.e., "the union and separation of the two realms") is emphasized. By the process of elimination, this was most likely reflected in the hand gesture, since communicative mudras are essential components in images of Manichaean deities along with halos, robes, and thrones; and this is the only element of the iconography that is not named in an otherwise systematic coverage (see Table 6/9).[14]

4 *The Käd Ogul Momoire* (*after 983 CE*)

Käd Ogul was an Uygur elect who lived in Kocho during the second half of the tenth century. His name survives in a memoir he wrote lamenting the royal confiscation and Buddhist re-appropriation of the cult statue from the "sacred and great *manistan*" of Kocho. Käd Ogul identifies himself as a person from the Argu country of the Talas river valley (today in northwest Kyrgyzstan and southeast Kazakhstan), who moved to Kocho as a youngster with five elects. Subsequently, he, too, became an elect.[15] Written on the back of a Sogdian letter scroll, Käd Ogul's memoir survives today in four fragments (M 162a, M 336a, M 336b, and the matched large fragment-group M146+M112+M336c) in the collection of the BBAW.[16] The original length of his text is unknown, but it must have fit onto one letter scroll. It is written in the Uygur language and in the Uygur script, lettered with a clear yet unpracticed calligraphy most likely by Käd Ogul's own hand. His prose has a personal tone and an explicitly stated goal: "I, Käd Ogul of Argu, unable to bear suffering of the kind noone can bear too much of, and thinking that I should write in regard to the statue of the *manistan*, so that young people shall understand later (what happened), have ventured to write briefly (about it) in this memoir."

Enhancing its significance, Käd Ogul's memoir contains three dates. The first date, 885/6 CE, arguably concerns the "sacred and great *manistan*" of Kocho.

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14 In the passage quoted above, Dualism is not associated with the figure's halo, robe, or throne. By the process of elimination, what remains is the hand gesture (Gulácsi 2009, 241–243).

15 Clark (2016, forthcoming) notes that during the ninth century, there was a strong Turkic-speaking Manichaean community in the Argu country of the Talas region. For his edition of the "Argu colophon to Mani's Evengelion," see 2016, forthcoming.

16 Henning 1936, 17, note 4; and Sundermann 1984, Sogdian texts lines 1–13. The best-preserved part of this paper scroll (M146+M112+M336c) is lost today, but can be accessed through a pair of color photos in the BBAW (Clark 2016, forthcoming).

The fragmentary nature of this part of the text leaves only a few words to indicate that this date may regard a renovation or a refurnishing, which would fit the attested strong support of Manichaeism by the Uygur court at this time.[17] The second date, 954/5 CE, is the year when Käd Ogul came to Kocho, became an elect, and helped to build a "stone *manistan,*" which stood for 30 years until a Buddhist monastery (Skt. *vihāra*) was erected in its place. The last date, 983/4 CE, is the year when the incident that motivated Käd Ogul to write his memoir took place—the statue of the great *manistan* of Kocho was taken for reuse in a newly built *vihāra* under the order of Arslan Bilgä Täŋri Ellig the Fourth, the so-called "Lancer Khagan." Thus, 983/4 CE is the earliest possible date of this memoir.[18] Overall, Käd Ogul's testimony vividly commemorates a time when Buddhism claimed the favor of the Uygur elite in place of Manichaeism.[19]

Two sections of this memoir are relevant for the study of Manichaean art.[20] The first section (M 336a verso and M 336b verso) is highly fragmentary, but preserves a list with a minimum of seven images, which all appear to be paintings. It also mentions the east and west sides of a place, which was most likely a hall within a *manistan* where these paintings were located. The second section (M 146+M112+M336c verso) survives intact. It discusses two *manistans*: (1) a smaller stone *manistan* of Kocho, which Käd Ogul helped build and witnessed being demolished and replaced with a *vihāra*; and (2) the great *manistan* of Kocho (also referred to by a foreign term "*qwndwv kyrw č'ky*," yet to be deciphered), which Käd Ogul witnessed being gutted, but left functioning in

17 Clark notes that '254' is a date, found in line 6 of the damaged first part of the larger fragment (M 146+M112+M336c verso), that corresponds to the year 885/6 in the Yazdigird era (2016, forthcoming). Since the legible words just prior to this date contain a vocabulary related to decoration, building, and remodeling (words such as "decorated," "famous," "artisans," "in Kocho," and "had caused the. . . . granary to be built"), it is possible that 885/6 CE concerns a remodeling or enlargement of the *qwndwv kyrw č'ky manistan* of Kocho, which Käd Ogul also calls "sacred and great."

18 Moriyasu 2003a, 86–88. The 983 CE date is further supported the Song envoy, Wang Yande, who visited Kocho in 982/3 CE and noted fifty Buddhist temples and only one *manistan* (Hamilton 1986, vol. I, xvii). Dating the destruction of this *manistan* close to the year 1008 CE was also considered by Moriyasu based on the presence of this date in a foundation stake of a newly built Buddhist monastery at Kocho, which would place the destruction of Käd Ogul's *manistan* sometime within a 25-year period, between 983 and 1008, most likely closer to 1008 CE (2001, 166).

19 Based on this text, Moriyasu concluded that Manichaeism faced increasing Buddhist competition in Kocho from the 970s CE (2003a, 89–90).

20 The most recent edition of this text produced for the Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum by Clark (2016, forthcoming) contains an overview of all previous scholarship, including the first study of the text by Geng Shimin with Klimkeit and Laut (1991, 7–11, plate XI) and Moriyasu (1991, 148–149, plate XXXIV), as well as the first critical edition by Moriyasu (2004, 174–183).

983 CE. In addition, the second section notes a statue that was the cult image housed in the main chamber of the great *manistan*.[21] The two sections read:

> M 336a verso lines 4–10:
> [1] . . . [the picture of] Mani, the Buddha (*teŋri Mani burxan*) . . .
> [2] . . . the picture of the King (*ellig körki*) . . .
> [3] . . . [the picture of] the God (*teŋri*) . . . in the place on the West side . . .
> [4] . . . [the picture of] the Buddha, who worships in the robe of . . .
> [5] . . . [the picture of] the Gods, who are in the Land of God (*teŋri yerintäki teŋrilär*)
> [6] . . . [the picture of] the Primal Man (*xormuzta teŋri*) . . .
> [7] . . . [the picture of] [Jesus the] Messiah Buddha, born (*masiha burxan tug*) . . . by the strength of . . . the God . . . [and] . . . by the strength of . . . the God . . . a place in an Eastern direction.[22]

> M 146+M112+M336c verso lines 07–22:
> Later on, (our?) existence changed, and the five of us, headed by Taš Xoštır and Käd Ogul Xoštır, . . . with (our) minds having an extremely strong and firm belief in the [pure] doctrine, (and) thinking that (our work) may increase the good of the realm(?), came (here) [from] Yegänkänt of the Talas royal Argu (country) with the jewel-root in the *kap* Tiger year in the reign of El Bilgä Täŋri Ellig the Fourth (i.e. in 954), and became Elects.
>
> And I, the youngest (among us), the novice, Butānē-yān Käd Ogul, (worked on) building this sacred stone Manistan (even) while I was constantly ill, right up until the last little bit of my meager strength was exhausted. In the year of the Sheep and of the element *kuu*, under the planet Saturn (i.e. in 983), by command of the 'Lancer' Khagan, Arslan Bilgä Täŋri Ellig the Fourth, my Divine One, the Queen Princess, had the *vihāra* with three wheels that was built in the eastern part of the old inner city moved.
>
> In the time of the Teacher, Astūd Frazend, they tore down the (stone) Manistan and set up the *vihāra* (in its place). O, alas! They also pulled down and took the internal facings(?), and the decorations of the *qwndwv kyrw č'ky* Manistan, and they carried them away to erect the *vihāra*, and they took the red brocade canopy (*töpü loxtu*) and lacquered (*sırlag*) and painted (*bädiz*) statue (*yaŋ*) (that were) within the great chamber of this sacred and great Manistan and had the *vihāra* furnished (with them).

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21 Clark (2016, forthcoming) suggests that two *manistans* are discussed in this text: (1) a "stone *manistan*," which Käd Ogul helped to build in Kocho starting from 956 and that stood for close to 30 years until a *vihāra* was erected in its place in 983 CE; and (2) the "sacred and great *manistan*" of Kocho, which was possibly enlarged and redecorated in 885/6 CE and gutted in 983 CE, but not destroyed at that time.

22 Clark 2016, forthcoming. The numbers before the seven titles are mine.

> I, Käd Ogul of Argu, unable to bear suffering of the kind noone can bear too much of, and thinking that I should write in regard to the statue of the Manistan, so that young people shall understand later (what happened), have ventured to write briefly (about it) in this memoir. My Divine One![23]

The above passages of Käd Ogul's memoir are the only currently known discussions of Manichaean art in the Uygur language. They provide information about two artistic mediums in connection with the great *manistan* of Kocho. They discuss a seven paintings and a statue of Mani concerning a ca. 100-year period between 885/6 CE and 983/4 CE.

Käd Ogul uses two Uygur common nouns for works of art: *körk* and *yaŋ*. (1) *Körk* connotes 'something visible, something worth seeing,' such as an image, painting, illustration, or portrait.'[24] It survives only once within the damaged first part of the text (M 336a verso line 5) in the second phrase: "the portrait of the King (of) . . ." (Uyg. *ellig körki* . . .), most likely the King of Honor or King of Glory. Its survival in the context of this list implies that other *körk*-s depicting the gods of the Manichaean pantheon were listed here. It is unclear whether these images were painted onto the walls of the *manistan* as murals or displayed on those walls as painted or embroidered hanging scrolls, since all these three mediums are attested in the archeological records of Manichaean Kocho. Their display in a *manistan* implies the relative large scale of these paintings.[25] (2) *Yaŋ* is a rare Uygur term connoting 'a pattern, or a model,' and in this context, 'a statue.'[26] Käd Ogul describes this *yaŋ* lacquered (Uyg. *sırlag*) and painted (Uyg. *bädiz*), kept in the main hall of the building, and supplemented with a "red brocade canopy," a *töpü loxtu*. Based on Kāšğarī's Uygur dictionary from 1072–74 CE, *loxtu* can be translated as 'a red Chinese brocade with small gold coins attached,' which in this case was *töpü*, that is, atop (or literally 'on the head of') the statue.[27] These characteristics fit the appearance of a cult image, such as a sculptural icon of Mani, the subject of which would have required no clarification in a Manichaean context.

The portrayal of Mani is attested in two ways in Käd Ogul's memoire. The first reference seems to relate to 885 CE as the first item on the list of *körks* and therefore may be imply a painted icon of Mani. The second reference about the year 983 CE concerns the cult image—the "lacquered and painted

23 Clark 2016, forthcoming.

24 Clauson 1972, 741. Clark (2016, forthcoming) translates *körk* as a painted image in light of the inscriptions preserved on a Manichaean mortuary banner from Kocho (MIK III 6286 side 1[?], see Fig. 5/24a) and on murals preserved on a Buddhist temple wall that show Uygur nobility identified with Manichaean names at Bešbalık (Umemura 1996, 361–378).

25 Käd Ogul does not lament the confiscation of these paintings, which may imply simply that their iconography was too specifically Manichaean for reuse in a Buddhist context, rather then that they were wall paintings and thus not portable.

26 *Yaŋ* "designates a 'statue' in the sense that a statue in fact is a model of a person" (Clark 2016, forthcoming).

27 Clark 2016, forthcoming.

statue within the great chamber of this sacred and great Manistan," which is best interpreted as a statue of Mani. If so, this text would be the only source that documents one subject (the icon of Mani) in two mediums (sculpture and painting).

Six additional subjects are mentioned in connection with paintings. (1) One of the paintings seems to have focused on cosmology, since it showed the Twelve Aeons surrounding the Father of Greatness. This meaning can be deduced from the phrase "Gods in the land of God" (Uyg. *teŋri yerintäki teŋrilär*), based on the unmistakable reference to the Aeons ("Gods") that surround the Father of Greatness ("God"), who dwells in the kingdom of Light ("land of God"). In Coptic sources, the Aeons are often equated with the "gods of the Kingdom of Light."[28] Their depiction would provide a visual summary of Manichaean teaching about "the land of God," that is, the Realm of Light and the deities who reside there. (2) Another painting seems to have been prophetological, since it concerned the Life of Jesus: "[Jesus the] Messiah Buddha, born . . . by the strength of . . . the God . . . [and] . . . by the strength of . . . the God." These words indicate a narrative image that included scenes from Jesus' life, such as his birth and other events, which is lost today from the fragmented prose. The feasibility of this interpretation is supported by an Uygur Manichaean depiction of Jesus' life (see Fig. 5/42) and numerous Manichaean texts about Jesus' life discovered at Kocho. (3–6) Further four paintings had theological subjects. These showed the Primal Man (Uyg. *xormuzta teŋri*), the King of Honor/Heaven or Glory (Uyg. *ellig körki teŋri. . .*), an unidentified deity, who is referred to here as "the Buddha, who worships in the robe of . . .;" and another unidentified deity, from whose name only ". . . the God" survives.[29]

Evidence for the function of Manichaean art is limited in Käd Ogul's memoir. The surviving sections of its prose confirm only that the artistic repertoire of the great *manistan* of Kocho included painted images as well as a statue. Although not explicitly stated, it is possible that the paintings were arranged in regard to the East and West cardinal directions in order to furnish a ritual space: some "in the place on the west side," while others "toward the east."[30] The prestigious statue (the confiscation and Buddhist rededication of which outrages Käd Ogul), is clearly discussed as the cult image of the great *manistan* of Kocho, but not how it was used.

Käd Ogul is conscious of time and the three dates he provides can be related to the art he discusses. Accordingly, from his prose it can be deduce that in 885/6 CE, there was a minimum of seven paintings in the great *manistan* of Kocho. This year is also connected to the *Icon of Mani* in an undetermined medium

28 Van Lindt 1992, 30.

29 For other Uygur list of Manichaean gods, see e.g., Clark 2013, 221.

30 There are six references to East and West in Käd Ogul's memoir (Clark 2016, 311): ". . . in a place eastern direction from . . ." (M 336a verso line 15), ". . . west side" . . . "east and west sides" (M 336b verso lines 1–6), and "[western] direction and eastern direction" . . . "eastern" . . . ". . . and starting from here" (M 146+M112+M336c verso lines 1–4).

(most likely sculpture). In addition, the existence of a "stone *manistan*" is noted for about 30 years, between 954/5 and 983/4 CE. He also states that "the year of the sheep . . . under . . . 'Lancer Khagan,' Arslan Bilgä Täŋri Ellig the Fourth," that is, 983/4 CE was the year when the wife of khagan, the "Divine One, the Queen Princess" began to sponsor Buddhist projects, including the moving of the "*vihāra* with three wheels that was built in the eastern part of the city." At this time, when the Manichaean community in Kocho was headed by the Teacher (*Možak*) Astūd Frazend, the great *manistan* of Kocho was gutted and a "*vihāra* furnished" with its "internal facings(?) and decorations," including "the red brocade canopy and the lacquered and painted statue." This *manistan*, however, was neither rededicated as a *vihāra*, nor yet destroyed in 983/4 CE.

5 *Wenzhou Memorial* (*1120 CE*)

The *Sung hui-yao* is a collection of Chinese historical documents from the time of the Song dynasty that preserves a passage dated to November 26, 1120 CE, about a Manichaean community in the southern Chinese port city of Wenzhou (Zhejiang province). This passage has become known in Manichaean studies as the *Wenzhou Memorial*. It was written as part of an official report about the local "followers of the Religion of Light (*Mingjiao*, 明教)," whose activities were always suspect to government authorities, especially during times of political turmoil.[31]

The *Wenzhou Memorial* holds a unique set of data about Manichaean pictorial art from this part of the world, since it provides an inventory of sacred books and images. The portion of the text relevant to this inquiry names 19 titles, out of which seven are those of paintings, including item five from the list of the scriptures and items 14–19 from the list of the silk paintings. The passage reads:

> The scriptures (*jingwen* 經文) recited (*suo nian* 所念) by the followers of the Religion of Light (*Mingjiao* 明教) and the images of deities (*foxiang* 佛像) painted (*huihua* 繪畫) by them:
> [1] The Book of Exhortation to Mediation (*Qisi jing* 訖思經),
> [2] The Book of Verification (*Zhengming jing* 證明經),
> [3] The Book of Descent and the Birth of the Crown Prince (*Taizi xiasheng jing* 太子下生經),
> [4] The Book of the Father and the Mother (*Fumu jing* 父母經),
> [5] The Picture Book (or Book of Pictures, *Tujing* 圖經),
> [6] The Book on the Essay of Causes (?) (*Wenyuan jing* 文緣經),
> [7] The Gatha of the Seven Moments (or Prayers) (*Qishi ji* 七時偈),
> [8] The Gatha of the Sun (*Riguang ji* 日光偈),
> [9] The Gatha of the Moon (*Yueguang ji* 月光偈),
> [10] The Essay of the (King of) (?) Justice (*Pingwen* 平文),
> [11] The Hymn of Exhorting (Virtuous) (?) Men (*Cehan zan* 策漢贊),

31 Lieu 1992, 265.

[12] The Hymn of Exhorting the Verification (*Ce zhengming zan* 策證明贊),
[13] The Grand Confessional (*Guangda chan* 廣大懺),

[14] A silk painting of the deity/buddha Wonderful Water (*Miaoshui fo zheng* 妙水佛幀),
[15] A silk painting of the deity/buddha First Thought (*Xianyi fo zheng* 先意佛幀),
[16] A silk painting of the deity/buddha Jesus (*Yishu fo zheng* 夷數佛幀),
[17] A silk painting of Good and Evil (*Shan'e zheng* 善惡幀),
[18] A silk painting of the Royal Prince (*Taizi zheng* 太子幀),
[19] A silk painting of the Four Kings of Heaven (*Sitianwang zheng* 四天王幀).[32]

The above passage provides critical evidence about the designation, appearance, content, function, and date of Manichaean didactic art from early twelfth-century southern China. It proves the existence of Mani's canonical collection of pictures in southern China by using the title *Tújing* (圖经) that translates as "*Picture Book*" or "*Book of Pictures*." In addition, this passage confirms the existence of a pictorial medium called *zheng* (幀) that allowed for displaying paintings on silk hanging scrolls. It lists six examples, at least one of which is confirmed to have had a didactic theme that derived from Mani's canonical collection of images, and thus fulfilled an instructional function.

The *Wenzhou Memorial* employs two terms that are informative about designation and appearance of Manichaean didactic painting. The first is the noun *tú* (圖) 'picture/drawing' that references what is called here the *Book of Pictures* or *Picture Book—Tújing* (圖经)." This designation is used as a title. Its first character, "*tú*," unmistakably connotes images. In this passage, all scriptures include a reference to their genre, adding the noun *jing* (经) 'book' to the first five titles on the list. Being listed as one of the thirteen scriptures already implies that the book format is that of a handscroll made of paper, which most likely was a pictorial roll in the case of the *Tújing*. The second term used for art in this passage is the noun *zhen* (or *zheng* 幀), which connotes a painting on a soft fabric surface, most often silk, that could be rolled up or folded when not hung for display.[33] Just as the one *jing*, the six *zhen* are further defined by their titles that reflect their subject matter, considered in connection with their content below. By mentioning the six themes depicted on silk hanging

32 *Song huiyao jigao*, complied by Xu Song (1781–1844) et al (Shanghai: 1936), fasc. 165, xingfa 2.78a–79b. This text was published in French by Forte (1973, 238 and 244–251) and in English by Lieu (1992, 276–277). The translation above is based on consultations with Victor Mair with the exception of the list of books 1–13, which is after Lieu. The numbers are mine.

33 Personal communication with Robert Campany (Professor of Asian Studies, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee).

scrolls (at least one of which was a didactic image), the *Wenzhou Memorial* documents the emergence of a new didactic pictorial medium used for displaying Manichaean doctrinal images in China.

Concerning the question of origin, neither the scriptures nor the silk paintings listed in the *Wenzhou Memorial* receive any attribution. The significant amount of data surveyed in the course of this study so far, however, brings to mind attributions to Mani in connection with two items, including what is called here the *Tújing* and the didactic image of *Good and Evil* painted on a *zheng*. The connotation of the *Tújing*'s title suggests that this "*Book of Pictures*" was the twelfth-century Chinese version of the pictorial work traditionally attributed to Mani throughout the history of this religion. The noted content of one *zheng* on *Good and Evil* marks a specific theme emphasized in connection with the images of the didactic pictorial scroll attributed to Mani by Ephrem during the middle of the fourth century in Roman Syria. Thus, the titles of these two works of art imply the original intellectual authorship of Mani.

Concerning the content of art, various themes of Manichaean doctrine can be recognized in the titles of all seven pictorial works of art listed in the *Wenzhou Memorial*. The pictorial doctrine of the *Tújing* (圖经) is signaled by the fact that it is listed among the scriptures, as is often seen in Manichaean literature.[34] The silk painting of "Good and Evil (*Shan'e* 善惡)" corresponds to a theme once noted in connection with Mani's collection of didactic paintings in early Manichaean literature.[35] Thus, it seems that this hanging scroll featured an essential teaching that originated in Mani's collection of didactic images. The remaining five silk paintings are also doctrinal in the sense that they reflect themes known from Manichaean texts (see Tab. 6/9). Three of the silk paintings are centered on a solo deity (*fo*, [佛] lit. 'buddha'), either a mythological being such as "the deity First Thought (*Xianyi fo*, 先意佛)," also called the Primal Man;[36] and "the deity Wonderful Water (*Miaoshui fo*, 妙水佛)" who is one of the five elements, that is, one of the five sons of the Primal Man;[37] or a historical prophet, such as "the deity Jesus (*Yishu fo*, 夷數佛)." Another silk painting centered on what is called here "the Royal Prince (*Taizi*, 太子)," which is possibly the Chinese name of the eschatological prophet figure known in Coptic Manichaean texts as the *Great King*.[38] The last silk painting showed "the Four Kings of Heaven (*Sitianwang*, 四天王)," who are Manichaean mythological beings also known as the *Four Guardians*.[39]

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34 E.g.: *Homilies 25*, see discussion in Chapter 1, above.

35 The two principles of good and evil depicted in Mani's collection of didactic images were noted during the mid-fourth-century by Ephrem Syrus, who mentions that Mani's *Yuqnā* showed the figures of light and darkness. See discussion above.

36 Van Lindt 1999, 45–55.

37 Van Lindt 1999, 56–68.

38 Van Lindt 1999, 97–99.

39 No record in Coptic sources (Lindt 1999). For interpretions of East Central Asian pictorial and textual records, see Klimkeit 1980, 179–199; and Ebert 1992, 489–512.

The *Wenzhou Memorial* does not have direct evidence about how these paintings were used. The closest we can get to their function is through their pictorial contents as reflected by their titles. The subject matter implies an instructional use in the case of the *Tújing* (圖经) and "the silk painting of Good and Evil (*Shan'e zheng*, 善惡幀)." It is hard to imagine that the later image was the object of veneration. The rest of the silk paintings could have been used in a devotional setting, especially those of Jesus and the Primal Man, who is called here "the deity First Thought (*Xianyi fo*, 先意佛)," since both are objects of prayers in the *Chinese Manichaean Hymn Scroll*.[40] To a lesser degree, a devotional function may be signaled by the rest of the three titles: "the silk paintings of the deity of Wonderful Water (*Miaoshui fo zheng*, 妙水佛幀), the Royal Prince (*Taizi zheng*, 太子幀), and the Four Kings of Heaven (*Sitianwang zheng*, 四天王幀)."

Concerning the question of date, the *Wenzhou Memorial* has a dual significance. First, it confirms that the *Tújing* (圖经) and a set of doctrinal silk paintings existed in the Manichaean temple of Wenzhou in the year 1120 CE. This early twelfth-century date is the most recent currently known evidence about the existence of Mani's *Book of Pictures*. Second, this text documents that during the early twelfth century the Manichaeans of Wenzhou owned a set of silk paintings, referred to here by the term *zheng* (幀). As we have seen, at least one of the images, "the silk painting of Good and Evil (*Shan'e zheng*, 善惡幀)," was didactic in its pictorial content, since it depicted a subject connected to the pictorial repertoire of the Mani's collection of didactic images. As argued in Chapter 5 below, a silk painting such as the one noted here is best explained as a modified version of a canonical image—an image on a hanging scroll with a subject that ultimately derived from Mani's canonical paintings, but had a format (and most certainly style and iconography) that fit the local Chinese norms of the time.

6 *Zhipan's Note of a Manichaean Text about a Painting from before 1208 CE in his General Record on the Buddha and the Patriarchs* (*Fozu Tongji, 1208 CE*)

Zhipan was a thirteenth-century Buddhist monk, who is known for publishing a book under the title *General Record on the Buddha and the Patriarchs* (Ch. *Fozu Tongji*). This work contains a polemical discussion about some of the basic beliefs and scriptures of the Manichaean communities in southern China based on earlier, already tertiary literature. In light of them, Zhipan puts the arrival of this religion to China in 696 CE.[41] He quotes passages from various anti-Manichaean writings, such as a book by Tsong-kien (1237–40 CE)

40 The *Chinese Manichaean Hymn Scroll* documents praises sung in worship of Jesus, while the Primal Man only appears in list of deities (Tsui 1944, 176–183; and 187, 189, 191, respectively).

41 Forte (1992, 368) notes that "the diffusion of the teachings began in China with the arrival of a *mozak* (Ch. *mushe*) during the reign of Gaozong (r. 649–83 CE). Although this source

that summarizes an even earlier account authored by Wou ko-ki, which was originally published sometime between 1208 and 1224 CE under the title *Che mentcheng tong*. Zhipan's quote from this book concerns a Song-dynasty law against the "people who propagate the two principles" that lists some of their objectionable practices, such as celibacy and burying instead of burning the corpses of their dead, as well as some of their "scriptures without foundations," such as the "[*Scripture about*] *the Arrival of the Kings of Light*" and the "*Transformation Text that Explains the Foundation of the Cosmos and the Construction of the Earth*."[42] Transformation texts (Ch. *bianwen*) are the first extended vernacular narratives known from China. These narratives involve the discussion of a painting displayed in front of a group of people often in a public place, referred to as "picture recitations."

The title of only one Manichaean transformation text survives. Nevertheless, this title contains critical data for the study of Manichaean didactic art. It implies the existence of a Chinese Manichaean canonical painting, which depicted a specific subject, intended to be discussed in an education context.[43] The passage quoted by Zhipan reads:

> According to the laws of the current dynasty, 'those who deceive the people by the transmission of and adherence to the *Scripture of the Two Principles* and the texts of the scriptures that are foundationless, which are not contained in the *Canons* (*tsang-king*), should be condemned to the Chief of (the Regulation of) Heterodox Doctrine.' That, which is (called above 'the *Scripture*) *of the Two Principles*' refers to (the scripture that teaches that) men and woman should not marry; in assembling together,[44] they should not speak; where (in case of) maladies, one does not make use of remedies; where at death one inters the (cadaver) nude, etc. That which is (called above) 'the texts of the scriptures that are foundationless' refers to the following (scriptures):
>
> (1) [*Scripture on*] *Buddha, Buddha, Master Overflowing with Affection* (*Fo fo t'ou lien che*),
>
> (2) [*Scripture*] *on the Tears Pronounced by the Buddha* (*Fo chouo t'i lei*),
>
> (3) *Scripture of the Coming into the World of the Great and Small Kings of Light* (*Ta siao mingwang twh'ou che king*),
>
> (4) *Transformation Text that Explains the Foundation of the Cosmos and the Construction of the Earth* (*Kaiyuankuodi Bianwen* 開元括地変文)

(*He Qiaoyuan*, 1558–1632 CE) is rather late, it deserves to be given serious consideration, since it appears soundly based on reliable ancient sources independent of Zhipan."

42 Chavannes and Pelliot 1913, 353.

43 Yoshida 2015a, 50–51.

44 Conjectural emendation of Chavannes and Pelliot for the text's "holding one another" (1913, 353).

(5) [*Scripture on*] *Conciliation of Contradictory Opinions about Heaven* (*Ts'i t'ien louen*), [and]
(6) C*hant of the Fifth, who has Come* (*Won lai tsen k'ien*).

The rule (of those who follow these scriptures) is not to eat meat, nor to drink wine. [. . .]. Its adepts do not kill any (living being), do not drink any (wine), do not (eat) any strong food, and consider these a single very strict (rule).[45]

The transformation text mentioned among the Manichaean scriptures in the above passage does not survive. Its title in itself, however, records a pictorial subject that was portrayed on a Chinese Manichaean painting. Moreover, it allows us to deduce the cosmogonical or cosmological content of this painting, it didactic function, as well as its existence during the early thirteenth century, that is, before and/or during sometime between 1208 and 1224 CE.

An actual work of art preserved among the surviving primary visual sources of this religion corroborates the existence of Manichaean didactic paintings, such as the one alluded to in the title of the transformation text mentioned by Zhipan. In his study of the Chinese Manichaean *Diagram of the Cosmos* (see Fig. 5/14), Yutaka Yoshida noted the thematic correlation between Zhipan's record and the thirteenth-century Manichaean silk painting preserved today in Japan. As customary, the title of this transformation text identifies a painting, in this case, a painting that depicted a canonical theme. In harmony with Chavannes and Pelliot's French translation from 1913, Yoshida translates the nuanced connotations of the four words that identify this painting (*kai yuan kuo di*) as the "*Foundation of the Cosmos and the Construction of the Earth*." Furthermore, he raises the possibility that this title may actually refer to the very Chinese Manichaean cosmological painting preserved in Japan.[46]

Assessment of Data: Designation, Attribution, Dates, Appearance, Content, and Function

The one Uygur and the five Chinese language passages surveyed in this chapter are essential for gaining an informed understanding about the development of didactic art during the second half of Manichaean history. Once again, these texts supply critical data on the designation, attribution, date, appearance, content, and function associated with Manichaean visual doctrine. The body of evidence they yield is specific to East Central Asia and East Asia between the early eighth and early thirteenth centuries (**Table 3/2**).

45 Chavannes and Pelliot 1913, 353.
46 Yoshida 2015a, 51 and personal communication.

TABLE 3/2 *Summary of data about Manichaean didactic art in Uygur and Chinese textual sources from mediaeval East Asia and East Central Asia*

DESIGNATION

(1) Four common nouns connoting 'picture' (*Compendium 3, 5*; Käd Ogul, *Wenzhou Memorial*)
Chinese *tú* (圖) 'picture/drawing' (*Compendium 3, 5; Wenzhou Memorial*)
Uygur *yaŋ* 'statue, model' (Käd Ogul)
Uygur *körk* 'picture, image, portrait' (Käd Ogul)
Chinese *zheng* (幀) 'silk painting, silk hanging scroll (*Wenzhou Memorial*)

(2) Two titles connoting the canonical *Book of Pictures* (*Compendium 3*, *Wenzhou Memorial*)
Dà Ménhéyì (大 門荷翼) 'Great *Ménhéyì*' (*Compendium 3*)
Tújing (圖经) "Picture-Book/Book of Pictures" (*Wenzhou Memorial*)
Listed together with books of canon (*Compendium 3*, *Wenzhou Memorial*)
Paired with Gospel; one of only two titles labeled "Great" on list (*Compendium*)

(3) Titles of individual *körk*/*zheng* listed (Käd Ogul, *Wenzhou Memorial*)

ATTRIBUTION

(1) *Ménhéyì*: Intellectual authorship attributed to Mani (*Compendium 3*)

(2) *Tújing*: Mani's intellectual authorship implied (*Wenzhou Memorial*)

DATES

(1) 240–274/277 CE:
Ménhéyì's attribution to Mani, implied (*Compendium 3*)

(2) 731 CE:
Ménhéyì part of *manistan*'s library in East Central Asia and northern China (*Compendium 3, 5*)
Icon of Mani guides sermon in East Central Asia and northern China (*Compendium 2*)

(3) 885 CE:
Set of minimum six *körk* in great *manistan* of Kocho (Käd Ogul)
Icon of Mani listed as a *körk* in great *manistan* of Kocho (Käd Ogul)

(4) after 983 CE:
Sculpted cult image in great *manistan* of Kocho, *Icon of Mani* implied (Käd Ogul)
The stone *manistan* of Kocho that Käd Ogul helped build was torn down (Käd Ogul)
The great *manistan* of Kocho was gutted but left functioning (Käd Ogul)

(5) 1120 CE:
Tújing in *manistan* of Wenzhou (*Wenzhou Memorial*)
Set of six *zheng* in a *manistan* of Wenzhou (*Wenzhou Memorial*)

(6) before 1208 CE:
Image depicting the "Foundation of the Cosmos and the Construction of the Earth" (Zhipan)
Manichaean transformation text (*bianwen*) about image (Zhipan)
Practice of teaching with images, implied (Zhipan)

APPEARANCE

(1) *Ménhéyì/Tújing*: picture book (*Compendium 3*, *Wenzhou Memorial*)
Book medium implied by listing with scriptures (*Compendium 3, Wenzhou Memorial*)
Tújing: book medium confirmed by title (*Wenzhou Memorial*)

TABLE 3/2 *Summary of data about Manichaean didactic art in Uygur and Chinese textual sources* (cont.)

(2) *yaŋ*: sculpture (Käd Ogul)
Supplemented with canopy of red brocade cloth decorated with gold coins (Käd Ogul)
Kept in "great chamber" of *manistan* (Käd Ogul)
Iconography suitable for reuse in Buddhist context, implied (Käd Ogul)
Lacquered and painted (Käd Ogul)
Light enough to be portable for reuse in *vihāra*, implied (Käd Ogul)
(3) *körk:* unspecified painting medium (Käd Ogul)
(4) *zheng*: silk hanging scroll (*Wenzhou Memorial*)
(5) Pictorial representation, implied (Zhipan)

CONTENT
(1) Doctrinal content of *Ménhéyì/Tújing* confirmed (*Compendium*, *Wenzhou Memorial*)
Doctrinal content of *Ménhéyì* stated: painting of the two great principles (*Compendium*)
Doctrinal content of *Tújing* stated by title (*Wenzhou Memorial*)
Doctrinal content of *Tújing* implied by listing it with books (*Wenzhou Memorial*)
(2) Doctrinal content of each *körk*/*zheng* confirmed by title (*Wenzhou Memorial*)
(3) Themes of *yaŋ*/*körk*/*zheng* included
Theology (Käd Ogul, *Wenzhou Memorial*)
Deity (*fo*/*burxan*) Mani (*Compendium 2*, Käd Ogul)
Deity (*fo*/*burxan*) Jesus (Käd Ogul, *Wenzhou Memorial*)
Deity (*fo*) Wonderful Water (*Wenzhou Memorial*)
Deity (*fo*) First Thought (= Primal Man) (Käd Ogul, *Wenzhou Memorial*)
Twelve Aeons (Käd Ogul)
Unidentified Deity (*burxan*) (Käd Ogul)
Royal Prince (= Great King) (Käd Ogul, *Wenzhou Memorial*)
Four Guardians (*Wenzhou Memorial*)
Prophetology (*Compendium 2*, Käd Ogul, *Wenzhou Memorial*)
Life of Jesus (birth and later events) (Käd Ogul)
Cosmology (Käd Ogul, *Wenzhou Memorial,* Zhipan)
"Twelve Aeons (Gods) in Land of God" (Käd Ogul)
"Good and Evil" (*Wenzhou Memorial*)
"Foundation of the Cosmos and Construction of the Earth" noted (Zhipan)
Depictions of the earth and its origin, implied (Zhipan)

FUNCTION
(1) Instructional use of *Ménhéyì*/*Tújing*/canonical *tú* implied by being listed with books (*Compendium 3, 5, Wenzhou Memorial*)
(2) Instructional use of *Mani's portrait* implied by guiding a sermon about Mani (*Compendium 2*)
(3) Instructional use of *körk*/*zheng* implied by title (Käd Ogul, *Wenzhou Memorial*)
körk about Jesus' birth and later events of his life (Käd Ogul)
zheng about "Good and Evil" (*Wenzhou Memorial*)
(4) Instructional use of painting implied by transformation text (*bianwen*) written about it (Zhipan)

1 *Designations of Didactic Art in Uygur and Chinese, and the Missing Uygur Title of the Book of Pictures*

The Uygur and Chinese language passages known today on Manichaean didactic art contain important data on terminology (see Tab. 3/2: Designation). While the connotations of some of the terms follow an earlier Manichaean tradition, others indicate uniquely Sino-Uygur developments in Manichaean didactic art.

In the course of discussing didactic pictorial art, these texts distinguish between two types of terms. First, the Chinese *tú* (圖) 'picture/drawing' (*Compendium, Wenzhou Memorial*) is used while discussing Mani's canonical paintings under the titles *Dà Ménhéyì* (大 門荷翼 '*Great Ménhéyì*') and *Tújing* (圖经 '*Picture Book*'). Nouns with analogous meaning in numerous languages are present in Manichaean texts, including two in Coptic: *hikōn* 'picture, image' (*Kephalaion 7, 92, 151, 191; Homilies 18, 24, 25, 27*) and *eine* 'picture, image, representation, likeness' (*Kephalaion* 7, 191); two in Syriac: *yuqnā* 'picture, image' (*Prose Refutations*) and *ṣurtā* 'picture, image, illustration' (*Prose Refutations*); and the Middle Persian noun: *nigār* 'pictures, image, illustration' (M 2, M 47, M 219). Because the Chinese *tú* can be translated in a plural form, its use is also similar to what is seen in the Arabic plural noun: *al-ṣuwar* 'pictures, illustrations' (Ibn al-Nadim). Second, the Chinese *zheng/zhen* (幀) 'silk painting, silk hanging scroll (*Wenzhou Memorial*) and the Uygur körk *'picture, image, portrait'* (Käd Ogul) are used with connotations unprecedented in earlier Manichaean literature, for they are used in connection with naming doctrinal subjects depicted on individual paintings that are distinct from Mani's canonical volume of images.

The canonical volume of paintings is referenced in two passages. The *Compendium* employs "*Ménhéyì*" in order to capture the pronunciation of a foreign title of unknown original language and connotation, adding to it the adjective *da* 'great' in *Dà Ménhéyì*. The *Wenzhou Memorial* employs a translated title, *Tújing*, by combining the noun *tú* (圖) 'picture,' to convey the name of Mani's collection of didactic images, and adding to it the noun *jing* (经) 'book,' to record the classification of this volume with the rest of the Manichaean scriptures.[47] Both titles are listed with other books of the canon, as is often seen in Manichaean literature. In addition, the *Compendium* pairs *Ménhéyì* with Mani's *Gospel* by adding to both the adjective "great." A similar pairing of the *Picture* with the *Gospel* is often seen in Manichaean literature.[48] Unlike in other languages, however, the Chinese versions of the title, *Ménhéyì*/*Tújing*, cannot be mistaken for a single image/portrait of Mani.

A phenomenon never documented in earlier Manichaean sources is the identification of an individual painting (*körk*/*zheng*) by its title, as seen in

47 This version of the title is attested in late mediaeval and early modern Persian literature. See discussion of Persian sources, in Chapter 4 below.

48 Pairing the *Picture* with a main book of the canon, such as the *Gospel*, is documented in the Parthian Turfan fragment M 5569 as well as the Coptic *Kephalaion 151* and *Homilies 27*.

the Uygur passage from Käd Ogul's memoir (after 983 CE) and the Chinese *Wenzhou Memorial* (1120 CE). Although in a fragmentary state, Käd Ogul's prose preserves two didactic pictorial titles from its list of seven: "... the Gods, who are in the Land of God" (Uyg. *teŋri yerintäki teŋrilä*), and "[Jesus the] Messiah Buddha, born ..." (Uyg. *masiha burxan tug* ...). The well-preserved passage from Wenzhou has one title that appears unmistakably didactic from its list of six: the "Silk Painting of Good and Evil" (*Shan'e zheng* 善惡幀). These titles and designations signal a new pictorial format and thus, a new practice associated with Manichaean didactic art.

2 *Implied Attribution to Mani*

With one exception, the question of origin receives no attention in the sources surveyed above (see Tab. 3/2: Attribution). Based on the limited quantity of evidence, a diminishing interest in attributing Manichaean didactic art to Mani cannot be confirmed. The intellectual authorship of Mani is implied in the *Compendium,* since the pictorial volume of the canon is listed with the rest of Mani's scriptures. A more direct attribution is made in the last paragraph of the text, which discusses Mani as the author of the Manichaean canon. As to be expected, the painter of the actual *Ménhéyì*, that is, the person who made this contemporaneously used copy, is not noted, just as the scribes who copied the texts are not credited either. The *Wenzhou Memorial* is silent on the origins of the *Tújing* as well as the "silk painting of Good and Evil" (*Shan'e zheng*, 善惡幀). Their respective titles, however, point to Mani. While the *Tújing* connotes Mani's canonical volume of pictures, the title of the "Silk Painting of Good and Evil" implies a theme that is routinely connected to Mani's *Book of Pictures* in textual sources such as the *Compendium* and the *Prose Refutations* of Ephrem Syrus.

3 *Dates between 731 and 1208 CE*

Unlike most texts considered previously, the Uygur and Chinese passages are securely dated. Overall, they provide six dates in connection with the canonical art of the Manichaeans. They attest the continued employment of the *Book of Pictures* for a thousand years, starting from the mid-third to the early thirteenth century. In addition, they anchor certain innovations that impacted the formation of Manichaean didactic art during the Uygur era in East Central Asia and the years of the Tang-Song dynasties in northern and southern China (see Tab. 3/2: Dates).

The earliest date in these sources points to Mani's ministry (240–274/277 CE) in late ancient Mesopotamia. The first article of the *Compendium* acknowledges Mani's authorship of "the canon of scriptures and the picture," and thus indirectly links Mani's dates to the origin of the great *Ménhéyì*. The author of the *Compendium* carries on the traditional dating of Mani's *Book of Pictures*, as seen in five additional Manichaean passages from late ancient West Asia (*Kephalaion 92, 151,* and *Prose Refutations*) and mediaeval East Central Asia (M 2 and M 5569), but remains unattested in later Chinese texts.

The second date, the year 731 CE, comes with complex implications from the colophon of the *Compendium*, since it is tied to Manichaean didactic art in two historical contexts. On the one hand, the *Compendium*'s Chinese translation and historically confirmed Tang imperial use are informative about Manichaean art in the *manistan*s of Tang China. On the other hand, it implies the use of art in a Manichaean center somewhere in East Central Asia (most likely Kocho before its Uygur occupation), where the document was originally composed in a Middle Iranian language.

Conditions that persisted during the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE) for a period of 112 years between 731 and 843 CE are partially reflected in the *Compendium*'s evidence about Manichaean didactic art. This northern Chinese phase of Manichaean history began in the year after the *Compendium* was submitted, when *Monijiao* (摩尼教, 'Religion of Mani') was first allowed to be practiced among foreigners, but remained prohibited among the Chinese.[49] The length and the increasing leniency of this Chinese policy corresponded with the height of the Uygur military might and extensive political influence on the Tang. The Tang government depended on Uygur garrisons for its survival, including the ending of the An Lushan rebellion (755–762 CE), after which the court was in no position to refuse the requests of Uygur embassies to build *manistans* in the major cities.[50] A sudden decline began with the collapse of the Uygur Steppe Empire in the winter of 840/841 CE. Within two years the Sino-Uygur alliance broke and the Manichaeans were the first to be targeted in a series of persecutions that all foreign religions experienced under Emperor Wu-tsung (r. 841–846 CE). Guided by xenophobic sentiments, Emperor Wu-tsung's reign ended a celebrated age of foreign contact that left a lasting impact on Chinese culture, art, and religions. Isolated Manichaean activities in northern China, including Taiyuan, are noted for another 80 years before the records go silent after 926 CE.[51]

Tang historical sources do not mention any Manichaean art, although they note the locations of seven *manistans* across Tang China (**Figure 3/1**).[52] Their buildings were most certainly produced by local craftsmen and followed Chinese architectural models. They must have been timber frame structures built on walled grounds, similar to Buddhist temple sites from the time.[53] We may imagine that at least the three *manistan*s of the largest cities especially in the capital cities of Luoyang (Henan province) and Chang'an (modern Xi'an in Shaanxi province), and the largest northern city of Taiyuan (Shanxi

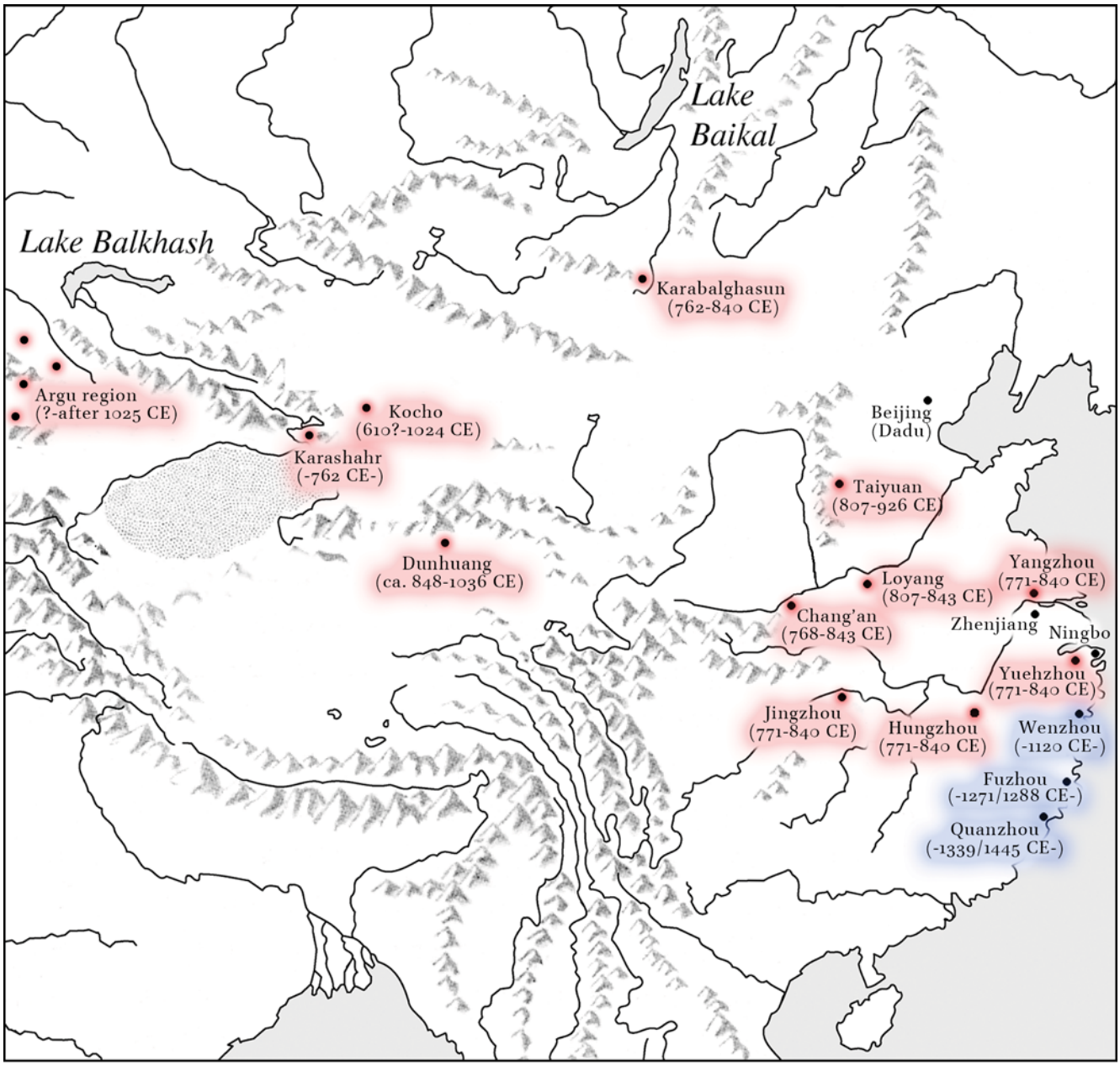
49 Mackerras 1972 and 1990, 317–342; Chavannes and Pelliot 191, 154–5, and Lieu 1992 237–239.

50 Schafer 1963, 139, and 145. For a map, indicating the locations of the Manichaean, Nestorian, and Zoroastrian temples of Chang'an, see Ebrey 1996, 117.

51 A government report records the burial of an elect at Taiyuan on October 2, 926 CE, who lived in a *manistan* next to the mansion and under the care of an ethnically Uygur general (*Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei* 96718b–19a, see Hamilton 1955, 69; and Lieu 1992 266).

52 Map source: Henning 1938, 570; Lieu 1979, 36; Moriyasu 2010, 360; and Clark 2016, forthcoming.

53 See Fu Xinian 2002, 112–118; and Steinhardt 2004, 228–254.



a: After Henning 1938, Lieu 1979, Moriyasu 2010, and Clark 2016

FIGURE 3/1 *Location of* manistans *across Uygur Inner Asia and Tang China* (*red*) *and Song-Ming China* (*blue*)

province) had five halls as described in the fifth article of the *Compendium*. If so, they must have included a "library hall" furnished with "the holy books and the picture." At minimum, Manichaean didactic art at this time included the canonical *tú* (i.e., Mani's *Ménhéyì*) and an icon of Mani, as documented by the *Compendium*. It is most likely that the other four *manistans*, located south of the two capitals in smaller cities garrisoned by Uygur troops (Yangzhou, Yuehzhou, Hungzhou, and Jingzhou), also contained such art.

The noted foreignness (namely Sogdian and Uygur) of Manichaean culture in Tang China[54] invites the hypothesis that Manichaean pictorial art was not yet made to suit the taste of the ethnically Chinese laity, but looked much like the Manichaean art of early ninth-century Karabalghasun and Kocho. Chinese converts, however, were known in the capital cities, including the 72 female elects, whose martyrdom was noted.[55] In any case, the male elects, who were mentioned in the same account to have been escorted to the Uygur border in 843 CE,[56] most certainly took from their *manistan*s not only Chinese versions of the canon and other texts, but also portable works of art, as indicated by the unique provenance of the *Compendium* itself. Its scroll was found in the walled sacred repository that became known as Cave 17 of the Mogao Grottos near Dunhuang—the very region where the Manichaean clan of the late Bügü Khagan settled after fleeing Karabalghasun in 841 CE.[57] In any case, pictorial art was a component of Manichaeism in Tang China as confirmed by an imperial edict issued in 843 CE, which ordered the burning of "Manichaean books (*Móníshū*, 摩尼書) and image(s) (*xinag*, 象)."[58] Based on its context, the latter reference most likely does not concern the *Book of Pictures*, but rather a painted icon of Mani.[59]

The Uygurs' support of Manichaeism lasted for about 270 years. Their interest began soon after establishing the Uygur Steppe Empire (744–840 CE), based on a confederation of tribes centered in Karabalghasun—located in the Orkhon Valley of what is today Mongolia and better known after its thirteenth-century Mongolian name, Ordubaliq. The conversion of Bügü Khagan (Chin. *Mou-yu Xagan*, r. 759–779 CE) to Manichaeism followed a series of encounters from 755 CE that culminated in the winter of 762/3 CE. The last and best-documented event took place while assisting the Tang against the An Lushan rebellion (755–762 CE).[60] The *Karabalghasun Inscription* (a trilingual

54 See e.g., the letter written in 843 CE to the Uygur Khagan by a high-ranking administrator, Li Te-yü, emphasizing the foreignness of the elect and the lack of Chinese laity to support them in Chiang, Huei, and other prefectures in central and southern China (Chavannes and Pelliot 1913, 293–295; Lieu 1992, 237).

55 Lieu 1992, 238.

56 *FTTC* 42.385c (Chavannes and Pelliot 1913, 301–302; Lieu 1992, 239).

57 Czegledi 1984, 159–163; and Clark 2009, 61–71.

58 *Hsin T'ang-shu* 18A.594 (Chavannes and Pelliot 1913, 298; Lieu 1992, 239). The last character, 象, connotes 'image' or 'manifestation' (Mikkelsen 2006, 79a).

59 Corroborating this interpretation is Ibn al-Jawzī's record about the burning of Manichaean books with an icon of Mani in Baghdad in 923 CE (see quote in assessment of designation in Chapter 1, above). It is unlikely that the Chinese reference from 843 CE concerned a series of silk paintings on hanging scrolls, since that pictorial format is first documented only from 50–150 years later among the Manichaeans of Kocho in the memoire of Käd Ogul and the physical remains of Uygur Manichaean art.

60 Bügü Khagan's conversion and its subsequent events regarding the introduction of Manichaeism to the Uygur Steppe are discussed in the Chinese version of the *Karabalghasun Inscription* (Schlegel 1896 and Chavannes-Pelliot 1913, 177–199). This text however does not contain a direct date. The winter of 762 and 763 CE, as the date of the conversion, was introduced by Chavannes and Pelliot in light of Tang dynastic annals

commemorative text written in Uygur, Sogdian, and Chinese on the deeds of the Uygur kings, engraved between 808 and 821 CE on a stone stele) mentions that Bügü Khagan rescued four Sogdian Manichaean elects from the turmoil at Louyang. He took them back to the Uygur realm, and soon after more elect were sent: "brothers and sisters to enter the kingdom in order to spread and exalt [the religion] there."[61] Continued support of Manichaeism at Karabalghasun is recorded from the early ninth century by the Arabic traveler Tamim ibn Bahr, who visited the city about 821 CE and noted that the elect were living outside the capital although their religion was dominant within.[62] Writing about conditions in the early 800s CE, the Persian historian, Gardīzī (d. ca. 1061 CE) also noted that:

> It was customary in the Uygur kingdom for 300 or 400 Manichaean priests to gather in the house of the prince to recite the books of Mani, and at the end of the day they would evoke blessing on the ruler before they departed.[63]

The Uygur clans' adoption of Manichaeism (in addition to other organized religions such as Buddhism and Eastern Syriac Christianity) is just one of a host of cultural, social, and economic developments that took place during the years of the Uygur Steppe Empire.[64] Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Karabalghasun had a *manistan* similar to that which is described in the *Compendium* in 731 CE. Other Uygur *manistans* that are attested in the historical record concern the post-steppe era of Uygur history. They include Dunhuang,[65]

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whose dates on military events correlate with the events mentioned within the inscription. For a summary, see Clark 2000, 88–90. Le Coq was the first scholar to apply this date in connection with Manichaean art history (1923, 10).

61 Clark 2000, 88; and *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*, s. v. "KARABALGASUN ii. The Inscription," accessed June 05, 2013, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/karabalgasun-the-inscription.

62 Minorsky 1948, 283, 296, 302–303.

63 Martinez 1982, 136; also quoted in Lieu 1992, 240. Titled *Zayn al-akhbār*, Gardīzī's book was written in Arabic at the court of the Ghaznawid Sultan 'Abd al-Rašīd (r. 1049–1052 CE). Edmund Bosworth, "Gardīzī," in *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*; and Czeglédy 1973, 257–267.

64 Mackerras 1972, 12–14; and *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*, s. v. "KARABALGASUN," accessed June 05, 2013, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/karabalgasun-the-site.

65 The existence of a *manistan* in Dunhuang can be inferred from the number of well-preserved Uygur Manichaean texts found in Cave 17 of the Mogao Grottos (see Hamilton 1989, vol. 2; and e.g., Clark 2013, 11–27) along with Chinese Manichaean texts in equally good condition, which probably indicate the presence within this community elects expelled from Tang China in 843 CE. In this multicultural city, a *manistan* perhaps was established only at the time of the foundation of the nearby Gansu Uyghur Kingdom (ca. 848–ca. 1036 CE) by a Manichaean clan of the Uygurs. During most of this time, Dunhuang was ruled by a Chinese family (Hansen 2012, 187–191). Nevertheless, the increasing importance of the Uygurs among the many mutually dependent ruling groups of the region culminated in the direct control of Dunhuang by the early decades of the

Karashahr,[66] and the Argu region,[67] where Käd Ogul grew up in the town of Yägäkänt during the mid tenth century (see Fig. 3/1).

The main Manichaean center in East Central Asia was in Kocho (Ch. Gaochang) at least from the seventh century. This city was a major trading and agricultural center along the Silk Roads, located in the Turfan Oasis in what is today the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in northwest China. Geographically, this part of the world forms East Central Asia, whose trade routes during late ancient and mediaeval times connected East, South, and West Asia in periods when strong nomadic empires provided protection to the trade.[68] Manichaeism in Kocho most likely received two distinct periods of Uygur support. This happened first in the middle of the eighth century, when the most powerful Uygur clans began to support this religion.[69] The second occurred in the middle of the ninth century, when the Uygurs moved en masse to the Tien Shan region to establish a sedentary kingdom (866–1209 CE), with its winter capital in Kocho. Uygur support stayed strong through much of the tenth century, by the last two decades of which most of the Uygur elite shifted their religious alliance to Buddhism, resulting in the gradual disappearance of Manichaeism from the area without anything approximating the levels of violence employed against Manichaeans in other regions.[70] Following the Mongol annexation of the Uygur state, the city began to lose its importance during the thirteenth century before it was finally abandoned in the fourteenth century.

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eleventh century. This also becomes evident in the Buddhist art of the Mogao Grottos, which document Uygur sponsorship between the tenth and the early eleventh centuries. This trend coincided with the growing Buddhist affiliation of the Uygurs in Kocho by the 970s (Russell-Smith 2005, 1–2, 70–76, and 88).

66 The *manistan* of Karashahr is noted on the bifolio (MIK III 203, old number M 1), which contains the colophon of the Middle Iranain hymnbook—the *Maḥrnānag*. Completed between 808 and 821 CE in Kocho, this hymnbook started to be assembled in 762 CE in the *manistan* of Ark, before the Uygur occupation of the region (Müller 1912, 16; for the quote and the unique codicology of the bifolio, see Gulácsi 2005a, 41, and 71–73). The previously Tokharian town of Ark (also known as Skt. Agni and Ch. Yagni) became Karashahr under the Uygurs (Henning 1939, 564–571).

67 The four *manistans* of the Argu region—the *manistan* of Kašu, the *manistan* of Yägäkänt, the *manistan* of Ordukänt, and the *manistan* Chigilbalik—are listed in the folio fragment of MIK III 198, which contains the colophon of the Uygur edition of Mani's *Evangelion* (Clark 2016, forthcoming). Clark dates the text to 1025 CE based on a list of Uygur officials named in the colophon, also known from a dated inscription (Clark 2016, forthcoming).

68 The integral role of the nomadic empires (Scythian, Xiongnu, Turk, Uygur, and Mongol) in trade across Asia and the importance of foreign merchants in their imperial administrations are documented in the historical sources. For recent studies on the subject, see Beckwith 2009, 58–162 and 183–203; Christian 2000, 1–26; Cosmo 1999, 1–40; and Allsen 1989, 83–126.

69 Clark 2000, 83–123.

70 See Moriyasu 2003b, 99–112; and 2004, 149–209.

The mud-brick ruins of Kocho became an archeological site when German expeditions explored it between 1902 and 1914 (**Figure 3/2**).[71] Although these led to the discovery of a significant number of Buddhist and a few Christian artifacts, Kocho turned out to be most famous for its Manichaean finds of approximately 5000 manuscript fragments and about 120 high-quality artistic remains. The sand-covered site also preserved the ruins of two buildings with Manichaean associations—securely identified based on the fragments of Manichaean murals recovered among their ruins (**Figure 3/3**). The smaller of the two, "Ruin α," yielded a mural fragment with the upper bodies of two male elect shown next to one another in what was most likely a ritual image.[72] The inscribed foundation stake of a Buddhist temple dated to 1008 CE recovered from ruin α confirms that this site began to be used for Buddhist purposes from that date.[73] The larger *manistan* of Kocho, "Ruin K," also featured a ritual image on one of its walls. Its fragment shows a *možak* (bishop) in the foreground and an assembly of the Uygur Manichaean community standing slightly behind him on the right, including the male and female elect and the laity.[74] Both structures also showed signs of Buddhist rededication and use.

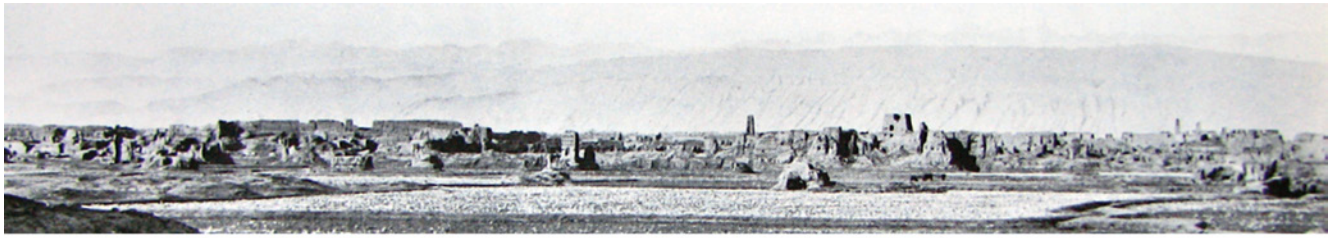
Thus, the third and forth dates in the texts surveyed in this chapter define a circa 100-year long period between 885 and 983 CE in relation to the two *manistans* of Kocho. One of them must have been the one that housed the seven pictures (*körks*—most likely paintings on silk hanging scrolls) and a main statue (*yaŋ*—most likely a statue of Mani) that was a "glazed and painted statue with the red brocade on its head [located] within the great chamber." The other *manistan*, which was not dismantled in 983 CE and possibly functioned for another few decades, was most likely furnished with art similarly. While silk hanging scrolls are well documented among the physical remains of Manichaean art discussed in Chapter 5 below, cult statues of Mani do not survive from Kocho. Nevertheless, Käd Ogul's memoir contains archeologically

71 Circumstances of the excavations with special attention to the Chinese passports issued for foreign explorers, archaeologist, and collectors of antiquities, were considered by Gumbrecht (2004, 111–120). Publications by Grünwedel and Le Coq document the four seasons of archeological work. For a brief overview by Herbert Härtel, see Härtel and Yaldiz 1982, 25–46.

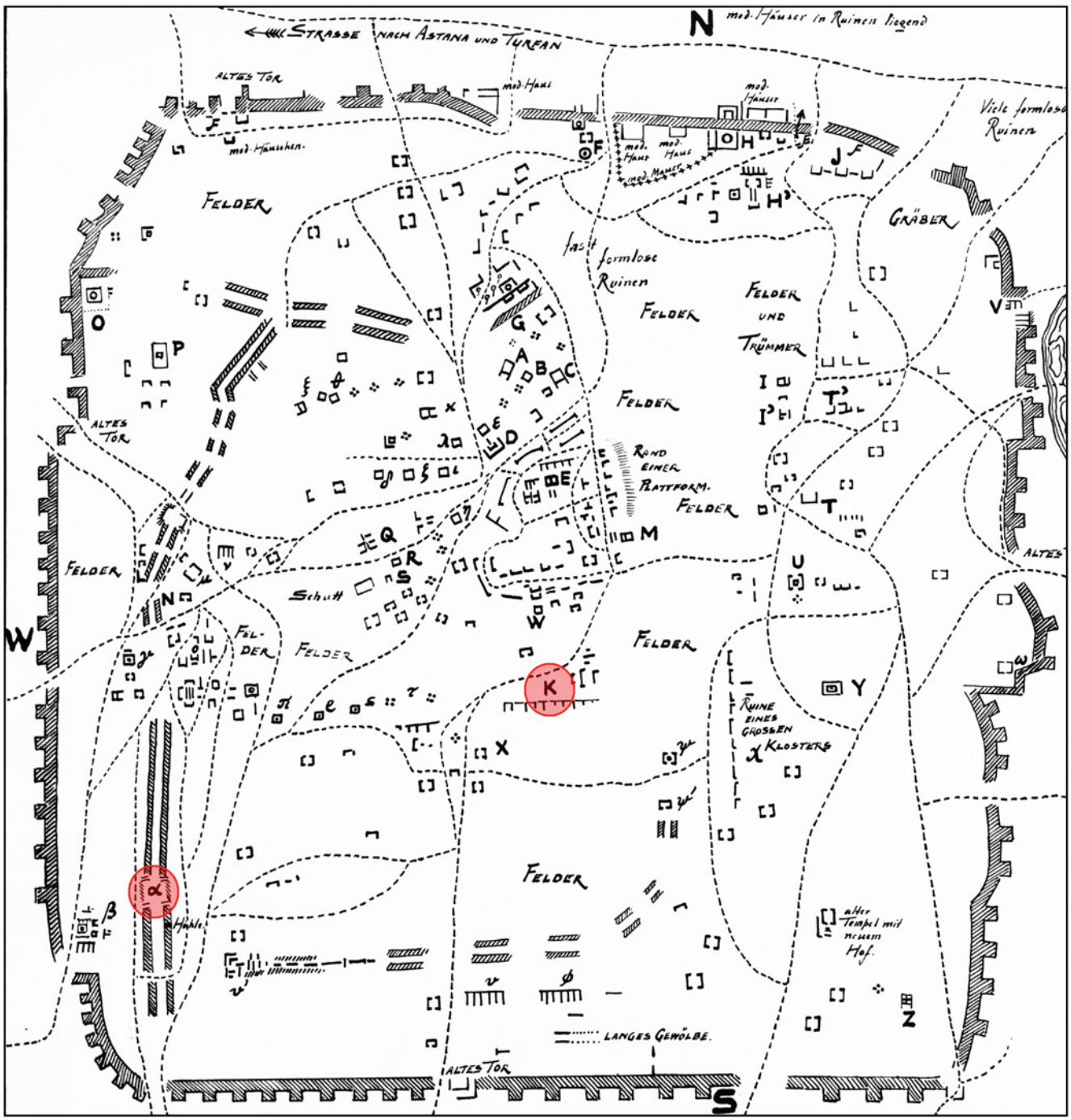
72 For the full description of Ruin α, including its Buddhist and Manichaean finds, see Grünwedel (1909, 55–73). He also specifies that the Manichaean wall painting (see Fig. 3/3a) was found still attached to the east corner of the south wall in the room marked "A" (1909, 58).

73 Stake I (MIK III 4672) is a 83 cm long piece of wood carved in the shape of an octagonal cone and inscribed in Uygur to commemorate the foundation of a Buddhist temple (Moriyasu 2001, 154). Understandably, Stake I does not mention the previous Manichaean use of the site. Based on correspondence with the Chinese calendar, 1008 CE was argued as the date of dedication by Hamilton (1992, XVII) and Moriyasu (2001, 152).

74 For the description of Ruin K and the Manichaean illuminated manuscript and textile fragments found there, see Le Coq 1913, Taf. 1–6 and 69a–e. The provenance of Manichaean illuminated manuscript fragments recovered from Ruins α and K was assessed by Gulácsi (2005a, 20–22 and Tab. 1/2).

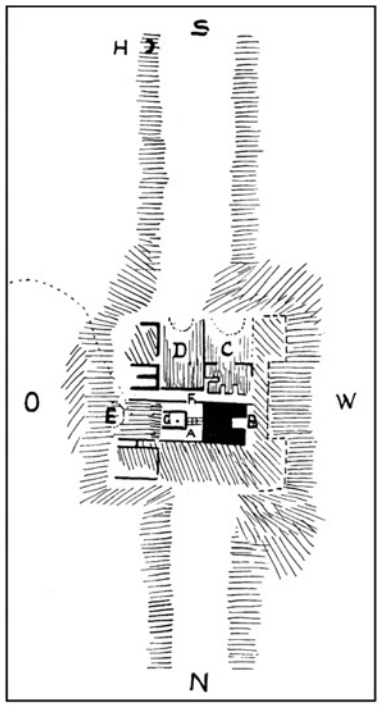


a: View of ruins

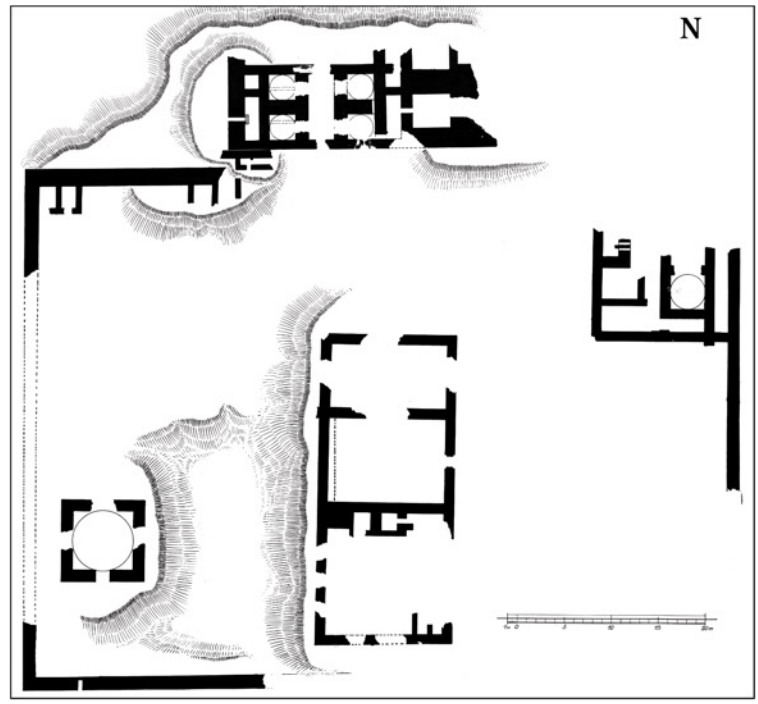


b: Two *manistans* marked on map of ruins by Grünwedel, detail

FIGURE 3/2 *Ruins of Kocho in 1904* (*Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)



a: Plan of ruin α



c: Plan of ruin K

b: Fragment of wall painting with ritual scene recovered from ruin α (MIK III 4624, H: 27 cm)

d: Fragment of wall painting with ritual scene recovered from ruin K (MIK III 6918, detail, H: 88 cm)

FIGURE 3/3 *Ruins of two* manistans *of Kocho* (*Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)

well-contextualized data about three-dimensional cult images and paintings on silk hanging scrolls. It provides the earliest textual record of these objects specifically connecting them to Uygur *manistans*. Furthermore, it supports the hypothesis that these two kinds of art objects grew out of a golden age of Manichaean history, when the followers of Mani enjoyed the protection and financial support of a powerful Uygur elite.

The fifth date points to the year 1120 CE and the *manistan* of Wenzhou in the coastal Zhejiang province. It confirms the existence and active use of Manichaean art, including the *Tújing* (most likely in the format of a pictorial handscroll) and a set of six *zhengs*. The latter fits well the physical remains of Manichaean silk paintings that were produced in the region between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. In relation to the *Compendium*'s dates, the *Wenzhou Memorial* proves an approximately 400-year long continued existence for Mani's *Ménhéyì/Tújing* in China. It also documents that the *Book of Pictures* existed simultaneously with silk paintings of various themes. The *Wenzhou Memorial* is the earliest textual record of Manichaean silk paintings in China.

The sixth and last date yielded by the texts surveyed in this chapter concerns conditions before 1208 CE in southern China, since it regards the writing of a book that listed the titles of Manichaean texts quoted in Zhipan's *Fozu Tongji* (1208 CE). Among them, the title of one text indicates that it was supplementing a Manichaean painting with a cosmological subject, which functioned as a visual display in the course of teachings. This lost painting was most certainly a silk hanging scroll, much like the Chinese Manichaean *Diagram of the Universe* preserved today in a Japanese private collection (see Fig. 5/14). Thus, Zhipan's record implies that a Manichaean cosmological painting existed and was used for instruction during and prior to the early thirteenth century in southern China.

4 *Appearance of the Book of Pictures, Hangings Scrolls, and Statues of Mani*

The Uygur and Chinese common nouns associated with Manichaean didactic art in these texts document old and new mediums and formats (see Tab. 3/2: Appearance). They confirm the continued existence of Mani's *Book of Pictures*, while recording the emergence of a new object, the silk hanging scroll, for the first time.

Picture books continued to be deployed for Manichaean pictorial art in between the eighth and twelfth centuries, as confirmed by the canonical listing of the *Ménhéyì* and the *Tújing* (*Compendium 3*, *Wenzhou Memorial*). Although specifications about their actual shape (scroll vs. codex) and material (parchment, paper, or possibly silk) are not provided, their respective cultural contexts provide some implications. The author of the *Compendium* references appearance only by listing the *Ménhéyì* with the rest of the Manichaean scriptures. This text has Central Asian ties, since it was originally composed in a Central Asian language. However, it was translated into Chinese, more than a

century before Kocho became home to increased Manichaean activities that commenced after the city's Uygur takeover in 866 CE, and thus it is contemporaneous with an era when religious art and book production was minimal in Kocho.[75] Therefore, the material and format of the *Compendium*'s *Ménhéyì* cannot be equated with the Manichaean archeological remains known from this city.

Archeological evidence confirms that during the Uygur era, Manichaean books in Kocho were almost exclusively made of paper and in codex format, although a few fragments of silk codices (made by adding paper between two sheets of silk that form the visible, recto and verso sides of the folia) and parchment codex folia also survive.[76] Most importantly, remnants of solely pictorial books are also attested from Uygur-era Manichaean art (see Figs 5/1–5/4). They are in scroll and in codex format, painted on paper often in a local painting style that is distinctly non-Chinese, but West Asian in its ultimate origin. These solely pictorial books were brought with the Manichaeans to Kocho and continued to flourish there along with paintings on silk (and other textiles) produced in a local Chinese style.[77] This comparative data, however, comes from as much as 200–250 years after the *Compendium*, leaving us to hypothesize that, during the early eighth century the traditional scroll format was most likely still maintained, but possibly already made of paper instead of parchment. The most luxurious editions could have been painted on silk handscrolls, which was favored by Tang imperial painters. The author of the *Wenzhou Memorial* adds one more clue, since in his passage the canonical volume of pictures is not only listed along with the scriptures but also categorized as *jing* (经) 'book.' The Wenzhou community was ethnically Chinese and most likely never had direct ties to East Central Asia. Its books were produced locally—most certainly in scroll format using paper or silk.[78] Therefore, its *Tújing* was most likely a stylistically Chinese work of art with a distinctly Manichaean didactic content.

A statue of Mani is noted for the first time in Käd Ogul's memoir. It must have been an impressive work of art, since it was kept in the "great chamber" of the "great manistan" of Kocho, under a canopy made of red brocade cloth that was decorated with gold coins. It must have been light enough to be portable for reuse in a *vihāra*. Since it was lacquered and painted, it is possible that it was either lacquered wood or dry-lacquer sculpture as documented

75 Regarding Chinese-style art production in Turfan, Sarah E. Fraser's study (1999) on artists and workshop practices showed that prior to the ninth century a relatively small range and humble quality characterized local Chinese art.

76 See Gulácsi 2005a, 74–76 and 149–151; and Gulácsi, Sims-Williams, and Sundermann 2006, 139–142.

77 Gulácsi 2005, 60–93. The fragment of a solely pictorial horizontal codex folio MIK III 4965 is discussed below (see Fig. 5/4).

78 For a history of handwritten books before and after the invention of printing in China, see Mote et al. 1989, 49–95.

from China at the time.[79] Its iconography was apparently suitable for reuse in a Buddhist context, which accords with other examples of Uygur Manichaean art, which frequently seats its figures on lotus seats and adds halos and mandorlas around them similar to that seen in the Buddhist art of tenth-century East Central Asia.

Hanging scrolls are also noted for the first time in these sources. Since the connotation of the Uygur word *körk* is not more specific than 'image, picture, painting, illustration, or portrait', the materials and objects on which these images were painted and displayed cannot be confirmed in light of Käd Ogul's remarks. Physical remains of both wall paintings and silk hangings scrolls were recovered among the ruins of Kocho. Käd Ogul's *körk* is best interpreted as portable hanging scrolls in light of the *Wenzhou Memorial*, which uses the term *zheng/zhen* (幀]) for a similar listing of images in a *manistan* about 140 years later, from 1120 CE southern China. Both tenth-century and twelfth-century hanging scrolls are well-attested from mostly East Central Asian and East Asian Buddhist contexts. They tend to be relatively large (five to six feet in height), high-quality depictions of solo deities (Ch. *fo,* 佛), including both Buddha and bodhisattva figures.[80] The recently identified corpus of the Chinese Manichaean paintings is comparable to the contemporaneous Chinese Buddhist paintings in visual language, format, and exceptionally high quality. While one of the Manichaean pieces may date from as early as the twelfth/thirteenth century, the rest are somewhat later, dating from the thirteenth/fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At least one of the later paintings shows stylistic ties to the port city of Ningbo (Zhejiang province) located just about 170 miles north of Wenzhou.[81] The six *zheng/zhen* (幀) listed in the Wenzhou Memorial were most likely similar to the Chinese Manichaean remains in their general appearance—large hanging scrolls painted on silk in an accomplished style, which in their case was that of the Song dynasty.

The Manichaean use of devotional paintings in thirteenth-century southern China is documented from the *manistan* of Fuzhou by an unexpected source—the Latin memoir of Marco Polo's *The Description of the World*. In the course of his 17 years in China between 1271 and 1288 CE, Marco Polo (1254–1324 CE) encountered a unique religious community in the city of Fuzhou (Fujian province). Its members drew his attention because they were "neither Buddhist nor Zoroastrian, neither Christian nor Muslim." Their Manichaean identity was first argued by Leonardo Olschki, who elaborated on the prolonged underground existence of native Chinese Manichaeans in southern China as an explanation for their reluctance to register with the Yuan authorities at

79 Early examples of hollow-core or wood-core dry lacquer Buddhist sculpture are preserved already from the Nara period (710–794 CE) in Japan, see Mason 2005, 86.

80 See Gulácsi 2009, Figs. 2 and 3.

81 Yoshida 2009a, 50.

the Mongol-established religious office, the Board of Rites.[82] Writing about them, Marco Polo mentions "three painted figures" in one of their temples and explains that the images portrayed "apostles" and were worshiped:

> Then they inquired from what source they had received their faith and their rule; and their informants replied: 'From our forefathers.' It came out that they had, in a certain temple of theirs, three painted figures (*depictas ymagines tres*) representing three apostles of the seventy who went through the world preaching. And they declared that it was these three who had instructed their ancestors in this faith long ago, and that it [this faith] had been preserved among them for 700 years; but for a long time they had been without teaching, so that they were ignorant of the cardinal doctrines. 'But to this we hold fast, which we have received from our forefathers; we worship in accordance with our books and do reverence to these apostles!'[83]

This passage implies not only that there was a *manistan* in Fuzhou during the middle of the thirteenth century (see Fig. 3/1), but also that it owned theological images—icons of deities. Their medium and format is unspecified.[84] It is likely that hanging scrolls were meant, since that format is well attested in the material culture of southern Chinese Manichaeism not only in a second textual source but also by actual silk paintings that are preserved today in one US and three Japanese collections.

5 *Content of Uygur and Chinese Manichaean Art Documented in Textual Sources*

The evidence in these sources about the subjects portrayed in Manichaean didactic painting is limited in quantity, but rich in implications (see Tab. 3/2: Content). They confirm an overall doctrinal character with an emphasis on the teaching of duality, theology, prophetology and cosmology, in addition to the full repertoire of doctrinal images in the *Book of Pictures*. This is especially relevant in connection with the new medium of *körk/zheng*, since the title-by-title listing of their pictorial subjects indicates that they ultimately derived from Mani's canonical paintings.

The overall doctrinal content of the *Ménhéyì*/*Tújing* is confirmed by listing this pictorial book with the rest of the Manichaean canonical scriptures in the *Compendium* and the *Wenzhou Memorial*. In the case of the *Tújing*, this notion is affirmed by the connotation of its title as a pictorial volume of the

82 Olschki 1951, 8–9. The Manichaean interpretation of this text is well accepted (e.g., Lieu 1992, 186–88; Gulácsi 2009a, 104–105; and Moriyasu 2010, 357). For a reconsideration, see Lieu 2012, 50–53.

83 Latham 1958, 235–36.

84 Olschki (1951, 17–18) interprets them as wall paintings and hypothesizes that one of them depicted Mani.

canon (*Wenzhou Memorial*). A more explicit piece of evidence is the explanation of the *Ménhéyì* as a depiction of "the two great principles" (*Compendium*). The latter phrase is an unmistakable reference to the teaching of Dualism as the core of Manichaean doctrine. As the very essence of Mani's collection of didactic images, this theme is noted by Ephrem about Mani's *Yuqnā* in the Roman province of Syria during the middle of the fourth century. By crediting Mani's disciples as his source, Ephrem's testimony is well matched with that of the *Compendium*. Despite their distance of approximately 350 years and 3800 miles (6200 km), these two statements made at the opposite ends of the Asian continent confirm the reliability of these textual sources on Manichaean didactic art and attest to the consistency of the Manichaean message.

The concept of Dualism is fundamental to teaching and learning Manichaean doctrine. The two primordial principles, light (divine, good, pleasant, attractive) and darkness (demonic, evil, fearsome, repulsive) are germane to a variety of doctrinal and ritual aspects of this religion. According to Manichaean cosmogony, these two originally independent forces collided at the beginning of time, distributing their mixture in all matter in the universe, including everything on Earth: rocks, water, plants, animals, and human beings.[85] In the westernmost reach of Manichaeism in the first decade of the fifth century, Augustine also provides a summary of this teaching:

> They say that this part of the divine nature permeates all things in heaven and earth and under the earth; that it is found in all bodies, dry and moist, in all kinds of flesh, and in all seeds of trees, herbs, men, and animals. But they do not say of it, as we say of God, that it is present untrammeled, unpolluted, inviolate, incorruptible, administering and governing all things. On the contrary, they say that it is bound, oppressed, polluted but that it can be released and set free and cleansed not only by the courses of the sun and moon and powers of light but also by their elect.[86]

This emphasis on the doctrine of Dualism remains consistent across the history of this religion to the degree that its understanding is required from those who join the followers of Mani's religion in China during the early eighth century, as stated in the *Compendium, Article 6*, which states:

> Those who wish to enter the religion must know that the two principles of light and darkness are of absolutely distinct nature. If one does not discern this, how can one put the religion into practice?[87]

85 For a brief summary of light and darkness in Manichaean cosmogony, see Lieu 1992, 10–22.

86 *De natura boni,* 44 (Burleigh 1953, 344).

87 Chavannes and Pelliot 1913, 114. English translation after BeDuhn 2000a, 69.

The Manichaeans' teaching of Dualism could be conveyed in a variety of ways connected to their painting during the early eighth century in East Central Asia and northern China. An example of using an image of Mani is documented by (what can be interpreted as) the text of a sermon conducted with a visual aid. As argued above, this text is preserved in the *Compendium's* second article, where one component of Mani's image (most likely the hand gesture) was pointed to, while explaining that "the union and separation of the two realms and the purport and trend of the before and the after are apparent in true bearing and can be perceived if (one) looks at Him."[88] The *Wenzhou Memorial* attests a more direct visual aid to this subject by mentioning a modified version of a canonical image—adapted to the format, size, and material of a silk hanging scroll, the subject of which ultimately most likely derived from Mani's *Book of Pictures*—the "silk painting of Good and Evil" (*Shan'e zheng*, 善惡幀).

The latter image must have focused on the two forces of the universe, approaching its subject from either a cosmogonical or a cosmological angle. Accordingly, this image could have been either a narrative scene on cosmogony that showed a series of events from the formation of the universe, or a diagram on cosmology that depicted the structure of the universe with its various divine and demonic components.[89] Either way, this painting depicted a pictorial subject documented from the earliest era of Manichaean history in connection with the canonical volume of Mani's doctrinal paintings. The *Wenzhou Memorial* provides the first evidence of the existence of this subject matter in the medium of a painted silk hanging scroll that is physically independent from the *Tújing*.

The doctrinal content of nine *körk*/*zheng* is clearly noted in the passages surveyed above. Besides duality, their recorded titles indicate theological, prophetological, and cosmological subjects which are attested among the physical remains of Uygur and Chinese Manichaean art, as detailed in Chapter 6. With the exception of the icon of Mani, the depiction of their subjects as solo images is new in the history of Manichaean art (**Table 3/3**). No records of such individual doctrinal paintings are present in the *Compendium* in 731 CE (nor any other earlier texts) at the time when Manichaeism was about to be newly established in China. They surface about 250 years later, at a time when a Chinese artistic impact is already present in Manichaean East Central Asia as documented in the contemporaneous archeological finds at Kocho. Käd Ogul is the first author to mention them. The portion of his text with the titles is fragmentary, which may explain why only two full and one partial correlation can be seen between the list from Kocho and the one given about 140 years

88 For an overview, see Tab. 6/8 and the iconography of the *Icons of Mani* discussed in Chapter 6, below.

89 In Chinese painting, the horizontal surface of the handscroll is used for painting narrative scenes, while the vertical surface offered by the hanging scroll is used for non-narrative subjects. Diagrams outnumber narrative scenes among the currently known Uygur and Chinese remains of Manichaean art, and they are more suited for the vertical pictorial space of a hanging scroll.

TABLE 3/3 *Subject matter of Manichaean didactic art noted in Uygur and Chinese textual sources*

Changan 731 CE (*Compendium*) Chinese Translation	**Kocho** after 983 CE (Käd Ogul) Uygur Language	**Wenzhou** 1120 CE (*Wenzhou Memorial*) Chinese Language	**Southern China** before 1208 CE (Zhipan) Chinese Language
	THE BOOK OF PICTURES		
(1) *Ménhéyì*	–	*Túјing*	–
	STATUE OF MANI		
–	statue (*yaŋ*) under canopy in great chamber of *manistan*	–	–
	ONE PAINTED IMAGE ON DUALITY		
(2) –	–	Good and Evil	–
	EIGHT PAINTED IMAGES ON THEOLOGY		
(3) Deity (*fo*) Mani	Deity (*burxan*) Mani		
(4) –	Deity (*burxan*) Jesus	Deity (*fo*) Jesus	–
(5) –	Primal Man (First Thought)	Deity (*fo*) First Thought (Primal Man)	–
(6) –	King (King of Honor?)	Royal Prince (King of Honor)	–
(7) –	–	Deity (*fo*) Wonderful Water	–
(8) –	–	Four Guardians	–
(9) –	Unidentified deity (*burxan*)	–	–
(10) –	Unidentified deity (*burxan*)	–	–
	ONE PAINTED IMAGE ON PROPHETOLOGY		
(11) –	Deity (*burxan*) Jesus and his life	–	–
	TWO PAINTED IMAGES ON COSMOLOGY		
(12) –	Twelve Aeons (Gods in the Land of God)	–	–
(13) –	–	–	Foundation of the Cosmos and the construction of the Earth

later associated with a Manichaean temple in the city of Wenzhou. With confirmation from the well-preserved *Wenzhou Memorial*, Käd Ogul's text (after 983 CE) constitutes the first securely dated textual evidence about a new pictorial format that began to be used by the Manichaeans to individualize didactic topics on works of art independent from their canonical *Book of Pictures*.

Jesus as a subject depicted on the *körk*/*zheng* is also conveyed by the passages surveyed in this chapter (Käd Ogul, *Wenzhou Memorial*). This is especially significant because Jesus' life as an artistic topic is also attested in a Parthian

passage on a manuscript fragment from Turfan (M 4570), which, based on its archaic language, possibly goes back to the mid-third century.

Images of Mani have had a long attested history in Manichaean art starting with Eusebius (330 CE), who witnessed a portrait of Mani "[painted] in an *eikon*," most likely on a wood panel in the Roman province of Palestine.[90] Since there is no mention of a *zheng* with a portrait of Mani in the *Wenzhou Memorial*, there must have been a cult statue of Mani in the *manistan* of Wenzhou just as there was one in Käd Ogul's *manistan* in Kocho.[91] Such cult statues of Mani are depicted in Chinese Manichaean art (see Figs. 5/21–22); and an actual example of a painted icon of Mani survives from fourteenth/fifteenth-century southern China (see Fig. 6/32).[92]

The *Minshu* notes the worship (and/or images) of Mani twice between the late tenth and the early seventeenth centuries in southern China. In connection with 995–997 CE, it is reported that a follower of the sect found an image of Mani in a soothsayer's shop in Kaifeng (Henan province), which he purchased for 50,000 *jiaozi* and brought back to Fujian. "And thus his (Mani's) auspicious image (佛像) was circulated in the province of Min."[93] In connection with 1617 CE, the *Minshu* describes a shrine dedicated to Mani, located approximately 20 km south of Quanzhou in Fujian province, that was an active site of local worship:

> The Huabio Hill (華表山), in the subprefecture of Jinjiang belonging to the prefecture of Quanzhou, is a part of the Lingyuan (mountain). Its two peaks stand beside each other like a *huabiao* (twin pillars placed in front of temples or tombs). On the reverse side of the foot of the mountain there is a rustic shrine (*cao'an*, 草庵), which dates back to the Yuan dynasty. There they pray to the Deity (Buddha [*fo*]) Mani.[94]

This shrine with a statue of Mani is still in situ in what most likely was a fourteenth-century rural *manistan* near Qunazhou (see Fig. 3/1). The dedicatory inscription of the statue from 1339 CE, another inscription on a cliff in the courtyard from 1445 CE, as well as an inscribed ceramic bowl confirm a place used by a community that still identified with Mani during the middle of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[95] These inscriptions provide the

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90 See discussion in "Assessment" of Chapter 1, above.

91 The probability that the Manichaeans had a sculpture representing Mani in their Uygur and Chinese *manistans* is supported by the predominance of this medium as the main cult image in medieval Buddhist temples across East Asia (Seckel 1989, 81). For more Manichaean evidence, see Chapter 5 below.

92 *Kokka* 1937, 9–10 and 15–16 plus plate.

93 *Minshu* 7; Pelliot 1923, 205–6; English translation after Lieu 1992, 264. This episode is dated to the Zhidao period (995–997 CE) of the Song dynasty.

94 *Minshu* 7; Pelliot, 1923, 199; English translation after Bryder 1988, 202.

95 Both inscriptions are cited and discussed in Lieu 1980, 80–83; Lieu 1992, 189–192; and Bryder 1988, 204–206.

latest primary textual evidence related to art about what was most likely an increasingly folklore version of a belief system that little resembled Chinese Manichaeism as an organized religion.[96] The site was discovered by Wu Wenliang and Zuang Weiji in 1957, who identified it as the Manichaean "rustic shrine" (*cao'an*, 草庵; also translated as "thatched nunnery") of the *Minshu*, and published its inscriptions and photograph.[97] At that time, the shrine was an abandoned building. During the 1980s, a Buddhist temple complex with a nunnery began to be built around it, incorporating it into its own worship. The statue and its shrine are protected today as a UNESCO World Heritage site thanks to the efforts of Samuel Lieu (see Fig. 5/20).[98]

6 *Function*

The Uygur and Chinese passages surveyed above contain invaluable data about the didactic use of Manichaean art (see Tab. 3/2: Function). They prove that the practice of teaching with visual aids continued in East Central Asia, northern China, and subsequently in southern China. Moreover, they provide textual documentary evidence for the emergence of two new objects—the cult statue and the hanging scroll, which were added to the Manichaean artistic repertoire by the ninth century in East Central Asia (maybe already by the late eighth century in northern China) and remained in use until the end of Manichaeism in southern China.

These records reconfirm the didactic function of the *Ménhéyì*/*Túјing*. They state that this work of art was thought about as one of the canonical books, since despite its pictorial content, it was stored alongside the textual rolls in the Manistan's library (*Compendium 3, Compendium 5*, *Wenzhou Memorial*), i.e., not kept on display as devotional art. This evidence about the eighth-century and twelfth-century versions of Manichaean picture books is in harmony with the educational use of the *Hikōn*/*Yuqnā* as documented in Coptic and Syriac sources from the fourth century, as well as that of the *Ārdhang*/*Nigār* in Parthian and Middle Persian manuscripts that were copied and used in East Central Asia through the late tenth century.

The Uygur and Chinese Manichaean practice of viewing a picture book in the course of religious instruction was most likely analogous to how painted handscrolls were appreciated in medieval China. The Chinese pictorial roll was a private and elite medium. The practical issues concerning its standard use are well understood. Accordingly, the *Ménhéyì*/*Túјing* would have been placed onto a solid surface, such as a table, and opened up for viewing in approximately two-feet-long increments—never in full length. The individual scenes of the scroll would have not been accessible all at once, since traditionally

96 For a study about the survival Mani in the local folklore of the region surrounding the Cao'an Temple across Jinjiang county (Funjian province), see of Wang and Lin 2015, 371–388.

97 Wu Wenliang 1957, 44–45; also see Lieu 1992, 303–304; 2009, 181–190; and 2012, 65–71.

98 Lieu 2012, 70.

handscrolls were not designed to be rolled out fully. Using the handscroll in the course of a Manichaean teaching would have required a person to operate the scroll by rolling it from scene-to-scene as the instruction proceeded. Once the sermon was completed, the painted handscroll would have been rolled up and put away for storage much like the textual scrolls. The nature of the handscroll format would have allowed only a few people to listen to an illustrated sermon, requiring them to sit or stand close to the table in order to see the images. Therefore, not only the value of such a painted scroll but also the intimate nature of its viewing would have made the teaching and learning with the *Ménhéyì/Túјing* a special occasion and a rare event.

The impression that viewing Mani's collection of pictures was an exclusive event has already been conveyed by some of the earliest Parthian and Middle Persian texts from Turfan. Those texts showed that only the highest-ranking members of the early community had copies of the *Ārdhang*/*Nigār* (M 5815, M 5569) and that their copies were often used in well-to-do settings (M 2). Adding to this, the Chinese practicalities of using a horizontal pictorial roll joins a growing body of evidence to suggest that the vast majority of Manichaean laity would not have had an opportunity to meet an elect at the rank of a Teacher and witness him teaching with Mani's collection of pictures. As we have seen, such was the case with Augustine in fourth-century North Africa, who actually states that he did not know about the existence of any artistic depictions of Manichaean teachings (*Contra Faustum* 20:9–10). There is a reason to think, however, that this rarity of pictorial sermons changed when the scenes of the *Ménhéyì/Túјing* started to be depicted as solo images in the new format of the hanging scroll sometime between the mid eighth century and the late tenth century.

Primary documentary evidence about the use of what may be an Uygur-era picture book is found in a depiction of a sermon preserved on an intratextual illumination from late tenth-century Kocho (MIK III 8259 folio 1[?] recto, **Figure 3/4**). This Uygur Manichaean *Sermon Scene* shows six auditors in the lower half of the composition, seated humbly on their heels, listening to a sermon performed by two elects in the upper half of the painting. In an imagined idealized arrangement, the two elects are seated on lotus supports that grow out from the now-torn middle area of the painting. This torn central area of the painting retains bits of green paint, indicating the grass that originally was painted around a now lost pool of water, from where three lotus stems emerge. The middle stem grows upwards to support a small folding table, the covered surface of which is only partially visible along the upper torn portion of the painting, depriving us from knowing what small object it held on its surface. Flanking this altar, two elect are shown giving a sermon apparently illustrated with a rectangular object—a horizontal codex.[99] The

99 For the detailed discussion of this bifolio fragment, see Gulácsi 2001a, 56–61. The original dimensions and designs of the two folia are fully reconstructable, see Gulácsi 2005a, 142–144. For the carbon-dating of these pages to 978 CE ± 30 years, see Gulácsi 2003, 8–12.

a: Fragment of manuscript illumination with teacher and assistant elect holding what appears to be a picture book towards the viewer while giving a sermon to Uygur elite (H: 11.8 cm)

FIGURE 3/4 *Uygur Manichaean* Sermon Scene, *shown from picture-viewing direction, Kocho, late 10th/early 11th century* (*MIK III 8259 folio 1 recto, detail, Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)

higher-ranking elect on the right (seated cross-legged) is shown gesturing with his hands while delivering the teaching. The lesser-ranking elect on the left (seated on his heels), is holding a horizontal codex with one of its gilded pages open and pointedly turned toward the viewer.[100] Much of the gold leaf has flaked off from the surface of this horizontal codex page, taking with it layers of painted decoration that were originally on its surface. Parts of a red border along the lower half are intact. In the context of the physical remains of Uygur Manichaean picture books considered in chapter 5 below, this illumination is now best explained as a scene depicting an pictorial sermon, known in Parthian as an *Ārdhang Wifrās*, given to members of the Uygur ruling elite.

An example of how a Manichaean Teacher involved an image for an instruction during the early eighth century is preserved in the *Compendium*. It documents that multiple elements of Manichaean doctrine, including its core teaching about Dualism, were elucidated based on the iconography of an image—an icon of Mani conveyed in an unspecified medium. Thus, the *Compendium* joins five other textual sources that preserve examples of how Manichaean instructions relied upon the artistic culture from Mani's time in Sasanian Mesopotamia until at least the thirteenth century in Song China (**Table 3/4**). The other Chinese source in this group is the title of a Manichaean transformation text written about a cosmological or cosmogonical image noted in the *Fozu Tongji*. The earliest examples of Chinese tranformation texts (*bianwen*) date from the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE) and were discovered in Dunhuang. They include both solely textual *bianwen* manuscripts and separate sets of the artistic props used for such "picture recitations" in the form of horizontal pictorial handscrolls.[101] While most transformation texts known from China are Buddhist, Zhipan's passage confirms that the Manichaean communities also took part in generating *bianwen* literature. The Manichaeans' practice of teaching with images is clearly not Chinese in origin. It goes back to Mani himself. Its associated literature (i.e., transcripts of illustrated sermons and the *Ārdhang Wifrās* text) also has an early origin connected to late antiquity, when Coptic and Parthian Manichaean literature was still produced. The Manichaean adoption of the Chinese transformation text genre is relatively late. It is first attested from the southern Chinese phase of Manichaean history in Zhipan's early thirteenth-century source.

A pictorial primary source documents just such a sermon given in front of a statue of Mani. It is preserved in the main register of a Manichaean hanging

100 The horizontal codex shape and its orientation toward the viewer are distinctly different from the portrayal of a vertical codex in the *Bēma Scene* (MIK III 4979 verso), which is shown held up in front of the chin of an elect, in a position that suggests reading aloud from a textbook (Gulácsi 2001a, 74–75).

101 Mair argues that the genre of transformation texts in China derived from the tradition of *chuan-pien*, a type of oral storytelling with pictures. The folk tradition of *pien*-storytellers was a form of lay entertainment (sometimes performed by women) and therefore is poorly documented in historical accounts (1988, 7–8).

TABLE 3/4 *Evidence of pictorial sermons in Manichaean texts* (*6 examples*)

Coptic	Parthian	Parthian	M. Persian	Chinese	Chinese
Kephalaion 92 Mani's Sermon on Salvation (mid 3rd century)	*Ārdhang Wifrās* Sermon on the *Ārdhang* (3rd–7th centuries)	M 4570 Sermon on Death of Mani & Jesus (3rd–7th centuries)	M 219 Sermon on Polemics (3rd–9th centuries)	*Compendium 2* Sermon on Mani (731 CE)	Zhipan Sermon on Cosmology (1208 CE)

scroll from the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368 CE) in the collection of the Yamato Art Museum in Nara, Japan (see Fig. 5/21).[102] The main scene takes the viewer into a room within a "temple of the vegetarians" as identified in the colophon of the painting.[103] Inside it, the sacred space is luxurious and formal. A devotional display dominates the room. It consists of an elegant, red lacquered table set up as an altar with a gold incense burner and two small containers (most likely of incense), and a statue of Mani somewhat larger than human scale, seated on an elaborate lotus pedestal and enclosed by gilded halos. Instead of acts of devotion, however, the painting shows a sermon in progress. A high-ranking elect gesticulates as he delivers his instruction. Facing him, a well-to-do layman is seated just as prestigiously as the elect, piously listening to the sermon. Standing along the sides of the room, the layman's servant and a lesser-ranking elect are also present. Unlike the servant, the standing elect is also piously listening. Käd Ogul describes a similarly formal setting of a sacred space of a Manichaean temple in Kocho, when he writes his memoir circa 300 years earlier by mentioning "the glazed and painted statue with the red brocade on its head (that was) within the great chamber of this sacred and great Manistan." In light of the *Compendium*'s sermon on Mani, it is easy to imagine how the cult image, an icon of Mani, in a devotional space can be also a visual aide for religious instruction.

The didactic function of the vertical hanging scroll (*körk*/*zheng*) is also documented in some of these texts (Käd Ogul, *Wenzhou Memorial,* Zhipan). The hanging scroll offers a different viewing experience than the handscroll. Showing a hanging scroll can be a more public event. Once the vertically oriented painted cloth is open and suspended, the pictorial surface of the *körk*/

102 The definite Manichaean attribution of the painting was first argued by Yutaka Yoshida (2009a).

103 The colophon written on a stele at the lower left in register 4, reads: "Zhang Siyi from a parish(?) called Dongzheng, who is a leader of the disciples, together with his wife Xinniang [from] the family of Zheng make a donation and present respectfully a sacred painting of Hells to a temple of vegetarians located on the Baoshan mountain. They wish to provide it as their eternal offering. Accordingly, peace may be kept. [In the year . . . and in the . . . -th month]." The characters for the date at the end of the text are not legible (Yoshida 2009a, 8).

zheng is accessible in its entirety. If needed, more than one scroll can be open at a time and suspended next to one another. In this format, each image can have its own hanging scroll and be depicted on a larger scale than in a handscroll. The viewers have to be further away from such an image and consequently a larger group of people can partake in the viewing while listening to its explanation. Once the viewing has finished, this scroll may be left open for a longer time without damaging its painting. Keeping the hanging scroll displayed may be preferred in the case of devotional subjects (i.e., an image of Mani or another deity) that, nevertheless, could also be used in a didactic manner as a visual display that aided a sermon. In medieval Chinese Buddhist temples, a statue was the cult image around which paintings would have been displayed on the walls. The portable format of paintings on silk hanging scrolls allowed for having images that were needed less frequently, and thus were not permanently displayed.[104]

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104 Seckel notes how, in a Pure Land Buddhist context, images of lesser deities painted on silk hanging scrolls functioned as "portable substitutes for sculpted images," which could be displayed for special rites inside or outside the main temples as needed (1989, 121).

CHAPTER 4

Tertiary Records in Post-Manichaean Arabic, Persian, and Chagatai Texts (11th–17th Centuries)

The historical sources turn silent about the Manichaean communities of West and Central Asia after the early eleventh century. The followers of Mani had been persecuted to extinction from Byzantine and Islamicate West Asia, including the regions of Iran and West Central Asia by the late tenth century.[1] Ibn al-Nadim's elusive reference to Mani's (*Book of*) *Pictures* (Ar. *Al-ṣuwar*) in his *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (987 CE) is a fitting last memento to the vanished world of the Manichaeans and their didactic art. In East Central Asia, the Uygur ruling elite had also abandoned the Manichaean Church by the early eleventh century, the events of which are vividly lamented in the memoir of Käd Ogul (after 983 CE) including the confiscation and the Buddhist rededication of art from the *manistan* of Kocho.[2]

In the post-Manichaean world of West and Central Asia, the literary memory of Mani's paintings has persisted. Authors, who had never seen Manichaean art and in most cases never read any Manichaean texts on art, rely on earlier literature on this subject to create their own tertiary accounts written not only in Islamic, but also secular and, in one case, Zoroastrian settings. The survey below ends with the seventeenth century and includes all major currently known references made by learned authors of the Seljuk, Ghaznavid, Ilkhanid, Timurid, Safavid, Mughal, and Ottoman Empires. They discuss Mani's collection of didactic paintings in succinct lexicographical entries on the term *Aržang*[3] and compose historicizing tales on Mani as a legendary pre-Islamic prophet and painter, who used pictorial art for proselytizing and painted images in a book titled the *Aržang*. Their stories on Mani's false prophethood are embellished with motifs of classical literature, such as the "cave of a sage," "skill of a painter," and "heavenly book of a prophet."

The survey below considers fourteen tertiary texts on Manichaean didactic art from post-Manichaean Central Asian, Iranian, Indian, and Ottoman Turkish literature (**Table 4/1**). They were selected based on the fact that they

1 Lieu 1994, 216.

2 See Chapter 3, above.

3 The texts quoted below from various modern editions and translations employ different ways of transliterating Persian script into Latin script, producing such variants as *Arzang*, *Arjang*, and *Erzgheng*. I have regularized their rendering as *Aržang* based on the *Encyclopædia Iranica Online, s. v. "ARŽANG,"* accessed June 05, 2013 (http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/Aržang-mid). However, there are some further variants found in other original Persian texts, where -ž- is replaced by -th- or -t-. These cases have been preserved.

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TABLE 4/1 *Tertiary textual sources on Manichaean didactic painting in Arabic, Persian, and Chagatai languages (14 texts)*

TERTIARY TEXTS IN ARABIC DICTIONARIES (3 TEXTS)	TERTIARY TEXTS IN PERSIAN (6 TEXTS)
(1) Marwazī, *Kitāb ṭabā'i al-hayawān* (1120 CE)	(1) Abu al-Ma'ālī, *Bayanu 'l-Aḏyan* (1092 CE)
(2) Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-ānsāb* (before 1166 CE)	(2) 'Awfī, *Jawāme' al-ḥekāyāt* (before 1232 CE)
(3) Katip Çelebi, *Kashf al-ẓunūn'an* (1657 CE)	(3) Mīrkhwānd, *Rawdat al-safā* (1498 CE)
	(4) Khwandamir, *Habîib al-siyar* (1524 CE)
TERTIARY TEXTS IN PERSIAN DICTIONARIES (4 TEXTS)	(5) Dūst Muhammad's Account (1544 CE)
(1) Asadī Ṭūsī, *Lughat-i Furs* (ca. 1060 CE)	(6) *Dasātīr* (before 1624 CE)
(2) Faḵr-e Qawwās, *Farhang-e Qawwās* (1315 CE)	
(3) Shams-i Munshī, *Ṣiḥāḥu'l-Furs* (1328 CE)	TERTIARY TEXT IN CHAGATAI (1 TEXTS)
(4) Jamal al-Din, *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* (1608 CE)	(1) Chagatai story about false prophets (no date)

go beyond merely mentioning the *Aržang*. They discuss it as a work of art, note not only its title and attribution, but at least one other of its characteristics: date, appearance, content, or function. Three such discussions are in Arabic, which became the literary language of Iranian intellectuals during the first three centuries following the Arabic conquest (650–950 CE). Ten of them are in Persian (Fārsī), which replaced Middle Persian as the literary language of Iran starting from the tenth century and was also used in the imperial court of Mughal India. One text is in Chagatai, the Turkic language that was the literary language of the Chagatai Khanate (1226–1687 CE) in Central Asia, so named after Chagatai, the second son of Jinghiz Khan.

Survey and Analysis: Asadī Ṭūsī (1060 CE), Abu Al-Ma'ālī (1092 CE), Marwazī (Bef. 1125 CE), Anonymous Chagatai Author (No Date), Sam'ānī (1166 CE), 'Awfī (Bef. 1232 CE), Faḵr-E Qawwās (1315 CE), Shams-I Munshī (1328 CE), Mīrkhwānd (1498 CE), Khwandamir (1524 CE), Dūst Muhammad (1544 CE), Jamal Al-Din (1608 CE), Āẕar Kayvān (Bef. 1624 CE), and Katip Çelebi (1657 CE)

The fourteen passages surveyed below divide evenly into two genres. Seven of them are entries in dictionaries or encyclopedias written to explain the archaic foreign term (Ar./Pr./Chag.) *Aržang* (< Parth. *Ārdhang*) as 'the title of Mani's collection of images.' The other seven are from polemical tales. They center on Mani's prophethood, which Mani proved to his followers by his collection of paintings. Despite their distinct genres, the subjects of these passages are uniform in two regards: they take their readers back to the mid-third century and focus on Mani's *own Book of Pictures* and its canonical images. Although none of the authors had access to Manichaean art, let alone an actual copy of the Manichaeans' canonical volume of paintings, three of

them (Abu al-Maʿālī, Marwazī, and the author of the Chagatai story) seem to demonstrate some knowledge of Manichaean textual sources based on earlier (and now-lost) secondary accounts, which they do not credit. Others do acknowledge and sometimes quote (ʿAwfī, Shams-i Munshī, Asadī Ṭūsī), paraphrase (Marwazī, the Chagatiy story, Mīrkhwānd), or copy word-by-word (Chāndamîr) earlier writings on this subject.

1 *Asadī Ṭūsī's Dictionary* (*Lughat-i Furs, ca. 1060 CE*)

Abu Mansur Ali ibn Ahmad Asadī Ṭūsī (ca. 1000–1073 CE) was a Persian poet, linguist, and copyist originally from the city of Ṭūs (now Mashhad) in the Khorasan province of northeast Iran. Serving at the regional court of Abu Daluf (r. mid eleventh century) in the province of Arrān, in what is today Azerbaijan, Asadī is credited with introducing the tradition of Persian poetry into this western region of Iran, which at that time was mostly ethnically Parthian. Asadī is also known as the most important successor to the revered Persian poet Ferdowsī (940–1020 CE), who was also from Ṭūs, and famously notes Mani as a great painter in his *Book of Kings* (*Šāh-nāma*, ca. 977 CE), although stops short of mentioning his paintings. One of Asadī's three major works, the *Lughat-i Furs* (*Vocabulary of the Persians*), is the oldest Persian monolingual dictionary. Following the models of Arabic lexicography, it contains explanations of archaic terms, quotations from poetry, and valuable information about the poets. In addition, it features a lexicon of rare words used in the Darī language, as seen in his entry on Mani's *Arthang*. Darī was the spoken and written vernacular of the Sasanian royal court that was still used by the inhabitants of Azerbaijan during Asadī's time when this part of Iran was under Seljuk rule (1037–1194 CE).[4]

In this brief entry on what he calls the *Arthang*, Asadī provides a succinct explanation, which is supplemented with an even briefer remark concerning the etymology of this archaic word in the above noted Darī language. Details of this etymology and/or the original connotation of *arthang* are not provided. Asadī's brief entry reads as follows:

> *Arthang*: It was (the title) of a book (Pr. *kitāb*) of figures by Mānī. And I have seen the same word in the Darī language, from which it derives.[5]

This entry discusses the designation, the origin, and the appearance of Mani's collection of didactic paintings. ʿAsadī states that during his time *Arthang* was a word with an unknown etymology, used only as a title of a specific book. He points out its pictorial nature. He confirms that it was a book, but falls short in specifying its design, since the Arabic loanword *kitāb* can reference a codex

4 Gibb 1979, vol. 1, 685–6; Gouws 2011, 2447 and 2477; Reeves 2011, 121; and 284; and *Encyclopædia Iranica Online, s. v.* "ASADĪ ṬŪSĪ," accessed June 05, 2013 (http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/asadi-tusi).

5 Reeves 2011, 121.

in Persian, but may not necessarily indicate such a format. In addition, ʿAsadī attributes it to Mani and by doing so he implies that the *Arthang* dates back to the era of Mani's ministry, that is, the middle of the third century.

2 *Abu al-Maʿālī's Proofs of Religions* (*Pr. Bayanu 'l-Adyan, 1092 CE*)

Abu al-Maʿālī Muhammad ibn ʿUbaidullâ was a Ghaznavid historian who lived between middle of the eleventh century and the early twelfth century. Data on Abu al-Maʿālī's life is scant. As his partially surviving genealogy shows, his family was Alid (claiming descent from Ali, the first imam, and Fatima, the daughter of the prophet Muhammad) and belonged to the intellectual elite of West Central Asia for generations. During the second half of the eleventh century, Abu al-Maʿālī worked in Ghazna (Ghazni), the rich capital city of the Ghaznavid Empire (963–1151 CE), located today in eastern Afghanistan. This city became an important cultural center under the rule of Sultan Mahmud (r. 997–1030 CE), who populated his court with scholars, philosophers, and poets, appropriately for a monarch of a new dynasty aiming to legitimize its rule over Iran. Abu al-Maʿālī had close ties to this court as a historian under the reign of Mahmud's grandson, Sultan Ibrahim (r. 1059–1099 CE).[6]

Completed in 1092 CE, Abu al-Maʿālī's *Bayânu al-Adyan* is one of the first books written that describes different religions. Its first volume concerns pre-Islamic prophets, such as Mani, who is not accepted as a prophet in Islam. In addition to a brief summary of Mani's doctrine, Abu al-Maʿālī mentions Mani's legendary skill as a painter together with Mani's famous didactic paintings. Uniquely, Abu al-Maʿālī records the existence of a volume of these paintings in the imperial treasury of Ghazna during the late eleventh century. His passage reads:

> The doctrine of Mānī: This was a man who excelled in the art of painting. He manifested himself among the Magians at the time of Shāpūr b. Ardašīr and pretended to be a prophet. His proof [for this claim] was artistry with the pen (i.e., calligraphy) and painting. They say that on a piece of white silk he could draw a line in such a manner that when they extracted a single silk thread that line disappeared. He composed (Pr. *kardan* lit. 'do, make') a book (Pr. *kitāb*) having many kinds of pictures (Pr. *taṣvīr*), which they call the *Aržang* of Mānī, and it is in the treasury at Ghazna. His system was the same as that of Zaradusht, and he professed a dualist doctrine, an example of which we next make mention.[7]

Abu al-Maʿālī's passage from 1092 CE constitutes the earliest discussion known today of Manichaean didactic paintings by a Central Asian historian. Besides reiterating the usual data on the name, origin, date, and content, this passage

6 *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*, s. v. "ABU'L-MA'ĀLĪ," accessed June 05, 2013, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/abul-maali-mohammad-b.

7 Reeves 2011, 121; and Asmussen 1965, 10.

is especially relevant for its data on the appearance and secular aesthetic function of Mani's painted work in late eleventh-century Ghazna.

While referring to Mani's collection of paintings as a prophet-wonder for the very first time, Abu al-Maʿālī provides familiar data about its designation, origin, and date. He uses "*Aržang*" as an archaic foreign term and the authentic Manichaean title: "they call it the *Aržang* of Mānī." He further strengthens this attribution by emphasizing Mani's legendary artistic skills involved in the creation of the *Aržang*, which is pointed to here as the reason behind the *Aržang*'s fame. Abu al-Maʿālī states that the *Aržang* was made by Mani, which can be understood as a reference to Mani's intellectual authorship. As a man of letters accustomed to considering written texts valued for preserving the ideas of an author through later copies, Abu al-Maʿālī writes about the *Aržang* as the title of a book that preserves Mani's thoughts (rendered in visual means), whose authenticity is not compromised by copying. Therefore, it is most likely that he meant a mediaeval edition of Mani's *Aržang* was held in the treasury of Ghazna.[8]

Abu al-Maʿālī's passage is unambiguous on the appearance of this late eleventh-century *Aržang*, affirming its book format, painted character, and high artistic quality. He alludes to the book format only by using the Arabic loan word *kitāb* (lit. 'book'). He does not specify its material or its design.[9] Nevertheless, by stating that Mani's *Aržang* consisted of "various kinds of pictures," he also suggests that it was a picture book with a collection of paintings. He does not mention any written components. This fact rules out interpreting Abu al-Maʿālī's remark as a reference to an illuminated textbook. Further supporting the solely pictorial character of the *Aržang* is the way Abu al-Maʿālī elaborates on Mani's skills as a painter. Appropriate for the sophisticated intellectual milieu of eleventh-century Ghazna, he employs a literary motif from classical Greek literature[10] that measures the skill of a painter by the delicacy of the line he paints. Thus, we learn that the *Aržang* that Abu al-Maʿālī writes about was a portable pictorial work of art, a solely pictorial book, admired for its impressive artistic quality. Although Abu al-Maʿālī knew that Mani's *Aržang* was being held in Ghazna during his time, his prose does not indicate that he personally saw this legendary work of art.[11]

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8 Could the *Aržang* held in the Ghaznan treasury have been *the Aržang* that Mani himself used? That is what Abu al-Maʿālī seems to imply by emphasizing Mani's artistic skills and his life during the early Sasanid. The picture book that Mani had with him when he died was given to Sisin (M 2). Although that very edition was most certainly kept as a holy relic stored as a sacred treasure, the rest of its provenance is lost.

9 For a fragment of a solely pictorial Manichaean codex, see Fig. 5/4, below.

10 In Pliny's *Natural History* (Book 35. 36/81ff), the skill of Protogenes and Apelles are measured by the fineness of the lines they could paint (see Rackham 1938, 9:321–322).

11 In Schefer's view, Abu al-Maʿālī saw the *Aržang* (1883–85, Vol. 1, 133). For an overview of further references, see Reeves 2011, 121, note 263.

Concerning the *Aržang*'s content, Abu al-Maʿālī imparts only indirect remarks that imply a doctrinal nature. He discusses the *Aržang* under the subtitle, "the doctrine of Mānī," and suggests that this painted book functioned as the mark of Mani's prophethood. In addition, he implies that Mani conveyed his prophetic message in a "book having many kinds of pictures." Thus, Abu al-Maʿālī connects Mani's teachings with Mani's *Aržang*.

A variety of functions are noted in connection with Mani's book of "many kinds of pictures" in Abu al-Maʿālī's passage. Most importantly, he records that the *Aržang* was valued as a work of art outside of the Manichaean world and thus played a secular aesthetic role in eleventh-century Central Asia. He mentions that Mani's *Aržang* was housed in "the treasury at Ghazna," referencing the imperial treasury at the capital city of the Ghaznavid Empire. By noting this setting, Abu al-Maʿālī confirms that the *Aržang*'s attraction reached beyond its original Manichaean context during his time. It was viewed as an object of value, a collection of "many kinds of pictures," a work of art created by Mani in the early Sasanian era, who was known not just as a pre-Islamic prophet, but more-and-more as a famous artist—"a man, who excelled in the art of painting" from "the time of Shāpūr the son of Ardašīr," that is, Shāpūr I (242–272 CE), the second ruler of the Sasanid Empire. In addition, he implies that the *Aržang* also played a religious didactic role in its original Manichaean setting, since it was painted by a prophet for his followers to visually communicate his teachings. Finally, Abu al-Maʿālī implies that the *Aržang* fulfilled the role of prophet-wonder, since he writes that Mani's "proof [for his prophecy] was artistry with the pen and painting" in "a book having many kinds of pictures."

3 *Marwazī's Book on the Nature of Living Beings* (*Ar. Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān, before 1125 CE*)

Sharaf al-Zaman Tahir al-Marwazī (ca. 1056–after 1120 CE) was an ethnically Persian native of the West Central Asian oasis city of Merv located in what is today Turkmenistan. Although very little is known about Marwazī's life, it is clear that he served as a physician to the Seljuk sultan Malik-Shah I (r. 1077–1092 CE) and possibly to his successors down to Ahmed Sandjar (r. 1118–1157 CE). Marwazī is best remembered as the author of the *Book on the Nature of Living Beings* (Ar. *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān*), which he finished sometime before 1125 CE.[12] While primarily a zoological treatise, this work contains discussions on the human geography of Central Asia, China, and India, based on hearsay accounts, personal experiences, and quotes from earlier literature. Originally composed in Persian, the text survives today in Arabic translation interspersed with local terminology in Persian and Turkic languages.[13]

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12 *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Brill 1991), vol. 6, p. 628; Last date mentioned in the book is 1120/21 CE, and al-Marwazī was still active in 1125 CE (Kruk 2001, 51).

13 The latter parts of the books were edited and translated by Vladimir Minorsky, see Minorsky 1942; and Iskandar 1981, 266–312.

In the passage below, Marwazī discusses the prophet Mani, including his skill as a painter, his teachings, the books he wrote, his exile from Iran and subsequent travels in India, Tibet, and China, where Mani painted his prophetical proof—the *Arthang*. Dating from the early twelfth century, this narration is the earliest currently known version of a tale about Mani's false prophet-wonder, much repeated in later Persian literature, in which Mani tries to fool his followers about his heavenly trip and divine gift by hiding in a cave and painting a picture book. Standard elements of this story seen for the first time mention Mani (1) traveling through China, (2) finding a remote cave in the mountains, (3) secretly storing enough food for a year, (4) telling his followers that God summoned him for a year, (5) descending into the cave to create the remarkable painted book (in the format of a scroll), (6) after a year emerging from the cave with the painted book, (7) claiming it to be a gift from God, and (8) convincing his followers, through its amazing beauty, that he is a true prophet. The passage reads:[14]

> Someone whose condition was similar to this was Mānī, the false prophet. He was important and had many followers. He was born in Bābil in a village called Mardīnū (MS Nardīnū) near the upper Nahr Kūthā. He used to have recourse to religious knowledge that gave him a piety that nobody could equal. He was also so skilled in drawing and making pictures that he used to spread out a piece of Chinese silk with a length of more than twenty cubits (9.14 m or 30 feet), and pick up the *khāma*, the painter's brush, and draw a line on the cloth from the beginning to the end in such as way that the line never went beyond the edge of a silken thread of the warp. He could draw a circle out of the hand, and when one put the compass on it, it would exactly coincide with it.
>
> He was a pupil of the sage Qādrūn, and had acquainted himself with the doctrines of the Christians, the Magians and the Dualists. In the time of Shāpūr b. Ardashīr he went out and proclaimed himself to be a prophet. He said: "Wisdom and pious deeds have always from time to time been brought by the messenger called Buddha to the country [al-Hind] and in another by Jesus to the land of the Arabs. In this last age prophethood comes to me and through me. I am Mānī, the messenger of the God of truth to the land of Bābil." He preached of the empire of the worlds of light and said that light and darkness are without beginning and end. He absolutely forbade the slaughter of animals or to hunt them and to hurt the fire, the air, the water, and the earth. He established laws that were obligatory to the Manichaean ascetics: to prefer poverty, to suppress cupidity and lust, to abandon the world, to be abstinent in it. He forbade them to store anything except food for one day and dress for one year, and to live in monogamy, and more of such laws, viz. to give as alms the tithe of their property, to fast during the seventh part of a lifetime, and

14 This quote is taken from two complementary translations as noted below.

continually wonder about the world, preaching his doctrines and guide people into the right path, and to remove everything that troubled them and gave them pain.

Many people believed in him and followed him. He composed many books, such as his *Gospel*, which he arranged according to the twenty-two letters of the alphabet, and he said that he was the Paraclete announced by the Messiah, and that he was the Seal of the Prophets.[15] He composed the book *al-Shābūraqān,* the *Treasury of Stories* (i.e., the *Treasury of Life*), the *Book of Confusion* (i.e., the *Book of Giants*), the *Vessel of Secrets* (i.e., the *Book of Mysteries*), and many other epistles and treatises.[16] He maintained that he explained i*n extenso* what had only been hinted at by the Messiah.

Then King Shāpūr expelled him from his realm, taking as ground that which Zarādusht has prescribed about banning false prophets from the country, and made it a condition on him that he should not return. He then disappeared to India and preached there, and many people answered his call. From there he went to Tibet and called people to his religion. They answered him and accepted him. He prescribed laws to them, and took many pictures (*taṣāwīr*) and visual representations (*tazvīq*) and the making of images (*tamāthīl*) as the way of worshiping and seeking favor with God, exalted is He.[17]

He (Mani) often traveled through the wilder regions of China and its mountains, and one day he passed by a fissure in the mountain leading to a remote cave. He sent someone into it to ascertain its suitability as an abode, and he reported back to him that at its bottom was a large bright spacious area and fresh water. He endeavored to collect there enough food and clothing to last for him for a year and he also gathered there things producing decorations. Then he said to his followers: "God Most Exalted has summoned me, and it is necessary to go to Him and remain in his presence." He fixed a time for them regarding his return and said: This fissure in the mountain will be my path to him. I will go down it and will not need food or drink until I return. He charged his followers to bring him his riding animal every day to the opening of that fissure.

Then he descended into it, remained alone, and collected his ideas. He had taken a scroll that resembled paper, but which was very fine and completely white. He painted it with remarkable images, and he drew pictures of every (kind of) demon and crime, such as robbery, fornication, and so on, and beside the crimes the required punishments and he drew underneath the illustration of each demon a picture of what it produces. He completed this during the period, which he had fixed.

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15 Kruk 2001, 55.

16 Reeves 2011, 93.

17 Kruk 2001, 55–56.

> Then he came forth from the cave with the illustrated scroll in his hand. He said: "I have been alone with my Lord, and He has commanded me to establish His ordinances. This is the book that comes from God Most Exalted!" They looked at it and saw that a human being would be incapable of producing its like or its equal, and so they believed him. He named this (scroll) *Arthang*, and it still exists today in the libraries of their rulers under the name '*Arthang of Mani.* Its antiquity is confirmed.[18]

Marwazī's version of a story about Mani's false prophet-wonder contains a relatively rich body of evidence. His passage is especially informative about the appearance and content of the *Arthang*, but it discusses also its name, origin, and function.

Marwazī's story confirms familiar facts about the designation, origin and dates of Mani's collection of didactic paintings. In addition to being the title of Mani's painted work, the *Arthang* is now also Mani's prophet-wonder. Marwazī's polemical prose pointedly portrays Mani as the actual painter of the *Arthang*. This attribution, however, serves to discredit Mani as a true prophet, since instead of ascending to heaven and receiving the *Arthang* as a gift from God, Mani makes the *Arthang* himself. This attribution implies that the *Arthang* dates from the mid-third-century era of Mani's ministry (240–274/277 CE). In addition, Marwazī also mentions the 12th century by noting that Mani's *Arthang* was preserved during his own time in libraries of the rulers, who reign over "the wilder regions of China."

Refreshingly detailed is Marwazī's discussion of the *Arthang*'s appearance, noting various physical properties to characterize a pictorial roll of remarkable artistic quality. He refers to its portable book format as being in the shape of a scroll by stating that Mani "came forth from the cave with the illustrated scroll in his hand." He discusses the high quality of its material—that it "resembled paper," and "was very fine and completely white." He specifies that it was an "illustrated scroll," that is, a solely pictorial scroll, since Mani covered its surface with "remarkable images." Furthermore, Marwazī remarks about the layout of this scroll, noting that it contained multiple scenes paired in a didactic manner: "(Mani) drew pictures of every (kind of) demon and crime, such as robbery, fornication, and so on, and beside the crimes the required punishments and he drew underneath the illustration of each demon a picture of what it produces." Based on this, we may imagine a row with scenes of crimes and beneath them a corresponding row with scenes of punishments, and analogously, a row with portraits of various demons and beneath it a row with scenes of the demons' deeds. In addition, Marwazī emphasizes the superb artistic quality of Mani's *Arthang* by stating not only that the material of the scroll "was very fine and

18 Reeves 2011, 122.

completely white" and that Mani "painted it with remarkable images" but also that its art passed for a divine creation—that of a prophet-wonder. In the story, Mani claims that "this is the book that comes from God Most Exalted," while his disciples "looked at it and saw that a human being would be incapable of producing its like or its equal, and so they believed him." In other words, the *Arthang* was considered a masterpiece of a great artist.

Marwazī conveys the doctrinal content of the *Arthang* by focusing on two of its subjects—eschatology and theology. He notes how certain scenes showed images of human eschatology by depicting crimes and their post-mortem punishments. The documentary value of this statement is corroborated by actual images of punishment in Manichaean art surviving within its Chinese pictorial corpus, where in one case fiery tortures of hell are shown in connection with the depiction of "judgment after death" in order to warn the Manichaean laity about the dangers of bad reincarnation (Yamato Bunkakan scroll). In addition, Marwazī states that other scenes of the *Arthang* showed, what we may categorize as a theological subject, by depicting portraits of demons and scenes with their deeds: "he drew pictures of every (kind of) demon" and "underneath the illustration of each demon a picture of what it produces." In a dualistic system, such as Manichaeism, teachings of theology may include arrays of both deities (pantheon) and negative mythological beings (pandemonium). Therefore Marwazī's claim may mean an actual visual catalogue of demons symbolizing forces of darkness. List of gods and demons together with their deeds are well attested in Manichaean literature.[19]

Concerning the function of Mani's *Arthang*, Marwazī's data is three-fold. First, his passage conveys how the *Arthang* was used in the service of conversion by describing it as a pictorial tool that communicated Mani's teachings. We learn that it contained a series of images that were paired in order to facilitate the effective visual rendering of a religious message. Second, Marwazī mentions that the *Arthang* remained a valued work of art outside of its original Manichaean context, in his words, it "still exists today in the libraries of their rulers under the name '*Arthang of Mani*.'" Here Marwazī refers to the rulers of "the wilder regions of China." Third, he notes the *Arthang*'s role as a prophetic miracle in Iranian literature, while writing about it as a divinely inspired work of a great painter that was the foundation of Mani's prophetic mission and used for conversion.

