

The Chapters of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani

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The Kephalaia Codex

The Chapters of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani

Part III: Pages 343–442 (Chapters 321–347)

Edited and translated by

Iain Gardner
Jason BeDuhn
Paul C. Dilley



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Introduction

The Chester Beatty *Kephalaia* codex constitutes the second part of a massive two volume, scholastic collection belonging to the Medinet Madi corpus of Manichaean texts, purporting to be oral teachings of the religion's founder, Mani (or, as our codex consistently has, 'the Mannichaios', although most of the time he is referred to simply as 'the Apostle'). The first part of this Coptic *Kephalaia* collection is contained in a codex held primarily in Berlin (P. 15996), entitled *The Chapters of the Teacher*, which has been edited and translated into German by Hans Jakob Polotsky and Alexander Böhlig (1935–1940), Alexander Böhlig (1966), and Wolf-Peter Funk (1999–2018). The second codex, a part of which is presented here, is held in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, and is entitled *The Chapters of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani*. Despite this distinct title, it continues the sequence of numbered chapters from the Berlin codex, and brings the collection to a conclusion.

Although the codex was discovered in the late 1920s, and conservation work on it begun in the 1930s was completed in the 1950s, earlier plans for an edition did not come to fruition. The current project to edit and translate it was initiated in 2008 by an editorial team consisting of Iain Gardner, Jason BeDuhn, and Paul Dilley. The editors wish to thank the following institutions for their generous support of our work: the Australian Research Council for a Discovery Project award, 2009–2012; the United States National Endowment for the Humanities for a Collaborative Research grant, 2009–2012; the Intramural Grants Program of Northern Arizona University for a project seed grant in 2008–2009; the National Humanities Center for a Goheen Fellowship for 2010 (BeDuhn); the American Philosophical Society Franklin Grant in 2009 for support of travel to Dublin (Dilley); an Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung renewal fellowship in summer 2011 for work in Berlin, hosted by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst and the Turfanforschung group at BBAW (Dilley); and an Arts and Humanities Initiative (AHI) Award from the University of Iowa (Dilley); the School of Literature, Art and Media and the Fac-

ulty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Sydney, for enabling Iain Gardner dedicated research time and use of its facilities; Dean Michael Vincent of the College of Arts and Letters of Northern Arizona University for facilitating research leave for Jason BeDuhn. For consultation on various aspects of the project, as well as providing an invaluable concordance of the Medinet Madi manuscripts, we would like to give special thanks to Wolf-Peter Funk of the Université Laval.

Over the entire course of the project, the staff of the Chester Beatty Library have been extraordinarily understanding and helpful, beginning with two successive Directors, Dr. Michael Ryan and Dr. Fionnuala Croke, and two successive curators, Charles Horton and Jessica Baldwin (now Head of Collections and Conservation), along with librarians Celine Ward and Hyder Abbas, curatorial assistant Elizabeth Omidvaran, as well as the many others who have assisted at one time or another, from the conservation laboratory to the photography room, from handling the glassed leaves to archival research.

In addition to many hours of autopsy of the glassed leaves at the Chester Beatty Library, the team worked with a variety of photographic images. One must mention first the facsimile edition published by Søren Giversen (*The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library, Facsimile Edition, Volume 1: Kephalaia*, Genève: Patrick Cramer, 1986). The CBL archive holds copies of the original black and white photographs that formed the basis of the facsimile, and these were consulted in the process of our work. Additional images were provided by our imaging team, Daniel Boone and Ryan Belnap, working under the auspices of the Northern Arizona University IDEALab, and its director, Marcelle Coder. It is very regrettable that this research-support laboratory has been subsequently dissolved. Digital photographs of some portions of the codex edited in this volume were supplied by the CBL in 2008 and enhanced by Boone and Belnap through computer-based treatments. Other portions were included in a set of photographs held by

the British Museum, taken at the time of Rolf Ibscher's conservation work in the 1950s, discovered in the archive by one of the museum's archivists, Patricia Usick, and provided for our project with the kind permission of Dr. Ilona Regulski, Curator of Egyptian Written Culture, British Museum. Finally, multi-spectral images of the entire codex were produced by Boone and Belnap in 2012 (we wish to acknowledge the assistance of John Gee of Brigham Young University in preparing the protocols for this work). The editorial team benefitted from being able to cross-check readings between these various sets of images, and compare them to what can be read today from direct autopsy.

The editorial work on the manuscript proceeded as follows. First, the codex was divided into three parts, and each member of the team prepared a preliminary set of readings for his respective part. These readings were circulated among the other members of the team, each of whom added or corrected readings where possible from his own examination of the images and manuscript. At the next stage, after team consultation on codicological matters, all of the provisional drafts were put into the hands of our team leader, Iain Gardner, who began extensive revisions and the imposition of certain protocols across the entire codex. Gardner's work at this stage constituted a significant advance in the overall continuity and sense of the manuscript, resulting in an extensively reworked Coptic text and a complete draft English translation in 2015. His text and translation were then recirculated among the other members of the team for mark-up and comment, assent or dissent on readings, and further suggestions for improvement, particularly review of pertinent Coptic grammar and syntax by Paul Dilley. In 2016 Gardner undertook preparation of the final draft of that part of the edition to be published in the current volume. At this stage, the electronic Concordance of Medinet Madi manuscripts prepared by Wolf-Peter Funk was able to be consulted, and the latter's provisional readings from the codex as found there contributed to the further improvement of the text. We are most grateful to Dr. Funk for making this resource available to us, and acknowledge that we have benefitted from his understanding of certain pas-

sages. It should also be made clear that he has made no direct input into the edition as it is presented, and is in no way responsible for it. Revision of the translation was then put into the hands of Jason BeDuhn, in the process of which a number of additional improvements to the text could be suggested. This translation, likewise, was circulated for review and comment by the other members of the team prior to finalizing the manuscript for publication. Paul Dilley began to prepare the index, and the three tasks of Coptic edition, English translation and indexing continued in tandem.

Authorship of individual readings is not credited as this has been an evolving edition of the text, worked-over repeatedly by Iain Gardner with due reference to the drafts, comments and critiques of Jason BeDuhn and Paul Dilley. Provisional readings have continually been altered and indeed frequently used as a basis for the development of new readings and thus a steadily improved understanding of the overall work. This process continues and the print publication represents a snapshot of the reading of the codex at that particular point in time. Unanimous agreement on text and translation was not always obtained, and although consensus or majority opinion has generally been followed, and the edition carries the collective efforts of the entire team, Iain Gardner has final responsibility for the Coptic text presented here. Jason BeDuhn bears final responsibility for the English translation. Paul Dilley has undertaken final responsibility for the index and associated grammatical identifications to be presented at the conclusion of the editorial process with the publication of the final volume.

An attempt has been made to apply standard protocols consistently across the entire Coptic text, reflecting an ideal form of the set of scribal practices as well as the actual conditions observed in the manuscript. These include matters such as ekthesis of new paragraphs of text, the use of larger font for initial letters, indication of breaks in the text, and placement of superlinear strokes, as well as the dotting of insecure letters and the use of brackets. This imposed uniformity at times obscures a certain variety (deliberate or otherwise) in the scribal practice. For example, the scribe was not always consistent in the placing of

superlinear strokes. Some of the variety in the length and character of such strokes has been omitted in the service of editorial uniformity, and also the limitations of the fonts used for the edition, which in other ways also imposed constraints on rendering the text exactly. Although all efforts have been made to overcome such challenges, we are aware that certain inconsistencies may be unavoidable in the final edition.



This volume presents the third of four volumes into which the full text of the Chester Beatty *Kephalaia* codex has been parcelled for purposes of publication. Due to various exigencies of preparing the complete edition and translation, it has been published first. For a full codicological presentation on the codex, see the forthcoming introduction to Volume I. That volume will contain the poorly preserved remnants of the approximate first half of this codex, much destroyed. It would seem that substantial sections of the manuscript have been entirely lost. The total size of the original codex can be calculated as most probably 31 quaternios, i.e. 496 pages in length. Volume II will contain a coherent set of quires that run from the approximate middle of the codex through the first part of the second half. The present volume contains pages 343–442 of the codex, which correspond to the final numbered chapters of the entire work (starting within *kephalaion* 321 and ending with the conclusion to number 347). A significant section of the original codex appears lost between the pages at the end of Volume II and those at the start of Volume III. Volume IV will contain the account of Mani's last days appended to the numbered chapters, starting on page 442. This is a version of the narrative cycle elsewhere termed *The Discourse on the Crucifixion*, together with some concluding comments to the whole work. That volume will include the indices.

Thus, the present volume contains the final sequence of chapters in the massive set that begins at the start of the first book of Coptic *Kephalaia* belonging to the Medinet Madi find, namely, the Berlin codex. The pagination of the Chester Beatty codex was first advanced by the reading of a quire number at the

end of quire 22 (page 352); and the identification of subsequent quire numbers have confirmed that reading and the codicological sequence that follows to the end of the codex with only some minor questions remaining.

Conservation of the codex began with the part published here, when Hugo Ibscher started his systematic work in 1936 in the midst of what we know now as quire 22 (some leaves of the quire being decayed beyond salvage, and perhaps already removed before purchase by Chester Beatty). He continued through to the start of quire 26, numbering leaves 1–60, and assigned them to quires he designated B, C, D, E, and a single leaf of F. When his son Rolf Ibscher resumed conservation work in the 1950s, he worked on sections into which the book block had been separated, typically from back to front of each section. He completed work on a set of quires he designated 1–x, the latter part of which (VI–x) has proven to be from the end of the codex, contiguous to and following on that part conserved by his father. Quire VI is the thirtieth in the codex, and thus R. Ibscher's quire designations proceed backwards until, with quire x, he reached the point (the start of quire 26) where his father's work had left off. The single leaf designated F by Hugo Ibscher as the beginning of a new quire completes Rolf Ibscher's quire x. The present volume thus represents the great majority of Hugo Ibscher's conservation work, plus quires x, IX, and part of VIII conserved by Rolf Ibscher, where the numbered chapters of the codex conclude.

The chapters edited and translated in this volume present 'our lord the Mannichaios' in the courts of the Sasanian empire during the reign of Shapur I. He debates with named government officials and a series of sages, culminating in his victory over Iodasphe, the wise man from the east. The sections concerning his visit to the King of Touran and his lengthy debates with the philosopher Goundesh have notable parallels with fragmentary texts recovered a century ago from Central Asia. Specific details such as toponyms, titles, and references to ritual practices and festivals are remarkable contributions to the historical record for a period of Iranian history that is otherwise poorly documented. References to, and quota-

tions from, Zarathustra ('Zarades') as well, provide new evidence for studies of the development of the Mazdayasnian religion. Likewise, an extraordinary set of quotations of Jesus, both canonical and non-canonical, offer a boon to biblical studies. These and other elements of the chapters in this volume establish a fresh basis from which to consider the origins of Manichaeism and its character as a religious move-

ment in Sasanian Iran, as well as the hagiographical construction of Mani as an inimitable font of wisdom and emissary of God. Under relatively innocuous titles, the chapters build to a climax in which Mani stands triumphant over all rivals, and anticipates the needs of the church to which he has given birth, in the face of his impending, anticipated departure from life.

*The Chapters of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani:
Pages 343–442 (Chapters 321–347)*

∴

343

1 [. . . .]. [.]
 2 [. . . .]. [.]
 3 [. . . .]. [.]
 4 . . ϑε [.]
 5 . . ἀρεποϋ [.]
 6 νητῆ̄ ἡνετηε [.]
 7 τετῆ̄σῑει δ . . . ε [.]
 8 . ομη ἡπιπ
 9 . . οϋ . ἰνε vac Π [.]
 10 . . παρῥῖπῆτ οἰρ [.]
 11 ἡπαρι [.]
 12 ἡπικοςμος [.]
 13 ἡτ ης [.]
 14 [. . . .]. δ [.]
 15 [. . . .]. . . εχα ῥωαρπ . . . [.]
 16 [. . . .]. [.]
 17 [.]. [.]
 18 [.]. . . . [.]
 19 [.]. . . [.]
 20 [.]. . [.]
 21 [.]. [.]

the rest of the page is lost

Codex 343 (^); quire 22 (= 'B'); Hugo Ibscher 'I'; facsimile 223.

9 Perhaps ἀτοϋεῖνε ('unending'); or otherwise . . οϋαῖνε ('light'). 10 Possibly οἰροϋσακ (Thirusak) as through chapter 322; but very uncertain.

1
2
3
4
5
6 to you (pl.) your (pl.)
7 your (pl.) arrival to
8 . . . of this
9The
10his
11
12 . . . of this world (κόσμος)
13
14
15 be first . . .
16
17
18
19
20
21

the rest of the page is lost

344	1	[.]. [.]
	2	[.]. [.]
	3	[.]. [.]
	4 [.]. [.]
	5	. . . . . τῆν τζλ. [. . . .]
	6	. . . . . τεκο ἡπι . ρ . . .
	7	. . . . . ἀπεινε ἡν
	8	. . . . [. . . .] . . . . . ῥ ε ἡπογωπε . . .
	9	. . . . [. . . .] . . . . . τῆ ἡμερετε vac χε πω
	10	[.] ογωνε τηρε πε ριογαϊνε μη . . .
	11	[.] ετ νεμητη ετβητη . . .
	12	[.] . τ ογανε αβαλ ζ . [. . . .]
	13	. . . [. . . .] α ἡφην . . . [. . . .]
	14	[.] ἡν ετη
	15	[.] . ογωσ vac επε αλε ηρ . . . [. . . .]
	16	[.] ἡν ητα . . . [.]
	17	[.] εσολπι αβαλ ησογωνε . [.]
	18	[.] [.]
	19	[.] [.]
	20	[.] [.]
	21	[.] [.]
	22	[.] [.]
	23	[.] [.]
	24	[.] [.]

the rest of the page is lost

Codex 344 (>); quire 22 (= 'B'); Hugo Ibscher '2'; facsimile 224.

15 One expects and might well read επειΔη, 'since'; but this would seem to require a scribal omission before what follows.

1
2
3
4
5-ness . . .
6destroy
7to the likeness of . . .
8they did not become . . .
9you, my loved ones. For the . . .
10is a whole life (?) and light, and . . .
11with you (pl.) because of him (?) . . .
12is revealed . . .
13the trees . . .
14
15perish.
16
17as it (?) shows and reveals
18
19
20
21
22
23
24

the rest of the page is lost

345

1 [. . . .].N.[.].

2 [. . . κλαδος ἡτβῆνε νε vac Ω. . . [.].

3 [. . . ἀρακ νεῖετῆ ἡπεταπιστεγε δ. . . [.]κλήρο

4 [η]ομη νεμεκ ἡπφνηῶ φαανηζε εἰτηῆτηρρο ετανε

5 ἡατογεῖνε ανηζε vac vac vac

6 TKB

7 ερεπικεφαλαιον ζω ἡμας δε ερε

8 παποστολος εἰκτη(σι)φωη τπολις δα

9 βοκ φαθρογσακ πστ(ρατ)ηλατης ἡπρρο

10 Παλιη αν ασωπε ἡογση ερεπαποστολος [εἰκ]της

11 ἡφωη τπολις δαβωκ φαθρογσακ πστ[ρατηλατης]

12 ἡπρρο δαασπαζε ἡμαδ εαπση δε. . . [. . .]. . .

13ηροογε ἡωαῖε ἡτεῆπερςης. . [. . .]. . .

14 [. . .]. . . ωαῖε ἡτ . ἡχη πογμα ἡογρατ [. . . .]. . .

15 [. . . .]. vac ερεεἰρατλ. [.]. . .

16 [.]. τ εἰἡοπωρα. [.]. . .

17 [.]. [.].

18 [.]. ἡ. . [.].

19 [.]. [.].

20 [.].

21 [.]. εγε. . [.].

22 [.]. [.].

23 [. . .]. . . [.]. ογ. [.].

24 . . . ἀλ[λα. . . .]. [.].

25 [. . . γαρ.]. [.].

26 [. . . τε.]. ε. ἡθρογ

27 [σα]κ δ. . . [.]. παδε. εφωγ ακωλε

28 [.]. [.]. [.]ε. ητηῆτρωμε

29 [. . . ἡογ[.]. [.]. εχοος τηρογ

Codex 345 (>); quire 22 (= 'B'); Hugo Ibscher '3'; facsimile 217.

6 The -ῆ is rather small and uncertain, so that one might consider instead TKB (i.e. chapter 321); but the reading is defensible and it is preferable from the content to understand a single chapter to the start of number 323. 9 Probable correction sign and overwriting to form what is best interpreted as πστ(ρατ)ηλατης; it is impossible to read here ποικοδεσποτης, the term used for

Thirusak later in this chapter. 14 ωαῖε ἡτ . ἡχη: The title or function of this festival is a Greek loan-word, most obviously ἡχη or otherwise e.g. εχη or τηχη. 27 It appears that the left hand fragment has been pulled out of position. 29 εχοος: Second -ο- ex corr.?

1
 2 . . . are branches (κλάδος) of the date-palm. O
 3 . . . to you (sg.): Blessed is the one who will believe
 4 inherit (κληρονομεῖν) with you life forever in the unending living kingdom,
 5 evermore.
 6
 7 322
 8 *This Chapter tells how*
 9 *the Apostle, being in the City (πόλις) of Cte(siphon),*
 10 *went to Thirousak the Commander (στρατηλάτης) of the King.*
 11 Once again (πάλιν), it happened one time: The Apostle, being [in]
 12 the city (πόλις) of Ctesiphon, went to Thirousak the [commander (στρατηλάτης)]
 13 of the king. He greeted him; but (δέ) at the time
 14 . . . the festival days of the Persians
 15 . . . (the) Festival of . . . Their place of celebration . . .
 16 Some commoners
 17 in the fruits (ὄπωρα?)
 18
 19
 20
 21
 22
 23
 24 . . . However (ἀλλά),
 25
 26 Thirousak
 27 to Says (the) . . . on their part: You (sg.) bent (?)
 28 of humanity
 29 they all say

5 For the expression 'living kingdom' (τηνῆτιρρο ετανεῖ), see 1Ke 25:15; 2Ps 156:25. 11 Ctesiphon: winter capital of the Sasanians, on the Tigris River, and largest metropolitan area of the region, frequented by Mani; cf. 1 Ke 183:15, Hom 44:16, 67:14, 76:28; *Acta Archelai* 64:3. 14 Perhaps 'Festival of Fortune': cf. similarly named festivals τὰ τύχαια (CIG 3644), ἡ τύχαια (CIG 4566); in this instance the festival of Sῆandarmaz/Isfandarmādh, known to al-Biruni (*Āthār* 229–230 [Sachau 216]) as Možd-gīrān 'fortune-taking' and to Agathias (*Histories* 2.24) as 'Removal of Evil', which

took place in the last month of the year, at the time of lambing, and had as its central activity the killing of evil creatures (*khrafstra*), including wolves (see De Jong 1997, 341; Boyce 1989, 202). Alternatively, 'Festival of Soul': i.e. Fravardīgān leading into Nowruz, perhaps alluded to in the emphasis on feasting and festive clothing later in the chapter (see Boyce 1989, 212–235). 26 Thirousak: see Gardner 2018, 119–120. 27 bent: Possibly 'sneered at' (αξωλῆ [αϞε]).

1 [.] . . ἡ . . ἡ ποῦφ[ωνῶ]
 2 [.] κελεῖγε . . βε [. . .]
 3 [.] ἀβαλ vac vac τότε παποστολο[ς]
 4 . ἡτ ζητ αψεχε νεμεφ αιρογσακ
 5 χροϛ νε[γ χ]ε εγ πε πनावε εταπογφωνῶ εεφ χε
 6 ατετνο[γω]φρατβεφ τηртне απογε πογε ἡνωτη
 7 χ [. . .] βιτῆ ἡτμητε ἡπῶσῶουνητ
 8 ἡογφτ [vac N]εἡἡογβοἡοϛ εἡἡιρωμε τηρογ
 9 ρμας[τ ριτῆ]εζη ἡἡνεττηκ αρετογ vac
 10 τότε πα[χε]θιρογσακ απαποστολοϛ τσαγνε μεν χε
 11 κσαγ[νε] ἡπनावε ἡπογφωνῶ εἡ ατνογ φινε . .
 12 . [.] . εἡἡπῆζητ εκογφωτεογαφ αραι . . .
 13 . . . [.] . ἡἡαι απῆनावε vac πογφωνῶ κ . . .
 14 . ε ετβητῆ ογρεφῆπετσαγ πε επ
 15 [.] . [.] ἡनावε ανωρε ἡεσαγ ἡρωμε
 16 [.] . [.] . εγ φῆनावε αραν εφωαν [. . . .]
 17 [.] ϛ αφωνκ ἡσωγ ἡογ [.]
 18 [.] . . ῆनावε [.]
 19 [.] [.]
 20 [.] . . vac τότε π[αποστολοϛ] [.]
 21 [.] . . [.] . . [.] [.]
 22 [.] . ρηγ [. . .] ρ[. . .]
 23 . π . [.] ἀρῆβε . . . [. . .] [.] . . . [. . .]
 24 [.] . εἡ ἡ [. . .] [.] εἡ . [αγ]
 25 γελοϛ [.] τε ἡἡ [.] . . [. . . . ἡ]
 26 †ρε . [.] ογτε vac [.] αβ]αλ ἡἡ [. .]
 27 ογα . . . [. . .] . φωλπ [.] ρε]φῆνα[βε]
 28 ετἡμεγ [.] [.] ἡῆνα[ρῆ]
 29 ατκολαϛϛ οϛ [.] ἡἡνα[γ]
 30 γελοϛ ε . . . ε . ρ[. . .] [.] . . . [. . .]

Codex 346 (^); quire 22 (= 'B'); Hugo Ibscher '4'; facsimile 218.

9 . .]εζη: -ε- ex corr. 23 Possibly ἀρῆβεχηγ[ε, "to rewards", in contrast to the negative judgement of l. 29; but very uncertain.

1 the wolf
2 he orders (κελεύειν)
3 Then (τότε) the Apostle
4 He discussed with him. Thirousak
5 spoke to [them (?): What is the sin that the wolf has done that
6 you (pl.) have all wanted to kill it? Each one of you has
7 [seized it (?). . . and] brought it into the midst. It did not find a single (act of) charity.
8 Nor was there a helper (βοηθός) among all these people
9 seated in front [of it] and those standing up.
10 Then [says] Thirousak to the Apostle: I know indeed (μεν) that
11 you do not know the sin of this wolf until now. Ask . . .
12 in your heart you wish to declare it to me.
13 me about its sin. This wolf you
14 about it, it is an evildoer
15 (it) sins against the flocks of sheep. People
16 it commits sin against us if it should
17 it leapt after them for
18 commits sin
19
20 Then (τότε) the [Apostle]
21
22
23
24
25 angels (ἄγγελος)
26 this way from the
27 shows that
28 [sinner (?)] and he [casts him (?)]
29 to punishment (κόλασις) and the
30 angels (ἄγγελος)

347

1 ἩΟΥΩΤ ἩΖΗΤΟΥ vac ΔΛΛ[α.]
 2 Ἡ. ἩΑΒΕ ΟΥΤΕ Ἡ. [.]
 3 Ϛ vac ΔΛΛΑ ΩΔΥΡΕΩΕ. [.]
 4 [.] Ϛε αϚξ̄ . . [. .] ΤΑϚΧΙΟΥ [.] . [.]
 5 [.] . Ϛ [.] Ϛῑε . . [.]
 6 [.] . ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΓΓΙΧΜΠΚΑΖ . . [.] [.]
 7 ΚΤΑϚ ΔΗΡΩΜΕ ἩἩΝΚΕΤΒΝΑΥΕ
 8 ΕΥΕ ΔϚϚ Ϛ vac Ἡ [ΤΗ]
 9 ΡϚ̄ . Ϛ . . ΔΘἩΠΕ Κ [.]
 10 ἩΟΥ . . . ἩἩΝΟΥΤΕ ἩἩΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ
 11 ΡΕϚΡἩΑΒΕ ἩΠΕΤ . Ϛ
 12 ΕΤΕ ἩΠΩ ΔΣἩ . . . ϚΔ . . .
 13 ΖΗΥ . . . vac ΠΑΛΙΝ ΔἩ ΠΑΧΕϚ Δ
 14 [ΘΙΡ]ΟΥΣΑΚ ΑΠΙΟΥΦΩἩΩ ΖΑΤΒΕΟΥἩΡ . . . [.]
 15 [. . .] ΟΥἩΡ ἩΕΣΑΥ ἩΟΥἩΡ ἩΒΑΔΜΠΕ . [.]
 16 . . Ϛ Ε ἩἩΔϚ Ϛ [.]
 17 [. . .] . . [. . .] . . ΤΡΟΥΤ ἩἩΝ [. .]
 18 [. . .] [.] . ΕἩ Ἡ [.]
 19 [.] . ΚΕΟΥ ΟΥΕ [. . .]
 20 [.] [.]
 21 . . Υ [.]
 22 [. . .] [.]
 23 [. . .] [.] [.]
 24 [.] . . . [.] ΟΥ [. . .]
 25 [.] [.] . . . [. . .]
 26 [.] [.] . . . [. . .]
 27 [.] [.] . [.]
 28 [.] [.] ΥἩ . . [. . .]
 29 [.] [.] . Ϛ [.]
 30 [.] [.]

Codex 347 (^); quire 22 (= 'B'); Hugo Ibscher '5'; facsimile 219.

There are several small, detached fragments in the frame that cannot be placed and have not been transcribed.

1 alone among them. However (ἀλλά),

2 sin[ner (?)] nor

3 . . . However (ἀλλά), they rejoice

4 in that he has . . . (the one ?) that received a

5

6 . . . fruits (καρπός) that are upon the earth

7 is turned around to the people and also the animals

8 it [all]

9 of it

10 of the gods and the angels (ἄγγελος)

11 sinner for (?) the one that

12 of the

13 Once again (πάλιν), he says to

14 Thirousak: This wolf killed how many . . .

15 ? How many sheep? How many goats? . . .

16

17

18

19 another one (one ?)

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

28

29

30

7 is turned around: or 'returned to'.

348

1 [. . . .] ἡ ἡ β α α μ π ε μ ἡ ἡ κ ε ε ς α γ
2 [. . . .] μ α γ ο γ ἡ π ε τ α φ ἡ τ ῆ
3 [.] α φ ἡ τ ῆ ἄ ρ α γ χ ε ο γ ρ ω μ ε
4 [.] ξ α λ ξ λ ο γ τ β ἡ ἡ [ἡ] ο γ ω τ ἡ ο γ ρ ο ο [γ ε
5 [ἡ ο γ ω τ .] ξ α λ ξ λ ο γ ἡ ο γ α ἡ ε φ α . [. . . .]
6 . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . . ο γ ἡ [.] . ε φ α ρ α τ β ε μ ἡ τ
7 ο γ ω τ ο γ ἡ ο γ α ἡ ε φ α κ ω ἡ ἡ ο γ
8 [.] ξ [α] τ β ε π ρ ο γ ο
9 . . . [. . .] vac χ ε ο γ ἡ ο γ α ἡ ἡ κ ρ ι
10 ς [ι ε ἡ π ι] ς φ β vac ε φ α φ ς φ τ β ε ο γ ε ς α γ ἡ ο γ ω τ ε α π ι ο γ ω
11 [ἡ ἡ ο] γ α ἡ ἡ ἡ ο γ ρ ο ο γ ε ἡ ἡ ε τ ε α γ μ ο γ τ ε α ρ α γ χ ε
12 [ο γ α μ ε ς] α γ ρ ι ρ ε φ τ ε κ ο α γ τ π ι τ α χ ο τ ἡ ρ ῆ ἡ ἡ . .
13 [.] . . . π ἡ α β ε ς ἡ τ κ α κ ι α ε τ ς
14 [.] . τ ἡ ρ ο γ ε φ ο γ ω μ ἡ ἡ μ α γ φ α γ ῆ
15 [.] τ τ α π ρ ο ἡ ἡ ἡ ρ ω μ ε ε τ ο γ ῆ ἡ α β ε vac . . [. .]
16 [.] ἡ α β ε ε τ φ ῆ ἡ α β ε ἡ ρ ἡ τ ο γ . . λ
17 [.] . . φ ω τ ἡ ἡ ε ς α γ ἡ ἡ ἡ β α α μ [π ε]
18 [.] [. . . .] . [.]
19 [.] [. . . .] . .
20 [.] [. . . .]
21 . . [. . . .]
22 . . [. . . .] . ἡ φ α α λ
23 [.] . . [.] . . . [. . . .]
24 [.] . . [.] . . . [. . . .]
25 [.] . . [.] . . . [.]
26 [.]
27 [.] . . [.] . . . [.]
28 [.] . . [.] . . . [.]
29 [. . . .] . . [. . . .] [.]
30 [. . . .] . . ε τ . [.]
31 [. . . .] [.]

Codex 348 (>); quire 22 (= 'B'); Hugo Ibscher '6'; facsimile 22o.

There are several small, detached fragments in the frame that cannot be placed and have not been transcribed.

1 these goats and also the sheep

2 them. There is one who will ask him

3 will question him about them, that a person

4 slaughter a single animal for a [single] day

5 slaughtered. There is one who might

6 There is (one) who might kill ten

7 alone. There is one who might put their

8 kill the more

9 So, there is a great contrast (κρίσις)

10 [to this] deed. If it should kill a single sheep, this wolf having

11 eaten it for only one day, they call it

12 [sheep-eater (?)] and destroyer. It has been given this total condemnation and

13 the sin . . . of the evil that

14 all of them, as it eats them. They commit

15 the mouth of the people who commit sin

16 sin that it sins among them

17 slaughter (?) the sheep and the goats

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

28

29

30

31

9 contrast: or 'judgement'.

349 1 [. . .] ΤΗΡῚ Ρ̄ΔΙΚΑΪΟΣ [.]
 2 ΤΗΡῚ ΝΑΡΤΚΡΕ ΖΙΕ ΕΙΤΕ [.]
 3 ΕΩ Ν̄ΡΕ vac Χε ΕΙΣΖΗΤΕ Ζ . .
 4 [. . .].ε.[. .].ΟΝΟΣ . . . Ο ΝΔΟΥΖ Μ̄Ν̄ΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΠΚΟ
 5 [.].ΚΑΡ . . . Ν ΝΚΕΡΡΑΪ ΔΝ Μ̄Ν̄[ΜΕΓ]ΙΣΤΑΝΟΣ
 6 Ν[САТРА]ΠΗΣ Μ̄Ν̄ΕΥΤΕΝΗΣ Ν̄ΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗΣ [Μ]Ν̄Ν̄ΕΛΕΥ
 7 ΘΕΡΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν̄ΤΕΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΣΕΝΑΩΩΩ . ΕΝ ΧΩ
 8 ΡΙΣ ΝΙΚΥΝΗΓΙΟΝ Μ̄Ν̄ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ vac ΧΩΡΙΣ ΝΙΚΩΝῚ Ν̄
 9 ΝΙΜΕΣΕ Μ̄Ν̄ΙΣΙΕ ΝΙΕΣΑΥ Μ̄Ν̄ΙΤΒ̄ΝΑΥΕ vac Χε
 10 ΒΑΡΣΟΥ Ν̄ΣΕΠΕΣΤΟΥ ΝΕΥ Ν̄ΤΡΟΦΗ ΖΛΑῚ ΝΟΥ
 11 . . . ΩΩΠΕ ΕΝ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΝΕΪ ΟΥΤΕ ΣΕΝΑΩ
 12 ΧΩΡΑ vac ΤΟΤΕ ΠΑΧΕΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ [ΔΡΑΦ ΧΕ]
 13 ΑΝΑΚ ΖΩΤ ΔΝ †ΣΑΥΝΕ ΔΠΕΪ Χε ΧΩΡΙΣ ΝΙΖΛ . [. . . .]
 14 [.] [.] [.]
 15 [.] [.] [.]
 16 [.] . [.] . ΝΤΑ . [.]

the rest of the page is lost

Codex 349 (>); quire 22 (= 'B'); Hugo Ibscher 'g'; facsimile 225.

7 ΣΕΝΑΩΩΩ . : Possible correction mark through the letter after -ω-; perhaps the verb was ΩΩΠΕ (see l. 11). 15ff. There is some detached papyrus overlaying the remnants of the page in the centre of ll. 15–16, and fibres stretching down to where a better pre-

served section evidences some visible letters at the lower right. Possibly these belong to the final two lines of the page, but it is not certain that any of this is from the same codex leaf and it has consequently been omitted.

1 . . . all of it made righteous (δίκαιος)

2 all of it will be made your way. Then, whether (εἴτε)

3 what way? So, see . . .

4 the generals (δούξ) and the governors (ἡγεμών), the

5 also the other kings and the grandees (μεγιστάνος),

6 the [satraps] and the nobles (εὐγενής), the commanders (στρατηλάτης) and

7 all the free citizens (ἐλεύθερος) of the world (κόσμος): They will not be able to (exist ?)

8 without (χωρίς) these hunts (κυνήγιον) and these battles (πόλεμος), without these slaughters

9 of these bulls and these billy-goats, these sheep and these animals! For (when they ?)

10 hunt them and they cook them for them(selves ?), the food (τροφή) is sweet with [blood (?)],

11 . . . do not exist without (χωρίς) these. Nor (οὔτε) will they (exist ?)

12 country (χώρα). Then says the Apostle [to him:]

13 I myself, also, I know this, that without (χωρίς) these . . .

14

15

16

the rest of the page is lost

1–12 Thirusak is speaking. 11 Nor will they (exist ?): or, 'Nor will they be able to ...', cf. line 7.

1 [.] εἴθε. . . [.]
 2 [.]. ὁἷσᾶμ ἡμᾶρ ἀτρέφ
 3 ῥᾶικ[αῖος]. [.]. τῆ vac Πετρεῖῶν Δε
 4 ἡμᾶρ ἀρᾶικαῖος ἀλλὰ ἡτᾶρ φᾶρξε ἀρε[τῆ] ἡπ[κο]
 5 σμος χ[ε]ρ[ε]. ἡῶρε ἡῶρον ἡπ. [. . .]. [.]
 6 ρε. ἄ. [. . .] ἄν ἡᾶρᾶον εἰφᾶρεῖ vac Πρω[με]. . ετε
 7 ρε οὔ[φ]ια ἡτοῦτῆ vac ερεῖρῶν ἡπῆρο τοῖε ἀτοῦτῆ
 8 πετρεῖν κλεῦσις ἡπῆρο ἀπνοῦτε ἄν
 9 ἡπετῆμεῖ vac πετρεῖν ἡῶρον ῥῶφ ἡ
 10 ἀικαῖος πετρεῖν ἡῶρον ἀφῶσᾶμ ἀρε
 11 ἡτο. . . ἡπῆροῦτε ἄε εφῆταῖε. . ἡ
 12 [.]. . . ἡ ετερεῖν ἀικαῖος ἡᾶρε vac ἄε ἡ. . .
 13 [.] εἴθε τε ζοῦσια ἡπῆροῦτε vac ε. ἀτ. . .
 14 [.]. . . ἀβᾶλ. . . [.]. [.]
 15 [.]. . . ἡἡᾶλ. [.].
 16 [.] ἡῶρῶν π. [.]. . . [.]

the rest of the page is lost

Codex 350 (^); quire 22 (= 'B'); Hugo Ibscher '10'; facsimile 226.

7 οὔ[φ]ια: One might well prefer οὔ[φ]ια ('authority') for sense; but spacing will scarcely allow it unless there was a scribal omission. 15 ff. There is some detached papyrus overlaying the remnants of the page in the centre of ll. 15–16, and fibres stretching

down to where a better preserved section evidences some visible letters at the lower left. Possibly these belong to the final two lines of the page, but it is not certain that any of this is from the same codex leaf and it has consequently been omitted.

The Chapters of the Wisdom

350

1 because of
2 find strength to enable him to
3 become righteous (δικαιος) But (δέ) the one who does not have strength
4 to become righteous, he rather (ἀλλά) will be established in the
5 world (κόσμος), so that he . . . and remains and is a helper (βοηθός) of the
6 the good things (ἀγαθόν) that he will do. Now (δέ), the person [who]
7 possesses [wisdom (?)] : the king's business is given into his hands.
8 the one who meets with the king's command (κέλευσις). God also has
9 that one. For his part, the one who will be a helper (βοηθός) for
10 righteous ones (δικαιος). The one who bears part of something, he has found strength; he has
11 with God, so that he receives part . . .
12 that these righteous ones (δικαιος) will do. For . . .
13 because of the authority (ἐξουσία) of God
14
15
16 Thirousak the

the rest of the page is lost

3 ff. Mani outlines the elect/auditor distinction and relationship within the community, here defined as δικαιος/βοηθός; for similar discussions, see 1 Ke 15.15–19; 1 Ke 191.31–192.3; CMC 35.1 ff.; Tebessa

Codex A col. 47 (Stein 2004, 50–51); an-Nadim, *Fihrist* (Dodge 1970, 788).

357

1 [.] πωαῖε μ̄π̄ογρατ̄ χε ογρ̄β̄[. . .] . εωαν
 2 ογρ̄ατ̄ ἡτ̄ςπαταλια αν ἡν̄τροφαγε μ̄η̄ν ογ
 3 μ̄η̄η̄ρ̄β̄σαγε ετνεσ̄ωογ̄ εωανσπαταλει ἡρητογ̄ μ̄η̄
 4 πιροογε ἡωαῖε vac εωανογρατ̄ ἡμαν ρ̄η̄μφαν̄τασι
 5 ᾱ ετνεσ̄ωγ̄ ἡτε̄η̄ρ̄β̄σοογε ἡων̄ς ετο ἡμ̄ῑνε̄ μ̄ῑνε
 6 μ̄η̄π̄ογ̄β̄ μ̄η̄π̄ρετ̄ μ̄η̄η̄εογῑεν̄ τη̄ρογ̄ ετνεσ̄ωογ̄
 7 ετ̄ρ̄η̄π̄ικ̄οσ̄μοσ̄ εωᾱρε̄ν̄ρ̄ραῖ̄ ἡη̄η̄με̄γ̄ῑς̄τᾱνοσ̄
 8 ρ̄φορε̄ ἡμαγ̄ ἡπ̄οογε̄ ἡσ̄ετ̄σαῖ̄αγ̄ η̄ρητογ̄ vac ἡκε
 9 σματ̄ αν ἡτε̄η̄ογ̄λλε̄ ἡχ̄ογ̄ μ̄η̄π̄ρεωε vac Ν[ετ̄]ω̄β̄ῑαῖ̄τ̄
 10 ανογερ̄ηογ̄ ετο ἡσ̄ματ̄ σ̄ματ̄ εωαγ̄η̄τογ̄ ἡ
 11 π̄οογε̄ ρ̄η̄π̄ωαῖε μ̄η̄π̄ιρογ̄ρε̄ν vac τ̄ο[τε̄ ἡτ̄]ᾱ
 12 ρ̄ε̄παποσ̄τολοσ̄ σεχε ρ̄η̄τ̄η̄η̄τ̄ρ̄ᾱρ̄ω̄ρη̄τ̄[.]
 13 [.] ᾱρακ̄ vac † ετογ̄αν̄ε̄ ᾱβαλ̄[.]
 14 [.] . ἡτ̄ ρ̄η̄η̄ᾱπ̄ικ̄οσ̄μοσ̄ μ̄η̄η̄ . . . [.]
 15 [τ̄ᾱδικαῖο]σ̄γ̄η̄η̄ ετ̄ω̄β̄ῑαῖ̄τ̄ ανογερ̄ηογ̄[.]
 16 [.] . ανογερ̄ηογ̄ ε̄νεσ̄ωογ̄ σε̄ . . . [.]
 17 [.] . ογ ρ̄η̄† [.]
 18 [.] . [.] [.]
 19 [.] ρ̄ε vac Ν
 20 [.] γ̄ ογ . . . [.]
 21 ἡ λ̄ ε̄πεῑᾱη̄ . . . ε̄ταν̄ε̄
 22 ἡεγ̄ vac † η̄ογ̄ ᾱ η̄
 23 [.] ρ̄ γ̄ ἡπ̄ ἡμακ̄
 24 [τ̄]εῖ̄ τε̄[.] . . . ογ̄αν̄ε̄ ε̄η̄ . . . γ̄τ̄ . . . [. . .] . σε†καρ̄
 25 [π̄]οσ̄ ε̄η̄ ἡ [.] [.] . σ̄ωρ̄σ̄
 26 [. . .] . τη̄ρ̄η̄ ω[. . .] . . [. . .] . ε̄ [.] ρ̄η̄π̄ῑμα
 27 [. . .] . μελοσ̄ σ̄ [.] . ἡρη̄τογ̄
 28 [. . .] ᾱβαλ̄ ἡη̄ κο]γ̄ῑ ἡσε̄ [.] . . π̄ε̄ μ̄η̄
 29 . . . ᾱτ̄ π̄εῖ̄ ἡ[.] vac vac vac

Codex 351 (^); quire 22 (= 'B'); Hugo Ibscher '7'; facsimile 221.

6 η̄εογῑεν̄ (-τ̄- added or altered?): Probably for εογε̄η̄, 'merchandise' (pl.); rather than in error for εογε̄η̄, 'colour(s)'. 11 I.e. ρ̄οογ̄ ἡ̄ρε̄η̄, cf. CD298b. 11–12 A line may well have been omitted, as

one expects: "Then when the apostle had (heard these words (from Thirousak), he) spoke ..." (vel sim.).

1 the festival and the enjoyment, for as we
2 enjoy the indulgence (σπατάλια) also of the foods (τροφή) and the
3 and the beautiful clothes, as we indulge (σπαταλάν) in them and
4 this festival day, as we enjoy ourselves by the
5 beautiful parades (φαντασία) of linen clothes of diverse kinds
6 with gold and silver and all the beautiful merchandise (?)
7 that are in this world (κόσμος), as the kings and the grandees (μεγιστάνος)
8 wear them daily and beautify themselves with them; also, even the
9 types of music, the songs and the merriment—the things [that] are different
10 from each other, of various types, as they are brought
11 daily in this festival and this celebration. Then (τότε) when
12 the Apostle (heard these words, he) spoke with forbearance
13 to you. I that is revealed
14 among the things of this world (κόσμος) and the (of)
15 [righteous]ness (δικαιοσύνη) that are different from each other
16 from each other, being beautiful, they
17 in this
18
19
20
21 since . . . that is alive
22 for them. Now,
23 to you.
24 This is not revealed they do not bear
25 fruit (καρπός). entirely prepared
26 in this place
27 . . . limbs (μέλος). among them
28 from the small and
29

6 merchandise (εογενει); or 'colors' (εογενει); see text note.

1 Once again (πάλιν), [I will] inform you about another lesson, O master of the house
 2 (οικοδεσπότης) about killing, they are dead! All these forms that are
 3 displayed—those of these cypress-trees (κυπαρίσσοις), and these flowers that are beautiful,
 4 the berries (δώρα) and the fruits (καρπός) that are suspended from them—are ephemera.
 5 They will not endure forever. If they were to endure,
 6 they are eternal. You would find them beautiful. However (ἀλλά),
 7 they will turn ugly quickly, they will dry out fast and droop
 8 down and fall. This spectacle (θεωρία) that is revealed: It will not endure
 9 to the end; nor will the other (begetters ?) that establish it
 10 endure as externals (?). Because of this, I do [not (?)] honor it
 11 it will not remain, abiding forever.
 12 the nourishment that is prepared; and the foods (τροφή)
 13 and the wine that
 14 for one another
 15 are ephemera. They will not endure forever.
 16 you know, O . . . Thirousak,
 17 it is very beautiful . . . this spectacle (θεωρία)
 18
 19
 20
 21 some
 22 beautiful colors
 23
 24 If they do not . . . nor *pascha*.
 25 Let the wither and the
 26 heavens and they are beautified.
 27 They beautiful colors
 28
 29 if they do not [diminish (?)]

4 ephemera: coinage from the substantivized expression προσου-
 ζατε 'for a time'. 6 eternal: similarly, a coinage from the substan-
 tivized expression ωδανηζε 'forever'.

353

1ϜΑΔΗΖΕ. [. . . .]
 2 . . ΔΕΙΠΝΟΝ ΜΑΓΜΟΥ ΕΜΑΧΩΧΝΕ. . . [. . . .]
 3 . . ΟΥΛΛΕ ΠΡΕΩΕ ΜΗΠΟΥΡΑΤ ἩΤΟΥ. . [. .]
 4 ΠΑΡΑΓΕ ΟΥΤΕ ΜΑΘΡΒΑΛ ΔΗΖΕ vac ϜΩΠΕ [ΟΥΝ] ΕΚΣΑΥ
 5 [Ν]Ε ΣΕΡΒΑΛ ΕΟΥ. κε ετβε†κλΗΡΟΝ[ΟΜΙ]Δ ΕΤΒΕ
 6 ετβε†χωρα Ἡτεπογαῖνε. . . . [. .] Ἡσεκω
 7 Ἡσωου Ἡτεπιθῆμια τηρς Ἡπκεκε. . . . [. .] . ρε ἩἩ
 8 ς. . . . τηρου ετζη. . . Ἡταρουβωκ Ἡσεκλ[ΗΡ]ΟΝΟΜΗ
 9 Ἡ†χωρα Ἡτεπογαῖνε †ατογεινε ΔΗΖ[Ε] vac
 10 ΠΑΛΙΝ ΔΗ †ΧΩ ΜΗΑΣ ΝΕΚ ΘΙΡΟΥΣΑΚ ΠΟΙΚΟΔ[ΕΣΠΟ]ΤΗΣ
 11 ΧΕ ἩΤΑΚ ΖΩΩΚ ΣΕ. [. . . .]
 12 [. . . .] . . . ε†τακ†. ραγαθον. . . [.]
 13 [. . . .] ΔΒΕ. ΤΟΥ ΕΥΑΚΑΣ. . . [.]
 14 [. . . .] †χωρα Ἡτεπογαῖνε ετοῖ Ἡ[ΕΑΥ.]
 15 [. . . .] ΔΣ. κληρονομος. . . [.]
 16 [.] [.]
 17 [.] [.]
 18 [.] [.]
 19 [.] ΝΕΙΕΤῆ Ἡπρωμε ε[.]
 20 [.] ΔΝΔΚ ΖΩΩΤ †.
 21 [.] ΔΓΑΘΟΝ.
 22 [.] vac vac vac
 23 $\overline{\text{TKT}}$
 24 [.] . Χ. [.]
 25 [. Β]ΩΚ ΔΗ Ἡ. Ϝ. [. . . .] . .
 26 [. . . ΠΑΛ]ΑΤΙΟΝ Ἡ[Π]ῆρο vac? vac
 27 [ΠΑΛΙΝ Δ]Η Δ[ΣΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΣ]ΔΠ ΔΠΑΠΟ[ΣΤΟΛ]ΟΥ ΒΩΚ ΔΠΡΟ Ἡ
 28 [Σ]ΑΠΩΡΗΣ Π[ῆρο ἩΤΟ]ΥΡΑΝ Μ. [. . .] . Εἶ ΔΕ ΔΦΩΤΜΕ
 29 [Ἡ]ΠΣΑἶΤ Ἡπα[Π]Οστολο]ς Δφ†πα[ΣΠΑΣΜ]ΟΥ Νῆει ϜΑΡΑϕ

Codex 353 (>); quire 23 (= 'C'); Hugo Ibscher 'u'; facsimile 227.

5 Σερβαλ: Or perhaps χε (ce)ρβαλ? 26 The title may have continued Ἡτογ[ρα]Ἡ, i.e. “([the] king) of Touran”; but very faint.

28 Perhaps ἩἩ[. . .] πει Δε; i.e. “the [king of] Touran and [...]”. And this one, he heard ...”.

1 forever.

2 . . . supper (δεῖπνον), they do not die nor do they perish

3 . . . song, the merriment and the enjoyment of their

4 divert (παράγειν), nor does it ever make free. You should know, [therefore (οὖν)],

5 they make free because of this inheritance (κληρονομία), because of

6 because of this land (χώρα) of light and they leave

7 behind them all desire (ἐπιθυμία) for the darkness

8 all of them that when they go and they inherit (κληρονομεῖν)

9 this land (χώρα) of light, this unending eternity.

10 Once again (πάλιν), I am telling you, Thirusak, master of the house (οἰκοδεσπότης),

11 that you, yourself,

12 that you gave do good (ἀγαθόν).

13 as they will leave it.

14 this land (χώρα) of light that is [glorious (?)]

15 heir (κληρονόμος).

16

17

18

19 blessed is the person (who).

20 I, myself, I.

21 good (ἀγαθόν).

22

23 323

24

25 *went* ...

26 *the Palace of the King [of Touran (?)].*

27 [Once again (πάλιν), it happened one] time: The Apostle went to the gate of

28 Shapur the [king of] Touran Now (δέ) this one (?) had heard

29 [of] the fame of the [Apostle]. He gave [greeting] and he came towards him

28 Shapur the king of Touran: see BeDuhn 2015a, 56–66. For a Parthian account of Mani’s encounter with the king of Touran, see Sundermann 1981, 19–24 and 101. This Shapur is not to be confused with the Sasanian emperor of the same name. He could

be a relative of the emperor, or someone named after him from the regional nobility. Touran was a small kingdom centered at Kuzdar, controlling the Mula Pass between the Indus river valley and Baluchistan.

1 ἡ. [. . . .]. ἀραϑ ἀϑτμετε ἀχ̄. . . [. . .]
 2 ἀϑϑε [ἡῶβ]ϑκ ἀροῦν ῥῆνοῦταῖο vac Παχεπαπο[στο]
 3 λος ἀ[ραϑ] ἀμοῦ ἡῥμεστ ῥατῆῖ ριχῆπ. . . [. . .]
 4 πῆρο [ῥωϑ] ἡτοῦραν ἡπῶρῆ[εσ]τ̄ ἄλλα ἀϑρμεστ̄
 5 ἀχῆο[γμ]α ἐϑπαρῶ ριτῆρῆ vac Παχεπαπο[στολος]
 6 ἀραϑ [ετ]βεεῦ ἡπκρῆμεστ̄ ῥατῆῖ vac Παχεπῆρο ἡτῶ
 7 ραν ἀ[ρα]ϑ πετρεϑε ἀραῖ ἐμ πε ἀταρῆμεστ̄ ῥατῆκ
 8 οὔτε [αν] τῆπ ἐμ ἡρμεστ̄ ἀχῆ(οῦ)μα ἐϑπαρῶ ριτῆρῆ
 9 ἐπει[Δη] ἡτακ πε βοῦ^ΔΔ^Δς ἡμακαριος ἡτακ πε παπο
 10 ϑτο[λος ἡ]πνοῦτε vac εἰς^Δε κηκ ἡρῆτ τῆτα^Δτοῦο ριτ
 11 κ̄[ερῆ. . .]πῆε^Δε εταῖ^Δατμεϑ ῥῆτσοφια ἡβοῦ^ΔΔ^Δς
 12 . . . [. . .]πῆε^Δε ετῆ^Δμεϑ χε. . . ἐϑ. . . οὔτῆ. [. . .]
 13 . ε. [. . . .]. . . ρε ἡμεϑ ἐϑοῦϑϑτεοῦαϑ. . . [. . .]
 14 . . . [. . .]εῖρῆτ ἡρῆρῆτ ἡῖρῆ^Δῶρον vac Π. [. . . .]
 15 [.]. . . ρε ϑῶπε ἡεκ vac Παχεπαποστολο[σ. . .]
 16 [.]. . . πετρεοῦῆτεϑ. . . ἀπα. . . [. . . .]
 17 [.]. πῆοῦτε οῦῆ. κεοῦ. . . [. . . .]
 18 [.]. . . . vac ἡταρεπῆρο. [.]
 19 [.]. . . . ἡ. ε ἡ. [.]
 20 ἐῆ. [.]
 21 . . . [. . . .]. ἡς ἡπ. [.]
 22 ἡ. . . [. . .]. ἡππερο π. ἡπς. [.]
 23 τα. [. . . .]. vac Τοτε παχε. [.]
 24 ἡπῆρο. [. . .]. ε. . . . ερεπῆοῦ[τε.]
 25 τῆταῖε ετ[. . .]. . . . [. . .]. ῶϑε. [. ῆ]
 26 ρο vac Πη. [. . .]. . . . εταϑκελε[γε. . . .]. . . [. . .]
 27 ῥῆπμανκ. . . [. . .]. ἀγςμη. [.]. ἡ. . . .
 28 ἀραϑ ἡταϑη[. . . .]. ἐῆ ἡπ[. . . .]. . . καχιτῆ ἀτ

Codex 354 (^); quire 23 (= 'c'); Hugo Ibscher '12'; facsimile 228.

10 τῆοῦο: Very uncertain. 27 Possibly πμανκελ[εγς]ς, "place of command (?)".

1 to him. He consented to
 2 he went [and he] entered with respect. Says the Apostle
 3 to [him]: Come and sit beside me upon the
 4 The king of Touran, however, did not sit (there); rather (ἀλλά) he sat
 5 upon a place spread before him. Says the apostle
 6 to him: Why did you not sit beside me? Says the king
 7 of Touran to him: It is not fitting for me to sit with you;
 8 nor (οὐτε) [also] am I worthy to sit upon (a) place spread before you
 9 because (ἐπειδή) you are blessed Bouddas. You are the
 10 Apostle of God. If you please, I will proclaim before
 11 you . . . this lesson that I have heard in the wisdom (σοφία) of Bouddas.
 12 that lesson that
 13 there, wishing to utter it
 14 promise votives and gifts (δῶρον).
 15 will happen for you. Says the Apostle
 16 the one who has
 17 God
 18 When the king (heard ?)
 19
 20
 21
 22 his treasure
 23 Then (τότε) says
 24 of the king, if God
 25 his portion that is fitting
 26 king. The that he had ordered (κελεύειν)
 27 in the place of A voice (?).
 28 to him: It is not of the you will receive it at the

2–9 Cf. the Parthian fragment M8286 (Boyce 1975, 36, text e6);
 BeDuhn 2015a, 58–60. 8 worthy to sit: lit. ‘reckoned for sitting’.
 14 votives and gifts: see Rossi 2.4.63; in this context possibly refer-

ring to the Buddhist concept of merit for reciting sacred texts. 27
 voice: apparently a disembodied *bat kol*; but at 355.4–5 below it
 appears to be identified as an angel.

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1 [. . .] vac Παχεπῆρο ἡτῆμῆ ἀϊεῖ ἀβ[α]λ. . . [. . .] παχ[ε]
 2 [πι]ρῆραγ ἀπῆρο καρ. . . πῆσαν. [. . .] πῆμ
 3 ωῖτ ἡπνοῦτε ἡρῆπετερῆεφ ν. . . . τ. εκ πε
 4 τῆατῆουαφ ἀρακ σατῆεφ ἡκῆεφ εῖστε π[ι]αγγελο
 5 ς ἐμμοῦτε οὐβεπῆρο ετε πῆραγ πε ετῆ[μ]εγ vac αq
 6 βωκ.] ἀ ερεπῆδικαῖος ἡρητ[.] εφο. [. . .] ταγ εφ
 7 χ.]. πωρ ἀφοῶνῆ ἀραφ ἡπεινε μῆρωμε
 8 παχεφ ἀπῆδικαῖος ε[τ]ῆμῆεφ ἀνακ οὔωμῶιτ ἡτεπνοῦ
 9 τε ἡταφ πεταφτη. . . . ἡ ἀρακ ἀφχορος ἀρα[φ. . .] . . ἀφβωκ
 10 ω[ρ]αφ ετβεεφ ἀφταμαφ ἀν ετβεπῆρο χ[εφ. . .] . . τῆ
 11 πῆωβ εταφῆεφ vac Παχεπῆδικαῖος ἀπαγγ[ε]λος. . . .
 12 . . [. . .] . . οὔ π. . εῖαῶι ἡεω ἡρε vac ἀπαγγελο[ς.]
 13 ἀφχεστῆ ἀπχιε vac ἀπ. . . [.]
 14 [.] . . πε. ἡρογο ἀνῆβῆοῦε [.]
 15 ἡ. . [. . .] . εὔ ἀπετῆεφ ἡαρρεκ vac Παχεπ[.] α
 16 ραφ [. . .] . . . πῆματ ἀχφφ πετῆεφ. . [.]
 17 . . [.] πετῆεφ ρω. . . ἀπ. ἡτ[.]
 18 [. . .] . . . τ. γαρ. . [.]
 19 [.] λαγε[.]
 20 [.] ε. [.]
 21 [.] τ.
 22 [.] [.] φ vac τῶτε [.]
 23 [. . .] οὔρηπ[.]
 24 [. . .] ετῆρογαῖνε ἡτπε ἡἡπκαρ vac.
 25 [.] φ vac Πρ. [ε]τῆπσαν
 26 τπε ἡ. ἡ. . . πεῖ vac Παχε. ἀραφ vac Πα
 27 [πο]ςτολος.] πε πετῆεφ[φ.] σε χε ἡταφ πετ
 28 εωραφσωλῆ [αβα]λ ἡφοῶνῆ.] ε νεῖ τηροφ vac

Codex 355 (^); quire 23 (= 'C'); Hugo Ibscher '13'; facsimile 229.

2 καξ -: ζ- uncertain, ex corr.? 4 There is a scribal mark at the end of the line, probably occasioned by the final -ς held over to the following line. 9 Perhaps πεταφτημαφ ἀρακ “the one who

has sent us to you”, although the 1st. pers. pl. suffix (‘us’) may be thought unexpected and the traces are not entirely convincing. 15 ἀπετῆεφ: ἀπ- ex corr.?

1 . . . Says the king to this voice: I have come forth Says
2 [this] sound to the king: You will (?) . . . your this servant
3 of God, and he does what he wills that which
4 he will proclaim to you, hear it and do it. Behold, this angel (ἄγγελος ?),
5 calling out to the king—that is, that sound. He (i.e. the angel)
6 went in which this righteous one (δικαίος) is, as he, as it
7 reached. He revealed to him the likeness of the person.
8 Says he to that righteous one (δικαίος): I am a servant of God;
9 he is the one who has sent us (?) to you! (Moreover,) he told him why he had gone
10 to him. He also informed him about the king, so that (he would know ?)
11 the thing that he has done. Says this righteous one (δικαίος) to the angel (ἄγγελος):
12 in what way should I measure? The angel (ἄγγελος)
13 He raised him to the heights. The
14 more than these things
15 to what is greater than you. Says the [to]
16 him the grace upon him, that which is greater
17 that which is greater
18 For (γάρ)
19
20
21
22 Then (τότε)
23 a [higher (?)]
24 which illuminates heaven and earth.
25 The which is above
26 this. Says to him: The
27 Apostle is the one who is greater, for he is the one
28 who shows and reveals all these things.

1 the king: the presumption that it is the King of Touran who speaks with the voice must be weighed against the possibility that the entire narrative on this page is a story featuring a king, which Mani is recounting to the King of Touran, up to 356.5. 2 You will: or 'Allow . . .' 2–3 servant of God: see 8 where the angel identifies itself in this role. 4–5 The voice or sound speaking to the king is identified with an angel. 6–28 Cf. the Parthian fragment M48+ (Sundermann 1981, 21, text 2.2). Due to the ambiguity of the Parthian term *fryštg*, Sundermann took it to

refer to 'Apostle', i.e. Mani, engaging with the righteous one (*'rd'w*) and leading the latter in an ascent (for which there are parallels in other accounts of Mani). In the account here, however, it is not Mani but an angel, for which the Parthian term is likewise *fryštg*, who engages in these actions. The Parthian text should now be understood accordingly, and the interpretation in BeDuhn 2015a, 60–64, corrected. On the possible identity of the 'righteous one', see BeDuhn 2015a, 61–62, and prior scholarship cited there.

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 1 ΤΟΤΕ Δ[. . .] ΠΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΑΤΠΟΛΙΣ N̄ΠΡ[ΡΟ]
 2 ΕΤN̄ΜΕ[Υ] ΔΠΡΡΟ ΖΩΩΦ ΕΤN̄Μ[Ε]Υ ΣΩΤΜΕ ΑΠΣΕΧΕ ΜΠ
 3 ΔΙΚΑ[ΙΟΣ] ΔΦΧΙ ΤΣΟΦΙΑ N̄ΠΠΟΥΤΕ N̄ΤΟΟΤQ̄ vac Τταίε †
 4 ΝΟΥ ΕΤ . . ΤΕΕΣ N̄ΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΑΦΤΣΕΒΑΣ ΑΡΑΦ Χ(...)ΔC ΔΒΑΛ
 5 N̄ΜΔC . . . vac ΤΟΤΕ ΠΑΧΕΠΡΡΟ N̄ΤΟΥΡΑΝ ΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟ
 6 ΛΟΣ vac ΚΔ[. .] ΟΥΝΧ[. .] Ε ΕΠΚΖΩΒ . . ΔCΕ Ν[. . .]
 7 . . Κ . . . [.] . . ΕΙ Ε . . . ΜΕ
 8 ΤΝΕ . . . [Ζ]ΜΕCΤ̄ ΖΙΤ̄ΚΕΖΗ Ζ . . . ΕΦΠΑΡΩ̄ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ
 9 N̄ΤΑΚ Π[Ε] ΒΟ]ΥΔΔΑΣ ΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ N̄ΠΠΟΥΤΕ vac
 10 ΤΟΤΕ ΠΑΠ[ΟCΤΟ]ΛΟΣ ΔΦΤΕΟΥΟΥΝΔC N̄ΖΟΜΙΛΙΑ ΝΕΜΕΦ ΠΑ
 11 Χ[ΕΦ] vac ΕΡΕΠ[Ν]ΟΥΤΕ ΝΑ . . ΤΚ̄ ΖN̄ΠQ̄ΑΓΑΘΟ[Ν] ΧΕ
 12 [.] . . ΤCΟΦΙΑ ΜN̄ΠCΕΧΕ N̄ΠΠΟΥΤΕ vac
 13 Τ[.] . ΕΤN̄ΜΕΥ ΑΦΧΙΠΝΑΖΤΕ [.] .
 14 [. Δ]ΓΑΘΟΝ ΖN̄ΤQ̄ΠΟΛΙC ΤΗΡC̄ vac
 15 TKΔ
 16 [ΕΡΕ] ΠΙΚΕΦΑΛΛΑΙΟΝ ΧΩ N̄ΜΔC
 17 [ΧΕ] N̄ΜΕΛΟC ΠΕ ΠΕI
 18 [. . .]
 19 [. . .]
 20 [ΠΑΛΙΝ ΔΝ . .] Ε . [.]
 21 [.] [. . .] [.]
 22 [.] [. . .] [.]
 23 [.] . Μ [. . .] [.]
 24 [. . .] ΡN̄ [. . .] [.] ΡΩ]
 25 ΜΕ ΕΡΕ . [. .] [. . .] ΠΕ [. . .] . vac ΠΑΧΕ
 26 ΠΡΩΜΕ [. .] . ΠΩΕ . . . [. .] . ΝΑΤ . [.] . Ε . Ρ . .
 27 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΛCΟΥ N̄ΜΕΛΟC . [. . .] Ε ΟΥΝΤΕΥ
 28 ΡΕΦCΑΝΕΦ CН[ΕΥ N̄Μ]ΕΥ vac ΠΕΤΑΖ . [. . .] . . Ε . [. .] Ε
 29 ΤΕΟΥN̄ΤΕΦ ΩΔ[N̄Τ̄ N̄I]ΩΤ̄ N̄ΜΕΥ ΩΔ[N̄Τ̄]Ε N̄ΜΕΕΥ ΩΔN̄[ΤΕ]
 30 N̄ΜΕΕΥ ΩΔN̄Τ̄ [N̄ΡΕ]ΦCΑΝΕΦ . . . [. .] ΠN̄IΩΤ̄ ΠΕ

Codex 356 (>); quire 23 (= 'C'); Hugo Ibscher '14'; facsimile 230.

4 Χ(...)ΔC ΔΒΑΛ: The text appears corrupt, e.g. "(He taught it to him) so that (he might learn) from it the truth". 11 Possibly ΝΑΧΙΤ̄Κ̄, "will receive you"; but the -χ- is difficult. 29–30 ΩΔN̄ΤΕ N̄ΜΕΕΥ appears to have been duplicated in error (fol-

lowing N̄ΜΕΥ?); perhaps ΩΔN̄Τ̄ N̄ΩN̄ΡΕ, "three children", was intended. 30 Or read ΩΔN̄Τ̄ [N̄ΡΕ]ΦCΑ(ΝΕΦ) N̄ΕΦ . . . [. .]; but there is scant room for the following question to be posed without further emendation.

1 Then (τότε) the righteous one (δίκαιος) to the city (πόλις) of that
 2 king. That king, for his part, listened to the lesson of the
 3 righteous one (δίκαιος). He received the wisdom (σοφία) of God from him. Now the portion
 4 that [he had been (?)] given from God, he taught it to him (so that he might learn (?)) from
 5 it (the truth?). Then (τότε) says the king of Touran to the Apostle:
 6 You will your work
 7
 8 sit before you being spread; because (ἐπειδή)
 9 you are Bouddas, the Apostle of God.
 10 Then the Apostle proclaimed a great discourse (ὁμιλία) with him. Says
 11 [he to the king (?)] : God will (receive ?) you in his good (ἀγαθόν), so that
 12 the wisdom (σοφία) and the lesson of God.
 13 [Then the king (?)] that . . . ; he received the faith
 14 good (ἀγαθόν) in his entire city (πόλις).
 15 324
 16 This Chapter tells
 17 [that] Limbs (μέλος) is this
 18
 19
 20 [Once again (πάλιν),]
 21
 22
 23
 24
 25 man (?), as Says
 26 the man
 27 all of them the limbs (μέλος) they have
 28 [two (?)] wet-nurses [there (?)]. The one who will
 29 he who has three fathers there; three mothers; three
 30 mothers; three wet-nurses . . . Our father is

1–2 that king: probably not the King of Touran, but a character in a story Mani is recounting to the King of Touran. 6 You will: or perhaps ‘Allow/Permit (me ?)’. 28 [two] wet-nurses [there]: or

‘wet-nurses [provided for] them’ reading ϸΝ[ΗΥΤ Ν]ϸΥ 29–30 three mothers: probably repeated as a dittographic error.

357 1 τ̄π̄ε vac Τ̄μεεϋ πε π̄καρ̄ vac Π̄ω̄η̄ρε δε̄ πε̄τοϋ̄ραν̄ ἀ̄βαλ
 2 ρ̄ν̄τοϋ̄μη̄τε πε̄ π̄καρ̄πος [. τ̄γ̄] γ̄χη̄ ἡ̄
 3 ἡ̄ρω̄με τη̄ροϋ̄ ε̄τ . . . βο̄ ἡ̄μεϋ̄ ἀ̄βαλ ρ̄ν̄π̄ ε̄ δε̄
 4 μ̄ν̄ῆ̄ρεϋ̄σαν̄εω̄ ἡ̄τᾱγ̄ νε̄ πᾱνη̄ρ̄ π̄τη̄νῡ μ̄ν̄π̄μᾱγ̄
 5 ρ̄ω̄οῡ μ̄ν̄ῆ̄ῑω̄τε . . . νε̄τ̄σαν̄εω̄ ἡ̄π̄ρ̄
 6 ἡ̄ᾱμ̄ ἡ̄ν̄παρ̄ω̄ vac ἡ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄ ἡ̄τ̄ε̄τ̄
 7 σᾱρ̄ξ̄ χ̄ῑ ἀ̄βαλ ρ̄ν̄π̄καρ̄πος̄ μ̄ν̄ ἀ̄στε̄ ἡ̄
 8 ρ̄η̄τοϋ̄ vac ἡ̄σε̄χ̄πᾱϋ̄ νεϋ̄ ρ̄η̄π̄ω̄η̄ρε ἡ̄σε̄[.] ϋ̄
 9 νεϋ̄ δε̄ μᾱρ̄ςνεϋ̄ ἡ̄ω̄η̄ρε ρ̄η̄τοϋ̄ [. τ̄] γ̄χη̄ ε̄
 10 τ̄αν̄ε̄ τε̄τε̄ ω̄αρ̄ε̄μ̄εεϋ̄ ἀ̄νεϋ̄ ἀ̄ν̄ . [. .]
 11 ἡ̄ν̄ετᾱχῑτ̄ε̄λπ̄ις̄ ω̄αρ̄ε̄πᾱποστο̄λοϋ̄ [. . .] χ̄ .
 12 ἡ̄ᾱρ̄ῖ̄ω̄τ̄ νεϋ̄ ω̄αρ̄ε̄π̄ιοϋ̄ᾱῖ̄νε̄ οϋ̄ν̄ . . [.] . ρ̄ᾱξ̄ ἡ̄
 13 [.] . . . πᾱποστο̄λοϋ̄ ἡ̄τεκ̄κλη̄σιᾱ . . [.]
 14 [. . .] . . λε̄ vac Πε̄τ̄ . . ρ̄ . . ἡ̄π̄ρω̄τε [.]
 15 [.] π̄ . ἡ̄ . . . [.]
 16 [.] π̄ [.]
 17 [.] [.]
 18 [.] [. vac]
 19 [Τ̄Κ̄Ε]
 20 [.] [.]
 21 οϋ̄γ̄ [. . .] [.]
 22 ἡ̄ [. . .] ἡ̄ ρ̄ῑτ̄ε̄ρ̄[ἡ̄ .] . ἡ̄τ̄χω̄ρα vac
 23 ἡ̄τοϋ̄ραν̄
 24 [Πᾱλιν̄ ἀ̄ν̄ ἀ̄σω̄] ω̄π̄ε̄ ἡ̄οϋ̄ς̄η̄ϋ̄ ε̄ρε̄π̄ρ̄ῆ̄νοϋ̄ᾱῖ̄νε̄ ρ̄η̄τ̄
 25 [χ̄] ω̄ρᾱ ἡ̄τ̄[οϋ̄ραν̄ . .] ρ̄ῑτ̄ε̄ρ̄η̄ εϋ̄ρ̄ῆ̄τοϋ̄
 26 ρ̄αν̄ πε̄ vac [. . . .] [.] σε̄ξε̄ ξε̄ π̄ῑνομο̄ς̄ ἡ̄
 27 [ἡ̄ᾱ] ἡ̄χ̄μ̄[ἀ̄λω̄] τ̄ο[σ̄ . . .] ἡ̄η̄ς̄ πᾱ[χ̄ε̄] ϋ̄ ἀ̄π̄ρ̄ῆ̄νοϋ̄ᾱῖ̄νε̄
 28 [.] ἡ̄ᾱ . . ἡ̄ . . [. .] [ἀ̄] ἡ̄μ̄ᾱλω̄το̄ς̄ ρ̄η̄τᾱχω̄
 29 [ρ̄ᾱ . . .] . . [.] πᾱχε̄πᾱπ̄[ο̄στ̄] ο̄λο̄ς̄ ἀ̄ρᾱϋ̄ ω̄ω̄

Codex 357 (>); quire 23 (= 'C'); Hugo Ibscher '15'; facsimile 231.

There may be script (κ, as a number?) to the right of l. 1 in the margin; compare the quire number on p. 352, although what this would signify here is unclear. 1 τ̄π̄ε̄ ex τ̄ο̄τε̄ corr. 3 ε̄τ̄ . . . βο̄: One thinks of τ̄οϋ̄βο̄, 'purify'; but the traces are not at all convincing. 4-5 One expects ἡ̄μ̄οϋ̄ν̄|ρ̄ω̄οῡ, "the rainwaters"; but

it is difficult to read. 8 E.g. ἡ̄σε̄[τ̄]ρε̄ν̄ ἀ̄ρᾱϋ̄, "and they name it"; but very uncertain. 9 Perhaps ρ̄η̄τοϋ̄μη̄τε, "in their midst" (see ll. 1-2); but difficult to read. 12 π̄ιοϋ̄ᾱῖ̄νε̄: -γ̄- ex -ᾱῖ̄- corr.? 23 There may be a second writing of the chapter number to the right of title in l. 23 (very faint).

1 the sky. The mother is the earth. The child, however, the one that is revealed
 2 in their midst, is the fruit (καρπός) [the] soul (ψυχή) of
 3 all the people who (are purified?) there from the [The . . .], however,
 4 and the wet-nurses: They are the air (ἀήρ), the wind, and the water . . . [the]
 5 rains and the dews . . . the ones that nourish the hot
 6 and the cold. of the
 7 flesh (σάρξ) receives from the fruit (καρπός) and
 8 through them. And it is born for them in the child, and it is (named?)
 9 for them 'second child' in their [this] living soul (ψυχή),
 10 the one that shall become mother to his
 11 of those who will receive this hope (ἐλπίς). The Apostle
 12 will be father to him. This light many
 13 . . . the Apostle of the church (ἐκκλησία).
 14 The one who of the salvation
 15
 16
 17
 18
 19 [325]
 20
 21
 22 before him . . . the Country (χώρα)
 23 of Touran.
 24 [Once again, it] happened one occasion when the Illuminator was in the
 25 country (χώρα) of [Touran]. before him, who was a man of
 26 Touran. told that this law (νόμος) for
 27 [the] prisoners (αἰχμάλωτος) Says he to the Illuminator:
 28 prisoner (αἰχμάλωτος) in my country (χώρα)
 29 Says the Apostle to him:

1–8 See Faustus apud Augustine, c. Faust. 20.2: 'the earth conceives and brings forth the passible Jesus, who, as hanging from every tree, is the life and salvation of men.' 8–11 Second child: cf. Faustus apud Augustine, c. Faust. 24.1 on the 'second birth' of

the 'inner or heavenly or new man' as the spiritual awakening within a person. 24 Illuminator: lit. 'man of light' or 'light man' (πρῆϊογαίτε) used equivalently to Gk. Φωστήρ.

358

1 πε οὔη εκσαγνε ἡπρητε δε τρε εταγῆτκ αβαλ ρῆ
2 τοῦωη [αογ]μα ἡωῆῆο ἡκ. . . ς ρημαῆωωπε ἡῆμ ε
3 ακσαίλ[ε αρ]αγ ακσαλεκ ἡμασ ακρφορε ἡμασ ρῆτγ
4 ποσ ἡῆμ εκῆρητῆ ακρφορε ἡπῆαῆκ ἡῆπῆμαγ
5 ἡῆπῆ. . . εῆτε ςε ςρημ εῆτε ςασβε vac ἡταρεκαπο
6 δημη δε αβαλ ἡμασ ακβαωκ ἡμασ ακκακ ρρηγ
7 οὔῆμονον ευ. . . οὔη οὔῆογαν εςραγ vac Τρε ρωσ
8 τε τεῆ ἡῆ. . . ετατῆγχη ρφορε ἡμαγ ακκας κρηγ
9 ἡμαγ. [. . .] . . . ςρηε. . . α. . . [. . .] . . . ατσωρα ασογωτῆ
10 ρῆ. . . [. . .] ςωμα εαγογατβες αῆπανες vac
11 [.] ἡρητογ ς. . . ς οὔῆογαν ἡρητογ
12 ε. . . [. . .] . . . ε ἡνογ ςε ε. . . . εῆ ακσαίλε ατχωρα
13 [. . .] . . . ςωμα πε εκωα. . . . πῆ. . . . ἡεογ.
14 [.] νογτε ἡκ. . . . ἡ.
15 [.] . . . ῆγχη ετε ἡ. ε. . . . [.]
16 [.] . . . γ αβαλ ρῆπτ. [. . .] ἡκ. . . . [.]
17 [.] . . . ἡκβαωκ ατχωρα [.]
18 [.] . . . πρωε. . . [.]
19 [.] . . . ε ἡ. . . . [.]
20 [.] . . . α. . . [. . . .] . . . [. . . . vac]
21 [TKC]
22 [ερεπ]φωστηρ.
23 [. . . .] τακωα.
24 πδικαςτης π. α. ic
25 Παλιν αν ερεπῆῆογαινε. [. τπο]
26 λις αςωφκ ωατπολις [. . .] . . . [. . . . παν]χωα ἡτπ[ο]
27 λις vac αςωῆ. . . ε. εογ. . [. . .] . . [. . .] ἡ[. . . ογ]ατο αβ[αλ]
28 ἡπρο ἡπρηε ἡτς[ετε] εςρηεςτ [. . .] . . . ἡρηε. . . [. . .]
29 ρεπ vac δαποστολ[ος] ρασπαζε [ἡμα]ς αςχιπας

Codex 358 (^); quire 23 (= 'c'); Hugo Ibscher '16'; facsimile 232.

3-4 Not τοπος, unless a scribal error. 7 Perhaps read εγδικαῖον; in which case badly corrupted text with οὔη duplicated and the contrast between the one alone who is righteous and the other who is evil. 8 Perhaps one should read ἡςωμα, "of the bodies"; but very difficult to see. 23 Presumably a toponym, cf.

ρομηστακωαρηρ (Hom. 44.10-11, 14). 24 E.g. πῆας ἡτπολις, "the great one of the city"; final -c writ large. 25 The name of the city may have been given here again. 26 ωατπολις: -π- ex -ο- corr.; or otherwise -π- omitted. 28 Or: ἡτς[ετ]ε (ε)ςρηεςτ? 29 Final -c writ large.

1 Now, you should understand in this manner: The way that you were taken away in
 2 the night to a strange place and you . . . at every dwelling-place where
 3 you lodged. You clothed yourself with it; you bore (φορεῖν) it in every form (τύπος)
 4 in which you were. You bore (φορεῖν) its bread and its water
 5 and its . . . , whether indeed it is hot or cold. But when you
 6 departed (ἀποδημεῖν) from it you stripped [yourself] of it; you stripped naked.
 7 There is only (μόνος?) , there is one (?) being bad. This, indeed,
 8 is the way of the (bodies [σῶμα]?) that the soul (ψυχή) bore (φορεῖν). It stripped itself naked
 9 of them to its country (χώρα). It changed
 10 in bodies (σῶμα), as it (i.e. the soul) was changed. It was altered.
 11 in them There is one among them
 12 So, now, you lodged in this country (χώρα)
 13 is [the] body (σῶμα), if you
 14 God, and you
 15 soul (ψυχή) that
 16 out from the . . . , and you
 17 and you go to the land (χώρα)
 18 the person
 19
 20

[326]

[When the] Illuminator (φωστήρ) [went to the City of]
 [Hormēs]taksha[har](?), (he spoke with ?)
 the Judge (δικαστής), the (Great One of the ?) City

25 Once again (πάλιν), when the Illuminator [the]
 26 city (πόλις). He went towards the city (πόλις) [the] leader of the
 27 city (πόλις). He found multitude outside
 28 the gate of the [fire-]temple, while he sat giving judgement (in the place of?)
 29 judgement. The Apostle greeted (ἀσπάζεσθαι) [him] and he also received the

1ff. The conditions of being conducted as a prisoner from place to place are compared to the experience of the soul passing from body to body. 10 as it was changed. It was altered: or ‘as they (i.e. bodies) changed it (i.e. the soul). They altered it.’ 21 Hormēstakšahar, a city of Khūzistan province in southern Mesopotamia according to Hom. 44.10–14; its identification with Hormizd-Ardašir (modern Ahwāz) appears conclusive from the parallels in the accounts of Mani’s last days between Hom

44, 2Ke 445 (which has the same alternative spelling with -r- as here), and M4579 (Sundermann 1981, 69–70, text 4a.12). The Coptic orthography, however, suggests instead ‘City of Hormizdak’ (the name, e.g., of several members of the Sasanian royal family in the Naqsh-e Rostam inscription of Shapur: Huyse 1999, §38). The restoration here is likely, but not certain, another possibility being, e.g., Artakšata, i.e. Artaxata in Armenia. 28 fire temple: an ātaškada.

359

1 ΠΑCΜΟC ρΩΩϞ ἡΤΟΟΤῒ vac ρΡ κ . . . ζ
 2 ΜΑCΤ ἡΠἡΜΑ ΟΥΒΕΠΡΟ ἡΠῚΠῚ . . [. . . .] ΠΑΧΕ
 3 ἈΔΟΥΡΒΑΤ ΑΡΑϞ ΠΔΙΚΑCΤἩC Τ . ΕΚ [. . . .]
 4 ἡΕ ΑΡΟΥΝ ΑΤCΕΤΕ ἡΤΑ†ΖΕΠ ῒἢΟΥῒΕΠ ΕΤCΜΑΑΝΤ
 5 ΑΥΩ ΩΑἨΤΩΩΝ ἡΡΑΖ ἡCΑΠ ἡΤἡ . . . κ . . . ἢΩῒ
 6 ΑΥΩ ΑἨ ΤΑΡἨ†ΠΡΕΠ ΕΤCΜΑΑΝΤ vac ΕΠΕΙΔἨ [†]CΕΤΕ ΟΥ
 7 ΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΤΕ CΤΜΑἨἨΤ ΤἡἨΠ ἡΤἡἡῒ Ζ . Χῒ . . .
 8 CΩΟΥ ΕἡἨΧΩΡἡΕ ἡΖἡΤΟΥ ΩΑἨΚΕΛΕῒῒ [ΑΤΟΟΤ]ΟΥ
 9 ΧΕ ΕΟΥΑΚΑΤῒΤCΕΤΕ ΚΑΤΑΤἡἡῒ ἡCΕ . [. . . .]Cῒ
 10 ΤΕ ΩΑΝΚΑΤἡΚἡΔΑΟC ρΩἡ Ἀἡ ΜἡἡἨ[ἡἡΩ]
 11 ἡΤΟΟΤἡ ἡἡἡΜΟΥΤῒ ἈΧΩΟΥ ἡἡἡ†CᾶΜ [.]
 12 ἡἡCῒ ΕἡἡἡΜΟΥἡΕΟΥῒ vac ΠΑΧΕΑΔ[ΟΥΡΒΑΤ . .]
 13 [. . . .]Cῒ Ε ΑΚΑ . [.]
 14 [. . . .] Τ ΑἡἡἡΜΟC ΩΑἡΤ vac † . [.]
 15 [.] . ΩἡἡἡΩCῒ vac Ἀἡἡἡ ρΩἡ ἡ [.]
 16 [.] [.]
 17 [.] [.]
 18 . . . [. . . .] ἈC [. . . .] . . . [. .] Ἀ [. .]
 19 ΤΑCΠ . [. . . .] . [. .] . [. .] ἡ . [. .] . [. .]
 20 [.] ἡΟΥ . [. . . .] . [. .] . [. .] Εῒ . [. .]
 21 [. .] . . [. . . .] . . [.] . . [.]
 22 [.] ἡῒ . [. . . .] . [. . . .] Ε [. .] . [.]
 23 [.] . . C . [.] . Κ . ΒΩ . [. . . .] Εῒ .
 24 [.] . ΟΥ . [. . . . Ρ] ΩἡΕ CἡΕΥ vac . [. .] ΕΥΔΙΚΑΙ
 25 [Ο]C Πῒ [.] . [.] ΟἡΤ †ἡΟΥ
 26 [Δ] ῒ ΚΕΛΕῒ [ε . .] . [.] ῒ Ζ ῒ ΚΑ
 27 Κῒ ἡCῒ Ρ † . . [. .] . †ἈἡΕΥ ΑΡΑC Εἡ
 28 [ε] ῒ [ΑΟ] ῒ ἡἡ ἡ [Μ] ἈC [. .] ἡΕ . ΧἡΤΟΥ . [. .] ἡΟΥΩΤ vac CἡΝΟΥ

Codex 359 (^); quire 23 (= 'C'); Hugo Ibscher '17'; facsimile 233.

7 ζ . . . Presumably ρΩἡ, "ourselves". 27 ἡCῒ :- ἡ- ex corr.?

1 greeting (ἀσπασμός) from him.
 2 sitting at this place alongside the gate of the temple Says
 3 Adourbat the Judge (δικαστής) to him: . . .
 4 in to the fire and I give judgement with a sound judgement;
 5 and I rise many times from
 6 And moreover, I cause the sound judgment to be given. Because (ἐπειδή) [this] is a
 7 righteous (δίκαιος) fire (and) it is justified! We ourselves (?) are counted to the truth, in that . . .
 8 after them, as there is no defilement in them. I order them
 9 that, if the fire can be gathered according to (κατά) the truth, and they
 10 fire. We ourselves also gather the sticks (κλάδος) and the [flowers (?)]
 11 from us, and we speak over them and we give power
 12 the fires and the waters. Says Adourbat . . .
 13
 14 to the three laws (νόμος)..
 15 three hundred and sixty. We ourselves
 16
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21
 22
 23
 24 two people. (One ?) is righteous (δίκαιος)
 25 (and the other ?) [So (δέ)], now,
 26 order (κελεύειν)
 27 evil (κακός), and he I will not see it,
 28 [when they will] eat it . . . receive their (?) single . . . For (γάρ) it will set

3 Adourbat, i.e. the Iranian name Ādūrbād; but see the alternative form Ardounabat introduced at 360.29. 6–12 Reference is made here to several Mazdayasnian practices: a consecrated (*yaštāg*, here rendered as ‘righteous’) fire, ‘gathered’ from various source fires (*ātaš buzurg kardan*; see *Vendidad* 8; Kotwal and Boyd 1982, 140–143); and the ritual nourishment of fire and water (*ātaš-zōhr*

and *āb-zōhr*; see Boyce 1966). The latter rituals are referenced by name in the Middle Iranian Manichaean text M95 (Andreas and Henning 1932, 317–318). Reference is probably also made to a judicial ordeal or oath involving the fire. For the role of the ‘sticks’, see note to 360.27. 14 three laws: perhaps a title of a scripture; cf. 363.3.

ἡ κεφαλαιον ἡ τσοφια

360

1 ρε γαρ μῆπετῶραϊτ μῆπετταχαϊτ vac λοιπον
 2[.].ετκχιεωω αραϭ ἡτοοτς χε εκα
 3 †ρεπ [ρῆουρε]π εφοϯτααντ vac εωαντεοϯρωμε αν
 4 ἡρῆ ϣ†νοϯϭε εγνατῆ ἡκααοϯε αϭφοϯ
 5 ἡῆμ τβεκ νε ἡντβναϯε ἡπαρτοϯ α
 6 ϭϩϯ. . . [.] τηροϯ ἡαϭϭνοϯ σαπαρϭ οϯαν εν α
 7 οϯαν vac ἡ[.] . . . πε πσαγτῆ ετκνεϯ αραϭ ἡτακ ρῆ†ϣε
 8 τε . . . [. . .] . παδικαϣτης ετα†ρεπ αρωμε ϣνεϯ
 9 . . . [.] πετῶραϊτ αβαλ ἡπετταχαϊτ ϣεναμοϯ
 10 τε [.] ρ††ρεπ ἡανομοϯ vac ετβεπετακτεοϯ
 11 [αϭ] . ρῆ†ϣετε ἡρῆϯε εϯοϯαβε εϯτοϯβαϊτ
 12 [.] οϯτροφη εν εϣωβιαϊτ
 13 [.] . εκτμο ἡμαϯ ρῆῆϯελ εϣοϯατε . . [.]
 14 [.] . ερῶ ἡτρε ἡοϯρωμε εϯ . . . [.]
 15 [.] ἡμαϯ vac Παλιν αν τετηϭω ἡ[μαϯ χε . . .]
 16 [.] . ρβ . . αλ ἡ [.]
 17 [.] [.] [.]
 18 [.] [.]
 19 [. . .] . . [. . .] . . [. . .] . . [.] . [.]
 20 [. . .] . . [. . .] . . [. . .] . [. . .] . . [.] . . ϯ . [.]
 21 [. . .] [. . .] . . [. . .] . . . [.] . . [. .]
 22 [.] [.] [.] . . λ [. .]
 23 [.] . [. . .] [.] [.] . τῆ . [.]
 24 δε . . [. .] [.] . . ϩ . [.]
 25 νεῖ νε [ἡμϯ]ϣτηριον [.] . . [.]
 26 ρερμηνεϯε ἡμαϯ . [.] . [.] [. .]
 27 ϭ . [.] . [. . .] ἡκλαδοϯ [ετε]
 28 οϯντεϯ ρερμη[ην]ια ἡμεϯ [ἡμ]ϣτηριον [οϯ]
 29 ἡτεϯ βωλ ἡῆ[ε]ϯ vac vac τ[ο]τε ἡ[ταρ]εαρδοϯῆ[αβατ]

Codex 360 (>); quire 23 (= 'C'); Hugo Ibscher '18'; facsimile 234.

13 ῆϯελ: 'myrrh', here as a pl. and presumably burnt in the holy fire; although the reading is uncertain (-λ ex corr.?) ωαλ, 'bundle', would be more difficult.

1 apart with the victorious one and the condemned one. As for the rest (λοιπόν),
 2 (the fire ?) from which you learn about him, so that you will
 3 give judgement [with an] upright [judgement]. Also, if a person
 4 good, pleasant scents; and he places them upon them
 5 and he are for the animals; and he pours (?) them
 6 over it (i.e. the fire) all of them, and it destroys them. It will not separate one from
 7 another the uprightness that you yourself see in this fire
 8 the judge (δικαστής) who will give judgement on two people
 9 the victorious one from the condemned one. They will call out
 10 (to him that ?) he gave unlawful (ἄνομος) judgement. About the one that you recounted
 11 in the fire of holy, purified wood (pl.)
 12 (it is ?) not food (τροφή), being changed
 13 as you feed it with the myrrh (pl.), it being separated (?). . .
 14 like a person who is
 15 him. Once again (πάλιν), you (pl.) speak . . .
 16
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21
 22
 23
 24
 25 These are [the] mysteries (μυστήριον) . . . (I am the one who can)
 26 interpret (ἐρμηνεύειν) them
 27 sticks (κλάδος), [for which]
 28 there is (an) interpretation (ἐρμηνεία) . . . [the] mysteries (μυστήριον),
 29 they have explanation. Then (τότε), when Ardounabat

13 Feeding a consecrated fire with incense is part of its daily maintenance, the *bōy dādan* (Boyce 1977, 74). 27 sticks (κλάδος): the

pieces of sweet-smelling wood, stripped of bark, fed to a consecrated fire to maintain it (Boyce 1977, 75; Modi 1922, 218–226).

361

1 ΠΔΙΚΑΣΤΗΣ ΣΩΤΜΕ ΔΝΙΣΕΧΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΑΧΕΦ ΑΠΑΠΟ
 2 ΣΤΟΛΟΣ vac ΕΙΣΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΦΣΗΖ ΑΠΝΟΜΟΣ †[CΑ]ΥΝΕ ἸΜΑΥ ΔΝ
 3 †ΝΟΥ ΣΕ ΔΧΙΣ ΔΡΑΪ ΝΤΑΚ ΧΕ †ΣΕΤΕ ἸΔΙΚΑΙ[ΟC ΟΥΕ]Υ ΤΕ vac Η
 4 ΝΙΑΝΗΦ ΜἸΝΙΚΛΑΔΟC ΣἸΕΥ ΝΕ vac vac
 5 ΤΟΤΕ ΠΑΧΕΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟC ΑΡΑΦ ΕΙCΧΕ ΚΟΥΦΩΦΕ ΔCΩΤΜΕ
 6 ΑΤΟΥΣΕΡΜΗΝΙΑ ΤΑΤΑΜΑΚ ΧΕ ΤCΕΤΕ ἸΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΟΥΕΥ ΤΕ
 7 ΑΦΩCΤΗΡ ΒΙΤῆCΙΧ ΔΡΗἸ ΟΥΒΕΠΡΗ ΠΑΧΕΦ ἸΑΡΔΟΥ
 8 ΝΑΒΑΤ vac ΠΡΗ ΜἸΠΟΟZ ΠΕ ΤCΕΤΕ ΕΤΓΜΑΪΤ ἸΔΙΚΑΙΟC
 9 ΤCΕΤΕ ΕΤΤΟΥΒΑΪΤ ἸΤΑΥ ΝΕ ΠΝΑC ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC ἸCΕΟΥΦΩΪ
 10 ἸΡἸἸΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤCΟΥΤΑΔΑΝἸ ἸΔΙΚΑΣΤΗΣ ΕΤ. [.].
 11 [.] ΝΕΥ ΔΡΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΝΟΥCΤΟΛΑΥΕ ΔΝ [.]
 12 [.] Χ. [.]
 13 [.] ΤΟΥΒΟ ἸΤCΑΜ ΕΤΖἸΠΜΑΥ. [.]
 14 . [.] ΔΡΗἸ ΑΠῆΠΕ ἸΤΝΑC ἸCΕΤΕ. [.]
 15 [.] . ΠΟΥΒΩΛ ΠΕ ΠΕΪ vac ΠΩΔΑΜἸ. [.]
 16 [.] . ἸΤΑΥ ΝΕ ΠΡΗ ΜἸΠΟΟZ . [.]
 17 [.] . ΟΥ. ΝΤῆ. [.]
 18 [.] Ε. Π. [.]
 19 [.] [.] [.]
 20 [.] [.] [.]
 21 Ν. [.] [.] . ΤΕ. CΑΜ.
 22 [.] . [.] [.]
 23 [.] [.] ΜΟΥΤΕ ΑΡΑΥ ΧΕ ΤCΑΜ ἸΠ
 24 [Ν]ΟΥΤΕ Π[ΜἸ]ΤCΝΑΥC ἸΚΛΑΔΟC ΝΕ ΠἸΝἸΤC. ἸΕΒΑΤ ἸΤΡΑΜἸ[Ε]
 25 [Ν]Κ[Λ]ΑΔΟC ἸΤΑΥ ΝΕ ΠἸΑΒ ἸCΟΥ ἸΠΕΒΑΤ vac ΠΚΕΩἸ
 26 [ΤΩΕ]CΕ ΝΚ[ΛΑ]ΔΟC vac ἸΤΑΥ ΝΕ ΠΩἸΤΩΕCΕ ἸCΟΥΕ ἸΤΡΑΜἸ
 27 [.] Ε. ΑΠΡΩΜΕ ἸΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΧΕ ΚΑΤΑCΟΥ
 28 CΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΕΒΑΤ ΕΒΑΤ ΚΑΤΑΡΑΜΠΕ ΡΑΜΠΕ ΕΦΑΜΟΥΝ
 29 [Δ]ΒΑΛ ΕΦΕΙΡΕ ἸΝΕΝΤΟΛΑΥΕ ἸΠΝΟΥΤΕ vac vac

Codex 361 (>); quire 23 (= 'c'); Hugo Ibscher '19'; facsimile 235.

15 Perhaps the “three laws”, cf. 359, 14. 24 ΠἸἸΤC. : Understand πἸἸΤCΝΑΥC (in error or abbreviated?). 24–25 Read ⟨πκεαβ⟩ may have emended -εβ- to read -οz ‘moon’, and struck out the remainder of the word. | [Ἰ]κ[λ]αδοc (“(The other thirty) ...”). 25 πεβατ: The scribe

1 the Judge (δικαστής) heard all these words, he says to the
 2 Apostle: Behold, everything that is written in the law (νόμος)—I also know them.
 3 So, now, you tell me: What is this righteous (δίκαιος) fire? Or (ἤ)
 4 these flowers and these sticks (κλάδος): what are they?
 5 Then (τότε) says the Apostle to him: Behold, you wish to hear
 6 their interpretation (ἐρμηνεία): I can inform you what the righteous (δίκαιος) fire is!
 7 The Illuminator (φωστήρ) raised his hand up toward the sun. Says he to Ardou-
 8 nabat: The sun and the moon are the righteous (δίκαιος) fire that is justified,
 9 the fire that is purified. They are the great righteous one (δίκαιος), and they revere
 10 the people of God who are upright, the judges (δικαστής) who
 11 see everything. Their robes (στολή), moreover
 12
 13 purify the power that is in the water
 14 up to the temple of the great fire
 15 their explanation is this. The three (laws ?) . . .
 16 they are the sun and the moon
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21 power
 22
 23 call them ‘the power of
 24 God’. The twelve sticks (κλάδος) are the (twelve) months of the year.
 25 The (other thirty) sticks (κλάδος) are the thirty days of the month. The other three
 26 hundred and sixty sticks (κλάδος): They are the three hundred and sixty days of the year.
 27 to the righteous (δίκαιος) person, so that day by
 28 day, month by month, year by year, he will continue
 29 doing the commandments (ἐντολή) of God.

2 the law: i.e. of Zarades (Zoroaster); see Dilley 2015b. 14 great fire: an *Ātaš Bahrām*. 24–26 The number of different sets of sticks is compared to the (old, so-called *pēšdādi*) Zoroastrian calendar consisting of twelve months of thirty days, totalling 360 days in the year. While the rite of ‘exalting the fire’ (*ātaš buzurg kardan*)

appears to be involved here, we have been unable to identify a version with this particular combination of numbers; a fancifully idealized tradition recommends collecting 1,001 such fires (*Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, Williams 1990, vol. 2, 38).

362 1 ΠΑΛΙΝ ΔΗ ΕΥΗΤΕΥ ΚΕ[Σ]ΕΡΜΗΝΙΑ ΜΜΕΥ vac ΠΝΑΘ ἡ ΔΙΚΑΙ
 2 ΟΣ ΠΕ ΖΑΡ[ΑΔΗΣ Π]ΕΤΓΡΟΓΑΙΝΕ ΠΕΤΑΦΕΙ ΑΒΑΛ ΖἡΤΧΩΡΑ
 3 ἡ ΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ ἡ ΦΟΥΑΝΖΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΑΒΑΛ ΖἡΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ
 4 ΝΕΦΟΥΗΝΒ ἡ ΜΜΕΥΖΥΠΗΡΕΤΗΣ ἡ ΤΑΥ ΝΕ ΜΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ
 5 ΕΤΑΧΙΠΝΟΜΟΣ ἡ ΤΡΟΤῆ ΑΥΡΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΖΩΩΥ ΔΗ ἡ Τ
 6 ΖΕ vac ΤΣΕΤΕ ΔΕ ΕΤΟΥΚΩΤῆ ΜΜΑΣ ΚΑΤΑΝΙ ἡ ὩΩΠΕ
 7 ΤΣΑΜ ἡ ΝΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΜἡἡΤΘΕ ΕΤΕ ΤΣΕΤΕ ΤΕ ΕΤΑΝῆ ΤΕΤΟΥ
 8 ΚΩΤῆ ΜΜΑΣ ΚΑΤΑΝΙ ἡ vac ἡ ΚΛΑΔΟΣ ΔΗ ΜἡἡΔΗἡ
 9 ἡ ΤΑΥ ΝΕ ΝΕἡΤΟΛΑΥΕ ΕΤΑἡΡΩΜΕ ἡ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΧΙΤΟΥ ἡ
 10 [. . . . Π]ΩΜἡΤ ἡ ΚΛΑΔΟΣ ΝΕ ΝΕἡ ΧΕ ΕΡΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑ
 11 [ΤΩΒΕ ἡ Τ]ῆΤΑΠΡΟ ΧΕ ΝΕΦΧΙΣΑΛ ΝΕΦΣΙΧ ΧΕ ΝΕΦ .
 12 [. Ζ]ΕΤΒΕ vac ΚΟΥΟΥἡΤῆ ΧΕ ΝΕΦΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ Ζ[. . . .]
 13 [.] ΠΚΕΤΟΥ ἡ Ε ΠΕἡ ΠΕ Π[ΝΟΥΣ ΕΤ]
 14 [. vac ΠΜΕΥ]Ε ΕΤΤΟΥΒΑἡΤ vac ΤΣΩΦ ΕΤΡΩΕΥ vac ΠΣ[ΑΧΝΕ]
 15 [ἡ ΜἡΠΜΑΚΜΕ]Κ ΕΤΣΟΥΤΑΝΤ vac ΠΚΕΣΑΩῆ ΔΗἡΩ [.]
 16 [.] ΧΕ ΝΕΦΧΩΡΜΕ ἡ ΖΗΤΟΥ vac Ζἡ [.]
 17 [.] Σ ΝΕΥ ΧΕ ΝΕ . ΧΙΚΑΚΟΝ . [.]
 18 [.] ΜΕΣ Υ ΧΕ [.]
 19 [.] [.] Δ [.]
 20 ΝΑΤΟΥ [.] ΧΙΚΑΚΟΝ ἡ [.]
 21 ΜἡἡΤΣΕΤΕ [.] ῆ ἡ Τ Ρῆ ἡ Χ [.]
 22 ἡ ΤΗΒΕ ΕΦΑΘῆΙΔΥ Ε ἡ [.]
 23 ΚΕΜΑ [ΠΜΑΒ] ἡ ΖΟΥΟΥ [Ε ἡ Π] ΕΒΑΤ
 24 ΝΕΤΕΡΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΣΩΛ [Π ἡ Μ] ΜΑΥ ΑΒΑΛ ΕΦ [.] ΕΥΕ ἡ
 25 ΖΗΤΟΥ ΕΦΕΙΡΕ ἡ ΠΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΜΠΝΟΜΟΣ [. Π] ΩΜἡΤΩΕ
 26 ΣΕ ΔΗ ΝΕἡ ΝΕ vac ἡ ΤΑΥ ΝΕ ΠΩΜἡΤΩΕΣΕ ἡ Μ ΜΠ[ΙΡΩ]
 27 ΜΕ ΝΕΤΦΑΡ Εἡ ΤΟΛΑΟΥΕ ΕΤΟΥ [ΑΒ] Ε Ζἡ Μ [ΠΩΜ]
 28 ΤΩΕΣΕ ἡ ΖