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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF MANICHAISM

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1. Rāmratūkh as a Designation of the Mother of Life.

IN MANICHAISM we are familiar with the figure of the great mother-goddess, the Mother of Life (or, more exactly, Mother of the Living), who is found likewise in the earlier Gnostic systems.¹ The triune relationship of a Father God, Mother Goddess, and Son is recognizable, and is familiar elsewhere.² In the Greek and Latin writings dealing with the Religion of Mānī and in the Gnostics the mother is spoken of as ἡ Μητέρα τῆς Ζωῆς, *Mater Vitae* (or as ἡ Μητέρα τῶν Ζώντων, *Mater Viventium*).³ In the Syriac scholia by Theodore bar Khoni, when treating of Manichaeism, she is also alluded to several times as the 'Mother of Life' (or 'Mother of the Living'), *Emmā d^e Hayyē*⁴; and in the Arabic chapter on Mānī's teaching in an-Nadīm's *Fihrist* she is called both the 'Mother of Life' (*Umm-al-Hayāh*) and 'Mother of the Living' (*Umm-al-Ahyā'*).⁵

When the remains of actual Manichaean documents were discovered, a score or more years ago in the Oasis of Turfan, Eastern Turkistan, it was interesting to find among these Fragments in several languages allusions to this divine mother. Thus, in the Fragments which are written in the Middle Persian form that is

¹ Regarding the latter point consult Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 1-83; idem, art. 'Gnosticism,' in *Encycl. Brit.* 12. 155-156; and also art. 'Great Mother of the Gods' (by G. Showerman, *Encycl. Brit.* 12. 401-403).

² Cf. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, 1. 15, n. 1.

³ See Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, 7. 3 (ed. Beeson, p. 10); Epiphanius, *De Haeresibus*, 26, ch. 10, in Migne, *Patrolog. Graec.* vol. 41, col. 348; Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses*, 1. 30. 2 (ref. to *Mater Viventium* in connection with the Ophites), in Migne, *Patrolog. Graec.* vol. 7, col. 695; consult Beausobre, *Histoire de Maniché*, 2. 313, n. 7; Cumont, *Recherches*, 1. 14-15; Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, 2. 293, n. 1.

⁴ See Pogon, *Inscriptions Mandaites*, p. 127, 128, 129 (text), p. 185, 188, 189 (transl.); cf. Cumont, p. 14, 25, 33.

⁵ See Flügel, *Mani*, p. 59, line 1 and p. 70, line 8 (text), cf. p. 91, 100 (transl.).

commonly known as Turfan Pahlavi, her name appears as *Mādar* 'ī *Zindagān* or *Zindagān Mādar*, lit. 'Mother of the Living.'⁶ Similarly, in the old Turkish Manichaean Fragments from Khocho she is termed the 'Mother Goddess,' *Ög T(ä)ngri*.⁷ Furthermore, in the Chinese Manichaean Treatise found in the Grottoes of Tun-Huang, she is called the 'Excellent Mother,' *Shan-mū* (or *Chan-mou*, according to the French transliteration).⁸

⁶ See F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-reste in Estrangelo-schrift aus Turfan, Zweiter Teil* (*Abh. Kgl. Preuss. Akad.* Berlin, 1904) for the following references. Fragments, M. 300, line 3 (= Müller, 2. p. 47) *Mādar* 'ī *Zindagān*; M. 4 d, line 8 (= Mü. 2. p. 55) *Zindagān Mādar*; likewise M. 12 c = M. 172, l. 13 (= Mü. 2. p. 25 = p. 101, 102) simply *Mādar*.

⁷ See A. von Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, I, III (*AKPAk.* Berlin, 1912, 1922) for the following references. Frag. T. II, D. 173 b. recto line 17, and verso l. 1 (= Le Coq, l. p. 13, 14) *Ög T(ä)ngri*; also T. M. 291 recto(?) line 11 (= Le Coq, 3. p. 7) *Ög T(ä)ngri*. Refer also to the discussion below (No. 2, Addendum) regarding *Ögütmiş Ög* in T. II. D. 176 recto line 14 (= Le Coq, 3. p. 15).

⁸ See Chavannes and Pelliot, *Un Traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine*, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1911, p. 511, with note 1, and p. 515, 525. Being interested in understanding the force and meaning of the first word (*Shan*) I have asked for information from my kind Sinologist friends. Professor Pelliot personally tells me that there is no doubt that *shan* ('*chan*') is an attribute of the Mother, and he translates by 'la Mère excellente.' I have furthermore had the advantage of conferring with my Chinese pupil, Mr. Ti-Shan Hsü, regarding the pregnant signification of this adjective. Mr. Hsü informs me that the meaning of *shan* was 'auspicious,' and he adds that in the first Chinese dictionary (Shoh-wen), written early in the Han Dynasty, the word is given with the explanation 'auspicious' (see Shoh-wen Ch'ai Tze, vol. 2, p. 13 b, Shanghai, 1923, Chung Hwa Book Company). He furthermore tells me that in the *Great Dictionary of the Chinese public*, Shanghai, 1915, under the division "k'ou" ('mouth') there are numerous meanings recorded as appearing in the Classics. The commonest ones (listed with their sources) are the following: '(1) Happy, (2) Excellent, (3) Good, (4) Virtuous, (5) Peaceful, (6) Merciful, (7) Great, (9) Pleasing, (14) Friendly.' Mr. Thomas F. Carter, my colleague and former student, similarly says that the idea conveyed by the adjective is approximately; 'good, kind, loving, righteous,' like the Greek *ἀγαθός* in its various shadings of meaning. Our Columbia professor in Chinese, Professor Lucius C. Porter, has likewise drawn my attention to the idea of 'good' (as opposed to evil) as a fundamental definition of *shan* in one of the native dictionaries, the association of the ideas of 'auspicious' and 'good' being a natural one. He has likewise referred me to Williams, *Chinese English Dictionary*, p. 752, where, among the primary significa-

Now in one of the Turfan Middle Persian Fragments (M. 172 recto l. 13-18), which is written both in Turfan Pahlavi and in a Pahlavi 'dialect'-gloss that accompanies the former, we have a special name added in the 'dialect'-gloss as a further designation of the Mother Goddess; it is *Rāmrātūkh*.⁹ The content of the passage itself may briefly be summarized thus: it gives an ascription of praise to several of the divine beings, adding their titles in the gloss. Among those mentioned in succession are the 'Father' (whose name is dialectically glossed as 'God Zarvān, *Zarvāβayīy*), the 'Mother' (glossed as *Rāmrātūkhβayīy*), and the 'Son' (originally Primal Man, who is glossed as Jesus, *Yēšuvīy*).¹⁰ The precise meaning of the name *Rāmrātūkh* (the appended word *βayīy* being 'Goddess'), as applied to the Mother of Life in this gloss, has long been a problem. A suggestion is here put forward, which may possibly help towards the solution of the crux.

The Middle Persian word *Rāmrātūkh* is to be divided, I believe, as *Rām-rātūkh* (*Rām-rātūx*). The first element is manifestly the familiar Pahlavi *rām*, NP. *rām*, 'joy, gladness, happiness,' which is well known in derivatives, like Phl. *rāmšn*, and found equally in Avestan as *rāman-*, 'rest, joy,' from the root *ram-*, 'to rest, repose.'¹¹ The second element (*rātūkh*) appears to be a 'dialectic' abstract, formed from the noun and adjective Phl. *rāt* (*rād*), 'giver, liberal, generous,' which abstract itself appears in ordinary Pahlavi as *rātih* (*rādih*), 'generosity, liberality, bounteousness, benevolence.'¹² The formative ending *-ūkh* is doubtless a 'dialectic' variation of the ordinary *-ih*, which is common enough as an abstract termination in the Pahlavi Books, and is

tions, are set down 'good from principle, virtuous, meek, docile, skilful.' This information at best helps to make non-Sinologists acquainted with the gamut run by the word under consideration.

⁹ See Müller, *op. cit.* p. 101, 102.

¹⁰ The role of the celestial Jesus as a fulfilment of that of Primal Man is recognized elsewhere in Manichaeism. It is implied, for example, in Theodore bar Khoni, tr. Pognon, p. 191-193; also in an-Nadim's Fihrist, tr. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 91; and consult especially Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 154; idem, *Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse*, p. 90.

¹¹ Consult Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 1511, 1524.