4 *An Anonymous Chagatai Translation of a Story about False Prophets* (*no date*)

A unique version of the story about Mani artistic sojourn in the cave is preserved in a manuscript written in the Chagatai language, housed today in an Uygur private collection in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of China.

19 For an overview, see Tab. 6/8, below.

The bulk of this codex (pages 1–498) is devoted to a prose translation of the "Sea of Wisdom" authored by a seventeenth-century Persian poet, Šayh 'Ināyatu'llāh (d. 1677 CE). The second part of the book (pages 501–529) contains anonymous polemical stories under the collective title "Those Who Falsely Claimed To Be Prophets." Thirteen stories are told in the latter text, including one about the life of Mani, titled in red ink simply as "[A] Story."[20]

Determining the date of origin of the latter text about Mani's life is problematic. The book contains two colophons with two different dates twenty-one years apart. The earlier of the two is the year 1898, noted at the end of the text on page 498. The later date with the year 1919 is noted on the scribble pages at the beginning of the book.[21] But, as noted above, the book collects considerably older texts. The "Sea of Wisdom" is securely dated to before 1677 CE, based on its author. The sources of the thirteen false prophet stories are not explicitly identified. Among them, Mani's story is unique. On the one hand, it shows clear ties to themes attested in the Persian legends about Mani dating from between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. On the other hand, this Chagatai version includes an unusually detailed doctrinal discussion that accurately lists various important aspects of Manichaean teachings, displaying information superior to that found many later polemical tales about Mani and the cave. Therefore, it could not have depended solely on derivative accounts. In addition to such accounts, it seems to incorporate data from some earlier literature with close ties to primary Manichaean sources.

In fact, this anonymous Chagatai text displays close ties to Marwazī's account from the twelfth century (**Table 4/2**, also see Tab. 4/4).[22] About one quarter of the story is devoted to listing essential elements of Mani's teachings, including metaphysics (dualism), theology (three of the four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism and Mani's ties to Jesus), as well as ethics to guide the conduct of the elect (poverty) and that of the laity (no killing, righteous conduct, poverty, monogamy, fasting, and alms service). The anonymous author of this story does not connect these teachings to didactic paintings. Nevertheless, the list starts with dualism, routinely noted in numerous other accounts in connection with the doctrinal content of Mani's collection of images; and it mentions not only the primary prophets, which form an essential part of Mani's doctrine depicted in later Manichaean didactic art, but also Mani's associations with Jesus.

20 For the critical edition of the text, see Tezcan and Yakup 1999.

21 The exquisite scribal workmanship in Naskh style observed throughout the book indicates one scribe (Tezcan and Yakup 1999, 66).

22 The discussion of doctrine (151 words) in the English translation of the story (673 words) takes up almost one quarter (22%) of the prose.

TABLE 4/2 *Manichaean doctrine noted by Marwazī (1121 CE) and in the Chagatai story (no date)*

	I. METAPHYSICS
DUALISM	"He preached of the empire of the worlds of light and said that light and darkness are without beginning and end" (Marwazī). "Light and darkness are primordial" (Chagatai story).
	II. THEOLOGY
PRIMARY PROPHETS	"Wisdom and pious deeds have always from time to time been brought by the messenger called Buddha to the country [al-Hind] and in another by Jesus to the land of the Arabs. In this last age prophethood comes to me and through me. I am Mânî, the messenger of the God of truth to the land of Bâbil" (Marwazī). "God sends a prophet in every age. At the time of Gushtasb he sent Zoroaster. At another time, he sent Jesus to the Arabs. Now, in this age, He has made me a prophet and has sent me to you. I will teach you the sacred law" (Chagatai story).
MANI'S TIES TO JESUS	"He said that he was the Paraclete announced by the Messiah, and that he was the Seal of the Prophets. [. . . and] maintained the he explained *in extenso* what had only been hinted at by the Messiah" (Marwazī). "I am that prophet whose coming is predicted by Jesus. I am the last of the prophets. Every word that Jesus uttered, I will explicate" (Chagatai story).
	III. ETHICS: PRECEPTS FOR THE ELECT
POVERTY	"He forbade them to store anything except food for one day and dress for one year" (Marwazī). "Provisioning is unlawful (i.e., storing food for more than a day)" (Chagatai story).
	IV. ETHICS: PRECEPTS FOR THE LAITY
NO KILLING	"He absolutely forbade the slaughter of animals" (Marwazī). "It is unlawful to kill any kind of animal" (Chagatai story).
RIGHTEOUS CONDUCT	". . . to hurt the fire, the air, the water, and the earth" (Marwazī). "It is unlawful to harm the poor and any kind of animal" (Chagatai story).
POVERTY	". . . to prefer poverty" (Marwazī). "Poverty is better than wealth" (Chagatai story).
MONOGAMY	". . . to live in monogamy" (Marwazī). "Having more than one wife is unlawful" (Chagatai story).
FASTING	". . . to fast during the seventh part of a lifetime" (Marwazī). "Fasting one-seventh of one's life is required" (Chagatai story).
ALMS SERVICE	". . . to give as alms the tithe of their property" (Marwazī). "Giving a tithe from one's wealth is required" (Chagatai story).

The anonymous passage quoted below adds a unique twist to the Persian literary tradition by taking the polemics of Mani's false prophet-wonder story further. In this Chagatai version, Mani fabricates a box that only resembles a marvelous painted book on its exterior surface. The core discussion of Mani's *Aržang*, however, echoes closely that of the above-mentioned Marwazī. The text reads:

> Story: It is related in history that a certain man claimed to be a prophet. It was the painter Mani. He was acclaimed by many people. He was born in Babylon, and was without rival in painting. One of his miracles is that would cut out (?) twenty ells of silk cloth equally, so that when one measured them with a rod they would absolutely the same. He was a student of the philosopher Qanun (?), and he also knew well the books of the Christians and the Magians. He claimed to be a prophet at the time of Shāpūr son of Ardashir.
>
> Mani said: 'God sends a prophet in every age. At the time of Gushtasb he sent Zoroaster. At another time, he sent Jesus to the Arabs. Now, in this age, He has made me a prophet and has sent me to you. I will teach you the sacred law. You should know that light and darkness are primordial. It is unlawful to kill any kind of animal. It is unlawful to harm the poor and any kind of animal. Poverty is better than wealth.' He also said: 'Provisioning is unlawful—i.e., storing up food for more than one day. Having more than one wife is unlawful. Giving a tithe from one's wealth is required. Fasting one seventh of one's life is required.' And he said: 'I am that prophet whose coming is predicted by Jesus. I am the last of the prophets. Every word that Jesus uttered, I will explicate.'
>
> When Shāpūr was informed about Mani's activities, he expelled him from his kingdom and said, 'If you ever return to this country, I will certainly put you to death.' Later he went to Kashmir and India and propagated his religion. The people of Turkistan accepted his claim. In India, he made idols (Chag. *butlar*) and led the people astray with his painting (*taṣvīr*). On the way to China there are many mountains: He wandered in those mountains and never stayed long in one place. Finally, he took up residence in a cave. [. . .] During one year he made a box (Chag. *kūtī*) out of paper, clear and white like an eggshell. He painted marvelous and curious pictures on that box, completing it in one year. At the end of the year all the people gathered in front of the cave. And on the specified day Mani emerged with a box in his hands. He said: 'I declare to you the commands of the God of Heaven. The thing in my hand is a book (*kitāb*), revealed by the God of Heaven.' The people were amazed when they saw this and accepted his claim. They called the book the *Aržang of Mani*. That box is still preserved in the treasury of the Chinese emperors.
>
> When Mani had subjugated that land, he longed for the land of his birth, and so he returned to Iran. Because all of his wishes had been fulfilled in Turkistan, he thought that it would be the same in Iran. Now

> [Shāpūr, son of] Ardashir, who was king when he left, had died. He was succeeded by Hormuz,[23] and after him by Bahrām. When Mani returned to Iran and propagated his religion, Bahrām summoned him and asked, 'What is your intension and what is your faith?' Mani explained his doctrine and said, 'A man's spirit is imprisoned inside his body. When his breath is cut off, the bird of his spirit flies out from the breath, and that light is freed from its prison.' Bahrām said, 'If that is so, then is death better than life?' Mani replied, 'Death conveys a man to eternal life. This transitory life is bound up with desire and sensuality.' Bahrām said, 'So, for you, death is better than life.' He went on, 'We will act according to your own doctrine and free your spirit from your body. You made an agreement with my father that if you return to Iran, you would be put to death.' And so he ordered Mani to be skinned alive, stuffed with straw, and hung on the city gate. In Nishapur that gate is called Mani's Gate.[24]

This undated Chagatai story contains familiar data on the question of designation, origin, appearance, content, function, and date of this art. Although flavored by the customary polemical tone and some fictional remarks (i.e., situating the making of the *Aržang* in China and that of the other *taṣvīr* to India), the story emphasizes the doctrinal content, instructional role, and early Sasanian origin of Manichaean art, as well as its purposeful creation and use by Mani.

This text employs two distinct designations to connote two distinct works of art as Mani's paintings. While discussing Mani's travels, the first reference is to *taṣvīr*, which is a Persian loanword in Chagatai connoting 'painting' noted here in connection with images ("idols") that Mani makes while in India. The second reference concerns the *Aržang* that connotes the 'title of Mani's prophet-wonder,' which Mani made while traveling in China. The unusual presence of these two works of art most likely is due to two distinct sources that supplied the anonymous author of this text, one of whom was either Marwazī or another, unknown author upon whom Marwazī also relied.

Mani's artistic activities are dated precisely to the early Sasanian era by mentioning in chronological order the four kings, who ruled Iran in Mani's time: Ardashir I (r. 221–240 CE), Shāpūr I (r. 240–272 CE), Hormuz I (r. 272–273 CE), and Bahrām I (r. 273–276 CE). The story correctly states that Mani's ministry began under Shāpūr and concludes by discussing Mani's death under Bahrām, the events of which are embellished in light of a traditional account often seen in the Islamic context: the king "ordered Mani to be skinned alive, stuffed with straw, and hung on the city gate."[25]

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23 Shāpūr is named as the son of Ardashir and as the king, who ruled during Mani's early ears in the first part of the story.

24 Tezcan and Yakup 1999, 70–72 with bracket added.

25 For a similar account, see Ferdowsī's version of Mani's death as narrated in his *Šāh-nāma*, quoted below.

The appearances of both works of art are noted. The pictorial nature of the *taṣvīr* is indicated by the connotation of the designation used for it. While the format and material of this *taṣvīr* is not discussed, numerous remarks are provided in connection with the *Aržang*'s appearance. We are informed that it looked like a book (*kitāb*) and that it was made of "high quality paper." Its pictorial character is emphasized by stating that it was "covered with painted images." The reader learns also that it was impressive, since its pictures were "marvelous," and elaborate, since it required a full year to paint. The polemical tone of this story introduces a twist that is not used in any of the Persian accounts on Mani's prophet-wonder known today. Here the claim that Mani is a false prophet is stressed by suggesting that his marveled prophet-wonder was faked in two ways. It not only was not a gift from God, but it also was not a real book. Instead, it was just a painted paper box made to look like a book of pictures that Mani made.[26]

The content and function of Mani's paintings are also discussed. Their overall doctrinal subject and didactic role in Mani's community are implied in this story by stating that they were made by the prophet to function as his teaching tools: Mani used his *taṣvīr* to "lead the people astray" in India, and his *Aržang* helped him to convince his followers to accept his claims in China. Additional data is provided on the role of the *Aržang* outside the Manichaean community. On the one hand, it fulfilled a secular aesthetic role as a work of art housed in the treasury of the Chinese emperors. On the other hand, the story stresses its role as a prophet-wonder in Persian literature, where it is the *Aržang*'s artistic beauty (seen as a result of a divine origin/inspiration) that makes people accept Mani as a prophet. Further, we learn only that the *Aržang* contained "curious pictures"—a reference that is tantalizing, rather then informative.

5 *Samʿānī's Book of Ancestry* (*Ar. Kitāb al-ānsāb, before 1166 CE*)

Abd al-Karim ibn Muhammad al-Samʿānī (1113–1166 CE) was a biographer, who lived during the Seljuk era (1037–1194 CE) in the city of Merv in Khorasan province. He is best known today as the author of a monumental encyclopedic dictionary written in Arabic under the title *Kitāb al-ānsāb* (*Book of Ancestry*), which provides information on scholars, with special attention to their intellectual *ānsāb* ('lineage'), noting their teachers and pupils.[27]

In the paragraph quoted below, Samʿānī discusses Mani in connection with the term *zindīq* 'heretic,' a frequent reference to the Manichaeans in early mediaeval Arabic sources.[28] For Samʿānī', the markers of Mani's heresy are in

26 For the study of this box reference in connection with a box-like image shown in the underdrawing of a fragmentary Manichaean book painting preserved on a parchment folio (Or. 8212–1692) in the collection of the British Library, see Gulácsi 2005a and Moriyasu 1997.

27 Meisami 1998, II, 684.

28 See Lieu 1992, 113; and Reeves 2011 for a recent survey of the Islamic sources with numerous reference to the Manichaeans as the *zanādiqa*.

Mani's ties to Zoroastrianism and his use of images. Much of the Manichaean aspects of Samʿānī's claims, however, are oversimplified, resulting in content that departs in its accuracy from other Arabic literature of the time, such as the writings of Ibn al-Nadim. For Samʿānī, Mani is a Zoroastrian. The book that Mani wrote—to summarize his teaching to Shāpūr I (r. 240–270 CE), and thus known under the title *Šābuhragān* (here "*Sāburqān*")[29]—explains Zoroastrian scripture. Furthermore, Samʿānī equates an illustrated version of Mani's *Sāburqān* with Mani's *Ārdhang*, the latter of which he does not mention by name. Instead, he equates the *Sāburqān* with what he calls the "*Book of Mani*," which, nevertheless, appears to be confused with the *Ārdhang,* since Samʿānī suggests that Mani "adorned it with pictures and colors" to depict his teachings on "light and darkness." His passage reads:

> . . . The first one to be designated by this term (i.e., *zindīq*) was Mānī b. Fātiq Māmām (sic) whose floruit was during the reign of Bahrām b. Hormuz b. Sāpūr. He perused the ancestral scriptures. He was a Zoroastrian. He wished that fame and renown might be his, and so he founded his religious order and put together a book whose title was *Sāburqān* and said: 'This *zand* was for the scripture of Zoroaster; (using) the *zand* will enable you to attain the interpretation' by which he meant (the interpretation) of the scripture of Zoroaster. But his followers call the writing the *Book of Mānī*. He adorned it with pictures and colors, and set out in it light and darkness.[30]

Samʿānī's brief account conveys some fascinating and previously unnoted aspects of Mani's didactic paintings. He mentions that Mani had a book that was "adorned with pictures and colors' and was called by his followers the "*Book of Mani*." He suggests that this book illustrated Mani's teachings known from his *Sāburqān*. He further states that this pictorial work was a *kitāb*, without further specifying its format. When it comes to its medium, however, it is unclear whether Samʿānī means an illuminated manuscript (i.e., a textbook "adorned with pictures and colors") or a solely pictorial book (i.e., a picture-book "adorned with pictures and colors"). Nevertheless, Sam'āni verifies the doctrinal nature of this work of art by pointing out that it depicted Mani's teachings on "light and darkness." In addition, he implies that its creation occurred during Mani's ministry (240–274/277 CE), and names the ruler Bahrām I (r. 273–276 CE) to anchor it to an early era of Sasanian history.

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29 Mani's *Šābuhragān* is the best-known Manichaean text in the Islamic sources. For a list of writers who discuss it, see Reeves 2011, 324.

30 Reeves 2011, 104.

6 *ʿAwfī's Collection of Anecdotes* (*Pr. Jawāme' al-ḥekāyāt, before 1232 CE*)

In his full name, Sadid-al-Din Moḥammad ʿAwfī (mid. twelfth century—after 1232 CE) was an important Indo-Persian writer of the pre-Mongol era. He was born in Bukhara into an elite and highly educated family, who claimed descent from one of the companions of the prophet Moḥammad (ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwfī). After finishing his preliminary studies in Bukhara, ʿAwfī traveled extensively in Transoxiana, Khorasan, and northern India. Learning about the imminent Mongol invasion of Central Asia, he immigrated to India and settled in Delhi in 1223 CE, when the city was under Mumluk rule (1206–1290 CE). There, he began to work on one of his three extant works, the *Jawāme' al-ḥekāyāt*—a collection of 2,113 prose anecdotes arranged in four volumes. In it, ʿAwfī utilized and judiciously credited a vast array of sources (books on history, belles-lettres, various stories and reports, as well as biographical accounts on poets and writers), many of which are lost today. Although the *Jawāme' al-ḥekāyāt* is considered to be a valuable literary work that is rich in other information of historical importance, its complete critical edition is yet to be published.[31]

The *Jawāme' al-ḥekāyāt* mentions Mani three times, including the enumeration of five of his books, which does not include the title of Mani's collection of images.[32] This painted work is brought up only in connection with Mani's legendary skill as an artist and its equally legendary preservation "in the treasury of the emperor of China."[33] The passage reads:

> Among the other impostors who claimed to be prophets we should include, of course, Mani, who was born in Babilon, in a village called Mardīv, close to the town of Lūmā. He had many followers. His claims were expressed especially through painting, a practice where he had

31 Siddiqi 2010, 55–92; and *Encyclopædia Iranica Online,* s. v. "'AWFĪ, SADĪD-AL-DĪN" and "JAWĀME' AL-ḤEKĀYĀT," accessed June 05, 2013, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/awfi-sadid-al-din and http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jawame-al-hekayat.

32 First, in Part I (Chapter 4—On the Ancient Kings of Persia, Greece, etc., f. 43b-44b), ʿAwfī focuses on the "reign of Bahrám: appearance of Manes, the founder of Zindiqism; [and] Manes: his skill in painting and some principles of the Manichaeans" (Nizāmu'd-Dīn 1929, 147–148). Second, in Part III (Chapter 8—On Heresiarchs and Pseudo-Prophets, f. 149a), he gives "a detailed account of Manes: his first appearance in Shápúr's court, Manichaean doctrine, dualism, his five books (the *Injīl*, *Kitāb-i-Shápúríyyán*, *Kanzu'l-Iḥyá'*, *Sifru'l-Jabábira*, and *Sifru'l-Asrár*); the propagation of his faith and his miserable death in the reign of Bahrám b. Hormuz" (Nizāmu'd-Dīn 1929, 220; also see 36, and 41–42). Third, Part IV (Chapter 16—On Cosmography, f. 336b) contains "an account of old Chin, its art, civilization, etc., [. . . including] the fame of the people for fine art and painting, which formed the part of their religion as instituted by Manes:" (Nizāmu'd-Dīn 1929, 247). ʿAwfi's sources on Mani are also noted by Nizāmu'd-Dīn (1929, 37, 40, 42, 55, 84, and 90).

33 Since it is not included in Reeves' survey (2011), only a small part of 'Awfi's account on Mani has been available in English translation (Pellò 2013, 255). The English translation quoted here was kindly prepared for this study by Stefano Pellò. For the publication of his Italian translation, see Pellò (2015, forthcoming).

reached the level of perfection. For instance, he was able to draw a circle of the diameter of 20 gaz[34] on silk, which showed no flaws at all if measured with the compasses. He was the disciple of the sage Qarun and knew very well the doctrines of the Christians, the Zoroastrians and the Dualists.

He entered the public arena at the time of Shapur [b.] Ardashir, declaring that he was a prophet and specifying that God, in every epoch, designates an emissary of his in order to teach people the doctrines of wisdom and show them the road towards the Right. "Zoroaster", Mani used to say, "was sent in Persia at the times of king Gushtasp, then was the turn of Jesus, who was sent among the Arabs. Now, God has sent me to you as a prophet. He preached the eternity of light and darkness, the prohibition of killing animals and making them suffer, the prohibition of harming the poor and the helpless, and he maintained that poverty and simplicity were preferable to richness and power. The supreme Good, for him, was to abandon greed and lust, and everything that the world calls "goods". He prohibited the gathering of capital, encouraging not to amass more than would be necessary to live one day and to possess not more than one dress for one year. Moreover, he prohibited polygamy and compelled the faithful to donate a tenth of his belongings as alms, to fast for a seventh of one's life, to travel constantly in order to preach and never to practice trade. He exhorted always to support one's friends and to be at good terms with as much people as possible. He wrote several books, such as the *Hila*, about the twenty-two letters of the *abjad*, the *Shābūrqān*, the *Kanz al-akhyār*, the *Safar al-jabāra* and the *Safar al-asrār*. He pretended to be the Paracletus whose arrival had been anticipated by Jesus—peace be upon him—and thus to represent the seal of the prophets and the last interpreter of Jesus' message.

When Shapur got to know about him, he banished him from his realm, threatening to kill him if he ever come back. Mani, then, went to India, passing through Kashmir and Tibet, converting the populations of the latter region and of Turkestan. In India he built idols, and thanks to their deceptive images he managed to guide many people in the direction of sin. He spent quite a long time on the way to China and its mountains (*dar rāh-i chīn va kūhhā-yi ū*). One day, during his wanderings in the mountains, he found an opening in the rock, which led to a wide empty space, rich with waters, in the depths of the mountain. He decided to use that shelter, which was unknown to everybody except him. He brought there food and provisions for one year. The following day, he announced to his disciples: "I will ascend to the sky, where I have been summoned by God, and will stay there for one year. When a year will be passed, you

34 Pellò notes that the text suggests a huge circle, since "gaz" is a measure of length, conventionally said to be about (usually less than) one meter depending on the region and time period (personal communication; also see 2015, forthcoming).

> must gather at the feet of that mountain, and bring a horse for me. I will come back then, and announce the new divine law. Then he concealed himself in that cave, where, as we have said, he had stored the necessaries to survive for a whole year and he had prepared a big scroll (*darj*) of a kind of paper, which resembled the internal skin of a chicken egg for its thinness, its purity and whiteness, and on that scroll he painted the image of every sin and its punishment. When a year had passed by, he took that painted scroll, which by that time had been completed; he got out from that cave, and announced: "I have served the God of the skies, and He ordered me to strengthen his teachings. And here you are, this is the Divine Book!". When they saw it, they had no other choice but to believe, since nobody would have been able to produce anything like that. That was the work known as the *Artang* of Mani, which is still kept in the treasury of the emperors of China. And this is how most of the inhabitants of China and Tibet, and some of the inhabitants of India, became the followers of his religion.[35]

ʿAwfī's passage is rich in data. He attributes the *Artang* to Mani, and thus dates it to the era of Mani's ministry to the mid-third century. He dwells on the question of appearance, imagining this work to be pictorial with multiple scenes on a high quality paper-like support, which was fashioned in the format of a scroll. He suggests that its images were paired based on their content, since scenes of sin were shown with scenes of their corresponding punishments. Thus, he implies an overall doctrinal content with a specific eschatological theme—crime and punishment. By noting the thematically paired arrangement of the images, ʿAwfī also implies a didactic role in the organization of the scroll. By noting that the scroll was preserved in the treasury of the emperor of China, ʿAwfī attributes a secular aesthetic function and high value to these legendary Manichaean paintings.

7 *Faḵr-e Qawwās, The Dictionary of Qawwās* (*Pr. Farhang-e Qawwās, 1315 CE*)

The fourteenth-century poet and writer Faḵr-e Qawwās, in full Faḵr-al-Dīn Mobārakšāh Qawwās Ḡaznavī, is best known today as the founder of Persian lexicography in India due to his massive dictionary written to facilitate reading the Šāh-nāma by providing brief explanations to 1,341 words. Uniquely, his entries are arranged according to themes instead of the customary alphabetical order, and divided into five major thematic parts. His entry on Mani's *Artang* is found in the first part devoted to what Qawwās calls the "phenomena of the upper world" and discusses divine beings, various prophets, religions, and holy books. While Qawwās never mentions his sources, his entries often

35 *Jawāme' al-ḥekāyāt* Part III, Chapter 8, f. 149a translated by Stefano Pellò (personal communication).

reflect the earliest extant Persian dictionary, Asadī Ṭūsī's Lughat-i Furs.[36] Just like Asadī Ṭūsī's work in the eleventh century, the Farhang-e Qawwās became the source for subsequent lexicographers during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who explain Mani's *Artang* based on Faḵr-e Qawwās' dictionary.[37] The entry reads:

> *Artang*—the book (*kitāb*) of Mani, where he had painted images (*naqshhā*).[38]

Following the example of 'Asadī's dictionary from 1060 CE, Qawwās' entry on the *Artang* notes the designation, the origin, and the appearance of Mani's collection of didactic paintings. He defines the term as the title of a pictorial book, but he does not clarify whether he meant a book in a codex or a scroll format. As customary, Qawwās attributes the *Artang* to Mani and thus implies that the work originated from the middle of the third century.

8 *Shams-i Munshī Nakhchivani's Dictionary* (*Pr. Ṣiḥāḥu'l-Furs, 1328 CE*)

Shams-i Munshī Nakhchivani (1293–1376 CE), also known as Nakhchivani Muhammad ibn Hindushah, is a renowned scholar and lexicographer of late mediaeval West Central Asia. He was born and educated in the city of Nakhchivan (located in what is today West Azerbaijan along the Armenian border), where he received an excellent education in the sciences, literature, and languages, gaining fluency in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. From the second decade of the fourteenth century, Shams-i Munshī worked as a financial officer at the palace in Tabriz, the capital city of Iran during the Ilkhanid Dynasty (1265–1335 CE). He completed a Persian monolingual dictionary under the title *Ṣiḥāḥu'l-Furs* in 1328 CE. This influential work contains entries on 2300 words and incorporates earlier scholarship, such as that of Asadī Ṭūsī.[39]

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36 *Encyclopædia Iranica Online,* s. v. "FARHANG-E QAWWĀS," accessed June 05, 2013, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/farhang-e-qawwas.

37 Steffano Pellò notes the Anonymous author of the *Lisān al-shu'arā*, who writes: "*Artang*—the book of Mani the painter, which contained images." An example form 15th-century India is the definition given by Qawam Faruqi's in his *Farhang-i-Ibrahim* also known as *Sharafnam-i munyari*, written under the sponsorship of the Rukunuddin Barbak Shah (r. 1459–1474 CE), who ruled over the Saptagram region of the Indian state of West Bengal: "*Artang*: the book of pictures of Mani, the painter, about portraiture." An example from 16th-century Ottoman Turkey is found in the dictionary of Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā (1492–1562 CE), who wrote under the pen-name, Surūrī. His entry states: "*Aržang*—the book, which contained the figures of Mani" (Pellò 2013, 254).

38 Fakhr-i Qawwās ed., 1974–1975, 11. English translation after Pellò 2013, 254.

39 Gouws 2011, 2447 and 2477. Also see Reeves 2011, 121 and 284; and Haydar Aliyev, *Famous Persons of Nakhchivan-Web Encyclopedia*, s. v. "NAKHCHIVANI MOHAMMAD IBN HINDUSHAH," accessed May 311, 2013, http://shexsiyyetler.nakhchivan.az/shexenglish/meh_naxcivani.html.

Shams-i Munshī's dictionary entry on the *Arthang* discuses three meanings, two of which concern paintings made by Mani. These two connotations are explained as references to pictures associated with Mani, including one that connotes the title of Mani's book of figures, and another that is not a title but seems to be an archaic common noun explained as connoting pictures made by Mani. The third meaning given by Shams-i Munshī seems to be unrelated to Mani or Manichaean art, noted simply as a reference to an "idol temple."[40] The text reads:

> *Arthang:* It has several meanings. First, it is a collection of pictures which Mānī the painter made. Second, it is an idol temple [. . .] Third, it is the name of Mānī's book of figures, and this meaning is the most sound one. The learned ʿAsadī Tūsī has said: "I have noticed the same name for this book in the Darī language, because the letter *sāi* is not used in the Darī language except in (the name) *Arthang*."[41]

This passage is indicative of what learned men understood about the *Arthang* during the first half of the fourteenth century in Iran. Shams-i Munshī defines the term with two connotations, both of which point to pictorial works of art and Mani. One of these connotations explains the foreign term as the title of the same work, "the name of Mani's book of figures." The other gives a more general connotation of *Arthang* as "a collection of pictures that Mānī the painter made." These same two connotations can be seen in other tertiary literature, which at times speaks in general terms of Mani making art, and in other instances focuses on his canonical *Book of Pictures*.[42]

The attribution to Mani is an important part of the explanation that Shams-i Munshī provides. Since Shams-i Munshī does not mention Mani's role as a prophet, the doctrinal content and didactic function of these paintings are not referenced here. Concerning their appearance, two different pictorial media are implied, since one of them is discussed as a set of pictures in an undefined pictorial format, which we may think about as paintings on hanging scroll(s); while the other is a *kitāb*, that is, a book—in this case a picture book.

9 *Mīrkhwānd's Universal History* (*Pr. Rawdat al-safā, bef. 1498 CE*)

Mīrkhwānd, also known as Muḥammad Ibn Khāvandshāh Ibn Maḥmūd (1433–1498 CE) is regarded as the most important historian of Iran under the Timurid dynasty (ca. 1370–1507 CE). His family was *sayyid* (claiming descent from the prophet Muhammad) with a long history in the city of Bukhara. Mīrkhwānd

40 An idol temple is referenced in connection with a Manichaean didactic *nigār* 'painting' displayed in the course of an oral instruction against idolatry as documented in the transcript of the teaching preserved on a Middle Persian Manichaean folio fragment from Turfan (M 219), discussed in Chapter 2.

41 Reeves 2011, 122.

42 See the *Chagatai Story of False Prophets*, above.

spent most of his life in the court of the Timurid ruler, Ḥusayn Bayqarah (1469–1506 CE) in Herāt, enjoying the protection of Ḥusayn's renowned minister, Alī Shīr Navā'ī (1441–1501 CE), the celebrated writer of great distinction and patron of literature. Starting from 1474 CE, Mīrkhwānd devoted his life to writing his *Universal History* (*Rawdat al-safā,*), which he composed in seven large volumes to cover the history of Iran from pre-Islamic times up to the rulers of fifteenth century. This monumental work has enjoyed great popularity throughout the Turco-Iranian world and early European scholarship, and remains an important source for the history of late mediaeval Iran.[43] It includes a brief account on Mani with reference to art.

Mīrkhwānd's account discusses Mani along the lines of a story familiar from earlier accounts. In his passage, Mani is portrayed as a genuinely admired artist, a painter with ties to both China and India, but also a false prophet. Accordingly, Mani is characterizes as a religious leader who deceives his followers in two ways. First, he fakes a yearlong visit to heaven by hiding in a cave. Second, he forges a gift from God as his "prophetic miracle" by making a beautiful "tablet" of pictures, referred to here as the *Aržang*, that he used to convert his followers. The text reads:

> Mānī was a painter without equal. They say for example that he would draw a circle whose diameter was five cubits with his finger, and when they would examine it with a compass, none of its constituent parts ever fell outside the circumference of that circle. He was generally in great demand in the land of India and northern China and he could effect a consummate ornamentation because of the extraordinary pictures, which he could produce. He traveled to and fro without interruption within certain districts of the Orient.
>
> It is said that while travelling he arrived at a mountain, which had a spacious cave containing fresh air and a fountain of water. This cave did not have more than one way (to enter). He clandestinely brought in a year's supply of food to that cave, and he said to those who followed him: 'I am going to heaven, and my stay in heaven will last for one year. After one year, I will come from heaven to earth and will give you information from God.' Actually ignorant on what comes from God, he said to that group of people: "At the beginning of the second year, be for me at a certain place," which was close to the way out of that same cave. Following this instruction, he disappeared from human sight, entered the aforementioned cave, [and] occupied himself for one year with painting. He produced marvelous pictures on a tablet (*lowh*) and he termed this tablet the *Aržang of Mānī.*
>
> After the passage of a year, he appeared before the people near the place of that cave. He held the previously mentioned tablet in his hand

43 Gibb (ed.) 1993, vol.7, 126.

> painted with marvelous pictures [and] decorated with diverse illustrations. Everyone who saw it said: "The world had brought forth a thousand figures, but there is not one comparable to what is painted here." While the people were expressing [their astonishment about this tablet, Mānī asserted: "I myself brought this from heaven to be my prophetic miracle." [Then] the people accepted his religion.[44]

Mīrkhwānd's version of this polemic tale describes Mani's collection of pictures in accordance with earlier Iranian literature. He uses the term "*Aržang*" as a title attributed to Mani. The readers are to imagine this *Aržang* as a portable work of art in the format of a "tablet" and as a painted masterpiece of a great artist. Noting that it contained "information from God" and mentioning that Mani used the Aržang to proselytize imply the doctrinal content of this pictorial work of art. We learn that Mani successfully converted his followers, who after seeing the *Aržang* "accepted his religion." The events narrated here take place in the past, during the era when Mani lived, which remains undefined by Mīrkhwānd.

10 *Khwandamir's Beloved Careers* (*Pr. Habib al-siyar, 1524 CE*)

Mir Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Husayni Khwandamir (ca. 1475-ca. 1535 CE) was the most famous Persian historian of the early sixteenth century, who served the imperial courts of three dynasties. As the grandson of the abovementioned Mirkhwānd, Khwandamir was born into a highly educated class of religious elite that supplied the administrators and financial officials of all the principalities, states, and empires within the cultural sphere of Iran. Along the footsteps of his grandfather, Khwandamir also began his career in Herat under the guidance of Alī Shīr Navā'ī. After Navā'ī's death, he joined the service of the last Timurid ruler in Herat, Badi' al-Zaman Mirza, (r. 1506–07 CE). After the latter's death, Khwandamir was employed by the founder of the Safavid dynasty (1501–1736 CE), Shah Ismail I (r. 1501–1524 CE). After Ismail's death, Khwandamir moved to India to serve emperor Babur (r. 1526–1530), the founder of the Mughal Dynasty (1526–1764 CE). Khwandamir's *magnum opus* is a universal history written in Persian, completed in the year 1524 CE under the title *Beloved Careers* (Pr. *Habib al-siyar*). This work consists of three tomes, each of which is divided into four parts to provide a comprehensive history of the region from pre-Islamic times until the rise of Ismail I.[45] The first part in the first tome deals with pre-Islamic prophets, including some that are viewed unfavorably, such as Mani.

In the passage on Mani, Khwandamir discusses him as a false prophet without any deviation from his grandfather's version of the story. Accordingly, Mani

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44 Reeves 2011, 122–123.

45 For a brief discussion of Khwandamir's life, see the "Translator's Preface" in W. M. Thactson's critical of Kwandamir's *Habibu's-siyar,* Khvānd Mīr and Thackston 1994, ix–xii.

fakes a yearlong visit to heaven, during which he is hiding in a cave to paint his *Aržang*. Mani claims it to be his "prophet-wonder" and succeeds in converting his followers with it. The passage reads:

> It is reported that he [Mani] arrived at a mountain that contained a cave, which possessed the necessary amenities of refreshing air, as well as a water-source. This cave had only one entrance. He then, unnoticed to men, secured food for a year in this cave and declared to his followers: "I will depart to heaven and my stay in heaven will extend for a year. After a year, I will come from heaven to earth and bring you news from God." To the people he said: At the beginning of the second year attend to me at such and such a place,' which lay in the vicinity of the cave. After this exhortation, he vanished from the eyes of men, went into the aforementioned cave and was occupied for a year with painting. On a tablet [*lowh*] he evoked wonderful figures, and called his plate Mani's *Aržang*. After a year's time, in the vicinity of that cave, he came again to appear before the people with wonderful paintings marked with multiple figures. Everyone who saw it said: "The world has produced a thousand kinds of figures, but a painting of your kind has never yet come." As the people continued in fixed admiration of this plate Mani declared: "I have brought this with me from heaven, to serve as my prophet-wonder." Then the people adhered to his religion.[46]

In most of its details Khwandamir's polemical tale is not only in harmony with earlier Persian literature on Mani's *Aržang*, but identical to that of his grandfather's—Mirkhwānd's discussion of the cave story. He also uses the term *Aržang* as a title of a work of art made by Mani, mentions that the *Aržang* was a much-admired work of a great painter in the format of a tablet (Pr. *lowh*), on which multiple figures were painted, and imply that this painting was a didactic work of and was used as by Mani as his "prophet-wonder" to convert his followers. In his narrative, too, it is the artistic value of the *Aržang*, rather than its content, that captivates Mani's followers.

11 *Dūst Muhammad's Preface to his Album* (*Pr. Moraqqaʿ, 1544 CE*)

Dūst Muhammad ibn Sulaymān al-Heravi (ca. 1490–ca. 1565 CE) was a man of letters, as well as a well-known painter and calligrapher in Persia during the early decades of the Safavid Dynasty (1501–1722 CE). He studied under the famous painter Bihzad (ca. 1450–ca. 1535 CE) and worked in the service of the Safavid ruler Tahmasp I (r. 1524–76 CE), who was known as a patron of book art and miniature painting. Dūst Muhammad's main achievement was an *Album* (*Moraqqaʿ*) of painting and calligraphy dedicated to Tahmasp's brother,

46 Kessler 1889, 378–380.

Bahrām Mirza. Housed today in the library of the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul, this work is considered to be not only an artistic masterpiece, but also a critical source for the study of Irano-Turkic artistic culture in the 16th-century, for its plates are supplemented with a preface on the lives of famous calligraphers and painters.[47] This preface includes a brief reference to the prophet Mani and his art.

The passage quoted below begins with Mani's cave story with the usual polemical overtone. Mani's followers ask him to show them a miracle, and so he does. After a year of painting, Mani emerges from the cave with his *Artang*. It concludes with a quotation concerning how Mani's *Artang* was evoked by the famous Persian poet Sa'di (1184–1283 CE) in his celebrated collection of poems, *The Rose Garden* (Pr. *Gulistan*) from 1258.[48] The text reads:

> When the sun of the celest prophesy, the fourth of the determinator apostles, Jesus son of Mary, became a neighbor of the great luminary [the sun], Mani began to pretend to prophecy and made his claim acceptable in the eyes of the people by cloaking it in portraiture. Since the people expected a miracle from him, he took a span of silk, went into a cave and ordered the entrance closed. When one year had passed from the time of his withdrawal, he emerged and showed the silk. On it he had painted and portrayed the likeness of humans, animals, trees, birds and various shapes that occur only in the mirror of the mind through the eye of imagination and that sit on the page of possibility in the visible world only with fantastic shapes. The short-sighted ones whose turbid hearts could not reflect the light of Islam, duped by his game, took his painted silk which was known as the *Artangi Tablet,* as their copybook for disbelief and refractoriness and, strangest of all, held that silk up as an equal to the Picture Gallery of China, which is known to contain images of all existing things, as the poet Shayk Muslihuddin Sa'di of Shiraz has said of the two at the beginning of his *Gulistan*:

47 Adle 1990, 219–56. Also see the "Dūst-Mohammad" entries in *The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture* Vol. 2, 40; and *Encyclopædia Iranica Online,* s. v. "DŪST-MOḤAMMAD HERAVĪ," accessed June 05, 2013, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/Dūst-mohammad.

48 While discussing the reasons of composing his *Gulistan* in its prologue, Sa'dī briefly evokes two legendary collections of the most beautiful paintings in the world, including the "portrait gallery of China" and Mani's *Aržang*, whose paintings were so magnificent that, in Thacktson words, "they seduced legions into the Manichaean heresy." Sa'dī writes: "If it is adorned with lordly attention, it will be a portrait gallery of China and an Aržangid painting" (Sa'dī and W. M. Thackston, 2008, 8 and note 1).

There is hope that one not frown in
boredom, for a garden is not a place of
solitude:
If adorned by lordly attention, it is a
Chinese Gallery and an *Artangi Tablet*.

> Mostly these things were done by Mani in the region of Iraq, but thereafter he set out for Cathay and did amazing things there, too.[49]

Dūst Muhammad's story on Mani's prophet-wonder contains a familiar set of basic information. His version of the title is *Artang*, which he uses in the archaic phrase "*Artangi Tablet*." Concerning the *Artang*'s appearance, we learn that it was solely pictorial and its figures included "the likeness of figures, men, beasts, trees, birds and various shapes." He mentions four times that the paintings were on a silk support and implies an undefined portable format, most likely in that of a hanging scroll. For him, the only function of the *Artang* is that of a prophetic miracle, since Mani uses his talent as a painter to claim prophecy and he needs a miracle to gain acceptance. A reference to Mani's prophetical lineage begins the story, where Dūst Muhammad anchors Mani's activities to antiquity, placing Mani in succession with Jesus as noted only in one other account from among the fourteen passages.[50]

12 *Jamal al-Din's Dictionary of Emperor Jahangir* (*Pr. Farhang-i Jahāngīrī, 1608 CE*)

The *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* is a Persian monolingual lexicon that originally was completed between the years 1596 and 1605 CE at the court of Emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605 CE) in Agra, India. The author of the work, Jamal al-Din Husayn, was a Persian nobleman born as Fakhr al-Din Hasan Inju Shirazi (d. 1626 CE), who held a high literary position at the Mughal court and began writing his dictionary at the court's request. Due to the extent of the work and its numerous revisions, this *farhang* was not finished before Akbar's death. In 1608 CE, the completed work was presented to Akbar's successor, Emperor Jahangir (r. 1605–1627 CE) and became known after its dedication to him. The *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* is one of the three most important Persian dictionaries produced in Mughal India. Arranged in alphabetical order, it discusses about 10,000 words and provides a lexico-grammatical introduction as well as a supplement with

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49 Thackston 1989, 344–345, where the quote above is embedded in a complete translation of "Dūst Muhammad's Introduction to the Bahrām Mirza Album" (335–350). For another abbreviated translation of Dūst Muhammad's story about Mani, see Binyon et al, 1933, 184.

50 Dating Mani with Jesus is also seen in the Chagatai story on false prophets, discussed below.

five special glossaries, including rare poetic terms and loanwords, such as *Artang*.[51]

In Emperor Jahanghir's dictionary, *Artang* is explained as "the name of a book" that consisted of a collection of images known to Jamal al-Din not only from "Chinese" art, but also from Greek art under the abbreviated designation "*tang*."[52] The passage reads:

> It [the *Artang*] is the name of the book (*kitāb*) where Mani the painter collected the painting (*taṣvīr*), the images (*naqshhā*), the illumination motifs (*islīmī-khaṭā'ībā*), the decoration belts (*girihband*), and the other techniques and artifices invented by him. [...] When [the *angalyūn*] is associated with the name of Jesus, the Christians, the cross, the *zunnār*, the Syriac language, and related subjects, it is to be understood as the Christian Gospel (*injīl*). When it is associated with items such as images (*naqsh*), pictures (*nigār*), flowers, and colors, it should be interpreted as the *Book of Mani*, which is also called *Artang*, *Aržang*, and *Archang*.[53]
>
> It [*tanglūsh*/*tanglūshā*] has two meanings. The first is the book where the wise Lūshā collected the pictures (*ṣūrat*), the images (*naqsh*), the illumination motifs (*islīmī-khaṭā'ībā*), the decoration belts (*girihband*), and the other techniques and artifices invented by him in the field of drawing and painting; this book can be compared to the *artang* and *angalyūn* of Mani. And as Mani was the authority among the painters of China, he [Lūshā] was the head of the painters and designers of Greece; similarly as the collection of the work of the painters from China is called *artang*, the collection of the work of painters from Greece is called *tang*.[54]

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51 *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*, s. v. "FARHANG-E JAHĀNGĪRĪ," accessed June 05, 2013, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/farhang-e-jahangiri; and Rypka 1968, 431.

52 Writing about Emperor Jahanghir's dictionary in 1760, Thomas Hyde explains "*Ertingh*, or *Erzhengh*, sometimes *Ertehengh*, which is abbreviated as *Tehengh* and *Tengh* (i.e., *Tang*). It appears from Persian that indeed there was a picture book by Mani called *Tengh* (i.e., *Tang*). Its name is translated from reference to another picture book, sometimes Zeuxis (i.e., legendary ancient Greek painter Zeuxis of Heraclea, who became famous in Athens around the time of the Peloponnesian War [431–404 BCE]), sometimes otherwise. This is in the book of Pharhang Gjihanjhiri written as *Tengh-Leux* and *Tenghi-Leuxe*, or rather when read correctly, *Tenghi-Zeux* and *Tenghi-Zeuxe*, i.e., the picture book of Zeux. So the same source says: 'The Tenghi Zeuxis is a picture book of Greek, that is, European pictures;' whereas '*Ertingh* is a picture book of Chinese, that is, Asian pictures'" (Hyde 1760, 282–283). None of Zeuxis' paintings survives. Descriptions of his art are found in Pliny (*Natural History* XXXV.XXXVI. 61), see *Grove Art Online*, s. v. "ZEUXIS," accessed January 27, 2013, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T093388.

53 Injū (ed.) 1980. II, 1761–1762. English translation after Pellò 2013, 264, note 15.

54 Injū (ed.) 1980. II, 1789–1790. English translation after Pellò 2013, 256.

The *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* contains some interesting data on Manichaean didactic art under the entry *Artang*. This term is explained as an archaic Persian noun that was used as the title of Mani's collection of pictures. While Jamal al-Din notes another example of such a book of pictures from Greek art, we learn that Mani's *Artang* was thought of as a work of art with Chinese pictorial characteristics. By mentioning Mani, the passage attributes the *Artang* to Mani, and thus dates it to the era of Mani's ministry, which remains undefined in the passage. It also associates Mani's *Artang* with Mani's *Evangelion* (*angalyūn*)—a feature found also in several primary Manichaean texts. Moreover, it alludes to certain elements of designs (i.e., motifs and what appears to be decorative borders) that Mani's *Artang* employed as its characteristic "techniques and artifices invented by" Mani.

13 (*Attr.*) *Āẕar Kayvān's Dasātīr* (*Pr. Dasātīr-nāma, before 1624*)

Dasātīr is a controversial text that presents itself as the sacred writing of the ancient Persian prophets. The word 'dasātīr' is an arabicized plural of Persian *dustūr* connoting a 'copy' or 'model,' after which a copy is made.[55] Although claimed to be the work of "Sāsān the Fifth," who supposedly lived at the end of the Sasanian era during the reign of Ḵosrow Parvēz (r. 590–628 CE), it is most likely that the *Dasātīr* was written by either Āẕar Kayvān (d. 1609 or 1618),[56] the Zoroastrian high priest and founder of the *Ešrāqī* (Illuminative) School; or one of Āẕar Kayvān's followers. The book itself has two parts in two languages. The language of the first part has not been deciphered. In H. Corbin's view it may be "a secret code or cipher (in which one letter of the alphabet is substituted for another), a special jargon, or one of the dialects that was current in certain Zoroastrian communities" at the time. A commentary on the first part constitutes the second part of the book, which was written in a version of Persian that is free from Arabic loanwords.[57]

The second, commentary part of the *Dasātīr* includes a unique reference to the prophet Mani and his paintings in the form of what appears to be an eyewitness account imbedded in the explanation of a supposedly ancient prophecy. Without any polemical tone, this passage notes the iconography of an elephant-headed deity—well known to students of Manichaean art today after an illuminated codex folio fragment with such a deity was discovered among

55 Steingass 1884, 519 and 525.

56 In his discussion of Āẕar Kayvān's disciples, H. Corbin mentions a lost book titled *Aržang-e Mānī* (*Mani's Picture Book*) written by Farzāna Bahrām b. Faršād (before 1638 CE), see *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*, s. v. "ĀẔAR KAYVĀN," accessed June 05, 2013, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/azar-kayvan-priest.

57 *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*, s. v. "ĀẔAR KAYVĀN," accessed June 05, 2013, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/azar-kayvan-priest. For a view alternative to the above assessment of H. Corbin in his entry on Āẕar Kayvān, see *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*, s. v. "DASĀTĪR," accessed June 05, 2013, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/dasatir, where the *Dasātīr* is dismissed as a "cheap apocryphal trick."

the ruins of Kocho in the early twentieth century and subsequently published by Le Coq in 1913. The passage reads:

> Here he means Mani the painter, who came into Iran in the time of the King of the Kings, the emperor of the emperors, the slayer of the Tazis (i.e., Arabs), Ardeshir of the race of Shāpur. He had a book (*kitāb*) in which were innumerable figures, such as a figure having a man's body and elephant's head, and so forth. And he said: These are celestial angels.[58]

The *Dasātīr* provides a unique remark concerning the subject of Mani's paintings in addition to some basic data that is in harmony with earlier sources. Without naming Mani's collection of pictures, the author mentions that Mani was a painter who "had a book, in which there were innumerable figures." Concerning its appearance, we learn about its book format (*kitāb*) and "innumerable figures," implying a pictorial work of art—i.e., a picture book. Clues concerning its doctrinal content, however, are absent. The only informative remark about the content is a reference to "celestial angels." To the eyewitness behind the *Dasātīr*'s author's source, the most memorable of these figures is a composite being with an iconography that included a human body and an elephant head. This deity is familiar from East Central Asian (Uygur) Manichaean art as one of the *Four Heavenly Kings* (the guardians of the four cardinal directions) whose Manichaean iconography follows Hindu prototypes.[59] While the function of Mani's book of figures is not discussed in the *Dasātīr*, its date is clearly defined. The author of the *Dasātīr* attributes the book to Mani and thus, implies Mani's ministry (240–274/277 CE) as its origin. In addition, the author specifically notes the early Sasanid era by mentioning Ardashir I (r. 221–240 CE), during whose reign Mani began his mission, as noted in one other text in this chapter.[60]

14 *Katip Çelebi's Bibliographical Encyclopedia* (*Ar. Kashf al-ẓunūn'an, 1657 CE*)

Katip Çelebi (1609–1657 CE) was an Ottoman Turkish scholar, better known in Manichaean studies after his Muslim byname, Haji Khalifa. He provides one of the most recent discussions about Mani and his collection of paintings. Çelebi was born in Istanbul and was educated in the Qur'an and Arabic language, which formed the foundation of his career as a historian, geographer, and bibliographer. As a young man, Çelebi was an army clerk and traveled extensively, partaking in numerous Ottoman military campaigns across West Asia. Later in

58 After Fīrūz ibn Kāvūs and D. J. Medhora 1975, 143.

59 The image of this Manichaean deity can be seen among the four celestial guardians depicted on one of the best preserved and most published Manichaean book painting, embedded within a benediction text found on a folio fragment, MIK III 4979 a-d recto, in Kocho. For iconographic studies, see Banerjee 1970, 19 and Klimkeit 1980 and 1993, 275.

60 See the *Chagatai Story about False Prophets*, above.

his life he continued working as a government clerk in Istanbul, but devoted most of his time to collecting and studying books. His *magnum opus* is a bibliographical encyclopedia titled *The Removal of Doubt from the Names of Books and the Sciences* (Ar. *Kashf al-ẓunūn'an asāmi al-kutub wa al-funūn*). It is written in Arabic and contains entries on 1500 Arabic, Persian, and Turkish books known in his time.[61]

Katip Çelebi's brief discussion of the *Artang* considers Mani an artist and gives no mention of his pre-Islamic prophethood. Accordingly, the usual polemical tone is minimal in this account, indicated only by labeling the content of Mani's paintings as "bizarre" and "odd." The passage reads:

> *Artang* is the title of a book (*kitāb*) by Mānī the artist. It is said that it is an original work (Pr. *dastūr*) of Mānī; bizarre pictures and odd figures are contained in it.[62]

Katip Çelebi's entry on the *Artang* is in full accordance with earlier Islamic scholarship on this subject. As usual, Katip Çelebi explains the term as the title of Mani's book of pictures and emphasizes its pictorial nature by stating that it contained pictures with "odd figures" and by stating that it was made by an artist. By using the term *kitāb* to describe it, the passage states that the *Artang* was a pictorial book—i.e., a picture book, without further specifying its codex or scroll design. Finally, Çelebi indirectly dates the *Artang* to the mid third century by attributing it to Mani.

Assessment of Data: Designation, Attribution, Dates, Appearance, Content, and Function

The fourteen passages of this chapter constitute the most recent sources on Manichaean didactic painting (**Table 4/3**). They derive from a 600-year period between the mid eleventh and mid seventeenth centuries from across Central Asia and in one case West Asia (Katip Çelebi), where Islam is the defining force of learned culture. Despite their relative late origin, all of them concern the earliest era of Manichaeism. Without exception, these texts discuss the making and using of didactic pictorial art by the prophet Mani, often dating him accurately to the reign of the first Sasanian kings. The authors write from a minimum of an 820-year distance of their mid third-century subject. Nevertheless, especially the early texts, which were written between the mid eleventh and early fourteenth centuries, often incorporate data from reliable sources. Due to their genre, the six dictionary/encyclopedia-entries tend to be concerned with linguistic questions and discuss Mani's *Book of Pictures* in brief

61 *Encyclopeadia Britannica Online*, s. v. "KÂTIP ÇELEBI," accessed May 31, 2013, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/313283/Katip-Celebi.

62 Reeves 2011, 123.

TABLE 4/3 *Summary of data on Manichaean didactic art in Arabic, Persian, and Chagatai textual sources from mediaeval and modern Central Asia*

DESIGNATION

(1) Five common nouns connoting 'picture,' 'painting' and 'image'
Arabic/Persian/Chagatai common noun: *taṣāwīr/taṣvīr* 'picture' or 'painting' (e.g., Abu al-Maʿālī, Marwazī, Chagatai story, Jamal al-Din)
Persian (< Arabic) common noun: *ṣūrat* 'picture' (Jamal al-Din)
Arabic common noun: *tamāthīl* 'image' (Marwazī)
Persian common noun: *nigār* 'picture' (Jamal al-Din)
Persian common noun: *naqsh* 'image' ('Awfī, Jamal al-Din)

(2) Two common nouns connoting 'picture book'
Persian common noun: *nigarnāmeh* 'picture book' (Jamal al-Din, Katip Çelebi)
archaic Persian common noun: *ertingh* (abbreviated as *tengh*) 'picture book' (Jamal al-Din)

(3) Two titles connoting Mani's *Book of Pictures*
Arabic/Persian/Chagatai: *Aržang*/*Artang*/*Arthang*
title of Mani's painted work (all 14 texts except Samʿānī and *Dasātīr*)
title of Mani's prophet-wonder
(Abu al-Maʿālī, Marwazī, Chagatai story, Mīrkhwānd, Khwandamir, Dūst Muhammad)
Arabic/Persian: *Book of Mani*
title of an illustrated *Sāburqān* (Samʿānī)
alternative title of Mani's *Artang* (Jamal al-Din)
No title is given (*Dasātīr*)

(4) *Artang* is listed together with Mani's *Gospel* (Jamal al-Din)

ATTRIBUTION

(1) Attributed to Mani (all 14 texts)
Aržang/*Artang*/*Arthang* and *Book of Mani* attributed to Mani (all 14 texts)
Aržang/*Arthang* attributed to Mani while traveling in China (Marwazī, Chagatai story)
taṣvīr attributed to Mani while traveling in India (Chagatai story)

(2) Work of a great painter (all 14 texts)

(3) Work of a prophet (Abu al-Maʿālī, Marwazī, Chagatai story, Mīrkhwānd, Khwandamir, Dūst Muhammad)

DATES

(1) 240–274/277 CE: Mani's ministry as date of origin implied by attribution to Mani (all 14 texts)
224–241 CE: created by Mani, dated to reign of Ardashir (Chagatai story)
240–272 CE: created by Mani dated to reign of Shāpūr (Abu al-Maʿālī, Chagatai story)
273–274/277 CE: created by Mani dated to reign of Bahrām (Chagatai story, Samʿānī)

(2) Mani's prophecy follows that of Jesus (Chagatai story, Dūst Muhammad)

(3) 11th/12th century as referenced date of existence (Abu al-Maʿālī, Marwazī, Chagatai story)
Late 11th century: still existed in imperial treasury of Ghazna (Abu al-Maʿālī)
12th century: still existed in royal library/treasury of China (Marwazī, Chagatai story)

TABLE 4/3 *Summary of data on Manichaean didactic art in Arabic, Persian, and Chagatai textual sources* (cont.)

APPEARANCE

(1) Solely pictorial work of art (all except possibly Samʿānī)
(2) Impressive work of art (Abu al-Maʿālī, Mīrkhwānd, Khwandamir, Dūst Muhammad)
Materpiece of a great artist (Abu al-Maʿālī, Mīrkhwānd, Khwandamir)
Skill of its painter measured by the thinness of his line (Abu al-Maʿālī)
Skill of its painter measured by the evenness of his circle (Mīrkhwānd)
Contained wonderful figures, made as a miracle (Dūst Muhammad)
(3) Had a portable pictorial format (all 14 texts)
Pictorial scroll (Marwazī, ʿAwfī)
Undefined pictorial format - hanging scroll or handscroll (Dūst Muhammad)
Pictorial book (Ar./Pr./Chag. *kitāb*)
(ʿAsadī, Abu al-Maʿālī, Chagatai story, Samʿānī, *Dasātīr*, Shams-i, Munshī, Katip Çelebi)
Pictorial tablet (Pr. *lowh*) (Mīrkhwānd, Khwandamir)
(4) Made of various materials (Marwazī, Chagatai story, Dūst Muhammad)
Material noted as paper (Marwazī, Chagatai story)
Material noted as silk (Dūst Muhammad)
(5) Contains multiple scenes (Marwazī)
(6) Employs didactic layout: scenes of punishment beneath scenes of crimes, portraits of demons beneath scenes of their deeds (Marwazī)
(7) Explained as example of Chinese/Asian vs. Greek/European painting (Jamal al-Din)

CONTENT

(1) Doctrinal content of *Aržang*/*Artang*/*Arthang* implied, since made by a prophet and used for conversion (Marwazī, Chagatai Story, Mīrkhwānd, Khwandamir, Dūst Muhammad)
(2) Doctrinal content of *Aržang*/*Artang*/*Arthang* implied
Contained images on *human eschatology*: crime and its punishment (Marwazī)
Contained images on *theology* (light): "celestial angels" (*Dasātīr*)
Iconography of one celestial angel featured "a human body and elephant head" (*Dasātīr*)
Contained images on *theology* (darkness): portraits and deeds of demons (Marwazī)
(3) Doctrinal content of *Book of Mani* implied
Contained pictures illustrating Mani's teachings on light and darkness (Samʿānī)
Contained pictures illustrating Mani's *Sāburqān* (Samʿānī)
(4) Doctrinal content of *taṣvīr* implied, since made by prophet and used for conversion (Chagatai story)

FUNCTION

(1) Manichaean didactic role, implied: made and used by the prophet Mani (all 14 texts)
(2) Secular aesthetic role: preserved as a work of art (Abu al-Maʿālī, Marwazī, Chagatai story)
Housed in the treasury at Ghazna (Abu al-Maʿālī)
Housed in libraries of rulers (Marwazī)
Housed in the treasury of Chinese emperors (Chagatai story)
(3) Islamic prophet-wonder role (Abu al-Maʿālī, Marwazī, Chagatai story, ʿAwfī, Mīrkhwānd, Khwandamir, D. Muhammad)
Its beauty proves divine origin/inspiration and makes people accept Mani as true prophet (Marwazī, Chagatai story, Mīrkhwānd, Khwandamir, D. Muhammad)

statements. In great contrast to these entries are the six polemical passages about the false prophethood of Mani the painter, which are longer and often incorporate various means of effective storytelling. They include classical literary motifs (such as the skill of an artist, the cave of a sage, the heavenly book of a prophet) and descriptive remarks about the formats of Mani's paintings based on the authors' imagination of exotic (Chinese and Indian) painting and/or familiarity with portable pictorial art from their own era. Unlike the dictionary-entries, the tales of prophet-wonder display varying degrees of a hostile tone and instinctively polemicize image making from an Islamic perspective. They disregard nuanced distinctions of didactic art versus devotional art and point to Mani's image-making as the marker of his false prophethood.

1 *Designation: A Parthian Title Preserved in Arabic, Persian, and Chagatai*

The learned authors of the literature surveyed in this chapter tend to be aware of their predecessor's works and thus, this group of passages presents a harmonized vocabulary on Manichaean pictorial art. All designations are tied directly to Mani. In addition to the *Aržang*|*Artang/Arthang*, which in one case is called the '*Book of Mani*," only one reference is made to a painting that is distinguished from Mani's book of pictures (see Tab. 4/3: Designation).

Two common nouns are used in these texts in order to differentiate between two kinds of pictorial art. One of them is the word for 'painting' in general, as in the Persian noun *taṣvīr*. Based on the Indian setting of the story, this word seems to connote a single painting made on an undefined portable support, such as a cotton cloth that had been a popular material for painting in the region. The other word is the term for 'picture book,' that is, a 'book of picture/painting' as in the Persian phrase *nigarnāmeh* (Jamal al-Din, Katip Çelebi) or the Persian archaizing noun *ertingh*, abbreviated as *tengh*. The latter two archaic versions of the term are explained as loanwords created from the very title of Mani's collection of images in sixteenth-century Farsi (Jamal al-Din). In early modern Persia and Central Asia *nigarnāmeh* brings to mind a codex-formatted book fashioned from paper, the pages of which are covered with paintings.

Providing the title of Mani's volume of didactic paintings is an essential component of this literature. With two exceptions, the passages employ versions of the Parthian Manichaean title, *Ārdhang*,[63] rendered with Arabic, Persian, and Chagatai orthographic and phonetic modifications as *Aržang/Artang/Arthang*. This foreign word is explained as the title of Mani's false prophet-wonder, which was a set of pictures painted in a medium and format that varies from author to author. Only in Samʿānī's passage, this title is given as the "*Book of Mani*" and is equated with Mani's *Šābuhragān*. This may be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, it is possible that in Samʿānī's

63 Among the currently known primary Manichaean sources, the term *Ārdhang* occurs only in Parthian texts (M 5569, M 5815, *Ārdhang Wifrās* headers), see Chapter 2.

mind the "*Book of Mani*" was an illuminated edition of the *Šābuhragān*. On the other hand, it is equally plausible that what Samʿānī meant was a collection of paintings that "illustrated" or "depicted" the teaching set forward in Mani's *Šābuhragān*.[64] No title is given in the *Dasātīr*, where the anonymous author discusses Mani, the painter, who "had a book, in which there were innumerable figures." It is important to note that the Persian phrase *nigarnāmeh* 'picture book' is not used as a title in these texts, but is attested to only as an explanation of the foreign title of Mani's collection of paintings in two instances (Jamal al-Din, Katip Çelebi). Similarly to what is seen in early Manichaean literature, the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* mentions the *Artang* with Mani's *Gospel.* Such a pairing is attested in Coptic (*Kephalaion 151, Homilies 27*), Parthian (M 5596), as well as in Chinese (*Compendium*) Manichaean context.

2 ***Attribution: A Pre-Islamic Prophet Painting a Collection of Pictures***

The testimony of the post-Manichaean literature of Iran and Central Asia is in sharp contrast to the diminishing interest to credit Mani with the *Ārdhang/Nigār* in the surviving examples of Parthian and Middle Persian Manichaean texts. All Islamic passages mention that Mani was a painter, who used his art in service of his religious mission. Thus, these texts connect the origin of Manichaean didactic painting to Mani (see Tab. 4/3: Attribution).

Attributing paintings to Mani is a standard element in these passages. Two of them elaborate on circumstances by pointing to China where the *Aržang/Artang/Arthang* originated. Writing before 1120 CE, Marwazī is the earliest among the authors of these particular sources to state that Mani "traveled through the wilder regions of China and its mountains," when he painted the *Arthang*. In the undated Chagatai story, Mani was on his way to China, when he painted his *Aržang*. In addition to the *Aržang*, the Chagatai story mentions painting in general under the term *taṣvīr* that Mani made while traveling in India. Although all texts imply that Manichaean pictorial art originated as the work of a great painter, only some of them actually mention that this art was the work of a prophet (Abu al-Maʿālī, Marwazī, Chagatai story, Mīrkhwānd, Khwandamir, and Dūst Muhammad).

Mani, the prophet and painter, is an important theme in this literature. The notion that a prophet requires an authenticating miracle is a fundamental component of *kalām* theology in Islam, worked out over a couple of centuries of polemical dialogues with both Jewish and Christian theologians. If Mani was to gain any traction as a 'prophet' in this milieu, he needed to display some sort of divinely sanctioned 'marvel' to compete with the Qur'ān, the equivalent 'prophet-wonder' for Muḥammad. The *Ardhang* was most likely marketed as such originally by Khorasanian/Central Asian Manichaeans, and Abu'l-Maʿali and others are simply repeating what they heard and/or read.[65]

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64 Sam'āni's work contains ahistorical remarks/mistakes not only in connection with the designation of Mani's painted work, but also the dates of Mani's ministry.

65 As suggested to me in personal communication by John Reeves.

Another author from the late tenth and early eleventh century to view Mani in this capacity is Ferdowsī (940–1020 CE) in his the *Book of Kings* (*Šāh-nāma*, ca. 977 CE).[66] Unlike Abu'l-Maʿali's account (1092 CE), the *Šāh-nāma* discusses the prophet Mani without mentioning his collection of paintings or naming his *Aržang*. Although Ferdowsī's story states that Mani was an "image maker" who put "trust in images" and "loved images," it falls short in providing a significant discussion of Manichaean didactic art. His passage reads:

> *The Coming of Mani: His Claim to Be a Prophet*
> Shāpūr had reigned for fifty years, and there was no one to equal him at that time. An eloquent man arrived from China, and the world will never see his like again. His abilities had stood him in good stead, and he had become a powerful man; his name was Mani. He said, "I am a prophet and a painter, and I am the first of those who introduce new religions into the world." He asked for an audience with Shāpūr, hoping to persuade the king to support his claim to be a prophet. He spoke fluently, but the king remained unconvinced by his talk. Shāpūr's mind was troubled by his words, and he summoned his priests and spoke to them at length about Mani. He said: "This man from China talks very well, but I have doubts about the religion he proposes. Talk to him and listen to what he has to say; it may be you'll be won over by him." They answered, "This painter will be no match for the chief priest. Listen to Mani by all means, but summon our chief priest, and when Mani sees him he won't be in such a hurry to talk."
>
> Shāpūr sent for the chief priest, who spoke for a long time with Mani, and Mani was left speechless in the middle of his discourse, unable to answer the chief priest's remarks about the ancient faith of Zoroaster. The chief priest said to him, "You love images; why do you foolishly strive with God this way, God who created the high heavens and made time and space in which darkness and light are manifest, whose essence is beyond all other essences, and who fashioned the heavens to turn by night and day? Your refuge is with him, all you suffer is from him. Why do you put such trust in images, ignoring the advice of the prophets? Images are multiple, but God is one, and you have no choice but to submit to him. If you could make your images move, then you could say that this is a demonstration of the truth of what you say. But don't you see that such a demonstration would fail? No one is going to believe your claims. If Ahriman were God's equal, dark night would be like smiling daylight; in all the years that have gone by, night and day have kept their places, and the heavens' turning has neither increased nor diminished. God cannot be contained by your thoughts, for he is beyond all time and place. You talk as madmen do, and that is all there is to it: none should support you."

66 *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*, s. v. "FERDOWSI, ABU'L-QĀSEM," accessed June 05, 2013, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ferdowsi-i.

> He said much more beside this, and Mani was unable to answer his words. Mani's credibility, which had seemed flourishing, withered away. The turning of the heavens was against Mani. The king was enraged by him and had him ignominiously dragged from the court. He said, "The world is no place for this image maker; he has disturbed the peace long enough. Let him be flayed and his skin stuffed with straw so that no one will be tempted to follow his example." They hung his body from the city gates, and then later from the wall in front of the hospital. The world praised Shāpūr, and men flung dirt on Mani's corpse.[67]

Preceding Abu al-Maʿālī's account by a century, Ferdowsī's late tenth-century prose discusses only the origin and date of Mani's art, and it provides no data on its designation, appearance, content, or function. In his early story, the questioning of Mani's prophethood is not yet contextualized within a false prophet-wonder story.[68] For Ferdowsī, Mani is rejected as a religious leader for "loving" and painting images. Abu al-Maʿālī is the first author to view Mani's "artistry with pen and painting" as a claim of prophethood. The classic version of Mani's prophet-wonder story is told for the first time during the early twelfth century by Marwazī,[69] who introduces a later ubiquitous set of motifs in connection with Mani's *Arthang* in the literature produced in Islamic Central Asia.

Between the late eleventh and mid-sixteenth centuries, seven authors discussed the origin of the *Aržang/Artang/Arthang* in the context of a story of Mani's false prophet-wonder (**Table 4/4**). Their prose contains eight reoccurring motifs that involve Mani (1) traveling in the mountains of China, (2) claiming that God summoned him, (3) hiding in a cave to paint for one year, (4) painting a great work of art, (5) stating that the proof of his prophethood is his painting, (6) claiming the paintings to be a gift from God, and (7) being accepted as a true prophet. In addition, some authors note that (8) Mani's *Aržang/Artang/Arthang* is preserved in royal treasuries or libraries. The eight motifs together are present only in three texts (Marwazī, Chagatai story, ʿAwfī), suggesting their close temporal and cultural origins, most likely sometime during the twelfth century. The table demonstrates how the story of Mani's prophet-wonder emerges during the late eleventh century, solidifies during the twelfth century, and becomes increasingly diluted between the late fifteenth and mid sixteenth centuries as it is repeated by Mīrkhwānd, Khwandamir, and Dūst Muhammad.

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67 Dick Davis (tr.), *Šāh-nāma* (2006 edition), 597–598.

68 Yet this linkage may still precede him, as seen for example in a discussion by Biruni (d. ca. 1050 C), who notes a formally analogous tradition surrounding the eighth-century Zoroastrian agitator Bihafarid (Reeves 2011, 67).

69 Marwazi is heavily indebted to Biruni for much of his information about deviant sects. Given the imperfect state of the manuscript resources for Biruni's *Athar*, it is possible that an earlier version of Mani's prophet-wonder story might be found there (personal communication with John Reeves).

TABLE 4/4 *Reoccurring motifs in the story of Mani's prophet-wonder* (*8 motifs, 7 texts*)

Motifs \ Author (date)	Abu al-Ma'ālī (1092)	Marwazī (1120)	Chagatai Author	'Awfi (1232 CE)	Mīrkhwānd (1498)	Khwandamir (1524)	D. Muhammad (1565)
(1) Mani travels in the mountains of China	∅	✓	✓	✓	∅	∅	∅
(2) Mani claims that God summoned him	∅	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	∅
(3) Mani hides in a cave to paint for one year	∅	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
(4) Mani paints a great work of art	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
(5) Mani's proof of prophethood is painting	✓ (& calligraphy)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
(6) Mani claims the *Aržang* is God's gift	∅	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	∅
(7) Mani is accepted as a true prophet	∅	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	∅
(8) *Aržang* is preserved in 11th–13th cc.	✓ (Gazna)	✓ (China)	✓ (China)	✓ (China)	∅	∅	∅

"Mani, the painter" became a standard reference in the art world of late mediaeval and early modern Central Asia, as noted by Robert Irwin in the introduction to his *Islamic Art in Context*. Coinciding with the rise and cult of the individual artist, it had become a convention by the sixteenth century to compare great painters to Mani and evoke his name with pure admiration. At the same time, Mani's lost body of paintings served as a reminder of the vanity and transience of all art.[70] Due to his religious significance as a pre-Islamic prophet, Mani is indeed the earliest Iranian historical figure to be noted as painter in Iran. Unlike the names of other painters, Mani's name is preserved from early Sasanian times, while his prophethood that made his name became all but forgotten by the sixteenth century. A pure reverence towards the memory of a great artist, "Mani, the painter," is reflected in a Safavid album leaf housed today in the British Museum (**Figure 4/1a**). Produced in Isfahan by an anonymous artist most likely sometime between 1590 and 1610 CE, this

70 Irwin 1997, 11; e.g., the above-mentioned Khwandamir famously praised Bihzād (ca. 1467–1535), the celebrated painter and head of the Safavid royal library and workshop, by comparing him to Mani: "Master Kamāloddin Behzād is the originator of novel designs and rare art forms. His Māni-like brushwork overwhelmed all other painters" (Soudavar and Beach 1992, 95).

a: *Portrait of Mani the Painter* by anonymous artist, album leaf, detail (H: 17.6 cm), gouache on paper. Possibly Isfahan (Iran), ca. 1590-1610 CE, Safavid period. British Museum, London (1948,1211,0.11)

b: *Mani Painting a Dead Dog* by Sūr Gujarātī, folio 262b in the *Ḵamsa* of Nizami, detail (H: 19.8 cm), gouache on paper. Agra (India), ca. 1610 CE, Mughal period. British Library, London (Or. 12208)

FIGURE 4/1 *Mani the painter in a Safavid album and a Mughal illuminated manuscript*

imagined portrait shows a painter wearing *pince-nez* spectacles and sitting with one knee bent for steadying the page as he dips his pen in a small Chinese porcelain bottle.[71] The inscription written in a small-script curving line to the left of the figure reads: "Portrait of Mani the painter, beggar of the pen."[72] Down to the spectacles and the porcelain inkwell, the composition of Mani's portrait is notably similar to that of the two posthumous portraits of Reza Abbasi (ca. 1565–1635 CE) painted in Isfahan by his most gifted pupil, Mo'in Mussavir, the painter (1617–1708 CE), who devoted his early career to *Šāh-nāma* illuminations and sustained enormous productivity and a uniform style all his life. He was also known for stunning single-leaf paintings, including portraits.[73]

The legend of Mani's cave had been preserved in Iranian folklore until at least the late nineteenth century as documented by the travel log of Albert Houtum-Schindler. While discussing the Kialan Peaks (Pr. *Kuh-e Kalian*),[74] he notes the following:

> A peak in the southern extension of the Kiálán Mountain is called *Tuq-i-Mániá*, or *Chiq-i-Máni* ('the peak of Mani'). I was told that on the top of it were some chambers hewn into the rock, and that Mani the painter was there hidden for a year before appearing to his disciples as a young man.[75]

Although Mani's cave story is well attested in Iranian literature and to a lesser degree also in Iranian folklore, no medieval works of art are known today to show Mani in a cave painting his prophetic miracle, the *Aržang*.

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71 For a note on Mani's green tunic, see Reeves 2011, 120.

72 The inscription identifying Mani is written in small script along the left edges of the painting across the sandy background, where the artist uses randomly placed small dots to define the ground texture of the garden. The calligrapher's initial "m-" in Mani's name appears to have a dot above the letter giving the misleading impression on an initial "f-." Thus, the name identifying the figure in the inscription on the British Museum's online catalogue reads: "Fani the painter." Consequently, this painting is catalogued under *Fani* (1948,1211,0.11). Online Catalogue of the British Museum, accessed May 31, 2013, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=265842&partId=1.

73 Soudavar and Beach 1992, 264; Grube and Sims 1989, 223, Fig. 40; Blair and Bloom 1994, 180–181 and 325 note 51; and Welch 1973, 147–148.

74 Part of the Zagros Mountain, the *Kuh-e Kalian* are located in Lorestan province near the western boarder of Iran. They are about 45 miles north of the ruins of the Sasanian city of Gundeshapur, where Mani died.

75 Houtum-Schindler 1880, 318. For over thirty years during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Houtum-Schindler (1846–1916) was living and working in Persia as an employee of the Persian government. For more on his life, see *Encyclopædia Iranica Online,* s. v. "HOUTUM-SCHINDLER," accessed June 05, 2013, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/houtum-schindler-albert.

3 *Dates: Ancient Origin and Mediaeval Preservation*

A historical interest motivates these fourteen authors to reference a time associated with their subject. Accordingly, at their focus is the era when Mani lived, which they define often with great accuracy. In rare instances, they remark about the existence of what appear to be later copies of Mani's famous collection of paintings during their own era, and thus they also reference late mediaeval times (see Tab. 4/3: Dates).

All texts attribute the *Aržang/Artang/Arthang* to Mani and date it indirectly to the middle of the third century, to the era of Mani's ministry (240–274/277 CE). Three authors provide further specifications. Samʿānī's encyclopedia places Mani under the reign of Bahrām, son of Hormuz I (r. 272–273 CE), son of Shāpūr. Abu al-Maʿālī and the anonymous author of the Chagatai story correctly associate Mani with the rulers of the early Sasanid era, noting that Mani's ministry began under Shāpūr I (r. 240–272 CE) son of Ardashir I (r. 221–240 CE). The Chagatai story goes further by stating that Mani's life ended under Bahrām I (r. 273–276 CE), who "ordered Mani to be skinned alive, stuffed with straw, and hung on the city gate." These details of Mani's death are also mentioned by Ferdowsī, who states that the king ordered Mani to be "flayed and his skin stuffed with straw so that no one will be tempted to follow his example. They hung his body from the city gates, and then later from the wall in front of the hospital. The world praised Shāpūr, and men flung dirt on Mani's corpse."[76] The earliest surviving reference to Mani being skinned and his flayed body displayed is known today from the Latin translation of a polemical text the *Acta Archelai*, originally composed in Greek sometime between 330 and 348 CE.[77] Although primary Manichaean sources also discuss the mistreating of Mani's corpse, they do not mention skinning: the *Bēma* hymns preserved in the Coptic *Psalm Book* lament only the dismemberment of Mani's corpse, while the "Sermon on the Crucifixion" in the Coptic *Homilies* only briefly mentions Mani's bones laid to rest in Ctesiphon.[78]

In rare cases, when Ferdowsī's story about Mani is illustrated in illuminated editions of the *Šāh-nāma*, the events surrounding Mani's death became the subject of (non-Manichaean) art.[79] Three such paintings are known today (**Figure 4/2**). (1) The earliest version derives from an Ilkhanid *Book of Kings*, referred to as the Great Mongol *Šāh-nāma* (see Fig. 4/2a).[80] The anonymous

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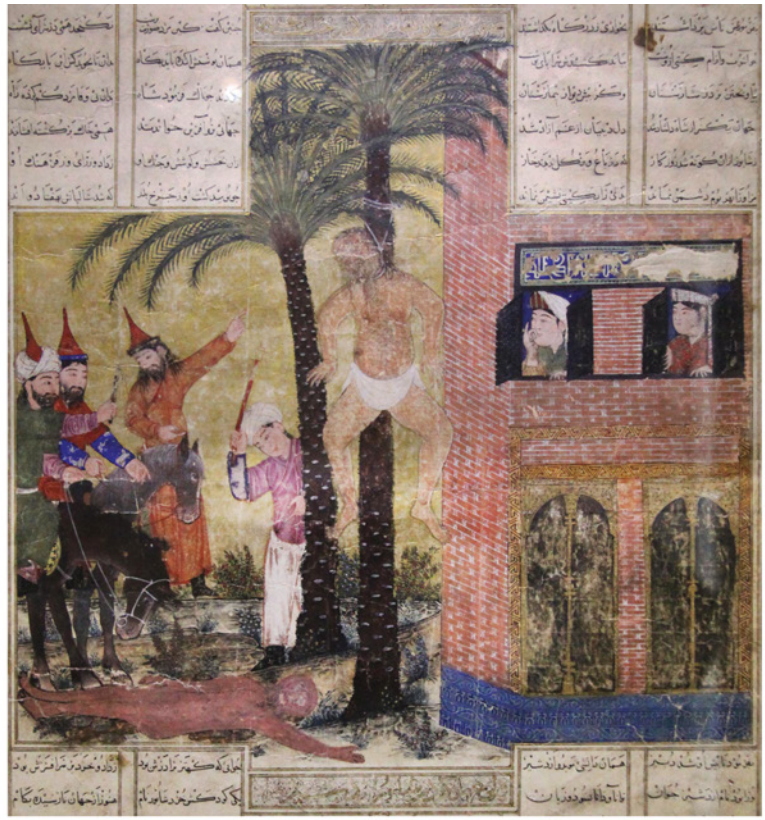
76 While the ruler responsible for Mani's death is Shāpūr in Ferdowsī (see quote above), in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, the ruler is Bahrām, who after Mani's death orders his corpse not to be skinned, but halved and gibbeted on two city gates (Dodge 1970, II, 794).

77 Vermes 2001, 148.

78 *Psalm Book* 225/17.4–18; and 226/19.31–228/24.3 (Allberry 1938, 225–228); and *Homilies* 63–67 (Pedersen 2006, 67, lines 14–15).

79 *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*, s. v. "ŠĀH-NĀMA iv. Illustrations," accessed June 05, 2013, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/sah-nama-iv-illustrations.

80 Grabar and Blair 1980, 148–149. From this exquisite illuminated manuscript 57 illustrated and a few text folia survive, scattered among various public and private collections. An extensive study of the manuscript revealed that originally this edition contained about 280 text folia and some 180–200 illustrated folia bound into two volumes. Most scholars



a: *Mani's Death* by anonymous artist, loose folio, detail (H: 29 cm), gouache on paper. Tabriz (Azerbaijan), ca. 1330 CE, Ilkhanid period. Private collection, Iran (after Reza Abbasi Cultural and Arts Center, 1977, unumbered plate)

b: *Mani's Death* by anonymous artist, loose folio, detail (H: 18.8 cm), gouache on paper. Shiraz (Iran), ca. 1570 CE, Safavid period. Morgan Library and Museum, New York. Promised gift of William Voelkle.

c: *Mani with Shāpūr* by anonymous artist, folio 404b, detail (H: 10.8 cm), gouache on paper. Agra (India), 1610-1620, Mughal period. British Library, London (Add. 5600)

FIGURE 4/2 *Life of Mani in Ilkhanid, Safavid, and Mughal editions of Ferdowsī's* Šāh-nāma

painter presents his subject in a powerful composition. His visual story centers on the straw-stuffed human skin hanging from a palm tree placed along the vertical axis and topped with a gilded and framed title line, pushing the middle third of the upper frame five lines into the text area. The painter expands upon Ferdowsī's two sentences by showing the stuffed skin hanging from a palm tree and the flayed body lying next to it on the ground. Flanking Mani's remains, the painter introduces a figure of the executioner, who seems to strike the body with a sword; three figures of mounted soldiers, who comment upon the sight; and two women, who are looking at the sight from the upper windows of a multistory brick building, which may reference Ferdowsī's mention of a hospital. (2) A Safavid version was produced in ca. 1570 CE in Shiraz and is housed today in the Morgan Library and Museum in New York (see Fig. 4/2b).[81] Here, too, the flayed body is shown on the ground and the skin hanging, now from a gallows. Next to the body is the executioner with a sword. The onlookers now are beyond the palace walls. To the left of Mani's remains, however, a group of seven men seem to express sympathy—some raise their hand up to their mouth, others comfort one another—as if they were painted to symbolize Mani's followers. Above them, the ruler is shown in his courtroom, holding an audience, possibly with Mani, to reference the deliberations that took place before his execution in Ferdowsī's story. (3) A Mughal version belongs to the British Library (Add. 5600) and is found in a *Šāh-nāma* made for ʿAbd al-Rahim Khankhanan between 1610 and 1620 CE (see Fig. 4/2c).[82] Once again, only one scene illustrates Mani's story. It depicts Mani in Shāpūr's court as he explains his teachings. In contrast to the subject of the two earlier paintings, this image is set in a calm and elegant courtly setting. The artist shows Mani sheltered under a cloth canopy, framed by two trees in the background, and surrounded by his books at his knees. There are no signs of threat to his life. In contrast to the earlier editions, in this case the anonymous artist selected an episode from Ferdowsī's Mani story that allowed him to emphasize the idea of religious tolerance—much favored by the Mughal ruler of India.

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agree that the manuscript dates to the 1330s CE and was perhaps commissioned by the vizier Ghiyath al-Din, son of Rashid al-Din of Tabriz (Blair 2004, 37–40). A color image was published by the Reza Abbasi Cultural and Arts Centre in *A Collection of Iranian Miniatures and Calligraphy from the 14th to the 18th Century* (1977, unnumbered plate). The folio measures H: xx cm, W: xx cm).

81 *Bahram and his court observe the flayed body of the heretic Mani, leaf from a Shahnamah* (TMP 2011.093.1; H: 37.5 cm, W: 23.5 cm, http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=309350), see "Treasures of Islamic Manuscript Painting from the Morgan: Persian Poetry 90," see online exhibition of the Morgan Library (http://www.themorgan.org/collections/works/islamic/manuscriptEnlarge.asp?page=90).

82 *Shahnama* by Firdausi (Add. 5600; H: 31.1 cm, W: 20.3 cm) contains ninety miniatures, mostly with attributions and overpaintings of fifteenth-century originals; see the online catalogue of the British Library (http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/indiaofficeselectpd/FullDisplay.aspx?RecordId=015-000019791).

Unlike the mostly poetical paintings in the illuminated edition of Ferdowsī's *Šāh-nāma*, the illustrations of Mani's story depict historical events from the early Sasanian era. There are no contemporaneous Sasanid historical records on this subject. Early Manichaean sources avoid details besides noting that Mani dies the night before his planned execution and subsequently his corpse was dismembered in Bahrām's prison at Gondeshapur (Syro-Aram, Bēth Lāpāṭ).[83] Polemical accounts mention either the skinning or the halving of the corpse, and the displaying of the remains at the gate(s) of the city.[84] Since, the polemical cave story originated after Ferdowsī's era, it is unlikely that any illustrated editions of the *Šāh-nāma* featured Mani with his *Aržang/Artang/Arthang*.

Another way of dating Mani's activities in the Islamic passages surveyed above is to describe Mani's prophecy as following that of Jesus. Two texts bring up Jesus' prophetic lineage in connection with Mani, including the Chagatai story and Dūst Muhammad's account. In this regard, especially the Chagatai mention is in accordance with Manichaean prophetology that emphasizes the prophecy Jesus, preceding that of Mani. As pointed out by John Reeves, Islamic historiography takes note of this chronological succession as seen for example in the work of the twelfth-century Central Asian historian of religions, Shahrastānī, who is noted as one of the pioneers in developing a scientific approach to the study of religions. In his *Book of Sects and Creeds* (*Kitāb al-milal wa'l-niḥal*, 1153 CE), his discussion of the Manichaeans includes this remark:

> The Manichaeans are followers of Mani b. Fātak, the sage who appeared in the time of Sābūr b. Ardašīr, and whom Barhām b. Hormizd b. Sābūr put to death. This was after (the time of) Jesus b. Maryam, peace be upon him![85]

The last, and arguably the most significant, issue concerning dating brings up the existence of actual copies of Mani's *Aržang/Artang/Arthang* during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, as noted in three of the earliest prophet-wonder texts (Abu al-Maʿālī, Marwazī, Chagatai story). It seems that the Ghaznavid historian, Abu al-Maʿālī (1092 CE) starts this tradition by

83 The occasional appearance of Nishapur in this role is the result of a conflation of the fates of Mani and Bihāfrīd (Reeves 2011, 35–36). Gondeshapur's Sasanian ruins are still visible near the modern city of Dezful (Khuzistan province), located along what is today the western border of Iran. Founded in ca. 260 CE by Šāpūr I and built by prisoners of war from the Roman army, Gondeshapur was the provincial capital and occasionally the location of the Sasanian royal court. During Mani's imprisonment and death, Bahrām (Varahrān) I (r. 273–76 CE) held his court there. For the history of the city that was still populous during the fourteenth century, see Michael Morony's entry at the *Encyclopædia Iranica Online, s. v.* "*BĒṬ LAPAṬ*," accessed June 05, 2013, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bet-lapat).

84 On the Islamic sources, see Reeves 2011, 33–48.

85 Reeves 2011, 45; a similar chorology is noted by Ibn al-Mutaḍā (47).

adding to the end of his brief discussion that Mani's *Aržang* was kept "in the treasury at Ghazna" during his time. Abu al-Maʿālī's temporal closeness to the Manichaean era of Central Asia and the objective tone of his discussion make his reference historically credible. His remark does not distinguish between an "*Ardhang*-relic" (i.e., an archaic collection of paintings from the third century that Mani himself used, preserved and revered afterwards as a holy object) and a later edition of Mani's *Ārdhang*, so identified (as all books are) by its intellectual author and title.

The passages surveyed indicate an approximately 850-year existence of Mani's *Ārdhang* in Iran. While one of them concerns the post-Manichaean era of Iran during the late eleventh century, five point back in time all the way to the first phase of Manichaean history that took place during the second half of the third century. As noted in Chapter 2, the survival of one from among the several copies of Mani's collection of images that were produced at the behest of Mani (M 5569) from the mid third century to the late eleventh century is unlikely, but not impossible. Remarks about the existence of Mani's *Ārdhang* in the treasuries of the rulers of "the wilder regions of China" as stated by Marwazī and the anonymous author of the Chagatai story are not credible.

4 *Appearance: Imagining Paintings over 800 years in the Past*

None of the fourteen authors claim that they personally saw any example of Manichaean pictorial art. This lack of first-hand knowledge, however, does not hinder their imagination concerning the appearance of the paintings that Mani made during the early Sasanian era. Most often they provide various direct and indirect clues about the medium, material, and format they had in mind, while writing about Mani's *Aržang/Artang/Arthang* (see Tab. 4/3: Appearance).

Regarding its medium, all authors agree that Mani's work in question was pictorial in nature. Others also note that it contained painted images and was an impressive work of art (Abu al-Maʿālī, Mīrkhwānd, Khwandamir, and Dūst Muhammad) and a masterpiece of a great artist (Abu al-Maʿālī, Mīrkhwānd, and Khwandamir). Two authors discuss Mani's superb talent as a painter, demonstrated by either the thinness of his painted line (Abu al-Maʿālī) or the evenness of a large circle that Mani could draw without a compass (Mīrkhwānd). Two authors emphasize the people's astonishment when seeing Mani's painted work: "Everyone who saw it said: 'The world had brought forth a thousand figures, but there is not one comparable to what is painted here'" (Mīrkhwānd and Khwandamir). In one case, the miraculous quality of Mani's paintings is emphasized: "When men asked him [Mani] to show them a miracle he took a piece of silk and retired to a cave [. . .] for a year. At the end of that time he emerged with a silk covered with wonderful figures, men, beasts, trees, and birds; and that silk was the famous *Arzhang* of Mani" (Dūst Muhammad).

Remembering Mani's skill as a painter receives attention in Central Asian art in connection with legendary events. One such depiction is found in a full-page book painting that occupies the verso of folio 262 in an early modern illuminated edition of the *Ḵamsa* of Neẓāmi (1141–1209) made for the

Emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605 CE) housed today in the collection of the British Library (Or. 12208) and dated to 1610 CE after its colophon (**Figure 4/1b**).[86] The last part of this lavishly illuminated manuscript contains Neẓāmi's version of the Central Asian epic of Alexander the Great—the *Eskandar-nāma* (1202 CE). This work is an elaborate poetical version of a courtly Alexander romance that contains a vast array of stories from Iranian folklore. It is the longest work in the *Ḵamza*.[87] It includes a story about a painting competition between painters of Rūm and Chīn. According to a tale told in connection with this competition, Mani's religion was accepted in China: Mani set out from Iran to China. In order to hinder his arrival, a pool of crystal, which was painted to look like water, was put in his way. Sensing the deceit, Mani pulled out his flask, broke it on the stone, and began to paint onto the surface of the crystal a repulsive image that looked real in order to keep future travelers away. He painted a dead dog with squirming worms amidst its spilled intestines. Impressed by this considerate solution, as well as his paintings skills, the Chinese accepted Mani's teachings. The Mughal miniaturist, Sūr Gujarātī, famous for painting his subjects in the context of their professions, was invited to paint this event for the edition of the *Ḵamsa* made for Emperor Akbar.[88] He composes this scene by placing travelling merchants in the foreground and a distant city in the background. He devotes the lower three-quarter of the picture plane to show "the wilder regions of China," with its mountain, trees, and pastures with grazing animals. He shows Mani on the surface of the crystal slab, painting intensely the gruesome subject.

The format of Mani's *Aržang/Artang/Arthang* remains mostly unspecified in the texts surveyed in this chapter. All but one of authors convey that it was a solely pictorial work, consisting of images painted in various portable mediums, which they imagine a some sort of a pictorial book (ʿAsadī, Abu al-Maʿālī, Chagatai story, *Dasātīr*, S. Munshī, Kātip Çelebi), a pictorial scroll (Marwazī), or a pictorial tablet (Mīrkhwānd, Khwandamir). The format is not discussed in one case (Dūst Muhammad). Only Samʿānī equates its pictorial content with the *Šābuhragān*, seems to suggest an illuminated manuscript—that is, a book (*kitāb*) illustrated with pictures. By using the noun *kitāb* some authors (ʿAsadī, Abu al-Maʿālī, Chagatai story, *Dasātīr*, S. Munshī, Katip Çelebi) may imply a

86 *Ḵamsa by Neẓāmi,* Or. 12208, Online Catalogue of the British Library, accessed May 31, 2013, http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/indiaofficeselectpd/PrintandDraw.aspx. Also see, *Encyclopædia Iranica Online,* s. v. "ḴAMSA OF NEẒĀMI," accessed June 05, 2013, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kamsa-of-nezami; and *Encyclopædia Iranica Online,* s. v. "ESKANDAR-NĀMA," accessed June 05, 2013, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/eskandar-nama.

87 In this work, Neẓāmi mentions the *Arzhang* while describing the qualities of his *Eskandar-nāma.* He notes that it "took away the reputation of Mani and the *Arzhang*" (XXVI. 157–158, Clarke 1881, 295). Since Neẓāmi's poetical reference does not contain enough data on the *Arzhang*, it is not included among the tertiary sources analyzed in this chapter.

88 Brend 1995, 47–50.

TABLE 4/5 *Evidence about the appearance of Mani's* Aržang/Artang/Arthang *in post-Manichaean textual sources* (*14 texts*)

	Appearance Textual Source (date)	Medium	Material	Format
(1)	ʻAsadī tusī (1060 CE)	painting	∅	unspecified book format
(2)	Abu al-Maʻālī (1092 CE)	painting	∅	unspecified book format
(3)	Marwazī (before 1120 CE)	painting	paper	scroll
(4)	Samʻānī (before 1166 CE)	painting illustrating a text	∅	unspecified book format
(5)	ʻAwfi (before 1232 CE)	painting	paper	scroll
(6)	Chagatai story (no date)	painting	paper	codex-shaped box
(7)	Qawwās (1315 CE)	painting	∅	unspecified book format
(8)	Shams-i munshi (1328 CE)	painting	∅	unspecified book format
(9)	Mīrkhwānd (before 1498)	painting	∅	tablet
(10)	Khwandamir (1524)	painting	∅	tablet
(11)	Dūst muhammad (before 1565)	painting	silk	∅
(12)	Al-Din Husayn's (1608)	painting	∅	unspecified book format
(13)	*Dasātīr* (before 1624)	painting	∅	unspecified book format
(14)	Kâtip Çelebi(1657)	painting	∅	unspecified book format

codex, but none actually specifies a codex (Ar. *muṣḥaf*) over a scroll—both of which would be understood under *kitāb*.

Concerning the material used as the support on which Mani painted his *Aržang/Artang/Arthang*, only three authors make any remark. They specify one of two materials, naming either paper or silk, both of which were used by the painters working for elite commissions in the royal courts of the Iranian cultural region in the time these accounts were written. Two authors from the twelfth century note paper (Marwazī, Chagatai story), while one sixteenth-century author (Dūst Muhammad) imagines Mani painting on silk.

One additional remark about the appearance of Mani's paintings is given in the dictionary dedicated to the Mughal emperor, Jahangir. In it, Mani's *Artang* is juxtaposed with the *Tengh* of the ancient Geek painter Zeuxis. These two are given as examples of famous picture books from the past that were painted according to two culturally distinct artistic traditions: "the *Tenghi Zeuxis* is a picture book of Greek pictures, whereas the *Artang* is a picture book of Chinese pictures" (Jamal al-Din).

Taken together, these passages provide a sizable body of evidence. Although none of the authors had firsthand knowledge of the paintings they write about, their data allow us to detect references to three pictorial works of art through their media, materials, and formats (**Table 4/5**). They include (1) "a painting" i.e., a most likely a cloth hanging scroll that Mani painted while traveling in India as noted by the use of the noun *taṣvīr* (Chagatai Story), (2) as a collection of pictures painted on some solely pictorial medium (all

texts except Samʿānī), and (3) paintings illustrating a text, which could be either images depicting the teachings of a text or paintings in an illuminated manuscript (Samʿānī).

5 *Content: The Overall Doctrinal Theme*

Surprisingly limited attention is paid in these passages to the subject that Mani's paintings portrayed. With two exceptions (*Dasātīr*, Samʿānī), the authors do not discuss any specific themes. Instead, they state only how the prophet Mani painted "a collection of pictures/figures," which implies, but falls short of stating, that the paintings in question depicted Mani's teachings (see Tab. 4/3: Content).

Accordingly, the doctrinal content of Mani's *Aržang/Artang/Arthang* is implied by noting that Mani used them to "lead the people astray" (Chagatai story, Mīrkhwānd, Khwandamir, Muhammad). Writing before 1160 CE, Samʿānī notes that Mani adorned this book of his with "pictures and colors and set out in it light and darkness." The latter characterization is paralleled by a remark of Ephrem Syrus in discussing Mani's *Yuqnā* during the late fourth century.[89] The early seventeenth-century author of the *Dasātīr* provides the most informative remark by stating that Mani's images included mythological beings, that is, "celestial angels," and that the iconography of one such figure combined "a human body and an elephant head." The credibility of the latter claim is confirmed by an actual depiction of such a figure that can be seen on a surviving example of Manichaean art from Turfan.

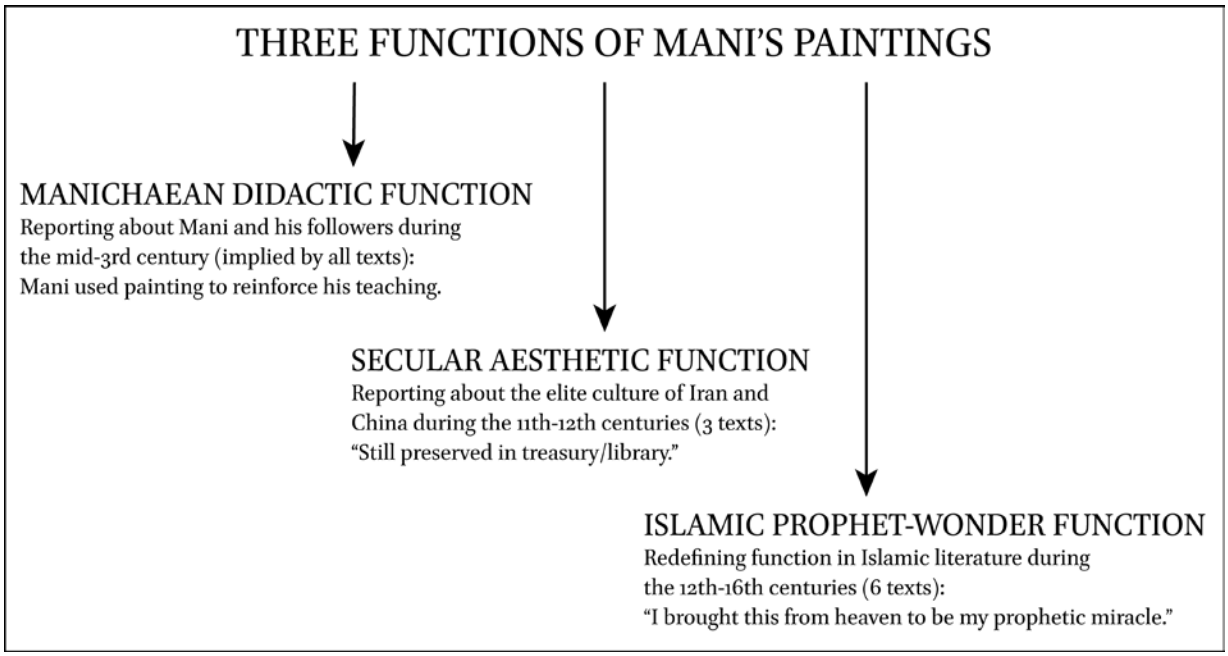
6 *Function: Didactic Paintings Admired and Polemicized in a Prophet-Wonder Story*

The *Aržang/Artang/Arthang* is discussed in a variety of roles in this literature (see Tab. 4/3: Function). Whether lexicographic or literary, all passages state that the prophet Mani had a collection of pictures and thereby imply that the paintings functioned in a religious setting. Beyond this general notion, only the prophet-wonder tales attribute additional roles to them (**Table 4/6**).

In harmony with the Manichaean records, the texts surveyed above state or imply that Mani employed images in service of his mission. Embedded in the story of Mani's prophet-wonder, four authors note that the paintings were used for conversion, since once Mani showed them, the people accepted his religion (Marwazī, Chagatai story, Mīrkhwānd, Khwandamir). Only one author emphasizes that Mani's followers were guided by the *Arthang*. In his words, they took it "as their copybook for disbelief and refractoriness and, strangest of all, held that silk up as an equal to the Picture Gallery of China, which is known to contain images of all existing things" (Dūst Muhammad). Besides this remark, none of the passages discusses how Mani used his pictures.

89 Both Ephrem and Samʿāni emphasize in full accordance with Manichaean sources that Mani (1) had written his teachings in book(s), and (2) had captured his teachings in figures/pictures and pigments/colors. They also state that (3) Mani's paintings showed his teachings on light and darkness.

TABLE 4/6 *Functions of Mani's* Aržang/Artang/Arthang *in Islamic literature* (*14 texts*)



Attributing an aesthetic function that reached beyond the Manichaean community is unique to this literature. Three authors remark about Mani's collection of paintings as a valued work of art in non-Manichaean settings during their own times—the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The earliest of the three is the Ghaznavid historian, Abu al-Maʿālī, who states at the end of his brief discussion that the Aržang was kept "in the treasury at Ghazna." Writing a generation later, during the Seljuk era of Iran, Marwazī makes a similar remark at the end of his false prophet-wonder story. He writes that Mani's pictorial book still exists in the royal libraries "across the wilder regions of China," and that "its antiquity is confirmed." The anonymous author of the undated Chagatai story also states at the end of his passage about the Aržang that it was "still preserved in the treasury of the Chinese emperors." While Abu al-Maʿālī's statement may have some historical accuracy, the other two authors write about an imagined context when they bring up the libraries and treasuries of the remote eastern land of China often connected to Mani in Islamic literature.

The *Aržang/Artang/Arthang* acquired yet another fictional role in this literature, when it became equated with a falsified prophetic miracle (Abu al-Maʿālī, Marwazī, Chagatai story, ʿAwfī, Mīrkhwānd, Khwandamir, D. Muhammad). Starting with Marwazī, the *Aržang* took on the character of a heavenly book with a clever literary twist—an untrue prophet's faked symbol of prophethood. In six of the seven cave stories (see Tab. 4/4), Mani diligently paints for a year while hiding in a cave and then lies to his follower that his collection of pictures either came from God (Marwazī), was revealed to him by God (Chagatai story),

or brought with him back from Heaven (Mīrkhwānd, Khwandamir) to serve as his prophetic miracle. In all seven stories, Mani's proof of prophethood is painting, that is, the pictures of his *Aržang*. In five stories, it is the beauty of the paintings that proves their divine origin (or inspiration) and leads the people to accept Mani as a their prophet (Marwazī, Chagatai story, ʿAwfī, Mīrkhwānd, Khwandamir). Once they saw the pictures, the people "had no other choice but to believe, since nobody would have been able to produce anything like that." In other words, in these stories, Mani is "a painter without equal," but just one of many "impostors who claimed to be prophets" (ʿAwfī).

The divine source of Mani's wisdom is well attested in primary textual and visual sources. In early Manichaean literature, Mani is quoted to state that he went and saw the Realm of Light, and that all his books are divinely inspired writing "gifts" to his community from the Father of Greatness.[90] Manichaean literature, however, does not single out just one of Mani's works in this regard. The latter way of thinking about Mani's *Aržang/Artang/Arthang* is exclusive to the post-Manichaean Islamic literature of Central Asia among the textual sources surveyed in this study. Unlike the ancient Manichaean texts, medieval Islamic literature associates not just one, but two notions with God's human messengers, the prophets—they have heavenly books and can perform miracles—elaborating on each with a distinctly Iranian flavor in connection with Mani.

In Islamic thought, God reveals heavenly books to his prophets. Such divinely transmitted scriptures include the *Torah* of Moses (Ar. *Tawrāt*), the *Psalms* of David (*Zabūr*) and the *Gospel* of Jesus (*Injīl*).[91] Although originally the Qur'ān is not a physical book, but oral poetry or "recitation" (Ar. *al-qur'ān*); it is still thought to have a prototype in heaven, known as "the Mother of the Book" (Ar. *Umm al-Kitāb*), which is inscribed symbolically on "the guarded tablet" (Ar. *al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*). According to Islamic teaching, the complete content of the Qur'ān descended into the soul of Muhammad on one of the last ten nights of the month of Ramadan in the year 610 CE, celebrated as the "night of power" (Ar. *Laylet al-Qadr*).[92] In Central Asian Islam, Zoroaster and Mani, the two Iranian prophets, are both considered to have brought books back

90 See quotes from *Kephalaion 424*, *Kephalaion 148*, and *Homilies 47*, in connection with the discussion of Uygur and Chinese Manichaean art, where Mani is depicted as a visionary witness (see Figs. 6/35c and 6/46, below).

91 These books provide the basis of considering Judaism and Christianity as revered religions in Islam and their followers as the "People of the Book" (Ar. *ahl-al-kitāb*). Since the Gospels and the Psalms are not part of the Islamic Canon, their contents are ignored and remain largely unknown among Muslims. The Gospels present particular difficulties in Islam (Glassé 1991, 72).

92 Glassé 1991, 410. According to widespread belief this night falls on the 27th day of the month of Ramadan. Glassé argues that this common belief must have originated in Manichaeism, since, while there are no Islamic sources for such an idea, in the Manichaean context the 27th day of the month of fasting is the celebrated anniversary of Mani's death (1991, 243).

from heaven.[93] As to be expected from the literature about a false prophet, Mani's heavenly book is polemicized: Mani paints the book himself and makes elaborate deceptions by hiding in a cave to convince his followers otherwise. His exceptional talent as a painter allows him to succeed (Marwazī, Chagatai story, Mīrkhwānd, Khwandamir, Dūst Muhammad).

Miracles are rare in Islamic teaching. Although not denied, neither do they carry much significance. The two most noted exceptions are connected to the prophet Muhammad and concern the Qur'ān and the Night Journey (Ar. *isrā* and *mirāj*), both of which are prophetical signs. It is the Qur'ān's poetic craftsmanship, seen in the beauty of its Arabic language, that is considered miraculous and proof of its divine origin—just as, it is the pictorial artistry of Mani's *Aržang* that is divinely inspired and miraculous in the polemical accounts.[94] The Night Journey is an episode from the life of the prophet that involves a magical flight through the sky from Mekka to Jerusalem (Ar. *isrā*, Qur'ān 17.1–2) and from there, a magical ascent to God in heaven (Ar. *mirāj*). According to apocryphal texts, Muhammad travels riding on a mythical human-headed and winged horse-like beast called *Burāq* and is guided by the angel Gabriel. Known as the *Book of Ascension* (Pr. *Me'rāj-nāma*), the text of the Night Journey was written in Persian and is attributed to the celebrated Central Asian philosopher and physician known by his Latin name as Avicenna (Abū ʿAlī Ḥosayn Ibn Sīnā, ca. 980–1037 CE). He is the first in a long line of Persian authors, including a series of philosophers, thinkers, and mystics, as well as celebrated poets between mid-twelfth and late fifteenth centuries, who treated this theme in their work.[95] Starting from the early fourteenth century, didactic depictions of Muhammad's night journey were integrated into illustrated world histories, biographies, and various other books across Iran and Central Asia. Thus, besides decorating luxurious books, these paintings also fulfilled an educational role.[96] Although with a polemical approach, the story of Mani echoes throughout this literature. Mani's book is a prophetic wonder that displays a miracle in its paintings, since it is Mani's celebrated skill as a painter that motivates his followers to convert to his teachings. In the story, a visit with God in heaven is a sign of prophethood worth faking for Mani, since such a claim explains Mani's prophetic miracle.

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93 Widengren 1955, 84.

94 Widengren 1955, 97–98; and Glassé 1991, 271 and 228.

95 *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*, s. v. "ME'RĀJ i. Definition," accessed June 05, 2013, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/meraj-i.

96 The earliest known depiction appears in the illustrated manuscript of Rašid-al-Din's Compendium of Chronicles (Ar. *Jāmeʿ al-tawārik*) produced in Tabriz in 1307 CE. The superb example of an illuminated *Miraj-nama* that was produced in Herat in 1436 CE is preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale, in Paris. For a facsimile edition, see Séguy 1977. For an overview of the artistic sources, see Christiane J. Gruber's entry at *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*, s. v. "ME'RĀJ ii. Illustrations," accessed June 05, 2013, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/meraj-ii-illustrations. For a collection of essays about cross-cultural encounters with the Islamic *mirāj* tales, see Gruber and Colby 2010.

PART 2

Physical Remains of Manichaean Didactic Art

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A sum of forty images represents the currently known examples of Manichaean didactic art (**Table 11**). They originate from two historically distinct settings. Twenty-nine of them derive from Uygur East Central Asia and an additional eleven from Song-Ming southern China. The Manichaean era of the Tien Shan Uygur Kingdom (866–1209 CE) lasted until about 1024 CE, with a gradual decline apparent by the 970s CE. The Uygur Manichaean works of art considered below survive from Kocho and its surrounding archeological sites. The vast majority of them date from the tenth century. They include fragments from Uygur editions of Mani's canonical collection of pictures and pieces of hanging scrolls that display modified versions of canonical images that were adapted to a display format and painted (or embroidered) on silk. Further modified versions of canonical images survive on mortuary banners, illuminated service books, and in one case as a wall painting. The southern Chinese group does not preserve any canonical picture books. It consists of examples of modified versions of canonical images on hanging scrolls and non-canonical images in the form of sculpture and depicted sculpture. The earliest of them is a hanging scroll from the Song dynasty (960–1279 CE). The one actual and two depicted statues of Mani, as well as five complete and three fragmentary hanging scrolls date from between the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368 CE) and possibly the early era of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644 CE). While textual records confirm the existence of Manichaeans in West Asia from between the third and tenth centuries, no works of art survive from that part of the continent, other than the *Sealstone of Mani* (see Fig. 1/1), which although fulfilled a variety of roles did not have a didactic function.

Accessing the rich visual data contained in these Uygur and Chinese pictorial sources require a systemic study. Due to their fragmentary condition and undocumented archeological contexts, a chronologically based survey would not be suitable to bring out the wealth of information these images hold. Therefore, in the following two chapters, they are analyzed and interpreted from two distinct angels. Chapter 5 concerns their materiality and physical contexts—their format and preservation. In it, the images are grouped based on the types of objects they belong to, and are subjected to an assessment of their material characteristics. Chapter 6 focuses on the religious teachings these images communicate—their subject repertoire and iconography. In that chapter, the images are grouped based on their doctrinal content. This approach allows us to assess the symbolic connotations of their motifs and the visual syntax of their overall composition.

TABLE II *Geographical and historical distribution of the physical remains of Manichaean didactic art (40 images)*

West Asia (3th–10th centuries)	**East Central Asia (9th–10th centuries)**	**East Asia (12th–16th centuries)**
SASANIAN EMPIRE (0 IMAGES) No examples ROMAN EMPIRE (0 IMAGES) No examples BYZANTINE EMPIRE (0 IMAGES) No examples UMAYYAD EMPIRE (0 IMAGES) No examples ABBASID EMPIRE (0 IMAGES) No examples	UYGUR EMPIRE (29 IMAGES) Fragments of picture books (5 images) Fragment of a wall painting (1 image) Fragments of hanging scrolls (7 images) Fragments of double-sided mortuary banners (8 images) Fragments of illuminated service books (8 images)	SONG EMPIRE (1 IMAGE) Intact hanging scroll (1 image) YUAN-MING EMPIRES (10 IMAGES) Intact hanging scroll (3 images) Matched hanging scroll (1 image) Fragments of hanging scrolls (3 images) Sculpture and depicted sculpture (3 images)
0 images	*29 images*	*11 images*

CHAPTER 5

Format and Preservation

It is challenging to interpret the data available today about the physical characteristics of the surviving didactic images of the Manichaeans. When it comes to questions of format and preservation, the textual sources, and often even the physical remains of this art, are far from self-evident. The passages written about them rarely note how the works of art looked. Understandably so, since, in the mind of the authors, basic facts of appearance were obvious and required no clarifications. In their worlds, a portable painting was just that, "a picture" or "an image." Its format and material was context-specific and exclusive to the object used in that setting. Accordingly, people in ninth-century Abbasid Baghdad understood what kind of an image of Mani could have been placed in a basket; just as in tenth-century Uygur Kocho, all readers would have been clear on the kind of pictures that were displayed within the local *manistan*. The actual remains of Manichaean art further complicate the study of format in the sense that almost all examples known today are damaged—highly damaged. More often than not they are in an extremely fragmentary condition. Therefore, interpreting the available bits-and-pieces of evidence about their presentation requires knowledge of codicology and/or Central and East Asian studies with special attention to archeology, art history, and religious studies. In order to avoid misinterpretations, such as the "inverted reality" once offered as an explanation for the Manichaeans' unique alignment of text and image, for instance, one must know that in Turfan Manichaean art all illuminations were oriented at a 90° angle in relation to the direction of writing—as was often the case in contemporaneous Syriac, Armenian, and Islamic manuscripts.[1] Similarly, to avoid labeling all Manichaean paintings on silk simplistically as "temple banners," one must be aware of the variety of religious functions that were fulfilled by the distinct types of such paintings and embroideries.[2]

The textual sources on art together with the actual artistic remains document nine formats used by the Manichaeans to store and display their didactic images (**Table 5/1**): pictorial handscroll, pictorial codex, wood panel, wall painting, sculpture, hanging scroll, mortuary banner, illuminated codex, and an illuminated *pustaka* manuscript. Five of these are noted in texts (pictorial handscroll, wood panel, wall painting, sculpture, and hanging scroll). To this list, the physical remains add four (pictorial codex, funerary banners, illuminated *pustaka*, and illuminated codex) and omit from it one (wood panel). Four formats (pictorial handscroll, wall painting, sculpture, and hanging scroll) are evidenced in both sources.

1 Klimkeit 1982a, 38; see discussion of sideways-ness below.

2 Bhattacharya-Haesner 2003, 38–49.

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TABLE 5/1 *Documented formats of Manichaean didactic images* (*9 formats*)

Formats Attested in Primary and Secondary Textual Sources (25 references)	Formats Attested Among the Artistic Remains (40 images)
(1) *Pictorial Handscroll* (3 references)	*Horizontal Pictorial Handscroll* (3 images)
(2) –	*Horizontal Pictorial Codex* (2 images)
(3) *Wood Panel* (5 references)	–
(4) *Wall Painting* (1 reference)	*Wall Painting* (1 image)
(5) *Hanging Scroll* (13 references)	*Hanging Scroll* (15 images)
(6) *Sculpture* (3 references)	*Sculpture* (3 images)
(7) –	*Mortuary Banner* (8 images)
(8) –	*Illuminated Codex* (7 images)
(9) –	*Illuminated Pustaka* (1 image)

More specifically, twenty-four textual references mention four types of objects in eight distinct formats in connection with the didactic art of the Manichaeans (**Table 5/2**). The most traditional object among them, the pictorial handscroll, is present for the longest time in the textual record, for about 747 years between before 373 CE and 1120 CE. This object is linked to the canonical volume of pictures in three texts, including in a Syriac secondary source (*Prose Refutations*) and a Coptic primary source (*Homilies 18*) from the fourth century, and a Chinese secondary source (*Wenzhou Memorial*) from the twelfth century. They confirm that copies of Mani's paintings remained in a handscroll format across the Manichaean world under analogous titles, such as the (Copt.) *Hikōn* '*Picture*', (Syr.) *Yuqnā* '*Picture*', and (Ch.) *Tújing* '*Picture Book*' or '*Book of Pictures*.'

Wood panel or panel painting is the second earliest recorded Manichaean art object. The existence of such works of art, always as icons of Mani, is implied for 584 years between before the years 339 and 923 CE. The earliest mention is in a secondary source (Eusebius), followed by a description of such an image in a sermon in a primary source (*Compendium 2*), and a further series of allusions to this object in secondary sources from Abbasid Iraq between the years 743 and 923 CE (Abu'al Faraj al-Iṣfahani, Ma'sūdī, Ibn al-Jawzī). The iconography of such images symbolized the characteristics of Mani and was used for teachings about the founder this religion (*Compendium 2*). The primary function of such icons as ritual objects is omitted from these sources.

Wall paintings seem to have been another early object group in Manichaean pictorial—so implied by the mention of a Manichaean painter, who was commissioned to decorated a palace and a church building of the imperial family in Constantinople in 502/503 (Theophanes). The only subjects from the repertoire of Manichaean art that overlapped with Christian art was the *Life of Jesus* narratives and *Icon of Jesus*, both of which are attested in later Manichaean

texts on art and among the actual remains of Manichaean art. Data about the history of *manistans* and the physical remains of Manichaean murals, which survive among the ruins of the mud-brick buildings of Kocho and one plastered cave shrine that still retains one identifiable Manichaean didactic image at Bezeklik, allow us to contextualize the sixth-century Byzantine record and thus began to see the substantial history of this painting medium among the Manichaeans.

Hanging scrolls represent a new object group that first surfaces in a tenth-century Uygur primary text (Käd Ogul). The continued popularity of this object among the Manichaeans during the second half of their history is confirmed by a Chinese secondary source (*Wenzhou Memorial*) from the early twelfth century. These two texts together also indicate that individual didactic images of the Manichaeans were painted on silk hanging scrolls and were titled based on the subjects they displayed—either a didactic image or an icon of a deity. Their data is substantiated by the physical remain of such painting, surviving as fragments from tenth-century Kocho and as intact works of art from southern China between the twelfth/thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries.

Sculpture is another new object first noted simultaneously with hanging scrolls in a late tenth-century Uygur primary source (Käd Ogul). It continues to be present for another 664 years, between 953/1008 and 1617 CE, in two other Chinese texts. Together, they confirm the existence of this three-dimensional medium in Manichaean art, exclusively for images of Mani that—just as his painted icons—are also used as didactic aids for teaching about the main prophet of the religion. The first Chinese text about a statue of Mani from 995/997 CE (*Minshu* 7) is roughly simultaneous with in the Uygur primary source. Another statue of Mani, mentioned in the Chinese text from 1617 CE (*Minshu* 7), famously survives in situ in a shrine at Quanzhou Prefecture of Fujian Province from the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368 CE) with an inscription that puts the dedication of the image to 1339 CE.

The examination of the physical properties of the actual remains of the didactic images is the goal of this chapter. In summary, the forty such images are found in six types of objects: picture books, wall paintings, hanging scrolls, sculpture, mortuary banners, and illuminated service books (**Table 5/3**). (1) Picture books are represented by five images from tenth-century Kocho, including three solely pictorial horizontal handscrolls and one double-sided folio of a solely pictorial horizontal codex. (2) Wall paintings are documented by only one fragmentary image. (3) Hanging scrolls that display didactic diagrams, narratives scenes, and icons of various deities are documented by fourteen examples. They include seven fragments from tenth-century Kocho and another eight from twelfth-to-fifteenth-centuries southern China. (4) Sculpture is only attested from southern China by one actual relief sculpture from the fourteenth century and two sculptures depicted in hanging scrolls while showing the interiors of a Manichaean shrine and a lecture hall. All three portray Mani. (5) Mortuary banners also preserve didactic images from tenth-century Kocho. On the two double-sided mortuary banners known today, there

TABLE 5/2 *Formats of didactic images documented in textual sources on art* (*4 objects in 25 references*)

I. Canonical Picture Books
(1) PICTORIAL HANDSCROLL (3 REFERENCES BETWEEN BEFORE 373 AND 1120 CE)
Mani's *Yuqnā* was a handscoll—(Syr.) *mgalltâ* 'scroll' (*Prose Refutations*)
Mani's *Hikōn* contained multiple pictures (*Homilies 18*)
Mani's *Tújing* listed with other scrolls in library of Wenzhou *manistan* in 1120 CE (*Wenzhou Memorial*)

II. Panel paintings
(2) WOOD PANEL, IMPLIED (5 REFERENCES BETWEEN BEFORE 339 AND 923 CE)
Portrait of Mani noted in the Roman province of Palestine in ca. 330 CE (Eusebius)
Portrait of Mani implied by discussion of Mani's iconography in 731 CE (*Compendium 2*)
Portrait of Mani noted in Iraq during Walīd II's rule 743–744 CE (Abu'al Faraj al-Iṣfahani)
Portrait of Mani noted in Iraq during al-Ma'mūn's rule 803–833 CE (Ma'sūdī)
Portrait of Mani noted in Baghdad during the year 923 CE (Ibn al-Jawzī)

III. Wall Paintings
(3) WALL PAINTING, IMPLIED (1 REFERENCES ABOUT 506/507 CE)
Repertoire of Manichaean painting included theme suited for Byzantine church (Theophanes)
Implied theme of Manichaean didactic painting *PROPHETOLOGY*: life of Jesus (Theophanes)
Implied theme of Manichaean didactic painting *PROPHETOLOGY*: portrait of Jesus (Theophanes)

IV. Hanging scrolls
(4) HANGING SCROLL, IMPLIED (13 REFERENCES BETWEEN 953–1008 CE AND 1120 CE)
Seven didactic images and icons noted from *manistan* of Kocho between 953–1008 CE:
Körk depicting the "Twelve Aeons, i.e., (Gods) in Land of God" (Käd Ogul)
Körk depicting "Jesus and his Life," e.g., birth and later events (Käd Ogul)
Körk depicting "Mani" (Käd Ogul)
Körk depicting the "Primal Man (= First Thought)" (Käd Ogul)
Körk depicting "King of [Honor/Heaven] (= Royal Prints)" (Käd Ogul)
Körk depicting Unidentified Deity 1 ("the Buddha, who worships in the robe of . . .)" (Käd Ogul)
Körk depicting Unidentified Deity 2 (". . . the God") (Käd Ogul)
Six didactic images and icons noted from *manistan* of Wenzhou in 1120 CE:
Zheng depicting "Good and Evil" (*Wenzhou Memorial*)
Zheng depicting "Deity (*fo*) Wonderful Water" (*Wenzhou Memorial*)
Zheng depicting "Primal Man (= First Thought)," (*Wenzhou Memorial*)
Zheng depicting "Royal Prints (= King of Honor)," (*Wenzhou Memorial*)
Zheng depicting "Four Guardians" (*Wenzhou Memorial*)
Zheng depicting "Jesus" (*Wenzhou Memorial*)

IV. Sculpture
(5) SCULPTURE (3 REFERENCES BETWEEN 953–1008 CE AND 1617 CE)
Statue of Mani implied by noting main statue in *manistan* of Kocho between 953–1008 CE (Käd Ogul)
Statue of Mani noted being purchased at Kaifeng and taken to Fujian between 995–997 CE (*Minshu* 7)
Statue of Mani noted in Yuan-era shrine at Quanzhou prefecture in 1617 CE (*Minshu* 7)

TABLE 5/3 *Preservation of didactic images among the artistic remains* (*6 objects, 9 formats, 40 images*)

I. Canonical Picture Books (2 formats, 4 images + 1 unidentified image)
(1) HORIZONTAL PICTORIAL HANDSCROLLS, KOCHO, CA. 10TH CENTURY (SEE FIGS. 5/1–5/3)
Image 1: Fragment of an *Unidentified Theological Diagram* (MIK III 4975, Berlin)
Image 2: Fragment with the Buddha from the *Primary Prophets of Manichaeism* (MIK III 4947 & III 5d, Berlin)
Image 3: Fragment from an *Icon of an Unidentified Deity* (MIK III 7048, Berlin)

(2) HORIZONTAL PICTORIAL CODEX, KOCHO, CA. 10TH CENTURY (SEE FIG. 5/4)
Image 4: Fragment with a Crescent Halo from an *Icon of the Light Maiden* (MIK III 4965 recto[?], Berlin)
Image 5: Fragment with an Arch an Icon of an *Unidentified Deity* (MIK III 4965 verso[?], Berlin)

II. Wall Paintings (1 format, 1 image)
(3) MURAL ON PLASTERED WALL OF CAVE, BEZEKLIK, CA. 10TH CENTURY (SEE FIG. 5/5)
Image 6: *The Realm of Light Awaits the Righteous* (Bezeklik Cave 38, in situ, Xinjiang, China)

III. Hanging scrolls (1 format, 15 images)
(4) HANGING SCROLLS, KOCHO, CA. 10TH CENTURY (SEE FIGS. 5/7–5/11; FIGS. 6/35B)
Image 7: Fragment with *Four Primary Prophets and Salvation-seeking Souls around the Light Mind* (Le Coq 1924)
Image 8: Fragment with *Rainbow Bridge* (MIK III 7019 & III 7024h Berlin)
Image 9: Fragment with *Atlas Figure* (MIK III 6275, Berlin)
Image 10: Fragment with *Deities of Earth and Moon* (MIK III 6278, Berlin)
Image 11: Fragment from the *Salvation of the Light and the Light Maiden* MIK III 6251, Berlin)
Image 11: Fragments with *Solders Fighting a Demon* (MIK III 6279a-i, Berlin)
Image 13: Fragment with *Icon of an Unidentified Deity with Female Busts* (MIK III 6272 & III 7021b, Berlin)
(5) HANGING SCROLLS, SOUTHERN CHINA 12TH–15TH CENTURIES (SEE FIG. 5/12)
Image 14: *Diagram of Judgment and Rebirth* (Yamato Bunkakan, Nara, Japan)
Image 15: *Fragment with Mani's Birth* (Kyūshū National Museum, Japan)
Image 16: *Fragment with Mani's Parents* (Asian (Art Museum, San Francisco)
Image 17: *Fragment with Manichaean Community Established* (private collection, Japan)
Image 18: *Fragment with Episodes from Mani's Missionary Work* (private collection, Japan)
Image 19: *Diagram of the Universe* (private collection, Japan)
Image 20: *Icon of Jesus* (Seiun-ji, Kofu Japan)
Image 21: *Icon of Mani* (*Kokka* 1937, item presumed lost)

IV. Sculpture (1 format, 3 images)
(6) SCULPTURE AND DEPICTED SCULPTURE, SOUTHERN CHINA 14TH–15TH CENTURIES (SEE FIGS. 5/20–22)
Image 22: *Stone Relief Sculpture of Mani* (in situ, Fujian, China)
Image 23: *Statue of Mani Depicted in Context of Teaching* (Yamato Bunkakan, Nara, Japan, detail)
Image 24: *Statue of Mani Depicted in Context of Worship* (private collection, Japan, detail)

V. Mortuary Banners (1 format, 8 images)
(7) DOUBLE-SIDED MORTUARY BANNERS, KOCHO, CA. 10TH CENTURY (SEE FIGS. 5/23–5/27)
Image 25: *Diagram of the Light Maiden Awaiting the Righteous Female Elect* (MIK III 6286 side 1[?])
Image 26: *Diagram of Jesus Awaiting the Righteous Male Elect* (MIK III 6283 side 1[?], Berlin)
Image 27: *Diagram of Jesus Awaiting the Righteous Male Elect* (MIK III 6283 side 2[?], Berlin)
Image 28: *Diagram of Jesus Awaiting the Righteous Laywoman* (MIK III 6286 side 2[?])
Image 29: *Fragment of an Icon of the Light Maiden* (MIK III 6286 side 1[?] detail, Berlin)
Image 30: *Fragment of an Icon of Jesus* (MIK III 6286 side 2[?], detail, Berlin)
Image 31: *Fragment of an Icon of Jesus* (MIK III 6283 side 1[?], details, Berlin)
Image 32: *Fragment of an Icon of Jesus* (MIK III 6283 side 2[?], detail Berlin)

VI. Illuminated Liturgical Manuscripts (2 formats, 8 images)
(8) ILLUMINATED CODEX FOLIA, KOCHO, CA. 10TH CENTURY (SEE FIGS. 5/30–5/42)
Image 33: *Salvation of the Light and God's Hand* (MIK III 4974 recto, Berlin)
Image 34: *Fragment with Judgment of One Plaintiff* (MIK III 6258a recto, Berlin)
Image 35: *Fragment with Mani as Observer* (MIK III 4964 recto, Berlin)
Image 36: *Fragment of an Icon of the Great King of Honor* (MIK III 36 verso, Berlin)
Image 37: *Fragment with an Icon of an Unidentified Male Deity* (MIK III 7283 recto, Berlin)
Image 38: *Fragment with Judgment of Two Plaintiffs* (MIK III 4959 verso, Berlin)
Image 39: *Fragment with Life of Jesus according to the Diatessaron* (MIK III 4967a recto, Berlin)
(9) ILLUMINATED PUSTAKA FOLIO, KOCHO, CA. 10TH CENTURY (SEE FIG. 5/43)
Image 40: *Diagram of Elect in Paradise and Prayer Service of on Earth* (MIK III 8260 recto, Berlin)

are four icons incorporated into four images. (6) Illuminated manuscripts preserve an additional seven didactic images from tenth-century Kocho, including two icons, four diagrams, and one narrative scene.

Picture Books: Horizontal Pictorial Handscrolls and a Horizontal Pictorial Codex with Didactic Images from Uygur Central Asia

Mani's choice of a book format to store and display his didactic images is attested by some of the earliest textual records on this subject. Much like his canonical writings, the images of his canonical collection of pictures needed to be protected, carried along, and used as intended. The book as an object (either in the format of a scroll or a codex) was well suited for these purposes. It was portable, and it was already employed for Mani's written teachings. Some early sources note how Mani's *Book of Pictures* was taken for missions in West Central Asia paired with one volume of a text (M 2, M 47), such as Mani's *Gospel* (M 5569) or his *Book of Giants* (M 5815). The book could also function as a display of its pictorial content in the course of an illustrated sermon given for a small group of people. Unlike the canonical writings that were read aloud by the teacher, the canonical images had to be displayed and shown to an audience (M 219, M 4570), who was asked to look at the paintings as the teacher referenced them (*Kephalaion 92*, M 219). The disciples sat in front of the (partially unrolled) scroll of pictures (*Kephalaion 151, Homilies 27*), relying on its images as visual aids of the teacher's instruction and as catalysts of their own questions (*Kephalaion 92*).

The book was a highly valued object in learned cultures of late antiquity. Similarly to the books that contained the canonical texts of the Manichaeans, multiple copies of the *Book of Pictures* needed to be in circulation. These copies were accounted for and trusted to the care of the leaders of the Church—Mani, Sisin, and Ammo (M 2, M 5815). Unless listening to an illustrated instruction given by the head of the Church or one of its twelve highest ranking Teachers, most Manichaeans never saw a picture book, as was the case with Augustine of Hippo.[3] An even higher esteem must have surrounded Mani's own copy of this pictorial book, that is, the copy that he used. Upon Mani's death his *Ārdhang* was transferred to Sisin as the new head of Church (M 5569) and subsequently most likely have been kept as a relic. But, as all cherished material goods, holy books could easily fall prey of deliberate destruction. Unopened, copies of the canonical texts and the canonical pictures would be indistinguishable. Therefore, one may suspect that when, in the year 923 CE, four sacks of Manichaean books were burnt in front of the public gate of Baghdad by the caliph Muqtadir, the gold and silver seen dripping out of the fire came from just one of the volumes—the one that contained the canonical pictures.[4]

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3 *Contra Faustum* 20:9 and 20:10 (Schaff 1952, 256 and 257); see quote in Chapter 1, above.

4 Ibn al-Jawzī (Reeves 2011, 231), see quote in Chapter 1, above.

The oldest physical remains of Manichaean picture books are Uygur-era editions that document the simultaneous existence of two formats (handscrolls and codices) and two materials (parchment and paper). They are remnants of three horizontal handscrolls and one horizontal codex that preserve a total of five fragmentary images from tenth-century Kocho, four of which have identifiable canonical subjects. Together they attest to the pictorial application of the book formats among the Manichaeans. When examined in light of the available data, all evidence points to the conclusion that in either format, the book was the original context of Manichaean canonical paintings.

1 *Horizontal Pictorial Handscrolls with Canonical Images from Uygur Central Asia*

The pictorial handscroll is a painted roll that contains a set of images arranged in recognizable visual units. Its dimensions usually range between ca. 10–35 cm in height and ca. 100–900 cm in length. As the cultural norms of the time and place dictate, the painter orients the scroll either horizontally or vertically. On a horizontal scroll, the images are placed next to one another often unframed and relying only on pictorial means to distinguish between the adjacent themes as the content of the scroll proceeds. Also defined by tradition is the painting direction (and subsequently the viewing direction) of the horizontal scroll, which is identical to the writing direction of the script used in the culture. Vertically aligned versions of pictorial scrolls are viewed from top to bottom. This type of a painted roll tends to be smaller in both height and length and more common in the East Mediterranean region, as best documented by the southern Italian *Exultet Rolls* made specifically for the Easter liturgy, Armenian biblical prayer scrolls, and Ethiopian magic scrolls. In such scrolls, decorative lines and sometimes frames separate the individual images from one another.

Fitting the above criteria, three Manichaean fragments can be confirmed as remnants of horizontal pictorial handscrolls from the Uygur era in the Turfan collection of the Asian Art Museum in Berlin (see Tab. 5/3: horizontal pictorial handscroll).[5] Two were made of paper (the matched fragment MIK III 4974 & III 5d, and MIK III 4975) and one was made of parchment (MIK III 7048) in Kocho, most likely during the tenth century.[6] Although the post-Uygur use of this format is indicated by a Chinese secondary source (*Wenzhou Memorial*) from the early twelfth century, examples of Manichaean pictorial handscrolls are yet to be identified from China.

The interpretation of these three Manichaean fragments as parts of canonical pictorial handscrolls is based on a two-fold argument. Firstly, all three

5 The Manichaean identification of all three fragments has been argued in the course of a theoretical study on canon formation in 1997 and their subsequent catalogue publication in 2001. Their Manichaean associations are unquestioned today.

6 For their catalogue description, see Gulácsi 1997, 158–159; and 146–150, respectively. On the dating, see Gulácsi 2003.

fragments are single sided, that is, each has a blank back—a distinctive characteristic of the handscroll format. Secondly, all three retain portions of images that belonged to the canonical subject repertoire. One of them depicts a prophetological subject (*Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism and the Light Mind*, MIK III 4974 & III 5d), while the two other show theological subjects (*Icon of an Unidentified Deity*, MIK III 7048; and *Unidentified Theological Diagram*, MIK III 4975). Similar canonical themes are also attested in other formats among the Manichaean remains. The largest of the three fragments is most informative about the formal characteristics of Manichaean pictorial scrolls, showing two elects from what appears to be a lotus mandala. Although the subject matter of this didactic diagram is yet to be identified, it is undoubted that this image belonged to a Manichaean horizontal pictorial scroll and thus, even without a full thematic identification, this fragment must be considered for the analysis of the canonical pictorial handscroll format.

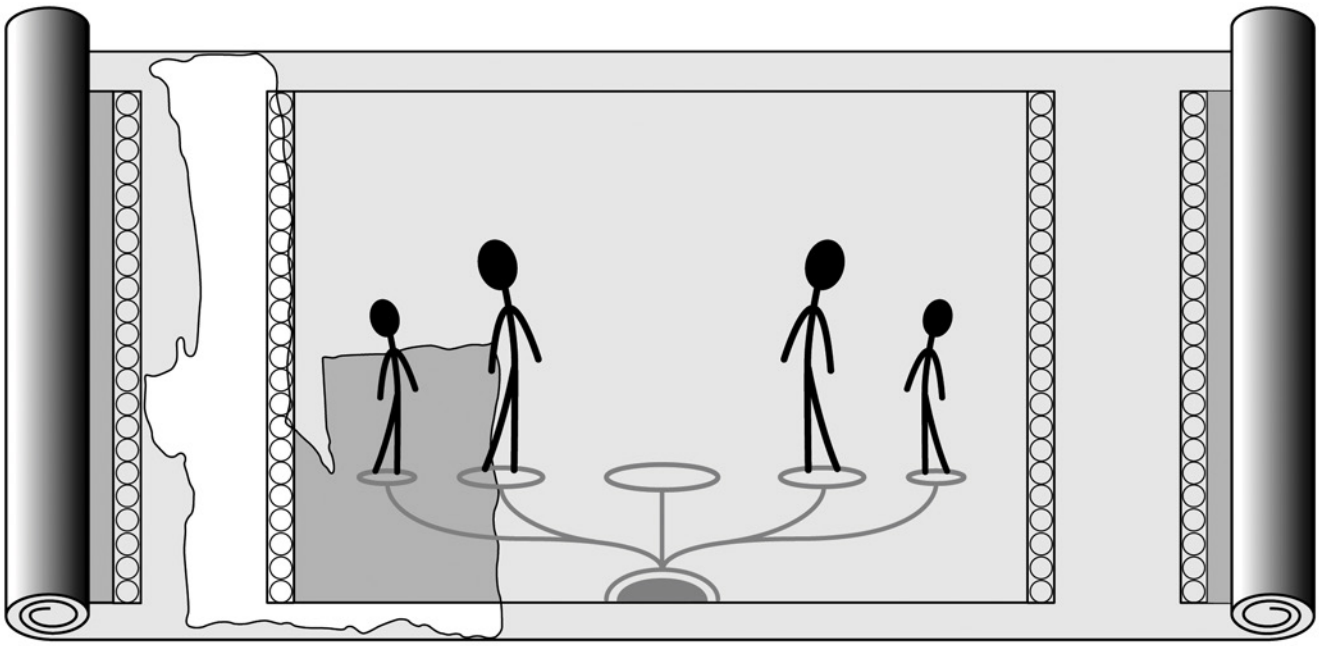
Clear evidence for the horizontal orientation of Manichaean canonical pictorial scrolls in Kocho is provided by the *Unidentified Theological Diagram* (MIK III 4975, **Figure 5/1**). This fragment retains a spliced edge confirming that an additional paper sheet was added to the left of the surviving part of the scroll.[7] Before being painted, this handscroll was manufactured by attaching individual sheets of paper next to one another.[8] Its original height (13.0 cm) is preserved, including thin blank margins and red ruling lines across the top and the bottom edges. The painted area retains the lower left corner of an originally symmetrical composition with the lower bodies of what appear to be two elects standing on lotus supports. The figures were arranged in a hierarchy that gradually increased the size of the elects and their lotus supports to emphasize a central figure (now lost).[9] In light of the surviving part of the painting, the length of the original image can be estimated as ca. 20 cm. The overall original length of the scroll is unknown.

Various means of separating the individual images from one another within a horizontal pictorial handscroll are also attested on this fragment. The edges of its image were clearly defined by vertical decorative lines along the two side edges of the blue background, and by blank spaces between each successive framed scene. Further data on framing individual images with decorative borders and blank margins is yielded by the fragment with the *Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism and the Light Mind* (MIK III 4974 & III 5d, **Figure 5/2**). Here, a section of a gilded border is retained along the upper margin providing extra definition to the blue background. Although the two sides do not survive, it is most likely that the left and right edges were also framed in gold and flanked by blank margins. The surviving portion of the painting retains approximately one quarter from the upper half of a

7 For a discussion of splicing paper for Manichaean codex bifolia in Kocho, see Gulácsi 2005a, 70–74 and Figs. 3/5–3/6.

8 Gulácsi 2005a, 183–188.

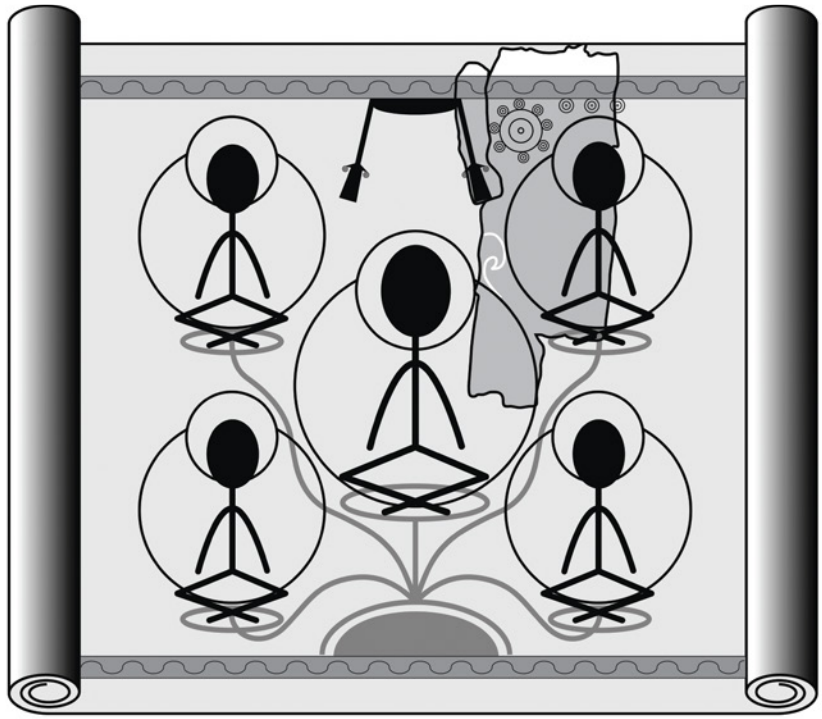
9 A similar lotus support is preserved in two additional images on MIK III 4967a recto and verso (see Fig. 5/40, below).



b: Reconstructed layout of horizontal handscroll (H: 13 cm)

a: Single-sided paper fragment (H: 13.0 cm; W: 7.7 cm)

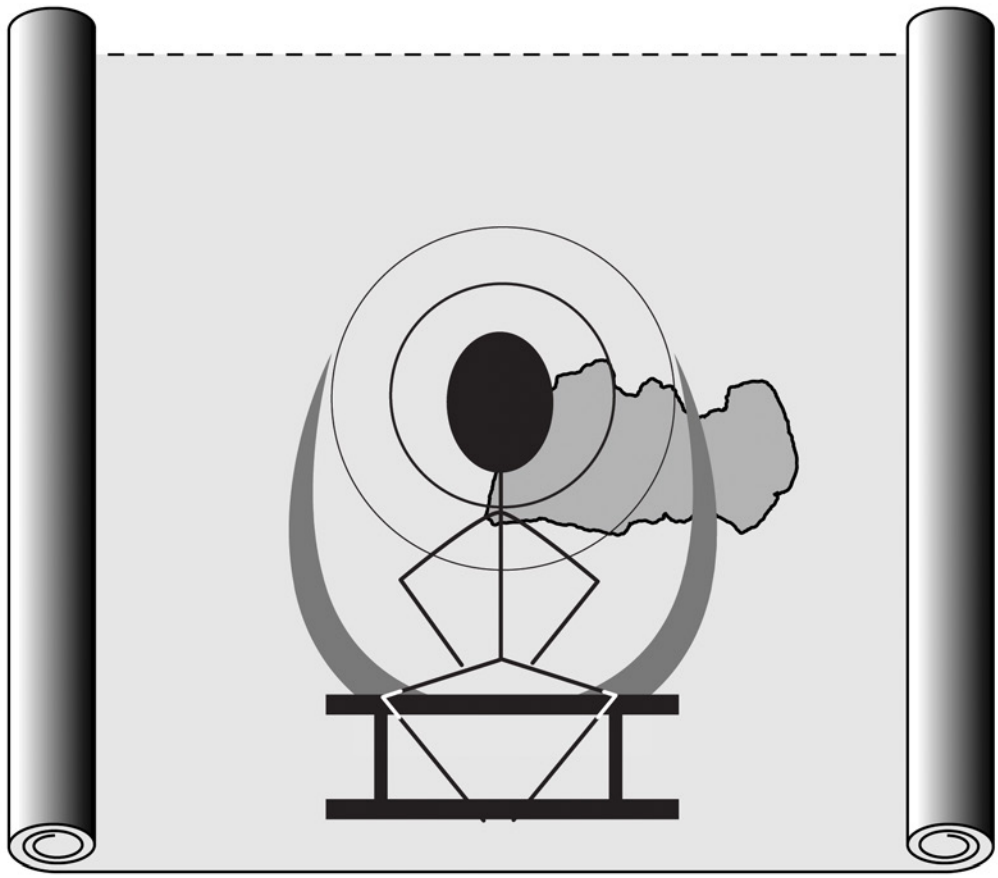
FIGURE 5/1 *Fragment of Uygur Manichaean picture book in horizontal handscroll format with* Unidentified Theological Diagram, *Kocho, mid 9th / early 11th century* (*MIK III 4975, Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)



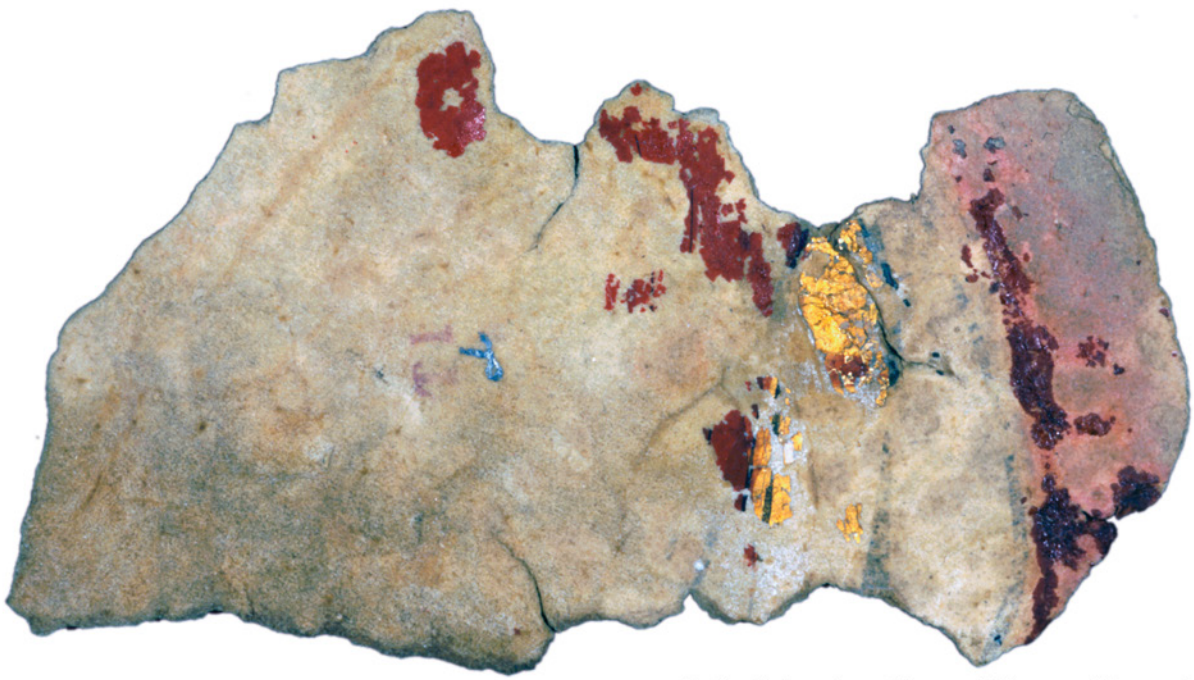
b: Reconstructed layout of horizontal handscroll (H: min. 28 cm)

a: Single-sided paper fragment (H: 13.6 cm, W: 5.8 cm)

FIGURE 5/2 *Matched Fragments of Uygur Manichaean picture book in horizontal handscroll format with* Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism around the Light Mind, *Kocho, mid 9th / early 11th century* (*MIK III 4947 & III 5d, Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)



b: Reconstructed layout of horizontal handscroll (H: min. 25 cm)



a: Single-sided parchment fragment (H: 5.4 cm, W: 9.5 cm)

FIGURE 5/3 *Fragment of Uygur Manichaean picture book in horizontal handscroll format with* Icon of an Unidentified Deity, *Kocho, mid 8th / early 11th century* (*MIK III 7048, Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)

symmetrical composition. This composition originally consisted of four side figures (the Primary Prophets, such as the surviving Historical Buddha) around a central deity (Light Mind, now lost), whose figure was enclosed in a large gilded mandorla beneath a gilded canopy along the vertical axis. Based on the dimensions of the fragment (13.8 × 5.8 cm), the length of this image can be estimated to have reached a little over 20 cm.[10]

The use of parchment for a canonical pictorial roll is especially noteworthy among these fragments, since during the Uygur era paper was preferred almost exclusively for book art among the Manichaeans.[11] Parchment is documented mostly as the material of book covers, so much so that in previous studies the one-sided fragment with an *Icon of an Unidentified Deity* (MIK III 7048, **Figure 5/3**) was interpreted as a possible book cover.[12] In the context of the now-known data about the canonical pictures of the Manichaeans, however, it is more likely that this fragment derived from a painted and gilded section of a parchment scroll.[13] The multiple layers of a mandorla, including what seems to be the black outline of a crescent-shaped halo (often seen in icons of deities), indicates a large image of a deity that most likely was shown as the main figure.[14] Based on the surviving proportion of the fragment (5.4 ×9.5 cm), the size of the original image cannot be estimated, but could have been comparable to the dimensions of the *Primary Prophets* image, discussed above.

2 *A Horizontal Pictorial Codex with Canonical Images from Uygur Central Asia*

The horizontal version of a codex orients the shorter ends of its rectangular folia along the right and left sides. Being a bound book, it is put together from several nested stacks of bifolia that are folded into quires, stacked on top of one another, stitched together along their folded edge, and secured within a sturdy protective cover. The more common, vertical codex shape began to dominate Christian book production by the third century in the East Mediterranean and also became the preferred format of Manichaean books, as seen in the surviving Manichaean papyrus codices form fourth-century Egypt.[15] The Manichaeans continued to write their texts on the pages of vertical codices until the early eleventh century in East Central Asia.[16] In contrast to the popularity of the

10 For the calculation of the 20.6 cm length of the image, see Gulácsi 2005a, 186.

11 A Manichaean illuminated parchment folio is preserved in London (see Gulácsi, Sims-Williams, and Sundermann 2006, 139–142). A few pages from an illuminated silk codex are preserved in Berlin (Gulácsi 2005a, 74–76 and Plate 2).

12 Previously interpreted as a painted book cover (Gulácsi 2001, 158; and 2005a, 74–76 and).

13 The latter interpretation is supported by the fact that two better-preserved examples of Manichaean book covers are decorated with techniques such as tolling, embossing, filigree openwork, puncturing, and stamping rather then painting (see Gulácsi 2005, 83–88 and Figs. 3/12–3/14).

14 For two icons of Manichaean deities with crescent halos, see Figs. 5/3 and 5/4, below.

15 Schmidt and Polotsky 1933, 4–90.

16 Besides official letters written between Manichaean Church dignitaries in Kocho, which are vertical scrolls with horizontal lines written from right to left mostly in the Sogdian

vertical orientation, horizontal codices are rare. The best-documented context of their use is in early Islamic book art, peaking during the ninth century. At that time, horizontally oriented parchment sheets were favored in Abbasid Syria, southern Iraq, Egypt, and Ethiopia for making illuminated (but not illustrated) Qur'āns lettered in a calligraphic style later named "Kufic."[17]

Aside from the Manichaean case, solely pictorial codices do not survive from the other religious traditions of the time. Evidence suggesting their existence, however, is preserved in early Syrian and Armenian Christian manuscript illumination with a unique reference to horizontal codices. Many illuminated gospel-books produced between the ninth and fourteenth centuries (as vertical codices) contain sets of full-page paintings of Jesus' life at the beginning of the codex (between the canon tables and the start of the non-illuminated gospel texts). They occupy between 5 and 20 pages as a solely pictorial part of the manuscript. In contract with the rest of the codex, the full-page illuminations are oriented sideways (i.e., at a 90-degree angle) in relation to the text and the otherwise vertical presentation of the codex. These framed images utilize the pages as if they were painted on the folia of a solely pictorial horizontal codex.

Textual records about the codex format of Mani's canonical paintings are elusive. Although Islamic sources use *kitāb* while writing about this unique pictorial work, the connotation of this noun in eleventh- and twelfth-century Arabic, Persian, and Chagatai is not specific enough to distinguish between books in scroll format versus books in codex format. The interpretation of *kitāb* in connection with Mani's canonical painting is further complicated by the tertiary nature of the sources. The earliest five passages that mention Mani's *Aržang* write about it as a work of Mani in the mid third century without access to contemporaneous mediaeval copies of it. Since the codex was the format of both the Islamic and Christian sacred books, it is not impossible that *kitāb* connoted a codex in the vocabulary of Asadī Ṭūsī (*Lughat-i Furs*, ca. 1060 CE), Abu al-Maʿālī (*Bayanu 'l-Adyan*, 1092 CE), Marwazī (*Kitāb ṭabā'i al-hayawān*, 1120 CE), Samʿānī (*Kitāb al-ānsāb*, before 1166 CE), and the anonymous Chagatai author (Chagatai story about false prophets, no date). Unlike the descriptive Chinese title *Túјing* (lit. *Picture Book* or *Book of Pictures*) listed among the titles of thirteen canonical books held in the *manistan* of *Wenzhou* (*Wenzhou Memorial*, 1120 CE), Mani's *Aržang* does not have a descriptive title in the Islamic sources. It is only explained as a *nigarnāmeh* (lit. 'picture book' or 'book of pictures') about 500 years later in the writings of Jamal al-Din (*Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*, 1608 CE) and Katip Çelebi (*Kashf al-ẓunūnʿan*, 1657 CE).

The Manichaeans' use of the horizontal pictorial codex format for their doctrinal pictures is indicated by two canonical images (see Tab. 5/3: horizontal

script and language (for MIK III 4614, see Gulácsi 2001, 144–146 and 2005a, 182 and 215; and for 81T65:01, see Yoshida 2000, 7–88 as well as Gulácsi 2005a, 181 and 215), and the one Uygur hymnbook in *pustaka* format (see Fig. 5/45) all examples of Manichaean books outside of China are in codex format.

17 Ettinghausen et al., 2003, 98–100; James 1980, 13.

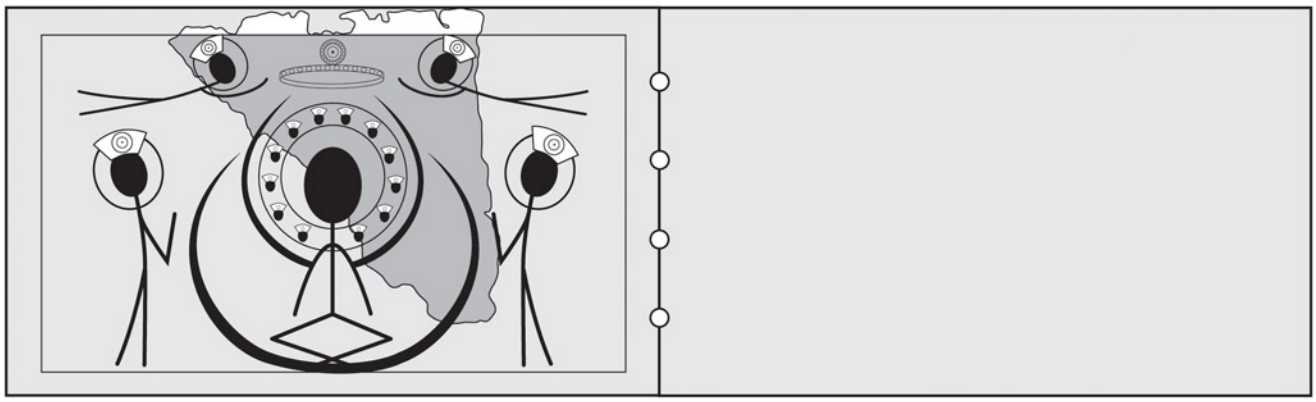
pictorial codex). They survive from the Uygur era on the two sides of a solely pictorial torn codex folio from Kocho (MIK III 4965, **Figure 5/4**) in the Turfan collection of the Asian Art Museum in Berlin.[18] Due to their high-quality and unique iconography, these two paintings have been among the first published and best-known examples of Manichaean art.[19] Subsequently, they have been identified, catalogued, and included in the codicological study of the Uygur-era Manichaean book fragments. Their horizontal codex format together with their pictorial content has not been considered until now.

On the recto(?), the only fully surviving motif is an elaborate gold crown that consists of a band decorated by twelve circles on its front and a central disk flanked by gold ribbons (see Figs. 5/4a and c). This crown is located at the upper middle of the picture plane. Accordingly, it is projected with a low horizon, that is, the eye level of the viewer is well below it, so that we are to see into it from below. This positioning is achieved by having two victories/angels hold it above the head of the deity. Only their haloed heads, extended arms, and parts of their upper bodies are retained, but not their wings. They hold the crown above a gold crescent halo, formed by a torque and an inner thin band that emerge from behind the shoulders of the deity and gradually narrow to a point at the top. Inside this crescent, a complex halo surrounds the head of the deity. It has four layers: a plain green band, a brown band with six small female busts on the right side and one from another six on the left side, a narrow blue band, and an innermost gold band, which retains five small semi-circular indentations on the right side of the head. In front of this halo, the body of the deity is shown from a frontal view. Only the right side of the deity's head is preserved with long black hair, an eye, and an eyebrow, none of which are gender specific in Uygur Manichaean art. The lack of any facial hair around the mouth and around the chin, however, seems to indicate a female deity.[20] Behind the torso and the halo is the silhouette of a crescent mandorla, the shape of which may results from the deity's halo covering up the upper part of a circular mandorla. The seated position, in which the lower body of this deity was originally placed, does not survive; but it can be deduced based on four other iconic depictions of Uygur Manichaean deities, all of which were shown seated. An arm of an attendant dressed in a garment with a green sleeve surviving along the right edge of the fragment confirms that this deity was flanked by at least two side figures. These attendants were painted on a smaller scale compared to the deity and shown standing, most likely slightly turned toward

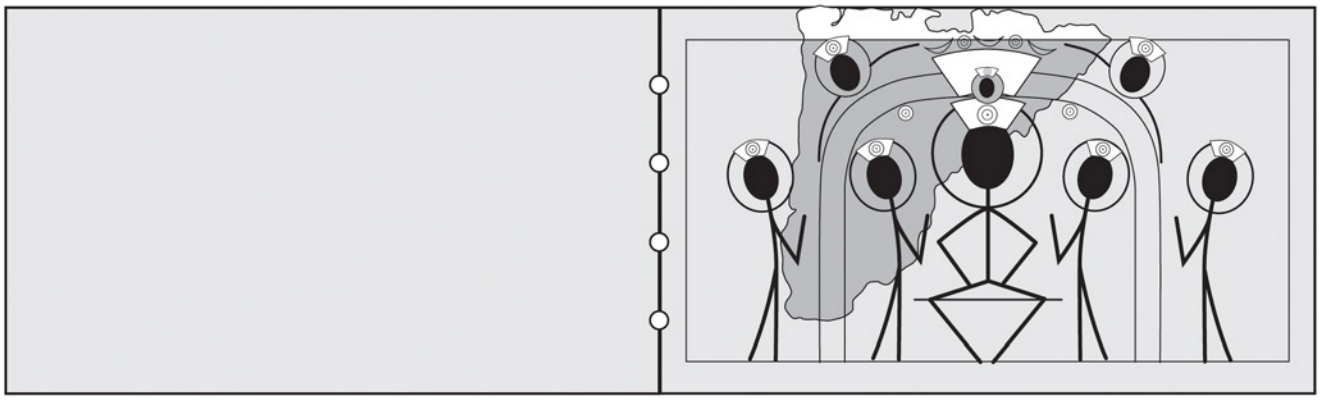
18 For their catalogue description, see Gulácsi 2001, 158–159; and 146–150, respectively. On the dating, see Gulácsi 2003, 5–33.

19 Le Coq 1923, Taf. 8a/c, 8b/c; Klimkeit 1982, 41 and Plates 33a and 33b; *Encyclopædia Iranica Online, s. v.* "MANICHAEAN ART," accessed June 05, 2013, (http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/Manichaean-art).

20 Male divine beings tend to be shown with facial hair in Uygur Manichaean art (as seen e.g.: on MIK III 4959 recto, MIK III 36 recto, MIK III 7283 recto, and MIK III 4970c verso[?]), just as the only depiction of Mani (MIK III 4964 recto) surviving from Kocho. For illustrations, see Gulácsi 2001a, #34, #42, #48, #50, and #51, respectively).



c: **Reconstructed layout on** recto of horizontal codex folio
(H: 8.0 cm; W: 13.0 cm)



d: **Reconstructed layout** on verso of horizontal codex folio
(H: 8.0 cm; W: 13.0 cm)

a: Recto(?) of fragment
(H: 6.6 cm; W: 7.0 cm)

b: Verso(?) of fragment
(H: 6.6 cm; W: 7.0 cm)

FIGURE 5/4 *Fragment of Uygur Manichaean picture book in horizontal codex format with* Icon of the Light Maiden and Icon of an Unidentified Deity under Arch, *Kocho, mid 8th / early 11th century* (*MIK III 4965, Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)

the deity with their bodies projected from a three-quarter view, as customary in Uygur Manichaean icons.

On the verso(?), none of the motifs are fully preserved (see Figs. 5/4b and d). A clear point of reference is a large arch that enclosed an enthroned deity and originally a pair of attendants in the central part of the composition. This arch survives, albeit with surface damage. Its inner edge was gilded, as indicated by a gold band that remains intact. A brownish red hue, seen at the lower left, may indicate the dominant color of the rest of the arch, which was painted next to the gold leaf across its surface. Under this arch, the body of the left attendant figure can be seen standing dressed in a belted green garment and a golden cloak across the shoulders. The belt suggests a male attendant. His head, which today survives only by its under-drawing, was backed by a red halo and distinguished with a prominent headgear. This headgear consists of a flaring blue cap adorned by a gilded upper edge and a central ornament—often seen in Uygur Manichaean art—a gold disk nested in a short upward-curving white scarf. This headgear is repeated throughout the composition in different scales. It is shown on the largest scale (and with doubled gold edges) atop the head of the deity, who is seated under the arch and enclosed by a halo and most likely originally also a mandorla that does not survive. From the deity's body only some strands of black hair remain. We can also make out a gold disk at shoulder height, also shown directly below the arch, originally on both sides of the deity. A small female bust with the same headgear is painted directly above the deity's headgear. Atop the middle of the arch, the same headgear is shown on a large scale, but with a dark brown edge, being decorated by a pair of angels/victories, who place gold disks and crescents onto its top surface. Along the left edges of the fragments, part of a green garment and lower arm indicates that a further pair of attendants was flanking the deity on the outside of the arch.

Codicological clues suggest that these two fragmentary images constitute the upper middle area of a horizontally aligned and solely pictorial folio from a book of codex format (**Figs. 5/4c and d**). Each painting retains a part of a full-page composition, as indicated by the remnants of the blank margin above the blue background and the formal symmetry of the surviving pictorial content. All motifs are arranged in reference to the vertical axis of a full-page composition that centers on an enthroned deity enclosed by four standing and two flying attendants. The identical alignment of the pictorial content between the two sides confirms a folio that was originally part of a bifolio in a quire of a codex. It is unlikely, however, that this folio belonged to a vertical codex that contained both texts and pictures—an illuminated manuscript—the kind of object represented by most examples of Manichaean art surviving from Kocho.[21] Among the currently known fragments of illuminated textbooks, none has full-page illuminations on both pages of a folio. Most often,

21 In a vertical codex, these horizontal images would have been oriented sideways, that is, with the heads of the figures towards the outer margins. Such orientation is documented

a full-page or an intratextual illumination on one side is paired with a full-page text on the other.[22] Rarely, a full-page painting is paired with a text illuminated with an intratextual or marginal illumination on the other side.[23] Since this folio fragment had full-page images on both sides, it is more likely that it derived from a codex filled with paintings. The lack of writing eliminates a reason to suspect a vertical orientation, since the composition utilizes the rectangular paper surface lengthwise pointing to the horizontal alignment of these images.[24] In turn, the confirmed canonical content of the two paintings suggests a folio of a canonical book of pictures—an Uygur-era edition of Mani's *Ārdhang* fashioned as a horizontal codex.

The combination of an archaic visual language for tenth-century Kocho with the canonical subject matter lends further support to the claim that these images belong to the traditional repertoire of Manichaean art. A pre-Uygur iconography is preserved in them (see Figs. 5/4c–b). Both paintings are free from any Buddhist and East-Central Asian motifs, which stand out among the canonical images surviving in other objects. Instead, these two images employ motifs attested in Mesopotamian and Iranian art during late ancient and early mediaeval times. In both images, a pair of winged figures (angels/victories) crown the deities by either holding a diadem (recto[?]) or accessorizing a headgear atop the deity's arch (verso[?]); sun disks and moon crescents adorn all headgears; and the deities are enclosed by either a prominent gold arch topped with a headgear (verso[?]), or a multi-layered halo that includes gold crescents and small female busts (recto[?]).

Horizontal codex format is well suited to serve the needs of a picture book as indicated by the efficiency of how these two images utilize their folio (see Figs. 5/4c–b). Both paintings are clearly defined. Their compositions are variations of a single design governed by symmetry, centrality, and hierarchy of scale. In each case, the deity is framed by six figures (four attendants and two hovering angels) oriented toward the center. As on the surface of a horizontal pictorial handscroll, so on the pictorial codex pages, blue backgrounds and blank margins define the images. On both pages of the folio, a small section of the blank margin is retained above the blue background along the upper edges. In the codex format, however, there is no need for a decorative border to separate the subsequent images, since they are distributed page-by-page. Painting one image per page across the codex makes two images accessible at a time on the

in Manichaean, Syriac, Armenian, and Islamic illuminated manuscripts. For a Syriac example, see Gulácsi 2005a, 191–193.

22 E.g.: MIK III 8259, MIK III 4974, Or 8212–1692, MIK III 36, M 576, and Or 12452/3 (Gulácsi 2005a, 141–162).

23 The only example is the codex folio fragment with a Middle Persian benediction text and an intratextual *Conversion Scene* on its recto, and a full-page *Bēma Scene* on its verso (MIK III 4979, see Gulácsi 2005a, 146–148).

24 In Islamic manuscript illumination, the horizontal codex format is attested in West Asia during the ninth and tenth centuries (James 1980, 13 and 16–22).

facing pages of the open quire, which is similar to the number of images on a scroll that can be viewed at a time.

The canonical picture book, to which this folio fragment belonged, was a luxurious work of art. The lapis lazuli background and the large amount of gilding indicate an expensive execution. The delicacy of what is left from the painted and drawn details further suggests high quality workmanship. The paper is thin and appears to be high quality. The horizontal codex format seems to be an innovation during the ninth-century.

Wall Paintings: A Wall Painting with a Didactic Image from the Uygur Era

The wall painting was most likely one of the earliest painting mediums of the Manichaeans, second only to painting in picture books. It involved portraying images on smooth, plastered walls of a building—made of sun-dried mud bricks in most cases across the cultural sphere of early Manichaeism. Physical remains of Manichaean murals survive only from the Turfan region from about 1100 years in the past, where the aridity of desert climate preserved a few pieces of painted plaster crumbled among the ruins of Kocho and one complete composition with a highly faded and peeling surface within a single-cell cave at Bezeklik.

The only pre-Uygur data known today about the existence of Manichaean murals is found in a most subtle implied reference in a Byzantine source. It is contained in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes Confessor (ca. 760–818 CE) noted in connection with the events of the year 506/507 CE. As detailed in Chapter 1 above, Theophanes discusses a Manichaean painter, who was commissioned with the decoration of an imperial palace and a church in Constantinople by the emperor Anastasios, who, just as his mother before him, "applauded the Manichaeans." The painter was discovered after the images he painted looked "different from the holy images of churches."[25] While this Greek text mentions neither murals nor even interiors (or walls) of churches explicitly, one is left with wall painting as the most plausible medium in this case. With that understanding, this reference implies not only that the Manichaeans had an early mural tradition, but also that they may have had buildings across the Byzantine Empire (and beyond) where it was practiced. The only building associated with early Manichaeism is the *manistan*. Therefore, by extension, Theophanes' data suggests an established practice of painting *manistans* in West Asia and well before the Uygur era.

The *manistan* is an institution of learning, ritual, and medical care established by Mani himself. Based on its functions, it may be best compared to either a temple complex (but built on a modest scale and with a library and an infirmary in it) or a monastery (but without any permanent sacerdotal living

25 Mango and Scott 1997, 229–230.

quarters). The etymology of this Middle Iranian noun has been explained in various ways (including the verb *man-* 'to think' and even the personal name *Mānī*), but it likely derives from either the verb *māndan-/mān-* 'to remain, to stay' or the noun *mān* 'house, dwelling.' There is no evidence, however, that members of the sacerdotal class spent their lives in *manistan*s living and working in a monastic fashion. The elect lived with the auditors, who hosted them for short periods of time and in return gained social prestige and merit for a good rebirth.[26] Numerous Turfan texts explain the *manistan* as a "dwelling for divinities," which may be a metaphor for the ritual activities and reverence associated with the site. The best answer to our questions about the *manistan*'s function is given by the Central Asian text behind the Chinese prose of the *Compendium* from 731 CE. One passage in the *Compendium* lists five halls that together constitute the *manistan*: a library, a meditation hall, a ritual hall, a lecture hall, and an infirmary (see Chapter 3, above). Turfan texts on early Church history tie the origin of this institution to Mani's era. For example, a Parthian fragment (M 4579) notes that, during his last journey, Mani sought shelter in a *m'nyst'n qbg* (lit. '*mānistān* building') in the city of Ohrmizd-Ardaxšihr; and a Middle Persian fragment (M 2) states that Mār Adda founded many *manistans* during his missions to the Romans "up to Alexandria."[27] While the elect was lodged in the homes of the auditors, they must have regularly used the *manistans* for functions indicated by the five halls named in the *Compendium*. The role of this ancient Manichaean institution dramatically changed in the Uygur era.[28]

It is possible that certain buildings (or rooms) of the *manistans* had wall paintings already during Mani's time. This claim is supported by contemporaneous archeological evidence preserved in the Syrian desert among the mud-brick ruins of Dura-Europos. This city was located along the ancient Mesopotamian trade routes about a ten-day walk from where Mani lived.[29] Dura's archeological data is a unique window to the materiality of religions in third-century Mesopotamia. It seems that most of its religious buildings had wall paintings. They featured both *ritual images* with named members of the community and narrative *biblical images* with a more didactic nature. For example, in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, acts of sacrifice are depicted with named figures: a Parthian painting from the late first century, known as the "Sacrifice of Conon," shows a sacrifice performed on behalf of a family; while a Roman painting from ca. 239 CE shows the local commander, Julius

26 This arrangement is similar to the one followed in Jainism in Northwest India—visited by Mani during the 230s CE. Jain influence is also noted in Manichaean attitudes of non-injury (see Jones 2010, 383–398).

27 Utas 1985, 655–657.

28 For an overview of how Uygur *manistan*s functioned, see Lieu 1992, 241–242. For a primary Uygur text about this topic, see Geng Shimin's English translation (Klimkeit 1993, 352–356) and Moriyasu's critical edition in German (2004, 43–51 + commentary).

29 For a map with the location of Dura on the trade routs connection the Persian Gulf with the Mediterranean Sea coast, see Perkins 1973, 3.

Terentius, performing a sacrifice in front of a military standard while his soldiers stand behind him.[30] Even the walls of the synagogue at Dura were covered with narrative scenes and portraits of prophets from the Hebrew Bible. The Christian wall paintings of a small baptistery room in a church (a re-dedicated private house) show "Christ, as the Good Shepherd" on the main wall above the baptismal tub and various narrative scenes form the life of Jesus on the rest of the walls—the earliest securely dated images of Jesus and Christian paintings known today.[31] Nothing Manichaean was discovered at Dura. But, since this trading town was destroyed by a Persian attack about 16 years after the start of Mani's mission, in ca. 256 CE, it is not impossible that Mani and his followers passed through it from their home base in southern Mesopotamia on their ways to missionize in the cities of the Mediterranean Sea coast, Anatolia, Armenia, and Georgia. In any case, the survival of mural evidence from Dura points to what must have been standard decorative practice in the religious buildings of the region.

Physical evidence about painted walls in *manistans* derives from two buildings of Kocho (Ruin K and Ruin α) that once were in Manichaean use as suggested by the Manichaean manuscripts and pictorial art (especially the wall paintings) recovered from them (see Figs. 3/2–3/3).[32] The surviving remains of their murals are highly fragmented bits-and-pieces of larger compositions that can be dated to the tenth century. None of them indicate canonical subjects. They are fragments of *ritual images*. The most intact example is from Ruin K (MIK III 6918, see Fig. 3/3d). This painting shows the community (male elects, female elects, and laity) standing behind their Bishop (MP. *Možak*), who holds a banner in his right hand.[33] All figures look to their right as they observe a rite depicted on the now-lost portion of the composition. Similar to rituals portrayed in Manichaean illuminated manuscripts, the center of this wall painting must have shown a liturgical event and numerous elects were named on both sides of the painting. On this mural, parts of eleven Iranian names survive, written in the Sogdian script and in one case in the Manichaean

30 See Perkins (1973, 33–52), for an overview of these and other wall paintings from Dura depicting sacrificial rites in the Temple of Bel (also known as the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods), the Temple of Zeus Theos, and the Mithraeum, housed in the collations of the Yale University Art Gallery (New Haven, USA) and the National Museum (Damascus, Syria).

31 Perkins 1973, 52–68.

32 Being non-portable works of art, these wall paintings confirm Manichaean use of these buildings. After the decline of support for Manichaeism, they were used as Buddhist sites as suggested by the Buddhist remains also discovered from them, as well as various textual data about events of re-dedication of *manistans* during the second decade of the eleventh century, as discussed in Chapter 3, above.

33 The main figure had been frequently misidentified as Mani (Le Coq 1913, discussion of Taf. 1; 1923, 34; and Klimkeit 1996, 54). This figure' status as a high-ranking elect (Klimkeit 1982a, 28; and Gulácsi 2001, 198) is indicated by the design of his headgear, which is identical in its design to the headgear in an emblem of a *možak* depicted on a Sogdian letter fragment (MIK III 4614); see Gulácsi 2001, 114; and 2005a, 213–216).

script, vertically along the robes of the male elects: Istūd-puhr, Wispuhr Murwāh, Istūd-rōšin, Rāymast-farrux, Rāymast-yazad, Šād Yišo, the scribe Yasan Murwāh Xošti, etc.[34] Similarly, the only mural fragment recovered at Ruin α is also from a ritual image (MIK III 4624, see Fig. 3/3c). In this case, parts of the upper bodies of two male elects survive in front of what may be a pillar of a building, shown close to one another looking to their left.[35] Although the mural fragments of these two *manistans* did not preserve canonical images, it is not impossible that some walls in some of their rooms did feature icons of deities and/or didactic images, perhaps with narratives or diagrams with symmetrical mandala-like designs.

1 *A Wall Painting with a Didactic Image from the Uygur Era*

The only Manichaean wall painting known today with a didactic subject survives not from a *manistan*, but from a rock-cut shrine at Bezeklik, in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China, under the care of the Turfan Antiquarian Bureau (Cave 38, **Figure 5/5**).[36] Located about 10 km to the North from the ruins of Kocho, Bezeklik is an Uygur Buddhist site of over 70 caves of varying sizes excavated from the sandstone wall of a ravine at the foot of the Flaming Mountains. One of its caves (#38) is positively identified as Manichaean today.[37] It is carved as a narrow single-cell space with a vaulted ceiling shaped similarly to many caves at Bezeklik. Its interior walls were plastered and whitewashed to define a small rock-cut shrine (measuring about 8 m in depth, 3 m in height, and 2.5–2.8 m in width) decorated by one painting tightly fitted into the upper two thirds of the back wall. The top of the mural is rounded in a shallow arch as it meets the vaulted ceiling. It measures about 2.5 m in width and about 2 m at its maximum height.[38] Based on its iconography discussed in Chapter 6, this painting depicts the Realm of Light in an iconic manner. This mural was already in damaged condition, when it was first recorded during the early twentieth century. To document its iconography

34 BeDuhn 2001, 244.

35 See Gulácsi 2001, 116. As already noted (see Klimkeit 1982, 29), two types of male headgear are shown on these two wall paintings. At Ruin α, the one partially surviving headgear indicates a conical design, unlike the flaring design of the headgear at Ruin K (see Fig. 3/3). It is possible that they indicate communities with distinct cultural bases (Iranian vs. Turkic/Sino-Turkic).

36 Based on German records, it was initially discussed as Bezeklik Cave 25 (e.g., Grünwedel 1920, 176 and Fig. 66; Moriyasu 2004, 8–15; and Gulácsi 2005a, 42–43).

37 Moriyasu 2004, 17–28; also see Valerie Hansen 2012, 111.

38 Moriyasu's study of this mural includes the onsite observation of its physical context (2004, 6–8). He notes that, at one point, a small arched crawlway was carved into the back wall (beneath the wall painting at the lower left, see Fig. 5/5b), which opens up into a small chamber cut behind the painted wall. Although this modification of the cave carefully avoids the mural, its cut and use is not likely to be simultaneous with the Manichaean employment of this site.

b: Drawing of wall painting (Hackin 1936, Pt. 1)

a: View of single-cell vaulted cave with damaged painting (H: ca. 180 cm, W: ca. 280 cm)

FIGURE 5/5 *Remnant of Uygur Manichaean wall painting*, Realm of Light Awaits the Righteous, *Bezeklik, mid 9th / early 11th century* (*in situ, cave 38, Turfan Antiquarian Bureau, Turfan*)

for future research, it was copied first as a line drawing by Grünwedel and later as a color drawing by Hackin.[39] The latter drawing is reproduced for this study.

Concerning the question of format, the composition of this image is dominated by a single motif formed by a cluster of three threes. Together they form one dense flowery canopy, which is arranged symmetrically to claim the entire upper third of the image—the upper half, if we count the large grapevines, three of which are hanging from the canopy on each side of the trunks. To highlight the trees, the artist centered their trunks along the vertical axis and painted them in isolation from the rest of the motifs: a pool of water at the base of the trees with two sitting birds, facing away from the trees; and twelve figures beneath the canopy, six on each side flanking the pool and looking toward the center (four sitting in the front and two standing behind). A thick orange-red base line frames the painting at the bottom. The background is white. Although this color choice is unusual for a Manichaean painting, a white background (just as the whitewashed walls of this cave cell) makes good sense for the back wall of a cave shrine that never gets direct sunlight.

Most of the still intact main motifs of this mural are also seen on three manuscript illuminations from Kocho, which are positively identified as Manichaean based on their associated texts (**Figure 5/6**). The crowns of these trees are depicted with large disk-like flowers, the red cores of which are enclosed in rings of green leaves (as also on MIK III 6368 and MIK III 8260). The trunks are shown split into a "V" to support the crown comparable to examples of a two-way split (MIK III 6368) and a three-way split (MIK III 8260). Grapes hanging from trees can be seen in another book painting (MIK III 6368), just as can birds and winged figures like these seen among the twelve worshipers (as also on MIK III 4974). Thus, already the designs of these motifs (without considering their symbolic connotations) support the claim that this mural is a Manichaean work of art.[40]

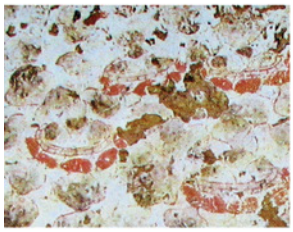
This mural was historically defaced by graffiti written in vertical lines in the lower center across the area of the pool and at a height that could be easily reached by a person standing on the floor of the cave. Although some are faded beyond reading, about fifteen lines of varying length can be counted on top of the bodies of both birds, on the left tree trunk, and on the brown surface of the water between the tree trunks. All are in the Uygur language and the Uygur script.[41] The content of this epigraphic material is consistent with religious

39 Oldenburg 1914, 45–46, Taf. XLII; Grüenwedel 1920, 176, Figs. 66 and 55; as well as Hackin 1936, Plt. 1.

40 In recent studies of this wall painting by Moriyasu (2004, 24–28) and Kósa (2009, 136–140), the main focus is on meaning, that is, proposing possible interpretations for the symbolic connotations of certain motifs in the iconography, see discussion in Chapter 6, below.

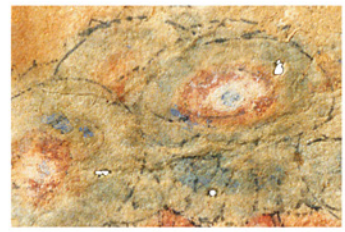
41 In Moriyasu's translation and order, the graffiti read: (long line between tree trunks) "This is a gathering of guardian deities;" (lines on left bird) "With(?) the image of the peacock (in singular). I, Sävit, have written. May there be no sin. [. . .] May [. . .] be protected;" and (lines on right bird): "Ötükän Ngošakanč (and) Qutluk Tapmiš Qy-a may they be protected. . . . I have humbly done [. . .] may be at peace. Please forgive my sins" (2004, 17–18).

a: FLOWERING CROWNS OF TREES



Bezeklik cave 38 and reconstruction by Hackin

MIK III 6368 recto



MIK III 8260 recto

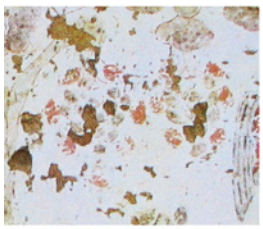
b: SPLIT TREE TRUNKS

Bezeklik cave 38 and reconstruction by Hackin

MIK III 6368 recto

MIK III 8260 recto

c: SUSPENDED GRAPES



Bezeklik cave 38 and reconstruction by Hackin

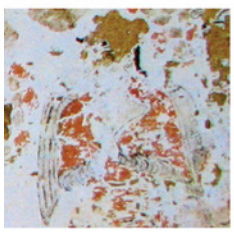
MIK III 6368 recto

d: BIRDS IN POND

Bezeklik cave 38 and reconstruction by Hackin

MIK III 4979 recto

e: WINGED FIGURES



Bezeklik cave 38 and reconstruction by Hackin

MIK III 4979 recto

FIGURE 5/6 *Motifs shared between the* Realm of Light Awaits the Righteous *wall painting and Uygur Manichaean manuscript illumination*

graffiti in its use of the first person, naming of the writer, remarking about personal benefit, and making simplistic references to the image.[42] Although the writers' familiarity with the Manichaean tradition is confirmed by characteristically Manichaean expressions, including common phrases ("may there be no sin" and "forgive my sins") and distinctive words ("female auditor" and "peacock"), the graffiti cannot be read together with the image as if it were an inscription designed to be an integral part of the painting.[43]

Hanging Scrolls: Hanging Scrolls with Didactic Images from Uygur Central Asia and Song-Ming Southern China

The Manichaeans started to employ hanging scrolls for their didactic paintings about half way into their history, in East Central Asia or in northern China. The earliest textual records, as well as the earliest physical remains, first document their existence during the Uygur era from tenth-century Kocho. Due to the prominence of Buddhism in the Chinese capital cities during the early Tang dynasty (618–907 CE), it is possible that the Manichaeans' interest in hanging scrolls began already in Chang'an and Louyang and was catalyzed by the documented popularity of this format in early Chinese Buddhism. If so, hanging scrolls could have been introduced to the Manichaeans of Kocho by Chinese Manichaean refugees fleeing the Tang persecutions of all foreign religions in northern China in 843 CE.

The survey of textual sources about Manichaean art in Chapter 3 above confirmed such paintings from late tenth-century East Central Asia and subsequently from early twelfth-century southern China. Writing after 983 CE, the Uygur elect, Käd Ogul, lists a set of seven paintings (Uyg. *körk*) that were most likely hanging scrolls in a *manistan* built in Kocho in 953 CE. Käd Ogul talks about these painting as a matter-of-fact, giving the impression that he was accustomed to their existence. An analogous set of six hanging scrolls (Ch. *zheng*) is recorded from a *manistan* in the city of Wenzhou in 1120 CE, informing us that such paintings remained displayed in Manichaean temples about

42 See e.g.: the study of the inscriptions, graffiti, and dipinti on the walls of the synagogue and church at Dura-Europos (Kraeling 1956, 261–320; and 1967, 89–97).

43 Although both Moriyasu (2004, 17, note 40) and Kósa (2009, 140) note this, their interpretations are still influenced by the graffiti, as seen for example in their focus on the "peacock". Despite being mentioned in the graffiti, the painting does not depict a peacock; its two bird motifs resemble waterfowls. Being native to South Asia (blue peacock) and Southeast Asia (green peacock), the peacock is an exotic animal in ancient West Asian literature and poetry. It remains integral today to Kurdish Yazidi mythology, many aspects of which are rooted in ancient Mesopotamian religions and folklore—as is the case with certain motifs in Manichaean myth. Although this bird is mentioned in early Manichaean hymns that describe the Realm of Light as accessory to that magical locale, the peacock is not part of Manichaean doctrine and its iconography remains unattested in Manichaean art.

200 years later in southern China. The two texts together give eleven titles, out of which three are identical, confirming the continuity of not only their medium, but also their didactic subjects (see Tab. 3/3). The *Wenzhou Memorial* is especially important for understanding the history of the format of Manichaean didactic paintings, since it confirms that, alongside of solo images painted on silk hanging scrolls, the traditional canonical collection of pictures, the *Book of Pictures* (Ch. *Túјing*), existed simultaneously.

Among the physical remains of Manichaean art that preserve identifiable didactic subjects, hanging scrolls are represented by the largest group of fragments (14 items) that constitute more than one third (39%) of the didactic images known today (see Tab. 5/3: hanging scrolls). The examples include seven Uygur pieces from tenth-century Kocho[44] and eight (five intact and the three cut sections of) Chinese paintings dating from between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries produced and used in southern China, most likely in Zhejiang and Fujian provinces.[45] They all exhibit superb artisanship reflected in the master workmanship of their artists and the use of expensive materials, such as high quality silk supports, gold leaf and gold paint, as well as pigments made of minerals and semi-precious stones. One of them from Kocho is embroidered in fine silk on a silk support and includes thin strips of gold leaf adhered to paper that were stitched onto the silk in between the embroidery.

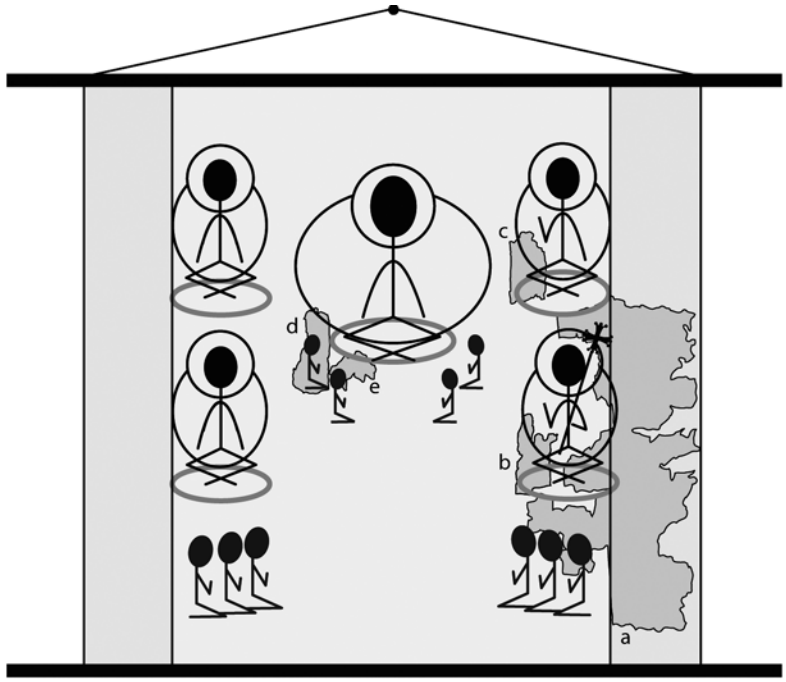
1 *Hanging Scrolls with Didactic Images from Uygur Central Asia*

Seven fragments confirm the existence of Manichaean hanging scrolls with identifiable didactic images from tenth-century Kocho in the Turfan collection of the Asian Art Museum in Berlin (see Tab. 5/3: hanging scrolls). While their torn condition disguises the nuances of their varied formats, these remains retain critical evidence about a time of experimentation with this medium. In addition, they document certain didactic subjects that were also depicted in picture books—the earliest type of object associated with the didactic images in Manichaean art. This contextual tie between the images of picture books and hanging scrolls suggests that, by at least the late tenth century, the Manichaeans of Kocho added the hanging scroll to their pictorial repertoire as a new object that was well suited for displaying and storing didactic images.

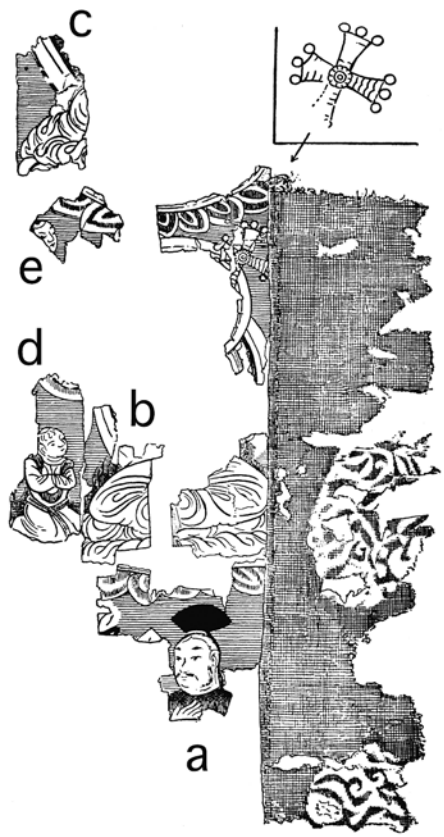
One of these fragments derives from a mono-scenic hanging scroll that featured one large didactic image enclosed in a decorative border (**Figure 5/7**). Its remnants had survived until the early twentieth century as five small painted and gilded pieces of silk that together constituted fragments of an image that depicted the *Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism around the Light Mind*. Although the fragments themselves are lost today, their record survives in a line

44 In scholarship about Central Asian art, these Manichaean hanging scrolls had been traditionally categorized as banners (Bhattacharya-Haesner 2003, 38–49; and Russel-Smith 2002, 221).

45 Furukawa (2010, 56) points to Ningbo (Zhejiang province, China) as the most likely center of production of the soteriological scroll (see Fig. 5/13).



b: Reconstructed layout of hanging scroll (H: min. 110 cm, W: min. 90 cm)



a: Drawing of now lost painted and gilded silk fragment with Jesus figure (Le Coq 1923, 26; H: ca. 60 cm)

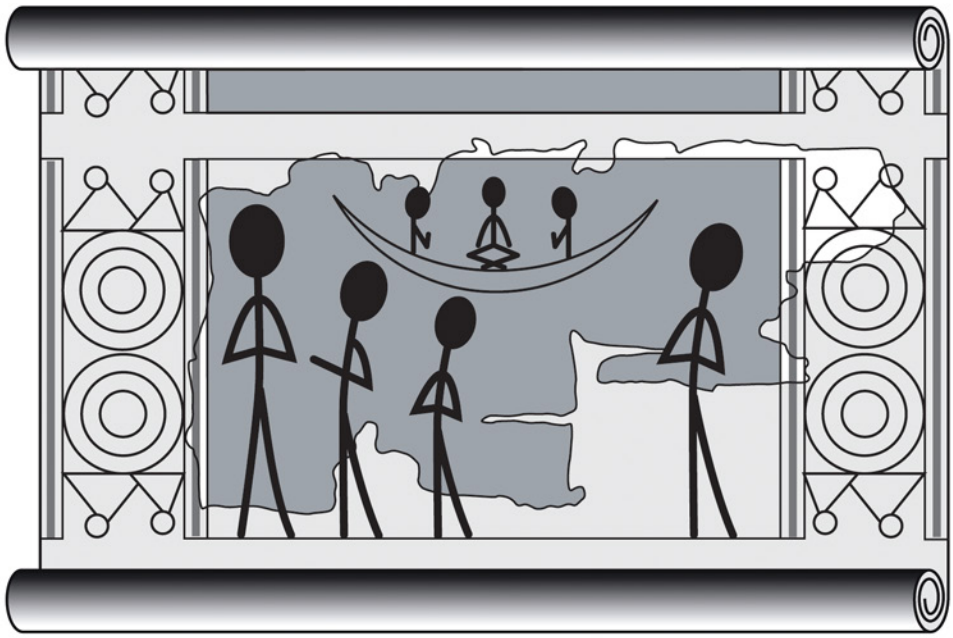
FIGURE 5/7 *Fragment of Uygur Manichaean hanging scroll*, Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism around the Light Mind, *Kocho, mid 9th / early 11th century* (*lost item, Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)

drawing and a detailed description published by Le Coq in 1923, permitting the reconstruction of the original layout of this hanging scroll.[46] *Fragment a* derives from the lower right corner and contains the largest surviving section of the paining and its decorative border. The right half of this fragment belonged to a violet-colored silk border, which was adorned with white rosettes in wax-resist dyeing, stitched to the edges of the painting. The latter retains five figures: two larger- and three smaller-scale figures. At the very top, only the curving edge of a lotus support remains from one of the larger figures. Beneath it, the second larger figure is indicated by a halo and more-or-less intact lower body, shown seated cross-legged on a lotus support. Along the upper right of the halo, an even-armed processional cross (originally gilded) indicates that a cross-culminating staff was held by this figure. Beneath its lotus seat, the upper body of a layman is shown. To its left, two additional headgears indicate two additional figures painted on the same small scale and in the same pose. *Fragments b and c* contain bits from the left knees and mandorlas of two larger figures and thus originally belonged to either the two larger figures depicted along the right, or two additional similar figures along the left edge of the image. *Fragments d and e* retain bits from a mandorla and lotus seat painted on the largest scale and thus could not have been parts of the four side figures, but instead suggest another figure who was depicted on the largest scale most likely in the center of the composition, as is the case on the scroll fragment with the *Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism around the Light Mind* (MIK III 4947 & III 5d, see Fig. 5/2). In addition to the largest central figure, these fragments retain the full body of a boy and the head of boy, positioned sitting on their heels below the central figure, most likely two on each side. In light of the above reconstruction, the overall size of the complete image (ca. 90 cm × 70 cm) and its border (ca. 10 cm) suggest a vertical display of a single image framed in a decorative border. A comparable design is also attested on some of the Buddhist temple banners surviving from Kocho.[47]

A multi-scenic didactic hanging scroll is documented in another fragment, the design of which consisted of numerous framed subscenes enclosed together in a decorative border as one complex image (**Figure 5/8**). The surviving pictorial content indicates that this piece of painted silk depicted

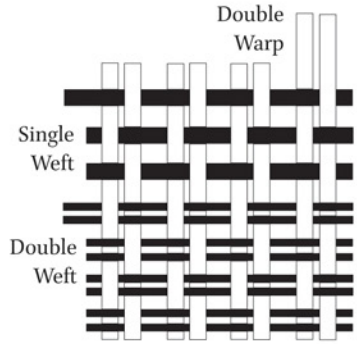
46 Both Le Coq (1923, 25–26) and Klimkeit (1982a, 43) considered the textile fragment preserved through this line drawing to be a Manichaean depiction of Jesus. Nevertheless, since neither elects nor any "token motifs" are contained in it, this fragment has been designated having an "unconfirmed Manichaean origin" (Gulácsi 1997, 186; and 2001, 266). The subsequent recognition of a Manichaean pictorial subject (Primary Prophets) based on the analogy to the image preserved on the scroll fragment with the Buddha (MIK III 4947 & III 5d), however, confirms the previously assumed Manichaean reading of this fragment by Le Coq and Klimkeit. Thus, the Manichaean origin of this fragment, which may be hypothesized based on its site of origin (Ruin K) and its technical traits (use of ultramarine blue, gold leaf, and the "West Asian style of Manichaean art"), becomes confirmed by its canonical subject (Gulácsi 2009, 130).

47 Bhattacharya-Haesner classes this as banner as "type C III" (2003, 39 and 44–49). Her examples include MIK III 7458, MIK III 6340, and MIK III 6220 (2003, 231, 258–59 and 71).

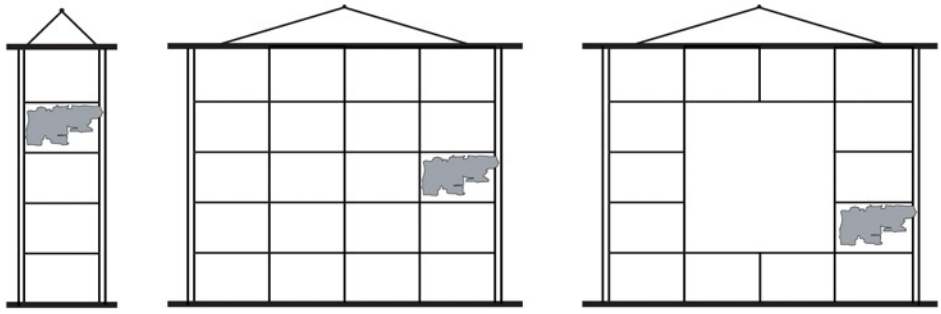


b: Reconstructed layout of hanging scroll (W: min. 25 cm)

a: Fragment of painted silk oriented with vertical warp (H: 13.0 cm W: 20.3 cm)



c: Extended plain-weave binding structure with vertically oriented warps



d: Three possible hanging scroll layouts

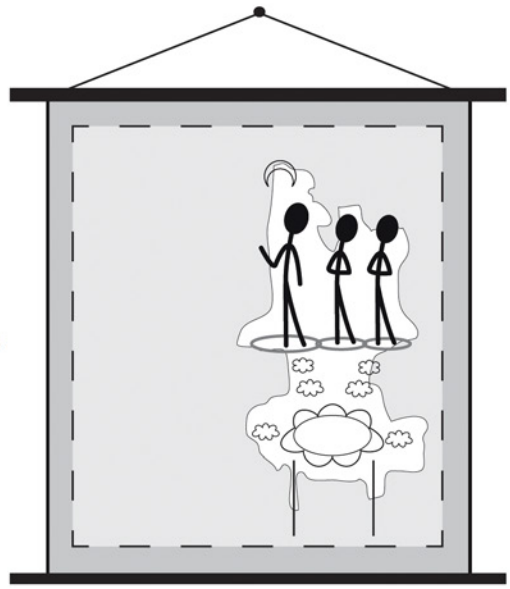
FIGURE 5/8 *Fragment of Uygur Manichaean hanging scroll with* Deities of Earth and Moon, *Kocho, mid 9th / early 11th century* (*MIK III 6278, Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)

a cosmological image with the *Deities of Earth and Moon* (MIK III 6278). In this case, the binding structure of the silk confirms a vertical warp, that is, the vertical orientation of the cloth. This fact eliminates the horizontal pictorial handscroll as a possible format (where the warp would be horizontal). The vertical warp points to a vertical format, such as a silk hanging scroll. The separation of the individual subscenes from one another on the painted surface of this hanging scroll is also documented in this fragment. Along its upper edge, the blue background is enclosed in a thin black line surrounded by what appears to be unpainted blank silk. Parts of a wide border filled with geometrical motifs are seen along the right edge. It is unclear whether this arrangement was mirrored along the left, or if another subscene was shown there, since no evidence survives about the original width of the complete image. It is possible that several subscenes were painted beneath one another. If so, the design of this silk hanging scroll would have been a vertical version of a horizontal handscroll. This hypothesis is supported by the size and the definition of the one surviving subscene, which is comparable to the scale and framing of the handscroll that retains an *Unidentified Theological Diagram* (MIK III 4975, see Fig. 5/1). An alternative design may also be hypothesized in light of contemporaneous Buddhist examples, involving a larger subscene enclosed by smaller secondary subscenes along the two (or on all four) sides. Although popular for Pure Land Buddhist themes, the latter design is not documented among the currently known examples of Manichaean art. We cannot determine the multi-scenic or mono-scenic formats of the other two hanging scrolls that depicted teachings about the cosmos, as documented by a fragment with a *Rainbow Bridge Motif* (MIK III 7019 & III 7024h, see Fig. 6/35b) and a fragment with an *Atlas Figure Motif* (MIK III 6275, see Fig. 6/35b).

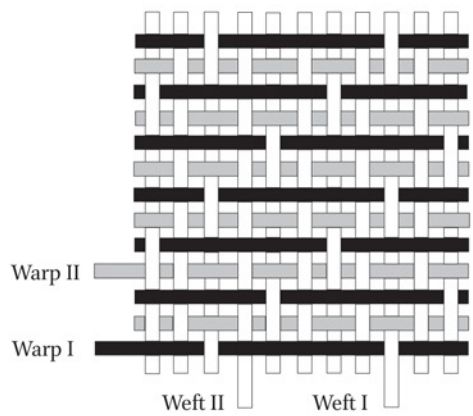
An embroidered version of a mono-scenic didactic hanging scroll is preserved in a fragment of a *Salvation of the Light with the Light Maiden* image (MIK III 6251, **Figure 5/9**). Based on what is left from the original work of art, it seems that the surface of this hanging scroll consisted of three sections, including a didactic image on top, lotus flowers in the middle, and a Sogdian inscription beneath the flowers. They were conveyed in various techniques of embroidery that, in addition to chain, flat, and laid stitches, integrates thin strips of gold leaf adhered to paper tightly stitched along the inner edges of the lotus petals. The original dimensions of the embroidery are unknown. At minimum a few centimeters is missing from the upper part of the didactic image as indicated by the outline drawing of a partially preserved moon crescent at the upper left. The lack of stitching on the moon suggests that this section of the image was planned out, but never finished. The original length of the section with the lotus flowers seems to be intact in its maximum height. From the inscription, however, only a one-word-long portion was still preserved in 1913, when the item was first photographed and published by Le Coq.[48] It is reasonable to assume that the text area consisted of several words arranged

48 Subsequently even these two words were lost and the item today contains only the fragment of a didactic image and the lotus flowers (Gulácsi 2001, 193–195 and 246).

a: Fragment of embroidered silk oriented with horizontal warp
(H: 13.0 cm W: 20.3 cm)



b: Interpretation of fragment as a hanging scroll (W: min. 40-50 cm)



c: Warp-twill-compound weave binding structure with horizontally oriented warps

FIGURE 5/9 *Fragment of Uygur Manichaean hanging scroll*, Salvation of the Light and the Light Maiden, *Kocho, mid 9th / early 11th century* (*MIK III 6251, Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)

in vertical lines that would have added an additional 5–10 cm to the original height. It is unlikely, however, that the original height was significantly more than what survives, since the silk here is embroidered with its warp oriented horizontally. Such an orientation restricts the useful height to the loom-width.

Inscriptions designed to supplement a didactic image are attested on two Manichaean hanging scrolls from Kocho. On the above-discussed fragment of a *Salvation of the Light with Light Maiden* (MIK III 6251), the first words of two lines survive in Sogdian script and Sogdian language.[49] In their case, there is not enough textual data to judge the original content of the passage embroidered with a technique of couching gilded paper strips to the silk.[50] The fragments with *Soldiers Fighting a Demon* (MIK III 6279 a–i, **Figure 5/10**) preserve a few isolated words from eight Middle Persian lines in Manichaean script ("... went from him ...," "... blessed. Great ...," "... collection ...," and "... pure ones ..." "... kingdom ...," "... first obligation ...," and "... every time ..."). While these words do give the impression of prose, what survives is once again not substantial enough to determine the subject of their original passage inscribed here.[51] Nevertheless, these two fragmentary texts together retain some useful data to be considered in light of the roles that inscriptions play on better-preserved examples of Manichaean didactic paintings.[52]

These inscriptions fit the writing direction of individual words seen in Manichaean painting, but not their attested purposes. As customary, the standard horizontal (from right to left) lines of all Aramaic-based scripts (Manichaean, Sogdian, and Uygur) are written vertically (from top to bottom) in paintings. The content and the function of the inscriptions surviving on these two hangings scrolls, however, do not match any other examples, since these two texts were not labels that identified one figure with one name, as most inscriptions in Manichaean art are.[53] Based on their prominent sizes, it is unlikely that they were dedicatory colophons, an example of which survives on a Chinese Manichaean hanging scroll with a *Salvation of the Laity* (Yamato Bunkakan, see Fig. 5/9).[54] It is not entirely impossible, that the texts on these

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49 The longer seems to read: *Khwarkhshedzad* lit. 'Sun-son,' probably as a name of an elect. The reading of the shorter word is unclear (personal communication with Yutaka Yoshida).

50 For a diagram explaining this and other techniques of embroidery used in tenth-century Kocho, see Schröter 2003, 484–485 and Fig. 24.

51 Gulácsi 2001, 170–171 and 243–244. The formal qualities of this fragment are discussed in Chapter 6 under "Mythic History" (see Fig. 6/48).

52 These inscriptions were designed to be part of the didactic image and thus, they should not be confused with graffiti, as seen on the Manichaean wall painting at Bezeklik, discussed above.

53 Names of elects are routinely written vertically across or next to their bodies in Uygur Manichaean art (see e.g., Gulácsi 2005a, Figs. 2/3 and 2/6).

54 Dedicatory colophons are also attested on contemporaneous Buddhist banners from Dunhuang (see Whitfield and Farrer 1990, 46–51). Although in more fragmentary conditions, Buddhist banner inscriptions also survive among the Turfan remains (see

FIGURE 5/10 *Fragments of Uygur Manichaean hanging scroll*, Soldiers Fighting a Demon, *Kocho, mid 9th / early 11th century* (*MIK III 6279a-i, Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)

two banners provided brief explanations of their images, although this function remains unattested in a Manichaean context.[55]

As long as they preserve identifiable content, even the seemingly most insignificant pieces of painted silks can provide useful data about the formats of Uygur Manichaean hanging scrolls, such as the *Fragments with Female Busts on Plates from an Icon of an Unidentified Deity* (MIK III 6272 & III 7021b, **Figure 5/11**). Two small fragments survive from this painting.[56] One of them retains three human busts in a crescent shape (MIK III 6272). The busts are portrayed as heads with eyes looking in the same direction. Their headgears are not preserved. The crescent is defined as a fluted gold vessel projected frontally with a horizon that matches the viewer's eye-level. The second fragment (MIK III 7021b) preserves a section of a large halo along its upper left edge, a small part of a large mandorla long its lower left edge, the bottom of a gilded plate along its top edge, and the tip of another golden plate at its lower right edge. In addition, it holds a sizable section from an orange background decorated with a white swirling pattern. These clues together with the scale of the surviving crescent motifs confirm that the hanging scroll to which these fragments belonged focused on a deity that was enclosed in repeated motifs of female busts in gold crescents. Informing the interpretation of the image on the silk hanging scroll, is an analogous composition on an illuminated folio fragment (MIK III 7283 recto, see Fig. 5/36). In that case, the crescent motif is shown in two versions (a one-busted crescent and a two-busted crescent), in both of which the female heads look away from the deity, as was most certainly the case on this hanging scroll as well.

The above similarity between two icons of an unidentified deity on a hanging scroll and a folio of an illuminated service book confirms that different types of objects can feature images with identical subjects in Uygur Manichaean didactic art. This fact is especially significant because, as we have also seen above, the one hanging scroll (the now-lost Le Coq fragment, see

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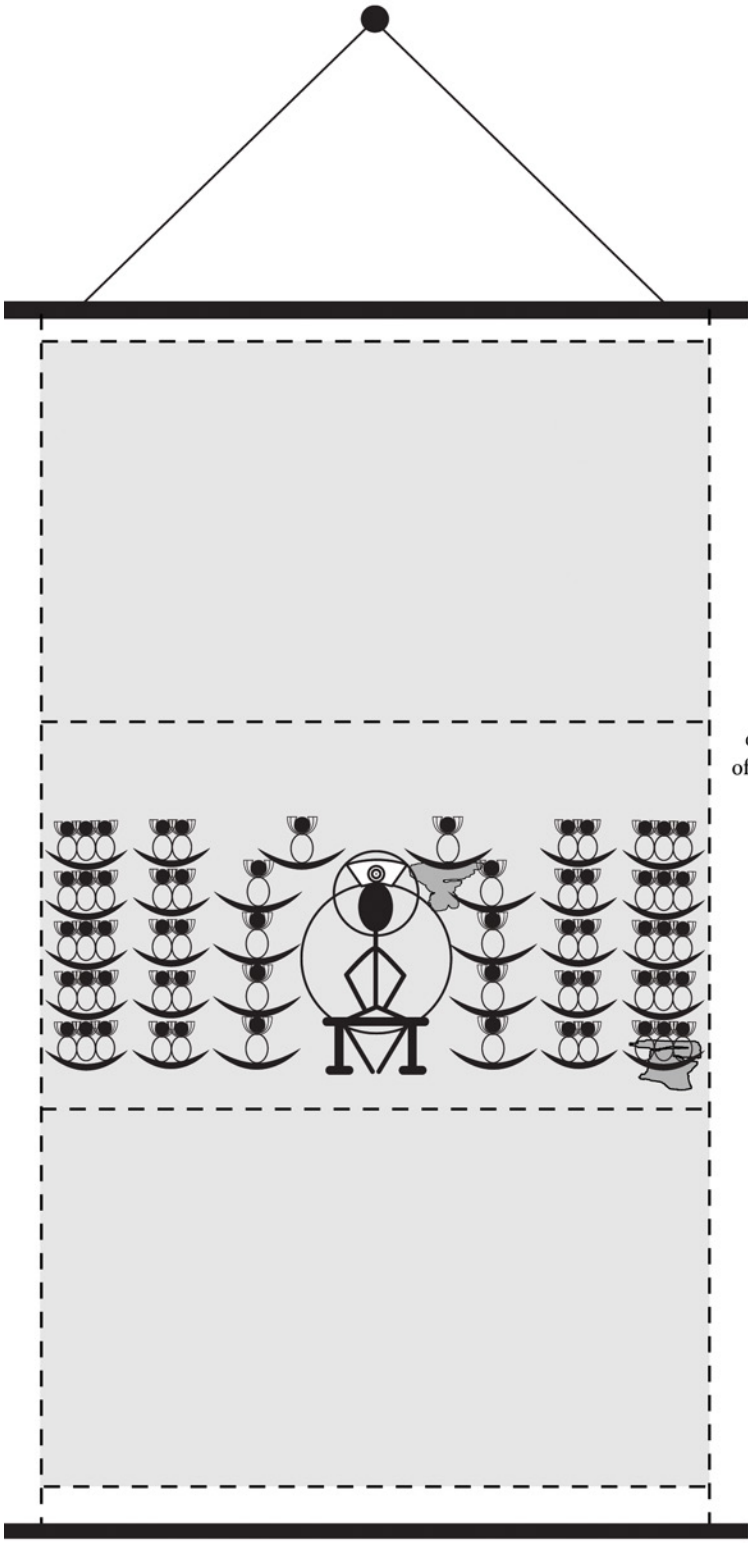
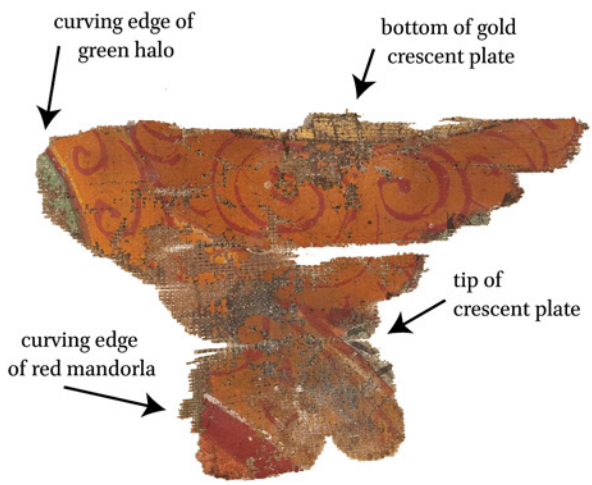
their translations by Takao Moriyasu and Peter Zieme in Bhattacharya-Haesner 2003, 461–474).

55 Images with brief explanatory inscriptions in horizontal pictorial scrolls are used in the context of Japanese *etoki* performances (see Mair 1988, Color Plate 6; and Kaminishi 2006, Plates 4–5).

56 According to records of the German Turfan expeditions, these two fragments were not found together. While MIK III 6272 was found in Ruin K during the second expedition, MIK III 7021b was found in Ruin α during the first expedition. Nevertheless, Bhattacharya-Haesner (2003, #544 and #545 and p. 368–369 and 370–371) notes their similar texture and weave of the silk, signs of the same artist's hand in the execution of the swirling pattern of the orange background, as well as the iconographic analogy to the book painting on the illuminated codex folio MIK III 7283 recto (see Fig. 5/37). In lieu of knowing if in fact they shared a thread count and binding structure, a partially preserved crescent motif links MIK III 7021b to MIK III 6272, which retains a large section from an identical motif and thus provides a strong support for the claim they derive from one silk painting. Also see Yoshida's discussion of the MIK III 6272 (2015a, 152).



c: Reconstructed layout of hanging scroll (estimated width min. 44 cm)



a: Fragment (MIK III 7021b) of painted silk
(H: 4.2 cm W: 6.6 cm)

b: Fragment (MIK III 6272) of painted silk
(H: 3.0 cm W: 4.2 cm)

FIGURE 5/11 *Fragments of Uygur Manichaean hanging scroll*, Icon of an Unidentified Deity Enclosed by Female Busts on Crescents, *Kocho, mid 9th / early 11th century* (*MIK III 6272 & III 7021b, Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)

Fig. 5/5) retains a version of the Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism and the Light Mind subject also attested on a fragment of a picture book in a handscroll format (MIK III 4947 & III 5d, see Fig. 5/2). Another subject, the Liberation of Light, is shared between a hanging scroll (MIK III 6251, see Fig. 5/9) and an illuminated folio (MIK III 4947, see Fig. 5/30). Such examples of shared didactic content among images of hanging scrolls, illuminated manuscripts, and picture books suggest a common repertoire of subjects in tenth-century Kocho.

2 *Hanging Scrolls with Didactic Images from Song, Yuan, and Ming Southern China*

Eight examples document hanging scrolls with Manichaean didactic images from southern China from between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries (see Tab.5/3: hanging scrolls). They are housed in three Japanese art collections, including that of the Yamato Art Museum (Yamato Bunkakan) in Nara, the Seiun-ji Zen temple near Kofu in Yamanashi prefecture, and an anonymous private collection; and one American collection—the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco. These eight works of art survive in good condition and constitute the only Manichaean paintings known currently from East Asia.[57]

Standardized materials, formats, and layouts are apparent on all of them (**Figure 5/12**). Their supports are made of high-quality tightly woven silks that were delicately painted and heavily gilded. The large amount of gold leaf and gold paint used in them is unusual for Chinese paintings even during the Yuan dynasty.[58] The five complete examples exhibit a height-to-width ratio of about 2.5:1 (ranging between 2.06:1 and 2.67:1). Although all have been slightly trimmed, their widths are comparable within a 10 cm range (ranging between 57.5 cm and 67.3 cm), including the intact widths of the three fragments that were reduced only in their original heights. In addition, three types of layout govern their vertical surfaces: mono-scenic icons, multi-scenic narratives, and multi-scenic diagrams. The *mono-scenic icons* feature a solitary deity as documented by two examples, the icon of Mani and the icon of Jesus (Fig. 5/12a–b, also see Figs. 6/29 and 6/32). The *multi-scenic narratives* are arranged in either registers or in a continuous landscape. Ruled registers are seen on one hanging scroll depicting teachings about cosmology (Fig. 5/8c) and the two prophetology fragments about the birth of Mani (Fig. 5/12e, also see Figs. 6/13 and 6/20). Narratives painted in a landscape setting incorporate numerous subscenes into a single panorama, as seen on two depictions of prophetology, including the possibly-close-to-intact fragment depicting Mani's missionary activities (Fig. 5/12d, also see Fig. 6/21) and the prophetology fragment that shows the

57 Furukawa (2012, 13–17 and 25) suggested that these two fragments might derived from one painting, although their physical ties are unconfirmed. Recently, Miki Morita (2016, forthcoming) discovered yet another fragment that seems to belongs to this group in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco (see Fig. 6/13), which displays close ties with the *Birth of Mani* fragment in the Kyūshū National Museum and seems to depict *Mani's Parents*.

58 Leidy 2010, 122–126.

FIGURE 5/12 *Relative proportions of Chinese Manichaean hanging scrolls*

subject of establishing a Manichaean community (Fig. 5/12f, also see Figs. 6/22). The only example of a *multi-scenic diagram* arranges a panorama of six vertical layers to map the details of a complex cosmological teaching (Fig. 5/12g). The formal qualities of two from among these paintings require a closer look—one of them contains more than just a series of didactic narratives, while another is preserved in three parts and thus, requires an argument for the technical steps of the digital matching of its surviving fragments.

A multi-scenic narrative that depicts *Mani's Teachings about the Salvation* combines a sermon subscene with the depictions of soteriological teaching in the rest of the registers (Yamato Bunkakan, **Figure 5/13**). This unique didactic display is arranged into five registers. The largest among them, the *Sermon Scene*, is the main image of the painting, shown as the second register from the top. It depicts a ritual image, many examples of which survive in Manichaean book art. Besides sermons, they show alms services, in one case a conversion and in another the annual *Bēma* Festival. Such ritual images routinely feature members of the community from tenth-century Kocho, depicting and naming certain individuals. This Chinese depiction of a sermon takes the viewer to a hall with a tiled floor, arranged symmetrically around a statue of Mani in its center. In this space, a high-ranking elect is shown seated on the right, gesturing, as he gives a teaching aided by a standing elect. Listening to him is a high-ranking auditor seated on the left with his servant standing at his side.

LIGHT MAIDEN'S VISIT TO HEAVEN
Stages of visit: greeting by host upon arrival, meeting with host in palace, farewell to host

MANICHAEAN SERMON
Teaching performed around a statue of Mani

GOOD REINCARNATION
Four classes of Chinese society (itinerant workers, craftsmen, farmers, aristocrats)

JUDGEMENT
Light Maiden's intervention in the judgement after death

dedicatory instription (detail)

TORTURES OF GEHENNA
Person shot with arrows, person sawn in half, person crushed by fiery wheel, demons waiting for their victim

a: Hanging scroll (H: 142 cm, W: 59.2 cm), colors on silk

FIGURE 5/13 *Chinese Manichaean hanging scroll*, Sermon on Mani's Teaching on Salvation, *Ningbo, 13th/14th century* (*Yamato Bunkakan, Nara*)

The rest of the registers show various aspects of the *Judgment and Rebirth of Laity*—a didactic image well attested in Manichaean art. Sandwiched between a register with the four kinds of good reincarnation and a register showing the tortures of Gehenna, the largest didactic subscene depicts the postmortem judgment of laity and incorporates the only dedicatory inscription known today from Manichaean pictorial art (see Fig. 5/13b). The text is inconspicuously integrated into the landscape on the surface of stone stele at the lower left of this register. Its inscription reads:

> Zhang Siyi from a parish(?) called Dongzheng, who is a leader of the disciples, together with his wife Xinniang [from] the family of Zheng make a donation and respectfully present a sacred painting of Hades to a temple of vegetarians located on the Baoshan mountain. They wish to provide it as their eternal offering. Accordingly, peace may be kept. In the year [. . .] and month [. . . .].[59]

As to be expected from a colophon, this text identifies the donors as a lay couple, Zhang Siyi, "who is a leader of the disciples" and "his wife Xinniang [from] the family of Zheng." Since, donor figures are routinely presented in the art they donate, it is possible that in this painting they are referenced as the man and woman plaintiffs, whose case is presented to the Judge in order to foreshadow their eminent judgment and express hope for the appearance of the Light Maiden, who is shown arriving on a cloud in the upper left corner.[60]

This intricate painting is hardly suited for casual viewing. Despite the logical layout of the subscenes (heaven on top, hell on the bottom, and the human realm in the middle), the complex sequence of the five registers would remain incomprehensible without the guiding explanation of a learned elect. Therefore, this silk painting can be best interpreted as a work of art designed as a visual aid for religious instruction, which was used by a Manichaean community in southern China, possibly in the region of Ningbo, in Zhejiang province, most likely during the late Yuan dynasty (1271–1368 CE).[61]

The Chinese Manichaean *Diagram of the Universe* (**Figure 5/14**) displays an even greater complexity, which until recently was disguised by the fragmented preservation of this painting. This hanging scroll survives in three independent parts, all of which belong to a private collection in Japan. They include the *cosmology fragment* (137.1 cm × 56.6 cm), the *large paradise fragment* (17.0 × 37.4 cm), and the *small paradise fragment* (17.2 × 22.5 cm).[62] These three

59 The English translation of this inscription by Takao Moriyasu is discussed by Yoshida (2009, Appendix and notes 4, 5, and 24).

60 Ebert 2015, 153–160.

61 Furukawa (2009, 54) dates the image to between the mid fourteenth and early fifteenth century, that is, sometime during the late Yuan (1271–1368 CE) and the early Ming dynasty (1368–1644 CE).

62 Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015, 57–65.

b: *Large paradise fragment*
(H: 17.0, W: 37.4 cm)

c: *Small paradise fragment*
(H: 17.1, W: 22.5 cm)

a: *Cosmology fragment*
(H: 137.1, W: 56.6 cm)

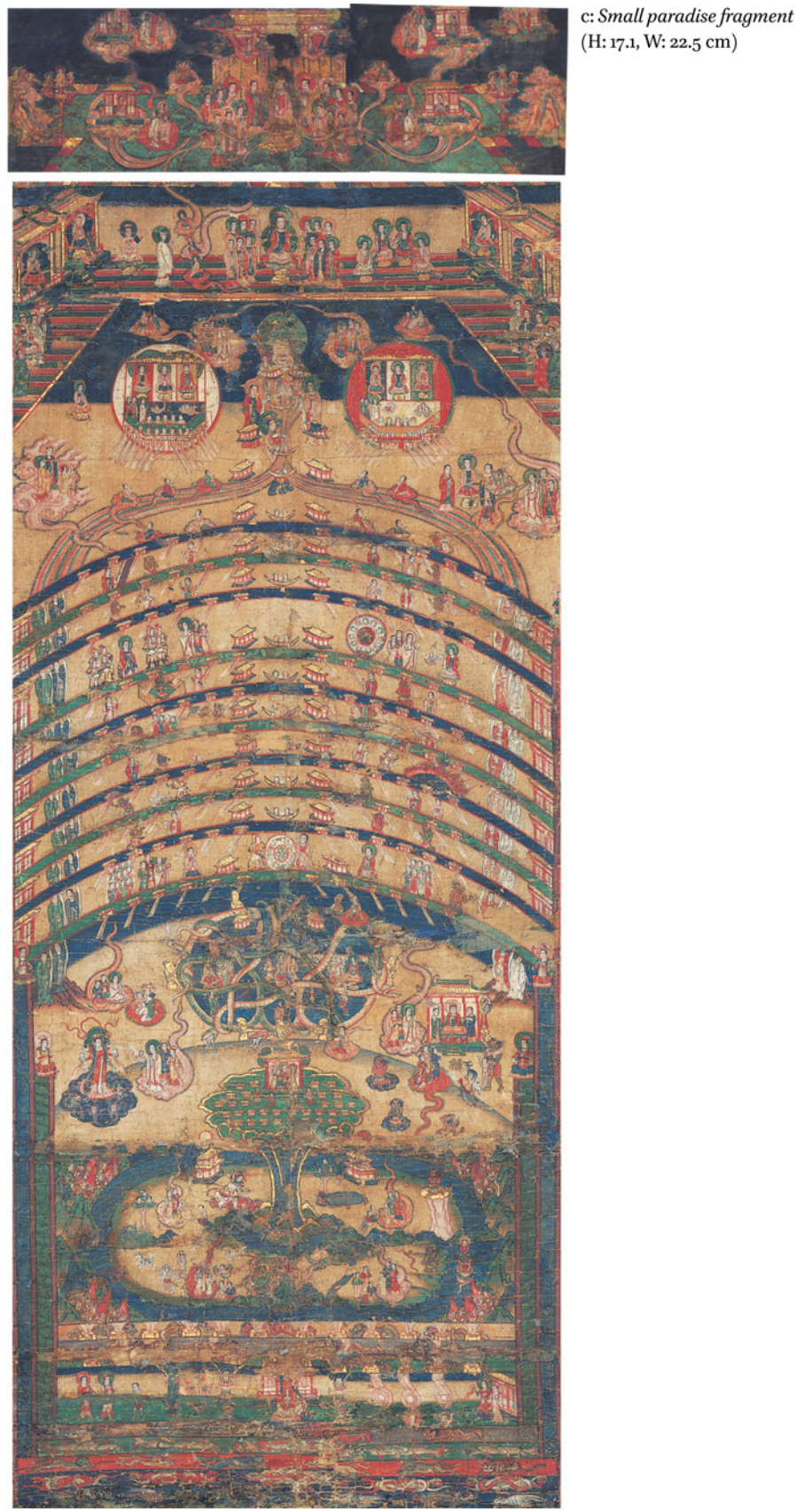


FIGURE 5/14 *Chinese Manichaean hanging scroll*, Diagram of the Universe, *southern China, 13th–14th century* (*private collection, Japan, see Fig. 6/36*)

fragments together document the most intricate Manichaean didactic painting known today.

The preliminary work of assembling this hanging scroll began in 2010 with the *small paradise fragment* and the *large paradise fragment* in the course of their Manichaean identification and initial publication.[63] At that time, these two were understood to belong together, but with the temple on the right and a partially surviving triangular pond on the left. A reverse arrangement (with the temple in the center and the two ponds at the two sides) was argued in 2011, suggesting that these fragments represented the upper section cut from a full depiction of the cosmos used for teaching with images.[64] In all subsequent discussions, they became regarded as parts of one, now-lost, cosmological painting. Numerous contextual and visual clues, however, require us to go further and consider the two *paradise fragments* together with the *cosmology fragment*, not only as thematically, but also physically matching parts of a fully preserved magnificent depiction of the Manichaean cosmos.

Numerous compositional clues suggest that the two *paradise fragments* and the *cosmology fragment* belonged to a single work of art. A good place to start noticing some of these clues is the upper section of the *cosmology fragment*, where Mani is shown standing next to something important to observe (see 5/16 and 5/17).[65] At this location, however, Mani is *not* looking at the centrally positioned deity and its entourage. It seems that he has already finished viewing them and moved on to another task, which requires him to look up. The depiction of this other task puts Mani in the role of a "transitory figure," used by the artist to link one section of the composition to another. In this case, Mani's head is positioned looking up. His gaze urges the viewer to follow this direction to a realm above him. In addition to this implied line, the artist uses two actual lines for this task. They are drawn as tapering "cloud trails," leading upward from two of the three clouds that hover in front of Mani. A divine messenger is seated on each. Their clouds are drawn with trails that indicate movement from above, conveying effectively that these two figures have just descended from a realm further up. The cloud trails, however, are abruptly cut at the current top edge of the fragment, suggesting that the realm to which they are supposed to lead the viewer is no longer part of the *cosmology fragment*.

63 The *small paradise fragment* ("Realm of Light B"), the *large paradise fragment* ("Realm of Light A"), and the *cosmology fragment* ("Cosmogony") were first identified by Yoshida at the Seventh International Congress of Manichaean Studies (Dublin, 2009) and subsequently published by him and Shoichi Furukawa (2010: color pls. 6, 5, and 1, respectively).

64 The rearranging of two fragments, but not their joining to the larger cosmology fragment, was also suggested by Dr. Nakabe, a curator of the Yamato Art Museum (Yoshida 2010, 31 and note 64). On this issue, Kósa (2010–2011, 26) notes that "it might also turn out that these two Realm of Light fragments belonged to a painting that was similar to the C[osmology] P[ainting] (an idea put forward by Zs. Gulácsi in Nara, June 6, 2011, private communication)."

65 See Yoshida's extensive discussion proving the identity of these figures as Mani (2010, 8–9).

The continuation of each cloud trail is visible in the *paradise fragments*, as will be demonstrated in detail below.

The common origin of these three fragments is also signaled by their materials and techniques. A color repertoire is shared throughout, demonstrating the dominance of mineral-based paints in green, white, red, dark blue, and red-brown hues. Gilding is frequent. The scales, proportions, and the style of execution of the anthropomorphic beings (human and divine), the architectural structures, as well as the occasional trees and landscape all compare favorably among the three fragments. Such shared features already demonstrate a common period and workshop style.

Another important prof is provided by the repeated use of identical motifs that were painted by the same artist, as seen in the depictions of the Mani figure and of a row of colorful tiles (**Figure 5/15**).[66] In all three fragments, the Mani's figures are shown from full profile with chin lifted observing something above. In these depictions, the silhouette of Mani's face against the green halo, his facial features, the shape of his ear, the black lines that indicate the folds of his garment, and the angels of the red border that hems his outer cloak all attest being painted by one hand. An equally convincing unity is also displayed by the row of colorful tiles across the three fragments. In the two paradise fragments, some tiles are preserved in perfect condition along the left and right sides of the original composition, allowing us to observe that their base colors were decorated with delicate designs in contrasting lines (red lines on the white tiles, gold lines on the green tiles, white lines on the blue tiles, and what appears to be orange lines on the red tiles and possibly red lines on the gold tiles). At the upper edge of the *cosmology fragment*, an identical row of these tiles is preserved, halved.

An equally significant sign for the matching of these fragments is found in the fact that their pictorial contents complete one another in relation to Manichaean cosmological doctrine, as detailed in Chapter 6. If one starts from a comprehensive model of the cosmos based on Manichaean texts, it becomes clear that the *cosmology fragment* and two *paradise fragments* have a necessary complementarity, and only together provide a complete representation of the Manichaean universe.[67] Thus, even if the *paradise fragments* and the

66 Furukawa (2010, 40–42) noted the similar execution of the Mani figures on these three fragments while noticing numerous other clues that tie the three fragments together. Similarly, Kósa observes that, "the alternative Realm of Light depiction [. . .] features a basically green land bordered by lozenge-shaped tiles with unique motifs on them" (2015b:181) and comments that, "the remnants of a similar row of tiles can be discerned at the very top of the C[osmology] P[ainting]" (194, note 8) without detecting that the tiles are identical, painted by the same hand, and belonged to one painting.

67 Concerning clues about the missing depiction of the Realm of Light in the *cosmology fragment*, Kósa (2015b, 183) also puzzled over why the upper corners of the *cosmology fragment*, show four structures (rather than five), whereas the detached *paradise fragments* show five structures.

a: Details from *large paradise fragment*

b: Details from *small paradise fragment*

c: Details from *cosmology fragment*

FIGURE 5/15 *Reoccurring motifs of the two* paradise fragments *and the* cosmology fragment (*details of Fig. 5/14*)

cosmology fragment did not physically match, based on their complementary content, they must be considered together for religious studies research.[68]

The above characteristics go beyond indicating merely a thematic cohesion. Quite remarkably, they suggest that the *cosmology fragment* and the two *paradise fragments* derived from a single work of art. In order to unify the large surface of the painting, relate its over 900 motifs (anthropomorphic beings, animals, buildings and gates, mountains, rivers, and other objects) to each other, and move the viewer's attention from one section to the other, various pictorial devices were built into the original composition. These devices are retained throughout both *paradise fragments* and within the upper part of the *cosmology fragment*, in each case alluding to a realm below and above, respectively, that are no longer physically part of the fragments in their current condition.

Their state of preservation presents the greatest obstacle in recognizing that these three fragments physically match. On the one hand, each fragment has lost some its content through cropping by a different amount along each of its four sides, which makes it hard to see how they connect to one another. The *cosmology fragment* no longer retains its uppermost subscene. It was also cropped vertically at its two sides. On the right, at the height of the tenth firmament of the sky, only half of a deity is retained seated on a lotus base atop

68 For more on this question, see Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015, 57.

a tall column that reached all the way down to the bottom of the painting. Full versions of deities in analogous roles and iconography can be seen on both sides of the fragment, at the two sides of the first firmament and the outer atmosphere, respectively. Due to a wider cropping along the left side, the deity on the left of the tenth firmament is no longer retained. On the other hand, certain portions of the fragments show signs of restoration.[69] This is especially prominent on the two *paradise fragments*. Based on a study of the layers of paint in person and through high-resolution digital images, it seems that prior to their restoration, areas of the original painting to which they belonged were highly damaged, and possibly already broken into separate pieces (perhaps due to folding). To save the surviving sections, a new silk support had to be introduced beneath the salvaged segments. This new silk was painted to fit the saved original content in small sections, especially around the cut edges. While successfully securing the original content, this restoration also stretched the original spacing to the right of the group of figures centered on the vertical axis of the original by ca. 3 cm. This added extra width upsets the symmetry of the original composition and disguises the original relationship of the fragments.

Digital imaging technology allows us to see beyond the physical impacts of decay and subsequent restoration that, while essential in securing the preservation of these three fragments, today present a hardship in seeing how they originally belonged together. By following a step-by-step process of virtual matching, we are able to demonstrate on the computer screen (and in print) how the *cosmology* and two *paradise fragments* were part of a single painting.

The vertical axis remains an uncompromised reference even in a painting that is cut into pieces. Thus, the first step is the aligning of the two fragments that retain the vertical axis from the original composition—the *large paradise fragment* and the *cosmology fragment* (**Figure 5/16**). When these two fragments are correctly aligned, their implied line of symmetry can be observed from the upper edge of the *large paradise fragment*, starting from the middle of its temple and running straight down along the frontally projected body of the main deity (flanked by seven figures in three-quarter view on each side) to continue in the *cosmology fragment* through the likewise frontally projected body of another deity (surrounded by six figures in three-quarter view on each side). This axis proceeds vertically across the middle of the rest of the picture plane.

Strong supporting evidence corroborating the above alignment comes from two cloud-trails that were drawn continuously across the lower edge of the *large paradise fragment*, the now missing horizontal cut that separates the fragments today, and the upper edge of the *cosmology fragment* (**Figure 5/17**). In their widest extent, these trails culminate in the *cosmology fragment*, in two clouds that hover with their tiny occupants in front of the white-clad figure of Mani. The trails of these clouds gradually taper as they meander upward, leading back to the pedestal of the central deity in the *large paradise fragment*.

69 On the basis of a close examination of the fragments, Furukawa drew the conclusion that they were restored and over-painted by later (possibly modern) hands (2010, 36a, 38b).

FIGURE 5/16 *Aligning the vertical axis preserved on* large paradise fragment *and* cosmology fragment (*details of Fig. 5/14*)

Both trails have been damaged. The trail of the upper cloud is better preserved, allowing us to observe that it was painted across the surface of the colorful row of tiles seen at the upper edge of the *cosmology fragment* in its current condition. Starting from the lower cloud, the second trail had flaked off and broken into pieces. A portion of it was re-adhered, but has since shifted from its original path (turned about 90° clockwise). Another portion of this trail, however, is preserved across the row of colorful tiles. While both cloud-trails are still visible on what is left here from the row of colorful tiles, directly above them a horizontal cut was made across the entire width of the original painting while trimming the current edges of the fragments. Although the edge of the green floor in the *large paradise fragment* was repainted (as discussed below), the rest of the two cloud-trails are fully preserved. The fact that parts of these trails survive in both fragments prove they were painted continuously, starting from the two clouds in front of Mani, proceeding across the tiles and the green floor, and leading back all the way to the pedestal of the Father of Greatness in the original painting. Thus, they confirm the alignment based on the vertical axis.

The second step in the matching of these fragments is the reintroduction of the *small paradise fragment* to the already aligned portion of the painting

FIGURE 5/17 *Cloud-trails confirming alignment of* large paradise fragment *and* cosmology fragment (*details of Fig. 5/14*)

(**Figure 5/18**). Leveling it with the *large paradise fragment* does not present a problem (Fig. 5/18a, also see Fig. 5/19a–b). After turning it 1.12° clockwise the colorful row of tiles that frame the green floor line up with one another on both paradise fragments: next to the temple and on both sides in front of representations of mountains at the left and right margins. As to be expected, aligning the *small paradise fragment* in this way does not change what we know about the overall height of the original painting. Not so with the width.

Finding the original distance of the *small paradise fragment* from the vertical axis is a problem—a three-fold problem. (1) One aspect of this problem concerns the decorative pattern of the green floor and the row of colorful tiles. The thin gold diagonal lines painted across the entire surface of green floor do not continue harmoniously across the cut edge between the two fragments. Above the green floor, the row of colorful tiles at the back, where they meet the temple, is interrupted with a non-tiled area painted white and dark blue. This dark blue matches the color used for indicating the void of cosmic space at various parts of the original painting, including behind the temple. (2) The second aspect of this problem concerns the introduction of an unutilized area of the floor to the right of the figures surrounding the central deity. In its current condition this part of the composition is less busy compared to its equivalent floor-space on the left side of the vertical axis, which is densely covered with figures, clouds, and cloud- trails. Despite the cut that sliced through this space, no figures are lost from here. Instead, it seems that some extra floor-space was added. (3) The final aspect of the problem derives from the fact that the combined width of the two paradise fragments (37.4 cm + 22.5 cm = 59.9 cm) is wider (3.3 cm) than the current width of the *cosmology fragment* (56.6 cm). The correct alignment, confirmed by the vertical axis, puts this extra width entirely onto the right side of the composition, which upsets the symmetry of the composition and thus creates significant problems in matching the two paradise fragments in relation to the *cosmology fragment*.

Aligning the *small paradise fragment* according to its original content and symmetry, analogous to what is preserved to the left of the central figures and temple in the *large paradise fragment*, causes an overlap (ca. 2.5 cm) between the two (**Figure 5/18b**). The resulting combined width of two *paradise fragments* approximates that of the *cosmology fragment*. The top edge of *the cosmology fragment* is essential for understanding an important visual link between the two upper fragments and how much is missing form the original painting, since this cut edge preserves the lower half from the row of colorful tiles that originally framed the front edge of the green floor of the Realm of Light, just as the *paradise fragments* do the side and back edges. The color sequence of these tiles shows a deliberate order used as visual emphasis for the deities shown immediately below them. This sequence is created by placing one large gold trapezoid tile (twice the width of the regular tiles) along the vertical axis and arranging regular tiles in the shape of parallelograms leaning towards the gold center in a succession of red, green, white, blue, red, and again gold tiles. In the *cosmology fragment*, a combination of three tiles (red, gold, red) is used above the most important motifs. These include the main

a: Leveling in relation to three rows of colorful tiles by 1.12° clockwise turn

b: Overlapping in relation to remple roofs based on trajectory of colorful tiles

FIGURE 5/18 *Adding the* small paradise fragment *to the other two fragments* (*details of Fig. 5/14*)

a: Area left of temple shown as preserved

b: Area right of temple shown as preserved with physical restoration

c: Area right of temple with overlapping digitally removed

d: Removing overlapping blue background and green floor

FIGURE 5/19 *Digitally restored symmetry on matched* paradise fragments *atop* cosmology fragment (*details of Figs. 5/18 and 5/14*)

deity in the center, the white-clad figure of Mani half way between the central deity and the left edge, and a group of four deities positioned symmetrically halfway between the central deity and the right edge, as well as over either pair of temples close to the current edges on both sides of the painting. At a green tile just beyond the last red-gold-red sequence (above the temples), this horizontal row of tiles joins in with two diagonal rows of four tiles (framing the ponds) in the *paradise fragments*. The height of the missing half row of tiles amounts to a small cut between the two surviving sections (ca. 0.7 cm) of the original painting. Although not impossible, it is unlikely that more is missing, since no space seems to be lost from the green floor. If so, the two ponds in the Realm of Light were relatively small (framed by 3 × 4 tiles with one additional tile in each corner, see fig. 5/12b). It is unlikely that the ponds were not fully shown in the original painting. Thus, it seems that a minimum of 3 tiles is missing on the right, and a minimum of almost four tiles is missing on the left (the corner of the fourth is preserved). These estimates are in harmony with the amounts missing from the symmetrically arranged pairs of guardian deities atop vertical columns at the left and right edges of the firmaments subscene in the *cosmology fragment*, half missing on the right at the level of the tenth (top) firmament, and fully missing in the corresponding position on the left. All in all, these observations suggest that the approximate dimensions of the *Diagram of the Universe* (recoverable in light of its three fragments) were about 158 cm in height and about 60 cm in width.

The third and final step of the matching is the digital erasing of the extra space along the overlapping edges of the two *paradise fragments* (**Figure 5/19**). This extra space was introduced as repainted blue background and green floor were added in the area to the right side of the temple, on the surface of the new silk that today supports the surviving actual motifs of the painting. Digital technology can eliminate on the computer screen the visibly added and repainted surface, while keeping all original figures intact. This process reveals a layout symmetrical to what is seen to the left of the temple, which was not impacted by decay and physical restoration. The result of this final step is a composition that is virtually restored to its original fourteenth-century state—before the *Diagram of the Universe* became damaged, broken into pieces, and subsequently secured by being restored as three physically independent pieces. The thusly-matched painting fits well with the size and subject repertoire of the other Chinese Manichaean hanging scrolls known today (see Fig. 5/12).

Sculpture: Statues of Mani and Depicted Statues of Mani

The traditional themes of Manichaean didactic art were not conveyed in sculpture. Nevertheless, the Manichaean Church adopted this medium for its icons of Mani by at least the tenth century. Subsequently, sculpture remained exclusively associated with Mani in Manichaean art. It is most likely that icons of Mani painted in encaustic paint on wood panels had vanished from the

art of this religion as Mani's followers disappeared from the Mediterranean region, West Asia, and West Central Asia. While no physical remains of such Manichaean panel paintings survive, sculptural images of Mani are noted in an Uygur text from tenth-century Kocho and possibly a Chinese text from tenth-century Kaifeng. Depictions of Mani statues, made of what appear to be painted wood or dry lacquer, survive in two Manichaean paintings from thirteenth/fifteenth-century southern China. An extant example of a Chinese statue of Mani is preserved in situ, south of Quanzhou, in Fijian province, dating from 1339 CE.

The Manichaeans sermonized with their icons of Mani. The iconography of such images was intended not only to artistically symbolize the remarkable qualities of their prophet, but also to teach about these qualities, explaining them one-by-one in the course of oral instructions. This was the case sometime before 731 CE, when one of the twelve Teachers put in writing his sermon about the founder of his religion. In this sermon, he explained how Mani's twelvefold halo was a "sign of the King of Light," how his body displayed the Great Light with "the esoteric meaning of the Limitless," how his white robe symbolized "the four pure *dharmakâyas*," how his "white throne depicts the five *vajra* lands," and how the "union and separation of the two realms and the purport and trend of the before and the after are apparent in true bearing and can be perceived if (one) looks at Him."[70] Based on its didactic significance, it is most likely that, soon after Mani's death, his icon came to be used for teaching.[71]

A small-scale sculpture is implicated by one of the three textual sources that discuss statues of Mani (see Tab. 5/2: sculpture). A possible reference to such a portable work of art takes us to the Northern Song capital city of Kaifeng in Henan province in the years 995–997 CE, when a follower of Mani found such an image in a soothsayer's shop, purchased it, and brought it back with him to Fujian province.[72] Although the "glazed and painted statue with the red brocade on its head" that Käd Ogul mentions from "within the great chamber of this sacred and great *manistan*" of Kocho after 983 CE was moved, it is unlikely that that statue was a portable work of art. Käd Ogul's *manistan* was dismantled. Its only statue was confiscated and "set up in the *vihāra*" newly built in Kocho at that time.[73] The "glazed and painted" surface of the statue may indicate a lacquered wooden object that, while possibly light enough to be transported, was most likely designed to be stationary.[74] The third text, a passage in the *Minshu* by an anonymous author from 1617 CE, does not remark

70 *Compendium: Article* 2, see Chapter 3, above; and Tab. 6/9, below.

71 See discussion of images with theological subjects in Chapter 6, below.

72 *Minshu*, ch. 7; Pelliot 1923, 205–6; English translation after Lieu 1992, 264. This episode is dated to the Zhidao period (995–997 CE) of the Song dynasty.

73 See Chapter 3, above.

74 Early examples of hollow-core or wood-core dry lacquer Buddhist sculpture are preserved already from Nara Period (710–794 CE) in Japan, see Mason 2005, 86.

about the physical qualities of the Mani statue. That data is supplied by the actual work of art it mentions (see Fig. 5/20, below).

Supplementing these texts, three visual sources clarify and broaden our understating of how sculpture was used by the Manichaeans (see Tab. 5/3: sculpture and depicted sculpture). Together, they point to the following characteristics concerning the Manichaean history of this medium:

(1) Statues are known only from the second half of Manichaean history, from between the late tenth and the early seventeenth centuries; first from Kocho in Uygur East Central Asia and subsequently from the costal provinces of southern China between the Song and Ming dynasties.
(2) The Manichaeans used the sculpture medium sparingly in their art. None of the sources notes more than one statue at a time.
(3) Mani was the only subject represented in Manichaean sculpture. There is no evidence of sculpted images of any other deity in the currently known sources.
(4) Mani statues generally were not portable objects. Their size was similar to, or slightly larger than human scale. Only one, early Chinese reference implicates a smaller, portable version.
(5) The materials and formats used for Manichaean sculpture included painted stone relief (an example of which survives carved into a rocky hillside that formed the back wall of a shrine) and possibly painted wood and/ or dry lacquer freestanding sculpture (depictions of which appear to be documented in two southern Chinese Manichaean paintings).
(7) Mani statues were displayed in community *manistans* (traditionally one *manistan* per city)—one statue per *manistan*. In tenth-century Uygur context, the statue was in its own room within a larger building. In Song-Ming southern China, the *manistans* seem to be smaller solitary buildings, which may be compared to Buddhist image halls with the exception that the Manichaean structures contained only one image and were designed to hold about a dozen people at a time.
(8) Mani statues were displayed along the back wall in the back center of the building. They were used for both worship and instruction.

These points are vividly confirmed by the Mani statues and their associated architectural settings attested in the only actual example and the two depictions of Manichaean sculpture from thirteenth/fourteenth-century southern China, which are surveyed below in terms of their formats.

1 *A Stone Statue of Mani from Yuan Southern China*

The only Manichaean sculpture in the corpus of Manichaean art known today is a Chinese stone relief portrait of Mani from 1339 CE (**Figure 5/20**). This statue

a: Detail of carving with painted surface

b: Relief carving of statue (H: 1.5 m), sunken mandorla (Diam.: ca. 1.7 m; Depth: ca. 10 cm)

c: View of hall (D: ca. 6 m; W: 7.5 m) with statue on back wall

d: Entrance of hall and terrace ca. 13 m above ground level

e: View of terrace around inscribed stones

FIGURE 5/20 *Chinese Manichaean relief sculpture*, Icon of Mani, *1339 CE* (*in situ, Cao'an Temple, near Quanzhou*)

was mentioned in the year 1617 CE as a Yuan-era statue preserved 28 kilometers south of Quanzhou (泉州) in a rustic shrine (*cao'an*, 草庵; also translated as 'thatched nunnery') located at the southern slope of Huabio Hill (華表山), which in 1617 was located in the sup-prefecture of Jinjiang (晉江) in the prefecture of Quanzhou in Fujian province.[75] Its date from the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368 CE) is reaffirmed by a dedicatory inscription. Enclosed today in a wooden case, the statue itself was carved into a cliff that forms back wall within a small, tile-roofed shrine.[76]

Carving defines this relief sculpture only partially. The basic shapes are cut into a flattened cliff surface that forms the smooth back wall of the entire small building. Sunken below the level of the rock, a large mandorla frames the entire image. Within its perfectly circular parameter, the Mani figure and its lotus support are carved as true reliefs that stay below the level of the wall. Further definitions are outlined. The outlines are incised throughout the robe and the cloak, including the rectangular pair of insignia seen frequently in ceremonial cloaks of high-ranking elects and deities depicted in both Uygur and Chinese Manichaean art.[77]

Pictorial elements are essential components of this statue. The mandorla contains eighteen evenly distributed rays radiating from behind the figure and concluding as they reach the thick green line that contours the circular outer edge of the image. Each slightly curving ray consists of four lines (white, gold, green, and red). Today, there is no halo behind the head. It is most likely that a painted halo originally encircled the head, since all other images of deities in Manichaean art have both halos and mandorlas around them; and here, too, there is enough room for it. The garments (robe and cloak) of the figure and the petals of its lotus-seat are outlined in red. White paint is used only to cover the ribbons of the cloak and the outer sides of the fourteen lotus petals. Lastly, parts of the body are also painted, including the eyes and eyebrows, the mouth, the two strands of a prominently forked beard, as well as the hair seen on and around the head culminating in two long locks on each shoulder. The ears and the hands are not outlined.

2 *Depicted Wood or Dry Lacquer Statues of Mani from Yuan and Ming Southern China*

Delicately defined and elegantly painted dried lacquer and wood were among the favored materials of religious statues during late mediaeval times in China.[78]

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75 *Minshu* 7. See quote in Chapter 3, above.

76 Lieu 2012, 65–79.

77 Gulácsi 2009, 110–112 and Figs. 7–9.

78 Few examples of such statues survive. The seated *Guanyin of the Southern Sea* in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, Missouri has been internationally heralded as the finest wood sculpture of its kind. This 241.3 cm tall statue is coated with multiple layers of paint. It is dated to the twelfth century from the late Liao (907–1125 CE) or the Jin dynasty (1115–1234 CE); see http://www.nelson-atkins.org/collections/iscroll-objectview.cfm?id=597. The seated *Buddha, probably Amitabha* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Although such statues of Mani do not survive in the currently known corpus of Manichaean art, documentary visual evidence about them seems to be supplied by two Chinese Manichaean paintings. The paintings date from between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. There is no reason to suspect that their pictorial content would have been copied from earlier images. The style of the statues is contemporaneous with the paintings themselves. The depiction of these statues in the two paintings is made more significant by the fact that they constitute the only depictions of representational works of art portrayed in Manichaean painting.[79]

The earlier of the two paintings, from the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368 CE), features a *Statue of Mani in a Sermon Scene* (Yamato Bunkakan, detail, **Figure 5/21**, also see Fig. 5/13).[80] It is depicted as an inanimate object, a portrait of a deity, sculpted on a slightly larger scale than the four human beings around it. In contrast to the frontal projection of the statue, the men are shown in three-quarter views, fitting their respective locations in relation to the statue. As often seen in contemporaneous Chinese art, a tiled floor defines the space that they all populate. The tiles are dark green separated by think gold grout, creating a diamond pattern. Any further references to the architectural environment are omitted. The focus is on the statue, shown behind a small red-lacquer stool that holds a gold incense burner and two small cylindrical containers. Although their lids are closed, most likely they contain incense.

The Mani statue depicted in this setting consists of three parts: the figure, the halos, and the pedestal. The figure is portrayed dressed in a white robe. It is positioned sitting cross-legged with an erect upper body, holding its hands in front of the chest gesturing. The larger halo, the mandorla, frames the body. Its solid, slightly oval shape supplies the statue with a backing, as it were a screen made of painted wood. Its dark surface concludes with a red-gold-white frame; and contains a red halo also framed in red-gold-white, positioned behind the head and the inner parts of the shoulders. The pedestal is most elaborate, consisting of a delicately detailed hexagonal base topped with a wide lotus seat to hold the statue. This depiction closely matches that of the Mani image in the lost silk painting (see Fig. 6/32).

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in New York was made using the complicated dry-lacquer technique. In that technique a core, often wood, is covered with clay and surrounded by pieces of hemp cloth that have been saturated with lacquer. It is dated to the early seventh century during the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE); see http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/42163. For the discussion of these techniques, see Leidy, Strahan, and Becker 2010, 35–40.

79 Non-representational works of art (garments, vessels, carpets, and even architecture) are often depicted in Manichaean painting. For a study of the textile furnishings of ritual images of depicted on pages of Manichaean illuminated manuscripts, see Gulácsi 1994 and 1997.

80 The definite Manichaean attribution of the painting has been first offered by Yoshida (2009).

a: Sermon performed by seated elect and assistant (right) to layman and attendant (left) around statue of Mani (H: ca. 49 cm)

FIGURE 5/21 *Depiction of Chinese Manichaean statue*, Icon of Mani, *in* Sermon on Mani's Teaching of Salvation, *Ningbo, 13th/14th century* (*Yamato Bunkakan, detail of Fig. 5/13*)

The more recent of the two paintings includes a *Statue of Mani in a Fragment of a Life of Mani Scene* (private collection, **Figure 5/22**, also see Figs. 6/22c and 6/24) within a larger composition that dates most likely from the early Ming dynasty (1368–1644 CE), sometime from the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries.[81] In this case, the statue is shown within a small building. For the benefit of the viewer, the left wall of the structure is omitted, the screen behind the statue is slightly turned towards the beholder, and the human beings are grouped as not to block our view. Inside the building, once again, the floor is covered with green tiles; and the statue of Mani is shown on a slightly larger scale than the humans around it. Once again the statue consist of three parts: the figure, the halos, and the pedestal. The figure is dressed a white robe and a white cloak that has a red hem, seated cross-legged, and holding its hands in front

81 Furukawa 2010, 35–52 and 56.

a: Devotion performed by lay people to statue of Mani flanked by elects (H: 16.5 cm)

FIGURE 5/22 *Depiction of Chinese Manichaean statue*, Icon of Mani, *in* Community after Mani's Death, *southern China, 13th–14th century* (*private collection, detail of Fig. 6/13f*)

of the chest gesturing with the right hand. The left hand holds the edge of the cloak, pulling it across the body.[82] In this case, the halo behind the head is separated from the body of the mandorla, but it is still shown in front of the latter. The pedestal has a hexagonal base that holds a wide lotus seat with the statue on top.

Mortuary Banners: Mortuary Banners with Didactic Images and Didactic Icons

Paintings associated with end-of-life rituals are known for their rich philosophical content in East Asian art. One of the earliest ancient Chinese paintings is a Han-dynasty depiction of the universe as defined in Taoist and Confucian

82 These hand gestures are routinely seen in depictions of high-ranking elects (e.g., MIK III 4979 verso) and Mani (see Figs. 6/34c and 6/46).

teachings, depicting the heaven with the Sun and the Moon, the human realm with an image of filial piety, and the underworld with burial goods in a tomb. This T-shaped silk banner was laid on top of a coffin and buried together with a rich array of luxury items for the afterlife of a noble woman around 160 BCE.[83] In medieval Japan, Pure Land Buddhist hanging scrolls were used for rituals performed in the course of dying during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These images showed what the believer would encounter after death. They helped to visualize the "welcoming descent" (Jp. *raigo*) of Amida Buddha and reinforced the belief that the promise of rebirth in his Western Paradise (Skt. *Sukhavati*) will be fulfilled.[84] Little is known about Manichaean mortuary rites. It is clear, however, that the Manichaeans pictured their teachings pertaining to the early stages of the afterlife to benefit their followers. Such images were important subjects in the *Book of Pictures* during the middle of the third century (*Kephalaion* 7, 92). Starting from the Uygur era, didactic images with soteriological themes were adapted for a new object in Manichaean pictorial art: banners that appear to had been designed for death rites—a function of art that has escaped scholarly attention until now. This interpretation of the banners is supported by various Manichaean ecclesiastical texts morning the death of and/or eulogizing Uygur rulers.[85]

Eight such compositions are preserved on two double-sided mortuary banners from tenth-century Kocho in the collection of the Asian Art Museum in Berlin (see Tab. 5/3: Mortuary Banners). They include four didactic images, juxtaposed with four icons. The didactic images depict the salvation of the righteous (male elect, female elect, or a laywoman) beneath either Jesus or the Light Maiden. Both deities are evoked in these images through their icons. Although incorporated into these images, the depictions of the deities are examples of didactic icons in and of themselves, and therefore they are also considered on their own in this study.

