

**Muslims on the Manichaeans**

**and**

**The Search for the Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq**

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Autumn Semester 2014

## **Abstract**

Early Muslim authors wrote about a number of religious groups. Among these groups were the Manichaeans. Some of the earliest Muslim works on the Manichaeans have not survived. Of those that have, many appear to depend upon the lost Manichaeography of Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq. This has been acknowledged by scholars for over half a century and, most recently, the hypothesis has been put forward by François de Blois that two authors (al-Nadīm and al-Malāhimī) used al-Warrāq's work directly while others used him through the intermediacy of al-Nawbakhtī. This provides vital information as to how to reconstruct al-Warrāq's Manichaeography. However, no such reconstruction has been published, nor have the works from which a reconstruction could be created been presented together for comparison. I have attempted to fill this lacuna by collating, annotating, and synoptically presenting in Arabic and English translation seven works from which al-Warrāq's material may be reconstructed. I have also taken a step towards reconstructing al-Warrāq's material myself. I have done so by using two principles from philology: (1) I searched the material for similar words and syntax, and chose the form of the passage most attested to; (2) I favored those authors likely to have used al-Warrāq directly and/or faithfully. In the end, I found convincing de Blois' hypothesis about the relationship of these seven authors to each other and to al-Warrāq. I also found that al-Malāhimī and al-Jabbār were on the whole the most reliable witnesses to al-Warrāq's material. Hopefully, I have laid a foundation upon which a full critical edition of al-Warrāq's Manichaeography can be built.

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## Acknowledgements

Because it is impossible for me to single out only one or two individuals, I would like to dedicate this to all those who helped me bring this project to fruition. My supportive wife, Keiko, has encouraged me to pursue my academic goals – even when I was not entirely sure of them. She has been an unwavering support and a bulwark against the irresolute and pessimistic darker angels of my nature. ちょうじょうね、ハビブティー！ My family has encouraged, offered advice, proofread and (whether they realized it or not) served as sounding boards. Most of many friends do not study religion but over the years have nonetheless put up with me prating on about religious arcana. They have also inspired me by their intellect and encouraged me to pursue my goals. I'm thankful to my fellow religionsvitenskap students (og stipendiater!) who have educated me, conversed with me, patiently tried to disabuse me of my faulty notions, and perhaps just as importantly, shared with me beers and earthy humor. The congregation at Kristi Åpenbaringsmenighet Russiske Ortodokse Kirke was a welcoming church family which made my stay in Bergen all the more pleasant. And without my professors, most of all my supervisor for this project, Einar Thomassen, none of this would have been possible. Einar's direction in this project has been invaluable and his erudition continues to be an inspiration.

## Preface

This thesis contains the preliminary results of a circuitous and unfinished journey. But first I would like to briefly present the starts, stops, and detours that have led me here. Over a year ago, while writing a paper on Jewish Christians in Early Christianity I stumbled upon the article “Did Jewish Christians See the Rise of Islam?”<sup>1</sup> The author of that article, John G. Gager, answered the question in the affirmative. To do so he did not develop a new argument, but rather introduced the reader to the arguments of Shlomo Pines.<sup>2</sup> I was captivated by the story of Pines' supposed discovery of a Jewish Christian source behind ‘Abd al-Jabbār's *Tathbīt dalā`il al-nubuwwa* (*The confirmation of the proofs of prophethood*)<sup>3</sup> and the drama that his hypothesis engendered. I decided to pursue Pines' hypothesis as my thesis project but ultimately abandoned it because: (1) there was little primary source material beyond what Pines had already presented; (2) Gabriel Said Reynolds had recently re-examined much of this material in two books and I felt I had little to contribute;<sup>4</sup> and (3) the full appreciation of the arguments put forward by Pines, his supporters, and his detractors, required a command of Syriac and Arabic which was beyond my ken.

I decided to stick to the same time period and the same Muslim authors but to move my attention from Jewish Christians to other religious minorities. Shortly thereafter I happened upon the article on *thanawiyya* (dualism) in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (*EI*<sup>3</sup>) where it is written: "three [groups of dualists] were at the centre of Muslim scholars' interest: (1) the Manichaeans; (2) the Bardesanites

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1 To be found on pages 361-372 in *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. Edited by Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed (Fortress. Minneapolis. 2007).

2 Pines' arguments are found in “The Jewish Christians of the Early Centuries of Christianity According to a New Source,” in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem, 1968), 2:237-309; “Studies in Christianity and in Judaeo-Christianity based on Arabic Sources,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 6 (1985), 107-61; and “Gospel Quotations and Cognate Topics in ‘Abd al-Jabbār's *Tathbit* in Relation to Early Christian and Judaeo-Christian Readings and Traditions,” in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9 (1987), 195-278.

3 For a short summation of the *Tathbīt* see Gabriel Said Reynolds, "Tathbīt dalā`il al-nubuwwa." in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*. General Editor David Thomas. Brill Online, 2014. Retrieved 26 May 2014. [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/tathbit-dalail-al-nubuwwa-COM\\_23264](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/tathbit-dalail-al-nubuwwa-COM_23264)

4 *A Muslim Theologian in the Sectarian Milieu: 'Abd al-Jabbār and the Critique of Christian Origins*. (Leiden: Brill Pub., 2004) and ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Critique of Christian Origins*. Translated and edited by Gabriel Said Reynolds and Samir Khalil Samir. (Provo: Brigham Young Uni. Press, 2010).

[...]; and (3) the Marcionites [...]."<sup>5</sup> I decided to investigate this ternary set, asking such questions as: What can we learn about the Muslim authors' motivations, beliefs, and assumptions based upon how they present these religious Others? What is the relationship among these Muslim authors? What is the relationship between the Muslim and Christian heresiographical traditions? etc. This project was far more fruitful and remains a venture to which I would like to return. Yet I changed my focus once again.

Already from the article in *EI*<sup>2</sup> I had become aware that Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's works on *thanawiyya* were used by nearly all later Muslim authors. I also learned that al-Warrāq's oeuvre is no longer extant and it has not been reconstructed.<sup>6</sup> Thus, a reconstruction of al-Warrāq's testimonia seemed a necessary first step before pursuing a more general investigation of *thanawiyya*. At this point I decided to focus my research on such a reconstruction. Due to a number of other factors – the thesis's paginal and temporal limitations, the source material which was available in English translation – I decided to focus my topic in another way as well: I narrowed it down from *thanawiyya* in general to al-Warrāq's account of the Manichaeans in particular. The initial results of that investigation are now presented below.

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5 G(uy) Monnot, "Thanawiyya," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Vol. 10. Edited by P. Bearman, et al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 439-441.

6 François de Blois says that he has "collect[ed] all the new available fragments of al-Warrāq's account of Manichaeism, which [he] intend[s] to publish as a synoptic edition and annotated translation of the reconstructed text." I tried to contact de Blois to ask for a copy of this unpublished manuscript, but did not get a reply. I have no doubt that once it is published it will surpass my own, but I felt that attempting my own reconstruction would be a useful exercise nonetheless. The above quotation is from de Blois's article, "New Light on the Sources of the Manichaean Chapter in the *Fihrist*" in *Il Manicheismo Nuove Prospettive Della Ricerca* a cura di Aloïs van Tongerloo in collaborazione con Luigi Cirillo (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 40.

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

When communities come into contact, their relationship may take many forms: reciprocal friendliness, frigid indifference, aloof suspicion, quiescent or open hostility. In the relationships between Muslims and others, history has seen examples from across the gamut. Now, as an ever-shrinking world brings Muslims and non-Muslims into close proximity, the history of these relationships is of increasing importance. This history is not always pleasant and the roles of heroes and villains are often unclear, but without an accurate view of history it is impossible to contextualize the present, and difficult to prepare for the future.

### Previous Scholarship

Modern scholarship has duly risen to the occasion. The past few decades have seen more scholarly books, articles, and series concerning the relationships between Muslims and religious others than could possibly be enumerated. A single example which has influenced this thesis is *Muslim Perceptions of Other Religions: A Historical Survey*, edited by Jacques Waardenburg,<sup>7</sup> which provides a very good introduction to the subject. Waardenburg's articles are particularly illuminating for one seeking to understand the socio-historical contexts and motivations of the Muslim writers discussed below.

However, most works on Muslim-Other relations focus on groups such as Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, etc. This is understandable since the historical relationships between Muslims and living communities are more immediately relevant to present-day concerns. However, the spirit of scholarly inquiry calls for a thorough documentation of history, and no history of Muslim-Other relations would be complete without extinct religions.

One such religion is Manichaeism, which at its zenith spread from the Mediterranean Sea to the

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7 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Pacific Ocean. In 1966, Georges Vajda, in a work on dualist religions including Manichaeism, said that the history of Muslim anti-dualist polemic remains to be written.<sup>8</sup> Nearly fifty years later, this still appears to be the case and John C. Reeves says that Islamicate Manichaeism continues to receive inadequate attention.<sup>9</sup> Yet in recent years there have been important and hopeful contributions to the field. Perhaps the most important of which is Reeves' own work, *Prologomena to a History of Islamicate Manichaeism*.<sup>10</sup> Reeves has collected and translated most of the accounts of Manichaeism within Muslim territory, and in so doing has undoubtedly laid the groundwork for much future scholarship. Patricia Crone's recent book *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism*<sup>11</sup> also provides information on the social, political, and religious climate of the early Caliphate, including useful information on Manichaeism and other minority religions. Early and invaluable work collecting, comparing, and commenting on the Muslim accounts of Manichaeism has been performed by Georges Vajda in "Le témoignage d'al-Māturidī sur la doctrine des Manichéens, des Dayṣānites et des Marcionites"<sup>12</sup> and Guy Monnot in *Penseur Musulmans et Religions Iraniennes: 'Abd al-Jabbār et Ses Devanciers*.<sup>13</sup> François de Blois has also explored the relationship among Muslim authors writing about Manichaean cosmology.<sup>14</sup> He does not fully elucidate what he means by "cosmological," but the connections he draws hold for all three of Reeves' categories of material: doctrinal, mythological, and eschatological.

## Purpose of Study

Within this significant body of scholarship, there remains an important lacuna. For decades now it has

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8 "Le Témoignage d'al-Māturidī," 3.

9 *Islamicate Manichaeism*, 17.

10 (Sheffield: Equinox Publishing, 2011)

11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)

12 *Arabica*, xiii (1966), 1-38

13 (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1974)

14 "New Light on the Sources of the Manichaean Chapter in the *Fihrist*" in *Il Manicheismo Nuove Prospettive Della Ricerca* a cura di Aloïs van Tongerloo in collaborazione con Luigi Cirillo (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 37-45. Chart on page 45.



been known that the similarities among the Muslim accounts of Manichaeism point toward a common source, and for almost as long it has been noted that this source is likely the ninth century scholar Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq. Yet no reconstruction of al-Warrāq's writings on the Manichaeans, lost long ago, have not been published.<sup>15</sup> Nor have the works which quote and paraphrase him been presented together.

The present thesis will present the material derived from al-Warrāq in a synoptic chart in the appendix, as well as an annotated reconstruction in the main body of the text. This is to bring closer to reality a critical edition al-Warrāq's seminal account of the Manichaeans. If successful, this alone will be a boon to the fields of Manichaean and Islamic studies. A reconstruction of al-Warrāq's Manichaean material, valuable in its own right, is also a necessary step towards a reconstruction of his works on religion in general, and dualism in particular. A reconstruction will also make it easier to identify other works partially dependent upon al-Warrāq. All of this will shed more light on the variegated Muslim responses to non-Islamic religions.

## Key Terms

Presented here are the explanations of Arabic terms used throughout the text, especially in the first two sections.

### *Jadaliyyūn*

*Jadal* means 'disputation' and is found in the phrase *adab al-jadal* meaning "method of the disputation" *Adab al-jadal* is found in the titles of several books devoted to the subject. *Adab al-jadal* is a "technical term for debating" and represents the theory which arose in the context of *munāẓara*: "scientific, in particular the theological-juridical, dispute." The practice of disputation was carried out between rival theological and legal schools. However, *munāẓara* also developed into a literary genre in which one

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<sup>15</sup> Or at least such a reconstruction has not been published at the time of writing this. See note on François de Blois in Preface.

party praises their own positive attributes while pointing out the negative attributes of their opponent. This was applied not only to individuals but also to groups.<sup>16</sup> It was the *jadaliyyūn* of the theological schools who al-Mahdī ordered to write against the Manichaeans during the Abbasid state persecution:

Mahdi was merciless in exterminating heretics and all those who stepped aside from the path of Islam, for it was in his reign that religious heresies appeared and grew strong, especially after the promulgation of the works of Mani, Bardesanes (Ibn Daisan) and Marcion translated from Persian and Pahlavi [...]. The books of [...] the continuators of the Manichaean, Daisanite and Marcionite sects, were brought out at the same time. Dualist beliefs appeared and spread rapidly. Mahdi, then, was the first to order the polemicists of the theological schools to compose books to refute the heterodox sects mentioned above [...].<sup>17</sup>

### ***Mānawiyya***

*Mānawiyya* is the most common Arabic word for Manichaeans. Another term for Manichaeans, *mānaniyya*, is also sometimes used.<sup>18</sup> De Blois refers to *mānaniyya* as "quasi-Aramaic."<sup>19</sup> ‘Abd al-Jabbār attests to the interchangeability of these terms in the quote in the section on *thanawiyya* below:

"the Manichaeans (*mānawiyya*, sometimes called *manāniyya*)."

### ***Manichaeography***

To the best of my knowledge "Manichaeography" is a term I have coined. I use it to mean simply, "writing about Manichaeans." I chose this term for the practical reason that it allows me to occasionally avoid otherwise cumbersome sentence structure. I am aware that "Manichaeology" already exists, but I felt that this word was too closely tied to the modern-day study of Manichaeism which is quite different from what medieval Muslim scholars were doing when they wrote.

16 E. Wagner, "Munāzara," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITETSBIOTEKET I BERGEN. 20 November 2014 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/muna-z-ara-SIM\\_5507](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/muna-z-ara-SIM_5507)>

17 al-Mas‘ūdī, *The Meadows of Gold*, translated and edited by Paul Lunde and Caroline Stone. (London: Kegan Paul International, 1989), 388-9.

18 Monnot, "Thanawiyya," 440. Guy Monnot, *Penseurs Musulmans et Religions Iraniennes: ‘Abd al-Jabbār et ses Devanciers*. (Paris: J. Vrin, 1974), 290-1.

19 François de Blois, "Zindīk," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITETSBIOTEKET I BERGEN. 20 November 2014 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/zindi-k-COM\\_1389](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/zindi-k-COM_1389)>

***Tawḥīd***

*Tawḥīd* essentially means monotheism, specifically Islamic monotheism, and is related to the word for one (*wāḥid*). It is associated with the first part of the *shahāda* – "there is no god but God." The centrality of *tawḥīd* in Islam has resulted in it occasionally being expanded to "denote the totality of discussion of God, His existence and His various attributes."<sup>20</sup> It was also used by the Mu‘tazila as a term of self-designation, *ahl al-tawḥīd wa 'l-‘adl* ('the people of divine unity and justice'). The incompatibility of Manichaeism's dualist theology with *tawḥīd* was a particularly serious problem in the eyes of Muslims.<sup>21</sup>

***Thanawiyya***

*Thanawiyya* is not found in the Qur‘ān or in the ḥadīth but was a technical term commonly used to refer to dualists. It is synonymous with the earlier term *ithnayn* (Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, Ibrāhīm al-Nazzām, Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq, ‘Abd al-Jabbār) and the term *tathniya* (al-Bāqillānī). Many religious groups appearing in Muslim heresiography fell into the category of *thanawiyya*. A notable example of this list is found in ‘Abd al-Jabbār which Guy Monnot quotes saying:

"In his *Kitāb al-ārā’ wa-l-diyānāt*, al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā mentions, amongst the sects of the dualists, the Manichaeans (*mānawiyya*, sometimes called *manāniyya*), the Mazdakites, the Bardesanites, the Marcionites, the Māhānians, and the Mazdaeans" (‘Abd al-Jabbār, 5:9). ‘Abd al-Jabbār quotes here al-Nawbakhtī (d. early in the fourth/tenth century), who depends on Abū ‘Īsā Warrāq (d. 247/861?) as a source. This quotation consequently provides one of the oldest Muslim lists of dualists.<sup>22</sup>

However, Manichaeans, Bardesanites, and Marcionites appear especially frequently. This ternary set are often presented in this achronological order. The placing of Manichaeans, Bardesanites, and Marcionites together in this order may have been picked up by Muslim scholars from Christian

20 D. Gimaret, "Tawḥīd," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITETSBIOTEKET I BERGEN. 20 November 2014 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/tawh-i-d-SIM\\_7454](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/tawh-i-d-SIM_7454)>

21 Monnot, "Thanawiyya," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITETSBIOTEKET I BERGEN. 18 November 2014 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/t-h-anawiyya-COM\\_1211](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/t-h-anawiyya-COM_1211)>

22 Guy Monnot, "Dualism," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*. Edited by: Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, Everett Rowson. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITETSBIOTEKET I BERGEN. 20 November 2014 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/dualism-COM\\_26100](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/dualism-COM_26100)>

heresiographers before them.<sup>23</sup> Manichaeism (*mānawīyya*) was by far the form of *thanawīyya* given most attention.<sup>24</sup>

### **Zindīq**

*Zindīq* is likely to derive ultimately from the Aramaic *zaddīq*, "righteous." According to Syriac authors *zaddīqē* was used by the Manichaeans themselves to refer to their "elect." This passed into Middle Persian as *zandīq* and then into Arabic as *zindīq*. It originally referred specifically to Manichaeans in Middle Persian. It was also used to refer to Manichaeans in Armenian in the 5th century. But in both Persian and Arabic it took on the secondary, more ambiguous meaning of "heretic, renegade, unbeliever." Especially after the persecution of Manicheans ceased with the end of the reign of al-Hādī, *zindīq* came to be applied to essentially anyone or any doctrine thought to be a rebellious, unorthodox or seditious.<sup>25</sup> One likely reason for the broadening of *zindīq*'s meaning is that *zanādiqa* (plural of *zindīq*) and *mulḥid* were on the same legal footing, i.e. they lacked the status of protected peoples.<sup>26</sup> A *zindīq* is a person and depending upon the context either specifically a Manichaean, more generally a dualist, or more generally still a "heretic, renegade, [or] unbeliever." In the early Abbasid period there was a persecution of *zanādiqa*. This is often translated as a persecution of Manichaeans, but in fact more than just Manichaeans were affected.

### **A Note on Language and Transliteration**

In the appendix and chart I have chosen to leave all the Arabic texts in Arabic script. This was done, on the one hand, for the practical reason that it was easier than transliterating all the Arabic since that

23 Monnot, "Thanawīyya," 439-440.

24 "In many cases [...] it appears that dualism *tout court* meant first and foremost Manichaeism" (Stroumsa & Stroumsa, "Aspects," 52). See also Monnot in "Thanawīyya": "Amongst these dualist doctrines, Manichaeism has premier place in all respects."

25 François de Blois, "Zindīk," *EI*<sup>2</sup>, 510-11. De Blois discusses the linguistic evidence for the etymology presented here. Cf. Lewis, "Some Observations," 54-5.

26 de Blois, "Zindīk," 510.

would have necessitated providing vowels for the unvocalized texts. I felt justified in this decision because in all the English texts I was working with, Arabic was rendered in Arabic script. In the course of writing this thesis, this proved to be surprisingly beneficial: the Arabic script allowed me to notice similarities between graphically similar though semantically different words – words whose differences likely derive from transmission errors.<sup>27</sup>

However, Arabic names and the names of Arabic books have been transliterated. There is no universally accepted standard for transliterating Arabic, but there is one that I have come across most often and which I used in my introductory Arabic class. This is more or less identical to that of the American Library Association - Library of Congress (ALA-LC).<sup>28</sup> I have tried to use this consistently with the following exceptions: (1) when directly quoting an author who uses another method of transliteration, I have retained the original author's spelling; (2) similarly, when a different method of transliteration appears in the titles of books and articles, the original is retained.

## Organization

In what immediately follows, a brief historical sketch of Manichaeism and early Muslim-Manichaean relations will be presented. Biographical information on nine Muslim authors will then be presented: the seven authors whose works have been collated, al-Nawbakhtī, and al-Warrāq. These authors' literary works will also be introduced. The first seven of these authors are those whose writings have been used to create the reconstruction of al-Warrāq's account of the Manichaeans. Next will come the information about al-Nawbakhtī. The last individual in this section will be Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq himself.

27 As I state below in "The Most Reliable Witnesses" in Chapter 5: "There are a few places where there are graphically similarly but semantically different words. For example, in sections 2 there is al-Malāḥimī's قديمان vs. the قويين of Ibn al-Jawzī and the قدرتهما of Ibn al-Murtadā. Similarly, there is, section 53, the الحربية of al-Nadīm (which is likely correct) vs. 'Abd al-Jabbār's الجنوبية . In 57, al-Nadīm and al-Malāḥimī have الملك الحامل and ملكاً بحمل respectively while 'Abd al-Jabbār has الفلك الحاصل . Again in the next section (58), al-Malāḥimī has وكبس and فشددهم while 'Abd al-Jabbār has وكنس and فنبدهم . There may be other examples. An error committed by a copyist or one of the authors themselves is a likely explanation."

28 <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsa/romanization/arabic.pdf>. Last recovered November 20th, 2014.

The paper will then proceed to the heart of the discussion which is the reconstruction of al-Warrāq's Manichaean material in chart form. This will begin with an introduction to the chart, the method by which al-Warrāq's material was reconstructed, and how the chart is organized. Next is the chart itself followed by an analysis of the contents of the reconstruction: its content, structure, and tone. This is also the place to find a discussion of which authors have most faithfully transmitted al-Warrāq's material, and a discussion of al-Warrāq's motives and sources. This will then be followed by the conclusion. At the end of this thesis is an appendix in which seven works by the seven authors have been presented synoptically. These works are those upon which the reconstruction is based.

The primary methods employed in this paper are those of philology, particularly source criticism. A more thorough presentation of these methods is in the section just prior to the reconstruction. This project is still a work in progress, but hopefully it is a foundation upon which future scholarship may be built.

## Chapter 2

### **Manichaeism, Islam, and a History of their Interaction**

In the year 240/1 CE, a young man began preaching a new, universal message of redemption in Mesopotamia. His name was Mānī and he had been born in northern Babylon, at a crossroads of civilizations, twenty-four years earlier in 216/217 CE. From a young age he must have come into contact with the many religions and philosophies circulating around him – Hellenistic philosophy, astrology, various "gnosticisms," Marcionism, Christianity, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, and Buddhism. All of these appear to have left a mark in one way or another on his teachings. His own father was a member of the Elkesaites, a baptismal sect. While still a member of this sect he experienced his first revelation at the age of twelve, revealed to him by his "protective angelic twin." He viewed himself as an apostle who was called to "perfect and fulfill" the messages of those apostles and prophets before him: "Adam, Seth, Enosh, Enoch, Shem, [...] Noah[,] Zoroaster, Buddha [...], and Jesus."<sup>29</sup> At first Mānī's message was well received by the Iranian rulers, but later he was imprisoned and ultimately executed.

Mānī's religion was dualist in that it taught that there were two primal and opposite entities: Light and Darkness. These two came together when Darkness "tr[ie]d to penetrate into [...] the world of light."<sup>30</sup> The subsequent mixture was to be found throughout the world and humans. Manichaeism divided history into three periods: the time when the two principles existed separately, the present time after their mixture when they battle for control, and a future time to come after their separation. Adherents of Manichaeism viewed themselves as participating on the side of Light in the current battle. These adherents were grouped into two primary categories: the "elect" and the "hearers." The ascetic practices of the former were particularly rigorous. They were "required to observe the five

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29 Andrea Piras, "Mani" in *Encyclopedia of Religion, Second Edition* Volume 8, Editor in chief Lindsey Jones. (Detroit: Thomas Gale/MacMillan Reference USA, 2005), 5646-5650, 5650-5659.

30 Peter Nagel, "Manichaeism" in *Encyclopedia of Christianity* (Grand Rapids, Mi: Eerdmans, Brill, 1999), 395.

commandments: truth, nonviolence, sexual abstinence, abstinence from meat and from food and drink that were considered impure, [and] poverty."<sup>31</sup> The practices of the hearers were less severe but also austere: strict monogamy, non-violence against people and animals, four daily prayers, material support for the elect, regular fasting and confession.<sup>32</sup> These non-violent and anti-marriage tendencies were viewed as a threat to the social order which ensured that Mānī's followers met with opposition from ruling authorities.<sup>33</sup> However, they maintained the missionary zeal of their founder and spread Manichaeism from the Mediterranean Sea to China. Some four hundred years after the founding of their sect, in the middle of the seventh century, the Manichaeans came into contact with another religion hailing a new prophet.

Adherents to this new religious movement<sup>34</sup> poured out of the Arabian Peninsula and began to conquer territories formerly belonging to the Byzantine and Sasanian empires in the region now known as the Middle East.<sup>35</sup> In the 630s, the Arabian newcomers' incursions into Byzantine Syria went from being desultory forays to full-on invasion. By the 650s, the conquest of Syria was complete.<sup>36</sup> During two successive battles against the Sasanids, they secured first the Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon in 637 and then the Iranian plateau in 642.<sup>37</sup> In these newly conquered territories they encountered an involute patchwork of linguistic, religious, and ethnic communities.<sup>38</sup> But because Muslims understood

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31 Gherardo Gnoli, "Manichaeism: An Overview" in *Encyclopedia of Religion, Second Edition* Volume 8, Editor in chief Lindsey Jones. (Detroit: Thomas Gale/MacMillan Reference USA, 2005), 5656.

32 Gnoli, "Manichaeism: An Overview," 5656.

33 Andrea Piras, "Mani" in *Encyclopedia of Religion, Second Edition* Volume 8, Editor in chief Lindsey Jones. (Detroit: Thomas Gale/MacMillan Reference USA, 2005), 5646.

34 When the terms "Islam" and "Muslim" began to be used has been the subject of debate. See Gerald R. Hawting, "The Rise of Islam," in *A Companion to the History of the Middle East*, ed. Youssef M. Choueiri, (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 15 and 26 fn.14.

35 Chase F. Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Uni. Press, 2004), xvii. See also, Hawting, "The Rise of Islam," 11 and Gerhard Endress, *Islam: An Historical Introduction*, trans. Carole Hillenbrand, 2nd edition, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 111-113.

36 Fred M. Donner, "The Islamic Conquests," in *A Companion to the History of the Middle East*, ed. Youssef M. Choueiri, (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 29-31.

37 Patricia Crone, *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1.

38 For a short introduction of the diversity of the Middle East at this time, in the context of Arabization/Islamization, see Fred M. Donner, "The Islamic Conquests," in *A Companion to the History of the Middle East*, ed. Youssef M. Choueiri, (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 45-47. As well as Michael G. Morony, *Iraq After the Muslim Conquest*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), particularly pgs. 169-430.



themselves as having little to learn from other religions, interest in non-Muslims remained "practical rather than inquisitive"<sup>39</sup> in the early period.

Because of this disinterest in, or perhaps tolerance of, non-Muslims, Manichaeism experienced a resurgence under Umayyad rule.<sup>40</sup> Yet Manichaeism's growth did not reflect a positive attitude towards non-Arab populations within the Caliphate. While some non-Arabs were valued for their learning and skills, they were also viewed as politically and culturally threatening, and in many cases, inferior.<sup>41</sup> In fact, non-Arab conversion to Islam is reported to have occasionally met with trepidation – even sorrow – on the part of Arab rulers.<sup>42</sup>

With the fall of the Umayyads and the rise of the Abbasids, the Caliphate began to view itself as an Islamic state. Non-*dhimmi* such as the Manichaeans, once viewed with quiet suspicion became the targets of open hostility. From 779 to 786 they would have to choose between Islam and the sword, as the Abbasid Caliphate undertook the first state persecution of a religion in Muslim history.

Manichaeans (*zanādiqa*) were persecuted first under al-Mahdī and then under his successor al-Hādī.<sup>43</sup> There appears to be no clear explanation in any of the primary sources as to why this persecution began.<sup>44</sup> But it happened at a time when Manichaeism was becoming associated with internal and external threats and when Iranian Muslims were increasingly influential in the politics of the Caliphate.<sup>45</sup>

After the Abbasids came to power, Manichaeism became associated with pre-Islamic Iranian

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39 Waardenburg, "Medieval Period," 18.

40 Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 82-83, *non vidi*. Seen in Stroumsa and Stroumsa, "Aspects," 39. See also de Blois, "Zindīk," 511.

41 Crone, *Nativist Prophets*, 9-10.

42 Crone, *Nativist Prophets*, 10, 13. See also Bashear, *Arabs and others*, 80.

43 Stroumsa and Stroumsa, "Aspects," 39. Waardenburg, "Medieval Period," 38. Cf. Ibrahim, "Religious Inquisition," 55 where he says that the "inquisition" was not against *zanādiqa* but against former *zanādiqa* whose sincerity in converting to Islam was viewed as suspicious. Ibrahim also argues that the origin of this persecution was primarily political and social rather than an attempt to impose orthodoxy. This may be true to some extent, but as will become apparent, I believe this tends towards a false dichotomy between socio-political and religious motivations.

44 de Blois, "Zindīk," 512.

45 When attempting to explain the persecution of Manichaeans in the Abbasid Caliphate, it should be remembered that the separation of the socio-political from the theological is often an anachronistic, foreign imposition on Islam. "It is commonly said that Islam is '*din wa dawla*' to convey the statement that in Islam theology and politics are inextricably intertwined." Mahmood Ibrahim, "Religious Inquisition as Social Policy: The Persecution of the *Zanadiqa* in the Early Abbasid Caliphate," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Volume 16, Number 2. Spring 1994, 53.

culture.<sup>46</sup> Non-Arabs, after having endured years of discrimination,<sup>47</sup> found attractive Manichaeism's negative view of the current world order<sup>48</sup> and Manichaeism became a "flag and symbol" around which to rally.<sup>49</sup> In this way it was associated with the *shu'ūbiyya* – a movement of non-Arabs opposing Arab hegemony.<sup>50</sup> The rebellions in the north and east of the Abbasid Empire also had a religious, and particularly dualist, flavor. Thus *zanādiqa* were viewed as an internal, political threat.<sup>51</sup>

Manichaeans simultaneously had the misfortune of being associated with a rival cultural and political entity in the area.<sup>52</sup> Türk tribes on the doorstep of the Abbasid Caliphate had supported an uprising against Arab rule in the already unstable region of Khwarizm around 728 CE.<sup>53</sup> Then some thirty years later, in 759 or 762 CE,<sup>54</sup> Uyghur Türk rulers converted to Manichaeism, made it the state religion, and began supporting Manichaean missionary activities.<sup>55</sup> It is presumably for these reasons that de Blois states that "it is surely no coincidence" that persecution of Manichaeans began at this time.<sup>56</sup>

Lastly, at this time Iranian Muslims became more active in the politics of the Caliphate. Under the Sasanids, Iranians/Zoroastrians had become used to religion playing a prominent role in social and political life. They had also been accustomed to the persecution of Manichaeans.<sup>57</sup>

46 Waardenburg, "Medieval Period," 40.

47 Patricia Crone, *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 9. See also Suliman Bashear, *Arabs and others in early Islam*. (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1997), 37-40.

48 Waardenburg, "Medieval Period," 40.

49 Waardenburg, "Medieval Period," 40.

50 Waardenburg, "Medieval Period," 40.

51 Reeves, *Prologomena*, 223. See footnotes as well.

52 de Blois, "Zindīk," 512.

53 P.G. Bulgakov, "Al-Biruni on Khwarizm," in *A History of Civilizations of Central Asia Volume III. The Crossroads of Civilizations: A.D. 250 to 750*, 231.