¹² See West and Haug, *Glossary of the Arda Viraf*, p. 130; and cf. S. D. Bharucha, *Pahlavi-Pāzend-English Glossary*, p. 258, Bombay, 1912.

there sometimes written as a graph (〜). The meaning of this compounded name Rāmratūkh would therefore be literally 'Joy-givingness,' 'Liberality of Joy,' and *Rāmratūkh bayy* would be the 'Goddess of the Bounteousness of Joy'—a title well suited to the Mother of Life, whose true office is to dispense happiness.

Additional support for the proposed etymology of this epithet Rāmratūkh, applied to the Mother as the one who imparts joy, is afforded by two passages in the Fihrist, to which I would call attention in this connection.

The first of these is found in the section of the Fihrist edited by Flügel, *Mani*, p. 55, l. 3, in which she is personified under the name of 'Joyousness' (Arabic *Bahjah*), which he renders as 'Fröhlichkeit' (*op. cit.* p. 88, l. 10).¹³ Although Flügel was doubtful in his notes (p. 208 n. 110) as to what identification to suggest for 'Fröhlichkeit,' he had an inkling that the name might possibly be used to designate the 'Mutter des Lebens.' The times have since given proof that this surmise was correct. The context of the passage itself showed that the personage personified as 'Joyousness' was directly associated with the Living Spirit in rescuing Primal Man after he had been overcome by the Powers of Darkness. We now know from the Syriac Scholia of Theodore bar Khoni and from the Manichaean documents later available in the older Turkish and Chinese, that it actually was the Mother Goddess who was thus united with the Living Spirit in Primal Man's deliverance.¹⁴ Consequently there can remain no doubt that 'Joyousness' ('Fröhlichkeit') in this particular passage of the Fihrist is, like Rāmratūkh, a designation for the joyous Mother of Life.

The second passage in the same Arabic work is one for which a new interpretation can be offered in the light already thrown upon the subject. This passage (Flügel, *Mani*, text p. 54, l. 5, transl. p. 87, l. 19) relates to an earlier stage in the conflict between

¹³ Regarding this well-known word *bahjah*, consult Freytag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, l. p. 64, and cf. also Steingass, *Pers. Eng. Dict.* p. 210, s. v. *bahjah* (Arabic), 'gladness, cheerfulness, joyfulness.' No departure from the text of our passage is made in the large edition of the Fihrist by Flügel-Roediger-Müller, p. 329, l. 29; Leipzig, 1871.

¹⁴ See Theodore bar Khoni, tr. Pognon, p. 188; Turkish Frag. T. II, D. 173 b, recto ll. 16-20, verso ll. 1-4 (Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1, p. 13-14, cf. p. 40-41); furthermore, the Chinese Treatise tr. Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 510-514. Cf. also Alfarc, *Les Écritures manichéennes*, 2. 215, n. 2.

Light and Darkness, namely, that moment when the King of Light, as God, evolves a plan for bringing Primal Man into being. This he does, in combination with other spiritual aids, by evoking or creating Primal Man through the agency of a power that is ordinarily translated as the 'Geist seiner Rechten'—so Flügel, reading the Arabic adjective as *yamnah*.¹⁵ But instead of so reading the Arabic word I should prefer to point it as *yumnah*, 'happiness, felicity';¹⁶ and should accordingly suggest that the sentence means: 'He (i. e. the Godhead) begat by His Spirit of Happiness.' This would be simply another way of expressing the attribute 'Joyousness,' as applied above to the Mother of the Living, whom scholars believe to be intended here.¹⁷ The idea for such an interpretation I owe to my former pupil Mr. Anis E. Khuri, now Professor in the American University of Beirut, Syria, who, without having any previous acquaintance with Manichaeism, translated the Arabic phrase at once as 'by his spirit of bliss.' Quite independently my Assistant, Dr. Yohannan, likewise rendered it offhand as 'blessed (or beatific) spirit.' So much from authorities outside. As a result, the suggestion tentatively presented regarding the interpretation of this second passage seems worth taking into consideration.

¹⁵ See Flügel, p. 87 and p. 199, n. 1; he is followed by Kessler, *Mani*, p. 389, and by scholars in general.