Manichaean mortuary banners are versions of hanging scrolls (**Figures 23c and 24c**). They are the only objects that are properly labeled as "banners" in the currently known corpus of Manichaean art.[86] Although mortuary art is not

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83 Thorp and Vinograd 2001, 133–138 and Fig. 4/24.

84 The so-called *Yamagoe Amida* paintings were displayed during the *Nembutsu* practice for a dying person. Fragment of the five-colored cords, which connect a dying believer with the deity, remain attached to Amida's hand in some cases. Early examples of this include a thirteenth-century hanging Scroll in the collection of the Zenrin-ji Temple (Kyoto) and the fourteenth-century painting at Konkaikōmyōji Temple (Kyoto).The tradition of hanging a scroll ofAmida in front of a dying person was established during the Heian period. Attached to the painting, his cord was extendedto reach the hands of the dying person. According to Pure Landteachings, holding onto the cord duringthe final moments of life assured direct passageto Amida's Pure Land, see *Japanese Buddhist Statuary, s. v.* "YAMAGOE NO AMIDA," accessed June 05, 2013, (http://www.onmarkproductions.com/html/amida-raigo-triad.shtml).

85 For an overview of these texts, see Clark 2016, forthcoming.

86 Although similar mortuary banners are not known from southern China, one of the five complete Chinese Manichaean hanging scrolls (see Fig. 5/13) depicts a soteriological subject and therefore, it could have been used in the context of a mortuary ritual.

discussed in Manichaean textual sources, the materiality of these two banners provides convincing pieces of evidence about how these works of art looked and what function they fulfilled in East Central Asia during the Uygur era. They followed a standard pictorial program with a to-be-individualized component. Various clues indicate that they were intended to be re-used.[87] Since their paintings depicted soteriological teachings, it is most likely that they were displayed in the course of mortuary services of the elects and certain auditors.

In terms of their physical qualities, the two Uygur banners had an identical construction and originally measured about 100 cm in height and about 16–17 cm in width (see Fig. 5/23c). They were assembled from four parts: a plastered and painted piece of ramie cloth, a dyed and printed piece of ramie cloth, a pair of wooden rollers (or one wooden roller at the bottom and a triangular one-point suspension at the top), and possibly a piece of cord. The plastered and painted ramie was a gypsum-coated cloth that contained the type-portrait of the deceased (male elect, female elect, or female catechumen) next to a blank cartouche to name the deceased as needed, beneath an icon of a soteriological deity (Jesus or the Light Maiden) who, according to Manichaean teachings, will greet the righteous as the supernatural phase of their religious careers begins.[88] The latter image was painted in its own register, occupying about the upper one-third of the pictorial half of the banner. The decorative lower half of the banner was a loosely woven ramie cloth. It was dyed red, decorated with stylized flowers, and stitched to the bottom edge of the plastered and painted ramie directly below the type-portrait of the deceased. It contained an air vent, slit and hemmed in the middle of the cloth, in order to help stabilize the banner when displayed. The pair of wooden rollers was stitched to the bottom and the top edges of the banner. The bottom roller was essential to gently stretch the banner while on display and for rolling it up when not in use. Similarly to hanging scrolls attested among the Manichaeans in Kocho, the top edge of the plastered and painted section was likely surmounted by an extra piece of triangular cloth needed for suspending and displaying the banners.[89] A cord must have been attached to the top rod to hang the banner when in use and to tie it rolled up for secure storage. It is unlikely, but not impossible, that instead of a rod, a triangular folded and hemmed piece of decorative ramie cloth was used as a one-point suspension at the

87 Reuse is indicated by evidence these banners retain about their on-demand modification (Gulácsi 2001, 181).

88 This depiction of the type portrait the deceased still on earth (standing on a white felt carpet with an red-orange background) is similar to what is seen in local Buddhist art of the region painted into the walls of a cave at Bezeklik preserved today in the Asian Art Museum, Berlin (MIK III 6876a–b), see Härtel and Yaldiz 1982, see 169–171.

89 A Buddhist example of such pair of wooden rollers survives from Tuyuk (MIK III 6282) in the Asian Art Museum in Berlin (Bhattacharya-Haesner 2003, 100). An ancient Chinese example of such simple wooden rods attached to the top and bottom of a silk hanging scroll is preserved from the fourth-third centuries BCE in the Hunan Provincial Museum in Changsha (Thorp and Vinograd 2001, 114 and Fig. 3–25).

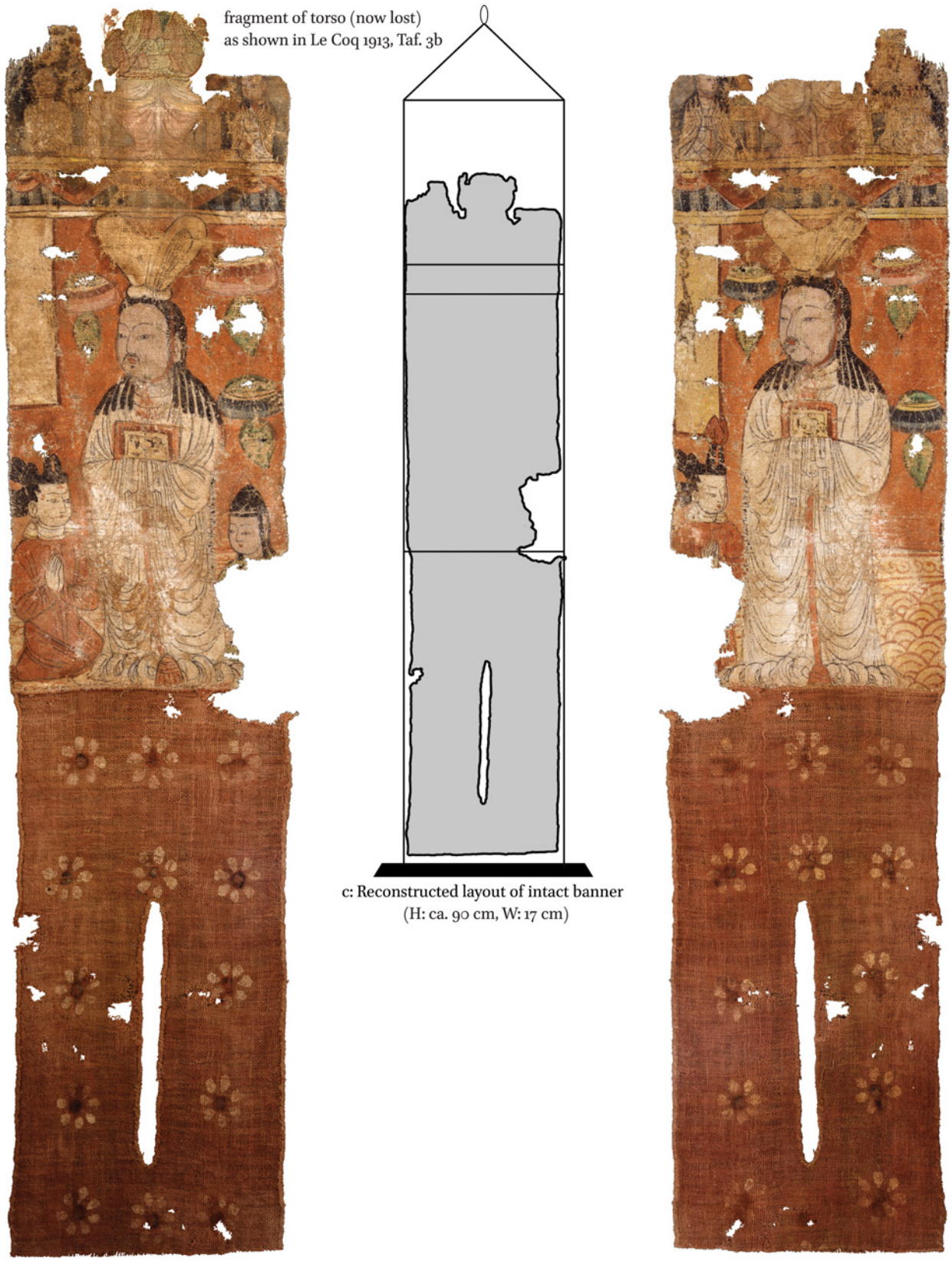


FIGURE 5/23 *Fragment of Uygur Manichaean double-sided mortuary banner, two* Jesus Awaits the Righteous *images, Kocho, mid 9th / early 11th century* (*MIK III 6283, Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)

FIGURE 5/24 *Fragment of Uygur Manichaean double-sided mortuary banner*, The Light Maiden Awaits the Righteous *and* Jesus Awaits the Righteous, *Kocho, mid 9th / early 11th century* (*MIK III 6286, Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)

top of the banner. If so, the banner would have been longer than its current reconstruction.[90]

1 *Mortuary Banners with Didactic Images from Uygur Central Asia*

Formal characteristics of these banners confirm a construction intended to serve a mortuary function. One clue is found in their layout that repeats a single design four times in the pictorial section on both sides of each banner. All four images feature in their lower two-thirds a large standing figure shown in three-quarter view on an orange background, and a small icon of a seated deity in frontal view on a blue background in their upper one-third. The more intact and larger banner even depicts the same image twice with focus on a male elect (MIK III 6283 side 1[?] and MIK III 6283 side 2[?], **Figure 5/23a–b**). The shorter banner fragment is devoted to the women of the community (MIK III 6286 side 1[?] and MIK III 6286 side 2[?], **Figure 5/24a–b**). The side that traditionally has been labeled "side 1(?)" shows a female elect. The other side depicts a righteous laywoman. This one design repeated on the four images indicates a shared function. The multiple versions of these banners found together suggest an anticipated frequent use and re-use, as well as a concentrated locale in a *manistan*, where the banners were stores, or where the rituals related to the after life were performed.[91] A context related to death and dying is implicated by the soteriological iconography of the four images, explored in Chapter 6, below.

Concerning their materiality, another important piece of evidence about these objects is hidden in the to-be-individualized components associated with their main figures. The main figures are stylized depictions, "type portraits," of a male elect, a female elect, or a laywoman. The small-scale side figures are also type portraits of a well-to-do laywoman, a novice elect, or a child. The main figures, however, were to be identified by name, as confirmed by one Uygur language and Sogdian script inscription ("the image of the princess Busuš," see Fig. 5/24a), one Sogdian script illegible text (see Fig. 5/23a), and two blank cartouches ready to be inscribed.[92] The need for a name indicates that each image was meant to focus on a specific individual, who was either an elect or auditor in the community.

What appears to be a telltale sign of an on-demand modification can be seen in one of the type portraits—the one that depicts a well-to-do laywoman (**Figure 5/24d**) painted on the renewed surface of an earlier image that initially depicted a male elect with a mustache and headgear as seen on the other

90 Triangular "banner headpieces," either with floral decoration or with Amitabha iconography are typical in contemporaneous Pure Land Buddhist banners surviving from Kocho (Bhattacharya-Haesner 2003, 159; Whitfielf and Farrer 2003, 36–37). For Le Coq's interpretation of the fragment with the male elects (MIK III 6283) with a similar triangular banner headpieces, see 1913, discussion of Taf. 3.

91 Both banners were found in Ruin K of Kocho (Le Coq 1913,Taf. 3).

92 Gulácsi 2001, 176 and 178; and BeDuhn 2001, 244.

banner (e.g.: MIK III 6286 side 2[?] detail, **Figure 5/24e**). In the current condition of the image, faint traces of a white headgear and a long mustache show through from underneath the surface of the red-orange background and the face of the regally attired laywoman.[93] The initial image of a male elect points to a possible gender-specific pairing of the type portraits with their deities, since the female deity (the Light Maiden) is above the female elect and the male deity (Jesus) is above both portraits of male elects. Tellingly, in the modified image, the woman became paired with the male deity only due to the repainting. The larger number of male elect type portraits corresponds with the social reality of the sacerdotal communities. The repainting of one of the male portraits indicates an unanticipated event—possibly the death of a high-ranking laywoman in the infirmary of the *manistan*.

The humble raw material, together with the lack of gilding, is yet another indicator of what these banners were. In contrast to the luxury and refinement of Manichaean art objects produced in Kocho, these seem to be more utilitarian in their quality. Already the choice of ramie as the base textile is striking, since all other surviving examples of Manichaean cloth paintings are on silk (or silk glued to paper).[94] Ramie, also known as "China grass," is one of the oldest fiber crops in East Asia, comparable to linen in absorbency, density, and microscopic appearance. Although it belongs to the strongest natural fibers, it is not as durable as others, for ramie has a low elasticity and will break if folded repeatedly in the same place.[95] Both banners are made of a coarsely woven ramie with a plain weave binding structure (also know as tabby weave) that has 10 warps and 9–11 wefts per square centimeter.[96] This rather loose weave can be observed in the lower half of the larger banner fragment. Since this component of the banner does not have a plastered coat, it adds an overall impression of indelicacy to these banners. This impression is reinforced in the modern viewer's mind by the flaked condition of the plaster and paint in the upper halves. On the better-preserved bits of the images, however, the hand of the artist is comparable to other examples of Manichaean images painted in the "Chinese Fully Painted Style of Uygur Manichaean Art." In contrast, the didactic images painted in picture books and illuminated manuscripts in the "West

93 For the catalogue description and the inscription of the banner, see Gulácsi 2001, 178–181 and 244.

94 Ramie is documented only by these banners among the surviving Manichaean paintings on cloth.

95 Kadolph and Langford 2010, 74.

96 In contrast, among the Turfan Manichaean remains, the finest silk fragments (MIK III 4981a–d) contain 60 warps and 50 wefts per square centimeter woven with a plain weave binding structure. They survive as inscribed pages of a silk codex, originally manufactured by adhering silk to paper sheets (Gulácsi 2001, 164–167). Most painted silk hanging scrolls were woven with an extended plain weave binding structure and with less tightness, having 40–32 warps and 31–22 wefts per square centimeter (see e.g. MIK III 6270, MIK III 6278, MIK III 4815a–d, MIK III 6953-a–n; Gulácsi 2001, 172, 174, 182, and 185, respectively).

Asian Fully Painted Style of Uygur Manichaean Art" appear more luxurious in their smaller scales, thinner lines, and liberally applied but delicate gilding.[97]

Taken together, the above evidence about the uniform design, individualized re-painted content, and utilitarian quality point to a likely scenario of how these banners were used:

(1) Despite their double-sided format, these banners were intended to function as regular hanging scrolls—one side and one image at a time. It is unlikely that their two sides were meant to be accessed simultaneously,[98] since if hung on a wall, only one side would be visible, and if hung on a pole, a person holding the pole would cover the side facing the pole. Their double-sidedness signals an economy of design, since between the two banners, four versions are available. This convenient design, paired with the lack of luxury in the choice of ramie instead of silk, suggests a practical object.

(2) Before use, the appropriate side of the banner was selected based on its type portrait. The surface of the cartouche had to be repainted and then re-inscribed with the name of the deceased, who, by being named became identified with the type portrait. Thus, the painting was made ready for an event, which must have concerned the person defined in as the focus of the image by a name and a type portrait.[99]

(3) Based on the icon of the divine guide of the righteous in the afterlife portrayed in the upper register, these banners must have had something to do with the promise of the afterlife. If so, the intended use of these four images most likely involved mortuary rituals related to the death or the funeral of the person referenced in the main section of the banner.

(4) Once the ritual concluded, the banner could be rolled up and put away for storage. Rolling the banner did not damage its plastered and painted ramie. Rolling it from top to bottom would have added a protective function to the non-plastered ramie in the lower half of the banner, since that extra material could have provided a few protective layers of cloth around the pictorial portion of the banner rolled up in the core of the bundle.

The above assessment of formal features pertaining to the function of these banners is supported by the soteriological themes depicted in their four images. As discussed in Chapter 6, the paintings give a basic visual summary of

97 Gulácsi 2005a, 104–132.

98 Without contemplating the function of the banner, Klimkeit suggests that the same woman is portrayed on the two sides "in religious and secular roles" (1982a, 44).

99 This interpretation would also explain why there are two identical portraits on the two sides of the more complete banner fragment.

the Manichaeans' teaching about the afterlife noted already in one of the first texts about Mani's *Hikōn* (*Kephalaion 7* and *92*) or *Ārdhang* (*Ārdhang Wifrās*: M 8255 folio 2 verso). Therefore, one may conclude that while these banners are ritual objects, their four paintings are also examples of Manichaean didactic art, that is, tenth-century East Central Asian versions of images adapted from Mani's *Book of Pictures* to funerary banners. Their visual catechism was likely to be directly noted in a sermon given by an elect to commemorate the deceased and/or indirectly alluded to in the hymns sung at the mortuary services.

2 *Didactic Icons Preserved on Mortuary Banners from Uygur Central Asia*

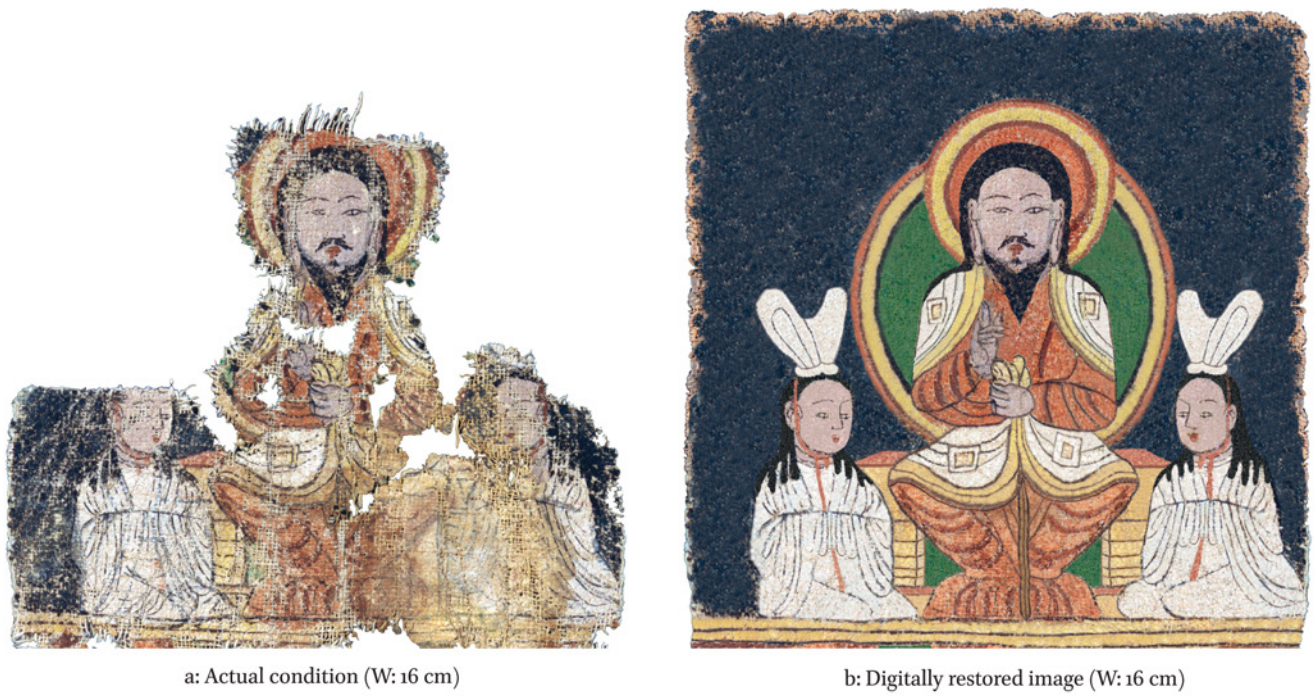
Critical data about the original format of these banners is preserved in the upper register of each of their four images. Each upper register is a self-standing mini composition of an icon clearly differentiated from the rest of the banner by its blue background, frontally positioned main figure, two side figures in mirror symmetry, and bottom borderline. Contrary to a previous assumption based solely on Buddhist banners, these icons could not have had a triangular surface.[100] They had flat tops as do regular hanging scrolls and all other examples of icons known from Manichaean art. Despite their fragmentary condition, these images retain enough data to reconstruct them on the computer screen (**Figures 5/25–5/27**). Such digital reconstructions effectively illustrate that their original composition and pictorial scales were comparable to other icons surviving in the Manichaean picture book fragments from tenth-century Kocho.

In each case, damage obscures the upper portion of the icon in a pattern that implicates the mandorla (i.e., the large halo around the body) of the deity as the likely cause of the damage. The painting below the mandorla already eliminates the possibility of a triangular composition, since this area retains the original vertical edges of the cloth next to a pair of side figures, whose tall headgear reached about halfway up along the sides of the image in all four cases. Notably, the upper halves of these icons have vanished around the main figure. In one case, the mandorla is gone, but the female deity in the center of the mandorla remains intact (MIK III 6286 side 1[?], **Figure 5/25a**). In another case, the curving outer edge of the mandorla can be detected partially in the shape of the blue background retained on one side. The torso of the deity (albeit without the head) also survived until 1913, when Le Coq published the color photo of side 1(?), (Le Coq 1913 Taf. 3b, **Figure 5/27a**). This unique pattern of decay suggests the likelihood that the paint inside of the mandorla contained a substance more abrasive than the other paints used in this image. Since tiny

100 In light of Buddhist analogies, Le Coq (1913, discussion of Pt. 3a) assumed the triangular shape of these icons, as opposed to that of the extra piece of cloth that surmounted the banners. In reality, the size of headgear of the elect flanking the deity eliminates the possibility of a triangular design in each case.

a: Actual condition (W: 16 cm) b: Digitally restored image (W: 16 cm)

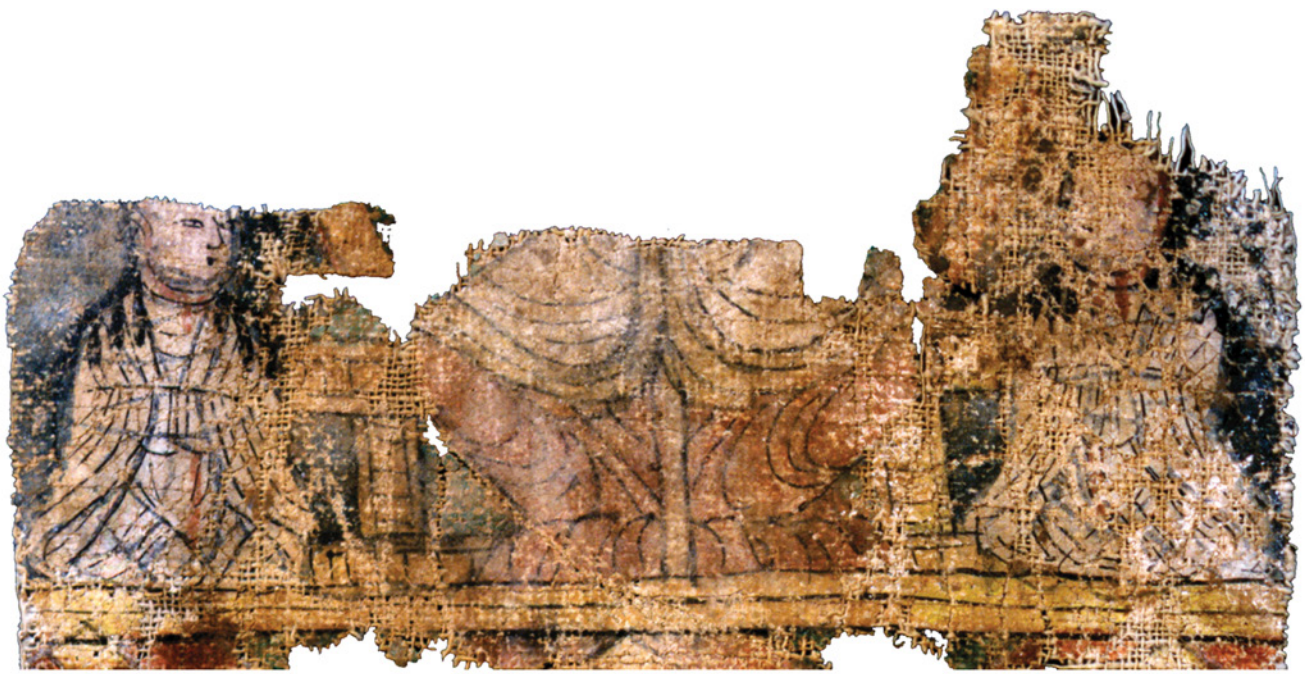
FIGURE 5/25 Icon of the Light Maiden *in actual condition and digital restoration* (*MIK III 6286, detail of Fig. 5/24a*)



a: Actual condition (W: 16 cm) b: Digitally restored image (W: 16 cm)

FIGURE 5/26 Icon of Jesus *in actual condition and digital restoration* (*MIK III 6286, detail of Fig. 5/24b*)

a: Side 1(?) with intact torso as shown in Le Coq 1913, Taf. 3b (W: ca. 17 cm)



b: Side 2(?) in current condition with missing torso, (W: ca. 17 cm)

FIGURE 5/27 *Two* Icons of Jesus *in actual condition* (*MIK III 6283, detail of Fig. 5/23*)

bits of its color are retained along the fringes, it is possible that the green paint that coated the interior of the mandorla gradually ate through the plaster and destroyed the cloth and subsequently compromised the cohesive strength across the upper part of the image around the figure.

The *Icon of the Light Maiden* also holds important evidence about the rectangular shape of these icons by preserving parts of a crown that originally hovered around the deity's head and consisted of small female busts atop a red curving band (MIK III 6286 side 1[?], **Figure 5/25**). Emerging from behind the deity's white headgear, three busts survive: one partial bust on the right and two on the left. Directly beneath them, a curving red band forms the base of the crown. The arrangement of the busts in relation to the band is analogous to the design of another crown, consisting of gold balls atop a gold band, fully retained in another depiction of the same deity (MIK III 4965, recto[?], see Fig. 5/4c). In light of this intact crown's location, design, scale, and angle of view, the fragmentary crown becomes readily comprehensible. Projecting the intact crown over the fragmentary crown allows us to reconstruct the design, location, angle, and size of the latter. Based on the angle of the surviving curving band and the size of the small busts, it is most likely that eighteen busts were shown on this crown. There is room for twelve on the upper/outer part of the band and six on its lower/inner part with three busts on each side.[101] The thusly-reconstructed hovering crown further negates the possibility of a triangular composition of all four icons preserved on the two banners.

The lower half and the central area survives in relatively good condition. The silhouettes of the two small figures flanking the deity indicate male elects depicted on a scale smaller than the deity, oriented toward the center in three-quarter view, and seated on their heels with their hands tucked in their sleeves. The deity's thrones is a backless platform-seat shown from a high horizon, so that the viewer can see onto its green sitting area and observe its foreshortened sides. The two sides are sharply angled. Without a mathematical accuracy, their orthogonals appear to cross the vertical axis near the waistline of the deity. The front surface of the throne is decorated with short parallel black lines that capture a fluted decoration as if the artist was painting the image of the relief carving on an ivory throne.[102] As customary, the mandorla is painted as a large disk behind the throne. Along the lower right, a large enough section from its yellowish-gold edge survives to reconstruct its original shape and design. A thin red line framed the exterior of the gold edge. Its inside was bordered with a thin black line that survives together with some fringes of a green-

101 Eighteen heads are used in the halo of another depiction of this deity surviving on the embroidered fragment of the *Salvation of the Light with the Light Maiden* (MIK III 6251, see Fig. 5/9).

102 For an example of an actual ivory-covered throne from the sixth century, see the chair of the Bishop Maximian (499–556 CE) preserved in the Archiepiscopal Museum, Ravenna; see e.g., Melburn 1988, 248. Fore tenth-century images of carved thrones of Jesus and Mary (sometimes shown as platform seats), see Evans and Wixom 1997, 140 and 157.

colored inner surface. As to be expected, the halo is positioned in front of the mandorla, but behind the head of the deity. Its core is red-orange, framed in dark red, and finished with a yellowish-gold band. About halfway up in front of this halo, the inner side of the hovering crown (with three small busts on each side) emerges from behind the deity's head. In front of the halo, this crown is positioned in a steep angle to give the impression of a view from a low horizon, so that the viewer can see it from below. The rest of the crown (with the twelve small busts) continues on the same angle and reaches all the way up to the top of the halo.

The garment, body, and accessories of this deity are well preserved, as well. Her figure is dressed in orange-red accented in dark red, green, and white. The outfit resembles either a long robe or a tunic worn over what may be a roomy pair of trousers. The legs are arranged in a regal fashion, sitting with knees spread and ankles close to one another. The headdress consists of white scarves arranged behind the head leaving her long black hair uncovered. It is unclear how the hair was arranged; it is possible that a gold ornament was somehow part of it. Above the head, a small gold diadem hovers just above her straight black hair. The face, neck, upper chest, and two hands are not covered. They all are shown from a frontal view, even the two hands resting horizontally on top of one another in the deity's lap. They appear to hold a book in the form of a horizontal codex that has a decorated cover.

The *Icon of Jesus*, on the other side of the same banner, can also be fully reconstructed (MIK III 6286 side 2[?], **Figure 5/26**). In this image, the Jesus figure is distinguished by its pointed beard, red robe, white ceremonial cloak, and by wearing no headgear.[103] The setting is identical to the previous image. The body is seated on a bench-like throne, enclosed in a mandorla and a halo, and flanked by a pair of small-scale male elects sitting on their heels. Once again, the location is undefined, since only a blue background surrounds the figures. The clothing is only partially damaged, which in this case includes not only a red garment with a sash, but also a white ceremonial cloak. The red garment is similar to that of the female deity in the previous image. It appears to be either a tunic worn over a pair of roomy trousers or a long robe, the folds of which are arranged to retain the faint impression of trousers. A sash is positioned vertically between the legs. Its brown color is partially preserved at the top. The deity's ceremonial cloak can still be seen hanging from both shoulders, lying on top of the legs, and gathered just below the chest in the middle of the body as it is held up by the left hand.[104] The bits-and-pieces surviving from this cloak retain a white base color, a gold hem, and four insignia. One insignia is fully preserved on the right thigh of the deity. It is defined as a blank gold

103 The identification of this bearded enthroned Manichaean deity as Jesus (Gulácsi 2009, 132) has been argued based on its iconographic correspondence with a Chinese Manichaean Jesus painting of Jesus (see Fig. 6/30).

104 This very gesture, performed with the right hand, is assumed by the main figure of the *Bēma Scene* (MIK III 4979 verso, see Gulácsi 2009, Figs. 9a and 9b).

square that is outlined twice in black. Half of another insignia is preserved at the left shoulder. A third insignia is retained at the right shoulder only by its lower corner. Together they indicate a symmetrical distribution, that is, a total of four squares—two just below the shoulders and two just above the knees.[105]

The gestures of the two hands partially survive. The left hand is fully preserved. It is depicted with the back of the hand toward the viewer as it clutches the gathered edges of the ceremonial cloak, holding it up prominently at the middle of the torso, just below the chest.[106] The right hand is harder to make out. It is raised in front of the right side of the deity's chest. Although the area of the cloth is damaged, the parts preserved from the hand are highly informative. The thumb is held to the side, slightly curving back towards the chest. Next to it, the first finger is raised, pointing upwards. Since there is no trace of the second finger alongside of the first, it is most likely that the second finger was bent. The third finger seems to be indicated along the area of the palm by a horizontal line, suggesting that this finger was also bent. Finally, the fourth finger was most likely straight, because it is not shown bent along the area of the fully retained palm.

Two additional *Icons of Jesus* are preserved in more fragmentary condition on the two sides of the banner with the male elects (MIK III 6283 sides 1–2, **Figure 5/27**). What is left from the visual vocabulary of these two portraits is identical to the best-preserved version discussed above. One of the two was photographed and published in 1913, still showing the torso of the deity on a loose, and subsequently lost, small part of the banner (see Fig. 5/27a). This now-lost small piece of double-sided painted cloth contained a familiar iconography, including the garments (red robe and white cloak with gold border), the beard (concluding in a point at mid-chest), the right elbow (close to the torso with the lower arm raised), and the gesture of the left hand (clenching the gathered folds of the white robe's golden hem in front of the torso). The halo, the head, and the right hand of the figure were already missing in 1913. The other side of the fragment was not included in the 1913 publication, and thus we only know the lower third of the image still attached to the banner (see Fig. 5/27b). That portion shows an arrangement and set of garments identical to the other two paintings, suggesting that originally this image also featured the same deity.[107]

The above analysis of format and preservation allude to a complex history. The overall characteristics of these four icons are similar to what is seen on the fragmentary paintings surviving from the Manichaean picture books. Already their dimensions (H: ca. 18 cm and W: 16 cm and 17 cm) are strikingly similar to the measurements of the didactic images surveyed above in a solely

105 Ebert (2004, 72) also notes the four squares on this cloak.

106 This gesture is frequently seen in Kushan Buddhist images of the Historical Buddha (see Gulácsi 2011, 254–254, Fig. 7b).

107 The similarity of the deities in the upper register of the two banners was noted in previous studies and hypothesized by Klimkeit (1982, 44) to be depictions of Mani.

pictorial horizontal handscroll (H: ca. 18 cm and W: 16 cm, see Fig. 5/2) and a solely pictorial horizontal codex (H: ca. 18 cm and W: 16 cm, see Fig. 5/4). The symmetry of their layout and the frontal positioning of their main figures also compare favorably to the icons in the above-mentioned horizontal pictorial codex (see Fig. 5/4). Moreover, the icons on these funerary banners and in the picture books also share an artistic vocabulary and iconography akin to that of Sasanian and Kushan artistic remains. Together they preserve an archaic visual language that was common across the Iranian cultural region during the mid-third century, when Mani's canonical pictures were first made, but not in tenth-century East Central Asia, where the banners were made. As we have seen, the mortuary banner was a new object among the Manichaeans during the Uygur period. The iconic depiction of deities, however, was already part of Mani's canonical collection of images from its inception, as attested in one of the first textual records about Mani's *Hikōn* (*Kephalaion 7*). In other words, the compositional characteristics and the visual language of these icons have a longer history in Manichaean art than the banners on which they survive. Their formal characteristics considered above indicate that, unlike the banners, these icons were not East Central Asian innovations. The icons on these banners relied on prototypes that already existed among the didactic images of the Manichaeans in mid-third century southern Mesopotamia.

Illuminated Service Books: Vertical Codices with Sideways-Oriented Didactic Images, a Horizontal *Pustaka* with a Sideways-Oriented Didactic Image, and the Question of Sidewaysness

The illuminated manuscript was added to the Manichaean artistic repertoire in East Central Asia during the Uygur era. Their remains constitute the earliest Iranian and Turkic illuminated manuscripts, predating the first Islamic examples from Iran and Central Asia by over 400 years. Broadly, they date from the 270-year long Manichaean era of Uygur history (757/762–1024 CE). One example was carbon-dated with 95.4% probability to a 126-year long period (889–1015 CE), yielding 978 CE as the calibrated age. Five additional fragments were linked to the latter date based on the hand of the illuminator. Seven fragments retain names of historical figures and thus, can be more accurately dated in shorter periods that fall between 907 and possibly 1024 CE.[108] Uygur Manichaean manuscript illumination exhibits superb quality in all regards (material, technique, and composition). Unfortunately, none of its examples survives intact. Even the best-preserved remains display significant damage. Despite its vulnerability, the illuminated manuscript

108 The carbon-dated fragment (MIK III 8259) is the bifolio illuminated with an intratextual *Sermon Scene* (Gulácsi 2003, 5–33; as well as 2005a, 39–58 and Fig. 2/8).

is the most broadly documented Manichaean art known today.[109] Currently, 89 illuminated manuscript fragments are identified as Manichaean. They derive from books and, in two cases, from letters. They constitute about 2% of the total number of Manichaean manuscript fragments (approximately 100 out of 5000) recovered from and around Kocho and Dunhuang.[110] Among these, fourteen preserve identifiable figural compositions, which include six *ritual images* and eight *didactic images*.

The formal characteristics of the latter eight manuscript fragments are considered together and interpreted in relation to the canonical art of the Manichaeans for the first time in this study. To appreciate the information they retain, one must be aware of the basics of Manichaean codicology:

(1) Manichaean illuminated manuscripts contained two types of illumination—decorative designs and figural compositions (**Figure 5/28**). The decorative designs consist of vegetal motifs (mainly floral vines) that occasionally enclose a sub-header within the column of the text, but mostly frame the header (i.e., the line that identifies the content of each page) across the upper margin (see Fig. 5/28a). If so, they grow out from the inner margin (originating from the last letter on the recto or first letter on the verso) and proceed above and below the header to inhabit the outer margins of the page, concluding on either the upper, the outer, or the lower margins. Aside from the area next to the header, the inner margins never contain decorative designs. The figural compositions are communicative pictorial components of the page (see Fig. 5/28b). They may be marginal, intratextual, or full-page. With rare exception, they depict either *ritual images* (sermons, alms services, conversions, or the annual *Bēma* Festival with actual members of the community often

109 Best-preserved among them, which also happen to be datable based on historical figures mentioned in them, include (1) the Sogdian letter, illuminated with an emblem, that was written by a Bishop to a Teacher on the occasion of the lunar New Year around 1008 CE and found at Bezeklik (81 TB 65:01, Turfan Antiquarian Bureau, in Turfan, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China; see Gulácsi 2005a, 213–216, Fig. 5/23 and Fig. 6/5); and (2) the Uygur *pustaka* hymnbook found at Murtuk that mentions a Khatun from 907–926 CE (MIK III 8260 + 37 individually numbered *pustaka* folia, see Gulácsi 2005a, 188–191, and Tab. 5/14) discussed below (see Fig. 5/43).

110 Based on the expeditions that acquired them, these fragments are housed today in collections of Central Asian manuscripts and art: 78 of them are in Berlin, four in St. Petersburg, two in London, one Kyoto, and one in Turfan (see Gulácsi 2005a, 15–38 and Tabs. 1/2–1/3). One correction must be noted about the parchment fragment with the image of a deity (MIK III 7068), which in all previous publications was considered to be a fragment of a painted book cover (2005a, 83–88; and 2001, 158–159). Based on a better understanding of the Manichaean's picture book tradition reached in the current study, this one-sided fragment is reinterpreted be a remnant of a pictorial handscroll (see Fig. 5/3, above).

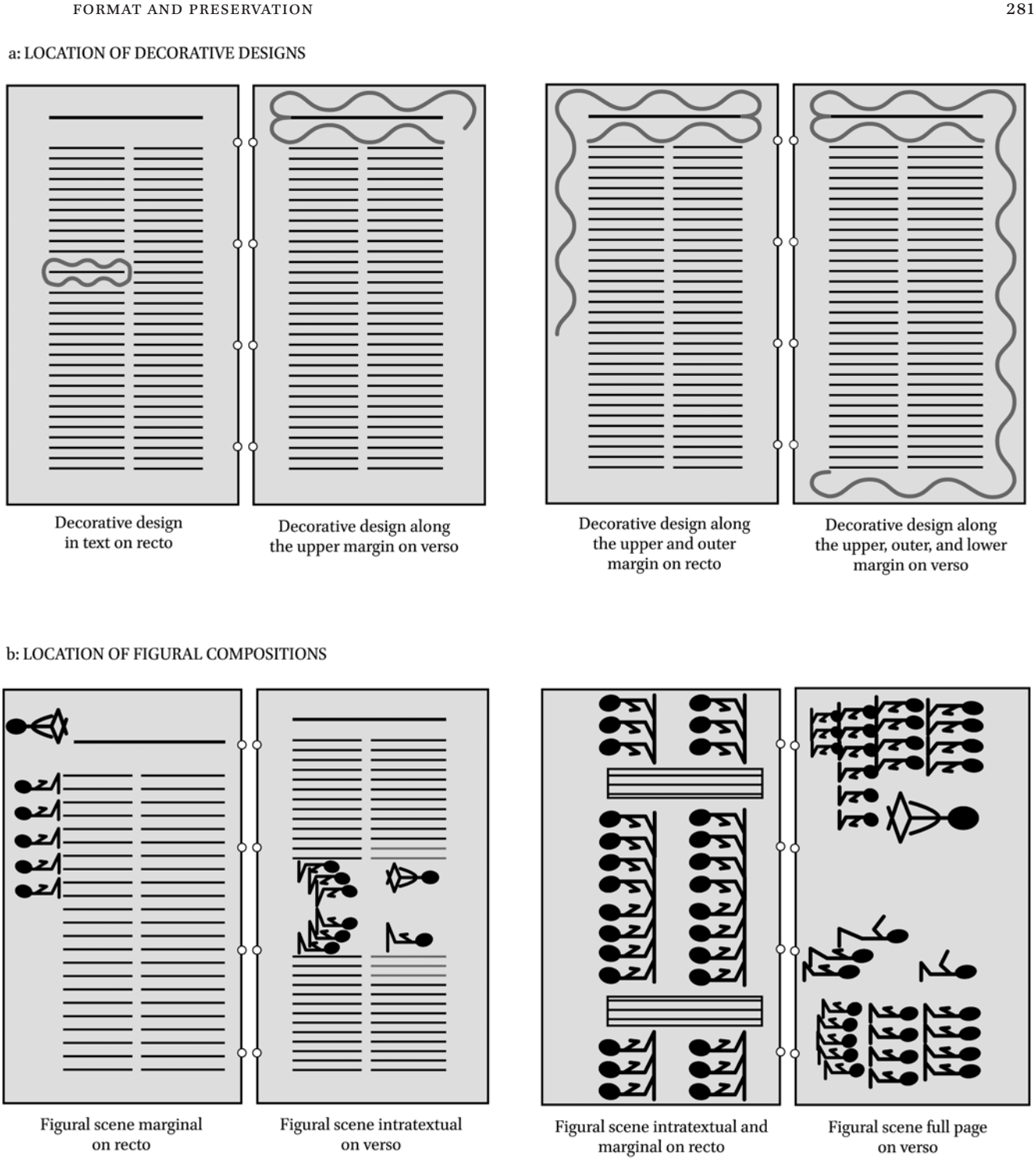


FIGURE 5/28 *Integration of text and illumination in Uygur Manichaean codices*

named) or *didactic images* (soteriology, prophetology, theology, and cosmology). Multiple examples document most subjects.[111]

(2) The sideways orientation of figural compositions was systematic in Manichaean manuscript illumination (see Fig. 5/28b). On all currently known fragments, the human beings with their carpets, desks, and chairs, as well as the occasional tree in their environment are all painted in a 90-degree angle in relation to the horizontal line of writing on the page, with the heads of the figures always toward the outer margins of the codex. Therefore, if facing pages of an open codex were to contain figural compositions, the pictorial content would be painted symmetrically with the feet of the figures toward the inner margin on both pages.[112] This rule distinguishes the recto and verso pages of the Manichaean codex, since the writing does not change direction—the scribe writes from right to left in horizontal lines on both pages. On a recto, the writing starts from the inner margin, where the feet of the figures are located, while on a verso, the writing starts from the outer margin, where the heads of the figures are located. In other words, the writing was done by holding the rectangular codex page with its longer sides vertical; while the painting required turning the same page so that its longer sides are horizontal. Therefore, as long as there is text and image on any side of a folio, the recto and verso sequence of even the smallest illuminated folio fragments can be confirmed even if they retain only a few letters in addition to any directional part of a figural composition.[113]

(3) Manichaean illuminated manuscripts were luxurious, painted editions of service books used in the context of liturgy. The text is primary to the illumination, since it governs the overall build of the codex and *pustaka* format of the book or the vertical orientation of letter scrolls. Even the occasional decorative designs are fully matched with, and subordinated to, the text. The illuminator could have painted the figural compositions aligned with the text, but she did not. Surprisingly, when a figural composition is introduced to the illuminated manuscript, the image is painted with its own alignment uncompromised. This unique approach to the design is seen occasionally in early Syriac, Armenian, and Islamic book illumination.

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111 Gulácsi 2005a, 203–206 and Tab. 6/6.

112 Such symmetry of figural composition, however, is not documented for Manichaean manuscript illumination. The only symmetrical arrangement of illumination between two facing pages is seen in connection with decorative designs (M 171 inner side of bifolia, see Gulácsi 2005a, 138–139). Remnants of four subsequent folia are preserved in only one case (MIK III 4971 a–d, see Gulácsi 2005a, 165–167 and Fig. 5/17); most fragments of illuminated bifolia were not facing pages as confirmed by their texts (e.g., MIK III 8259, see Gulácsi 2005a, 142–144 and Fig. 5/7).

113 Gulácsi 2005a, 162–163.

(4) Manichaean manuscripts varied greatly in size. The Manichaeans occasionally produced extra-small, non-illuminated codices in both Egypt and Turfan, as confirmed by the match-box size parchment folia of the Greek *Cologne Mani Codex* (H: 4.5 cm, W: 3.5 cm) and the slightly taller parchment bifolia with the Middle Persian text of the *Hymn to the Living Self* from Kocho (MIK III 103, H: 5.8 cm, and W: 3.5 cm).[114] The vast majority of Manichaean books, however, were significantly larger codices. With its close to 500 papyrus folia (H: ca. 32.5 cm, W: ca. 18.0 cm), each volume of Coptic *Kephalaia* is among the thickest large codices in the ancient world.[115] The Turfan remains confirm heights between 5.8 cm and close to 50 cm, and height-to-width ratios between 0.7:1 and 3:1 (**Figure 5/29**).[116] In both regards, the illuminated codices fall into the middle. Their heights are between 15 cm and over 40 cm. Their proportions are vertical, ranging between 1.6:1 and 2.4:1.

(5) The lack of contextual ties between the image and its text is yet another unexpected fact about Manichaean manuscript illumination. Contrary to expectations, the text does not discuss the painting and, vice-versa, the image makes no visual reference to the text. Among the fourteen illuminated folio fragments that contain both identifiable texts with identifiable figural compositions, only two paintings actually "illustrate," that is, visually comment on their associated two omen texts.[117] The remaining twelve examples exhibit, what we may be qualified at best as having "very loose" contextual ties.[118] For example, the *Salvation of the Light with God's Hand* is paired with a benediction on the sacred meal (MIK III 4974, see Fig. 5/30), and an *Icon of the King of Honor* with a benediction on the royal court (MIK III 36 verso, Fig. 5/34).[119] Although such

114 Gulácsi 2005a, 64, 78, and Fig. 3/3a.

115 Volume II of the *Kephalaia* preserved in Dublin originally had 492 folia (Gardner 2014, 8).

116 Gulácsi 2005a, 76–88.

117 Gulácsi 2005a, 206–216 and Tab. 6/7. One correction must be noted about the *Icon of the Great King of Honor* (MIK III 36 verso), which was previously interpreted as "a ruler with his military elite" and thus, was considered to be interrelated with the text of "benediction on the Uygur ruler and his military elite" on the verso (2005a, 208–211 and Fig. 6/2). In light of the new identification of the image as a didactic icon, this folio fits with all other illuminated Manichaean fragments known today with identifiable textual and pictorial contests (except the one omen fragment, M 556; see 2005a, 208–209 and Fig. 6/1), as having no direct reference between the text and the painting.

118 Gulácsi 2005a, 206–208 and Tab. 6/7. The fourteen examples include the eight didactic images, three ritual images (one *Conversion Scene* and two *Bēma Scenes*), and an emblem of a Teacher of the Manichaean church (*Headgear Emblem of a Church Official*). The emblem adorns an illuminated letter (2005a, 213–215 and Fig. 6/5).

119 An image depicting an alms service ritual is painted next to a hymn to the Father of Greatness (M 559), and an image depicting the *Bēma* Festival is paired with a benediction on the royal court (MIK III 4979 and Or 8212–1692). For a full survey, see Gulácsi 2005a, 206–217, and Table 6/7.

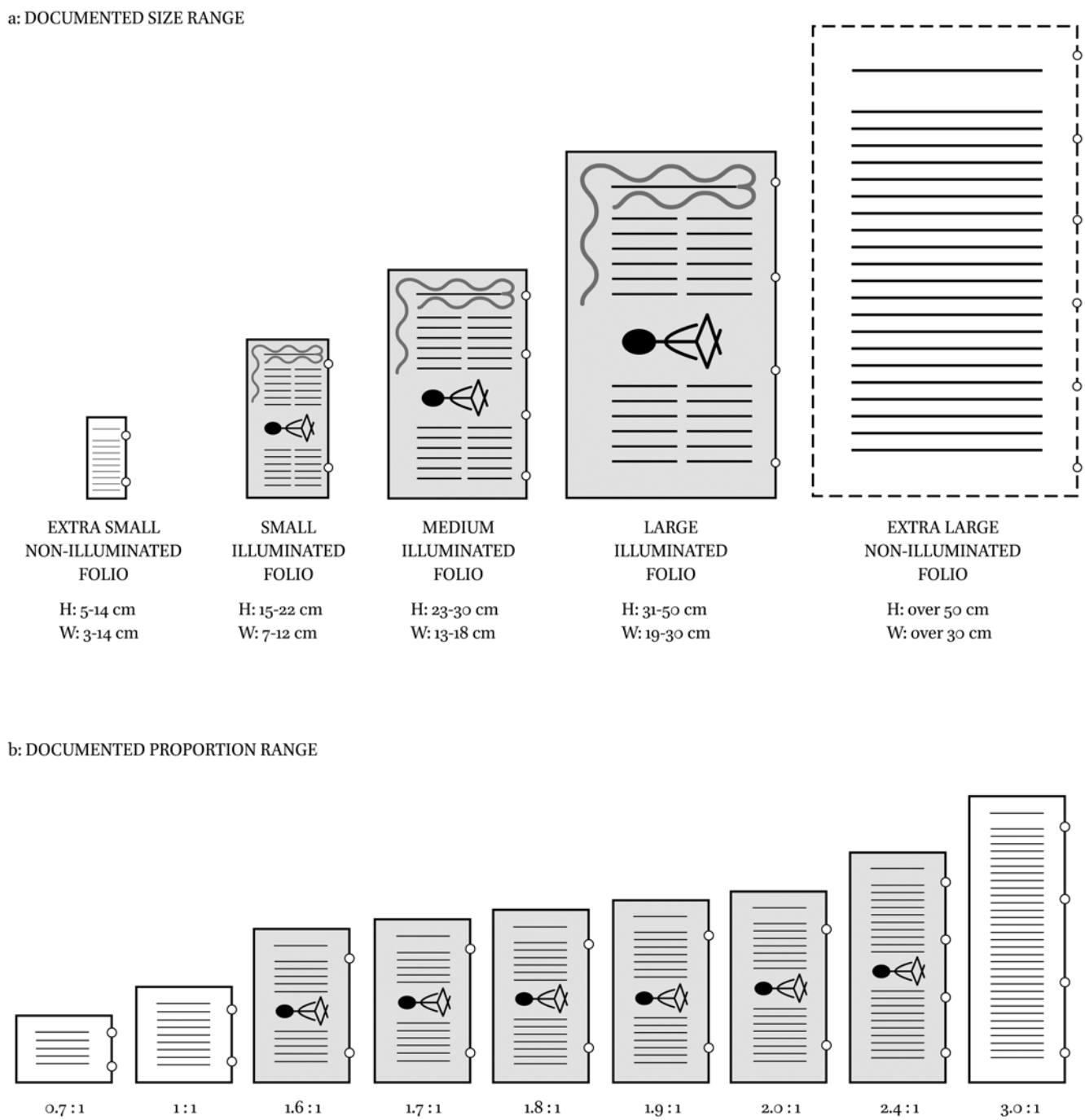


FIGURE 5/29 *Sizes and proportions of Uygur Manichaean illuminated service books*

pairings of text and image makes sense in the overall context of Manichaean teaching, the two do not interact with one another. The text does not discuss the painting and the image does depict what is discussed in the text.

The eight illuminations identified as didactic make up one-fifth (20%) of the 40 didactic images know today (see Tab. 5/3: Illuminated Manuscripts). They belong to the Turfan collection of the Asian Art Museum in Berlin and are remnants of seven codex folia and one *pustaka* folio. They were systematically assessed when the corpus of Manichaean artistic remains from Berlin were catalogued, and subsequently analyzed in a codicological study.[120] These illuminations depict teachings on soteriology and prophetology (5 images) and theology (3 icons). Considering their codicological characteristics in light of our new understanding of Manichaean didactic art provides a foundation for proposing an informed theory about the origin of their sideways orientation.

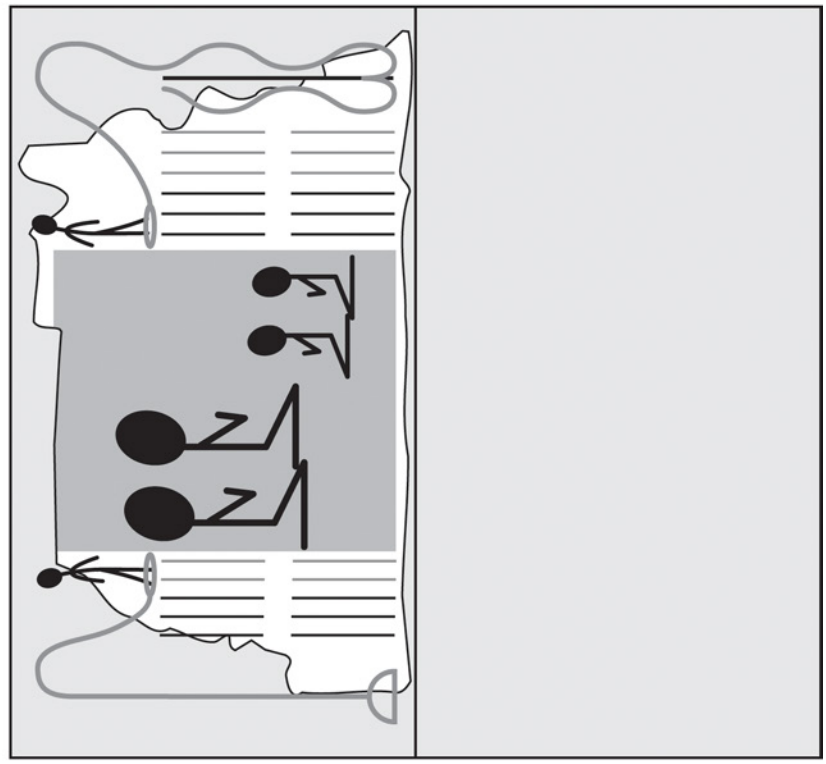
1 *Vertical Codices Illuminated with Sideways-Oriented Didactic Images*

Seven among the eight identifiable didactic illuminations are found in codices (see Tab. 5/3: Illuminated Codex Folia). All seven were painted in the "fully painted West Asian Style of Uygur Manichaean art." Although all of them were made and used in Kocho during the ninth and tenth century, none of these paintings exhibit signs of local artistic influence. They do not show local material culture (e.g., felt carpets, Uygur garments, and Chinese furniture) nor they incorporate motifs familiar from Central Asian Buddhist art (e.g., lotus flowers and mandala designs) known from non-didactic, ritual images (e.g., alms service, conversion, *Bēma* Festival) otherwise attested in Manichaean manuscript illumination. The illuminations discussed below are different. Not only do they share a more archaic character in their iconography, but also follow a more archaic format in their preservation.

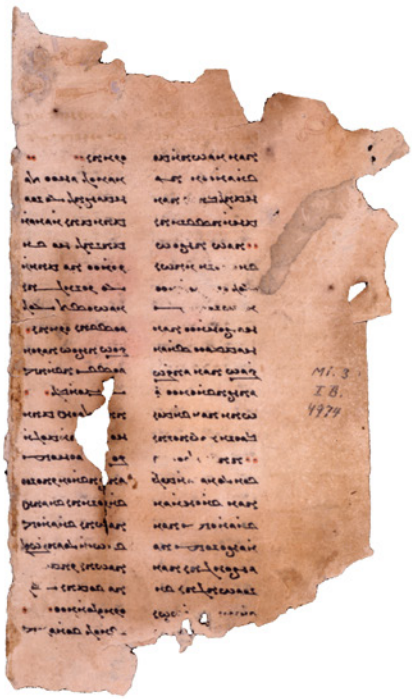
The most intact fragment derives from a small size codex (MIK III 4974, **Figure 5/30**). The recto of this folio retains parts of a header originally written across the upper margin, a text arranged in two columns, and an illumination painted on a blue background within the area of the text. On the verso, the two-column layout continues. In this case, there is only a meandering floral decoration that surrounds the header and concludes along the upper part of the outer margin. The layout of this folio can be fully reconstructed. Its codicology confirms 15.5 cm as the original height and 7.9 cm as the original width of the page that derived from a small size illuminated codex. The fully legible Manichaean script text is a Middle Persian benediction on the sacred meal and the leadership of the local community. Its liturgical nature confirms that this folio was part of a service book. Without making any reference to the painting, the text starts on the recto and continues on the verso. The intratextual book

120 See Gulácsi 2001 and 2005a.

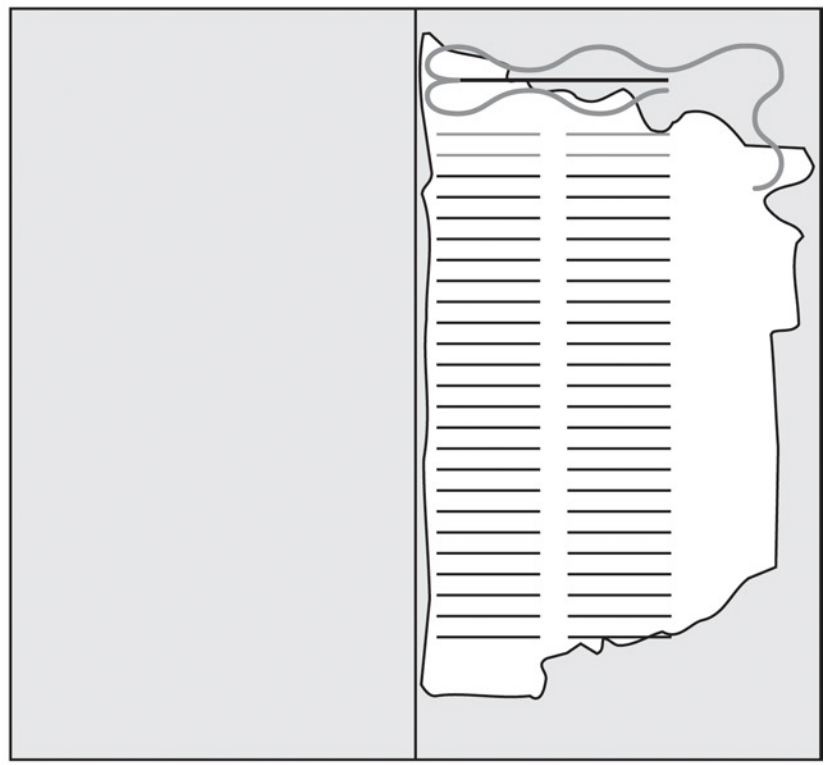
a: MIK III 4947 recto (H: 13.4 cm, W: 7.8 cm)



c: Reconstructed layout of recto (H: 15.5 cm, W:7.9 cm)



b: MIK III 4947 verso



d: Reconstructed layout of verso

FIGURE 5/30 *Fragment of Uygur Manichaean service book illuminated with* Salvation of the Light and God's Hand, *Kocho, mid 9th / early 11th century* (MIK III 4974 recto, Asian Art Museum, Berlin)

a. Actual condition (H: 6.6 cm, W: 6.1 cm of blue background)

b: Digitally restored image (H: 6.6 cm, W: 6.1 cm of blue background)

FIGURE 5/31 Salvation of the Light, *actual condition and digital restoration shown from picture-viewing direction* (*MIK III 4974 recto, detail of Fig. 5/30*)

painting on the recto is oriented sideways, with the heads of the figures toward the outer margin.[121]

The illumination depicts a soteriological subject—the *Salvation of the Light with God's Hand* (**Figure 5/31**).[122] To access this painting in its actual condition requires trained eyes and meticulous observation. All motifs, however, can be made out. Together, they convey the core teaching of this religion, which Mani called the "work of the religion," referring to the salvation of the light, as is discussed in Chapter 6, below. The digital restoration secures an iconography that otherwise would go unnoticed. It allows us to see an important canonical image conveyed in a visual language that is free from contemporaneous East Central Asian (Buddhist and Chinese) influences, and instead preserves a key motif attested in Mesopotamia during Mani's time—God's right hand reaching into the picture.[123]

121 Gulácsi 2005a, 144–146.

122 Gulácsi 2009, 145–168 + 12 plates.

123 During the 240s CE, this motif was used on the walls of the synagogue at Dura-Europos. The digitally reconstructed version of this painting provides supplementary visual support for the argument that the prototype of this image did not originate in the context of its illuminated folio, but instead derived from the earliest repertoire of Manichaean art.

The second fragment derives from a large folio (MIK III 4964, **Figure 5/32**). Although in this case, there is not enough codicological data to reconstruct the layout of the two pages, the script size, the line distance, and the large size of the figure (8.5 cm tall and 2.5 cm wide) all indicate a page height between 31 to 50 cm and a width between 19 to 30 cm. The two sides of fragment can also be confirmed. The recto is the side with the few Manichaean script letters from the upper column of a text and the right edge of an intratextual sideways-oriented painting. The verso is the side with a few starting words of a Middle Persian hymn that mentions the five elements, and thus confirms that this folio was part of a service book—a hymnbook, or perhaps an anthology of Manichaean literature.[124] As is often the case in Uygur Manichaean book art, the illumination was carefully executed and heavily gilded on an expensive lapis lazuli background. In this image, however, a prominent Mani figure is portrayed standing at the edge of the composition, looking up to observe what was in the now-lost part of the painting. Despite his secondary role as the observer of the main topic of the painting, Mani's significance is indicated by his gilded cloak and halo.[125]

The third remnant once belonged to a medium size illuminated codex (MIK III 6258a, **Figure 5/33**). Although its condition today is too fragmentary to estimate its original proportion and textual content, this small fragment still retains enough data that allows us to distinguish its two sides, interpret its layout, and confirm its original size category. The few Manichaean script letters in relation to the alignment figure confirm a recto page and a layout with an intratextual illumination on a fragment that derived from the lower third of the folio. The motif of a man stripped to his loincloth and holding a gold bowl in front of his chest indicates that this image depicted a post-mortem judgment. The verso is blank, which may suggests either an unfinished page or that this was the blank last page of a book.[126]

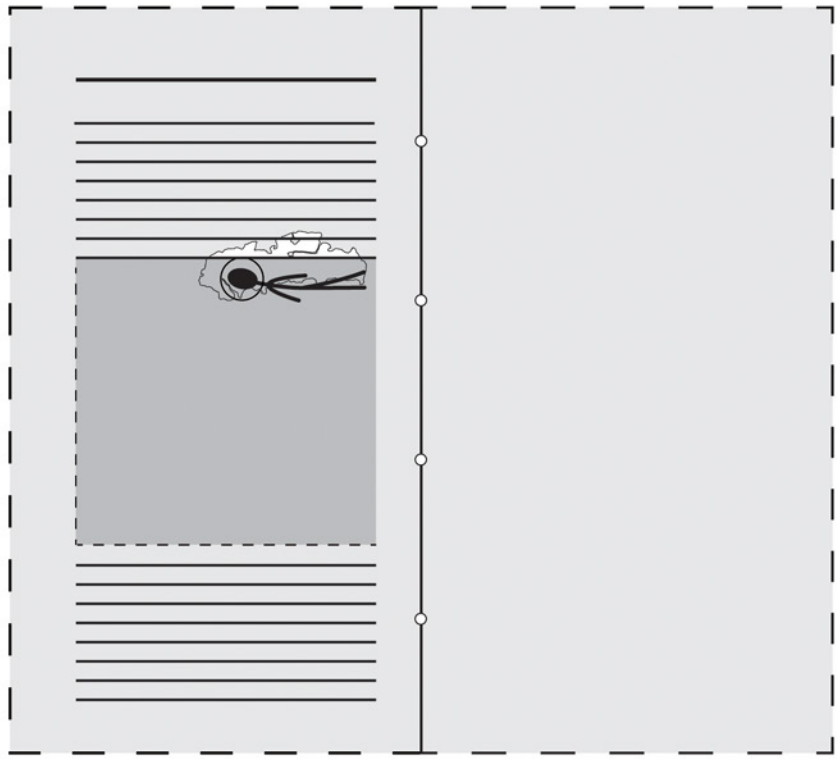
The fourth image belonged to a small size codex (MIK III 36, **Figure 5/34**). It preserves much of the upper half of its folio. As confirmed by the direction of Manichaean script writing in relation to the figures between the two sides, the recto is the page with the text, while the verso contains a sideways-oriented full-page painting. Between the checkered pattern formed by the red ink and black ink text-blocks on the recto and the symmetrical composition of the painting on the verso, the original layout and size of this folio is fully reconstructible as ca. 22.0 cm in height and 11.0 cm in width. Its Manichaean script passage is a Middle Persian benediction on the auditors of the Uygur court and

124 Gulácsi 2001, 120–121 and Appendix I, #51 with BeDuhn's translation of the text.

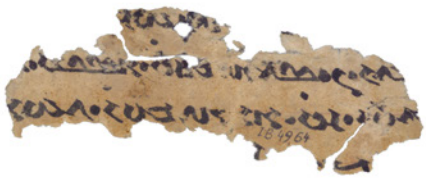
125 Ebert (2009, 42–43) identified the figure as Mani. Based on comparison to the Chinese Manichaean depiction of the cosmos, Yoshida (2015a, 90) introduced the idea that the missing portion of this illumination most likely featured a cosmological subject.

126 Examples of blank intratextual areas on inscribed folia include M 17 and M 576, neither of which is noted by Boyce (1960, 3 and 40).

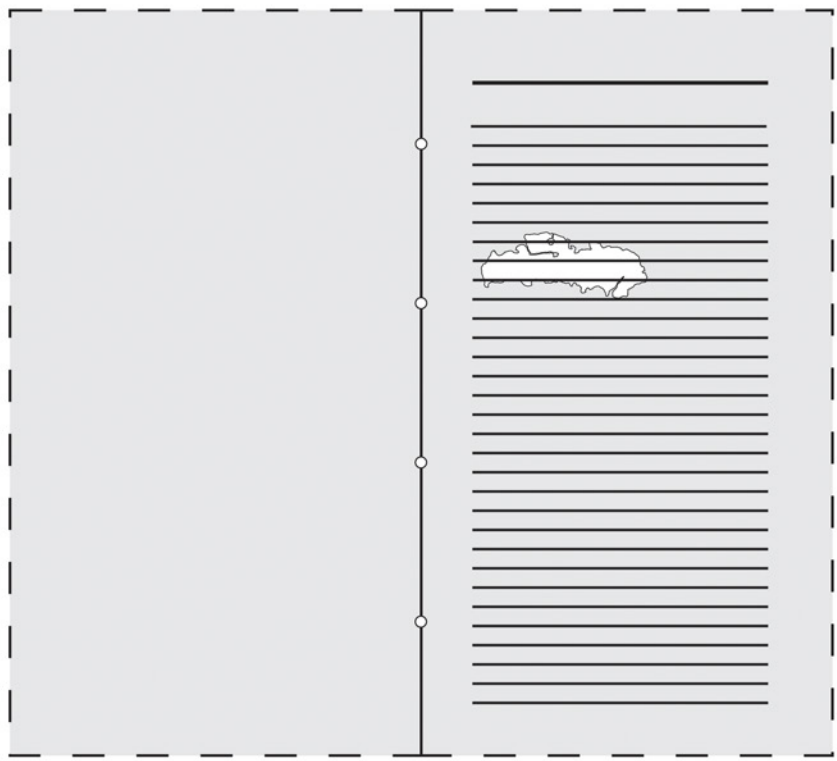
a: MIK III 4964 recto (H: 3.6 cm W: 9.4 cm)



c: Reconstructed layout of recto (H: 31-50 cm, W: 19-30 cm)



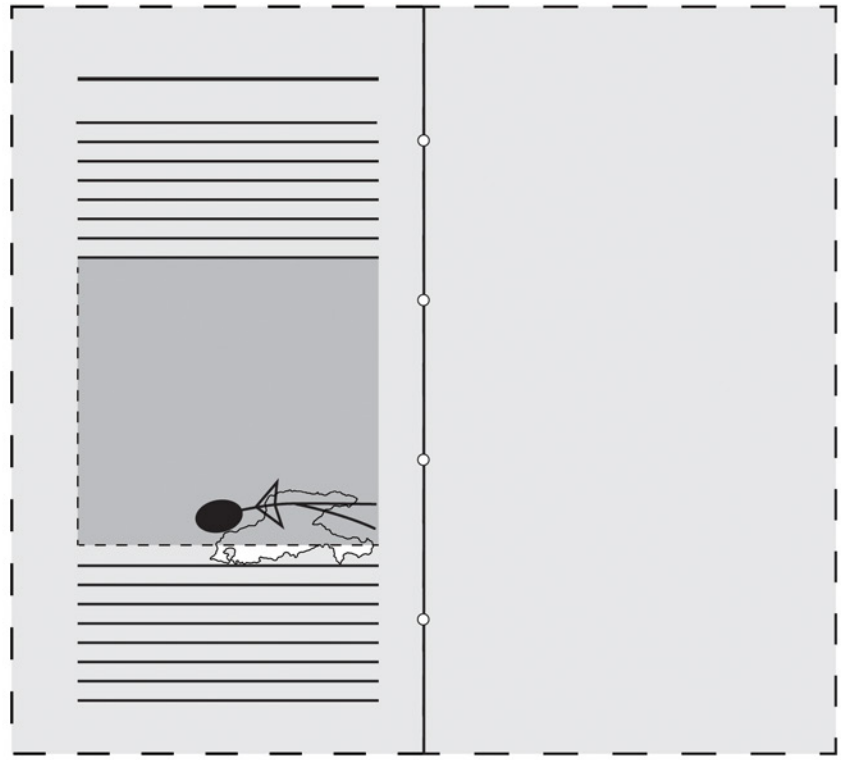
b: MIK III 4964 verso



d: Reconstructed layout of verso

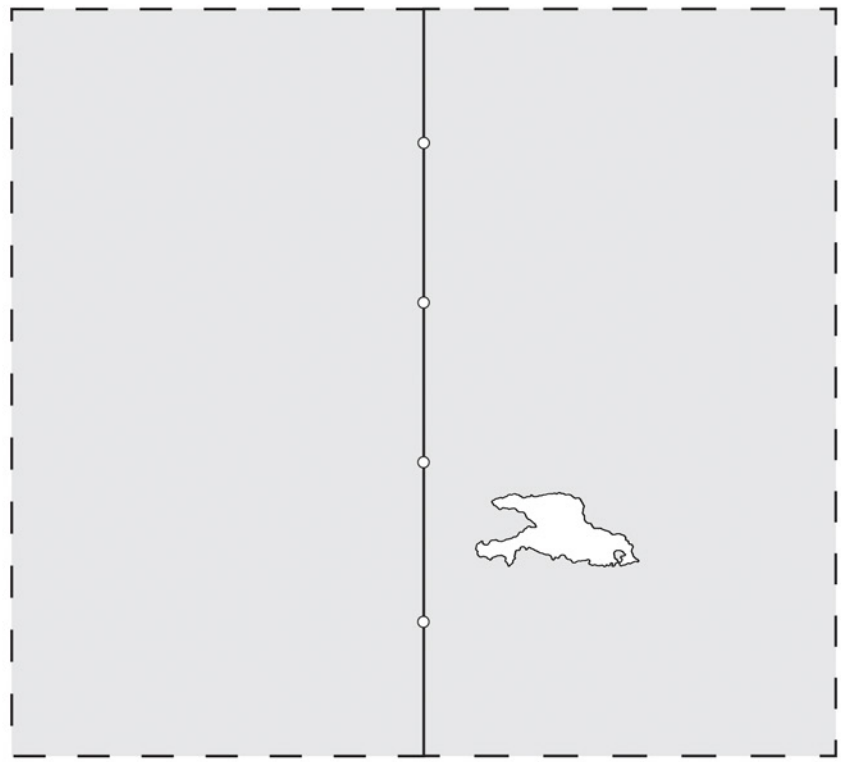
FIGURE 5/32 *Fragment of Uygur Manichaean service book illuminated with* Mani as Visionary Witness, *Kocho, mid 9th / early 11th century* (*MIK III 4964 recto, Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)

a: MIK III 6258a recto (H: 2.9 cm, W: 6.2 cm)



c: Reconstructed layout of recto (H: 31-50 cm, W: 19-30 cm)

b: MIK III 6258a verso



d: Reconstructed layout of verso

FIGURE 5/33 *Fragment of Uygur Manichaean service book illuminated with* Plaintiff from Judgment of Laity, Kocho, *mid 9th / early 11th century* (*MIK III 6258a recto, Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)

its khan, named one-by-one, suggesting that this folio was part of an illuminated service book used for services performed for the court.[127]

When turned to the picture-viewing direction, the verso shows a symmetrical arranged dense composition that centered on a large enthroned figure.[128] Based on iconographic clues interpreted in light of Manichaean comparative visual data and textual sources in Chapter 6, this painting can be identified as an *Icon of the King of Honor* (**Figure 5/35**). The two main components are unambiguous: a deity and twenty "soldierly angels." The deity is seated along the vertical axis in Iranian regal fashion (knees spread, heels close to one another, and wrists placed on the thighs). The throne is a step above the floor level. It is enclosed in a gilded arch slightly behind the figure. A tapering post that formed the lower part of the arch is partially retained. Its gilded surface was decorated in delicate black ink lines. Based on its trajectory, this post concluded in an arch that reached all the way to the upper margin, accommodating the halo and most likely a headgear. Below the chin, a V-shaped patch of dense black ink suggests a pointed black beard. Behind the figure's leg and arm, a red cloak is visible. Parts of a blue garment give the impressions of trousers on the legs. Between the knees, the curving back outline of a tunic can be seen. The "soldierly angels" are depicted here as an army of generals: twenty figures dressed in the attire of high-ranking military men, placed tightly in two rows around the main figure. They are defined uniformly—all in three-quarter views oriented towards the center, dressed in helmets and body armor, and distinguished with halos of varying colors. As indicated by the three figures preserved along the lower left, their hand positions and weapons varied.

The fifth fragment was part of small size codex (MIK III 7283, **Figure 5/36**). The direction of the figures together with the horizontal lines of Manichaean script writing, confirm that the painting was on the recto and the text was on the verso. The recto retains a tiny section from the blank outer margin next to a decorative border and the right half of a frontally projected head, halo, and mandorla. They together indicate a main figure of a deity depicted along the vertical axis in what was a framed, full-page composition. Based on the halo and the mandorla, the main figure must have been a deity. As all deities in the Manichaean iconic portraits, this deity was also most likely shown enthroned. Based on the estimated size of such a seated main figure, the fragment represents about one-sixth of the original folio. If so, this folio measured ca. 16 cm in height and 10 cm in width (see Fig. 5/29). The Middle Persian text on the verso is written quite spaciously for such as a small folio. Since only six words survive from four lines, the topic of this text cannot be identified and thus the function of its book cannot be confirmed.

This full-page composition depicted an *Icon of an Unidentified Male Deity* distinctly surrounded by female busts on crescent plates (**Figure 5/37**).[129] A

127 Gulácsi 2001, 98–99. For the transliteration and translation of the text, see BeDuhn 2001, #42.

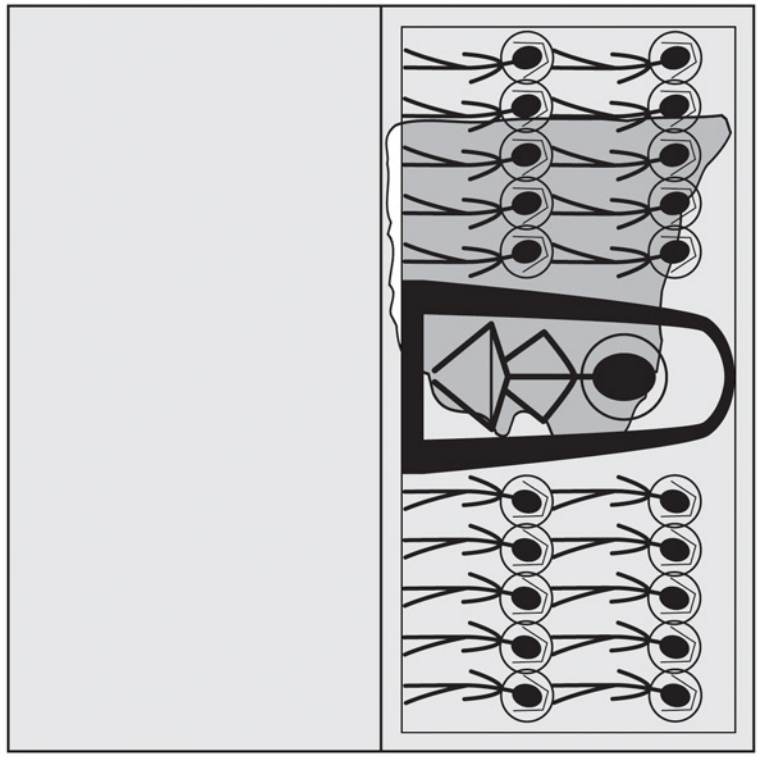
128 Also see Yoshida's discussion of the MIK III 6272 (2015a, 152).

129 Yoshida 2015a, 152.

a: MIK III 36 recto (H: 9.7 cm, W: 10.2 cm)

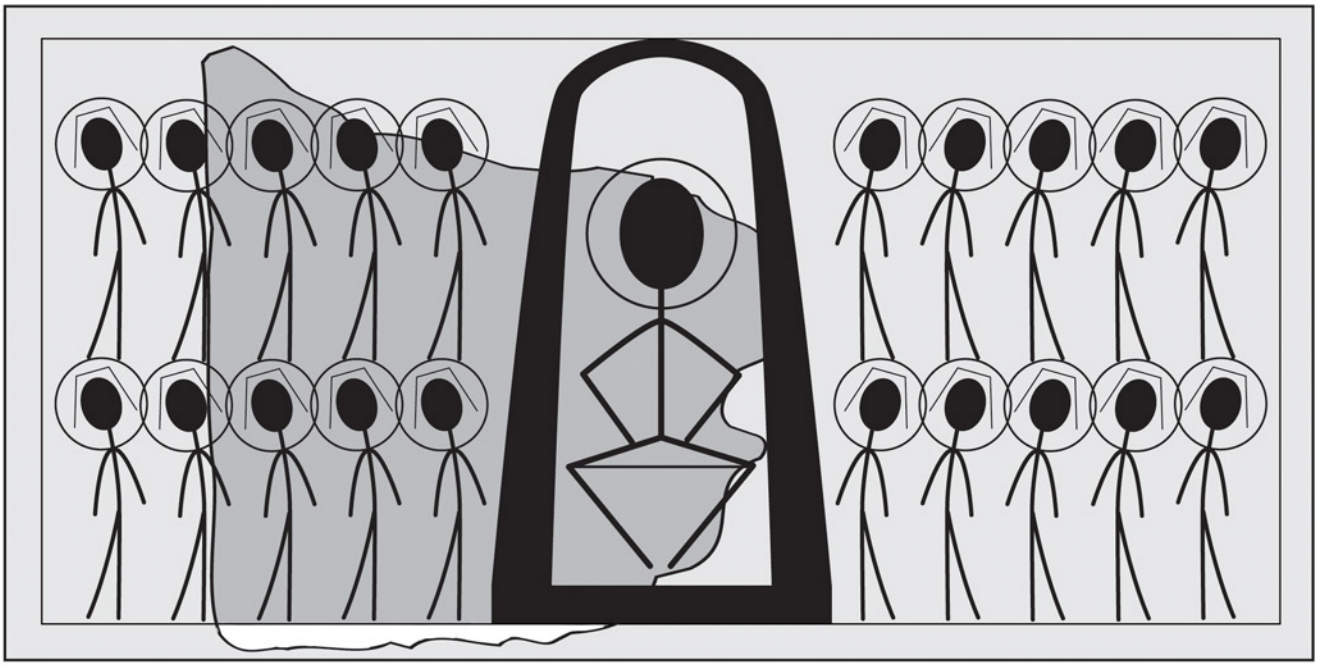
c: Reconstructed layout of recto (H: 22 cm, W: 11 cm)

b: MIK III 36 verso



d: Reconstructed layout of verso

FIGURE 5/34 *Fragment of Uygur Manichaean service book illuminated with* Icon of the King of Honor, *Kocho, mid 9th / early 11th century* (*MIK III 36, Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)

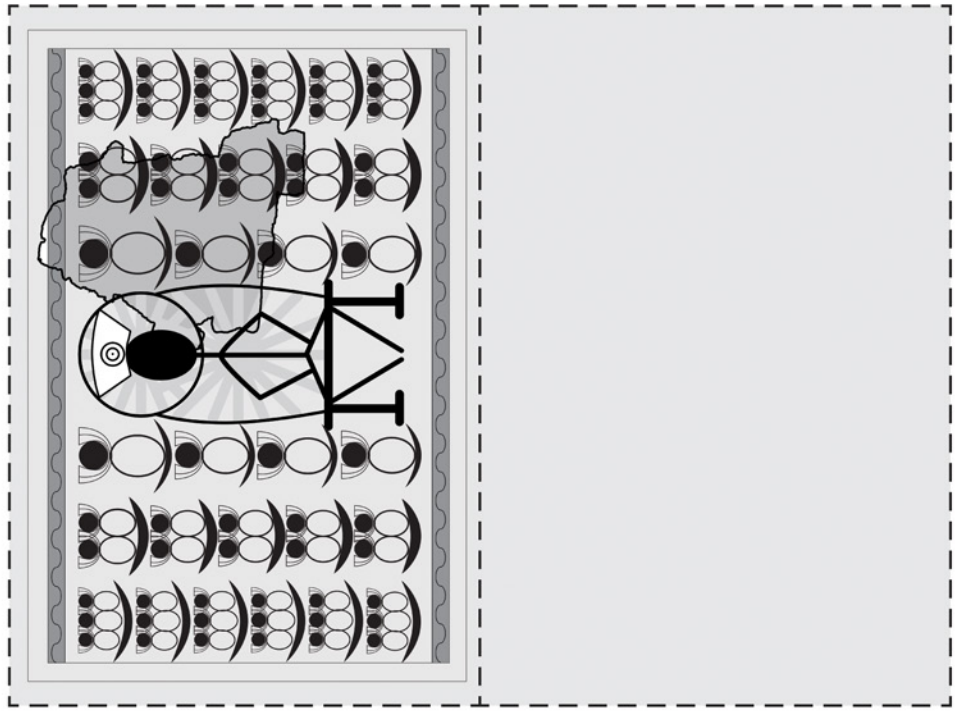


a: Reconstructed layout of full-page illumination on verso (H: 11 cm, W: 22 cm)

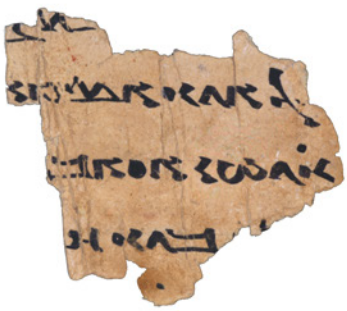
b: Illumination on verso of folio (H: 10.2 cm W: 9.7 cm)

FIGURE 5/35 Icon of the King of Honor, *actual condition and reconstructed layout shown from picture-viewing direction* (*MIK III 36 verso, details of Fig. 5/34*)

a: MIK III 7283 recto
(H: 4.3 cm, W: 5.0 cm)



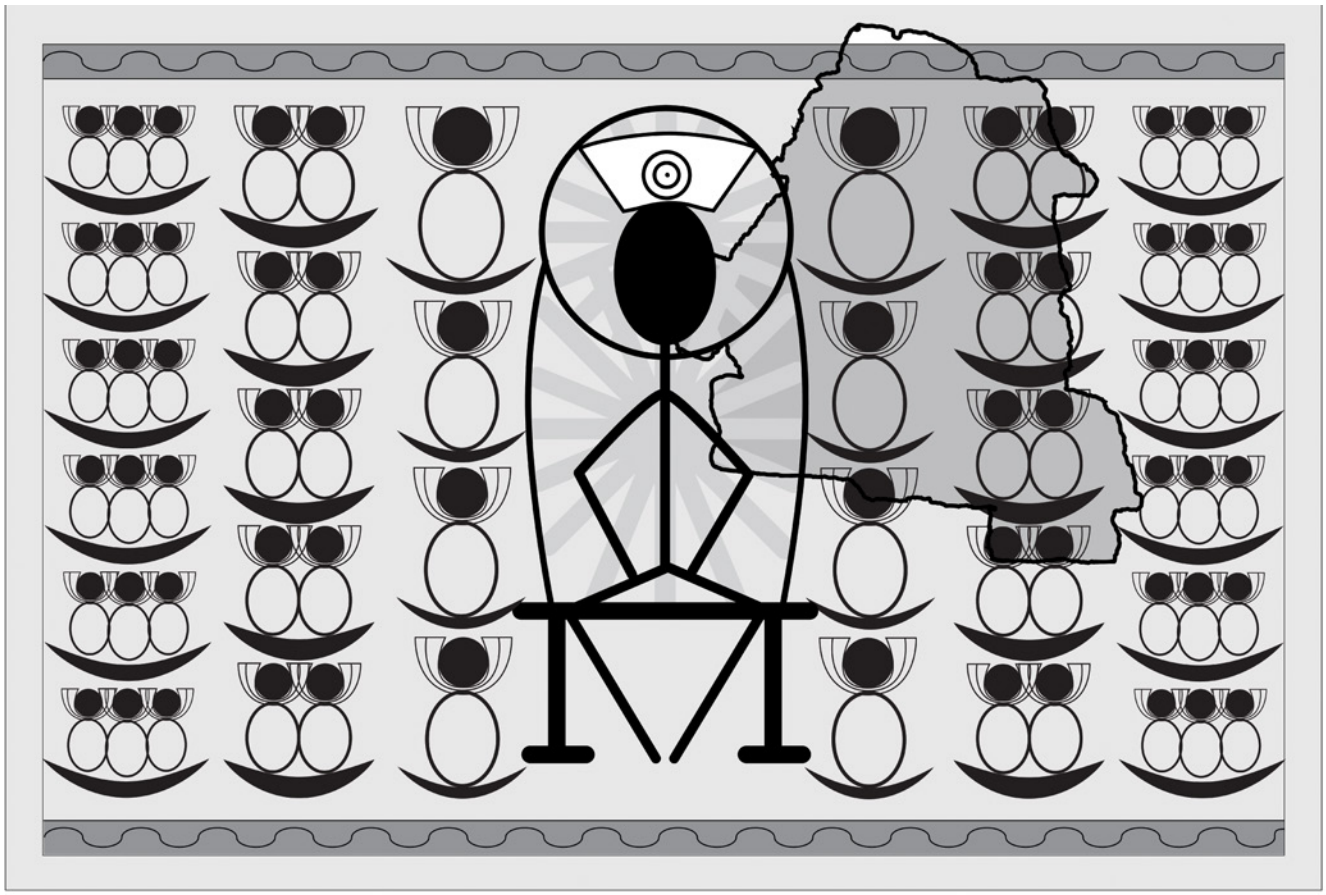
c: Reconstructed layout of recto (H: ca. 16.0 cm, W: ca. 10.0 cm)



b: MIK III 7283 verso

d: Reconstructed layout of verso

FIGURE 5/36 *Fragment of Uygur Manichaean service book illuminated with* Icon of an Unidentified Deity, *Kocho, mid 9th / early 11th century* (*MIK III 7283, Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)



a: Reconstructed layout of full-page illumination on recto (H: ca. 10.0 cm, W: ca. 16.0 cm)

b: Illumination on recto of folio (H: 5.0 cm, W: 4.3 cm)

FIGURE 5/37 Icon of an Unidentified Male Deity Enclosed by Female Busts on Crescents, *actual condition and reconstructed layout shown from picture-viewing direction* (*MIK III 7283 recto, details of Fig. 5/38*)

decorative gilded border, a thin blank margin, and a blue background framed this image. Its frontally portrayed main figure was enclosed in a halo and a mandorla decorated with radially arranged alternation sequence of dark orange-red and light orange-red bands. The little that survives from its upper body of this figure retains black paint just below the ear on the chin, indicating that this figure was a male deity.[130] To the right of the deity, two versions of a distinct motif survive—female busts placed atop a gold crescent plate. These plates were arranged in columns: one bust on one plate in the column next to the deity and two busts on a plate in the second column. Based on the likely proportions of this page, there was room for a third column, which possibly featured three busts on a crescent plate. An example of just such a three-busted version of this motif is preserved on a silk fragment (MIK III 6272, see Fig. 5/9). The mirror symmetry of the original composition is signaled by the frontal projection of the deity's face. In contrast, the busts were shown from three-quarter views looking away from the deity. Accordingly, the main figure was located in the middle of the composition along the vertical axis, enclosed in columns of a gold crescent plate with one, two, and three female busts, looking away from the center, matching the radial decorations of the halo and mandorla. This deity was enclosed in radiating light.

The sixth image was a full-page composition in a large codex (MIK III 4959, **Figure 5/38**). Its surviving fragment constitutes the lower middle portion of a folio. Its recto retains six Manichaean script lines from the middle column of a Middle Persian benediction, remnants of four figures (two and the headgears of another two) from a marginal illumination, and parts of the blank bottom margin. The horizontal lines of writing confirm that this page is the recto and the sideways orientation of the figures situates their heads towards the outer margins. The intact middle column, as well as the intact height of the middle two marginal figures, confirms that the intact page was ca. 24.8 cm wide. Its height can only be estimated. Based on the proportions of intact Manichaean codex folia, the height range of this folio was between 38 and 50 cm. The text evokes merit upon the secular leaders of the community, and thus indicates that this folio once belonged to an illuminated service book. The verso retains the edge of the middle register from a full-page composition.

The remaining part of a full-page didactic image on the verso shows one partial and three intact figures that depict the auditors' judgment after death (**Figure 5/39**). While gilded borders separated the three registers, there is no evidence for vertical frames between the subscenes within the registers. Instead, the orientation of the figures towards or away from one another is employed to define smaller pictorial units on a continuous blue background. No evidence is retained about the viewing direction of the original composition. In light of Uygur comparative examples, it is most likely that the gold registers separated different layers of the universe, as seen on the *pustaka*

130 A bearded male deity with a similar scarfed headgear is retained on a fragment of an unidentifiable marginal illumination (MIK III 4970c verso, see Fig. 6/34e, below).

frontispiece and the mortuary banners. A similar layering is observed in the Chinese Manichaean depiction of the cosmos (see Fig. 6/36). If so, the partially surviving middle register with the judgment after death could have been sandwiched between a register with the auditors' life on earth or a warning about the tortures of Gehenna at the bottom, and a register with the auditors' rebirth or maybe a reference to the ultimate salvation in the Realm of Light, at the top of this illumination.

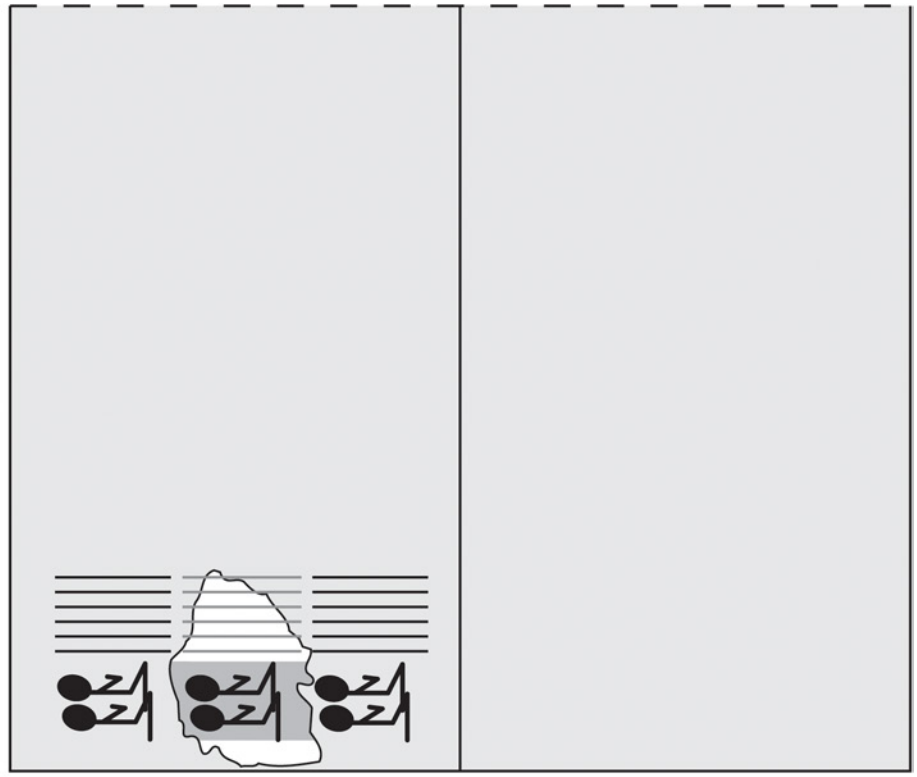
The three registers were part of one, layered composition, which contained a large amount of motifs. The pictorial content in each registers, could have been organized either from left-to-right, as is the case in the diatessaronic Jesus narrative discussed below (see Fig. 5/42); or from right-to-left, as is the writing direction of the Manichaean script. Either way, the three registers together provided a relatively large continuous surface (3 × 38–50 cm, that is, 114–150 cm or 3.7–5.2 feet in total length) with room to accommodate numerous subscenes (2–4 subscenes in each register would have amounted to total of 6–12 subscenes on this page with 30–60 motifs). The codicology of the fragment confirms that its one remaining subscene showed the "judgment of laity after death." This subject is an integral element of the teaching about the afterlife, as discussed in Chapter 6, below.[131]

The seventh and last example of a codex folio illuminated with an identifiable didactic image features a row of vignettes as a marginal illumination from a medium size codex (MIK III 4967a, **Figure 5/40**). A reconstruction diagram sums up effectively the codicological data surviving on the two subsequent pages of this folio. The fragment constitutes a torn portion from the inner half and the upper third of a large folio, as confirmed by the content of its verso. This page retains letters from four lines of a cantillated hymn and a small portion from the edge of the sideways-oriented intratextual illumination, allowing us to confirm that this side of the folio was the verso and calculate its approximate size in relation to data on better-preserved Manichaean illuminated fragments from Kocho. Accordingly, the height of the folio reached a minimum of ca. 29.6 cm. Its width was a minimum of 16.0 cm. Its script (0.38 cm, measured at the small letters) and line distance (approximately 1.0 cm, measured between the base of the letters) are relatively large compared other Manichaean codex fragments. The cantillation of the writing positively confirms that this text was a hymn, which in turn indicates that this folio was part of an illuminated service book.[132] The pictorial program within the overall layout on these two pages is

131 As the available textual and pictorial sources about this important part of Manichaean doctrine confirm, the complete set of subscenes communicating this teaching includes: (1) death, (2) release from the body, (3) Light Maiden's visit with heavenly twin of deceased, (4) Judgment, (5) Light Maiden arrives with her three gift-bearing attendant angels, (6) land of the Light, (7) reincarnation, and (8) Gehenna. For an overview, see Table 6/4, below. In light of the codicological characteristics of the verso, it is reasonable to assume that the three registers showed many of these subjects as subscenes.

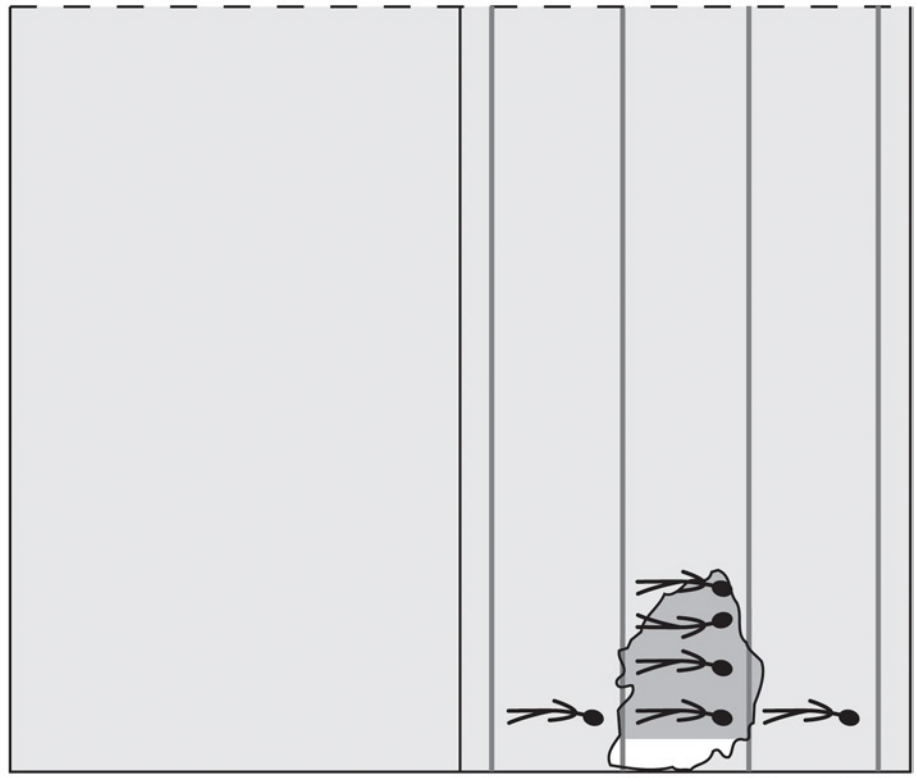
132 Gulácsi 2012, 146–148 and Fig. 1.

a: MIK III 4959 recto
(H: 11 cm, W: 8.2 cm)



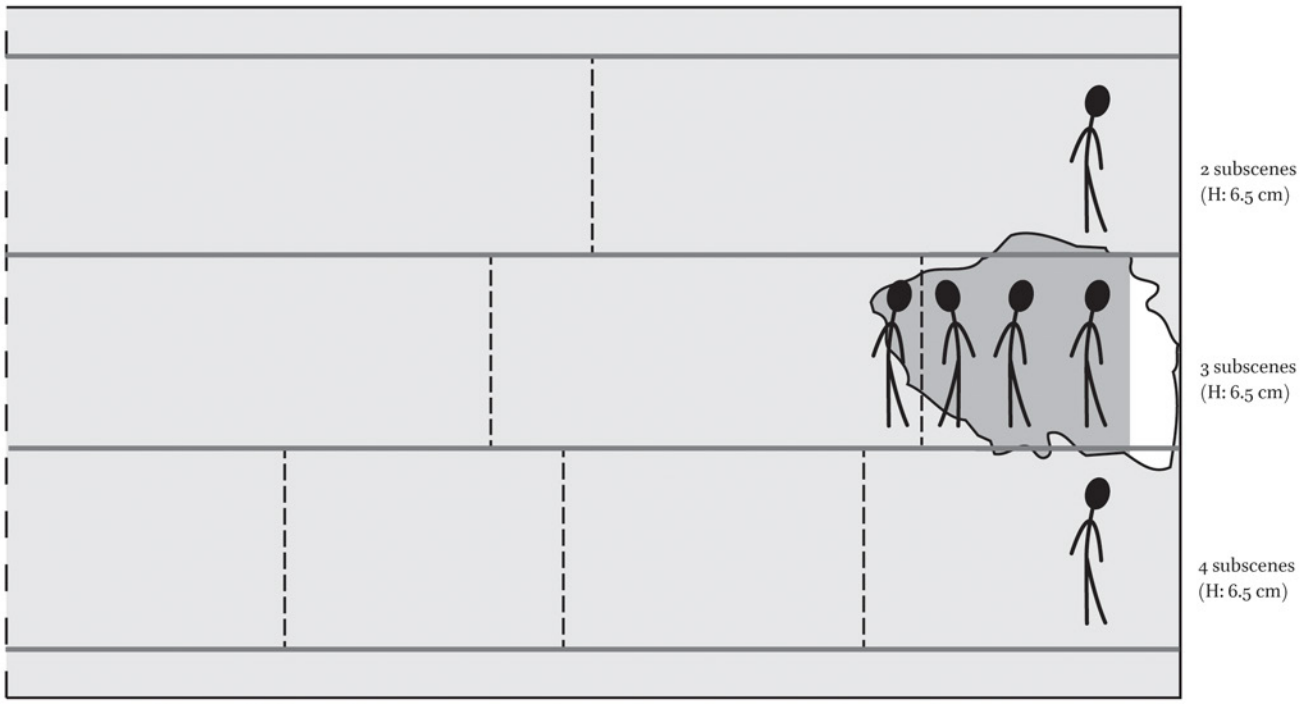
c: Reconstucted layout of recto (H: 38-50 cm, W: 24.8 cm)

b: MIK III 4959 verso



d: Reconstucted layout of verso

FIGURE 5/38 *Fragment of Uygur Manichaean service book illuminated with* Two Plaintiffs from Judgment and Rebirth of Laity, *Kocho, mid 9th / early 11th century* (*MIK III 4959, Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)



a: Reconstructed layout of full-page illumination on verso shown with 2-4 subscenes in each register (H: 24.8 cm, W: 38-50 cm)

b: Illumination on verso of folio
(H: 8.2 cm, W: 11.0 cm)

FIGURE 5/39 Two Plaintiffs from Judgment and Rebirth of Laity, *actual condition and reconstructed layout shown from picture-viewing direction* (*MIK III 4959 verso, details of Fig. 5/38*)

analogous to other Manichaean examples known from East Central Asia. On the verso, the main element of the page was the intratextual figural composition. The surface of the recto was devoted exclusively to painting. It was organized into two sections, including one large image (ca. 28 cm × ca. 14 cm) and a row of a maximum of fourteen evenly sized small vignettes in gilded frames located beneath the large image and above the inner margin of the page. These row of vignettes depict the *Life of Jesus* and thus are relevant for this study.[133]

In order to aid the interpretation of the surviving visual data in these vignettes, the blue backgrounds and the gold frames had been digitally restored (**Figure 5/41**). Each vignette was ca. 2.0 cm in width and ca. 3.0 cm in height. The technical details of their illumination accord with better-preserved examples of what has been called as the "West Asian fully painted style of Uygur Manichaean art."[134] As with many other Manichaean manuscript fragments from Kocho, the surface damage reveals the stages of the painter's work. Accordingly, bits of the untouched blank paper surface are visible on areas where colors or gold leaf have vanished. Remnants from the underdrawing, formed by thicker red-violet lines that were drawn directly onto the blank paper surface, are revealed from beneath vanished paint or gold leaf. Bits from fully painted figures (plants, objects, garments, and human beings) and the red-violet contour lines, which framed their features, are often discernible against remnants of the blue background.[135]

The interpretation of the overall sequence of these vignettes is aided by literary evidence (**Figure 5/42**). The first chapter of the *Kephalaia* includes a sermon of Mani with a succinct summary of Jesus' life, which preserves Mani's words and takes the reader back to late ancient Sasanian Mesopotamia (**Table 5/4**).[136] This sermon begins with an introduction followed by a brief reference to Jesus' Incarnation and Ministry. The bulk of the text is devoted to the Passion and concludes with a brief discussion of the Resurrection, as the content analysis shows below. Using this sermon text as a template helps us to contemplate one possible way in which a row of narrative vignettes could have captured the Incarnation, the Ministry, the Passion, and the Resurrection of Jesus. Based on the thematic sequence observed in this sermon, it is plausible that a total of two sets of 14 images were used here to narrate the events of Jesus' life.

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133 Another Manichaean illuminated fragment from Kocho (M 556), which has with a layout analogous to a verso page of a codex, also preserves a row of small vignettes (each measuring ca. 2.0 cm × 1.5 cm), framed in thin red lines and painted against the inner margin of the page. The four frames are evenly sized and paired with matching omen texts, see Reck and Sundermann 1997, 7–23; Gulácsi 2001, 126–127; and 2005a, 209.

134 Gulácsi 2003, 12–19.

135 The understanding of these techniques of the Manichaean painter is essential for deciphering what is left from the iconography of these fragmentary paintings. On the techniques of Manichaean book painting, see Gulácsi 2005a, 106–116.

136 *Kephalaion 1*, 12.21–13.11 (Gardner 1995, 18–19).

TABLE 5/4 *Content analysis of Mani's sermon on Jesus' life preserved in the* Kephalaion 1

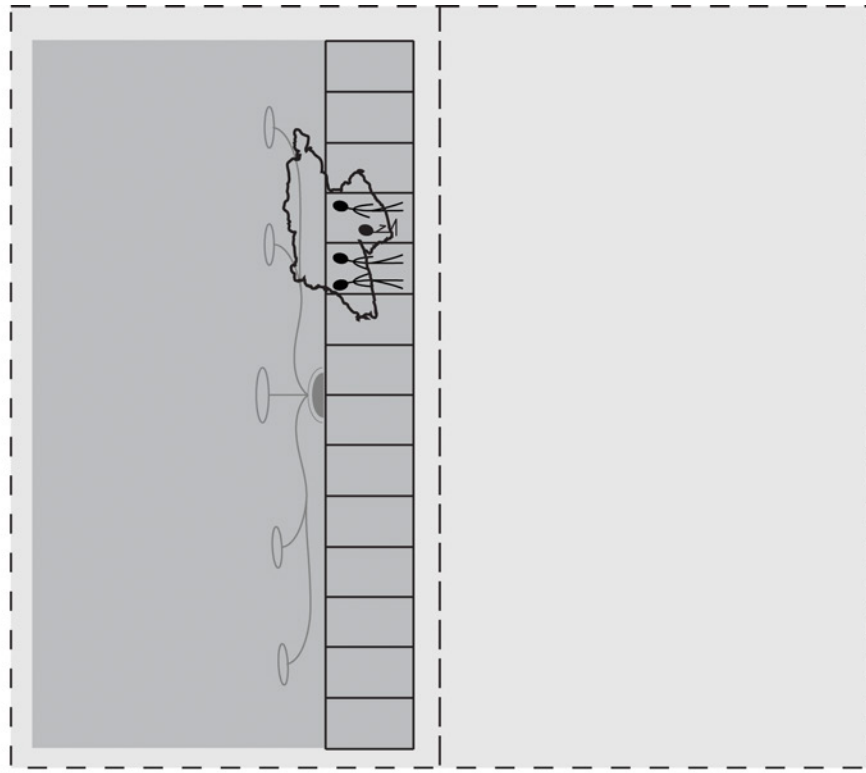
***Kephalaion 1*, 12.21-13.11 (Gardner 1995, 18–19)**	**Content**
"The advent of Jesus the Christ our Master: He came [. . . / . . .] in a spiritual one, in a body [. . . / . . .] as I have told you about him. I [. . .] him; for he came without body! Also his apostles have preached in respect of him that he received a servant's form an appearance as of men.	*TITLE AND MANI'S INTRODUCTION*
	INCARNATION
. . . he received a servant's form an appearance as of men. He came below. He manifested in the world, in the sect of the Jews.	(1) Descent (2) Manifestation
	MINISTRY
He chose his twelve [and] his seventy-two.[137] He did the will of his Father, who had sent him to the world.	(3) Choosing the disciples (4) Ministry
	PASSION
Afterwards the evil one awoke envy in the sect of the Jews. Satan went into Judas the Iscariot, one among the twelve of Jesus. He accused him before the sect of the Jews with his kiss. He gave him over to the hands of the Jews, and the cohort of the soldiers. The Jews themselves took hold of the Son of God. They gave judgment on him by lawlessness in an assembly. They condemned him by iniquity, while he had not sinned. They lifted him up upon the wood of the cross. They crucified him with some robbers on the cross. They brought him down from the cross. They placed him in the grave.	(5) Satan inhabits Judas (6) Betrayal (7) Arrest (8) Trial (9) Crucifixion (10) Deposition (11) Entombment
	RESURRECTION
After three days he arose from the dead. He came towards his disciples, and was visible to them. He laid upon them a power. He breathed into them his Holy Spirit. He sent them through the whole world that they would preach the greatness. Yet he himself rose up to [the heights. . . . / . . .]."	(12) Resurrection (13) Bestowal of Spirit (14) Ascension

Since Mani discusses these four cycles in his sermon during the middle of the third century in southern Mesopotamia, it is plausible that early Manichaean art depicted the same subject with an analogous proportionality in its coverage. Mani's sermon also features a reference to the *Diatessaron* by mentioning the choosing of "his twelve and his seventy-two."[138] Moreover, analogous to the diatessaronic texts and pictorial art that are known from Manichaean East

137 Important for Mani, these numbers are commemorated in his own organization of the Manichaean church, which under its "pope," ranked twelve teachers, followed by seventy-two bishops.

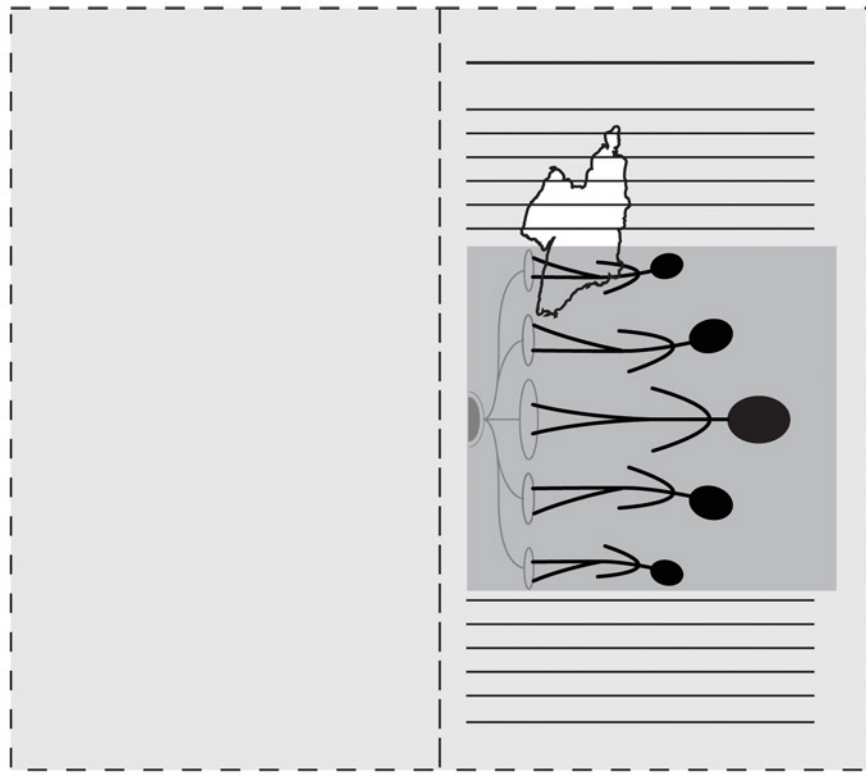
138 Luke is an unlikely source for a sermon composed by Mani originally in Syriac. The *Diatessaron* is not, since while the choosing and sending of the 12 is found in all the

a: MIK III 4967a recto
(H: 7.3 cm, W: 4.3 cm)



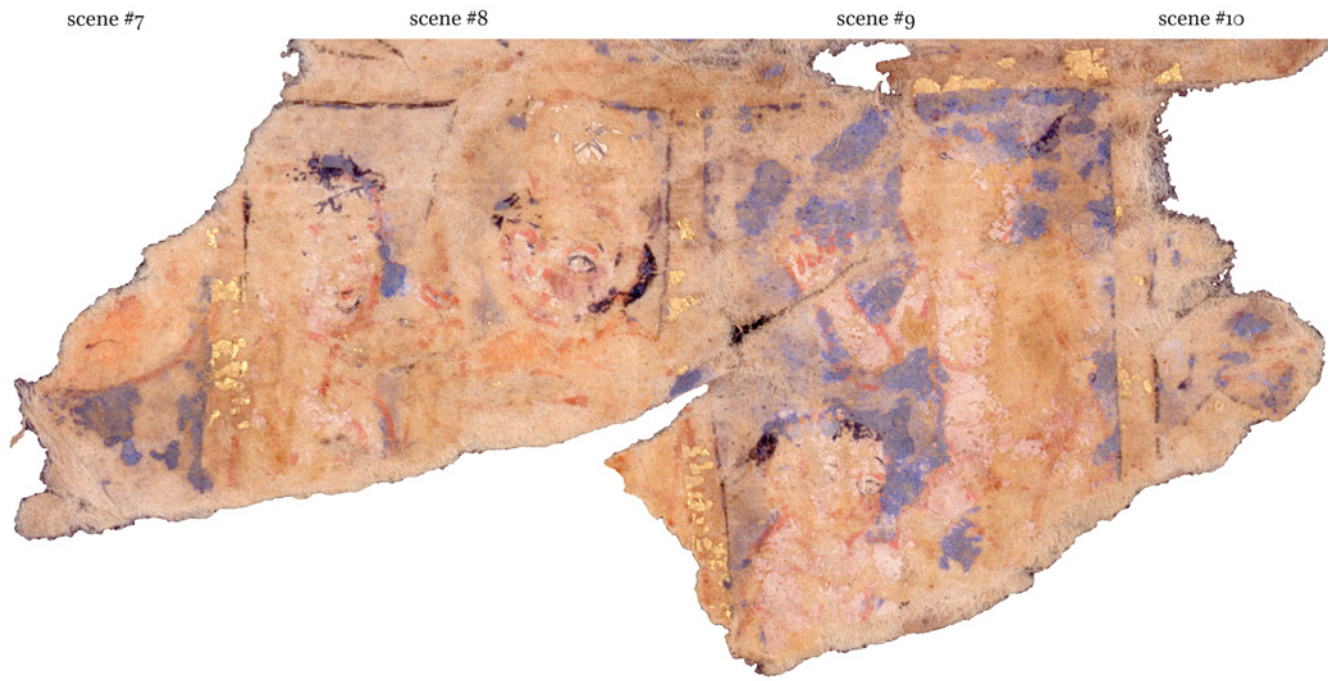
c: Reconstructed layout of recto (H: 29.6 cm, W: 16 cm)

b: MIK III 4967a verso

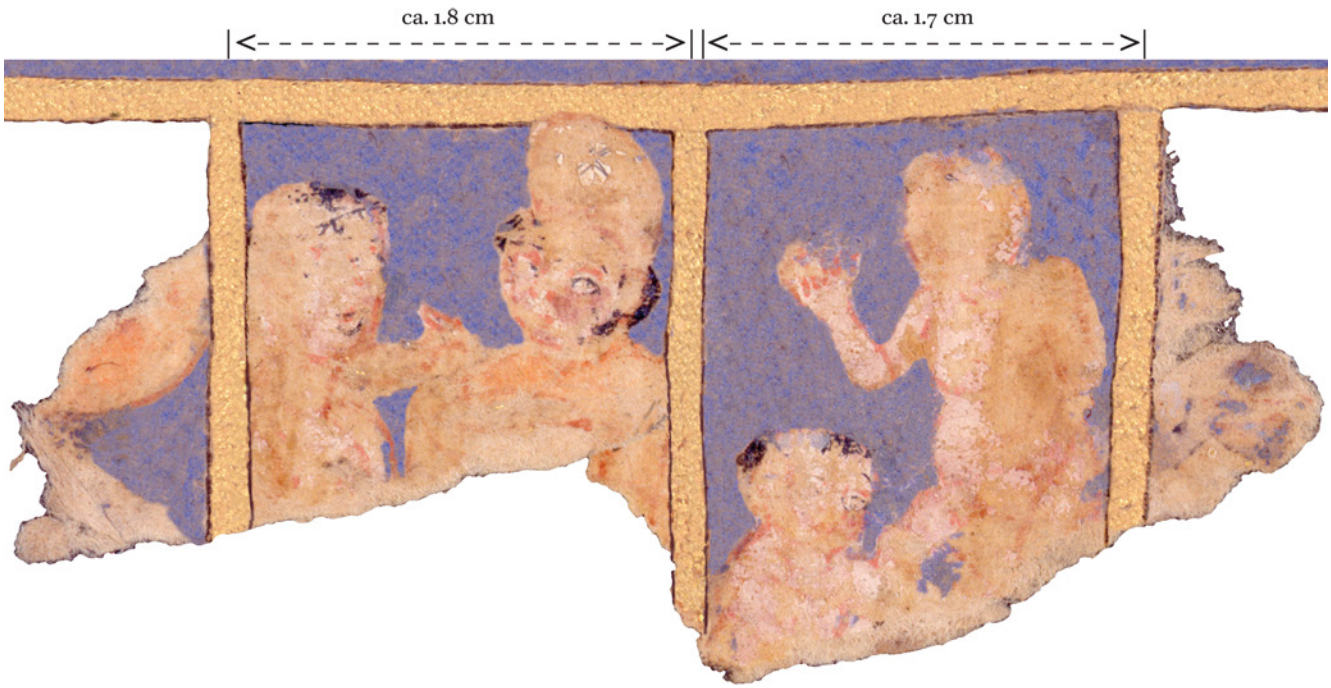


d: Reconstructed layout of verso

FIGURE 5/40 *Fragment of Uygur Manichaean service book illuminated with* Life of Jesus according to the Diatessaron, *Kocho, mid 9th / early 11th century* (*MIK III 4967a, Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)

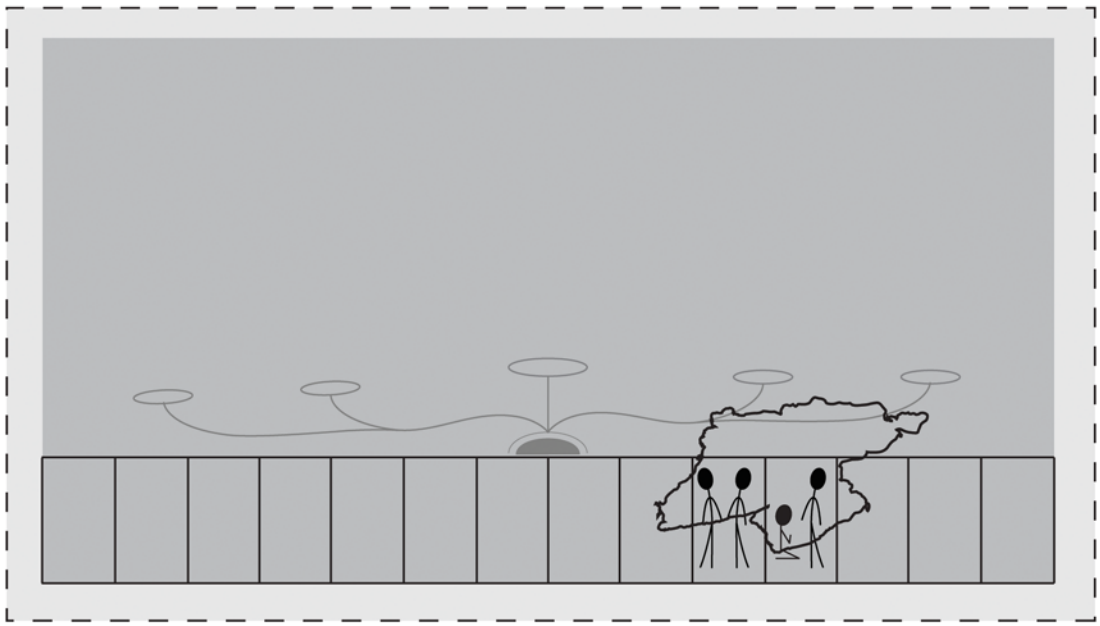


a: Marginal illumination on recto of folio in actual condition (detail, W: 6.5 cm shown)



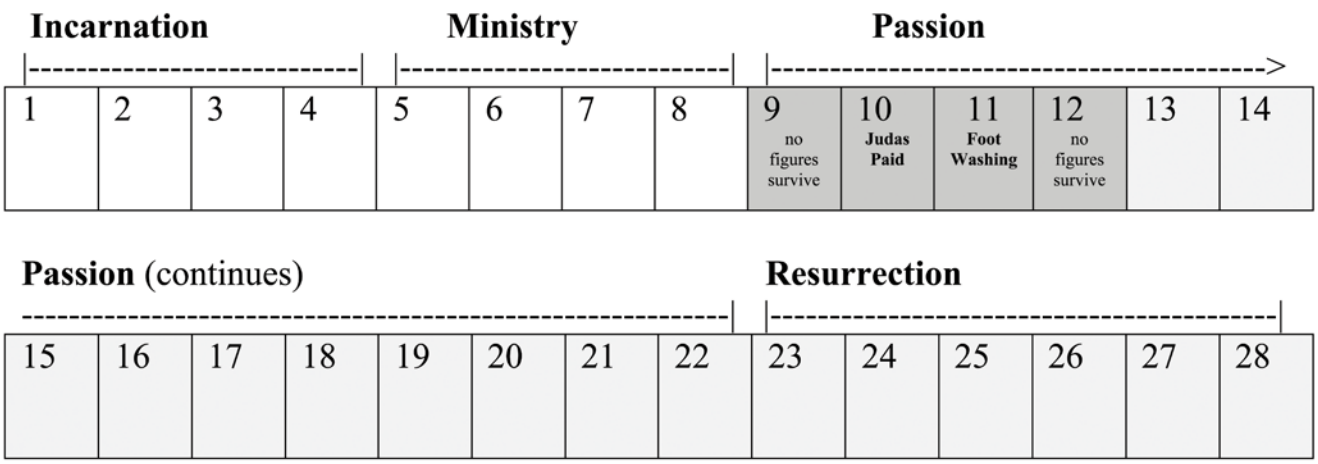
b: Marginal illumination on recto of folio shown with digitaly restored background and gold frame

FIGURE 5/41 Life of Jesus according to the Diatessaron, *actual condition and partial digital restoration shown from picture-viewing direction* (MIK III 4967a, *details of Fig. 5/40*)



a: Reconstructed page layout of recto shown from picture-viewing direction (H: 16 cm, W: 29.6 cm)

b: Fragment shown from picture-viewing direction (W: 7.3 cm, H: 4.3 cm)



c: Location of four surviving scenes (two with identifiable content) within hypothetical layout reflecting the thematic sequence of Mani's sermon on the Life of Jesus in *Kephalaion 1,* 12.21-13.11

FIGURE 5/42 *Sequence of vignettes in* Life of Jesus according to the Diatessaron *based on Mani's sermon in* Kephalaion 1 (*details of Fig. 5/40*)

Central Asia, the above sermon documents the Manichaeans' interest in the Passion of Christ. As detailed in Chapter 6 (see Fig. 6/19), the analysis of the iconography of the two images shows that their contents correspond with two subsequent passages discussed in the *Diatessaron*, and thus confirms that the chronological sequence of the row was arranged in a left-to-right order. Based on the Manichaeans documented interest in the Passion cycle, it is most likely that another row of vignettes completed the pictorial narration of Jesus's life story. This second row, with its additional maximum 14 vignettes, was most likely shown on another folio (most likely on the facing page that continuing the pictorial narration symmetrically in right to left order), which does not survive.

Similar to the iconography of other Manichaean Jesus images that survive on mortuary banners (see Figs. 5/26 and 5/27),[139] this sideways-oriented illumination appears archaic for its time and place. It shows no signs of contemporaneous East Central Asian artistic features otherwise common in Manichaean art produced during this era; and instead displays a West Asiatic characters. The presence of such an antiquated visual language in Manichaean didactic painting points to an earlier phase in the history of this religion as the prototype of this visual narration. Despite being made in tenth-century East Central Asia, this visual narrative displays a variety of features familiar from late ancient and early medieval European art. In terms of its medium, it is an example of manuscript illumination containing a series of miniatures. The overall composition of the page employs framed panels arranged in a row to fill out the available space. From a technical point of view, the style is "fully painted" and employs underdrawing, a solid ultramarine blue background, gilding, and red-violet contour lines. The subject matter regards the life of Jesus. The story is pictured event by event in framed panels. The iconography is free of any Buddhist and Indian or Chinese traits. The overall function is didactic—fitting for a tradition that incorporated Jesus' life into its curriculum.

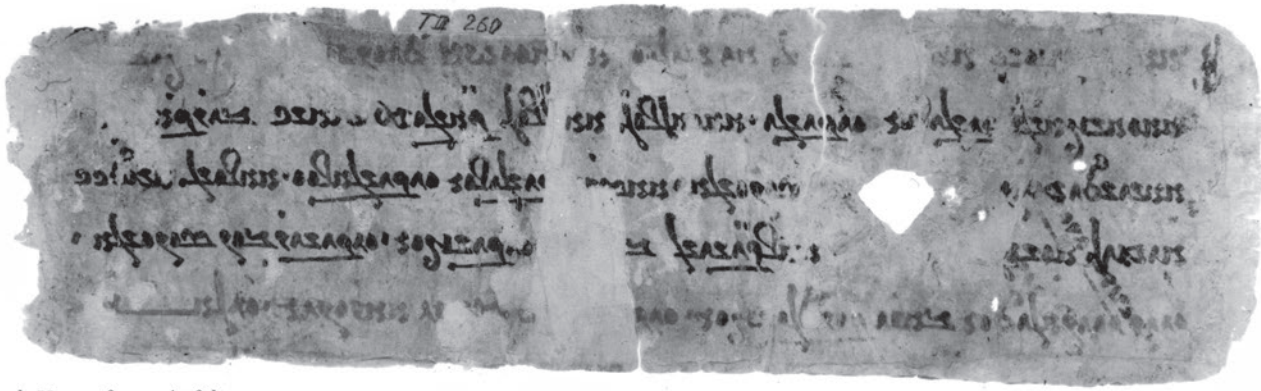
2 *A Horizontal Pustaka Illuminated with a Sideways-Oriented Didactic Image*

The last example of a didactic illumination is preserved in *pustaka* format (MIK III 8260, **Figure 5/43**). This painting constitutes a frontispiece in the form of a full-page illumination on the first folio of the "Uygur Manichaean *Pothi*-book." The latter title is used in previous scholarship after the modern Hindi term (an alternate to the pre-modern Sanskrit *pustaka*) to note its elongated

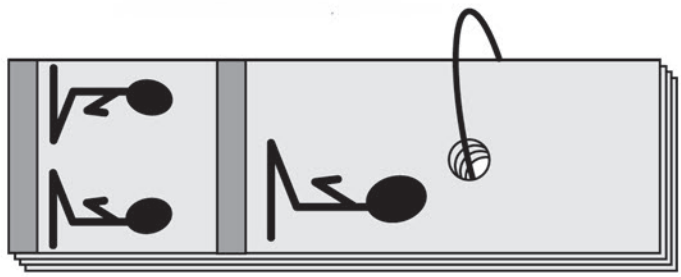
synoptic gospels and the *Diatessaron*, the choosing and sending of the 72 (or 70) appears only in Luke and the *Diatessaron*.

139 Other Manichaean depictions of Jesus are fitted into the visual language of their own time and place. In tenth-century East Central Asia, they contain lotus seats and mandala-like arrangements, and sometimes they are in a medium and style associated with artists trained in Tang-dynasty China. The large and well-preserved Manichaean silk hanging-scroll of Jesus from ca. thirteenth-century southern China features a lotus throne and an overall positioning identical to Song and Yuan dynasty Buddhist art (see Fig. 6/32, below).

