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THE DOCTRINE OF METEMPSYCHOSIS IN MANICHAËISM

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THE FACT THAT Mānī taught the doctrine of metempsychosis, in one form or another, is clear from the old non-Manichæan writings that relate to his religion and from the actual Manichæan documents discovered in recent years. Mānī's own animistic conception of the particles of light as diffused through all sentient nature in his dualistic scheme of the universe, and as requiring to be restored to their original celestial abode, would of itself favor the supposition of some such progressive process and purgation by which this liberation was gradually to be accomplished.

We are well acquainted in Mānī's eschatological system with the final stages of the revolving course which, by way of the Column of Praise (Milky Way) and the circle of the Zodiac, brought the light elements of the purified soul to the Moon and the Sun, whence they were ultimately delivered into the domain of the Supreme Light. Evidence enough is at hand concerning all this, including the role played by the Elect in releasing particles of light contained in the food which they ate.¹ The implication throughout is that of an evolving and involved process. But the preliminary stages, as affecting the soul, need to be re-examined in view of the new material now available.²

Mānī's long sojourn in the East through exile would have pre-disposed his mind to some form of the metempsychosis idea in case he did not have a notion of it before. The Indian tincture in his belief, like Gnosticism, led him to look upon the body as a place of imprisonment for the spirit; nevertheless the body might serve also as a medium through which, in passing, the temporarily incarcerated light could eventually find its way to freedom. Now, while it seems clear that Mānī's conception of the subject allowed for an

¹ The references to this latter point are familiar, and there is no occasion to speak about the disagreeable allusion made by St. Augustine, *De Hæresibus*, ch. 46, ed. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. 42 (8), col. 36.

² A chapter in my forthcoming book on Manichæism is devoted to Eschatology: the Fate of the Soul and the End of the World.

immediate release and restoration of the light in the case of the soul that was wholly pure, there was involved in the case of imperfect or of corrupt souls a transformation or transmutation of the light elements by passing again through matter. The word 'Transfusion' is the term employed by the Greek in rendering this particular idea of his.³ In any event it appears certain that the mass of his followers accepted this belief in the ordinary sense of the transmigration of souls, if we can adopt for convenience such a subtle distinction between the terms metempsychosis and transmigration. Whatever else may be involved in the question, we must always keep in mind that Mānī denied any final resurrection of the body as a corporeal entity.⁴

As already intimated, the Manichaean doctrine of the soul, and of its lot hereafter, recognized a division of mankind into three classes—Elect, Hearers, and Sinners—classified according to the predominance of their characteristics as highly spiritual, psychically human, or basely material, thus answering to the threefold division familiar in Indian philosophy and Gnostic thought.⁵

A comprehensive study of the subject will show that the Elect were destined at once to enjoy bliss eternal. The Hearers, or lay auditors, were entitled to attain to beatitude in a less degree ('the second form'), but only after passing through some renewed state of existence, wherein advance also was possible toward gaining ultimate sanctification. Obdurate sinners were fated to live again in the material world of torment and then doomed to final perdition. But even in their case, unless inveterate, it seems that some chance for betterment through repentance and atonement in the allotted life was not altogether excluded.

The material upon which these deductions are based is collected, as previously stated, from the old sources relating to Manichaeism and from the Manichaean documents themselves. For practical

³ For references to this term *μεταγγισμός, μεταγγίξασθαι* (cf. the Latin version *transfunditur*) and the other designations, see the Greek and Latin texts cited below.

⁴ A discussion of the term *ristāwēz*, 'resurrection of the dead,' as found in certain Turfan Pahlavi Fragments, is reserved for presentation elsewhere.

⁵ Compare Skt. *sattva, rajas, tamas* and the Gnostic terms Pneumatic, Psychic, Hylie. On this point cf. also P. Alfarcic, *Les Écritures Manichéennes*, 2. 50.

reasons it has been found convenient to give first (1) the Muham-
 madan data on the subject, then (2) the Christian references, and
 finally (3) the evidence gathered from the extant Manichæan
 remains. We may begin with the allusions in the Arabic account
 of Manichæism by an-Nadim.

1. Statements by Muhammadan writers on the subject.

(a). An-Nadim in his *Fihrist* (987 A. D.) gives a picture of
 the threefold lot already referred to as awaiting the souls of the
 Elect, the Hearers, and the Sinners. The immediate beatitude of
 the Elect is assured, and there is no need here to quote the passage
 relating to their destiny. In the case of the two latter classes,
 however, some form of rebirth is involved, as is shown by the fol-
 lowing passages concerning their respective fates. The statements
 are given by an-Nadim directly on Mānī's authority, and (omitting
 some preliminary items that are not essential to the matter in ques-
 tion) the two passages may be translated literally as follows⁸ :—

(Lot of the Hearer) . . . 'The Gods will save him
 (i. e. the Auditor) from the demons, but he will not
 cease to be⁷ in the world like a man who sees terrible
 things⁸ in his sleep, and he will sink down into the mire
 and slime⁹ [of the pollution of the world]. Thus will
 he continue until his light and his spirit become freed.
 He will then join the assembly of the righteous (Elect)
 and put on their robe after the long period of his
 roaming (i. e. transmigration).⁷

(Lot of the Sinner.) . . . 'He will continue wan-
 dering in torment in the world until the Time of the
 End, when he will be cast into Hell.'¹⁰

⁸ For help with the Arabic I am indebted to my assistant, Dr. Abraham
 Yohannan, and to my colleague Professor Richard Gottheil of Columbia
 University.

⁷ That is, 'will continue to be.'

⁸ The allusion both here and below to 'terrible things' probably recalls
 in a lesser degree those experienced in advance by the Sinner, as referred
 to in the *Fihrist*, p. 101, with n. 298 end, and narrated in detail in two
 Turkish fragments, ed. by Le Coq in *Türk. Manichaica*, 2, p. 11-13.

⁹ Arab. *ḥin*, 'mire, slime, clay.'

¹⁰ *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 70-71 (text), 101 (transl.).

A little farther on, the Fihrist quotes Mānī as summing up 'the three ways' of the Elect, the Hearers, and the Sinners, the first being to Paradise, the second 'to the world and to terrible things,' the third (ultimately) 'to Hell.'¹¹ The whole account, therefore, shows that the Auditor must continue his existence once more, submerged in another life and afflicted with terrible dreams, until, 'after the long period of his roaming,' he is found fit to put on the robe and to assume at last 'the second form,'¹² or that particular degree of felicity which is his due. Inveterate Sinners are not only doomed to 'wandering in torment in the world,' but are ultimately consigned to damnation in hell. In the case of both, the Fihrist implies the doctrine of metempsychosis without going into more particular details than those here indicated.¹³

(b). The famous al-Bīrūnī (1000 A. D.) in his *India* ascribes Mānī's doctrine of metempsychosis directly to Hindu influence, even quoting from Mānī's Book of Mysteries, for he says:—

'When Mānī was banished from Ērānshahr, he went to India, learned metempsychosis from the Hindus, and transferred it into his own system. He (Mānī) says in his Book of Mysteries: "Since the Apostles [i. e. his

¹¹ See Fihrist, p. 71, 101. For "terrible things" see above, note 8.

¹² For the 'second form' (*aṣ-ṣurat ath-thāniyyat*) see Fihrist, ed. Flügel, p. 64, line 1 (text), p. 95, line 14 (transl.), with notes 215, 295, 346. The Auditors are alluded to as the 'second grade' in St. Augustine, *De Moribus Manich.* ch. 18 § 65 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. 32, col. 1373 top).

¹³ It is important to record in this connection that Kessler, *Mani*, p. 357 n. 1, in commenting upon the later passage cited below from Barhebraeus (13th century), maintained that Mānī taught rather a distribution of light-particles in all living creatures, and that this cosmological thesis of his was later transformed into an eschatological one after the analogy of the Indian dogma. Kessler (p. 362 n. 2) was inclined to emphasize that Mānī did not teach real transmigration (i. e. the wandering of souls from body to body, as in the Brahmanic, Buddhistic, and Pythagorean systems), but that, according to Mānī, the departed souls remained disembodied, and that only imaginative terrors in the form of horrid visions tormented the souls of those not yet purified (so especially in interpreting the Fihrist account). But Kessler did concede that, as early as the *Acta Archelai*, Turbo makes out of this an actual transmigration in the eschatological sense; and he admits that later the Manichaeans actually believed in metempsychosis as popularly conceived.

followers] knew that the souls are immortal, and that in their migrations they array themselves in every form, and that they are shaped into every animal, and are cast in the mould of every figure,¹⁴ they asked the Messiah [i. e. Mānī]¹⁵ what would be the end of those souls which did not receive the truth nor learn the origin of their existence.¹⁶ Whereupon he said: 'Any weak soul which has not received all that belongs to her in truth perishes without any rest or bliss.' By "perishing" Mānī means her being punished, not her total disappearance.¹⁷

(c). Shāhpūr ibn Ṭāhīr of Isfarā'in, Persia (or, in full, Abū'l-Muẓaffar Shāhpūr ibn Ṭāhīr ibn Muḥammad al-Isfarā'inī), who died in 1078 A. D., includes, in his Arabic work on the sects, the name of Mānī as among those who believe in transmigration of souls, stating in effect that according to Mānī,

¹⁴ Dr. George C. O. Haas calls my attention to the parallel conception of Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15. 169-172, reporting the thought of Pythagoras:

Utque novis facilis signatur cera figuris,
nec manet ut fuerat, nec formas servat eadem,
sed tamen ipsa eadem est, animam sic semper eandem
esse, sed in varias doceo migrare figuras.

¹⁵ The designation Messiah appears to be applied to Mānī also in a Turkish Manichæan fragment, *Le Coq, Türk. Man.* 3, p. 11, Nr. 6, 2, and must certainly denote him in the TPhl. Hymn Book *Maḥr-nāmag*, ll. 358, 255 (ed. Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 26, 20), although elsewhere in these texts it is generally confined to Jesus as may be noted amid the glorification of Mānī in the *Maḥr-nāmag*, line 438, 'we offer praise unto thee, Jesus Messiah' (*Yišō' maših*, ed. Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 28). The transference of the term in Manichæism can be easily understood.

¹⁶ We have here an allusion to non-Manichæans, or to those who refused to accept the religion. This interpretation receives support from two Turkish Manichæan fragments (see *Le Coq, Türk. Man.* 3, p. 6 top, p. 7 top), which refer to the punishment of evil-doers because of their unbelief: 'Since they have not known the beneficent God, they will writhe (?) and burn in Hell.'

¹⁷ Al-Bīrūnī, *India*, transl. E. C. Sachau, 2d ed., p. 54-55, London, 1911. Al-Bīrūnī, (loc. cit.) continues this paragraph by quoting a brief passage from some other part of Mānī's writings, in which Mānī controverts the view of Bardesanes, who regarded the soul as rising and being purified in the body, whereas the body is really nothing more than a prison for the soul.

‘The souls of the Pious (Elect), when they have abandoned their bodies, unite with the Glory of the Dawn¹⁸ in order to reach the Light which is above the Sphere of Heaven. And the spirits of those who are involved in error¹⁹ enter into the bodies of animals and pass continuously from one animal into another until they are purified of their sin; whereupon they [also] become united with the Light above the Heavenly Sphere.’²⁰

(d). The late Persian writer al-Majdī (16th century?)²¹ recognized among the Manichaeian sects one that was called Tanāsukhiyya, or ‘Believers in Metempsychosis.’ The name applied to this sect is derived from the Arabic word *tanāsukhī*, which is found also in Persian, as designating a person who holds the doctrine of metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls.²²

¹⁸ This designation for the Manichaeian Column of Praise (Milky Way) is found also elsewhere.

¹⁹ The reference is to imperfect Auditors and to Sinners. The concluding line of the paragraph here rendered appears to imply the possibility of salvation ultimately for sinners that repent. Considerable support can be given for such a view.

²⁰ Tāhir al-Isfarā’īnī, fol. 62, cited by Haarbrücker, *Asch-Schahrastani*, 2. 422, cf. p. 378; see also Wesendonk, *Die Lehre des Mani*, p. 36 n. 2. As Isfarā’īnī’s text is not available in print, existing only in manuscript, I have had to rely on Haarbrücker’s version of this passage. No other work by Shāhpūr Tāhir Isfarā’īnī is extant. He died July 14, 1078 A. D. (471 A. H.), see Hajji Khalifa, ed. Flügel, 2. 173, cf. Haarbrücker, 2. 378. Consult also Brockelmann, *Gesch. Arab. Litt.* 1. 387; Ahlwardt, *Kat. Arab. Mss.* 2. 682 (Ms. no. 280); de Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, p. 279 (Ms. no. 1452). His work on the Sects of Islam is thought by some to be a résumé of al-Baghdādī, see Mrs. K. C. Seelye, *Moslem Sects*, p. 10. (Thanks are due to Professor Gottheil.)

²¹ Presumably this is Majd-ad-dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī, whose poetic name was Majdī and who wrote in 1595 (A. H. 1004) a collective work, containing also historical notices, under Shāh ‘Abbās, see Ethé in *Grundr. iran. Philol.* 2. 332-333.

²² See Hyde, *Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers.*, 1st ed., p. 282, Oxford, 1700; cited also by Kessler, p. 363 n. For Arab.-Pers. *tanāsukhī*, cf. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 326. Also for the prevalence later of the doctrine of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*) among the ultra-Shī’ite sects of the Persians, see especially Browne, *Lit. Hist. Persia*, 1. 279, 311, 320, 328 (with quotations from Shahrastānī and Ibn Khallikān).

If it should be objected that the oldest of these Muhammadan allusions dates only from shortly before 1000 A. D., we can point out that the statements in the Fihrist (987 A. D.) are based directly on Mānī's authority. Not only that, but we can at once adduce far earlier sources, the Christian non-Manichaeic writers, whose testimony is in exactly the same tone and is even more explicit. The statements of these authors, including also Barhebraeus, will next be presented.

2. References by Christian anti-Manichaeic writers.

(e). Earliest among the Christian controversialists to mention this doctrine, and in a very explicit way, is Hegemonius in his *Acta Archelai* (§ 10), in the first part of the fourth century A. D. This author portrays in detail how those who have committed sin (Hearers, or Auditors, being equally involved) are 'transfused into five bodies,' including the various forms of animal and plant life. The description in the *Acta*, purporting to record the words of Mānī's disciple Turbo in his exposition to Marcellus, reads as follows:—

a. 'I shall tell you also this, how the soul is transfused into five bodies.²³ First of all some small portion of it is purified²⁴; then it is transfused into the body of a dog, or a camel, or some other animal. But if it be a soul that has committed murder, it is transferred²⁵ into the bodies of lepers²⁶; and if it has been

²³ Gk. μεταγγίζεται ἡ ψυχὴ εἰς πέντε σώματα; Lat. version, *animae in alia corpora transfunduntur*. The Manichaeic five-fold division of living things into men, animals, birds, fish, creeping things is well known and is mentioned again at the end of this passage. See also Augustine, *Epist. Fund.* 28 (31) and 31 (34); idem, *De Haeres.* 46; likewise the Turkish Manichaeic document Khuastuanift, ll. 79-84, cf. ll. 60-61, transl. Le Coq, *JRAS*, 1911, p. 286-287; compare further the references given below under Chinese and Turkish.

²⁴ Lit. 'is cleansed from it; then [its unpurified part] is transfused' etc. Gk. καθαρίζεται . . . μεταγγίζεται; Lat. version, *purgatur . . . transfunditur*.

²⁵ Gk. μεταφέρεται, Lat. *transfunditur*.

²⁶ Gk. κελεφῶν, Lat. *elephantiacorum*. Salmond, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 6. p. 184 n. 7, observes that κελεφος (thus accented) occurs in ecclesiastical writers in the sense of 'leper.' Therefore adopted. Less satisfactory is the emendation κελυφῶν, 'Schaaltiere' (testaceous animals), referred to by

found to have engaged in reaping, (it is transferred) into the dumb.²⁷ . . . ²⁸ Moreover, the reapers who reap are likened to the Princes (Archons) who have been in Darkness from the beginning, when they devoured some of the panoply of the First Man²⁹; on which account there is a necessity for these to be transfused³⁰ into hay, or beans, or barley, or grain, or vegetables, in order that they may be reaped and cut. And again, if anyone eats bread, he must needs become bread and himself be eaten. If one shall kill a chicken, he will be a chicken. If one shall kill a mouse, he himself will also be a mouse. If, again, one is rich in this world, and if he goes forth from his tabernacle (of the flesh), he must needs be transfused³¹ into the body of a beggar, so as himself to go about asking alms, and after that to return to everlasting punishment. Moreover, as this body is of the Princes (Archons of Darkness) and of Matter, it is necessary that he who plants a *persea*³² should pass through³³ many bodies until that *persea* is laid low. And if one builds a house for himself, he will be scattered about into all the bodies.³⁴ If one bathes, he congeals his soul into water.³⁵ Also, if any-

F. C. Baur, *Manich. Religionssystem*, p. 319 n. 46. For philological data to show that the word means lepers see now W. Bang, *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 5 (1925), p. 41-48.

²⁷ Gk. *μογγιλάλους*, 'hardly speaking, talking with an impediment, dumb'; Latin version, *mutos*. Their lot accords with the non-sentient life into which they are transformed by way of retribution.

²⁸ A short sentence here gives the designations of the soul as 'intelligence, reflection, prudence, consideration, reasoning.'

²⁹ Reference is here made to the familiar legend in Manichaean cosmogony.

³⁰ Gk. *μεταγγισθῆναι*, Lat. *transfundi*.

³¹ Gk. *μεταγγισθῆναι*, but Lat. *inici*.

³² An Egyptian tree with the fruit growing from the stem.

³³ Gk. *διελθείν*; Lat. version, *transire*.

³⁴ Gk. *διασπαραχθήσεται εἰς τὰ ὅλα σώματα*; Lat. *dispergetur per omnia corpora*.

³⁵ The Greek has *εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ πήσσει*, while the Lat. version, following an inferior reading *πλήσσει*, renders by *vulnerat*. The Manichaean observations regarding (ritual) washing will be discussed elsewhere.

one does not give to his Elect (the alms of) piety,³⁶ he will be punished in the Hells,³⁷ and will be transformed³⁸ into the bodies of Catechumens (Auditors) until he shall give many (alms of) piety; and for this reason they offer to the Elect whatever is best in their food. . . .³⁹ Also if one walks about upon the ground, he hurts the earth, and when he moves his hand he hurts the air, since the air is the soul (life) of men and of animals, and of winged creatures, fish, and creeping things.⁴⁰ And as to every one existing in this world, I have told you that this body of his is not of God but of Matter, and is itself Darkness and must needs be cast into Darkness.’⁴¹

β. Another passage in the *Acta Archelai*, § 11 (10). 2, which is wholly in harmony with the Manichæan doctrine of the future life and the punishment of sinners by rebirth, similarly records that, after enduring hell torments, the soul of unbelievers is again ‘transfused into bodies’ as a means of further castigation and finally consumed in the Great Fire at the end of the world. The text cited runs thus:—

‘And if the soul goes out without having known the Truth, it is given over to the demons so that they may bring it into subjection in the Hells of fire; and after the disciplining it is transfused into bodies in order that it may be [wholly] subdued, and in this manner it is cast into the Great Fire until the Consummation.’⁴²

³⁶ Gk. *εὐσέβειαν*, ‘pious observance,’ which the Latin version correctly interprets by *alimenta* as food given by the Auditors to support the Elect.

³⁷ Gk. *εἰς τὰς γέεννας*, which the Latin version correctly understands (cf. 11. 2, below) as *poenis subdetur Gehennae*, ‘will suffer the pains of Hell.’ A less good Gk. reading is *γενεάς*, ‘for generations.’

³⁸ Gk. *μετενομοματοῦται*, Lat. *transformatur*.

³⁹ A half dozen lines are here omitted from the translation of the Greek, because dealing simply with the prayer offered by the Elect on receiving bread (as if a substance endowed with feeling) and the blessing bestowed upon the Auditor for the gift.

⁴⁰ The familiar doctrine in Manichæism that all nature is sentient.

⁴¹ Gk. *σκορωθῆναι*, Lat. *obscurari*.—For the text of this passage, *Acta Archelai*, 10 (9), see the edition of Beeson, p. 15-17.

⁴² Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, 11 (10), 2, ed. Beeson, p. 18. Further

The testimony so clearly given above by the author of the *Acta Archelai* proves beyond a doubt that the doctrine was current as Manichaeism early in the fourth century, not long after Mānī's death, and was certainly accepted in the popular mind as that of ordinary transmigration.

(f). Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem (c. 315-386 A. D.), in his *Catechetical Lectures* (6. 31, end), repeats with some variation the idea of the *Acta Archelai*, which he knew; but he may have had further information besides, because he mentions (just before) in this section the Gospel of Thomas, who was one of Mānī's well-known disciples. Cyril says of the Manichaeans:—

‘They teach that whoever plucks up this or that plant is changed into that itself.⁴³ For if the one who crops a plant or any of the vegetables is transformed into that, into how many will husbandmen and the tribe of gardeners be changed? ⁴⁴ The gardener, as we saw, has used his sickle upon so many; into which sort, then, is he transformed? Truly, their doctrines are ridiculous and full of condemnation and shame. The same man, who is a shepherd of a flock, both sacrifices a sheep and kills a wolf; into which is he transformed? Many men have caught fish and have snared birds; into which, then, are they changed?’⁴⁵

(g). Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis (writing about 374 A. D.), includes in his Greek work *Panarion* (*Haeres.* 66. 28) the passage quoted above from *Acta Archelai*, § 10; and again in the same work (*Haeres.* 66. 55) he argues at some length against Mānī's views about metempsychosis, beginning thus:—

details concerning this important passage will be found in the volume on Manichaeism which the writer has in preparation. For help in connection with the Greek and Latin passages here assembled I am indebted to my fellow-worker Dr. Charles J. Ogden.

⁴³ Gk. μεταβάλλεται. Throughout the passage, the verb ‘change, transform,’ is used (in pres. and fut.).

⁴⁴ Cf. *Acta Archelai*, 10 (9). 2, 4, quoted above, p. 253.

⁴⁵ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*, 6. 31 end, ed. Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. 33, col. 596 A; cf. also tr. E. H. Gifford, *NPN Fathers*, 2d ser., vol. 7, p. 42, New York, 1894; Germ. tr. by Nirschl, p. 145, Kempten, 1871.

He (Mānī) sets forth the doctrine of the transfusion of souls (μεταγγισμὸς ψυχῶν) from bodies into bodies.'

[Discussion follows to show the absurdity of the idea.]⁴⁶

(h). Titus of Bostra (writing bet. 363 and 378 A. D.)⁴⁷ was evidently familiar with Mānī's doctrine on this point, as is clear from a reference in the Syriac text of his controversial work (4. 19), where he uses the technical Manichaean term 'transfusion of souls' (Syr. *tašpīk^hā d^enap^hšāt^hā*). He is arguing in this section against Mānī for having adopted and adapted earlier dogmas. Reference is made first to Xenophon as recording the Persian doctrine of the Two Principles, next to Aristotle on Matter (ἄλη), which term Mānī changed to Evil, and then to Plato for metempsychosis. In the latter case the Syriac word employed (*tašpīk^hā*, lit. 'a pouring' from one vessel into another = 'transfusion') is the exact equivalent for the Manichaean designation which is elsewhere rendered into Greek by μεταγγισμός (cf. Fr. 'envasement' and Eng. 'decanting'). The statement from which this inference can be drawn runs:—

'But Plato erroneously taught in terms more clear [than Mānī] the transfusion of souls (*tašpīk^hā d^enap^hšāt^hā*).'⁴⁸

The whole context of the passage shows that the testimony of Titus can be added to the list of witnesses for proving the currency of the metempsychosis doctrine among the early Manichaeans.

(i). Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrihus (c. 386-457?), is likewise worth citing, since his well-known Epitome of Heretical Fables (written after 451) has the following pertinent statement concerning the belief of the Manichaeans:—

⁴⁶ Epiphanius, *Haeres.* 66. 55, ed. Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. 42, col. 112; cf. also Alfaric, *L'Évolution intellectuelle de Saint Augustin*, p. 153 n. 4.

⁴⁷ For the dates see A. Baumstark, *Gesch. Syr. Lit.* p. 60, Bonn, 1922, where B. observes that the original Greek of Titus is to be dated shortly after 363 A. D. and the Syriac translation within the decades immediately following.

⁴⁸ See the Syriac of Titus of Bostra, *Contra Manichaeos Libri Quatuor Syriace*, ed. Lagarde, p. 138, line 13, Berlin, 1859. The hint for this passage I owe to Mr. W. McCulloch Thomson, formerly a student at Columbia University.

‘They (i. e. the Manichaeans) reject the resurrection of the body as a myth, for they do not consider any part of matter as worthy of salvation. They say that there are transincorporations of souls,⁴⁹ and that some are sent down (*καταπέμπεσθαι*) into the bodies of birds, some into those of domestic animals, some into those of wild beasts and creeping things. They regard all things as possessed of souls—fire and water and air and plants and seeds. For which reason the so-called Perfect (Elect, *τέλειοι*) among them do not break bread or cut a vegetable, but cry out against those who do so as manifestly murderers. But, all the same, they eat what has been cut and broken.’⁵⁰

(j). Saint Augustine (400 A. D.) has several important allusions to the doctrine. In his animadversions against Faustus and the Manichaeans he refers to the threefold lot that awaits respectively the souls of Sinners, Hearers, and the Elect, which involves passing through other cycles in the case of the two former, according to Mānī’s teachings.

a. ‘Concerning the souls of the dead you tell us that (1) the wicked souls [of Sinners], or (2) those [of Hearers] that are purified in a minor degree are going either into revolving changes (*in revolutiones ire*)⁵¹ or into some punishments still more severe.⁵² On the

⁴⁹ Gk. *ψυχῶν μετεσώματώσεις*, ‘re-embodiments of souls.’

⁵⁰ Theodoret, *Haeret. Fab. Compendium*, l. 26, ed. Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. 83, col. 380 C. For this reference thanks are due to my pupil Mr. Ralph Marcus.

⁵¹ Observe that Augustine uses this expression technically, as also the terms *revolvi*, *revolutionem* below (and similarly *redire*, *revertantur*, *radius nascantur*) to indicate the rebirth of the soul in some form or other by passing through a revolving change or cycle in its course. This particular expression conveys the idea that corresponds to the Indian doctrine of *samsāra*, or the ceaseless round of birth and death. It savors of Brahmanism and Buddhism. A similar term in Manichaean Turkish is found in the Turkish Fragment quoted below, p. 265 n. 71a.

⁵² Here the distributive Lat. *aut . . . aut* might seem to apply the ‘revolving changes’ to the Hearers, and the ‘more severe punishments’ to the Sinners; but not necessarily. Punishment in a new birth formed part of the castigation of Sinners in addition to their other tortures.

other hand, (3) the good souls [of the Elect] are placed in the ships [Sun and Moon] and, sailing in heaven, pass over hence into that phantasmal Earth of Light for which they died fighting.’⁵³

β. Again in the same work Augustine states that the most that the Auditors can hope for is to shorten their wanderings by being reborn as Elect, or, even better, as vegetables to be used as food by those sainted ones.

‘Because ye promise to them (i. e. the Hearers) not a resurrection, but a revolving change (*revolutionem*) to this mortal existence (*ad istam mortalitatem*), with the result that they shall be born again (*rursus nascantur*) and live the life of your Elect—so vain, foolish, and sacrilegious—which you yourselves live and are greatly praised for; or if they are more deserving, they shall enter into (*in . . . veniant*) melons and cucumbers, or some other articles of food which you are going to eat, so that they may quickly be purified by your digestion (lit. belchings).’⁵⁴

γ. Augustine also makes, in his work on the Heresies, a like statement about the Manichaeans:—

‘They believe that the souls of their Auditors pass in their cycle into the Elect (*in Electos revolvi*) or, by an abridgement still more happy, into the food (*escas*) of their Elect, so that straightway being purified they will not return (*revertantur*) thence into any bodies. But the other souls (i. e. of Sinners) they think go back (*redire*) both into beasts and into all things that are fixed by roots and nourished in the earth.’⁵⁵

⁵³ Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 20. 21, ed. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. 42, col. 384; cf. also Flügel, p. 349.

⁵⁴ Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 5. 10, ed. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. 42, col. 226; cf. Baur, *Das manich. Relig.* p. 318.

⁵⁵ Augustine, *De Haeresibus*, 46, ed. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. 42, col. 37. Cf. also Flügel, p. 349, 350. Observe that, in the Manichaean system throughout, insentient plant life is regarded as standing on a higher plane than active animal life; see Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 5. 10 (9), quoted just above, and compare the Turkish citation below (p. 264) from Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1, p. 8-9.

8. Augustine, in refuting Adimantus, assails the Manichaeans on the score of their belief in transmigration, which gives them so much anxiety about animals. The passage reads:—

‘Because they are extremely concerned about the souls of beasts—for although the souls of men are endowed with reason, they nevertheless think that these pass in their cycle (*revolvi*) into beasts—[therefore] they believe that the realms of the heavens are closed to their own selves if they agree that these are closed to the souls of beasts.’⁵⁶

ε. Augustine furthermore points out, in refuting Adimantus, that the Manichaeans find themselves involved in a dilemma when it comes to the question of souls being destined to pass into the bodies of the smaller animals. Thus:—

‘They deny that human souls can pass in their cycle (*revolvi*) so far as to [become] very small animals. They are hard pressed [to explain] why a human soul can pass (*revolvi*) into a little fox, but not into a weasel, when the cub of a little fox may possibly be even smaller than a large weasel. They do not manage to find out where to draw the line.’⁵⁷

The very fact that St. Augustine, a former Manichaean, fully recognized the transmigration doctrine as current and characteristic, shows that it must have been thoroughly established and widely diffused in his time, as it doubtless was from the beginning.

(k). Secundinus, a Manichaean Auditor at Rome (c. 405 A. D.), who wrote in a friendly manner to St. Augustine urging him to return to the religion of Mānī, gives further testimony on the subject of metempsychosis in Manichaeism by an incidental allusion in his *Epistola ad Augustinum*, § 5. In this letter to the Church Father the Manichaean devotee emphasizes the idea that the real Jesus was not born of woman, and subtly reminds the quondam Manichaean of the metempsychosis doctrine in these words:—

⁵⁶ Augustine, *Contra Adimantum*, ch. 12. 1, ed. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. 42, col. 143-144; cf. also Baur, p. 318.

⁵⁷ Augustine, *Contra Adimantum*, ch. 12. 2, ed. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. 42, col. 144; cf. also Baur, p. 319.

‘Cease, I beg you, to shut up Christ in the womb, lest you yourself be shut up again in a womb (*desine, quaeso, utero claudere Christum, ne ipse utero rursus concludaris*).’⁵⁸

(1). The Greek Formula of Abjuration (9th century A. D.) exacts of the convert to Christianity a repudiation of Mānī’s doctrine of metempsychosis:—

‘I anathematize those who teach metempsychosis (*μετεψύχωσιν*), which they themselves call transfusion (*μεταγγισμόν*) of souls, and who assume that the plants, herbs, water, and all the other things are endowed with souls (*ἐμψυχα*).’⁵⁹

(m). Photius (c. 820-891 A. D.), Patriarch of Constantinople, recognizes, on the authority of the Manichaean Agapius, Mānī’s threefold division of the lots of mankind through metempsychosis in the case of Elect, Hearers, and Sinners,⁶⁰ because he says:—

‘(Mānī) affirms the doctrine of metempsychosis, (1) resolving into God those who have attained to the extreme point (*ἄκρον*) of virtue (i. e. the Elect), and (2) consigning (ultimately) to fire and darkness those Sinners who have reached the utmost point (*ἔσχατον*) of wickedness; but (3) bringing again into bodily forms (*σώματα*) those (Hearers) who have governed their lives in a middling fashion.’⁶¹

(n). Barhebraeus (1226-1286), a Christianized Jew known also under the Arabic name of Abū’l-Faraj, has a statement in his Syriac Ecclesiastical Chronicle that should be repeated in this connection, since he reiterates it also in the Arabic translation that he made of his own work, toward the end of his life, under the title Epitome of Dynasties. After recording Mānī’s doctrines regard-

⁵⁸ See Secundinus, *Epist. ad Aug.* 5, ed. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. 42, col. 576 top. Cf. also Alfarić, *L’Évolution intellectuelle de Saint Augustin*, p. 153 n. 4, and p. 88.

