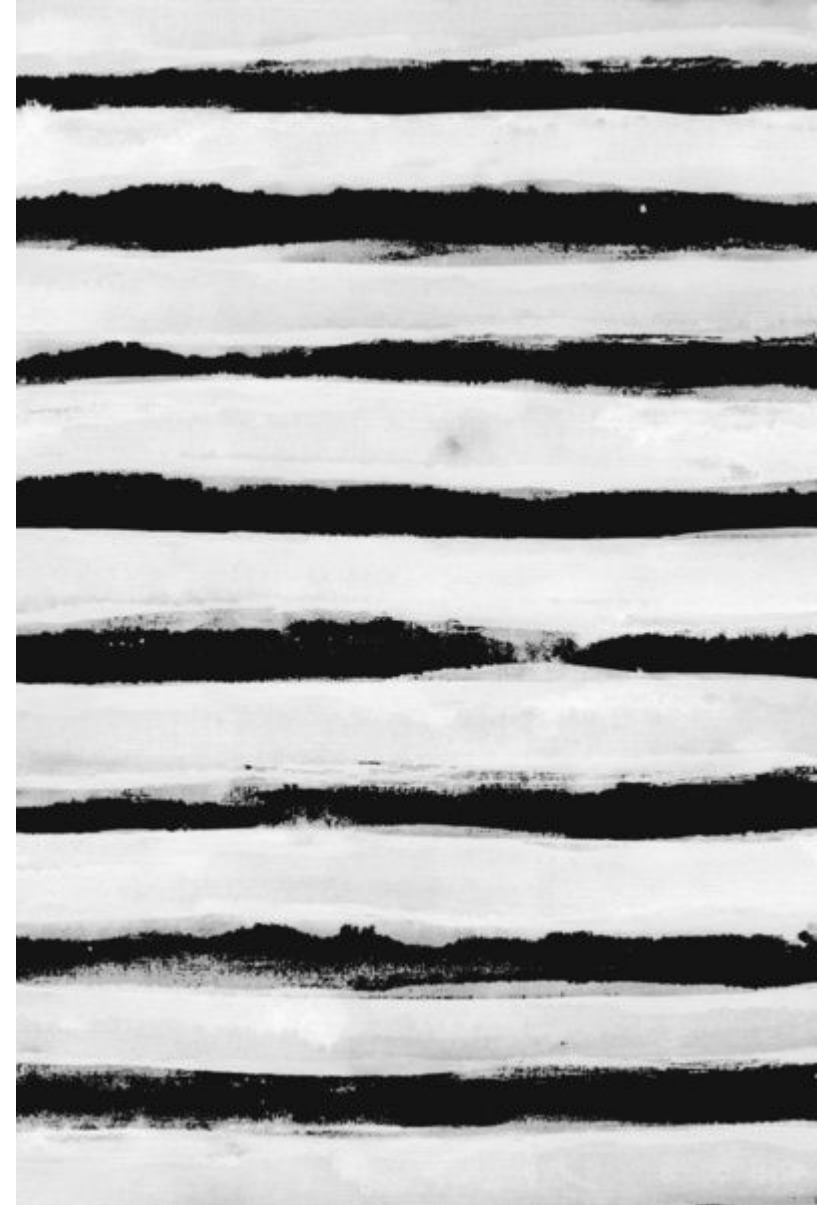


Manichaeism

The Religion of Light

Manichaeism

“a person or something involving
a radical dualism”

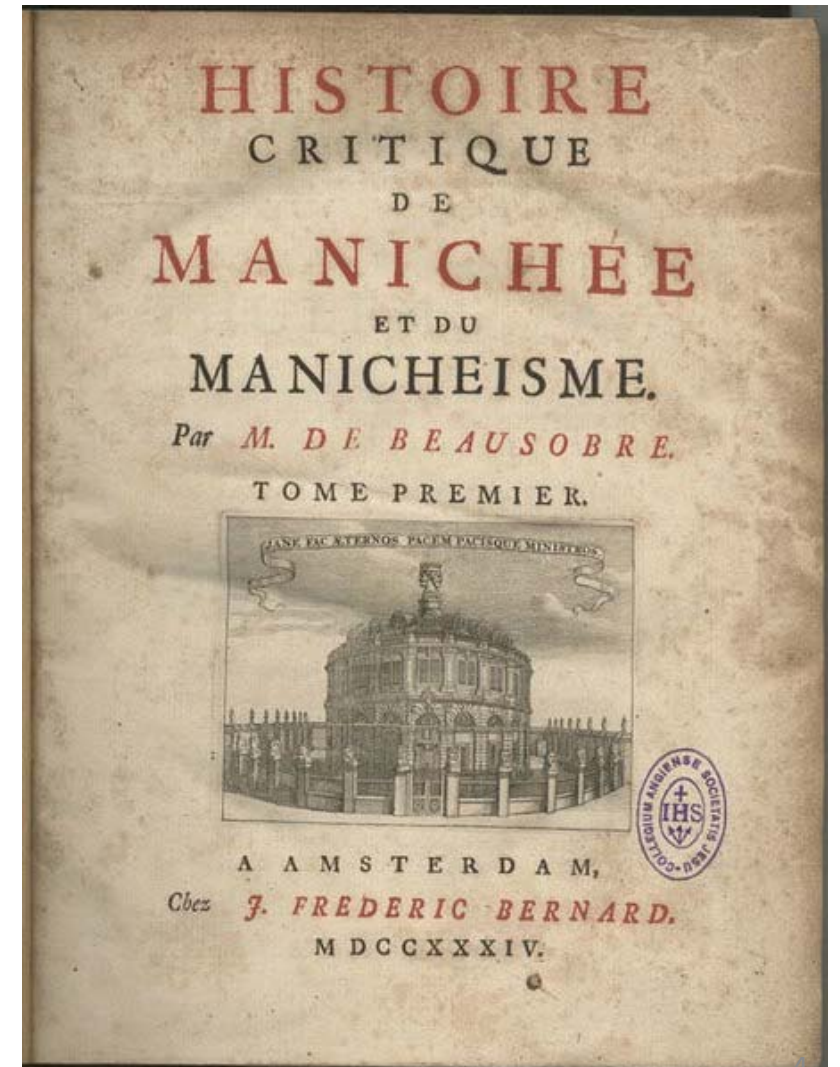


‘You are a verdomde Manichaeen!’



Isaac de Beausobre (1659-1738)

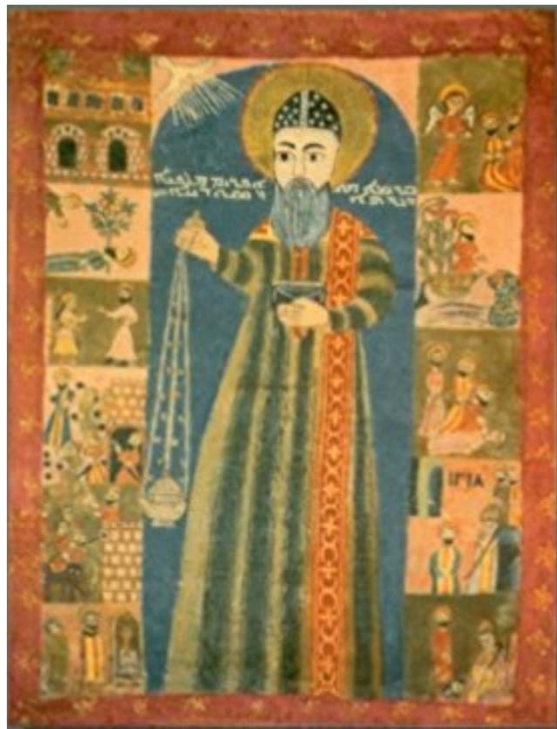
*Histoire critique de Manichée et du
Manichéisme, Amsterdam, 1734*





Augustine of Hippo (354-430)

Pope Leo the Great (400-461)

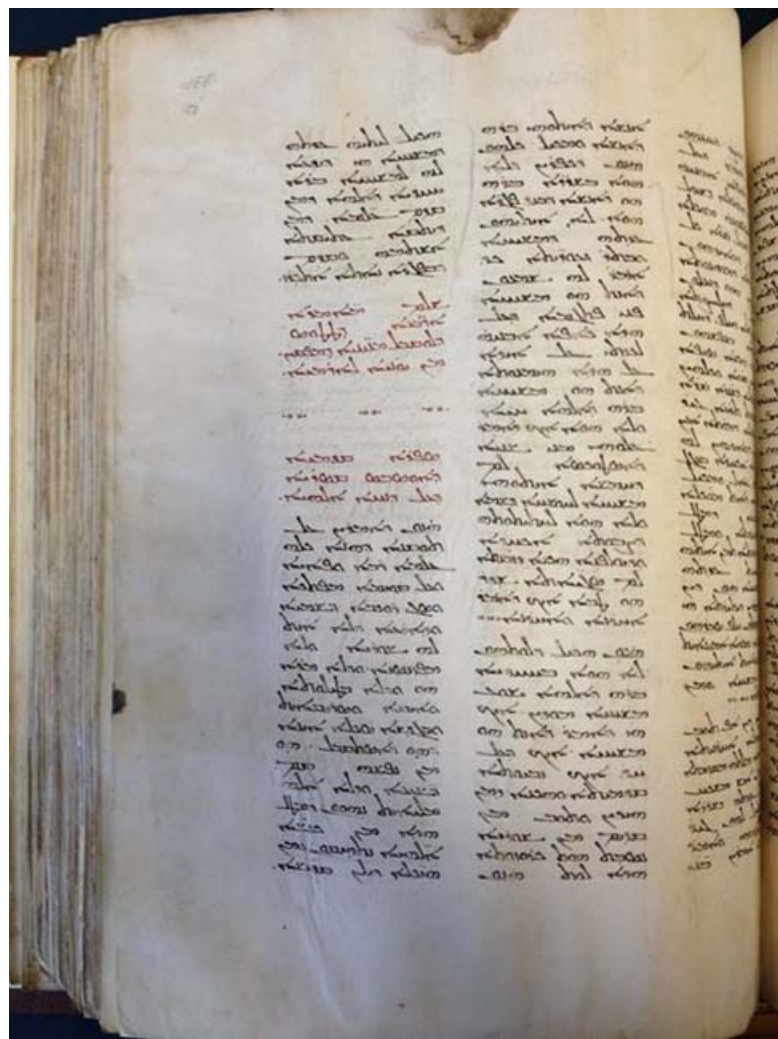
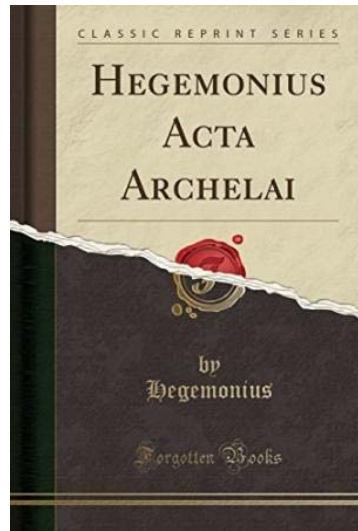
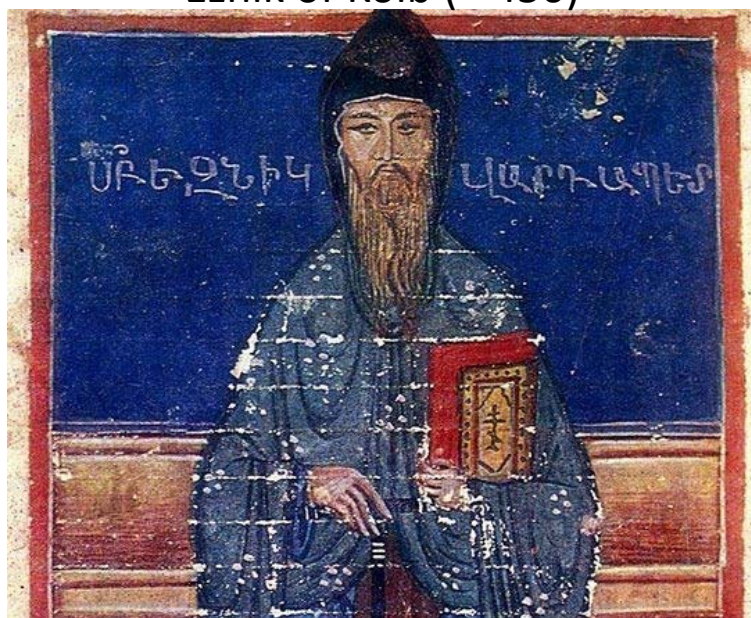


Ephrem the Syrian
(ca 306-373)



Severus of Antioch (465-538)

Eznik of Kolb († 450)



Titus of Bostra († 378)
Contra Manichaeos (BL Add. 12150)

Acta Archelai, early 4th c.

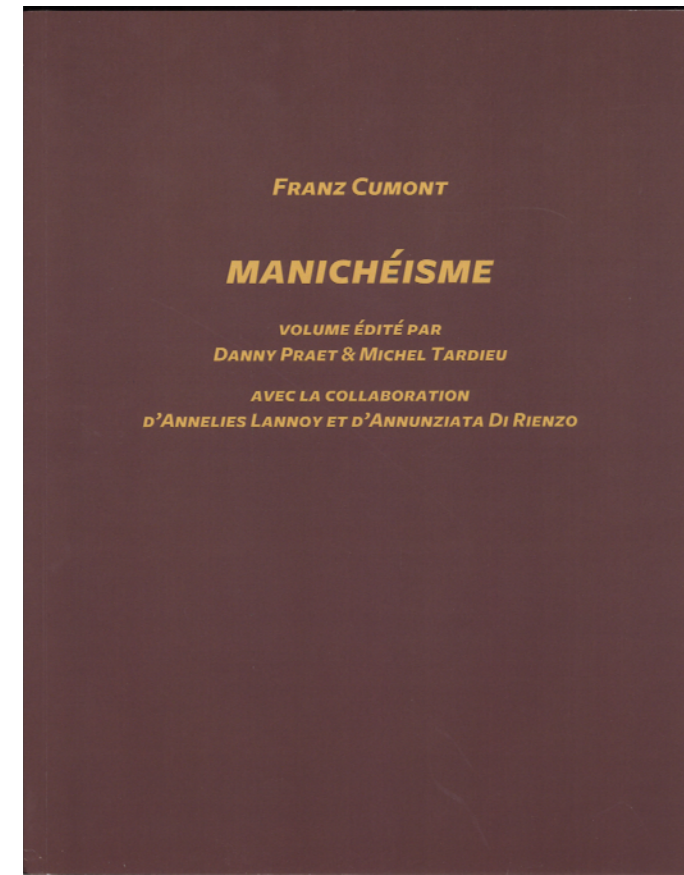
Augustine of Hippo (354-430)

- *De moribus Manichaeorum*
- *De duabus animabus*
- *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*
- *Contra Faustum*, 33 books
- *Contra Fortunatum*
- *Ad Secundinum*
- *Ad Adimantum*
- *Ad Felicem*
- *Contra Epistulam Fundamenti*





Franz Cumont (1868-1947)



“La cosmogonie manichéenne d’après Théodore bar Khoni”,
Recherches sur le Manichéisme, vol. I, Bruxelles 1908

“Extrait de la CXXIII^e homélie de Sévère d’Antioche”, avec M.-A.
Kugener, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, vol. II, Bruxelles 1912



Manichaean discoveries of the 20th century

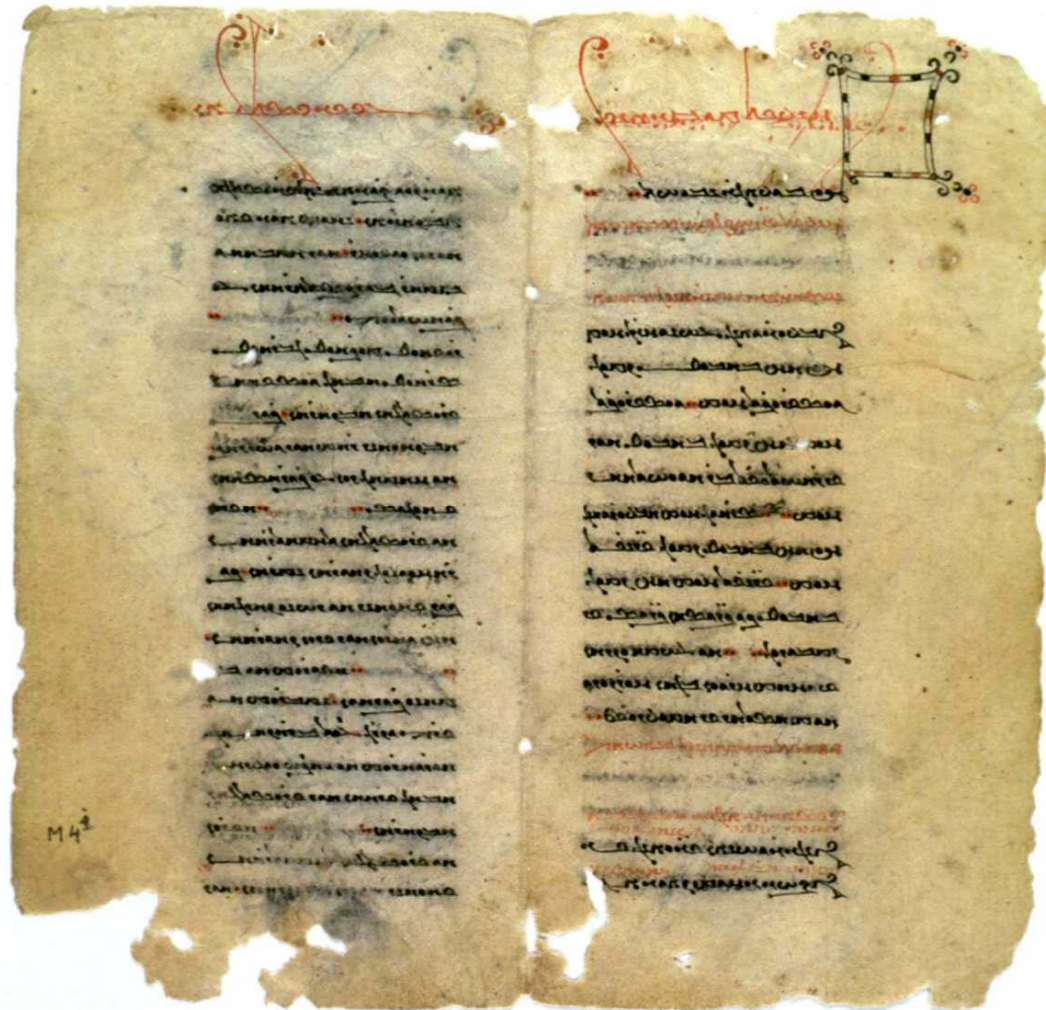
Central Asia – Oasis of Turfan 1904-1912



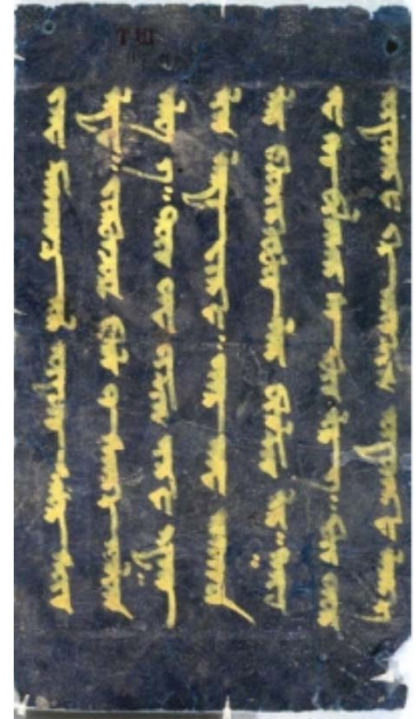
German archeologists A. Grünwedel and A. von Le Coq at the entrance of the excavation in Turfan



Middle-Persian texts, illuminations and frescoes



Fragments of Mani's *Living Gospel*
and *Shabuhra*



Central Asia – Dunhuang 1907-1908

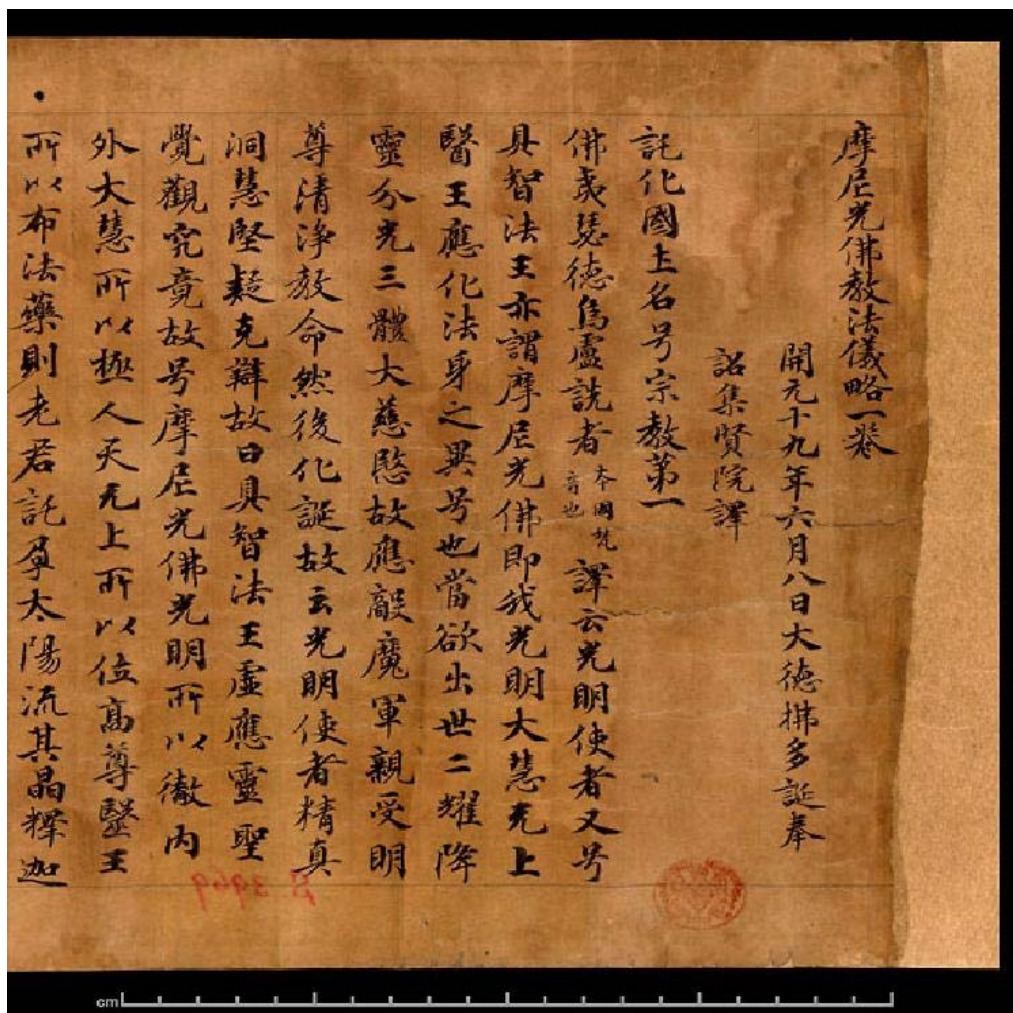


The French archeologist Paul Pelliot in the Cave of One Thousand Buddhas, 1908



730 cave-shrines
Over 40.000 documents
4th to 11th century

Chinese and Old Turkish texts



- *Compendium of the Doctrine of Mani, Buddha of Light*
- *Xuāstvānīft*, confessional prayer for laypeople

Egypt – Medinet Madi 1929

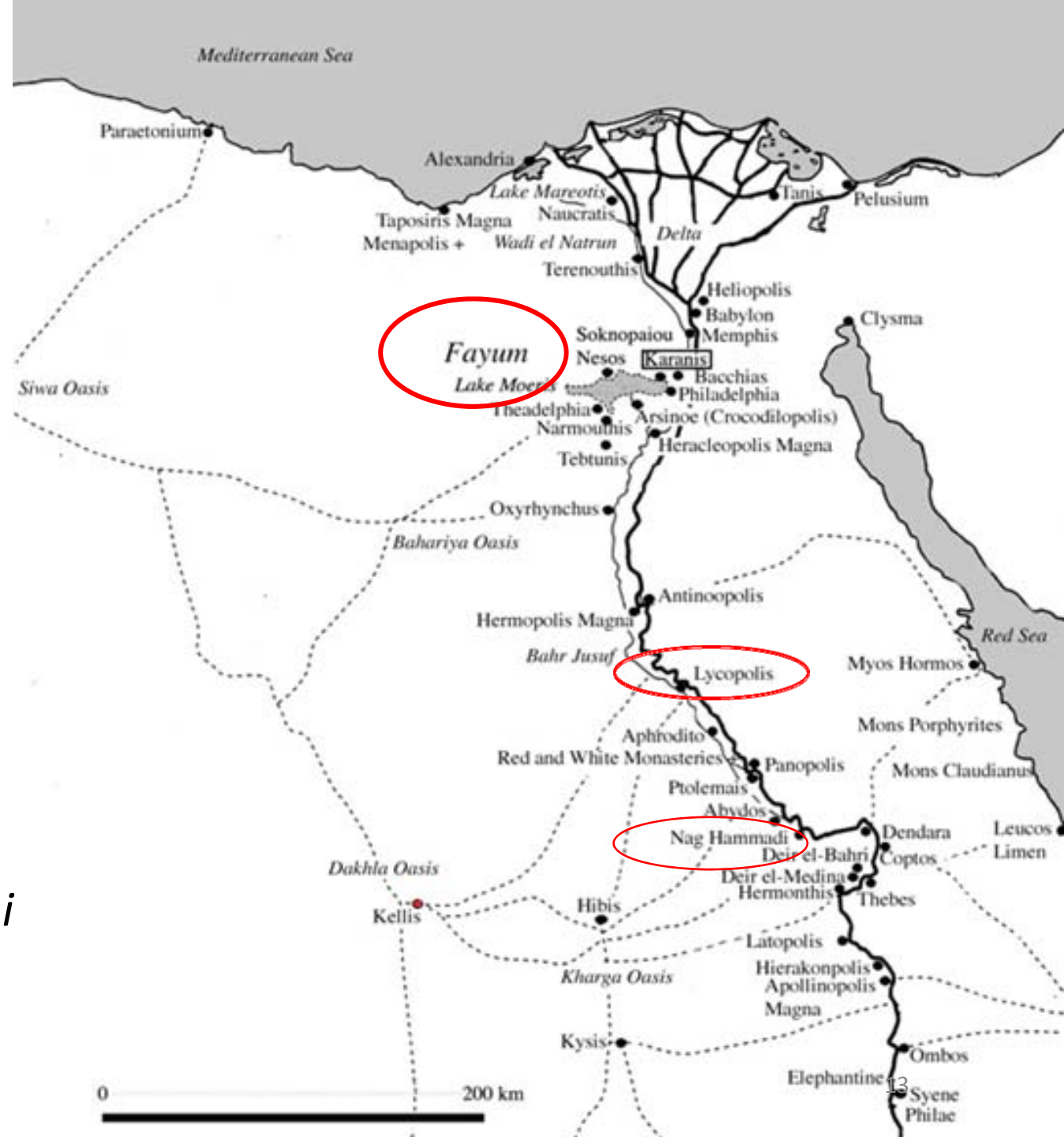
Coptic Papyri Codices datable to the 4th c.

In Berlin

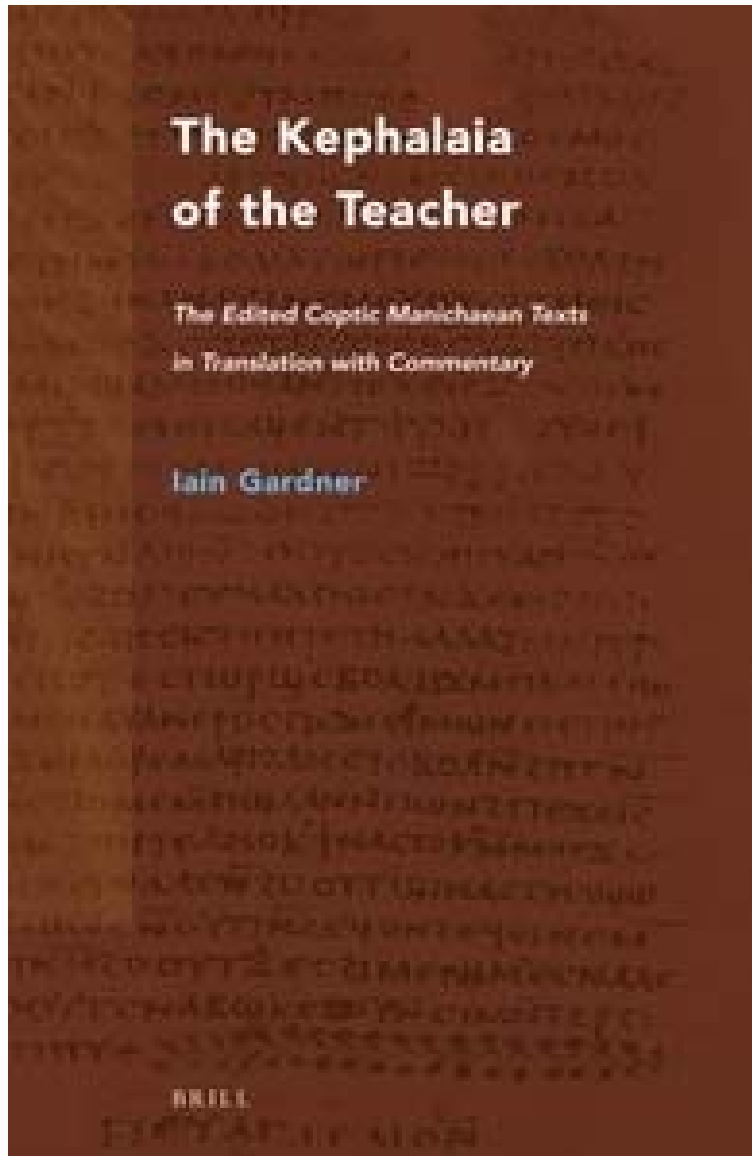
- *Kephalaia of the Teacher*
- *Epistles of Mani*
- *Synaxeis of the Living Gospel*
- *Church History*

In Dublin

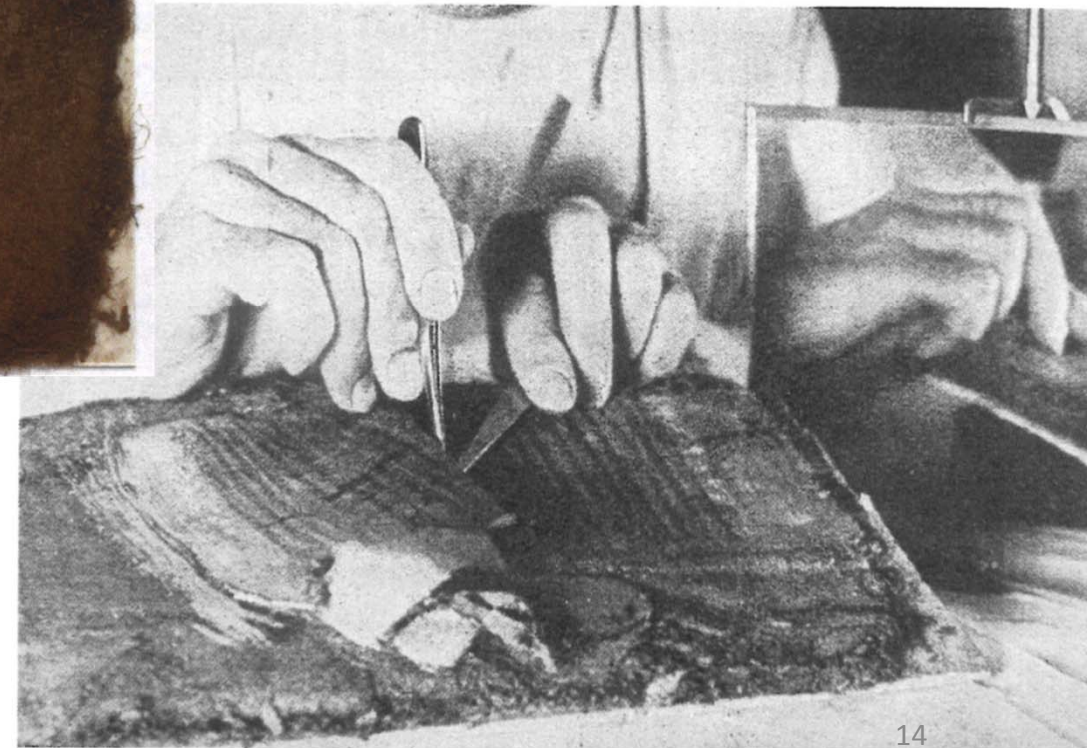
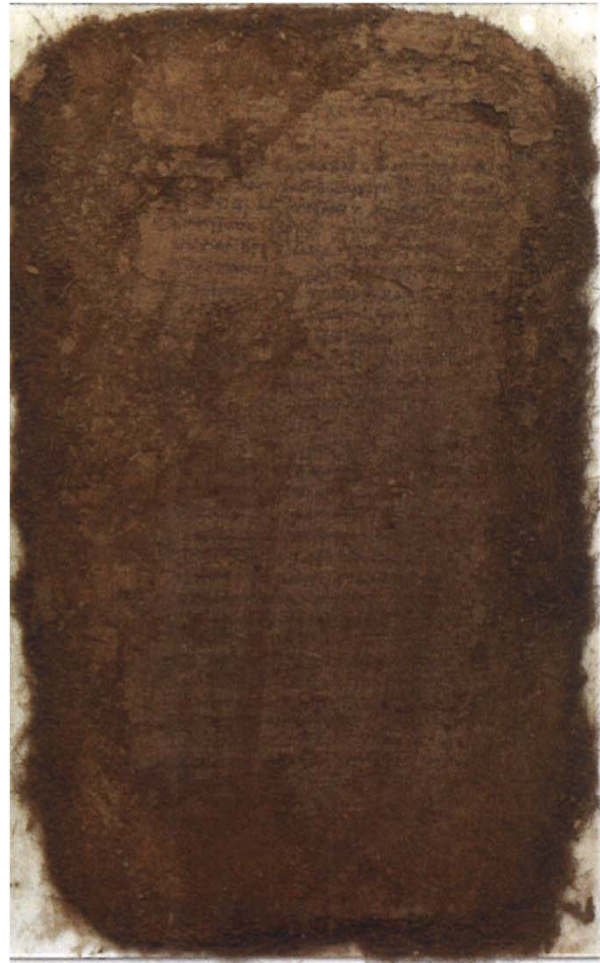
- *Kephalaia of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani*
- *Homilies*
- *Psalms*



Berlin Kephalaia



Dublin Kephalaia

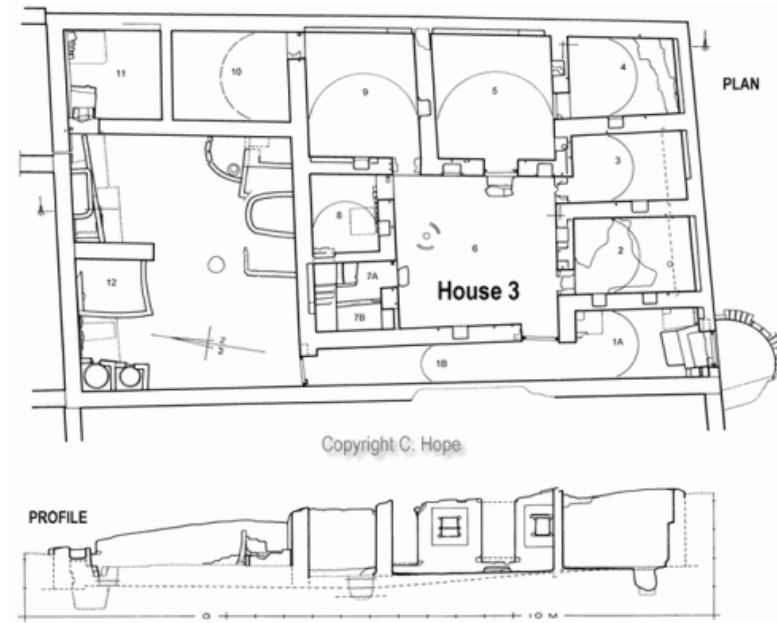
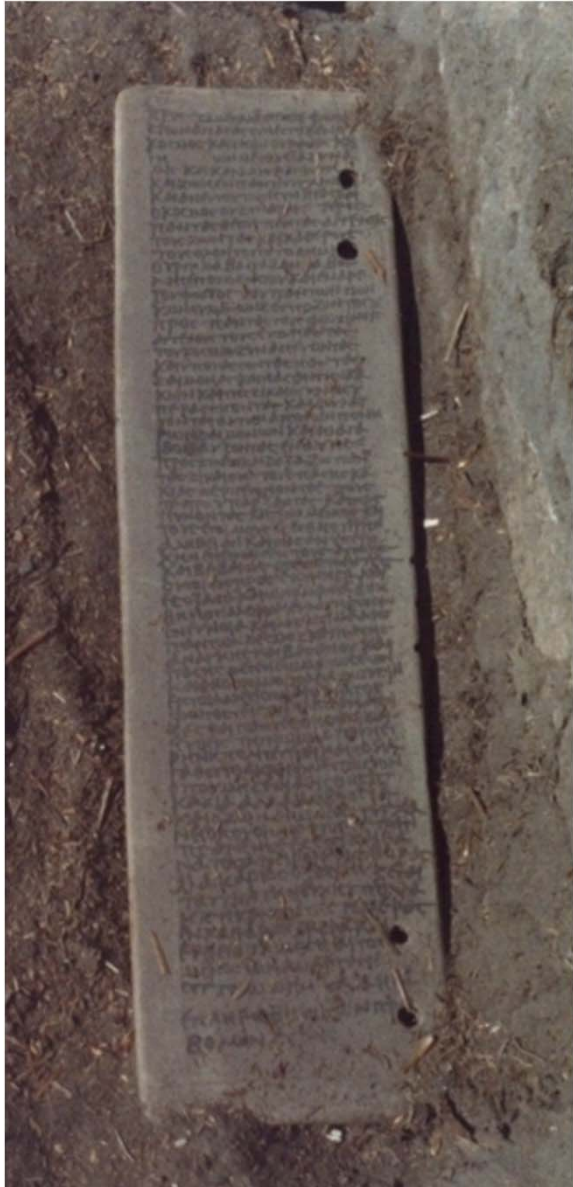


Egypt – Dakhleh Oasis, Kellis 1999

The every-day life of
a Manichaean
community during
the 4th century



House 3



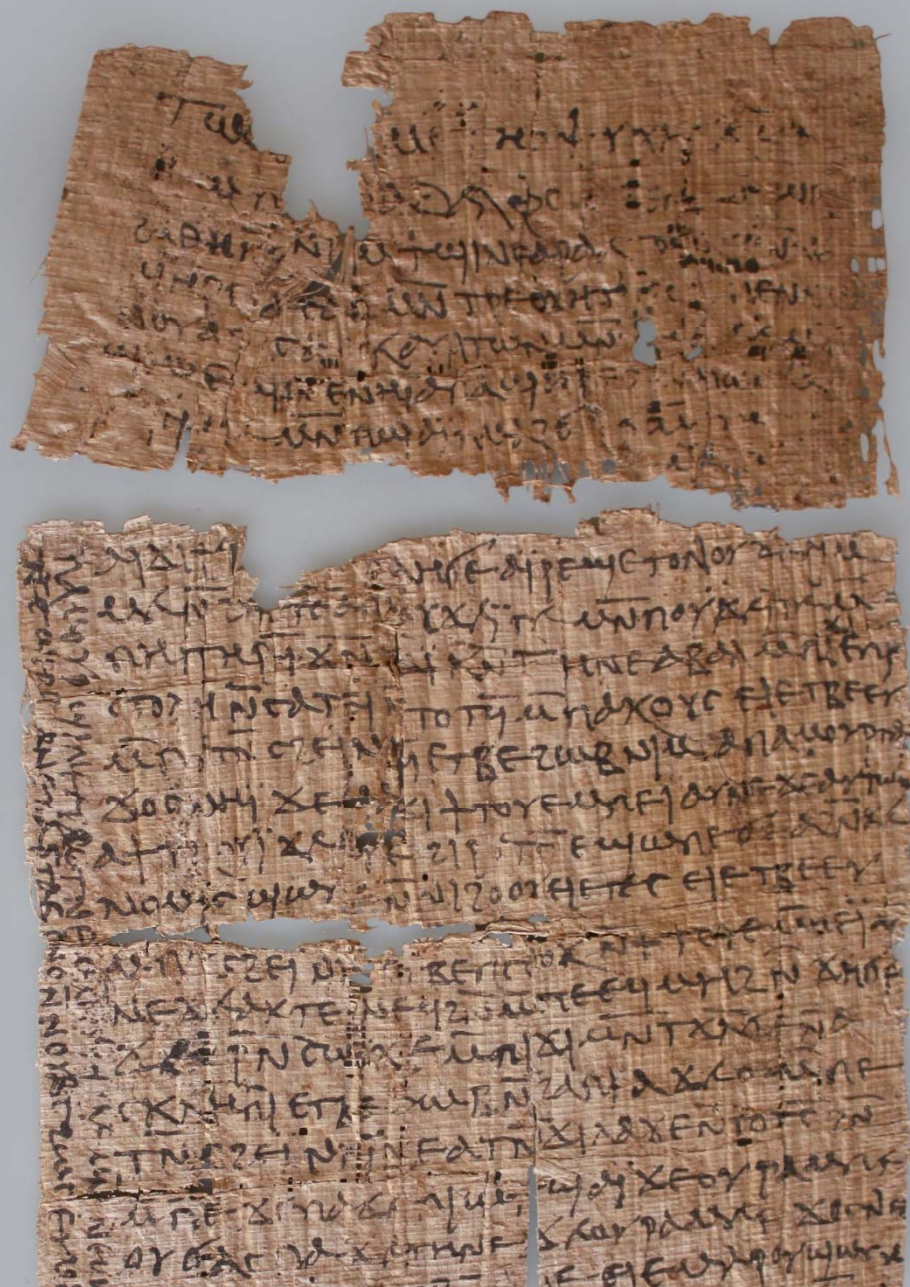
Literary Texts

*The Prayer of the
Emanations*



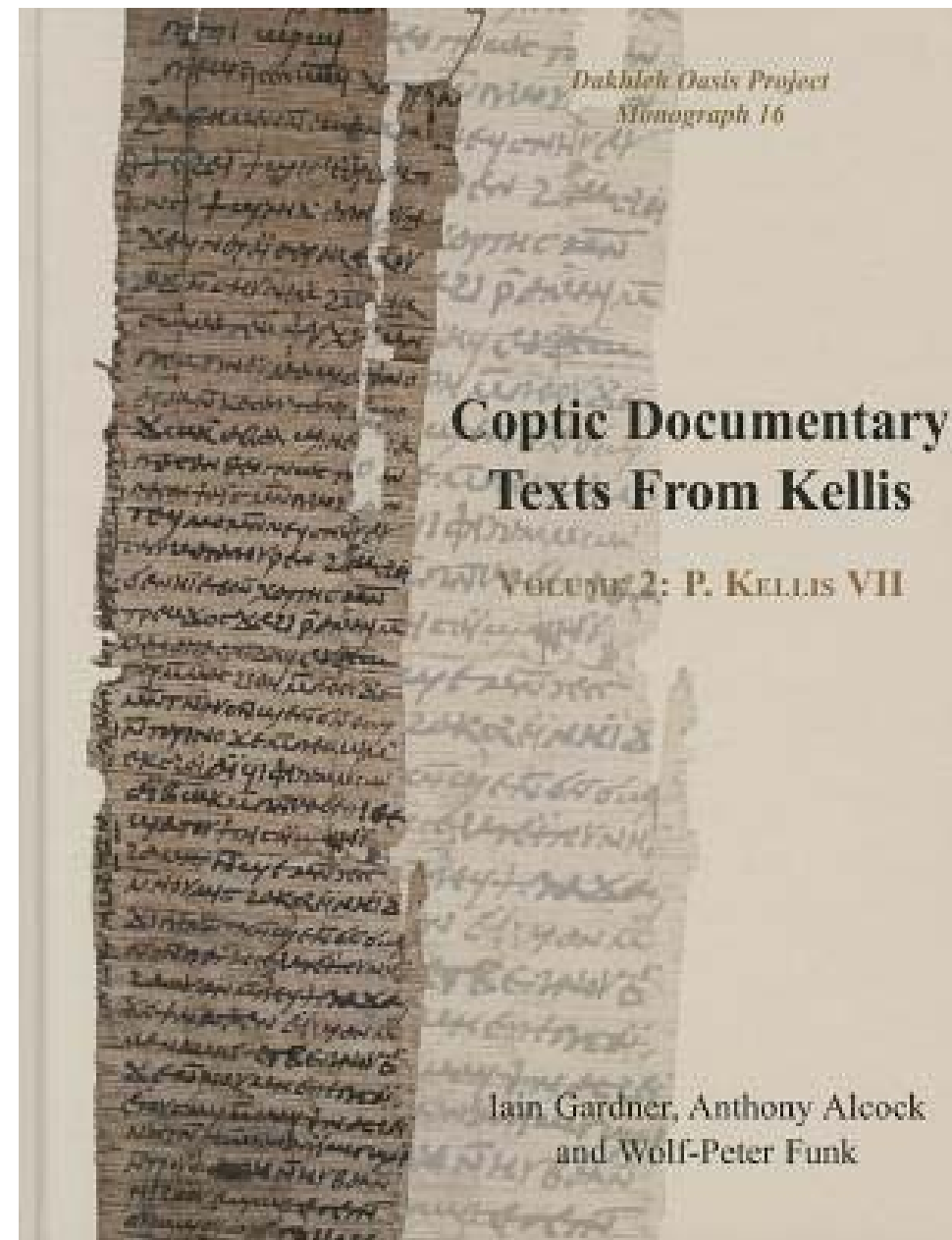
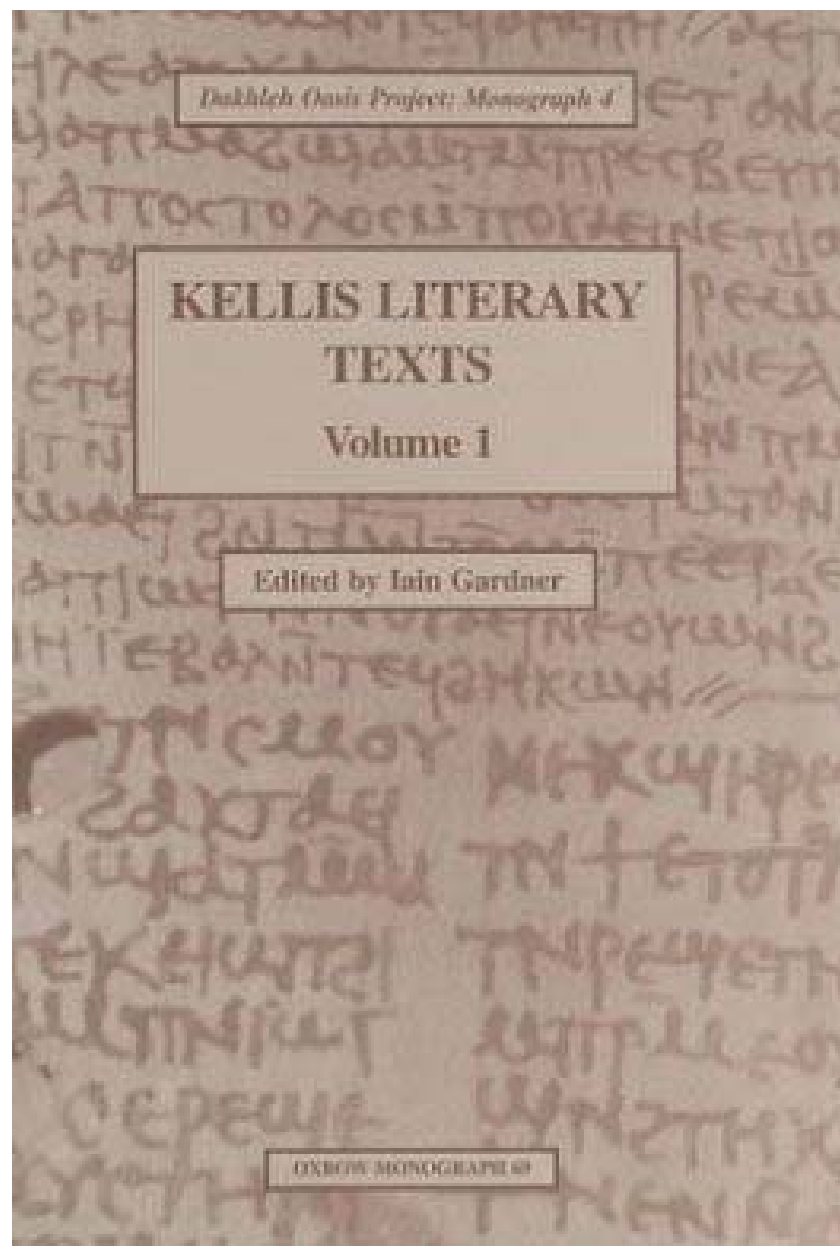


Philosophical essay
by Isocrates
on wooden board



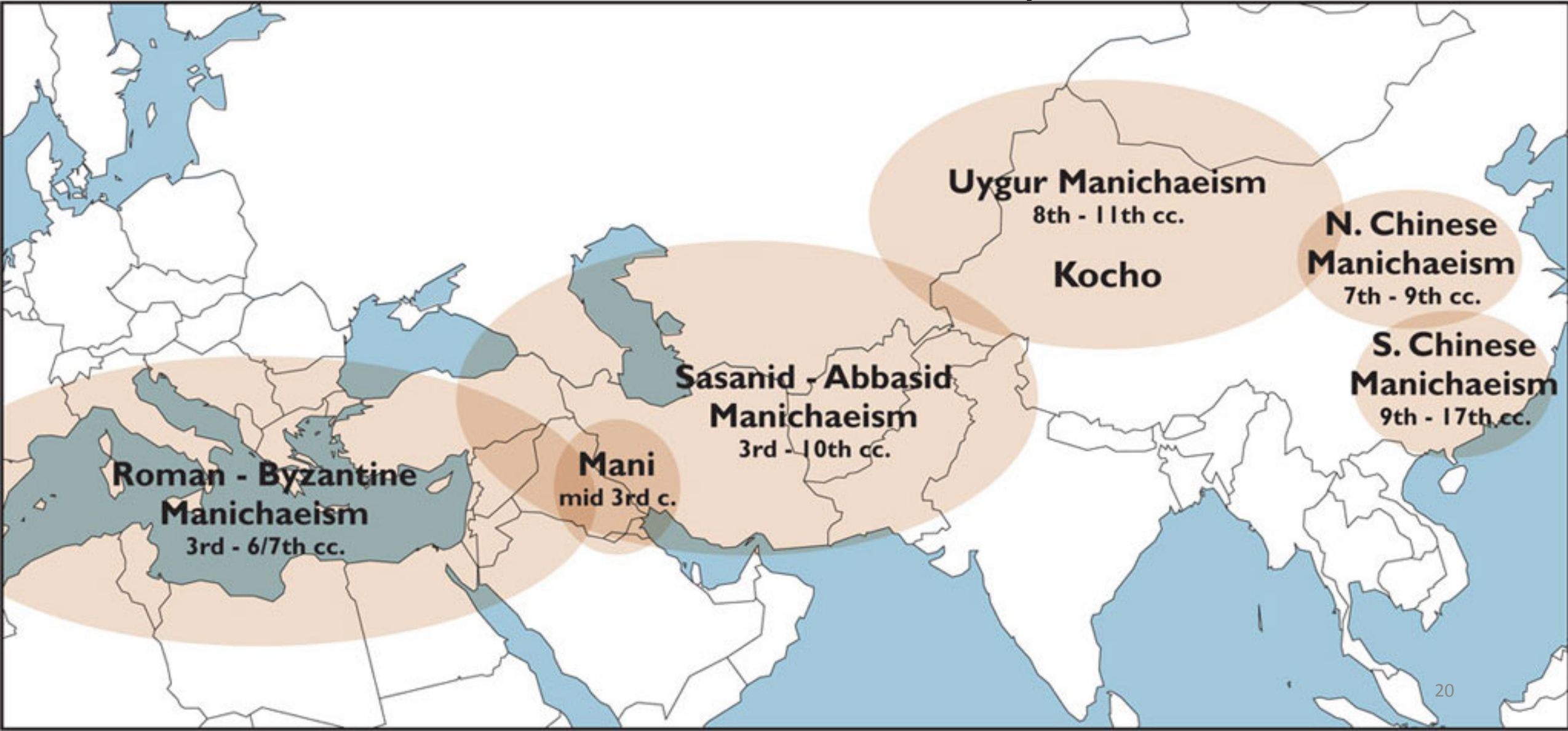
“Before everything: I greet you warmly and your children together with your whole neighbourhood. [...]

So, I have received your letter. I rejoiced greatly, for I learnt from it about your health, and the health of the entire household. Since I left you, I did not receive any letter, except this one. Then why did you not write to me about everything?!”