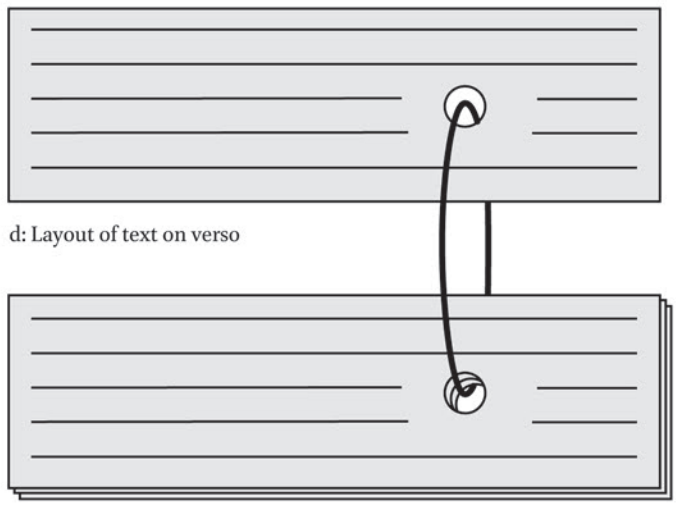
a: Recto of *pustaka* folio (H: 6.0 cm, W: 21.5 cm)



b. Verso of *pustaka* folio



c. Outline of image on recto



d: Layout of text on verso

e: Layout of text on next page of book (U82 recto)

FIGURE 5/43 *Fragment of Uygur Manichaean service book illuminated with* Elect in Paradise *frontispiece, Kocho, 10th / early 11th century* (*MIK III 8260, Asian Art Museum, Berlin*)

shape characteristic of the favored book design of India and the Tibetan cultural region. This manuscript is one of the most complete Manichaean books discovered in and around Kocho. The critical edition of its additional 37 surviving folia confirmed that this book was a hymnbook written in the Uygur language and the Uygur script, sometime during the tenth century.[140]

Besides its full-page frontispiece, this hymnbook is otherwise undecorated. There are no other paintings, nor any decorative designs in it. The text on the verso begins the "Great Hymn to Mani," which leads to the conclusion that, once again, this didactic image does not literally "illustrate" its associated text, nor does the text comment about the painting in any way. In other words, the painting is an illumination, but not an illustration. Moreover, according to the rules of Manichaean manuscript illumination, this frontispiece is painted at a 90-degree angle in relation to the horizontal lines of writing on the verso and the rest of the pages. Since the horizontal orientation of the folia is the norm in *pustakas*, in this case, the image utilizes the folio vertically.

The formal characteristics of this painting signal a creative adaptation of traditional didactic art among the Manichaeans during the Uygur era. The *pustaka* format and the "Chinese fully-painted style of Uygur Manichaean art" already indicate novelty. No other *pustakas* are known in Manichaean book production; and this locally produced Chinese-rooted painting style remains quite rare in Manichaean manuscript illumination, and more common on textiles in Kocho, as seen for example on the mortuary banners (see Figs, 5/23–24).[141]

The composition of this full-page image is yet another innovation that commends a closer look. This painting consists of a multi-scenic image that was built by stacking two registers atop one another. In the more traditional codex format, didactic illuminations that combine multiple subscenes are spread horizontally, either as a continuous narration on one background (*Salvation of the Laity*, MIK III 4959 recto, see Fig. 5/39), or in a row of framed vignettes (*Life of Jesus* MIK III 4967a recto, see Fig. 5/42). In contrast, the two subscenes on this *pustaka* page are on top of one another. This design choice, however, does more than just fit a pictorial content to the shape of the page. It also introduces content, since the relationship of the two subscenes is governed by the rules of vertical perspective with a creative application of diminution. The subscene that is higher on the picture plane is to be perceived far away compared to what is in the lower register. The primary visual focus is on the larger of the two, while the smaller, and thus more distant subscene is secondary. As detailed in Chapter 6 below, the two together convey one soteriological teaching pertaining to the salvation of the righteous (see Fig. 6/1b): the higher subscene shows an elect resting in paradise, while the lower subscene depicts a prayer service on earth. The decorative border, defined as a thick green scalloped line, indicates the boundary between these two separate worlds of the Manichaean universe. Analogous use of stacked layers divided by a decorative border in

140 Clark 1982, 145–218; for more information about this book, see Clark 2016, forthcoming.

141 Gulácsi 2005a, 123–31.

a didactic image is documented only in the other new format of Uygur-era Manichaean art, the mortuary banners (MIK III 6283 and MIK III 6286, see Figs. 5/23–24). There, too, the difference in scales indicates distance, a wide decorative border divides the lower earthly register from the supernatural upper register, and the primary visual focus is on the larger subscene.

3 *The Origin of Sidewaysness in Manichaean Manuscript Illumination*

The above analysis of format and preservation has provided critical data about the sideways orientation of the eight didactic illuminations. Through this data, it is possible to contextualize the phenomenon of sideways orientation and put forward a theory about its origin among the Manichaeans. To sum up the facts: the eight didactic illuminations (1) are not aligned with the vertical format of their codices, but instead are oriented perpendicularly in relation to their folio and its writing; (2) show no direct contextual cohesion with their associated texts; (3) do not depict local material culture; and (4) do not share the local religious visual language (lotus flowers, mandala design) often seen in Central Asian Buddhist and other Manichaean art. In short, Manichaean didactic illuminations were not synchronized with their manuscripts (neither their overall design, nor the contents of their texts), just as they were not synchronized with the art of their own time and space (neither their Uygur material culture, nor their East Central Asian religious visual language). This deliberate lack of coordination between the text and the image indicates that the two did not develop together within the illuminated book, but derived from independent sources. The archaic visual language of these didactic illuminations points to pre-Uygur pictorial prototypes. In turn, their didactic content directly implicates now-lost, earlier editions of Mani's *Book of Pictures* as the ultimate source of their origin.

Further evidence that links the sideways-oriented didactic illuminations to the images of Uygur-era picture books is found in their shared scales. Besides utilizing the same book formats (handscroll and codex) and painting the images from the picture-viewing direction independent of the texts, the size of the illuminations in the service books documents a relatedness to picture books (**Figure 5/44**). The largest images of picture books are 25 cm and 28 cm in height, which is similar to approximate heights of three illuminations that are between 21.5 and 28 cm. The mid size images of picture books are 13 cm in height, which is comparable to what is observed in two illuminations that are 10 cm and 11 cm in height. Finally the smallest surviving images in picture books are 8 cm in height, which is comparable to the ca. 7 cm height of one illumination and the two rows of vignettes that individually measure 3 cm in height. If stacked, the two rows of vignettes together approximate the height of one narrative register, which was also composed by a series of subscenes stacked in three rows on the largest illuminated folio (MIK III 4959 verso, see Fig. 5/39). Thus, these illuminations constitute the closest documentary evidence about images of Uygur-era picture books not only in terms of their canonical subject, but also their painting medium and scale.

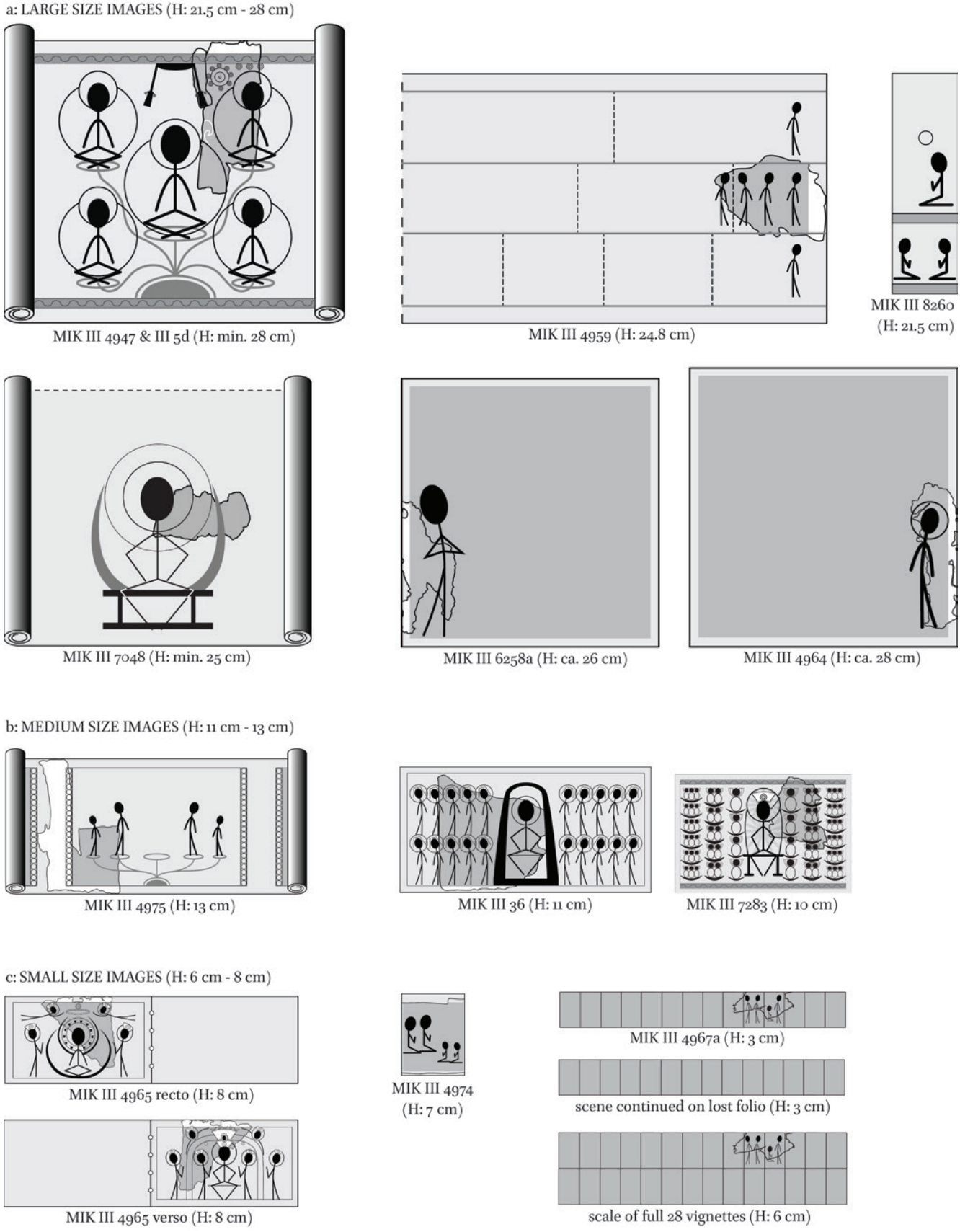


FIGURE 5/44 *Relative proportions of identifiable didactic images in Uygur Manichaean picture books (shown along the left) and illuminated service books (shown along the right)*

The nagging question of "*But why are they painted sideways*?" still remains. Based on the attested horizontal (scroll and codex) format of Mani's collection of pictures, an explanation can be theorized about the evolution of sidewaysness in Manichaean manuscript illumination (**Table 5/5**). During Mani's time in late ancient Sasanian Mesopotamia, two kinds of resources were available for teaching—Mani's writings and Mani's collection of didactic images. According to the *Homilies*, Mani authored nine works: the *Gospel*, the *Treasury of Life*, the *Pragmateia*, the *Book of Mysteries*, the *Book of Giants*, the *Epistles*, the *Psalms*, and the *Prayers*; and the (*Book of*) *Pictures*.[142] The latter was a solely pictorial work—a picture book—that contained numerous paintings (according to *Homilies 18*), which were either commissioned by Mani (according to *Kephalaion 151*) or painted by him (according to all other texts) on a scroll (according to Ephrem). Mani intended all of his books to safeguard the authenticity of his teachings (according to *Kephalaion 151*).

After Mani's death, his collection of images was canonized together with the rest of his books. Thus, the Manichaean canon included not only books with texts ("text books"), but also one book with pictures (a "picture book") as a visual resource for oral instruction. Already during the second half of the third century, multiple copies of such picture books were in circulation.[143] They were paired with one of the "text books" and taken along on the early missions.[144] Reading passages from Mani's books and letters is an attested part of Manichaean liturgy. But, reading aloud from such books was also an essential part of teaching.[145] Since Manichaean didactic texts are not known in scroll format, Mani's writings were most likely in codices from the start, since by the mid third century codex format dominated book production across the East Mediterranean. Showing and discussing Mani's canonical images are attested as parts of teaching. In addition to the horizontal handscroll format, it is possible that a horizontal codex format was also used early on for the *Book of Pictures*. In either format, the images were painted next to one another as horizontal compositions, and the individual paintings must have varied in complexity. Some were narrative scenes, while others were icons of enthroned deities, taking up different widths across the surface of a pictorial roll, and later also across the facing pages of a horizontal solely pictorial codex. Since, in Islamic book art, the horizontal codex was the preferred format of Kufic Qur'ans during the eighth and ninth centuries, it is possible that the Manichaeans already used this format for their picture books in Mesopotamia during the Abbasid era (or even earlier), introducing it from there to East Central Asia at the start of the Uygur era.

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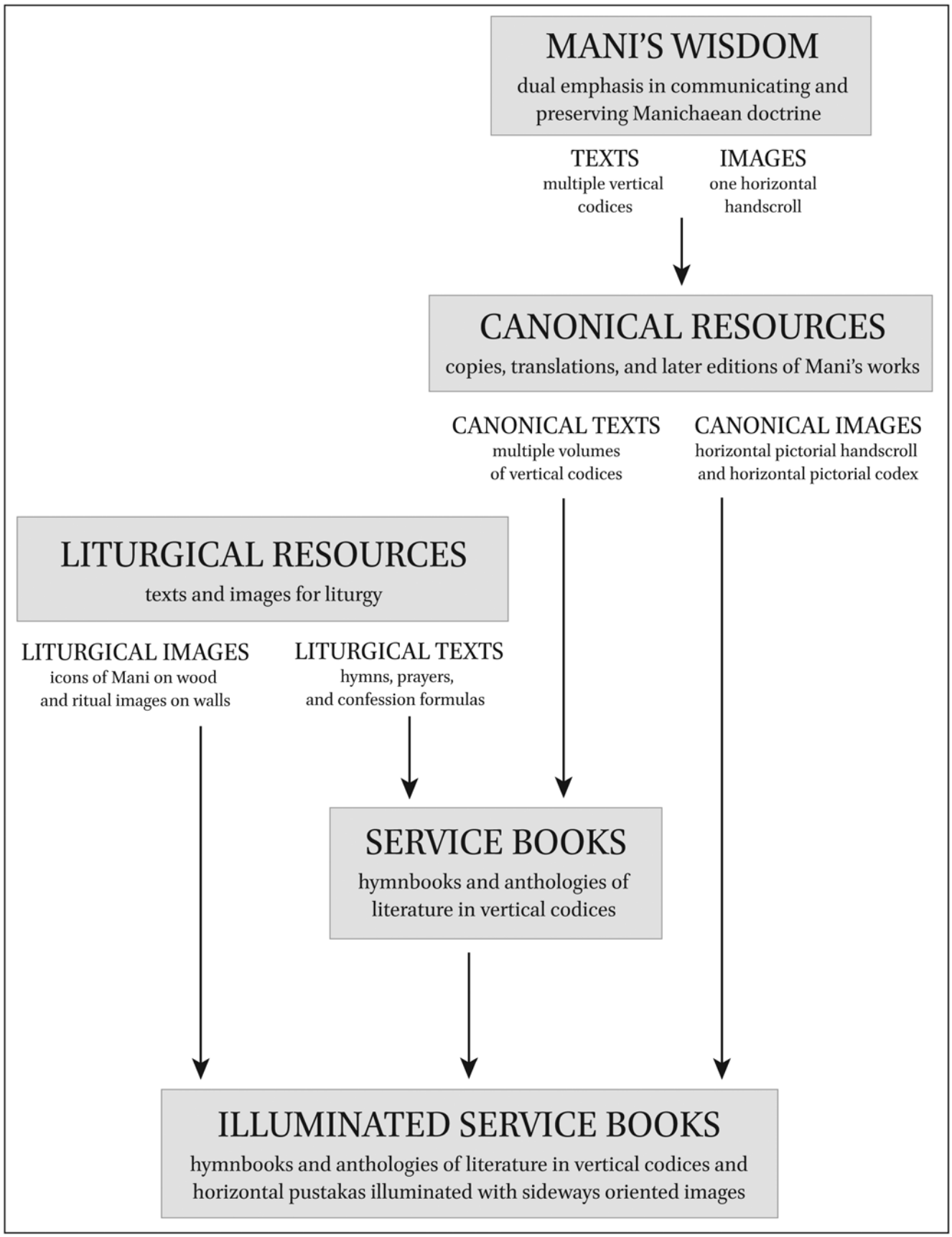
142 *Homilies* 25.2–25.6; see Chapter 1.

143 As noted from the time of Mani and Sisin (M 2 and M 5815).

144 M 5569: "the *Gospel* and the *Ārdhang* (were taken to);" M 5815: "had taken the (*Book of the*) *Giants* and the *Ārdhang*;" and "made another (copy of the *Book of*) *the Giants* and the *Ārdhan*." For full quotes, see Chapter 2, above.

145 Reference to Mani's books being read aloud is noted in *Kephalaion 332* and Augustine's *Contra epistulam fundamenti* (see BeDuhn 2014b, 69; and 2010, 71, respectively).

TABLE 5/5 *Origin of sideways-oriented images in Manichaean manuscript illumination*



Serving the Uygur court meant that the public rituals of the Church now had to be performed in an imperial setting.[146] Manichaean service books contained hymns that were sung (or recited) and excerpts of canonical literature (such as Mani's books and letters), which were read aloud during the religious service. Most such literature was written in plain non-illuminated manuscripts, used on a regular basis. Yet, during this era, these books started to be decorated. Floral designs were painted around the texts, mostly along the top and outer side margins. Figural compositions were introduced to the area of the previously plain text claiming either an entire page or its middle third. In terms of their content, some figural compositions were *ritual images* that depicted the rituals of the Church (e.g., the conversion of an Uygur khan, the annual *Bēma* Festival, and the daily alms services of the laity to the elect) with contemporary figures often named in the painting.[147] Most figural compositions, however, were *didactic images* adapted from the canonical picture books. Earlier and contemporaneous editions of Mani's *Book of Pictures* were a readily available pictorial resource as prototypes. Having been composed originally for a horizontal handscroll, these images retained their horizontal layouts and set the rules of how to illuminate a liturgical manuscript. It is most likely that the practice of sideways-orientation of figural compositions originates from introducing individual images from (horizontal) canonical picture books into (vertical) liturgical service books.

In order to paint the image perpendicular to the rest of the manuscript, the illuminator had to systematically ignore the vertical design of the codex (and even turn the *pustaka* page on its side) while painting.[148] This approach to book design accentuates the image. It signals a certain reverence toward it and assures that it is integrated to the illuminated book without any changes. In the illuminated service book, the didactic image preserves the format of its canonical prototype least compromised (compared to the other Manichaean objects with didactic images). The resulting objects were luxurious editions of liturgical books that now contained excerpts not only from Mani's canonical writings, but also from Mani's canonical collection of paintings, without compromising the integrity of either in their new physical context. Manichaean illuminated service books are only known from this Uygur era of state sponsorship.

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146 The Uygur elite's appetite for luxuries is noted in Chinese historical records (Mackerras 1972, 12).

147 Such images are also painted onto the walls of the *manistans* of Kocho, but remain unattested from pre-Uygur Manichaean art, unlike the didactic images. Besides the archeological data from tenth-century Kocho (see Figs. 3/4 and 3/5; and discussion of wall paintings above), there is no direct evidence to suggest that the *manistans* were painted. Nevertheless, the case of a Byzantine Manichaean (wall-)painter noted by Theophanes from the year 502 CE (see Chapter 1 above) seems to indicate that the Manichaeans had a mural tradition outside of East Central Asia.

148 The illuminator began to paint the manuscript once the scribe's work was completed, see Gulácsi 2005a, 93–97 and Fig. 3/16a.

CHAPTER 6

Subject Repertoire and Iconography

What a work of art shows, that is, its "content," "topic," or "subject matter," is one of the six criteria commented upon in the textual sources about Manichaean didactic art. The surviving examples of this art allow us to examine actual visual data on content, closely related to what is discussed in the texts. In fact, the analysis of these sources together yield a rich body of evidence on content that constitutes *one* essential component in our understanding of the 1400-year history of Manichaean didactic art across the Asian continent—the subject repertoire of this art. The study of this data requires us to consider distinct categories of content. Accordingly, in the vocabulary of this study, "subject" is used to connote the topic conveyed in a work of art. "Image" is used in reference to the actual depiction of a specific subject in painting, embroidery, and occasionally, sculpture. "Motif" connotes a single thematic unit in the visual language of an image, arranged in a deliberate pattern by the artist to communicate the subject. "Theme" is reserved to connote the largest category of content shared by a group of related images in Manichaean didactic art.

There is a strong correlation between the written records on art and the physical remains, when it comes to documenting the content of Manichaean didactic images (**Table 6/1**). Between these two types of sources, a total of eight themes can be confirmed—Dualism, Soteriology, Prophetology, Theology, Cosmology, Eschatology, as well as Mythic History and Polemics. Half of these, four themes are attested in both sources: Soteriology, Prophetology, Theology, and Cosmology. This sequence reflects a didactic significance.[1] As discussed in Chapter 5, the physical remains also document significant formal innovation in connection with these themes, suggesting their popularity during the Uygur era. At that time, they started to be painted in new formats (hanging scroll, mortuary banners, and illuminates service books), which were distinctly different from the original picture books (solely pictorial handscrolls and codices) of the Manichaeans. There are no artistic remains to document how the images of Dualism (Pre-creation) and Eschatology looked. Textual data confirms only that early on (when the texts that mention them were written) these themes were an integral part of the subject repertoire of Mani's *Book of Pictures*, unlike the anomalous themes of Polemics and Mythic History, each of which is documented by only a single source. The latter two themes, therefore,

1 In contrast, the logic of Mani's teachings according to the concept of "the three times" (i.e., salvation history) would yield a different order: (1) Dualism (i.e., Pre-creation), (2) Cosmology, (3) Theology, (4) Mythic History, (5) Prophetology, (6) Polemics, (7) Soteriology, (8) Eschatology.

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TABLE 6/1 *Canonical themes of Manichaean didactic art attested in textual sources on art and physical remains of art (8 themes)*

	Themes attested in textual sources on art (30 references)	Themes attested in physical remains of art (40 images)
(1)	*Dualism* (2 references)	—
(2)	*Soteriology* (5 references)	*Soteriology* (11 images)
(3)	*Prophetology* (7 references)	*Prophetology* (7 images)
(4)	*Theology* (8 references)	*Theology* (16 images)
(5)	*Cosmology* (6 references)	*Cosmology* (5 images)
(6)	*Eschatology* (2 references)	—
(7)	—	*Mythic History* (1 image)
(8)	*Polemics* (1 reference)	—

were most likely somewhat later additions to the core themes of Manichaean didactic art.[2]

More specifically, the data on pictorial content yielded by the texts reveal a rich thematic distribution—seven themes, fourteen subjects, and twenty-two images in thirty references (**Table 6/2**). The temporal distribution of this data is also informative. On one hand, it shows five themes (Dualism, Soteriology, Prophetology, Cosmology, and Eschatology) dominating the earlier accounts, such as the Coptic *Kephalaia*, the Syriac *Prose Refutations* of Ephrem, and Parthian texts of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* (M 8255), as well as two other texts (M 4579 and M 219). On the other hand, this data shows a surge in the portrayal of Theology during the Uygur and the later Chinese eras, compared to early Manichaean art, as documented in the *Käd Ogul Memoir* and the *Wenzhou Memorial*.[3] The post-Manichaean tertiary accounts in Islamic literature are the least informative sources for the study of content. Nevertheless, some authors, known for their reliance on early Manichaean sources, discuss traditional themes in connection with Mani's *Book of Picture*, such as Soteriology (Marwazī, 1120 CE) and Cosmology (Marwazī and Sam'ani, before 1166 CE).

2 Polemics is documented by one text that, although it proves only that this subject was used for teaching at one time, falls short in documenting when this theme was added to the didactic repertoire. Mythic History is also attested only in one source among the physical remains. Being preserved in the new format (hanging scroll) of Manichaean didactic painting, however, points to its emergence as an innovation, since it documents that certain stories from a canonical book (Mani's *Book of Giants*) started to be depicted for the first time, supplementing the traditional subject repertoire of Manichaean didactic art during the Uygur era.

3 Almost exclusively Uygur and Chinese accounts note the portrayal of Theology (and Prophetology), suggesting an increased popularity of these subjects at the time when the hanging scroll became a new medium to show scenes from the traditional repertoire now painted on their own as solo images.

When the data on content gained from the visual sources is assessed, the thematic distribution is similarly rich—five themes break down into 15 subjects and 40 images (**Table 6/3**). Eleven images depict Soteriology, seven Prophetology, sixteen Theology, another five Cosmology, and one Mythic History. The temporal distribution of this data indicates that no new subjects were added to the repertoire of Manichaean didactic art after its Uygur phase. In other words, subjects depicted during the southern Chinese phase of Manichaean history were already painted during the Uygur era. In addition, this same data also documents the conservative nature of the subject depicted by the Manichaeans throughout their history, since all examples from the last, southern Chinese phases of Manichaean history fall into one of four traditional themes attested in Mani's *Book of Pictures*: Soteriology, Prophetology, Theology and Cosmology.

The main categories of doctrine discussed in early Manichaean literature accord with what the physical remains of Manichaean didactic art depict. This fact is demonstrated by a third kind of textual evidence—passages about Mani's doctrine. Based on early texts on doctrine, this chapter proves that the overall themes and the individual subjects of Mani's teaching are preserved in this art. Case by case, an argument is made based on textual and/or artistic reasons to suggest that each of the forty images discussed below belong to the didactic art of the Manichaeans. Some subjects are preserved on fragments of Uygur picture books, such as e.g., Mani's teachings about the ties of four Primary Prophets to the Salvation-seeking Souls and the Light Mind—a core subject in Mani's prophetology. Another image with the latter subject, as well as the numerous other doctrinal subjects attested on modified versions of other select canonical images. These images were adapted from various editions of Mani's *Book of Pictures* onto non-canonical objects and include depictions of Mani's soteriological, theological, and cosmological doctrine. Again, other didactic images are clearly non-canonical in their origin, that is, they were not part of Mani's *Book of Pictures*. Nevertheless, they were used for teaching and do depict Manichaean doctrine, which originated after Mani's death. Most of them focus on either Mani or the life of Mani, while one example is a narrative scene from Mani's *Book of Giants*.[4]

In this chapter, the forty currently known images of Manichaean didactic art are analyzed and interpreted according to their subject matter. The discussion of each subject is organized according to the main themes of this art (soteriology, prophetology, theology, cosmology, and mythic history) and includes (1) a survey of images, (2) an analysis of visual syntax, (3) a sample of textual data on the doctrine they depict, and finally, (4) an assessment of their key motifs with their Manichaean connotations as confirmed by textual sources and/or visual context.

4 For an overview, see Tabs. 1–2 in the Introduction and Tab. 7/1 in the Conclusion.

TABLE 6/2 *Subject repertoire of didactic images documented in textual sources on art* (*7 themes, 14 subjects, and 22 images in 30 references*)

I. Dualism (1 subject and 2 images in 2 texts)
(1) BATTLE OF THE LIGHT AND THE DARKNESS SUBJECT
Image 1: Laying a trap for the Darkness (*Ārdhang Wifrās*: M 8255 folio 1 recto)
Image 2: Light Enveloped in the Darkness (*Ārdhang Wifrās*: M 8255 folio 1 verso)
Image 3: Light and darkness / good and evil (Ephrem, *Wenzhou Memorial*, Sam'āni)

II. Soteriology (1 subject and 5 images in 5 texts)
(2) SALVATION OF THE LAITY AND THE ELECT SUBJECT
Image 4: Soul departing the body (*Ārdhang Wifrās*: M 8255 folio 2 verso)
Image 5: Stages of the salvation of the righteous (*Kephalaion* 92)
Image 6: Stages of salvation of the righteous: arrival of Light Maiden and three angels (*Kephalaion* 7)
Image 7: Stages of salvation of the sinner: showing a judge and suffering in gehenna (*Kephalaion* 92)
Image 8: Stages of salvation of the sinner: crimes and their punishments (Marwazī)

III. Prophetology (1 subject and 1 image in 3 texts)
(3) JESUS SUBJECT
Image 9: Icon of Jesus (Theopanes, Wenzhou Memorial)
(4) LIFE OF JESUS SUBJECT
Image 10: Life of Jesus (M 4570, Theopanes, Käd Ogul)
(5) MANI SUBJECT
Image 11: Icon of Mani (Compendium, Käd Ogul)

IV. Theology (7 subjects and 7 images in 11 texts)
(6) THE PRIMAL MAN/FIRST THOUGHT SUBJECT
Image 12: Icon of the Primal Man (Käd Ogul, *Wenzhou Memorial*)
(7) THE LIGHT MAIDEN SUBJECT
Image 13: Portrait of the Light Maiden (*Kephalaion* 7)
(8) THE DEITY OF THE WONDERFUL WATER SUBJECT
Image 14: Icon of the Wonderful Water (*Wenzhou Memorial*)
(9) THE GREAT KING/ROYAL PRINCE SUBJECT
Image 15: Icon the Great King/Prince Royal (Käd Ogul, *Wenzhou Memorial*)
(10) THE FOUR GUARDIANS SUBJECT
Image 16: Icon of the Four Guardians (Wenzhou Memorial, *Desatir*)

V. Cosmology (2 subjects and 4 images in 6 texts)
(11) THE COMPONENTS OF THE UNIVERSE SUBJECT
Image 17: Twelve Aeons (gods) in the land of God (Käd Ogul)
Image 18: Portraits of demons and their deeds (Marwazī)
(12) THE ORIGIN OF THE UNIVERSE SUBJECT
Image 19: Foundation of the Cosmos and Construction of the Earth (*Fozu Tongji*)

VI. Eschatology (1 subject and 2 images in 2 texts)
(13) END OF THE WORLD SUBJECT
Image 20: Jesus' second coming (*Ārdhang Wifrās:* M *35 recto*)
Image 21: The world fire (*Ārdhang Wifrās:* M *35 verso*)

VII. Polemics (1 subject and 1 image in 1 text)
(14) FALSE BELIEFS SUBJECT
Image 22: False beliefs of idol worship (M 219)

TABLE 6/3 *Subject repertoire of didactic images documented among the physical remains* (*5 themes, 15 subjects, and 40 images*)

I. Soteriology (3 subjects, 11 images, see Fig. 6/1)
- (1) THE SALVATION OF THE LIGHT SUBJECT (2 IMAGES)
  - Image 1: *Salvation of the Light and God's Hand* (MIK III 4974 recto, Berlin)
  - Image 2: *Fragment with Salvation of the Light and the Light Maiden* (MIK III 6251, Berlin)
- (2) THE SALVATION OF THE ELECT SUBJECT (6 IMAGES)
  - Image 3: *Elect in Paradise* (MIK III 8260 recto, Berlin)
  - Image 4: *The Light Maiden Awaits the Righteous Female Elect* (MIK III 6286 side 1[?], Berlin)
  - Image 5–6: *Jesus Awaits the Righteous Male Elect* (MIK III 6283 side 1 and 2[?], Berlin)
  - Image 7: *Jesus Awaiting the Righteous Laywoman* (MIK III 6286 side 2[?], Berlin)
  - Image 8: *The Realm of Light Awaits the Righteous* (Bezeklik Cave 38, in situ, Xinjiang, China)
- (3) THE JUDGMENT AND REINCARNATION OF THE LAITY SUBJECT (3 IMAGES)
  - Image 9: *Fragment with Two Plaintiffs from Judgment and Rebirth of Laity* (MIK III 4959 verso, Berlin)
  - Image 10: *Fragment with One Plaintiff from Judgment of Laity* (MIK III 6258a recto, Berlin)
  - Image 11: *Judgment and Rebirth of Laity* (Yamato Bunkakan, Nara, Japan)

II. Prophetology (3 subjects, 7 images, see Fig. 6/13)
- (4) FOUR PRIMARY PROPHETS OF MANICHAEISM AND THE LIGHT MIND SUBJECT (2 IMAGES)
  - Image 12: Fragment of *Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism around the Light Mind* (MIK III 4947 & III 5d, Berlin)
  - Image 13: Fragment of *Four Primary Prophets and Salvation-seeking Souls around the Light Mind* (Le Coq 1923)
- (5) THE LIFE OF JESUS SUBJECT (1 IMAGE)
  - Image 14: Fragment of *Life of Jesus according to the Diatessaron* (MIK III 4967a recto, Berlin)
- (6) THE LIFE OF MANI SUBJECT (4 IMAGES)
  - Image 15: Fragment with *Mani's Birth* (Kyūshū National Museum, Japan)
  - Image 16: Fragment with *Mani's Parents* (Asian (Art Museum, San Francisco)
  - Image 17: Fragment with *Life of Mani: Missionary Work* (private collection, Japan)
  - Image 18: Fragment with *Life of Mani: Community after Mani's Death* (private collection, Japan)

III. Theology (5 subjects, 16 images, see Fig. 6/25)
- (7) THE LIGHT MAIDEN SUBJECT (2 IMAGES)
  - Image 19: Fragment of *Icon of the Light Maiden with Crescent Halo* (MIK III 4965 verso[?], Berlin)
  - Image 20: Fragment of *Icon of the Light Maiden* (MIK III 6286 side 1[?], detail, Berlin)
- (8) THE KING OF HONOR SUBJECT (1 IMAGE)
  - Image 21: *Fragment of Icon of the King of Honor* (MIK III 36 verso, Berlin)
- (9) UNIDENTIFIED DEITIES SUBJECT (5 IMAGES)
  - Image 22: Fragment of *Unidentified Theological Diagram* (MIK III 4975, Berlin)
  - Image 23: Fragment of *Icon of an Unidentified Deity* (MIK III 7048, Berlin)
  - Image 24: Fragment of *Icon of an Unidentified Deity under Arch* (MIK III 4965 recto[?], Berlin)
  - Image 25: Fragment of *Icon of an Unidentified Male Deity Enclosed by Busts on Crescents* (MIK III 7283, Berlin)
  - Image 26: Fragment of *Icon of an Unidentified Deity Enclosed by Busts on Crescents* (MIK III 6272 & III 7021b)
- (10) THE ICON OF JESUS SUBJECT (4 IMAGES)
  - Image 27–29: *Fragment with Icon of Jesus* (MIK III 6286 side 2, and 6283 sides 1-2, Berlin, detail)
  - Image 30: *Icon of Jesus* (Seiun-ji, Kofu Japan)
- (11) THE ICON OF MANI SUBJECT (4 IMAGES)
  - Image 31: *Icon of Mani* (*Kokka* 1937)
  - Image 32: *Statue of Mani Depicted in the Context of Teaching* (Yamato Bunkakan, Nara, detail)
  - Image 33: *Statue of Mani Depicted in the Context of Worship* (private collection, Japan)
  - Image 34: *Stone Relief Sculpture of Mani* (in situ, Fujian, China)

IV. Cosmology (3 subjects, 5 images, Fig. 6/36)
- (12) STRUCTURE OF THE UNIVERSE SUBJECT (1 IMAGE)
  - Image 35: *Diagram of the Universe* (private collection, Japan)
- (13) UNIDENTIFIED COSMOLOGICAL SUBJECTS (3 IMAGES)
  - Image 36: Fragment with *Rainbow Bridge* (MIK III 7019 & III 7024h, Berlin)
  - Image 37: Fragment with *Atlas Figure* (MIK III 6275, Berlin)
  - Image 38: Fragment with *Deities of Earth and Moon* (MIK III 6278, Berlin)
- (14) MANI AS A VISIONARY WITNESS TO COMPONENTS OF THE UNIVERSE SUBJECT (1 IMAGE)
  - Image 39: Fragment with *Mani as Visionary Witness* (MIK III 4964 recto, Berlin)

V. Mythic History / Legends (1 subject, 1 image, Fig. 6/48)
- (15) STORIES FROM THE *BOOK OF GIANTS* SUBJECT (1 IMAGE)
  - Image 40: Fragments with *Soldiers Fighting a Demon* (MIK III 6279 a-i, Berlin)

Soteriology: Salvation of the Light, Salvation of the Righteous, and the Judgment and Rebirth of the Laity

Manichaean salvation theory encompasses the entire universe. Its doctrine is light-centered, for the liberated essence can only be a form of light. Unlike other religions, where salvation is an exclusively human concern, in Mani's teachings the whole cosmos is involved and ultimately has to be liberated. God created the universe as a mechanism to heal the devastation caused by the catastrophic mixture of the light and the darkness and to liberate the divine essence from its mixture with evil. Thus, salvation is integral to cosmic history (Pre-creation, Cosmogony, Theogony, and Eschatology), just as it is to cosmic structure (Cosmology, Theology, and Prophetology). The individual is fitted into this system in two ways. On a daily basis, the elect and the laity work to aid the liberation of the light though the elect's sacred meal, which is aided by the auditors' alms service. On a more rare basis, upon death, the human body itself becomes part of salvation history. At this supernatural stage of the individual's religious career, divinities will appear to guide the righteous. Once the essence of the light is freed from its bondage in matter, the salvation process of the light takes the same course whether released from food or from the deceased righteous. The freed particles of light leave the earth on their celestial vessels (the moon and the sun), pass across the ten firmaments of heaven, and take up temporary residence in the New Aeon, awaiting the end of time to reach the Realm of Light and reunite with God. In this way, the salvation of the individual is fitted into an all-encompassing cosmic soteriology. In Mani's teachings, human beings reach salvation only as righteous elects after a series of reincarnations as auditors have gradually purified their existence.

The artistic representations of various soteriological teachings are confirmed across Manichaean history in connection with both canonical objects (picture books) and other non-canonical objects (hanging scrolls, mortuary banners, and illuminated liturgical manuscripts). Among the texts surveyed above, four passages discuss the depiction of this theme in Manichaean art (see Tab. 6/2: Soteriology). All four concern the salvation of the laity and/or the elect subject by mentioning depictions of the soul departing the body (*Ārdhang Wifrās:* M 8255), the judgment (*Kephalaion* 92), the encountering the Light Maiden (*Kephalaion* 7), as well as the depiction of crimes with the punishments allotted for them (Marwazī). The physical remains of Manichaean art contain eleven soteriological images, which cover three subjects (see Tab. 6/3: Soteriology; and **Figure 6/1**): the Salvation of the Light (2 images), the Salvation of the Righteous (6 images), and the Judgment and Rebirth of the Laity (3 images).

1 *Salvation of the Light*

As a religion rooted in dualistic principles, Manichaeism explains the presence of evil and suffering in the world through the myth of a cosmic battle that took place at the beginning of time between the forces of light and the forces

a: SALVATION OF THE LIGHT (2 images)

MIK III 4974 recto

MIK III 6251

b: SALVATION OF THE RIGHTEOUS (6 images)

MIK III 6283

MIK III 6286

MIK III 8260 recto

Bezeklik, cave 38

c: JUDGMENT AND REBIRTH OF LAITY (3 images)

MIK III 4959 verso

MIK III 4958a recto

Yamato Bunkakan

FIGURE 6/1 *Soteriology*

of darkness and led to the mixture of these two in everything found on earth. Liberating the light from the captivity of the darkness is the goal of religious practice that Mani saw as the ultimate task of all religions, not just his own. In his view, the other traditions became corrupted and lost sight of this universal mission. Mani assured the integrity of this purpose in his Church by making it the foundation of his light-centered philosophy and the daily rituals that govern the life of his elect and auditors.

A variety of circumstantial evidence suggests that the Manichaeans' canonical collection of images depicted the salvation of the light. This subject is fundamental to Mani's teaching and its explanation is richly documented in early Manichaean literature. Incidentally, none of the surviving textual sources happen to mention it in connection with Mani's *Book of Pictures* and none of the few surviving picture book fragments happen to preserve it either. This subject of Manichaean didactic art is attested only on two non-canonical objects, one of which has close ties to Mani's canonical paintings in format and iconography: it is preserved as a sideways-oriented intratextual illumination, which contains a visual language that is free from contemporaneous East Central Asia artistic influences. Both of these features imply a prototype from an earlier era, when most Manichaean didactic images were still in picture books and when the Manichaean artists still painted with motifs characteristic of late ancient Mesopotamian art, such as symbolizing God through His right hand reaching into the picture from above, as also seen at the synagogue at Dura.

The two images that portray the salvation of the light derive from tenth-century Kocho and are housed in the collection of the Asian Art Museum, Berlin (**Figure 6/1a**). One of them is a painted and gilded illumination found on a torn paper folio next to a benediction text (MIK III 4974 recto, see Fig. 5/31). The other is delicately embroidered, and gilded by a unique technique of needlework, on a silk hanging scroll (MIK III 6251, see Fig. 5/9).[5] Both images have been discussed in previous publications, in light of which their iconography is understood to portray two versions of the same subject.[6]

The composition of these two images is analogous in their use of symmetry, hierarchy, and focus. (1) The book illumination shows an effective arrangement even in its current condition. It signals the relative spiritual significance of its figures (laity, elect, and God) through their scales (i.e., size differences in relation to one another). In addition, it maintains an informal balance between its two halves—the left with two larger motifs (food and elects) and the right with four smaller motifs (laity, hand gesture, moon and sun, and God's hand). In the left half, the bowl of fruit is painted in the foreground, while the elects tower

5 See discussion of preservation above.

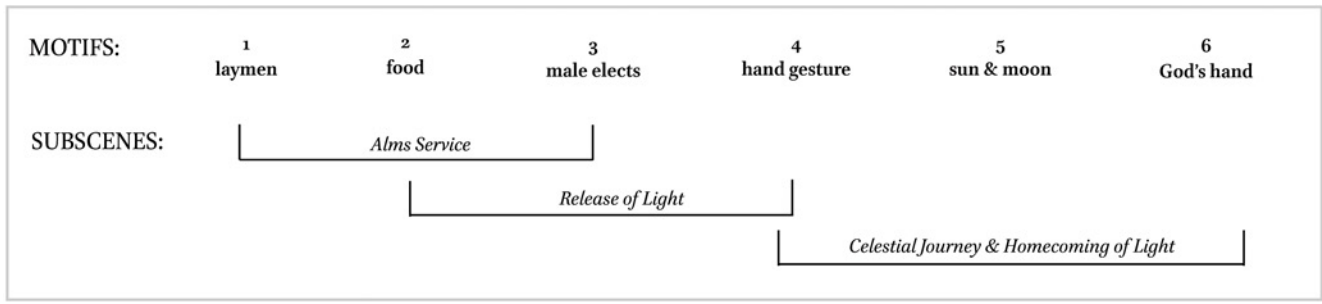
6 Le Coq 1923, 46; Klimkeit 1982, 39; and Gulácsi 2001a, 83–86, the latter published with enlarged color facsimiles of both sides of the folio. For the codicological study of the folio in the context of other reconstructible codex fragments, see Gulácsi 2005, 144–146. For an article-length study that explains what is visible from the original iconography of the image in light of the techniques of the Manichaean book painter, see Gulácsi 2001b.

across the rest of the picture plane. In the right half, the laymen are in the foreground, the celestial vessels are in the middle ground, and God's hand is in the background. The latter distribution follows the principles of a simple vertical perspective and so introduces a sense of distance among the lower, the middle, and the upper part of the picture plane. God is far away from the human figures (laymen and elects). (2) In contrast to the well-preserved visual language of the painting, the embroidery retains only partial data about its original composition. In its case, there is no evidence of a hierarchical scale, since the Light Maiden and the female elects are of the same size. Nevertheless, the spiritual significance of the deity is signaled through her accessories. Her lotus support is larger and more elaborate and, thus, she is standing on a slightly elevated plane. Her figure occupies a greater mass when compared to the elects, since her head is enclosed in a layered halo that originally incorporated 18 small circles with female heads. The now-lost left half of the composition is alluded to by the orientation of the remaining three figures, which all face to the left. The importance of the upper part of the left side is signaled through implied lines created by the Light Maiden's right lower arm and tilted upper torso. This upper left side most likely showed the celestial journey (moon and sun motifs) as well as the homecoming of the light by referencing the Realm of Light.[7] The lower left side most likely showed the laity (in this case laywomen) and the food.

The visual syntax of these images communicates effectively the salvation of the light as a diagram (**Figures 6/2 and 6/3**). Their thematic structures organize six motifs in the book painting (laymen, food, male elect, hand gesture, moon and sun, and God's hand) and probably eight motifs in the embroidery (from which four remain: female elect, Light Maiden, hand gesture, and the moon) into originally three subscenes (the alms service, the release of the light, and the celestial journey and homecoming of the light). Certain motifs overlap between the adjacent subscenes and so introduce a narrative sequence into the overall composition. The book painting fully preserves its narrative sequence—beginning with the laity and concluding with God's hand. The embroidery only retains its middle portion—from between the elect and the moon. Even the thematic distinctions of the two images complement each other well without diverting from the overall subject they teach, as seen in their focus on male vs. female figures—elects, deity, and most likely the laity (now lost from the embroidery).

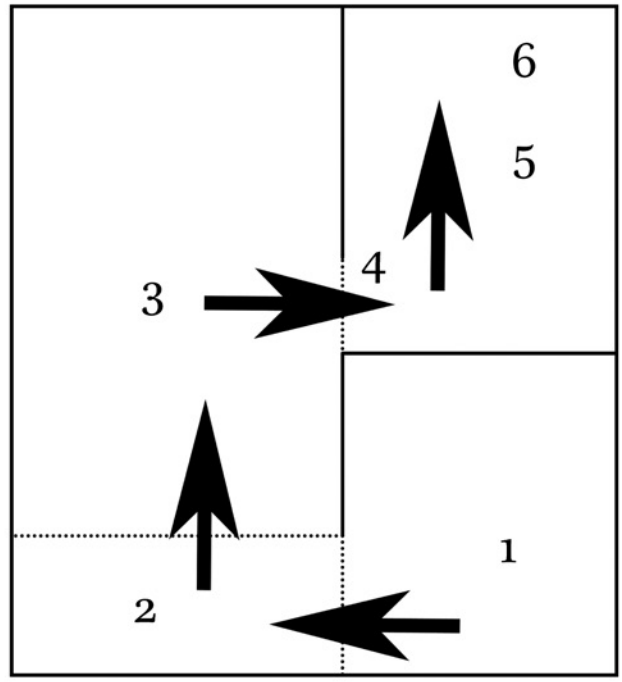
The Manichaean doctrine behind this visual syntax is discussed in a variety of early textual sources, attesting to the early origin of the salvation of the

7 It is possible that in addition to the lotus supports, this embroidery employed a local version of the paradise motif (small cloud with a temple) analogous to what is seen in contemporaneous Buddhist paintings surviving from early tenth-century Dunhuang (e.g., *Bodhisattva as Guide of Souls*, Asia OA 1919,1–1,0.47, British Museum, London; see Whitfield and Farrer 1990, 38). The Manichaean use of a temple motif in the upper part of the picture plane as a symbol for the Realm of Light is attested from southern China (see Figs. 6/37).



a: Thematic structure

b: Three subscenes marked on digitally restored image

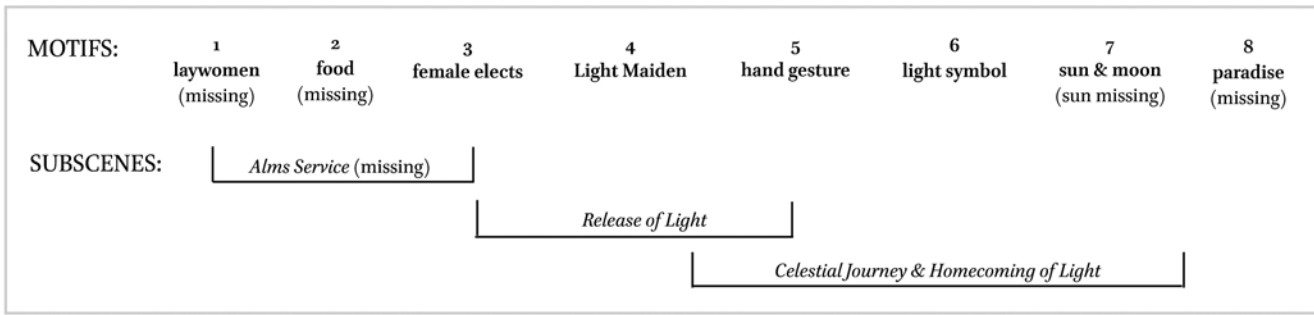


c: Narrative sequence of subscenes

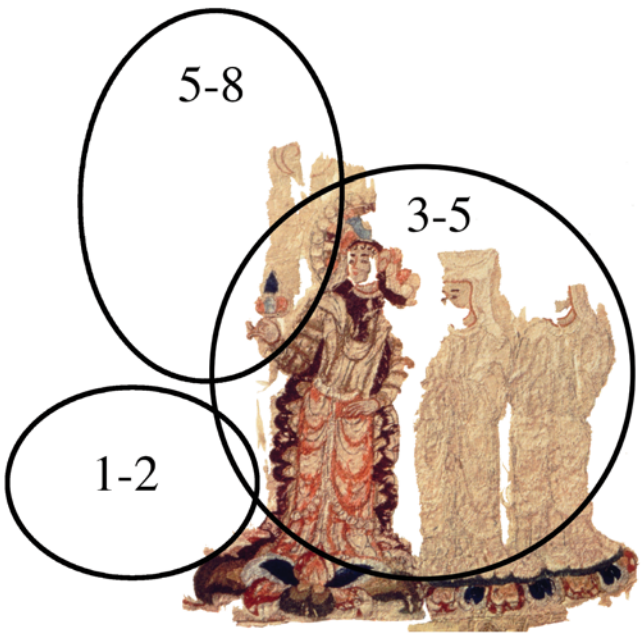
FIGURE 6/2 *Visual syntax of the* Salvation of the Light and God's Hand *image* (*MIK III 4974 recto, detail, see Fig. 5/31*)

light subject in Manichaean didactic art. Mani explains it as the "daily work of the religion,"[8] which begins with the elect and concludes with God. A

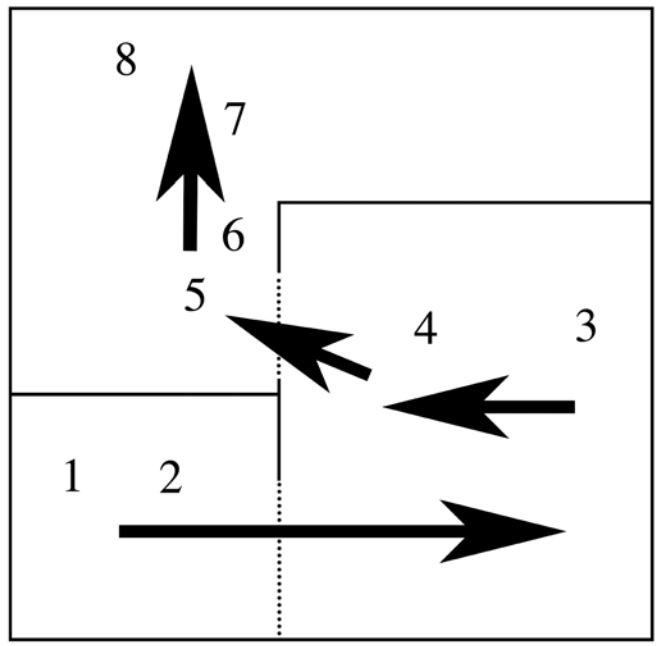
8 The phrase is also used in connection with other religions in reference to how they fail to accomplish the "work of their religion." This is seen on M 5794 (=T II D 126), where Mani says: "... Thirdly those earlier souls which did not accomplish the work in their religion will come to my religion which will be for them the door of salvation" (BeDuhn 2000a, 322, note 181); just as in a passage of the *Sermon on the Soul*: "And all religions are from the law of gods, [and] the religions from this instruction are fallen away. They do not perform the work. And [they are comparable] to a blind man, who holds a lamp in his hand to show the light to another but does not see himself" (BeDuhn 2000b, 32).



a: Thematic structure



b: Three subscenes marked on fragment



c: Narrative sequence of subscenes

FIGURE 6/3 *Visual syntax of the* Salvation of the Light and the Light Maiden *image* (*MIK III 6251, detail, see Fig. 5/9*)

sermon, written about the superiority of Mani's Church and preserved among the Turfan remains in Sogdian translation on the back of a Chinese paper scroll (Ch 5554, text b), points out how the light passes from the elect to God (i.e., "Paradise") on a daily basis:

> The daily work of the religion, which (every) day ascends from the whole election to the light vessels, and the gods commanding the vessels lead it up [and] send it continually into the Paradise world.[9]

9 Ch. 5554 (also known as the *Manichaean Parable Book*), text b, lines 120–124 (Sundermann 1985a, 27).

The teaching represented in these two images was also familiar to Augustine of Hippo, although he never saw it depicted.[10] In his *Confessions*, Augustine provides a succinct summary of what the early Manichaeans understood when referencing the salvation of the light, including how (1) the light is part of God—here imprisoned in a fig, (2) the auditors take upon themselves the sin of hurting the light—here through their harvesting the figs instead of the elect, (3) the liberation of the light achieved through the digestive system of the elect, after which (4) the singing of hymns releases the freed light from the body of the elect. Augustine's sarcastic tone appropriately distances himself from what he was taught as an auditor, without compromising the doctrinal content of his summary:

> I was gradually led to believe such nonsense as that a fig wept when it was plucked, and that the tree which bore it shed tears of mother's milk. But if some sanctified member of the sect were to eat the fig—someone else, of course, would have committed the sin of plucking it—he would digest it and breath it up again in the form of angels or even as particles of God, retching them up as he groaned in prayer. These particles of true and supreme God were supposed to be imprisoned in the fruit and could only be released by means of the stomach and the teeth of one of the Elect.[11]

Much of Augustine's discussion corresponds with the content of the two images from tenth-century East Central Asia, including the essential role of the laity in the light's salvation. The laymen, the food, and the elects constitute the *alms service* subscene in the book painting, where two laymen (a younger man and an older, bearded man) hold prayer books in their arms as they sit on their heels on a carpet and face towards the elect. In front of them is a footed gold bowl piled high with fresh fruit, possibly figs. Although the embroidery does not retain this subscene, it seems most likely that the laity (probably laywomen) and the food were shown in the lower left of the original composition, beneath the celestial vessels, analogous to but reversing the design of the book painting.

Based on the daily alms service of the laity, the sacerdotal class of the Manichaean Church is the essential human actor in the liberation of the light. Accordingly, the male and female elects are incorporated into the iconography of both images as core motifs. The importance of their role is summarized in a passage about the fate of the alms in *Kephalaion 87*, where Mani explains that the "two personas, the brothers and the sisters," in which his "holy church" manifests, are responsible for the success of the auditors' alms service. Unlike the alms given in the name of other religions, the male and female elect are entrusted to assure that the auditors' alms reach God. In this sermon, Mani compares the function of the elect (i.e., "holy church [that] exists in two

10 For a discussion of the possible reasons behind Augustine's unfamiliarity with Manichaean art, see assessment of "Function" in Chapter 1, above.

11 *Confessions* 3.10 (BeDuhn 2000a, 177).

personas") to "a door" or "a ferrying place," through which the liberated light passes to its "country of rest:"

> All of these alms that are given in the world because of the name of God, by every creed whatsoever in His name . . . every place to which they will bring these alms they lead them to affliction and hardship and wickedness. [There is no] rest or open gate through which they come out and find occasion to ascend to God, because of whose name they are given, except in the holy church, the one in which the commandments of the alms-service are placed. Now the holy church exists in two personas, the brothers and the sisters. The time, then, when these alms will reach the holy church, they are saved in it, and become pure, and rest in it. They emerge from it and go to the God of truth, because of whose name they are given. The holy church itself, moreover, is the place of rest for all these alms that rest in it. It itself becomes a door to them and a ferrying place to that country of the rest.[12]

The *release of the light* is the central component of both images, implying that the elects had already completed their sacred meal and that their bodies are in the process of releasing the liberated light. Based on the overall connotation of the motifs and their relation to one another, it seems that the release itself is signaled by a hand gesture in these images. In the painting, the senior elect raises his lower arm to the side, away from his body beneath the moon. His hand is held horizontally with the palm facing up with the thumb and the index finger touching. In the embroidery, the Light Maiden performs this very gesture on behalf of the female elects, who stand next to her on lotus supports with their arms hidden in the sleeves of their layered robes. Beneath the moon, the Light Maiden's gesturing hand supports a lotus bud motif that, based on its location, seems to symbolize the freed light.

Mani specifically notes the *Light Maiden's ties to the liberated light* (i.e., "the Living Soul") after its release from the body of the elect (i.e., "the Righteous One") and before its arrival to the moon in a sermon preserved in *Kephalaion 114*. Mani mentions this deity in connection with the final state of the release of the light from the elect's body, in what he calls a "pneumatic" (spiritual) form. The passage begins with the discussion of the first two stages of the release, in the "somatic" (body-related) and "psychic" (mind-related) forms. It concludes by equating the final "pneumatic" release of the light with the Light Maiden.[13] In the quote below, the "Virgin of Light" personifies the "the Living Soul"—"she is the first" and "she is also the last" form of the light omnipresent throughout the process of liberation:

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12 *Kephalaion 87*, 217.2–217.20 (BeDuhn 2000a, 164 and 177).

13 For a diagram of the digestive process that illustrates the "somatic," "psychic," and "pneumatic" forms of release of the light by the elect based on *Kephalaion 114*, see BeDuhn 2000a, 179 and diagram 5.2, where *Kephalaion 114* is erroneously labeled *Kephalaion 104*).

> This is [the] way, then, that this living limb [is purified] and it lives, that which comes into the body of [the] Righteous One from outside in the metabolism of the food of various kinds, in this way. The Living Soul becomes pure every day completely; and it traverses these three images. It loosens itself from the body which is not its own in the "somatic" (image/form). It loosens itself from the soul, which is not its own, these that are mixed with it, in the "psychic" (image/form), which are wrath, lust [. . .] and foolishness, envy, and divisiveness and these other evil knowledges which are not its own. But in [the] "pneumatic" image it lives, and it mixes with the patience, perfection of the faith, and love that reign over all of them, which is the Virgin of Light, the one that is a raiment to the New Man, the one who is called the hour of life. She is the first; she is also the last.[14]

The *celestial journey* is part of the last subscene, which implies that the liberated light has departed from the earth (shown in the foreground) and filled into the moon and then into the sun as it begins a journey (shown in the middle ground) to its original home (shown in the background). Since God has no direct contact with the earth in Manichaean teaching, the celestial bodies transport the light to him. The torn upper left of the embroidery retains only a few clues about this. The Light Maiden's gesturing hand and parts of a waning crescent moon are preserved. Between them, a jewel motif symbolizes the liberated light. In the book painting, the moon and the sun represent not only the vessels of the light, but they also double as the symbols of the light. This iconography accords with references made to the Manichaean myth in the *Prose Refutations*: the moon, as the first ship, transports the light from the earth, filling up with its cargo during its waxing phase; the sun, as the second ship, takes over from the moon as the moon empties the light into the sun during its waning phase; the final destination of the light, which Ephrem calls the "house of life," also known as the "Realm of Light," in Manichaean teaching:

> The moon receives the light that is refined, and fills for fifteen days (i.e., during its waxing phase), and then proceeds to empty for another fifteen days (i.e., during its waning phase).[15]

> They [the Manichaeans] greatly magnify and term it (the moon) "Ship of Light," which conveys a cargo of their "refining" to the "house of life."[16]

> The sun receives this light from the moon.[17]

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14 *Kephalaion 114*, 269.19–270.24 (BeDuhn 2000a, 178).

15 *Prose Refutations* 15.27–34 (Reeves 1997, 247).

16 *Prose Refutations* 178.45–179.3 (Reeves 1997, 248).

17 *Prose Refutations* 20.33–34 (Reeves 1997, 249).

> They assert about the sun that it refines what is evil, because it goes and comes every day to the domain of good, wherein there is refining.[18]

> It is on account of its purity that it (the sun) goes and comes every day to the "house of life" as they say it.[19]

In a sermon preserved in *Kephalaion 65*, Mani mentions the "ship" of the sun in an analogous role. Although the passage itself is not about the light's liberation, in it Mani explains the process of how the sun fills up with light every season and the unparalleled quantity of its light content that surpasses "all the lights that occur in the universe."[20]

The *homecoming of the light* concludes with a reference to the Realm of Light and God. In the book painting, the right hand motif is the symbolic visual reference to God, to which the action performed by the right hand adds a further connotation. By showing God's thumb and index finger touching, the artist not only mirrors the hand gesture of the elect and thus frames this subscene, but also signals that God collects the light. Thus, God's right hand reaching into the picture indicates that the light is about to complete its journey. The evocation of God through his right hand is attested in a didactic letter of Mani known as the *Fundamental Epistle* (Lat. *Epistula Fundamenti*). This originally Syriac text survives today only in parts and in translations, including its beginning, which was quoted in Latin by Augustine. The text contains the following salutation directed to a disciple named Patek and the Manichaean community around him by evoking God/Light through His right hand:

> May the peace of the invisible God and knowledge of the Truth be with the holy and beloved brothers who believe the heavenly commandments and also observe them at the same time! May the right hand of the Light

18 *Prose Refutations* 111.14–26 (Reeves 1997, 249–250).

19 *Prose Refutations* 27.26–30 (Reeves 1997, 250).

20 "Once again, there are another three archetypes made apparent by the sun, in respect of the mystery of the first greatness. The first is the filling up of the disk of its ship, because its ship has filled up every season, and shall not wane at all—the way that the ship of the moon wanes. This continuous filling, by which it is filled, displays the mystery of the Father, the great greatness, from whom all the powers and the gods have come forth. He shall never wane, nor shall lack ever exist in Him! The second: (The sun's) light surpasses the light of all the stars, and all the lights that occur in the [universe]; corresponding to the mystery of the Father; for His light surpasses and is greater than the light of His aeons. The third: The sun is very high above all else. It surpasses the height of all the mountains and hills that exist upon the entire earth, corresponding to the mystery of the Father of Greatness; for He is high above all the households of his light-earth. Also, because the Father himself is high above all the heights and mountains of his light-earth. He is 'filled up' in his image [all] the time and every hour from eternity to eternity!" (*Kephalaion 65*, 162.22–163.8; Gardner 1995, 171).

> protect you and deliver you from assault of evil and the snare of the world.[21]

The final destination of the freed light is the "Realm of Light" where God is established "in his own essence." There, God "exists in calm and hiddenness," in the eternity of light ("the aeons of light"). This domain is alluded to in the book painting only through the right hand motif. By omitting the figure of God, the image appropriately reflects the Manichaean teaching on God's seclusion from the human world—a notion conveyed in *Kephalaion 2* and *16*:

> . . . the Father, who dwells in greatness, who is perfect in the aeons of light [. . .] the Father, the God of truth, the great Mind of all the aeons of glory.[22]

> . . . the Father of Greatness who exists in calm and hiddenness; as he is established in his [light-]earth, in his own essence.[23]

Early Manichaean explanations for why God is secluded from the world, that is, why he "exists in calm and hiddenness [. . .] in his own essence," are noted in two Latin polemic accounts, including that of Euodius, the bishop of Uzala (d. 424 CE). In his *De fide contra manichaeos*, Euodius credits Mani's *Treasury of Life* as he notes how the *Father of Greatness* mourns and cannot bear to watch the suffering of the light in the world, and so covered his face with a veil to shield himself from the pain:[24]

> Behold what victory and triumph that the God of Manichaeus [Mani] has obtained! For having lost a part of Himself, He is in mourning, as the same Manichaeus will say; He has a veil before Himself to sooth His pain, so that He should not see the corruption of His own part. For today the divine substance, which He mentions is subject to the race of Darkness like clay to a potter. This is written in their first book of the *Treasury*.[25]

According to Manichaean doctrine, at the end of time, when the integrity of the light is fully restored, "the work of the religion" will be completed. Then,

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21 *Epistula Fundamenti* 11, 207.11–13 and 18–20 (Lieu-Gardner 2004, 168).

22 *Kephalaion 2*, 20.19 and 20.30 (Gardner 1995, 25).

23 *Kephalaion 16*, 49.15–17 (Gardner 1995, 54).

24 Pedersen 2011, 229–234.

25 *De fide contra manichaeos* 13, 1 (Pedersen 2011, 229). Augustine also notes this view about the Father of Greatness in his *Contra Faustum*: "But why are they not displeased by the fact that our God sees that His work is good, because their God, since the time when He immersed His limbs into the Darkness, has placed a veil before Himself? For He did not do that because He sees that His world is good, but because He would not look, since it is evil." Augustine's information was most likely also based on Mani's *Treasury of Life* (Pedersen 2011, 229–230, note 1).

the Father of Greatness will withdraw his veil and reveal his image to the divine world.[26] The book painting and the embroidery from Kocho do not show this finishing point of the salvation of the light. While not part of the pictorial focus of either scene, the ultimate conclusion of the "work of the religion" is the kind of supplementary topic that an auditor might ask about, or the teacher might bring up, in order to contextualize the salvation of the light in the course of an "*ārdhang wifrās*" (i.e., teaching with the *Book of Pictures*)—as documented in *Kephalaion 92*. *Kephalaion 92* describes just such a supplementary question put to Mani while he was teaching with his *Hikōn* on the subject of the salvation of the laity.

The Manichaean connotations of the key motifs used within the salvation of the light subject can be verified based on the above textual references (**Figure 6/4**). The hand gesture of the elect, which features a horizontally positioned palm with the thumb and index fingers touching while the rest of the fingers are outstretched (i.e., a horizontally performed Manichaean version of the *vitarka mudrā* also known from Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain art),[27] symbolizes the release of the light (see Fig. 6/4a). In the book painting, the male elect performs this gesture with his left hand, while in the embroidery, the figure of the Light Maiden assumes it with her right hand—most likely due to the compositional context of their respective images. The moon and sun motifs symbolize the vessels of the light, as well as the liberated light. At the same time, they allude to the celestial journey of the light (see Fig. 6/4b). The crescent moon is shown in its waning phase with the crescent facing downwards and touching the sun disk above it, as it empties its light content into the sun. In this Manichaean context, the motif of God's hand symbolizes the homecoming of the light (see Fig. 6/4c). Performed with God's right hand, this gesture is a mirror image of the left-handed gesture of the elect. The final motif, the lotus bud, which can be decoded with a confirmed Manichaean meaning keeping in mind the overall iconography of the salvation of the light (see Fig. 6/4d). In this motif, the petals of a lotus flower surround a central protruding cone, which maybe best compared to a still-budding core of a young lotus flower. By being positioned above the Light Maiden's gesturing hand and beneath the crescent moon, this motif can be argued to connote a symbolic reference to the light.

These two images document the existence of an important subject within the Manichaean didactic corpus. At the same time, they preserve two different versions of this subject—one with an archaic West Asiatic iconography and another with a contemporaneous Central Asian iconography. This chronology is signaled by the motifs that are not shared between the two images (God's hand, the lotus bud as the light symbol, and possibly the lotus supports), since they were introduced into the vocabulary of Manichaean art at different stages of its history. The book painting preserves motifs from a now-lost didactic

26 Pedersen 1996, 392–398; and 2011, 230 notes 2, 3, and 4.

27 Frederic 1995, 42.

a: BOOK IN ARMS MOTIF - symbolizing importance of Mani's teaching for salvation

MIK III 4974 recto and its digital restoration

MIK III 6283 side 1(?)

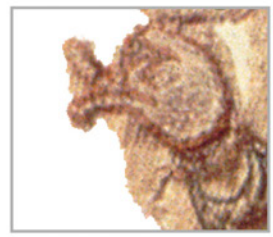
MIK III 6283 side 2(?)

b: ALMS SERVICE MOTIF - symbolizing essential role of laity in salvation by supplying ritual meal

MIK III 4974 recto and its digital restoration

c: HAND GESTURE MOTIF - symbolizing the release of the light

MIK III 4974 recto and its digital restoration



MIK III 6251

d: LOTUS BUD MOTIF - symbolizing freed light

MIK III 6251

e: MOON AND SUN MOTIFS - symbolizing celestial journey of the light

MIK III 4974 recto and its digital restoration

MIK III 6251

f: GOD'S HAND MOTIF - symbolizing homecoming of the light

MIK III 4974 recto and its digital restoration

FIGURE 6/4 *Key motifs in the salvation of the light subject shown with comparative examples*

scene that retained a late ancient Mesopotamian vocabulary in its iconography and most likely originated from the earliest era of Manichaean history. Its dominant motifs (God's right hand, and moon and sun) are attested at Roman Dura-Europos from the middle of the third century—from about the same time when Mani assembled the collection of his didactic paintings in Sasanian Mesopotamia. The dominant motifs used in the embroidery (light symbol and lotus supports) are better known from the visual language of mediaeval East Central Asia, as seen in the art of tenth-century Kocho and Dunhuang.

2 *Salvation of the Righteous*

The sacerdotal class is holy in Manichaeism. Its male and female members are revered in the social order of the Manichaean Church, just as in its soteriology. They are called "gods" and "divinities." In return for this esteemed status, much is expected from the elect. They are required to lead a prescribed and disciplined existence and to dedicate themselves to ritual and teaching. They are celibate and eat only once a day in the course of a ceremonial meal. They consume only vegetarian food (vegetables, fruits, and baked goods), for which they depend on the auditors, as they do for their housing and annual set of garments. They do not employ animals for travel, nor do they use water for cleaning their bodies, since even that would cause harm to the stream. By observing these restrictions, they aim to refrain from harming the forces of light on earth and to keep their bodies pure, which they use for the liberation of the light in a daily ritual. In the course of their sacred meal, the elect's digestive systems free the light from the vegetable matter and send it to a celestial journey that ends in the "Realm of Light" or "Realm of God." This terminus is also the place where the righteous elect are destined to go after leaving their physical bodies upon their deaths. According to Manichaean doctrine, unlike the laity, the elect do not reincarnate. Instead, they are transformed into pure light that joins the liberated light to ultimately reunite with the Father of Greatness. The visual sources accessed below indicate that the righteous catechumen was also included in this vision of salvation during the late Uygur era, since members of the ruling elite are shown either analogously to the elect or in paradise.[28]

The claim that the canonical picture books portrayed the salvation of the righteous is confirmed in *Kephalaion 92*, which unambiguously states that Mani "depicted the righteous one, how he shall be released and brought before the Judge and attain the land of light."[29] Uygur Manichaean art preserves this subject not as images in picture books, but as images incorporated into other non-canonical objects, such as the main mural of a cave shrine, a full-page frontispiece of a prayer book in *pustaka* format, and four images displayed on mortuary banners. In light of the documentary evidence in *Kephalaion 92*, it is

28 Ebert makes a similar observation about Uygur Manichaean art in her study of the Chinese Manichaean depiction of judgment (2015, 154).

29 *Kephalaion 92*, see full quote and discussion in Chapter 1.

reasonable to assume that their depictions were modeled after pictorial prototypes, which originated in the context of Mani's *Book of Pictures*.[30]

The six images that depict this subject are examples of tenth-century Uygur Manichaean painting belonging to the care of either the Asian Art Museum in Berlin or the Turfan Antiquities Bureau in Turfan (**Figure 6/1b**).[31] The frontispiece of a prayer book in the *pustaka* format features an *Elect in Paradise* (MIK III 8260 recto, see Fig. 5/43). Four additional images are found on the plastered double-sided surfaces of ramie banners that were used in some mortuary context (see Figs. 5/23–5/24). Three of them show an enthroned Jesus with either an elect or a righteous laywoman, and thus may be titled *Jesus Awaits the Righteous* (MIK III 6283 side 1[?] and MIK III 6283 side 2[?], and MIK III 6286 side 2[?]). The fourth shows a female elect with an enthroned icon of the Light Maiden and therefore can be titled *The Light Maiden Awaits the Righteous* (MIK III 6286 side 1[?]). The last image is a wall painting in situ that may be best titled *The Realm of Light Awaits the Righteous* (Bezeklik, Cave 38, see Fig. 5/5).

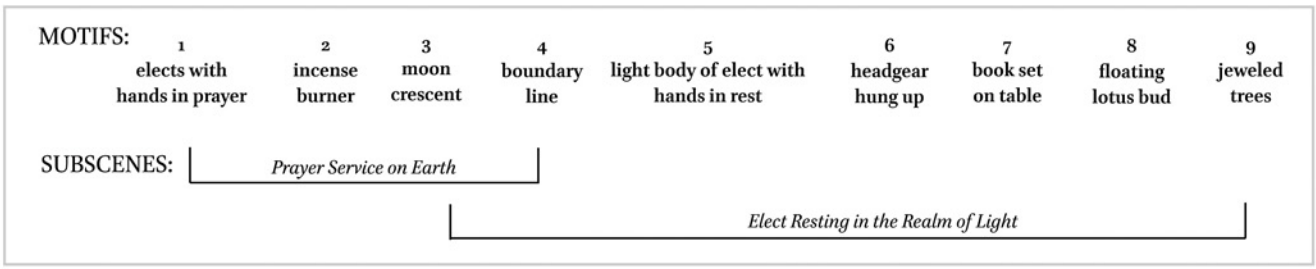
The most informative among these images is the illumination on the *pustaka* folio (**Figure 6/5**). This painting communicates a soteriological message by arranging ten motifs into two subscenes. Located in the lower part of the picture plane, the smaller subscene indicates a ritual prayer by placing an incense burner between two female elects, who wear gender-specific scarf-covered headdresses. Sitting on their heels, they hold their hands with palms touching in front of the chest. A crescent moon leads away from this earthly realm by reaching across the ground-line of the next subscene. The moon motif is in a transitional role since it is placed directly beneath the elect in the upper register. Together with the upward gaze of the two elects in the lower register, the moon leads the viewer's attention along with the implied direction of prayer toward the Land of Light. Thus, this subscene depicts the importance of prayer in Manichaean soteriology.

A teaching about how invocation can help the deceased elect reach the Realm of Light is discussed in *Kephalaion 115*. In fact, this entire chapter is devoted to the power of prayer with attention to the question of salvation. As is customary in the *Kephalaia*, a catechumen defines the topic by a pointed question. Addressing Mani, he says:

> I beseech you, my master, that you may recount to me of this lesson; if I ask you it! About the entreaty that a person makes in his prayer, if he beseeches charity for someone, who has been released from his body. Tell me: The entreaty and the prayer by which the saints pray, beseeching for someone; do they help him any? How is it beneficial for him; or else

30 The lack of evidence about this subject in southern Chinese textual and pictorial sources is noteworthy. It may suggest a diminished interest when compared to other soteriological subjects preserved in Chinese Manichaean art.

31 Le Coq 1923, Klimkeit 1980, and Gulácsi 2001.



a: Thematic structure

d: Flowering trees in the Realm of Light

b: Female elects in prayer service on earth

c: Light body of elect resting in the Realm of Light

FIGURE 6/5 *Visual syntax of the* Elect in Paradise *image* (*MIK III 8260 recto, see Fig. 5/43*)

> does it help him not? For we have heard from you just so, that each shall receive retribution according to his deeds.[32]

Mani's explanation begins with an affirmative answer, before citing various mythological examples of the power of prayer:

> As to the question which you ask me, the entreaty occurs and the true prayer occurs. For every elect Manichaean person, if he beseeches charity in total faith, he is claiming a request from our compassionate Father. So if he is beseeching over himself alone, he shall be favored in his entreaty; but if again he is beseeching on behalf of someone else, he shall be granted his request.[33]

The positive effect of prayer upon salvation is shown in the Uygur book painting by portraying two elects with an incense burner between them, whose hands are clasped in prayer, while they look up toward the crescent moon that is shown crossing from the earthly plane to a celestial realm.

The upper subscene of this illumination depicts the celestial realm. The floating flower bud next to the head of the elect signals the presence of light "released from the body" of the elect and, thus, introduces the iconography of death. Mani refers to this place as "the land of rest,"[34] to which the righteous (elect or catechumen) ascends "sculpted in a light image," as seen in Mani's sermon, which is preserved in *Kephalaion 91*:

> He shall be purified according to the worth of his deeds and cleansed and washed and adorned. Afterwards he is sculpted into a light image; and he glides up and reaches the land of rest, so that where his heart is, his treasures also will be there.[35]

In the symbolic language of art, this Uygur illumination defines the "land of rest" as a place where the activities essential to the earthly life of the elects are no longer performed. In this celestial world, there is no need for the social hierarchy of the Manichaean Church. The cessation of church leadership is communicated in the motif of a headgear set aside and hanging from a tree branch, since the shape of this headgear is similar to those worn by high-ranking elects depicted in various ritual images that survive from Kocho. There is no need for religious teaching either. The book set aside on a table indicates the cessation of the elect's teaching duty. His hands prominently placed in his lap capture the cessation of the elect's monastic vows. At this stage of the elect's career

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32 *Kephalaion 115*, 271.1–9 (Gardner 1995, 277).

33 *Kephalaion 115*, 271.14–20 (Gardner 1995, 277–278).

34 *Kephalaion 81*, 195.18; *Kephalaion 87,* 217.19; *Kephalaion 91*, 234.8; *Kephalaion 115*, 272.29; and *Kephalaion 115*, 280.1 (Gardner 1995, 204, 225, 240, 279, and 283, respectively).

35 *Kephalaion 91*, 234.2–12 (Gardner 1995, 240).

there is no need to observe the "seal of the hand," typically symbolized by hiding the hands in the folded sleeves of a garment. At the same time, the inactive hands convey the idea of retirement and rest.[36] This is not a figure in meditation, since the "light image" of the elect is sitting on his heels, a non-meditative pose used frequently in Manichaean art.

In Manichaean literature, the Land of Light is known for its trees—its "green fruit-bearing trees whose fruits never drop, never rot, and never become wormed" as stated in a passage preserved in Sogdian translation on a Turfan fragment of Manichaean cosmology.[37] Analogously, in the illumination, the flowering crowns of the trees form a canopy that seals off this realm. These flowering trees symbolize the trees of Paradise.

Two motifs are used to symbolize the light. The floating lotus buds embody the presence of freed light, the Living Soul. The ascending crescent moon, seen at the bottom of this upper subscene, symbolizes the journey of freed light across the layers of the universe. This interpretation of the crescent motif between the earth and the Land of Light is supported by a poetic passage about the ascension of the foremost elect—Mani—to the Land of Light. Preserved in a Parthian text on the folio fragment M 5569, the passage states that the moon, "the ship of light," ascends with its cargo of liberated light:

> Just as the sovereign who takes off his armor and battle garment and puts on another royal garb, so did the Messenger of Light put off the warlike garment of (his) body; and he sat down in the ship of light and received the divine garment, the diadem of light and the beautiful garland. And in great joy he flew up [. . .].[38]

In the poetic language of this text, Mani (1) "put off the warlike garment of [his] body," that is, he died and was released from the body; (2) "sat down in the ship of light," that is, his light body began a journey; (3) "received the divine garment, the diadem of light and the beautiful garland," that is, the three gifts carried by three angels of the Light Maiden; and (4) "he flew up," that is, traveled across the layers of the atmosphere in his light body as the cargo of the moon.

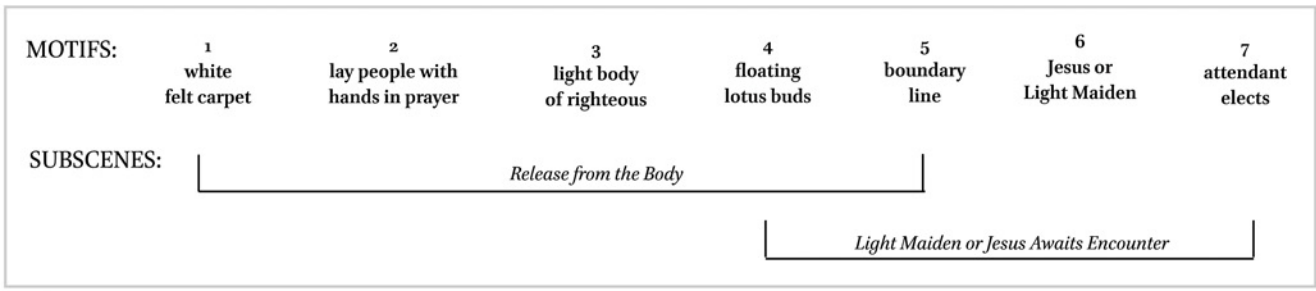
Based on the above analysis, the visual syntax of the four soteriological images painted onto the two double-sided banners also becomes comprehensible (**Figure 6/6**). The four compositions are identical.[39] Once again, each image

36 The only exception to this rule is when the elects' hands are in active poses, such as in the course of sermons or rituals, when they are shown with teaching gestures or holding up a book to read from it.

37 M 178 I (Henning 1948, 307ff; English translation after Asmussen 1975, 117).

38 M 5569 (Klimkeit 1993, 215).

39 Although distinctly Manichaean, the pictorial content of these banners compares favorably to what is seen on Pure Land Buddhist hanging scrolls from Dunhuang (e.g., *Bodhisattva as Guide of Souls*, Asia OA 1919,1–1,0.47, British Museum, London; see Whitfield and Farrer 1990, 38). In its upper left corner (on a puffy cloud), the desired, celestial realm



a: Thematic structure

b: MIK III 6286 side 1(?)

c: MIK III 6286 side 2(?)

d: MIK III 6283 side 1(?), detail

FIGURE 6/6 *Visual syntax of the* Light Maiden Awaits the Righteous *and* Jesus Awaits the Righteous *images* (*MIK III 6283 and MIK III 6286, see Figs. 5/23–5/24*)

consists of two registers that constitute two subscenes built from five motifs. The lower subscene centers on a large figure of the righteous surrounded by floating lotus buds, which communicates the "release from the body." In contrast to the scale of the main figure, one or two lay figures are painted about half size, and (with one exception) sitting on their heels with their hands in prayer. This iconography communicates a prayer service with focuses on the elect, who is named (or intended to be named) in a cartouche. The elect is still standing on a white felt carpet, still holding a book with his arms still folded within the garment. These motifs convey that the elect is still at the early stage of release and that laypeople (possibly relatives) pray to aid the supernatural journey ahead. Depicted in a separate register, the upper subscene is painted above a decorative border. It centers on a divine being shown seated regally, in Sasanian fashion, with the knees spread on a decorated platform seat and with a vertically placed sash (instead of a sword) between the legs. In three cases, this deity is Jesus, so identified based on the best-preserved depiction above the laywoman. In one case, this deity is the Light Maiden, so identified based on her hovering diadem made of light symbols, which are also part of the iconography of this deity in other images of Soteriology and Theology.

The soteriological role of Jesus and the Light Maiden is confirmed in Manichaean literature. They are especially favored in Coptic, Parthian, and Middle Persian sources, in which one of these two deities greets the light bodies of the righteous upon their release.[40] Fittingly, the icons of these deities are painted above the righteous in separate registers on these banners. Their pairing seems to be gender-based, at least partially, since the Light Maiden is shown with a female elect, while Jesus is paired with a male elect two times and planned so in the other case.[41] As noted in Chapter 5, on one side of the more intact banner, the under-drawing of a male elect (with the distinctive

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of reincarnation is indicated. This is *Sukavati*, the Pure Land of Amitabha, also known as the Western Paradise. In both cases, a divine guide is shown. In the Manichaean banner, this guide is either the Light Maiden or Jesus; and is secondary to the type-portraits of the guided (either an elect or a catechumen). In the Buddhist banner, the focus is reversed, although the name of the guided is given. In both cases, the visual language references a supernatural stage of the religious career, pertaining to the afterlife. Therefore the portrait of the guided depicts those who "came out of their bodies." In the Buddhist banner, the focus is on the divine guide. In the Manichaean banner, the focus is on the guided.

40 Christiane Reck (2003, 323–338) finds that three deities are documented in the role of receiving and guiding the righteous during the early stages of liberation: the Light Maiden, Jesus the Splendor, and the Light Mind—the deities of the Fourth Call (see Tab. 6/8, below). In one Sogdian language text (M 6132), which was preserved on a codex folio that was torn into six parts (three fragments of which are housed in Germany, two in Japan, and one in Russia), the Light Maiden appears together with 84,000 maidens. While the agency of the Light Mind in this context is less dominant, it is clearly noted in the above Sogdian text and by Ibn al-Nadim (*Kitab al-Fihrist*, 987 CE).

41 Pairing the female elects with the Light Maiden is also seen on the embroidered version of the salvation of the light. See discussion of Fig. 6/3, above.

flaring headgear and mustache) was changed to an Uygur lady in the final version of the image, creating an anomalous pairing of a woman with Jesus.[42]

One of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments (M 8255 folio 2 verso) suggested that the canonical pictures depicted the "soul departing the body." Modified versions of that canonical image are preserved on the mortuary banners and the frontispiece of the pustaka book (**Figure 6/7**). In these five Uygur paintings, floating flower buds are shown around the elect. They seem to represent the particles of released light and thus indicate that the "light bodies" of dead elects are depicted here. In the language of art, these bodies are distinguished from regular bodies by being shown on a large scale in relation to the small scale used for the still living members of the community with no lotus buds floating around them. These light bodies are at two different stages of the afterlife. On the *pustaka* folio, the light body is already resting in paradise as indicated by the two trees symbolizing the Realm of Light. On the banners, white felt carpets symbolize a still earthly location and a funerary context, since the use of white felt as funerary shrouds is attested in the nomadic folklore of southern Siberia.[43] The hands, the book, and the headgear are essential references to the elect's vocation. Once the elect's mission is completed, they will be symbolically set aside in Paradise, as shown in the illumination. Taken together, these motifs confirm a salvation theme. The book painting shows its final stage, while the banners depict its beginning stage—still on earth, but already having departed from the body—awaiting the encounter with the divine guide.

In contrast, the focus is on the righteous auditor in the wall painting (**Figure 6/8**). The soteriological teaching of this image is expressed in the iconography and the composition, both of which were designed to function in a lay ritual setting. The core motifs of this painting communicate clearly the Manichaean notion of paradise: there are trees with jeweled crowns, a pool of water with birds, and various deities that symbolize some of the residents of the Realm of Light, such as the guardians of the four cardinal directions, angels with their distinct pairs of wings, and other beings who now reside in this realm, including the two auditors prominently flanking the pool.[44] While

42 See discussion of Fig. 5/24c-d, above.

43 Walter and Fridman 2004, 562.

44 See Klimkeit 1982, 31; and Moriyasu 2004, 20–21 (auditors), 22–23 (four guardians), 24–28 (tree of life). Kósa (2009, 137–140) introduces numerology to earlier interpretations (3 trunks of the tree = 3 "constancies" of the Realm of Light: that is, the Father of light, the light atmosphere, and the light earth; and 12 jewels of the tree = 12 Aeons that surround the Father). In addition, he interprets the pool motif as a symbol of confession and calls it a "confessional pool." He suggests that the pool of water symbolizes "the purifying confessions of sins" (2009, 141). In support, he quotes from the Chinese Manichaean *Hymn Scroll*, where water is employed as a simile (H398–9: "with this water of the Law, wash away all our dust and greave depravity, make our light nature always pure"). In this sentence, however, the Manichaean doctrine ("the Law"), rather than confession, is compared metaphorically to the purifying use of water. In fact, confession is not discussed in this *Hymn Scroll* passage, nor is it mentioned, contrary to his claim (2009, 141), in the

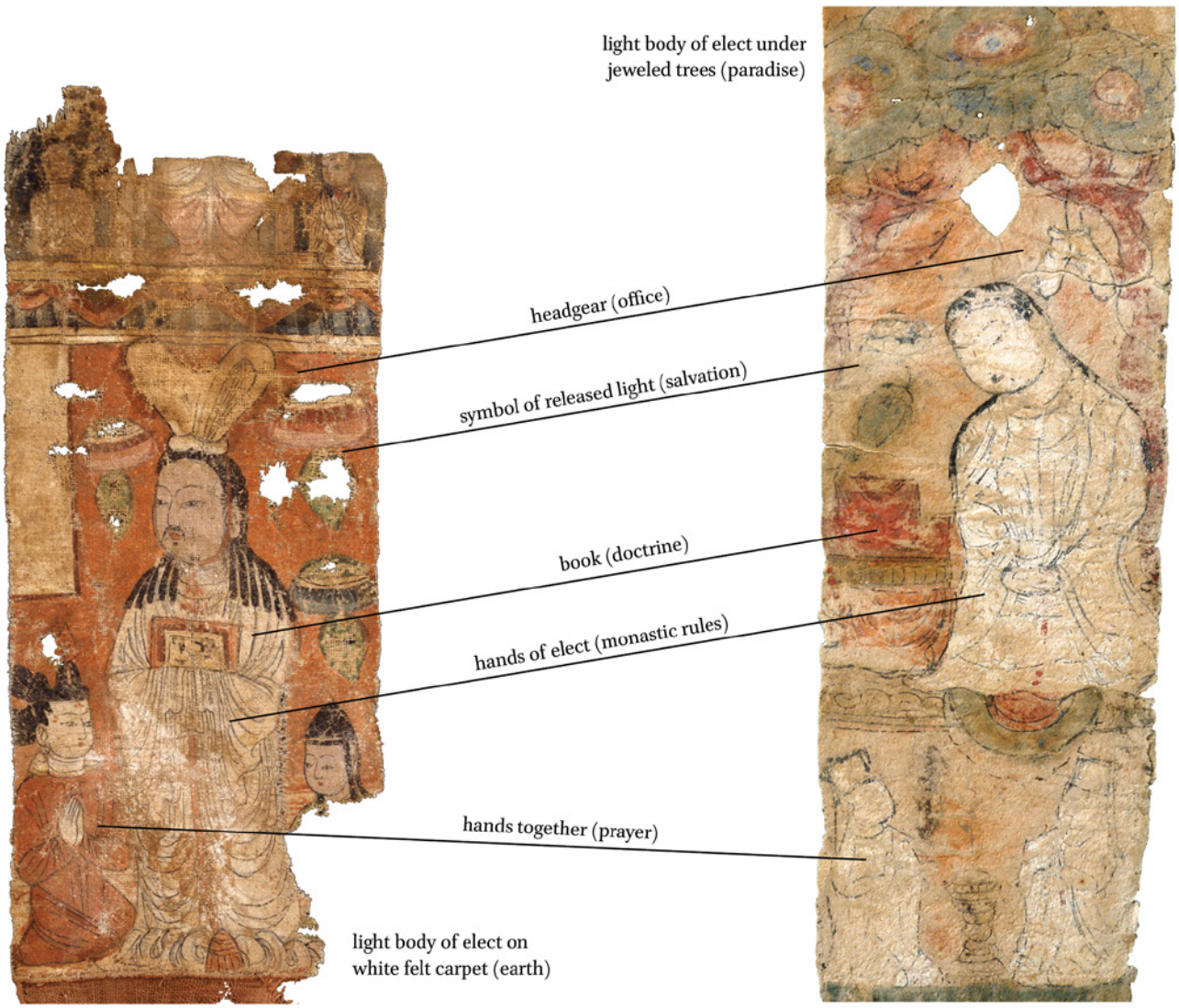


FIGURE 6/7 *Comparative analysis of two soteriological images* (*see Figs. 6/5 and 6/6*)

the motifs along the vertical axis (the tree, the pool, and the birds) define the heavenly space, the two auditor figures provide the human focus of this painting, which conveys the promise of salvation. To better reach the beholder with this message, the artist employs a local visual dialect and a space-specific compositional arrangement to fit the mural to its cave shrine.

graffiti accompanying the mural (which only employ the prayer formulae "may there be no sin" and "forgive my sin"). Since the pool of water in this mural is shown not as a source of washing, but rather as a source of nurturance for trees and birds, it is unclear how the various elements of this interpretation can be interconnected.

MOTIFS:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
laity in prayer in front of mural	incense burner	boundary line	pool of water with birds	jeweled trees	divine beings	lay couple looking down to worshipers

(as depicted on MIK III 8260 recto)

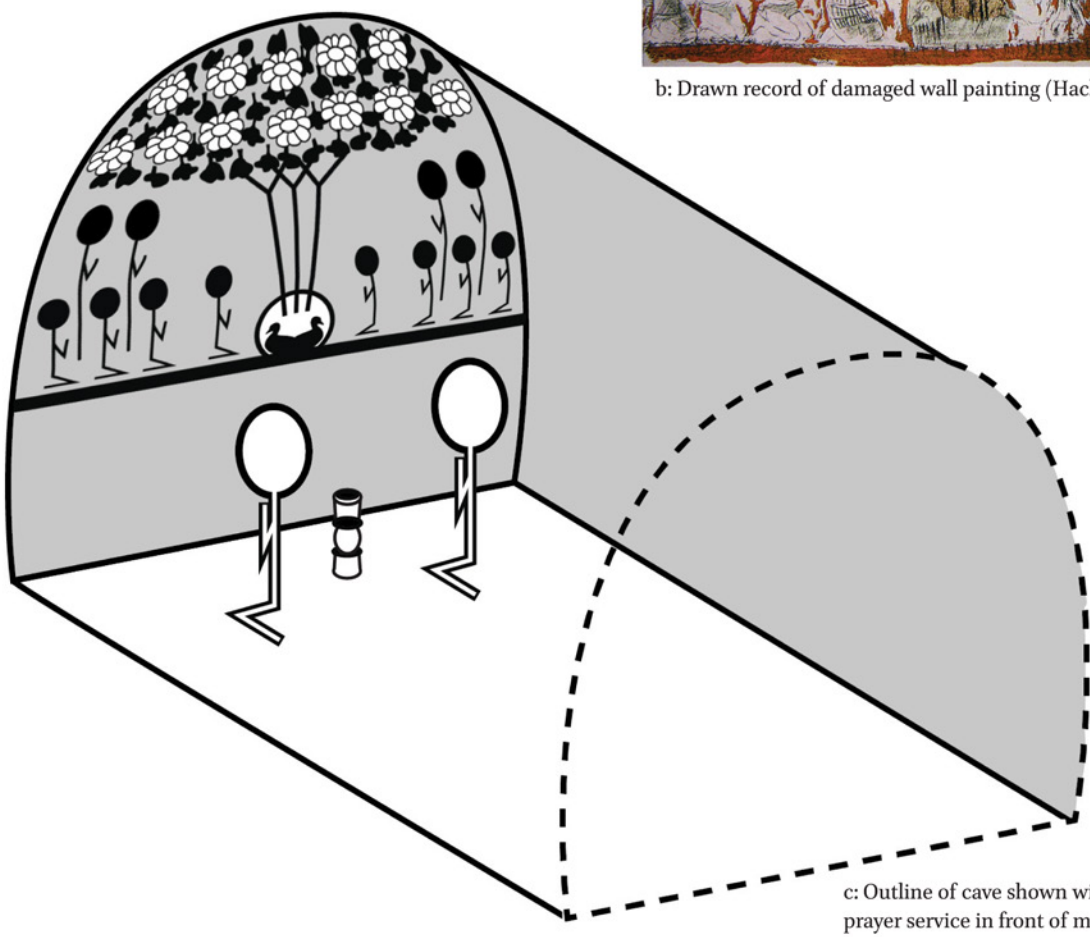
SUBSCENES:

Prayer Service on Earth (acted out in front of mural)

Lay Couple in the Land of Light (depicted in mural)

a: Thematic structure

b: Drawn record of damaged wall painting (Hackim 1936, Pt. 1)



c: Outline of cave shown with prayer service in front of mural

FIGURE 6/8 *Visual syntax of the* Realm of Light Awaits the Righteous *image and its ritual context* (*Bezeklik cave 38, see Fig. 5/5*)

In order to convey the pleasantness of the Realm of Light to the auditor, local characteristics accessorize the core motifs of this mural. The water is shown flooding the base of the trees, reminiscent of the mulberry trees and birches growing in the irrigation canals across the villages that frame the Taklamakan desert. The grape vines hanging from the branches echo the traditional Uygur techniques of raisin production.[45] Even the oversized crown of the tree-cluster brings to mind the natural cover formed by deliberately planted rows of trees, which provide an all-encompassing living dome of foliage to shelter oasis life in this part of the Silk Roads. The figures also add to this local flavor, since some of them wear Uygur garments, armor, headgears, and hairdos. Distinguished by being placed closer to the center are an armored military leader and an elegantly dressed lady. At one point, they may have represented the donors who financed this painting or the entire shrine.[46] Without being named by the artist (as otherwise often done in Uygur Manichaean art), their identification was lost over time, making their figures unspecific references to auditors, for whom this cave was built.

A further layer of meaning is introduced to this mural through its composition, which was carefully fitted to its physical setting in order to define a ritual space (see Fig. 6/8c). The image is connected to the lay community not only through its iconography, but also by the distinct positioning of its twelve figures. Appropriately for a heavenly ream, these figures are painted above the eye-level of the viewer and atop a register line, often used in Manichaean art to signal different worlds. Their bodies are arranged in three-quarter views oriented toward the center with slightly slanted postures, as if they were looking down to a world below theirs.[47] The implied lines originating from their eyes symbolically link their heavenly realm to the ritual space below theirs. All figures in this mural are shown in the postures of worship: seated on their heels or standing, but with hands clasped in prayer, encouraging the worshipers to do the same. Through this arrangement, the artist links the actual mortal world where the ritual takes place to the depicted divine world of the Land of Light. Thus, the act of worship, which would have unfolded in front of this image, becomes an integral component within the cosmological framework of the soteriological teaching conveyed in this shrine—the Realm of Light awaits the righteous.

The interpretation of this mural as part of a ritual space of prayer is in harmony with what is depicted on the frontispiece of the Uygur *pustaka* book. In that case, too, a prayer service is connected to the human realm where female elects are shown sitting on their heels next to a large incense burner with their

45 Lattimore 1934, 116; and Millward 2013, 42.

46 Both Klimkeit (1982, 31) and Moriyasu (2004, 20–21) emphasize that the auditors depicted here give the impression of donor figures, which are often shown in Buddhist works of art surviving from East Central Asia.

47 On the frontispiece of the *pustaka* book (see Fig. 6/5), a similar visual link is seen between Realm of Light (where the elect is shown looking down) and the human realm (where the two elect are looking up).

hands clasped while looking up, above a border and the crescent moon, toward the Ream of Light. The cave shrine was designed as a place of prayer performed just below the mural. In both cases, the divine world of paradise is visually tied to the human world where the religion is practiced, since implied lines connect the figures across the two realms as they look towards one another up or down depending on their heavenly or earthly locations.

In summary, the representation of the salvation of the righteous in Manichaean art is documented in one primary Coptic passage written about Mani's *Book of Pictures* (*Kephalaion 92*) and six Uygur images preserved on non-canonical objects. Together these sources confirm six events that are integral to the visual communication of this subject (**Table 6/4**): the death of the righteous, the prayer service performed by the living, the release from the body, the judgment, the appearance of a divine guide, and reaching the Land of Light. Together these sources indicate that all episodes, except the judgment, were shown in connection with the salvation of the righteous during the Uygur era. Although prayer is not discussed in the aforementioned Coptic passage (*Kephalaion 92*), it is mentioned in connection with the salvation of the righteous in Mani'steachings recorded in another Coptic account (*Kephalaion 115*). During the Uygur era, however, prayer becomes integral to, while the judgment is omitted from the iconography of this subject.

In light of the above considerations, the symbolic meaning of the key motifs that communicate the salvation of the righteous can be confirmed (**Figure 6/9**). In this iconography, trees with flowering crowns symbolize the trees of Paradise (see Fig. 6/9a). In the Uygur paintings, each flower is defined as a flat disk that has a red core framed with a blue band and surrounded by a layer of green petals overlapping one another and thus forming a scalloped edge. The same tree motif is seen in the paradise section of the Chinese *Diagram of the Universe.* In fact, the resemblance between the shape, the colors, and even the size of these motifs representing Paradise, as painted by the artists of the tenth-century Uygur and the fourteenth-century Chinese images, is stunning. Their similarity provides visual evidence to support the idea that either Manichaean works of art from the Uygur era made their way to southern China, or they go back to a common prototype.

The motif of a floating lotus bud seems to symbolize the presence of the liberated light (the Living Soul), since in five images such buds are shown pointedly hovering upward around the light body of the elect (see Fig. 6/9b). The best-preserved examples are found on the mortuary banners. They consist of a round and slightly protruding core, which is enclosed by a ring of petals that are still closed and curve down towards a bulging stem (or leaf) that ends in a point. These bud components indicate the upward motion of the motif, fitting its iconographic context. The Light Maiden seems to hold a version of this bud in her right hand in the *Salvation of Light with the Light Maiden*, where this motif is embroidered and shown upside down.

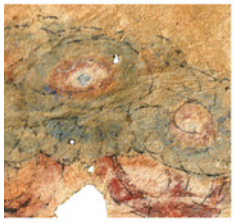
The moon motif is used only in one of the six images (see Fig. 6/9c). It is shown between the two subscenes of the book painting and symbolizes the light ascending from earth to the Realm of Light. Today this crescent moon

TABLE 6/4 *Episodes of the salvation of the righteous documented in textual and pictorial sources (6 events, 7 sources)*

Sources (7) / Events (6)	Death of the Righteous	Prayer Service	Release from the Body	Judgment	Appearance of Divine Guide	Reaching the Land of Light
KEPHALAION 92 235.1–5 (late 3rd–early 4th century)	*implied*	(omitted)	*release from the body*	*judgment*	(omitted)	*Realm of Light*
ELECT IN PARADISE MIK III 8260 recto (10th century)	(omitted)	*two female elect*	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	*elect resting in Realm of Light*
THE LIGHT MAIDEN AWAITS THE RIGHTEOUS MIK III 6286 side 1(?) (10th century)	(omitted)	*two female elect*	*light body of laywoman*	(omitted)	*Jesus enthroned*	(omitted)
JESUS AWAITS THE RIGHTEOUS MIK III 6286 side 2(?) (10th century)	(omitted)	(omitted)	*light body of male elect*	(omitted)	*Jesus enthroned*	(omitted)
JESUS AWAITS THE RIGHTEOUS MIK III 6283 side 1(?) (10th century)	(omitted)	*two laity*	*light body of male elect*	(omitted)	*Jesus enthroned*	(omitted)
JESUS AWAITS THE RIGHTEOUS MIK III 6283 side 2(?) (10th century)	(omitted)	*one laymen*	*light body of female elect*	(omitted)	*Light Maiden enthroned*	(omitted)
THE REALM OF LIGHT AWAITS THE RIGHTEOUS Bezeklik cave 38 (10th century)	(omitted)	*implied by ritual space*	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	*deities, angels and auditors in Realm of Light*

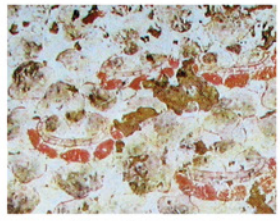
is neither gilded nor coated with any paint. Only its black outline remains, which leaves the moon understated and hard to recognize. Inside the crescent is a green curving band, on top of which there is a small red crescent with a slightly bulging red content. Gold, green, and red are frequently used colors in Manichaean moon motifs, just as is the crescent shape. Other

a: FLOWERING TREE MOTIF: symbolizing trees in Land of Light



MIK III 8260 recto

Diagram of Universe
(Realm of Light)



Bezeklik cave 38

b: FLOATING LOTUS BUD MOTIF: symbolizing presence of freed light

MIK III 8260 recto

MIK III 6283 side 1(?)

MIK III 6251 (shown up-side-down)

c: CRESCENT MOON MOTIF: symbolizing ascent of freed light across layers of universe

MIK III 8260 recto
(no gilding survives on crescent)

Diagram of Universe
(Firmaments)

Diagram of Universe
(Liberation of Light: Moon)

d: HEADGEAR, HANDS, BOOK MOTIFS: symbolizing sacerdotal life (rank, precepts, doctrine)

MIK III 6286 side 1(?)

MIK III 6283 side 1(?)

MIK III 6283 side 2(?)

MIK III 8260 recto

e: PRAYER MOTIF: symbolizing power of prayer performed on behalf of the righteous

MIK III 8260 recto

MIK III 6283 side 1(?)

MIK III 6283 side 2(?)

FIGURE 6/9 *Key motifs in the salvation of the righteous subject shown with comparative examples*

components of this motif are less defined and thus remain a mystery, such as the bulging top of the moon's content that brings to mind the cloth-covered roof of a temple depicted within both the moon and the sun in the *Diagram of the Universe*.

The book, the headgear, and the hands of the elect symbolize the career of the sacerdotal class of the Church (see Fig. 6/9d). In earthly images of the elect, where the headgear and hidden hands (tucked into the sleeves) are routine components, the symbolic significance of these motifs could easily go unnoted. In the soteriological iconography of these images, they can be shown pointedly separated from the elect implying that in the Realm of Light the religious duties of the elect are fulfilled. Once the mission of the elect's life is completed, the book, the headgear and the "seal of the hand" are no longer needed.

Finally, the motif of prayer is incorporated into the Uygur iconography of soteriology in order to emphasize that invocation can help the righteous to achieve the goal of entering the Realm of Light (see Fig. 6/9e). Not to be mistaken for the (Skt.) *añjali mudrā* 'gesture of reverence, benediction, or salutation' frequently depicted in Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain art; prayer is shown in Manichaean art by positioning the figures sitting on their heels next to an incense burner, holding their hands in front of their chests with palms pressed together, as they face towards the light body of the elect.

3 *Judgment and Rebirth of Laity*

The goal of lay practice in Manichaeism is to secure a valued rebirth in preparation for salvation. In their religious career on earth, the lay members of Mani's Church observe a set of precepts. They are required to regulate their diet by fasting on about fifty days of the year and refraining from the slaughter of animals at all times, which they may otherwise eat on most days. They are also required to care for the Church by providing for the elect's daily meal, monthly housing, and annual set of clothing. As an additional source of merit, they are urged to better their knowledge by regularly listening to sermons. The utmost importance of the latter is reflected in the designation used for the laity already in the earliest Manichaean literature. Laypeople are called "catechumen" (< Gr. *katēchoumenos* 'one who is being taught orally'), that is, someone who is under instruction, or "auditors" (< Lat. *auditor* 'hearer' or 'listener'), that is, someone who listens to religious instruction. Other lay activities are also attested in the historical record. The lay sponsorship of scribal and pictorial projects is noted in colophons of books produced in Kocho and, in one case, in a colophon inscribed onto the very Chinese silk painting depicting a sermon on the judgment and rebirth of the laity.

Mani specifically states that (and explains the reason why) he did not depict the path of the catechumen's rebirth, but only the post-mortem judgment common to all, along with the straight forward salvation of the righteous and suffering of the sinner in Gehenna (*Kephalaion 92*). Another source appears to confirm that various crimes and their matching punishments were shown in Mani's *Book of Pictures* (Marwazī). The repertoire of Manichaean didactic

art preserves images with these episodes on non-canonical objects from both the Uygur and the southern Chinese phases of Manichaean history. Most importantly, as detailed below, one of the Uygur examples is closely associated with the traditional scroll format of Mani's collection of images and is free from local Central Asian and/or Buddhist iconographic influences, and so it documents the early (pre-Uygur) integration of this subject into the repertoire of Manichaean didactic art. The southern Chinese example is painted as part of a larger a display and so it demonstrates the adaptation of this subject to one of the new formats of Manichaean didactic art—the silk hanging scroll.

In the currently known corpus of Manichaean art, three images focus exclusively on what happens to the laity after death (**Figure 6/1c**). Two of them originate from tenth-century Kocho and are housed in the Museum of Asian Art, Berlin. The larger of the two is found on a torn codex folio that retains parts of four figures from a judgment scene from a full-page illumination arranged in three rows (MIK III 4959 verso, see Fig. 5/39). The smaller image constitutes an edge of an intra-columnar illumination on another torn codex folio and retains a figure in a loincloth holding a gilded bowl in front of his chest (MIK III 6258a recto, see Fig. 5/33). In contrast to these damaged illuminations, the third painting is preserved in perfect condition. It is a didactic tableau painted on a silk hanging scroll from thirteenth/fourteenth-century southern China in the collection of the Yamato Bunkakan in Nara, Japan (see Fig. 5/13). All three images have received scholarly attention and their painting styles and iconography are well understood.[48]

Although the two Uygur illuminations are the closest visual records to the picture book when it comes to the subject of judgment and rebirth of the laity, these two painting are too fragmentary to provide much data on visual syntax. The larger of the two confirms that this subject was conveyed in multiple subscenes (between 6 and 12 subscenes) most likely originally on a handscroll. In addition, both fragments document an early visual language that was free from Buddhist influences. The iconography of a plaintiff included a loincloth covering an otherwise nude body and objects associated with the figure to symbolize the past deeds subject to judgment. The iconography of the judge included a stick in the right hand and a raised finger as a gesture assumed by the left hand.

In contrast to the fragmentary Uygur pictorial data, the Chinese hanging scroll preserves an intact visual syntax (**Figure 6/10**). This image depicts a *Sermon on Mani's Teaching on the Judgment and Rebirth of the Laity* in five registers of varying heights and compositions.[49] The main register, which shows a sermon performed in front of a statue of Mani, is thematically independent

48 Izumi 2006, Yoshida 2009a and 2009b, Ebert 2009, Furukawa 2010, and Gulácsi 2008, 2009, and 2010.

49 Ebert (2015, 155) interprets the registers of this painting from bottom to top based on the rule of vertical perspective (observed universally in pictorial art, including Chinese painting), which requires the artist to show the foreground closer to the viewer at the bottom of the picture plane.

MOTIFS:	1 death and release from the body (omitted)	2 Light Maiden's visit to heaven	3 judgment with Light Maiden's intervention	4 human lives (4 classes)	5 tortures of Gehenna
SUBSCENES:		*Judgment after Death*			
			Ways of Purification		

a: Thematic structure

b: Two sections of hanging scroll

c: Detail with Light Maiden approaching judgment

d: Detail with idle demons waiting for new victim

FIGURE 6/10 *Visual syntax of the* Judgment and Rebirth of Laity *image* (*Yamato Bunkakan, details of Fig. 5/13*)

from the overall soteriological message.[50] Only the rest of the four registers concern the main didactic subject of this painting—the judgment and purification of the laity.[51]

The viewer's attention is drawn to the largest of the four soteriological registers. This subscene shows the judgment after death. In many regards, its iconography (as well as the composition and the style) is analogous to Chinese Buddhist images of the bureaucracy of judgment, best known from the so-called *Ten Kings* hanging scrolls that were mass produced at Ningbo, in workshops where this Manichaean painting was also most likely made.[52] The entire right half of this register is filled out by an elevated pavilion that symbolizes the office of the judge.[53] The left half of the register introduces two busy groups of figures. Painted below the horizon against the background of a dark and barren landscape, the first group consists of two pairs of demon-guards lined up before the judge to accompany a man and a woman plaintiff.[54]

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50 Gulácsi 2008, 4–5. The Uygur Manichaean roots of this *Sermon Scene* have been noted (Gulácsi 2011, 321–331; and 2009, 17–34, in Japanese translation).

51 The visual hierarchy of the picture plane did not bind the Manichaean teacher who explained this work of art. He could point to each subscene as his sermon required. Based on how hanging scrolls with multiple registers are used for teaching in the Japanese Pure Land Buddhist context (Jp. *etoki*), it seems that a didactic order could be improvised as needed (Gulácsi 2008, 4–5).

52 Furukawa draws attention to the striking similarity between this Manichaean image and Buddhist paintings produced in Ningbo during the Yuan dynasty (2011, 54), such as the Ten Kings paintings, which were famously mass produced in sets of ten with one king on each hanging scroll and an iconography based on "pictorial formulas" and are preserved today in various Japanese, German, and US collections (Ledderose 2000, 163–185). These paintings display a uniquely Chinese iconography of bureaucracy that emerged between the seventh and ninth centuries (Teiser 1994). Kósa looked into the details of the Manichaean adaption of this iconography, noting the closest match with a version from Ningbo housed in Berlin (2015a, 211; and 2015c, forthcoming). The late twelfth-century date of the New York set of five paintings (Fong 1992, 336–343) may question Furukawa's dating of the Manichaean scroll to the mid fourteenth-early fifteenth century. For an overview of the typology of Ten Kings paintings, see Phillips 2003, 127.

53 For details concerning the Buddhist elements observed in the portrayal of the office of the judge in Chinese Manichaean art, see Kósa (2015c, forthcoming).

54 Ebert suggests that the man and woman plaintiffs may also reference the couple named in the colophon as the donors of this hanging scroll (2015, 155–156). Although she does not cite comparative examples, her interpretation is supported by the analogous, gender-specific iconography of judgment in Chinese Buddhist images of the Ten Kings. In that art, women (who are routinely depicted with fairer complexion than men) are frequently portrayed with cangues around their necks that bind their hands in front of their upper bodies, modestly covering their naked chests. Ignoring Ebert's art historical evidence and failing to present an argument that would negate the iconography of the woman, Kósa chooses to interpret both plaintiffs as men (2015a, 215 note 55). A more significant problem in his study concerns claiming a connection between salvation and skin color. Based on a questionable formal analysis (see note below), Kósa argues that the plaintiffs' skin color forecasts their fate in this painting (2015a, 212–219). The significance of his fomal

Above their heads, the background expands to green, white, and blue layers symbolizing that this is not an earthly vista. Along the left edge, a representation of an inscribed Chinese pillar contains the colophon of the painting. The colophon conveys the idea that the judgment after death is on the minds of the two donors. Above the pillar is a puffy cloud, which functions as the vehicle of the Light Maiden.[55] This deity is introduced at the upper left, arriving with two attendants.[56] Her isolation from the office of the judge highlights her significance. At the same time, her involvement with the judge's business is clearly signaled by the artist in multiple ways. The silhouette of her cloud matches the clouds around the judge's pavilion. Multiple implied lines point toward the judge (i.e., the edge of her cloud, the gaze of her attendants, the profile view of her head with her chin extended forward), all of which convey her intent to intervene on behalf of the plaintiffs.[57]

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observations, however, is negated by the fact that soteriology is never discussed in relation to a person's skin color in Manichaean (or Buddhist) doctrine. The ancient world where Mani's religion originated was famously colorblind. The fate of the plaintiff is forecasted with karmic evidence in Manichaean images of judgment, as seen on the two Uygur manuscript fragments and the Chinese *Diagram of the Universe* (see Fig. 6/12c). Pointedly, no karmic evidence is shown in the judgment episode of the Yamato Bunkakan image, because the visual focus is on the potential intervention of the Light Maiden and the danger of the judgment's negative outcome. Thus, this painting conveys effectively a didactic message that addresses some of the main soteriological concerns of the Manichaean laity.

55 Yoshida identifies this deity as "Daēnā" (2009b, 700–701; 2015a 163–165). In subsequent studies, this designation is followed by Ebert and Kósa. The Avestan concept of *daēnā* connotes the deeds of the individual that confronts the soul after death in a female form. In Manichaean studies, this term tends to be employed among scholars with training in Iranology. In 1981, Carsten Colpe demonstrated a problem with its use in reference to Manichaeism, in which neither the term nor the concept of the *daēnā* appears. He writes: "It follows that between *daēnā* and the Light Maiden no religio-historical connection may be found, since they have in common only the attribute of femaleness, which as such signifies nothing" (1981, 68–69). In contrast, Sundermann finds some evidence of Zoroastrian influence on Iranian Manichaeism that results in some amalgamation between the Light Maiden and the *daēnā*, despite the fact that the term itself is not used in Manichaean sources (1982, 168–169). Based on Yoshida's study, Azarpay entertains the hypothesis that the Light Maiden of the Manichaeans and the Dēn of the Zoroastrians might have a shared iconography (2011, 54–56 and 63–66).

56 The Light Maiden's promise of salvation in this Manichaean image parallels the way Japanese Buddhist judgment scenes employ the bodhisattva Jizō (Skt. Kṣitigarbha), whose cult is closely linked to the fearsome concept of the Ten Kings in East Asian Buddhism and became especially significant in pre-death mortuary rites performed to assure the salvation of the elite (Phillips 2003, 121–145).

57 The location of this deity in relation to the second plaintiff is at the core of Kósa's argument about seeing a connection between skin color and salvation (2015a, 217). The visual language of this subscene, however, lends only a debatable support to this claim, since the Light Maiden's introduction to this register is dominated by diagonal implied lines (that link her to the business of the judge), not vertical ones.

The direction of the Light Maiden's cloud-trail implies a descent, and so leads the viewer's eyes to where she comes from, depicted at the uppermost register. That subscene focuses on a heavenly realm, as confirmed by the temple motif in its center amidst a myriad of repeated depictions of a few mythological beings arranged from left to right: the Light Maiden is greeted by an unidentified deity, visits with that deity inside the palace, and finally is seen off as she departs on the right. The nuances of this narrative are yet to be confirmed through textual sources.[58] It is clear, however, that a business related to salvation is conducted in what is most likely the New Aeon, frequently referenced in Manichaean soteriology.[59]

The rest of the painting in the collection of the Yamato Bunkakan focuses on the purification of the laity, portrayed in two rows fitted atop and beneath the judgment subscene. Above the judgment, the four small vignettes symbolize the four kinds of good rebirth the auditors can expect in their next lives—a lifetime spent in one of the four classes of Chinese society. Below the judgment, the tortures of Gehenna provide a deterrent from sinful behavior in a separate register with a fiery wheel in its middle. No other Manichaean painting depicts such an iconography of hell.[60] The two idle torturers, waiting for their next victim at the right, send a powerful warning. Juxtaposed diagonally with them is the Light Maiden, in the upper left of the judgment subscene. Her figure is a symbol of reassurance.

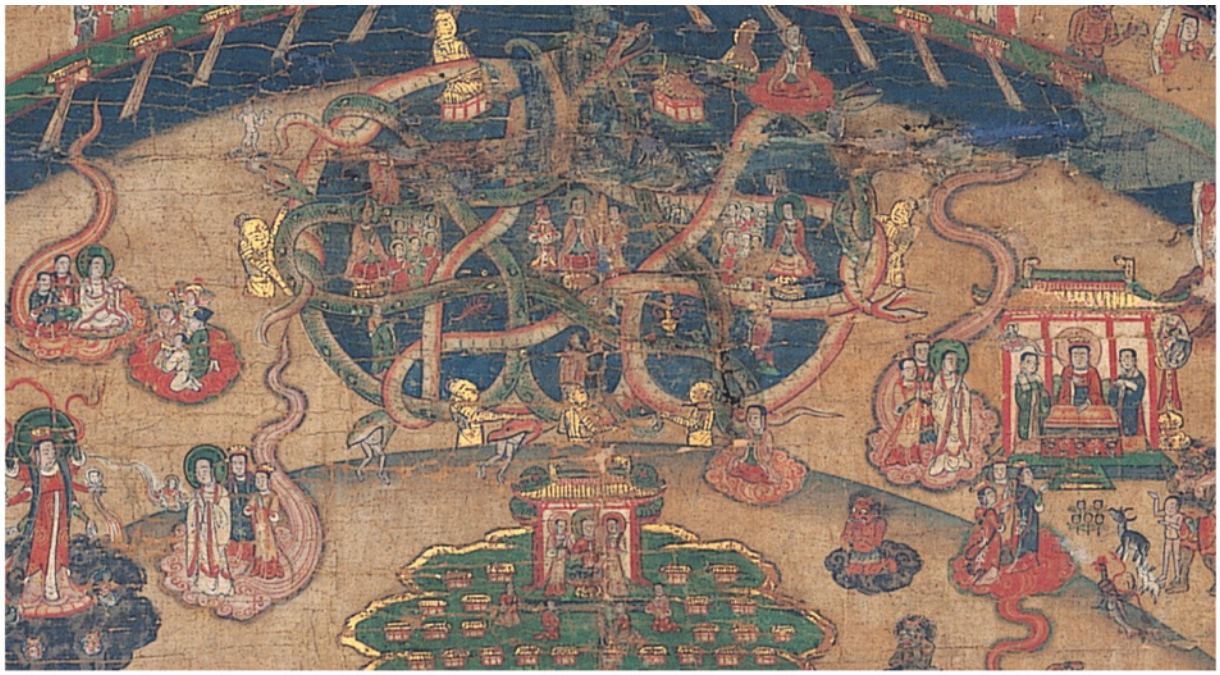
Early literature clarifies how the Manichaeans imagined the judgment and its possible outcomes. Much that is discussed in them is reflected in the surviving art, suggesting the early (pre-Buddhist) roots of this iconography. One Parthian text (M 6020), titled the *Discourse on the Living Ones*, describes "merit-food" and discusses the consequences of behavior. It mentions the "abode of gods" as the ultimate reward for good deeds. It also warns about the "great shame and fear before the righteous judge" that will come to those who have as little merit "as a grain of mustard" and further threatens the sinners with horrific acts of torment. The passage reads:

> [The one who] takes merit-food as much as a big mountain and is able to redeem (it), must eat (it); together he himself will be saved and that one, too, will be redeemed who gave the merit-food. And without damage it reaches the abode of gods. And the one who takes as much merit-food as a grain of mustard and is not able to redeem (it); he better [. . .]. [. . .] And that person who [. . .] breaks the precept, is led in great shame and fear before the righteous judge and he [is not able (?)] to turn; and he

58 The elusive event depicted in this subscene requires further research. It may represent the Light Maiden's visits to inform the way she intervenes in the judgment.

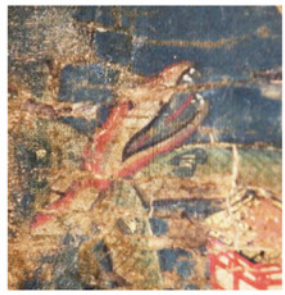
59 For the difference between the Land of Light and the New Aeon as depicted in the *Diagram of the Universe*, see the discussion of Figs. 6/37 and 6/38, below.

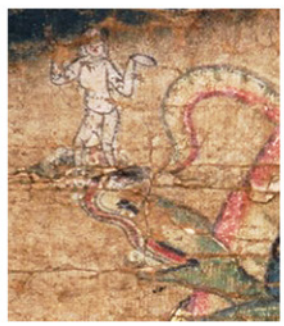
60 Only the fiery entrances of the "twelve hells" are shown in the *Diagram of the Universe*. See discussion of Fig. 6/44, below.



a: Judgment, reincarnation, and rebirth of the laity narrated from right to left across the atmosphere of earth (Fig. 6/43)

d: Rebirth into the four classes of Chinese Society as auditors worshiping Mani





c: Reincarnation symbolized by snake heads waiting for (top), devouring (middle), and spitting out (bottom) the soul

b: Judgment after death

FIGURE 6/11 *Visual syntax of the judgment, reincarnation, and rebirth of laity in the* Diagram of the Universe (*private collection, details of Fig. 5/14*)

> [...] eat (his) body. And his ear they cut off again [and again]; and his tongue they hack into slices; in the same manner they cut off all [his] limbs. And again and again they pour molten cooper into his mouth, and give him red-hot iron to eat, and drive an iron nail into his ear. And who is able to describe completely the wicked, horrible suffering and hardship that accursed [and] unbelieving person [who] defiles the pure [religious] experiences? [But] fortunate is that person [who] keeps completely the pure [religion] and precepts.[61]

In a Coptic passage preserved in *Kephalaion* 91, Mani explains how the catechumen will not be saved in a single body:

> As for the rest, he shall be questioned about a single part; and receive blows for those sins and retributions. Afterwards he is purified, whether indeed below or above. He shall be purified according to the worth of his deeds and cleansed and washed and adorned. Afterwards he is sculpted into a light image; and he glides up and reaches the land of rest, so that where his heart is, his treasures also will be there. This is, if he shall be steadfast in his catechumenate, he can receive recompense for his good things like this.[62]

Analogously, in the much-cited Coptic passage about Mani's *Book of Pictures* in *Kephalaion 92*, Mani explains that the fate of the auditor is to be reborn in numerous bodies before his ultimate salvation, when the path of the auditor will be identical to that of the elect.[63]

Another intact depiction of what happens to the laity after death is shown across the atmosphere within the monumental Chinese Manichaean *Diagram of the Universe* (**Figure 6/11**). Although not a self-standing image, these subscenes provide a cohesive sequence of events that narrate the judgment, the process of reincarnation, and the rebirth of the laity. Along the right, the motif of the judge and his office occupies the upper half of this mini composition. In the lower half (closer to the viewer), the motif of the Light Maiden and her attendants is balanced with the motif of the plaintiff and his guard. Between them, directly in front of the judge is the evidence summoned for the trial. In the middle of the atmosphere, the second subscene shows the mechanism of reincarnation symbolized by six (possibly seven) snakes coiled into a fantastic world held by seven gilded figures. The snakes are shown devouring the body, spitting it back into existence or waiting with their jaws open ready for their task. Along the left, the third subscene completes the teaching by showing the rebirth of the laity into the four classes of Chinese society. The figures are shown sitting on their heels, holding their hands in the gesture of

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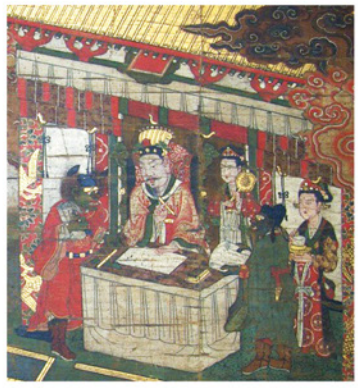
61 M 6020 (BeDuhn 2000a, 184).

62 *Kepalaion 91*, 234.2–12 (Gardner 1995, 240).

63 For the quotation and analysis of *Kephalaion 92*, 234.24–236.6, see Chapter 1.

a: JUDGE AND HIS OFFICE MOTIF - symbolizing the act of judgment

MIK III 4959 verso



Yamato Bunkakan

Diagram of Universe (Atmosphere)

b: PLAINTIFFS MOTIF - symbolizing individuals after death and before judgment

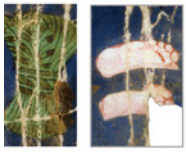
MIK III 4959 verso

MIK III 6258a

Yamato Bunkakan

Diagram of Univ.

c: VARIOUS OBJECTS MOTIF - symbolizing karmic evidence considered in judgment



MIK III 4959 verso

MIK III 6258a

Yamato Bunkakan

Diagram of Universe (Atmosphere)

d: FOUR CLASSES OF SOCIETY MOTIF - symbolizing good reincarnation

Yamato Bunkakan

Diagram of Universe (Atmosphere)

FIGURE 6/12 *Key motifs in the judgment and rebirth of laity subject shown with comparative examples*

worship (similar to the Buddhist/Jain/Hindu *añjali mudrā*) to pay homage to Mani. Unlike all other depictions of Mani in this painting, he is featured here sitting with his legs crossed—just as divinities do in this art.

In summary, the symbolic connotation of the key motifs of the judgment and reincarnation of the laity can be confirmed by their overall iconographic context and the above textual references (**Figure 6/12**). The motif of a judge, including his garment and various symbols of his office is based on local artistic norms: a rod in the Uygur image, and a pavilion, a desk, writing equipment, written documents, a mirror that reflects the past, and even a pair of clerical aids in the two Chinese images. The motif of a plaintiff is shown as an undressed human being, standing in front of the judge or waiting in line to be judged. Showing the figures either in a loincloth or in the nude (as in the *Diagram of the Universe*) communicates effectively their vulnerable state. In the Yamato Bunkakan image, the second plaintiff is a woman, who covers her eyes in the gesture of shame while waiting in line. Appropriate for Chinese morality observed in art, a wooden stock is placed around her neck, and her arm is arranged resting to subtly hide her breasts. The motifs of various pieces of merit-evidence in this art are conveyed by showing animals and plants. A severed goat head hanging on the neck of a plaintiff is used as an effective motif of guilt implying animal slaughter.[64] A pair of footprints may suggest trampling on vegetation. A bushel of still green, freshly cut wheat brings to mind the "suffering of the divine light crucified in matter" which, too, was hurt by its harvest. In the Yamato Bunkakan painting, the motifs associated with crimes are omitted from the depiction of the judgment. In the *Diagram of the Universe* an assortment of animals (a goat, a sheep, a rooster, a fish, and a snake) are summoned by the judge and are reflected in the mirror. In addition, testimony from plants seems to be symbolized by showing heads on top of plant stems.

Prophetology: The Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism and the Light Mind, Life of Jesus, and Life of Mani

Mani saw himself as a successor of past teachers, who acted upon divine inspiration to serve as religious leaders within their own communities. He called them "messengers," by which he meant "human envoys of God." He built them into a prophetological doctrine, integrating some of their teachings into a uniquely Manichaean synthesis.[65] Mani identified himself as one such human envoy through the Syriac term *šᵉlīḥā* ('messenger') engraved on his seal stone—preserved today in Paris (see Fig. 1/1). In Iranian-speaking context, he most likely

64 From about a 1000-year before Mani's time, an analogous motif was already employed in Mesopotamian art, as seen on an Assyrian relief carving that shows a severed human head suspended from the neck of a murderer awaiting judgment in a relief from Nineveh (South West Palace, room 23, panels 4–6, acc. #124802a, British Museum, London; see Whiting 1992, Vol. III, 83, Fig. 24).

65 Tardieu 2008, 13–19.

used the noun *frēštag* (*fryštg* 'messenger, apostle, or angel').[66] When Mani's religion spread out of southern Mesopotamia to regions populated by different peoples and languages, other suitable terms had to be adopted from the available local religious vocabulary to best communicate this concept. In Greek, Coptic, and Latin settings, where the Manichaean terminology depended on Christian vocabulary, the preferred noun became "apostle" (< Gr. *apostolos*, lit. 'messenger, ambassador, or envoy').[67] In the Chinese context, where the Manichaean vocabulary became based on Chinese Buddhist terms, the noun *fo* ('buddha,' but also 'foreign deity, god, or prophet') was chosen to mean such a religious authority.[68] An analogous word-choice is seen in the Uygur *burxan* ('buddha') in reference to Mani and in the phrase "former messengers of God, [that is] the Buddhas" (Uyg. *söki täŋri yalavačı burxan*), or "true messengers of God, [that is] the Buddhas" (Uyg. *kertü täŋri yalavačı burxan*).[69] In religious studies today, "prophet" is the accepted term for such human messengers of God.

Various primary and secondary texts list a specific group of prophets to express the religious and philosophical rootedness of Mani's message (**Table 6/5**).[70] When surveyed across a large array of sources, a total of eleven prophets can be compiled, including Mani, Jesus, Zoroaster, and Shakyamuni, in addition to various Jewish prophets (Adam, Seth, Enos, Noah, Sem, and Enoch) and, in an early Chinese Manichaean account, Lao-tsu. None of the texts name all eleven prophets together. Frequently, the founders of the three main religions—Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Christianity—that dominated the regions of West Asia in late antiquity are grouped together with Mani. Thus, they introduce Manichaeism as the fourth main religion of history, with Mani as the last prophet—the "seal of the prophets."

The portrayal of prophetological doctrine in Mani's *Book of Pictures* and other non-canonical Manichaean art (such as hanging scrolls and illuminated liturgical manuscripts) is documented in textual sources and the actual artistic

66 Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, 160.

67 Liddle and Scott 1961, 220.

68 (Ch.) *fo* captures two concepts typically distinguished in religious studies: a human authority and a mythological being. Although *fo* derived from the phonetic transcription of the Sanskrit "Buddha," in a Chinese Buddhist context, it is used not only for the historical Buddha (Shakyamuni), but also for other venerated historical human authorities (such as the Buddhas of the past and future, e.g., Dingguang fo, Sk. Dîpamdhkara) and for nonhistorical mythological beings (such as the celestial Buddhas, e.g., Amituo fo, Sk. Amitabha). Likewise, when the Manichaeans use *fo*, the term functions as a title ("buddha") connoting any being who is venerated by the community, whether a historical authority ("prophet") or mythological being ("deity" or "god"). In either case, a literal translation of *fo* as "buddha," which I retain as the conventional translation, may give an unintended, falsely syncretistic impression that disregards the contextual Manichaean meaning. From the view of religious studies, the contextually accurate Manichaean meaning of *fo* is either "prophet," "god," or "deity." See Bryder 1985, 81; and 1992, 334–41, esp. 339; as well as Lieu 1992, 252.

69 Clark 2013, 153; and 102, respectively; and "former Buddhas" (Uyg. *söki burxanlar*) 183.

70 For an overview of Manichaean prophetology, see Tardieu 2008, 13–19 and Fig. 1.

TABLE 6/5 *Prophets noted in primary Manichaean and tertiary Islamic textual sources (11 prophets)*

	Kephalaia 1[71]	Homilies 68–70[72]	Book of Giants	Parthian M 42[73]	Chinese Compendium[74]	Ibn al-Murtada[75]	al-Biruni[76]	'Abd al-Jabbar[77]
(1)	Adam	Adam				Adam		Adam
(2)	Seth		Seth			Seth		Seth
(3)	Enos	Enos						
(4)	Noah					Noah		Noah
(5)	Sem	Sem						
(6)	Enoch	Enoch						
(7)	Zoroaster	Zoroaster	Zoroaster	Zoroaster		Zoroaster	Zoroaster	Zoroaster
(8)	Buddha		Buddha	Buddha	Buddha	Buddha	Buddha	Buddha
(9)					Lao-tsu			
(10)	Jesus	Jesus	Jesus	Jesus		Jesus	Jesus	Jesus
(11)	Mani	Mani		Mani	Mani	Mani	Mani	Mani

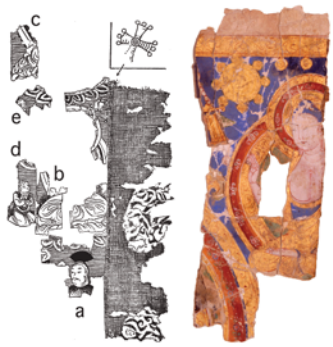
remains (see Tabs. 6/2–6/3: Prophetology). From among the written records surveyed earlier, three passages discuss the life of Jesus subject (M 4570, Käd Ogul, and possibly Theophanes). One mentions an icon of Mani in a didactic context (*Compendium*), while another notes the main statue of a *manistan* (Käd Ogul). Within the currently known corpus of Manichaean art, seven images depict three prophetological subjects (**Figure 6/13**). These include two images of the Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism around the Light Mind (MIK III 4947 & III 5d; and Le Coq 1924, lost item), one scene that originally consisted of a row of narrative vignettes depicting the life of Jesus (from which two vignettes survive, MIK III 4967a recto), and four fragments of hanging scrolls that seem to retain episodes from the life of Mani (Asian Art Museum in San Francisco, Kyūshū National Museum in Dazaifu, and a private collection).

1 *The Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism and the Light Mind*

Mani viewed the history of religions on a cosmic scale. In his teachings, God and his "Realm of Light" are far removed from human life on earth, where light is mixed with darkness in matter in all things that exist. A desire to break out from the endless cycle of reincarnation within mixed matter and reach the pure Realm of Light motivates the righteous to follow the teachings of a prophet and take up a religious career. To aid the process of liberation, God

71 *Kephalaion* 1, 12:9–25 (Gardner 1995, 18).
72 *Homilies* 68–70 (Pedersen 2006, 18).
73 See Klimkeit 1993, 124–125 (quoted below).
74 See Chavannes and Pelliot 1913, 190 (quoted below) and 192.
75 See Reeves 2011, 127 (quoted below).
76 See Reeves 2011, 102–103.
77 See Reeves 2011, 176.

a: FOUR PRIMARY PROPHETS OF MANICHAEISM AROUND THE LIGHT MIND (2 images)



Le Coq 1923, 26 MIK III 4947 & III 5d

b: LIFE OF JESUS (1 image)

MIK III 4967a recto

c: LIFE OF MANI (4 images)

Episodes from Mani' Missionary Work, fragment of hanging scroll, gold and pigments on silk, H: 119.9 cm, W: 57.6 cm, southern China, 14th/15th century (private collection, Japan)

Mani's Parents, fragment of hanging scroll, gold and pigments on silk, H: 39.7 cm, W: 57.1 cm, southern China, 14th/15th century (B67D15, Avery Brundage Collection,Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, USA)

Birth of Mani, fragment of hanging scroll, gold and pigments on silk, H: 35.6 cm, W: 57.0 cm, southern China, 14th/15th century (Kyūshū National Museum, Japan)

Mani's Community Established, fragment of hanging scroll, gold and pigments on silk, H: 32.9 cm, W: 57.4 cm, southern China, 14th/15th century (private collection, Japan)

FIGURE 6/13 *Prophetology*

has created divine agents and charged them with various tasks. The Light Mind ("Light *Nous*") is one such divine agent. He is "the father of all prophets," entrusted with the success of salvation in all religions on earth. According to Mani, God called upon this deity to disperse four prophets—Zoroaster, Shakyamuni, Jesus, and Mani—with the task to teach the way to liberation in their respective regions of the world. Based on their distinguished role among a larger group of prophets in Manichaeism, these four human messengers of God may be best labeled as the "Primary Prophets of Manichaeism."

The above teaching of Mani about these four prophets was not only discussed in early Manichaean texts, but was also depicted among the canonical paintings of the Manichaeans, as confirmed by two fragmentary images from tenth-century Kocho (**Figure 6/13a**). One of them was part of a picture book (see Fig. 5/2). It belonged to a set of images painted next to one another in a solely pictorial horizontal paper handscroll—a format associated with the earliest records about the canonical paintings of the Manichaeans. In other words, this fragment derived from a tenth-century, Uygur edition of Mani's *Book of Pictures*. The other fragment was part of a single image on a silk hanging scroll—a new format for displaying modified version of canonical images first attested from tenth-century Kocho (see Fig. 5/7). Both images belonged to high quality works of art. They were exquisitely painted, heavily gilded, and coated in lapis lazuli across their backgrounds.[78] Today, they are extremely fragmentary. So much so that, at one point, even their Manichaean identifications were questioned, since the little that survived from their iconography was missing the obvious markers and seemed incomprehensible in a Manichaean context. Studies of their compositions and subject matter elucidated with digital imaging, however, started to show that indeed (just as initially suspected by Le Coq and Klimkeit) both fragments must be identified as Manichaean.[79] They

78 Gulácsi 2008, 11; and 2009, 129–130.

79 Initially Le Coq (1923, 25–26) and later Klimkeit (1982, 43) considered this hanging scroll fragment to be a Manichaean depiction of Jesus. Nevertheless, it had an "unconfirmed Manichaean origin," since neither elects nor any Manichaean "token motifs" are contained in it; and archeological data could not be used for its Manichaean attribution either (Gulácsi 1997, 200–2,01; and 2001, 266). The Manichaean identification of this fragment could only be confirmed based on the discovery of its distinctly Manichaean pictorial subject, the Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism (Gulácsi 2009, 130), which was analogous to an image preserved on the handscroll fragment with the Buddha (MIK III 4947 & III 5d). Prior to the discovery of this Manichaean subject, Lilla Russell-Smith hypothesized that the latter scroll fragment with the Buddha might be an Uygur Buddhist work of art (2002, 221). It is the confirmation that the iconography of a core teaching of Mani is retained on these two fragments, which positively affirms their Manichaean identification. Following this line of thinking, Yutaka Yoshida (2015, 161–162 and Fig. 11) identifies a third possible fragment with this subject from Kocho housed in the Otani collection of the Lushun Museum (旅顺博物馆) in Dalian, in Liaoning province, China. The latter fragment seems to preserve the upper left quarter of a larger hanging scroll, including one bearded figure along the left edge of the painting wearing an Uygur headgear and possibly holding what might be a cross-terminating staff. Since the iconography of this figure is not analogous with depictions of Jesus currently known from Kocho and Dunhuang (see

preserve parts of a Manichaean prophetological subject conveyed in a diagram design. Thus, these two fragments supplement each other in iconography and composition.

The picture book fragment retains the historical Buddha to the upper right from the mandorla of a large figure (now lost), which was originally seated under a canopy at the center (MIK III 4947 & III 5d, see Fig. 5/2). Shakyamuni is depicted here with an authentic Buddhist iconography. As a further identification, in the center of the figure's chest (where in Buddhist art a *lakshana* would be), the word "Buddha" appears to be written vertically in the Sogdian script ("B-U-T") in either the Parthian, Middle Persian, or Old Turkic (i.e., Old Uygur) language.[80] A sun disk and stars survive to the right of the central deity's canopy along the gilded upper border of the scene.[81]

The hanging scroll fragment is lost today, but remains accessible by a drawn copy and a detailed description published by Le Coq in 1923 (see Fig. 5/7). This drawing indicates that the fragment contained parts of eight figures: a Jesus figure, seated below another prophet figure (not preserved) and to the lower right of a large central figure (not preserved), two youth figures from the originally four youths seated around the lotus throne of the large central figure, as well as three laymen from a row of laity originally depicted at the bottom of the scene. Jesus was clearly identified by his processional cross on a staff, shown resting on his left shoulder—an accessory also routinely used in early Christian portrayals of Jesus.[82]

The compositions of these two paintings have been thoroughly analyzed and interpreted in the context of the known formats of Uygur Manichaean pictorial art, resulting in the outlines of their reconstructed compositions. The

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Gulácsi 2009, 98 and Fig. 4a–d), further research is required for the identification of this work of art.

80 During the initial study of this fragment, Clark suggested that the script and the language of the three-letter word on the chest of the Buddha are both Sogdian (Appendix I, entry #66 in Gulácsi 2001, 240). As noted subsequently by Yutaka Yoshida, this reading required a minor correction, since while the script is undoubtedly Sogdian, the language cannot be Sogdian (personal communication for Gulácsi 2009 129, note 72). Yoshida drew attention to the fact that the Sogdian noun *pwt-* is always supplemented with a *-y* in its nominative form as *pwty* 'Buddha' (Gharib 1995, 115, line 2929). Although this eliminates Sogdian as the language, it does not negate the connotation that Clark assigned, since between the mid-eighth and the early eleventh century, the Sogdian script was used in East Central Asia to write Manichaean texts in a variety of other languages, including Parthian, Middle Persian, and Old Turkic (i.e., Old Uygur). The language of the inscription on the Buddha's chest is likely one of these, because *pwt* connotes "Buddha" in Parthian and Middle Persian (Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, 118), as well as in Old Turkic (Clauson 1972, 297). An alternative reading was proposed by Yoshida (personal communication), who reads the three letters as *prn* 'glory' or 'majesty' (Sims-Williams and Durkin-Meisterernst, 2012, 81a). While neither reading alters the interpretation of the figure as the historical Buddha, Clark's seems to be a better fit, since all inscriptions that label figures in Turfan Manichaean art known today are names.

81 Gulácsi 2009, 129 and Fig. 10; as well as 2011, 243–245 and Fig. 2.

82 Gulácsi 2009, 130 and Fig. 11.

textual correlations of their shared iconography was incomplete in previous studies, all of which argued for the plausibility of the depictions of Jesus and Buddha figures in Manichaean art.[83] Therefore, until now, a conclusive identification has not been offered for the overall doctrine depicted in these images, including the main figure (the deity known as the Light Mind), shown in the center of the painting and on a scale larger than the rest of the figures.

The earliest Manichaean texts name one deity, the Light Mind (or Great Mind) in connection with the four human messengers (Zarathustra, Shakyamuni, Jesus, and Mani). A Parthian language abecedarian hymn that is preserved on the folio fragment M 42 in the Turfanforschung provides a summary of this teaching of Mani. The text itself is written as a dialogue between a divine speaker and a soul, who is seeking salvation and is addressed as a "boy" or "youth." Although the folio fragment dates from the Uygur period of Manichaean history (755/762–1024 CE), the language of its text indicates an earlier origin, since Parthian was used for some of the first Manichaean missions and became extinct by the seventh century. It reads, in part:

> (Divine speaker): . . . Out of stupefaction the four quarters of the world were plunged into turmoil. But you, beloved one, endure (here in the world) for the sake of the souls, so that (their) salvation may be attained through you.
> (Salvation-seeking "Youth"): The love and the service that you, oh God, have always shown to me are fully manifest. But I suffered this one time, when you ascended and left me behind like an orphan.
> (Divine speaker): Remember, oh Youth, how the chief of the battle-seeking ones, the Father, the God Ohrmizd, left his sons behind in the depth when he ascended from the dark for the sake of great gain.
> (Salvation-seeking "Youth"): Hear my supplication, you most beloved of the beloved names! If you do not free me (from the world) this time, send many gods so that I may gain victory over the evildoers.
> (Divine speaker): I have instructed the Great Mind (Light Mind) to send you messengers . . .,
> (Salvation-seeking "Youth"): Zarathustra descended into the realm of Persia . . ., Buddha Shakyamuni . . . opened the door of salvation for the fortunate souls among the Indians. Then Jesus had mercy for the second time.[84] He sent the four pure winds to help me . . . [. . .] . . . they sent to me Mār Mani as the savior who leads me out of this servitude, in which I served the foes in fear against my will.

83 Gulácsi 2008, 11 and Fig. 3b; 2009, 130, Fig. 11b.

84 In Manichaean teaching, Jesus appears first to save Adam and Eve; and for the "second time" in Jerusalem in the body of the historical Jesus, as noted in a more fragmentary part of M 42 ". . . the cup of poison and death [. . .] was poured out over you by Iscariot, together with the sons of Israel. And much further sorrow . . ." (Klimkeit 1993, 125).

(Divine speaker): I gave you freedom, my comrade . . .[85]

The above dialogue contextualizes the work of the Light Mind (or Great Mind) behind the work of the four prophets, who taught the way to salvation. Without giving preference to Mani, the teaching conveyed here concerns the collective search for salvation by humankind as symbolized by the salvation-seeking "youth." Thus, the doctrine discussed in M 42 closely corresponds with the visual catechism of the two Uygur fragments.

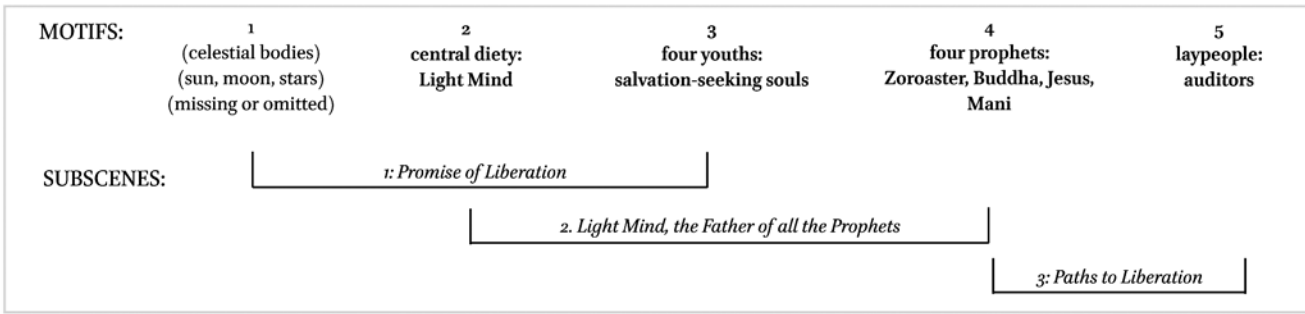
Another early text also explains this doctrine in *Kephalaion 143* (345:21–26) under the title: "All apostles, who come into the world are sent from a single power, although they differ on account of their lands." The passage quoted below attributes the differences of the four prophets to their respective cultures, due to their distinct "lands" and "languages." It reads:

> Just like the king is a single person, but the laws (*nomos*) and the ambassadors do not resemble one another, and his letter-bearers (*epistolophoros*) do not resemble one another, because the lands and the languages to which they are sent are different from one another—the one does not resemble the other—so also is the great and glorious power, through which all apostles are sent: the revelation (*apokalypsis*) and the wisdom (*sophia*) which is given to them is given in different forms. This is the case because none is similar to another because the languages to which they are sent do not resemble one another.[86]

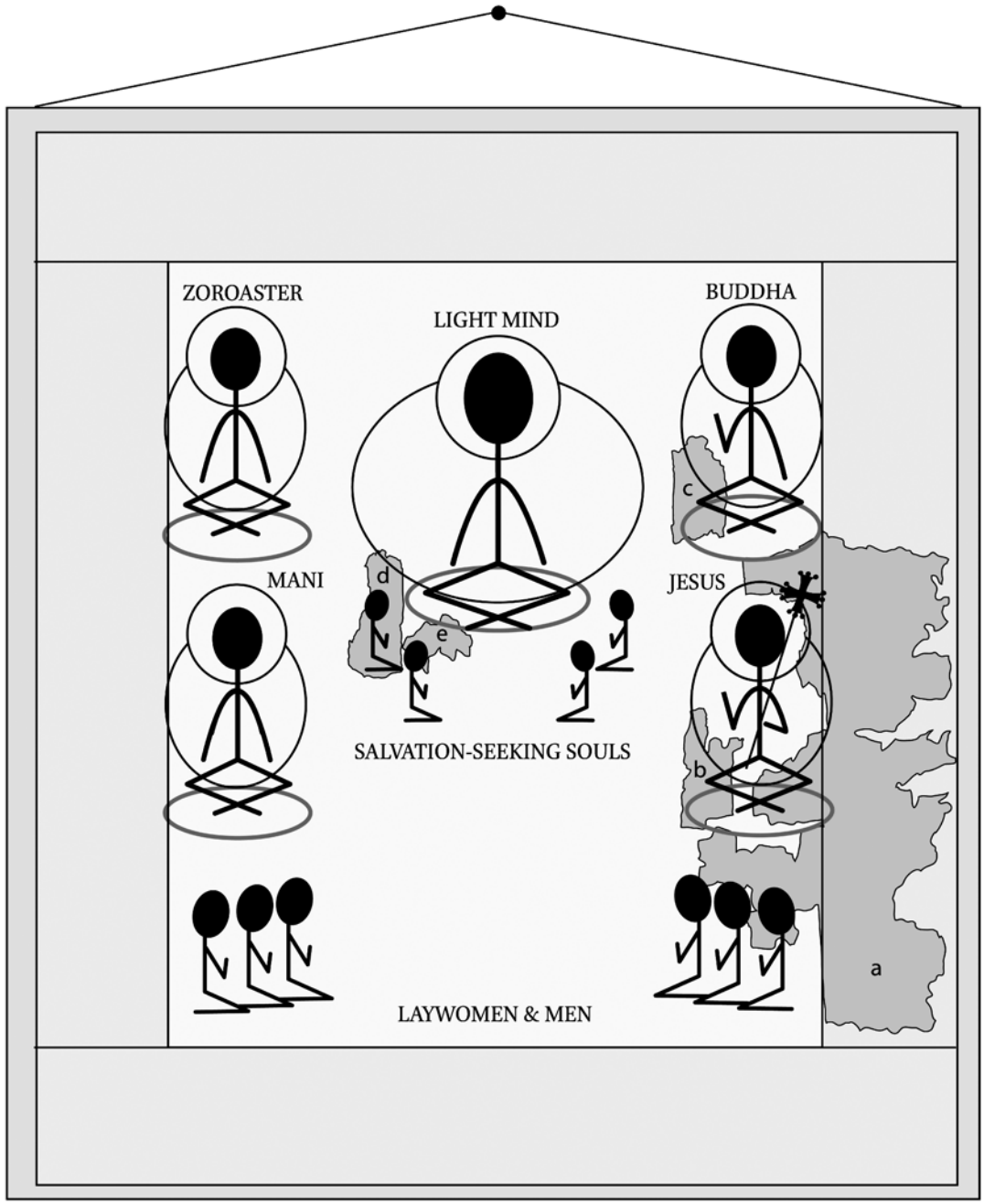
Based on the above quotations, the nuanced visual syntax of the two Uygur images becomes readily comprehensible. This syntax is built by arranging five motifs (the celestial bodies, the deity, the four youths, the four prophets, and the laity) into a hierarchical diagram (**Figures 6/14 and 6/15**). (1) The celestial bodies are shown along the top edge of the paper fragment. One large and numerous smaller gold disks symbolize the sun and the stars. The formal symmetry observed throughout indicates the moon and additional stars are now lost along the left half of the composition. Fitting their upper location on the picture plane, close proximity to the central deity, and the overall subject depicted here, this set of celestial symbols evoke the idea of liberation (i.e., the means of liberation)—the ultimate goal behind the Mani's teaching about the Four Primary Prophets—as confirmed in textual sources. (2) A single deity is distinguished by its central location, large scale, and canopy at the core of the composition. Visual data for this central and most prestigious motif is preserved in both fragments. (3) Four youths are shown around the deity's lotus throne in the silk fragment—two closer to the viewer and another two further away—as if they were surrounding the deity from four sides. Their devotion

85 Klimkeit 1993, 124–125, modified by BeDuhn; cf. Andreas and Henning 1934, 878–881.

86 *Kephalaion 143,* 346.2–13 (Funk 1999, 345–346; after Dilly 2014, 27).

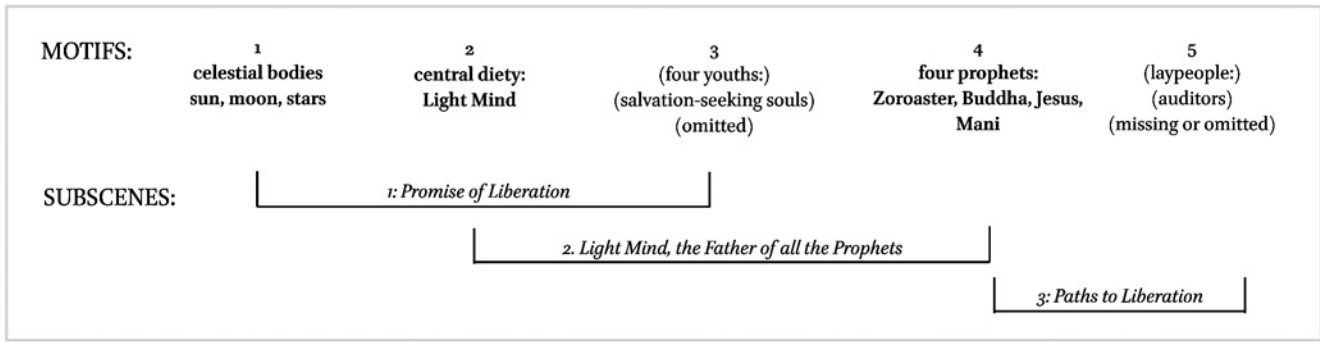


a: Thematic structure

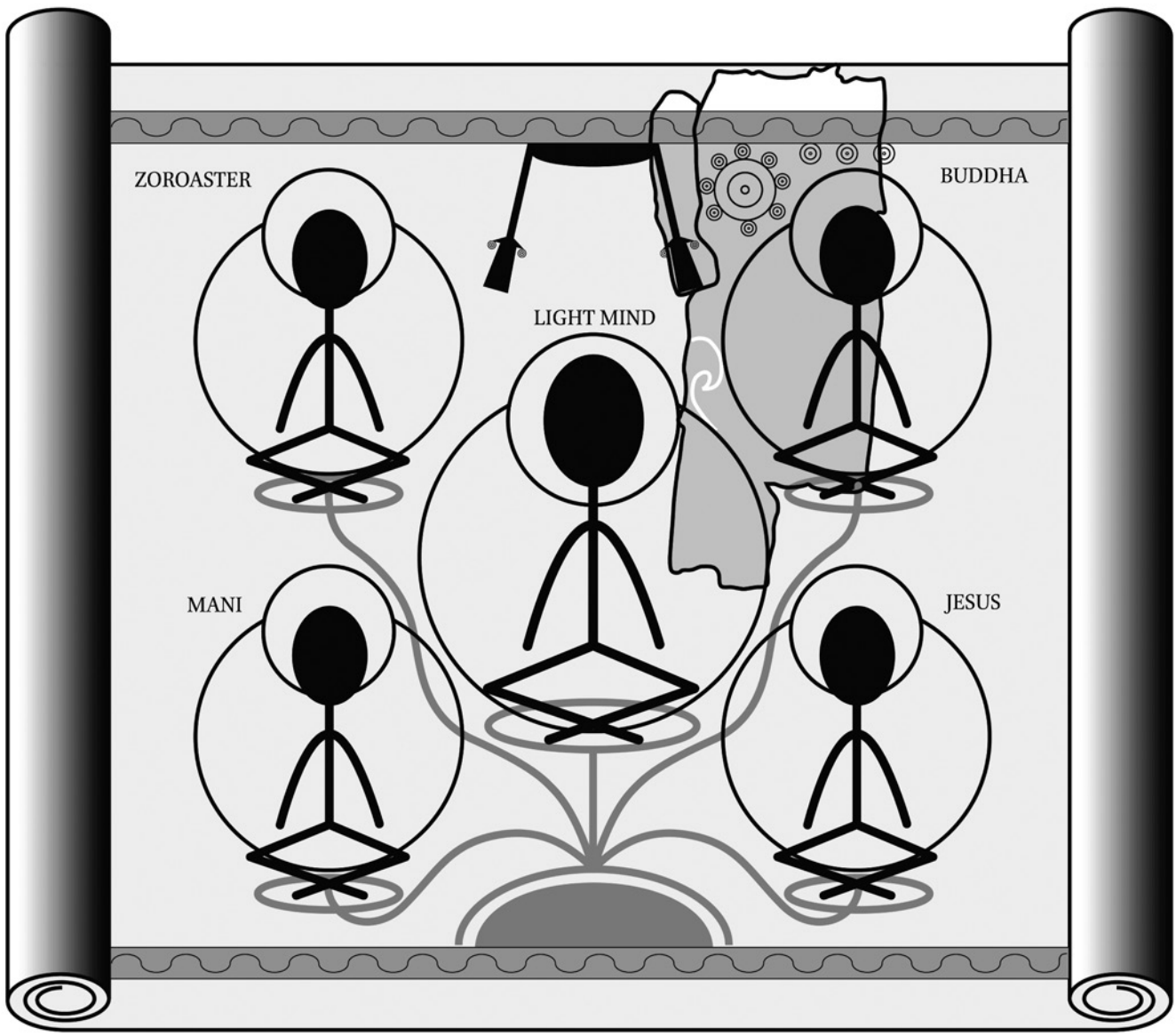


b: Motifs in reconstructed composition

FIGURE 6/14 *Visual s yntax of the* Four Primary Prophets and the Salvation-seeking Souls around the Light Mind *image on a hanging scroll* (*Le Coq 1923, see Fig. 5/7*)



a: Thematic structure



b: Motifs in reconstructed composition

FIGURE 6/15 *Visual syntax of the* Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism around the Light Mind *image in a picture book* (*MIK III 4947 & III 5d, see Fig. 5/2*)

to the cause of this God is indicated by their monastic garments, their hands clasped in a gesture of worship, and their posture—sitting on their heels while facing towards the deity. (4) Four prophets are placed around the deity at the four corners of the composition. Two survive between the two fragments: at the upper right, Shakyamuni with standard Buddhist iconography (including his *ushnisha*, elongated earlobes, *kāṣāya*, and in the place of a *lakshana* on his chest, what appears to be his inscribed title); and at the lower right, Jesus with standard Christian iconography (dressed in long robes and holding a processional cross on his staff). The formal symmetry retained on both fragments confirms the original presence of two additional prophets along the left (most certainly Zoroaster at the upper left, as seen in the Chinese Manichaean *Diagram of the Universe*; and Mani at the lower left, since Mani is the fourth primary prophet in textual sources). (5) Lay people are seated in a row along the bottom edge of the silk fragment, as suggested by the three people retained on Jesus' side and the analogous arrangement of auditors in Uygur-era Manichaean iconography, which routinely puts members of the Uygur court in this role.[87] The early Manichaean literature surveyed below also allows us to see the rationale for why the artist needed these five motifs to create a thematic structure, formed by three subscenes, to capture the essence of Mani's teaching about the universality of the Primary Prophets.

The first subscene (*Promise of Liberation*) shows the Light Mind surrounded by the salvation-seeking souls at the core of the paintings. It is built from three motifs by arranging the celestial bodies and the four youths around the deity. Together, they convey the Light Mind's promise of liberation to the salvation-seeking soul. The deity is the Light Mind (or Mind of Light), whose name is translated in Manichaean studies sometimes with the ancient Greek noun, *nous* ('mind') as "Light-*Nous*".[88] Although the celestial bodies are not mentioned with the Light Mind, the universal role of this deity in the liberation of light, "that will be purified from the world" and returned to the Realm of Light (ferried by the sun and the moon) is noted in *Kephalaia 28 and 29*:

> . . . the Light Mind, who shall come and appear in the world. And he chooses the holy church and unveils and separates light from darkness and sets the truth apart from lawlessness.[89]

> . . . the Great Mind, to whom all the churches shall gather and all the life that will be purified from the world returns to him.[90]

87 E.g., the Uygur Manichaean *Sermon Scene* on MIK III 8259 folio 1, recto (Gulácsi 2001, Fig. 28.4).

88 Van Lindt 1992, 156, 159, and 169; and 1995, 288.

89 *Kephalaion 28*, 80.33–81.1 (Gardner 1995, 82).

90 *Kephalaion 29*, 82.22–24 (Gardner 1995, 84).

The Light Mind is the root of the divine intellect in every believer—the conscience that leads and steers the elect and the catechumen on the way of faith. In this capacity, he is addressed by the "youth" in M 42, and is shown enclosed by the originally four boys in the center of the painted silk fragment (see Fig. 6/14). The Light Mind was most certainly the deity shown in the center of the image on the paper fragment, which does not preserve enough from this figure to confirm that the version depicted here also included the motif of the four salvation-seeking souls (see Fig. 6/15).

The salvation-seeking souls form a prominent motif in this iconography that can be seen in another Manichaean paintings as well. The four youths surrounding the Light Mind in the Uygur silk painting correspond to the four youths prominently featured on four islands around Mount Sumeru in the Chinese Manichaean *Diagram of the Universe* (**Figure 6/16**). In this Yuan-dynasty painting, each child figure is shown accompanied by a pair of divine attendants standing on a descending cloud and facing a lay couple (possibly symbolizing the parents of the child), who display signs of reverence by kneeling and clasping their hands in the gesture of homage. In light of the Uygur silk fragment and M 42, the motif of the four youths seems to symbolize "the fortunate souls," who seek salvation and are "led out of servitude." Painted about 400 years earlier, their iconography on the Uygur silk fragment evokes the high spiritual status of novices (vs. the lesser status of the laity shown at the bottom of the scene) complete with the characteristic juvenile haircuts of boys in the region, dressed in what appear to be the garments of elects. Appropriately to a diagram design, these four "salvation-seeking souls" are positioned sitting humbly on their heels with hands clasped in worship directed towards the Light Mind.[91]

The second subscene (*Light Mind, the Father of the all Prophets*) adds to this iconography the motif of the four prophets, whose teachings are directed to specific regions of the world. In M 42, the Father of Greatness instructs the Light Mind to dispatch the "messengers": Zarathustra, Shakyamuni, Jesus, and Mani. The Light Mind's role as "the father of all the apostles" is also conveyed in Coptic in *Kephalaia 7 and 20*:

> . . . the Light Mind, the one who chooses all the churches.[92]

91 In his initial study of the *Diagram of the Universe*, Yoshida (2010, 20b and note 85) discussed the five occurrences of the young boy or girl as possible representations of children who died young with their parents, and hypothesized that the couple depicted four times on the surface of the earth symbolizes the donors of this painting. At the 2013 International Association of Manichaean Studies conference, Gábor Kósa reasoned that since the four continents represent the locality where the four apostles were sent to, the four child figures may be the apostles in their youths (see the proceedings edited by E. Hunter and E. Morano forthcoming in the NHMS series of Brill).

92 *Kephalaion 7*, 36.1–2 (Gardner 1995, 40).

FIGURE 6/16 *Four salvation-seeking souls symbolized by four youths in the* Diagram of the Universe (*details of Fig. 6/44*)

> . . . the Light Mind, the father of all the apostles, the eldest of all the churches, the one whom Jesus has appointed corresponding to our pattern in the holy church"[93]
>
> . . . the Light Mind shall be called the "Father." His greatness is the holy church because he lives and is established in it.[94]

In these texts, the Light Mind is the founder of all religions. In the visual language of art, the universal role of this deity behind the work of "all the churches" is captured effectively in the two Uygur paintings by placing the four prophets around the Light Mind at the four corners of the composition.

The four prophet figures in the paintings correspond to the four prophets in M 42: "Zarathustra [who] descended into the realm of Persia . . ., Buddha

93 *Kephalaion 7*, 35.21–24 (Gardner 1995, 39).
94 *Kephalaion 20*, 64.8–10 (Gardner 1995, 67).

Shakyamuni . . . [who] opened the door of salvation for the fortunate souls among the Indians. Then Jesus [who] . . . and Mār Mani [who] . . .”; and the “apostles, who come into the world are sent from a single power, although they differ on account of their lands” in the title of *Kephalaion 143* (345:21). While M 42 is more fragmentary on Jesus and Mani, it still clearly conveys the regional ties of the Primary Prophets, just as does the introductory chapter of the *Kephalaia*.[95] Later interpreters of Mani also emphasize the regional aspect of the four prophets in Mani’s Primary Prophets doctrine, such as Ibn al-Murtaḍā (d. 1437 CE) in his *Kitāb al-munya*:

> Then He (i.e., God) sent the Buddha to India, Zarādusht to Persia, Jesus to the West, and then Mānī the Paraclete, “seal of prophets” and guide of the attested prophets. Thus also has Mānī related in his book.[96]

The third subscene (*Paths to Liberation*) concludes the composition by introducing the laity arranged in a row beneath the Primary Prophets on the silk fragment (see Fig. 6/15a). The laity is an appropriate last component to the iconography of this Manichaean teaching, representing the local audience to which it is delivered. On the hanging scroll, members of the Uygur court can be identified in this role through their headgear. Since the lower part of the handscroll does not survive, the inclusion of the laity cannot be confirmed as a routinely used component—just as the boys symbolizing the salvation-seeking souls cannot be confirmed. The same is true for the motif of the celestial vessels seen on the handscroll (see Fig. 6/15b). Since the upper part of the hanging scroll was already lost when the fragment was copied, the presence of the sun, the moon, and the stars cannot be confirmed, but could also have been part of the original iconography. Either way, the five motifs that do survive between the two fragmentary paintings convey effectively a visual rendition of a teaching well attested in textual sources.

The equality of these four human messengers under the supremacy of God, who acts through his agent, the Light Mind (Great Mind), is an essential component of this teaching—conveyed effectively in text and art. In the visual language of the two Uygur paintings, the identical scale and the even distribution symbolize the equal status of the four figures. Analogously, the equality of the four figures is observed in the depiction of these four prophets on the Chinese Manichaean *Diagram of the Universe* (**Figure 6/17**).[97] In the latter, the iconography of the two inner figures (shown further away from the viewer) is straightforward. These two represent the earlier prophets: the historical Buddha, who is identified by his *ushnisha* at the upper right; and Zoroaster, who is identified

95 See *Kephalaia* Prologue, 7.6–8.7 (Gardner 1995, 13).

96 Reeves 2011, 127.

97 Yoshida’ identifies these figures as the four faces of the Father of Greatness (Yoshida 2010, 16a; and subsequently Kósa 2013, 63–64).

FIGURE 6/17 *The four primary prophets of Manichaeism in the Diagram of the Universe* (*details of Fig. 6/38*)

by holding a green *barsom* branch at the upper left.[98] Although there are no obvious identifying marks for the other two figures (shown in the foreground), based on the distribution of the four figures in the two Turfan paintings, it seems that they are the two more recent prophets: Jesus at the lower right and Mani at the lower left, shown in this assembly in his role as one of the Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism.[99]

Mani's teaching about the cosmic parity of the four messengers is also conveyed by Al-Biruni (973–1048 CE). In his *Chronology of Ancient Nations* (Ar. *Kitāb al-āthār*), completed in 1000 CE, Al-Biruni summarizes what he read in Mani's *Shāpuhragān*:

> He (Mānī) states at the beginning of his book which is called *al-Shābūraqān* (i.e., *Shāpuhragān*), which is the one that he composed for Shābūr b. Ardašīr: "Apostles of God have constantly brought wisdom and deeds in successive times. In one era they were brought by the apostle al-Bud (i.e., the Buddha) to the land of India, in another era by Zardāst (i.e., Zoroaster) to Persia, and in another (era) by Jesus to the West. Now

98 *Barsom* is the Middle Persian name for a sacred branch or set of branches used in Zoroastrian liturgy; see *Encyclopædia Iranica Online, s. v.* "BARSOM," accessed June 05, 2014, (http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/barsom-av).

99 For the relative chronology of the Buddha and Zarathustra in Manichaean sources, see Sundermann 1991, 426–38.

> this revelation has descended and this prophecy promulgated during the final era by me, Mānī, the apostle of the God of truth to Babylonia.[100]

The equality of the four prophets is unique to Mani's doctrine about the divine plan of salvation, according to which the Light Mind "opened the door of salvation for the fortunate souls" through God's human messengers. In contrast, the only other teaching of Mani that concerns his forerunners focuses on the adulteration of the earlier prophets' message and emphasizes the superiority of Mani's religion.[101] Mani sees the reason for this adulteration in the lack of records left behind by his fellow prophets, since neither Zoroaster, nor Shakyamuni, nor Jesus wrote the holy books of their religions. Instead, their teachings were written down through recollections by their disciples, who, without the benefit of prophethood, had only a muddled understanding of the divine plan. In this regard, Mani sees his religion as superior to that of his forerunners.[102] Moreover, Mani claims that his prophethood enables him to makes sense out of and incorporate into his religion certain scriptures from Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Christianity. Accordingly, in *Kephalaion 151*, Mani compares the sum of his books to a "powerful current," fed by the tributaries of antecedent religious literature:

> The writings, wisdoms, apocalypses, parables, and psalms of the earlier churches from all parts are reunited in my church to the wisdom, which I have revealed to you. As a river is joined to another river to form a powerful current, just so are the ancient books joined in my writings, and form one great wisdom such as has not existed in preceding generations.[103]

Later in this sermon, Mani names three prophets from the "earlier churches." By doing so, he engages the three main religions of his time. Although Mani clearly states the superiority of his religion over the other revealed three religions contemporaneous with him, he still acknowledges the true prophethood

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100 Reeves 2011, 102–103.

101 Mani often discusses this teaching within a ten-point list about the superiority of his religion. See the quote and discussion from *Kephalaion 151* (371.20–30, Funk 2000, 371). For the Middle Persian version of the passage on M 5794, see Klimkeit (1993, 216). For the Sogdian versions on Ch. 5554, see Sundermann (1985, 27–28, lines 125–135). Without being part of a ten-point list, the same teaching of superiority is stated in the *Kephalaia*'s Prologue, 7.6–8.7 (Gardner 1995, 12–13), where it is attributed to the lack of scripture left behind by Zoroaster, the historical Buddha, and Jesus. See Lieu 2006, 519–528.

102 Additional references to Mani's superiority in Turkic texts include lines from the Great Hymn to Mani in the Turkic Manichaean *Poth*i-book: (05–08) . . . you are splendid to see, my Father, Mani the Buddha. Thus and therefore, I praise and worship you. Like a *cintāmaṇi*-jewel, [you are] worthy to keep on the flat crown of the head. Oh, you are worthy! (16–18) . . . you are worthy to be carried on the flat crowns of the heads of the former Buddhas, of all of them. / Thus, I [praise] and worship you" (Clark 2013, 183).

103 *Kephalaion 151*, 372.11–19 (Funk 2000, 372, after BeDuhn 2000b, 14, note 2).

of Jesus, Zoroaster, and the historical Buddha. He discusses them as his equals—"my brothers, who have come before me,"[104] and "the fathers of righteousness."[105] In a Middle Persian version of the above sermon preserved on the Turfan fragment M 5794, Mani calls them "holy leaders" and compliments their work by stating that the three "older religions were in order, as long as there were holy leaders in them."[106]

The doctrine about the Light Mind, the four prophets, and the salvation-seeking souls is a core Manichaean teaching that dates back to Mani's time. It is discussed in early Manichaean literature in Parthian (M 42) and Coptic (*Kephalaion 7, 20, 28, 29* and *143*), and in later Arabic summaries of Mani's teachings (Ibn al-Murtaḍā and Al-Biruni). Moreover, it is depicted on a fragment of an Uygur-era edition of the canonical *Book of Pictures*—a solely pictorial horizontal handscroll. A further prof that underlines the significance and popularity of this prophetological doctrine is its depiction on a non-canonical object—a vertical hanging scroll that featured one single image, which was newly introduced during the Uygur era for displaying Manichaean didactic paintings.

The visual language of the two Uygur fragments accords with Mani's teachings about the four prophets and the Light Mind. The art clearly expresses the equal status of the prophets in relation to each another and in contrast to the higher status of the central figure. Mani is not in the center of this doctrine. He is one of the four prophets (most likely the one at the lower left). All four prophets are painted on the same scale, seated identically, and are distributed at the four corners equidistant from the larger deity shown under a canopy in the focal point of the composition. This iconography is unambiguous in communicating a difference between one higher-ranking central figure and the four lesser-ranking corner figures. Based on these basic facts of formal analysis—an essential tool in the discipline of art history—the hierarchy of the Light Mind among these four prophet figures must be acknowledged.

Despite their different formats and materials, these two paintings are versions of one didactic diagram that share not only an early Manichaean doctrinal theme (prophetology), but also an Uygur-era Manichaean composition and iconography. The mandala design, the lotus flowers, the attributes of Shakyamuni, the canopy over the Light Mind, the haircuts of the youth, and the garments of the laymen are all characteristic of the arts of tenth-century East Central Asia and are frequently seen in the contemporaneous Buddhist art of the region. In these Uygur Manichaean paintings, even some Christian-rooted motifs were impacted by local norms of religious art. Jesus became seated cross-legged on a lotus support and dressed in long loosely folding robes just as the Buddha was (and most certainly Zoroaster and Mani were also).

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104 *Kephalaion 151*, 371.20–30 (Funk 2000, 371).

105 *Kephalaia*'s Prologue, 8.8 (Gardner 1995, 13).

106 Klimkeit 1993, 216.

Some key identifying elements in the iconography of these prophets, however, required no modification and remained uncompromised. The staff that rests on Jesus' shoulder and the even-armed processional cross that caps the staff are both typical of early (i.e., Roman- and early Byzantine-era) Christian art during the fourth to sixth century.[107] The sun and moon motifs are also attested flanking something important in the art of third-century Mesopotamia, where Mani's collection of images was first painted. Together these features indicate that the prophetological diagram preserved in the two Uygur fragment was not newly invented in Kocho, but instead goes back to an earlier prototype that originated among the only didactic group of images that Manichaeans had in West Asia—their canonical paintings found in Mani's *Book of Pictures*. The adaptation of the image of this early teaching to an Uygur Manichaean picture book and an Uygur Manichaean hanging scroll in Kocho involved fitting an archaic West Asian composition and iconography in to the visual language of tenth-century East Central Asia, without compromising the original meaning of Mani's original message.

A similar adaptation of this Manichaean doctrine to locally comprehensible (Buddhist) concepts is evident in three late textual sources that originate over 700 years after Mani's time in Uygur and southern Chinese contexts. These texts allude to five prophets—four in addition to Mani. Unfortunately, none of them names the four other prophets. They name only Mani. In an Uygur hymn to Mani, we read:

> you (Mani) descended after the four prophets (Uyg. *tört burkhan* lit. 'four Buddhas').[108]

This evocation does not correspond to a teaching found anywhere else in Manichaean literature, where Mani's primary predecessors are enumerated as three, not four.[109] The characterization of Mani as a fifth prophet (following four others) in this Uygur hymn is similar to what is documented in two

107 Gulácsi 2009, 135–140.

108 Clark 2013, 156.

109 In the preliminary studies of these two fragmentary images, the need for further research was emphasized, since at that time the main figure could have been identified either as a deity (such as the Light Mind) in light of early Manichaean texts, or as Mani in light of an Uygur reference (Gulácsi 2009, 129–130 and Figs. 10–11; and 2011, 244–245 and Fig. 2b). When the digital outline of the reconstructed composition of MIK III 4947 & III 5d (Gulácsi 2011, Fig. 2b) was published in Japanese translation (Yoshida 2015b, 250 and Fig. 2b), the min figure was labeled as Mani by mistake. As argued in detail above, the well-attested records of Mani's own teachings about the Light Mind's role behind the work of four named prophets (in addition to the lack of a Manichaean doctrine with five prophets) eliminate the possibility of Mani as the central figure in the surviving visual representations of this teaching (see Figs. 6/14 and 6/15).

southern Chinese polemical accounts from the twelfth-thirteenth century.[110] These Chinese texts situate Mani as the "fifth" or "last" Buddha within a Buddhist system of "five (celestial/cosmic) Buddhas" popular at the time.

Unrelated in their respective origins, the Manichaean diachronic and earthly doctrine of four successive prophets (with Mani as the fourth and last) is merged *unsuccessfully* in these Uygur and Chinese texts with the Buddhist synchronic and cosmic doctrine of five celestial Buddhas. The merger of these two systems produces a semantic conflict. Both systems feature a main deity (the Light Mind for the Manichaeans, and Vairochana for the Buddhists) and four lesser beings (the Primary Prophets for the Manichaeans, and the Celestial Buddhas for the Buddhists), the hierarchy of which makes sense in each respective religion.[111] But when the two systems are mixed in these texts, the resulting amalgam distorts the numerology of Mani's four Primary Prophets and the Light Mind doctrine and produces a false analogy. Therefore, these three later texts do not inform the Manichaean teaching depicted in the two Uygur images. For that, we must rely on unadulterated Manichaean teachings preserved in early literature (such as M 42, and *Kephalaion 7, 20, 28, 29* and *143*) and medieval Arabic scholarship accurately summarizing Mani's teachings (such as the writings of Ibn al-Murtaḍā and Al-Biruni).

All in all, the above analysis has shown that, occasionally, art historical research must see beyond the dominant iconography of a religious work of art. In order to fully appreciate the surviving remains of Uygur Manichaean paintings as primary visual sources, their study has to take into consideration data about subject matter, composition, format, as well as minor iconographic symbols to see beyond a superficial layer of Buddhist "influence." Based on this approach, it has become clear that these two seemingly insignificant fragments from tenth-century Kocho preserve critical evidence about the doctrinal content and the East Central Asian developments of Manichaean canonical art.

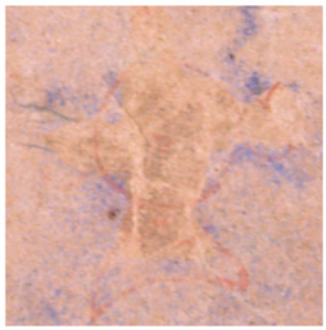
In light of the above expositions, the symbolism behind the key motifs in the depictions of Mani's teachings about the four Primary Prophets and the Light Mind can be verified (**Figure 6/18**). The four prophets, including Shakyamuni, Zoroaster, Jesus, and Mani (originally seated around the deity of the Light Mind) form the core of this iconography. Each figure is depicted according to an iconography established within the art of its own respective tradition, as also seen in the New Aeon of the *Diagram of the Universe*. Another important component of this iconography is the motif of the four youths that represents the salvation-seeking souls of the world. This motif is prominent in the surface of the Earth in the *Diagram of the Universe*, where it survives in an undamaged condition. Finally, the celestial bodies motif, which consists of the sun, the moon, and the stars, references the vessels used for the ascent of the liberated light. The latter motif adds the idea of the liberation of light to this

110 (Ch.) *wofo*, see Mikkelsen 2006, 72; Chavannes and Pelliot 1913, 334–335 and note 1; and Lieu 1998, 110–111.

111 For an overview of the five celestial Buddhas, see Buswell (ed.) 2004, 73–74 and 77–78.

a: CELESTIAL BODIES MOTIF - symbolizing liberation through vessels of ascending light

MIK III 4947 & III 5d



MIK III 4974 recto original and digital restoration

b: FOUR YOUTHS MOTIF - symbolizing the salvation-seeking souls of the world

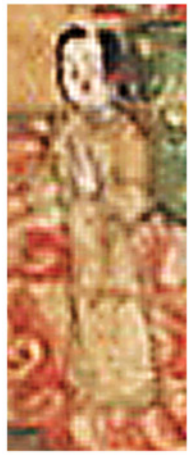
Youth, upper left

Youth, lower left

Le Coq 1926

Youth, North

Youth, West



Youth, East

Youth, South

Diagram of the Universe (Surface of 8th Earth)

c: FOUR PRIMARY PROPHETS MOTIF - symbolizing the four teachers whose religion provides liberation

Buddha

MIK III 4947 & III 5d

Jesus

Le Coq 1926

Buddha

Zoroaster

Jesus

Mani

Diagram of the Universe (New Aeon)

FIGURE 6/18 *Key motifs in the four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism subject shown with comparative examples*

prophetological subject in order to point to the light-centered foundation of Mani's soteriology and thus contextualize the mission of the Light Mind.

2 *Life of Jesus*

The life story of Jesus was incorporated into Mani's teachings. Mani gave sermons on Jesus' life and explained Jesus' Passion as an allegory for the suffering of the divine Light. After Mani's passing, his disciples compared Jesus' life and death to those of Mani. An equally strong body of art historical evidence suggests that this subject was depicted in Mani's *Book of Pictures* based on the *Diatessaron*. Having been active in Mesopotamia during the mid to late third century, Mani and the first Manichaeans accessed the Jesus story through the *Diatessaron*—a harmonized account that was used in place of the canonical gospels in Syro-Mesopotamia between the third and sixth centuries. This gospel harmony was written in the Syriac language sometime around 170 CE, most likely by the early Christian writer Tatian (ca. 120–ca. 180 CE).

The *Diatessaron* occupies a unique position in the early dissemination of the gospels in Syro-Mesopotamia. Although it is not the only gospel harmony that existed in Syriac, there is abundant evidence for its early use in both the Roman- and Iranian-controlled parts of the region. Today, this text is considered to be the form in which the gospels first appeared in Syriac during the early third century. Its use is reflected in the gospel quotations of not only Ephrem (ca. 306–376 CE), but also Aphrahat (late third century—ca. 345 CE), which could only happen if the *Diatessaron* had been circulating in the eastern part of the Christian world from the beginnings of Syriac Christianity.[112] The "Persian sage" Aphrahat, in particular, is connected with the Persian side of the frontier region of Christianity in southern Mesopotamia that was shared with Mani, separated from the latter's time by a couple of generations.[113] The earliest direct evidence on the use of the *Diatessaron* in the region is provided by a fragment of a parchment scroll found at Dura-Europos. Dating from before the mid-250s CE, this fragment is one of the earliest Christian texts known today. It contains 14 Greek lines from a harmonized Passion of Christ narrative. It preserves linguistic traces of a Syriac language original, suggesting that it is a translation of Tatian's work.[114] As such, the Dura fragment provides an extremely early date for the circulation of the *Diatessaron* in the region, a date that coincides with the activities of Mani.[115] The above data constitutes powerful circumstantial evidence

112 Petersen 1990, 403, 405, and 407.

113 "Aphraates and the *Diatessaron*," Burkitt 1904, 180–186.

114 See Petersen's summary of research by Daniël Plooij on the subject (1990, 413).

115 Its Greek translation is even more significant, since besides this fragment found deep in Syria (and the Greek title of the work generally adopted) there are no other records of a *Diatessaron* in Greek translation today (Petersen 1990, 413). Based on its content, Carl H. Kraeling (1935, 7) hypothesizes that the scroll was made somewhere in Mesopotamia, possibly in Edessa.

for the availability of the *Diatessaron* from the inception of Manichaeism in the region. Therefore, it may be less surprising to learn that the two surviving Manichaean scenes depicting the life of Jesus are diatessaronic, in addition to displaying an archaic iconography otherwise known only from Christian art in the Roman period such as is found on the wall paintings of the baptistery in a church at Dura. These wall paintings contain the earliest securely dated images and narrative scenes associated with Jesus, dating from ca. 240 CE.[116]

A diatessaronic narration of the *Life of Jesus* is preserved among the Manichaean fragments housed in the collection of the Asian Art Museum, Berlin, on the recto of a torn illuminated codex folio (MIK III 4967a recto, **Figure 6/13b**). The iconography and the textual references to these vignettes are clearly understood today in light of previous publications (see Fig. 5/41).[117] Somewhat easier to see is the scene on the right. In it, the standing figure is shown lifting his right arm and his right leg. The squatting figure is touching the lifted leg with both hands. Both figures appear to be nude or semi-nude. Familiarity with the biblical narrative allows us to interpret this somewhat enigmatic scene as a depiction of the *Foot Washing* episode well-known from the Gospel of John (13:1) reduced to the two main characters: Jesus and Peter. In the scene on the left, the figure with the headgear wears a red-orange robe and holds a large bowl in front of his chest. The other figure is lesser ranking, since he is shown without headgear and from a profile view. He wears a cloak, hanging from his right shoulder and reaches towards the bowl, as if he is about to take (or has just taken) something out of it. Bits of gold flakes visible in the interior of the bowl suggest that it (and/or its contents) was gilded. In association with the previously identified scene, these clues bring to mind another biblical episode—Judas being paid for his betrayal of Jesus. This preliminary identification seems to be supported by the distinctive headdress, which may signal here the Jewish high priest, Caiaphas. If so, the event, which is familiar from the Gospel of Matthew (26:14), may be shown here abridged again to the minimal number of figures: Judas and the high priest, Caiaphas. Therefore, this scene can be titled *Judas Paid by Caiaphas*.

In their sequence, just as the nude (or semi-nude) bodies in the iconography, these two scenes are clearly not biblical. They reflect an alternative narration of Jesus' life story used by the religious community that created this work of art. *Judas Paid by Caiaphas* directly precedes the event of *Foot Washing* in the painting. This is not the case in the canonical gospels of the New Testament. The event of *Foot Washing* is not mentioned in any of the three synoptic gospels. It is discussed only in John (13:1–13:11), who does not mention Judas being paid. The latter event is discussed in only two of the gospels: in Luke (22:2–22:6),

116 Although it has been long thought that the *Diatessaron* must have made an impact on the formation of early Christian art in Syro-Mesopotamia, prior to the identification of this Manichaean pictorial cycle, no diatessaronic depictions of Life of Christ have been confirmed.

117 Gulácsi 2012, 143–169.

who mentions Caiaphas, but not the 30 pieces of silver, and in Matthew (26:14–26:26), who mentions the silver, but not the high priest. The fact that none of the gospels could possibly have been illustrated with the sequence of these two scenes confirms the use of a gospel harmony, rather than one of the canonical New Testament gospels. Since the Manichaeans are known to have employed Tatian's *Diatessaron* in place of the canonical gospels in Syro-Mesopotamia prior to the early sixth century, the *Diatessaron* is the logical first place to look for a narrative with this particular sequence.

The two scenes correspond with the content of a passage in the Arabic translation of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, quoted below.[118] This Arabic text is considered to be the best witness to the sequence of Tatian's original.[119] The passage relevant for us (44:6–44:21) can be divided into two episodes. In the first, Judas goes to the temple to talk to Caiaphas and others, who give him thirty pieces of silver for his betrayal of Jesus (44:6–44:9). This episode is followed by a brief transitory sentence, in which the disciples ask Jesus what place he had in mind for the Passover dinner. Jesus' answer is omitted (44:10). The second episode relates how Jesus washed Peter's feet, knowing that not all of the disciples were entirely clean and Judas was ready to betray him (44:11–44:21). The passage reads as follows:

> 1. *Judas Paid in Advance* (44:6–44:9)
> And Satan entered into Judah, the one called Iskariot, he being one of those numbered among the twelve. Then he departed and negotiated with the important priests, scribes, and temple officials. He said to them: "What would you like to pay me so that I betray him to you?" Now they upon hearing (this) were delighted, and they prepared thirty pieces of silver for him. So he became liable to them, and from that time he was

118 The critical edition of the Arabic translation made from the Syriac original by Abul-Farag Abdallah ibn at-Tayyib (d. 1043 CE) was published in French by Marmarji (1935). The first English translation was published by Hill (1910, reprinted in 2001). As noted in the preface of Hill's translation (x), his English text was based on the Latin translation that appeared as the preface to the first publication of the Arabic text in the late nineteenth century (Ciasca 1888). Hill's chapter and verse numbers are identical with that of the French text in Marmarji. In order to avoid considering the Arabic text in Hill's English via a Latin intermediary, the above translation was kindly provided b John Reeves directly from the Arabic (personal communication).

119 Although the eleventh-century Arabic translation was made from an already Vulgatized Syriac text of Tatian, it is highly regarded today for accurately preserving the *Diatesseron*'s sequence. The most important Eastern witness is the extensive commentary written by Ephrem Syrus due to its early date and diction, since Ephrem also writes in Syriac. In his commentary, Ephrem quotes and/or discusses the contents of a fourth century version of Tatian's text (Petersen 1900, 408–409). Ephrem's text, however, does not comment on the "Judas Paid by Caiaphas" and the "Transition" (with the disciples' question about supper) before commenting on the "Foot Washing."

constantly seeking for himself a tripping point (*sic*) to betray Jesus to them without the crowd (being present).[120]

Transitory Sentence from Judas Paid in Advance to Foot Washing (44:10)
. . . And on the first day of (the Festival of) Unleavened Bread, the disciples approached Jesus and said to him: "Where is the place you would like that we should go and prepare for you to eat the Passover (meal)?"[121]

2. *Foot Washing with Jesus in a Loincloth and Peter's Protest* (44:11–44:21)
Now prior to the Festival of Passover, Jesus knew that the time had come for his departure from this world to his Father. He loved his chosen companions in this world, and he loved them until the end. And at the time of the banquet, Satan put (it) into the heart of Judah b. Shimon Iskariot to betray him. Jesus—since he knew that the Father had committed all things into his hands and that he had come forth from the Father and would proceed back to the Father—stood up from the supper and put aside his clothing. He took a towel, tied it around his waist, put some water in a basin, and began to wash the feet of his disciples and rub them with the towel, which he had tied around his waist. When he came to Shimon the Rock (= Cephas), Shimon said to him: "You, Oh my Lord, are going to wash my feet for me?" Jesus answered and said to him: "You do not understand what I do now, but later you will know." Shimon Cephas said to him: "You will never wash my feet for me!" Jesus said to him: "If I do not wash you, then your lot is not with me." Shimon Cephas said to him: "In that case, Oh my Lord, your washing my feet for me is not enough; rather, (wash) my hands and my head also!" Jesus said to him: "The one who swims (*sic*!)[122] needs only to wash his feet, for otherwise he is completely pure. All of you likewise are pure (ones), but not all of you." For Jesus knew his betrayer, and this was the reason he said: "You are not all pure (ones)."[123]

The sequence of the two events correlates between the Manichaean paintings and the Arabic version of Tatian's gospel harmony (**Table 6/6**). *Judas Paid by Caiaphas* directly precedes the event of *Foot Washing* in the Manichaean painting, just as in the *Diatessaron*. The depiction of these two events one after the other also confirms the viewing direction of the scenes (left to right).

120 For the Arabic text and its French translation of this passage, see Marmarji 1935, 419. For an English translation, prepared from a Latin translation of this passage, see Hill 2001, 178.

121 Marmarji 1935, 421–423; and Hill 2001, 178.

122 Reeves notes the Peshitta John 13:10 reads here *hw dsḥ'* "one who washes." Jewish Aramaic *sḥy* means "wash, bathe"; Syriac *sḥ'* can mean both "wash, bathe" and "swim." Arabic chose the verb *sbḥ*, which can mean "swim" but not "wash" (personal communication).

123 Marmarji 1935, 421; and Hill 2001, 179.

TABLE 6/6 *Correlation between the scenes on MIK III 4967a recto and the passages of the Arabic* Diatessaron

LOCATIONS OF NARRATION		EVENTS OF STORY
adjacent in Arabic *Diatessaron*	**adjacent on MIK III 4967a recto**	**discussed in Arabic *Diatessaron* and pictured on MIK III 4967a recto**
Diatessaron 44:06–44:09	Scene 7 (out of 14)	"Judas Paid by Caiaphas"
Diatessaron 44:11–44:21	Scene 8 (out of 14)	"Foot Washing" (Jesus in loincloth, Peter protests)

Despite their significant surface damage, both scenes retain a cohesive visual syntax **(Figure 6/19)**. The first scene with Judas and Caiaphas employs three motifs: the higher-ranking figure, an object that appears to be a bowl, and a lower-ranking figure with a hand gesture. The higher-ranking figure, the high priest, probably conceptualized as Caiaphas, represents the authorities ("chief priests, scribes, and rulers") that Judas encounters in the Temple according to the *Diatessaron*. Caiaphas's figure occupies a greater space in the picture than Judas. He is taller, due to a headgear that distinguishes his person from within the otherwise isocephalic distribution of the two figures. In addition, Caiaphas's upper body is depicted in a three-quarter view. In a lesser role, Judas is shown on the left in what appears to be a profile view. A bowl, held by Caiaphas prominently in front of his chest, near the very center of the composition, seems to be a container for the "silver drachmas." This bowl introduces to the visual narration the idea of the monetary reward offered to Judas in the story. Judas's gesture—his left hand reaching towards the bowl—conveys effectively a determination to commit the act of betrayal by claiming his payment. The second scene with Jesus and Peter features the motifs of two figures in appearances and positions appropriate for visually narrating the foot-washing story from the *Diatessaron*. In this case, the figure with the larger stature is Peter, standing (or possibly sitting on a tall, backless chair) as he lifts his right leg, most likely over a now-lost basin, originally shown at the middle of the bottom edge of the scene that, according to the *Diatessaron*, Jesus filled with water. By portraying Peter with a leg lifted towards Jesus, the artist communicates that Peter's feet did get washed, despite his initial protest. Peter's protest is conveyed through his prominently raised right arm. This protest is an important element of the story. Accordingly, it is emphasized through the central positioning and the isolation of Peter's arm against the blue background. At the lower left of the scene, the humbly posed person washing Peter's foot is Jesus. He appears to be squatting, while using both hands, with arms raised to meet Peter's foot. The reversed visual hierarchy of the composition, in which Jesus (the real main figure of the story) occupies the lesser space, captures effectively the message of humility as the essence of the foot-washing story. There is no halo around Jesus' head.

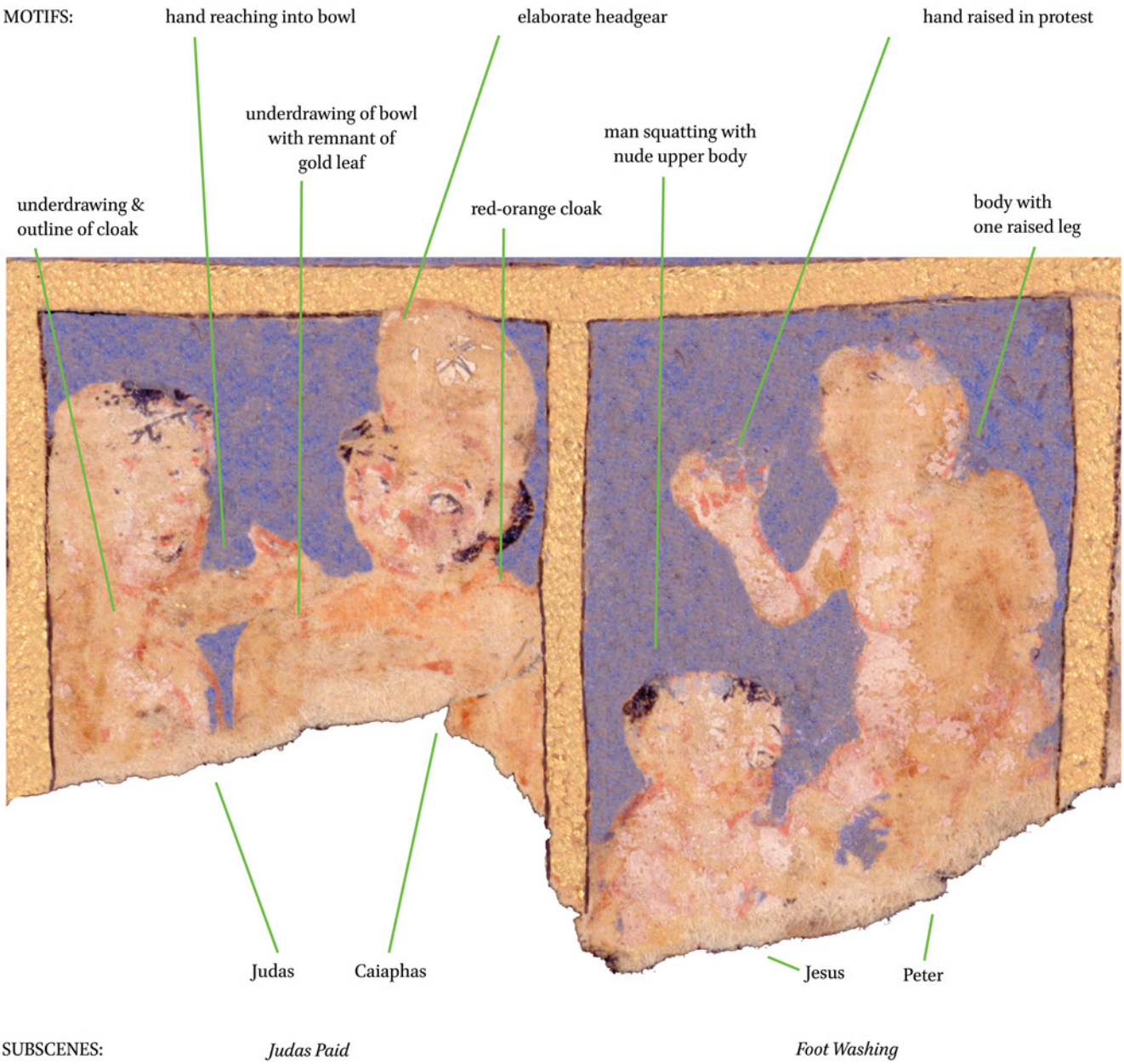


FIGURE 6/19 *Visual syntax of the* Life of Jesus According to the Diatessaron *image* (*MIK III 4967a recto, detail, see Fig. 5/41*)

As a further diatessaronic element in this depiction, the mostly undressed bodies of both Jesus and Peter are not part of the Christian portrayal rooted in the Greek biblical texts. The painting shows both bodies without garments. Peter's chest, arm, and leg are all shown without any garments. Peter's entire body is painted with a pinkish-white hue and framed in the red-violet

contour lines often seen in local Manichaean art for representing the skin of human beings, as seen in the iconography of judgment in the *Judgment and Reincarnation of the Laity* (see Fig. 6/11).[124] It is unlikely that Peter was wearing even a loincloth, since no traces of any paint or contour lines different from those used for the rest of his body can be noted in the area of his lap. The same lack of garment in the foot-washing episode is alluded to in the Arabic text of the *Diatessaron*, where Peter asks Jesus to wash not only his feet but also other parts of his body. This request seems to be emphasized in the painting by showing Peter's torso, just as his leg, without garments. His nude body signals that Peter is offering his entire body to be washed. Jesus' body also appears to be shown with the pinkish-white tone used for representing skin in Manichaean art. The damage to the bottom of this scene prevents us from confirming that Jesus was shown in a loincloth, which is to be expected in light of the *Diatessaron* (44:14), according to which Jesus "laid aside his garments (Ar. *waḍa`a thiyābuhu*); he took a towel, and girded his loins. And he poured water into the basin, and began to wash his disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he had girded his loins." The impression that by "laying aside his garments" Jesus was undressed cannot be gained from the canonical discussion of this event in John (13:1). In Christian iconography based on this gospel, Jesus' body is always dressed, since in the Greek text of John 13:4 Jesus "laid off his (outer) garments (Gr. *himatia*)," implying that he kept on his long under shirt (Gr. *chiton*). The Syriac versions (Old Syriac [Sinaiticus] and Peshitta) of the same passage uses the general term *nahte* 'garments,' which leaves unclear what exactly Jesus took off and kept on and could be understood that Jesus got completely undressed. The verse does not occur in Ephrem's *Commentary* to the *Diatessaron*, but it is hard to imagine that Tatian's original prose would have been more explicit than the Syriac Gospel of John.[125]

The identification of a diatessaronic depiction of Jesus' life in East Central Asian Manichaean art corresponds with extensive evidence that the *Diatessaron* was being used among the Manichaeans extensively. A variety of primary textual and documentary evidence confirms that the Manichaeans employed versions of Tatian's gospel harmony during the first half (i.e., the first 700 years) of their history. The most recent records come from three Parthian Manichaean diatessaronic witnesses from Kocho, dating from the Uygur phase of Manichaean history between the mid-eighth and early eleventh century. All three deal with the Passion of Christ, and are written in Parthian language with Manichaean script on non-illuminated codex folia. The two smaller fragments, labeled M 6005 and M 18, quote two passages from the *Diatessaron* that cover Jesus addressing his disciples before his death and the women arriving to Jesus' tomb, respectively.[126] More interesting for us is the largest fragment, M 4570. Its diatessaronic content was famously identified in 1968 by Werner

124 For a nude upper body in Manichaean book illumination, see MIK III 4959 (Gulácsi 2001, 78–81).

125 Personal communication with Lucas van Rompay, Duke University.

126 For M 6005, see Sundermann 1973, 106–108. For M 18, see Petersen 1988, 187–192.

Sundermann in one of his first publications on Iranian Manichaean literature.[127] Sundermann's revised interpretation of M 4570 is incorporated into his study of the *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, which was published in 1981. Found on the two sides of a relatively large paper folio (min. 17.8 x ca. 28.0 cm) entitled in the header as a *Sermon on the Crucifixion*, the text is a teaching that compared Mani's death to that of Jesus.[128] The bulk of the text (ca. 80% of it) regards Christ's Passion that, as Sundermann pointed out, is identical to two sections of the *Diatessaron*—a shorter and a larger passage. The two passages are given as comparisons to Mani's "Parinirvāna," that is, his death, the discussion of which governs the overall content of the sermon.[129] The relationship of the Manichaean sermon text to Tatian's prose becomes evident by correlating the English translation of the Parthian text[130] and of the Arabic version of the *Diatessaron* (**Table 6/7**).[131]

This relatively close correlation between the Parthian text and the Arabic translation of the *Diatessaron* can only be explained if the authors of these two texts (although physically and temporally far apart) were connected to one another through their respective dependence on Tatian's original Syriac prose. For the Manichaean case, this would imply a time and place where Tatian's Syriac prose was still available, both Parthian and Syriac were still known, and the Manichaeans were still active—most likely somewhere in Syro-Mesopotamia prior to the 5th century.[132]

Besides this diatessaronic account, Sundermann also notes ten additional Iranian Manichaean folio fragments from Kocho dealing with the life of Jesus. All of them are preserved on solely textual (not illuminated) codex folia.[133] In

127 Sundermann 1968, 398.

128 The sequence of the two sides of M 4570 is established by its header ("Sermon on the Crucifixion"), which was written across the facing pages of the codex. The recto contains the second half of the header (the preceding verso with the start of the header is now lost), while the verso of the folio preserves the first half of the header's text (Sundermann 1981, 76). On the recto, Jesus' death is discussed. Subsequent passages on the verso mention events leading up to his death (for a photo reproduction of the folio, see Tafel 33).

129 Sundermann 1968, 393–394. For a summary, see Gulácsi 2012(2008), 164 note 45.

130 The English translation presented here follows that of Klimkeit (1993, 72) with the inclusion of some minor sections omitted by Klimkeit, based on Sundermann's German translation from 1981. For an English translation, see Asmussen 1975, 101.

131 Cf. Hill's English translation from a Latin intermediary (2001, 203 and 198–199, respectively). For the French critical edition of the Arabic, see Marmarji 1935, 481–483 and 469–471, respectively.

132 Although its language has been "vulgatized" (i.e., in its prose, standard gospel quotations were adopted in place of the genuine diatessaronic variants), the Arabic translation is considered to be the most reliable witness to the original sequence of the harmonization of Tatian's prose. The colophons in several of the six manuscripts state that the text was translated only in medieval times by Ibn at-Tayyib (d. 1043 CE), thus suggesting that the translator's Syriac exemplar was already vulgatized (Petersen 1990, 409).

133 All are parts of books in the codex format, made of paper, written in Iranian languages. Among the total of eleven texts surveyed by Sundermann, nine are in Parthian (M 132a, M

TABLE 6/7 *Diatessaronic content of the Parthian Manichaean sermon on the Crucifixion* (*M 4570*)

Parthian *Sermon on the Crucifixion* preserved on M 4570 (Sundermann 1981, 76–79)	**Arabic *Diatessaron* in John Reeves' Translation (Chapters 50:39–50:42 and 49:19–49:40, respectively)**
. . . and he [Mani] lost consciousness and died. [Two blank lines]	
So was the Parinirvāna of our Lord [Mani], as it is written. And no one should esteem it as more glorious. [Up to six lines missing]	
. . . Redeem (us) from these things that have come upon us. As we all know, as also Jesus Christ, the Lord of us all, was crucified, as it shows about him.	
They seized him like a sinner. And they CLOTHED (HIM) IN A ROBE and [gave] him A STICK IN [HIS HAND]. And THEY VENERATED HIM . . . AND SAID, '. . . KING, OUR CHRIST!' And they led him to the Cross. [Eight lines badly preserved or missing]	And they undressed him and CLOAKED HIM WITH A CRIMSON ROBE AND DRESSED HIM IN PURPLE GARMENTS. They braided a crown (using pieces) of a boxthorn tree and placed it on his head and (PUT) A CANE IN HIS RIGHT HAND. Meanwhile they were ridiculing him and laughing: THEY SANK DOWN ON THEIR KNEES BEFORE HIM AND BOWED DOWN TO HIM, AND THEY SAID: "GREETINGS, OH KING OF THE JEWS!" And they spat into his face
. . . [There are] also others [who] have [left the world?] through crucifixion. They are many, who have been killed by the sword. [Up to three lines missing] . . . And there are some who went into distant lands, and, having arrived there, were killed. And every one of these apostles was known [throughout the world], for it has been reported [to us] how they suffered and by what sort of crucifixion they left the world. And they also had disciples, some of whom were thrown to wild beasts, others who were chased from land to land. And they were like aliens and enemies in the entire world, and everywhere they were said to be deceived and corrupted. And many are the temptations (that they) [faced] and that they bore . . . [Two lines badly preserved]	
. . . [as] also our beneficent father [Mani], . . . our living . . ., so those corresponding to the Jews desired to remove him [Mani] from the world, as it shows;	

Parthian *Sermon on the Crucifixion* preserved on M 4570 (Sundermann 1981, 76–79)	**Arabic *Diatessaron* in John Reeves' Translation (Chapters 50:39–50:42 and 49:19–49:40, respectively)**
. . . on the MORNING, THE TEACHERS, PRIESTS, SCRIBES [AND] THE RELIGIOUS HEADS held deliberations, TAKING COUNSEL WITH EACH OTHER IN ORDER TO [KILL] HIM.	AS DAWN APPROACHED, there gathered in the twilight all OF THE IMPORTANT PRIESTS, SCRIBES, AND DIGNITARIES OF THE PEOPLE, AND THE WHOLE MULTITUDE. They worked out a stratagem and DELIBERATED WITH EACH OTHER ABOUT JESUS IN ORDER TO PUT HIM TO DEATH.
And they SOUGHT FALSE WITNESSES, BUT THEIR TESTIMONIES DID NOT AGREE.	They SEARCHED FOR FALSE WITNESSES who might testify against him to convict him of deserving death, but they were not suitable: many false witnesses appeared, BUT THEIR EVIDENCE WAS CONTRADICTORY.
And they brought forth two and they said. "This man says, 'I am able to DESTROY THIS TEMPLE THAT IS MADE WITH HANDS, AND TO BUILD ANOTHER THAT IS NOT MADE WITH HANDS IN THREE DAYS.' "	Finally two of the lying witnesses came forward and said: "We once heard him say, 'I CAN TEAR DOWN THIS TEMPLE OF GOD WHICH WAS MADE BY (HUMAN) HANDS, AND AFTER THREE DAYS I CAN BUILD ANOTHER WHICH IS NOT THE PRODUCT OF (HUMAN) HANDS!' "
And their TESTIMONY, too, [did not agree].	But not even with regard to this did THEIR EVIDENCE agree. Jesus remained silent.
And the HIGH PRIEST DEMANDED, "By the living God, I admonish you to take an oath, telling me WHETHER YOU ARE CHRIST THE SON OF GOD, THE BLESSED ONE." JESUS SAID TO HIM, "At first you yourself said that I am he . . ." [Up to six lines missing]	The CHIEF PRIEST AROSE in the midst (of the assembly) and questioned Jesus, saying: 'Will you not answer something to deflect what these two testify about you?' But Jesus remained silent and did not respond with anything. Then they brought him up to their assembly and SAID TO HIM: "IF YOU ARE THE MESSIAH, TELL US!" HE SAID TO THEM: "If I tell you, you will not believe me; and if I were to ask you, you would not answer a word to me or release me." Then the chief priest answered and said to him: "I adjure you by the Living God to declare to us whether you are the Messiah, the son of the Living God!" Jesus said to him: "You have said that I am he." All of them said to him: "So you are then the son of God?" Jesus said to them: 'You have said that I am he.
". . . But from now on you will see THE SON OF MAN SITTING ON THE RIGHT HAND OF THE DIVINE POWER, WHEN HE COMES FROM HEAVEN in a chariot . . ."	I tell you that in the future you will SEE THE SON OF MAN SITTING AT THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE ALL-POWERFUL ONE AND COMING ON THE CLOUDS OF HEAVEN.'
At this time the HIGH PRIEST [TORE] HIS ROBE AND SAID: "to me [."] And they spoke to each other: "[ ] WITNESS what [is still] needed? [ ] we have all further heard [the blasphemy] from his own mouth [ ] ONE MUST KILL [him]."	Immediately the chief priest tore his linen garment and said: "He slanders God!" And all of them said: "Why are we still searching for witnesses? We have now heard the lie from his own mouth! So then what do you think?" All of them answered and said: "HE DESERVES DEATH!". . . .

their subject matter, they cover the sayings of Jesus, hymns on the crucifixion, as well as Passion narratives. Although they neither are Diatessaronic citations, nor happen to discuss the very subjects of the two paintings, they are relevant for this study for confirming a continued Manichaean need to tell a harmonized account of Jesus' Passion. The best preserved of them reads as follows:

> *Jesus before Caiaphas* (*M 734 verso, Parthian*):
> Jesus answered the Jews well: "Ask those who are my disciples what the teaching is that I have taught, and what the deeds are that I have done to them.' Caiaphas, the High Priest, and all the Jews clothed themselves in malice and wrath. And they grievously tortured Jesus, the beloved, with torments and deadly pain. [. . .] But gentle like the God Ohrmizd, . . .[134]
>
> *Jesus before Pilate* (*M 132 with M 586, Parthian*):
> He (remained) holy [and] without (grief) when he was brought in and led to the great ruler. And Pilate asked [him]: "(Are you) in truth (king) in the house of Jacob among the children of Israel?" The righteous interpreter [Jesus] answered Pilate: "My kingdom is not of this world."
>
> *Jesus before Herod* (*M 132 with M 586, Parthian, continues from above*):
> Then, at the urging of the Jews, he bound him and (sent) him to King Herod. [. . .] . . . [Silently] he stood there. And King Herod . . .
>
> *Jesus Mocked* (*M 132 with M 586, Parthian, continues from above*):
> . . . clothed [him] with a garment and put (a crown of thorns) on his head. They came to pay homage, they covered his head, they hit (him) on the chin and face with a cane, they spat into his eyes and said: 'Prophesy for us, Lord Messiah!' Then the Romans [the soldiers] came and fell down (before him) three times. For he constantly turned his beautiful countenance to them and [let them hear his] voice, in his great miraculous power.
>
> *Crucifixion* (*M 5474 Parthian*):
> He [Pilate] crucified him with the evildoers. Then Pilate wrote an inscription (MP *muhr*, lit. 'seal') in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin and hung it up on the cross. And he wrote: "This is Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews. Whoever reads this should know that no fault was found in him."[135]

544, M 734, M 2753, M 3511, M 4524, M 4570, M 4574, and M 5861), one in Middle-Persian (M 1738) and one in the Sogdian language (M 339); See Sundermann 1968, 405.

134 Sundermann 1968, 397f. English translation after Klimkeit 1993, 72.

135 This text displays the tendency, which is also seen in other Manichaean texts, to absolve Pilate from the responsibility of killing Jesus (Klimkeit 1993, 74).

An explanation of how the Manichaeans saw Jesus' suffering in relation to that of the Divine Light is provided by Alexander of Lycopolis, the Greek philosopher from fourth-century Egypt, who in his anti-Manichaean treatise writes about the Cross of Light in the following passage:

> Christ is an intellect (*nous*). When at some time he arrived from the place above, he liberated the greatest part of the above-mentioned power, so that it could get on its way towards God. And finally, it was thought that by his crucifixion Christ provided us with the knowledge that the divine power too is fitted into—or rather crucified in—matter in a similar way.[136]

In Mani's teaching, Jesus' suffering provides an allegory for the suffering of the Divine Light (Living Soul) that the Manichaeans see "crucified" in matter throughout the cosmos (Cross of Light). Through his suffering Jesus revealed the Cross of Light. This truth is Jesus' contribution to the understanding of the universe—his "prophet wonder."[137] Only after Mani's martyrdom did the Manichaeans develop the analogy between Jesus' fate and Mani's.

An artistic clue that ties the iconography of these vignettes to the early era of Manichaean art production is the lack of East Central Asian artistic influence. Much of Manichaean art discovered from Kocho includes motifs shared with the local art of the region. The images may show elements from local material and social culture (felt rugs and pile carpets as sitting areas, traditional sitting positions of nomadic cultures, nomadic garments and armor, as well as a display of special hierarchy according to social rank or gender).[138] Other images may show motifs also seen in the local Buddhist and/or Chinese arts of the region (lotus plants, lotus supports, figures sitting cross-legged, diagrams with arrangements analogous to *mandalas*, even communicative hand gestures similar to those seen in local Buddhist art, etc.). In either case, the visual language of such images is distinctive to the time and place of their actual production and use. In contrast to such East Central Asian Manichaean images, other examples of Manichaean art made and used at Kocho are void of local motifs and instead appear similar to what is known from the visual language of the late ancient art of West Asia. These include motifs seen in the arts of Sasanid Iran (flying victories, wreaths, arches, backless thrones, rulers seated with their knees spread holding a vertical sword between their legs). Another

136 Alexander of Lycopolis IV.7.14ff (P. W. van der Horst and J. Mansfeld 1974, 56).

137 "In its imprisoned form the divine presence is called the Cross of Light, or even 'the vulnerable Jesus,'" (BeDuhn 2000a, 78). This view is reflected in the 85th chapter of the *Kephalaia*, in which a disciple addresses Mani on this topic: "I have heard you, my master, say in the congregation of the church, that it is proper for the person to watch his step while he walks on a path; lest he trample the *Cross of Light* with his foot and destroy vegetation. Also, it counts first for any creeping creatures, lest he tramples upon it and kills it with his foot" (*Kephalaion 85*, 209, 11–20 [Gardner 1995, 217]). For a study on the Cross of Light theme in Manichaeism, see Böhlig 1978, 473–491.

138 Gulácsi 1996, 101–134.

group of Manichaean paintings from Kocho may feature motifs familiar from early Christian art, Byzantine art, and the late ancient art of Syro-Mesopotamia (such as God's hand in the upper right corner of a scene, sun disks and moon crescents, a cross with arms of equal length, a cross-terminating staff, garments with rectangular and square insignia at shoulders, etc.). Such West Asian Manichaean images present examples of pictorial themes that were developed in early Manichaean art, prior to the Uygur phase of Manichaean history. This art was developed somewhere in West Asia, in Syro-Mesopotamia or the East Mediterranean region, between the third and sixth centuries, and remained preserved within the surviving corpus of Uygur Manichaean art through the work of local artists, who created accurate copies of the now-lost, earlier prototypes. One example of this early Manichaean art can be seen in the surviving vignettes of the diatessaronic cycle on Jesus' life.

The identification of a Manichaean painting with a diatessaronic account of Jesus' life is relevant not only for Manichaean studies, but also for the history of early Christian art in Syro-Mesopotamia. It has been long thought that this text must have had an impact on the arts of the region. Nevertheless, no art with diatessaronic content has ever been identified. These Manichaean images provide the first evidence concerning the *Diatessaron*'s impact on pictorial art. Although painted sometime between the mid-eighth and early eleventh centuries (most likely around the tenth century) in East Central Asia, these images do not show any signs of local artistic influence that routinely features typical signs of contemporaneous Buddhist and Chinese impacts. Instead, they belong to a uniquely archaic group of Manichaean images that most conservatively maintain an iconography and a painting style with distinctly West Asian origins. They suggest that a tradition of making and using didactic art was preserved in these diatessaronic Jesus narratives from an earlier phase of Manichaean history that took place in West Asia between the third and sixth centuries. At this time, the only artistic medium used by Mani and his first followers was a canonical pictorial roll filled with didactic images that, therefore, most likely also included the life of Jesus subject. About 600–700 years later in Kocho, their narrative scenes were introduced to liturgical manuscripts as illuminations, as documented by the Uygur folio fragment preserved in Berlin.

3 *Life of Mani*

Narrative scenes depicting events from Mani's live could not have been part of his own *Book of Pictures*. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that such scenes were added to later versions of the canonical collection of images. Proof for the existence of life-of-Mani images derives only from non-canonical objects—fourteenth-century Chinese hanging scrolls. In contrast to their late date, the Manichaeans' interest in teaching and learning about their prophet's life is well attested in early literature. Various details of Mani's life were preserved accurately in the highly literate culture of the Church he founded. Some of the missions Mani led, his encounter with the Sasanian kings (especially Shapur I), as well as his imprisonment and death were all chronicled. Nevertheless, a

comprehensive understanding of Mani's biography, along the line of modern scholarship did not exist in the Manichaean communities.[139] Two primary texts come close to such an account.

One of the two texts is found in a Greek-language miniature parchment codex named after the library in Germany whose property it became and so known today as the *Cologne Mani Codex*. The originally Syriac prose behind the *Cologne Mani Codex* focuses on Mani and evokes Jesus' life as an analogy to Mani's.[140] The text could be significantly earlier than the debated date of its manuscript.[141] Although written as an autobiography (in the first person), its attribution to Mani is negated by the fact that each section is a report about Mani, credited to one of Mani's disciples. Unlike other of Mani's writings, this book was never listed as a part of the Manichaean canon and remained unknown in Central Asia and China. The codex is not illuminated; and no illustrations of its text survive among the solely pictorial remains.

The second text is a passage in a Chinese translation of a Manichaean handbook titled the *Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light*. In this case, the original Iranian composition behind the Chinese prose dates from 731 CE and was written as an introduction to the Manichaean Church, describing its organization, its canon (including its volume of pictures),[142] and its founder. The passage about Mani, however, is far from a biography. While it does discuss Mani's birth and praises his virtues concerning his 60-year ministry, the text is silent about Mani's life story, omitting his childhood, education, revelations, founding of a religion, missionary work, and death. As to be expected, the manuscript itself is not illuminated. Its birth story, however, contains some details that correlate with a later Chinese depiction and thus requires a closer look.[143]

The biographical section of the *Compendium* is embedded in its very first article, titled "On (His) incarnation and native country, (His) names and titles, and (His) peculiar tenets." The part about Mani's birth reads:

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139 See Gardner's studies on Mani's life (2015, 159–205; and 2016, forthcoming).

140 Henrichs pointed out that the text follows hagiographic convention and in many places it is based on the themes analogous to the life of Christ (1979, 92–95 and 97–103). For an overview, see Henrichs 1979, 339–67; and Sundermann, "Cologne Mani Codex," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (http://www.iranica.com/newsite/ [as of January 2010]).

141 Henrichs and Koenen dated the *Cologne Mani Codex* to the fourth century, based on comparable Christian miniature codex production and the relatively free conditions enjoyed by Manichaeans at that time (1970, 97–216). The date was challenged on paleographical grounds by Fonkič and Poljakov, who pointed to close similarities to Greek script employed in the seventh and eighth centuries, and suggested that the codex could be the product of a Manichaean renaissance under Umayyad rule (1990, 22–30).

142 See discussion in Chapter 3.

143 The correlation between the *Compendium* and the Chinese hanging scroll fragment (see Fig. 6/20) was noted by Yoshida (2012, 1–10 and 25), who also mentions a similar discussion of Mani's birth in the *Minshu* (7.32b see Pelliot 1923, 201–201; and Lei 1992, 302).

> According to their *po-ssŭ p'o*(**sa?*)-*p'i* calendar there are, since the beginning, world eras controlled by the constellations. In the 227th year of the era controlled by the 11th constellation called *no*, Šākaya was born into this world. In the 527th year of the era controlled by the twelfth constellation called *mo-hsieh*, Mani, the Buddha of Light, was born into the country of Su-lin at the royal palace of Pa-ti by his wife Man-yen of the house Chin-sa-chien (lit. 'jewel' also 'noble' and 'fair'). The (date of) birth (as recorded) in the *po-ssŭ p'o*(**sa?*)-*p'i* calendar is equivalent to the eighth day of the second month of the thirteenth year of the period Chien-an of the Hsien of the (later) Han dynasty (March 12, 208 CE), (the two systems of time-reckoning) wholly corresponding. That, the natural endowments and the heavenly omina (being appropriate), (His mother) conceived; and that, keeping the rules of abstinence and strictly purifying (herself, she) became pregnant; (that) was because of His own pureness. That, having entered existence from (His mother's) chest, He surpassed His age and excelled everyone; and that He evidenced the spiritual verifications nine-fold and answered to the supernatural auspices five-fold; (that) was because His birth was beyond the ordinary.[144]

Appropriately to the Manichaeans' cosmic view of their religious history, this text situates Mani's era following that of one his predecessor prophets—the historical Buddha. By emphasizing the auspicious circumstances of Mani's delivery (how he "entered existence from [His mother's] chest"), the anonymous author evokes the Manichaean version of a miraculous birth topos, known only from Chinese Manichaean sources.[145] Historical facts are also noted, such as Mani's country, royal house, parents' names, and date of birth.

While none of the currently known textual sources on Manichaean art discuss the depiction of Mani's life, four fragmentary Chinese Manichaean paintings seem to depict this prophetological subject (**Figure 6/13c**). All four are cut portions of larger silk hanging scrolls. Although the largest of the four could be close to its original dimension, the three smaller fragments are composed as individual, framed pictorial units—sub-scenes that functioned as registers (or maybe larger vignettes) within one or more hanging scrolls.[146] Since these

144 *Compendium 1* (Haloun and Henning 1952–53, 191–192).

145 This Manichaean topos is comparable to the Buddhists' version, according to which Shakyamuni was born without pain emerging from his mother's side (Bary 1972, 58).

146 For the reliatve proportions of the currently known Chinese Mancihaean silk paintings, see Fig. 5/12, above. It is not impossible, but remains unconfirmed if (and how) the three smaller prophetological fragments may physically relate to one another. Furukawa (2012, 25) investigates the possibility that the fragment with *Birth of Mani* and the fragment with *Community after Mani's Death* might have derived from the same painting. Although does not aim to explore questions of physical ties, Miki Morita's study (2016, forthcoming) notes distinctive stylistic similarities in the repeated depictions of the mother figure as seen on the *Mani's Parents* and the *Birth of Mani* fragments and thus, confirms the relatedness of the two.

four images share the style of other Manichaean pictorial art produced in southern China, they can be dated to the fourteenth/fifteenth century.[147] The Manichaean identification of these four fragments has only recently been established. In each case, this was based on comparing pictorial content (iconography and painting style) with securely identified Manichaean content preserved in visual and/or textual sources.

The Manichaean origin of the two smaller fragments that narrate how Mani was born is obscured by strong Buddhist iconographic influences. The *Birth of Mani* image was identified by Yutaka Yoshida based on the correlation seen between its unique iconography and textual discussions of some of the miraculous events (e.g., Mani's emergence from his mother's chest) as pointed out.[148] Most recently, the *Mani's Parents* image was identified primarily based on stylistic grounds by Miki Morita. In addition to the conspicuously missing key elements of the Buddha's birth (e.g., Maya's dream of the white elephant), Morita noticed the caning resemblance of the mother figure in the *Birth of Mani* image in the Kyūshū National Museum in Dazaifu (Fukuoka prefecture, Japan) to the portrayal of the queen figure in the fragment housed on the eastern shore of the Pacific Ocean, in California, in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco.[149] Morita's argument of this pictorial relatedness is supported by the discussion of the two events of Mani's birth in *Compendium 1*. Accordingly, the *Mani's Parents* image shows how "(His mother) conceived; and that, keeping the rules of abstinence and strictly purifying (herself, she) became pregnant; (that) was because of His own pureness; and the *Birth of Mani* image shows that "having entered existence from (His mother's) chest, He surpassed His age and excelled everyone."

The Manichaean identification of these fragments is more obvious in the cases of the *Episodes from Mani's Missionary Work* and the *Mani's Community Established* fragments, since they both display unquestionable correlation with the iconography of Mani and his elects in Chinese Manichaean art, as pointed out by Yutaka Yoshida. The latter two fragments show episodes from a

147 Furukawa 2010, 35–52 and 56.

148 Yoshida 2012, 1–10. The *Birth of Mani* must have been a popular subject in Chinese Manichaean art as indicated not only by the currently known two fragmentary depictions of this subject (see Fig. 6/13c), but also by a now lost, black-and-white print that showed *Lao-tze's Rebirth as Mani* (Chavannes and Pelliot 1913, 118). This image was the 42nd illustration in a book titled, *Lao-kiün-hua-hu-ch'eng-to-king* (1598 CE), which contained excerpts and illustrations from two texts: the *Hua Hu Ching* and the *Daodejing*. Each page was divided into two parts, the upper part with *Hua Hu Ching*, lower part with *Daodejing*. Herbert Müller (1911, 409) was the first to discuss this image and its book (ID # 7178) in the collection of what at that time was the Museum für Völkerkunde. Today, this book is confirmed lost in Berlin (personal communication with Siegmar Nahser and Lilla Russell-Smith); neither a copy nor another edition is held in the British Library (personal communication with Susan Whitfield).

149 For more about the *Mani's Parents* image, as well as a comparative analysis of its iconography and painting style, see Morita (2016, forthcoming).

mission led by an elect distinguished by a green halo.[150] Since this iconography parallels the depiction of Mani in the *Diagram of the Universe*, it is reasonable to assume that the main figure in these two paintings may represent Mani amidst his missionary activities (*Episodes from Mani's Missionary Work*) that culminate in the foundation of a Manichaean community (*Mani's Community Established*)—historical or legendary. If so, these two depictions of missionary history can be categorized under the life of Mani subject. If, however, the main figure were not Mani (but another travelling elect famous for missionizing), then these two fragments could depict a hagiography[151]—a theme that remains undocumented among the textual records and positively identified physical remains of Manichaean art known today. If the latter turned out to be the case, further research would have to argue for the introduction of hagiography to the repertoire of Manichaean art in southern China by the fourteenth century.

As is customary in historical pictorial art, the material culture shown in these four paintings pertains to their Chinese pictorial context of origin, although even the missionary and community-building events they portray did not necessarily take place in that environment. Therefore, while interpreting them, we must keep in mind that Chinese landscapes, buildings, boats, garments, and any other aspect of East Asian life shown in them may symbolize Mani's world in third-century Mesopotamia, that is, in "the country of Su-lin at the royal palace of Pa-ti by his wife Man-yen of the house Chin-sa-chien" in the year "equivalent to the eighth day of the second month of the thirteenth year of the period Chien-an of the Hsien of the (later) Han dynasty."

Understanding the coded iconography of these paintings allows us to make sense out of their fragmentary content. In this art, supernatural beings, such as angels (male and female), demons, or deities are depicted traveling on clouds. In contrast, natural beings are shown on the earth—humans on the ground, sea creatures in the waters, and birds in the sky. Within both groups of beings, halos signal importance. Clothing is used for marking occupation and social status. Accordingly, garments set the laity aside from the elect. Laypeople are dressed in an array of garbs appropriate to what they are. The elects (all men) are portrayed wearing white robes and white cloaks. The colorful hemlines (red, green, or blue) that are seen on some of their white cloaks indicate the leading elects. A red hemline seems to be the most prestigious, since it is often paired with a halo (green, blue, or red). While most elects wear no headgear, occasionally black hats indicate the novice status of some, shown standing at the side of or behind their seniors.

150 Furukawa 2010, 40–43.

151 The latter interpretation was introduced by Yutaka Yoshida at the Dublin conference in 2009, who accordingly labeled the larger painting as "Hagiography I" and the smaller as "Hagiography II" (2010, 56; and 2015b, 391).

The *Mani's Birth* fragment retains a cohesive visual unit from a larger composition (now lost), which was organized into framed registers (**Figure 6/20**).[152] Besides the rubbed areas along the very middle (that includes a pair of small clouds and the upper half of an orb) and the mid-right of the picture plane (that retains four partially preserved demons standing on a black cloud), all figures survive in relatively good condition. As a self-contained unit within a larger scene, this fragment preserves a mini composition with a centralized and informally balanced layout. Accordingly, its most prestigious message is distributed along the vertical axis, enclosed by supplementary groups of figures on the left and right sides.

The core message is communicated in three parts: divine blessing, incarnation of a prophet deity, and celebration of the prophet's birth. At the top of the vertical axis, two large descending clouds merge, each carrying five divine musicians. Their location and the halos around their heads signal their importance (see Fig. 6/20a). Flanking their assembly is another pair of descending clouds. Each carries four divine soldiers bearing offerings or banners, who seem to be the eight "soldierly angels" (Lat. *angelorum exercitibus*)[153] associated with the King of Honor in Manichaean literature and art (*Diagram of the Universe:* Seventh Firmament of the Sky, detail, see Fig. 6/25). In the middle, directly beneath the divine musicians, a thick vertical line connects the clouds to an orb amidst ten floating flowers (see Fig. 6/20b). This orb was the main motif in the very middle of the painting. It is shown hovering atop a lotus pedestal, flanked by two female figures holding offerings in their hands. Inside the orb, an image of a small body can be made out seated cross-legged on a lotus pedestal and backed by a mandorla and originally a halo. Although the upper half of the orb does not survive, it seem that Mani was shown here as an infant manifestation of a deity as the only frontally projected and seated figure in this composition. The final motif along the vertical axis is a rectangular, red, lacquered crib-box covered with a fine see-through cradle canopy, under which the baby Mani is shown resting on pillows.[154] Earthly musicians and dancers surround the crib at the bottom of the picture plane, while dignitaries arrive to celebrate the birth (see Fig. 6/20e).

The rest of the composition arranges female figures on the left and male figures on the right in relation to the core message. (1) The left side is related to the birth (see Fig. 6/20c). Here, we can see a palace building with the mother (in blue headgear surrounded by attendants) depicted twice—once before the birth (along the side of the building) and once just after it. As if the artist was aware of the *Compendium* passage, the pre-birth depiction captures the mother with her maidens "keeping the rules of abstinence and strictly purifying (herself, she) became pregnant;" while the birth depiction shows how

152 Yoshida 2012, 1–10 and 25.

153 Augustine, *C. Faustum* 15.6; see discussion under Fig. 6/25a, below,

154 Yoshida interpreted this object as a box of scrolls symbolizing the books written by Mani (2012, 25).

a: 2 guardians of cardinal directions with 2 banner-holding attendants descend, 5 divine musicians descend

b: Newborn in halo above lotus pedestal, light beam descends from sky, 2 attendants

c: Mother before and after birth, newborn emerged from chest, 5 lotus pedestals, 3 jewels, 3 dignitaries with 2 attendants arrive

d: 3 dignitaries with 1 attendant approach baby

e: Baby canopy covered with see-through cloth and 2 of 4 musicians

f: Blue-robed dignitary and 5 standard-bearers

FIGURE 6/20 *Key motifs in the life of Mani subject*: Birth (*details of Fig. 6/13c, scale not harmonized*)

Mani "entered existence from (His mother's) chest." The mother's role in this episode is highlighted in the painting by showing the mother on a larger scale than the rest of the figures and atop the central stairs of the building. Her chest is the source of a cloud-trail that culminates in a small cloud, on which a newborn is standing and pointing up. In front of the infant, there are six lotus pedestals and a triple-jewel motif.[155] Among other small motifs scattered around the green surface here, there is a small, gold cross shape prominently isolated on the right side of the vertical axis, which may symbolize "the cross of light." Below the palace building, two attendants walk behind three noble ladies. Based on their garments, overall appearance, and the trajectory of their progress, these three belong together with the two ladies that flank the main orb. The implied line of their distribution parallels the front orthogonal of the palace building, pointing to the main orb with the image of the infant prophet. (2) The right side of the painting shows three groups of male figures. Directly beneath the cloud with the four "soldierly angels," there are three demons on a dark cloud. Beneath them, two groups approach the tent. Closer to it, is the group with three dignitaries (dressed in white, red, and blue robes) walking under a white parasol carried by an attendant (see Fig. 6/20d). Further to the right, there is a blue-robed dignitary with five standard-bearers, possibly Mani's father, mentioned as "Pa-ti" in the *Compendium* (see Fig. 6/20f). They, too, are shown walking and looking toward the canopy-covered cradle. All in all, the trajectory of the walking men (pointing to the cradle) counterpoises the trajectory of the waking women (pointing to the orb with the image of the infant deity). These implied lines confirm an effective visual acuity well suited for a didactic work of art.

The subject of the largest fragment is hard to decipher, since its content is obscured by significant surface damage (**Figure 6/21**). Moreover, the overall composition of this hanging scroll is organized neither into registers (as on the *Salvation Scene*), nor clearly delineated overlapping sub-scenes (as on the *Diagram of the Universe*). Instead, the figures are grouped into mini scenes, the backgrounds of which change from seascape to landscape and to cityscape in order to narrate episodes from a mission led by a distinguished elect (possibly Mani). Narrating a story from top to bottom, the mini scenes are fitted into five horizontal units that stretch across the otherwise undivided picture plane. At the top of the painting, the first unit shows the start of a sea voyage.[156] Here, five boats proceed from right to left pushing aside a black cloud with five demons, who carry weapons and military banners. The leading elect of the group (possibly Mani) is shown standing at the stern of the head boat distinguished by a green halo and a red-hemmed cloak. Painted near him is a

155 Yoshida notes the similarity of these motifs to those also used in East Asian Buddhist art (2012, 25).

156 For the sea voyage of Mani during his mission to India, see *Kephalaion* 1,15.25 (Gardner 1995, 21).

SEA VOYAGE

ARRIVAL

WELCOME
Mani (?), 4 guardian deities, and 6 elect greeted by 2 divine delegations arriving on clouds

MISSIONARY WORK
Interactions with laity

COMMUNITY ESTABLISHED
Sermon conducted outside city gates (left) and lay offerings presented to Manichaean temple inside city wall (right)

FIGURE 6/21 *Visual syntax of the life of Mani subject*: Missionary Work (*see Fig. 6/13c*)

a: Lay people (5 men, 1 woman, and 1 child) bring offerings to shrine with statue of Mani and 3 elect

b: 3 musicians and 3 servants holding banners and parasol in front of shrine

c: Teacher and 4 elects encounter learned layman

d: 5 laymen in front of judge

FIGURE 6/22 *Key motifs in the life of Mani subject*: Community after Mani's Death (*details of Fig. 6/13c, scale not harmonized*)

sea-monster.[157] In the second unit, three of the five boats are shown anchored, while, near the shore, seven elects are sitting around and listening to a high-ranking elect, distinguished by a red halo and a pedestal seat. The third unit shows the two remaining boats anchored in the background of a reception

157 A sea giant mentioned in *Kephalaion 45*, 116.7 and *Kephalaion 51*, 136.24 (Gardner 1995, 122 and 142).

ceremony, in the course of which another seven elects (led by the one with a green halo and the red-hemmed cloak) and four haloed soldiers are greeted by deities descending on two clouds. The fourth unit shows interactions of the elect with laity across the countryside in four mini scenes. Finally, the fifth unit appears to conclude the story with a sermon given between two cities on the left, and laity bringing alms to a Manichaean temple located within the walls of a city on the right.

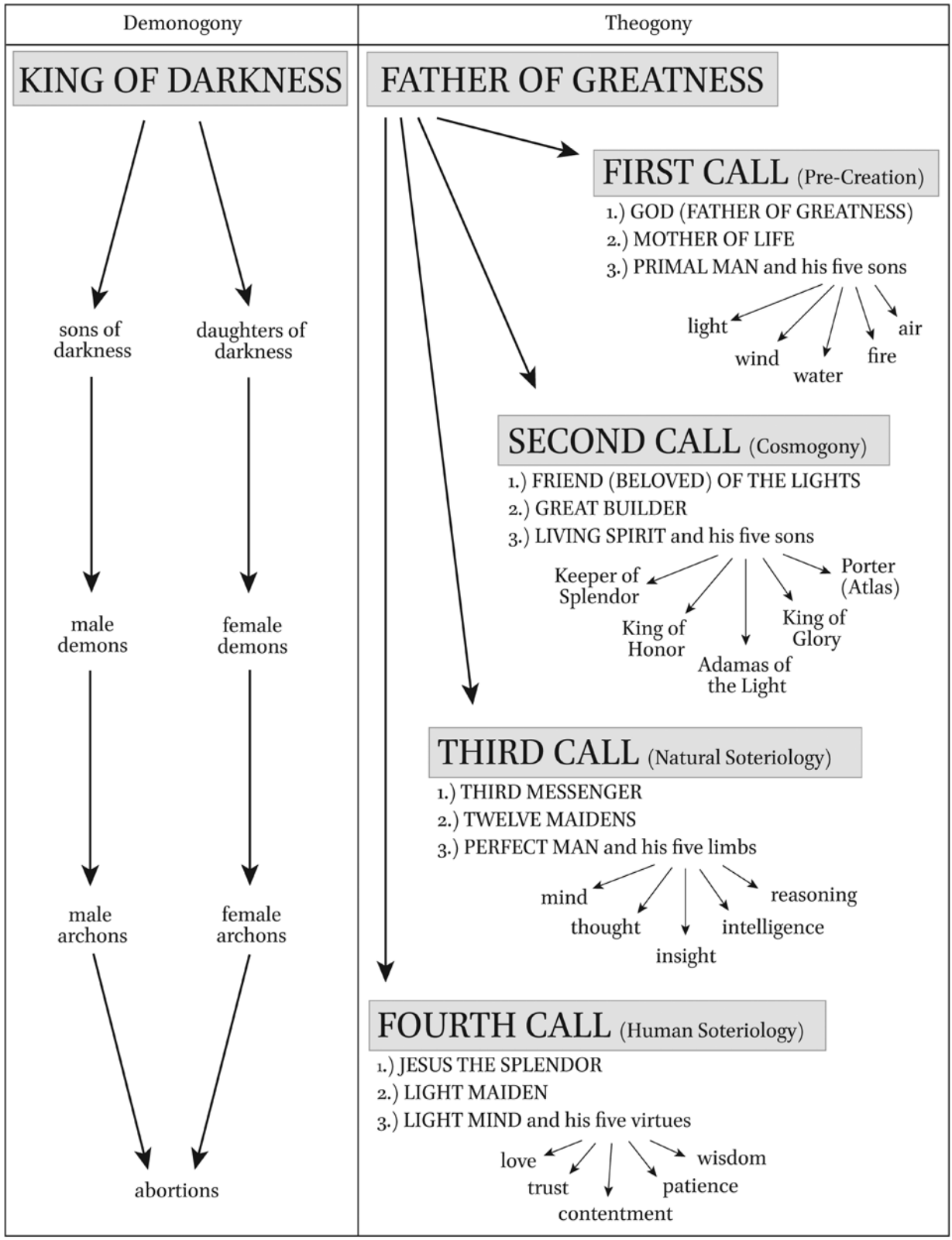
The third fragment has a composition similar to that of the largest image, since its surface also arranges a series of mini scenes in a collage-like pattern separated from one another by clouds and mountains (**Figure 6/22**). It seems to depict missionary history similar to that shown in the fifth unit of the largest fragment with the city gates.[158] On this fragment, the three remaining mini scenes are in good condition. The one in the upper left depicts a celebration at a crowded Manichaean shine, implying a time when the religion had already been established and Mani was no longer alive, as suggested by the statue that portrays him (see Fig. 6/22a–b). Inside the shrine, three elects stand behind this statue facing a group of laypeople (five men, one woman, and one child). The men hold offerings. In front of the shrine, three men play musical instruments, while another three hold banners and a parasol. Further along the right, another mini scene seems to signal that the Manichaean laity properly obey the laws of the land by showing five well-dressed laymen bowing in front a judge seated in his office (see Fig. 6/22d). Yet another group of figures at the lower left may indicate lay respect toward the elect by showing a teacher and four elects encountering a layman, who bows in front of them with his hands together in front of his chest (see Fig. 6/22c).

Theology: Icon of the Light Maiden, Icon of the King of Honor, Icons of Unidentified deities, Icon of Jesus, and Icon of Mani

Gods and demons populate the Manichaean universe. These divine and demonic beings actively impact the light's journey across the firmaments of the sky to reach the New Aeon and ultimately the Realm of Light/God. The figures of this pantheon, and the tasks they fulfill, are woven into Mani's soteriology, cosmology, and especially cosmogony. According to Mani's theogony, God has been creating divine agents from time to time—calling three of them into existence at a time—in order to assure the liberation of light. Each group makes gradual progress within a drawn-out process of salvation history. The great variety of alternative groupings within the Manichaean pantheon is frequently noted in modern scholarship. In light of the logic of differentiated function, however, the most heuristic underlying structure of Manichaean

158 Furukawa 2012, 25.

TABLE 6/8 *Chronology of the Manichaean pantheon based on Tardieu 2008 and BeDuhn 2017*



theogony emerges (**Table 6/8**).[159] On the immense scale of cosmic time, Mani distinguishes four "calls," which gradually produce the twelve primary gods of the Manichaean pantheon. In the structure of Mani's myth, God (the Father of Greatness), who exists eternally, first evokes the Mother of Life and the Primal Man. This triad constitutes the first call. The second triad of God's creation consists of the Friend/Beloved of the Lights, the Great Builder, and the Living Spirit. God's third call produces the Third Messenger, the Twelve Maidens, and the Perfect Man. His fourth call brings about Jesus the Splendor, the Maiden of Light, and the Light Mind.[160]

In his transcendent aspect, Jesus also belongs to this pantheon, and Mani has found a place in it as well.[161] Based on their historical roles as prophets, the portraits of Jesus and Mani were part of the depiction of a prophetological theme in Manichaean didactic art. And so, in a group portrait depicting the subject of the Primary Prophets, they were shown with Zoroaster and Shakyamuni around the Light Mind. Based on their cosmic roles, however, Jesus and Mani are also actors within God's ultimate plan of salvation on a universal scale and featured in divine portraits on their own. Undoubtedly, the genre of such icons in itself indicates their devotional use. This interpretation is supported by textual evidence, since the veneration of Jesus and Mani is documented across Manichaean history in hymns of praise written in a variety of languages. Textual evidence also confirms the instructive use of such iconic portraits. Article 2 of the *Compendium* notes this practice in connection with an icon of Mani that showed him enclosed in halos and seated on a lotus throne.

Both the textual sources on didactic art and actual physical remains of that art confirm the existence of icons of various divine beings throughout Manichaean history.[162] So-called "icons," "devotional portraits," "commemorative images" or "cult images" constitute an important genre in art history. They may be painted or sculpted. In general, such images center on a deity, a prophet, a religious personage, or a ruler. They are imagined "type-portraits" that show the main figure in a formal and majestic setting frontally projected and prestigiously seated either on a throne or a lotus support.

Depictions of deities, in the form of their iconic portraits, were part of Mani's canonical paintings. As discussed in detail below, one of the earliest primary records notes that the disciple will be expected to recognize certain deities in the afterlife based on their images in Mani's *Book of Pictures*. In other

159 The list presented in this table is based on Tardieu (2008, 81–85) and BeDuhn ("Manichaean Doctrine" in the forthcoming *Handbook of Manichaeism*).

160 BeDuhn 2016, forthcoming.

161 Jesus appears already as the first prophet, enlightening Adam and Eve, while Mani occupies the final place in salvation history, as the "seal of the prophets."

162 Thinking of an exclusively devotional function, Klimkeit contemplates that Mani's *Book of Pictures* probably did not contain "cultic images." He notes both textual and artistic evidence about icons of Mani, as well as other passages, which give the impression that icons are discussed (without actually mentioning the art) in connection with the Father of Greatness, the Third Messenger, and the Maiden of Light (Heuser and Klimkeit 1998, 149–157). For the sake historical accuracy, I consider only those textual sources in this study that, in fact, discuss works of art.

a: ICON OF THE LIGHT MAIDEN (2 images)

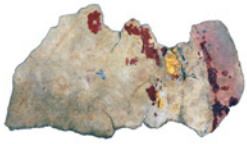
MIK III 4965 recto(?)

MIK III 6286 side 1(?), detail

b: ICON OF THE KING OF HONOR (1 image)

MIK III 36 verso

c: ICON OF AN UNIDENTIFIED DEITY (5 images)



MIK III 7048

MIK III 4975

MIK III 4965 verso(?)

MIK III 7283 recto

MIK III 6272 & III 7021b

d: ICON OF JESUS (4 images)

MIK III 6286 side 2(?), detail

MIK III 6283 side 2(?), detail

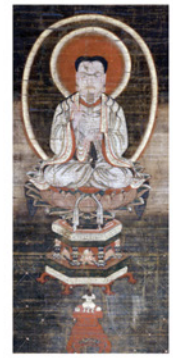
MIK III 6283 side 1(?), detail

Seiun-ji

e: ICON OF MANI (4 images)

Kokka 1937

Cao'ansi



Yamato Bunkakan, detail

private coll., detail

FIGURE 6/23 *Theology*

words, the images of deities in the picture books were intended to aid preparation for the supernatural stage of an individual's religious carrier. This didactic function assigned to icons in Mani's canonical paintings is distinctly different from a devotional role that Manichaean icons on non-canonical objects also fulfill (painted on wood panels or silk hanging scrolls, or sculpted in stone or wood). Another primary text describes that even such devotional "cult images" were used for teaching among the Manichaeans. A Teacher would point out the symbolic connotation of the iconography from its halo to its lotus seat, connecting each element to a key doctrinal concept.[163]

The written records contain eight passages that mention what appear to be five iconic images on theology (see Tab. 6/2: Theology). They document subjects such as the portrait of the Light Maiden, the Primal Man (First Thought), the King of Honor (Royal Prince), the Four Guardians, the Deity of the Wonderful Water, as well as Jesus and Mani.[164] In turn, the currently known corpus of Manichaean art preserves nine theological images in the form of "icons" (**Figure 6/23**). They convey five subjects—the Light Maiden, the King of Honor, an Unidentified Deity, Jesus, and Mani.

1 *Icon of the Light Maiden*

The Light Maiden (or Virgin of Light) is a deity in Mani's teachings, who is created by God in the soteriological phase of the emanation of the pantheon (see Tab. 6/9). Her designation in a variety of languages references an unmarried young woman with close ties to the divine element of light (Copt. *Parthenos Nouaine* and Parth./MP. *Kanig Roshan* lit. 'Light Maiden'). Despite pioneering publications by Carsten Colpe, Werner Sundermann, Alois van Tongerloo, and most recently by Yutaka Yoshida, a comprehensive study on the Light Maiden is yet to be written.[165] Nevertheless, the great significance of this deity in the Manichaean pantheon is undoubted. She is one of three divine agents, who are compared to the Christian Trinity in the Coptic *Psalm-Book*:

> Jesus, the Tree of Life, is the Father; the fruit, the Light Mind, is the Son; the Maiden, this sweet one, is the Holy Spirit. [...] Jesus, the physician of the wounded; the Light Mind, the sun of hearts; the Maiden, the mother of all life.[166]

The primary function of the Light Maiden concerns the early stages of personal salvation. She appears to the righteous elect and catechumen at the start

163 These findings are contrary to assumptions about the canonical collection of images made by the late Prof. Klimkeit (see Heuser and Kimkeit 1998, 149).

164 Without mentioning the didactic paintings of the Manichaeans, images of Mani are noted by Eusebius, Abu'al Faraj al-Iṣfahani, Ma'sūdī, and Ibn al-Jawzī. See assessment of data on "Designation" in Chapter 1.

165 Colpe 1981, 58–77; Sundermann 1992, 159–73; and Tongerloo 1997, 361–374. Yoshida (2009b, 700–701) was the first scholar to introduce a visual source to the study of this deity.

166 *Psalm-Book* II, 116.7–12 and 145.6–8 (Van Lindt 1992, 171).

of their afterlife with the task of ferrying their souls to the Realm of Light.[167] In this capacity, she is often mentioned together with Jesus (i.e., Jesus, the Splendor), as in this Coptic hymn to Jesus, in which the believer evokes Jesus' help to be worthy in reaching salvation and so meet the Light Maiden:

> Let me be worthy also to see thy maiden for whose sake I have toiled, who brings the gifts of the faithful and her three angels who are with her.[168]

Other texts emphasize her "glorious likeness" and "joyous image" and, thus, indirectly reference the existence of her depictions:

> Lo, the light of the Maiden has shone forth on me, the glorious likeness of the Truth, with her three angels, the givers of grace. [. . .] Draw now the veil of thy secrets until I see the beauty of the joyous image of my mother, the holy Maiden, who will ferry me until she brings me to my city.[169]

Analogously to textual sources that discuss her role in salvation, most visual sources show the Light Maiden in depictions of judgment after death within larger images depicting soteriological and cosmological subjects known today from Chinese Manichaean art dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[170] About four hundred years earlier, between the mid eight and early eleventh centuries, the Light Maiden was also depicted in icons used for devotional and didactic purposes among the Manichaeans during the Uygur phase of their history.

The claim that the Light Maiden was depicted in a didactic icon within Mani's *Book of Pictures* is supported by both textual and pictorial evidence. The textual survey above revealed that the images of the *Hikōn* were meant to teach the disciples in a variety of ways, including helping them to visualize the supernatural stages of their religious careers. Aided by the images, the disciples learned which deities they would encounter and what events they would experience at the start of their afterlives.[171] One passage specifically states that they will recognize the Light Maiden (when she comes with her three gift-bearing angels to greet them in the afterlife), because her appearance will correspond to the image of her they saw in the *Hikōn*.[172] This passage does not specify whether the Light Maiden's image in the *Hikōn* was a portrait, or a scene that narrated the events of salvation and depicted her deeds. Nevertheless, the didactic intent behind viewing her image pairs well with the actual examples of her depictions surviving in the icon genre that show her

167 Van Lindt 1992, 174.

168 *Psalm-Book* II, 66.22–24 (Van Lindt 1992, 171).

169 *Psalm-Book* II, 81.3–5 and 84.30–32 (Van Lindt 1992, 171).

170 Yoshida (2010, 22–23 and Plate 4) notes that the Light Maiden is depicted in two different roles in the atmosphere of the Chinese Manichaean *Diagram of the Universe*.

171 *Kephalaion 92*, see discussion in Chapter 1.

172 *Kephalaion 7*, see discussion in Chapter 1.

enthroned as a majestic deity. This line of thinking is further supported by the archaic (pre-Buddhist) iconography of her two portraits that survive among the Turfan remains. Her iconography in Uygur-era Manichaean art preserves distinct Sasanian features that point to the ultimate Sasanian-era origin of her depictions and thus matches the mid-third-century artistic milieu where Mani's *Book of Pictures* originated.

Mani explains in *Kephalaion 29* how the gods of the Manichaean pantheon are seated on thrones (Copt. < Gr. *thronos*), including the Light Maiden, who occupies the "third throne" in the "ship that belongs to the night":

> The first throne is the throne of the Father, the God of Truth … This is the first throne […] the one that surpasses all thrones. (Discussion of an additional eight thrones follows).
>
> Three thrones are in the ship of the day: one is that of the Ambassador (i.e., the Third Messenger), the second is that of the Great Spirit, the third is that of the Living Spirit. Once again, there are three thrones in the ship that belongs to the night: the first is the throne of Jesus the Splendor, the second is that of the First Man, the third is that of the Virgin of Light. These six thrones are established in the two ships.[173]

How these thrones look is not the point of this teaching, but conveying a majestic setting that fits the significance of these deities is. Analogously, in the visual language of Manichaean art, the appropriate seats of prestige may vary from one culture to the other, but they are essential for communicating a divine status. For example, the depiction of the above-mentioned six thrones (three in the sun and three in the moon, including one with the Light Maiden) in the Chinese Manichaean *Diagram of the Universe* (see Fig. 6/39: Liberation of Light) is fitted to the visual norms comprehensible during the Yuan dynasty, where most frequently divine beings are shown sitting cross-legged on lotus pedestals.[174] The two Uygur Manichaean icons of the Light Maiden are no exception. In their Iranian-rooted visual language, however, the deities of the Manichaean pantheon are expected to be seated on elegant platform-seats with legs arranged in a regal manner—knees spread and ankles close to one another—as discussed below.

Two images document the fact that the Light Maiden was depicted in an iconic manner as an enthroned solo deity in Manichaean didactic art (**Figure 6/23a**). Both of them were produced in Kocho sometime during the tenth century and belong to the Museum of Asian art, Berlin. One of them is a full-page image found on a folio fragment of what appears to be a solely pictorial horizontal codex (MIK III 4965 recto[?], see Fig. 5/4). Due to its exclusively

173 *Kephalaion 29,* 81.21–83.16 (Gardner 1995, 83–84).

174 Yoshida 2010, 23 and Plate 2.

pictorial content, this folio fragment is best interpreted as a version of Mani's *Book of Pictures* that was produced during the Uygur period of Manichaean history in a horizontally oriented codex format.[175] This design is unique to the Uygur era and is closest to the format chronicled as a "picture book" in Islamic accounts. The second scene depicting the enthroned Light Maiden is preserved in the upper register of a mortuary banner (MIK III 6286 side 1[?], see Fig. 5/24). This portrait is a subscene within the salvation of a female elect subject. Although fragmentary, it preserves meaningful clues about its original composition. Prior to the current study, these two works of art had only been discussed in a basic way in catalog entries.[176]

Based on the above considerations of textual and visual data, the key symbols in the portrait of the Light Maiden can be summarized (**Figure 6/24**). The representation of the head preserves important clues, some of which are unique to this deity in Uygur Manichaean art. In this art, a head with a young woman's face is used for depicting this deity (see Fig. 6/24a). As is customary in icons, the head is shown from a frontal projection, which allows for some reference to long black hair and a scarfed headdress in both the book painting and the mortuary banner. A more detailed view of these characteristics is seen in the *Salvation of the Light with the Light Maiden* (MIK III 6251), where the deity's head is shown from a three-quarter view. A tiara is an important accessory placed atop or above the deity's head (see Fig. 6/24b). While a small tiara is placed atop the head in the mortuary banner, a large tiara is held by a pair of angels/victories in the book painting. Most data on ancient Iranian headgear derive from a royal context, referencing either cloth or metal bands (Old Pers. *tiyārā*) of various widths.[177] In addition, small female heads built into the iconography near the head symbolize the association of this deity with the freed light (see Fig. 6/24c). They are shown around the head of the Light Maiden in either her halo or her hovering crown. Their numbers vary between 18 (as seen in the crown on the mortuary banner and in the halo of the deity in the embroidery) and 12 (as in the halo in the book painting).

Additional key motifs in these images communicate the divine status of the Light Maiden. Her figure is enclosed in a halo and a mandorla, the combination of which is standard in all divine icons in Uygur Manichaean art, just as is her prestigious sitting posture. On the temple banner, this deity sits on a platform seat in a regal pose with her knees apart and her ankles touching (see Fig. 6/24d). A sash tied around her waist concludes in a vertical line much like

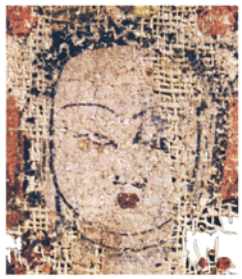
175 See discussion of format in Chapter 5 above.

176 Gulácsi 2001, 103–107 and 178–181 with an overview of previous catalogue entries. For a research article that focuses on these two works of art, see Gulácsi 2016, forthcoming.

177 Headbands are portrayed in the arts of various Iranian dynasties. Starting with the era of Alexander the Great, Persian headbands gained popularity across the East Mediterranean and became a symbol of prestige—as documented in the arts of the Hellenistic and Roman era. For a discussion of the *tiara* in Parthian art, see Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis 1998, 61–73.

a: FACE OF YOUNG WOMAN - symbolizing the face of the Light Maiden

MIK III 4965 recto(?)



MIK III 6286 side 2(?) original and digital restoration

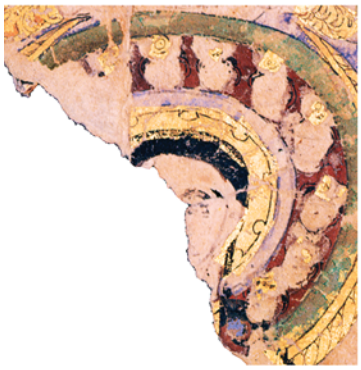
MIK III 6251

b: HOVERING TIARA - symbolizing esteemed status in pantheon

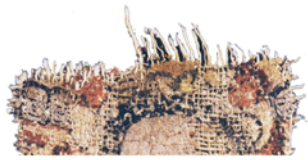
MIK III 4965 recto(?)

MIK III 6286 side 2(?) original and digital restoration

c: FEMALE BUSTS AROUND HEAD - symbolizing particles of liberated light



MIK III 4965 recto(?)



MIK III 6286 side 2(?)
original and digital restoration

MIK III 6251

d: REGAL POSE OF SITTING - symbolizing esteemed status in pantheon

MIK III 6286 side 2(?) original and digital restoration

MIK III 6286 side 1(?) original and digital restoration

e: BOOK - symbolizing Mani's docterine

MIK III 6286 side 2(?) original and digital restoration

MIK III 6286 side 1(?)

MIK III 6283 side 1(?)

FIGURE 6/24 *Key motifs in the icon of Light Maiden subject shown with comparative examples*

the placement of swords in Sasanian royal images. The iconography of Jesus, who is paired with the Light Maiden on the mortuary banner, also incorporates these royal symbols. A final distinct element in the iconography of the Light Maiden is a book placed in her palms, which rest in her lap (see Fig. 6/24e). The book is often seen in Manichaean art. It seems to be especially relevant in salvation imagery, as it is seen in connection with the salvation of the righteous, where each elect is shown with a book (see Fig. 6/7). This motif symbolizes Mani's teaching, since it was recorded and preserved in the books he wrote. Therefore, in the Light Maiden's hands, too, the book motif symbolizes the Manichaean canon.

2 *Icon of the King of Honor*

The King of Honor is one of the five sons of the Living Spirit created during the second call (see Tab. 6/9). After the heavens and the earths were made, this deity was charged with the task to oversee and guard the operation of the firmaments of the sky.[178] In early Manichaean literature, the enthroned King of Honor occupies the seventh firmament of the sky. *Kephalaion 29*'s enumeration of the nine thrones in the "zone" reports that "the seventh throne in the zone is established in the seventh firmament, the King of Honor sits upon it." According to *Kephalaion 28*, he "dwells and is established in the seventh firmament" (*Kephalaion* 28, 80.5–6). *Kephalaion 70* speaks of the King of Honor's "authority over the seven firmaments beneath him." Counting from the top down rather than from the bottom up, *Kephalaion 38* places him in the "third firmament" (*Kephalaion 38*, 92.24–25). Theodore bar Konai also places the King of Honor (Syr. *mlk' rb' d'yqr'* = *malkā rabbā dᵉ īqārā*) in the seventh firmament, and he adds that the Great King "took a seat in the midst of the heavens and kept watch over the whole." In *M 178* II, similarly, "they seated him on a throne in the seventh heaven and made him the lord and king over all the ten firmaments." The Uygur designations, which refer to him as the "Sky God" (Uyg. *Kök Teŋri*) and the "Khan of Heavens" (Uyg. *Kök Teŋri Khan*), most effectively capture his function as a deity.[179]

Both textual and pictorial pieces of evidence support the claim that the icons of King of Honor in late Manichaean art go back to the earliest art of the Manichaeans—Mani's collection of pictures. The two textual sources on art that mention depictions of this deity concern his icons on hanging scrolls that were separate from Mani's canonical volume of pictures. The earliest passage that mentions the icon of this deity is the late tenth-century memoir of Käd Ogul from Kocho. A fragmentary phrase among the list of seven titles of paintings suggests that this deity was shown on one of the silk hanging scrolls that decorated the walls of Käd Ogul's *manistan*.[180] This interpretation is supported by a passage on Manichaean art in the *Wenzhou Memorial*, which mentions

178 Jackson 1932, 299.

179 Clark 2013, 220–222 and 205.

180 For the fragmentary Uygur passage and its interpretation, see Chapter 3.

that the six silk hanging scrolls in the *manistan* of Wenzhou during the early twelfth-century included "a silk painting of the Royal Prince" (*Taizi zheng* 太子幀)—which is most likely to be the Chinese designation of the King of Honor. The latter text is especially relevant, since in addition to the six hanging scrolls, its list of thirteen books housed in the library of this *manistan* includes the *Book of Pictures* (*T'u ching/Tújing* 圖经, lit. *Picture Book*) and thus positively confirms that the silk hanging scrolls did not replace, but only supplemented the canonical volume of pictures.

A fragmentary version of an icon of the King of Honor survives as a full-page illumination from tenth-century Kocho in the collection of the Asian Art Museum, Berlin (**Figure 6/23b**). It is found on the verso of a torn codex folio, whose recto page contains a Middle Persian benediction bestowed on the Uygur court (MIK III 6258a, see Fig. 5/34). In harmony with the archaic Manichaean iconography of other divine portraits surviving from the Uygur era, this deity is depicted here in a majestic setting. Along the vertical axis of a symmetrical composition, his figure is projected frontally and positioned formally seated on a throne—his knees are spread apart with the ankles close to one another, and his arms rest on his knees with the elbows pointing to the side. His garments include blue trousers, a tunic, a red scarf across his lap, and what appears to be a red cloak hanging from his shoulders along the surviving edge of the throne. An originally gilded arch enclosed his throne, as suggested by its remaining left pillar. Surrounding the enthroned deity are two rows of soldiers in gilded armor; halos of various colors encircle their heads. Based on the codicological data preserved on the recto, the soldiers numbered five in each row on both sides of the deity, thus totaling twenty. As the folio's reconstruction diagram captures, this image follows a composition analogous to the other icons of deities known from tenth-century Manichaean art and surveyed under the theme of Theology.

Appropriately to his role in Mani's cosmology, the King of Honor is featured in the Chinese Manichaean *Diagram of the Universe* with an iconography that preserves early Manichaean roots (**Figure 6/25**).[181] Shown twice in the seventh firmament of the sky, this deity is the main figure on either side of this layer of the sky—the widest and thus visually the most prominent from among the ten firmaments. His figure is distinguished by being enthroned, dressed in a blue robe, a red cloak, and a white-red undergarment, and he is marked by a green halo and observed by Mani and his two attendants. On the right side of the seventh firmament, the deity is shown on a lotus pedestal and speaking, as signaled by the tiny cloud-born figure proceeding from his mouth (see Fig. 6/25b). Placed to the left of Mani, the deity's magical disk is depicted with a multicolored inner circle enclosed in a band of twelve heads on a white background. Several texts describe this device in connection with the King of Honor: *Kephalaion 36* speaks of a "wheel . . . with twelve seals in it" in front of him, while M 178 refers to this object as a "magic twelve-faceted lens." It is a sur-

181 Yoshida 2010, 13–14.

a: Left side of firmament: the deity is shown seated on a throne and flanked by his soldiers

b: Right side of the firmament: the deity is shown seated on a lotus pedestal, speaking (as signaled by the tiny cloud-born figure proceeding from his mouth), and with his magical disk.

FIGURE 6/25 *Two emanations of the King of Honor observed by Mani in* Diagram of the Universe (*private collection, details of Fig. 6/42*)

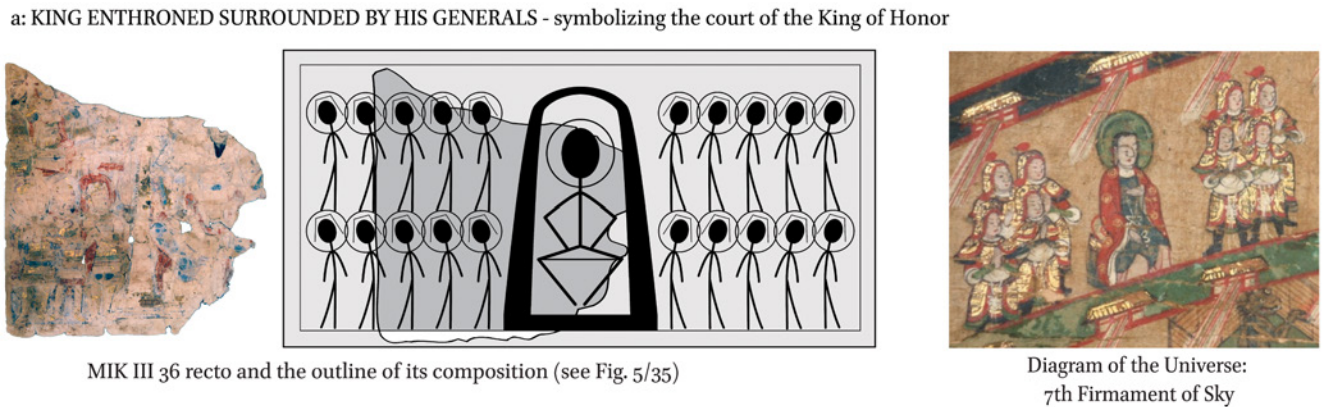


FIGURE 6/26 *Key motifs in the icon of King of Honor subject shown with comparative examples*

veillance device for monitoring the firmaments.[182] On the left side of the seventh firmament, the King of Honor sits on a throne flanked by fully armored soldiers (see Fig. 6/25a). Augustine of Hippo refers to the fact that the "King of Honor" (*rex honoris*) is "surrounded by soldierly angels" (*angelorum exercitibus circumdatum*, Contra Faustum 15.6).[183] The latter component is featured not only in the Chinese image, but also a tenth-century Uygur manuscript illumination (MIK III 36 recto), confirming that being "surrounded by soldierly angels" is a standard motif in the iconography this deity in both Uygur and Chinese Manichaean art (**Figure 6/26**).

3 *Icons of Unidentified Deities*

The icons of divine agents observe distinctive visual characteristics in Uygur-era Manichaean art. Paintings with such a subject are organized in formal symmetry around a central anthropomorphic figure. In the genre of such an image, the enthroned deity is shown in frontal projection and on a scale larger than that of the flanking attendant figures, who are projected from a three-quarter view, oriented towards the deity, and positioned in a less prestigious pose (sitting on their heels or standing). Various accessories create a majestic setting around the deity. A platform seat serves as the throne. A mandorla encloses the body. A halo surrounds the head, and an elaborate headgear crowns the head. The only exceptions to this rule are the portraits of Mani and Jesus, who, although elevated to a divine status in Manichaean teaching, retained the absence of headgear from their iconography as prophets. Otherwise, the

182 For more on this, see Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015, 79.

183 Yoshida 2015a, 101 and 155. The latter imagery goes back to biblical precedent in the divine epithet Sabaoth ("of armies") and refers to God enthroned "with all the host of heaven standing around him on his right and his left" (1 Kings 22:19). This reference is carried forward in later Jewish visionary literature, which places Yahweh on a throne in the seventh heaven, with "all his soldiers standing . . . to his right and to his left before him" (Siddur Rabbah 48–51).

headgears of deities are often decorated with motifs that reference light in Manichaean art.

Among the artistic remains recovered from Kocho, there are remnants of five Manichaean images that retain the portrait of a deity in conditions that leave their identity uncertain (**Figure 6/23c**). While two of them are damaged beyond subject identification (MIK III 4975 and MIK III 7048, see Figs. 5/1 and 5/3), three fragments preserve just enough visual data to confirm that their subject matter was a single deity depicted in an iconic manner amidst symbols of light. Aside from descriptive catalog entries of Manichaean art and Central Asian temple banners, their common subject has not been discussed.[184]

One of these images is painted as a full-page image on a horizontally-oriented and solely pictorial codex folio with an *Icon of an* (*Unidentified*) *Deity* (MIK III 4965 verso[?], see Figs. 5/4b and 5/4d). Based on its exclusively pictorial content and the "Portrait of the Light Maiden" subject identified on its recto(?), this torn folio is best interpreted as a remnant of an Uygur-era codex-formatted version of Mani's canonical paintings. On the verso(?) of the folio, the subject is also a portrait of a god from the Manichaean pantheon. In this case, the enthroned deity is flanked by a pair of attendants standing beneath a large arch. Beyond the arch, an additional pair of attendants and a pair of victories have been retained. The victories are shown atop the arch positioned next to a large central headgear. The victories seem to stack the headgear with gold disks and crescents.

Another *Icon of an* (*Unidentified*) *Deity* is found copied onto the non-inscribed recto side of a folio as a full-page manuscript illumination (MIK III 7283 verso, see Fig. 5/37).[185] This fragment preserves only a small portion from the body of the deity: parts of his long black hair and black beard, a large gold earing, and parts of a white scarf from the headgear. Behind him, remnants of a halo and a mandorla can be seen. His figure is enclosed by a repeated motif that consists of a gold crescent/plate, on top of which rests one or two female busts—short busts with no shoulders and necks only heads. Each bust is shown with a large Sasanian headgear, consisting of a large gold disk nested in the middle of a short white scarf, whose two ends curve upward to culminate at the level of the disk. Painted beneath one another, one version of the motif (one bust on one crescent) forms a column next to the deity. The other version (two smaller busts on one crescent) is used in the second column. The best-preserved examples of this motif confirm that all heads were shown from a three-quarter view and were facing away from the deity, as if the light they symbolize was radiating from this god—in harmony with the radial stripes of the deity's halo and mandorla.

184 Gulácsi 2001, 103–107, and 178–181; Bhattacharya-Haesner 2003, entries 544 and 545, 368–371. Yoshida (2015a, 151–152) noted the buts-in-crescent motif on MIK III 7283 verso and MIK III 6272.

185 The Middle Persian text on the verso does not retain enough lines to identify its content. It is clear, however, that this fragment originally belonged to the middle section of a folio within a luxurious edition of a Manichaean book (Gulácsi 2001, 178).

The third image with the *Icon of an* (*Unidentified*) *Deity* is preserved on two silk fragments that, although today do not match physically, originally belonged to one single hanging scroll (see Fig. 5/11**)**. It is easier to see the content of the fragment that shows three (or possibly four) human heads in a crescent shape (MIK III 6272). Analogous to the book painting discussed above (MIK III 7284 verso), the crescent is defined here as a fluted gold plate, while the heads are portrayed as short busts with eyes looking in the same direction. The headgears are not preserved. The fluted vessel is depicted as a large flat bowl projected frontally with a horizon that matches the viewer's eye level. A second fragment (MIK III 7021b) of the silk painting provides a further analogy to the iconography of the same unidentified deity in the book painting. This fragment preserves a small part of a large halo along its upper left edge, a small part of a large mandorla along its lower left edge, the bottom of a gilded plate along its top edge, and the tip of another golden plate at its lower right edge.[186] The central area of the fragment shows a section of the orange background decorated with a white swirling pattern. Based on these iconographic clues and the scale of the surviving motifs, it seem that this silk painting originally focused on a centrally positioned image of a deity enclosed in repeated motifs of gold crescents adorned with female busts that looked away from the deity.

In Manichaean literature, light is ubiquitously connected with the divine. God is made of light and creates His divine agents from the essence of light. When Mani describes them, he associates divine agents with shining light as well as angels/victories and head ornaments (i.e., diadems, crowns, and headcloths). For example, an angel holding a crown of victory is mentioned with the Primal Man in Mani's cosmological teachings as recorded by the eighth-century Eastern Christian ("Nestorian") bishop, Theodore Bar Konai:

> He [Mani] says that the Father of Greatness evoked the Mother of Life, and the Mother of Life evoked the Primal Man, and the Primal Man evoked his five sons, like a man who puts on armor for battle**.** He says that an angel whose name was *Nḥšḥṭ* went out in front of him, holding in his hand a crown of victory, and he says that he spread (or shed) the light before the Primal Man.[187]

An angel carrying what appears to be a headgear, consisting of a "headcloth, a crown, and a diadem of light," is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadim in his *Fihrist*,

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186 In connection with the two silk fragments (MIK III 6272 and MIK III 7021b), Bhattacharya-Haesner (2003, #544 and #545 and pp. 368–369 and 370–371) notes their identical weaving structure, signs of the same artist's hand in the execution of the swirling pattern of the orange background, as well as the iconographic analogy to the book painting on the illuminated codex folio MIK III 7283 (see Figs. 5/36, 5/37, and 6/23c).

187 Theodore bar Konai, *Book of Scholia* (Reeves 1992, 190). Reeves notes that although the name of the angel is not attested in other sources, his role as a "crown-bearer" (Gr. Στεφανοφόρος) corresponds to what is seen in the Byzantine "great abjuration formula" (201, note 24).

while summarizing Mani's teachings on the early stages of the afterlife, sometime during the middle of the tenth century. Ibn al-Nadim writes:

> When death comes to one of the Elect, Primal Man sends him a light shining deity in the form of the Wise Guide. With him are three deities (angels), with whom there are the drinking vessel, clothing, headcloth, crown, and diadem of light. There accompanies them a virgin, who resembles the soul of that member of the elect.[188]

An angel, holding "the diadem and the wreath and the crown of light," is also noted in the fourth-century text of *Kephalaion 7* as one among the "three angels of light, the ones who come with this form of light."[189] These Arabic, Syriac, and Coptic references were based on earlier Manichaean texts that lead back to Mani himself. In all of them, light and shining are essential elements for a description of the divine; angels are noted with the gods, and an angel holds "a crown of victory."

As with the angels, light symbols are depicted in connection with the head ornaments of certain deities in Manichaean iconography (**Figure 6/27**). One of the two most archaic Uygur examples is the diadem of the Light Maiden. This golden diadem contains a large sun disk in its center and is held by a pair of angels above the head of the deity. On the other side of the same folio, which shows the portrait of an unidentified deity under an arch, the two angels are adding moon crescents and sun disks to the main headgear. Chinese Manichaean art preserves much of this iconography, as indicated by the depiction of the Father of Greatness in the uppermost subscene of the *Diagram of the Universe*. In this case, there is a canopy above God's head that culminates in a golden disk with ribbons. Flanking the canopy, are the pair of angels. Although the wings are lost from their depictions, the angels hold golden disks and reach with them toward the canopy as if they are about to add them to it.

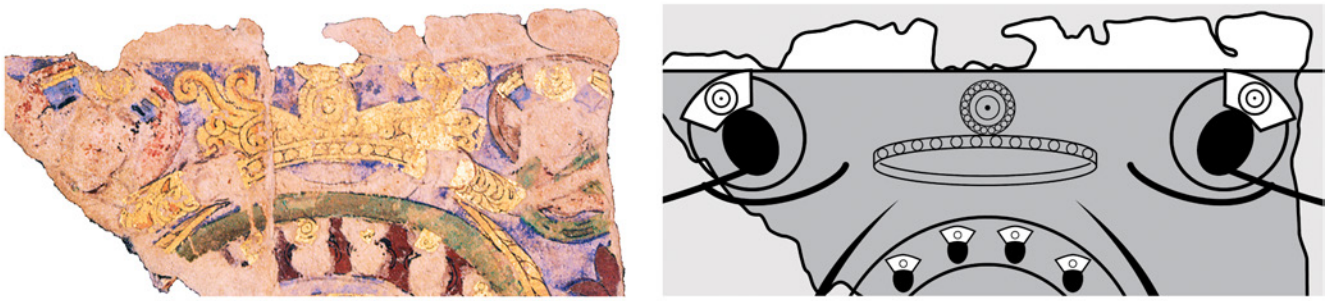
In summary, the above visual and textual sources confirm that a set of key motifs is routinely used to evoke symbols of light in the iconography of certain divine portraits in Manichaean art (**Figure 6/28**). Most striking among them is a motif composed of a short female bust topped with a prominent sun-disk-adorned headgear placed on a gilded crescent-shaped plate see Fig. 6/28a). This motif evokes a symbol of the liberated light on a celestial ship. Female busts are frequent in Manichaean art. They are seen in headgears, halos, or diadems of deities,[190] and also in the insignia of ceremonial cloaks of high-ranking elects and deities.[191] In the transcultural visual language of art, this bust motif

188 Ibn al-Nadim, *Fihrist* Chapter 9 section1 (Dodge 1970 II, 795).

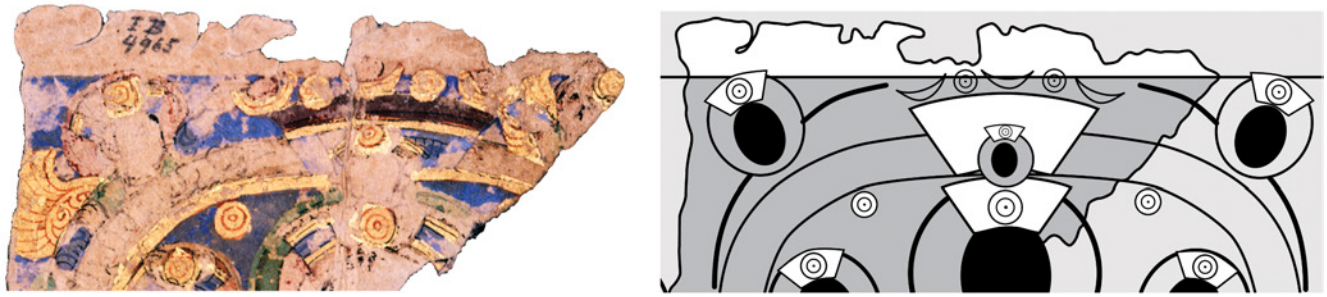
189 For the full quote of *Kephalaion 7*, see Chapter 1.

190 MIK III 4965 verso[?], MIK III 4965 recto[?], and MIK III 6286 side 2[?].

191 MIK III 6918, MIK III 6917, and Seiun-ji, Yamato Bunkakan. Ebert interpreted the female busts seen inside the insignia of Manichaean ceremonial cloaks as light symbols (2004, 77).



a: Sun disk in center of diadem held by angels above the head of the Light Maiden
(MIK III 4965 recto(?) and its outline, details of Fig. 5/4)



b: Sun disks and moon crescents added by angels to main headgear atop arch above unidentified deity
(MIK III 4965 verso(?) and its outline, details of Fig. 5/4)

c: Sun disks added by angels to canopy of Father of Greatness in Realm of Light
(*Diagram of the Universe* and its outline, details of Fig. 6/37)

FIGURE 6/27 *Angels handling light symbols in head ornaments of deities*

references a "maiden" through the sex and age of the figure, and possibly particles of the light substance symbolized by showing only the maiden's head (or the upper body). The headdress alludes to light by featuring a sun disk set in the center of a short white scarf, the two ends of which pointedly curve upwards. In association with this bust motif, the plate has a dual connotation in Manichaeism. On the one hand, this part of the motif is painted literally as a plate. The body of this plate is decorated with vertical lines to suggest a fluted *repoussé* surface of ancient Iranian metal ware. Since light is liberated from the food the elect eat, a plate in this context evokes the daily sacred meal of the elect. The only other example of this motif is seen on a painted and gilded silk fragment (MIK III 6272), just large enough to retain one plate with three

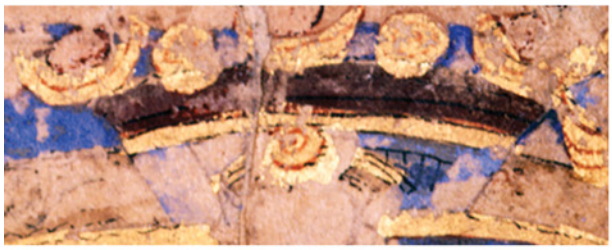
a: FEMALE BUSTS ON CRESCENT MOTIF - symbolizing liberated light

MIK III 7283 verso

MIK III 6272

Diagram of the Universe (1st firmament)

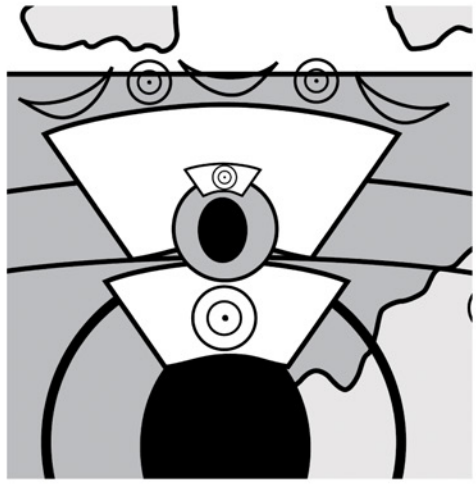
b: MOON CRESCENT AND SUN DISK MOTIFS - symbolizing vessels of liberated light



MIK III 4965 verso(?)

Diagram of the Universe (Realm of Light)

c: MULTIPLE LAYERS OF HEADGEAR - symbolizing ties of deity to liberated light



← moon crescent and sun disk atop headgear

← headgear atop arch

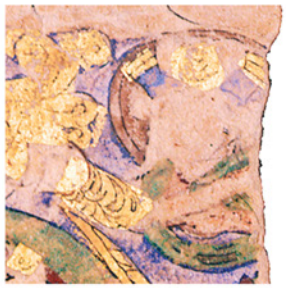
← female bust atop headgear of deity (no halo in original)

← headgear of deity

MIK III 4965 verso(?) original and its outline

d: PAIR OF ANGELS/VICTORIES - symbolizing divine attendants

MIK III 4965 verso(?)



MIK III 4965 recto(?)

Diagram of the Universe (Realm of Light)

FIGURE 6/28 *Key motifs in the icon of an Unidentified Deity subject shown with comparative examples*

busts.[192] On the other hand, the crescent-like shape of these shallow vessels is similar to the shape of a crescent moon known from Manichaean literature as one of the "ships" of the liberated light, as noted in *Kephalaion* 70 in connection with the sun and the moon:

> "... these two ships of lights. For the living soul should go up in them and become free through them; and it ascends from the abysses below and arrives to the heights above."[193]

Most literally, this teaching is depicted in the *Diagram of the Universe*, by showing a series of gilded crescent moons, each with two female upper-body busts, to indicate the ascending light across the firmaments of the sky. Preserved within the complex iconographical context of the Chinese painting, it is possible that the crescent moon was the original symbol behind the gilded crescent shape, which at one point started to be finished with vertical red lines and thus reinterpreted as a fluted plate by the artist working at Kocho. Either way, the motif of a maiden's bust, wearing a unique head ornament with a sun disk, on a gilded crescent shape, effectively symbolizes the (particles of the) liberated light in Manichaean art.

Three additional key motifs evoke light symbolism in the iconography of the deity under the arch. One of them, painted atop the headgear on the arch, consists of alternating three moon crescents and two sun disks (see Fig. 6/28b). The crescent moon and sun disk allude to the ships, by which the liberated light travels away from Earth to the New Paradise. Therefore, at a minimum, this row references the deity's association with the light's journey; and it could even be essential for decoding the identity of this deity—if only this amazing scene were better preserved. The second motif is formed by multiple headgears, including two wide fan-shaped headgears accessorized with three sets of light symbols (see Fig. 6/28c). The deity wears one headgear decorated with a solar disk enclosed in a short white scarf (identical to the head ornament on the female busts noted above). Atop the arch is another headgear decorated with a row of moon crescents and solar disks. Connecting the two headgears are remnants of a female bust, which can be made out, thanks to the bust's distinct headgear with a golden disk and white scarf. Headgears are known as heraldic symbols that reference the office of church dignitaries in Manichaean Kocho.[194] Therefore, it is most likely that the multiple headgears emphasize the importance of this deity as well as this figure's ties to the liberated light. The third motif connected to light symbolism in the iconography

192 Bhattacharya-Haesner 2003, 368–370.

193 *Kephalaion* 70, 172.26–29 (Gardner 1995, 182).

194 The headgear motif is used in Manichaean heraldry to identify the office of the teacher, as seen in in the illuminations decorating two examples of official Manichaean Church letters preserved from Kocho. For the analysis of these "letterheads," see Gulácsi 2005a, 213–216 and Fig. 6/5.

of this deity is the pair of angels/victories painted symmetrically atop an arch (see Fig. 6/28d). Such winged attendants are rare in Manichaean art, but on this picture book folio, the images on both pages incorporate this iconography. In light of textual references, it is clear that these figures represent angels who are attendants of deities. On both sides of this pictorial folio, their headgears are identical to those that adorn the heads of the light beings represented as busts on crescents.

4 *Icon of Jesus*

The multiple Jesus figures is a puzzling aspect of Mani's teaching that is yet to be fully sorted out in Manichaean studies. At the current stage of research it is clear that Mani's teachings consider Jesus in a cosmic context and in a variety of roles. One Jesus is integral to Mani's prophetology. This Jesus is one among the four prophets, dispatched by the Light Mind to lead humankind to salvation in "the West." This is the Jesus who walked the Earth, taught his disciples, established a community, died on the cross, and after his death ascended from the Earth. This Jesus exposed through his passion the "cross of light"—the suffering of the light across the earth. It is clear that Mani's teachings on prophetology included Jesus and that the prophet Jesus was depicted in Mani's *Book of Pictures* as one of the Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism round the Light Mind and the Life of Jesus subjects.[195] But another Jesus is also prominent in Mani's theology and soteriology. This Jesus is a divine being emanated by God during the fourth call (see Tab. 6/9). He "glows" and "is splendid," and so, he is referred to as "Jesus the Splendor" in Manichaean studies today. This magnificent Jesus exists beyond the Earth in a supernatural realm, where the early stages of the afterlife take place. Like the Light Maiden, he appears to the righteous elect and catechumen after death. Based on his essential role in the salvation process, this Jesus seems to be at the core of the development of Jesus worship, which remained integral in ritual practice attested across Manichaean history in text and art.[196]

Within the currently known corpus of Manichaean art, four paintings depict Jesus as a majestic solo deity (**Figure 6/23d**). Three of them are fragments that derive from tenth-century Kocho, preserved integrated into the soteriological pictorial program of double-sided mortuary banners in the Asian Art Museum, Berlin. The first retains most of Jesus' body and has been digitally reconstructed (MIK III 6286 side 2[?] upper register, see Fig. 5/26). The second retains only the torso with the pointed beard of the same figure (MIK III 6283 side 2[?] upper register, see Fig. 5/27a). The third retains only the lower body of the same figure (MIK III 6286 side 1[?] upper register; see Fig. 5/27b). In sharp contrast, the fourth image is an exquisitely well-preserved Chinese Manichaean painting on a silk hanging scroll dating from the twelfth/

195 See discussion under "Prophetology," above.

196 For a book on the various Jesus figures in Manichaean literature, see Franzmann 2003. For an article-length study, see BeDuhn 2009.

thirteenth century and housed today in the art collection of Seiun-ji, a small Zen temple, near Kofu, Japan (see Fig. 6/29).

The identification of these four Manichaean icons of Jesus began with the Chinese painting in 2006 by Takeo Izumi. In addition to dating this unique work of art, Izumi suggested it might be a "Nestorian" Christian representation of either Jesus, an angel, a saint, or God (Syriac *Alaha*).[197] In 2009, Izumi's hypothetical attribution to East Syriac Christianity was questioned in a detailed argument that put forward a Manichaean attribution based on a distinctive Manichaean iconographic element—the white cloak with four insignia—worn atop the red robe of this deity.[198] attribution in 2010, Moriyasu explored the historical context of this Manichaean Jesus image.[199] Izumi's hypothesis that Jesus may be depicted here is affirmed by three kinds of critical evidence: (1) the cross motif's association with Jesus in Manichaean literature and the use of an analogously shaped, even-armed cross, in connection with Jesus in Uygur Manichaean art; (2) the red robe of Jesus, also employed in Uygur Manichaean art based on Early Christian prototypes,[200] and (3) a Chinese inventory that lists a "Silk Painting of the Deity Jesus (Ch. *Yishu fo zheng*)" as one of the six hangings scrolls noted from the *manistan* of Wenzhou in 1120 CE.[201] This Jesus image is clearly distinguished from Chinese Manichaean depictions of Mani, who is always shown wearing a white robe (beneath a white cloak, the

197 Izumi (2006, 14) notes that it is less likely that an angel is portrayed in this image because the figure does not have wings. He adds: "If Christ is represented, the four small figures [i.e., the four small heads visible on the robe near the shoulders and the knees] may be the writers of the four gospels or the four archangels." Kósa (2015b, 179) omits Izumi's Nestorian Christian identification and describes Izumi's subject as an image of the bodhisattva Akashagarbha (Jp. Kokūzō Bosatsu). The latter is the traditional Rinzai Zen label of this painting at Seiun-ji, which Izumi's thesis specifically refutes (2006, 7). For an English overview of Izumi's argument, as well as the iconographic logic behind the Buddhist identification at Seiun-ji, see Gulácsi 2009, 91–97.

198 Gulácsi 2009, 104 and 110–120. The white cloak with four insignia as a key element of Manichaean iconography was first pointed out in connection with East Central Asian Manichaean art (Ebert 2004, 72–83) and subsequently for Chinese Manichaean art in connection with Mani (Yoshida 2009a, 4–5) and Jesus (Gulácsi 2009, 104).

199 Moriyasu 2010, 357–360.

200 Gulácsi 2009, 136 and Fig. 15b.

201 Before its exhibition in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, this painting was restored in 2010. Discussing it, Izumi explains that while most of the body of the figure was intact, certain part of the original silk were missing from the forhead, the hair, the collar, the base of the cross statuette, and the pedestal. At an unknown historcial time, these areas of the original panting were carefully repaired by adding a new layer of silk to the back of the image and repainting the missing areas on its front surface without introducing any noticable changes to the overall color repertoire and the design of the original painting. A backlit photo from 2010 shows the hangign scroll after its repainted back layer of silk was removed (2015, 186 and Fig. 7).

latter of which is often adorned with a decorative a border and four insignia) to signal membership in the sacerdotal community of the elects.[202]

The Chinese Jesus image features a monumental solitary figure cloaked in a distinctively Manichaean ceremonial garment in a visual syntax that effectively highlights a devotional cross statuette (**Figure 6/29**). From the naturally aged, dark-brown fibers of the medieval Chinese silk, glittering lines of gold and various colors illuminate the subject against the undefined blank background. The lower half is filled by an elaborate pedestal: a multilayered hexagonal stand supporting a lotus with lush sets of petals that open in five orderly rings. Each petal evokes the form of a miniature altar. The upper half is occupied by a cloaked deity seated with crossed legs and hands held close to one another in front of the chest. The prominent halo around the head is supplemented by the faint outline of a large mandorla that frames the body and reaches upwards, where a tasseled canopy concludes the image along the top edge of the cloth. Aside from the exquisite details, this powerful image documents the mastery of its maker through a sophisticated composition. A skillful application of isometric perspective on the intricate pedestal captures a complex geometry. The sense of depth is enhanced by the relationship of the body to the lotus, the lotus to the faint mandorla, and the head to the halo. In this space, the horizon (eye level of the viewer) is set at the eye level of the figure, showing the pedestal and the lotus seat from above, the canopy from below, and everything else accordingly. The frontal view of all elements (except the hands) establishes balance and stability. Only the positioning of the two hands breaks the formal symmetry, introducing a contrast in order to signal their relevance. The gesturing right hand parallels the cloak's vertical golden border while the left hand is positioned horizontally. Its palm and fingers cradle a gold statuette in the form of a cross on top of a miniature lotus pedestal, held in front of the exact center of the figure's chest. This arrangement makes the cross the *visually* more prominent element compared to the *iconographically* expected greater prominence of the right hand.

The recognition that the three Uygur Manichaean icons also represent Jesus began with the best-preserved Uygur painting, which could be identified based on its iconographic similarity to the Chinese Manichaean Jesus image (see Fig. 6/23d).[203] Previous studies suggested focused on the best-preserved

202 Kósa (2015b, 179) simply omits the reapeated Jesus identifications of this painting by Izumi (2006), Gulácsi (2009a), and Moriyasu (2010). Without addressing the critical historical and art historical body of evidence that identifies the Seiun-ji painting as a Manichaean *Icon of Jesus*, Kósa "cannot refrain from assuming" that the painting depicts Mani, since it "resembles" the main figure in the Yamato Bunkakan painting in a number of generic features, which he lists (2015a, 205 note 27). While the shared Chinese Manichaean visual language makes the two icons similar to one another, key elements of their iconography (pointed beard vs. forked beard, red robe vs. white robe, and attributes such as the cross statuette) clearly signal the distinct identities of the two deities (see Figs. 6/31 and 6/34).

203 Gulácsi 2009, 131–133.

a: Gold and pigments on silk, H:153.3 cm, W: 58.7 cm
(before physical restoration)

b: Detail with female bust insignia on white ceremonial cloak at shoulder
(after physical restoration)

c: Detail with right hand gesturing with two outer fingers raised,
left hand holding devotional cross statue on lacquer pedestal,
(after physical restoration)

FIGURE 6/29 *Icon of Jesus depicted on a hanging scroll, southern China, 12th/13th centuries (Seiun-ji, Kofu Japan)*

Uygur image and suggested that it may depict a "high-ranking personality of the church or a saviour figure [. . .]. It seems not impossible that the central figure represents Mani himself."[204] The identification of the two, more fragmentary Jesus images was first presented at the Seventh International Congress of Manichaean Studies (Dublin, 2009).[205]

All three Uygur *Icons of Jesus* center on a monumental, solitary figure cloaked in a characteristically Manichaean ceremonial garment (see Figs. 5/26 and 5/27). These paintings are versions of one image—not only identical in material, composition, iconography, and painting style, but also made in the same workshop and possibly by the same painter. The best preserved of them retains all essential clues needed for comprehending its original iconography. With the aid of a digitally reconstructed version of the painting, we may discern with greater ease what was depicted on it. The image features a male deity seated on a backless throne, flanked by two small-scale male elects sitting on their heels. The deity's figure is enclosed by two sets of halos with a red base, yellow (gold-like) periphery, and red contour. His body is shown with a pointed black beard. He is dressed in a red robe with a white cloak wrapped around his shoulders and folded in his lap. His cloak is decorated with a golden border and four insignia.[206] In this case, the insignia are formed by small squares defined by double lines that enclose an unadorned interior. The left hand holds the cloak together in front of the body. The right hand is raised in a communicative pose in front of the chest as seen on the Chinese Manichaean Jesus painting.[207] Like the two more fragmentary versions, this image was painted in the so-called "Chinese fully painted style of Uygur Manichaean art" characterized by the liberal use of red-orange and green, as well as the outlining of the figures in black.[208] Despite the technical traits, the pictorial vocabulary of the three images does not follow a Chinese character. The blue background, the frontality of the projection of the deities' faces and bodies, the positioning of their bodies, and their platform seats indicate a Sasanian-era origin. The use of red for the robe is also significant, because when a bearded Jesus figure started to be standard across the Roman Empire beginning in the late fourth-century, his long robe was often red.[209] Since the iconography of these three Jesus images does not contain any East Central Asian and/or Buddhist motifs, it seems reasonable to assume that the depiction of these images was not newly invented

204 Le Coq 1913 discussion of Pt. 3a, and Klimkeit 1982, 44.

205 Gulácsi 2015a 176–183.

206 Ebert (2004, 72) notes the four squares on the cloak, fragments of which remain visible at the right shoulder and the left knee of the figure. In addition, Lieu (2009, 198 note 18) notes the red color of the robe, which conflicts with his identification of this deity as Mani. Lieu does not account for the difference between the pointed beard vs. the forked beard that are important parts of the iconographies of Jesus and Mani, respectively.

207 For the reconstruction of the right hand, see Chapter 5 above.

208 Gulácsi 2003, 24–29.

209 As seen, for example, on the fourth-century apse mosaics located in the church of Santa Pudenziana in Rome. See Gulácsi 2009, 136–137.

in Kocho between the eighth and eleventh centuries, but instead originated centuries earlier somewhere in West Asia in a Manichaean community that used the visual vocabulary of late ancient Iranian art to depict its teachings.

Despite their dramatically different appearances, a recognizably common set of references is shared between the Uygur icons from tenth-century Kocho and the Chinese Manichaean Jesus image from thirteenth-century southern China (**Figure 6/30**).[210] While the *local styles* and *local iconography* are distinctive of the visual language of their respective era and place of cultural origin, the *content* of these Uygur and Chinese images are the same—an iconic image of a personage seated on a culturally appropriate and prestigious seat. Both figures are positioned frontally in a symmetrical composition, enclosed in halos and mandorlas. The coloring of their halos is also similar, with a red base framed in a gold-and-red band. Their respective faces capture the features of a mature man with long hair, a beard, and a mustache. Neither wears headgear. In each case, the clothing includes a red robe that covers the entire body, on top of which a white cloak hangs loosely. Both cloaks have a golden border and four small squares, two of which are below the shoulders and two near the knees. What remains of the right hand gesture in the best-preserved Kocho painting accords with the right hand gesture in the Chinese image.[211] In both cases, the right hand is raised in front of the chest with the palm facing inward, the thumb is held to the side, the first and fourth fingers are erect, and the second and third fingers are lowered. This extensive list of similarities suggests that these paintings not only have an identical overall subject (a Manichaean deity), but also that they depict the very same individual (Jesus).

The worship of Jesus among the Manichaeans is well contextualized in soteriological teachings, where Jesus functions as a guide in the salvation process, analogously to the Light Maiden, as attested in both textual and visual sources. Hymns evoking Jesus' help and goodwill in the afterlife are preserved especially in Coptic from fourth-century Egypt and to a lesser degree in Parthian, Sogdian, Middle-Persian, and Uygur, from Kocho in the eighth through the eleventh centuries, and even in Chinese, from eighth-century northern China.[212] Prayers to Jesus in the *Chinese Manichaean Hymn Scroll* focus on salvation.[213]

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210 Gulácsi 2009, 132–133.

211 In the Buddhist context, this gesture (Sk. *tarjani mudrā,* "the gesture of warding off evil") is best known from esoteric art, where is it associated with *Fudô Myô-ô* (Frédéric 1993, 51). A version of this mudra, in which a vajra is held under the two bent fingers, is also known from Tibetan art (e.g., in images of Padmasambhava). In addition, the very same mudra is displayed by the two bodhisattvas of Tori Busshi's *Shaka Triad* at Hôryû-ji from 623 CE.

212 An English translation of the Iranian and Turkic hymns to "Jesus the Splendor" appears in Klimkeit 1993, 63–68. The translation of the *Chinese Hymnscroll*'s section on the "Praise of Jesus" is found in Tsui Chi 1944, 176–83.

213 This text was composed sometime during the 74 years between 768 and 842 CE by a Chinese Manichaean elect with the religious name of Tao Ming. Preserved on a paper scroll in the repository of sacred art and text known as Cave 17 in Dunhuang, this well-studied manuscript belongs to the collection of the British Library (S. 2659). The scroll

a: Digital restoration of MIK III 6286 side 2(?)
detail of Fig. 5/26

b: Seiun-ji,
detail of Fig. 6/29

FIGURE 6/30 *Shared iconography disguised by stylistic differences between Uygur and Chinese* Icons of Jesus

In the coded language of hymnody, Jesus is implored in these verses to aid those leaving this world (i.e., "guide me to leave this poisonous fiery sea"), to free the righteous (i.e., "give me fragrant water of emancipation"), and to lead

holds 25 Manichaean hymns, three of which are transcribed phonetically into Chinese from Aramaic, Parthian, and Middle Persian (for the latter, see Yoshida 1983, 327–331). The majority of the hymns are Chinese translations from Iranian originals, including two long hymns and one short hymn to Jesus. For recent studies on the *Hymnscroll*, see Lin Wushu 1995, 177–181; 2001, 255–262; and Mikkelsen 2002, 119–242.

the dying to the Land of Light (i.e., "quickly guide me into the peace of the Clean and Pure Land"):

In Praise of Jesus:
Oh broad and kind dignified and solemn Jesus Buddha (*Yishu Fo*)!
Pray, show great mercy and forgive my sins.
Listen to my words inspired by pain and suffering:
Guide me to leave this poisonous fiery sea,
Pray give me fragrant water of emancipation,
The twelve precious crowns, the clothes, the fringes:
Cleanse my wonderful nature from dust and dirt,
Solemnly adorn my purified body and make it graceful . . . (lines 29–30).

. . . I petition only that Jesus (*Yishu*) will have mercy
And liberate me from the bondage of all devils and spirits.
I am now living in the pits of fear:
Quickly guide me into the peace of the Clean and Pure Land!
O great King of Healing for all manner of ills,
O great Radiance for all who dwell in the Dark,
Diligently reassemble all those who are scattered,
All who have lost their hearts [. . .] . . . (lines 35–36).[214]

In another verse, Jesus is evoked together with various members of the Manichaean pantheon:

This Gāthā [verse] *is used to conclude the wishing, after praising Jesus*:
We laud and praise the pure and wonderful wisdom,
Jesus the bright one, the self-revealing angelic Virgin-girl,
And the broad and great Mind, the anticipator of Thought,
Easing and pacifying all natures of Absoluteness,
Reanimating all delicate and wonderful bodies:
For the sick He is the King of Medicine,
For the tortured He brings joy and happiness.
The five light-collecting messengers, the seven ship masters,
Mani the compassionate father, the bright one!
Forgive me all my sins and wrongs!
May all members be peaceful and calm, as desired (lines 368–371)![215]

Thus, in this hymn, Jesus' role in the salvation process is contextualized on a cosmic level, fitting Mani's unique approach to this subject, according to which the light-centered process of liberation is helped by a large array of gods across the universe.

214 Tsui Chi, 1943–44, 178 and 179.
215 Tsui Chi, 1943–44, 210–211.

The earliest currently known Manichaean portraits of Jesus as a solo deity are incorporated into the depictions of human eschatology. As we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, the iconographic program of the mortuary banners that contain the three Uygur Jesus images are *Salvation of the Righteous*, where the divine portraits evoke Jesus during the early stages of liberation (as is the case with the depiction of the portrait of the Light Maiden on the other side of one banner). The Jesus iconography in these tenth-century paintings preserves a visual language that appears archaic for the time and place of its creation. Although painted locally, this iconography could not have evolved in East Central Asia, since it does not contain any contemporaneous local iconography, otherwise common in Uygur Manichaean art. Much like the Sasanian images of enthroned rulers, the Jesus figure in these images is seated on a platform seat in a regal pose (knees apart and ankles touching), supplemented with a waistband that concludes in a vertical line in place of the sword of royalty. On the other sides of the mortuary banner, the portrait of the Light Maiden is also infused with such Sasanian characters. Analogously, these Uygur depictions of Jesus also point to an origin that could be as early as the third century, at a time when Manichaean painting existed only within a canonical pictorial scroll. Since textual sources confirm that soteriology was one of the main themes in Mani's collection of didactic paintings, it is reasonable to assume that a portrait of Jesus was part of its iconographic program.

The Chinese painting of Jesus is far removed from Mani's *Book of Pictures*. Not only is it in the format of the hanging scroll, which is first attested in the Käd Ogul's memoir (after 983 CE) that lists the titles of seven such paintings (Uyg. *körk*) on the walls of the *manistan* of Kocho; but also it is a devotional portrait, the genre of which has a long history in Manichaean art—first attested in connection with Mani by Eusebius (before 339 CE)—but seem to have developed after Mani. The earliest textual evidence for a portrait of Jesus on a silk hanging scroll comes from the *Wenzhou Memorial* (1120 CE), which notes that, in addition to Mani's *Book of Pictures* (*Tújing*, 圖经) and didactic paintings such as the "Silk Painting of Good and Evil" (*Shan'e zheng* 善惡幀), the *manistan* of Wenzhou owned five icons, including a "Silk Painting of the Deity Jesus" (*Yishu fo zheng* 夷數佛幀).[216]

Based on the Manichaeans' didactic impulse towards art, it is reasonable to assume that such divine portraits were also used for instruction. An example of this is seen in the Chinese *Compendium*, where a portrait of Mani is used as an instructional tool. In the course of a sermon, a teacher explains (what appears to be) a painting, noting the symbolic connotation of its components one by one—its halo, its body and face, its garment, its seat, and an unspecified symbol for the teaching of duality. Similarly, Jesus' iconography must also have been the topic of instruction, including the meaning of the symbols signaled by his hands.

216 See full quote in Chapter 3.

Arguably, dualism is signified by the gesture made by Jesus' right hand. It is fully preserved in the Seiun-ji image and partially in the most intact version of the Jesus image from Kocho—positioned in front of the chest, slightly to the figure's right, with the thumb held to the side, the first and fourth fingers erect, the second and third fingers lowered between them. While this gesture had an obvious connotation for a Manichaean teacher at the time, the interpretation of its meaning today requires an argument. As is often the case with religious symbolism employed throughout the Asian continent from ancient and medieval times, this Manichaean sign is not discussed in the available historical records. It is likely to have had a specifically Manichaean meaning, even though its shape is comparable to the (Skt.) *tarjani mudrā* known from Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain art.[217] Although it is gestured by Jesus, this hand position does not correspond to Christian prototypes. In Christian representations of Jesus, the communicative gesture of the right hand is often a pose of blessing (the third and fourth fingers touch the thumb, while the first and second fingers are erect), or a pose of teaching that symbolizes the concept of the Trinity (the third finger touches the thumb while the three remaining fingers are in the erect position), which had been accepted as orthodoxy in Catholic Christianity by the time the iconography of Christ was established. Reflecting a West Asian artistic heritage analogous to Christian art, Jesus' right hand in a Manichaean depiction would likely assume a gesture that teaches the very essence of the Manichaean message—dualism.

The concept of dualism is so fundamental to Manichaeism that the adjective "Manichaean" may be used as a synonym for "dualistic" in English today. Indeed, the two primordial principles, light (divine, good, pleasant, attractive) and darkness (demonic, evil, fearsome, repulsive) are germane to a variety of doctrinal and ritual aspects of this religion. According to Manichaean cosmogony, these two originally independent forces collided at the beginning of time, distributing their mixture in all matter in the universe, including everything on Earth: rocks, water, plants, and animals, as well as human beings. From the westernmost extent of Manichaeism, a summary of this teaching is provided by Augustine, who wrote in the first decade of the fifth century:

> They say that this part of the divine nature permeates all things in heaven and earth and under the earth; that it is found in all bodies, dry and moist, in all kinds of flesh, and in all seeds of trees, herbs, men, and animals. But they do not say of it, as we say of God, that it is present untrammeled, unpolluted, inviolate, incorruptible, administering and governing all things. On the contrary, they say that it is bound, oppressed, polluted but that it can be released and set free and cleansed not only by the courses of the sun and moon and powers of light, but also by their Elect.[218]

217 Frédéric 1995, 51.

218 *De natura boni,* 44 (Burleigh 1953, 344).

The process of "cleansing," i.e., the separation of the light particles from the imprisonment of the darkness, is essential to the doctrine of dualism. Those "who wish to enter the religion," according to the *Chinese Compendium*, were required to comprehend dualism:

> Those who wish to enter the religion must know that the two principles of light and darkness are of absolutely distinct nature. If one does not discern this, how can one put the religion into practice?[219]

Another section of the *Compendium* explains that the "two realms" were conveyed in Manichaean iconography in a devotional image of Mani (as discussed in detail blow). Such references strongly suggest that the teaching of dualism was symbolized in Chinese Manichaean iconography during the eighth century as part of a standardized artistic repertoire. Furthermore, it is well documented that the "Sutra of the Two Principles" remained the best-known Manichaean text in southern China around the time when the Seiun-ji image was made.[220] Therefore, it is quite likely that Jesus' gesturing right hand, with the first and fourth fingers raised and separated from one another, was employed in the Manichaean painting at Seiun-ji in order to remind the beholder of the "absolutely distinct nature" of the two primordial principles, and thus it alludes to the fundamentality of dualism in in the "Religion of Light."

In the three Uygur portraits, Jesus' left hand seems to allude to a teaching that concerns the foundation of a religious community. In general, the left hand is in a secondary, albeit important, role. In this case, Jesus holds the gathered edge of the white ceremonial cloak in his left hand. The same gesture is assumed (although with the right hand to fit the layout of the scene) by a high-ranking elect presiding over the *Bēma* Festival as depicted in a full-page book illumination (MIK III 4979 verso, see 6/31d). This gesture is best known from images of the historical Buddha surviving on schist reliefs and coins from the second/third-century from Gandhara.[221] In the Buddhist context, just as in Manichaean art, its symbolic connotation is yet to be established. From its visual syntax, however, it is clear that the monastic garment is the key element of this gesture, by which a reference to the community is likely being made. Both Jesus in his portrait and the high-ranking elect during a *Bēma* festival in Kocho in the book illumination hold up the gathered edges of their monastic robes, just like the historical Buddha, as if showing the garments to the viewer

219 *Compendium,* article 6 (Chavannes and Pelliot 1913, 114; English translation after BeDuhn 2000a, 69).

220 Lieu 1992, 268–69.

221 In Gandharan art, this mudra is unique to the iconography of the historical Buddha, see Rosenfield 1967, Figs. 80–82 and 98; and Cribb 1980, 80–81.

communicates something related to them, possibly that they are the founders or leaders of a community distinguished by this garment.[222]

The teaching of the "cross of light" is communicated in the Chinese painting by a cross statuette—a cross on a lotus-base placed atop a red-lacquer pedestal—held in Jesus' left hand. The main motif of this object is the even-armed devotional cross as also seen on the now lost *Four Primary Prophets* fragment from Kocho, where Jesus is holding a processional staff capped with an even-armed cross—a well-attested attribute of Jesus in Christian art.[223] In Manichaean teachings, Jesus is associated with the cross motif not through the atonement theme of his crucifixion (which the Manichaeans actually reject), but through a uniquely Manichaean concept, the "cross of light." The cross on which Christ was crucified became a symbol in Manichaeism for Jesus' suffering and also for the suffering of the divine light (or the living soul) that is crucified in matter throughout the cosmos.[224] The cross of light (or light cross) is used as an allegory for the substance of light, whose richest concentration is found in all plant life, "where the divine hangs on every tree or bush or herb" and which the Manichaeans are so eager to avoid hurting. This view is reflected in chapter 85 of the *Kephalaia*, where a disciple addresses Mani on this topic:

> I have heard you, my master, say in the congregation of the church, that it is proper for the person to watch his step while he walks on a path, lest he trample the cross of light with his foot, and destroy vegetation. Also, it counts first for any creeping creature, lest he trample upon it and kill it with his foot.[225]

An explanation of how the Manichaeans saw the connection between Jesus and the cross of light is found in the anti-Manichaean treatise of Alexander of Lycopolis, a Greek philosopher from fourth- century Egypt, in which he writes that Jesus revealed the cross of light:

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222 A distinctly different version of this gesture that involves holding the edge of the ceremonial cloak is integrated into the later Chinese depictions of Mani (see Fig. 6/34d), where the gathered edges of the cloak are pulled across the body and held pointing down, as seen in the two *Icons of Mani* and the *Diagram of the Universe*.

223 Izumi compares this shape to the blade of a sword (2006, 14), although the two paintings portray distinctive cross-shaped objects. In terms of their overall proportions and materials, the depictions indicate arms of equal length fashioned in gold. Their decorations show minor differences. While each cross features a circle motif at its center, a set of concentric circles is seen in one case, and a single circle in the other. In addition, the arms end in distinct shapes, a convex end supplemented with three small disk-ornaments in one case, and a widening that turns into two concave lines to form a tip in the other.

224 BeDuhn 2000a, 78. On the "cross of light" theme in Manichaeism, see Böhlig 1978, 473–91.

225 *Kephalaion 85,* 209.11–20 (Gardner 1995, 216–17).

> Christ is an intellect (*nous*). When at some time he arrived from the place above, he liberated the greatest part of the above-mentioned power, so that it could get on its way towards God. And finally, it was thought that by his crucifixion Christ provided us with the knowledge that the divine power too is fitted into—or rather crucified in—matter in a similar way.[226]

Thus, the connotation of even something as seemingly straightforward as a cross in Jesus' hand is not to be taken for granted. The cross motif has acquired a unique meaning in Manichaeism. It became fully amalgamated to Mani's view of the universe and was to be explained in the context of the dualistic conflict of light and darkness.

In light of the above considerations, it is clear that the instructional use of these paintings is closely tied to the symbolic connotations of the key motifs in their iconography (**Figure 6/31**). Jesus' face is shown with long black hair and a beard, and appropriate to his status as a prophet with no headgear atop his head (see Fig. 6/31a). Fitting his representation in post fourth-century Christian art, the beard is long and concludes in a point at mid-chest in the Uygur depictions. In the Chinese image, the beard is appropriately reduced to a tuft of light hair on the tip of the chin, due to the negative cultural attitudes towards facial hair. Signaling his rootedness in Mani's teaching, a Manichaean ceremonial cloak goes over the red robe that Jesus is wearing (see Fig. 6/31b). This white garment is adorned with four insignia—two at the shoulders and two at the knees. When the image is detailed enough, a female bust is shown within each insignia, which serves as a symbolic reference to the liberated light. Jesus' right hand assumes a gesture that shows the two most distant fingers straightened and thus above the level of the rest of the fingers and the thumb (see Fig. 6/31c), which probably served as a symbolic reference to the teaching of dualism in Manichaean art. The right hand in the Jesus image in the more fragmentary temple banner (MIK III 6283 side 1[?]) is not detailed enough to discern more than the silhouette of the palm. This same gesture, however, can be seen made by a figure inside a round insignia on a fragmentary wall painting recovered from Ruin K of Kocho (MIK III 6917). The left hand in the Jesus images from Kocho holds the gathered edge of the cloak (see Fig. 6/31d), which may symbolize his leadership in his community. In the Chinese image painted about 300–400 years later, the motif of a devotional gold cross is seen in Jesus' left hand (see Fig. 6/31e). The only other example of a cross known today from Manichaean art is the processional cross, shown resting on Jesus' shoulder on the *Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism around the Light Mind* fragment published by Le Coq.[227] In both cases, the cross motif symbolizes the doctrine of the "cross of light" as revealed by Jesus' suffering.

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226 Alexander of Lycopolis IV.7.14ff (van der Horst and J. Mansfeld 1974, 56).

227 In early Christian narrative imagery, Jesus is often portrayed holding a processional cross in his left hand; in contrast, devotional crosses tend to be shown placed on altars. The use

a: LONG HAIR, BEARD, NO HEADGEAR, LOOP BENEATH EARLOBE - Jesus depicted as a deity

Seiun-ji

MIK III 6286 side 2(?)

Kokka 1937 (Mani)

Yamato Bunkakan (Mani)

b: WHITE CEREMONIAL CLOAK WITH FOUR INSIGNIA - symbolizing leadership in the Manichaean community

Seiun-ji

MIK III 6286 side 2(?)

Kokka 1937 (Mani)

Yamato Bunkakan (Mani)

MIK III 6918 (*možak*)

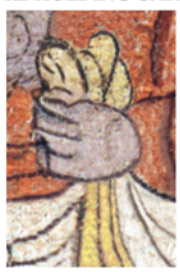
c: RIGHT HAND GESTURE SHOWING TWO MOST DISTANT FINGERS - possibly symbolizing docterine of Dualism

Seiun-ji

MIK III 6286 side 2(?)
original and digital restoration

MIK III 6971 (Light Maiden)

d: LEFT HAND GESTURE HOLDING GATHERED EDGE OF CEREMONIAL CLOAK - possibly symbolizing sacerdotal community

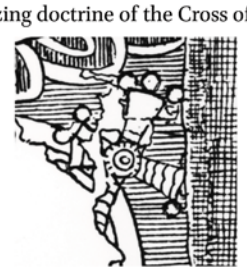

MIK III 6286 side 2(?)
original and digital restoration

MIK III 6283 side 1(?)

MIK III 4979 verso (*možak* ?)
held with right hand

e: CROSS ACCESSORY - symbolizing doctrine of the Cross of Light

Seiun-ji


Le Coq 1923

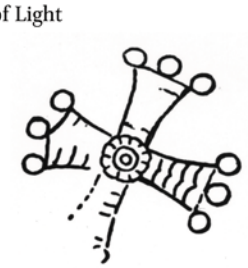

Le Coq 1923 enlarged detail

FIGURE 6/31 *Key motifs in the icon of Jesus subject shown with comparative examples*

5 *Icon of Mani*

It seems that Mani was depicted from the very start of Manichaean art in certain images of the *Book of Pictures*. Arguably, Mani's portrait, together with Zoroaster, Shakyamuni, and Jesus, was part of the Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism around the Light Mind subject that depicted an essential doctrine of Manichaean prophetology—the divine support behind humankind's universal quest for salvation (see Fig. 6/13a). In addition, cosmological images could have contained figures of Mani as an observer of various divine beings, since such depictions are documented in both an Uygur and a southern Chinese cosmology painting (see Fig. 6/47a). While such subjects in the *Book of Pictures* most likely featured Mani, it is implausible that an icon of Mani was part of Mani's own collection of didactic images. At that time, Mani was still alive, present among his disciples, and did not promote a personal cult. So there was no need or use for an iconic portrait of him. After Mani's death, this practice changed. Narrative and devotional literature began to be written about him and didactic and devotional art began to portray him similarly to Mani's personal savior—Jesus—whose figure, just like that of Mani, bridged prophetological and theological teachings.

Independent from the *Book of Pictures*, therefore, another genre attested in early Manichaean pictorial art was the *Icon of Mani*, which must have showed Mani as a solo figure painted on a portable medium. Introduced by Mani's followers, such images came into existence soon after Mani's martyrdom. They remained in use throughout Manichaean history, but their medium, style, and iconography were changing according to local artistic norms. (1) The first medium—most likely encaustic paint on a flat wood panel—is associated with West Asia. The earliest report about such an image by Eusebius (264–339 CE) confirms that at least within a couple of generations after Mani's death, the Manichaeans he observed in Roman Palestine had "an icon of Mani." This image was physically independent from the canonical pictorial handscroll, and it must have looked like other religious icons of the time—a portrait, painted on some portable support, most likely on wood. About 400 to 600 years later, this medium is still implied in Islamic historiography in connection with the defiling and destruction of Mani images in Baghdad and other cities of Abbasid Iraq in the years 743–744, 803–833, and 923 CE. An icon of Mani that was most likely still such a panel painting is referenced in the *Compendium* (731 CE) by an anonymous Teacher in a Central Asian Manichaean community sometime during the early eighth century. (2) A second painting medium—paint on silk in the format of a hanging scroll—is attested from East Central Asia and East Asia. The earliest reference for such a painting (Uyg. *körk*) of "Mani, the Buddha" (Uyg. *teŋri Mani burxan*) in the *manistan* of Kocho is provided by Käd Ogul from after 983 CE. An actual southern Chinese version of a silk hanging scroll with an iconic portrait of Mani is attested in Ming-dynasty

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of these two objects (processional cross vs. devotional cross) is analogous in Manichaean image of Jesus (Gulácsi 2009, 135–140 and Figs. 16–17).

a: Gold and pigments on silk, H:180.3 cm, W: 67.3 cm

b: Detail with insignia on white ceremonial cloak and right hand gesturing with all fingers raised

c: Detail with musicians on lotus petals

FIGURE 6/32 Icon of Mani *depicted on a hanging scroll, southern China, 14th/15th century* (*Kokka 1937, unknown collection, presumed lost*)

a: Detail of main register (H: ca. 48 cm) with Mani statue

b: Detail with forked beard

c: Detail with female bust insignia on white ceremonial cloak and right hand gesturing with all fingers raised

FIGURE 6/33 *Sculpted* Icon of Mani *depicted in the sermon on Mani's Teaching on Salvation image* (*detail of Fig. 5/13*)

Manichaean art from around the fifteenth–sixteenth century (see Fig. 6/32). (3) Three-dimensional versions of this subject—sculpted, painted, and accessorized cult images of Mani—are attested in the *manistans* of East Central Asia and East Asia. The earliest record of such a statue in the main hall of the Käd Ogul's *manistan* at Kocho is from after 983 CE. The earliest actual physical evidence, dated by an inscription to 1339 CE, is from southern China (see Fig. 5/20).

There are four icons of Mani among the physical remains of Manichaean art (**Figure 6/23e**). They derive from southern China and date from the Yuan and the Ming dynasties, between the early fourteenth and the early sixteenth centuries. One of them is a silk hanging scroll, now lost (see Fig. 6/32). A high-quality, black-and-white photo reproduction of this scroll was published in 1937 in the Japanese art history journal, *Kokka*, without a reference to its Japanese provenance. The painting is assumed to have been lost during World War II. The second and third are depictions of statues of Mani (see Figs. 5/21–5/22). The fourth image is an actual statue of Mani. It is a relief carving on a cliff wall dated to 1339 CE by an inscription, which also identifies the statue as representing Mani.

A shared visual syntax ties the lost silk painting of Mani (**Figure 6/32**) to the deity depicted in the main register of the Yamato Bunkakan painting (**Figure 6/33**) and the Mani statue near Quanzhou (see Fig. 5/20). The stylistic similarities between the two paintings are especially strong in the definition of the face, the facial hair, the locks of hair along the shoulders, the hands with their long fingernails, the details of the garments' folds, and the wide golden border, as well as the way the intricate pedestal is defined and its blooming lotus petals are arranged. Many of these features are analogous to the iconography of the Mani statue. Despite their different media, all three deities are shown frontally in symmetrical compositions with a uniform set of symbols that include their bodies (well-fed adult male, long hair, beard, mustache), garments (white robe, ceremonial cloak with insignia, no headgear), body position (frontal image of erect upper body with legs crossed, hands gesturing and engaged), and the setting (lotus seat in front of large mandorla). In the case of the statue, only relatively minor elements of the iconography show local adaptations, such as the meditative hand gesture, the use of a large mandorla that reaches above the head and requires no halo,[228] the particular cut of the garment that employs a ribbon to close the outer cloak, and a pair of calligraphic strokes that transform the square insignia seen frequently beneath the shoulders on Manichaean ceremonial cloaks into the Chinese character *zhong*, or "center." In fact, it is quite clear that the appearance of the Chinese character *zhong* beneath the shoulders is a very recent transformation of the "meaningless" insignia. It seems that a modern painter altered them into something

228 While the use of a mandorla without a halo around the head is unique to this statue in Manichaean art, a similar radial design for the disk of a mandorla around an unidentified deity is found on a fragmentary Manichaean codex folio from Kocho, MIK III 7283 recto (Gulácsi 2001a, no. 48).

that made sense in his cultural context by highlighting a short section of the symmetrical folds in the robe that vertically transverse the now transformed insignia.

It is undoubted that painted and sculpted images of Mani were used in devotional practice and other rituals. Nevertheless, the claim that a portrait of Mani was displayed on a throne (Gr. *bēma*) in the course of the annual *Bēma* Festival, *cannot* be confirmed in light of textual or artistic sources.[229] On closer examination, this claim turns out to be a fallacy in Manichaean studies that has been routinely repeated in scholarship without presenting evidence to substantiate it.[230] While the *bēma* is indeed discussed in primary sources[231] and one polemical secondary account,[232] one is yet to find any texts stating that an image of Mani was placed upon an empty throne. Future studies will also have to explore the available evidence on the worship of Mani, including the pictorial documentary record of burning incense in front of Mani's statue during a teaching session or devotion at a Mani statue seen in southern Chinese depictions (see Figs. 5/21–5/22).

Painted and sculpted images of Mani were also used for teaching among the Manichaeans. The didactic impulse of a Manichaean teacher towards such an image is recorded in Article 2 of the *Compendium*, where Mani's portrait assumed a distinctly didactic role during a sermon (**Table 6/9**).[233] As noted in the analysis of this passage in Chapter 3 above, a teacher systematically

229 Based on a study by Willie Bang (1924, 109–115), this idea was later popularized in Manichaean studies mostly through the misreading of the iconography engraved on Mani's crystal seal (see Fig. 1/1, above) by Adam (1954, 105–106), Klimkeit (1982, 50), and Ebert (1994, 23). Paralleling Adam's argument, Klimkeit asserts that "the fact that there was a portrait of Mani on the *bēma* in the Western tradition is known to us from primary and secondary sources like the Coptic *Psalm-Book* and Eusebius (*Letter to Empress Constantia*)." It must be noted, however, that these textual references, including the Coptic *Psalm-Book* (see Allberry 1938, 16:24 and 26:5) are imaginative interpretations of the actual words, none of which actually state what is claimed here.

230 Asmussen in his *Enc. Iranica* entry on *Aržang* writes: "It [i.e., the *Aržang*] is distinguished from the picture (Gr. *eikon*, M. Pers. *phykyrb*, Parth. *padgyrb*, Uyg. *körk*) of Mani which, at the time of the *Bēma* Festival was placed on a throne in front of the community (Henning BBB, 9; Haloun-Henning 1952, 210, n. 4). Most recently, this claim is repeated by Reeves (2011, 231, n. 47), who also relies on previous Manichaean studies scholarship, such as that of Klimkeit.

231 Manichaean sources on the "*bēma* throne" include the above-mentioned *Psalm-Book*, which does not contain the phrase "image of Mani;" and the above-mentioned BBB (Henning 1937), which provides only a long list of deities that the community praises in prayer, performed on the occasion of the *Bēma* Festival, but makes no reference to any image or portrait of Mani.

232 Augustine, *Cont. Fund.* 8.9: "you celebrate with great honors your *Bēma*, that is the day on which Mani was killed, with the lectern raised up by five steps, adorned with precious cloths, placed in the midst and facing towards the worshippers" (Teske 2006, 239–40). There is no mention of a "*bēma* throne" by Eusebius in his *Letter to Augusta Constantia* (Mango 1972, 18); see quote and discussion in the assessment of Chapter 1.

233 Haloun and Henning 1952–53, 194.

TABLE 6/9 *Sermon on Mani in the* Compendium: Article 2 (*731 CE*)

Iconography	Didactic Explanation
HALO	"The nimbus of Mani, the Buddha of Light, being twelve-fold, is the excellent sign of the King of Light."
BODY / FACE	"(His) body fully displaying the Great Light has the esoteric meaning of the Limitless. (His) wonderful appearance is outstanding, without equal among men and gods."
GARMENT	"(His) being clad in white robe symbolizes the four pure *dharmakâyas*."
SEAT	"His occupying the white throne depicts the five *vajra* lands."
hand gesture	"The union and separation of the two realms and the purport and trend of the before and the after are apparent in true bearing and can be perceived if (one) looks at Him."
SUMMARY	"All the spiritual signs He possesses in (their) one hundred- and one thousand-fold excellency and subtleness, are indeed difficult to set forth fully."

explains parts of Mani's portrait (the halo, the body, the face, the garment, the seat, and possibly the hand gesture) as symbolic references to aspects of Mani and his teachings. In this context, the portrait of Mani was employed as a didactic display.

The symbolic connotations of the key motifs employed in the surviving portraits of Mani (**Figure 6/34**) are in harmony with the testimony of the *Compendium* concerning how a religious icon can be used as a didactic tool. The head is a prominent feature of the iconography (see Fig. 6/34a). It is shown with no headgear atop the long black hair. In harmony with Manichaean records, Mani's long beard is forked, that is, arranged in two strands. This depiction of the beard is also engraved on Mani's portrait on his own seal stone, which is preserved today in Paris (see Fig. 1/1). In the two silk paintings, the earlobes are supplemented with what appears to be a looped cloth on each side tied with a double string, having the effect of elongating the earlobes. Similar to Buddhist iconography, this feature may reference the royal heritage of Mani, since both paintings are heavily influenced by contemporaneous depictions of Buddhist deities in China. The white ceremonial cloak hanging from Mani's shoulders, however, is a distinctly Manichaean garment. It is depicted with a decorative border and, most importantly, four insignia—two at the shoulders and two at the knees, which has been noted as an identifying mark of Manichaean iconography (see Fig. 6/34b). Versions of this garment are documented in images of high-ranking elects in Kocho (who are always shown with headgears) and images of both Mani and Jesus in southern Chinese Manichaean art. The right hand of Mani is shown with the palm turned towards the viewer and with all fingers pointing up (see Fig. 6/34c). This gesture is ubiquitous in Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain art, where it is known as the (Skt.) *abhaya mudrā* ('have

a: LONG HAIR, FORKED BEARD, NO HEADGEAR, LOOP BENEATH EARLOBE - Mani depicted as a deity

Kokka 1937

Yamato Bunkakan

Cao'an Temple

INT. 1384 BIS

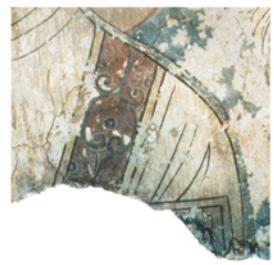
b: WHITE CEREMONIAL CLOAK WITH FOUR INSIGNIA - symbolizing leadership in the Manichaean community

Kokka 1937

Yamato Bunkakan

Cao'an Temple

Seiun-ji (Jesus)


MIK III 6918 (*možak*)

c: RIGHT HAND GESTURE SHOWING PALM WITH FINGERS ERECT - possibly symbolizing reassurance

Kokka 1937

Yamato Bunkakan

Diagram of the Universe
(7th firmament)

d: LEFT HAND GESTURE HOLDING EDGE OF CEREMONIAL CLOAK ACROSS BODY - possibly symbolizing sacred body

Kokka 1937

Yamato Bunkakan

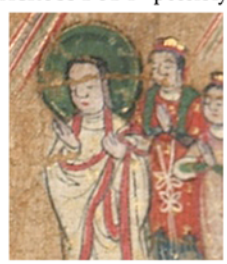


Diagram of the Universe
(7th firmament)

e: HANDS STAKED IN LAP - possibly symbolizing liberation

Cao'an Temple

MIK III 4970c verso(?) (unidentified deity or prophet)

FIGURE 6/34 *Key motifs in the icon of Mani subject shown with comparative examples*

no fear gesture'). Although this gesture's distinctly Manichaean connotation is yet to be argued, it is possible that it is employed as a gesture of reassurance in the Manichaean context as well. The left hand of Mani is shown lifting the edge of the white cloak that, in the context of this iconic image, may reference the religious community established by Mani (see Fig. 6/34d). A version of this gesture is also used in a narrative setting throughout the *Diagram of the Universe*, where the repeated figure of Mani is shown observing various components of the universe. In that case, however, the robe is pointedly pulled across the torso to cover up the body and thus may signal Mani's humility in the presence of the divine. Finally, a two-handed gesture, commonly associated with meditation in Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain art where it is known as the (Skt.) *dhyāna mudrā* ('meditation gesture'), is used in the relief sculpture of Mani (see Fig. 6/34e). This gesture is very rare in Manichaean art. None of the figures in the *Diagram of the Universe* assumes this gesture. Only one example is known from Kocho, where an unidentified deity or prophet is shown with it (MIK III 4970c verso[?]).[234]

Cosmology: Structure of the Universe, Fragments with Cosmological Subjects, and Mani as a Visionary Witness to Parts of the Universe

Mani saw the role of religion on a cosmic scale and the universe itself as an all-encompassing mechanism of salvation—a complex system that functions as a passage for divine light-souls from a state of captive mixture with evil back to their original home, the eternal Realm of Light. In Mani's teachings, God creates this universe in order to secure the light's liberation. Thus, *cosmology* (that is, teachings about the structure of the universe) is truly fundamental in Manichaeism, pertaining not only to individual salvation, but also to the entire "work of religion." Mani explained the origin of the universe through a series of mythic events that lead to its formation. Manichaean *cosmogony* (that is, teachings about the origin of the universe) consists of a series of dramatic narratives of move and counter-move between the forces of light and darkness, culminating in a precarious order under divine management that fulfills its salvation function, before being shut down and destroyed once it has served it purpose. These memorable narratives in and of themselves were handy didactic tools that helped Mani's followers to better understand the cause of, the reason for, the background to, and the origin of the structure within which their own religious careers took place. Artistic representations of that structure served an analogous function.[235]

234 See Gulácsi 2001, 117–119.

235 For a brief survey of the major Manichaean cosmogonical and cosmological texts, see Sundermann 2001, 13–15.

a: STRUCTURE OF THE UNIVERSE (1 image)

private collection

c: MANI AS A VISIONARY WITNESS (1 image)

MIK III 4964 recto

b: FRAGMENT WITH COSMOLOGY SUBJECTS (3 images)

MIK III 6278

MIK III 7019 & III 7074h

MIK III 49475

FIGURE 6/35 *Cosmology*

Cosmological teachings were part of Manichaean didactic art as attested by both texts written about, and the physical remains of, that art. The written records preserve six references to this theme (see Tab. 6/2: Cosmology). Once again, the passages are not descriptions of paintings, but general remarks about the subjects that the paintings conveyed: "the light and the darkness" or "good and evil" (Ephrem, Sam'āni, *Wenzhou Memorial*), "the twelve Aeons (i.e., gods) in the Land of God" (Käd Ogul) and "the portraits of demons and their deeds" (Marwazī). One text gives the title of a cosmological painting as "Foundation of the Cosmos and Construction of the Earth" (Zhipan). Among these references, only three are about Mani's canonical paintings, none of which are based on firsthand knowledge (Ephrem, Sam'āni, Marwazī). The other three concern depictions of the universe on a non-canonical object, the hanging scroll (Käd Ogul, *Wenzhou Memorial*, Zhipan). The corpus of Manichaean art preserves five cosmological images (see Tab. 6/3: Cosmology). None of them derive from picture books. They are found on non-canonical objects—silk hanging scrolls and, in one case, an illuminated manuscript.

The five cosmological images divide among three subject categories (**Figure 6/35**). The only intact example is an all-inclusive, Chinese Manichaean overview of the structure of the universe on a thirteenth/fourteenth-century silk hanging scroll, housed in an anonymous private collection in Japan (see Fig. 6/35a). Three small Uygur fragments from tenth-century Kocho, belonging to the collection of the Asian Art Museum in Berlin, also derive from silk hanging scrolls. They retain motifs comparable to that of the Chinese cosmological hanging scroll in terms of their scale and the quality of their silk supports. Thus, these three may be labeled as fragments with cosmological subjects (see Fig. 6/35b). One additional example from tenth-century Kocho in the same collection is an illumination found on a folio fragment torn from an Uygur service book (see Fig. 6/35c). This intratextual image showed only one part of the cosmos observed by Mani. In term of its format, the latter image is our closest visual source among the five cosmological images to the depiction of this subject in Mani's *Book of Pictures*.

1 *The Cosmos as a Macranthropos*

The Manichaean universe is a complex and highly structured space. Cosmological texts discuss numerous layers that have centers, peripheries, and cardinal directions. Such principles of spatial organization are evident in the visual language of the *Diagram of the Universe* (**Figure 6/36**).[236] The composition of this painting is layered and at the same time is arranged in a symmetrical frame dominated by a centralized alignment of focal motifs along the

236 It should be noted that, although Yoshida's English articles consistently refer to the painting as a "cosmogony," his original underlying Japanese expression is *uchuuzu* (宇宙図 lit. 'cosmos illustration') and therefore "cosmology" is always (correctly) what is intended in his discussion.

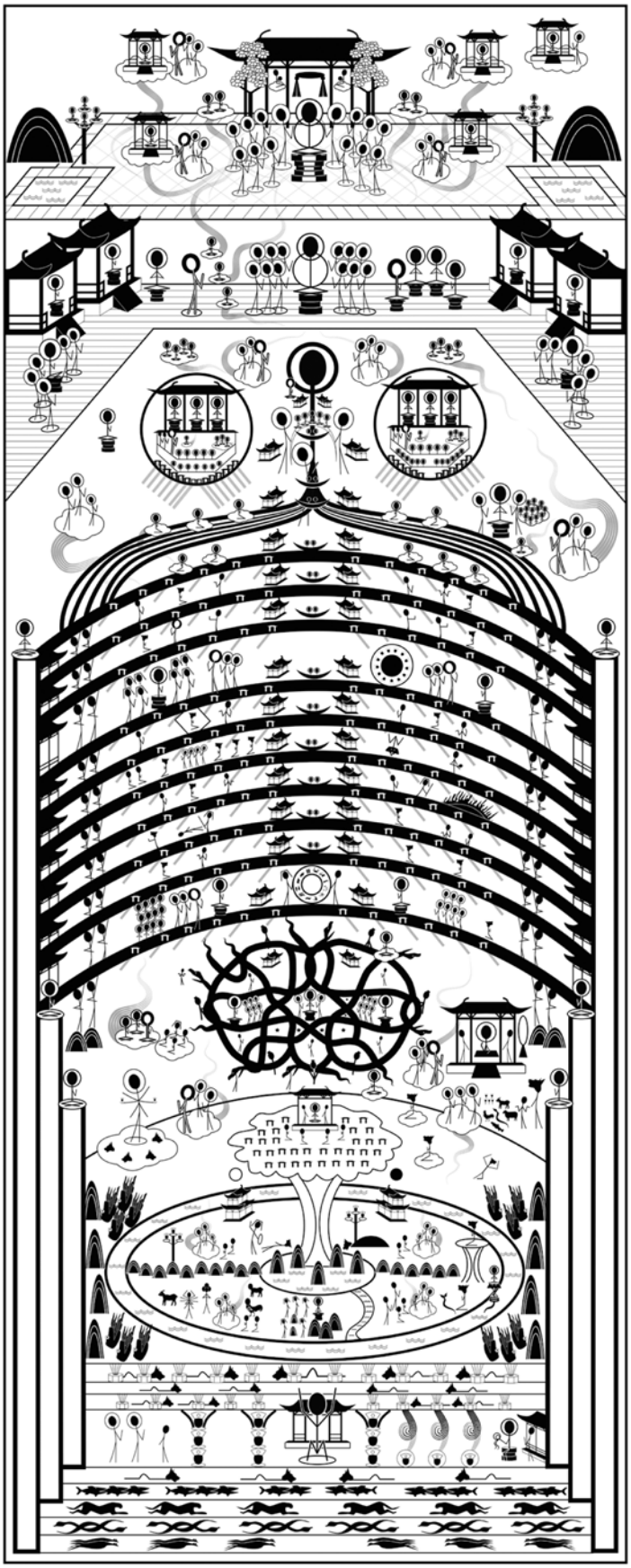


FIGURE 6/36 *Visual syntax of the* Diagram of Universe (*private collection, see Fig. 5/14*)

vertical axis. This compositional harmony is enhanced by repeated thematic elements that further strengthen the visual cohesion this work of art.

The idea that this painting might constitute a Chinese version of Mani's *Book of Pictures* was first raised by Yutaka Yoshida in 2009 and subsequently by Gábor Kósa.[237] Indeed, the rich content depicted on this hanging scroll presents a case of doctrinal concentration rarely seen in a religious work of art. The iconographic wealth of this image highlights the distinctive importance of didactic art in the Manichaean religion. Based on the unparalleled density of this painting, it is not unreasonable to assume that in late medieval southern China, the East Asian hanging scroll replaced the late ancient West Asian design of the horizontal pictorial roll that the Manichaeans were known to use already in mid third-century Mesopotamia. Accordingly, this painting is imagined by Yoshida and Kósa to be the middle panel of a silk triptych, on which the entire Manichaean doctrine of the "three times" would fit.[238]

Examining this proposal in the context of the material culture of Manichaean religious history leads to various art historical questions, the considerations of which are integral to any evidence-based interpretation. The findings of this study do not necessarily contradict the above claim, but introduce another way to think about what this work of art is and how it came to be. The survey of the formats of Manichaean didactic art in Chapter 5 showed that the hanging scroll is not a canonical object in Manichaeism, and thus, a painting on the surface of a hanging scroll cannot be a canonical image. The canonical images of the Manichaeans were designed for picture books that were either horizontal hand scrolls or horizontal codices with documented heights ranging between 8 cm and 25 cm. By the tenth century, hanging scrolls were introduced into Manichaean artistic production and started to integrate numerous individual canonical images in one composite display (e.g., Fig. 5/8). The result was the emergence of modified canonical images. The *Diagram of the Universe* is an example of such a modified image. As discussed in detail below, its design subordinates multitudes of originally individual canonical images to the vision of the cosmos as in the shape of a giant human (Gr. *macranthropos*), explained as the underlying structure of the universe in one the earliest Manichaean texts. This Manichaean teaching governs the overall structure of the Chinese Manichaean *Diagram of the Universe*. An abstract anthropomorphic design is shown across much of the picture plane that measures over 150 cm in height—the head and neck in the New Aeon, the ten ribs of the chest in the sky, the phallos as Mount Sumeru, and the hips as the surface of the earth—enlarged to a scale that would have been impossible in any editions of Mani's *Book of*

237 Yoshida 2015b, 389–398; and Kósa 2013, 49–84. Due to the delayed publication date of the proceedings of the International Association of Manichaean Studies meeting in Dublin in 2009, Kósa's study has an earlier date than Yoshida's. Both worked with only the lower part (i.e., the *cosmology fragment*) of the painting its matching two *paradise fragments*, as discussed above (see Figs. 5/14–5/17).

238 Yoshida 2010, 52; 2015b, 397–398; and Kósa 2013, 56.

Pictures. Seamlessly fitted into this monumental design are details of countless individual soteriological, prophetological, and theological canonical images, many of which look familiar in light of other examples of Manichaean didactic art. The *Diagram of the Universe* cannot be construed as a Chinese version of Man's *Book of Pictures*, since the survey of textual records in Chapter 3 demonstrated that picture books and hanging scrolls coexisted in both Uygur and southern Chinese Manichaeism. There is no evidence that the monumental vertical design of East Asian hanging scrolls replaced the traditional small-scale horizontal layout of West Asian picture books in Manichaean canonical art. Thus, this painting is best classified as a late medieval and uniquely Chinese development of Manichaean didactic art. Its thirteenth/fourteenth-century iconography greatly expands upon a core set of Manichaean motifs, while conveying Manichaean doctrine in a distinctly Chinese visual language of its time.

This orderly, vertically structured picture plane utilizes over 900 motifs arranged symmetrically within crowded layers.[239] This vast amount of visual data captures much of the Mani's cosmological doctrine. The *mixed world*, the part of the universe where light and darkness are still together, is shown in five units: (1) the earth with its four lands and central mountain resting above stacks of subterranean cross-sections, (2) the atmosphere where the judgment after death, transmigration, and rebirth takes place; (3) the firmaments of the sky with the Column of Glory in their center, (4) the liberation of the light with the sun, moon, and the Path of Splendor that becomes the Perfect Man; and (5) the platform of the New Paradise, from where the deities of the mixed world look down to observe the liberation of light, and where liberated souls wait for the end of time to reach the Realm of Light. The topmost section of the painting shows the part of the universe that consists of pure light, the *light world*: (6) the Realm of Light with the Father of Greatness and his divine entourage in the center of an orderly landscape that symbolizes the distant world of God. The *world of darkness* is not depicted.

One of the most striking aspect of this painting, attested already in early Manichaean literature, is the description of the cosmos as possessing a shape of a giant human form that stretches from above the firmaments of the sky down to the foundations of the earth. *Kephalaion 38* outlines this concept:

> The head of the universe is the beginning of the garments.[240] His neck is the nape of the garments. His stomach is the five unfolded ones, which

239 Including 458 anthropomorphic beings, in addition to some 29 animals, 62 temples, 164 gates, 52 clouds, 38 hills, 13 fiery jaws, 12 crescent moons, 6 stars, 4 trees, and various other forms in the subterranean layers of the earth, as patiently counted by Nicolas Boon, a student employee of the Department of Comparative Cultural Studies at Northern Arizona University during the 2014–2015 academic year.

240 The "great robes" are the five *noera*, "they [make] perfect the body of the glorious Column of Glory, the Perfect Man. They were purified by the coming of the Messenger" (*Kephalaion 72*, 177.2–5, see Gardner 1995, 186, modified by BeDuhn).

> are [. . .] of the garments. His ribs are all the firmaments. His navel is the sphere of the stars and the signs of the zodiac. And also the parts that come from his navel to his hip are [the walls(?)] that come from the sphere to the corners of the four worlds. His loins are the three earths that are below [. . .] upon the head of the Porter. His [. . .] from the [. . .] to the earth upon which the Porter [stands] firm. His shins and his feet are [. . .] and the entire zone that belongs [. . .]. His heart is human beings. His liver is the four-footed animals. His lung is the race of birds that [fly in] the air. His spleen is the race of fish that swim in the waters. His kidneys are the world of reptiles that creep [up]on the earth. His outer skin is the wall that [. . .] surrounds the piercing and the great fire. His [. . .] the vessels of the great fire. His [. . .] of darkness. His gall is the [. . .] His great intestine is the breadth of the great [. . .] of the worlds. His veins [are] all the springs and wells. [241]

A complementary description appears in *Kephalaion 70*:

> This whole cosmos, above and below, reflects the pattern of the human body, [as the] formation of this body of flesh accords to the pattern of the cosmos. Its head is like the first-fruits of the five garments. And from its neck down to the site of its heart, it resembles the pattern of the ten firmaments. And again, the heart accords to the wheel of the rotating sphere. And from its heart down to its intestines is like this atmosphere that extends from the sphere down to the earth. The [male] part of the body corresponds to this great earth. And also, from its intestines down to its loins is like the three earths. And also its shin bones to the patterns of the space in which the Porter stands, its foot soles to the great earth upon which the Porter stands, and the four fastenings that are under his feet. Its liver to the vessel of fire. Its flesh to the vessel of darkness. Its blood to the vessel of water. Now this is how the small body corresponds to the macrocosmos in its firmaments, in its orderings, in its mountains, its walls, and its vessels.[242]

These anatomical correspondences invite artistic depictions of the cosmos that take the form of a human body. Such an artistic tradition is also prominent in Jainism.[243] Both religions produced painted representations that identified the same cosmic structures with identical anatomical features of the

241 *Kephalaion 38*, 90.20–91.11 (Gardner 1995, 95–96).

242 *Kephalaion 70*, 169.29–170.19 (Gardner 1995, 180, modified by BeDuhn).

243 Unfortunately, the history of Jain literature is so uncertain that we cannot be sure that its strikingly similar macranthropic cosmology dates back as far as the time of Mani. Padmanabh Jaini suggests it to be an innovation only of the ninth century (Jaini 2009, 71–89).

macranthropos, while other traditions offer broader points of comparison to the basic concept.

The correspondence between the structure of the cosmos and human bodies is explained within Manichaeism by a creation story, in which the forces of evil (themselves beastly and animalistic in form) copy a divine form in making human beings. Hence, the gods look like human beings. Similar passages in Middle Iranian Manichaean texts led Werner Sundermann to observe that, "in Manichaean cosmogony and anthropogony, the creation of the world by gods and the creation of man by demons were recognized as mirror images of a sort."[244] By implication, when the forces of good created the macranthropic cosmos, they similarly copied their own divine form:

> Thus, the fleshly body with its poisonous and evil greed and lust becomes an exact copy of the universe of heaven and earth, though somewhat smaller and more intricate. [. . .] Just as the form of a white elephant is copied by a goldsmith who engraves it into his ring, and it corresponds exactly to the body of the elephant itself, so, too, man is a copy of the universe.[245]

Turning to the Chinese Manichaean *Diagram of the Universe* with this structuring principle in mind, a large human head can be perceived centrally located just below the New Aeon. This head is shown atop the converged rainbow streams of light that flare out as they descend to the right and left, the overall design suggests a head atop neck and shoulders. The texts quoted above help us to see in the painting how the ten curving firmaments have been imagined with artistic stylization as the ten full ribs of the human body, and the crescent ships and treasuries of the Column of Glory as the spine. The circle of the zodiac is positioned as the navel beneath them. Manichaean texts go on to discuss the internal organs and genitalia of the macranthropos occurring below the ribcage of the firmaments. Correspondingly, the painting shows a set of coiling snakes reminiscent of the intestines, below which appears the prominent erection, as it were, of Mount Sumeru. None of this anatomical imagery is obvious to a casual observer, but can be discerned under the guidance of the texts. No doubt, such subtle themes woven into the depiction of the cosmos would have been pointed out to an audience viewing the painting by an informed and authoritative figure within the late medieval Chinese Manichaean community.

Another testimony to the authenticity of the ancient Manichaean cosmology preserved for over a thousand years are the "walls" enclosing the "whole

244 Sundermann 2001a, 19. Man, as microcosm (MPers. *nasā* and *šahr ī kōdag*, Parth. *zambudīg kašūdag*), was an imitation of the macrocosm (MPers. *nasā ī wuzurg*, Parth. *zambudīg wuzurg*), see texts published in Sundermann 1973, 25–33, 57; and 1983, 232–33.

245 *Chinese Tractate*, taken from the German translation of Schmidt-Glintzer 1987, 78–79.

cosmos" of the mixed world mentioned in *Kephalaion 70* quoted above.[246] These walls are pictured as three pairs of columns of varying colors and heights along the lower two-thirds of the painting, with divine figures sitting atop each on either side. The viewer is to understand these columns as cross-sections of three walls built next to one another in three layers that surround the world from three sides of the cardinal directions—the West, shown on the left; the South, implied behind the viewer's back; and the East, shown on the right. The un-walled side, the North, is depicted in the background of the painting. The iconography of these three walls is nuanced. The outermost wall is symbolized by the tallest red pair of columns that only partially survive today. In the original painting, starting from the bottom of the "first earth," the top of this wall reached above the tenth firmament of the sky, supporting a frontally projected pair of deities. These two deities seem to be shown in the roles of divine attendants flanking the entrance to the liberation of the light. The middle wall, symbolized by the middle pair of blue columns, is intact. It is shown reaching from the bottom of the "fourth earth" up to the start of the first firmament of the sky with a pair of attendant deities in three-quarter view. Symbolized by a green pair of columns, the inner wall is also fully preserved. It starts from the surface of the "fifth earth" and reaches up to the entrance level of the atmosphere with its attendant deities in three-quarter view. Together, these three walls anchor and frame within them the lower cosmos, where light and dark are still mixed. Thus, they convey a message of security within a well-ordered and well-guarded space sealed off against evil, and open to the marvelous vistas of divine goodness that the Manichaeans situated in the North.

Textual sources discussing Mani's teachings on this subject are scattered across a vast array of primary and secondary sources, and no one source provides a complete account. Nevertheless, despite some terminological and even conceptual adaptations to local cultures, Mani's original concept of cosmic structure persisted throughout Manichaean history, and is constantly referenced and presupposed in literary discussions of cosmogony, eschatology, and soteriology. These texts allow for an interpretive survey of the *Diagram of the Universe*, although not everything in the painting recognizably relates to how the cosmos is described and at times the painting itself clarifies or expands on what the surviving literature provides.

A The Realm of Light

Descriptions of the Realm of Light in Manichaean literature discuss an indeterminate number of inhabitants whom the Father of Greatness desires to preserve and protect in their transcendental state.[247] They dwell among

246 *Kephalaion 70*, 170.19 (Gardner 1995, 180).

247 See the passages collected by Klimkeit (1993, 29–33) with references to the "many gods, deities, and jewels . . . attendants of the Lord of Paradise," the "blessed inhabitants" of that realm, and so forth. The Turkic text U 262 mentions "five hundred thousand myriads of

mountains and trees and bodies of water.[248] In addition, there are twelve beings variously referred to as "the twelve great ones, his sons, twelve of the same kind," and "the twelve great powers, the immeasurable aeons . . . , in whom there is no waning or diminution, the garland of renown of the Father of the Lights."[249] They are "gathered unto the Father,"[250] "a garland about the Father,"[251] and "surrounding the Father."[252]

The other key feature of the Realm of Light mentioned in Manichaean literature is the five *shekinahs*, "tents" or "dwellings" also called five light-limbs,[253] or five pure thoughts.[254] They represent the highest form of the five noetic elements that recur at every level of reality, including the five children of Primal Man, and the five properties of the human soul. Their exact function in the Realm of Light is not altogether clear in the surviving literature. But *Kephalaion 25* identifies them as the sources from which five divine emanations come forth: the Messenger, Beloved of Lights, Mother of Life, the Beloved (?), and the Maiden of Light.[255]

In light of the above references, the Realm of Light is readily recognizable as the uppermost unit of the *Diagram of the Universe* (**Figure 6/37**). The visual syntax of this subscene corresponds to what is discussed in the texts. (1) The environment of this realm is defined by motifs of trees (shown with light symbols), mountains, two pools of water, and a diamond floor, the latter of which is framed in a row of colorful tiles. (2) Each of the five *shekinahs* is shown on a hovering cloud as a temple with a divine occupant, in accord with the report of one of the Coptic *Psalms of Thomas*: "(God) established dwellings (Gr. *tamion*) of life, and set up living images in them."[256] Four of them are witnessed by Mani, while the fifth is too damaged to make out completely. (3) The central motif of this subscene is the Father of Greatness and his assembly that includes the twelve aeons and two additional attendants. The latter pair can be explained by episodes in Manichaean myth, in which emanations

divine virgins and divine youths" who stand around the throne of "the God of Gods, Zurvan" (Klimkeit 1993, 339–40; cf. Zieme 1975, 31–33).

248 "The immortal, fragrant breeze attends the gods together with the (light-)earth and trees. The sources of light, the blessed plants, the echoing bright mountains of divine nature. The house of the jewels is a place full of blossoms . . ." (M 6232 recto, Klimkeit 1993, 32–33; cf. Boyce 1975, text aka).

249 M 730 (Asmussen 1975, 117–18; cf. Waldschmidt and Lentz 1933, 553–54); and *Psalm-Book* II, 1.13–15 (Allberry 1938, 1), respectively.

250 *Psalm-Book* II, 197.14 (Allberry 1938, 197).

251 *Psalm-Book* II, 199.13 (Allberry 1938, 199).

252 *Psalm-Book* II, 200.21–22 (Allberry 1938, 200). *Kephalaion 4* (25.16–19) speaks with greater specificity of the "Great Rich Gods of Greatness—the first evocations that he evoked," whom he "spread out to the four climes, three by three before his face" (Gardner 1995, 29).

253 *Kephalaion 21*, 64.21–25 (Gardner 1995, 67); cf. U262, Klimkeit 1993, 340 and Zieme 1975, 31–33.

254 M 533.V.12a (Boyce 1952, 442–44).

255 *Kephalaion 25*, 76.17–23 (Gardner 1995, 77).

256 *Psalm-Book* II, 203.15–16 (Allberry 1938, 203).

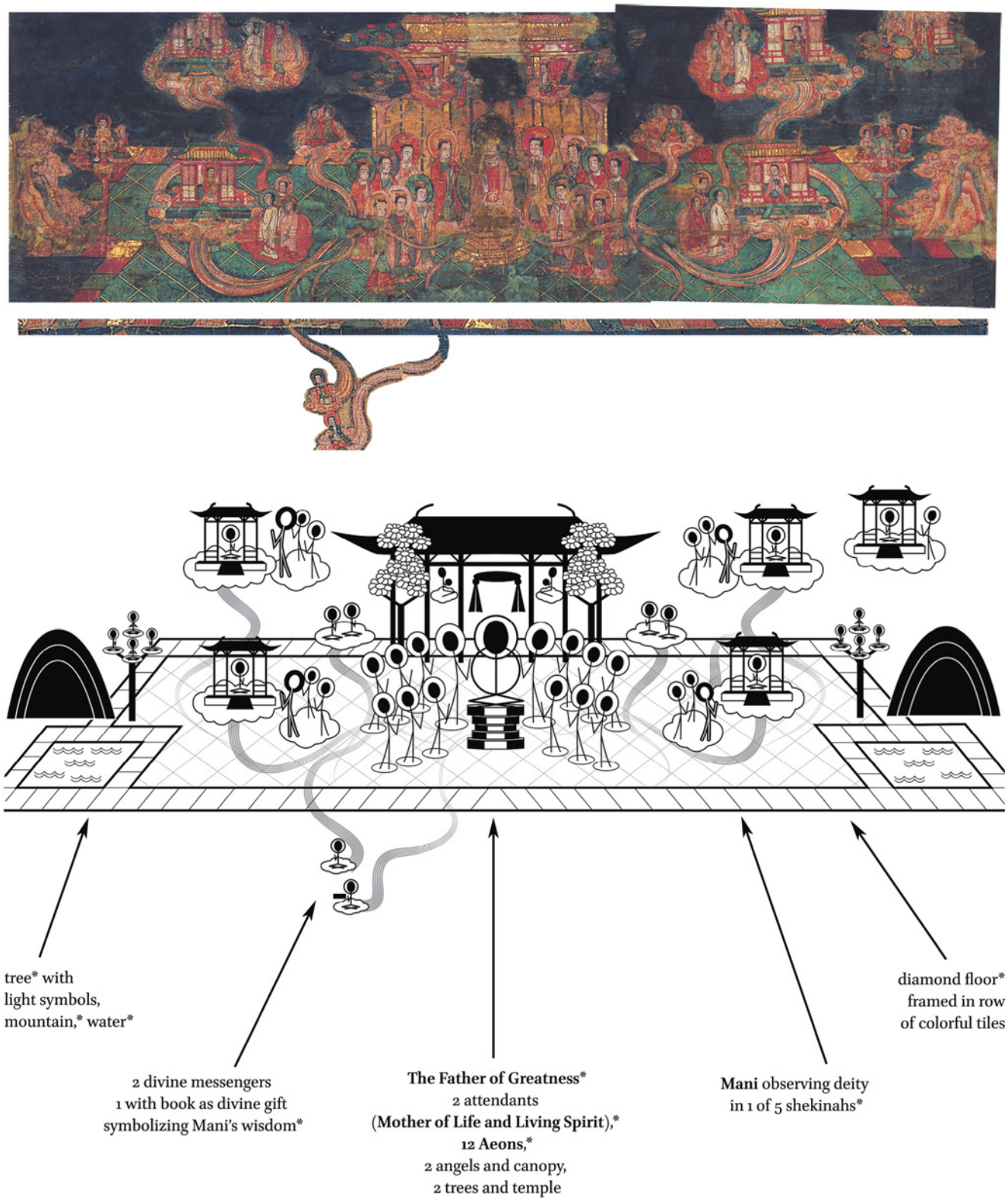


FIGURE 6/37 *Visual syntax of the* Realm of Light Subscene *and its motifs identified based on textual* and pictorial context* (*details of Figs. 5/14 and 6/36*)

of the Father come into his presence to appeal to him for further action in the conflict with evil and support of the redemptive cosmos. Most likely, the two figures flanking God represent the Mother of Life and Living Spirit asking him specifically for the cosmos-creating emanations portrayed throughout the rest of the painting.[257]

Further motifs supplement this core iconography. A divine setting is introduced around the Father of Greatness. Painted above him, there is a canopy (now damaged) and a pair of figures, seated on the smallest clouds of this subscene, shown decorating the canopy. Behind him are two flowering trees and a temple. The gilded roof of this temple was originally one of the highest motifs in the picture plane (reaching somewhat higher than the upper *shekinahs*) dramatically contrasting with the background.[258] Flanking this divine assembly is a pair of small clouds with two divine agents seated on each, painted against the blue background at the two sides of the temple. Their cloud-trails seem to emanate from the floor, in contrast to the cloud-trails of the *shekinahs,* which originate from the Father of Greatness. The same is true for the two additional small clouds, with one messenger seated on each, that cross over from the Realm of Light leading the viewer's attention to the parts of the cosmos depicted below.

B The New Aeon

The New Aeon (referred to in Iranian texts as the "New Paradise") is described in Manichaean literature in different terms than the natural environment of the Realm of Light. Its space is defined as a "structure," erected by a deity called "Builder" (Syr. *Bān*). It serves as a platform, from which the gods can look down into the cosmos.[259] It is "a resting-place for the redeeming gods, who are banished from the Eternal Paradise during their struggle to recover the lost light."[260] These "battle-stirring gods" are said to "settle there in the same way as nomads, who (going) from place to place with their tents, horses, and possessions, put up and pull down (their tents)."[261] In other words, the entire pantheon of

257 E.g. in M 7984.II.R.21–25 (Hutter 1992, 30–31). Also see Theodore bar Konai (Jackson 1932, 240). Yoshida (2010, 16) suggests that the two side figures are the Mother of Life and the Primal Man.

258 Since the Realm of Light is a light-filled realm, it is possible that the dark-blue background was not part of the original image, but was added in the course of its modern restoration.

259 M 470a.R.13–22 (MacKenzie 1979, 516–17); also mentioned in Ibn al-Nadim's *Fihrist* (see Jackson 1932, 286) and discussed in the *Šābuhragān* (M 482.I.V.12–14) as the "New World" (see MacKenzie 1979, 510–11).

260 Boyce 1954, 16. For more reference, see Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015, forthcoming.

261 M 2.II.2–15 (Asmussen 1975, 135; cf. Andreas and Henning 1934, 849–50).

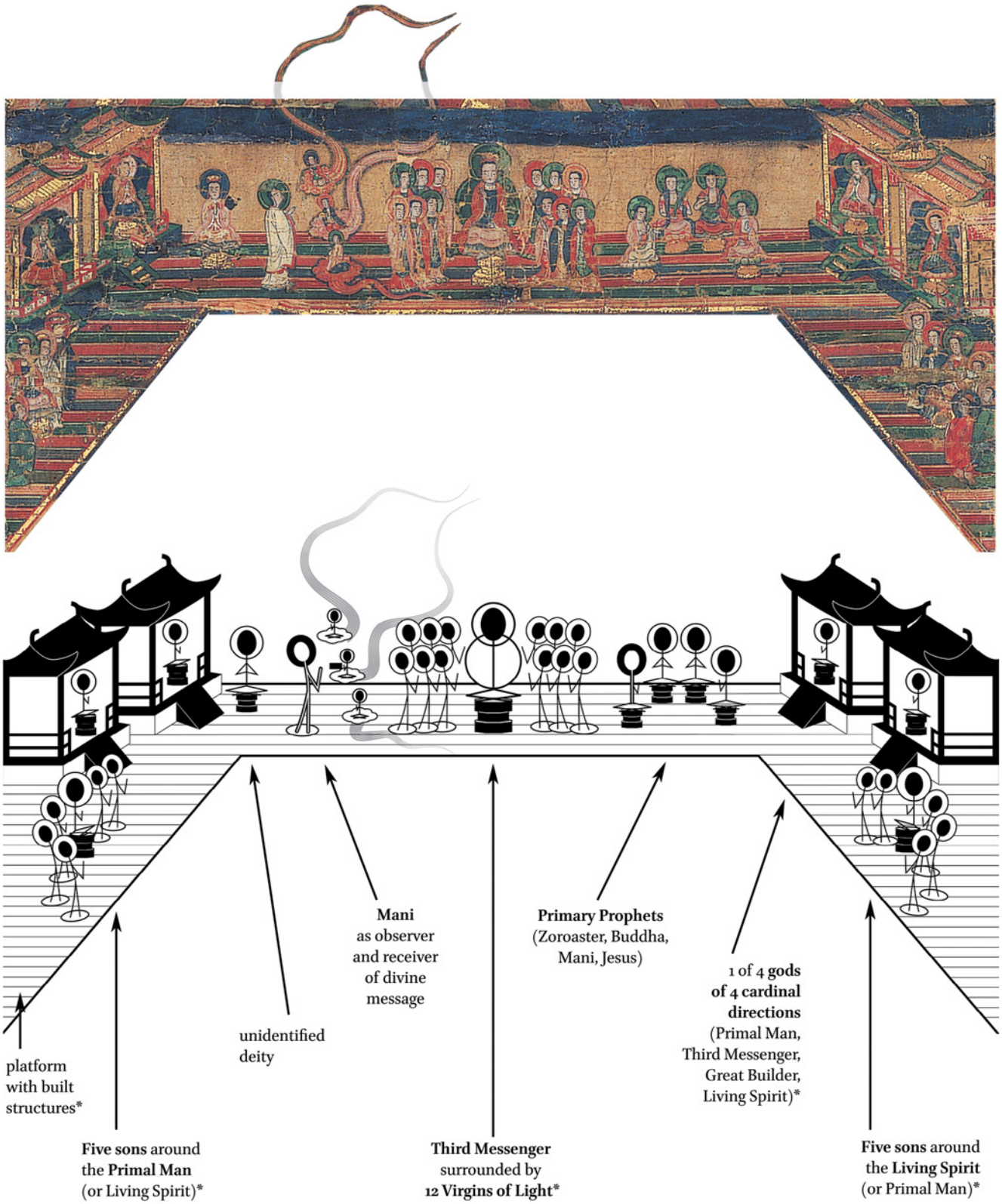


FIGURE 6/38 *Visual syntax of the* New Aeon Subscene *and its motifs identified based on textual* and pictorial context* (*details of Figs. 5/14 and 6/36*)

deities emanated from the Father of Greatness assemble, sooner or later, in the New Aeon.[262]

The New Aeon is depicted beneath the Realm of Light in the *Diagram of the Universe* (**Figure 6/38**). Corresponding to what is discussed in the texts, this realm is shown as a built space resting atop the temporary cosmos. The artist captures it by a horizontally striped platform positioned at the north side around a rectangular opening, through which the inhabitants of the New Aeon can observe the struggle of light and darkness taking place in the firmaments and earths beneath them. To further affirm a built environment, a pair of two temples is introduced standing along each of the two sides of this platform, contrasting with the *shekinahs*, floating ethereally on clouds within the space of the Realm of Light.

The platform is populated by thirty-two divine beings. Their iconography, however, is nondescript. None of the gods in this subscene can be identified based on their appearance. It is their locations and groupings in the painting that permits their identification once matched to descriptions of specific deities in the textual sources about the New Aeon. Thus, the iconography and compositional arrangement in this art are used only as a supplementary visual support to a teacher-supplied identification of the figures. The painting only differentiates the figures by arranging them in a pictorial hierarchy that features the main god in the center and the rest clustered symmetrically along the two sides in specific, numerologically arranged groups.

The highest-ranking deity matches the description of the Third Messenger with the Twelve Virgins of Light. The deity is shown enclosed in a mandorla (not only a halo) and accompanied by a retinue of twelve attendants, which deliberately echoes some of the attributes of the Father of Greatness above him in the Realm of Light. In harmony with Manichaean literature, we are to understand that this main being of the New Aeon is the god of this world, the active ruler of the cosmos, just as the otiose Father reigns over the Realm of Light. The best-known dodecad outside of the Realm of Light, in the cosmos, are the Twelve Virgins of Light of the Third Messenger, and this is undoubtedly the group meant to be evoked by these figures.[263]

The second group of deities in this realm is the Four Gods of the Cardinal Directions. Each is enthroned in its own temple. Their four temples are portrayed as separate structures near one another on the two sides of the platform, projected from side-views in isometric perspective (as opposed to the frontal-view of more prestigious temples, seen along the vertical axis and, in one case, on the right side of the Atmosphere). Once again, the painting does not differentiate these four gods, but Manichaean literature verifies that they are the Primal Man, the Third Messenger, the Great Builder, and the Living Spirit.

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262 The New Aeon also serves as the way station for liberated souls; see Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015, 70–74.

263 See Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015, 72.

The third grouping of deities consists of parallel sets on either side of the New Aeon platform, as it extends forward along the ground plane towards the viewer, each showing a god seated on a lotus throne with five standing (and thus lesser-ranking) figures around him. From the main Manichaean pantheon, such sets likely correspond with Primal Man with his five sons and the Living Spirit with his five sons. Yet, once again, the artist does not provide any iconographic detail to permit the viewer to distinguish which group is which.

Nine additional beings are introduced prestigiously on the two sides of the central assembly. The five on the left include Mani, who is shown receiving a book[264] from the Father of Greatness delivered by the middle of the three divine agents (see Fig. 5/17); and an unidentified deity shown on its own. The four on the right represent the Primary Prophets (see Fig. 6/17).[265] Their identification is deduced from the distinct iconography of Zoroaster and the Buddha, depicted here as the two inner figures (shown further away from the viewer in the arc formation). These two represent the earlier prophets: Zoroaster, identifiable in the figure at upper left by a green object he holds, resembling a cut branch, and probably intended to represent a *barsom*; and the historical Buddha, who is identifiable at upper right by the *ushnisha* bump atop his head.[266] Although there are no obvious identifying marks for the other two figures (shown in the foreground), based on the distribution of the four figures in two Manichaean paintings from tenth-century Kocho, they would be the two more recent prophets: Jesus at the lower right and at the lower left Mani, who is shown in this assembly in his role as one of the Primary Prophets of Manichaeism.

The artist moves the viewer's attention away from this subscene to the next by introducing implied lines in the mere arrangement of the figures displayed along the edges of the platform. In addition, he makes them look down toward the center of the painting, to the area of the dark-blue void of the cosmos (shown in the background), which is overlapped by the figures of the next subscene.

C The Liberation of Light

The cosmos that unfolds below the New Aeon is a dynamic realm of force and counter-force as light and darkness struggle for mastery. Yet, this is a cosmos designed and operating in the service of the liberation of light, despite oppositional forces present within it. Manichaean doctrine declares that liberated light, including the soul of the perfected, ascends along what Ephrem Syrus

264 Kósa (2015, 182–183 and n.35). A discussion of the symbolic connotation of this book is provided below, under "Mani as a visionary witness" (see Fig. 6/47).

265 For a different identification, see Yoshida 2010, 16a and Kósa 2013, 63–64.

266 *Barsom* is the Middle Persian name for a sacred branch used in Zoroastrian liturgy, see *Encyclopaedia Iranica* online s.v. "BARSOM," accessed June 05, 2014, (http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/barsom-av).

says the Manichaeans describe as "streams of refining,"[267] out of the world via the "Column of Glory" (also referred to as the "Perfect Man") from which it passes first to the moon, and then to the sun, before reaching the New Aeon.

In addition to serving as a channel for liberated light, the Column of Glory also manifests the emerging reconstitution of the full Primal Man with his "Maiden" or "soul" and his five elemental children, dismembered in the original battle of light and darkness. As liberated light gathers in the Column of Glory, it takes on an anthropomorphic form. *Kephalaion 31* refers to this reconstitution of this ideal human form, when it says:

> The Primal Man, he is the head, for his sons are set on him, the limbs of his soul . . . his head is placed on the body of the Column of Glory in the height of the world.[268]

This "great" or "giant" figure[269] is identified in some Turkic and Chinese Manichaean texts with the similarly macranthropic Lushena (Skt. Vairocana), whose body constitutes the entire cosmos in some forms of the Buddhist tradition.[270]

Manichaean literature describes the sun and moon variously as "ships"[271] or "chariots."[272] In the *Šābuhragān*, Mani explains the creation of the sun and moon thusly: "And of wind and light, water and fire, which had been purified from the mixture, he (the Living Spirit) made and arranged two chariots of light: (that) of the sun of fire and light, (with) five walls of ether, air, light, water, and fire,[273] with twelve gates, five houses (MPers. *man*), three thrones (MPers. *gah*), and five soul-gathering angels,[274] within the wall of fire; (and that) of the moon-god, of wind and water, with five walls of ether, air, light, fire, and water, with fourteen gates, five houses, three thrones, and five soul-collecting angels, within the wall of water."[275] The three thrones in each vessel were occupied

267 Reeves 1997, 243–44.

268 *Kephalaion 31*, 84.25–30 (Gardner 1995, 87). The significance of this passage for the interpretation of this painting was first recognized by Yoshida 2010, 8a–9a and 17a–b.

269 Called *mrd wzrg*, "great man," in Parthian fragment M 224.11.R.5–7 (Colditz 2000, 287); cf. *Chinese Hymnscroll*, stanzas 126 and 390. See Kósa 2015, 186–187.

270 For example, the Chinese Hymnscroll, stanzas 364–67, captioned as 'Praise of Lushena' (but employing the Iranian name Srōšahrāy, rendered in Chinese as Sulshaluoyi) "We laud and praise and admire Sulshaluoyi, the Perfect Man, the Column of Adamantine Image, who upholds the world, and fills all things with his own wonderful body and his own great strength" (Tsui Chi 1943–1946, 210).

271 E.g., Hom 6.27–28; *Kephalaion* 70, 172.26 (Gardner 1995, 182).

272 E.g., M 183.II.R.4.

273 On the five elemental walls of the sun, see *Psalm-Book* 11, 161.27–28 (Allberry 1938, 161).

274 On the five light-gathering angels, Yoshida 2010, 8b cites S7.V.ii (Klimkeit 1993, 97); M 90 (Klimkeit 1993: 129); Ephrem, *Prose Refutations* 205.2–10 (Reeves 1997, 247, 248 n. 94; Jackson 1932, 44–45 n. 19).

275 M 98.I.R.8–24 (Jackson 1932, 31; Hutter 1992, 10–13). Cf. M 183.II.R.4–V.8 (Asmussen 1975, 134; cf. Sundermann 1973, text 10, lines 1207–27): "And he prepared two chariots, each with

by principal deities, according to *Kephalaion 29* and other Manichaean texts: the Third Messenger, Great Spirit (i.e., Mother of Life), and Living Spirit in the sun;[276] and Jesus, Primal Man, and Virgin of Light in the moon.[277]

Two other divine beings find mention in connection with the liberation of light: the deities "Caller" (Syr. *qaryā*) and "Respondent" (Syr. *ʿanyā*). In a Parthian passage from his *Šābuhragān*, Mani says:

> Then the Caller-god (*mizdagtāz-yazd*) and the Respondent-god (*azdegar-yazd*), whom Mihr-yazd and the Female-formed (god) (*srīgarkirb*), the mother of the god Orhmizd, had . . . above his body . . . were placed there before the lord of the land (*dahibed*, i.e., Splendor-holder, see below), who stands above all firmaments and holds the heads of these gods.[278]

A similar assembly of beings in the place of light liberation is described in *Kephalaion 38*:

> Furthermore, the Messenger refined there five mentalities of life. Also, the Caller and the Respondent were placed with them. . . . Furthermore, the Messenger placed with them the great mind, who is the Pillar of Glory, the Perfect Man. . . . And look, see that Splendor-holder is established in the great mind, in the camp above the prison of the bound ones.[279]

As mentioned in this text, yet another figure is placed by Manichaean doctrine atop the firmaments at the crucial point of light-liberation: the deity "Splendor-holder" (Syr. *ṣafath zīwā*), first son of the Living Spirit.[280]

This complex doctrine is effectively conceptualized in the *Liberation of Light Subscene* (**Figure 6/39**). Some elements of this teaching readily lend themselves for a symmetrical presentation. Others are best suited for a centralized

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five walls. Of pure fire and light he prepared the chariot of the sun. And in every single wall he put twelve gates. And in all there are sixty gates. And then he prepared the chariot of the moon from wind and immortal water. And in every single wall he put fourteen gates. And in all there are seventy gates. Then he . . . placed five angels in the chariot of the sun and five in the moon."

276 See *Hymnscroll* stanzas 360–63 (Tsui 1943–1946, 210); and *Kephalaion 29*, 82.29–31 (Gardner 1995, 84).

277 See *Hymnscroll* stanzas 368–71 (Tsui 1943–1946, 210–11); and *Kephalaion 29*, 82.32–83.1 (Gardner 1995, 85).

278 M 7984.II.R.ii.6–18 (Hutter 1992, 29–30, without the hypothetical reconstruction of the lacuna; trans. in Asmussen 1975, 123 and in Klimkeit 1993, 227 defective; cf. Andreas and Henning 1932, 178).

279 *Kephalaion 38*, 92.1–14 (translation in Gardner 1995, 96–97 differs).

280 According to Theodore bar Konai, he "holds the five luminous deities by their loins, and below their loins the heavens are spread out." Although Theodore bar Konai speaks of Splendor-holder holding the "waist" or "loins" (Syr. *hassā*), Augustine says instead that he "holds the heads of the elements" (Augustine, *C. Faustum* 15.5); see Kósa 2012, 59.

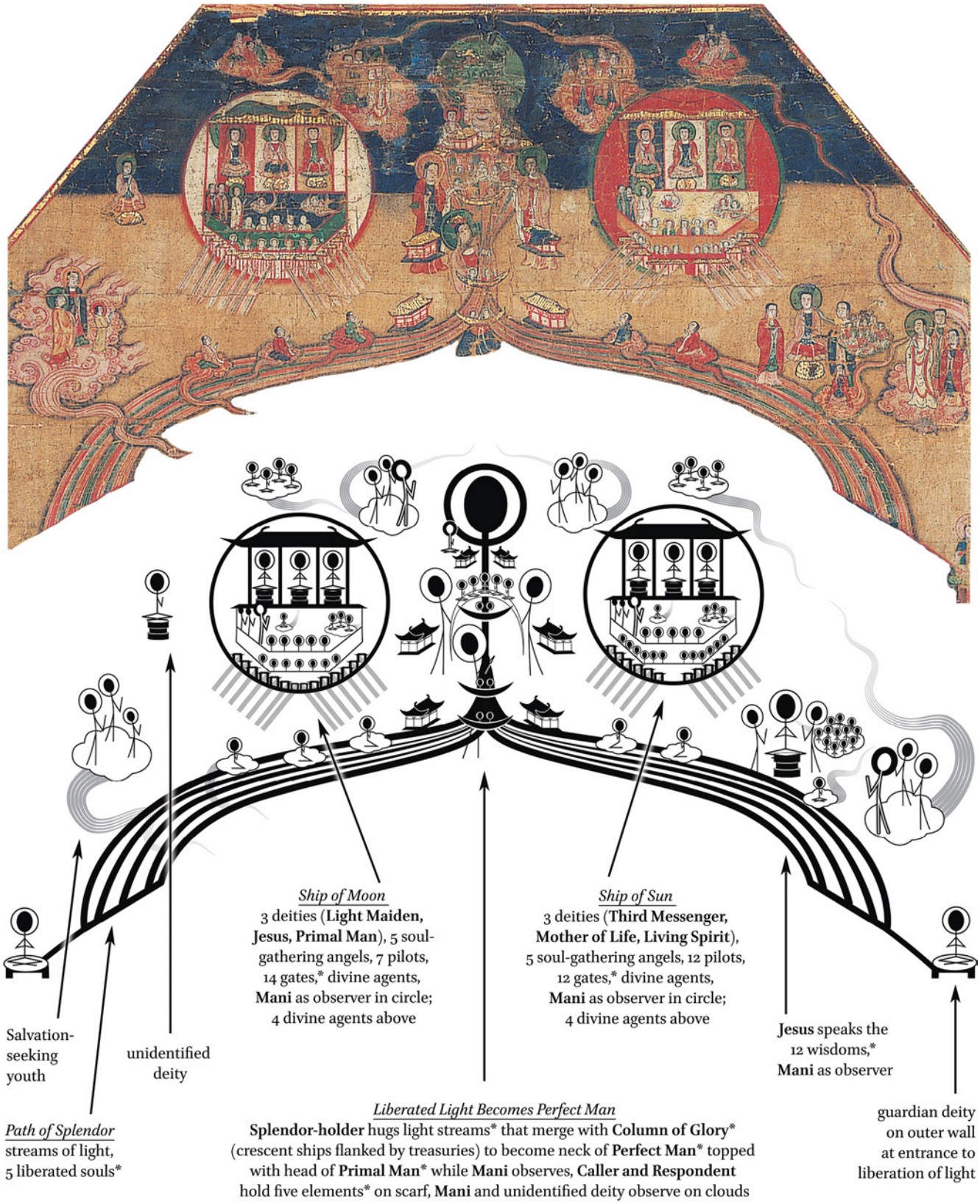

FIGURE 6/39 *Visual syntax of the* Liberation of Light Subscene *and its motifs identified based on textual* and pictorial context* (*details of Figs. 5/14 and 6/36*)

visual hierarchy that the artist can reflect in the location of the motifs, such as their height on the picture plane and proximity to the center. Accordingly, a centralized focus and a balanced pairing govern the overall organization of this subscene. Once again, the iconography of the figures is coded—who they are and what roles they play in the liberation of light were originally supplied by a learned elect trained in sermonizing with images.

Most prominent among the symmetrically arranged motifs is a pair of large circles that symbolize the "light-vessels"—the "ship of the moon" and the "ship of the sun." Although they are not given the specific details of ships in this painting, the colorful beams radiating from their round light-filled bodies (through the fourteen gates of the moon and the twelve gates of the sun) do give the impression of oars. On the left is the moon with a dominant white background encircled in red. Inside it, there are three deities, five light-gathering angels, and seven pilots, in addition to Mani (with his attendants) and two groups of divine agents on small clouds. Mirroring the moon is the sun on the right, painted with a red background and a green outline. Inside the circle there are three deities, five light-gathering angels, and twelve pilots, in addition to Mani (with his attendants) and the divine agents on clouds. The pilots (or "shipmasters"), referred to in several Manichaean texts,[281] may indicate that the painter was aware of the tradition that identifies these vessels as ships. As is the case with the pilots (and most other figures), the iconography of the three main deities does not provide sufficient identifying markers, and so was not meant to signal their identity. It is their numbers in association with their location that can be connected to textual reference to the Light Maiden, Jesus, and the Primal Man in the moon; and the Third Messenger, the Mother of Life, and the Living Spirit in the sun. Although the "five dwellings" and "five walls" are not depicted, there are walls around the temple of the three deities and what appears to be a tent-like cover over the roof. A textual reference to a "tent" occupied by the Primal Man in the moon[282] seems to correspond with this canopy-like cover seen atop the temples of the three deities in both light-vessels, painted as a red cloth in the moon and a green cloth in the sun. A distinct cloth-like cover is seen in the center of a moon motif in one of the Uygur Manichaean book paintings,[283] preserving an example of a long-lived iconography in the *Diagram of the Universe*.

Fitting its centrality in Manichaean doctrine, the final stages of liberation are portrayed in the focal point along the vertical axis, between the moon and the sun (**Figure 6/40**). This busy central set of motifs emerges from five colorful bands of "splendor." They originate as two separate streams at the two lower

281 For Iranian examples, see Yoshida 2010, 8a–9a; for Chinese examples (e.g., *Hymnscroll* stanza 127), see Waldschmidt and Lentz 1933, 505–6 and Kósa 2015, 187, notes 63–64.

282 *Kephalaion 8*, 37.1–2 (Gardner 1995, 41).

283 A red cloth-like cover can be observed inside the green cargo of the white (originally gilded) moon crescent, located along the register separating the two subscenes within the full-page image on MIK III 8260 recto (see Figs. 6/6b and 6/8c, above).

Splendor-holder hugs light streams that merge with **Column of Glory** (moon ships flanked by two treasuries) to form neck of **Perfect Man** topped with head of **Primal Man** while **Mani** observes. **Caller and Respondent** hold five elements on scarf. **Mani** and **unidentified deity** observe on clouds.