54 Bosworth, in "Mānī," *EoI*, 421, states that after 762 it was the state religion. However, Larry Clark gives the year 759 "or so." Larry Clark, "Manichaeism Among the Uygurs: The Uygur Khan of the Bokug Clan," in *New Light on Manichaeism: Papers from the Sixth International Congress on Manichaeism*, edited by Jason David BeDuhn, (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 71.

55 Clark, "Manichaeism Among the Uygurs," 71.

56 "Zindīk," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITETS BIBLIOTEKET I BERGEN. 20 November 2014 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/zindi-k-COM\\_1389](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/zindi-k-COM_1389)>

57 Waardenburg, "Medieval Period," 37. The persecution of Manichaeans under the Sasanids began when Mānī fell out with Wahrān I in 274 or 277 and lasted more or less until the fall of the Sassanid Empire to the Arabs. See de Blois, "Zindīk," 511.

Yet the persecution of *zanādiqa* caught more in its net than Manichaeans. Many accused of being *zanādiqa* were also arrested and in some cases executed.<sup>58</sup> This state sponsored persecution appears to have prompted an exodus: "before the middle of the tenth century most Manichaeans must have left Mesopotamia and sought refuge in Khorasān and beyond."<sup>59</sup> The *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam*, a tenth century Persian work written by an anonymous author, supports the claim that Manichaeans had more freedom in this area: "in Samarqand stands a monastery of the Manichaeans (*khānagāh-i Mānaviyān*)".<sup>60</sup> Al-Nadīm says that Marcionites were also able to practice their religion openly in Khorasān<sup>61</sup> and that Bardesanites, though once found in Iraq, could now be found in "scattered communities" in Khorasān and China.<sup>62</sup> Thus, as the persecution affected more than just Manichaeans, it drove into Khorasān and beyond other groups as well.

## Muslims Writing about Manichaeans

The first Muslim writing against Manichaeans (*mānawīyya*) was already several decades old by this time. It was written around 728 CE by the founder of the Mu'tazila, Wāṣil b. ‘Aṭā’.<sup>63</sup> Writings on Manichaeans proliferated after the start of the Abbasid persecution. Al-Mas‘ūdī reports that al-Mahdī ordered the polemicists (*jadaliyyūn*)<sup>64</sup> to carry out a written campaign parallel to the state persecution.<sup>65</sup>

58 de Blois, "Zindīq," 512. Lewis, "Observations," 55.

59 "Medieval Period," 38.

60 *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam: The Regions of the World' A Persian Geography 372 A.H. – 982 A.D.* Translated and Explained by V. Minorsky, 2nd Ed. (London: Messrs. Luzac & Company, Ltd., 1970), 113.

61 "There are many [Marcionites] in Khurāsān, their cause being openly known, as the cause of the Manichaeans is known publicly." al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 807. De Blois states ("Markīyūniyya," 600) that a "Neo-Marcionite" community could have survived in Khorsān, though they are not mentioned in any other source.

62 "In former times, the adherents of Ibn Dayṣān were in the regions of al-Baṭā’ih. In China and Khurāsān there are scattered communities of them, without any known congregations or oath of fealty, whereas the Manichaeans are very numerous." al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 806. In fn. 345 on this page, Dodge posits that no "known congregations or oath of fealty" means that "they had no one pontiff."

63 *al-‘Alf mas‘ala fi ‘l-radd ‘alā ‘l-mānawīyya*. It has not survived. See Monnot, "Thanawīyya," 440.

64 See entry on *jadal* among key terms.

65 "Mahdi was merciless in exterminating heretics and all those who stepped aside from the path of Islam, for it was in his reign that religious heresies appeared and grew strong, especially after the promulgation of the works of Mani, Bardesanes (Ibn Daisan) and Marcion translated from Persian and Pahlavi [...]. The books of [...] the continuators of the Manichaean, Daisanite and Marcionite sects, were brought out at the same time. Dualist beliefs appeared and spread rapidly. Mahdi, then, was the first to order the polemicists of the theological schools to compose books to refute the heterodox sects mentioned above [...]." Mas‘ūdī, *The Meadows of Gold*, translated and edited by Paul Lunde and

Thus attack on *zanādiqa* was fought not only on the physical front in the form of executions,<sup>66</sup> but also on the intellectual front in the form of polemical refutations. This latter form of opposition lasted longer than the seven year state persecution: by the end of the ninth century three refutations of Manichaeism in particular and fifteen refutations of dualism in general had appeared.<sup>67</sup> This context of anti-dualist polemic is where many of the first Muslim works on Manichaeism were written, as Manichaeism was viewed as a type of dualism particularly worthy of attention.<sup>68</sup>

The polemical salvo which issued from the pens of Muslims was against a stereotyped dualism.<sup>69</sup> Muslim theologians and philosophers, partially under the influence of Greek philosophy, were greatly concerned with Creation, the origin of the soul, and the problem of free-will. It was thought that Manichaeism, Bardesanesianism and Marcionism answered these questions in unacceptable ways.<sup>70</sup>

In the eyes of Muslims, Manichaeism was guilty of several grave theological errors. Particularly unpalatable was the Manichaeism teaching that good and evil had separate origins and were coeternal. This "ontological dualism"<sup>71</sup> contradicted the Muslim doctrine of monotheism (*tawḥīd*).<sup>72</sup> For central to Muslim monotheism were the ideas that: (1) God's power is not limited by evil, (2) God created both light and darkness, (3) a mixing of good and evil is impossible since good and evil are defined as obeying or disobeying God's commands.<sup>73</sup> Manichaeans, and especially the elect, were also accused of neglecting human needs<sup>74</sup> by doing such things as: advocating vegetarianism, celibacy, and poverty, and

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Caroline Stone. (London: Kegan Paul International, 1989), 388-9. Cf. Monnot, "Thanawiyya," 440.

66 Mahmood Ibrahim, "Religious Inquisition as Social Policy: The Persecution of the *Zanadiqa* in the Early Abbasid Caliphate," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Volume 16, Number 2. Spring 1994, 55.

67 Monnot, "Thanawiyya," 440. Waardenburg, "Medieval Period," 38.

68 "In many cases [...] it appears that dualism *tout court* meant first and foremost Manichaeism" (Stroumsa & Stroumsa, "Aspects," 52). See also Monnot, "Thanawiyya" for the ambiguity in the language applied to dualists.

69 Waardenburg, "Medieval Period," 24.

70 H.J.W. Drijvers, *Bardaisan of Edessa*, (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1966), 200.

71 Monnot, "Thanawiyya," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITETSBIBLIOTEKET I BERGEN. 18 November 2014 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/t-h-anawiyya-COM\\_1211](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/t-h-anawiyya-COM_1211)>

72 See *tawḥīd* among key terms.

73 Waardenburg, "Medieval Period," 39.

74 Waardenburg, "Medieval Period," 39.

refusing to kill animals.<sup>75</sup>

Muslim perception of Manichaeism was colored by the Muslim faith<sup>76</sup> and Muslim authors were also forming a Muslim identity vis-à-vis a Manichaean/dualist other.<sup>77</sup> A significant feature of the Manichaeans was their lack of *dhimmi* status, i.e. Manichaeans were not viewed as "people of the book" like Christians and Jews. Nor was Mānī considered a prophet.<sup>78</sup> Manichaeism was considered a philosophical system – not even a religion but a "caricature of religion"<sup>79</sup> and a corruption of the religion of Jesus.<sup>80</sup>

Thus, due to political and theological reasons – reasons closely intertwined in this place and time, the response to Manichaeism was mostly oppositional. Medieval Muslim authors saw the world through the lens of their own beliefs and, as the people to whom "the Seal of the Prophets" had been sent, there was little that they could learn from religious others.<sup>81</sup> This was true not only of Manichaeans but other religions as well. Early attitudes were marked by: outright dismissal of other religions as irrelevant, "suspicion and distrust" of foreign doctrines which might be introduced by converts into Islam, and a desire for information about foreign religions for the purpose of writing refutations.<sup>82</sup>

Yet attitudes were not uniformly negative<sup>83</sup> and more liberal attitudes could be found: a tendency among peripheral Muslim groups to show a more positive interest in foreign religions, a general interest in the outside world, and a mystical belief in religious universality which created an openness to others. The reaction to Manichaeism was not entirely negative either. Some Muslim intellectuals may have found in Manichaeism, and dualism in general, an "intellectualist mystique" which Islam

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75 Gnoli, "Manichaeism: An Overview," 5656.

76 Waardenburg, "Medieval Period," 24.

77 Waardenburg, "Medieval Period," 24.

78 Waardenburg, "Medieval Period," 37.

79 Waardenburg, "Medieval Period," 37.

80 Waardenburg, "Medieval Period," 39.

81 Waardenburg, "Medieval Period," 18-20.

82 Waardenburg, "Medieval Period," 20-21.

83 Waardenburg, "Medieval Period," 20.

could not offer at the time.<sup>84</sup> Spurred on by this mélange of attitudes towards religious others, Muslim scholars put pen to paper.

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<sup>84</sup> Reeves, *Prologomena*, 20. See footnotes as well.

## Chapter 3

### Biographies and Introduction to Primary Sources

The Muslim works concerning Manichaeans which are used in this thesis are:<sup>85</sup> al-Māturīdī's *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* (*Book on divine unity*);<sup>86</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*;<sup>87</sup> 'Abd al-Jabbār's *Al-mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-'adl* (*Summa on the matters of divine unity and divine justice*);<sup>88</sup> Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Al-mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* (*The reliable book on the principles of religion*); al-Shahrastānī's *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal* (*Book of religions and sects*);<sup>89</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī's *Tablīs Iblīs* (*The devil's deception*); Ibn al-Murtaḍā's *al-Munyatū wa l-'amalū fī sharḥi l-milali wa l-niḥal*.<sup>90</sup> Also important are two works that are no longer extant: al-Nawbakhtī's *Kitāb al-ārā' wa-l-diyānāt* (*Book of opinions and confessions*); Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's *Kitāb maqālāt al-nās wa-ikhtilāfihim* (*The teachings of people and the differences between them*)<sup>91</sup> and possibly his *Kitāb iqtisāṣ madhāhib aṣḥāb al-ithnayn wa-al-radd 'alayhim* (*Book of investigation of the doctrines of the dualists and refutation of the same*). What follows is an introduction to these authors and their books.<sup>92</sup>

#### Al-Māturīdī

Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Māturīdī was born sometime around 870 CE in Māturīd, Samarkand where he also died about seventy-four years later. Al-Māturīdī was a Ḥanafī and

85 With this obvious exceptions of al-Nawbakhtī and al-Warrāq, this is the order in which they were likely written.

86 Georges Vajda's "Le témoignage d'al-Māturīdī sur la doctrine des Manichéens, des Dayṣānites et des Marcionites."

87 Bayard Dodge's translation of the *Fihrist*.

88 Guy Monnot, *Penseurs Musulmans et Religions Iraniennes: 'Abd al-Jabbār et Ses Devanciers*. (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1974).

89 Translated into French by Daniel Gimaret and Guy Monnot's in *Livre des Religions et des Sectes*.

90 The relevant passages on the Bardesanites and Marcionites are translated in Wilfred Madelung's "Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq über die Bardesaniten, Marcioniten und Kantäer." The relevant passages on the Manichaeans are translated in John C. Reeves's *Prolegomena to a History of Islamicate Manichaeism*.

91 I will follow Thomas and refer to this henceforth as *Maqālāt*. Thomas states that "this work is generally known among Muslim authors as the *Kitāb Maqālāt al-nās* or simply *Kitāb al-Maqālāt*, though since Abū 'Īsā himself refers to it in the *Radd 'alā al-Naṣārā* as *kitābu-nā alladhī waṣafnā fihī maqālāt al-nās wa-ikhtilāfa-hum*, these were probably abbreviated versions of the original" ("Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq and the History of Religions," *Journal of Semitic Studies* XLI/2 Autumn 1996, 276).

92 For the editions of the texts used in this reconstruction see the Bibliography.

as such valued the use of reason. Yet despite having in common with the Mu‘tazila an appreciation of reason, he wrote a work against this theological school in his *Kitāb bayān wahm al-Mu‘tazila* ('Demonstration of the delusion of the Mu‘tazila'). Only two of the twenty works ascribed to him have survived: *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* ('Book of Divine Unity'), and a commentary on the Qur‘ān, *Ta‘wīlāt ahl al-sunna* ('Interpretations of the people of the Prophet's way). The former is noteworthy because it is likely the earliest extant composition to have used al-Nawbakhtī, who in turn is the primary tradent of Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq's work.<sup>93</sup>

The *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* was written in Arabic sometime before 944 CE and is "the earliest surviving Muslim work that can be regarded as a systematic theology." Thomas states that the *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* "can be divided into five parts." These are: an "epistemological introduction, the contingent nature of the world and existence of God, prophethood, divine and human action, and faith." Al-Māturīdī develops this theology in opposition to other belief systems such as Christianity and Manichaeism.<sup>94</sup>

### **(Ibn) al-Nadīm**

Abu al-Faraj Muḥammad b. Abī Ya‘qūb Ishāq al-Warrāq al-Baghdādī, more commonly known as (Ibn) al-Nadīm, is likely to have been born ca. 932 CE in Baghdad where he died about seventy years later sometime between 990 and 998 CE. He was, like his father, a copyist and a bookseller (*warrāq*). He was a Shī‘ī and a Mu‘tazilī, but not much is known about his life. His family was of high social standing and associated with Baghdad intellectuals of various faiths. His lifelong familiarity with intellectual culture and the written word blossomed into his magnum opus, the *Fihrist*, one of only two books ascribed to him.

93 de Blois, "New Light," 42. Vajda, "Al-Māturīdī," 6.

94 David Thomas, "Al-Māturīdī" and "Kitāb al-tawḥīd," *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. General Editor David Thomas. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITETSBIBLIOTEKET I BERGEN. 18 November 2014  
<[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/al-ma-turi-di-COM\\_22572](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/al-ma-turi-di-COM_22572)>  
<[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/kitab-al-tawh-i-d-COM\\_22573](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/kitab-al-tawh-i-d-COM_22573)>



The *Fihrist* is the only one of his works to have survived to the present. It is encyclopedic in scope and consists of ten sections organized by subject matter:

1. the Holy Scriptures of Muslims, Jews, and Christians, with emphasis on the Qur'ān and Qur'ānic sciences; 2. grammar and philology; 3. history, biography, genealogy and kindred subjects; 4. poetry; 5. scholastic theology (*kalām*); 6. law (*fiqh*); 7. philosophy and the "ancient sciences"; 8. legends, fables, magic, conjuring, etc.; 9. the doctrines (*maḳālāt*) of the non-monotheistic creeds (Šābi'ans, Manicheans, and other dualists, the Hindus, Buddhists and Chinese); alchemy.<sup>95</sup>

The information he records about the Manichaeans is unique in the Islamic tradition.<sup>96</sup> In fact, some of the information he provides is found in no other source – Islamic or otherwise. This information appears to have been garnered from authentic Manichaean material as well as earlier Muslim accounts. Among the latter is the work of Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq which, as will be seen, is at times quoted word for word. In fact, among the authors whose works have come down to us, Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn al-Malāhimī appear to be the only ones to have used Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq directly.<sup>97</sup>

### **'Abd al-Jabbār**

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Khalīl ibn 'Abdallah, al-Qādī l-Hamadhānī al-Asadābādī was born in Asadābād in western Iran around 935 CE. After spending much of his early years in Baghdad, he lived in Rayy for most of his life.<sup>98</sup> The regions of Iraq and Iran were under the Būyids and in Rayy resided the "eccentric and brilliant vizier, Ibn 'Abbād."<sup>99</sup> Rayy was a prominent and religiously diverse city with Sunnī and Shī'a Muslims, Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians. Al-Jabbār himself was known to have Shī'ī leanings and belonged to the Mu'tazilī theological school.<sup>100</sup> The Mu'tazila experienced a revival in Rayy in his day. Al-Jabbār served as chief

95 J.W. Fück, "Ibn al-Nadīm," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Vol. 3. Edited by P. Bearman, et al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 895-896.

96 de Blois, "New Light," 37.

97 de Blois, "New Light," 40.

98 'Abd al-Jabbar, *Critique of Christian Origins*. Trans. and ed. by Gabriel Said Reynolds and Samir Khalil Samir. (Brigham Young Uni. Press. Provo. 2010), xxx

99 idem, xxxi

100 Gabriel Said Reynolds, "'Abd al-Jabbār," *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. General Editor David Thomas. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITETS BIBLIOTEKET I BERGEN. 18 November 2014 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/abd-al-jabba-r-COM\\_22584](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/abd-al-jabba-r-COM_22584)>

judge in Rayy and was a prolific writer. Due to Byzantine military victories in his time, he was hostile towards the Byzantine Empire and wrote an important critique of Christianity.<sup>101</sup> He was also pessimistic about "the future of orthodox Islam"<sup>102</sup> due to the threat of the "heretical Fatimids of Egypt."<sup>103</sup> Eventually, he had a falling out with vizier Ibn ‘Abbād, resulting in his refusal to pronounce the funeral blessing over the vizier's body in 995 CE.<sup>104</sup> Under this pretext, he was removed from his position as judge and forced to pay a heavy fine. Regardless, he remained well-respected and died with considerable wealth in Rayy in 1025 CE.<sup>105</sup>

He is a "significant source of information on ancient Iranian and [non-Muslim] monotheistic religions"<sup>106</sup> and has left to posterity one of the most "systematic expositions of Manichaeism."<sup>107</sup> His account of the the Manichaeans, particularly that in *Al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawhīd wa-l-‘adl* (*Summa on the matters of divine unity and divine justice*) provides invaluable material for the reconstruction of Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq's lost works.<sup>108</sup>

Al-Jabbār dictated the *Mughnī* between 970-990 CE. It was his magnum opus and, like al-Māturīdī's *Kitāb al-tawhīd*, was a work of theology developed in polemical opposition to rival belief systems. He regularly cites earlier Mu‘tazilī scholars whose works have otherwise not survived. His assiduous assemblage of these early sources has earned him the sobriquet "the great compiler" and has given future generations access to a body of material that would otherwise have been lost.<sup>109</sup> It is in this

101I.e. ‘Abd al-Jabbar, *Critique of Christian Origins*. Trans. and ed. by Gabriel Said Reynolds and Samir Khalil Samir. (Brigham Young Uni. Press. Provo. 2010)

102S. Pines, "The Jewish Christians of the Early Centuries of Christianity According to a New Source," in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem, 1968), 2:237-309, 238

103idem, 238

104Reynolds and Samir, *Critique of Christian Origins*, xxxiv

105Özervarli, "'Abd al-Jabbar," 3

Reynolds and Samir, *Critique of Christian Origins*, xxx-xxxv

106M. Sait Özervarli, "'Abd al-Jabbar," in *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, vol. 1: A-L, ed. by Richard C. Martin, et al. (MacMillan Reference USA. New York. 2003), 3

107G. Monnot, "Thanawiyya," 440.

108de Blois, "New Light." Monnot, *Penseur Musulmans*. Madelung, "Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq."

109Gabriel Said Reynolds, "Al-mughnī fī abwāb al-tawhīd wa-l-‘adl," *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. General Editor David Thomas. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITETSBIBLIOTEKET I BERGEN. 18 November 2014 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/al-mughni-fi-abwa-b-al-tawh-i-d-wa-l-adl-COM\\_22585](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/al-mughni-fi-abwa-b-al-tawh-i-d-wa-l-adl-COM_22585)>

work that he has made extensive use of al-Warrāq's material.

## **Ibn al-Malāhimī**

Rukn al-dīn Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad al-Malāhimī al-Khuwārazmī was born sometime before 1090 CE in Khwārazm, Khorezm. He died in the same place about fifty-one years later in 1141 CE. Little is known about his life but he was a Mu'tazilī of the Bahshamiyya school, the school of 'Abd al-Jabbār before aligning himself with the school of Abu l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Baṣrī. He wrote several works, with *Al-mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* (*The reliable book on the principles of religion*) being the most important to this thesis.<sup>110</sup>

*Al-mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* (*The reliable book on the principles of religion*) was written sometime before 1137 and unfortunately the latter part has been lost. What does exist in manuscript is "most of the section on divine Unity (*tawḥīd*) and the beginning of the section on Justice (*'adl*)." Madelung states that his critique of Christianity contained therein appears to be based upon that of al-Warrāq, al-Nawbakhtī and others.<sup>111</sup> But as will be seen, his critique of Manichaeism bears little affinity to the al-Nawbakhtī "family" nor does he mention al-Nawbakhtī as the source of his information. Instead, his work on Manichaeism, along with al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, is the only extant writing thought to be based directly on Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's account.<sup>112</sup> What is more, al-Malāhimī has used Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq in more detail and more faithfully than others.<sup>113</sup>

110 Wilferd Madelung, "Ibn al-Malāhimī," *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. General Editor David Thomas. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITETSBIBLIOTEKET I BERGEN. 18 November 2014 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/ibn-al-mala-h-imi-COM\\_24630](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/ibn-al-mala-h-imi-COM_24630)>

111 Wilferd Madelung, "Kitāb al-mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn," *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. General Editor David Thomas. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITETSBIBLIOTEKET I BERGEN. 18 November 2014 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/kita-b-al-mu-tamad-fi-us-u-l-al-di-n-COM\\_24631](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/kita-b-al-mu-tamad-fi-us-u-l-al-di-n-COM_24631)>

112 de Blois, "New Light," 40.

113 Madelung, "Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq," 211.

## Al-Shahrastānī

Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Aḥmad al-Shahrastānī was born in Shahrīstān in northern Khurāsān in 1086 CE. He died in the same place about 67 years later in 1153 CE. At a young age al-Shahrastānī left his home village and went to study under Ash‘arī scholars in Nīshāpūr. He taught in Baghdad's Nizāmiyya college for three years from 1117 CE to 1120 CE. He was close to the Saljūk ruler Sanjar. He is suspected of having Ismā‘īlī sympathies. He was a prolific writer with twenty-six known works to his name. Among these is the *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal* (*Book of religions and sects*) which was a thorough exploration of the religions and sects of his day.<sup>114</sup>

Al-Shahrastānī reports that he wrote the *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal* (*Book of religions and sects*) in 1127-8 CE.<sup>115</sup> Al-Shahrastānī classifies the groups he writes about into two categories: those that "acknowledge a deity and [...] possess a revelation" such as Muslims, Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, and dualists, and "those that are of human origin [emerging from] reason and reflection" such as "Šābians, philosophers, pre-Islamic Arabs and Indians."<sup>116</sup> Most importantly for the present project, within this enormous work al-Shahrastānī makes use of al-Warrāq's account of the Manichaeans, most probably through the intermediacy of al-Nawbakhtī.

114 David Thomas, "Al-Shahrastānī," *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. General Editor David Thomas. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK I BERGEN. 18 November 2014 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/al-shahrasta-ni-COM\\_24626](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/al-shahrasta-ni-COM_24626)>

115 Monnot, G. "al-Shahrastānī." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK I BERGEN. 19 November 2014 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-s-h-ahrasta-ni-SIM\\_6769](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-s-h-ahrasta-ni-SIM_6769)>

Note that this seems inconsistent with Thomas's remark that it was "a work of al-Shahrastānī's maturity [about which] an exact date cannot be fixed" and that it appears to have been written "before 1153" CE. David Thomas, "Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal," *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. General Editor David Thomas. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK I BERGEN. 18 November 2014 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/kita-b-al-milal-wa-l-nih-al-COM\\_24627](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/kita-b-al-milal-wa-l-nih-al-COM_24627)>

116 David Thomas, "Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal," *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. General Editor David Thomas. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK I BERGEN. 18 November 2014 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/kita-b-al-milal-wa-l-nih-al-COM\\_24627](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/kita-b-al-milal-wa-l-nih-al-COM_24627)>

## Ibn al-Jawzī

Abū l-Faraj ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Jawzī was born in an unknown location in 1116 and died in Baghdad in 1200. He was "a historian, *qāḍī* [i.e. judge] and preacher of the Ḥanbalī legal school"<sup>117</sup> who experienced a brilliant career. In 1161 CE he became head of the madrasas Bāb al-Azaj and Ma'mūniyya. He was strongly opposed to the Shī‘ī and Sufī. He wrote over two hundred books in the course of his life, though most of them have been lost. Among these was his *Talbīs Iblīs* (*The devil's deception*).<sup>118</sup>

*Talbīs Iblīs* (*The devil's deception*) is a lengthy work which attempts to show that everyone is susceptible to the devil's deception. Nearly half of the book is devoted to Sufī but it also looks at Christians, Muslims of various persuasions, Manichaeans, and others.<sup>119</sup> In this work Ibn al-Jawzī closely quotes al-Nawbakhtī for his information on the Manichaeans. By doing this he has passed on material ultimately deriving from al-Warrāq.

## Ibn al-Murtaḍā

Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, also known as Ibn al-Murtaḍā, was a Yemeni/Zaydī author who died of the plague near Ḥajja in 1437 CE. After the death of the previous *imām* al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 1391, Ibn al-Murtaḍā had been appointed *imām*. However, because there was a rival claimant to the imamate, a battle for control ensued which resulted in Ibn al-Murtaḍā spending seven years in prison. Though his appointment to the imamate is said to have been ill-advised because he "lacked the necessary military and administrative" skills, he was well-educated and possessed a keen intellect. He is the author of a

117 Alex Mallet, "Ibn al-Jawzī," *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. General Editor David Thomas. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITETSBIOTEKET I BERGEN. 18 November 2014  
<[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/ibn-al-jawzi-COM\\_23903](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/ibn-al-jawzi-COM_23903)>

118 Alex Mallet, "Ibn al-Jawzī," *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. General Editor David Thomas. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITETSBIOTEKET I BERGEN. 18 November 2014  
<[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/ibn-al-jawzi-COM\\_23903](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/ibn-al-jawzi-COM_23903)>

119 Alex Mallet, "Talbi-s Iblīs." *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. General Editor David Thomas. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITETSBIOTEKET I BERGEN. 18 November 2014  
<[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/talbi-s-ibli-s-COM\\_23904](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/talbi-s-ibli-s-COM_23904)>

"theological and legal encyclopaedia, *al-Baḥral-zakhkhar*."<sup>120</sup> He also wrote a commentary on this work called *al-Munyatū wa al-'amalū fī sharḥi al-milal wa al-niḥal*. It is in this work that he makes use of al-Warrāq's account of the Manichaeans. Like many others he did not use al-Warrāq's work directly but via al-Nawbakhtī. However, Ibn al-Murtaḍā was yet another step further removed from al-Warrāq. He is said to have not used al-Nawbakhtī directly but to have encountered al-Nawbakhtī's work in *Sharḥu 'uyūni l-masā'il*, a work by Muḥsin b. Muḥammad, also known as al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī.<sup>121</sup>

### **Al-Nawbakhtī**

The details of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī's life are uncertain. He was probably born sometime in the mid or late ninth century in Baghdad, and is likely to have died there in the early tenth century. He was a leading Shī'ī intellectual who associate himself with Mu'tazilī tradition. His family also had close ties to the Abbasid Caliphate. He appears to have been a prolific writer in that over forty works are attributed to him. Among these is the heresiological work *Kitāb al-ārā' wa-l-diyānāt* (*Book of opinions and confessions*), which was probably begun sometime in the beginning of the tenth century but never finished. It has not survived but exists in quotations in later authors.<sup>122</sup> Al-Nawbakhtī is one of the primary channels through which al-Warrāq's account of the Manichaeans was passed on to later Muslim scholars.

120R. Strothmann, G.R. Smith, and J.R. Blackburn, "al-Mahdī Li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITETSBIBLIOTEKET I BERGEN. 18 November 2014

<[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-mahdi-li-di-n-alla-h-ah-mad-COM\\_0619](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-mahdi-li-di-n-alla-h-ah-mad-COM_0619)>

121De Blois, "New Light on the Sources of the Manichaean Chapter in the *Fihrist*" in *Il Manicheismo Nuove Prospettive Della Ricerca* a cura di Alois van Tongerloo in collaborazione con Luigi Cirillo (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 37-45. Chart on page 45.

122David Thomas, "Abū Muḥammad al-Nawbakhtī," *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. General Editor David Thomas. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITETSBIBLIOTEKET I BERGEN. 18 November 2014 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/abu-muh-ammad-al-nawbakhti-COM\\_22625](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/abu-muh-ammad-al-nawbakhti-COM_22625)> David Thomas, "Kitāb al-ārā' wa-l-diyānāt." *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. General Editor David Thomas. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITETSBIBLIOTEKET I BERGEN. 18 November 2014 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/kita-b-al-a-ra-wa-l-diya-na-t-COM\\_22626](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/kita-b-al-a-ra-wa-l-diya-na-t-COM_22626)>

## Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq

Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq<sup>123</sup> is a fascinating figure whose biographical details remain uncertain. All extant sources place him in the third/ninth century, though they differ as to the exact decades in which he was active.<sup>124</sup> David Thomas circumspectly avers that he was most likely active in "the decades before and maybe just after the the middle of the third/ninth century."<sup>125</sup>

The nature of his religious beliefs are equally opaque. He seems to have criticized all the religions of his time but to have done so with an impressive amount of sympathy, objectivity, and erudition. These qualities ensured that he came to be regarded as an eminent authority on Manichaeism. He is likely to have begun his career as a Mu‘tazilī and is reported by several Muslim authors to have been a Shī‘ī. Al-Ash‘arī and al-Khayyāt also stated that he was a Rāfiḍī. Thomas avers that he was certainly interested in Shī‘ī doctrines as evinced in the title of one of the books ascribed to him, *Kitāb ikhtilāf al-Shī‘a*.<sup>126</sup> As for the Rāfiḍī, they are reported to have entertained unusually radical ideas about basic tenets of the Muslim faith. Thus, al-Warrāq may have found a home in this community.<sup>127</sup>

Islam was also subject to his critique as he is said to have criticized commonly held beliefs

<sup>123</sup>The presentation of his full name varies. The differences lie in the order of the patronyms, whether or not Hārūn is a patronym, and the addition of Muḥammad as another proper name. The *EI* (volume 1, pg. 130) and Waardenburg ("The Medieval Period," 20) give Abū ‘Īsā Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Warrāq, while Thomas gives two different versions in *Early Muslim Polemic*: Abū ‘Īsā Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-Warrāq (e.g. on page ix) and Abū ‘Īsā Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-Warrāq (e.g. on page 21).

<sup>124</sup>The evidence for an early date for al-Warrāq's *floruit* is: al-Mas‘ūdī reported that he died in 861; al-Ash‘arī reported (*Maqālāt*, p. 33.11f, *non vidi*) that he had an encounter with a companion of Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam, and since al-Ḥakam died in 795-6 and his companion cannot be expected to have lived more than fifty years after him, it can be presumed that must have had this encounter before 844-5; al-Khayyāt says (*Intiṣār*, pp. 73, 108, *non vidi*) that was a contemporary of Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād and al-Ḥaddād is known to have been active in the early ninth century. The evidence for a later date is: Ibn al-Jawzī says (*Mutaḥam*, vol. VI, p. 102.3ff, *non vidi*) was imprisoned in 910-11; al-Shahrastānī (*Milal*, pp.188-92), after quoting, reports about events happening in 884-5, though it is uncertain if this is also part of the quote from; Abū Sa‘īd al-Muḥsin b. Muḥammad al-Jushamī al-Bayhaqī (unpublished manuscript, see Madelung, "Firaq-Literatur," pp. 47f, *non vidi*) mentions as his source in a report about a group who believed three ‘Alids would be raised from the dead, the last ‘Alid having died in 864, thus meaning that was active after this date. (Thomas, *Early Muslim Polemic*, 23-5).

<sup>125</sup>Thomas, *Early Muslim Polemic*, 25. For similar views see François de Blois on page 39 of "New Light on the Sources of the Manichaean Chapter in the *Fihrist*" in *Il Manicheismo Nuove Prospettive Della Ricerca* a cura di Aloīs van Tongerlo in collaborazione con Luigi Cirillo (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); Stern, "Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq," *EI*, 130; and John C. Reeves, *Prologomena to a History of Islamicate Manichaeism*. (Sheffield: Equinox Publishing Ltd., 2011), 223.

<sup>126</sup>Thomas, *Early Muslim Polemic*, 32.

<sup>127</sup>"It appears from al-Ash‘arī that the searching inquiries into basic matters of faith we have just listed were pursued by Rāfiḍiyya almost alone in the decades following the start of the third/ninth century. [...] This may have been the source of attraction of the Rāfiḍiyya for Abū ‘Īsā." Thomas, *Early Muslim Polemic*, 32

concerning the Qur'ān, Muḥammad, and the nature and authority of prophecy in his *Al-Gharīb al-Mashriqī (The Stranger from the East)*.<sup>128</sup> It is understandable then why many came to regard al-Warrāq as a heretic, and the fact that his former pupil Ibn al-Rāwandī was considered a heretic<sup>129</sup> did not help. Yet reports impugning al-Warrāq's orthodoxy are disharmonious as to the exact nature of his supposed heresy. They are also clearly polemical, thus casting doubt over their reliability. What seems certain is that al-Warrāq was no conventional Muslim in his day and that he possessed a remarkably critical and shrewd mind.<sup>130</sup>

### Al-Warrāq's Literary Output and Influence

Al-Warrāq's oeuvre is reported to have included at least nineteen works.<sup>131</sup> All of these have been lost, though some exist in quotations and paraphrases in the works of later authors. The most complete of these is his *Radd 'alā al-thalāth firaq min al-Naṣārā (The Refutation of the Three Christian Sects)*.<sup>132</sup>

This work was quoted extensively by the Christian Yaḥyā Ibn 'Adī and has been reconstructed by

David Thomas . It is available in *Anti-Christian polemic in early Islam: Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's "Against*

128David Thomas, "Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad ibn Hārūn ibn Muḥammad al-Warrāq," *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. General Editor David Thomas. Brill Online, 2014. Reference.

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<[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/abu-i-sa-muh-ammad-ibn-ha-ru-n-ibn-muh-ammad-al-warra-q-COM\\_23703](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/abu-i-sa-muh-ammad-ibn-ha-ru-n-ibn-muh-ammad-al-warra-q-COM_23703)>

129John C. Reeves, *Prologomena to a History of Islamicate Manichaeism*. (Sheffield: Equinox Publishing Ltd., 2011), 223, fn516.

130Thomas concludes – somewhat hesitatingly once again – that al-Warrāq was, "in his own mind," a Muslim and monotheist. He further states that he may have found an ideological kinship among the unconventional, freethinking Rāfiḍiyya (*Early Muslim Polemic*, 31-33). Cf. S. Stroumsa who believes al-Warrāq to have been a Manichaean [*Freethinkers of Medieval Islam, Ibn al-Rāwandī, Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, and their Impact on Islamic Thought*. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 40-44. *Non vidi*. Seen in Thomas, *Early Muslim Polemic*, 27-28]. Thomas argues that Stroumsa's evidence is too meager and fails to take into account al-Warrāq's anti-Manichaean writings. Like Stroumsa, Carsten Colpe was also of the view that al-Warrāq was a Manichaean [*Der Manichäismus in der arabischen Überlieferung*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation. 1954) and "Anpassung des Manichäismus an den Islam (Abū 'Īsā l-Warrāq)" in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 1959, 82-91, both *non vidi* and seen in De Blois, "Sources," 38]. De Blois rejects Colpe's hypothesis for similar reasons that Thomas rejects Stroumsa's: "[Abū 'Īsā's] book specifically on the dualists contained not only an 'investigation' (*iqtiṣās*), but also a 'refutation' (*radd*) of their teachings" (de Blois, "Sources," 40). Cf. *EI* which also states that it is unlikely "that he was a formal adherent of Manicheism" and was most likely an "independent thinker" (Stern, "Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq," 130).

131David Thomas, *Anti-Christian Polemic in Early Islam: Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's "Against the Trinity"*, 22-24.

132Edited and translated by David Thomas in *Anti-Christian Polemic in Early Islam: Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's "Against the Trinity"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) and *Early Muslim Polemic against Christianity: Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's "Against the Incarnation"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).



the Trinity"<sup>133</sup> and in *Early Muslim Polemic against Christianity: Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's "Against the Incarnation"*.<sup>134</sup> Yet his three lost works concerned with dualism are of interest to this paper: *Kitāb maqālāt al-nās wa-ikhtilāfihim* (*The teachings of people and the differences between them*) which was his magnum opus,<sup>135</sup> *Kitāb iqtisāṣ madhāhib aṣḥāb al-ithnayn wa-al-radd 'alayhim* (*Book of investigation of the doctrines of the dualists and refutation of the same*), and *Radd 'alā al-Majūs* (*The Refutation of the Magians*).<sup>136</sup>

Al-Warrāq's works are thought to be the fountainhead of Muslim writings on Manichaeism in particular<sup>137</sup> and dualism in general.<sup>138</sup> Because of his later influence, much of his writings on dualism have been preserved thanks to extensive quotation and paraphrasing by later authors.<sup>139</sup> While it is difficult to say from which of his works later Muslim accounts derive, as will be seen, the extant quotations and paraphrases from al-Warrāq contain no criticism of their subject. This would be in keeping with what is known of the *Maqālāt*<sup>140</sup> since – as the titles of the other two books indicate – his other works on dualism included refutations.<sup>141</sup> Either the Muslim authors who used al-Warrāq's work(s) deliberately chose to omit criticism or no such criticism existed. The latter seems more likely, given that 'Abd al-Jabbār, for example, is not hesitant to disparage the Manichaeans.<sup>142</sup>

133(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

134(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

135I will follow Thomas and refer to this henceforth as *Maqālāt*. Thomas states that "this work is generally known among Muslim authors as the *Kitāb Maqālāt al-nās* or simply *Kitāb al-Maqālāt*, though since Abū 'Īsā himself refers to it in the *Radd 'alā al-Naṣārā* as *kitābu-nā alladhī waṣafnā fihī maqālāt al-nās wa-ikhtilāfa-hum*, these were probably abbreviated versions of the original" ("Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq and the History of Religions," *Journal of Semitic Studies* XLI/2 Autumn 1996, 276).

136Thomas, "History of Religions," 279.

137See de Blois, "Sources," 44, as well as pg. 45 for a useful diagram illustrating the relationship between al-Warrāq and later sources.

138G. Monnot, "Thanawiyya," *EI*, 439. Thomas, *Early Muslim Polemic*, 19. Thomas, "Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq and the History of Religions," 279.

139Thomas, *Early Muslim Polemic*, 19. Idem, "History of Religions," 276-8. Thomas presents evidence to suggest that the *Maqālāt* was al-Warrāq's magnum opus and his other more specified works were more or less truncated versions of it.

140Thomas, "Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq and the History of Religions," 279: "These [descriptions of dualist sects] contain no criticism of their subject and may even have appeared sympathetic, since al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) in his *Kitāb al-Shāfi al-imāmah* remarked they were so accomplished and detailed that many of those who read them were left wondering about Abū 'Īsā's loyalties to Islam."

141Cf. Thomas, "Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq," 278-279.

142*Mughnī*, Book 5, 15.16-17. Reeves translation of which reads: "All of this Mānī has narrated. We could extend (discussion of) his tales, but this should suffice for the purposes of argument and the exposure of their fables to the one who reads them." *Islamicate Manichaeism*, 199.

It seems that al-Warrāq wrote about Manichaeans in one or both of his works on dualism, as well as in the *Maqālāt*. These are likely to have included Bardesanites, Marcionites, Mazdakians, Māhāniyyah (a Manichaean sect), Siyāmiyyah and Zoroastrians.<sup>143</sup> As evinced in the title of his monograph on Christianity, he considered Christianity to be divided into three main sects – sc. Melkites, Nestorians, and Jacobites. Therefore, it appears he considered Manichaeism to be a separate religion more appropriately grouped with dualism.

### **Al-Warrāq's Motives**

Wāṣil b. ‘Aṭā’ has the honor of being the first Muslim to write about the Manichaeans (*mānawīyya*) in his *al-ʿAlf masʿala fi ʿl-radd ʿalā ʿl-mānawīyya*. He is said to have written this anti-Manichaean work, now lost, ca. 728 CE.<sup>144</sup> A hundred or so years later, when al-Warrāq lived and wrote, Islamic civilization was entering its golden age. This was a time when interest in the outside world was burgeoning; it was only a few decades before al-Masʿūdī and al-Nadīm would pen their "encyclopedic works."<sup>145</sup> There were also others in the late ninth century who wrote about non-Muslim religions in general and Manichaeans in particular.<sup>146</sup> But, since al-Warrāq's writings have been preserved only in fragmentary quotations, any attempt to uncover his motives is bound to be speculative. Yet, by paying attention to al-Warrāq's socio-historical environment, the topics about which he chose to write and the way he wrote about them, a few things can tentatively be said.

Since, as previously mentioned, al-Warrāq eludes easy classification and has justifiably been described as a "freethinker," one may expect that his writing was motivated by a genuine intellectual curiosity and not polemics. The detail with which he wrote certainly evinces a curious intellect, as well as rigor. However, curiosity alone does not explain why he chose to write about religions and not – to

<sup>143</sup>Thomas, "Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq and the History of Religions," 280.

<sup>144</sup>See Monnot, "Thanawīyya," 440.

<sup>145</sup>Waardenburg, "The Medieval Period," 21. Cf. Chase F. Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 1f.

<sup>146</sup>For example, Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Irānshāhī (See Thomas, "Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq," 284) and Wāṣil b. ‘Aṭā (see G. Monnot, *Islam et Religions*, 50. and Reeves, *Prologomena*, 155, 168, 172, 199, 200, 253, 254, 267.

the best of our knowledge – other intellectual topics.<sup>147</sup> Nor would it fully explain why he chose to criticize the religions about which he wrote and not simply describe them. It then seems that al-Warrāq's curiosity was not purely academic, rather he was passionately driven to find religious – that is to say, spiritual and/or metaphysical – truth.<sup>148</sup>

Al-Warrāq criticized traditional Muslim beliefs about the transmission and inspiration of the Qur'ān, the authority of Prophets, etc., but he does not seem to have attacked the oneness of God. A continuing belief in the oneness of God is in fact attributed to al-Warrāq by Thomas.<sup>149</sup> This would help explain why al-Warrāq wrote about Christianity, Judaism, and dualism, namely that they were – in the words of de Blois – "part of a grand scheme to elucidate and develop the foundations of an Islamic theology in polemical juxtaposition to earlier religions."<sup>150</sup> This is much like what would later be seen in the works of al-Māturīdī and 'Abd al-Jabbār. Al-Warrāq's criticism of the Trinity, the Incarnation and dualism is consistent with a project aimed at vindicating Islamic monotheism.<sup>151</sup>

The *mutakallimūn*, including the Mutazila, roughly contemporary with al-Warrāq, were engaged also in the defense of the oneness of God – *tawhīd* – against dualists.<sup>152</sup> Like the *mutakallimūn*/Mutazila, there is no doubt that al-Warrāq held reason in high regard. He is in fact said by some to have been a Mutazilī at one point.<sup>153</sup> Thus, a project of vindicating Islamic monotheism via reasoning also squares nicely with al-Warrāq's socio-historical context.

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147For example, Thomas points out that none of the titles the works attributed to al-Warrāq "reveal any significant interest in Greek philosophers," nor an interest in religions such as Hinduism and Buddhism – which were written about by his contemporaries. "Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq," *JSS XLI/2* Autumn 1996, 286, fn.50.

148Thomas, *Early Muslim Polemic*, 31.

149Thomas, *Early Muslim Polemic*, 33.

150de Blois, "Sources," 40.

151Thomas, *Early Muslim Polemic*, 73-75.

152Monnot, "Thanawiyya," *EI*, 441.

153Stern, "Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq," *EI*, 130. Thomas, *Early Muslim Polemic*, 25.

## Chapter 4

### A Reconstruction of Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq's Manichaeography

All projects must begin somewhere; they must build on a foundation already set. Thesis stands directly upon the research of François de Blois, though not him alone. It is also less directly indebted to the work of Carsten Colpe, Guy Monnot, Wilfred Madelung, and David Thomas. The hypothesis developed by these scholars and most recently and succinctly articulated by de Blois, is that among the Muslim authors who wrote about the Manichaeans, ‘Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, al-Māturīdī, Ibn al-Jawzī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā depended upon al-Nawbakhtī for their information. And that al-Nawbakhtī, along with al-Malāhimī and al-Nadīm, had direct access to the Manichaeography of Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq. The effect being that, by comparing these sources, one should be able to see what was in al-Warrāq's account of the Manichaeans.

Once the reader has familiarized him/herself with the reconstruction presented below, and has hopefully had recourse to the appendix, the evidence in support of de Blois' hypothesis will be evaluated. But first the results of this attempt to reconstruct al-Warrāq's account of the Manichaeans will be presented. This has been done by collating the seven works on the Manichaeans previously mentioned; those works directly or indirectly dependent upon al-Warrāq's account. Their length and fidelity to their source vary, yet they contain a remarkable number of parallel passages. This makes it possible to reconstruct al-Warrāq's account, in places with quite a bit of confidence. The seven authors and their writings were chosen in keeping with François de Blois' research.<sup>154</sup> De Blois has stated that there are two other works<sup>155</sup> worthy of attention when reconstructing al-Warrāq, but unfortunately it has

<sup>154</sup>"New Light on the Sources of the Manichaean Chapter in the *Fihrist*"

<sup>155</sup>Namely al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī in *Sharḥu ‘uyūni l-masā’il* and Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥu nahji l-balāyah*. See "New Light," page 41: "A third text from the same tradition [i.e. the tradition dependent upon al-Nawbakhtī] is by another mu‘tazilī author, al-Muḥsin b. Muḥammad, called al-Ḥākim al-Ġušāmī, who died in 1101, in his *Šarḥu ‘uyūni l-masā’il*. This important work is still unpublished, but it is available to me in manuscript. Moreover, large sections of this book, among them the account of the Manichaeans, are quoted (explicitly from al-Ḥākim) by a Yemeni (zaydī) author, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, called Ibn al-Murtaḍā (later: the imām al-Mahdī li dīn Allāh, ob. 1437), in his book *al-Munyat wa l-amalu fi šarḥi l-milali wa n-niḥal*." And from page 42 of the same article: "An-Nawbakhtī is also is also evidently one of several sources exploited in an interesting account of Manichaean cosmology quoted in the *Šarḥu nahji l-balāyah* of ‘Abd al-

not been possible to include those works here. This is because one of them remains unpublished and the other, if published, is very difficult to locate. This is perhaps the reason why they were not included in Reeves' *Islamicate Manichaeism* either. However, as will be apparent, their future inclusion is unlikely to necessitate any radical changes. Lastly, it should be kept in mind that al-Warrāq may have written more on the Manichaeans than we have, or will ever have, evidence for.

## Method of Reconstruction

An attempt to reconstruct a lost text such as al-Warrāq's is a work of source criticism.<sup>156</sup> A useful model in source and textual criticism, common to evolutionary biology and historical linguistics, is the family tree model or stemma. In this model the oldest ancestor(s) represent the trunk of the tree and the descendants are the branches. In the case under consideration, al-Warrāq's account of the Manichaeans is the trunk and the seven authors who used his writings form seven branches. Only three authors are likely to have used al-Warrāq directly: al-Nawbakhtī, al-Nadīm and al-Malāḥimī.<sup>157</sup> They form three branches stemming directly from the trunk (al-Warrāq). Al-Nawbakhtī's material has been lost, but is paraphrased and quoted in 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, Ibn al-Murtaḍā, Ibn al-Jawzī, and al-Māturīdī. These five are sub-branches off of al-Nawbakhtī. Therefore the seven extant authors can be organized into three families of texts: al-Nawbakhtī, al-Nadīm, and al-Malāḥimī.

While not appearing much like a tree, below is a diagram which visually expresses the same idea. It was created by de Blois and is entitled "Some Arabic Sources Concerning Manichaeon Cosmology." What de Blois refers to as "cosmology" appears to correspond more or less with what Reeves calls "mythology." However, as will be seen, this diagram is not only applicable to the material

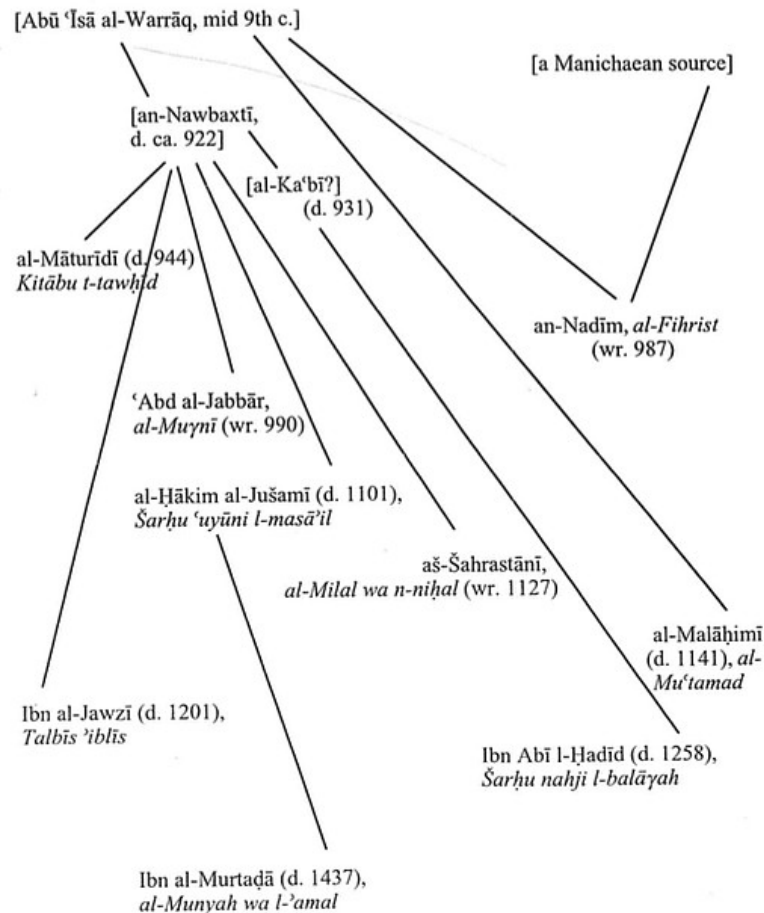
Ḥamīd b. Hibat allāh, called Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (ob. 1258) from some earlier literary source, possibly a lost (or unavailable) work by the famous early mu'tazilite writer Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḥī (ob. 931)."

<sup>156</sup>The basic logic of source criticism is the same as that of textual criticism. For an introduction to these terms and ideas see Einar Thomassen's "Philology" and Jörg Rüpke's "History" in *The Routledge Handbook of Research Methods in the Study of Religion* edited by Michael Stausberg and Steven Engler (New York: Routledge, 2011).

<sup>157</sup>As mentioned above, de Blois has not fully elucidated why he believes al-Nawbakhtī, al-Nadīm, and al-Malāḥimī to be the only ones to have used al-Warrāq directly. However, I will attempt to flesh this argument out in the discussion following the chart, i.e. after the reader has familiarized him/herself with the material.

termed cosmological/mythological, but also that which Reeves has called doctrinal and eschatological. The reader would be well-advised to recall that two of the authors in the diagram below – al-Ḥākim al-Juṣamī, and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd – are not included in this thesis for the reasons mentioned on the previous page. Also l-Ka‘bī’s work, which de Blois hypothesizes is a possible intermediary between al-Nawbakhtī and al-Ḥadīd, is "lost (or unavailable)."<sup>158</sup>

#### SOME ARABIC SOURCES CONCERNING MANICHAEAN COSMOLOGY



(From p. 45 of de Blois' article, "New Light on the Sources of the Manichaean Chapter in the *Fihrist*")

By working backwards from the extant works in the diagram above, it is possible to form a reasonable hypothesis concerning the content of al-Warrāq's Manichaean account. To use terminology

<sup>158</sup>De Blois, "New Light," 42. The reader should note that al-Ka‘bī is the same person as Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī.

common in source and textual criticism, this account is the *Ur-text*. Of the seven extant authors (of whom al-Nawbakhtī is not one), de Blois remarks that only al-Nadīm and al-Malāḥimī are likely to have used al-Warrāq's material directly. This proximity to al-Warrāq's text warrants prioritizing their testimony.

The ultimate goal of such a reconstruction is a critical edition – a goal not fully realized here. This project is instead a necessary first step towards that goal; a step consisting of the collation, synoptic presentation, and annotation of the material.

Originally this reconstruction was to be more like a critical edition: something as close as possible to what is likely to have been al-Warrāq's original text. For that reason, references to al-Warrāq and al-Nawbakhtī were omitted and words appearing in only one author were elided, even if that author was otherwise the best attestation to the original text. However, this plan was abandoned in favor of one which is less likely to result in the accidental omission of important information. Furthermore, including those parts where al-Warrāq and al-Nawbakhtī are mentioned by name will hopefully strengthen and render more lucid the argument that al-Warrāq's and al-Nawbakhtī's works are the likely source texts. At the same time, it will provide the reader with more information upon which to form independent judgments. Similarly, all passages are as they appear in the text from which they were taken. Thus, if al-Malāḥimī, having been deemed to be the most dependable witness to a passage, also happens to contain a word that is not found elsewhere, that word has been maintained.

The text has been reconstructed following two basic principles: multiple attestation and proximity to the original text. As an example of multiple attestation, all else being equal, whatever wording and/or word order is most attested to is that which has been chosen. Thus, if al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā have a passage in one form, while the other four have it in another form, the version with four witnesses is preferred over that with only three.

This criterion is countervailed by the precedence given to al-Nadīm and al-Malāḥimī because of

their supposed direct access to al-Warrāq's text. If the five authors dependent upon al-Nawbakhtī are in concord, but disagree with al-Nadīm and al-Malāḥimī, al-Nadīm and al-Malāḥimī's testimony has been chosen. However, at times the the process is slightly more complex. For example, there are cases in which those dependent upon al-Nawbakhtī agree with one another, indicating they have faithfully recorded al-Nawbakhtī's material. However, al-Malāḥimī and al-Nadīm both disagree with these five and are not in agreement with each other. Which is to say, all three of the branches of the tree are discordant. In such cases it is possible that al-Nawbakhtī has most faithfully recorded al-Warrāq. Yet al-Nawbakhtī is only accessible via the five authors that used him, rendering him, however likely, never more than a hypothetical reconstruction. In such cases, al-Nadīm or al-Malāḥimī's testimony has been chosen since their material is extant.

I have endeavored to include in the footnotes comments about who agrees and disagrees with whom, and in places have included more detailed information about the nature of those disagreements. Ultimately, the reader will find that al-Malāḥimī has been the preferred source upon which this reconstruction is based. To make the exceptions to this rule as perspicuous as possible, passages taken from elsewhere are in red. Furthermore, passages attested to only once are in italics. For more insight into the logic behind the reconstruction, see the footnotes and the analysis immediately following the chart.

## **Organization of Chart**

The chart itself is constructed in such a way as to maximize readability and ease of reference to the appendix. The ability to effortlessly locate the material in Reeves' *Islamicate Manichaeism* has also been a top priority. For this reason, the organizational system employed by Reeves has been used, i.e. the material is divided into three sections – Doctrinal Material, Mythological Material, and Eschatological Material.



Reeves' own explanation of this organizational system is as follows:

'Doctrinal' assembles the various statements expressing how Mani represented his prophetic vocation and revelatory teachings in relation to older and rival religious groupings and concerns. This selection also includes a series of largely second-order Muslim distillations of the way Manichaeism purportedly structured empirical reality and explained its natural processes. The label 'mythological' brings together accounts which articulate the distinctive Manichaean myth regarding the origin of the material world and its inhabitants: it features colorful episodes and *dramatis personae* familiar from much earlier testimonia like those provided by Coptic Manichaica, Ephrem Syrus, and Augustine. 'Ritual and behavioral' collects information about the lifestyles embraced by the two classes of believers, the so-called 'Elect' and the catechumens (*Auditores* or 'Hearers'). Finally, the rubric of 'eschatological' presents Manichaean teachings about the fate of individual souls, the afterlife, and the cosmic events associated with the eschaton.<sup>159</sup>

Reeves also includes another section titled 'Ritual and Behavior' which is not included in my presentation. Its exclusion is for two reasons, one practical and the other related to content. The first is that the paginal and temporal limits of the present thesis dictated against including an additional section. More importantly, after a cursory reading of the 'Ritual Behavior' material, there appear to be no obvious parallels that may lead back to al-Warrāq. The only parallels between the authors under consideration in this thesis are those between 'Abd al-Jabbār and al-Shahrastānī.<sup>160</sup> This material seems to be derived from a common source. However, it cannot be said with any certainty that that source is al-Warrāq.

It should also be noted that at times Reeves' decision to place a passage in a given section seems questionable. For example, a passage from 'Abd al-Jabbār (*Mughnī*, Book 5, page 12, lines 4-5) is found among Mythological Material in Reeves (page 178, lines 24-28) despite the fact that it clearly pertains to eschatology. I have thus moved it to section 84 of Eschatological Material and made a footnote. In any case, Reeves is not to be faulted, as the reader should be aware that no system of categorization is perfect.

The English translation which appears with each passage has been taken directly from Reeves *Islamicate Manichaeism* unless otherwise indicated in the footnotes. At the end of each of these English translations there is a parenthetical citation indicating exactly where in Reeves this line is to be found.

This style of citation is the same as what appears in the appendix. For example, in the first passage –

<sup>159</sup>*Islamicate Manichaeism*, 162

<sup>160</sup>See Reeves, *Islamicate Manichaeism*, 212 & 214-215.

Doctrinal Material 1 – the citation is (R: 184.21-24): R stands for Reeves (always meaning *Islamicate Manichaeism*), 184 for page 184, and 21-24 means that this is found on lines 21-24. Reeves does not include line numbers for his English translations of these texts, so I have counted them myself. They are included because I found this to be a useful feature common to Arabic texts and felt it would help the reader locate the English passages in Reeves more easily. The citations in the footnotes are similar in form (for example, al-Malāḥimī: 561.20-562.1). The one exception to this is ‘Abd al-Jabbār whose citations contain an extra category before the page number (for example the 5 in ‘Abd al-Jabbār: 5:10.15-16). This represents the fifth volume of this multivolume work. For each of the seven authors used in this reconstruction, only one book has been used. Therefore only the authors' names have been included in the footnotes. The full titles of their books can be found in the introduction and in the bibliography.

On the lefthand side of the chart are numbers. These numbers are continuous throughout the reconstruction and across the sections (e.g. it progresses from Doctrinal Material 31 to Mythological Material 32). This is so that the numbers correspond with those in the synoptic chart in the appendix. Within the texts from which this material is taken, and presumably within al-Warrāq's text as well, this is one continuous passage. However, breaking the text up into shorter passages makes comparing the seven authors easier and will hopefully make it more readable.

The order of the passages is of greater significance than the numbering and corresponds more or less to the order found in ‘Abd al-Jabbār and al-Malāḥimī. This order has been chosen because, of the authors appearing here, al-Malāḥimī and ‘Abd al-Jabbār appear to be the most faithful to their source material. Al-Malāḥimī is also one of only two authors who is said to have used al-Warrāq directly. The other, al-Nadīm, has interspersed the material he took from al-Warrāq with material from other sources and uniquely configured it. Therefore he is not likely to be a reliable witness to the order of al-Warrāq's material. The order in ‘Abd al-Jabbār, who was dependent upon al-Nawbakhtī and not al-Warrāq

directly, is very similar to al-Malāḥimī. These two come together to form a dual attestation to the order used here.

## Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's Account of the Manichaeans

Doctrinal Material	
1	Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq has related about them that they maintain that the world was produced by two entities, one of them being Light and the other Darkness, and that both of them are primal entities. (R: 184.21-24) <sup>161</sup> فحكى أبو عيسى الوراق عنهم أنهم يزعمون أن العالم مصنوع من شيئين، أحدهما نور والآخر ظلمة، وأنهما قديمان
2	They claim that they are both eternally living sentient beings endowed with hearing and sight, (R: 184.24-25) <sup>162</sup> وزعموا أنهما حيان قديمان حساسان سميعان بصيران
3	but that they differ from one another with regard to their form and identity (and) oppose one another with regard to (their) activities. (R:184.25-26) <sup>163</sup> إلا أنهما يختلفان في المنظر والنفس، متضادان في الفعل
4	The essence of Light is goodness, excellence, nobility, wisdom, (and) produces benefits; nothing harmful comes from it, especially anything wicked. ( R:184.26-28) <sup>164</sup> فنفس النور خيرة فاضلة كريمة حكيمة حيية نفاعه، لا ضرر عندها ولا شر بت
5	The essence of Darkness contrasts with this (profile) and is its opposite. It is composed of wickedness, viciousness, vileness, putrescence, and insolence – blindly (and) senselessly killing, the origin of sins. (R:184.28-185.2) <sup>165</sup>

161Al-Malāḥimī: 561.20-562.1. The beginning, until *أن العالم* is unique to al-Malāḥimī. After that however, it appears in almost identical form in al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and al-Nadīm. There are a few minor differences. Al-Jabbār does not use *مصنوع* instead using only *مركن*. Ibn al-Malāḥimī does the opposite using only *مصنوع* and not *مركن*. Al-Shahrastānī uses both. Al-Jabbār does not use *أحدهما* or *والآخر* but both of these are used by al-Nadīm and Ibn al-Malāḥimī. The preferred word for the two principles appears to be *شيئين*, as it appears in both al-Jabbār and al-Malāḥimī. Al-Māturīdī, Ibn al-Jawzī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā are the most divergent.

162Al-Malāḥimī: 562.1-2. Similar material is found in 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Māturīdī, and to a lesser extent Ibn al-Murtaḍā. However, al-Jabbār and al-Shahrastānī have separated the statement about eternity and perception. What comes between these two statements is probably what is recorded by al-Malāḥimī in section 6. It is significant that Ibn al-Jawzī, who later cites al-Nawbakhtī as the source for his account, does not contain this interpolation/rearrangement. Another difference among these accounts is that al-Malāḥimī uses *قديمان* ("old," though translated here adverbally as "eternally") where 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Jawzī use *قويين* (powerful) and Ibn al-Murtaḍā uses *قدرتهما* (powerful). It seems quite possible that al-Malāḥimī should be original and the others derive from al-Nawbakhtī. The content of this passage is also similar to what is recorded in section 25 below.

163Al-Malāḥimī: 562.2-3. It is paralleled in 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Jawzī. A similar sentiment is reflected in Ibn al-Murtaḍā but by means of different words.

164Al-Malāḥimī: 562.3-4. A similar passage is found in 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, al-Māturīdī, Ibn al-Jawzī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā. These five are all very similar to each other, especially al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and al-Jawzī, thus making it likely that what is presented here is very close, if not identical, to what was in al-Nawbakhtī. The passage in al-Nadīm which may or may not correspond with this one is quite different. It is worth noting that al-Malāḥimī's passage is substantially shorter than what is likely from al-Nawbakhtī. It is impossible to know whether al-Malāḥimī or al-Nawbakhtī's passage is closer to the original, but I have favored al-Malāḥimī because it is directly attested to and, however probably, al-Nawbakhtī's material is still a theoretical reconstruction.

165Al-Malāḥimī: 562.4-5. 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī and Ibn al-Jawzī are all very similar to each other evincing their fidelity to al-Nawbakhtī. This is further corroborated by Ibn al-Jawzī who ends this passage with *كذا حكاه النويختي عنهم* ("Such does al-Nawbakhtī report about them"). Their testimony is very similar in meaning to what is found in al-Malāḥimī, though different in wording. As previously stated, it is impossible to know whether al-Malāḥimī or al-

	ونفس الظلمة على خلاف ذلك وضده من الشرارة والرداءة والخساسة والنتن والسفه مميتة مُعْمة ضرّارة معدن الآثام. وزعموا أن ذلك منهما طباع
6	They maintain that these characteristics (in the created order) derive from them. (R:185.2-3) <sup>166</sup> وزعموا أن ذلك منهما طباع (562.5-6)
7	Light extends infinitely in five directions: upwards, right, left, before, and behind, (R:185.3-4) <sup>167</sup> وأنه لا نهايه للنور من خمس جهات، العلو والجهات الأربع يمين وشمال وأمام وخلف
8	and it (Light) is situated adjacent to Darkness. (R:185.4) <sup>168</sup> وأنه تلقاء الظلمة
9	It terminates at the point where it encounters Darkness, (R:185.5) <sup>169</sup> ويتناهى من الجهة التي منها يلقي الظلمة
10	He [al-Nawbakhtī] (also) says: Some of them maintain that Light was always located above Darkness, (R:164.17-18) <sup>170</sup> قال : وزعم بعضهم أن النور لم يزل فوق الظلمة
11	But Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq relates that the majority of them (holds) that Light is always towards the north, and Darkness is low toward the south. (R:177.11-12) <sup>171</sup> وحكى أبو عيسى الوراق عن أكثرهم أن النور لم يزل مرتفعا في ناحية الشمال والظلمة منحطة في ناحية الجنوب
12	They name them (the) 'Two Entities' (kīyānān): Light is the higher entity, and the second entity is Darkness. (R:185.8-9) <sup>172</sup> ويسمونهما بأنهما كيانات، النور الأعلى كيان والثاني كيان الظلمة

Nawbakhtī's passage is closer to the original, but once again I have favored al-Malāḥimī.

166Al-Malāḥimī: 562.5-6.

167Al-Malāḥimī: 562.6-7. The wording is reflected partially in al-Nadīm and al-Māturīdī. 'Abd al-Jabbār and Ibn al-Murtaḍā seem to contain a truncated version.

168Al-Malāḥimī: 562.7. Al-Nadīm says something similar but in different words. 'Abd al-Jabbār, Ibn al-Murtaḍā and Ibn al-Jawzī also have a similar statement differently worded. These latter three are very similar to each other. One respect in which they are similar to each other and different from al-Malāḥimī is that they introduce a division among the Manichaeans, i.e. "some say x, others say y." Al-Malāḥimī and al-Nadīm indicate no such divisions here.

169Al-Malāḥimī: 562.7-8. 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Māturīdī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā contain a passage similar in meaning, but different wording from al-Malāḥimī. They are very similar to each other, however, likely reflecting their common fidelity to al-Nawbakhtī.

170Ibn al-Jawzī: 44.7. 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrestānī, al-Māturīdī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā contain similar material. Al-Malāḥimī says that the darkness was positioned "below" (السفل), but otherwise the phrasing is quite different. Similarly, al-Nadīm expresses a similar idea but in different words. Reeves interprets the subject of قال to be al-Nawbakhtī. This seems to be the only likely explanation since all of Ibn al-Jawzī's account seems to be derived from al-Nawbakhtī. I chosen those dependent on al-Nawbakhtī over al-Malāḥimī and al-Nadīm because the latter two do not contain this material and in the next section (11) al-Warrāq is explicitly cited as a source for it. I have chosen Ibn al-Jawzī here because he mentions al-Nawbakhtī.

171'Abd al-Jabbār: 5:10.15-16. Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq is explicitly mentioned as the source of this statement. It is also found in exactly this form in Ibn al-Jawzī with a close parallel in al-Shahrestānī and a more distant parallel in Ibn al-Murtaḍā.

Interestingly, this is not reflected in al-Malāḥimī, which may indicate that al-Malāḥimī's account is abridged.

172Al-Malāḥimī: 562.9-10. This is attested only here so it is impossible to tell if it goes back to al-Warrāq.

13	They disagree about the manner in which they abut one another. Some of them say they touch each other the same way that a sunbeam and shadow do, whereas others among them assert that there is a gap situated between them, but that the gap does not thereby constitute a third entity. (R:185.9-12) <sup>173</sup> واختلفوا في تلاقيهما، فمنهم من قال : كانا متماسين كتحاع الشمس والظل ومنهم من أثبت بينهما فرجة ولم يجعل الفرجة معنى ثالث
14	<i>According to some, the place where they contact is governed by where (Darkness?) is raised up vertically, for Darkness is (usually) in a horizontal position.</i> (R:177.13-15) <sup>174</sup> وقال بعضهم إن تلاقيهما على جهة الانتصاب وفي الظلمة اضطجاع
15	They claim that each one of them has five 'varieties,' one of them being spiritual and the other four corporeal. The spiritual component of Light is air, and the four corporeal (varieties) are fire, light, wind, and water. The spiritual component of Light never ceases moving among these corporeal parts. (R:185.13-16) <sup>175</sup> وزعموا أن كا واحد منهما أجناس خمسة، الواحد منها روح وأربعة أبدان، فروح النور هو النسيم، وأبدانه الأربعة هي النار والنور والريح والماء، وأن روح النور لم يزل يتحرك في هذه الأبدان
16	Darkness likewise has five varieties, (they being) smoke, fire, darkness, hot wind, and mist, and the spiritual component of Darkness is smoke, it being called Hummāma, (R:185.16-18) <sup>176</sup> وكذلك الظلمة أجناس خمسة، الدخان والحريق والظلمة والسّموم والضباب، وأن ورح الظلمة هو الدخان، وهو يدعى عندهم الهُمّامة
17	<i>and the four corporeal parts (are called) 'calamities.'</i> (R:185.18-19) <sup>177</sup> والأربعة النولقي أبدان
18	They believe that the corporeal parts of Light each differ from one another, although all of them derive from Light. (R:185.19-21) <sup>178</sup> وجعلوا أبدان النور مخالفة بعضها لبعض، وكلها عندهم نور
19	They term the varieties of Light 'angels.' They speak similarly about the different corporeal parts of Darkness, terming them 'satans.' [...] (R:185.21-22) <sup>179</sup>

173Al-Malāḥimī: 562.10-12. There are close parallels in 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā, with al-Jabbār being the closest and the others being substantially shorter. The part about the lack of a "third entity" (ثالثاً) appears to be unique to al-Malāḥimī, though it is similar to what is found in sections 3 and 8 above.

174'Abd al-Jabbār: 5:10.17. This is an unusual passage that appears only in al-Jabbār. Håkon Teigen, a Phd student at the University of Bergen, has casually suggested that this could be al-Jabbār's rephrasing of what appears in above in section 13. However, al-Jabbār also includes the material in 13. What is more, it appears to me to be a very inaccurate way of rephrasing this passage, if that is indeed what al-Jabbār has done.

175Al-Malāḥimī: 562.12-14. It is very similar to what is found in 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, Ibn al-Jawzī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā. Even more importantly, al-Nadīm, who is also thought to have used al-Warrāq directly, contains similar material.

176Al-Malāḥimī: 562.14-16. It is very similar to what is found in al-Nadīm, 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, Ibn al-Jawzī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā. 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, Ibn al-Jawzī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā are very close to one another indicating that they must be quoting al-Nawbakhtī very closely.

177Al-Malāḥimī: 562.16. It is difficult to know if this derives from al-Warrāq since it is only found in al-Malāḥimī.

178Al-Malāḥimī: 562.16-17. This is found in almost identical form in 'Abd al-Jabbār.

179Al-Malāḥimī: 562.17-18. There are parallels in al-Shahrastānī, Ibn al-Jawzī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā, with Ibn al-Murtaḍā being the closest in length and wording. Al-Shahrastānī and Ibn al-Jawzī are almost twice as long as al-Malāḥimī and

	وسموا أجناس النور ملائكة، وكذلك قالوا باختلاف أبدان الظلمة وسموها شياطين
20	The spiritual (element) of Light always helps its bodily (parts), and its bodily (parts) help it; but the spirit of Darkness harms its bodily (parts), and its bodily parts in turn are injurious to it. (R:177.26-29) <sup>180</sup> وروح النور لم تنزل تنفع أبدانها وتنفعها أبدانها وروح الظلمة نضر بأبدانها وتضر بها أبدانها
21	They say moreover about the five varieties (genera) that each one of them is black, white, yellow, red, or green. (R:185.25-26) <sup>181</sup> وحكى عنهم أيضاً أن الأجناس الخمسة من كل واحد منهما سواد ونياض وصفرة وحمرة وخضرة
22	Whatever is white in the World of Light is good, whereas that which is white in the World of Darkness is evil. The same holds for the rest of the colors. (R:185.26-28) <sup>182</sup> فما كان من بياض في عالم النور فهو خير، وما كان من بياض في عالم الظلمة فهو شر وكذلك سائر الألوان
23	They maintain that the two (Worlds) were eternally separate, with no third (realm) existing together with them. (R:185.28-29) <sup>183</sup> وزعموا أنهما كانا لم يزل متباينين لا ثالث معهما
24	Then some of their parts mixed with one another, and this world came into being from their mixed parts. (R:185.29-31) <sup>184</sup> ثم امتزجا بجزئين منهما فكان هذا العالم من الجزئين الممتزجين منهما
25	The majority of them claims that the parts and the spiritual entities are completely alive (and) endowed with senses. Some of them say that it is the Two Spirits that are alive, (R:177.32-178.3) <sup>185</sup>

Ibn al-Murtaḍā, though they do not agree with each other in the content of this extra material.

180‘Abd al-Jabbār: 5:11.5-6. There is a close parallel in Ibn al-Murtaḍā. More importantly, al-Malāḥimī also bears testimony to this passage, though he only presents information concerning the Darkness, not the Light.

181Al-Malāḥimī: 562.20-21. This is found in nearly identical form in ‘Abd al-Jabbār and al-Māturīdī.

182Al-Malāḥimī: 562.21-22. Again there are close parallels in ‘Abd al-Jabbār and al-Māturīdī. Where al-Malāḥimī refers to ‘colors’ (الألوان), ‘Abd al-Jabbār speaks of ‘senses’ (حواس) and al-Māturīdī mentions ‘species’ (الجنس).

183Al-Malāḥimī: 562.22-563.1. The first part of this, وزعموا أنهما كانا لم يزل متباينين, appears in almost identical form in ‘Abd al-Jabbār. Al-Nadīm, al-Māturīdī, Ibn al-Jawzī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā are also similar. The last part, لا ثالث معهما ("with no third (realm) existing together with them"), is only found in al-Malāḥimī. However, it may be the same as what is found earlier in al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā – وأحالوا حدوث شيء من الصنعة والتركيب إلا من أصل قديم – ("They deny the existence of any created or composed thing in the absence of a prior primal (generative) principle") – especially considering that this is not found in al-Malāḥimī or al-Nadīm.

184Al-Malāḥimī: 563.1-2. This is taken from the section of al-Malāḥimī which is otherwise listed under mythological material. Al-Māturīdī expresses the same sentiment but with different wording. ‘Abd al-Jabbār and Ibn al-Murtaḍā have a truncated version of this, leaving off the part about the creation of the world. Al-Nadīm also includes a part about the mixing of the elements, but his wording is almost entirely different.

185‘Abd al-Jabbār: 5:11.9-10. This and what follows is taken primarily from ‘Abd al-Jabbār, but is paralleled throughout in Ibn al-Murtaḍā. The material here in sections 25 and 26 appears to be a reiteration of the material at the beginning of this chart in sections 1, 2, and 3. Interestingly, there are no parallels in al-Malāḥimī or al-Nadīm beyond what is at the beginning of the chart. It is possible that al-Nawbakhtī, from whom ‘Abd al-Jabbār and Ibn al-Murtaḍā derive, expanded upon the material taken from al-Warrāq by adding this latter. However, since ‘Abd al-Jabbār credits in this passage al-Nawbakhtī and al-Warrāq as his source, it seems it must derive from al-Warrāq. Why then did al-Malāḥimī or al-Nadīm

	وزعم أكثرهم أن الأجناس والأرواح جميعها حي حسّاس. وقال بعضهم في الروحين إنهما حيّان
26	and (that) the corporeal (elements) of Light live a pure life save that it is not a life of perception or discernment; and (that) the corporeal (elements) of Darkness and its parts are lifeless (and) putrid. (R:178.3-5) <sup>186</sup> وأبدان النور حية حياة طاهرة لا حياة حسّ وتمييز ؛ وأبدان الظلمة وأجناسها ميتة فاسدة
27	He (i.e., al-Nawbakhtī) reports that Abū ‘Isā al-Warrāq said that the actions of each of them (i.e., of Light and Darkness) are voluntary; however, their ability to choose does not go against their essential nature. (R:178.6-8) <sup>187</sup> وحكى عن أبي عيسى الوراق أن أفعال نفسيهما باختيار ؛ لكن لختيار هما لا يعدو ما في طبيعتهما
28	Yet they say things differ with respect to being good or bad, or being pleasant or foul, or being knowledgeable or ignorant: (the explanation is that) a part of this one is present quantitatively to a greater degree than a part of the other, by which are meant parts of Light and Darkness. (R:178.8-12) <sup>188</sup> قالوا : وإنما تختلف الأشياء في الخير والشر والحسن والقبح والعلم والجهل فيكون بعض ذلك أكثر من بعض على قدر كثرة أجزاء النور وأجزاء الظلمة
29	And he says with regard to the mixture that it took place in the World of Darkness below the World of Light. (R:178.12-13) <sup>189</sup> وقال في المزاج : هو في عالم الظلمة دون عالم لنور
30	[...] <i>But al-Warrāq, who was a dualist, said in his book (that) they divide into three groups.</i> (R:178.15-16) <sup>190</sup> وقال الوراق في كتابه ، وكان ثنويًا : هو على ثلاث فرق
31	One group rejects accidents, another affirms them as being adjuncts to substances, and the third claims that they are qualities and that it cannot be said that they are substances or something else. (R:178.16-18) <sup>191</sup> فرقة تنفى الأعراض ؛ وأخرى تثبتها أعيانًا الأجسام ، وثالثة زعمت أنها صفات ، ولا يقال هي الجسم أو غيره

not include it? It is possible they saw it as repetitive and unnecessary. However, it is also possible that it derives from two different works of al-Warrāq's, both of which were available to al-Nawbakhtī and which he combined, but both of which were not available to al-Malāhimī or al-Nadīm.

186‘ Abd al-Jabbār: 5:11.10-11. This is found almost verbatim in Ibn al-Murtaḍā.

187‘ Abd al-Jabbār: 5:11.12-13. Notice that al-Warrāq is mentioned by name. It is paralleled in Ibn al-Murtaḍā and to a lesser extent in al-Māturīdī. Ibn al-Murtaḍā attests to a bit more diversity among Manichaeans here (i.e., some say this is natural, others say it is voluntary). ‘Abd al-Jabbār presents this as being a single doctrine and not two different beliefs of two different communities (i.e., it is voluntary, but it cannot go against their nature).

188‘ Abd al-Jabbār: 5:11.13-15. This is very similar to Ibn al-Murtaḍā, the differences being primarily in word order.

189‘ Abd al-Jabbār: 5:11.15. In the next passage (30) ‘Abd al-Jabbār will again cite al-Warrāq by name. This is also found in Ibn al-Murtaḍā and al-Shahrastānī. I have placed Ibn al-Murtaḍā and al-Shahrastānī in section 33 of the mythological section.

190‘ Abd al-Jabbār: 5:11.17. In ‘Abd al-Jabbār only.

191‘ Abd al-Jabbār: 5:11.17-19. Here al-Jabbār's testimony is corroborated by Ibn al-Murtaḍā.



<b>Mythological Material</b>	
32	<p><i>[Ibn] al-Rāwandī says: 'I marvel at [Abū 'Īsā] al-Warrāq who denies the accounts about the prophets with their clear evidence and advocates instead the acceptance of the doctrine of the Manichaeans and the necessary soundness of their foolish statements – such as the stretching out of the heavens from the skins of satans, and the corruption of the earth when it was teeming with serpents and scorpions – and the acceptance of their reports about the doings of Light and Darkness.'</i> (R:192.3-9)<sup>192</sup></p> <p>قال [ابن] الروندى : / العجب من الورّاق حيش جحد أخبار الرسل مع البراهين ودعاء إلى قبول قول المنانية ، وألزم القوم حماقاتهم من بسط السماوات من جلود الشاطين ، واضطراب الأرض باضطراب الحيات والعقارب فيها ، وقبول أخبارهم بعمل النور والظلمة</p>
33	<p>But then they (i.e., the different Manichaean groups) disagree where the mixture transpired. It is said by some that the World of Darkness was beneath the World of Light, but others say there was a distance between them. They also disagree over the cause of the mixture. (R:204.24-205.2)<sup>193</sup></p> <p>ثم اختلفوا اين وقع المزاج ف قيل فى عالم الظلمة دون عالم النور وقيل بينهما واختلفوا فى سبب المزاج</p>
34	<p>Some of them say that the way mixture transpired was as follows: the World of Darkness was in a state of continual dissension until it reached the boundary of (the World of) Light at the moment when mixture transpired. (R:198.5-7)<sup>194</sup></p> <p>وقال بعضهم : إن سبيل المزاج أن عالم الظلمة لم يزل يقطع حتى انتهت إلى حد النور فى وقت المزاج</p>
35	<p>But others say Darkness never ceased from wandering about its World until it chanced to come upon Light accidentally (and) not by design. (R:198.7-9)<sup>195</sup></p> <p>وقال آخرون : لم تزل تجول فى عالمها فوقعت على النور بالخط لا بالقصد</p>
36	<p>They maintain that the mixture began because the corporeal parts of Darkness maliciously distracted its Spirit; once distracted, the Spirit immediately beheld and saw the Light, (R:201.8-10)<sup>196</sup></p> <p>وزعموا أن بدء الامتزاج هو أن أبدان الظلمة تشاغلت عن الإضرار بروحها بعض التشاغل، فنظرت الروح عند ذلك فرأت النور</p>
37	<p>and it was afterwards always cognizant that some entity foreign to it was nearby. (R:201.10-11)<sup>197</sup></p>

192Al-Māturīdī: 199.17-20. This is only found here in al-Māturīdī and appears to be a highly polemical and abridged account. I have included it here simply because al-Warrāq is mentioned by name and the talk of serpents and scorpions is not found elsewhere.

193Ibn al-Murtaḍā: 347.21. There is a much shorter version of this in al-Shahrastānī. As stated above, part of this – "the mixture [...] transpired [in] the World of Darkness [...] beneath the World of Light" (المزاج [...] فى عالم الظلمة دون عالم النور) is the same in Doctrinal material, section 29.

194'Abd al-Jabbār: 5:12.6-7. Ibn al-Murtaḍā contains similar material.

195'Abd al-Jabbār: 5:12.7-8. Al-Shahrastānī and Ibn al-Murtaḍā contain similar material.

196Al-Malāḥimī: 563.2-3. There are close parallels in 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā

197Al-Malāḥimī: 563.3-4. This is also in 'Abd al-Jabbār but apparently nowhere else.

	ولم تزل كانت تحس بأن معها غيرها
38	Similarly the corporeal parts of Darkness perceived that some entity foreign to it (i.e., the World of Darkness) was nearby. (R:201.11-12) <sup>198</sup> وكذلك أذان [الظلمة] كانت تحس بأن معها غيرها
39	Then the Spirit dispatched those corporeal parts to mingle with the Light, and due to their depravity and their desire for it they complied. (R:201.12-14) <sup>199</sup> فابتعثت الروح تلك الأبدان لخالطة النور، فأجابتها إلى ذلك لشرارتها وانتزاعها إليه
40	At that time the Spirit of Darkness contrived by means of those corporeal parts a great plot by (assuming) a hideous ugly shape. Then it approached the vicinity of the Light and arranged itself as five portions, each of them being a variety of the five varieties (genera) of Darkness. It set about mixing itself with the Light. (R:201.14-18) <sup>200</sup> فتحيلت روح الظلمة عند ذلك في تلك الأبدان حيلة عظيمة بصورة مشوهة قبيحة ثم أقبلت نحر النور وفصل معها من كل جنس من أجناس الظلمة الخمسة جزء فجاءت لخالطة النور
41	When that [Ruler] of the World of Light saw (what was happening), he sent Primal Man— one of his angels— (armed) with five portions of genera (of Light), mighty angels (as well). (R:201.18-20) <sup>201</sup> فلما رأى ذلك [ملك] عالم النور وجه الإنسان القديم، ملكاً من ملائكته، في خمسة أجزاء من أجناسه، ملائكة أقوياء
42	As soon as Primal Man became visible to Darkness, he looked down from the five Light-portions upon each army of its hosts, five portions, and he captured it using them, and he mingled the five Light-portions with the five (portions) of Darkness. (R:201.20-23) <sup>202</sup> فلما بدا الإنسان القديم الظلمة أشرف على كل جند من جنودها الخمسة بجزء من الخمسة الأجزاء النورية فأسره بها، فاختلطت الخمسة النورية بالخمسة الظلمية
43	The smoke (and) the air mingled together and from them resulted this blended air. (R:201.23-24) <sup>203</sup> فخالط الدخان النسيم، فمنها هذا النسيم الممزوج
44	Whatever there is in it that is delightful and that gives refreshment for souls and life to animals derived from the air, and whatever there is in it that is destructive, harmful, diseased, and disgusting derived from the smoke. (R:201.24-27) <sup>204</sup>

198Al-Malāḥimī: 563.4-5. This is found only in al-Malāḥimī and thus it is uncertain whether it derives from al-Warrāq.

199Al-Malāḥimī: 563.5-6. This is closely paralleled in ‘Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā.

200Al-Malāḥimī: 563.6-8. There are parallels in ‘Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā though the order in which the material has been presented is different. Furthermore, ‘Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā are slightly shorter than al-Malāḥimī.

201Al-Malāḥimī: 563.8-10. There are parallels in ‘Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā.

202Al-Malāḥimī: 563.10-12. This is similar to what is in ‘Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā, and to a lesser extent al-Nadīm. ‘Abd al-Jabbār is the most similar to al-Malāḥimī. Those derived from al-Nawbakhtī seem to have a shorter version of the beginning of this passage: فاشرف عليها ("and supervised the results").

203Al-Malāḥimī: 563.12-13. Al-Nadīm is verbatim the same. It is similar to what appears in ‘Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā, but those three have a slightly shorter version which is combined with another shortened version of the next passage in al-Nadīm and al-Malāḥimī.

204Al-Malāḥimī: 563.13-14. Al-Nadīm has a very similar passage but where al-Malāḥimī has والأذنى والأدواء والآفات، al-Nadīm simply has والاذاء . Flügel reports (page 48) that versions H, L, and V of the manuscript contain والادواء instead of والاذاء .

	فما فيه من اللذة والترويح عن الأنفس وحياة الحيوان فمن النسيم، وما فيه من الهلاك والأذى والأدواء والآفات فمن الدخان
45	The fire (from the Realm of Darkness) mixed with the fire (from the Realm of Light), and whatever there is in it that shines derived from the (Good) fire, and whatever there is in it that burns and destroys came from the (Evil) fire. (R:201.27-30) <sup>205</sup> وخالط الحريق النار، فما فيها من الإضاءة فمن النار وما فيها من الاحتراق والهلاك فمن الحريق
46	The light mixed with the darkness, and within that (mixture) those bright dense substances like gold, silver, and things similar to them (R:201.30-32) <sup>206</sup> وخالط النور الظلمة، فمنها هذه الأجناس الكثيفة الغلاظ كالذهب والفضة وأشباه ذلك
47	and also whatever there is in it that is pure, beautiful, clean, and beneficial derived from the light. (R:201.32-33) <sup>207</sup> فما فيها من الصفاء والحسن والنظافة والمنفعة فمن النور
48	The (hot) wind (from the Realm of Darkness) mixed with the wind (from the Realm of Light), and whatever there is in it that is beneficial derived from the wind, and whatever there is in it that is distressful and harmful derived from the (hot) wind. The fog mixed with the water, and whatever there is in it that is pure and sweet derived from the water, and whatever there is in it that drowns, strangles, and corrupts derived from the fog. (R:201.34-202.4) <sup>208</sup> وخالط السموم الريح، فما فيها من المنفعة فمن الريح، وما فيها من الكرب والضرر فمن السموم وخالط الضباب الماء، فما فيه من الصفاء والعذوبة فمن الماء، وما فيه من التفریق والتخنيق والإفساد فمن الضباب
49	Then they maintain that since these Dark-portions remained bound with the Light-portions, (R:202.5-6) <sup>209</sup> فزعموا أن هذه الأجزاء الظلمية، لما بقيت مأسورة في الأجزاء النورية
50	Primal Man descended to the bottom of the depth and severed the roots of those five Dark forces from it. (R:202.6-7) <sup>210</sup> نزل الإنسان القديم إلى غور العمق فقطع منه أصول تلك الجنود الخمسة الظلمية

This is interesting since al-Malāḥimī contains both. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā contain both a slightly shorter version of this, and then a more expanded version immediately following. The material here from section 44 to roughly section 48 seems to be a reiteration or expansion of what is in sections 4-6 of the Doctrinal Material.

205Al-Malāḥimī: 563.14-15. Al-Nadīm contains almost the same material, though slightly longer. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā contain similar material with ‘Abd al-Jabbār being the closest.

206Al-Malāḥimī: 563.15-17. Al-Nadīm contains very similar material. ‘Abd al-Jabbār and Ibn al-Murtaḍā contain similar material with ‘Abd al-Jabbār being the closest.

207Al-Malāḥimī: 563.17. Al-Nadīm is verbatim the same. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā are similar, but their version is longer because they include information about the Darkness.

208Al-Malāḥimī: 563.18-21. Al-Nadīm contains very similar material, though slightly longer. ‘Abd al-Jabbār and Ibn al-Murtaḍā also attest to some of this with Ibn al-Murtaḍā having the shortest version.

209Al-Malāḥimī: 563.22. Al-Nadīm contains a passage similar in meaning but with quite different wording.

210Al-Malāḥimī: 563.22-564.1. Al-Nadīm and ‘Abd al-Jabbār are nearly identical to al-Malāḥimī.

51	Then he returned, making ascent to his station on the battlefield. (R:170.24-25) <sup>211</sup> ثم انصرف صاعداً الى موضعه فى الناحية الحربية
52	Then one of those angels dragged off the forces which had Light bound within them to a section of the Land of Darkness which was adjacent to the Land of Light, and they lifted them up and attached them to the heights. (R:202.8-10) <sup>212</sup> ثم اجتذب بعض الملائكة تلك الجنود المأسورة بما فيها من النور إلى جانب من أرض الظلمة يلي أرض النور فرفعوهم وعلقوهم بالعلو
53	Then they installed a powerful angel beneath the Land of Light in the space (lit. 'air') which belonged to the World of Light. (R:202.10-12) <sup>213</sup> ثم أقاموا ملكاً قوياً أسفل من أرض النور في الهواء من عالم النور
54	Mānī said: 'The King of the World of Light ordered one of his angels to create this world and to construct it using those mixed ingredients in order to free those ingredients of Light from the ingredients of Darkness. (R:170.29-31) <sup>214</sup> قال مانى وامر ملك عالم النور بعض ملائكته بخلق هذا العالم وبناءه من تلك الاجزاء الممتزجة لتخلص تلك الاجزاء النورية من الاجزاء الظلمية
55	He built from it (i.e, the mixture) ten heavens and eight earths, putting them under the authority of that angel who bears the mixed portions. (R:202.14-16) <sup>215</sup> وبنى منه تحت يدي ذلك الملك الحامل لتلك الأجزاء الممتزجة عشر سموات وثمانى أرضين
56	He imprisoned some of the demons of Darkness beneath the earths, and he approached the principal satans and fastened them to the heavens. (R:202.16-18) <sup>216</sup> وكبس عفاريت من عفاريت الظلمة تحت الأرضين ، وعمد إلى أكابر الشياطين فشددهم في السموات
57	He made the encircling heaven a sphere from the stars and zodiacal signs, and he attached demons to the lowest heaven. (R:202.18-19) <sup>217</sup> وفطر السماء الدائرة ، فلك النجوم والبروج ، والسماء السفلى وربط فيها عفاريت

211Al-Nadīm: 56.8. It is identical to 'Abd al-Jabbār and al-Malāḥimī in its first half, after which al-Malāḥimī stops but al-Jabbār continues making this one of the few places where al-Nadīm and 'Abd al-Jabbār agree with each other against al-Malāḥimī. It is interesting that al-Nadīm has الحربية ("battlefield") while al-Jabbār has الجنوبية ("southern"). Reeves correctly notes on 198, fn. 370 that this is anomalous, but seems to have missed Ḥusayn's note (13, fn. 2) that this should likely be الحربية ("battlefield") as is found in al-Nadīm.

212Al-Malāḥimī: 564.2-4. Al-Nadīm and 'Abd al-Jabbār contain very similar material. 'Abd al-Jabbār is nearly identical to al-Malāḥimī at the beginning up until أرض الظلمة , at which point 'Abd al-Jabbār's material ends. From this point however al-Malāḥimī is closely paralleled by al-Nadīm.

213Al-Malāḥimī: 564.4-5. Al-Nadīm and 'Abd al-Jabbār are very similar.

214Al-Nadīm: 56.11-14. There are very close parallels in 'Abd al-Jabbār and Ibn al-Murtaḍā. Al-Malāḥimī also contains this material but it is very slightly different from the others. This is another rare incidence of al-Malāḥimī being an outlier.

215Al-Malāḥimī: 564.6-7. Al-Nadīm and 'Abd al-Jabbār are very similar. It is interesting that where al-Malāḥimī and al-Nadīm have الملك الحامل and ملكاً يحمل respectively, 'Abd al-Jabbār has the graphically similar, though semantically different, الفلك الحاصل. Perhaps 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Nawbakhtī, or a copyist misread the text being copied.

216Al-Malāḥimī: 564.7-9. It is paralleled closely in 'Abd al-Jabbār. Once again there are a few graphical differences which could be errors in copying: where al-Malāḥimī has وكبس and فشددهم , 'Abd al-Jabbār appears to have وكبس and فنبددهم .

217Al-Malāḥimī: 564.9-10. It is paralleled by 'Abd al-Jabbār, though al-Jabbār lacks واسماء السفلى .

58	He put them <next> to the Light, and he appointed two of his angels to turn them in order to set in motion the demons that were on it and prevent them from ascending to the upper Light and from (further) damaging the Light mixed within them and so as to strain (it) by this means from them. (R:202.19-23) <sup>218</sup> جعلهم مصاف النور [و] وكل ملكين من الملائكة بإدارتها لكي تشرّد العفاريت التي فيها فتمنعها من الصعود إلى النور الأعلى وعن الإضرار بالنور الممتزج وابتخلص بذلك منها
59	He appointed an angel to bear the heavens and another to lift up the earths. Air formed a connection between the lowest of the earths and the uppermost heavens. (R:202.23-25) <sup>219</sup> وكل ملكاً بحمل السموات وآخر برفع الأرضين ووصل الجو بأسفل الأرضين أعلى السهوات
60	He placed a ditch around this world to cast into it the Darkness after its Light had been filtered from it so that Darkness would remain separate, and he made a wall <beyond?> that ditch so that none of this sequestered Darkness could escape from (the control of Light to recombine) with the Light which was in the world. Thus it (Darkness) could not harm it (Light) or mix with it. (R:202.25-30) <sup>220</sup> وجعل حول هذا العالم خندقاً لي طرح فيه الظلام الذي قد استصفى نوره ، فبقي ظلاماً مفرداً ، وجعل ذلك الخندق سوراً لكي لا يذهب شيء من تلك الظلمة المفردة عن النور إلى النور الذي في العالم فلا يهلكه ولا يخالطه
61	Then he set in motion the sun and the moon to filter out those portions of Light which were (mixed) in the world. (R:202.30-31) <sup>221</sup> ثم سير الشمس والقمر لاستصفاء ما في العالم من النور
62	The sun filters out the Light which is mixed with the satans of heat, and the moon filters out what is mixed with the satans of cold. (R:202.32-33) <sup>222</sup> فالشمس تستصفي النور الذي امتزج بشياطين الحر، والقمر يستصفي ما امتزج بشياطين البرد
63	They maintain that the (Light-portion termed) 'air' which is (held) in the earths continually ascends, and that it causes the Light-powers which are in them and that which extricates itself from the ground, plants, and light ( <i>sic!</i> ) to ascend. (R:202.34-36) <sup>223</sup> وزعموا أن النسيم الذي في الأرضين لا يزال يرتفع ويرفع ما فيها من قوى النور وما يتحلل من الأرض والنبات والنور
64	Moreover it will continue rising in accordance with its lofty nature until it attains its former place and rids itself of Darkness, going (back) into its substance together with (R:202.37-39) <sup>224</sup>

218Al-Malāḥimī: 564.10-12. There is very similar material in 'Abd al-Jabbār, and a very short parallel in Ibn al-Murtaḍā. Al-Nadīm material seems to be from elsewhere.

219Al-Malāḥimī: 564.12-13. This is nearly the same as 'Abd al-Jabbār and al-Nadīm. Ibn al-Murtaḍā is also similar.

220Al-Malāḥimī: 564.14-16. This is closely paralleled by 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Nadīm, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā.

221Al-Malāḥimī: 564.16-17. This is closely paralleled by al-Nadīm, 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā with al-Jabbār again being the closest to al-Malāḥimī.

222Al-Malāḥimī: 564.17-18. It is nearly identical in al-Nadīm, 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī.

223Al-Malāḥimī: 564.19-20. It is nearly identical in 'Abd al-Jabbār. The first part up to يرتفع is also found in al-Shahrastānī. Reeves has noted (p. 202) that it is odd that al-Malāḥimī has included والنور ("and light") here. It should be noted that this is absent from 'Abd al-Jabbār.

224Al-Malāḥimī: 564.20-564.21. This is similar in meaning but quite different in wording to what is recorded in al-Shahrastānī and al-Māturīdī. Al-Shahrastānī and al-Māturīdī are nearly as different from each other in wording as they

	وترتفع هي أيضاً لأن من شأنها الارتفاع إلى محلها الأول والتخلص من الظلمة والذهاب إلى جوهرها مع (564.20-564.21)
65	what has ascended due to (the mechanisms of) praise, sanctification, proper speech, and pious deeds which sustain the created order. All of this rises and flows through the Column of Praise to the sphere of the moon: the column of Praise is that (instrument) through which the particles of Light ascend to the sphere of the moon. (R:202.39-203.2) <sup>225</sup> ما يرتفع من التسابيح والتقديس والكلام الطيب وأعمال البر التي تكون من الخلقين يرتفع ذلك كله ويسري في عمود السبح (كذا) إلى فلك القمر، وعمود السبح هو الذي ترتفع فيه الأنوار إلى فلك القمر
66	The moon constantly receives this (Light) from the first of the month until the full moon appears. (R:203.2-3) <sup>226</sup> فلا يزال القمر يقبل ذلك من أول الشهر إلى أن يصير بدرًا
67	Then— since it is full— it conveys it to the sun. (R:203.3-4) <sup>227</sup> ثم يؤديه إذا امتلاً إلى الشمس
68	<i>The waxing of the moon is due to its reception over the course of the first day to the fourteenth night of the month of what is released and has ascended from the particles of Light (that were bound) in the earth, vegetations, water, and other things, as well as the pure portions of the Light of the world and the praises.</i> (R:203.4-8) <sup>228</sup> وزيادة القمر في أول الشهر إلى أربع عشرة ليلة لقبوله ما تحلل وارتفع من أنوار الأرض والنبات والمياه وغير ذلك من صفو أنوار العالم والتسابيح
69	<i>Its waning from the time of the appearance of the full moon to the end of the month and to the time when the new moon appears is due to its propulsion of that (Light) to the sun.</i> (R:203.8-10) <sup>229</sup> ونقصانه من لدن يصير بدرًا إلى آخر الشهر وإلى وقت مستهله لدفعه ذلك إلى الشمس
70	And the sun propels it to the Light which is above it in the World of Praise, and it travels through that World up to the pure supernal Light. (R:203.10-12) <sup>230</sup> وتدفعه الشمس إلى نور فوقها في عالم السبح، فيسري في ذلك العالم إلى النور الأعلى الخالص

are from al-Malāḥimī.

225Al-Malāḥimī: 564.21-565.3. It is identical to parts of al-Nadīm and al-Shahrastānī, but there are no exact parallels, nor is all of the material here found elsewhere. Al-Shahrastānī contains only the part لان من شأنها الارتفاع الي عالمها in the beginning and al-Nadīm contains الب أعمال الطيب وأعمال البر in the middle.

226Al-Malāḥimī: 565.3-4. It is identical to what is in al-Shahrastānī.

227Al-Malāḥimī: 565.4. It is similar to what is in al-Shahrastānī, though al-Shahrastānī is substantially longer. He may have material here which is elsewhere in al-Malāḥimī.

228Al-Malāḥimī: 565.5-6. This seems to have no parallels elsewhere.

229Al-Malāḥimī: 565.7-8. This seems to have no parallels elsewhere.

230Al-Malāḥimī:565.8-9. It is very similar to what is in al-Shahrastānī and al-Nadīm. Al-Malāḥimī is more similar to the other two than they are to each other.

<b>Eschatological Material</b>	
71	By means of their activity this (purification) will not cease until there remains from the Light only a compressed thing which the sun and the moon are unable to render pure. (R:203.12-14) <sup>231</sup> فلا يزال ذلك من فعلها حتى لا يبقى من النور [إلا] شيء منعقد لا تقدر الشمس والقمر على استصفائه
72	Then the angel who is bearing the earths will lift up and the other angel will stop stretching the heavens, and that which is highest will sink down onto that which is lowest. (R:220.5-7) <sup>232</sup> فعند ذلك يرتفع الملك الذى لحمل الارضين ويدع الملك الاخر اجتذاب السموات فيختلط الاعلى على الاسفل
73	A fire will flare up (and) burn these things, and it will continue burning until what remains in them from the Light is free. (R:220.7-8) <sup>233</sup> وتفور نار تضطرم في تلك الأشياء، فلا تزال مضطربة حتى يتحلل ما فيها من النور
74	This conflagration will last for 1,468 years. (R:220.8-9) <sup>234</sup> ويكون ذلك الاضطرام مقدار ألف سنة وأربعمائة وثمان وستين سنة
75	According to what is reported about them, some (of them) teach (the duration of the conflagration) is 1,460 years. (R:220.9-10) <sup>235</sup> قال بعض من يخبر عنهم : ألف وأربعمائة وستين سنة
76	After the Light is set free and when Hummāma, the Spirit of Darkness – Death – sees (this) and those (redeeming) angels and forces, she will become enraged and bristle and ready herself for battle. (R:220.11-12) <sup>236</sup> وإذا تحلل النور ورأت همامة، روح الظلمة، الموت وتلك الملائكة والجنود استكلبت وازبأرت وتأهبت للقتال
77	But those forces who surround her will restrain her, (R:220.13-14) <sup>237</sup> فتزجرها تلك الجنود من حولها
78	and in fright she will fearfully retreat into a tomb previously made ready for her. Then this tomb will be plugged with a rock which is the same size as this world, and those luminous forces will remain outside the place of this world until it is made equivalent to the Land of the World of Light, and Light at that time will be relieved from Darkness. (R:220.14-18) <sup>238</sup>

231Al-Malāḥimī: 565.9-10. This is found in almost exactly the same form in al-Nadīm and is closely paralleled in ‘Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā. The passage from al-Malāḥimī given here is found under the Mythological section in Reeves while the other authors are in the Eschatological section.

232Al-Malāḥimī: 565.10-12. This is found in al-Nadīm with the difference of only one word. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā also contain this material though in a slightly different form. Ibn al-Murtaḍā seems to be the most different.

233Al-Malāḥimī: 565.12-13. It is found in al-Nadīm in almost exactly the same form. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā are also very similar.

234Al-Malāḥimī: 565.13-14. It is found in al-Nadīm in exactly the same form except that al-Nadīm prefaces it by attributing it to Mānī (قال ماني). ‘Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā also contain very close parallels.

235Al-Malāḥimī: 565.14. It is absent from al-Nadīm and everyone else except for Ibn al-Murtaḍā who corroborates this material.

236Al-Malāḥimī: 565.14-16. It is paralleled in al-Nadīm, ‘Abd al-Jabbār, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā.

237Al-Malāḥimī: 565.16. It is the same in al-Nadīm, except for the absence of one word. ‘Abd al-Jabbār has it in exactly the same form as al-Malāḥimī. It is also contained in Ibn al-Murtaḍā but in slightly different form.

	وترجع خائفة مذعورة إلى قبر قد كان أعد لها، ثم يسد على ذلك القبر بصخرة تكون مقدار الدنيا، وتظهر تلك الجنود من النيرة موضع الدنيا حتى تستوي مع أرض عالم النور فيستريح النور حينئذ من الظلمة
79	This according to them is the Resurrection. (R:220.18) <sup>239</sup> وهذا هو القيامة عندهم
80	... Do they then differ over whether any portion from the Light remains in Darkness after the process of purification? For some of them teach that a part of it remains in it, and others of them teach that none remains. (R:203.15-17) <sup>240</sup> ثم اختلفوا في هل يبقى في الظلمة من النور شيء بعد الخلاص ؟ فقال بعضهم : يبقى منه فيها شيء ، وقال بعضهم : لا يبقى
81	<i>They also disagree when some of them say that at the time Darkness overpowered Light and the period (of its subjection) became prolonged, it (i.e., Light) performed its (i.e., Darkness's) actions. However, the rest of them deny this. This disagreement pertains to the (future) time when Light overpowers Darkness.</i> (R:178.24-28) <sup>241</sup> ثم اختلفوا فقال بعضهم : إذا غلبت الظلمة على النور وطال مكثه عمل عملها وأنكر ذلك سائرهم وكذلك النور إذا غلب على الظلمة
82	<i>The Māsīyah, who are a Manichaean sect, maintain that a certain amount of Light will still remain in Darkness.</i> (R:216.26-27) <sup>242</sup> وزعمت الماسية من المانوية ان النور يبقى منه شيء في الظلمة
83	<i>They maintain that al-Hummāma, the Spirit of Darkness, is the entity that forms animals in the wombs of mothers and in the other places which are not wombs through which animals reproduce. She also causes plants to germinate in the ground. She does this in order to perpetuate the mixing and to leave progeny; in this way, Evil becomes more established and Good is diminished, for she is the one who is Desire and Lust.</i> (R:203.17-23) <sup>243</sup> وزعموا أن الهمامة ، روح الظلمة ، هي التي تصور الحيوان في أرحام الأمهات وفي غير الأرحام في المواضع التي يتولد فيها الحيوان وتنبت النبات في الأرض وإنما تفعل ذلك ليديم الامتزاج ويبقى النسل ، فيتصل الشر ويقل الخير لما لها في ذلك من النشاط واللذة

238Al-Malāḥimī: 565.16-19. It is also found in very similar form in al-Nadīm, 'Abd al-Jabbār and Ibn al-Murtaḍā. 'Abd al-Jabbār is the most similar.

239Al-Malāḥimī: 565.19. This is also found in al-Shahrastānī.

240Al-Malāḥimī: 565: 20-21. It is also found Ibn al-Murtaḍā and 'Abd al-Jabbār but with substantial differences. Despite the similar meaning, the vocabulary and syntax are quite different. Ibn al-Murtaḍā and al-Jabbār are also longer. Furthermore, they mention that a barrier will be built to keep Darkness from harming the light. This is reminiscent of al-Malāḥimī's earlier statement in mythology section 60.

241'Abd al-Jabbār: 5:12.4-5. This is only found here. It appears in the mythological section in Reeves, but, based upon al-Jabbār own comment at the end of this passage, it is obvious it concerns eschatology.

242Al-Nadīm: 58.9-10. It is as if al-Nadīm has provided a name for one of the sects mentioned by al-Malāḥimī and Ibn al-Murtaḍā in 96. The name 'Māsīyah' is only found here, however. Reeves reports on page 216 fn. 479: "This name [Māsīyah] does not occur anywhere else in expositions of Manichaean sectarianism (regarding which see Chapter 5 below). 'Māsīyah' is most likely a corruption of 'Miqlāṣīyah'; see de Blois, 'Glossary,' 74,77."

243Al-Malāḥimī: 565: 21-566.3. This passage is unique to al-Malāḥimī. It is also out of place in that it comes at the end of what is otherwise his eschatological material. Reeves places this in among the mythological material, and this is no doubt where it belongs. However, I have placed it here to maintain al-Malāḥimī's order.



## Chapter 5

### Summary and Analysis of the Reconstruction

If the reader has had recourse to the footnotes in the above chart and to the appendix in which the seven authors are presented synoptically, he/she should be able to anticipate much of what follows. To begin with, a brief summary of the contents, structure, and tone will be presented. Then some fundamental issues will be discussed: 1) How does one know that this material is derived from al-Warrāq and not some other common source? And how are the seven works presented in the appendix related to one another? 2) Who is the most faithful tradent of al-Warrāq's account? 3) What is the tone of the writing, i.e. is it matter-of-fact or polemical? A final question will be touched upon but not fully explored: What sources is al-Warrāq himself likely to have used in constructing his Manichaeography?

#### Contents, Structure, Tone

Al-Warrāq begins by telling the reader that the Manichaeans believe the world was created by two primal beings: Light and Darkness. It then goes on to describe these two primal beings, their qualities, activities, and opposition to one another. How these two entities came together to form the world is alluded to, but this is more fully spelled out later. This later material describes the creation of the world, the cosmic battle between Light and Darkness during which other divine agents such as the Primal Man are involved, and the mechanisms by which the Light trapped in Darkness is able to separate itself and return to the celestial realm. The final section concerns the eschaton in which Darkness will be conquered and contained.

There is also the issue of the structure of al-Warrāq's original account. In the chart above al-Malāḥimī's order has been preferred, though this order is – with a few exceptions – the order preferred by the other tradents as well. This multiple attestation concerning order may then allow one to safely

conclude that the order presented here is more or less that of al-Warrāq. Furthermore, Thomas reports that, in the larger works of al-Malāḥimī, ‘Abd al-Jabbār, and al-Shahrastānī from which the accounts of the Manichaeans presented here have been taken, these three authors are largely in agreement concerning the order in which these groups are presented. What is more, this order and manner of presentation is similar to that of al-Warrāq's (lost but now reconstructed) *Radd ‘alā al-Naṣārā*. This would seem to indicate that, as these authors have faithfully recorded al-Warrāq's order there, they are likely to have faithfully recorded it here as well.<sup>244</sup>

The material presented appears to be matter-of-fact and not at all polemical. This is in contrast to the obloquy leveled against al-Warrāq by Ibn al-Rāwandī (as reported by al-Māturīdī, section 34 above) and against the Manichaeans by ‘Abd al-Jabbār (see the unnumbered section of the appendix between sections 68 and 69). This seems to be in keeping with what David Thomas says:

These [descriptions of dualist sects] contain no criticism of their subject and may even have appeared sympathetic, since al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) in his *Kitāb al-Shāfi‘ al-imāmah* remarked they were so accomplished and detailed that many of those who read them were left wondering about Abū ‘Īsā's loyalties to Islam.<sup>245</sup>

While it is difficult to say with certainty which of his works are represented in the chart above, the fact that they contain no criticism of their subject seems to point towards the *Malāqāt*. This is because the titles of his other two books indicate they included refutations and it is unlikely that polemical authors such as Ibn al-Māturīdī and ‘Abd al-Jabbār would have passed up critical comments.<sup>246</sup>

### **A Common Origin of the Seven Accounts: al-Warrāq**

The numerous parallel passages in the seven works included in the appendix should make it clear to the reader that these accounts are derived from a common source. But how does one know that this source is al-Warrāq? The theory that Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq's early work on the Manichaeans influenced later

<sup>244</sup>Thomas, "Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq and the History of Religions," 280-282.

<sup>245</sup>"Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq and the History of Religions," *Journal of Semitic Studies* XLI/2 Autumn 1996, 279.

<sup>246</sup>Cf. Thomas, "Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq," 278-279.

authors has existed in some form for at least fifty years.<sup>247</sup> Most recently it has been argued for by de Blois in "New Light on the Sources of the Manichaean Chapter in the *Fihrist*" (published in 2005). As previously mentioned, de Blois' version of this hypothesis includes all of the works presented in this thesis, as well as two others which have been omitted.<sup>248</sup> This has then been repeated by John C. Reeves in *Prolegomena to a History of Islamicate Manichaeism* in 2011.<sup>249</sup> While de Blois sketched out his argument in the article mentioned above, the more detailed argumentation and evidence have been left for a future publication. De Blois has said that this publication will consist of a collection of collated and annotated references to al-Warrāq, as well as a reconstructed text with translation much like what is presented here. However, this project has been in the works for over ten years and at the time of this writing has yet to be published. Therefore, I will present the evidence for de Blois' thesis to the best of my abilities in what immediately follows. The reader should find that the evidence pointing towards an origin in al-Warrāq is fairly clear.

## Evidence pointing towards al-Warrāq

Al-Shahrastānī and al-Malāhimī begin their account of the Manichaeans by explicitly citing al-Warrāq as the source of their information.<sup>250</sup> Abd al-Jabbār also cites al-Warrāq as a source for the first time about 15 lines into his account.<sup>251</sup> Therefore, the best and simplest explanation for their similarities is a

247De Blois, "New Light," page 38: "As far as I can see, the first scholar who explicitly stated that the Manichaean chapter in the *Fihrist* derives in part from al-Warrāq was Carsten Colpe in his still unpublished doctoral dissertation *Der Manichäismus in der arabischen Überlieferung* of 1954, the main conclusions of which are reiterated in his published article *Anpassung des Manichäismus an den Islam (Abū 'Īsā l-Warrāq)*." See also David Thomas' earlier article, "Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq and the History of Religions," 279: "Later authors made use of these descriptive accounts [of dualist religions including Manichaeism] in such great number that [Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's book] the *Maqālat* must be regarded as the main source on dualist teachings for later Muslim heresiographers. The first of these was the late third/ninth-century Shī'ī Abū Muhammad al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī who employed them extensively in his lost *Kitāb al-Ārā' wa-al-diyānāt*, and this was in turn used by 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī and others."

248I.e. al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī's *Sharḥu 'uyūni l-masā'il* and Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd's *Sharḥu nahji l-balāyah*. See the second paragraph in "A Reconstruction of Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's Manichaeography" above.

249Reeves, *Islamicate Manichaeism*, 222: "As has been most recently emphasized by François de Blois, much of the Arabic language information about Mani and his religious system ultimately derives from the descriptive reports that were authored about non-Muslim religions by the mid-ninth century Mu'tazilī theologian Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq."

250Al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*, 188.14-16. Al-Malāhimī, *Al-mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, 561.20. Both in section 1 of the chart and appendix.

251De Blois states that there are four places in which al-Jabbār refers al-Warrāq directly ("New Light," 41). These are

common source in al-Warrāq. Al-Nadīm, Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Murtaḍā, and al-Māturīdī do not cite al-Warrāq explicitly but the parallels in content and wording indicate that they must have derived their material from the same place. Thus, it may be reasonably thought that all of these authors derived their accounts from al-Warrāq even though he is only mentioned by three.

### **Evidence for al-Nawbakhtī's Intermediacy**

Among these seven authors, there appears to be a relationship among five of them (‘Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Murtaḍā, and al-Māturīdī) which is not shared by the other two (al-Malāḥimī and al-Nadīm). In places two or more of these five are in close agreement with one another while being incongruous with al-Malāḥimī and al-Nadīm.<sup>252</sup> This points towards a common source for these five not shared by al-Malāḥimī and al-Nadīm; a sort of filter through which al-Warrāq's material has passed.<sup>253</sup> Luckily, ‘Abd al-Jabbār and Ibn al-Jawzī explicitly state al-Nawbakhtī to be this source.<sup>254</sup> Therefore, al-Nawbakhtī is most likely to have been the intermediary through which al-Warrāq's material passed. Al-Nadīm is also quite similar to the six other authors, but in most places is more similar to al-Malāḥimī than to the other five. In other words, al-Nadīm lacks the special features of the al-Nawbakhtī "family." Therefore, al-Warrāq's account is unlikely to have come to al-Nadīm via the intermediacy of al-Nawbakhtī. Instead, al-Nadīm is likely to have obtained al-Warrāq's account directly from al-Warrāq's text.

### **The Most Reliable Witnesses**

An author's fidelity to their source can only be evaluated by comparisons with the original source –

*Mughnī*, 5:10.15-16, 11.12, 11.17, 16.2. See also Thomas, "Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq," 280. These are in sections 11, 27 and 30 in the appendix, though 16.2 has not included.

252For example, sections 8, 9, and 10 of the chart and appendix.

253To the best of my knowledge, Madelung is the first to have noted that al-Malāḥimī likely made direct use of al-Warrāq. See Madelung, "Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq über die Bardesaniten, Marcioniten und Kantäer," 211.

254In fact al-Jabbār (*Mughnī*, 5:10.3) begins his entire account of the Manichaeans by citing al-Nawbakhtī as his source. See section 1 of appendix.

assuming it is available – or by making comparisons with others who have used the same source. For this reason, in the present case it is often difficult to judge both who is the most faithful tradent and if certain passages are indeed derived from al-Warrāq. For example, if a passage is attested to only once it is difficult to know where the information came from or how faithfully it has been transmitted. The general fidelity of the author to al-Nawbakhtī/al-Warrāq, detectable elsewhere, may raise the probability that the passage in question goes back to al-Warrāq. But even then it is impossible to know at present.

This also holds true for passages in which the general content is corroborated yet the wording and syntax are markedly different. An origin for such material in al-Warrāq is possible, yet it is also possible that the content of such passages was common "knowledge" that all Muslim Manichaeographers included in their works. In other words, similar content alone is much weaker evidence of common origin than similar content expressed in similar words.

That being said, one unlikely finding has been how similar ‘Abd al-Jabbār and al-Malāḥimī are. This is also true to a lesser extent of ‘Abd al-Jabbār and al-Nadīm. This must indicate that these authors are often quoting their sources very closely. It may be further adduced that, because al-Jabbār says he has obtained his account via al-Nawbakhtī, his accurate transmission of al-Warrāq's material speaks positively of al-Nawbakhtī's fidelity as well; had al-Nawbakhtī not been a faithful tradent of al-Warrāq, ‘Abd al-Jabbar would not have been able to be either. Here a comment by Thomas is relevant:

It is possibly significant here that Abū ‘Īsā is specifically mentioned as the authority for the less straightforward and more complicated views, for al-Nawbakhtī may have preferred to quote directly from his precise description rather than make any mistakes by paraphrasing.<sup>255</sup>

Al-Nadīm's account frequently contains material not found elsewhere making it difficult to accept him as a consistently reliable authority. Thus al-Malāḥimī, because what is his likely direct access to al-Warrāq and his faithful transmission of that material, has been judged to be the most faithful tradent.

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<sup>255</sup>"Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq," 280.

However, there are a few exceptions to this rule such as, for example, Mythological Material 51 and 54 when al-Nadīm and ‘Abd al-Jabbār agree almost word for word against al-Malāḥimī. On such rare occasions al-Malāḥimī is clearly not the most reliable witness. This should give one pause before ascribing complete reliability to al-Malāḥimī, for clearly he has edited his source material in these places.

Furthermore, starting in Doctrinal Material 25 and ending in 31, ‘Abd al-Jabbār contains a report that is not found in al-Malāḥimī or al-Nadīm. Yet he explicitly states during this report that his sources are al-Nawbakhtī and al-Warrāq. Some of this material seems very similar to what is found earlier in al-Jabbār. However, some of the report appears to be new. Thus it seems possible that al-Malāḥimī and al-Nadīm simply chose not to report this or that it was not in their source. A possible explanation for the latter is that al-Nawbakhtī had access to more of al-Warrāq's works mentioning the Manichaeans than did al-Malāḥimī and al-Nadīm.

Lastly, there are a few places where there are graphically similarly but semantically different words. For example, in sections 2 there is al-Malāḥimī's قديمان vs. the قويين of Ibn al-Jawzī and the قدرتهما of Ibn al-Murtaḍā. Similarly, there is, section 53, the الحربية of al-Nadīm (which is likely correct) vs. ‘Abd al-Jabbār's الجنوبية . In 57, al-Nadīm and al-Malāḥimī have الملك الحامل and ملكاً بحمل respectively while ‘Abd al-Jabbār has الفلك الحاصل . Again in the next section (58), al-Malāḥimī has فشدهم and وكبس while ‘Abd al-Jabbār has فنبذهم and وكنس . There may be other examples. An error committed by a copyist or one of the authors themselves is a likely explanation.

## **Al-Warrāq's Sources**

The Manichaean material likely came, at least in part, from genuine Manichaean sources.<sup>256</sup> Abū Qurra, bishop of Ḥarrān, is said to have introduced to Arabic the treatment of Manichaeans, Bardesanites, and

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<sup>256</sup>de Blois, "Sources," 44.

Marcionites as a set.<sup>257</sup> If this is true, and if al-Warrāq was the first Muslim author to write about these groups,<sup>258</sup> then it would follow that a connection must exist between al-Warrāq and Abū Qurra – unless there were some intermediary now unknown to us.

## Conclusion

Karl Popper's *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* contains a quote from the eighteenth century philosopher Novalis: "Hypotheses are nets: only he who casts will catch."<sup>259</sup> The "net" I have cast has been woven by a number of scholars: Carsten Colpe, Guy Monnot, Wilfred Malelung, David Thomas, and most recently François de Blois. I have primarily relied upon de Blois' succinct and illuminating work "New Light on the Sources of the Manichaean Chapter in the *Fihrist*." In it he states that, among the Muslim authors who wrote about the Manichaeans, 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, al-Māturīdī, Ibn al-Jawzī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā derived much of their information from al-Nawbakhtī. De Blois' reasoning is that two of these authors, 'Abd al-Jabbār and Ibn al-Jawzī, explicitly state that their information is taken from al-Nawbakhtī. Al-Nawbakhtī is not directly mentioned in any of the other works, but similarities between 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Shahrastānī, al-Māturīdī, Ibn al-Jawzī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā point to a common origin. Of the other two authors, al-Malāhimī and al-Nadīm, only al-Malāhimī explicitly cites his source which is al-Warrāq. However, the close parallels between al-Malāhimī and al-Nadīm, parallels not shared by the other five authors show that these two must be relying on the same source. The effect is that, by comparing these sources, one should be able to find al-Warrāq's account of the Manichaeans.

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257 Monnot, "Thanawiyya," *EI*, 439.

258 See top of page 2, as well as fn. 7 & 8.

259 (Routledge: New York, 2002), xiv

## Results

For the first time in a published work, I have presented these seven works together in Arabic and English translation, along with the necessary background information to appreciate them – information about Manichaeism and its interaction with Islam, and information about the seven authors and their works. I have collated the seven works and created an annotated reconstruction of al-Warrāq's Manichaeography. While looking over this material, I have asked: what passages are attested to by two or more authors? Which form of this passage occurs most frequently? When two authors differed slightly in word choice or syntax, I began by favoring those authors who used al-Warrāq directly. All the while I kept an eye out for material that would contradict de Blois' hypothesis. In the process I found that al-Malāḥimī indeed seems to be the most faithful tradent of al-Warrāq's account of the Manichaeans. However, this is not without qualification as in two places al-Nadīm and ‘Abd al-Jabbār agree with one another against al-Malāḥimī.

This reconstruction should not be understood as an accurate reflection of al-Warrāq's own wording in all places. The fact that no tradent appears to be a completely reliable witness makes it impossible to say otherwise. To make the level of certainty around each passage as clear as possible, besides what is written in the footnotes, I have placed in italics what is attested to only once and in red what is not from al-Malāḥimī, the most reliable source. However, my reconstruction accurately reflects the content, tone, and in places even the wording of al-Warrāq's account. It is also in keeping with what is known about him and his work, as discussed in the biographical section and after the chart. Lastly, the matter-of-fact, non-critical tone of the work makes it likely that this derives from the *Malāqāt*.

## Limitations

This study has several limitations which are also avenues for further research. In the future, the material presented here may be used to prepare a critical edition of al-Warrāq's Manichaeography. However, as



stated in chapter four de Blois mentions two other works which may be used in a reconstruction of al-Warrāq, namely al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī in *Sharḥu 'uyūni l-masā'il* and Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥu nahji l-balāyah*. These two works are absent from this thesis because they were unavailable to me, the former being still unpublished. However, they would need to be included in a critical edition. Furthermore, de Blois mentions:

another dozen or so Arabic or New Persian accounts of Manichaeism which depend on the Warrāq/Nawbaḥṭī tradition, but, either because they are short, or because they quote their source very freely, or because they derive from some other extant source, they do not make any new contribution to the reconstruction of the underlying texts.<sup>260</sup>

De Blois does not state in which texts these accounts are found. However, he states that in his unpublished reconstruction of al-Warrāq's account he has included this material. In this thesis I have taken de Blois at his word that these accounts do not greatly contribute to the reconstruction. However, as he himself has noted, these would be desirable in a critical edition.

Some of these texts exist only as a single manuscript: for example Ibn al-Malāhimī's *Al-mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* (*The reliable book on the principles of religion*),<sup>261</sup> al-Māturidī's *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* ('Book of Divine Unity').<sup>262</sup> However, even for those which exist in multiple manuscripts, I have only consulted the critical editions while making this reconstruction. I have tried to remark on noteworthy discrepancies in the manuscripts, for example in the footnote to section 44 of the reconstruction. However, to prepare a critical edition of al-Warrāq, more attention would need to be paid to various manuscripts.

## Relevance and Opportunities for Further Research

<sup>260</sup>"New Light," 42.

<sup>261</sup>"New Light," 38.

<sup>262</sup>Vajda, "Le témoignage d'al-Māturidī," 2: "le *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* («Traité de l'unité de Dieu») [...] conservé dans un (provisoire) unicum de la Bibliothèque universitaire de Cambridge a été dûment enregistré dans le catalogue du fonds et dans le répertoire de C. Brockelmann." See also David Thomas, "Kitāb al-tawḥīd," *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. General Editor David Thomas. Brill Online, 2014. Reference.

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<[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/kitab-al-tawh-i-d-COM\\_22573](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations/kitab-al-tawh-i-d-COM_22573)>

Despite significant recent scholarship in the study of Muslim-Manichaean relations, there is still much work to be done. Several opportunities now lie open for further research. A critical edition could not be attempted based upon the material presented here. Also, as noted by Thomas, al-Warrāq's language and style in his critique of Christianity could be compared with what is presented here, potentially yielding further insights.<sup>263</sup> Also, the same works used in this thesis to uncover al-Warrāq's Manichaean material could be searched for al-Warrāq's account of other dualists. Indeed Madelung and Vajda have already begun this work, though to my knowledge they have not prepared a critical edition. As Einar Thomassen has said, paraphrasing Boeckh, the work of a philologist is never done.<sup>264</sup>

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263 "Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq," 281.

264 Thomassen, "Philology," 352. Boeckh *Enzyklopädie und Methodenlehre der philologischen Wissenschaften*. Edited by E. Bratuscheck. (Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1886), 15 (*non vidi*).