Expansion of Manichaeism

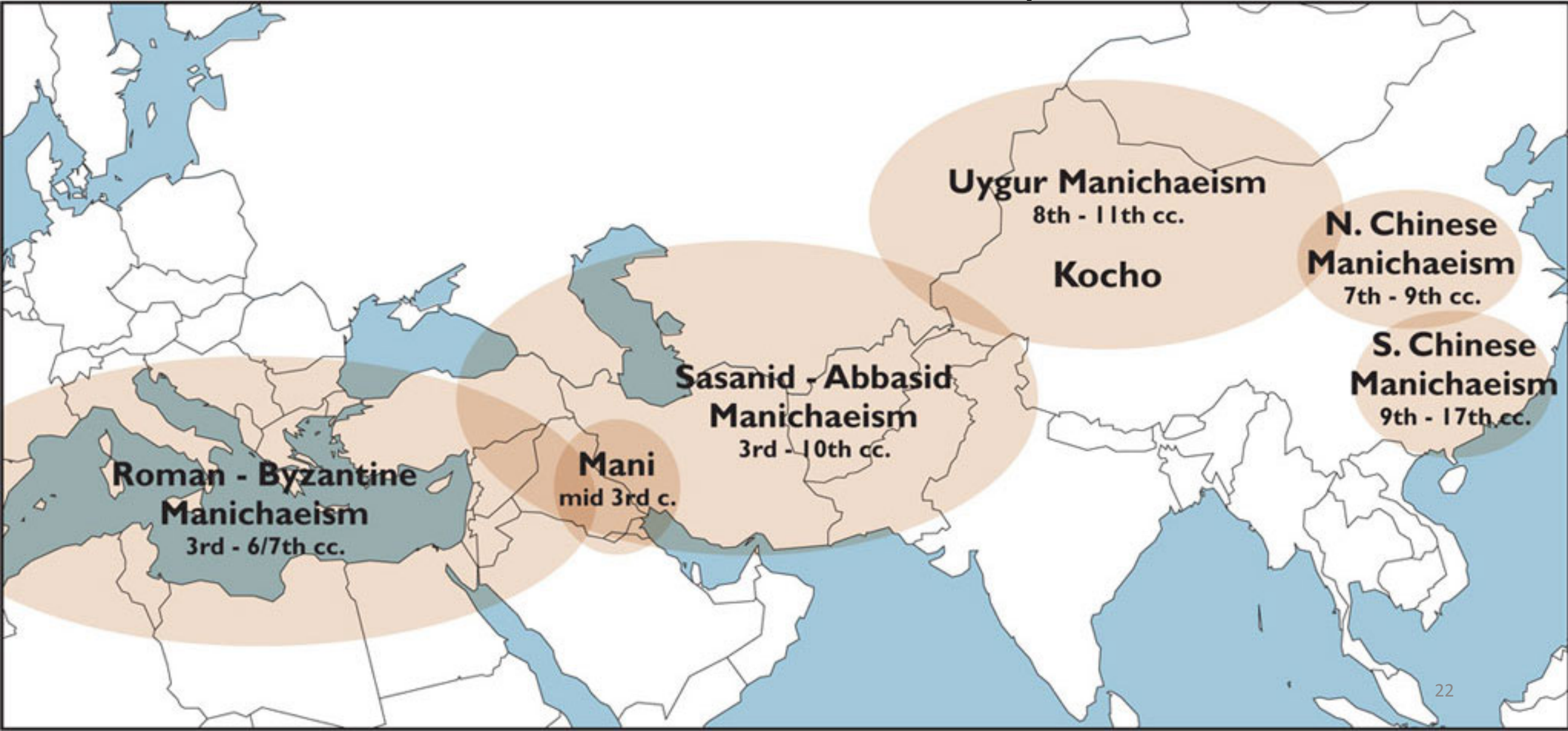
3rd to 17th century





Expansion of Manichaeism

3rd to 17th century



A successful missionary strategy

- **Polyglotism, translation**
- The creation and embellishment of texts
=> didactic purposes of works of art
- Adaptation to the cultures of the areas of mission



A successful missionary strategy

- Polyglotism, translation
- **The creation and embellishment of texts**
=> didactic purposes of works of art
- Adaptation to the cultures of the areas of mission

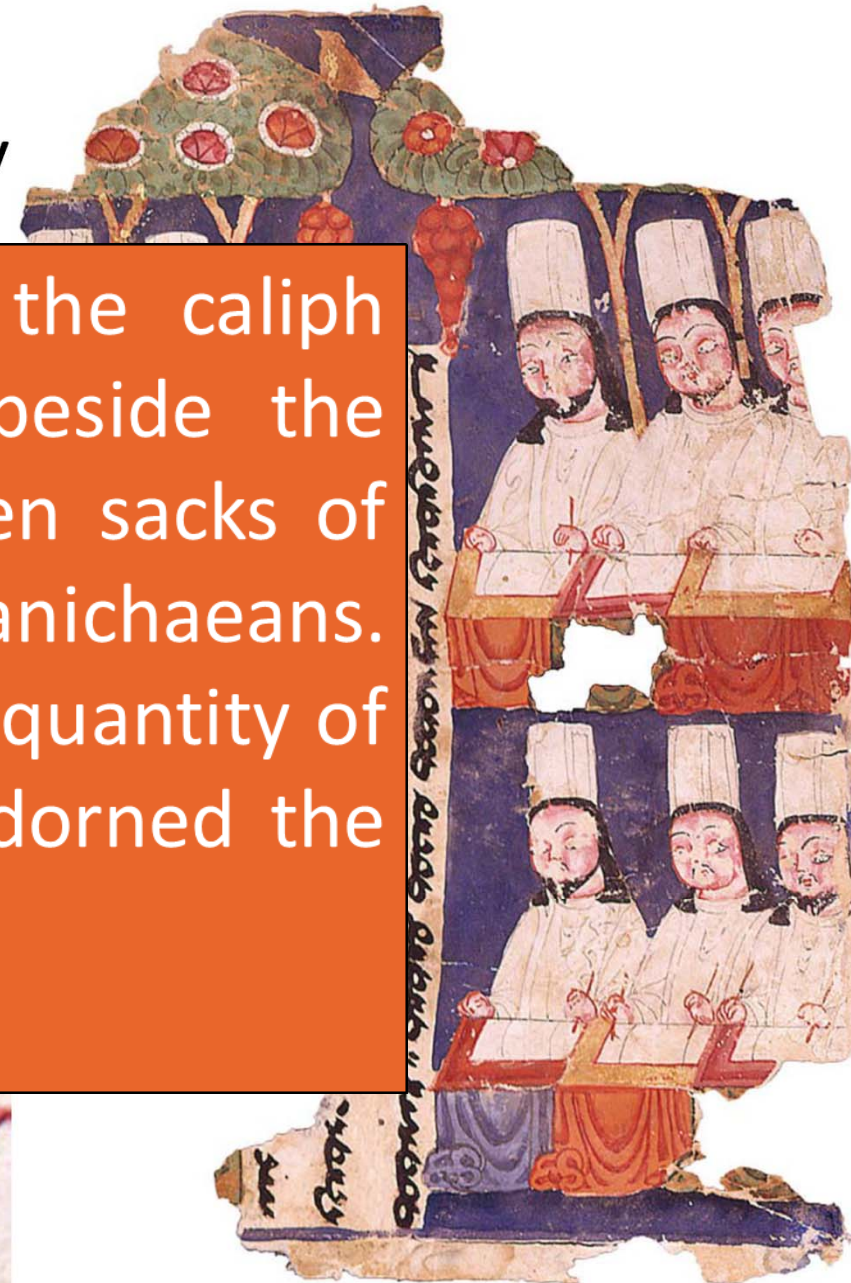


A successful missionary strategy

- Polyglot
- The cre
- => didac
- Adapt
- of the ar

“At the midpoint of Ramadan, the caliph Muqtadir (in 923) incinerated beside the ‘Ammah Gate in Baghdad fourteen sacks of books which promoted the Manichaeans. There dripped out from the fire a quantity of gold and silver from what had adorned the volumes.”

Ibn al-Jawzi, *Muntaẓam*, 12th c., Arabic



A successful missionary strategy

- Polyglotism, translation
- The creation and embellishment of texts
=> **didactic purposes of works of art**
- Adaptation to the cultures of the areas of mission



“I have written them [i.e. the teachings] in books and illustrated them with colors. Let the one who hears about them verbally also see them in visual form, and the one who is unable to learn them from words, learn them from pictures.”

Manichaean quotation in Ephrem the Syrian, *Prose Refutations*, 4th c., Syriac



A successful missionary strategy

- Polyglot, translation
- The creation and embellishment of texts
=> didactic purposes of works of art
- **Adaptation to the cultures of the areas of mission**



Mani, Buddha of Light

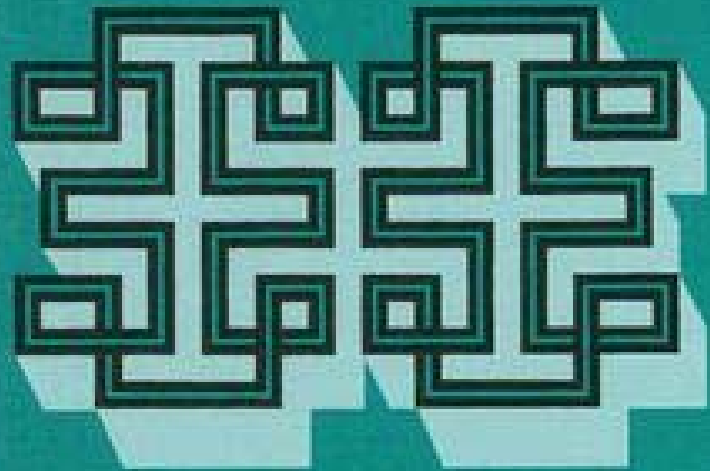


Icon of Mani
14th c., Cao'an Temple, near Quanzhou, Fujian, China

History of Manichaeism

Samuel N. C. Lieu

Manichaeism in Mesopotamia
& the Roman East



BRILL

MANICHAISM

IN THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE
AND MEDIEVAL CHINA
A HISTORICAL SURVEY



Samuel N. C. Lieu



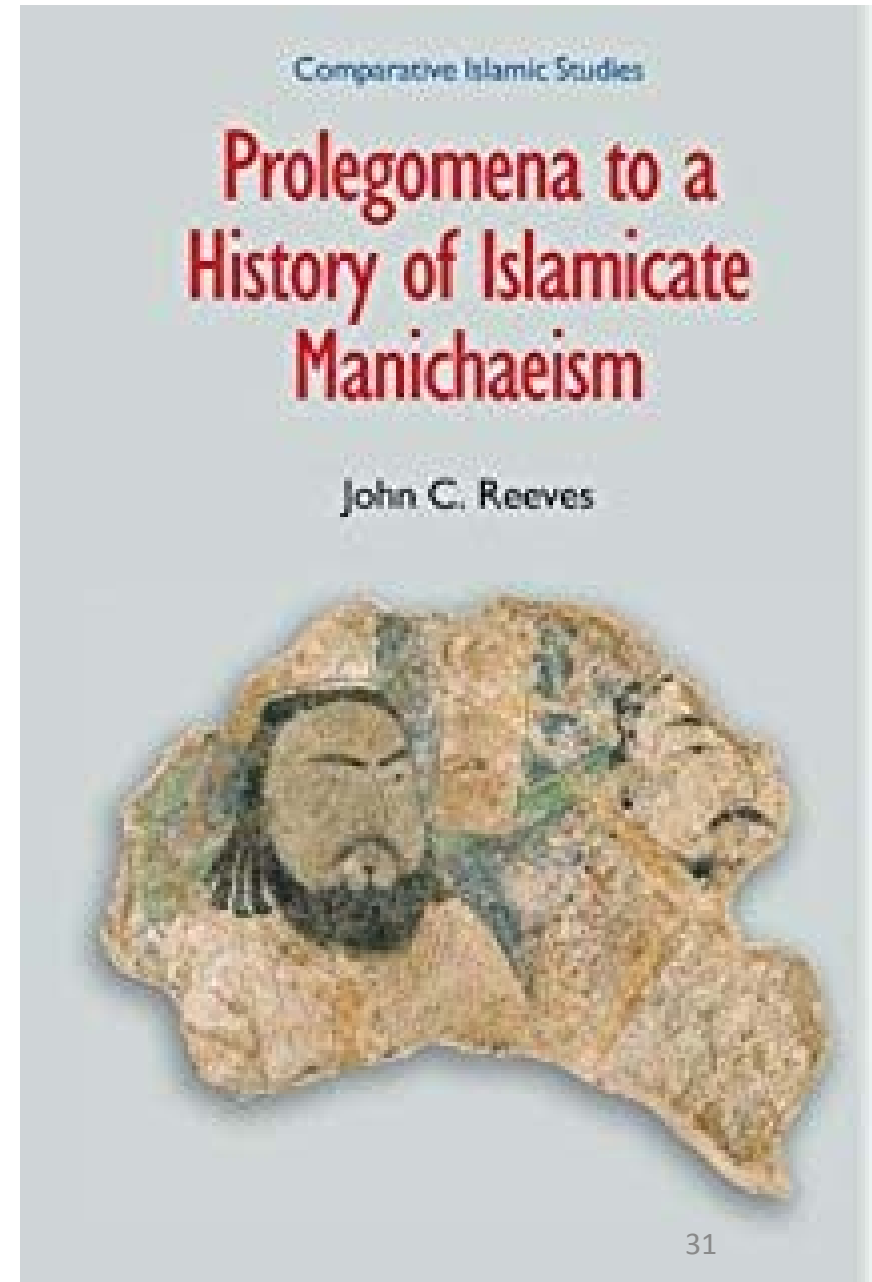
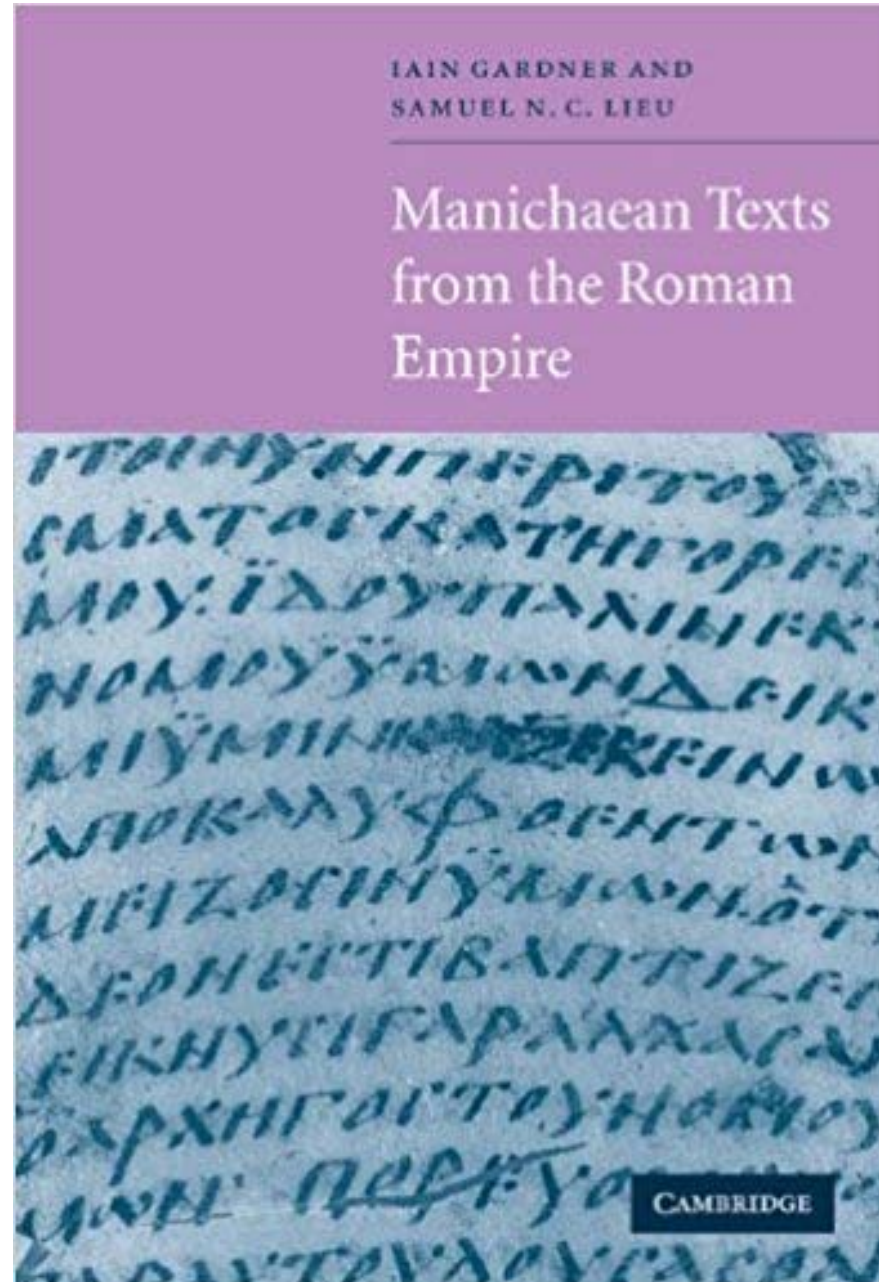
MANICHAISM
IN THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE
AND MEDIEVAL CHINA