¹⁶ For Arabic *yumnah* see Freytag, *Lex. Arabico-Latinum*, 4, p. 524, 'felicitas, prosperitas'; cf. Steingass, *Pers. Eng. Dict.* p. 1586, 'happiness, prosperity.'

¹⁷ See Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, p. 177, 178; Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, 2. 293, n. 1, 'Spirit of the Right [Hand],' where an Egyptian idea is suggested. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 199, n. 90, himself acknowledges that this 'Geist der Rechten' is not mentioned elsewhere (nirgends genannt) in the *Fihrist* and that we look for it later in vain (später vergebens). In putting forward the proposed interpretation as 'Spirit of Happiness,' I have by no means neglected carefully to consider TPhl. *dašnēzādag'ān*, 'sons of the right' in M. 4 f., line 14 (= Mü. 2. p. 58, duly consulting Müller's references; cf. also p. 57 *dašn*); nor, may be added, have I forgotten such passages as *Acta Archelai*, ch. 7, § 4-5 (ed. Beeson, p. 10-11) regarding the Manichaeans giving the right hand in greeting, and also the phrase of St. Augustine, *Epist. Fund.*, ch. 11, § 13, 'may the right hand of light protect you.' Due attention has been given likewise to some general allusions to 'the right' in Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, p. 346; Legge, *Rivals and Forerunners*, 2. 164. Such references are included here to show that they have not been overlooked.

In view of all that has been brought forward there appear to be good grounds for accepting the proposed etymology of the name of the goddess Rāmṛātūkh as meaning the very 'Liberality of Gladness,' or 'Bounteousness of Joy,' when applied to the Mother in the 'dialectic' Turfan Fragment. Māni's poetic imagination had a fancy for such highly-colored titles; witness his Adamas Hero, King of Honor, Splenditenens (Φεγγοκάτοχος), Maiden of Light, and the rest.

2. The Problematic 'Nahnahah' as applied to the Mother of the Living in the Fihrist.

The Arabic account of the return of the pure soul of the Manichaean Elect, by several stages, to the supernal realm of Light, as given by an-Nadīm in the Fihrist, describes the Elect as first 'ascending by the Column of Praise (Milky Way) to the sphere of the Moon, and to the Primal Man (i. e. who is in the Sun), and to the —? — Mother of the Living, to where first he was in the Paradises of Light.'¹⁸

The word here marked as '—? —,' which precedes the Mother of Life, is a designation of some sort, whether nominal or adjectival. Flügel, in his translation (*Mani*, p. 100), renders it as a proper name—'zu der Nahnaha der Mutter der Lebendigen.' In commenting upon this passage, Flügel (p. 343) simply says: 'Nahnaha, ein Wort, das in seiner einfachen Uebersetzung die Abwendung des Bösen bedeutet.' So great is Flügel's authority that he has been generally followed by other writers in regarding the word as a proper name.¹⁹ The only hint of hesitation expressed on the subject, so far as I have found, is an incidental intimation by Chavannes and Pelliot when touching, in a footnote, upon the designation of the Mother in the Chinese Manichaean Treatise.²⁰ They mention this Fihrist passage with a slight qualification as to 'le nom de Nahnaha, que Flügel traduit hypothétiquement par "Abwendung der Bösen."' That is all they remark.

¹⁸ See Flügel, *Mani*, text p. 70 ll. 6-8, transl. p. 100 ll. 27-30; and large edition of the Fihrist by Flügel-Roediger-Müller, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, 1, p. 335 l. 15; cf. notes in vol. 2, p. 172.

¹⁹ Thus also 'Nahnaha' in the translation of this passage by Kessler, *Mani*, p. 399; similarly other later writers.

²⁰ Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA*. 1911, p. 511, n. 1, end.

As a student of Manichaeism, though not an Arabist, I have long felt uncertain as to whether, if really a proper name, such a designation as the 'Averting (of Evil)' was an appropriate one for the character of the Mother Goddess in the Religion of Mānī, or whether some other reading of the Arabic letters than Nahnahah might not be possible. Accordingly I had recourse to my friend and colleague Professor Richard Gottheil for help in the matter.