⁵⁹ Gk. Formula, § 9, cf. Kessler, *Mani*, p. 404 (text), 362 (transl.); Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. 1, col. 1465 B.

⁶⁰ See above, page 247.

⁶¹ Photius, *Bibl. Cod.* 179, ed. Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. 103, col. 524-525 D-A; see also Baur, p. 317; and cf. Flügel, p. 349.

ing the ships of the sun and the moon, etc., as a means for releasing the imprisoned light, Barhebraeus says in the Syriac:—

‘Together with these things he (Mānī) taught also the transference (Syr. *šūnāi*) of souls from bodies to bodies, and that everything — earth and water — has a soul.’ [His version (later) into Arabic is substantially the same.]⁶²

The testimony of these various Christian writers, combined with the statements of the Muhammadan authors cited above, is sufficient to prove that the doctrine of metempsychosis was current from the earliest times in Western Manichaeism, and was by no means confined to Manichaeism in the East, where, as will now be shown, it was equally in vogue, probably fostered also by a congenial Buddhistic atmosphere.⁶³

3. Allusions in the extant Manichaean documents themselves.

In the Manichaean documents themselves, as now available in fragmentary or in fuller form, we find corroborative evidence for the doctrine of metempsychosis in Manichaeism. This evidence will now be presented in conclusion.

(o). The oft-quoted Chinese Manichaean Treatise describes the Demon of Hate, the Master of Greed, as having created the two sexes, male and female, in imitation of the sun and the moon, ‘in order to deceive and confuse the Luminous Nature’ by involving it in the miseries of birth and rebirth.

a. ‘So as to cause it (i. e. the Luminous Nature) to embark on the Ships of Darkness and to send it down to

⁶² For the Syriac text of Barhebraeus see Abbeloos and Lamy, *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Eccles.* 1, p. 61, Louvain, 1872; for the Arabic see Pockocke, p. 131, transl. in Kessler, *Mani*, p. 357. In this connection thanks are due to Dr. A. Yohannan.

⁶³ See furthermore the conclusion below, p. 268. In the brochure of O. G. von Wesendonk, *Lehre des Mani*, p. 35 n. 4, 36 n. end, Leipzig, 1922, it is correctly pointed out, with reference to recent writers who have touched on the subject (E. Kuhn, B. van Eysinga, R. Garbe), that emphasis should be laid on the Hellenistic-Roman atmosphere of Mānī’s surroundings, due to his birth in Babylonia at that time, irrespective of his long sojourn in the Orient.

the Hells (lit. 'underground prisons') to return in a circle in the five ways,⁶⁴ and to experience all the sufferings from which it is extremely difficult to be released.'⁶⁵

β. In an incidental reference found in another Chinese work (Text xlix), which is of quite different origin and polemical in its allusions to Manichaeism, the Manichaean Elect are quoted as claiming to be exempt from the obligation of rebirth and to pass directly to beatitude, since they assert:—

'We do not go through another life; we pass directly [to beatitude].'⁶⁶

γ. Furthermore the Chinese Manichaean Treatise, near its end, includes Mānī's promise to those who faithfully follow his teachings, to the effect that—

'All these [faithful] beings who have bodies shall be delivered from life and death and shall go definitively, victorious forever, into the region of immutable felicity.'⁶⁷

This phrase 'from life and death' receives further significance

⁶⁴ This special Chinese phrase, which implies 'turning as a wheel' (Buddhistic), is interesting and to be compared with St. Augustine's *revolvi, revolutio* (cited above, p. 257 n. 51); compare also the Turkish designation (*tüg-*) below, p. 265 n. 71a. Chavannes and Pelliot (*JA*, 1911, p. 533 n. 4) give as a literal rendering of the phrase 'revenir en cercle dans les cinq voies' = 'transmigrât dans les cinq conditions d'existence'; and they naturally make a reference to the five *gatis* in Buddhism (see also above, p. 252 n. 23, and cf. p. 263-264). Somewhat different in its bearing, although to be noted in connection with the general idea as being a means of deliverance, is the Chinese designation of the Zodiac as the 'wheel of revolutions,' ('la roue des révolutions'), see *JA*, 1911, p. 515, 526, 555; *JA*, 1913, p. 102, 136 n., also p. 104 n. 1 § 2°.

⁶⁵ For this passage see *JA*, 1911, p. 533-534, with the notes by Chavannes and Pelliot. I have had the advantage of conferring likewise with my Chinese pupil Mr. Ti-Shan Hsü, thanks to whom are expressed elsewhere in connection with Chinese Manichaean texts.

⁶⁶ See Text xlix, in Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA*, 1913, p. 361, with n. 2. More lit. (according to Mr. Hsü): 'We do not travel along the other ways; we pass by the direct one.' Regarding the immediate beatitude of the Elect in Manichaeism, see above, p. 248(a).

⁶⁷ See Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA*, 1911, p. 585. Compare likewise (with possible Buddhistic tinge) 'la mer de la vie et de la mort,' *JA*, 1911, p. 531-532.

in the light of the citations below from the Turfan Pahlavi and Turkish Fragments.

8. As a supplement there may be quoted a passage in a non-Manichaeian book of the tenth century which possibly alludes to this doctrine in Manichaeism. This passage (while it may be more Buddhistic than Manichaeian) is found in vol. 107 of the T'ai-Ping Kwang Chi, compiled in 977 A. D., and reads as follows:—

‘Wu K'e-Chiu, a native of the Yueh (Chikiang) Province, emigrated from his native city to Ch'ang-An (the capital) in the fifteenth year of Yuan-Ho (820 A. D.) of the T'ang Dynasty. He believed in Manichaeism, and his wife Wang followed him (in this). More than a year later his wife died suddenly. Three years went by, and the wife appeared to her husband in a dream and said: “I believed in a heresy and have become a snake at the foot of the Stupa at Hwang-Tze P'o (Prince's Slope); and tomorrow morning I have to die (again). I hope that you can invite some Buddhist priests to go there and recite the Chin-Kang Ching, and all the suffering will be extinguished.” This caused K'e-Chiu to return to the Buddha and constantly to recite the Chin-Kang Ching.’⁶⁸

(p). The Turkish Manichaeian Fragments furnish further support in regard to metempsychosis. The references here noted in particular are drawn from a Turkish book relating to the Auditors (T. II, D. 173, called by Le Coq a ‘Buchrest’ or ‘Doppelbuchblatt,’ cf. *Türk. Man.* 1, p. 3, *Türk. Man.* 3, p. 11). They all occur in a parable which, presumably, Mānī is expounding, and combined they show that the doctrine of metempsychosis is involved in the discourse.

a. The first (T. II, D. 173 a 1, recto, lines 4-9) contains at least an implication of the transference of the soul into animal bodies:—

‘Just as if a lamb or a calf, changing its body, should be born again, turning into a young lion or a young

⁶⁸ I am indebted to my student Mr. Ti-Shan Hsü (A. M., Columbia University, 1924) for this reference and the translation from the Chinese.

wolf, (and) then devour and destroy herds, cattle, and sheep—.’⁶⁹

β. The second, a few lines farther on (T. II, D. 173 a 1, recto, lines 18-20 and verso, lines 1-3), continues with a more explicit reference to rebirth, especially into plant and tree life, as the exposition further says:—

‘He (Mānī?) thus explained that men previously, through (or from) the Five Gods, were born in the five kinds of plants and trees; and through (from) the five kinds of plants and trees they were born in this senseless body.’⁷⁰

γ. The third allusion is found on the very next leaf of the same Turkish text (T. II, D. 173, a 2, recto). In this section is implied the misery involved in Metempsychosis until cessation is obtained through the Faith which brings joyous union with the Father. The significant lines are:

⁶⁹ Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1, p. 8, lines 4-9. Cf. also Scheftelowitz, *Die Entstehung der manich. Religion*, p. 84, 41. See now likewise Bang, *Muséon*, 36. 239, n. 3, for a similar interpretation of the parallel passage (*Türk. Man.* 1, p. 18) as denoting metempsychosis.

⁷⁰ See Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1, p. 8-9. The Turkish word *utru* (*ötrü*) has been rendered above as ‘through’ (or ‘from’), see Bang, *Muséon*, 38. 12-13; Le Coq suggested doubtfully ‘hindurch(??)’. The meaning adopted, however, sufficiently fits in with the idea of passing through successive rebirths. In the sequence of advance, however, we must remember that ideally, in the Manichaean conception, plant life stood on a higher plane in theory than active animal life, see above, p. 258 n. 55, and below, p. 266 n. 76. It will be noticed in my rendering of the Turkish I have followed Le Coq (op. cit.) in translating *bis türliüg ida ıyaçda* as ‘the five kinds of plants and trees’ particularly because of the parallel in the Khuastuanift, l. 60 and l. 316, ‘the five kinds of herbs and trees’ (*ootqa ıyaçqa*, Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1911, p. 286, 298; cf. also Bang, *Le Muséon*, 36. p. 151, 167). As for the idea of a rebirth on earth in the various species of the vegetable kingdom sufficient evidence has already been given by the quotations made from the Acta Archelai (see above, p. 253), Cyril (cf. p. 255), Theodoret (cf. n. 50) and Augustine (notes 54, 55). Of similar import is the citation below from a Turfan Pahlavi Fragment (see n. 74 below, and cf. n. 76). In this general connection, moreover, we may recall that Theodore bar Khoni (tr. Pognon, p. 191; Cumont, p. 40) tells how the sin which fell from the Archons and came to the dry part of earth ‘germinated into five trees.’ It therefore seems certain that our Turkish passage here refers to transmigration into ordinary plants and trees. The whole context is against understanding them to be the (primordial) Trees of Death as does Bang, *Muséon*, 38. p. 13.

‘Now, our Gracious Father, our Beneficent Prince, countless myriads of years have elapsed since we have been separated from Thee (ll. 2-6).’ . . . ‘We wish to forget the torments that we endured during the long time (ll. 17-19).’⁷¹

δ. The fourth instance, furnished by another passage in the remnants of the same Turkish book (T. II, D. 173 b, 2 verso, lines 8-19), is wholly convincing. In this particular passage special allusion is made to different sorts of Hearers, the ascent of their souls to the Zodiac and progress in their cycle, and to their ‘changing into another body,’ ascending or descending. The lines in question read as follows:—

‘The Auditors are not all alike, one to another. And there are complete Hearers, and there are such as are well-intentioned, and there are such as love the Law. And the ascending of their souls to the Zodiac, the transforming,⁷¹ and their changing into another body—their ascent and [de]scent is not a single change. And there are many (of these things) that differ with one another, just as in the case of Sinful Men there are heavy (and) light fetters, shackles, and chains.’⁷²

ε. In this same connection with the idea of metempsychosis there may probably be cited likewise another reference found in the Turkish Confession Prayer (lines 116-117). In this passage the Hearer penitently asks forgiveness for sins committed ‘in a former body or in this body.’⁷³

⁷¹ Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1, p. 10-11 (ll. 2-6; 17-19). The passage is taken similarly by Scheftelowitz, *Die Entstehung*, p. 82.

⁷² Le Coq (*Türk. Man.* 3, p. 12) renders *t(ä)g(i)lmäk* by ‘Einherrollen.’ This term in Turkish evidently denotes the Indian *samsāra*, see above p. 257 n. 51, where comment is made on St. Augustine’s *revolutio, revolvi* as conveying the same idea. Recall also the Chinese expression noted above, p. 264 n. 64.

⁷³ See Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3, p. 12.

⁷⁴ See Le Coq, *Chuastuanift* (Germ. ed.), p. 14, lines 11-12, ‘in (einem) früheren Körper oder in diesem Körper.’ But in commenting upon this clause (p. 31 n. 17) Le Coq interprets the allusion as denoting the ‘old man’ and the ‘new man,’ and refers to Baur, p. 271 (cf. above, p. 000). He appears to have had that same idea before, as conveyed by his earlier English translation (*JRAS*, 1911, p. 288, lines 117-118) ‘in our first self

ζ. For a supplementary Turkish allusion to 'enduring the torment of life and death' (*tuğa ölü ängänür*, see Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3, p. 29, Nr. 12. 10-11), consult the next section (*q a, β*), relating to the Turfan Pahlavi passages.

(q). Turning finally to the Turfan Pahlavi documents, we may find some slight additional data to combine with the material already presented.

a. For example, the first line of one of the hymns in the Manichaean Hymnbook *Maḥrnāmag* (line 298) is listed alphabetically as having begun thus:—

az franapt aḥēm ūrvar—
'I proceeded as a plant—'⁷⁴

While we may acknowledge that it is not wholly satisfactory to draw deductions from a mere table of first lines in a hymnal, when the hymn in question has not been preserved, nevertheless the metempsychosis idea is certainly involved in the phrase *franapt . . . ūrvar*, 'went forth as a plant.'⁷⁵ That stage in the cycle has already been proved to have been fully recognized, as shown by the quotations from the Turkish and from St. Augustine above (p. 264 n. 70), and its analogy is found later in Sūfiism.⁷⁶

(or) in this self.' Radloff, *Chuastuanit*, p. 31 n. 40, St. Petersburg, 1909, evidently had in advance the same idea in general as Le Coq, but admitted the possibility ('vielleicht') that the phrase might mean 'in einer früheren Existenz,' adding that the whole passage requires further consideration. Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA*, 1911, p. 535 n. 3, rather favor Le Coq, it would appear. Nevertheless, in view of the evidence already adduced, I am strongly inclined to maintain that the reference is to metempsychosis.—I have since found new support in the fact that Scheftelowitz, *Entstehung*, p. 41, is likewise of the same opinion as that here upheld. [Later note.—Consult Bang, *Muséon*, 36. 198-200, who seems to have had difficulty with the passage, but inclines to agree with Le Coq; cf. also in *Muséon*, 38. 13.]

⁷⁴ Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt* (*Maḥrnāmag*), p. 22.

⁷⁵ For the etymology of *franapt*, see Bartholomae, *Zum AirWb.* p. 64 n.

⁷⁶ For the Sūfi idea of metempsychosis and the ladder of evolution (mineral, plant, animal, man), see the well-known verses of Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī, tr. Browne, *Pers. Lit. under Tatar Dominion* (3), p. 217-218; P. Horn, *Gesch. Pers. Litt.* p. 163; compare likewise Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, p. 168; idem, *Divānī Shamsī Tabriz*, p. 47, 49; also S. M. Iqbal, *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, p. 41, 42, 117.

β. In the light of the material presented, it seems not impossible to interpret the word *zādmürd* in a Turfan Pahlavi passage (repeated again) as an allusion to rebirth. The word in question occurs first in a prayer addressed to Mānī, together with Jesus, in which—if rightly translated—the faithful devotee reiterates the supplication:—

‘Release thou my soul from this birth (and) death,
release my soul from this birth (and) death.’⁷⁷

The same appeal, in almost identical words, recurs in another passage where the prayer is combinedly addressed to Mithra, Jesus, the Maiden of Light, and Mānī.⁷⁸ In both these instances, as stated, the matter rests upon whether a dogmatic or a general interpretation is to be given to the word *zādmürd*, lit. ‘born-dead,’ ‘being born, being dead.’ In view of the data assembled above from the Chinese (esp. § γ) and from the Turkish (§ ζ), it seems justifiable to understand this as implying the recurrence of ‘birth and death,’ taking the term like a Sanskrit dual, for which there is good support in later Persian.⁷⁹

γ. Lastly, we have the authority of Professor F. W. K. Müller for believing that the expression ‘emanation of Mānī’ in another Turfan Pahlavi Fragment, T. II, D. 135, line 17, is to be associated with the Manichaeic idea of transfusion of souls. In this piece an Uigurian Khan, who was a patron of Manichaeism, is spoken of as an ‘emanation of Mānī’—*zahag ‘i Mānī*.⁸⁰ Müller’s

⁷⁷ M. 311 verso, lines 13-16 (= Mü. 2, p. 67), *bōžā man ravān aj ‘imty zādmürdā, bōž man ravān aj ‘im zādmürd*.

⁷⁸ See M. 38 verso, lines 6-9 (= Mü. 2, p. 77); the variants are insignificant.

⁷⁹ Müller, *loc. cit.*, renders *zādmürd* by ‘Geboren-Tot (sein).’ Salemann, *Man. Stud.* 1. 78, remarks: ‘scheint einen dogmatischen begriff zu bezeichnen, das irdische leben des leiblichen menschen, der geboren wird um zugleich dem tode verfallen zu sein.’ Observe that in the Chinese Manichaeic Treatise, *JA*, 1911, p. 531-532, we find a reference (with possible Buddhist coloring) to ‘la mer de la vie et de la mort’; see p. 262 and n. 67 above.—Examples of such ‘dvandva’ compounds can readily be cited in later Persian, cf. NP. *šabān-rōz* ‘night and day,’ *šusta-rufta* ‘washed and scoured’ (= ‘cleanliness’), etc.; see Horn, in *Grundr. iran. Philol.* 1. 2, p. 195-196.

⁸⁰ See Müller, ‘Der Hofstaat eines Uiguren-Königs,’ in *Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen*, p. 208; see particularly Müller’s references (p. 209 n. 2) regard-

footnote (*op. cit.* p. 209 n. 2) particularly points out that the honorific epithet 'emanation' (*zahag*) would be in harmony with the Manichæan conception of such a transmission of the spirit.

Conclusion.

In summing up, we may say that the combined evidence tends to support the view that the doctrine of metempsychosis (even in the cruder form of transmigration, if we may make such a distinction in terms) was a recognized dogma both in Western and in Eastern Manichæism.⁸¹ We are justified, moreover, in believing that Mānī himself made this dogma a special tenet in his religious teaching by inculcating that retribution through some form of rebirth was in store for less faithful Auditors and for all Sinners, the Elect alone being exempt.

Mānī may have derived the idea in the first place from Hellenistic concepts current in Mesopotamia before his banishment to India and Central Asia. Evidence for the view that he taught the doctrine early in his career is furnished by the fact that, according to the Fihrist,⁸² three chapters of his book *Shābūrqān*, dedicated to King Shāpūr, dealt with the respective fates of Hearers, Elect, and Sinners in a manner that must have corresponded closely with the account preserved in the Fihrist itself, where Mānī's own authority is directly quoted.⁸³ In any event his long sojourn in the East (including Hindustan, according to tradition) would certainly have fostered the development of any incipient ideas held on the subject, particularly as Indian ideas were then current in Central Asia, and would have aided him in giving further impetus to the inclusion of the doctrine among the principal tenets of his faith.

ing the employment of *zahag*, 'emanation'; consult likewise Müller's *Uigurica*, 2, p. 95, and his *Doppelblatt*, p. 5.

⁸¹ Consult again Baur, p. 317-321; Flügel, p. 348-350.

⁸² Fihrist, tr. Flügel, p. 103, iv; also Kessler, p. 180-181 (noting the correction to 'Electi,' p. 181 n. 1); cf. likewise Alfarc, *Les Écritures manichéennes*, 2. 50.

⁸³ See Flügel, p. 100-101.