SAMUEL N. C. LIEU

MANICHAISM
IN CENTRAL ASIA
AND CHINA



Some
anthologies of
primary sources
in translation



IL MANICHEISMO

VOLUME I

MANI E IL MANICHEISMO

A CURA DI GHERARDO GNOLI



FONDAZIONE LORENZO VALLA / ARNOLDO MONDADORI EDITORE

IL MANICHEISMO

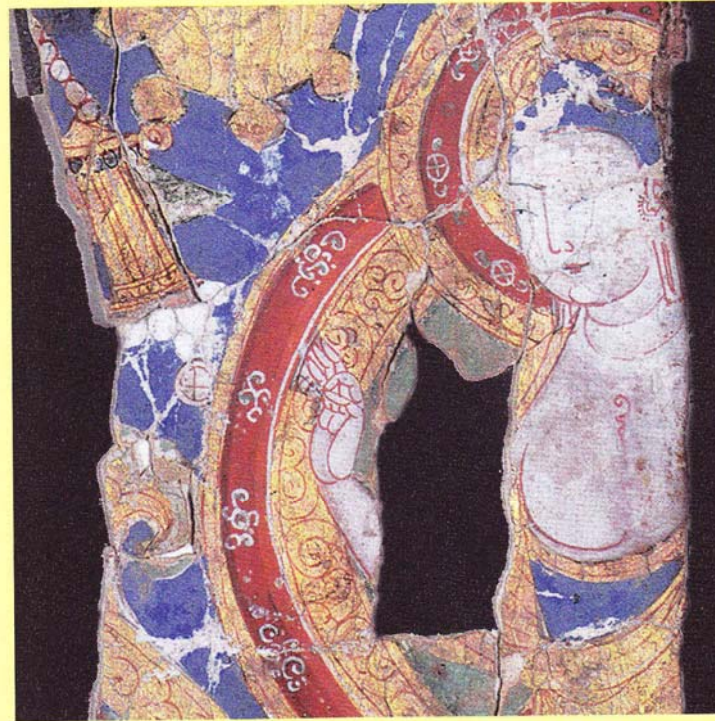
VOLUME II

IL MITO E LA DOTTRINA

I TESTI MANICHEI COPTI

E LA POLEMICA ANTIMANICHEA

A CURA DI GHERARDO GNOLI



FONDAZIONE LORENZO VALLA / ARNOLDO MONDADORI EDITORE

IL MANICHEISMO

VOLUME III

IL MITO E LA DOTTRINA

TESTI MANICHEI

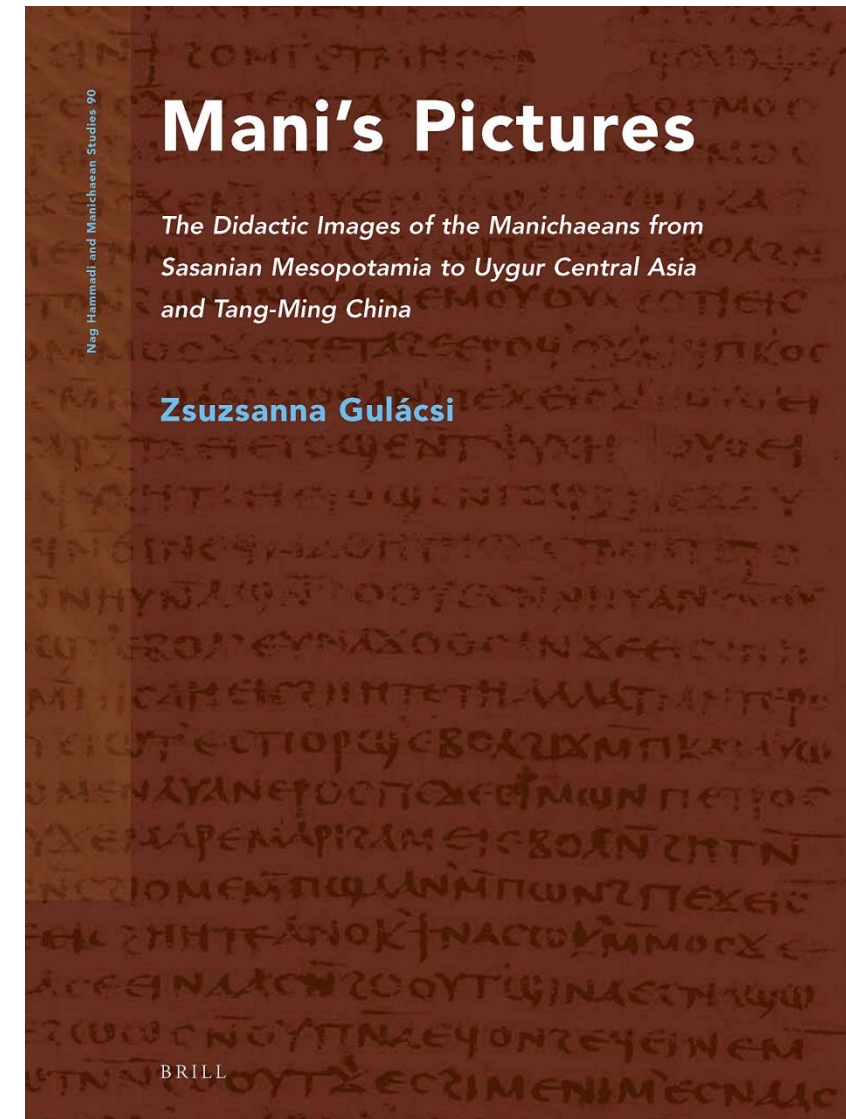
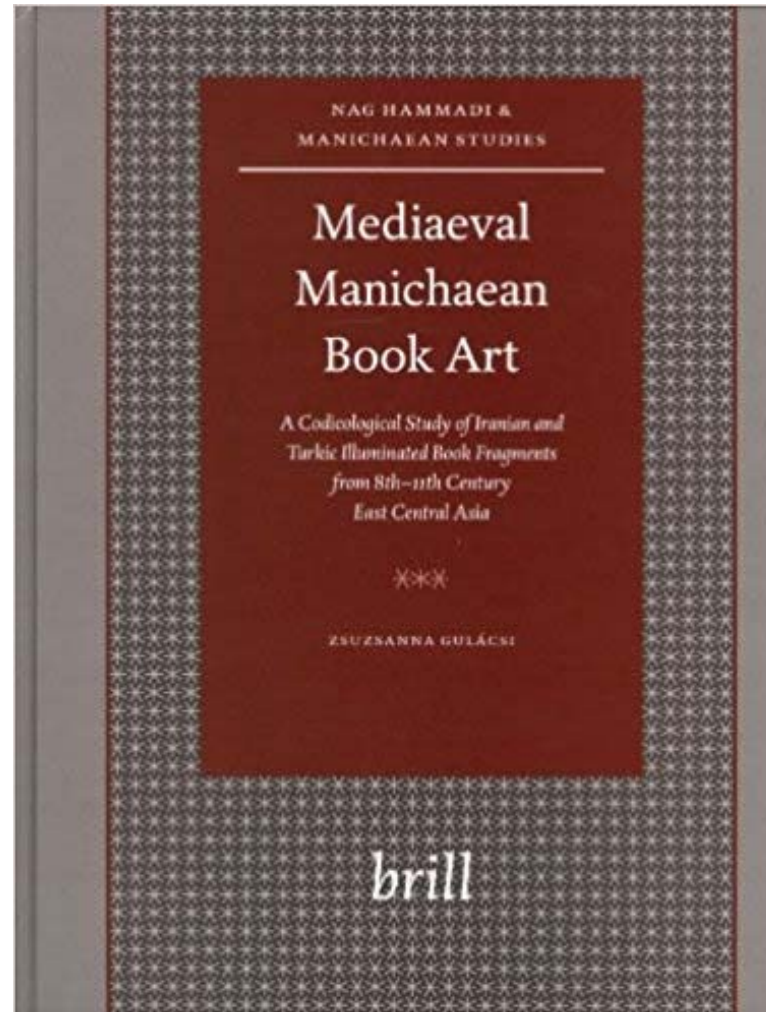
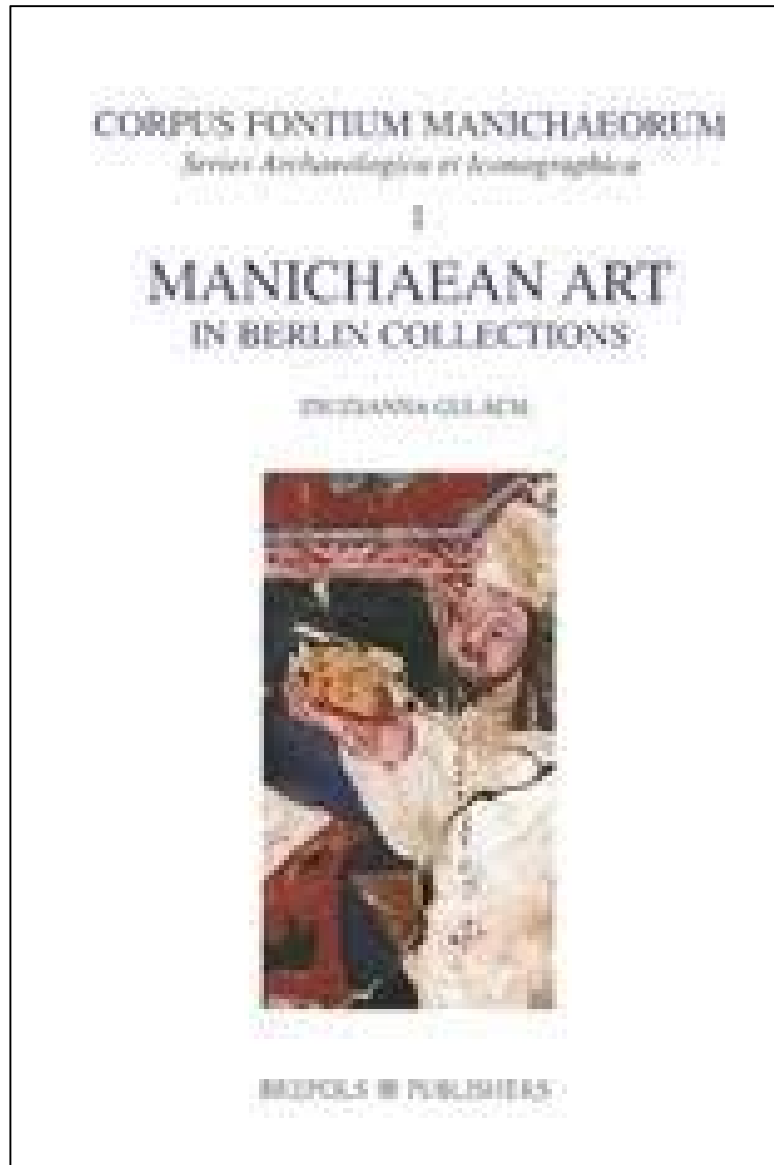
DELL'ASIA CENTRALE E DELLA CINA

A CURA DI GHERARDO GNOLI



FONDAZIONE LORENZO VALLA / ARNOLDO MONDADORI EDITORE

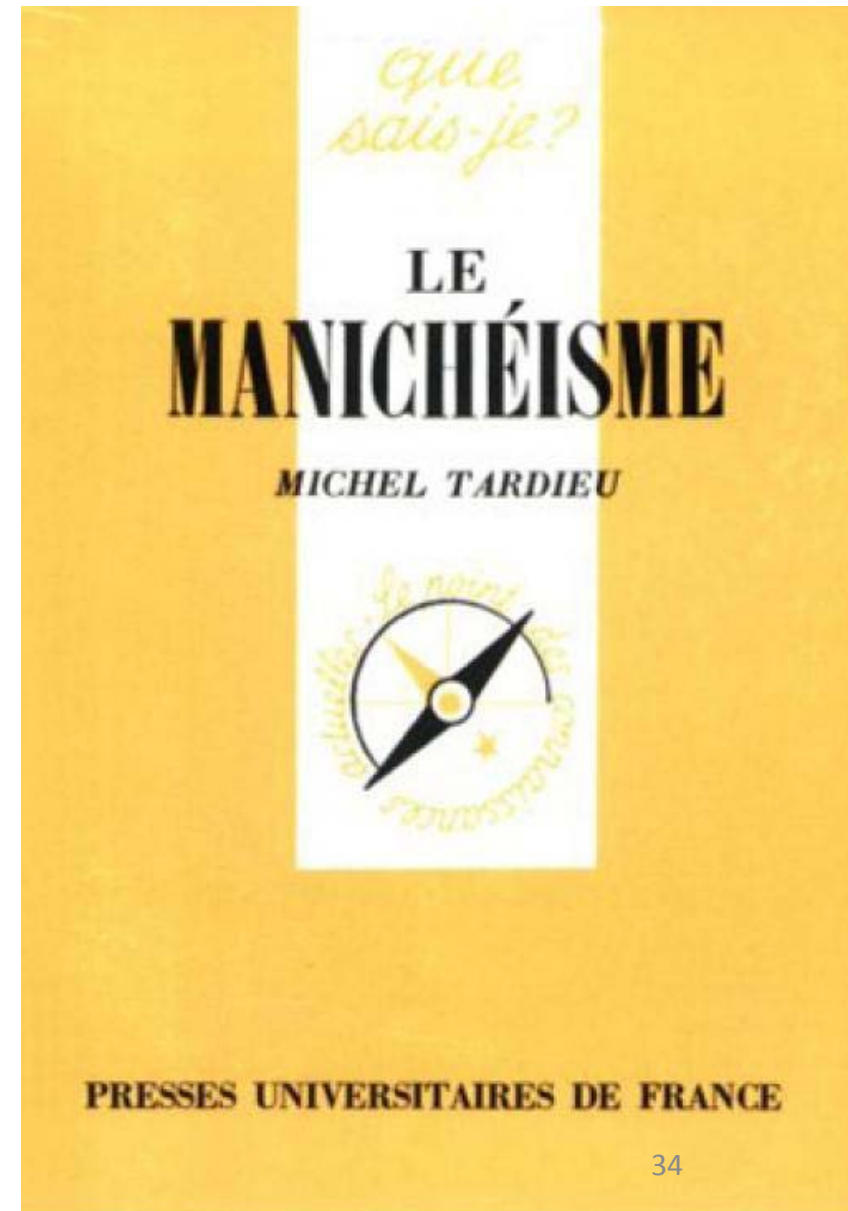
Manichaean Art



Overview of Mani and the Manichaean religion

M. Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*

Que sais-je?, Paris, 1997²



This lecture

1. Mani
2. Manichaean doctrine =>
Theology, Cosmology,
Anthropology, Soteriology
3. Manichaean practice





1. Mani

Mani (ca 216-277)



Life of Mani – *Concerning the Birth of His Body*

Cologne Mani-Codex

Egypt, 5th c.

3,8 x 4,5 cm

23 lines/page

192 pages!



Childhood in a Judeo-Christian community – the Elchasites or *mughtasila*



The 'Seal of the Prophets'

“Apostles of God have constantly brought wisdom and deeds in successive times. In one era they were brought by the apostle Buddha to the land of India, in another era by Zoroaster to Persia, and in another era by Jesus to the West. Now this revelation has descended and this prophecy is promulgated during this final era by me, Mani, the apostle of the God of truth to Babylonia.”
(*Shabuhragan*)



Mani, the Prophet of a World Religion

- Writings
- Missions



Mani's writings

1. *Living Gospel*
2. *Treasure*
3. *Book of Mysteries*
4. *Legends or Pragmateia*
5. *Book of Giants*
6. *Letters*
7. *Psalms and Prayers*

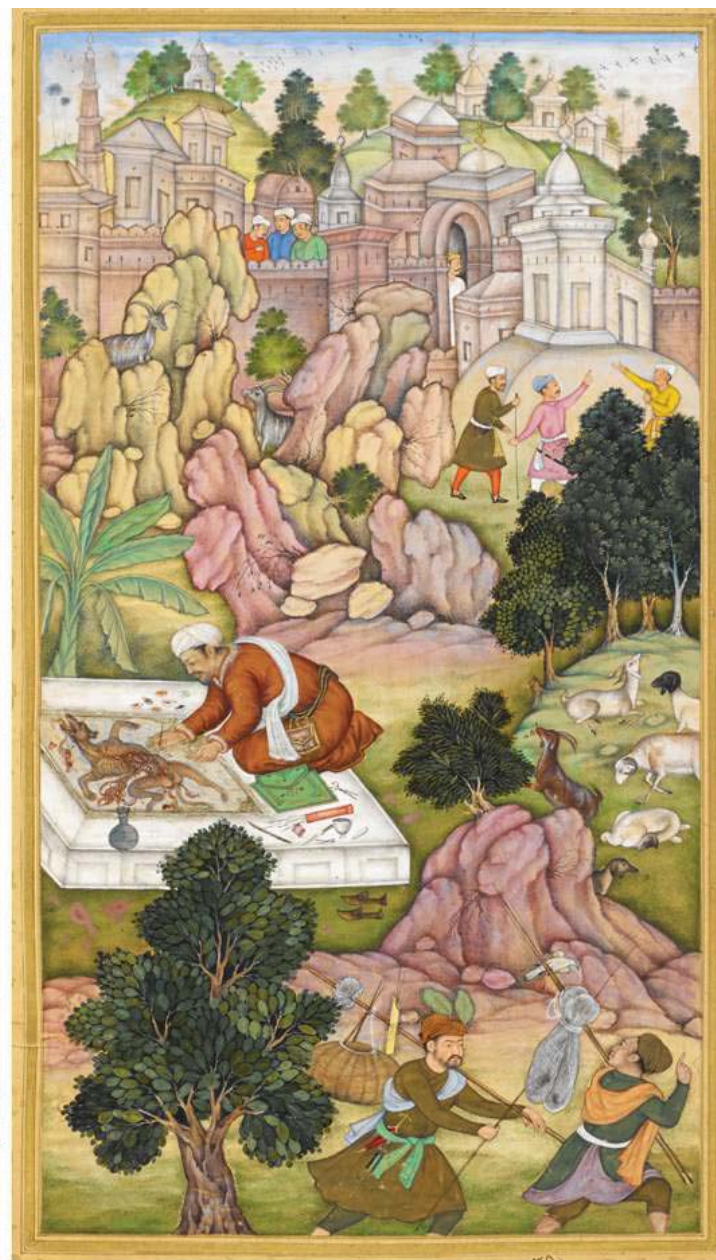
-
8. *Shabuhrgan*
 9. *Ardahang or Book of Images*

} Canon of
Manichaean
writings

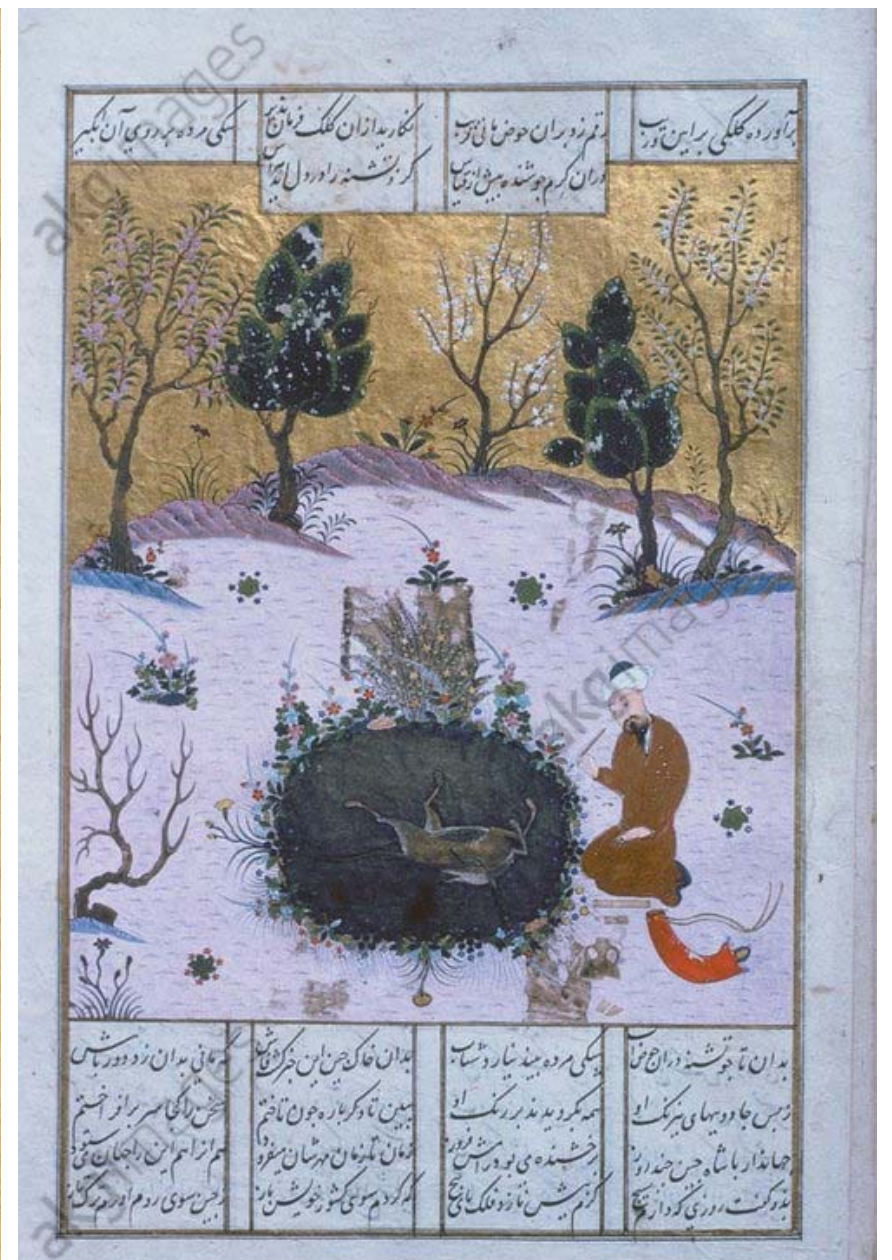




a: *Portrait of Mani the Painter* by anonymous artist, album leaf, detail (H: 17.6 cm), gouache on paper. Possibly Isfahan (Iran), ca. 1590-1610 CE, Safavid period. British Museum, London (1948,1211,0.11)



b: *Mani Painting a Dead Dog* by Sūr Gujarātī, folio 262b in the *Ḳamsa* of Nizami, detail (H: 19.8 cm), gouache on paper. Agra (India), ca. 1610 CE, Mughal period. British Library, London (Or. 12208)



“Mani was a painter without equal. They say for example 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.”

Mirkhawand, *Rawḍat al-ṣafa*, 15th c.



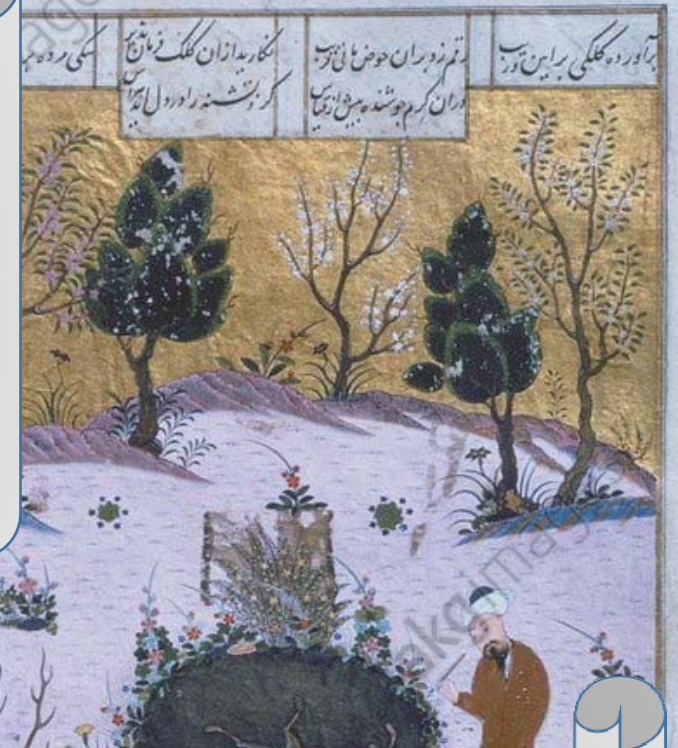
a: *Portrait of Mani the Painter* by anonymous artist, album leaf, detail (H: 17.6 cm), gouache on paper. Possibly Isfahan (Iran), ca. 1590-1610 CE, Safavid period. British Museum, London (1948,1211,0.11)



Mani Painting a Dead Dog by Sūr Gujarātī, folio 262b in *Kamsa of Nizami*, detail (H: 19.8 cm), gouache on paper. Agra (India), ca. 1610 CE, Mughal period. British Library, London (Or. 12208)

“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.”

Abu'l-Ma'ali, *Bayan al-adyan*, 11th c.



World-wide Missions



“I came out to preach. I crossed to the country of the Indians [...] from the country of the Indians to the land of the Persians. Also, from the land of Persia, I came to the land of Babylon, Mesene and Susiana [...] up to Adiabene and the borders of the provinces of the kingdom of the Romans. [...] **I have sown the seed of life from east to west [...] my hope has gone toward the sunrise of the world and every inhabited part; to the climate of the north and of the south [...]** Not one among the apostles did ever do these things!

Kephalaion I

“I appeared before Shabur the king. He received me with great honour. He gave me permission to journey for preaching the word of life.”

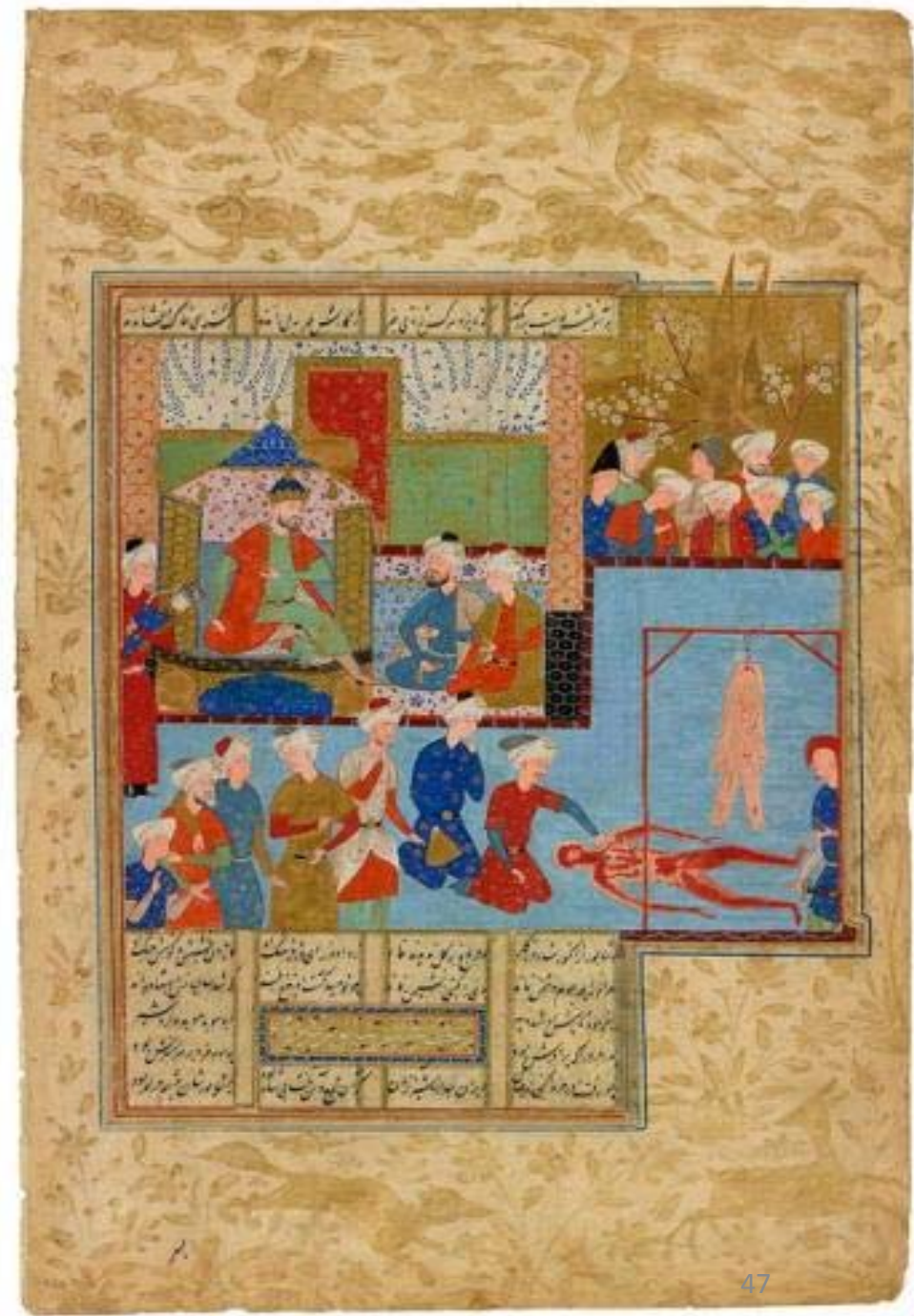
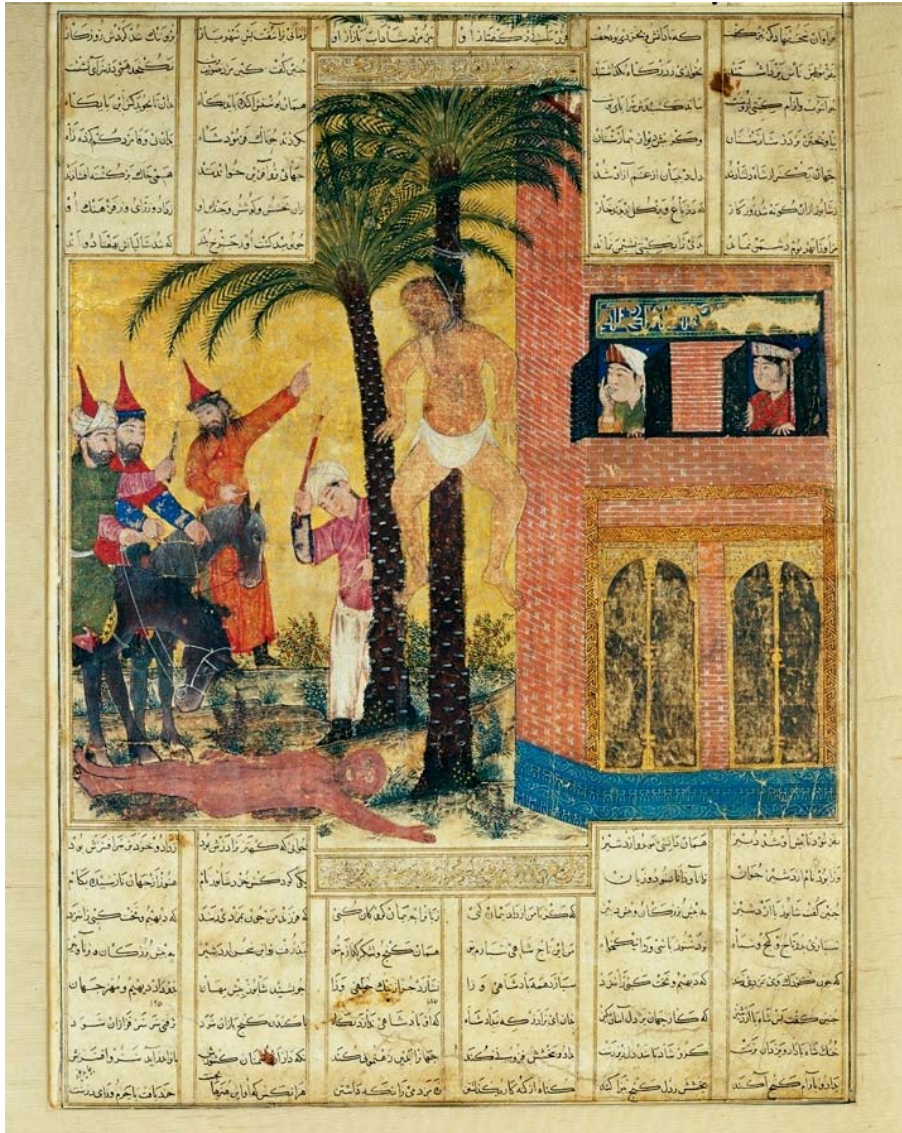
Kephalaion I



Mani's corpse

“He ordered that Manes be flayed and hung up before the gates of the city, and his skin treated with drugs and inflated, while his flesh he ordered be given to the birds.”

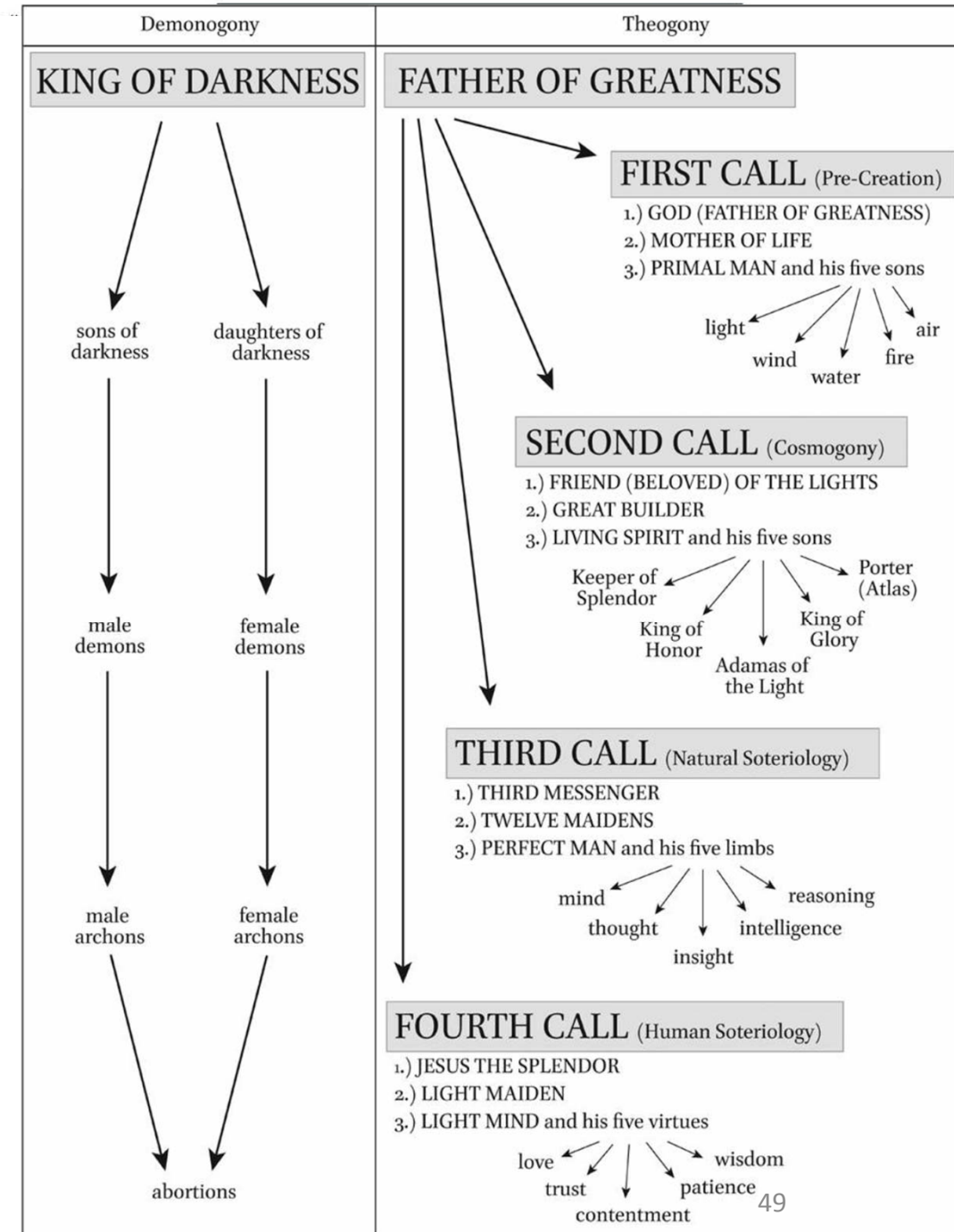
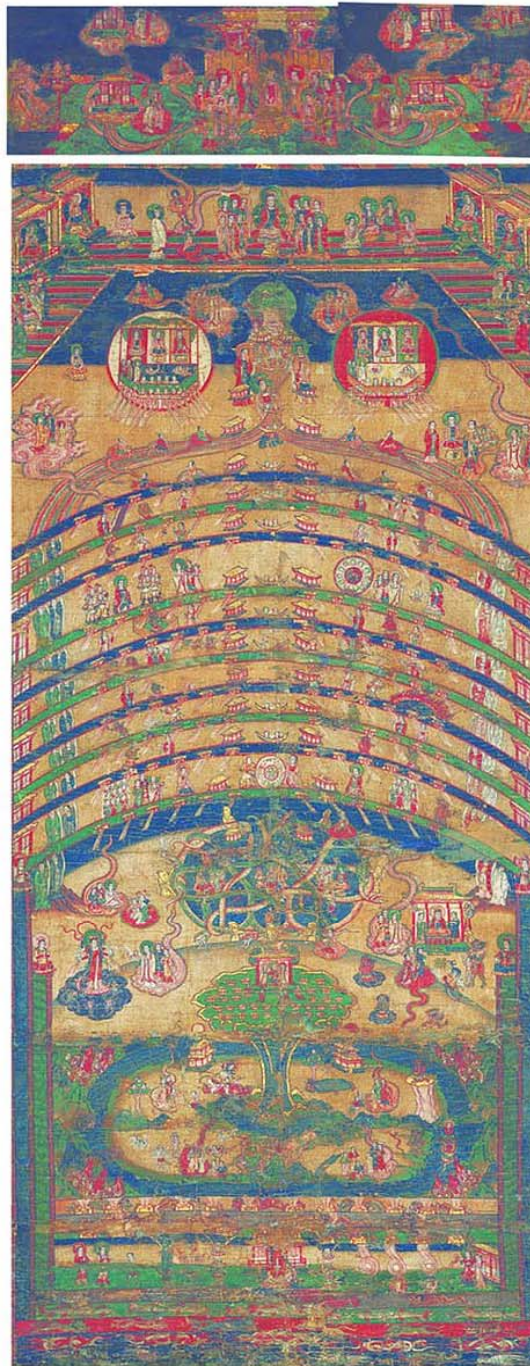
Acta Archelai 66,3



2. The Manichaean Doctrine



The myth of the Two Principles in Three Times or of Light vs. Darkness



1. At the beginning...

The primordial phase of separation

“He says that before there was heaven and earth and all that is in them, there were two natures, one good and the other evil. The good nature dwelt in the Realm of Light, and he calls him “Father of Greatness”. He also says that his five Shekinahs dwelt beside him: Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, and Consideration.

The evil nature he calls King of Darkness and he says that he dwelt in his Dark Land with his Five Worlds: the World of Smoke, the World of Fire, the World of Wind, the World of Water and the World of Darkness.”

(Cosmological citation in Theodore bar Koni, *Book of Scholies* XI, 8th c., Syriac)

The Realm of Light



“God the Father ruled over the light, eternal in his holy origin, magnificent in his power, by nature true, forever rejoicing over his own eternity. In him were contained wisdom and the vital senses by which he also embraces the twelve members of his light, namely the abounding riches of his own dominion. In each of his members, however, thousands of countless and immeasurable treasures are concealed. [...] The sacred and noble Father and generator lives with them, in his splendid kingdom there is no beggar or cripple.”

(Passage from the *Epistula Fundamenti* quoted by Augustine)



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)

The Land of Darkness

“Near one section and the side of that glorious and holy land, was situated the Land of Darkness, deep and of immeasurable extent; in it resided **fiery bodies, baneful breeds**. [...] Here came a **boundless and incalculable darkness**, together with its own progeny. Beyond the darkness lay **filthy whirling waters** with their inhabitants; further within were **terrifying and violent storms** with their rulers and progenitors. Next followed another fiery region, a prey to destruction, with its leaders and people. In the same way there lived inside it a breed filled with **gloom** and **smoke**, among whom loitered the horrible ruler and leader of all these worlds, who had congregated around himself innumerable princes, and he himself was the spirit and source of all of them. And these were the five natures of the corruption-bearing land.”



A dualism?

- Both principles are increaded and without beginning

BUT

- **Not equally powerful**

A dualism?

“They have nothing in commun. [...] The difference between the two principles is as great as that between a king and a pig.”

(Manichaean quotations in Severus of Antioch, *Cathedral Homily 123*, 6th c., Greek-Syriac)



A dualism?

- Both principles are increaded and without beginning

BUT

- Not equally powerful
- **Not equally eternal**

A dualism?

- Both principles are increated and without beginning

BUT

- Not equally powerful
- Not equally eternal
- **Absolute monotheism: only the Father of Greatness is God**

“I worship and glorify the great Father of Lights from pure thought . With a guileless word you have been glorified and honoured: You and your majesty and the wholly blessed aeons. For you in glory have perfected their foundation. Your power and glory and your light and word and your majesty and the aeons of affirmation and all your counsel have been glorified. For you are God, the foundation of every grace and life and truth.”

Prayer of the Emanations (Greek, 4th c., Kellis)

2. The middle phase

The primordial accident: the attack of the Darkness

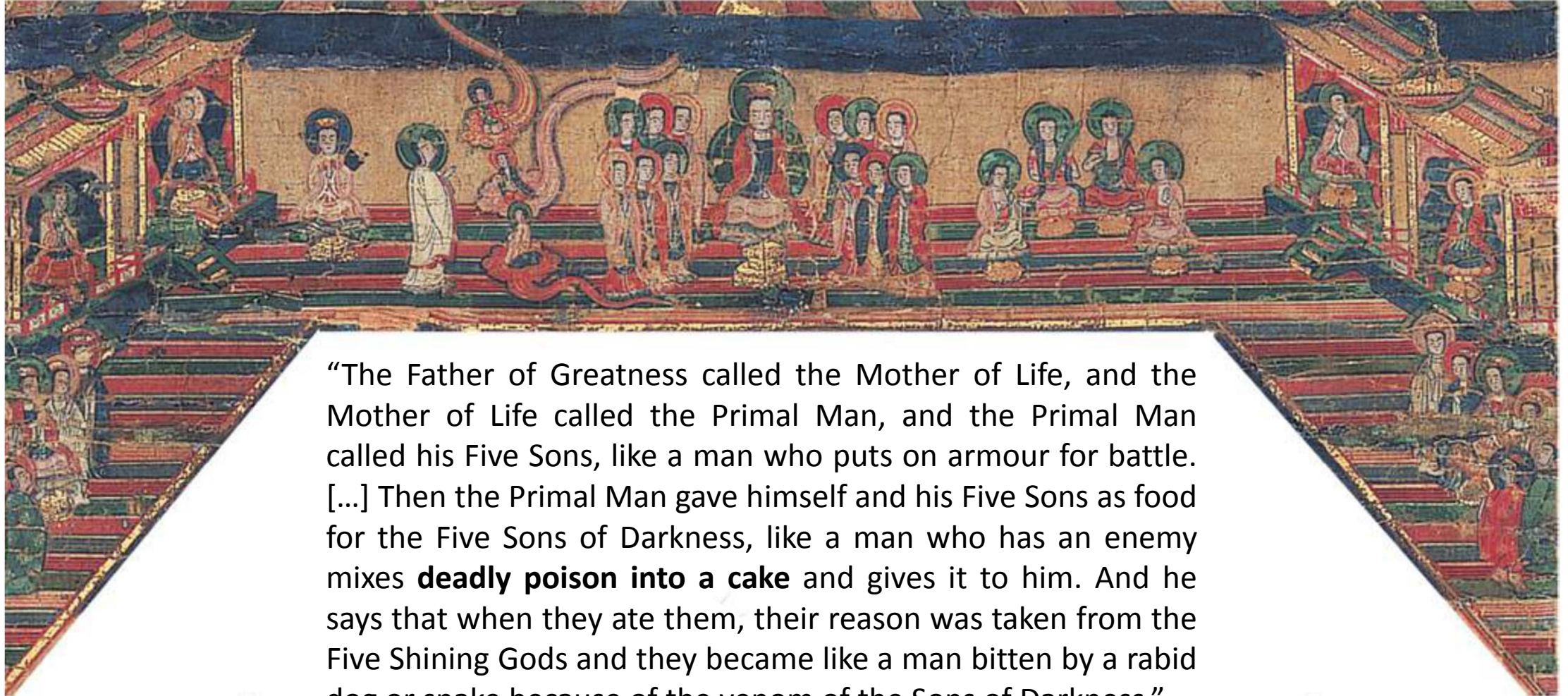
“And he says that [...] the King of Darkness sought to ascend to the Realm of Light...”

Theodore bar Koni, *Book of Scholies* XI

“Darkness by coincidence rose up out of its limits and attacked Light.”

Alexander of Lycopolis, *Against the Manichaeans*, Greek, 4th c.

The first battle: The Primal Man swallowed by Darkness



“The Father of Greatness called the Mother of Life, and the Mother of Life called the Primal Man, and the Primal Man called his Five Sons, like a man who puts on armour for battle. [...] Then the Primal Man gave himself and his Five Sons as food for the Five Sons of Darkness, like a man who has an enemy mixes **deadly poison into a cake** and gives it to him. And he says that when they ate them, their reason was taken from the Five Shining Gods and they became like a man bitten by a rabid dog or snake because of the venom of the Sons of Darkness.”

The mixing of Light and Darkness, Good and Evil, Soul and Matter: The 'Cross of Light'

The Light is crucified in “all rivers and sources and fountains, [...] <in> everything, fruits and produce and crops and vegetables and fishes and birds [...] in all quarters, both by sea and land.”

Ephrem the Syrian, *Prose Refutations*, 4th c., Syriac

I am also afraid lest in any way I commit a sin when I walk on the path, as I trample upon the earth, treading on the Cross of Light.

Kephalaion 85, 4th c., Coptic

I tested every trouble, I found not anything more evil than this flesh.
It is a cloud of darkness that obscures my mind.

Psalm-Book 7, 4th c. Coptic



The second battle: The Living Spirit and the creation of the world

“Then the Living Spirit ordered three of his sons, that one should kill and another skin the Archons, the Sons of Darkness, and he stretched out the sky from their skins and made Eleven Heavens...

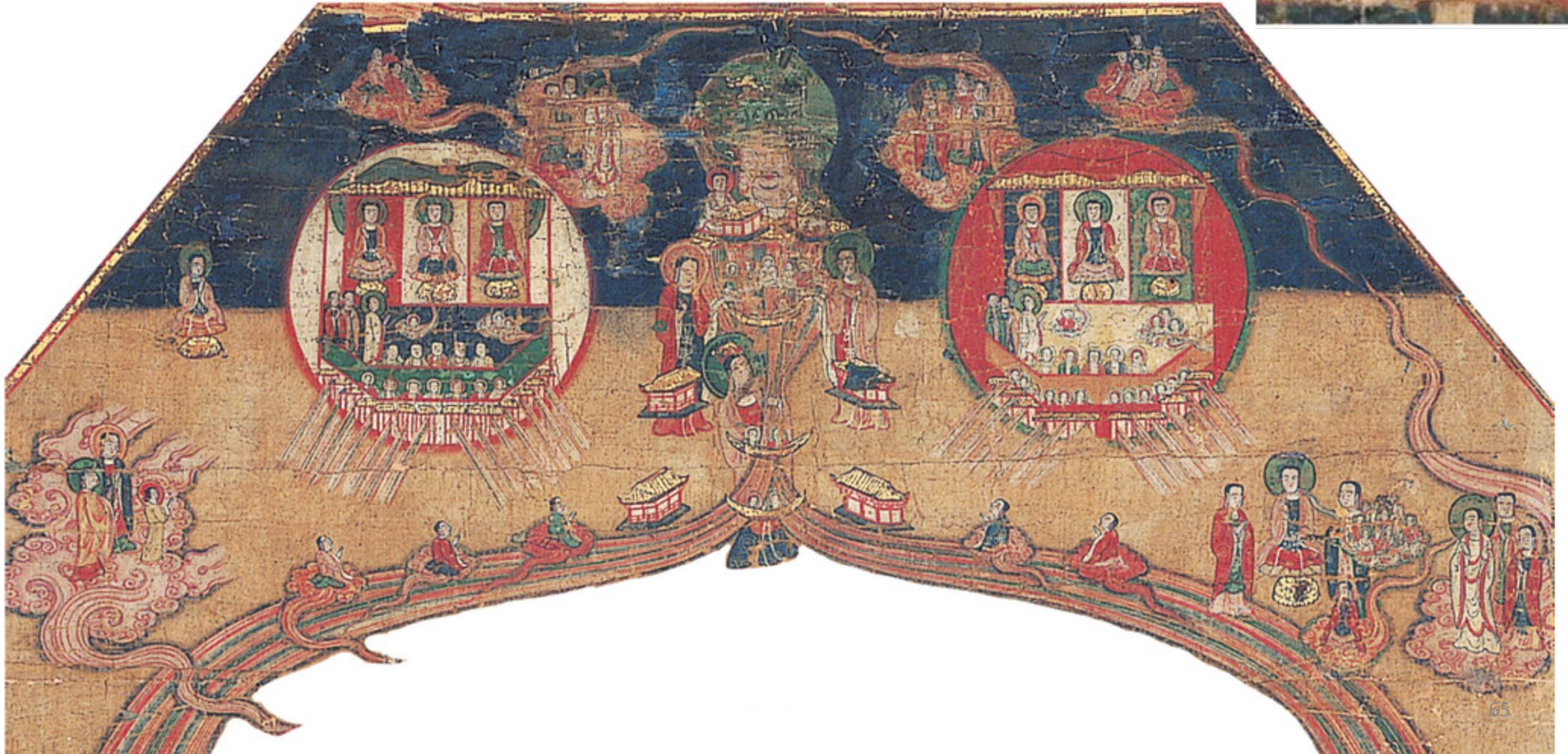




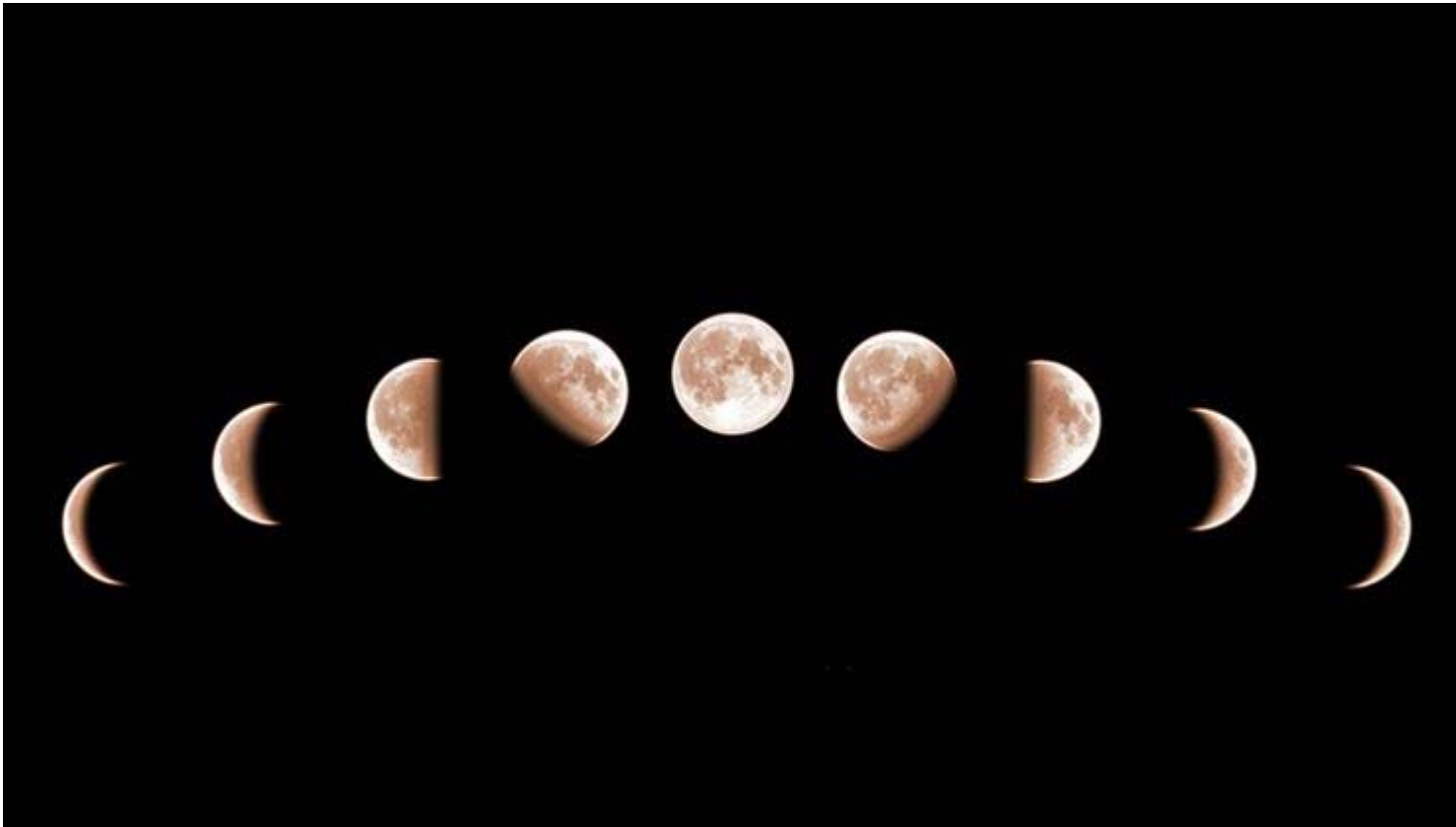
... and out of their
excrement he
compacted the
earth, and some of
their bones, too,
he melted, and
raised and piled up
the mountains.”



The vessels of the Sun and the Moon



Explanation of natural phenomena: the lunar phases



“He says those two heavenly bodies are ships, and when the moon is full, it carries souls to the eastern region, and so effects its waning or decline, by being relieved of its load. Then again the boats are refilled and once more loaded, as the souls are drained.”

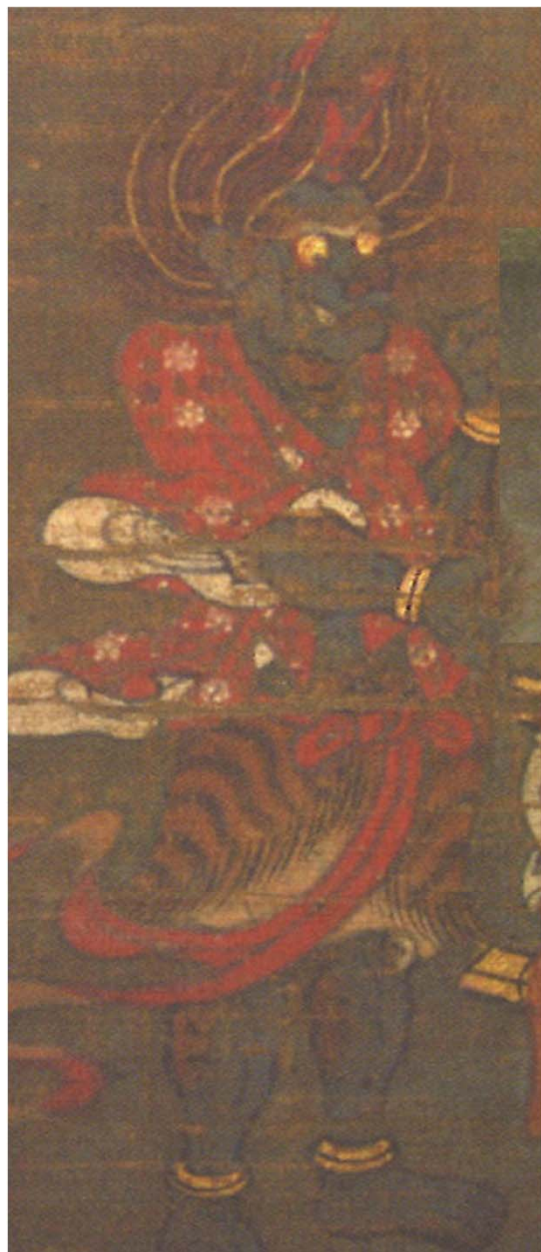
Acta Archelai 8,6

The third battle: The Maiden of Light and the 'Seduction of the Archons'



“The Third Messenger revealed his images, male and female, and was manifested to all the Archons, the Sons of Darkness, male and female...





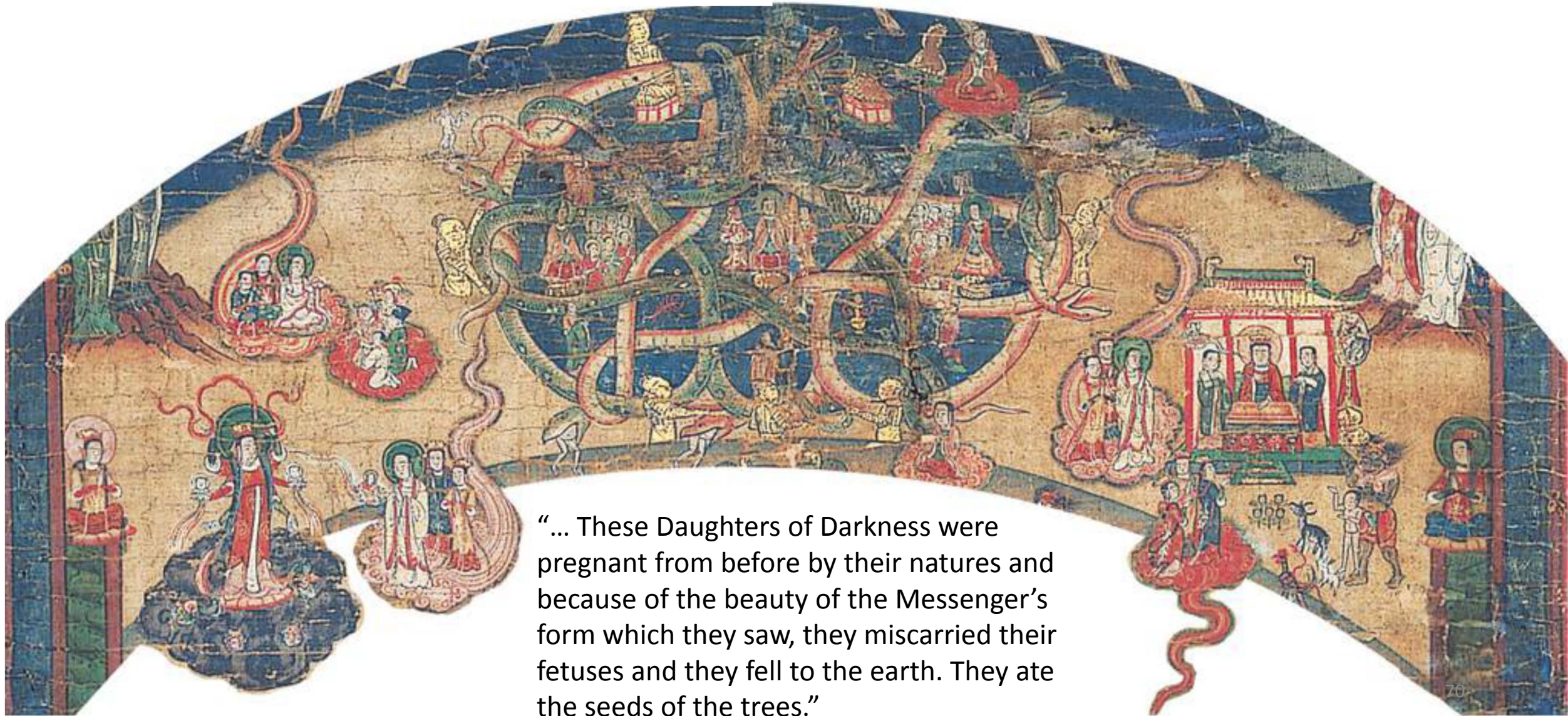
The third battle: The Maiden of Light and the creation of flora



... At the appearance of the Messenger, who was beautiful in his forms, all the Archons were inflamed with lust, the males for the image of the female, and the female for the image of the male. They began to expel through their lust the light which they had swallowed from the five Sons of Light. [...] The sin then fell down to the earth, half on the moist part and half on the dry. The part which fell on dry land sprouted itself into five trees.



The third battle: The Maiden of Light and the creation of fauna



“... These Daughters of Darkness were pregnant from before by their natures and because of the beauty of the Messenger’s form which they saw, they miscarried their fetuses and they fell to the earth. They ate the seeds of the trees.”

The third battle: The Maiden of Light and the creation of humankind



“The abortions counselled with one another and remembered the form of the Messenger which they had seen. Then, Ashqalun, the son of the King of Darkness, said to the abortions: *“Give me your sons and your daughters and I will make you a form like the one you saw.”* They brought (them) and gave (them) to him. He ate the males and gave the females to Namrael, his companion. Namrael and Ashqalun then united with one another and she conceived and gave birth to a son, and named him **Adam**. She conceived (again) and gave birth to a daughter, and named her **Eve**.”

Jesus the Splendour – the ‘Redeemer of the living soul’



a: Actual condition (W: 16 cm)



b: Digitally restored image (W: 16 cm)

“Jesus the Splendour
approached the innocent
Adam and awoke him
from the sleep of death.
[...] And Adam looked
closely at himself and he
knew who he was. [...] And he wept and raised
his voice violently like
the roaring lion: ‘Woe,
woe to the maker of my
body and to he who
imprisons my soul!’”

3. The Third Phase

- Last Judgment
- Burning of the Earth during 1.468 years followed by total annihilation
- Triumph of the Light
- Defeat of Matter/Darkness imprisoned in the *bolos*





3. The Manichaean Practice

The division of the community in two classes: Elects and Auditors



Female Elects



Five commandments for the Elects



1. Do not lie => 'seal of the mouth'
2. Do not kill => 'seal of the hand', non-violence towards animals, vegetables and the five elements
3. Be pure => 'seal of the womb', sexual abstinence and continence
4. Do not eat meat => 'seal of the mouth', alimentary rules and fasting
5. Be poor => 1 cloth for 1 year and food for 1 day

“They murder people and strangle them, claiming that they are rescuing Light from Darkness” (Ibn al-Jawzi, *Talbis Iblis*)

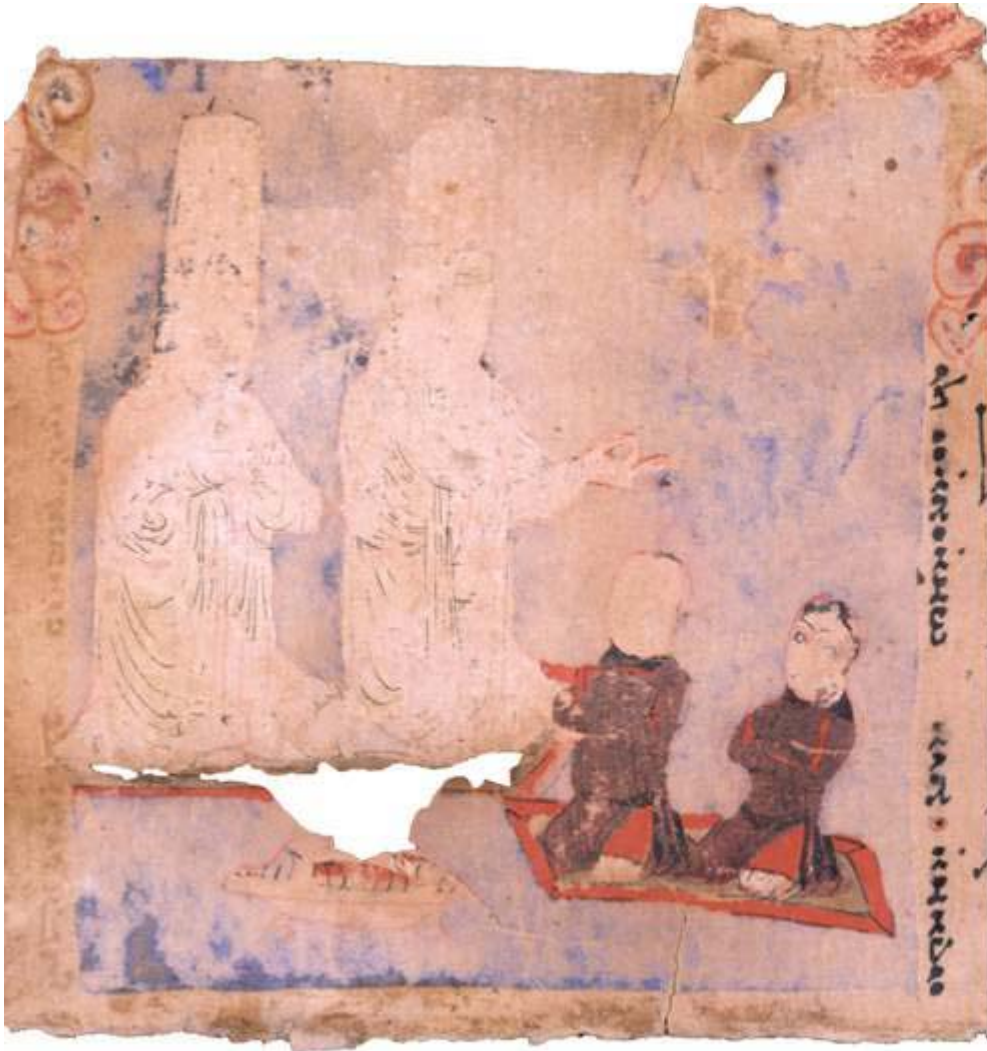
Ten commandments for the Auditors



1. Do not worship idols
2. Do not lie
3. Do not butcher animals and drink fermented beverage
4. Respect the Elects
5. Practice monogamy and do not commit adultery
6. Help the afflicted
7. Do not follow false prophets
8. Do not frighten, harm or kill animals
9. Do not steal
10. Do not practice magic

- **Observance of the commandments**
- **Prayer 4 times a day**
- **Weekly fasting (Sunday)**
- **Weekly confession of sins (Monday)**
- **Alms**

Elects-Auditors relationship – The Alms



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)

Elects-Auditors relationship – The Alms

“When they want to chew bread, they first pray, saying this to the bread: ‘I did not harvest you nor grind you nor knead you nor put you in the oven; someone else made you and brought you to me; I am innocent as I eat you.’ When he has said this to himself, he replies to the person who brought it: ‘I have prayed for you,’ and then the person goes.”

Acta Archelai 10,6

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)



THE MANICHAEAN BODY

In Discipline and Ritual



JASON DAVID BEDUIN

The metabolism of salvation

Singing for purification



The Bema feast – commemoration of Mani's death



The Bema feast – commemoration of Mani's death



The Bema feast – commemoration of Mani's death

“O Soul, know this great sign, that this is the sign
of the remission of thy sins.

This visible Bema, the Word set it before thee,
that He might sow in thee through what is visible the remembrance
of the hidden Judgment which thou hast forgotten since the day
when thou didst drink the water of madness, o Soul.

Lo, there has come to thee the grace of the day of joy; do thou for thy
part reveal without fear all thy sins today and be mindful
of thy end and prepare thyself in thy works; for the Bema
of Wisdom moves thee concerning it.

This is the knowledge of Mani, let us worship him
and bless him. Blessed is he every man that shall trust in him,
for he shall live with all the Righteous.

Glory and victory to our Lord Mani, the Spirit of
Truth, that cometh from the Father, who has reveiled to us
the Beginning, the Middle and the End.”



Thank you for
your attention!



References for the Images and the quotations

P. 2: *Black and White Strips*, Georgiana Paraschiv (<https://www.artfullywalls.com/works/2421/black-and-white-strips>)

P. 5: ms. British Library Add. 12150, fol. 156r (Titus of Bostra, *Contra Manichaeos*), copied in Edessa in 411 AD: <http://blogs.bl.uk/asian-and-african/2013/09/some-syriac-manichean-treasures-in-the-british-library.html#>

P. 6: A disputation between Saint Augustinus and Faustus. School of Mont St. Michel, MS 90 fol. 1 verso. French, early 13th, Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, <https://www.akg-images.com>

P. 8: background image: fragment M618v from Turfan (http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/m/dta_m0029.html)

P. 9 and 10: <http://turfan.bbaw.de/projekt-en>

P. 12: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/dunhuang-1>

P. 14: images of the Kephalaia of Dublin and of the photo of Hugo Ibscher detaching the folios are taken from J. BeDuhn and G. Hodgins, “The Date of the Manichaean Codices from Medinet Madi, and Its Significance”, in S. N. C. Lieu, E. Hunter, N. A. Pedersen & E. Morano (eds), *Manichaeism East and West. IAMS Symposium Proceedings*, Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum. Analecta Manichaica I, Turnhout, 2017, p. 25, 27.

P. 18: Image and translation of P. Kell. Copt. 77r are taken from I. Gardner, A. Alcock & W.-P. Funk (eds), *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis. Vol. 2: P. Kellis VII (P. Kellis Copt. 57-131)*, Dakhleh Oasis Project, Monograph 16, Oxbow Books, Oxford & Philadelphia, 2014, p. 100-105.

P. 20: Map in Zs. Gulácsi, “Searching for Mani’s Picture-Book in Textual and Pictorial Sources”, *Transcultural Studies* 1 (2011), online: <http://heiup.uni-heidelberg.de/journals/index.php/transcultural/article/view/6173/2966>

P. 23-26: MIK III 6368 recto, *Elects in Scribal Duty*, SMPK, Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, taken from Zs. Gulácsi, *Medieval Manichaean Book Art: A Codicological Study of Iranian and Turkic Illuminated Book Fragments (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies)*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 57, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2005, plate 3.

P. 25: quote of Ibn al-Jawzi taken from J. Reeves (ed.), *Prolegomena to a History of Islamicate Manichaeism*, Equinox, 2012, p. 231.

P. 27: quote taken from MITCHELL C. W., BEVAN A. A., BURKITT F. C. (eds), *Saint Ephraim’s Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan* (texte syriaque et traduction anglaise), Londres-Oxford, 2 t., 1912/1921, vol. 1, p. 127.

Image: Uyghur Manichaean *Sermon Scene*, Qocho, late 10th-early 11th c. (MIK III 8259 folio 1r), Asian Art Museum, Berlin). From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani’s Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uyghur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 151.

P. 29: From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 261.

P. 35, 36, 48, 47. Pictorial insert of a scroll shown from picture-viewing direction (H: ca. 26 cm). Detail of a Turfan Manichaen Illuminated Scroll; Turfan Antiquarian Bureau (Turfan, China), 81 TB 65:01. <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/manichean-art>

P. 37: Seal of Mani, rock crystal, Mesopotamia, mid 3rd century, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/manichean-art>

P. 38: <http://gnosis.org/library/manis.htm>

P. 40: Quote from al-Biruni, *Athar*, from J. Reeves (ed.), *Prolegomena to a History of Islamicate Manichaeism*, Equinox, 2012, p. 102-103.

Image: The four primary prophets of Manichaeism in the *Diagram of the Universe*, Detail. From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 368.

P. 41: Uygur Manichaean fragment representing Buddha, MIK III 4947, Asian Art Museum, Berlin. From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 218.

P. 43: the first two images are taken from Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 192.

The third one is : *Mani painting a dead dog / Persian miniature from Nisami*, Shiraz, 1460.

From an illuminated manuscript of the *Khamasa* (five treasures / five epics) by the Persian poet Nizami Ganjavi (1141–1209). Ms Hazine 753. Istanbul, Topkapi Serail Library.

<https://www.ack-images.com/CS.aspx?VP3=SearchResult&VBID=2UMESQW6ILILI&SMLS=1&RW=1920&RH=957#/SearchResult&VBID=2UMESQW6ILILI&SMLS=1&RW=1920&RH=957&POPUPPN=5&POPUPIID=2UMDHUWLGUNP0>

P. 44: the two quotes are taken from J. Reeves (ed.), *Prolegomena to a History of Islamicate Manichaeism*, Equinox, 2012, p.121-123.

P. 45: Quote from GARDNER I. (ed.), *The Kephalaia of the Teacher. The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary* (NHMS 37), Leiden, 1995, p. 21.

Image: Journeys of Marco Polo, Caravane, detail of Abraham Cresques, *Catalan Atlas*, 1375 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marco_Polo_%E2%80%93_The_Journey

P. 46: Quote from GARDNER I. (ed.), *The Kephalaia of the Teacher. The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary* (NHMS 37), Leiden, 1995, p. 21.

Image: Mani with Shapur, by anonymous artist, BL Add. 5600, fol. 404b, Agra, India, 1610-1620, Mughal Period. From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 195.

P. 47: *Mani's death*, on the left: by anonymous artist, loose folio, from Tabriz (Azrbaijan), ca. 1330, Ilkhanid period. Private collection Iran; on the right: by anonymous artist, loose folio, from Shiraz (Iran), ca. 1570, Safavid period, Morgan Library and Museum, New York. From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaeon Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 195.

Quote from *Acta Archelai (The Acts of Archelaus)*, Translated by M. VERMES, with Introduction and Commentary by S. N. C. LIEU with the assistance of K. KATZ (Manichaeon Studies 4), Turnhout, 2001, p. 148.

P. 49: In the center: Chinese Manichaeon hanging scroll, Diagram of the Universe, southern China, 13th/14th c., private collection, Japan. From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaeon Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 248.

Scheme on the right: Chronology of the Manichaeon Pantheon, from Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaeon Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 397.

P. 50: quote from T. Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction in the Manichaeon Kephalaia*, NHMS 66, Brill, 2009, p. 223-224.

P. 51: Image from Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaeon Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 446.

Quote from GARDNER I., LIEU S. N. C. (eds), *Manichaeon Texts from Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 2005, p. 169.

P. 52: Remnant of Uygur Manichaeon Fresco, *Realm of Light Awaits the Righteous*, Bezeklik, mid 9th-early 11th c., Cave 38, Turfan Antiquarian Bureau, Turfan, and drawing of the mural painting by Hackin 1936. Taken from Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaeon Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 230.

P. 53: Passage from the *Epistula Fundamenti* quoted by Augustine, from GARDNER I., LIEU S. N. C. (eds), *Manichaeon Texts from Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 2005, p. 169-170.

P. 58: quote from GARDNER I., LIEU S. N. C. (eds), *Manichaeon Texts from Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 2005, p. 195.

P. 60: Detail of the *Diagram of the Universe*. From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaeon Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 448.

P. 62-63: Detail of the *Diagram of the Universe*. From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaeon Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 460-461. Quote from Theodore bar Koni, from T. Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction in the Manichaeon Kephalaia*, NHMS 66, Brill, 2009, p. 226.

P. 64: Detail of the *Diagram of the Universe*. From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 470.

Quote from Ephrem the Syrian, *Prose Refutations*, MITCHELL C. W., BEVAN A. A., BURKITT F. C. (eds), *Saint Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan* (texte syriaque et traduction anglaise), Londres-Oxford, 2 t., 1912/1921, vol. 2, p. 228.

P. 65: Detail of the *Diagram of the Universe*. From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 453.

P. 66: quote from *Acta Archelai (The Acts of Archelaus)*, Translated by M. VERMES, with Introduction and Commentary by S. N. C. LIEU with the assistance of K. KATZ (Manichaean Studies 4), Turnhout, 2001, p. 50-51.

P. 67, 69: Image on the left, detail of the *Diagram of the Universe*. Image in the right: Fragment of embroidered silk with Maiden of Light, Qocho, mid 9th-early 11th c., MIK III 6251, Asian Art Museum, Berlin. From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 239.

Quote from Theodore bar Koni, T. Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction in the Manichaean Kephalaia*, NHMS 66, Brill, 2009, p. 227-228.

P. 68: Various demons taken from the *Diagram of the Universe* and from the *Yamato Bunkakan* silk painting. From S. Richter (ed.) *Mani in Dublin*, NHMS 88, Brill, 2015, p. 403.

P. 70: Detail of the *Diagram of the Universe*. From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 465. Quote from Theodore bar Koni, T. Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction in the Manichaean Kephalaia*, NHMS 66, Brill, 2009, p. 228.

P. 71: Detail of the *Diagram of the Universe*. From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 351. Quote from Theodore bar Koni, T. Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction in the Manichaean Kephalaia*, NHMS 66, Brill, 2009, p. 228.

P. 72: *Icon of Jesus* in actual condition and digitally restored (MIK III 6286, mid 9th/early 11th c., Asian Art Museum, Berlin). From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 274. Quote from Theodore bar Koni, T. Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction in the Manichaean Kephalaia*, NHMS 66, Brill, 2009, p. 228-229.

P. 73: *Judgment*, Detail of a Chinese hanging scroll, *Sermon on Mani's Teaching on Salvation*, Ningbo, 13th/14th c., Yamato Bunkakan, Nara, Japan. From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 347.

P. 75: from left to right:

1) See p. 23-26.

2) Fragment of wall painting with ritual scene recovered from ruin K, Qocho (Turfan region), MIK III 6918, Asian Art Museum, Berlin. From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 140.

3) Uygur Manichaean mortuary banner, side 2, Qocho, mid 9th/early 11th c. (MIK III 6283, Asian Art Museum, Berlin). From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 267.

P. 76: Image on the left: Fragment of a Uygur Manichaean mortuary banner, Qocho, mid 9th/early 11th c. (MIK III 6286, Asian Art Museum, Berlin). From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 269.

Image on the right: <http://judithweingarten.blogspot.be/2011/07/zenobia-and-manichean-convert-part-ii.html>

P. 79: *Salvation of the Light*, actual condition and digital restoration (MIK III 4947 recto, Qocho, mid 9th/early 11th c., Asian Art Museum, Berlin). From Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 90, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 287.

P. 80: quote from *Acta Archelai (The Acts of Archelaus)*, Translated by M. VERMES, with Introduction and Commentary by S. N. C. LIEU with the assistance of K. KATZ (Manichaean Studies 4), Turnhout, 2001, p. 54.

P. 82: <http://www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/Religions/iranian/Manichaeism/mani.htm>

P. 83: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/manichean-art>

P. 84: enlargement of MIK III 4979, verso, from Zs. Gulácsi, *Medieval Manichaean Book Art: A codicological Study of Iranian and Turkic Illuminated Book Fragments (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies)*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 57, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2005, plate 6.

P. 85: quote from ALLBERRY C. R. C., *A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II* (Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection 2), 2 t., Stuttgart, 1938, vol. 2, p. 7 and 11.

P. 86: Image of the Sogdian Parable-Book: <http://www.biblioiranica.info/tag/manichaeism/>