FIGURE 6/40 *Column of Glory becomes Perfect Man in the* Diagram of the Universe (*detail of Fig. 6/39*)

sides of this subscene and get gradually closer to one another assuming the shape of a pointed arch as they near the center. The five bands symbolize the five elements of light as they follow the route of liberation. To reinforce this connotation, small figures are painted rising up atop the two "streams of refining": three on the left and two on the right. They represent the about-to-be-liberated souls, shown seated on small clouds as they travel towards the center. In the center, the paths of light merge as the first deity at the lowest point of the vertical axis, the Splendor-holder, hugs the light-beams with his right arm.[284] This depiction opts to conceptualize Splendor-holder gripping the neck of the macranthropos (the "nape of the garments" according to *Kephalaion 38*, which uses "garments" to refer to the light elements),[285] with the two rainbow streams suggesting neck and shoulders, above the Ten Firmaments that are conceived of as a rib-cage (as in *Kephalaion 38* and *70*). Thus, the light becomes the body of the "Perfect Man." Where the light streams converge, three upturned moon crescents are superimposed over them, each of which carries two figures who come with two treasuries, one on each side of the crescent. Flanking the Perfect Man's "neck" are two divine figures who can be identified as the Caller and the Respondent.[286] They hold a white scarf, on the surface of which the personifications of the five elements are seated, symbolizing the five sons of the Primal Man: Light, Wind, Water, Fire, and Air. The body of the Perfect Man culminates in a giant head (that of the Primal Man) slightly above the level of the moon and the sun. An additional small figure appears to be looking on from a position just below the right ear of the giant head, as if witnessing the formation of this being from the ascending liberated light. His white cloak with red trim codes him as Mani, one of the few figures in this iconography that can be identified based on their depictions.

The balanced arrangement of further motifs continues along the edges of this subscene. Flanking the head of the Perfect Man, Mani and his attendants are paired with an unidentified deity and attendants. Both groups stand on descending clouds facing toward the center, as if they have come to witness the liberation of the light. At about the same level, but further away from the center, a pair of divine agents is shown on clouds as they travel across this realm. On the left side, there is a solo figure of an unidentified deity on a lotus throne. On the right, the meeting point of two cloud-trails is shown at the corresponding location, the upper of which leads to one of the divine agents just mentioned. The lower of the trails descends to a cloud supporting yet another depiction of Mani with his two attendants, who at lower right encounter an enthroned deity with two attendants. A small cloud emerges from this deity's mouth, symbolizing divine speech; but instead of a single tiny figure personifying the speech, as typically shown, this speech-cloud holds twelve such figures.

284 As identified by Kósa (2012, 53–57).

285 "The head of the universe is the beginning of the garments. His neck is the nape of the garments" (*Kephalaion 38*, 90.22–23; Gardner 1995, 95).

286 See Kósa 2015, 187.

This distinctive symbolism evokes the famous "twelve wisdoms" or "twelve sovereignties" recitation performed in Manichaean ritual and associated with Jesus.[287] Thus, this divine figure appears to represent Jesus the Splendor. This somewhat unexpected placement within the *Liberation of Light Subscene* and its significance requires further study. In the corresponding location at the lower left of the subscene is a cloud bearing a youth (possibly the salvation-seeking youth also shown on the four quarters of the earth, see below) and two divine escorts looking toward the liberation of the light.[288] "The youth" (Copt. *lilou*), or occasionally "Jesus the Youth," in contrast to the free and fully empowered Jesus the Splendor. This figure serves as the personified embodiment of the yearning and striving for liberation throughout time.[289]

D The Ten Firmaments of the Sky

Most primary texts refer to ten firmaments in the Manichaean model of the heavens. *Kephalaion 47*, for instance, speaks of "the ten firmaments that exist above the wheel (of the zodiac), and the ruling-power that is bound in them, as it is imprisoned within them in the heavens that are above."[290] A well-known Sogdian fragment on cosmogony provides greater detail:

> Thereupon at once the Lord of the Seven Climes (i.e., Living Spirit) and the Mother of the Righteous Ones (i.e., Mother of Life) began to plan how to arrange this world. They began to fashion it . . . they formed ten firmaments . . . Furthermore, he evoked forty angels, who hold up the ten firmaments. In each firmament they fashioned twelve gates; they constructed another four gates in each of the four directions, there where those angels stand. . . . For each of the twelve gates in each of the firmaments they constructed six thresholds, to each threshold thirty bazaars, in each bazaar twelve rows [in each row two sides]. On one side they

287 In *Kephalaion 4*, Jesus the Splendor is the "fourth day" and his 12 wisdoms are the hours. On the association of Jesus with the 12 "sovereignties" recitation, see the key passage in the *Sermon on the Light-Nous* (Sundermann 1992, stanza 40; Chavannes and Pelliot 1911, 566–67); and Morano 1982, 9–43.

288 In the previously quoted passage of *Kephalaion 38*, wherein the Third Messenger positions the Caller and Respondent with the five light elements in the proximity of the Perfect Man, and before the passage goes on to similarly situate Splendor-holder, the text says, "Furthermore, there was placed with them Jesus the Youth, he who is the image of the living word of the Caller and Respondent" (*Kephalaion 38*, 92.7–8; trans. in Gardner 1995, 97 differs).

289 I.e., the "*enthumēsis* of life"; see Andreas and Henning 1934, 878 n. 4.

290 *Kephalaion 47*, 118.20–23 (Gardner 1995, 125); cf. M 33.R.11–12 (Müller 1904, 46); *Xwāswānīft* IIIA (Clark 2013, 89); Sundermann 1973, texts 6 and 19; Augustine, *Contra Faustum* 32.19, etc. The ambiguity of the status of the zodiac as either one of the firmaments or counted apart from them seems to stand behind the numerological confusion. See, e.g., the Turkic text T II D 173b1.V.6–17: "First of all, they built and created the ten-fold blue sky . . . also, they established and created the zodiac (as) the eleventh" (Le Coq 1912, 14–15; trans. provided by Larry V. Clark, personal communication).

> made 180 stalls, on the other side 180. In every stall they fettered and caged *yakshas* and demons, the males and the females separately.[291]

Beyond the idea that demons are imprisoned in the firmaments of heaven, Manichaean literature does not offer many details about what is distinct about each of the firmaments, with the exception of the seventh and the first.[292]

The seventh firmament is occupied by the enthroned King of Honor (Syr. *malkā rabbā d^{e}īqarā*). *Kephalaion 28* states that this deity "dwells and is established in the seventh firmament."[293] In M178.II, similarly, "they seated him on a throne in the seventh heaven and made him the lord and king over all the ten firmaments."[294] *Kephalaion 70* speaks of "his own authority over the seven firmaments beneath him."[295] Augustine of Hippo refers to the fact that the King of Honor (Lat. *rex honoris*) is "surrounded by soldierly angels" (Lat. *angelorum exercitibus circumdatum*).[296]

Several texts associate the King of Honor with some sort of device through which he monitors the firmaments, such as a "magic twelve-faceted lens."[297] *Kephalaion 36* is entirely dedicated to this instrument, which it characterizes as a "wheel . . . with twelve seals in it," situated "in front of the King of Honor," and "set right at all times opposite the King of Honor."[298] If one of the evil "rulers" should start to rebel in any of the firmaments where they are bound, the fact "will be apparent and known in that wheel," and more generally "the spheres and the stars and the leader of all the powers . . . can be known by it."[299]

The first, or lowest firmament has significance in relation to the "sphere" or "wheel of stars," with the twelve figures of the zodiac and seven planets. Mani identified the zodiac as the navel of the macranthropic form of the cosmos, below the rib-like ten firmaments.[300] A Middle Iranian cosmogonical text states:

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291 M 178.II.R.69–105 (Klimkeit 1993, 235–36; cf. Henning 1947–1948, 311–13; and *Kephalaion 16*, 51.25–31 (Gardner 1995, 56). appears frequently in Jewish apocalyptic literature.

292 On this function of the firmaments in Manichaean literature, cf. Sundermann 1973, text 3.2, lines 835–38; M 178.II.V.1025 (Henning 1947–1948, 312–13); *Kephalaion 47*, 118.20–23 (Gardner 1995, 125). *Kephalaion 38* appears to refer to the whole set of firmaments as "the prison of the bound ones" (92.13–14, Gardner 1995, 97).

293 *Kephalaion 28*, 80.5–6 and *Kephalaion 29*, 83.2–3 (Gardner 1995, 82 and 85). *Kephalaion 38*, on the other hand, places him in the "third firmament" (92.24–25, Gardner 1995, 97) by counting from the top down, rather than from the bottom up.

294 M 178.II.V.106–111 (Henning 1947–1948, 312–13).

295 *Kephalaion 70*, 170.28–30 (Gardner 1995, 180).

296 Augustine, *C. Faustum* 15.6. For more on this see Gulácsi and BeDuhn, 2015 forthcoming.

297 M 178.II.R.78–79 (Henning 1947–1948, 312).

298 *Kephalaion 36*, 87.33–34, 88.5–6, and 88.20–21 (Gardner 1995, 92).

299 *Kephalaion 36*, 88.6–12; and *Kephalaion 36*, 88.29–33: "If they should wish to escape, they shall be recognized and revealed by that wheel, as the wheel is like a great mirror, for the discrimination of all things . . . in it " (Gardner 1995, 92).

300 *Kephalaion 38*, 90.25–26 (Gardner 1995, 95).

> Then, below the firmaments, they fashioned a revolving wheel and zodiac. Within the zodiac they fettered those of the demons of darkness that were the most iniquitous, vicious, and rebellious. They made the twelve constellations and the seven planets rulers over the whole mixed world, and set them in opposition to each other. From all the demons that had been imprisoned in the zodiac they weaved—warp and woof—the roots, veins, and links. In the lowest firmament they bored a hole and suspended the zodiac from it. Two sons of God were placed by them as watchers, so as to . . . the superior wheel continually.[301]

Much of the above details are depicted in the *Ten Firmaments of the Sky Subscene* (**Figures 6/41 and 6/42**). Arguably, it is the most prominent unit of the painting. Its visual dominance comes from not only its large surface that claims the middle third of the hanging scroll, but also the fact that this subscene is the only among the six with a repetitive composition. Its layout is unified by a strict rhythm that introduces a symmetrical frame for displaying as many as twenty mini scenes arranged in two columns along the two sides of the vertical axis.

Each firmament contains a series of motifs that are systematically repeated at the same location at each level. When viewed together across all the levels, these motifs give the impression of implied columns that unify the composition of this subscene. Firstly, each firmament is defined as a walled enclosure. With only the upper bodies of figures visible, the viewer is given the impression that they occupy a brilliantly lit courtyard behind a wall. The wall itself is either dark-blue or dark-green and contains twelve gates (six on each side of the vertical axis), through which light-beams radiate from within the firmament. The sums of these walled courtyards form the structure of the sky and together constitute a broad column arching across the middle portion of the cosmos. Secondly, a gatehouse and a pair of atlas figures close off each level, forming columns on their own at the two sides of the firmaments (starting below the first firmament and culminating below the tenth, totaling forty). The gatehouse has red beams and a gilded roof over two gates. This double-gate structure no doubt represents an abbreviation of originally two separate gates on each side, i.e., "four gates in each of the four directions, there where those angels stand."[302] Standing in front of each of the double gatehouses, two angelic atlases support the firmament above with one of their arms (the arm closer to the center). They wear robes of distinct color (green and what appears to be a dark shade of brown on the left; and reddish-white and red on the right). Appropriately to their marginal location, these motifs are depicted oriented toward the center (from the cardinal directions)—the buildings in

301 M 178.II.V.111–29 (Klimkeit 1993, 235–36; cf. Henning 1947–1948, 312–13). Similarly, M 98.I.R.3–6 states: "And they suspended it (the zodiac) from the lowest firmament and, to make it turn ceaselessly at call, they set over it two angels, a male and a female" (Hutter 1992, 10).

302 M 178.II.R.87–90 (Henning 1947–1948, 312).

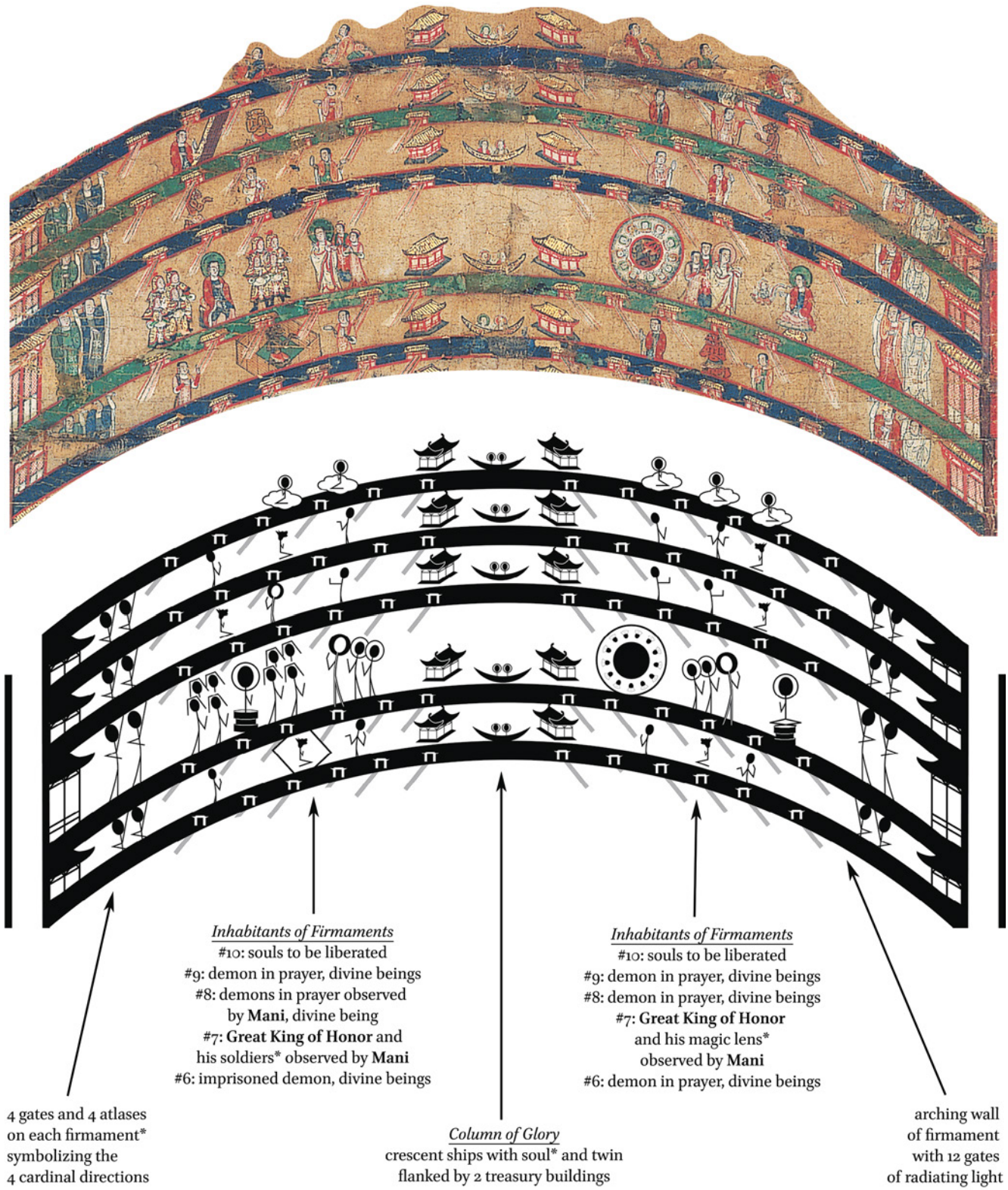

FIGURE 6/41 *Visual syntax of the* Ten Firmaments of the Sky Subscene, *part 1* (*upper five firmaments*) *and its motifs identified based on textual* and pictorial context* (*details of Figs. 5/14 and 6/36*)

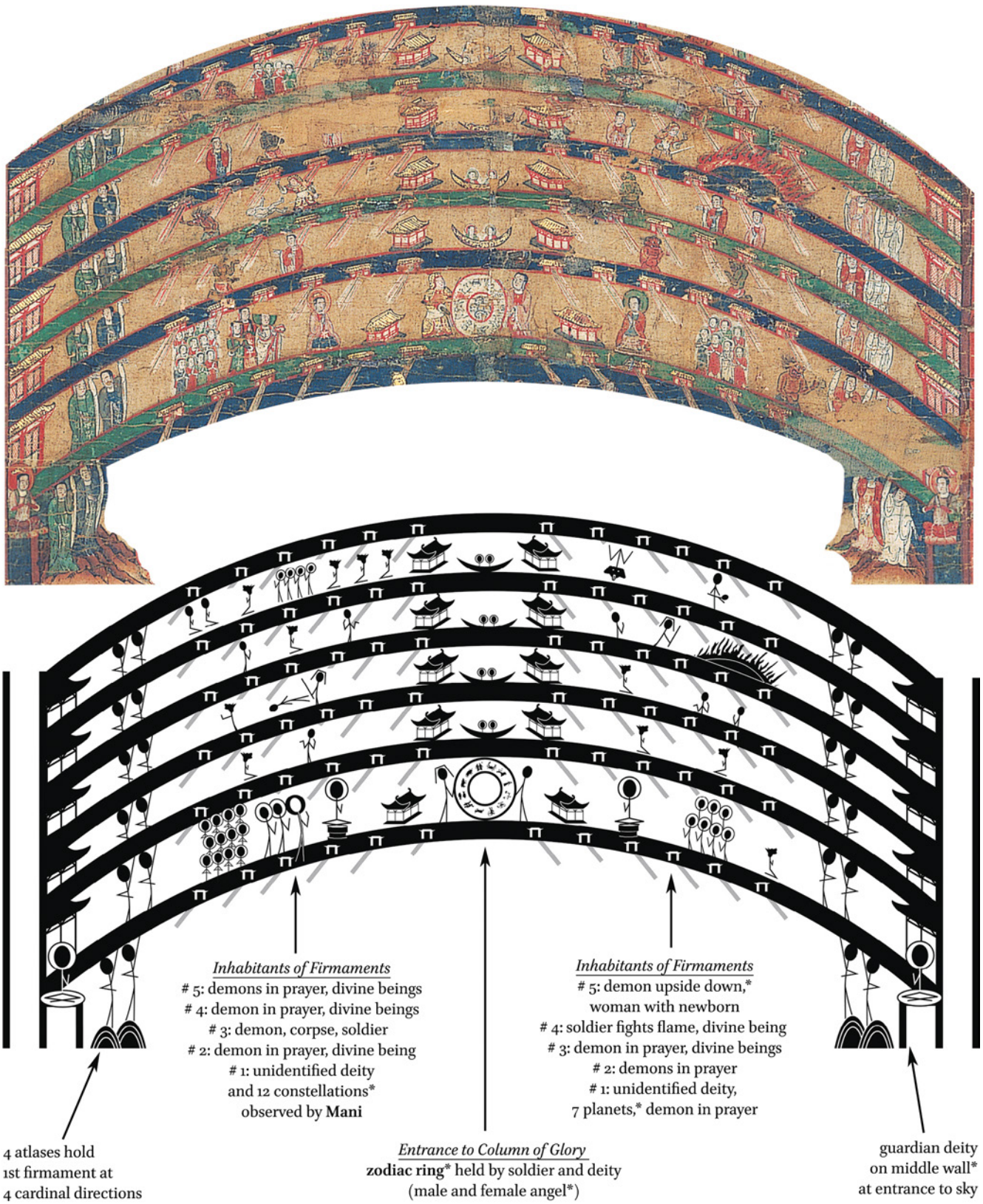

FIGURE 6/42 *Visual syntax of the* Ten Firmaments of the Sky Subscene, *part 2* (*lower five firmaments*) *and its motifs identified based on textual* and pictorial context* (*details of Figs. 5/14 and 6/36*)

isometric perspective and the figures in three-quarter view. Finally, a triple motif, consisting of a crescent-boat flanked by two treasuries, split each level into two halves. The crescent-boat is a moon crescent that functions as a boat with two passengers seated in it (their lower bodies are hidden from view).[303] Fitting their central location, the crescent-boats are shown from a frontal view, while the surrounding two buildings are in isometric perspective giving the impression of a wider space at their front and a narrower space at their back. Across the ten levels, these triple motifs unite the sky as they form the central column. This is a quite literal depiction of the "Column of Glory," across which the liberated light ascends and forms the body of the Perfect Man.

The iconography of the Column of Glory across the firmaments thus utilizes motifs familiar from Manichaean literature. Each "light ship" (MPers. *nāw rōšan*)[304] is depicted as an upturned moon-crescent with two travelers in it. It is conceived as a vessel that ferries the liberated light, including the light freed from the body of the righteous elect. Its two travelers perhaps symbolize the liberated soul and its light-pair. The treasury buildings symbolize the karmic merit that ascends with the righteous as a storehouse of light. This iconography corresponds to a passage in a Coptic source that mentions a "treasure" of meritorious deeds that accompanies a soul in its ascent from the world.[305] "All his prior deeds," Mani says of the convert, "shall be freed from every place wherein they are bound and snared. They shall loosen their bond and ascend from heaven and earth, from the trees and the fleshes. They are loosened from every place wherein they are and go to the heights."[306] In a psalm used in the funeral liturgy, the ascending soul of the deceased is told that, "your wares that you produced, behold they are first before you: some following after you, some overtaking you."[307] The treasuries and the crescents are not exactly paired: the treasury motif begins below the first firmament, and continues three more times above the tenth, totaling 14 pairs or 28 treasuries in all; while the light ships begin only in the second firmament and likewise appear three times above the tenth, thus occurring twelve times. Undoubtedly, these numerological values have doctrinal significance.[308]

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303 The lowest appears in the second firmament (from the bottom), and three appear above the top firmament, thus totaling 12.

304 M 5569.R.6 (Andreas and Henning1934, 860).

305 *Kephalaion 91*, 234.1–14; and *Kephalaion 90*, 224.8–9: "every person shall follow after his deeds, whether to life or indeed to death" (Gardner 1995, 240 and 232, respectively). This latter statement may explain the presence of treasuries among the entwined snakes below the first firmament, explained below as a representation of transmigration.

306 *Kephalaion 90*, 226.13–19 (Gardner 1995, 234).

307 *Psalm-Book* II, 70.18–21; also see 95.26 and 111.23–26 (Allberry 1938, 70, 95, and 111, respectively), as well as *Kephalaion 90*, 227.18–26 (Gardner 1995, 235).

308 The numerical references to 12 and 28 appear to reflect the number of lunar months (12) and the number of days in a lunar month (28). Similarly, Kósa suggests that the 28 "palaces" possibly refer to 14 days of light passing to moon, followed by 14 days passing from moon to sun, within each month (2013, 21).

In each firmament, the divine and demonic inhabitants of the "ten skies" are depicted in mini scenes along the two sides of the Column of Glory. The mini scenes of two firmaments receive special pictorial attention, corresponding to the greater detail on two of the firmaments found in Manichaean literature. The artist paints the first and the seventh firmament with a taller height (approximately twice the height of the other firmaments). The first firmament is dominated by a depiction of the zodiac wheel at its center. It is held by two figures, one dressed in armor and the other in robe and cloak, representing the male and female angels mentioned in Manichaean texts, who are responsible for turning the wheel. Its inner ring seems to show five figures representing each of the five realms of darkness, the "demons of darkness that were the most iniquitous, vicious, and rebellious" fettered inside the zodiac.[309] Its outer ring contains familiar representations for the twelve signs of the zodiac according to the Greek tradition; but only eleven signs can be made out, and appear disordered in places.[310] From Manichaean literature, one might expect the zodiac to be below, and suspended from the first firmament, rather than positioned within it. The latter placement followed here introduces an interesting doublet of astrological imagery in the painting, on which more will be said in the section on the *Atmosphere Subscene*, below. The space to the right and left of the zodiac in the first firmament features groups of seven and twelve figures, respectively, clearly invoking the seven planets and twelve constellations of the zodiac repeatedly mentioned together in Manichaean literature. The left side features, beside the personifications of the twelve constellations, an unidentified deity seated on a lotus throne observed by Mani, all oriented towards the center. On the right, the mini scene contains, in addition to the personifications of the seven planets, an unidentified deity seated on a lotus throne, likewise oriented towards the center, and a demon in prayer facing away from the center. In the seventh firmament, to the left, the King of Honor sits on a throne with his legs resting on the floor and flanked by his soldiers, all facing toward the center, while Mani and his attendants face the deity. The right side contains the King of Honor seated cross-legged on a lotus throne and his magic lens, observed by Mani, who once again faces the deity.

Due to the dearth of detail on the other firmaments in surviving Manichaean literature, it is impossible to know if the figures shown in them here derive from specific textual or artistic antecedents, or are generic "type" figures to fill in the space. The presence of demons in postures of submission or docility[311] illustrates in perhaps a surprising way the literary theme of their imprisonment

309 See Yoshida 2010, 7a–8a.

310 No representation of Virgo appears, Sagittarius and Capricorn appear in inverted order, and Leo appears between Aries and Taurus. These rearrangements do not match any of the groupings of signs discussed in *Kephalaion 69* (Gardner 1995, 176–179). For a more detailed analysis of the zodiac's iconography, see Yoshida 2010, 6–7.

311 See Kósa 2013, 70. In only a couple of instances can their posture be characterized as "being in opposition with the divine figures" (2013, 57).

in the firmaments; they are entirely absent only from the King of Honor's seventh firmament. In only one instance (on the left side of the sixth firmament) does the viewer see a caged demon, and in another (on the right side of the fifth firmament) one apparently hung upside down. Some other groupings appear to have specific enough details to suggest an underlying subject or story, the significance of which we do not know.

E The Atmosphere

Manichaean cosmology includes a distinct realm of the atmosphere between the surface of the earth and the firmaments. In *Kephalaion 29*'s distribution of key divine figures through the cosmos, "the eighth throne is established in the atmosphere; the Judge of Truth sits upon it, he who judges all mankind—three paths shall be distinguished before him: one to death, one to life, one to the mingling."[312] He is also described as the "Great Judge, who gives judgment on all the souls of mankind, his dwelling being established in the atmosphere under [...] wheel [...] stars."[313] The deceased pass before him, so that by his judgment, "the righteous and the sinners would be set apart and tested and separated from each other."[314] Those judged righteous meet the "wise guide" (Ar. *al-ḥakim al-hādī*) and three prize-bearing angels, along with "a virgin who resembles the soul," in that its degree of beauty corresponds with the individual's goodness.[315] This report of an-Nadim finds confirmation in a number of texts from across the Manichaean world; they show great variety in details, however, including the identity of the main figure who greets the righteous dead.[316] As discussed in Chapter 1, in *Kephalaion 7*, it is the Light Maiden in the role of the "Light Form who shall appear to everyone who will go out from his body—corresponding to the pattern of the *Hikon* of the Apostle—and the three great glorious angels who come with her: one holds the prize in his hands; the second bears the light garment; the third is the one who possesses the diadem and the wreath and the crown of light."[317]

Just such a judgment after death appears on the right side of the *Atmosphere Subscene* (**Figure 6/43**). The motif of the judge and his office (depicted as a pavilion with features characteristic of a temple) occupies the upper half of

312 *Kephalaion 29*, 83.4–8 (Gardner 1995, 85).

313 *Kephalaion 7*, 35.25–27 (Gardner 1995, 39–40); also in *Kephalaion 141* (Funk 1999, 343–45), which however does not specify the location of this judgment.

314 *Kephalaion 46*, 117.23–28; also see *Kephalaion 28*, 80.30–32 (Gardner 1995, 124 and 81, respectively).

315 Ibn al-Nadim (Dodge 1970, 795).

316 The wise guide is clearly the Light Mind in T II D 175.2 (Klimkeit 1993, 321). In many Coptic texts, Jesus appears to fill this role, while other sources place the Light Maiden in that capacity.

317 *Kephalaion 7*, 36.12–18 (Gardner 1995, 40); while elsewhere "the image of my counterpart came unto me, with her three angels. She gave to me the garment and the crown and the palm and the victory. He (sic) took me to the Judge without any shame; for what he entrusted to me I have perfected" (T. Kell. Copt. 2, 120ff, Gardner 1996, 14–15).

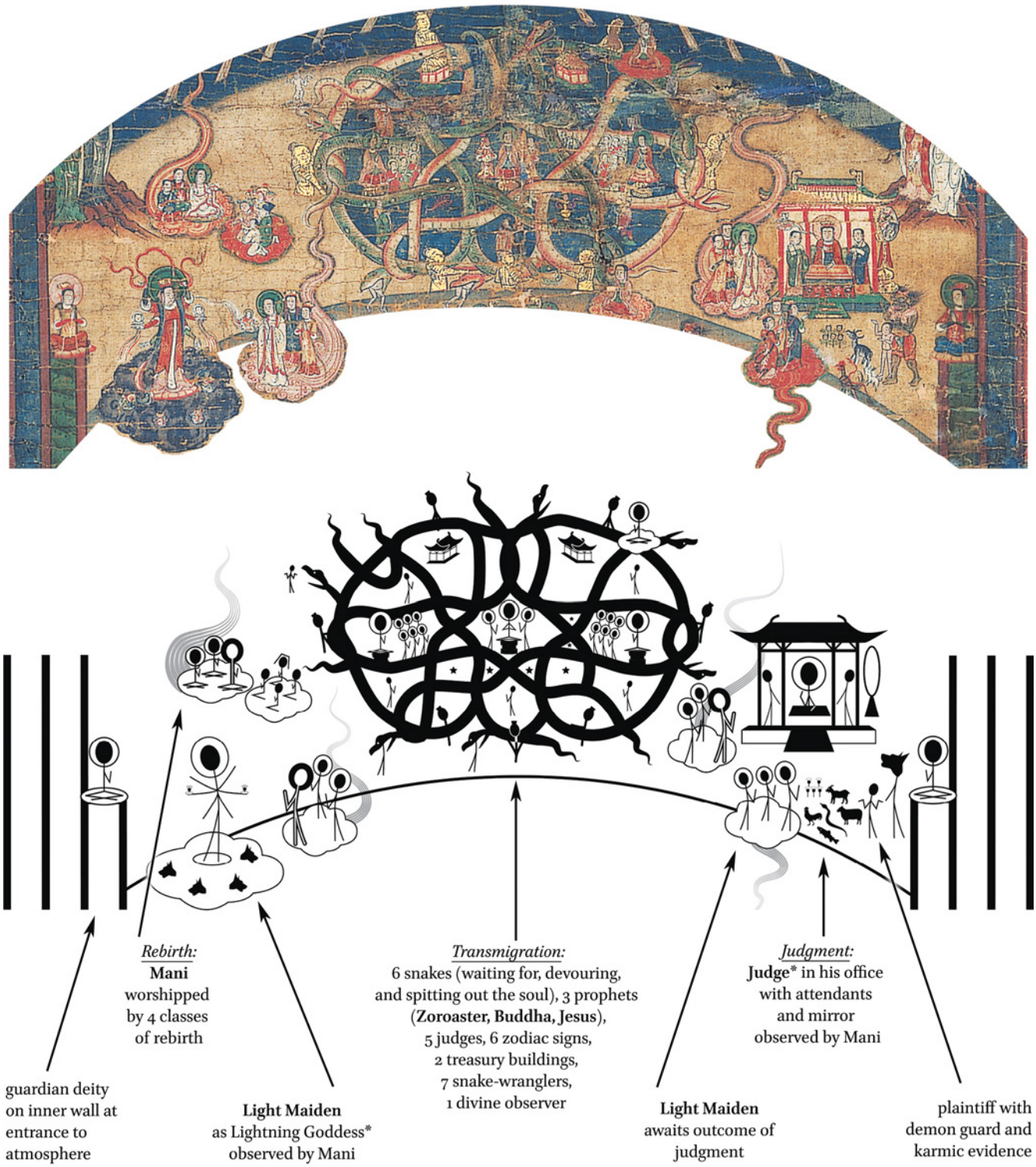

FIGURE 6/43 *Visual syntax of the* Atmosphere Subscene *and its motifs identified based on textual* and pictorial context* (*details of Figs. 5/14 and 6/36*)

this mini composition. A divine judgment is about to conclude. Seated behind his desk, the judge is shown issuing the verdict (personified as a small figure on a cloud issuing from his mouth). The tools of his work are put away: a scroll and codex, already closed, held by the two attendants, and a large mirror set aside along the exterior right wall of his office, still bearing the vestigial images of animals, reflecting the plaintiff's past treatments of them. In the lower half (closer to the viewer), the motif of the Light Maiden and her attendants is balanced with the motif of the plaintiff and his demon guard. Between them, directly in front of the judge and thus in the focus of the depiction, is the evidence summoned for the trial: five animals and five plants (in Manichaeism there are five kinds of each), the latter clearly marked as containing the divine light, as Manichaeism teaches, by the addition of tiny human heads. The degree of care the deceased has shown in handling plants and animals determines the outcome of the judgment.[318]

To the left of the depiction of post-mortem judgment, the center of the *Atmosphere Subscene* shows a large grouping of intertwined serpents. Previous discussion has referred to this element of the painting as a "snake-world" or "basket of snakes."[319] But what is it meant to represent? The serpents are coiled into a fantastic enclosure by seven shiny gold figures of snake-wranglers. Protruding from the edges of their domain, six snakeheads signal what is going on here. Three are shown with jaws open ready for their task at the upper right (closer to the judgment episode). Two heads at the lower left are in the process of devouring human bodies. One head, at the upper left, has just spit a body out alive (close to the figures of laity interpreted below as a rebirth episode). Their action and arrangement in relation to the two additional mini compositions of this subscene clearly is deliberate. The serpents devouring human beings and spitting them out alive symbolize the transmigration of those souls who have not yet achieved liberation. Several signs of the zodiac appear among the coils of the serpents shown in this section of the painting, perhaps alluding to the zodiac's role in determining rebirth.[320]

That such a process would be depicted is noteworthy, since *Kephalaion 92* states that originally Mani did not attempt to portray that subject in his *Hikon*, as discussed in Chapter 1, above. The attempt to represent transmigration in the *Diagram of the Universe*, therefore, raises questions about the exact rela-

318 In addition, a Turkic text (T II D 178.R.2–6) notes: "It says: the deeds he has committed will become visible. It says: the spirits of land and water will be distressed. It says: the spirits of grass and water will weep. It says: the spirits of shrubs and trees will howl" (Le Coq 1919, 12; trans. by Larry V. Clark, personal communication). The passage goes on to mention a mirror and scales. For more on the iconography of the judgment after death in Manichaean and Chinese Buddhist art, see Kósa 2015c, 77–161.

319 Yoshida identifies this structure with the so-called 11th heaven, and equates it with Middle Persian *gyrd'sm'n* and Chinese 業輪 'karma-wheel' (Yoshida 2010, 7b–8a with n. 25; Kósa 2010–2011, 21–22; 2013, 67).

320 On the "snake-world" or "basket of snakes" as a representation of the zodiac suspended from the lowest firmament, see Yoshida 2010, 7 and subsequently Kósa 2013, 67.

tion of this painting to its antecedents in Mani's *Book of Pictures*, suggesting a later development in Manichaean art.

Three enthroned and haloed figures and their attendants are aligned horizontally in a row among the coils of the serpents.[321] The fact that there are three of them seems to point to a key concept within Manichaean salvation history. Mani saw his own religious community as succeeding that of his "brothers," the previous religion-founders Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus. Its role as their successor connected directly to the idea of transmigration. In a famous list of ten ways Mani's religious community is superior to that of his forebears, the third item involves simply its later place in time, and so in the transmigratory process; it promises that "those souls of former times who did not complete the work in their own religion will come to my religion, and for them it will truly become the door of salvation."[322]

The latter idea finds its expression in the third part of the *Atmosphere Subscene*, positioned at the left as the concluding episode of the reincarnation theme. This mini composition features four figures on a red cloud encountering and worshipping Mani. Based on their garments, the four figures show distinctly different members of society (a soldier dressed in gilded armor, scholar in a green robe, merchant in a delicate garment with gold belt, and farmer in a simple white garment). In this context, the group is best interpreted as a visual reference to valued rebirth in four classes of society.[323] Their location (facing Mani) together with their body position (sitting on their heels and holding their hands in the gesture of worship) communicate that they are paying homage. As the object of their worship, Mani is shown on a descending cloud, sitting with his legs crossed, flanked by two attendants.

In light of the above textual and pictorial evidence it has become clear that the narrative that unfolds across the *Atmosphere Subscene* illustrates the reincarnation of the laity. It is conveyed in a right-to-left sequence, beginning with the post-mortem judgment at the right, continuing to a symbolic representation of transmigration at center, and culminating on the left with the encounter of reborn humans with Mani, promising completion of their journey over many lives to liberation. A subtler visual clue included in the depiction of this subject is the motif of the Primary Prophets conveyed by the earlier prophets

321 Other motifs partially surviving among the coiled serpents, such as the small zodiac signs, and the five standing figures (possibly judges as suggested by their garments), require further research.

322 M 5794.I.V.5–9 (= T II D 126.I, Klimkeit 1993, 216–17; cf. Andreas and Henning 1933, 295–96; Boyce 1975, text a, section 3).

323 Yoshida also interprets these four figures sitting on a cloud as symbols of the "four different classes of human society," notes their ties to judgment, and points out their iconographic difference from the Chinese depictions (2015a, 113). Including the soldier and omitting the iterant laborer might be an originally Central Asian trait that distinguishes this iconography from the depiction of valued rebirth symbolized by the four classes of Chinese society (merchants, artisans, farmer, and scholar-officials) as in the Manichaean hanging-scroll held in the Yamato Bunkakan.

(Zoroaster, the Buddha, and Jesus) across the midline of the transmigration episode, with Mani as the concluding motif at the left roughly at the same level. The prophets together illustrate transmigration through lifetimes in previous ages within prior religions, finally reaching Mani as the goal of the rebirth teaching depicted in this subscene.

Independent from the subject of reincarnation, the Light Maiden is depicted in the atmosphere as the Goddess of Lightning, who flashes her beauty in thunderstorms, causing the dark beings in storm-clouds to release rain and thunderous groans:[324]

> The cloud shall ascend from fire [to] the heavens towards the likeness of the Virgin of Light that she shall display to it. Its sign is the flashes [that] occur with lightning storms [. . .] its exchange [. . .] And they shall be purified by her towards [. . .] the light that she will reveal [. . .] the rulers shall be released by the lightning storms and they are freed and sent. . . . In contrast, [the] cloud that shall be raised up from water, and comes above towards the Virgin of Light, its sign is the thunderstorms and the booms that shall come in the atmosphere in various forms and are heard.[325]

Accordingly, the Goddess of Lightning is a majestic being in the *Atmosphere*, whose power requires an iconography with six arms. She is standing on, and her lower pair of arms point toward, the dark "cloud that shall be raised up from water, and comes above towards the Virgin of Light." Her middle pair of arms grasps symbols of light, which she succeeds in liberating from the dark storm clouds. She grips them using a distinctive hand gesture that has been identified in another Manichaean painting as a symbol for the separation of light from darkness.[326] Her upper pair of arms holds a red ribbon that appears to represent "the flashes [that] occur with lightning storms." The artist has placed the Lightning Goddess at the boundary of two realms in a transitory role, crossing over from the invisible atmosphere where the supernatural liberation of light occurs, to the visible atmosphere of atmospheric phenomena just above the surface of the earth.

F The Eight Layers of the Earth

Manichaean literature offers two different schemes for dividing the earth into eight layers. One scheme divides them into four lower layers or "deposits"

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324 The identification of this figure was put forward by Yoshida (2010, 13). In Uygur Manichaean texts she appears as *yašïn täŋri*, "Lightning Goddess" (e.g., MIK III 200.I.R.13, Clark 2013, 194–97; and PC 3049[A].14, Clark 2013, 211–12), and in the *Chinese Hymnscroll* (stanzas 126 and 171) as *dianguang fo*, "Thunderbolt god," and *dianguang ming*, "Thunderbolt light" (see Tongerloo 1997, 367–71).

325 *Kephalaion 95*, 240.25–241.2, 241.19–22 (Gardner 1995, 247–48); also see *Kephalaion 160*, 400.13ff and 161, 402.12–16 (Funk 2000, 400 and 402).

326 Signifying the dualistic separation of light from darkness, this gesture is assumed by Jesus' right hand in the Manichaean hanging-scroll at Seiun-ji (see Fig. 6/36, above).

(Parth. *nīrāmīšn*) and four upper layers.[327] Another divides them according to the position of two sons of the Living Spirit in the fifth layer, so that five layers lie beneath them and three rest above them.[328] The eight layers of the earth are surrounded by enclosing walls: one erected on the fifth earth, a second atop the four lower earths, and finally an "outermost wall" (MPers. *parisp ī bēdom*) mentioned in Mani's *Šābuhragān* as delimiting the realm under the control of the "Porter," one of the Living Spirit's sons who governs the five lower layers.[329] The world we know, inhabited by plants, animals, and humans, is the surface of the topmost, eighth earth. At each of its four corners, angels hold up the lowest firmament of the sky, just as they hold each firmament above.[330] As portions of mixed light and darkness fall to the earth from the firmaments, the zodiac, and the storm-clouds above, it partially separates, with light entering into living things and darkness being swept aside into "twelve hells" (MP. *dwāzdah dušox*), through which it is removed from the surface of the earth and carried off to the gradually forming lump of inert darkness.[331]

The essence of this complex structure is captured in the *Eight Layers of the Earth Subscene* (**Figures 6/44 and 6/45**). The artist shows the eight earths by combining a bird's-eye view depiction of two strata (the eighth and the fifth layers) and a cross-section view of all eight. In other words, an expanded vista illustrates the surface inhabited by human beings (i.e., "the eighth earth"). Directly below it, the cross-section of the same layer is given followed by the cross-sections of layers seven and six. Beneath them, the expanded view, in this case with a narrower vista, depicts the surface of the "fifth earth." This is followed by the cross-section of the "fifth earth" and the cross-sections of the remaining four layers. The enclosing walls appear as vertical columns, representing the eastern and western sections of the walls, with the viewer looking

327 E.g., *Kephalaion 47*: "the eight earths that are below; the four that are composite and the four places of darkness . . . extend from this earth, upon which humankind walks, towards the underside" (*Kephalaion 47*, 118.24–27; trans. Gardner 1995, 125); M98.I.V.8–17 (*Šābuhragān*): the Living Spirit/Mihr-yazd "collected and deposited four layers over the earth of darkness to correspond with the firmaments above, of hot wind, darkness, fire, and water, one over the other. He constructed them in layers" (Hutter 1992, 12–13; Jackson 1932, 32–33).

328 E.g., *Kephalaion 70*; Chinese Tractate (Chavannes and Pelliot 1911, 559).

329 Walls on fourth and fifth earths: M98.I.V.12–17 and 20–23 (Hutter 1992, 12–13; cf. Jackson 1932, 32–33); an "outermost" wall: M99.I.V.2 (Hutter 1992, 15–16; cf. Jackson 1932, 34–35). Yet Sundermann 1973, text 6 refers to four walls.

330 "And in the four regions (MP. *kišwar*) he set up four angels that hold the lowest firmament corresponding and clad like the upper ones" (M 99.I.V.12–16; Hutter 1992, 16; cf. Jackson 1932, 36–37); cf. Sundermann 1973, text 7, lines 1114–24.

331 "And in order to sweep away the refuse of the darkness of the four regions, he constructed twelve hells by threes in each district (MPers. *pāygōs*)" (M 99.I.V.16–19; Hutter 1992, 16–17; cf. Jackson 1932, 36–37). For further discussion on the concept, see Jackson 1932, 65–66. The same sweeping operation is described in *Kephalaia 42*, 43, and 45, but featuring only three pits, one each for water, darkness, and fire; cf. Sundermann 1973, text 6, lines 1050–69.

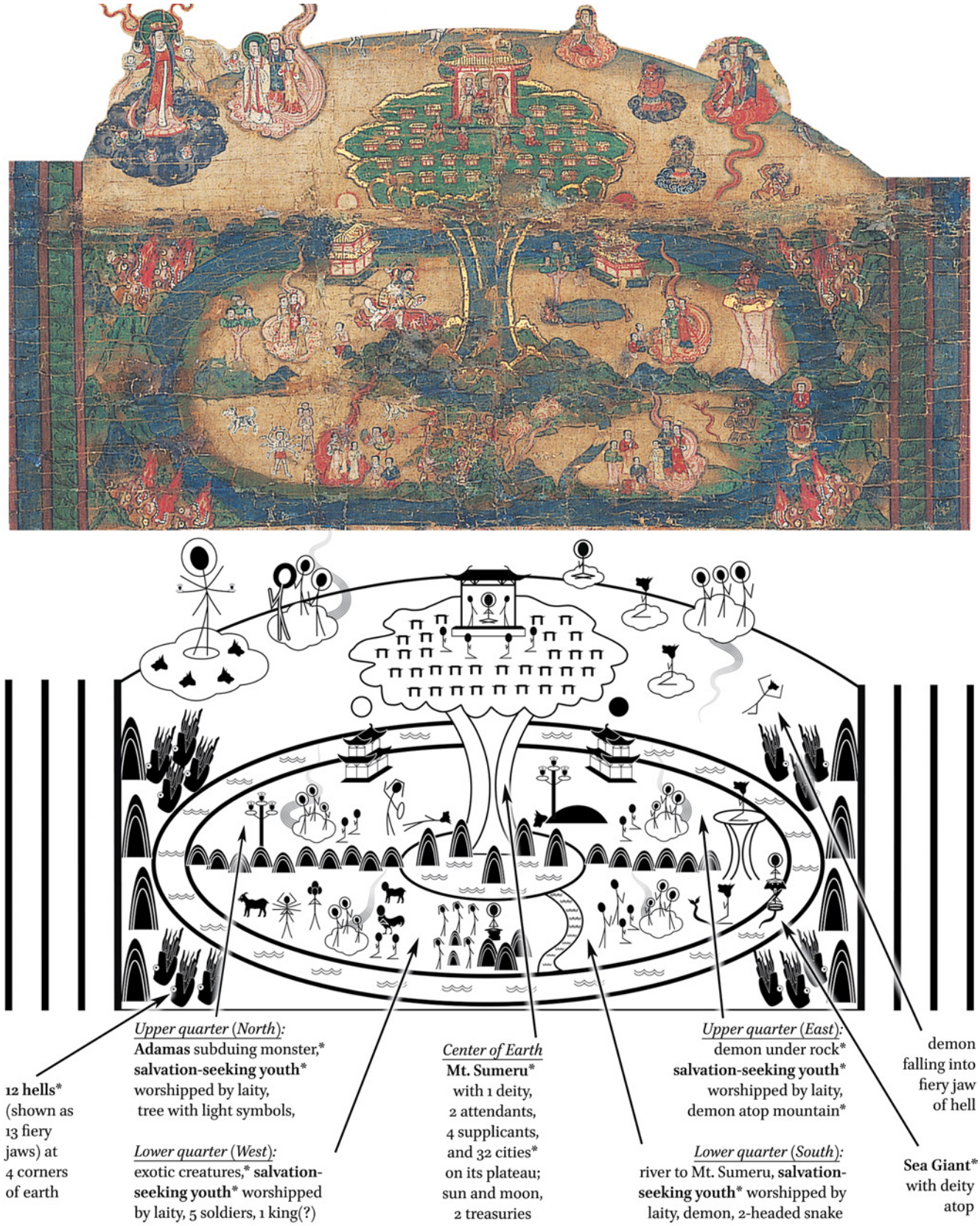
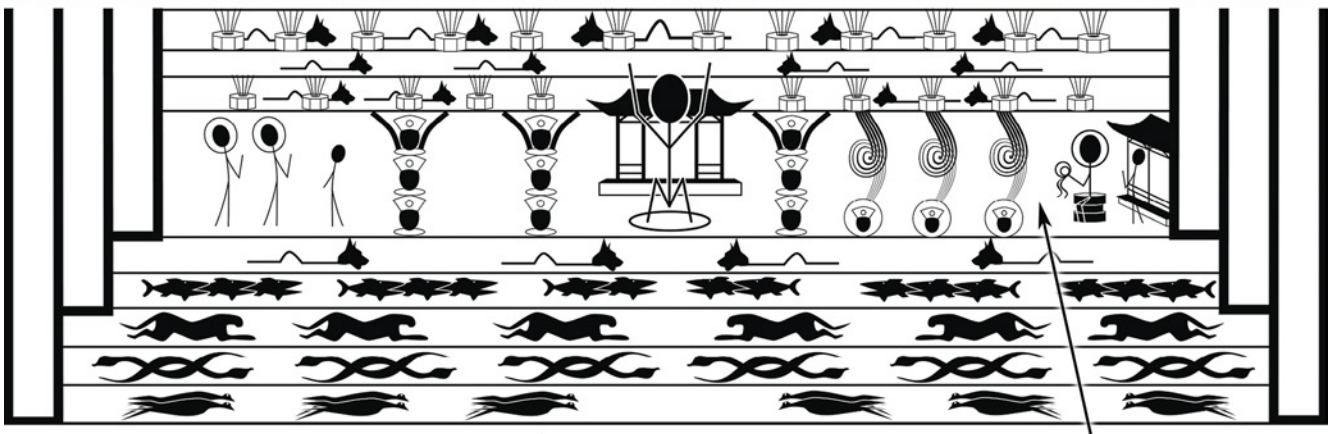


FIGURE 6/44 *Visual syntax of the* Eight Layers of Earth Subscene, *part 1* (*surface of the eighth earth*) *and its motifs identified based on textual* and pictorial context* (*details of Figs. 5/14 and 6/36*)



Three Enclosing Walls:
(surrounding the world
from West, South, East*)

cross-section
of inner wall
ending atop
5th cross-section*

cross-section
of middle wall
ending atop
3rd cross-section*

cross-section
of outer wall
ending below
1st cross-section*

Subterranean Layers:
(from top to bottom)

cross-section of layer 8:
light vents* and anthropoid demons

cross-section of layer 7: anthropoid demons

cross-section of layer 6:
light vents* and anthropoid demons

surface of layer 5: (see details listed at right)

cross-section of layer 5:
anthropoid demons (symbolizing smoke)*

cross-section of layer 4:
fish (symbolizing water)*

cross-section of layer 3:
quadruped carnivores (symbolizing fire)*

cross-section of layer 2:
snakes (symbolizing darkness)*

cross-section of layer 1:
birds (symbolizing wind)*

Surface of Layer Five:

Right side:
King of Glory* with temple and attendant, 3 wheels (wind, water, fire)*

Center:
the Porter* in front of temple flanked by pair of columns*

Left side:
1 column* next to 2 unidentified deities encountering 1 human figure

FIGURE 6/45 *Visual syntax of the* Eight Layers of Earth Subscene*, part 2* (*eight cross-sections and surface of layer five*) *and its motifs identified based on textual* and pictorial context* (*details of Figs. 5/14 and 6/36*)

from the south (where another section of wall would be) toward the unwalled North. Two walls arise in the painting from the surface of the fifth earth and bottom of the fourth earth, while an additional one (almost lost on the right and left edges of the painting) frames the entire lower half of the painting, arising from the bottom of the first earth. Divine figures sit atop each wall on either side.

Manichaean literature describes the surface of the eighth earth in great detail. This space possesses four lands or quarters,[332] divided by four mountains,[333] with a central (black) mountain as a kind of axis mundi,[334] and a great sea surrounding all.[335] One text imagines humans and animals of very exotic forms (multiple heads, multiple arms, hybrids of different creatures) living in distant lands.[336] A number of events transpire on the earth, beginning in primordial time and continuing throughout history, including the subduing of a monster in the north land by Adamas, the third son of the Living Spirit,[337] the presence of a giant sea monster responsible for tides in the great sea,[338] the cities of the fallen "watchers,"[339] and the appearance of a succession of "apostles of light" in different lands at different times: Zoroaster in Iran, the Buddha in "the east," Jesus in "the west," and finally Mani in "Babylon."[340]

In light of the above literature, the wide vista depicted directly beneath the atmosphere can be identified as the surface of the earth in the *Eight Layers of the Earth Subscene* (see Fig. 6/49). Its space is defined in four quarters with an abstract image of Mount Sumeru dominating its center outlined in gold.[341] Unlike the natural mountains throughout the world, this mythical mountain

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332 Sundermann 1973, text 7, lines 1115–16; cf. texts 19 and 222. See also Sundermann 2001b, 182–83.

333 *Kephalaia* Prologue, 4.29; as well as *Kephalaion 45*, 116.15 and 47, 118.29 (Gardner 1995, 11, 122, 125, respectively).

334 This "black mountain" is mentioned, e.g., in the *Psalm-Book* II, 210.1, 10 and 21 (Allberry 1938, 210). For more one this subject see, Gulácsi and BeDuhn, 2015 forthcoming.

335 *Kephalaion 43*, 112.3–5 (Gardner 1995, 117).

336 Sundermann 2001c, 181–99. The connection of this text to the figures in the *cosmology fragment* was first made by Yoshida (2010: 11).

337 M 292.V.II.1–9 (Asmussen 1975, 126; cf. Andreas and Henning 1932, 182). The combat took place "in the districts of the north" (*Kephalaion 55*, 137.2–3, Gardner 1995, 144), also see Sundermann 1973, text 3.3, lines 907–13.

338 *Kephalaion 44* (Gardner 1995, 119–122; also see M 99.I.V.22–23 [Hutter 1992, 97–98]).

339 *Kephalaion 45*, 117.5–9 (Gardner 1995, 123); *Psalm-Book* II, 210.21–22 (Allberry 1938, 210). In a Sogdian version of the story, thirty-two rather than thirty-six cities find mention. Henning explained this variant as cultural adaptation to Indian ideas regarding Mt. Sumeru (standing here for Mount Hermon in the *Book of Enoch*), on which thirty-two gods lived with Śakra/Indra as the thirty-third (1943, 55–56).

340 M 42 (Klimkeit 1993, 124–125). See quote and the depictions of the Primary Prophet of Manichaeism in Uygur and Chinese Manichaean art, above.

341 This central "black mountain" of Manichaean cosmology (Parth. *smyr* or *smyrw*) is depicted here with a distinctly Buddhist iconography of Mt. Sumeru, as first noted by Yoshida (2010, 10).

is conceptualized by the artist as a steep brownish-green cliff (painted much like a tree-trunk) that elevates a broad green plateau high above the landscape, reaching all the way up to the edge of the atmosphere. The plateau contains an unidentified central figure, flanked by two attendants, enthroned in a golden structure, with four supplicants kneeling before him, amid thirty-two gates that symbolize the thirty-two cities constructed for the children of the fallen "watchers" as noted in the Sogdian version of the Manichaean story preserved in M 7800.1.[342] At the right, an unidentified deity and two demons in prayer observe the plateau from floating clouds. They belong to a grouping of figures (that also includes the Light Maiden ascending to the Judgment episode, and a demon falling into one of twelve fiery pits) clustered to the right of the mountain, which informally balances the Lightning Goddess grouped with Mani on the left. The immense size of Sumeru dwarfs the objects painted around its cliff, including the white moon and the red sun (outlined in red and green, respectively, just as in the *Liberation of the Light Subscene*, see Fig. 6/44), a pair of two-story palaces (perhaps intended to be the lowest pair of the treasury motif ascending in a vertical column in the center of the painting to the head of Primal Man), as well as the ring of foothills and moat-like sea encircling its base.

As the land around the foot of Mount Sumeru firmly anchors the inner edges of the earth, the latter's outer parameters are equally well defined. The earth is envisioned as a round space in this painting encircled by a moat-like ocean. As the only being inhabiting the water, what appears to be the "Sea Monster" is shown at the lower right. This figure is defined as a fanged monster with protruding tongue, whose lower body consists of a coiled serpent or dragon body; but instead of a cable connecting it to the zodiac as we might expect from surviving Manichaean texts, it carries a deity atop it. The significance of the latter is conveyed by its frontal projection, preserved for only the most prestigious deities in this art. Outside the ring of ocean, a mountainous landscape closes off the two edges of the composition. From among the mountaintops depicted here, jaws of monster heads spurt fire. There are three jaws in each corner, except at the upper left, where four seems to be conveyed (as indicated by the four pairs of eyes in relation to the four rows of white teeth), making their total thirteen and not twelve "hells," as expected in light of the *Šābuhragān*. Illustrating the danger these pits symbolize, a demon appears above them at the upper right, in a gesture of distress, as if he were about to fall into one of the pits.

The regions of the earth inhabited by human beings are organized into four units in the *Diagram of the Universe*. Their fourfold-ness is emphasized through recurrent imagery. Firstly, these lands are shown as pieces of flat topography separated from one another by mountain chains into four equal parts. The light colors of their four surfaces sharply contrast with their environment, especially the four fiery pits at the outer banks of their units of ocean.

342 See Yoshida 2010, 10b.

Secondly, all four lands are marked by the four motifs of the "salvation-seeking youth" familiar from M 42,[343] prominently featured around Mount Sumeru. Located at the lower end of each land, this motif consists of a child figure on a descending cloud accompanied by a pair of divine attendants shown meeting lay family members in gestures of reverence. In light of M 42, the youths symbolize "the fortunate souls," who seek salvation and are "led out of servitude," as embodied in the "youth" of the text.[344] The depiction of this teaching was part of Manichaean art at least during its Uygur era, as confirmed by a painted and gilded silk hanging-scroll from tenth-century Kocho (see Fig. 6/14), which originally showed four such salvation-seeking youth figures, along with the four Primary Prophets around the Light Mind as the source of the prophets' inspiration.

The uniqueness of each land is communicated by distinctive motifs. The land in the upper left (North) introduces two motifs: Adamas subduing a monster and a tree with light symbols. The depiction of Adamas and the monster follows the textual accounts of the event in exacting detail, including the positions of the two beings, but adds the otherwise unattested detail of Adamas' mirror-like shield, in which the monster's face is reflected. In the land in the upper right (East), along with another tree with light symbols, the two unique motifs are a demon trapped under a rock and a demon atop a mountain.[345] Similarly to Mount Sumeru, this mountain is depicted as a tall cliff with a plateau on its top. The land in the lower left (West) shows the exotic beings mentioned in the Manichaean texts collected by Sundermann: humans with multiple heads or arms, a human-bird hybrid as well as a human-headed quadruped. Balancing all this in the land at the lower right (South) is a river connecting the outer ocean with the sea around Mount Sumeru as well as a two-headed snake next to a demon in worship. The artist has used the mountain range dividing the two lower quarters as the setting for an additional

343 M 42 is written as a dialogue between a divine speaker and a "youth" (Parth. *kumār*). See quote under "Prophetology" in Chapter 6 above.

344 On the lost silk fragment from Turfan (see Fig. 5/5), their iconography evokes their status as novices. They are shown with the bodies of boys with distinctive juvenile hair cuts of the region, dressed in what appears to be the garments of elects without any headgears, and positioned sitting on their heels with hands clasped in worship directed towards the Light Mind. Alternatively, Yoshida suggested that the four child figures and their lay worshipers on the surface of the earth in the *Diagram of the Universe* may represent a child who died young and its parents. In his opinion, the couple depicted four times in this way could be the donors of this painting (Yoshida 2010, 20b with note 85).

345 In 1 Enoch 10.4–5, Azazel has "rugged and sharp rocks" thrown upon him by the angel Raphael, whereas Azazel's demonic partner, Shemihazah, remains free and active, and in the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* he demonstrates his repentance by suspending himself between heaven and earth (Reeves 1992, 86 and 144 n. 171). Yoshida interprets the former figure as the demon deprived of its skin and body, from which was fashioned the skies and earths (2010, 11). But, his size and iconography make this figure too incidental to represent this primordial giant in the visual language of this painting.

mini scene. A group of originally five soldiers, in golden armor, turn this way and that amid the mountains and puffs of steam or clouds; on the highest peak, a haloed figure sits majestically. The scenario may reflect the story of "Chasro the Blessed"—King Khusraw of *Šāh-nāma* fame—told by Mani in the Chester Beatty *Kephalaia*, who disappears into "the land of light," leaving his generals lost amid mountains and storms.[346] Otherwise, the painting does not appear to portray individual incidents—such as the formation or awakening of Adam and Eve, which is conspicuously absent—but ongoing conditions and arrangements during the "middle period" of cosmic existence. The presence of a portrayal of Adamas with the monster, for instance, reflects the fact that he "subdues" rather than slays it,[347] and maintains this posture atop it for the duration of the earth: "he stands firmly upon it till the end of the world,"[348] at which time "that village-lord god who stands on this earth, and keeps that gigantic dragon cast down in the northern clime . . . proceeds to paradise."[349]

As with the ten firmaments of the sky, so with the eight layers of the earth, Manichaean literature offers very few details specific to each level. The *Šābuhragān* identifies the four lower deposits with four of the five elements of darkness: hot wind, darkness, fire, and bitter water.[350] It goes on to discuss the creation of the fifth earth: "And he made one other great earth and placed it down upon the deposits, and made the Mānbēd (i.e., 'the Porter') commanding god over it."[351] This fifth earth matches the fifth dark element: smoke. Each element of darkness is associated with a particular kind of animal form: smoke with anthropoid demons, fire with quadruped carnivores, wind with birds, water with fish, and darkness with serpents.[352] Regarding the three upper earths supported by the Porter, the *Šābuhragān* mentions "twelve gates, which correspond to the gates of the firmaments" in the sixth earth, matched by "portals, all (kinds of) channels and subterranean canals, which serve to lift up great volumes of wind, water, and fire."[353]

Just as only two firmaments (the seventh and the first) receive expanded treatment in Manichaean literature, so do only two layers of the earth contain active figures discussed in any detail: the eighth, already discussed, and the fifth. Both the King of Glory and the Porter occupy the fifth earth, but they rule over different realms: the King of Glory governs the three layers above them,

346 See BeDuhn 2014, 147. Alternatively, Yoshida (2015a, 124) identifies these figures with the four archangels described in a Sogdian text as pursuing the giants in the region of Mt. Sumeru.

347 *Psalm-Book* II, 138.41–42 (Allberry 1938, 138).

348 *Kephalaion 45*, 116.21–22 (Gardner 1995, 122).

349 M 472.I.V.6–11 (MacKenzie 1979, 512–13).

350 M 98.I.V.8–17 (Hutter 1992, 12–13).

351 M 98.I.V.17–24 (trans. Jackson 1932, 33, modified by BeDuhn; cf. Hutter 1992, 12–14).

352 See *Kephalaion 27* as well as *Kephalaion 6*, 30.33–31.2 and 33.9–34.5 (Gardner 1995, 78–80, 35, and 37, respectively).

353 M 99.I.R.10–13, V.7–9 (Hutter 1992, 14–16; cf. Jackson 1932, 34–37); cf. *Kephalaion 38*, 94.1–6 (Gardner 1995, 98).

while the Porter controls the five layers beneath them.[354] The King of Glory's principal function in the "fourth watch-post" is to regulate the operation of the three wheels of wind, water, and fire, which operate in the fifth earth as purifying devices of the respective elements.[355] In the "fifth watch-post," the Porter "bends upon one of his knees and supports the earths."[356] Some sort of "disk" rests upon his head,[357] "seven square pillars" in his hands, and "two walls" on his shoulders.[358] The Porter's work of supporting the upper layers of the earth is aided by an elaborate structure of columns and arches, as described in the *Šābuhragān*: "three columns and five arches, [the first running from the wall-head in] the west to the western column; and the second from the western column to the southern column; and the third from the southern column to the eastern column; and the fourth form the eastern column to the wall-head that is in the east; and the fifth, a great one, from the eastern to the western column."[359]

The above passages are essential for comprehending the iconography of the subterranean portion of the *Eight Layers of the Earth Subscene* (see Fig. 6/45). From the fifth layer down, each cross-section is shown filled with animal forms corresponding to the five realms of darkness, in accordance with the teaching preserved in *Kephalaion 27*: the motif of anthropoid demons is shown in the cross-section of layer 5 to indicate the presence of smoke; in layer 4, the motif of fish devouring one another symbolizes the water; in layer 3, quadruped carnivores symbolizing fire; in layer 2, snakes symbolize darkness itself; and finally, birds in layer 1 symbolize wind. The cross-sections of the upper three layers (layers 6–8, shown above the vista of layer 5) display more bound anthropoid demons, perhaps representing the flayed bodies of archons cast down to make the earths. They lie at each level amid the "portals" channeling upward to the adjacent strata streams representing the wind, water, and fire purified by the three wheels operating below, "in order that they (i.e., the products of the wheels) might ascend over these archons that are subjugated (or confined) in the earths."[360]

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354 "The fourth watch, over which the King of Glory has power, is the three wheels. And his authority lies over the three earths upon the head of the Porter. The fifth watch is the watch over which the Porter is authoritative. Again, he is master according to his authority over this great earth he stands upon, and the four fastenings under his feet" (*Kephalaion 70*, 171.4–11 in Gardner 1995, 181).

355 The Living Spirit makes wheels for wind, water, fire "near the Porter," which "send life to the earth and the upper worlds" (*Kephalaion 34*, 87.3–4; also see *Kephalaion 38*, 91.27–28 and 93.9–15 in Gardner 1995, 90, 96, and 98, respectively).

356 Theodore bar Konai, Jackson 1932, 236; also see Augustine, *Contra Faustum* 15.5–6.

357 *Kephalaion 33*, 86.24–30, unfortunately highly fragmentary.

358 M 99.I.R.10–24 (Hutter 1992, 14–16, cf. Jackson 1932, 34–35).

359 M 98.I.V.23–M 99.I.R.10 (Hutter 1992, 13–14; cf. Jackson 1932, 32–35); cf. *Psalm-Book* II, 138.54–57: "The burden-bearing *Omophoros*, who bears the weight of the universe. His three glorious columns. His five holy vaults" (Allberry 1938, 138).

360 Theodore bar Konai, Jackson 1932, 240; textual variants in the manuscripts.

In accord with the textual emphasis on the fifth earth, the *Diagram of the Universe* gives visual emphasis to this layer, the surface of which is the only underground vista. It is technically the "lowest earth" (MPers. *ērdōm zamīg*),[361] since below it the four layers are designated rather as "deposits" (MPers. *nirāmišn*).[362] The artist has made visual allusions to the structural columns and arches mentioned in literary descriptions of this realm, without offering an exact architectural rendering. The columns are coded as "living" by bearing a series of human faces (those on the left-most column have largely flaked off); while the arches are rendered by thin curving gold lines between them. Three foci of action appear across this earth. (1) The middle, and thus the most prestigious part, focuses on an atlas figure known as "the Porter" in Manichaean literature. This deity is shown with his hands raised in support of the entire cosmos above him, positioned in front of his temple, iconicly flanked by two of the columns. The lower part of the figure has an ambiguous appearance in its present condition. It could show the Porter in a kind of weight-lifter's squat; but the knee on the right (the Porter's left) is raised distinctly higher than the other, suggesting that the figure may accord with textual references to him kneeling on one knee.[363] (2) The right third of the composition shows the "King of Glory" holding a ring of investiture, seated on a throne with feet on the ground (i.e., in the same manner as the other divine king, the King of Honor) in front of a temple and an attendant. In front of the deity, three intricate wheels, each of a different color and embossed with a face, emit swirls of rainbow light, rising upward toward the portals that channel it above. (3) The left part of the composition features two unidentified deities encountering near the third column a figure in a loincloth, the exact significance of which is, at this point, uncertain.[364]

361 M 472.I.V.2 (MacKenzie 1979, 512–13).

362 As first recognized by Jackson 1932, 50; see also Kósa 2012, 49–50.

363 On this issue, see Kósa 2012, 43–45.

364 Yoshida (2010, 14b) interprets this grouping as a depiction of the fate of sinners, comparing its iconography to the judgment scene preserved on MIK III 4959 verso (see Fig. 5/39, above). Kósa (2013, 72–73) hypothesizes that this grouping may depict Primal Man, stripped of his elemental "armor," greeted by the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit. But the rescue of Primal Man occurs prior to the construction of the cosmos, and so is unlikely to be featured in the *Diagram of the Universe*, which depicts the cosmos as it exists following its formation, and does not portray episodes of the primordial conflict prior to that time. An alternative reference could be to the mission of Adamas to "assist" (Gr. *boēthein*) the "Youth" in "the pit that is at the bottom of Hades" in the fourth *Psalm of Thomas* (*Psalm-Book* II, 209.11–210.16; Allberry 1938, 209–210) by fettering the demons in a manner very close to how they are shown fettered here in the painting: fetters on feet, iron on hands, and collar on neck (*Psalm-Book* II, 209.11–210.16, and 209.29–210.1, 210.7–9 Allberry 1938, 209–210). Note in the painting the diminutive size of the stripped figure, perhaps intending a youth. Yet, against this interpretation, one notes that this youth faces not one, but two figures, neither of which is depicted like the Adamas figure on the surface of the eighth earth.

2 *Mani as a Visionary Witness to the Components of the Universe*

Mani's authority as a human "messenger of light" undergirds the description of the cosmos provided in Manichaean literature. Mani authenticates his teaching by his own visionary experiences, in the course of which he has personally viewed "the land of light" and "hell." In *Kephalaion 424*, Mani states:

> . . . I, myself, whom you are looking at, went to the Land of Light. Indeed, I have seen the Land of Light with my eyes, the way that it is. [Again], I have seen hell with my eyes, the way that it is. I have (been sent here) by God. I came; I have revealed this place (i.e. the Land of Light) [in this] world.[365]

This programmatic statement is echoed in other passages where Mani describes divine beings and celestial objects without mentioning the underlying visionary knowledge of them.

Building upon this visionary knowledge, Mani is portrayed in the role of an observer fifteen times in the *Diagram of the Universe*. He is clad in white robe and cloak with red trim. Flanked by two attendants (except once in the New Aeon), he is shown standing next to various gods of the Manichaean pantheon across the superterranean regions of the universe (**Figure 6/46**). Mani witnesses a total of fifteen divinities, including (1–4) four of the five gods that dwell in the *shekinahs* in the Realm of Light, (5) the Third Messenger in the New Aeon (where Mani is also shown receiving a book from a messenger of the Father of Greatness), (6) the Perfect Man, (7) the Column of Glory, (8) the deities the Moon, (9) the deities of the Sun, and (10) Jesus speaking the twelve wisdoms in the Liberation of the Light; twice (11–12) the King of Honor in the seventh Firmament of the Sky, and (13) an unidentified deity in the first firmament; and finally (14) the Light Maiden in her role as a Lightning Goddess and (15) the Judge in the Atmosphere.[366]

Referencing Mani's distinct visionary encounters in art and text authenticates Mani's doctrine. In early Manichaean literature the wisdom Mani conveyed in his books are considered to be divinely inspired writing "gifts" to his community by the Father of Greatness, which were delivered symbolically to Mani by divine agents, as noted about five of his books in *Kephalaion 148*:

> The great scriptures that I have written for you are gifts that were bestowed upon you by the Father of Light. The great *Living Gospel* is the gift of the Ambassador (the Third Messenger). The *Treasury of Life* is the

365 *Kephalaion 424*, 7ff., quoted from Dilley 2014, 216.

366 Depictions of Mani as a visionary witness were noted by Yoshida (2010: 9a–10a) and subsequently by Kósa (2015b, 182–183). In addition, Mani is shown in further three roles: (1) as one of the Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism in the New Aeon (see Figs. 6/17 and 6/38); (2) on the left side of the 8th firmament, face to face with a docile demon figure (see Fig. 6/41); and (3) in the atmosphere being reverenced by a group of four laypeople (see Figs. 6/11 and 6/43).

a: REALM OF LIGHT

(1) deity in shekinah

(2) deity in shekinah

(3) deity in shekinah

(4) deity in shekinah

b: NEW AEON

(5a) the Third Messenger

(5b) also receiving divine wisdom

c: LIBERATION OF LIGHT

(6) the Column of Glory

(7) the Perfect Man

(8) Jesus speaking the 12 wisdoms

(9) deities of the Sun

(10) dieties of the moon

d: FIRMAMENTS OF THE SKY

(11) Great King of Honor with soldiers (Seventh Firmament)

(12) Great King of Honor with magic lens (Seventh Firmament)

(13) unidentified deity (First Firmament)

e: ATMOSPHERE

(14) the Light Maiden as Lightening Goddess

(15) the Judge

FIGURE 6/46 *Mani as a visionary witness to the deities of the cosmos in the* Diagram of the Universe (*details of Fig. 5/14*)

> gift of the Pillar of Glory. The *Pragmateia* and the *Book of Mysteries* and the *Book of the Giants*—these three holy books, which are a single one, are the gift of the Light Twin. All letters, however, that I have written to you from time to time, are my gift and my donation. This is the good fruit that I have given you from the good tree.[367]

The Chinese Manichaean *Diagram of the Universe* abbreviates this point in the New Aeon by depicting a divine agent of the Father of Greatness presenting a book to Mani (see Figs. 6/46b and 5/17). In the symbolic language of art, this motif expresses that all the knowledge transmitted in Mani's books has a divine origin.[368] An analogous notion is conveyed in *Homilies 47*, Mani states:

> I have neither master amongst humankind, from whom [I have been] taught this wisdom, or [from whom] I have received these matters, but when I received them, I received them from God though his angels. They were indeed sent to me by God, that I might preach this (message) in your kingdom, for the whole world has gone astray and erred; it has stumbled away from the wisdom of God.[369]

To stress its uniqueness, Ephrem juxtaposes the *Book of Pictures* with Mani's other books, when he quotes Mani saying the following:

> I have written them (the teachings) in books and painted them in colors. Let the one who hears about them verbally also see them in the *Yuqnâ*, and the one who is unable to learn them from the word(s) learn them from the picture(s).[370]

Even in this quote, however, its is the complementarity of a visual delivery of Mani's wisdom, which makes Ephrem highlight the *Book of Pictures* in parallel

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367 *Kephalaion 148*, 355.2–18 (Funk 1999, 355).

368 Kósa 2015b, 182–183, n.35, and 190. By discussing Mani's *Book of Pictures* in connection with the depiction of "a book or a box" handed to Mani by a divine messenger, Kósa appears to imply an identification. Although he does not explain his "box" reference, his bibliography lists a study of Chagatai story about Mani's "picture-box." These implications are misleading, since neither of them can be supported by textual evidence. Mani's *Book of Pictures* is not singled out as the all-inclusive sign of Mani's wisdom in Manichaean primary sources, but only in post-Manichaean Islamic literature. As detailed in Chapter 4 above, in that tradition, the *Book of Pictures* is a false prophet-wonder of a false prophet (i.e., a work of art painted while hiding in a cave and deceitfully claimed to be God's gift to Mani; see Tab. 4/16). It is most unlikely that this Islamic false prophet-wonder story would have informed the iconography of a Manichaean painting. Mani's "picture-box" does not belong to this discussion, since it only extends the caricature of Mani's deceitfulness by changing the book into an empty box.

369 *Homilies 47*, 7–17 (Pedersen 2006, 47).

370 Ephrem, *Refutations* 126.31 - 127.11 (Reeves 1997, 262–263). For a full quote and its discussion, see Chapter 1, above.

to the oral delivery of Mani's teachings read from his written books. Text and image, each in its distinct manner of communication, served together to convey the visionary experiences of Mani.

Quite remarkably, in light of the above considerations, a fragmentary illumination from tenth-century Kocho (MIK III 4964 recto, **Figure 6/35c**, also see Fig. 5/32) can be identified as a small part of an intratextual cosmological image. When turned into the picture-viewing direction, this torn piece of paper shows Mani distinguished with a gilded white cloak and a golden halo around his head.[371] This Mani figure is standing at the lower right edge of the composition, looking up towards the focus of this composition. Depicting Mani as a side-figure and in a pose of observation is analogous to that found fifteen times in the *Diagram of the Universe*. Therefore, what Mani observed in the now-lost portion of the Uygur image was most likely also analogous—one of the fifteen gods depicted in the Chinese painting.[372]

The identification of this illumination as a cosmological image with Mani as a visionary witness carries important implications for this study, since it supplies critical artistic evidence about the formation of Manichaean art. Its cosmological content indicates a canonical subject, which is known to have originated among the many images of Mani's *Book of Pictures* as attested by textual sources. Its survival from an illuminated manuscript supports the thesis that canonical images from Mani's *Book of Pictures* were adapted to other objects such as luxurious liturgical books in Uygur Manichaean art production. The iconographic ties of this Uygur fragment to the fifteen depictions of Mani as visionary witness about 300–400 years later in the *Diagram of the Universe* confirms the continuing importance of this subject in Chinese Manichaean art. The Uygur fragment is an example of one of the many, book-scale prototypes that were consulted for designing large composite images on hanging scrolls. The large vertical picture plane of the latter seamlessly merges countless individual pictorial units to form numerous layers in a vision of a cosmic diagram—not unlike the way that the monumental vision of landscapes is constructed in Song academic painting.

3 *Silk Fragments with Cosmological Motifs*

Without the *Diagram of the Universe*, it would not be possible to interpret the connotations of the three small cosmological silk fragments from Kocho, nor would it even be possible to identify two of them as Manichaean (**Figure 6/35b**). Each motif retained on these torn bits-and-pieces of painted silks

371 Mani's iconography fits his other depictions that show him with a forked beard and no headgear atop his long black hair, dressed in white robes and a cloak, which in this case has a gold and red hem. Based on these features, Ebert (2009, 43) identified this figure as Mani.

372 Mani's iconography is also comparable between the two works of art, differing mostly in two regards. In the Uygur image, Mani is bearded, his halo is gilded, and his cloak is edged in gold. In the Chinese painting, Mani tends to have a green halo and only a red hem edges his while cloak (see Fig. 6/47a).

approximates a key iconographic element in the Manichaean vision of the universe depicted in fourteenth-century southern China (**Figure 6**/47). Their identification leads to the conclusion that in addition to the book format, silk hanging scrolls began to be used among the Manichaeans of Kocho to depict cosmological teachings.

A small portion of a light stream is preserved on one of the Manichaean cosmological silk fragments from Kocho (MIK III 7019 & III 7024h, see Fig. 6/35b).[373] This motif is defined as a series of parallel multi-colored lines that are distinctly different from cloud trails and can be best compared to the way the Path of Splendor as defined in the *Diagram of the Universe*.[374] The Path of Splendor is the key motif of the *Liberation of Light Subscene* (see Fig. 6/47b). It is shown in two strands that originate along the two sides atop the last firmament of the sky, and proceed up towards to create the body of the Perfect Man. The motif retained on the Uygur fragment is best interpreted as a portion of such a light stream remaining from a Manichaean cosmological hanging scroll.[375] The light stream encloses a disk motif in the Uygur fragment without parallels in the Chinese painting.

The upper body of what appears to be an atlas figure can be seen on another silk fragment from Kocho (MIK 6275, see Fig. 6/47c). Although this fragment does not retain what was held up the unusual positioning of the hands supporting something above the head leads to the interpretation of this figure as an atlas, and thus the Manichaean identification of this fragment.[376] As noted above, Manichaean teaching describes one such figure as the "commanding god" of the fifth earth, known as "the Porter," who supports the three upper earths above his realm (i.e., the sixth and the seventh earths, as well as the "eighth earth," the layer inhabited by humankind).[377] In the *Diagram of the Universe*, this deity is shown in the middle of the vista of the fifth earth, where he stands in front of his temple raising both of his arms up on the damaged portion of the painting (see Fig. 6/47c). Aside from the position of the two hands, the Uygur fragment does not preserve any further visual link to the *Diagram of the Universe*.

The third Manichaean cosmological silk fragment from Kocho depicts divine beings on the earth and the moon (MIK III 6278, see Figs. 6/35b and 5/8).[378] In this case, a meaningful rectangular unit of a larger composition is retained. The figures are framed by a geometrically decorated border on the right and thin black lines on the other three sides, which indicate that this image was

373 Yoshida 2015a, 152. This fragment consists of two physically matching pieces of silk (Bhattacharya-Haesner 2003, 292–293).

374 Yoshida 2010, 22 and note 91.

375 Yoshida 2015a, 152.

376 Le Coq 1913, discussion of Taf. 4e; Klimkeit 1982a, 43; and Gulácsi 2001, 263.

377 Yoshida 2010, 13–14; the *Šābuhragān* quote is discussed above in connection with the *Eight Layers of the Earth Subscene* (see Fig. 6/45).

378 Yoshida 2010, 21ff.

c: ATLAS FIGURE MOTIF - symbolizing commanding god of the fifth earth, the Porter

MIK III 6275

a: MANI AS OBSERVER MOTIF - symbolizing sources of Mani's teachings on cosmology

MIK III 4964

Diagram of Universe (Realm of Light)

Diagram of Universe (surface of layer 5)

b: STREAM OF LIGHT MOTIF - symbolizing "the path of splendor"

MIK III 7019 & III 7074h

Diagram of Universe (Firmaments)

e: ANTHROPOMORPHIC PLANTS MOTIF - symbolizing light personified in plants

MIK III 6278

Diagram of Universe (surface of layer 8)

d: DEITIES OF THE MOON - symbolizing divine inhabitants of moon

MIK III 6278

Diagram of Universe (Liberation of Light)

FIGURE 6/47 *Key motifs of cosmological subjects shown with comparative examples*

a framed subscene along the right side of a larger composition. The subject depicted here is built around two main motifs. (1) One of them is the moon-crescent with three figures. This motif compares to the depiction of the moon in the *Diagram of the Universe* in two regards (see Fig. 6/47d). On the one hand, a similar boat-shaped moon-crescent can be seen in the middle of the Column of Glory. On the other hand, three deities of the moon (Light Maiden, Jesus, and Primal Man) are portrayed in the *Liberation of Light Subscene*. The Kocho fragment, however, does not exactly match either depiction.[379] The Chinese crescent boats carry two passengers (most likely the soul and its twin) as they ascend in the course of liberation, while the Uygur moon has only one central deity flanked by two attendants. The hierarchy of three figures is distinctly different than the depiction of the three deities on the moon in the *Diagram of the Universe*. Thus, the symbolism behind the Uygur moon motif remains unparalleled and seems to emphasize one of the three deities associated with the moon in Manichaean literature. (2) The second prominent motif in this silk fragment from Kocho is that of a deity with a composite iconography, shown as a person surrounded by pomegranate stalks as if the plant and the being were one. In the *Diagram of the Universe*, plants are united with anthropomorphic symbols in three locations,[380] but always with the plant (tree or stalk) as the base, onto which small female heads (with or without a halo) on lotus bases are attached (see Fig. 6/47e). In the Uygur painting the logic is reversed, since the vegetal units are attached to an anthropomorphic body. Although unattested in the Chinese Manichaean paintings known today, the pomegranate motif is used in Uygur Manichaean art.[381] In this fragmentary painting a large pomegranate stalk hangs into the picture from the right, arching over a large figure (shown on the same scale as the pomegranate deity) looking up at the moon motif. Beneath the moon, remnants of a small pomegranate plant survive next to what appears to be a mountain in the background and two smaller figures looking at the pomegranate deity. Thus, once again, the tenth-century Uygur motifs are similar, but not identical to the fourteenth-century Chinese parallels.

379 In MIK III 6278, Yoshida (2015a, 153–154) interprets the moon motif with its central figure as Mani's soul ascending to paradise and the pomegranate deity with the three other figures as the Daēnā and her three followers.

380 Two such trees can be seen on the surface of the eighth earth, including one in the North quarter and another in the East quarter (see Fig.6/47); fives stalks are shown in the atmosphere as merit evidence used in postmortem judgment (see Fig. 6/46), and two additional trees are found along the two sides of the Realm of Light (see Fig. 6/43).

381 The pomegranate motif was used in the identification of this fragment (Gulácsi 1997, 197–198; and 2001, 174–175).

Mythic History: Stories from Mani's *Book of Giants*

In Mani's teaching, the struggle between light and darkness extends from primordial creation into human history and beyond to include events from the distant historical past and stories told about mythological and legendary figures. In his *Book of Giants*, Mani memorialized heroes of Jewish Enoch literature and Iranian epic poetry, giving their deeds a Manichaean interpretation. The giants are the antiheroes of the story. They are the offspring of fallen angels and human females, who rebel against God and aim to corrupt humanity while trying to fight off four angels (Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, and Israel).[382] As in Jewish and early Christian literature and art, the angels are the "soldierly" heroes in the *Book of Giants*. Mani and his early followers may have seen an advantage in employing existing popular tales, just as later Manichaean literature in Central Asia made frequent use of popular stories and fables known from Aesop, the *Pancatantra* and its Persian version, the *Kalila wa Dimna*, to provide moral lessons or otherwise exemplify Manichaean teachings. As one of Mani's writings, the *Book of Giants* belongs to the Manichaean canon. It survives today only among the Turfan remains in bits-and-pieces scattered in six languages.[383]

The survey of Manichaean textual sources on art revealed two points of connection between Manichaean didactic painting and Mani's *Book of Giants*. Both records are early texts that bring up the *Ārdhang* in connection with the *Book of Giants,* but fall short in suggesting that scenes from this book were included among Mani's didactic painting. One of them is a missionary document (M 5815) that notes how copies of these two books were made in Merv and subsequently taken to the town of Zamb to aid the missionary work of Mār Ammō.[384] The other record is found on a fragment (M 35) surviving from the *Ārdhang Wifrās*, the text that may be best compared to a teacher's notes on Mani's collection of didactic paintings. It mentions certain biblical heroes also known from the *Book of the Giants*.[385] As argued above, this correlation indicates only that popular Biblical heroes were brought up as analogies to explain certain teachings while sermonizing with the aid of images. Since no paintings are described (or alluded to in any way) in the text of the *Ārdhang Wifrās*, mentioning these heroes in its text does *not* mean that were depicted on the scenes of the *Ārdhang*.[386]

382 Henning 1943, 54.

383 The fragments of the *Book of Giants* were first discussed by Henning (1943, 52–74) and subsequently elaborated on by Reeves (1992, 9–28), and most recently by Morano (2009, 325–330).

384 For the text of M 5815, see Chapter 2, above

385 Henning 1943, 71–72.

386 For the analysis of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments, see Chapter 2 and Tab. 2/3.

Evidence concerning the depiction of mythological themes in Manichaean art is scarce. While a rich array of passages documents scenes on eschatology, soteriology, cosmology, theology, prophetology, and even polemics, written records about paintings with mythological subject are yet to be discovered (see Tab. 6/2: Mythic History). The currently know corpus of Manichaean art retains one fragment that most likely focused on a story from Mani's *Book of Giants* (see Tab. 6/3: Mythic History). This didactic work of art is found on a non-canonical object—a hanging scroll. While there is no textual evidence to suggest that Mani's *Book of Pictures* depicted this subject, its appearance on this fragment attests the development of didactic art in non-canonical contexts as a logical extension of Mani's own canonical example.

1 *Stories from Mani's Book of Giants*

A unique group of fragments with *Soldiers Fighting a Demon* (MIK III 6279 a-i, Berlin) is housed in the Museum of Asian Art, Berlin (see Fig. 5/10). Found together in Ruin K, these nine fragments most likely derived from one hanging scroll. Although the painting was supplemented with a Manichaean script text on the paper-enhanced section of the silk, the content of its Middle Persian prose cannot be confirmed from the few words that survive.[387] Nevertheless, these fragments still contain valuable data about the formal features of their hanging scroll. The pictorial section (fragments a, d-h) was painted directly onto silk. Being heavier due to its paper layer, the inscribed section (fragments b, c, and i) was most likely located below the image at the lower part of the hanging scroll. The original design was most likely enclosed in a border, as indicated by what appears to be a remnant of a decorative frame preserved on fragment b. A similar decorative border can be on another fragment of an Uygur Manichaean hanging scroll (MIK III 6278, see Fig. 5/8).

What is preserved on the painted section of this hanging scroll is best explained today as a remnant of a narrative scene from Mani's *Book of Giants* (MIK III 6279 a, d-h, **Figure 6/48**). Yutaka Yoshida proposed this identification based on the large scale of the demon in relation to two soldiers, convincingly arguing that the large size of the head indicates a giant.[388] The small pieces surviving from the image contain key motifs employed in Manichaean art to communicate a fight against evil. In this case, the figure of the giant symbolizes a force of evil.

Other Manichaean works of art known today do not show giants; but they show numerous examples of fighting demons in the context of narrative scenes (**Figure 6/49**). Two examples of this iconography survive from tenth-century Kocho. In addition to the silk painting displayed on a hanging scroll, there is a tiny (1.1 cm x 1.9 cm) fragment from an illuminated codex folio that retains two lines of a Parthian text on one side and a part of an intratextual or full-page illumination on the other side with a grey-skinned demon (MIK III

387 Gulácsi 2001, 170 and 249. For the eight Middle Persian lines, see Chapter 5 above.

388 Yoshida 2015a, 147–150.

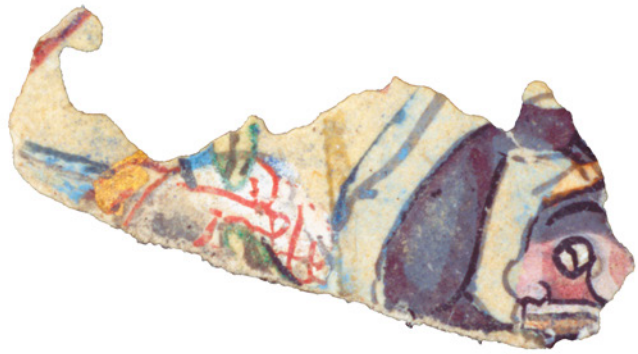
FIGURE 6/48 *Mythic History*

104 recto, detail). From the original image remains only a demon's head, one raised arm, and the left hand of a subduer holding what may be a net. The fragment is too small for its overall pictorial content to be identified.[389] It is possible that the firmaments of the sky were originally depicted here. From 13th/14th century southern China, numerous intact depictions of demon stories are preserved across the firmaments of the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth in the *Diagram of the Universe* (see Fig. 6/36). In the third firmament of the sky, a demon is shown fleeing a human corpse, chased by a hero. In the sixth firmament, a demon is shown imprisoned (see Figs. 6/42 and 6/43). On the surface of the earth, two demons are shown prominently laying on the ground flanking the foot of Mount Sumeru. One of them has just been subdued by the fighting hero, Adamas, the third son of the Living Spirit. The other demon is pinned down by a large rock that covers his entire body except his

389 Gulácsi 2001, 138 and 239.

a: HEROS FIGHTING DEMONS (2 images)

MIK III 6279a



MIK III 104 recto

b: DEMONS IN FIRMAMENTS OF SKY (2 images)

Diagram of the Universe
(3rd firmament)

Diagram of the Universe
(6th firmament)

c: DEMONS ON SURFACE OF EARTH (3 images)

Diagram of the Universe
(vista of the 8th earth)

Diagram of the Universe
(vista of the 8th earth)

Diagram of the Universe
(vista of the 8th earth)

FIGURE 6/49 *Key motifs of subduing forces of evil in Manichaean art*

head, hands and feet. A third demon inhabits a mountaintop. This demon is shown kneeling atop the gold highland of a mountain, the sides of which are defined similarly to the sides of Mount Sumeru (see Figs. 6/45).

In Manichaean didactic art, evil is symbolized by demon figures equipped with a distinct iconography. The key motifs associated with their iconography include: (1) the non-anthropomorphic size of the demon, shown on either a larger-than-human scale or a smaller-than-human scale; (2) the non-anthropomorphic skin color, which can be either blue, grey, green, or red-orange; (3) the untidy hair, which is often shown sticking up on the head of the demon; (4) the raised gesticulating arms, which indicate panic or other disturbed states of mind fitting the story; (5) means of defeat, such as being killed by a sword or a spear, enclosure by a tall fence or a net, or pinned down by a rock; and often (6) a hero soldier who is entrusted with the fight. Through such imagery, Manichaean art conveyed the optimistic message of evil's ultimate defeat.

Conclusion

The story of Manichaean didactic art is truly remarkable for the history of religion(s), just as for the history of art. In Manichaeism, art played a unique role—unmatched by anything seen in the context of the other world religions. The founder of Manichaeism instituted the employment of visual art for teaching religion. But, he did not simply have a few paintings for illustrating some of his wisdom. In a most unique and definitive manner, Mani established the systematic exposition of his complex doctrine in a set of images. Their collection was intended to be a standard part of Mani's legacy—a visual record of a worldview that he also explained in his writings. Consequently, Mani defined fundamental aspects of Manichaean artistic culture. On the one hand, the formal features of his paintings influenced the formation of Manichaean art, since later editions of the *Book of Pictures* were reproduced as a standard part of the Manichaean canon across the Asian continent for over a thousand years. On the other hand, it was Mani's example of how to use art that initiated a standard educational approach towards images, which became extended to all art—even to icons and cult statues otherwise customarily associated with devotion. These two trends caused the emergence of a large corpus of images that succinctly conveyed Mani's doctrine on various types of art objects. The surviving visual record of this doctrine is Manichaean didactic art.

Throughout their history, the Manichaeans had a positive attitude towards visual art. In their religion, art conveyed truth. The visual senses were not treated as a source of corruption or temptation. Aesthetic pleasure attained in the face of beauty and fine craftsmanship was highly valued. In fact, forms of art were thought about among the Manichaeans as manifestations of the divine—glimpse of light trapped in the mixed world on the earth.

Mani's pictures were sacred. They were treasured and revered. Their copies and later editions in the *Book of Pictures* were under the care of the highest-ranking leaders of the Manichaean Church, who showed them to (i.e., taught with them) only a special, select group of people. Witnessing an oral sermon about these pictures must have been one of the most memorable experiences in the life of a Manichaean. It enhanced doctrinal learning by reinforcing religious instruction with the help of visual aids. At the same time, teaching with images combined the cognitive pleasure of knowledge and the aesthetic pleasure of art. In a sense, this exclusive occasion was an esoteric right—an initiation to the sophisticated structure of Mani's doctrine, since studying these painting with the help of a learned elect resulted in a higher understanding.

This equal status of canonical art and canonical text is absolutely unique among the world religions. Unlike any other religion, Manichaeism had canonical images, not just canonical books. The *Book of Pictures* was a part of their canon together with the volumes of Mani's writings. This dual emphasis was fundamental to Mani. He included it in a ten-point list about the superiority of his church—the first text surveyed in this study (*Kephalaion 151*). The second

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item on this list is the dual means of transmitting Mani's wisdom. In it, Mani proudly claims that, unlike his predecessors, he communicated his teachings in writing and in painting. In this way, Mani fostered a thorough religious culture, in which his wisdom, his visions, and his insights would be conveyed and recorded in two equally significant ways—in a written form in his books and in an artistic form in his pictures.

Mani's followers persevered in this fundamental reverence towards art against all odds during 500 years of persecution. When a series of lucky turn of events provided in the next 250 years conditions of safety and sponsorship, guaranteed by the ruling elite of a powerful Central Asian empire, a host of artistic innovations occurred. This was a new phase in the history of Manichaean art, which must have started already in northern China under Uygur political support during the second half of the eighth century and continued from the mid-ninth century in Uygur East Central Asian as documented among the physical remains recovered from Kocho. At the start of this new era, Manichaean didactic art was still kept stored—put away in a rolled-up pictorial scroll or between the covers of a closed pictorial codex—with the other volumes of the canon in the library hall of the *manistan*. In another hall, a painted icon of Mani was likely displayed on a wood panel.

The Uygur era saw dramatic changes in how Manichaeans accessed and utilized the artistic legacy of their founder. Manichaean didactic art became more public. Service books used for liturgy began to be luxuriously illuminated. Figural banners were painted specifically for mortuary rites. New art objects also started to be displayed in the *manistan*. Under a red brocade canopy decorated with gold coins, a cult statue of Mani was set up in the main hall. Some walls, likely in the ritual hall, became covered with murals depicting actual named, sacerdotal and lay members of the community participating in various ceremonies. In another hall, numerous silk hanging scrolls were put on display with paintings that ultimately derived from the *Book of Pictures*. Mani's sacred didactic images now were enlarged and modified in various ways to fit a new presentation accessible to all who entered. These changes increased the devotional function of Manichaean art, previously attested only in connection with icons of Mani. Now, a host of deities had their own icons displayed on silk hanging scrolls. They became more real and more relevant for the community.

Mani's followers sustained a great appreciation of art during the last era of Manichaean history. In southern China, many innovations of the Uygur golden age were taken further during the Song and Yuan dynasties. For the last time, Manichaean art rematerialized in new forms. The highly evolved visual culture that was reached during the Song contributed significantly to the representations of Manichaean teachings. Mani's doctrine remained uncompromised. Its artistic language, however, became renewed in various Sinicized forms—fitted into sophisticated painting styles and monumental compositions in an effortless harmony. As attested by the few surviving remains, this integration produced Manichaean paintings that belong to the highest quality of Chinese

religious art known today from the twelfth/thirteenth and the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries.

* * *

Due to their natural decay and deliberate destruction, it is challenging to interpret what is left from the didactic art of the Manichaeans. Therefore, this study has taken a cautious approach, staying close to the textual and visual data about Manichaean art in order to reach historically accurate conclusions. It is based on the collection, analysis, and interpretation of the available primary and secondary evidence, consciously avoiding comparative, non-Manichaean visual sources at this stage of research—with the aim of making sense out of Manichaean art within its own religious context. It must be acknowledged that the Manichaean works of art are the products of their time and culture and reflect local artistic innovations. Nevertheless, the integrity of Manichaean doctrine in these images together with certain motifs in their iconography points to a conservative attitude towards innovation, which relied on adapting pictorial prototypes to new objects, materials, formats, compositions, and styles without losing the Manichaean meaning.

The result is a new understanding of Manichaean art, the vast majority of which was used in a didactic context. They constitute a didactic corpus considered in this study. One way to make sense out of the vast amount of surviving evidence about this art—hidden in both textual and visual sources—is to consider the three types of didactic images they regard (**Table 7/1**). The first type consists of the original full set of canonical images, which belonged to Mani's *Book of Pictures*, its initial copies, and its later editions. The second types of art associated with teaching involves non-canonical images, which started to be made after Mani's death and introduced new subjects (such as icons of Mani and narratives of Mani's life) to the overall repertoire of Manichaean didactic art. Finally, the third type contains the modified versions of select canonical images that were transferred from picture books onto other non-canonical art objects.

1 Full Set of Canonical Images

Primary and secondary textual sources conclusively prove that the Manichaean canon included a solely pictorial volume—a picture book. Like all the other books of the canon, this volume was authored by Mani, had a doctrinal content, was created with the intent to preserve the authenticity of Mani's teachings, was stored with the rest of the canon in the library room of the *manistan*, and functioned as a reference work and a didactic tool. Just as the other works of Mani's canon, it was referred to by a distinctive title—"*The* (*Book of*) *Picture*(*s*)": *Hikōn* in Coptic, *Yuqnā* in Syriac, *Al-ṣuwar* in Arabic, *Ārdhang* in Parthian, *Nigār* in Middle Persian, as well as *Ménhéyì* and *Túјing* in Chinese.

TABLE 7/1 *Documented formats of Manichaean didactic art*

MANICHAEAN DIDACTIC ART

Icons, Diagrams, Narratives

I. FULL SET OF CANONICAL IMAGES

(5 examples)

1.) Original and contemporaneous copies of Mani's *Book of Pictures* (ca. 240 – 274/277 CE)

PICTURE BOOK as horizontal handscroll (no examples survive)

2.) Later copies of the Mani's *Book of Pictures* (late 3rd century – min. 1120 CE)

PICTURE BOOK as horizontal handscroll (3 examples)

PICTURE BOOK as horizontal codex (2 examples)

II. NON-CANONICAL DIDACTIC IMAGES

(9 examples)

1.) Icons of Mani used for teaching

WOOD PANEL (no examples survive)

HANGING SCROLL (1 example)

SCULPTURE (3 examples)

2.) Narrative scenes from life of Mani used for teaching

HANGING SCROLL (4 examples)

3.) Narrative scenes from Mani's *Book of Giants* used for teaching

HANGING SCROLL (1 example)

III. MODIFIED VERSIONS OF SELECT CANONICAL IMAGES

(26 examples)

1.) Individual images from the Mani's *Book of Pictures* adapted to other objects one image at a time

WALL PAINTING (1 example)

HANGING SCROLL (7 examples)

MORTUARY BANNER (4 examples)

ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT (8 examples)

2.) Multiple images of the Mani's *Book of Pictures* combined into one new composite diagram

HANGING SCROLL (2 examples)

MORTUARY BANNER (4 examples)

The book itself was a work of art—a canonical work of art—and so, too, were the individual images it contained—icons, diagrams, and pictorial narratives. The attribution of this canonical picture book to the founder of the Manichaean religion assured its sustained reproduction throughout Manichaean history. While Mani's authored paintings were considered to be *the* canonical images in most Manichaean communities, multiple generations of copied copies introduced significant changes over time to the new editions of the *Book of Pictures*—stylistically and otherwise. Just how much innovation entered the iconography and composition of the new editions is debatable, but the continued significance of this pictorial part of the Manichaean canon is undoubted. Textual evidence documents its title in multiple languages, its unequivocal attribution to Mani, as well as its dates of existence, pictorial appearance, doctrinal content, and didactic function. Starting from Mani's era (240–274/277 CE) with the first Mesopotamian community and ending sometime during the last phase of Manichaean history, this collection of images remained part of the Manichaean canon housed with the rest of the books in the *manistan*, as noted from Wenzhou (Zhejiang province) in 1120 CE—and most certainly well beyond that year, until the demise of the Chinese Manichaean community.

The *Book of Pictures* was designed to be a visual resource for oral instruction sometime during the middle of the third century in southern Mesopotamia. As a pictorial prop, it provided the visual aids for religious teaching conducted for a small group of people. Data about the practical circumstances of how this actually happened is quite limited. The earliest sources about this question regard Mani and his use of an unspecified format, which was most likely the horizontal pictorial handscroll (the format first noted by Ephrem about a century after Mani's death). Accordingly, the *Kephalaia* written by the first generation of disciples mentions that Mani employed his *Book of Pictures* as a catalyst for question-and-answer discussion while teaching his lay followers, and that it was pointed to during the instruction (*Kephalaion 92*) while the disciples sat in front of it (*Kephalaion 151*, also noted in *Homilies 27*). Its images aimed to aid visualizing the supernatural stages of a person's religious career (*Kephalaia 7*, *92*) and recognizing deities based on their depictions when encountered in the afterlife (*Kephalaion 7*). All in all, it was an effective teaching tool (*Kephalaia 7, 92, 151*, also noted in *Prose Refutations*). Without mentioning Mani (and thus probably somewhat later), Parthian and Middle Persian texts discuss similar techniques. Once again, the images of the *Book of Pictures* were said to be explained in the context of oral instruction (M 4570, M 219). They were displayed in front of a few people, who were asked to look at a painting, while the instructor referred to its sections (M 219).

Already during Mani's life, multiple copies of the *Book of Pictures* were made for the leaders of the Manichaean Church. Mani, Sisin, Ammō, and Zurvāndād are all noted to have worked with the canonical pictures. In the surviving sources, picture books were used for missionary activities that took place across West Central Asia (M 2, M 5815). Just as was the case with Mani's written books, new copies of the *Book of Pictures* were produced as needed

and accounted for: Mani sent a copy with Ammō from Holvān to Abarshar (M 2), Sisin made a new copy in Merv and had Zurvāndād take the old one from Merv to Zamb (M 5815). Princes, kings, and royal courts are often mentioned, directly stating or implying the elite contexts in which these picture books were used.

After Mani's passing, written teaching resources start appearing in the historical record, which were intended to supplement the didactic use of picture books. Initially, both Coptic and Parthian passages pair the *Book of Pictures* with one written book of the canon, such as the *Gospel* or the *Book of Giants* (*Kephalaion 151, Homilies 27*, M 2, M 5596, M 5815). These written records of Mani's wisdom most likely offered a handy reference for the illustrated sermons when the images of the *Book of Pictures* were shown. Subsequently, a specialized literature also started to be composed for teaching with the *Book of Pictures* as documented in Coptic, Parthian, and Middle Persian sources. This specialized literature included transcripts of sermons delivered with its images (*Kephalaion 92*, M 4570, M 219), as well as a unique text titled as the "(Oral) Sermon on the *Book of Pictures*" (Parth. *Ārdhang Wifrās*). The latter text is not written as regular prose, but rather as an abbreviated list of references. It may be best compared to an outline that a teacher uses during teaching. It contains lists of familiar parables (six *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments) and similes (nine *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments) suitable for bringing up in connection with the discussion the paintings. Finally, from the last phase of Manichaean history, the title of a thirteenth-century Chinese Manichaean text that supplemented oral instructions with pictures, known as a "transformation text" (Ch. *bianwen*), is noted (Zhipan). This title refers to a single painting, which in itself was complex enough to require a teachers' guide. Unfortunately, the passage is not detailed enough to be used as a source about the formation of Chinese Manichaean art, let alone to suggest that single paintings replaced picture books in southern China. Such a claim is not supported by evidence in any sources known today. On the contrary, another Chinese governmental report positively confirms that the *Book of Pictures* was still part of Manichaean canonical libraries during the twelfth-century (*Wenzhou Memorial*). Moreover, by listing a set of six silk paintings owned by the community, this report proves that the *Book of Pictures* continued to be treasured and used as a reference even when hanging scrolls had become the primary format of artistic instruction. Among the currently known textual and pictorial sources, there is no evidence to suggest that such modified versions of select canonical paintings ever replaced picture books.

Mani's original *Book of Pictures* and its contemporaneous copies from the second half of the third century have not been identified among the physical remains of Manichaean art. Little is recorded about their fate. It is clear that Mani had one of them (maybe the original or a version with which he was most satisfied) with him on his last mission, when he was imprisoned and died at Gondeshapur. This picture book was one of Mani's four personal items that were taken to Sisin (M 5569), who succeeded Mani in heading the Manichaean Church until his own death in 295/296 CE. At that time, Mani's *Book of Pictures*

was most certainly preserved as a relic. If it did not perish with Sisin's martyrdom, the Abbasid waves of persecutions that targeted the Manichaean communities of Iraq could have destroyed it. In one case noted by Ibn al-Jawzī from 953 CE, the burning of Manichaean books produced so much gold and silver dripping from the fire as to suggest the possibility that a solely pictorial book might have been with the rest of the volumes burnt that day in front of the Public Gate of Baghdad. This interpretation is supported by the lack of evidence for any illuminated service book among the Manichaeans outside of Kocho. If authorship and ownership were distinguished by Abu al-Maʿālī, it would be possible to determine if one of the third-century copies of Mani's collection of images was actually preserved until 1092 CE in the imperial treasury of the Ghaznavid Empire (963–1151 CE). Without such specification, however, it is more likely that the picture book Abu al-Maʿālī wrote about was not a Mani relic, but a later canonical copy identified with Mani's name based on authorship.

The question of just what was depicted in Mani's original *Book of Pictures* and its subsequent canonical copies and later editions cannot be fully answered today. In light of the surviving textual sources and physical remains, however, it is safe to say that its images included icons, diagrams, and narratives about Dualism, Soteriology, Prophetology, Theology, Cosmology, and Eschatology. Samʿānī claims that the collection of Mani's canonical pictures (which he knew as the "*Book of Mani*") was an "illustrated version of Mani's *Sāburqān*." In other words, during the early twelfth century, Samʿānī equated the content of the visual summary of Mani's doctrine with that of its written summary. To determine if this was an accurate description, a significantly earlier primary source must be considered. The *Ārdhang Wifrās* is the closest textual source about the content of the *Book of Pictures*. Once the currently known *Ārdhang Wifrās* fragments are better understood, further research will have to take up the task of comparing their doctrinal subjects with those of the *Sāburqān* and subsequently comparing the result to the data about the visual themes and subjects of the *Book of Pictures* collected in this study.

Picture books were rare in the arts of the ancient world. Prior to Mani, solely pictorial horizontal handscrolls are known only from the monumental continuous friezes carved onto Roman victory columns as low reliefs starting from 113 CE. Their scroll-like designs were considered exotic at the time with no known Greco-Roman prototypes. The earliest Buddhist examples are medieval. They survive from Dunhuang, dating from around the tenth century. The solely pictorial version of the horizontal codex remains elusive in the art of late ancient and early medieval West Asia. This book format is well attested in early Islamic manuscript illumination from between the late eighth and the tenth century in Iraq and Syria. Its possible use as a solely pictorial format in Armenian and Syriac Christian art is yet to be investigated in light of the Manichaean fragment that retains a Sasanian iconography on its two painted pages (see Fig. 5/4).

One of the most significant findings of this study is the identification of four fragments of picture books from Uygur times (see Figs. 5/1–5/4). In a sense,

the Manichaeans only had just one *Book of Pictures*. Just as they had only one *Gospel, Treasury of Life, Pragmateia*, *Book of Mysteries*, *Book of Giants, Book of Epistles, Book of Psalms,* and *Book of Prayers* in their canon (*Homilies 25*). But multiple copies of these books were needed even within one community. Already during Mani's time, their reproduction is attested (M 2, M 5815). Making copies of the canon's written books and the one picture book was a standard activity of the elect across Manichaean history. This documented fact explains why there can be four fragments of different picture books surviving from tenth-century Kocho. The four fragments retain five canonical images, three of them derive from three different horizontal pictorial handscrolls and two from one double-sided folio that belonged to a horizontal pictorial codex. Among them, the closest to Mani's original is the parchment scroll fragment with an *Icon of an Unidentified Deity* (see Fig. 5/3). Due to their archaic Sasanian iconography, the *Icon of the Light Maiden* and the *Icon of an Unidentified Deity* (see Fig. 5/4) on the double-sided paper folio are equally significant. A less archaic iconography is found on the two fragments that derived from tenth-century versions of two horizontal handscrolls. One of them features an *Unidentified Theological Diagram* (see Fig. 5/1) and the other the *Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism around the Light Mind* (see Fig. 5/2). The use of lotus supports and the mandala design in both suggests that these picture books were made locally with an iconography that was appropriated to the visual language of Uygur East Central Asia.

Concerning their subject matter, the five images that survive on four Uygur picture book fragments preserve two doctrinal themes: theology and prophetology (see Tab. 5/2). The theological images are either icons of a deity (Light Maiden and other unidentified deities), depicting one deity enthroned in a regal setting; or diagrams of deities (such as the five unidentified deities), depicting a group of deities arranged in a hierarchical manner. The prophetological image is a diagram, which captures the equality of four earthly prophets in relation to the supremacy of the deity of the Light Mind, who governs their activities in Mani's teachings.

The canonical collection of images (known as the *Ārdhang* after it Parthian title) was not an illuminated manuscript. Nor was the Parthian sermon text written about its painting, the *Ārdhang Wifrās*. As detailed in Chapter 2, the text of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* consisted of a set of notes to be consulted by an elect in preparation for giving a teaching, that is, an "oral sermon" (*wifrās*). This practical function does not justify the luxury of an expensively produced illuminated book. The *Ārdhang Wifrās* text was kept within regular, non-illuminated manuscripts. The *Book of Pictures,* correspondingly, was a solely pictorial volume of the canon in the form of a picture book (a horizontal solely pictorial handscroll or a horizontal solely pictorial codex). The book was opened to one or two images at a time as an authorized teacher explained their meaning and significance. One Coptic text (*Kephalaion 92*) actually describes such an oral instruction conducted by Mani himself while using his collection of paintings. During that instruction, a group of disciples listened to the explanation of Manichaean teachings delivered to them with the help of a visual aid. They

asked questions and received answers about the religion, while referencing didactic images displayed in front of them.

2 Non-Canonical Didactic Images

Impacted by the tradition of teaching with the canonical paintings, non-canonical works of art also functioned in a didactic role already during the first half of Manichaean history. Such works of art make up about one-fifth (21%) of the didactic corpus and include icons of Mani, narrative scenes of Mani's life, and narrative scenes from Mani's *Book of Giants*. So far as it is known, none of these images derive from canonical prototypes, since they are neither attributed to Mani nor attested as part of picture books. While the prose of the *Book of Giants* is canonical, the images that depict its content on hanging scrolls are not.

One of the most complete Manichaean textual records about teaching with images focuses on a non-canonical image—an icon of Mani in an undefined medium (*Compendium* 2). The Manichaeans' didactic impulse towards art comes across strongly from this text. Its anonymous author leads his audience through the iconography of a work of art that in itself might be construed as purely devotional. Yet this teacher systematically points out the symbolic connotations of the halo, the body, the garment, the seat, and possibly the hand gesture, while these iconographic elements to various aspects of Manichaean doctrine (see Tab. 6/9). Based on the early date of the Chinese translation of this text in 731 CE, the image discussed in the text was most likely an encaustic painting on a wood panel. Nevertheless, since this text was authored somewhere in Central Asia, it is not impossible that the icon it describes was already either painted on a silk hanging scroll or sculpted as a statue. After all, the latter two mediums were first documented from the *manistans* of Kocho (although about 200–250 years later) by the physical remains of the Manichaean religion and an Uygur elect's memoir from 985/6 CE (Käd Ogul).

Icons of Mani, therefore, fulfilled a dual function in Manichaeism. They served in the context of devotion as well as education. In early Manichaean literature, Coptic hymns to Mani imply a votive practice (*Psalm-Book 1–47*), which is hard to envision without icons of Mani that are noted elsewhere, e.g., from early fourth-century Palestine (Eusebius). Other Coptic passages discuss a portrait of the Light Maiden within the *Book of Pictures* in a distinctly instructive manner (*Kephalaion 7*). It is most likely that Mani was first depicted in a didactic context in the canonical picture book—shown not as an icon of his own, but rather as one of four primary prophets in a diagram. It seems that the educational context of divine icons in picture books informed how these images became used once they were transferred onto other objects. While icons of Mani most likely developed independently from the *Book of Pictures*, their educational role was clearly impacted by the Manichaean didactic interest in visual art, which followed Mani's example of using his picture book as a tool for religious instruction.

Icons of Mani are attested throughout Manichaean history. Their first record is from before 334 CE along the westernmost coast of the Asian continent (Eusebius). Mani icons in Arabic accounts from Iraq between 743/4 and 923 CE (Iṣfahani, Ma'sūdī, Ibn al-Jawzī) overlap with primary records from East Central Asia and northern China between 731 and 985/6 CE (*Compendium 2*, Käd Ogul). Statues of Mani, are first noted from the late tenth century in Uygur and southern Chinese sources CE (Käd Ogul, *Minshu 7*). The two works of art that survive today—a fourteenth-century stone relief carving of Mani (see Fig. 5/20) and a now-lost fifteenth-century silk hanging scroll (see Fig. 6/38)—were both made during the last era of Manichaean history in southern China.

The Life of Mani as a subject in primary (but not canonical) text and art documents the Manichaeans' continued interest in teaching and learning about their prophet's life. Although convincing, the records are sporadic and the evidence about connections between them is all but lost. None of the Manichaean texts on art discusses Mani's life; and actual narrative scenes depicting it are only known from southern China. They are remnants of at least two silk hanging scrolls from the fourteenth or fifteenth century (see Fig. 6/21). They depict Mani's parents, Mani's birth, episodes from a mission led by him, and events from the life of a community after Mani's death, including a celebration around a statue of Mani. Significantly earlier literature that comes close to a full biography of Mani (vs. accounts of his martyrdom) is found only in a Greek and a Chinese text (*Cologne Mani Codex*, *Compendium 1*). As to be expected, these manuscripts are not illuminated. The way the birth story is discussed in the Chinese account (731 CE), however, contains some details that are also included in a Chinese painting some 600–700 years later (see Fig. 6/22). Such a temporally distant case of connection between textual and pictorial content implies an incessant regard for this topic.

Another clear example of an early non-canonical pictorial subject in Manichaean art is the painting narrative scenes of the *Book of Giants* on a fragmentary Uygur hanging scroll (see Fig. 5/10). Connections between Mani's *Book of Pictures* and the *Book of Giants* are elusive. They include data about reproducing these two books in Merv and taking them on missions to the northeastern provinces of the Sasanian Empire while Sisin was heading the Church, sometime between 276/7 and 291/2 CE (M 5815). Although one of the *Ārdhang Wifrās* passages (M 35) mentions biblical heroes also known from the *Book of the Giants*, the data is not substantial enough to suggest that some narrative scenes in *Book of Pictures* depicted teachings from the *Book of the Giants*. Yet interest in such stories among Manichaean laity no doubt was a catalyst of artistic representations.

3 Modified Versions of Select Canonical Images

Mani greatly affected the formation of art in his religion by introducing the idea that an image can be an effective way for a teacher to impart the essence of a complex doctrine and for a disciple to learn that teaching. For this very

purpose, Mani created a picture book. Initially, all Manichaean art was designed to fulfill a didactic function and was contained within the *Book of Pictures*. It is conceivable that already during Mani's life select examples of Mani's authored paintings started to be adapted from the canonical picture book to other objects. Manichaean textual sources are all but silent about this practice. The physical remains, however, indicate the possibility of this phenomenon from the Uygur era, from where most Manichaean artistic innovations are attested.

The vast majority of Manichaean didactic images is preserved not in picture books, but on wall paintings, hanging scrolls, mortuary banners, and illuminated service books. These works of art contain modified versions of select icons, diagrams, and narratives—twenty-six images in total. It is the prototypes of these modified images that arguably derive from various generations of Mani's canonical paintings. The multiple stages of transition history of each image, which ultimately started from the mid third century and ended when the modified version was painted, cannot be traced with precision. Nevertheless, several of the twenty-six images preserve a visual language or individual motifs that were characteristic of Mani's time, and thus they allude to a more archaic canonical prototype. Others implicate contemporaneous versions of picture books that had adopted local artistic norms. Again others seem to have been based on already modified images (hanging scrolls could have been based on other hanging scrolls, just as illuminations in service books could have derived from other illuminated books), but still preserve indirect ties to the canonical picture book in subject matter, iconography, and composition. In any case, the way these modified canonical images look in their non-canonical objects clearly signals that they all underwent varying degrees of formal changes that affected their appearance, but not necessarily the core of their iconography and subject matter.

An actual case, which approximates the likely transformation of a canonical image into a modified canonical image with an altered format and a relatively unchanged iconography, can be seen when comparing a tenth-century fragment of a picture book and a tenth-century fragment of a hanging scroll. Their shared subject is a diagram of the *Four Primary Prophets of Manichaeism around the Light Mind* (see Fig. 6/13). The Uygur edition of the *Book of Pictures*, in which one of them survives, was already made in a style and iconography fitting the contemporaneous artistic norms of East Central Asia (see Fig. 5/2): its horizontal handscroll was made of paper; the traditional diagram genre that captured the hierarchy of its five figures was painted as a mandala; the four prophets in the four corners were seated on lotus supports; and the main deity in the center was placed under a canopy often seen in local Buddhist art at the time. To paint a similar canonical diagram on the surface of a hanging scroll, certain formal changes were necessary (see Fig. 5/3): the image had to be isolated from the rest of its picture book, painted onto a silk surface, and enlarged significantly from a height of ca. 20 cm to ca. 90 cm. The subject and its core iconography were maintained, while its presentation had to be changed—enlarged and painted on a different material. Other examples of canonical

images that were significantly enlarged in their new physical contexts include wall paintings, such as the iconic image of the *Realm of Light* conveyed on a ca. 2 m tall surface (see Fig. 5/5).

The surviving modified images indicate that enlargement was often not necessary when conveying select images from the *Book of Pictures* onto other objects. In fact, no major formal modifications were needed when canonical images were added to liturgical texts as illuminations. Manichaean illuminated manuscripts were luxurious service books. The dimensions of the painting surface offered by these vertical codices were not significantly different from the proportions of images seen in some Uygur picture books, whose documented heights range between 8 cm and 20 cm (see Figs. 5/1–5/4). The documented widths of illuminated codices fall between 7 cm and 30 cm (see Fig. 5/29a). By turning the vertical codex page to its side, the canonical image could be easily accommodated to its new setting. The sideways orientation preserved the original composition of the individual, isolated canonical images in their new physical contexts. Canonical icons conveyed on mortuary banners also retain the approximate proportions of their prototypes. The 16–17 cm widths, seen on the upper registers of the two double-sided mortuary banner with the one *Icon of the Light Maiden* and the three *Icons of Jesus* (see Figs. 5/25–27), is comparable to the 13–20 cm widths documented on all remains of Uygur picture books (see Fig. 5/44).

Other modified images document a combination of multiple images that were adapted from the *Book of Pictures* and integrated into the images on non-canonical objects—illuminated manuscripts and especially hanging scrolls. For example, a minimum of six (or maybe as many as 16) subscenes can be detected behind the Uygur manuscript illumination that depicts how the laity is saved (see Fig. 5/39). This full-page book painting is organized into three rows, one beneath another, on the sideways-oriented codex page. Thus, its design gives the impression of a long narrative sequence on a horizontal pictorial handscroll. Another example shows a minimum of seven (or maybe as many as 12) subscenes on a Chinese hanging scroll that depicts *Mani's Sermon about the Salvation of the Laity* (Fig. 5/13). In this case, most subscenes are framed in thin black or white lines, while a decorative border separates the judgment subscene from the tortures of Gehenna subscene. It remains unknown if these subscenes were copied directly from a southern a Chinese Manichaean picture book. It is equally possible that their prototypes were either already modified canonical images on hanging scrolls, or a combination of various other prototypes altogether, including non-Manichaean paintings such as scenes of Buddhist judgment after death and Taoist palaces of immortals.

The same possibilities must be raised when considering the complex transmission history behind the Chinese Manichaean *Diagram of the Universe* (see Fig. 5/14). Some of its motifs preserve Sasanian iconography (such as the regal implements held by the King of Glory, see Fig. 6/51), and thus they point to early Manichaean sources, which could have been accessed from already modified canonical depictions of cosmology on hangings scrolls. Without compromising the Manichaean content, other motifs of this painting indicate

Chinese Buddhist and Taoist prototypes from the Tang and Song dynasties. The multiple layers of transmission behind the canonical core of this Manichaean image must be acknowledged—as must be the unparalleled complexity and monumentality captured in its vertical panorama, which first becomes characteristic of Chinese pictorial art during the Song dynasty. Comparable paintings are not documented from Uygur East Central Asia. In Uygur Manichaean art, the frames around the individual paintings are often preserved when creating integrated versions of canonical images on hanging scrolls or mortuary banners (see Figs. 5/7 and 5/23–5/24). In contrast, the continuous picture plane of this hanging scroll indicates a distinctly Chinese approach to composition. From the bottom to the top, this Chinese Manichaean painting arranges more then 900 motifs into six smoothly transitioning and often overlapping subscenes, none of which keeps the visual integrity of its prototype. Although there are numerous horizontal black lines that separate the surfaces and cross-sections of the earth as well as curving red lines that mark the firmaments of the sky, the only motif comparable to an actual border in the entire painting is the row of colorful tiles around the Realm of Light. But even this border has a meaning essential to the overall Manichaean message. It communicates that God's world of pure light has no direct ties to the "mixed world" depicted beneath it. Thus, not even this border in the monumental diagram preserves the memory of a decorative frame.

The earliest evidence of modified canonical images proves that the Manichaeans did paint murals by 506/7 CE. Writing about the unusual images painted by a Manichaean bishop onto the walls of an imperial Byzantine Christian church, Theophanes implies familiarity with the mural medium and subjects suited to a Christian place of worship, which were most likely icons of Jesus and narrative scenes of Jesus' life. This record therefore indicates the existence of Manichaean wall paintings with canonical themes approximately 350–450 years before the dates of the earliest physical evidence about painted walls in Uygur *manistans* and cave chapels in and around Kocho.

An explosion of modified canonical paintings is first attested from the Uygur context and subsequently stayed highly significant in records through the final, southern Chinese phase of Manichaean history. Sometime between the late ninth and late tenth centuries, the silk hanging scrolls of the *manistans* became important enough to be noted subject-by-subject in textual records. Käd Ogul (after 983 CE) lists six such pictorial titles from an Uygur *manistan* at Kocho. These were most likely not wall paintings but silk hanging scrolls, since many modified images survive in that format among the physical remains of Uygur Manichaean art (see Tab. 5/3). The *Wenzhou Memorial* (1120 CE) also lists six such silk paintings from a Chinese *manistan* at *Wenzhou*. Between the two texts, three subjects overlap: the icon of Jesus, the icon of the Primal Man, and the icon of the King of Honor. Unfortunately, Zhipan's passage (1208 CE) is not detailed enough to name Manichaean silk paintings. It only gives the titles of scriptures, one of which happens to indicate the existence of a painted

cosmogonical diagram whose explication the text was meant to provide. Further confirmation of the importance of modified canonical images comes from the actual Manichaean hanging scrolls that survive from southern China (see Fig. 5/12). Besides the one non-canonical *Icon of Mani* (see Fig. 6/32), the other six silk paintings are all modified canonical images. They were painted between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries and they most certainly remained in use until the end of Manichaeism. One of the silk paintings, the *Icon of Jesus* (see Fig. 6/33), was already sold (possibly in Ningbo) and taken to Japan in late Ming times, sometimes during the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, where it surfaced among the possessions of a Catholic daimyo in 1612 CE. That date ties the gradual demise of southern Chinese Manichaeism to the late sixteenth century.

* * *

The story about Mani's pictures and the didactic images of the Manichaeans does not end here. Important, yet-to-be explored aspects of research concern finding out how the Manichaean case fits into a broader historical context—cultural, religious, artistic, socio-economical, and even political. This study has also analyzed data about the *function* of Manichaean didactic art without diluting this never-before explored topic with comparative non-Manichaean evidence. In this way, it is intended to serve as a foundation of future comparative research.

The artistic culture of religious instruction is universal. Most religions employ art in some way to elucidate their doctrine—mainly visual narratives, occasionally diagrams, and sometimes, even icons. The Manichaean case is important for exploring broader religio-historical questions. Now, that the didactic art of the Manichaeans is better understood, it can be considered together with the artistic practices of other religions that co-existed with the Manichaeans during late ancient and medieval times across the Asian continent.

There are numerous historical questions. One of them regards visual narratives that were painted in Islamic cultural contexts, often (mistakenly) associated with aniconic and iconoclastic attitudes towards art. Iranian, Turkish, and to a lesser degree in early Arabic painters depicted subjects (such as the *Life of Muhammad*, the *Night Journey*, and the *Battle of Karbala*) during the times when Manichaean communities still existed in the Umayyad, Abbasid, Seljuk, and Ilkhanid Empires. Exploring them in a comparative study will address important problems about connections between the secular, the religious, and the folk arts of West Asia and West Central Asia. Another example close to the Manichaean case is that of the Buddhist mortuary banners from tenth-century Dunhuang. Dozens of them depict *Avalokiteshvara Leading the Lay Woman to Paradise* with an iconography analogous to the Manichaean banners from tenth-century Turfan. Studying them together will lead to the

examination of how lay soteriological concerns impact sponsorship in medieval East Central Asia.

Theoretical questions about late ancient and medieval religious art also can be explored now with a broader emphasis that includes Manichaean data. A comparative study of complex cosmic diagrams—the Buddhist *Wheel of Life*, the Jain *Cosmos as a Macranthropos*, and the Manichaean *Diagram of the Universe*—will allow scholars to address how and why abstract doctrine is conceptualized in art. The same is true for the utilitarian employment of text and art as dual means of communicating religious content. Religious texts have traditionally been the exclusive focus of scholarship about what a religion is. Thinking about art as a practical tool of documenting and teaching religion will be especially relevant for understanding why "visual libraries" develop in late ancient Mesopotamia. Mani's declaration of the importance of these two ways of communication survives in the historical record. Contemporary with Mani, other religious authorities also contemplated the value of art as demonstrated by the Jewish murals of the synagogue and the Christian wall paintings of the church at Dura-Europos. Together with Mani's portable *Book of Pictures*, they document the high status of didactic art among the religions of third-century Mesopotamia, which the Manichaeans preserved throughout their history.

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