He carefully examined with me the variants in the three manuscripts noted in Flügel, p. 70, n. 9, finding no additional ones recorded in the large edition of the Fihrist by Flügel-Roediger-Müller, 1, p. 335 and 2, p. 172. It became clear that Flügel (apparently following Ms. C, since no comment is made) had based his reading and interpretation of 'Nahnahah,' as a nomen proprium, upon the Arabic verb *nahnah*, 'depulit, retinuit (aliquem a re),' for which verb, indeed, there is good authority in the older Arabic lexicographers.²¹ Yet I still felt misgivings as to the reading and explanation adopted by Flügel, because it seemed to me non-Manichaean in spirit. A further study then followed with regard to the variants recorded in Flügel's footnotes concerning the three other manuscripts (Hammer-Purgstall, Leyden, Vienna). These furnish: H. اللهه , L. البهيه , V. الله . Doctor Gottheil observed that the unpointed word in manuscript V. can be read as *al-bahiyyah*, the form *bahiyyah* being a well-known adjective that denotes 'possessing the quality of beauty or goodness, shining, brilliant, radiant.'²² Further support for this reading is given by the Leyden manuscript (L.), which explicitly marks the letters as *b h ī m (!) h*, and can be read as *bahiyyah* by omitting the *m* as excrescent.

On the basis of these conferences with my colleague I venture to offer, tentatively, the suggestion that we should consider the designation in question as an adjective, not as a proper name, and adopt the reading *al-bahiyyah*, 'the beautiful, goodly, shining, brilliant,

²¹ See Freytag, *Lexicon*, vol. 4, p. 347 (citations from Arab lexicographers); De Goeje, *Glossarium* (Ṭabarī), p. 532 (two citations, one being from an old Dīwān); Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch Arab. Deutsch*, 2, p. 1075, *nahnah*, 'abhalten.'

²² See Freytag, *Lexicon*, 1. p. 168, *bahī*, adj. 'pulcher, nitens, splendens'; *bahā*, noun, 'pulchritudo, splendor'; also verb *bahā*, 'nituit, micat'; cf. Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch Arab. Deutsch.*, 1. p. 267, 'in schönheit glänzend'; see likewise Lane, *Arab. Eng. Dict.* 1, p. 270 (adj.), 269 (verb).

radiant.' Probably 'radiant' will best suit the Manichaean sense. In translating such terms from the Arabic we need to take into account the atmosphere involved. But it will remain for others more qualified than myself to decide whether we are ultimately entitled to say *Exit* 'Nahnaha' as 'Mutter der Lebendigen,' and *Enter* 'the Radiant Mother of the Living,' thus bedecked for the role.

Addendum. One point more in this connection. The interpretation proposed, as giving an adjectival epithet to the Mother of the Living, may possibly help to throw some light on the meaning of the problematic Turkish adjective *ögütmiş* (or *ögütmiş*) applied to the Mother (*ög, ög*) in one of the Turkish Manichaean Fragments from Khocho. In Frag. T. II. D. 176 recto, l. 14-15 (= Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, 3, p. 15) there occurs the phrase *ögütmiş ög*, which Le Coq renders by 'die *gepriesene Mutter(-Gottheit),' leaving the translation of the adjective '*gepriesene' as uncertain. Andreas, in a later rendering of the same passage, takes the attribute in question as a participial adjective (but adds an interrogation mark) and translates as 'die Mutter, welche sie [die Tochter des Lichts] gebiert(?)'.²³ The query now raised is a double one. Can we perhaps associate this debatable Turkish epithet in some way with the meaning suggested for the Arabic above? Or can we connect its meaning in some manner with that implied in the previous discussion of Rām-rāṭūkh and the footnote concerning the Chinese *Shan*? Specialists in those fields must decide.

3. The Manichaean 'Seals'.

Mānī's religion enjoined upon its followers a belief in and the keeping of certain 'seals' as consecrated symbols of the faith. These seals are seven in number, as can now be shown. With three of them (moral) we have long been familiar as the Three Seals of the mouth, hand, and bosom, to be observed in the daily conduct of practical life. But until the Turfan texts became available it was not known that there were four additional seals, spiritual or doctrinal in their nature, the belief in which as articles of faith was to be accepted by the Manichaean before entering into the

²³ See Andreas cited in Reitzenstein, *Das Mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse*, p. 52.

religion. Drawing upon these texts from Eastern Turkistan, and supplementing them from other sources, the present section of the paper will be devoted to calling attention to this fourfold group in particular, and then to discussing also the well-known group of three in somewhat less detail.

(a) These four doctrinal seals, which first came to notice through the discovery of the Manichaean documents themselves, are called the 'Four Bright Seals,' emblematic of true faith. The passage in which they are particularly referred to is found in the Turkish Manichaean Confession-prayer, where the faithful repeats the following words:

'Four Bright Seals (*tört y(a)ruk tamya*) have we sealed in our hearts. (1) One is Love, (and that is) the seal of Azrua the God. (2) The second (is) Faith, the seal of the God of the Sun and the Moon. (3) The third is the Fear of God, (and this is) the seal of the Fivefold God (i. e. Primal Man, Ormazd). (4) The fourth is the wise Knowledge, the seal of the Burkhans (or Divine Revelers of Religion).'²⁴

The four seals of doctrine therefore comprise (1) love for the Godhead, (2) faith in the Sun and Moon as the great orbs of light, (3) reverence for Primal Man as a celestial power, (4) belief in the existence of Divine Messengers who, from time to time, bring inspired knowledge to the world.

A ray of light breaks in. The four spiritual seals betoken the fourfold majesty of the Father God in his divine aspects (*τὸν τετραπρόσωπον Πατέρα τοῦ Μεγέθους*), as so named in the Greek Formula of Abjuration to be recited by Manichaeans on their conversion to Christianity. Further elucidation is obtained when these four seals are brought into connection with a Turfan Pahlavi Fragment that refers to ' (1) God Zarvān, (2) Light, (3) Power, (4) Wisdom,' and also into connection with a similar one in a Turkish Manichaean Fragment of like content. But this point is not elaborated here because it will be discussed, with spe-

²⁴ See Le Coq, *Khuastuanift*, ll. 177-183 (*JRAS.* 1911, p. 291-292); id. German edition, *Chuastuanift*, p. 17, l. 15-18 (*Abh. kgl. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, Berlin, 1911, p. 17).

cific references, in my forthcoming volume devoted to Manichaeism. Sufficient here to have drawn attention to the connection.²⁵

A proper understanding of these Four Bright Seals as spiritual and as doctrines of faith helps to throw added light on a passage in the Fihrist which sums up the spiritual precepts that Mānī gave as (four) articles of faith, besides the three seals of conduct and the ten commandments, in the following words:

‘The Belief in the Four Great-majesties (lit. ‘Greatnesses’),²⁶ namely, (1) God, (2) his Light, (3) his Power, and (4) his Wisdom. Now, (1) God, whose name be glorious, is the King of the Paradises of Light; (2) his Light (is) the Sun and the Moon; (3) his Power (is) the Five Angels, namely, the Zephyr, Wind, Light, Water, and Fire; (4) his Wisdom, the Holy Religion.’ [This latter is further explained by special reference to the revealers and exemplars of the faith].²⁷

The application of this Arabic passage is quite obvious in view of what has been brought out above.

The interpretation that has been suggested aids likewise in making clear the fact that we have a similar allusion to the four doctrinal seals in a Chinese Manichaean Fragment, discovered by Pelliot (see *JA.* 1913, p. 105), which contains rules for entering into the faith. The believer, after accepting the tenets of the Two Principles and the Three Times, or Ages, is then led (*op. cit.* p. 116) to the consideration of ‘the Four Calm Bodies of the Law,—which Four Bodies of the Law are . . .’²⁸ Although

²⁵ The explanation offered above appears to dispose of the uncertainty which puzzled Le Coq in regard to the number ‘four’ (in contrast to the familiar ‘three’ seals) when dealing with the Turkish passage (see Le Coq, *Khuastuanift*, p. 303, n. 34). I have since found that Alfariq, *Les Écritures*, 2. 56-57, holds a view similar to my own. Differently, Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals*, 2. 343; compare furthermore Reitzenstein, *Iran. Erlös.* p. 203-204.

²⁶ The Four Great-majesties are the same as that in the grouping given also just above. Besides these four, Manichaeism recognizes also ten and twelve great majestic essences, see Flügel, *Mani*, p. 272, n. 198, p. 274, n. 203.

²⁷ See Flügel, *Mani*, p. 64 (text), 95 (transl.); large edition of the Fihrist, 1, p. 333.

²⁸ Pelliot, *JA.* 1913, p. 116, who adds (note 3), ‘Nous ignorons abso-

the enumeration of the four is missing, because the rest of the text is lost, it is nevertheless certain that we can supply the general contents of the lacuna by referring to the material in the various quotations which have been cited above. So much for the luminous Four Seals of doctrine.

(b) We may now turn briefly to the familiar Three Seals, which are ethical and practical in their nature as relating to the conduct of the body. These are not only now found referred to in the actual Manichaean documents, but they have previously been known through allusions in Christian and Muhammedan writers.

Thus, through Saint Augustine we are well acquainted with these *tria signacula* as 'the seals of the mouth, hand, and bosom'—*oris, manus* (or *manuum*), *sinus*.²⁹ In an-Nadīm's Fihrist they are grouped simply as the 'Three Seals' (*thalath khawātīm*),³⁰ although, in the same work, the author makes mention likewise of a special Epistle by Mani on the 'Seal of the Mouth.'³¹

In the Turfan Pahlavi Fragments themselves, as far as published, there are two allusions to the Manichaean Seals. One of these (M. 32 recto, l. 6-7) refers to 'the complete seal of my hand, mouth, and thought.'³² The other (S. 9 recto b, lines 19-21), in the Petrograd collection, alludes to the soul, which has been imprisoned in darkness, as being led to believe on Oḥrmazd (Primal Man) and to 'accept most actively every injunction, commandment, and the seal of perfect peace.'³³ In the Turkish

lument ce que sont ces "corps de la Loi." [Postscript. I have since found that my interpretation of this point, which was independently reached, Feb. 27, 1923, and brought out in a brief oral communication at the Centenary Celebration of the Royal Asiatic Society in July of that year, had been anticipated by Alfarcic, *Les Écritures*, 2. 56. So much the better for such admirable support.]

²⁹ Augustine, *De Moribus Manichaeorum*, ch. 10, § 19, and ch. 11-19 (§ 20-73), where the great Church Father discusses these. A fuller treatment of this subject is omitted for the present, being reserved for treatment elsewhere.

³⁰ See Flügel, p. 64, l. 5 (text); p. 95, l. 20 (transl.); cf. also p. 41, 281, 289-291.

³¹ Flügel, p. 74, l. 1 (*khātām-al-fam*); p. 103 (§ 13); Kessler, p. 216.

³² M. 32 recto. l. 6-7 (= Mü. 2. p. 63), *māhr 'ispūrig čē man dast rūmb 'ūd 'andēššn*.

³³ S. 32 recto b, lines 19-21 (Salemann, *Manichaica*, 3. p. 9), *harv višp-iš andarz 'ūd farmān 'ūd māhr 'i xvāštū vazištīhā pādīrīft ānād*.

Manichaen Confession-prayer (ll. 320-321) these ethical symbols are likewise called the 'Three Seals' (*üč t(a)mγa*), when the Auditor accepts the articles of 'the Ten Commandments, the Seven Alms, the Three Seals';³⁴ and they are furthermore implied in a passage in the same Confession-prayer which refers to keeping the Ten Commandments, 'three with the mouth, three with the heart, three with the hand, and one with the whole self.'³⁵

In this connection it may be stated that the conception of the three seals, while corresponding in idea to the Zoroastrian injunction to preserve purity in 'thought, word, and deed' or to the Buddhistic precepts regarding 'body, speech, and thought,' may have been a wholly natural one, and not due to any special outside influence upon Mānī.³⁶

To sum up. Sufficient evidence has been adduced to show the existence of the doctrine of seven seals in Manichaeism: four spiritual, as tenets of faith; and three moral, as standards of conduct. Emphasis, in conclusion, must be laid on the fact that Hearers and Elect alike were expected both to accept the four bright seals of faith and to observe the three moral seals in practice. This implied a high standard of living if they were truly conformed to.

³⁴ See Le Coq, *Khuastuanift*, ll. 319-321 (*JRAS.* 1911, p. 298).

³⁵ See Le Coq, *op. cit.* ll. 193-195. In regard to associating the Three Seals thus with the Ten Commandments consult also the remarks by Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 574, n. 1; and *JA.* 1913, p. 380, top.

³⁶ Cf. *JA.* 1911, p. 574, n. 1, end.