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Doctrinal Material							
	Ibn al-Malāḥimī	Ibn al-Nadīm <sup>1</sup>	‘Abd al-Jabbār	al-Shahrastānī	al-Māturīdī	Ibn al-Jawzī	Ibn al-Murtaḍā
1	<p><b>Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq</b> has related about them that they maintain that the world was produced by two entities, one of them being Light and the other Darkness, and that both of them are primal entities. (R:184.21-24)</p> <p>فحكى أبو عيسى الوراق عنهم أنهم يزعمون أن العالم مصنوع من شيئين، أحدهما نور والآخر ظلمة، وأنهما قديمان (561.20-562.1)</p>	<p>Mānī said: 'Two entities form the basis for the world: one of them is Light, and the other is Darkness. (R:192.14-15)</p> <p>قال ماني مبدأ العالم كونين احدهما نور والآخر ظلمة (52.13)</p>	<p>According to the report of <b>al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā [al-Nawbakhtī]</b>, the Manichaeans – they being the followers of Mānī the dualist – say that the world is composed of two things: Light and Darkness. (R:176.22-24)</p> <p>قالت المنانية، وهم أصحاب ماني الثنوي، فيما حكاها الحسن بن موسى: إن العالم مركب من شيئين: نور وظلمة (M:5:10.3-4)</p>	<p>Muḥammad b. Hārūn, who is known as <b>Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq</b> and who was originally a Zoroastrian acquainted with the doctrine of the sect, reported that the sage Mānī maintained that the world is made of a mixture of two pre-existent sources, one of them being Light, and the other Darkness, (R:185.37-186.2)</p> <p>حكي محمد بن هرون المعروف بابي عيسى الوراق وكان في الاصل مجوسياً عارفاً بمذاهب القوم ان الحكيم ماني زعم ان العالم مصنوع مركب من اصلين</p>	<p>The master (may God have mercy on him!) said: The Manichaeans claim that things as they are derive from a mixture of Light and Darkness. (R:166.6-7)</p> <p>قال الشيخ رحمه الله: زعمت المنانية أن الأشياء على ما عليه من امتزاج النور والظلمة (157.3-4)</p>	<p>These (i.e. the dualists) are the people who say the creator of the world is two (entities). The one producing good is Light, and the one producing evil is Darkness. (R:164.5-6)</p> <p>وهم قوم قالوا صانع العالم اثنان: ففاعل الخير نور، وفاعل الشر ظلمة (43.21)</p>	<p>This group (i.e. the Manichaeans) teaches about the divinities Light and Darkness that they are both alive and powerful and that the universe is the result of their mixture. (R:188.20-22)</p> <p>وهذه الفرقة قائلة بالهيئة النور والظلمة وحياتهما وقدرتهما وامتزاج العالم منهما (346.19-20)</p>

<sup>1</sup> This includes material listed under the "Mythological" section of Reeves.

				مديمين احدهما نور والاخر ظلمة (188.14-16)			
2	They claim that they are both eternally living sentient beings endowed with hearing and sight, (R: 184.24-25)  وزعموا أَنهما حيان قديمان حساسان سميعان بصيران (562.1-2)		They are primal entities which have always existed and which will never cease to exist. [...] We perceive, they would say, only two (entities who are) endowed with sensation, power, understanding, hearing, and vision [...](R:176.24-25, 26-28)  وهما قديمان لم يزالا ولا يزالان (M:5:10.4)  [what is immediately below comes between these] وقالوا : لم نر الا حساسين قويين دراكين سميعين بصيرين (M:5:10.5-6)	and that they both are eternal, neither ceasing to be [...] He (Mānī) maintained that both of them were incessantly powerful, in possession of sensory perceptions, discernment, (and the faculties of) hearing (and) seeing. (R:186.2-3, 4-6)  وانهما ازليان لم يزالا ولن يزالا (188.16-17)  وزعم انهما لم يزالا قوتين حساسين سميعين بصيرين (188.17-18)	Similarly, each one of them (Light and Darkness) possesses five senses: audition, vision, taste, the sense of smell, and touch. (R:166.16-17)  وكذلك لكل واحد منهما حواس خمس: سمع وبصر وذائق وحاسة الشم واللمس (157.9-10)	They are both eternal, they both never cease being and will never cease being, (and) they are powerful, sentient, hearing, (and) seeing (entities). (R:164.6-8)  وهما قديمان لم يزالا ولن يزالا قويين حساسين ، سميعين بصيرين (44.1)	[...] they are both alive and powerful [...] (R:188.21)  وحياتهما وقُدُرتهما (346.20)
3	but that they		[...] who	Nevertheless, as to	[same?] That which	They differ from	Their form and their

	<p>differ from one another with regard to their form and identity (and) oppose one another with regard to (their) activities. (R:184.25-26)</p> <p>إلا أنهما يختلفان في المنظر والنفس، متضادان في الفعل (562.2-3)</p>		<p>nevertheless differ from each other in identity and form and oppose one another in (their) activities and plans. (R:176.28-30)</p> <p>وهما مختلفان في النفس والصورة ومتضادان في الفعل والتدبير (M:5:10.6-7)</p>	<p>essence and form, and as to activity and organization, they are opposed to one another. (R:186.6-7)</p> <p>وهما مع ذلك في النفس والصورة والفعل والتدبير متضادان (188.18)</p>	<p>the substance of Light perceives with one of these (senses) is Good, and that which the substance of Darkness perceives is Evil. (R:166.17-19)</p> <p>فما أدرك جوهر النور بها فهو خير، وما أدرك جوهر الظلمة فهو شر (157.10)</p>	<p>one another with regard to essence and form and are opposites with regard to (their) activity and organization. (R:164.8-10)</p> <p>وهما مختلفان في النفس والصورة، متضادان في الفعل والتدبير (44.1-2)</p>	<p>nature are totally opposite. (R:188.22)</p> <p>وتضاد صورهما وطبعهما<sup>2</sup> فجوهر (346.20-21)</p>
4	<p>The essence of Light is goodness, excellence, nobility, wisdom, (and) produces benefits; nothing harmful comes from it, especially anything wicked. ( R:184.26-28)</p> <p>فنفس النور خيرة فاضلة كريمة حكيمة حيية نفاعية، لا ضرر</p>	<p>He (i.e., Light) has five limbs, (which are) intellect, knowledge, intelligence, what is invisible, and sagacity, and five other spiritual (limbs?) which are love, faith, fidelity, friendship and wisdom.’ (R:192.17-19)</p> <p>وله خمسة اعضاء اللحم والعلم والعقل</p>	<p>The substance of Light is excellent, pleasing, distinguished by clarity, purity, a pleasant odor, and a beautiful appearance. Its essence is good, noble, (and) beneficial, and from its action comes everything that is good, proper, and delightful. There is nothing within it</p>	<p>Its (Light's) substance is beautiful, excellent, noble, pure, unmixed, pleasant of odor, beautiful in appearance. Its essence is good, noble, wise, producing benefits, knowledgeable. Its effect is (what is) good and pious and beneficial and joyous and orderly and congruous and superior.</p>	<p>[...] everything which comes from the substance of Light is Good [...] (R:166.14-15)</p>	<p>The substance of Light is beautiful, excellent, shining, pure, unmixed, pleasant of odor, (and) beautiful in appearance, and its essence is one that is good, noble, wise, producing benefits: from it comes what is good, delightful, joyous, and pious, and there is nothing in it that is harmful or evil. (R:164.10-</p>	<p>The substance of Light is beautiful, pure, pleasant of odor, (and) beautiful in appearance; and its essence is good, noble, vitalistic, beneficial, (and) it contains nothing wicked within it. (R:188.22-25)</p>

2 Reeves translation here and in the next sentence depends upon using فجوهر twice.

	عندها ولا شرٌّ بنتاً (562.3-4)	والغين والغطنة وخمسة اخر روحانية وهي الحب والايمان والوفاء والمروة والحكمة (52.15-17)	that is evil or harmful. (R:176.30-177.3)	(R:187.L.2-9)	فكل شيء مما جاء من هذا الجنس من جوهر النور فهو خير (157.7-8)	13)	فجوهر النور حسن صافى طيب الريح حسن المنظر ونفسه خيرة كريمة محيية نفاعه ليس فيها شيء من الشر (346.21-22)
		[...] and the Atmosphere of Light has five limbs, (which are) intellect, knowledge, intelligence, what is invisible, and sagacity. (R:171.25- 26; cf. R:192.23-24)	فجوهر النور فاضل حسن مختص بالصفاء والنقاء وطيب الريح وحسن المنظر؛ ونفسه خيرة كريمة نفاعه، وكل خير وصلاح وسرور من فعلها؛ ليس فيها شيء من الشر ولا من الضرر (M:5:10.7-9)	جوهره حسن <sup>3</sup> فاضل كريم صاف نقي طيب الريح حسن المنظر. نفسه خيرة كريمة حكيمه نفاعه عاملة. فعله الخيز والصلاح والنفع والسرور والترتيب والنظام والاتفاق (189.R.3-9)		فجوهر النور فاضل حسن نير صاف نقي طيب الريح حسن المنظر، ونفسه نفس خيرة كريمة حكيمه نفاعه منها الخير واللذة والسرور والصلاح. وليس فيها شيء من الضرر ولا من الشر (44.2-4)	
5	The essence of Darkness contrasts with this (profile) and is its opposite. It is composed of wickedness, viciousness, vileness,	The other entity, which is Darkness, (also) has its five limbs, (which are) fog, fire, (hot) wind, venom, and darkness. <sup>1</sup> (R:192.25-193.2)	The substance of Darkness contrasts with this (profile): it is imperfect, turbid, rotten in odor, and of ugly appearance. Its essence is evil, stingy, <sup>4</sup> stupid,	Its (Darkness's) substance is ugly, imperfect, ignoble, turbid, evil, rotten in odor, ugly in appearance. Its essence is wicked, base, stupid, producing harm,	[...] and that which comes from the substance of Darkness is evil. (R:166.15-16)	The substance of Darkness is the opposite of this: turbid, imperfect, rotten in odor, and ugly in appearance, and its essence is one that is wicked, greedy, stupid,	The nature of Darkness is the opposite of these things. (R:188.25)

3 This text, as well as much of follows, is part of a chart which includes section headings. I have not included these headings. In the notations informing the reader of page and line, I have included "L" and "R" to signify the left and right sides of al-Shahrastānī's two column chart.

	<p>putrescence, and insolence – blindly (and) senselessly killing, the origin of sins. (R:184.28-185.2)</p> <p>ونفس الظلمة على خلاف ذلك وضده من الشرارة والرداءة والخساسة والنتن والسفه مميتة مغممة ضرارة معدن الآثام (562.4-5)</p>	<p>والكون الاخر وهو الظلمة واعضاؤها خمسة الضباب والحريق والسموم والسّم والظلمة (53.2-4)</p>	<p>rotten, (and) harmful, and from it derives everything that is evil, harmful, sorrowful, and corrupt. (R:177.3-6)</p> <p>وجوهر الظلمة على ضد ذلك من النقص والكدورة ونتن الريح وقبح المنظر؛ ونفسها نفس شريرة بخيلة سفيهة منتنة ضارة؛ وكل شر وضرر وغم وفساد فمنها يكون (M:5:10.9-11)</p>	<p>ignorant. Its effect is (what is) wicked and corrupt and harmful and sorrowful and confused and broken and controversial. (R:187.R.2-9)</p> <p>وما كان من جوهر الظلمة فهو شر (157.8-9)</p> <p>جوهرها قبيح ناقص لئيم كدر خبيث مذتن الريح قبيح المنظر. نفسها شريرة لئيمة سفيهة ضارة جاهلة. فعلها الشر والفساد والضرر والغم والتشويش والتبثير والاختلاف (189.L.3-9)</p>	<p>stinking, (and) harmful<sup>5</sup>: from it comes what is wicked and corrupt. Such does <b>al-Nawbakhtī</b> report about them. (R:164.13-17)</p> <p>وجوهر الظلمة على ضد ذلك من الكدر والنقص ونتن الريح وقبح المنظر ونفسه نفس شريرة بخيلة سفيهة منتنة ضارة منها الشر والفساد. كذا حكاه النوختي عنهم، قال (44.5-7)</p>	<p>وجوهر الظلمة على الضد من ذلك (346.22-23)</p>
6	<p>They maintain that these characteristics (in</p>		<p>They deny the existence of any created or</p>	<p>[...] and he (Mānī) denied the existence of any</p>		<p>there is no extant entity which is not composed out of</p>

4 In Reeves بخيلة is translated here as "ignorant." However, quran.com suggests "stingy" and in fact Reeves translates this same word, بخيلة, as greedy in the corresponding section in Ibn al-Jawzī.

5 This, ضارة, is translated by Reeves here as "ignorant." However, it should read "harmful." In fact, Reeves translates it as harmful in al-Shahrastānī and ‘Abd al-Jabbār.



	the created order) derive from them. (R:185.2-3)		composed thing in the absence of a prior primal (generative) principle. (R:176.25-26)	thing not from a pre-existent source. (R:186.3-4)			them (i.e., Light and Darkness). (R:189.26)
	وزعموا أن ذلك منهما طباع (562.5-6)		وأحالوا حدوث شيء من الصنعة والتركيب إلا من أصل قديم (M:5:10.4-5)	وانكروا وجود شيء لا من اصل قديم (188.17)			ولا يخلو شيء من كونه مركباً منهما (347.18)
7	Light extends infinitely in five directions: upwards, right, left, before, and behind, (R:185.3-4)	Light has no upward boundary, nor (is it bounded) on its right or left sides; and Darkness has no lower boundary, and it is (likewise not bounded) on its right or left sides.' (R:193.4-6)	They also maintain that their two Worlds extend infinitely in each direction (R:177.8-9)		the Light above (extending) infinitely to the four cardinal directions (of) north, south, east, and west; the Darkness below, (extending) likewise; (R:166.8-10)		
	وأنه لا نهاية للنور من خمس جهات، العلو والجهات الأربع يمين وشمال وأمام وخلف (562.6-7)	ولا نهاية للنور من علوه ولا يمينته ولا يسرته ولا نهاية للظلمة في السفلى ولا في اليمين واليسرة (53.6-7)	وزعموا أن عالميهما غير متناهيين من كل جهاتهما (M:5:10.12-13)		النور في العلو لا يتناهي في أربع جهات شمال وجنوب وصبا ودبور، والظلمة في السفلى كذلك (157.4-5)		
8	and it (Light) is	Mānī said: 'The	Some of them say	[...] but some of		[...] but some of	It is said by some

	<p>situated adjacent to Darkness. (R:185.4)</p> <p>وأنه تلقاء الظلمة (562.7)</p>	<p>Luminous entity was adjacent to the entity of Darkness; there was no fence between them. (R:193:3-6)</p> <p>قال ماني وذلك الكون النير مجاور للكون المظلم لا حاجز بينهما والنور يلقي الظلمة بصفحته (53.4-6)</p>	<p>that they lie adjacent to each other. (R:177.12-13)</p> <p>وقال بعضهم : كل واحد منهما إلى جنب الآخر (M:5:10.16-17)</p>	<p>them maintain that it lies next to the Light. [converse statement made about Darkness] (R:187.L/R.11-12)</p> <p>وزعم بعضهم انها بجنب النور (189.L.12-13) وزعم بعضهم انه بجنب الظلمة (189.R.12-13)</p>		<p>them say that each one of them is located next to the other. (R:164.18-19)</p> <p>وقال بعضهم : بل كل واحد إلى جانب الآخر (44.7-8)</p>	<p>that each is adjacent to the other. (R:188.29)</p> <p>وقيل كل واحد الي جنب الآخر (347.1-2)</p>
9	<p>It terminates at the point where it encounters Darkness, (R:185.5)</p> <p>ويتناهى من الجهة التي منها يلقي الظلمة (562.7-8)</p>		<p>except for the side where they meet. (R:177.9)</p> <p>إلا من جهة تلاقيهما (M:5:10.13)</p>		<p>(but) both of them ending at the side where they adjoin. (R:166.10)</p> <p>ولها من جهة الالتقاء تناه (157.5)</p>	<p>except for the side where they intersected. (R:188.27)</p> <p>إلا من جهة تلاقيهما (346.24)</p>	
10	<p>and this is the direction (termed 'below.' (R:185.5-6)</p> <p>وهي جهة السفلى (562.8)</p>	<p>And Darkness is adjacent to that luminous Land (which is) above (it), and that one (i.e., Darkness) is below. There is no</p>	<p>But then they differ, for some say that the Light is always above Darkness, which latter matches it below. (R:177.9-</p>	<p>Its (Light's) direction is the area above. (R:187.L.10)</p> <p>Its (Darkness's) direction is the area below.</p>	<p>[from earlier] the Light above [...] the Darkness below (R:166.8-9)</p>	<p>He [<b>al-Nawbakhtī</b>] (also) says: Some of them maintain that Light was always located above Darkness, (R:164.17-18)</p>	<p>They (i.e., the Manichaeans) disagree about their location. It is said by some that Light is located above Darkness.</p>

		boundary for the one on its upper side, or for Darkness on its lower side. (R:172.27-173.1)  والظلمة مجاورة لتلك الارض النيرة فوق وتلك اسفل لا نهاية لواحد منها في جهة العلو والظلمة من جهة السفلى (63.5-7)	10) ثم اختلفوا فقال بعضهم إن النور لم يزل فوق الظلمة وهي تحته على الاستواء (M:5:10.13-14)	(R:187.R.10)  جهة فوق (189.R.11) جهة تحت (189.L.11)	النور في العلو (157.4) والظلمة في السفلى (157.5)	قال : وزعم بعضهم أن النور لم يزل فوق الظلمة (44.7)	(R:188.27-29) ثم اختلفوا في مكانهما فقيل النور فوق الظلمة (346.24-347.1)
11	Similarly Darkness extends infinitely in five directions except for the direction where it encounters Light, where it is situated adjacent to Light. (R:185.6-7) وكذلك لا نهاية للظلمة من خمس جهات إلا من الجهة التي منها تلقى النور، وأنها تلقاء النور (562.8-9)		But <b>Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq</b> relates that the majority of them (holds) that Light is always towards the north, and Darkness is low toward the south. (R:177.11-12) وحكى أبو عيسى الوراق عن أكثرهم أن النور لم يزل مرتفعاً في ناحية الشمال والظلمة منحطّة في ناحية	Most of them regard it (Light) as elevated toward the north [...] (R:187.L.10-11) Most of them regard it (Darkness) as sunken toward the south [...] (R:187.R.10-11) واكثرهم علي انه مرتفع من ناحية الشمال (189.R.11-12)		Most of them say that Light has always been elevated toward the north and Darkness sunken toward the south, (R:164.19-20) وقال أكثرهم : النور لم يزل مرتفعاً في ناحية الشمال والظلمة منحطّة في ناحية الجنوب (44.8-9)	It is also said that Light is elevated to the northern side whereas Darkness is sunken to the southern side. (R:188.29-189.1) وقيل النور مرتفع الي جهة الشمال والظلمة منحطّة الي جهة الجنوب (347.2-3)

			الجنوب (M:5:10.15-16)	واكثرهم علي انها منحطة من ناحية الجنوب (189.L.11-12)			
12	They name them (the) 'Two Entities' ( <i>kīyānān</i> ): Light is the higher entity, and the second entity is Darkness. (R:185.8-9)						
	ويسمونهما بأنهما كيانات، النور الأعلى كيان والثاني كيان الظلمة (562.9-10)						
13	They disagree about the manner in which they abut one another. Some of them say they touch each other the same way that a sunbeam and shadow do, whereas others among them assert that there is		They differ about their intersection: some of them – and this is the majority – say they touch each other without anything separating them similar to the way the sun and a shadow 'touch' one another. But others among them say that their point of	As to realm, they parallel one another (like) a person and (their) shadow. (R:186.7-8)			They also disagree as to how it is they are in contact. Some say of their connection that it is analogous to that of the juncture of shade and sunlight, but it is said by others that there is a gap between them. (R:189.1-3)

	<p>a gap situated between them, but that the gap does not thereby constitute a third entity. (R:185.9-12)</p> <p>واختلفوا في تلاقيهما، فمنهم من قال : كانا متماسين كشعاع الشمس والظل ومنهم من أثبت بينهما فرجة ولم يجعل الفرجة معنى ثالثاً (562.10-12)</p>		<p>contact is one of adjacency and that there is a gap between them. (R:177.15-19)</p> <p>واختلفوا في تلاقيهما : فقال بعضهم : يتماسان من غير فاصل كتماس الشمس والظل، وهذا قول معظمهم. وقال بعضهم إن تلاقيهما على الجاورة وبينهما فرجة (M:5:10.18-19)</p>	<p>وفي الحيز<sup>6</sup> متحاذيان تحاذي الشخص والظل (188.19)</p>			<p>واختلفوا في كيفية تلاقيهما ف قيل بالمماسّة كاتصال الظل بالشمس وقيل بينهما فرجة (347.3-4)</p>
14			<p>According to some, the place where they contact is governed by where (Darkness?) is raised up vertically, for Darkness is (usually) in a horizontal position. (R:177.13-15)</p> <p>وقال بعضهم إن</p>				

6 This is taken from the paragraph just before the chart began.

			تلاقيهما على جهة الانتصاب وفي الظلمة اضطجاع (M:5:10.17)				
<b>15</b>	They claim that each one of them has five 'varieties,' one of them being spiritual and the other four corporeal. The spiritual component of Light is air, and the four corporeal (varieties) are fire, light, wind, and water. The spiritual component of Light never ceases moving among these corporeal parts. (R:185.13-16)	Mānī said: 'The Land of Light has five limbs, (which are) air, wind, light, water, and fire; [...]' (R:171.24-25)	They claim that each of them (i.e., Light and Darkness) has five 'parts,' four of which are corporeal. Those which belong to Light are fire, light, wind, and water; the fifth, which is spiritual, is air, and air is in motion in this body. (R:177.20-22)	Its (Light's) parts are five: four of them are corporeal and the fifth is spiritual. The corporeal entities are fire, light, wind, and water; and the spiritual (is) air, and it is in motion within this body. (R:187.L.13-17)	Both Light and Darkness have a spirit. (R:215.22)	<b>Nawbakhtī</b> says: They claim that each of them has five parts, of which four are corporeal and the fifth spiritual. The four corporeal parts of Light are fire, wind, earth, and water; and its spiritual component is <i>šabah</i> (?), and it is always in motion in these bodies. (R:164.22-25)	They maintain that each of them possesses five 'kinds' four of which are corporeal and the fifth of which is immaterial (lit. 'spiritual'). The corporeal kinds (associated with Light) are fire, light, wind, and water, and the immaterial kind (associated with Light) is air, and this latter is always in motion among these four (corporeal kinds). (R:189.3-7)
	وزعموا أن كا واحد منهما أجناس خمسة، الواحد منها روح وأربعة أبدان، فروح النور هو	قال ماني لارض النور اعضاء خمسة النسيم والريح والنور والماء والنار (61.16-17)	وزعموا أن كل واحد منهما خمسة أجناس أربعة أبدان. وهي من النور : النار والنور والريح والماء والخامس هو الروح، وهو النسيم . والنسيم	خمسة اربعة منها ابدان والخامس روحها فالابدان هي النار والنور والريح والماء وروحها النسيم وهي تتحرك في هذه الابدان (189.R.15-18)	وللنور روح وللظلمة روح (157.11)	قال النوبختي : وزعموا أن كل واحد منهما له أجناس خمسة، أربعة منها أبدان وخامس هو الروح، وأبدان النور أربعة : النار	وزعموا ان كل واحد منهما اجناس خمسة اربعة ابدان والخامس الروح فابدان النور النار والهوى والريح والماء وروحه

	النسيم، وأبدانه الأربعة هي النار والنور والريح والماء، وأن روح النور لم يزل يتحرك في هذه الأبدان (562.12-14)		يتحرك في هذه الأبدان (M:5:11.1-3)			والريح ، والتراب، <sup>7</sup> والماء، وروحه الشبح، ولم تزل تتحرك في هذه الأبدان (44.9-12)	النسيم وإنما لم تزل تتحرك في هذه الأربعة (347.4-7)
16	Darkness likewise has five varieties, (they being) smoke, fire, darkness, hot wind, and mist, and the spiritual component of Darkness is smoke, it being called Hummāma, (R:185.16-18)  وكذلك الظلمة أجناس خمسة، الدخان والحريق والظلمة والسموم والضباب، وأن روح الظلمة هو الدخان، وهو يدعى عندهم	The other entity, which is Darkness, (also) has its five limbs, (which are) fog, fire, (hot) wind, venom, and darkness.' (R:192.25-193.2)  والكون الاخر وهو الظلمة واعضاؤها خمسة الضباب والحريق والسموم والسم والظلمة (53.2-4)	The corporeal component of Darkness consists of fire, darkness, hot wind, and mist, and its spiritual component is smoke, which they term Hummāma. (R:177.22-24)  فأبدان الظلمة : الحريق والظلمة والسموم والضباب ؛ وروحها الدخان، ويسمونها الهامة (M:5:11.3-4)	Its (Darkness's) parts are five: four of them are corporeal and the fifth is spiritual. The corporeal entities are fire, darkness, hot wind, and mist; and the spiritual (is) smoke, and this is called Hummāma, and it is in motion within this body. (R:187.R.13-17)  خمسة اربعة منها ابدان والخامس روحها فالابدان هي الحريق والظلمة والسموم والضباب وروحها	The spirit of Darkness is named Hummāma. (R:215.22)  روح الظلمة يسمى همامة (157.11)	The four corporeal parts of Darkness are fire, darkness, (hot) wind, and fog; and its spiritual component is smoke. (R:164.25- 26)  وأبدان الظلمة أربعة : الحريق، والظلمة، والسموم، والضباب ، وروحها الدخان (44.12-13)	The corporeal kinds associated with Darkness are fire, blackness, (hot) wind, and fog, and its immaterial kind is smoke which is called by them al- Hummāma. (R:189.7-9)  وابدان الظلمة الحريق والسواد والسموم والضباب وروحها الدخان وتدعى عندهم الهامة (347.7-8)

7 Difficult to tell if this should be والنزاب or والتراب .

	الهُمَامَةُ (562.14-16)			الدخان وهي تدعي الهمامة وهي تتحرك في هذه الابدان (189.L.15-19)			
17	and the four corporeal parts (are called) 'calamities.' (R:185.18-19)  والأربعة النولقي أبدان (562.16)						
18	They believe that the corporeal parts of Light each differ from one another, although all of them derive from Light. (R:185.19- 21)  وجعلوا أبدان النور مخالفة بعضها لبعض، وكلها عندهم نور (562.16-17)		They maintain with regard to the corporeal (elements) of Light that some parts differ from other parts, but share with one another an existence in Light. (R:177.24-26)  وزعموا أن أبدان النور يخالف بعضها بعضا وتتشارك في أنها نور (M:5:11.4-5)				



<p><b>19</b></p>	<p>They term the varieties of Light 'angels.' They speak similarly about the different corporeal parts of Darkness, terming them 'satans.' (R:185.21-22)</p> <p>وسموا أجناس النور ملائكة، وكذلك قالوا باختلاف أبدان الظلمة وسموها شياطين (562.17-18)</p>			<p>They say that [the Light] continually engenders angels, gods, and holy entities, not as married couples do, but rather as wisdom is produced from a sage, or elegant speech from an articulate speaker. (R:187.L.34-38)</p> <p>They say that the Darkness continually engenders satans, archons, and demons, not as married couples do, but rather as vermin are produced from decay and filth. (R:187.R.33-37)</p> <p>قال ولم يزل يولد ملائكة والهة واولياء ليس علي سبيل المناكحة بل كما يتولد الحكمة من الحكيم والنطق والطيب من الناطق</p>		<p>They term the parts of Light 'angels,' and they term the parts of Darkness 'satans' and 'demons.' Some of them say Darkness engenders satans and Light engenders angels, and that Light is incapable of evil and does not sanction it, while Darkness is incapable of good and does not sanction it. (R:164.26-165.3)</p> <p>وسموا أبدان النور ملائكة، وسموا أبدان الظلمة شياطين وعفاريت، وبعضهم يقول الظلمة تتوالد شياطين والنور يتوالد ملائكة. وأن النور لا يقدر علي الشر ولا يجوز منه، والظلمة لا</p>	<p>They (furthermore) designate the physical entities associated with Light 'angels' and the physical entities associated with Darkness 'devils' and 'satans.' (R:189.9-11)</p> <p>وسموا ابدان النور ملائكة وابدان الظلمة عفاريت وشياطين (347.8-9)</p>
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				(190.R.11-14) قال ولم تنزل تولد الظلمة شياطين اراكنة وعفاريت لا علي سبيل المناكحة بل كما يتولد الحشرات من العفونات القذرة (190.L.8-11)		تقدر على الخير ولا تجوز منه (44.13-16)	
20	The corporeal parts of Darkness are injurious to its Spirit, and the Spirit (of Darkness) never ceases harming its corporeal parts. (R:185.22-24)  وأن أبدان الظلمة كانت تُضرُّ بروحها والروح تُضرُّ بالأبدان لم يزل (562.18-19)		The spiritual (element) of Light always helps its bodily (parts), and its bodily (parts) help it; but the spirit of Darkness harms its bodily (parts), and its bodily parts in turn are injurious to it. (R:177.26-29)  وروح النور لم تنزل تنفع أبدانها وتنفعها أبدانها وروح الظلمة نضر بأبدانها وتضر بها			They allege that the immaterial kind associated with Light is continually making good use of its corporeal complements, and it also receives benefit from them, so that each of its parts benefits the others. The immaterial kind associated with Darkness behaves in the opposite way from this. (R:189.12-15)  وزعموا ان روح النور لم تنزل تنفع ابدانها وهي تنفعها وبعضها ينفع	

			أبدانها (M:5:11.5-6)				بعضاً وروح الظلمة على الضد من ذلك (347.9-11)
21	They say moreover about the five varieties (genera) that each one of them is black, white, yellow, red, or green. (R:185.25-26)  وحكى عنهم أيضاً أن الأجناس الخمسة من كل واحد منهما سواد ونياض وصفرة وحمرة وخضرة (562.20-21)		It is said with regard to them that the five parts are black, white, red, yellow, and green. (R:177.29-30)  وحكى عنهم أن الأجناس الخمسة منها سواد وبياض وحمرة وصفرة وخضرة (M:5:11.6-7)		Each one of them (viz., Light and Darkness) possesses five species: redness, whiteness, yellowness, blackness, and greenness. (R:166.13-14)  ولكل واحد منهما خمسة أجناس : حمرة وبياض وصفرة وسواد وخضرة (157.6-7)		
22	Whatever is white in the World of Light is good, whereas that which is white in the World of Darkness is evil. The same holds for the rest of the colors. (R:185.26-28)		That which is white which is in the World of Light is good, and that which is of that color in the World of Darkness is evil. They (Light and Darkness) have five senses: what is in Light is good, and what is in		For each species, everything which comes from the substance of Light is Good, and that which comes from the substance of Darkness is evil. (R:166.14-16)		

	<p>فما كان من بياض في عالم النور فهو خير، وما كان من بياض في عالم الظلمة فهو شر وكذلك سائر الألوان (562.21-22)</p>		<p>Darkness is evil. (R:177.30-32)</p> <p>فما كان منها من بياض في عالم النور فهو خير، وما كان منه في عالم الظلمة فهو شر. ولهما حواس خمس، فما كان منها في النور فهو خير، وما كان منها في الظلمة فهو شر (M:5:11.7-9)</p>		<p>فكل شيء مما جاء من هذا الجنس من جوهر النور فهو خير، وما كان من جوهر الظلمة فهو شر (157.7-9)</p>		
23	<p>They maintain that the two (Worlds) were eternally separate, with no third (realm) existing together with them. (R:185.28- 29)</p> <p>وزعموا أنّهما كانا لم يزل متباينين لا ثالث معهما (562.22-563.1)</p>	<p>Each of them was (originally) separate from the other. (R:192.15)</p> <p>كلّ واحد منهما منفصل من الآخر (52.14)</p>	<p>They maintain that the two were always separate (R:177.7)</p> <p>وزعموا أنّهما لم يزالا متباينين (M:5:10.12)</p>		<p>The two were (originally) separate: (R:166.7- 8)</p> <p>وكانا متباينين (157.4)</p>	<p>[Most of them say] that each one of them (Light and Darkness) had always been separate from the other. (R:164.21)</p> <p>و لم يزل كل واحد منهما مباينا لصاحبه، قال النبيختي (44.9-10)</p>	<p>They say these two were initially separate. (R:188.26)</p> <p>قالوا وكانا في الاول متباينين (346.23)</p>
24	<p>Then some of their parts mixed</p>	<p>Some of their portions</p>	<p>but after a time became mixed with</p>		<p>Darkness lusted after Light and they</p>		<p>Then they mixed unceasingly on</p>

	<p>with one another, and this world came into being from their mixed parts. (R:185.29-31)</p> <p>ثم امتزجا بجزئيين منهما فكان هذا العالم من الجزئيين الامتزجين منهما (563.1-2)</p>	<p>commingled and he (Satan) clung to its (i.e., Light's) elements. (R:193.18-19)</p>	<p>each other. (R:177.7-8)</p> <p>ثم امتزجا من بعد (M:5:10.12)</p>		<p>mixed with one another, and in proportion to the mixture the world came into being due to their mixture. (R:166.10-12)</p> <p>قُبعت الظلمة على النور فامتزجا، فكان العالم من امتزاجهما على قدر الامتزاج (157.5-6)</p>		<p>every side (R:188.26-27)</p> <p>ثم امتزجا هما غير متناهيين من جهااتها جميعا (346.23-24)</p>
25			<p>The majority of them claims that the parts and the spiritual entities are completely alive (and) endowed with senses. Some of them say that it is the Two Spirits that are alive, (R:177.32-178.3)</p> <p>وزعم أكثرهم أن الأجناس والأرواح جميعها حي حساس. وقال بعضهم في</p>				<p>Some of them say that the (Two) Spirits and their 'kinds' are sentient living entities, whereas others say that it is only the Two Spirits (who can be described this way): (R:189.15-17)</p> <p>وقال بعضهم الأرواح والأجناس حيّة حسّاسة وقيل الروحان فقط (347.11-12)</p>

			الروحين إنهما حيان (M:5:11.9-10)			
26			and (that) the corporeal (elements) of Light live a pure life save that it is not a life of perception or discernment; and (that) the corporeal (elements) of Darkness and its parts are lifeless (and) putrid. (R:178.3-5)  وأبدان النور حية حياة ظاهرة لا حياة حس وتمييز؛ وأبدان الظلمة وأجناسها ميتة فاسدة (M:5:11.10-11)		Light experiences no sensations [...] Hummāma experiences sensations. (R:216.2-3)  والنور ليس بحساس (157.12) والهامة <sup>8</sup> حساسة (157.13)	the material kinds associated with Light sustain an intangible and imperceptible living phenomenon, but the material kinds associated with Darkness are dead (and) putrid. (R:189.17-19)  وأبدان النور حية حياة ظاهرة لا حياة جس وتمييز وأبدان الظلمة ميتة فاسدة (347.12-13)
27			He (i.e., <b>al-Nawbakhtī</b> ) reports that <b>Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq</b> said that the actions of each of them (i.e., of Light and Darkness) are		[...] whatever derives from it (i.e., Light) comes into being naturally and is completely Good. (R:216.2-3)	They say that everything that is good derives from Light and everything that is bad derives from Darkness. Some say this is natural, but

8 It appears the text is defective here and that it should read الهامة . Al-Māturīdī wrote this correctly earlier in 157.11.

			<p>voluntary; however, their ability to choose does not go against their essential nature. (R:178.6-8)</p> <p>وحكى عن أبى عيسى الوراق أن أفعال نفسيهما باختيار ؛ لكن لختيار هما لا يعدو ما فى طبيعتهما (M:5:11.12-13)</p>		<p>وما كان منه يكون بالطبع ويكون خيرا كله (157.12-13)</p>	<p>others say it is due to choice; however, their choice cannot go against their essential nature. (R:189.19-22)</p> <p>وقالوا كلّ خير فمن النور وكلّ شرّ فمن الظلمة فقليل طبيعاً وقيل اختياراً إلاّ إنّ اختيارهما لا يعدو ما فى طبيعتهما (347.13-15)</p>
28			<p>Yet they say things differ with respect to being good or bad, or being pleasant or foul, or being knowledgeable or ignorant: (the explanation is that) a part of this one is present quantitatively to a greater degree than a part of the other, by which are meant parts of Light and Darkness.</p>			<p>[...] They say that all things vary with respect to attractiveness or ugliness in dependence upon the amount of the components of Light and Darkness (they contain), and there is no extant entity which is not composed out of them. They disagree over (their) non-essential attributes as to whether they</p>

			(R:178.8-12)  قالوا : وإنما تختلف الأشياء في الخير والشر والحسن والقبح والعلم والجهل فيكون بعض ذلك أكثر من بعض على قدر كثرة أجزاء النور وأجزاء الظلمة (M:5:11.13-15)				are fixed or variable, but they agree that the composition of things is due to the mixture (of Light and Darkness). (R:189.24-28)  قالوا وإنما تختلف الأشياء في الحسن والقبح بحسب أجزاء النور والظلمة ولا يخلو شيء من كونه مركبا منهما، واختلفوا في الاعراض بين مثبت وناف واتفقوا على ان المزاج وقع منه تركيب الأشياء (347.16-20)
29			And he says with regard to the mixture that it took place in the World of Darkness below the World of Light. (R:178.12-13)  وقال في المزاج :				



			هو في عالم الظلمة دون عالم لنور (M:5:11.15)				
30			[...] But <b>al-Warrāq</b> , who was a dualist, said in his book (that) they divide into three groups. (R:178.15-16)  وقال الوراق في كتابه ، وكان ثنويًا : هو على ثلاث فرق (M:5:11.17)				
31			One group rejects accidents, another affirms them as being adjuncts to substances, and the third claims that they are qualities and that it cannot be said that they are substances or something else. (R:178.16-18)  فرقة تنفي الأعراض ؛ وأخرى تثبت أعياناً				[same?] They disagree over (their) non-essential attributes as to whether they are fixed or variable, but they agree that the composition of things is due to the mixture (of Light and Darkness). (R:189.26-28)  واختلفوا في الأعراض بين مثبت وناقٍ وتفقوا على

			الأجسام ، وثالثة زعمت أنها صفات ، ولا يقال هي الجسم أو غيره (M:5:11.17-19)				ان المزاج وقع منه تركيب الاشياء (347.18-20)
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Mythological Material							
	Ibn al-Malāḥimī	Ibn al-Nadīm	‘Abd al-Jabbār	al-Shahrastānī	al-Māturīdī	Ibn al-Jawzī	Ibn al-Murtaḍā
32					[Ibn] al-Rāwandī says: I marvel at [Abū ‘Isā] al-Warrāq who denies the accounts about the prophets with their clear evidence and advocates instead the acceptance of the doctrine of the Manichaeans and the necessary soundness of their foolish statements – such as the stretching out of the heavens from the skins of satans, and the corruption of the earth when it was teeming with serpents and scorpions – and the acceptance of their reports about the doings of Light and Darkness. (R:192.3-9)		
33				Moreover, Manichaeans differ over the mixture and its cause, as			But then they (i.e., the different Manichaean groups) disagree

				<p>well as over the 'refining' and its means. (R:203.25-26)</p> <p>ثم اختلفت المانوية في المزاج وسببه والخلاص وسببه (190.16)</p>			<p>where the mixture transpired. It is said by some that the World of Darkness was beneath the World of Light, but others say there was a distance between them. They also disagree over the cause of the mixture. (R:204.24-205.2)</p> <p>ثم اختلفوا اين وقع المزاج فقول في عالم الظلمة دون عالم النور وقيل بينهما واختلفوا في سبب المزاج (347.21)</p>
34			<p>Some of them say that the way mixture transpired was as follows: the World of Darkness was in a state of continual dissension until it reached the boundary of (the World of) Light at the moment when mixture transpired.</p>				<p>It is said (by some) that the World of Darkness extended infinitely and experienced no interruption until it reached the border with the Light at the time of (their) mixture. (R:205.2-4)</p>

			(R:198.5-7) وقال بعضهم : إن سبيل المزاج أن عالم الظلمة لم يزل يقطع حتى انتهت إلى حد النور في وقت المزاج (M:5:12.6-7)			ف قيل لان عالم الظلمة لا نهاية له ولم يزل يقطع جهته حتى انتهى الى حد النور في وقت المزاج (347.21-23)
35			But others say Darkness never ceased from wandering about its World until it chanced to come upon Light accidentally (and) not by design. (R:198.7-9)	Some of them say that the Light and the Darkness became mixed haphazardly and by accident, not by design or by choice. (R:203.26- 27)		It is said that Darkness was constantly engrossed with its own World and it happened upon (the World of) Light accidentally (and) unintentionally and the Two mixed together. (R:205.4- 6)
			وقال آخرون : لم تزل تجول في عالمها فوقعت على النور بالخبط لا بالقصد (M:5:12.7-8)	وقال بعضهم ان النور والظلام امتزجا بالخبط والاتفاق لا بالقصد والاختيار (190.16-17)		وقيل لم تزل الظلمة تجول في عالمها فوقعت على النور بالخبط لا بالقصد فامتزجا (347.23-348.1)
36	They maintain that the mixture began because the corporeal parts of		The majority of them maintain of the cause of this (mixture) was that	The majority says that the cause of the mixture was that the bodies of		Most of them say instead about the cause that the material kinds

	<p>Darkness maliciously distracted its Spirit; once distracted, the Spirit immediately beheld and saw the Light, (R:201.8-10)</p> <p>وزعموا أن بدء الامتزاج هو أن أبدان الظلمة تشاغل عن الإضرار بروحها بعض التشاغل، فنظرت الروح عند ذلك فرأت النور (563.2-3)</p>		<p>the corporeal parts of Darkness maliciously distracted their Spirit; once distracted, the Spirit then beheld and saw Light, (R:198.9-11)</p> <p>وزعم جلهم في سبب ذلك أن أبدان الظلمة تشاغل عن الإضرار بروحها بعض التشاغل فنظرت الروح فرأت النور (M:5:12.8-9)</p>	<p>Darkness distracted their spirit; once distracted, the spirit then beheld and saw the Light. (R:203.27-29)</p> <p>وقال أكثرهم ان سبب<sup>9</sup> المزاج ان ابدان الظلمة تشاغل عن روحها<sup>10</sup> بعض التشاغل فنظرت الي الروح فرات النور (190.17-19)</p>			<p>associated with Darkness were distracting one another and causing harm to its immaterial 'kind': the immaterial 'kind' then caught sight of and discerned the Light, (R:205.6-9)</p> <p>وقال جمهورهم بل سببه ان ابدان الظلمة تشاغل عن الاضرار بروحها بعض التشاغل فنظرت الروح فرأت النور (348.1-3)</p>
37	<p>and it was afterwards always cognizant that some entity foreign to it was nearby. (R:201.10-11)</p>		<p>and it was afterwards always cognizant that some entity foreign to it was nearby. (R:198.11-12)</p> <p>ولم تنزل تحس بأن</p>				

9 The text here is defective, lacking the dots beneath the two ب s.

10 Al-Shahrastānī has روحها here while ‘Abd al-Jabbār and Ibn al-Murtaḍā have روحها .

	ولم تزل كانت تحس بأن معها غيرها (563.3-4)		معها غيرها (M:5:12.9-10)				
38	Similarly the corporeal parts of Darkness perceived that some entity foreign to it (i.e., the World of Darkness) was nearby. (R:201.11-12)  وكذلك أدان [الظلمة] كانت تحس بأن معها غيرها (563.4-5)						

<p><b>39</b></p>	<p>Then the Spirit dispatched those corporeal parts to mingle with the Light, and due to their depravity and their desire for it they complied. (R:201.12-14)</p> <p>فابتعثت الروح تلك الأبدان لخالطة النور، فأجابتها إلى ذلك لشرارتها وانتزاعها إليه (563.5-6)</p>		<p>Then it dispatched the corporeal parts to mix with Light, and they hurriedly obeyed due to (their) depravity. (R:198.13-14)</p> <p>فبعثت الروح تلك الأبدان على ممازجة النور فأجابتها لإسراعها إلى الشر (M:5:12.10-11)</p>	<p>It thereupon dispatched the bodies to mix with the Light, and they hurriedly obeyed him due to (their) evil (nature). (R:203.30-31)</p> <p>فبعثت الأبدان علي ممازجة النور فأجابتها لإسراعها إلى الشر (190.19)</p>			<p>and it summoned its material kinds to mix themselves with it. They were quick to respond due to (their) wickedness, (R:205.9-10)</p> <p>فدعت<sup>11</sup> أبدانها لممازجته فأجابتها لإسراعها إلى الشر (348.3-4)</p>
<p><b>40</b></p>	<p>At that time the Spirit of Darkness contrived by means of those corporeal parts a great plot by (assuming) a hideous ugly shape. Then it approached the vicinity of the Light and arranged itself as five portions,</p>		<p>Darkness transferred a hideous shape into each of its five parts. (R:198.14-15)</p> <p>فتحيلت الظلمة في صورة قبيحة في كل جزء من</p>				<p>and each of the five parts of the repulsive form of Darkness suddenly revealed itself (in order to effect the mixture). (R:205.11-12)</p> <p>فتخيلت الظلمة صورة قبيحة من كل جزء من</p>

11 It is difficult to tell if this should be فتخيلت or فتخيلت .



	<p>each of them being a variety of the five varieties (genera) of Darkness. It set about mixing itself with the Light. (R:201.14-18)</p> <p>فتحيلت روح الظلمة عند ذلك في تلك الأبدان حيلة عظيمة بصورة مشوهة قبيحة ثم أقبلت نحر النور وفصل معها من كل جنس من أجناس الظلمة الخمسة جزء فجاءت لخالطة النور (563.6-8)</p>		<p>أجزائها الخمسة (M:5:12.11)</p>				<p>اجزائها الخمسة (348.4-5)</p>
41	<p>When that [Ruler] of the World of Light saw (what was happening), he sent Primal Man– one of his angels– (armored) with five portions of genera (of</p>		<p>When the Ruler of the World of Light saw this, he sent against it one of his angels with five parts from his (own) five varieties and supervised the results.<sup>12</sup></p>	<p>When the Ruler of Light saw this, he sent against it one of his angels with five parts from his five parts, (R:203.31-32)</p>			<p>As soon as the Ruler of the World of Light saw that, he sent against it one of his angels from his five 'kinds' and supervised the results. (R:205.12-14)</p>

	<p>Light), mighty angels (as well). (R:201.18-20)</p> <p>فلما رأى ذلك [ملك] عالم النور وجه الإنسان القديم، ملكاً من ملائكته، في خمسة أجزاء من أجناسه، ملائكة أقوياء (563.8-10)</p>		<p>(R:198.15-16)</p> <p>فلما رأى ذلك ملك عالم النور وجه إليها ملكاً من ملائكته من خمسة أجزاء من أجناسه الخمسة فأشرف على (M:5:12.11-13)</p>	<p>فلما رأي ذلك ملك النور وجه إليها ملكاً من ملائكته في خمسة أجزاء من اجناسها الخمسة (190.19-191.1)</p>			<p>فلما رأى ذلك ملك عالم النور وجه إليها ملكاً من ملائكته من خمسة اجناس فأشرف عليها (348.5-6)</p>
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12 Reeves' translation appears to stop at الخمسة . But based upon how he has translated فأشرف عليها in Ibn al-Murtaḍā, this must be "and supervised the results."

42	<p>As soon as Primal Man became visible to Darkness, he looked down from the five Light-portions upon each army of its hosts, five portions, and he captured it using them, and he mingled the five Light-portions with the five (portions) of Darkness. (R:201.20-23)</p> <p>فلما بدا الإنسان القديم الظلمة أشرف على كل جند من جنودها الخمسة بجزء من الخمسة الأجزاء النورية فأشهره بها، فاختلطت الخمسة النورية بالخمسة الظلمية (563.10-12)</p>	<p>Mānī said: 'When the Primal Iblīs became embroiled in battle with Primal Man, five ingredients of Light were mixed with five ingredients of Darkness. (R:170.2-3)</p> <p>قال مانى فلما شابك ابليس القديم بالانسان القديم بالمحاربة اختلط من اجزاء النور الخمسة باجزاء الظلمة الخمسة (55.8-10)</p>	<p>He (i.e., the angel) overcame each of its (i.e., Darkness's) five forces and took them captive. Then the five luminous elements became mingled with the five elements of Darkness. (R:198.16-18)</p> <p>كل جند من جنودها الخمسة فأسرهما فاختلطت الخمسة النورية بالخمسة الظلمية (M:5:12.13-14)</p>	<p>and the five light-elements became mixed with the five darkness-elements. (R:203.32-33)</p> <p>فاختلطت الخمسة النورية بالخمسة الظلمية (191.1)</p>			<p>It (i.e., Darkness?) captured him, and the luminous portions were combined with the parts of Darkness. (R:205.14-15)</p> <p><sup>13</sup>فأسرها فاختلطت الاجزاء النورية باجزاء الظلمة (348.7)</p>
43	The smoke (and)	The smoke (from the	The smoke	The smoke			Smoke combined

13 Here the text appears to be defective. It reads فاختلطت but, not only does no such word seem to exist, all the other sources contain فاختلطت. Thus I have changed it above.

	<p>the air mingled together and from them resulted this blended air. (R:201.23-24)</p> <p>فخالط الدخان النسيم، فمنها هذا النسيم الممزوج (563.12-13)</p>	<p>Realm of Darkness) mixed with the air (from the Realm of Light), and from them resulted this blended air. (R:170.4-5)</p> <p>فخالط الدخان النسيم فمنها هذا النسيم الممزوج (55.10)</p>	<p>mingled with the air: vitality and spirit derives from the air, but destruction derives from the smoke. (R:198.19-20)</p> <p>فخالط الدخان النسيم والحياة والروح من النسيم والهلاك من الدخان (M:5:12.14-15)</p>	<p>mingled with the air, and truly that which is alive or spiritual in this world derives from the air, but destruction and failure (derives) from the smoke. (R:203.33-35)</p> <p>فخالط الدخان النسيم وانما الحيوة والروح في هذا العالم من النسيم والهلاك والافات من الدخان (191.1-2)</p>			<p>with air, and so whatever is animate and endowed with spirit (in the physical universe) derives from the air, whereas whatever is destructive derives from the smoke. (R:205.15-17)</p> <p>فخالط الدخان النسيم فالحيوة والروح من النسيم والهلاك من الدخان (348.7-8)</p>
44	<p>Whatever there is in it that is delightful and that gives refreshment for souls and life to animals derived from the air, and whatever there is in it that is destructive, harmful, diseased, and disgusting derived from the smoke.</p>	<p>Whatever there is in it that is delightful and that gives refreshment for souls and life to animals derived from the air, and whatever there is in it that is destructive and harmful derived from the smoke. (R:170.5-8)</p> <p>فما فيه من اللذة</p>					

	(R:201.24-27) فما فيه من اللذة والترويح عن الأنفس وحياة الحيوان فمن النسيم، وما فيه من الهلاك والأذى والأدواء والآفات فمن الدخان (563.13-14)	والترويح عن الانفس وحياة الحيوان فمن النسيم وما فيه من الهلاك والاذاء فمن الدخان (55.11-12)				
45	The fire (from the Realm of Darkness) mixed with the fire (from the Realm of Light), and whatever there is in it that shines derived from the (Good) fire, and whatever there is in it that burns and destroys came from the (Evil) fire. (R:201.27-30)  وخالط الحريق النار، فما فيها من الإضاءة فمن النار وما فيها من	The fire (from the Realm of Darkness) mixed with the fire (from the Realm of Light), and whatever there is in it that burns, destroys, and corrupts derived from the (Evil) fire, and whatever there is in it that shines and illumines derived from the (Good) fire. (R:170.8-11)  وخالط الحريق النار فما فيها من الاحراق والهلاك والفساد فمن	The fire mingled with the fire: destruction and flame derive from the fire (of Darkness), but illumination and usefulness derive from the fire (of Light). (R:198.20-22)  وخالط الحريق النار فالهلاك والإحراق من الحريق والإضاءة والمنفعة من النور (M:5:12.15-16)	Fire and fire, light and darkness, hot wind and wind, and mist and water mingled together. (R:203.35-204.1)  وخالط الحريق النار والنور الظلمة والسموم الريح والضباب الماء (191.2-3)		Fire combined with fire: that which is useful comes from the fire (associated with Light), and that which is detrimental comes from the fire (associated with Darkness). (R:205.17-19)  وخالط الحريق النار فالنفع من النار فالشر من الحريق (348.8-9)

	الاحتراق والهلاك فمن الحريق (563.14-15)	الحريق وما فيه من الاضاءة والانارة فمن النار (55.13-14)				
46	The light mixed with the darkness, and within that (mixture) those bright dense substances like gold, silver, and things similar to them (R:201.30-32)  وخالط النور الظلمة، فمناها هذه الأجناس الكثيفة الغلاظ كالذهب والفضة وأشباه ذلك (563.15-17)	The light mixed with the darkness, and whatever there is in it of dense substances like gold, silver, and things similar to them (R:170.11-12)  وخالط النور الظلمة فما فيها من هذه الاجسام الكثيفة مثل الذهب والفضة واشباه ذلك (55.14-16)	Light and darkness mingled, and from them resulted dense visible substances like gold, silver, [iron: not in Reeves], stone, dirt, and similar stuff. (R:198.22-23)  وخالط النور الظلمة فمناها الأجسام الكثيفة الغلاظ كالذهب والفضة والحديد والحجر والتراب وما أشبهه (M:5:12.16-17)			Light combined with Darkness, and components of dense substances like gold, silver, and so forth stem from both of them. (R:205.19-21)  فخالط النور الظلمة فمنها تركيب الاجسام الغليظة كالذهب والفضة وغيرهما (348.9-11)
47	and also whatever there is in it that is pure, beautiful, clean, and beneficial derived from the light. (R:201.32-33)	and also whatever there is in it that is pure, beautiful, clean, and beneficial derived from the light. (R:170.12-14)  وما فيها من الصفاء	That which has beauty, clarity, and utility stems from Light, and that which has the contrary stems from Darkness. (R:198.23-25)	Whatever is in the world that is beneficial, good, and blessed stems from the parts of Light, and whatever is in it that is harmful, evil, and corrupt		Whatever among them that is beneficial or attractive comes from the Light, whereas the opposite characteristics come from Darkness.

	<p>فما فيها من الصفاء والحسن والنظافة والمنفعة فمن النور (563.17)</p>	<p>والحسن والنظافة والمنفعة فمن النور (55.16-17)</p>	<p>فما فيها من الحسن والصفاء والمنفعة فمن النور وما فيها من أضداد ذلك فمن الظلمة (M:5:12.17-18)</p>	<p>stems from the parts of Darkness. (R:204.1-4)</p> <p>فما في العالم من منفعة وخير وبركة فمن اجناس النور وما فيه من مضرة وشر وفساد فمن اجناس الظلمة (191.3-4)</p>		<p>(R:205.21-23)</p> <p>فما فيهما من المنافع والحسن فمن النور والصد من الظلمة (348.11)</p>
48	<p>The (hot) wind (from the Realm of Darkness) mixed with the wind (from the Realm of Light), and whatever there is in it that is beneficial derived from the wind, and whatever there is in it that is distressful and harmful derived form the (hot) wind. The fog mixed with the water, and whatever there is in it that is pure and sweet derived from the water, and whatever</p>	<p>The (hot) wind (from the Realm of Darkness) mixed with the wind (from the Realm of Light), and whatever there is in it that is beneficial and delightful derived from the wind, and whatever there is in it that is distressful, injurious, and harmful derived from the (hot) wind. The fog mixed with the water, and whatever there is in it that is pure, sweet, and suitable for vitality derived from the water, and whatever there is in it that drowns,</p>	<p>The hot wind mingled with the wind, and the fog with the water: those things which are beneficial come from Light, and those things which are harmful come from Darkness. (R:198.25-27)</p> <p>وخالط السموم الرياح والضباب الماء؛ فما فيهما من النفع فمن النور وما فيهما من الضرر فمن الظلمة (M:5:12.18-19)</p>			<p>The fog combined with water, and the hot wind with the wind. (R:205.23)</p> <p>وخالط الضباب الماء والسموم الرياح (348.12)</p>

	<p>there is in it that drowns, strangles, and corrupts derived from the fog. (R:201.34-202.4)</p> <p>وخالط السموم الرياح، فما فيها من المنفعة فمن الرياح، وما فيها من الكرب والضرر فمن السموم وخالط الضباب الماء ، فما فيه من الصفاء والعذوبة فمن الماء ، وما فيه من التغريق والتخنيق والإفساد فمن الضباب (563.18-21)</p>	<p>strangles, destroys, burdens, and corrupts derived from the fog. (R:170.15-21)</p> <p>وخالط السموم الرياح فما فيها من المنفعة واللذة فمن الرياح وما فيها من الكرب والتعوير والضرر فمن السموم وخالط الضباب الماء فما فيه من الصفاء والعذوبة والملايمة للانفس فمن الماء وما فيه من التغريق والتخنيق والاهلاك والثقل والفساد فمن الضباب (56.1-56.5)</p>					
49	<p>Then they maintain that since these Dark- portions remained bound with the Light-portions, (R:202.5-6)</p>	<p>Mānī said: 'After the five 'kinds' of Darkness had contaminated the (five) 'kinds' of Light, (R:170.22-23)</p>					



	<p>فزعموا أن هذه الأجزاء الظلمية ، لما بقيت مأسورة في الأجزاء النورية (563.22)</p>	<p>قال مانى فلما اختلط الاجناس الخمسة الظلمية بالاجناس النورية (56.5-56.6)</p>				
50	<p>Primal Man descended to the bottom of the depth and severed the roots of those five Dark forces from it. (R:202.6- 7)</p> <p>نزل الإنسان القديم إلى غور العمق فقطع منه أصول تلك الجنود الخمسة الظلمية (563.22-564.1)</p>	<p>[...] Primal Man descended to the bottom of the depth(s) and severed the roots of the 'kinds' of Darkness in order that it not expand. (R:170.23- 24)</p> <p>نزل الانسان القديم الى غور العمق فقطع اصول الاجناس الظلمية لئلا تزيد (56.6-56.8)</p>	<p>Then Primal Man descended to the bottom of the lowest abyss and cut the roots of those captive troops of Darkness. (R:198.28-29)</p> <p>ثم نزل الإنسان القديم إلى غور العمق الأسفل فقطع منه أصول تلك الجنود الظلمية المأسورة (M:5:13.1-2)</p>			
51	<p>Afterward he returned upwards to his place. (R:202.7-8)</p> <p>ثم انصرف صاعداً إلى</p>	<p>Then he returned, making ascent to his station on the battlefield. (R:170.24-25)</p> <p>ثم انصرف صاعداً</p>	<p>Afterwards, turning around, he ascended to his place in the southern (<i>sic!</i>) region. (R:198.29- 30)</p>			

	موضعه (564.2)	الى موضعه في الناحية الحربية (56.8)	ثم انصرف صاعدا إلى موضعه في الناحية الجنوبية (M:5:13.2)			
52	Then one of those angels dragged off the forces which had Light bound within them to a section of the Land of Darkness which was adjacent to the Land of Light, and they lifted them up and attached them to the heights. (R:202.8-10)  ثم اجتذب بعض الملائكة تلك الجنود المأسورة بما فيها من النور إلى جانب من أرض الظلمة يلي أرض النور فرفعوهم وعلقوهم بالعلو (564.2-4)	He (i.e., Mānī) said: 'He then commanded some angels to drag this mixture to (a locale) remote from the Land of Darkness, bordering (?) the Land of Light. They suspended them (i.e., the mixed ingredients in the heights. (R:170.26-28)  قال ثم امر بعض الملائكة باجتذاب ذلك المزاج الى جانب من ارض الظلمة تلى ارض النور فعلقوهم بالعلو (56.9-10)	Then one of the angels dragged off those captive troops which had within them (portions of Light) to a portion of the Land of Darkness. (R:198.30-32)  ثم الجتذب بعض الملائكة تلك الجنود المأسورة بما فيها إلى جانب من أرض الظلمة (M:5:13.3-4)			
53	Then they	Then he	He installed a			

	<p>installed a powerful angel beneath the Land of Light in the space (lit. 'air') which belonged to the World of Light. (R:202.10-12)</p> <p>ثم أقاموا ملكاً قوياً أسفل من أرض النور في الهواء من عالم النور (564.4-5)</p>	<p>commissioned another angel and gave to him those mixed ingredients.' (R:170.27-28)</p> <p>ثم اقام ملكا اخر فدفع اليه تلك الاجزاء الممتزجة (56.10-11)</p>	<p>powerful angel from the Land of Light in the space between the World of Light and the mixed portions so that they could expel those portions to him. (R:198.32-34)</p> <p>فأقام ملكا قويا من أرض النور في الهواء بين عالم النور والأجزاء الممتزجة ودفعوا اليه تلك الأجزاء (M:5:13.4-5)</p>				
54	<p>The Ruler of the World of Light commanded one of his angels, and he created this world from those mixed portions in order to purify those parts of Light which had become mingled with those of Darkness. (R:202.12-14)</p> <p>وأمر ملك عالم</p>	<p>Mānī said: 'The King of the World of Light ordered one of his angels to create this world and to construct it using those mixed ingredients in order to free those ingredients of Light from the ingredients of Darkness. (R:170.29-31)</p> <p>قال مانى وامر ملك</p>	<p>The Ruler of the World of Light commanded one of his angels to create this world and fashion it from those mixed portions. (R:199.1-2)</p> <p>وأمر ملك عالم النور بعض ملائكته بخلق هذا العالم وبنائه من تلك</p>				<p>The Ruler of the World of Light commanded that this universe and its botanical organisms be created from those mixed parts in order to rescue those parts (originating in Light) from Darkness. He created the heavens and the earth along with what is contained in them,</p>

	النور بعض ملائكته، فخلق هذا العالم من تلك الأجزاء الممتزجة لتخلص تلك الأنوار الممتزجة بالظلهات (564.5-6)	عالم النور بعض ملائكته بخلق هذا العالم وبنائه من تلك الأجزاء الممتزجة لتخلص تلك الأجزاء النورية من الأجزاء الظلمية (56.11-14)	الأجزاء الممتزجة (M:5:13.6-7)			(R:205.24-27) وامر ملك عالم النور بخلق هذا العالم ونباته من تلك الأجزاء الممتزجة لتخلص تلك الأجزاء من الظلهة فخلق السموات والارض بما فيهن (348.12-14)
55	He built from it (i.e, the mixture) ten heavens and eight earths, putting them under the authority of that angel who bears the mixed portions. (R:202.14-16) وبنى منه تحت يدي ذلك الملك الحامل لتلك الأجزاء الممتزجة عشر سموات وثمانى أرضين (564.6-7)	As a result he constructed ten heavens and eight earths. He appointed one angel to bear the heavens and another (angel) to lift up the earths. (R:170.31-33) فبنى عشر سموات وثمانى أرضين ووكل ملكاً بحمل السموات واخر برفع الارضين (56.14-15)	So he created it and fashioned it (as) ten heavens and eight earths beneath the resultant sphere for those mixed portions. (R:199.2-3) فخلقه وبنى فيه تحت ذلك الفلك الحاصل لتلك الأجزاء الممتزجة عشر سماوات وثمانى أرضين (M:5:13.7-8)			[...] He created the heavenly spheres (R:205.28) وخلق الافلاك (348.15)

<p><b>56</b></p>	<p>He imprisoned some of the demons of Darkness beneath the earths, and he approached the principal satans and fastened them to the heavens. (R:202.16-18)</p> <p>وكبس عفاريت من عفاريت الظلمة تحت الأرضين ، وعمد إلى أكابر الشياطين فشداهم في السموات (564.7-9)</p>		<p>He swept some of the demons of Darkness underneath the earths, and he approached the principal satans and cast them toward the heavens. (R:199.3-5)</p> <p>وكنس عفاريت من عفاريت الظلمة تحت الأرضين وعمد إلى أكابر الشياطين فنبداهم في السموات (M:5:13.8-9)</p>				
<p><b>57</b></p>	<p>He made the encircling heaven a sphere from the stars and zodiacal signs, and he attached demons to the lowest heaven. (R:202.18-19)</p> <p>وفطر السماء الدائرة ، فلك النجوم والبروج ،</p>		<p>He created a revolving heaven – the zodiacal sphere – and he attached the demons to it, (R:199.5-6)</p> <p>وفطر السماء الدائرة فلك البروج وربط فيها عفاريت (M:5:13.9-10)</p>				

	والسمااء السفلى وربط فيها عفاريت (564.9-10)					
58	He put them <next> to the Light, and he appointed two of his angels to turn them in order to set in motion the demons that were on it and prevent them from ascending to the upper Light and from (further) damaging the Light mixed within them and so as to strain (it) by this means from them. (R:202.19-23)	[see below] He made twelve gates for each heaven with large, wide antechambers. Each gate was situated opposite the other, and in front of each of the antechambers was two doors. He made six thresholds in those antechambers within each one of the openings, and for each of the thresholds (he made) thirty paths and for each of the paths twelve rows. He made the thresholds, paths, and rows especially high, corresponding to the elevation of the heavens.' (R:170.33-171.6)	making them close to (the World of) Light. He appointed one of his angels to administer the revolution so that he could direct those demons and guard against them and stop them from rising to the supernal Light and from further damaging the mixed (portions of) Light and to effect the purification of what was (mixed) therein by this means. (R:199.6-10)			and appointed an angel to set them in motion, [...] (R:205.28-29)
	جعلهم مصاف النور [و]وكل ملكين من الملائكة بإدارتها لكي تشرذ العفاريت التي فيها فتمنعها من الصعود إلى	وجعل لكلّ سمااء ابواباً اثني عشر بدهاليزها عظاما	جعلهم مصاقبا النور ووكل ملكا من ملائكته بإدارته لكي يسدد تلك العفاريت فيمنعها بسدها من			ووكل ملكا بإدارتها ويسير (348.15-16)

	<p>النور الأعلى وعن الإضرار بالنور المتزج وايتخلص بذلك منها (564.10-12)</p>	<p>واسعة كل واحد من الابواب بازاء صاحبه وقبالته على كل واحد من الدهاليز مصراعين وجعل في تلك الدهاليز في كل باب من ابوابها ست عتبات وفي كل واحدة من العتبات ثلاثين سكة وفي كل سكة اثني عشر صفاً وجعل العتبات والسك والصفوف من اعاليها في علو السموات (56.15-57.4)</p>	<p>الصعود إلى النور الأعلى ومن الإضرار بالنور المتزج وليتخلص بذلك منها (M:5:13.10-12)</p>				
<p><b>59</b></p>	<p>He appointed an angel to bear the heavens and another to lift up the earths. Air formed a connection between the lowest of the earths and the uppermost heavens. (R:202.23-25)</p>	<p>[from above] He appointed one angel to bear the heavens and another (angel) to lift up the earths. (R:170.33-34) [...] He (i.e., Mānī) said: 'The atmosphere of the lowest earth was joined to the heavens, (171.7-8)</p>	<p>He appointed an angel to bear the heavens, another (angel) to hold up the earths, and he united the atmosphere at the lowest part of the earths to the highest part of the heavens. (R:199.11-13)</p>				<p>[...] and he appointed an angel to bear the earth and another (angel) to bear the heavens [...] (R:205.27-28)</p> <p>ووكل ملكاً بحمل</p>

	<p>ووكل ملكاً بحمل السموات وآخر برفع الأرضين ووصل الجو بأسفل الأرضين أعلى السهوات (564.12-13)</p>	<p>ووكل ملكاً بحمل السموات وآخر برفع الأرضين (56:14-15) قال ووصل الجو بأسفل الأرضين على السموات (57.4-5)</p>	<p>ووكل ملكاً بحمل السموات وآخر برفع الأرضين ووصل الجو بأسفل الأرضين إلى أعلى السموات (M:5:13.13-14)</p>			<p>الأرض وآخر بحمل السماء (348.14-15)</p>
60	<p>He placed a ditch around this world to cast into it the Darkness after its Light had been filtered from it so that Darkness would remain separate, and he made a wall &lt;beyond?&gt; that ditch so that none of this sequestered Darkness could escape from (the control of Light to recombine) with the Light which was in the world. Thus it (Darkness) could not harm it (Light) or mix with it.(R:202.25- 30)</p>	<p>and around this world he constructed a ditch wherein to cast Darkness which was cleared from the Light. He fashioned a wall at the rear of that ditch so that none of the Darkness which had been separated from the Light could escape.' (R:171.8-11)</p> <p>وجعل حول هذا العالم خندقاً ليطرح فيه الظلام الذي يستصفي من النور وجعل خلف ذلك الخندق سوراً لكي لا يذهب شيء من تلك الظلمة المفردة من</p>	<p>Around this world he made a ditch for containing Darkness after the (portion of) Light had been removed from it, (a place) where Darkness would remain segregated. (R:199.13-14)</p> <p>وجعل حول هذا العالم خندقاً فيه الظلام الذي قد الستصفي نوره فبقى ظلاماً منفرداً (M:5:13.14-15)</p> <p>[This is repeated below in 81] They disagree regarding the purification of</p>			<p>[This is repeated below in 81] Here they again disagree. Some of them maintain that when Light is redeemed from Darkness, it will construct a barrier between the two of them composed of Light and Darkness so that it (Darkness) may not return and molest it (Light). But some of them maintain that absolutely no amount of Light will remain (bound) within it. (R:222.17-21)</p> <p>فرع واختلفوا فزعم بعضهم ان النور</p>



	<p>وجعل حول هذا العالم خندقاً ليطرح فيه الظلام الذي قد استتفى نوره ، فبقي ظلاماً مفرداً ، وجعل ذلك الخندق سوراً لكي لا يذهب شيء من تلك الظلمة المفردة عن النور إلى النور الذي في العالم فلا يهلكه ولا يخالطه (564.14-16)</p>	<p>النور (57.5-8)</p>	<p>Light from Darkness after the mixture occurred. Some of them say that all (the particles of) Light will be purified of Darkness, but others among them say that some of it (i.e., Light) will remain (mixed) in Darkness, for at the time Light purifies itself it will make a barrier between the two (Realms) out of Darkness and the parts of Light which are still bound within it to prevent it (i.e., Darkness) from returning to it (i.e., Light) and harming it. (R:178.19-24)</p> <p>واختلفوا في خلاص النور من الظلمة بعد المزاج فمنهم من قال : إن كل النور يتخلص من الظلمة . ومنهم من قال : يبقى في</p>				<p>إذا تخلص من الظلمة جعل بينه وبينها حاجزاً من نور وظلمة لئلا تعود فتؤذيه وزعم بعضهم انه لا يبقى فيها شيء من النور لا قليل ولا كثير (348.25-349.3)</p>
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			الظلمة بعضه ، لأن النور إذا تخلص منها جعل بينه وبينها حاجزا من الظلمة وهي أجزاء النور يرتبطه بها لئلا تعود إليه فتؤذيه (M:5:12.1-4)			
<b>61</b>	Then he set in motion the sun and the moon to filter out those portions of Light which were (mixed) in the world. (R:202.30-31)  ثم سير الشمس والقمر لاستصفاء ما في العالم من النور (564.16-17)	Mānī said: 'Then he created the sun and the moon in order to extract the (portions of) Light which are (mixed) in the world. (R:171.12-13)  قال ماني ثم خلق الشمس والقمر لاستصفاء ما في العالم من النور (57.8-9)	Then he set in motion the sun and the moon in order to extract (?) the (portions of) Light which are (mixed) in the world. (R:199.15-16)  ثم سير الشمس والقمر لاستقصاء ما في العالم من النور (M:5:13.16)	The sun, the moon, and the other celestial bodies and stars were set in motion in order to filter out the parts of Light from the parts of Darkness. (R:204.7-9)  وانما سارت الشمس والقمر وسائر النجوم لاستصفاء اجزاء النور من اجزاء الظلمة (191.6-7)		and the sun and the moon move to seek out what there is in this universe that derives from Light [...] (R:205.29-30)  الشمس والقمر لاستقصاء ما في هذا العالم من النور (348.16-17)
<b>62</b>	The sun filters out the Light which is mixed with the satans of heat, and the moon	The sun extracts the Light which was mixed with the satans of heat, and the moon extracts	The sun extracts (?) the Light which was mixed with the satans of heat, and the moon extracts	The sun filters out the Light which was mixed with the satans of heat, and the moon filters out		

	<p>filters out what is mixed with the satans of cold. (R:202.32-33)</p> <p>فالشمس تستصفي النور الذي امتزج بشياطين الحر، والقمر يستصفي ما امتزج بشياطين البرد (564.17-18)</p>	<p>the Light which was mixed with the satans of cold. (R:171.13-15)</p> <p>فالشمس يستصفي النور الذي اختلط بشياطين الحر والقمر يستصفي النور الذي اختلط بشياطين النرد (57.9-11)</p>	<p>(?) the Light which was mixed with the satans of cold. (R:199.16-18)</p> <p>فالشمس تستقصي النور الذي قد امتزج بشياطين الحر والقمر يستقصي النور الذي امتزج بشياطين البرد (M:5:13.16-17)</p>	<p>the Light which was mixed with the satans of cold. (R:204.9-10)</p> <p>فالشمس تستصفي النور الذي امتزج بشياطين الحر والقمر يستصفي النور الذي امتزج بشياطين البرد (191.7-8)</p>			
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<p><b>63</b></p>	<p>They maintain that the (Light-portion termed) 'air' which is (held) in the earths continually ascends, and that it causes the Light-powers which are in them and that which extricates itself from the ground, plants, and light (<i>sic!</i>) to ascend. (R:202.34-36)</p> <p>وزعموا أن النسيم الذي في الأرضين لا يزال يرتفع ويرفع ما فيها من قوى النور وما يتحلل من الأرض والنبات والنور (564.19-20)</p>		<p>The air which is on the earths does not cease transmitting the Light-powers which it contains and what it takes up from the earth and from vegetation... (R:199.18-20)</p> <p>والنسيم الذي في الأرضين لا يزال يدفع ما فيها من قوى النور وما ينحل من الأرض والنبات (M:5:13.18-19)</p>	<p>The air which is in the land does not cease rising, for it is its nature to rise toward its world. (R:204.10-12)</p> <p>والنسيم الذي في الأرض لا يزال يرتفع<sup>14</sup> لأن من شأنها الارتفاع إلى عالمها (191.8-9)</p>			
<p><b>64</b></p>	<p>Moreover it will continue rising in accordance with its lofty nature until it attains its former place and</p>			<p>Similarly all the particles of Light will continually rise and ascend and the particles of Darkness will</p>	<p>Each one of them will eventually return to their (proper) realm. Then it will transpire that the</p>		

14 Al-Shahrastānī has يرتفع while ‘Abd al-Jabbār has يدفع .

<p>rids itself of Darkness, going (back) into its substance together with (R:202.37-39)</p> <p>وترتفع هي أيضاً لأن من شأنها الارتفاع إلى محلها الأول والتخلص من الظلمة والذهاب إلى جوهرها مع (564.20-564.21)</p>			<p>continually descend and sink until every particle will have been separated from the other. Then the mixture will be neutralized, the composition will unravel, and everything will regain its integrity and its world. (R:204.12-16)</p> <p>وكذلك جميع اجزاء النور ابدأ في الصعود والارتفاع واجزاء الظلمة ابدأ في النزول والتسفل حتى تتخلص الاجزاء من الاجزاء ويبطل الامتزاج وينحل التراكيب ويصل كل الي كله وعالمه (19أ.9-12)</p>	<p>upper things will be purer and the lower things more polluted; due to their distinct natures (one will be) light and (the other) heavy, and since their properties will be so different, that which is light will rise up and that which is heavy will sink down. Time will pass until, just as they were once mixed, the two will finally be extracted from one another. (R:216.4-10)</p> <p>وسيصير كل واحد منهما إلى حيزه ثم وجد أعلى الأشياء أصفاها، وأسفلها أكدرها، ومن طبعهما الخفة والثقل، وأمرهما على التنافر؛ إذ الخفيف يعلو صعوداً والثقل ينحدر سفلاً فيمراً الدهر،</p>		
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					<p>إِذْ كَانَا كَذَلِكَ يَتَخْلَصَانِ مِنْ وَجْهِ التَّاهِي كَمَا امْتَزَجَا (157.13-16)</p>		
65	<p>what has ascended due to (the mechanisms of) praise, sanctification, proper speech, and pious deeds which sustain the created order. All of this rises and flows through the Column of Praise to the sphere of the moon: the column of Praise is that (instrument) through which the particles of Light ascend to the sphere of the moon. (R:202.39-203.2)</p> <p>ما يرتفع من التسابيح والتقديس والكلام الطيب وأعمال</p>	<p>This (i.e., what is extracted) ascends in a Column of Praise together with what is removed by (the chanting of hymns of) glorification, (invocations of) sanctification, proper speech, and pious deeds. (R:171.15-17)</p> <p>في عمود السبح يتصاعد ذلك معما يرتفع من التسابيح والتقديس والكلام الطيب وأعمال البر (57.11-12)</p>		<p>He (i.e., Mānī) says that what aids the purification and the separation and the ascension of the particles of Light are (the chanting of hymns of) glorification, (invocations of) sanctification, proper speech, and pious deeds, and that by this (behavior) the particles of Light are lifted in a Column of Radiance to the orbit of the moon. (R:204.17-21)</p> <p>وقال ومما يعين في التخليص والتمييز ورفع اجزاء النور التسبيح والتقديس والكلام الطيب وأعمال البر فيرتفع</p>			

	<p>البر التي تكون من الخلوقين يرتفع ذلك كله ويسري في عمود السبح (كذا) إلى فلك القمر، وعمود السبح هو الذي ترتفع فيه الأنوار إلى فلك القمر (564.21-565.3)</p>			<p>بذلك الاجزاء النورية في عمود الصبح الي فلك القمر (191.12-14)</p>			
??			<p>All of this Mānī has narrated. We could extend (discussion of) his tales, but this should suffice for the purposes of argument and the exposure of their fables to the one who reads them. (R:199.22-24)</p> <p>هذا كله ذكره مانى ؛ وإنما أطلنا الحكاية لأنه يغنى عن الحجاج وتتكشف للناظر فيه خرافاتهم (M:5:15.16-17)</p>				

66	<p>The moon constantly receives this (Light) from the first of the month until the full moon appears. (R:203.2-3)</p> <p>فلا يزال القمر يقبل ذلك من أول الشهر إلى أن يصير بدرًا (565.3-4)</p>			<p>The moon constantly receives this (i.e. the flow of particles) from the first of the month to the middle (of the month); then it is full and becomes the full moon. (R:204.21-23)</p> <p>فلا يزال القمر يقبل ذلك من أول الشهر الي النصف فيمتلئ فيصير بدرًا (191.14-15)</p>			
67	<p>Then– since it is full– it conveys it to the sun. (R:203.3-4)</p> <p>ثم يؤديه إذا امتلأ إلى الشمس (565.4)</p>			<p>Then (the moon) conveys (it) to the sun until the end of the month, [see below]</p>			
68	<p>The waxing of the moon is due to its reception over the course of the first day to the fourteenth night of the month of what is released</p>						



	<p>and has ascended from the particles of Light (that were bound) in the earth, vegetations, water, and other things, as well as the pure portions of the Light of the world and the praises. (R:203.4-8)</p> <p>وزيادة القمر في أول الشهر إلى أربع عشرة ليلة لقبوله ما تحلل وارتفع من أنوار الأرض والنبات والمياه وغير ذلك من صفو أنوار العالم والتساييح (565.5-6)</p>						
69	<p>Its waning from the time of the appearance of the full moon to the end of the month and to the time when the new moon appears is due to its</p>						

	<p>propulsion of that (Light) to the sun. (R:203.8-10)</p> <p>ونقصانه من لدن يصير بداراً إلى آخر الشهر وإلى وقت مستهله لدفعه ذلك إلى الشمس (565.7-8)</p>					
70	<p>And the sun propels it to the Light which is above it in the World of Praise, and it travels through that World up to the pure supernal Light. (R:203.10-12)</p> <p>وتدفعه الشمس إلى نور فوقها في عالم السبح، فيسري في ذلك العالم إلى النور الأعلى الخالص (565.8-9)</p>	<p>He (i.e., Mānī) said: 'This (i.e., what is extracted) reaches the sun, and the sun propels it onward to the Light that is above it in the 'World of Praises' (<i>sic</i>), and it circulates in this world (until it reconnects) to the uppermost, pure Light.' (R:171.18-20)</p> <p>قال فيدفع ذلك إلى الشمس ثم ان الشمس تدفع ذلك الى النور فوقها في عالم التسبيح فيسير في ذلك العالم الى</p>	<p>Then (the moon) conveys (it) to the sun until the end of the month, and the sun propels it onward to the Light that is above it, and it circulates in this world until it rejoins the uppermost, pure Light. (R:204.23-25)</p> <p>تم يوذي الي الشمس الي اخر الشهر فتدفع الشمس الي نور فوقها فيسري في ذلك العالم الي ان يصل الي النور</p>			

		النور الاعلى الخالص (57.12-15)		الاعلى الخالص (191.15-17)			
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Eschatological Material							
	Ibn al-Malāḥimī	Ibn al-Nadīm	‘Abd al-Jabbār	al-Shahrastānī	al-Māturīdī	Ibn al-Jawzī	Ibn al-Murtaḍā
71	By means of their activity this (purification) will not cease until there remains from the Light only a compressed thing which the sun and the moon are unable to render pure. (R:203.12-14)	[Mani ( <i>sic</i> ) said:] '... this activity (i.e., the refining of Light from material existence) will not cease until only a small amount of congealed Light is left (which) the sun and moon are unable to purify. (R:216.12-14)	... similarly this activity (i.e. the refining of Light from material existence) will not cease until only a small amount of congealed Light is left (which) the sun and moon are unable to purify. (R:219.10-12)	It will not cease (from) doing this until there is not left any portion of the particles of Light in this world (i.e., the created world) except for (what remains in) a small amount of congealed matter that the sun and moon are unable to purify. (R:220.20-22)			... and (the Realm of Light) will not cease conducting its search until there remains only a small congealed portion (of Light) which is unable to be searched out. (R:222.2-4)
	فلا يزال ذلك من فعلها حتى لا يبقى من النور تقدر الشمس والقمر على استصفائه (565.9-10)	فلا يزال ذلك من فعلها حتى يبقى من النور شيء منعقد لا تقدر الشمس والقمر على استصفائه (57.15-16)	والنبات ولا يزال كذلك حتى يبقى من النور شيء منعقد لا تقدر الشمس والقمر على استصفائه (M:5:13.19-14.1)	ولا يزال يفعل ذلك حتى لا يبقى من اجزاء النور شي في هذا العالم الا قدر يسير منعقد لا تقدر الشمس والقمر علي استصفائه (191.17-18)			فلا يزال يدبر استقصاءه حتى لا يبقى الا اجزاء منعقدة لا يقدر على استقصائها (348.17-18)
72	Then the angel who is bearing the earths will lift up and the other angel will stop	At that time the angel who bears the earths will lift up, and the other angel will stop stretching	At that time the angel will lift up the earths, and the other angel will stop stretching the	At that time, the angel who bears the earth will lift up, and the angel who spreads out			At that time the angel who is responsible for the earth will lift up, and the angel who

	<p>stretching the heavens, and that which is highest will sink down onto that which is lowest. (R:220.5-7)</p> <p>فعند ذلك يرتفع الملك الذي كان يحمل الأرضين ويدع الملك الآخر اجتذاب السموات، فينحط الأعلى على الأسفل (565.10-12)</p>	<p>the heavens, and that which is uppermost will mix with that which is lowest. (R:216.14-16)</p> <p>فعند ذلك يرتفع الملك الذي لحمل الارضين ويدع الملك الآخر اجتذاب السموات فيختلط الاعلى على الاسفل (57.16-58.1)</p>	<p>heavens, and that which is uppermost will be lowered onto that which is lowest. (R:219.12-14)</p> <p>فعند ذلك يرتفع الملك الذي كان يرفع الأرضين ويدع الملك الآخر اجتذاب السماوات فتنحط الأعالي على الأسافل (M:5:14.1-2)</p>	<p>the heavens will stop doing so, and that which is uppermost will collapse upon that which is lowest. (R:220.22-25)</p> <p>فعند ذلك يرتفع الملك الذي يحمل الارض ويدع الملك الذي يجتذب السموات فيسقط الاعلى على الاسفل (191.18-20)</p>		<p>is responsible for heaven will stop (supporting it), and that which is uppermost will collapse onto that which is lowest. (R:222.4-6)</p> <p>فعند ذلك يرتفع الملك الموكل بالارض ويدع الملك الموكل بالسماء فتخط الأعالي على الاسافل (348.18-19)</p>
73	<p>A fire will flare up (and) burn these things, and it will continue burning until what remains in them from the Light is free. (R:220.7-8)</p> <p>وتفور نار تضطرم في تلك الأشياء، فلا تزال مضطربة حتى</p>	<p>A fire will heat up and burn these things, and it will not cease burning until what Light remains in them is set free.' (R:216.16-17)</p> <p>وتفور نار فتضطرم في تلك الاشياء فلا تزال مضطربة حتى يتحلل ما فيها من النور</p>	<p>A fire will heat up and burn these things until what Light remains in them is set free. (R:219.14-15)</p> <p>وتفور النار فتضطرم في تلك الأشياء حتى ينحل</p>	<p>Then a fire will burn until the uppermost and the lowest are set ablaze, and it will remain burning until that which is in it (the congealed matter) from the Light is set free. (R:220.25-27)</p> <p>ثم توقد نار حتى يضطرم الاعلى</p>		<p>A fire will flare up in this lower region and will not cease burning until some of the portions of Light which are in the World of Darkness which are bound among the portions of Darkness have been set free. (R:222.6-9)</p> <p>وتضطرم نار من تلك الاسافل فلا</p>

	يتحلل ما فيها من النور (565.12-13)	(58.1-3)	ما فيها من النور (M:5:14.2-3)	والاسفل ولا يزال يضطرم حتي يتحلل ما فيها من النور (191.20-192.1)			نزال تضطرم حتى يتخلّص ما فى عالم الظلمة من اجزاء النور التي انعقدت باجزاء الظلمة (348.19-21)
74	This conflagration will last for 1,468 years. (R:220.8-9)  ويكون ذلك الاضطرام مقدار ألف سنة وأربعمائة وثمان وستين سنة (565.13-14)	Mānī said: 'This burning will last for 1,468 years.' (R:216.18)  قال مانى ويكون ذلك الاضطرام مقدار الف سنة واربعمائة وثمان وستين سنة (58.3-4)	This burning will last for 1,468 years. (R:219.15)  ويكون ذلك الاضطرام ألف سنة وأربعمائة سنة وثمان وستين سنة (M:5:14.3-4)	The duration of the burning will be 1,468 years. (R:220.28)  ويكون مدة الاضطرام ألفاً واربعماية وثمان وستين سنة (192.1)			They disagree over how long the burning lasts. It is said to be (by one tradition) 1,468 years, (R:222.10- 11)  واختلفوا فى مدة الاضطرام فقليل الف واربعمائة وثمانى وستون سنة (348.21-22)
75	According to what is reported about them, some (of them) teach (the duration of the conflagration) is 1,460 years. (R:220.9-10)  قال بعض من يخبر عنهم : ألف وأربعمائة وستين						but it is also said to be (by another) 1,460 years. (R:222.11)  وقيل الف واربعمائه وستون (348.22-23)

	سنة (565.14)					
76	<p>After the Light is set free and when Hummāma, the Spirit of Darkness – Death – sees (this) and those (redeeming) angels and forces, she will become enraged and bristle and ready herself for battle. (R:220.11-12)</p> <p>وإذا تحلل النور ورأت همامة، روح الظلمة، الموت وتلك الملائكة والجنود استكلبت وازبأرت وتأهبت للقتال (565.14-16)</p>	<p>He (i.e., Mani) said: 'When this administration passes away and al-Hummāma, the Spirit of Darkness, perceives the redemption of the Light and the exaltation of the angels, the hosts, and the guardians (of Light), then she will surrender. She will perceive the strife [...] (R:216.19-22)</p> <p>قال فاذا انقضى هذا التدبير ورأت الهمامة روح الظلمة خلاص النور وارتفاع الملائكة والجنود والحفظة استكانت ورأت القتال (58.4-6)</p>	<p>When the Spirit of Darkness perceives the redemption of the Light, she will be furious and will strive to fight back. (R:219.16-17)</p> <p>فإذا رأت روح الظلمة خلاص النور استكلبت وتأقت للقتال (M:5:14.4-5)</p>			<p>When Darkness perceives the redemption of the Light, she will strive to fight back. (R:222.12-13)</p> <p>فلما رأت الظلمة خلاص النور تأقت للقتال (348.23)</p>
77	<p>But those forces who surround her will restrain her, (R:220.13-14)</p>	<p>restraining her and the hosts who surround her, (R:216.21-22)</p>	<p>But those hosts who surround her will restrain her, (R:219.17-18)</p>			<p>But some of the hosts who surrounded her will restrain her,</p>

	فتزجرها تلك الجنود من حولها (565.16)	فيزجرها الجنود من حولها (58.6-7)	فتزجرها تلك الجنود من حولها (M:5:14.5)				(R:222.13) فزجرها مَنْ حَوْلَهَا من الجنود فترجع (348.24)
78	and in fright she will fearfully retreat into a tomb previously made ready for her. Then this tomb will be plugged with a rock which is the same size as this world, and those luminous forces will remain outside the place of this world until it is made equivalent to the Land of the World of Light, and Light at that time will be relieved from Darkness. (R:220.14-18)  وترجع خائفة مذعورة إلى قبر قد كان أعد لها، ثم يسد على ذلك القبر بصخرة	and she will retreat into a tomb previously made ready for her. Then it (i.e., Light) will close this tomb with a rock the same size as this world, and seal her in it, and Light will be relieved at that time from Darkness and its molestation.' (R:216.22-25)  فترجع إلى قبر قد أعد لها ثم يسد على ذلك القبر بصخرة تكون مقدار الدنيا فيردمها فيه فيستريح النور حينئذ من الظلمة واذاها (58.7-9)	and in fright she will retreat into a tomb previously made ready for her. Then it (i.e., Light) will close the opening of this tomb with a rock the same size of as this world, and those numerous hosts will fill up the place of the present world until it is made equivalent to the Land of the World of Light. Light will be relieved at that time from Darkness. (R:219.18-220.3)  فترجع مذعورة إلى قبر كان أعد لها ويسد عليها فم ذلك القبر بصخرة كمقدار الدنيا فتطم				and in fright she will retreat into a tomb previously made ready for her. Then it (i.e. Light) will close the opening of this tomb with a rock, and it will be delivered from the corruption effected by Darkness. (R:222.13-16)  مذعورة إلى قبر أعد لها فيسد عليها فم القبر بصخرة وتتخلص من شر الظلمة (348.24-25)



	تكون مقدار الدنيا، وتظهر تلك الجنود من النيرة موضع الدنيا حتى تستوي مع أرض عالم النور فيستريح النور حينئذ من الظلمة (565.16-19)		تلك الجنود الكثيرة موضع الدنيا حتى يستوي مع أرض عالم النور فيستريح حينئذ من الظلمة (M:5:14.5-7)			
79	This according to them is the Resurrection. (R:220.18)  وهذا هو القيامة عندهم (565.19)			This is the resurrection and the life to come. (R:204.16) <sup>15</sup>  وذلك هو القيامة والمعاد (191.12)		
80	... Do they then differ over whether any portion from the Light remains in Darkness after the process of purification? For some of them teach that a part of it remains in it, and others of them teach that none remains.		They disagree regarding the purification of Light from Darkness after the mixture occurred. Some of them say that all (the particles of) Light will be purified of Darkness, but others among them say that some of it (i.e., Light) will			Here they again disagree. Some of them maintain that when Light is redeemed from Darkness, it will construct a barrier between the two of them composed of Light and Darkness so that it (Darkness) may not return and molest it (Light). But some of them

<sup>15</sup> This is from later in al-Shahrastānī and is listed under "Mythological Material" in Reeves.

<p>(R:203.15-17)</p> <p>ثم اختلفوا في هل يبقى في الظلمة من النور شيء بعد الخلاص ؟ فقال بعضهم : يبقى منه فيها شيء ، وقال بعضهم : لا يبقى (565: 20-21)</p>		<p>remain (mixed) in Darkness, for at the time Light purifies itself it will make a barrier between the two (Realms) out of Darkness and the parts of Light which are still bound within it to prevent it (i.e., Darkness) from returning to it (i.e., Light) and harming it. (R:178.19-24)</p> <p>واختلفوا في خلاص النور من الظلمة بعد المزاج فمنهم من قال : إن كل النور يتخلص من الظلمة . ومنهم من قال : يبقى في الظلمة بعضه ، لأن النور إذا تخلص منها جعل بينه وبينها حاجزا من الظلمة وهي أجزاء النور يرتبطه بها لئلا تعود إليه فتؤذيه</p>				<p>maintain that absolutely no amount of Light will remain (bound) within it. (R:222.17-21)</p> <p>فرع واختلفوا فزعم بعضهم ان النور اذا تخلص من الظلمة جعل بينه وبينها حاجزا من نور وظلمة لئلا تعود فتؤذيه وزعم بعضهم انه لا يبقى فيها شيء من النور لا قليل ولا كثير (348.25-349.3)</p>
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			(M:5:12.1-4)				
<b>81</b>			<p>They also disagree when some of them say that at the time Darkness overpowered Light and the period (of its subjection) became prolonged, it (i.e., Light) performed its (i.e., Darkness's) actions. However, the rest of them deny this. This disagreement pertains to the (future) time when Light overpowers Darkness. (R:178.24-28)</p> <p>ثم اختلفوا فقال بعضهم : إذا غلبت الظلمة على النور وطال مكثه عمل عملها وأنكر ذلك سائرهم وكذلك النور إذا غلب على الظلمة (M:5:12.4-5)</p>				
<b>82</b>		The Māsīyah, who are a Manichaeans					

		<p>sect, maintain that a certain amount of Light will still remain in Darkness. (R:216.26-27)</p> <p>وزعمت الماسية من المانوية ان النور يبقى منه شيء في الظلمة (58.9-10)</p>					
<b>83</b>	<p>They maintain that al-Hummāma, the Spirit of Darkness, is the entity that forms animals in the wombs of mothers and in the other places which are not wombs through which animals reproduce. She also causes plants to germinate in the ground. She does this in order to perpetuate the mixing and to leave progeny; in this way, Evil becomes more</p>						

<p>established and Good is diminished, for she is the one who is Desire and Lust. (R:203.17-23)</p> <p>وزعموا أن الهمامة ، روح الظلمة ، هي التي تصور الحيوان في أرحام الأمهات وفي غير الأرحام في المواضع التي يتولد فيها الحيوان وتنبت النبات في الأرض وإنما تفعل ذلك ليدوم الامتزاج ويبق النسل ، فيتصل الشر ويقلّ الخير لما لها في ذلك من النشاط واللذة (565: 21-566.3)</p>						
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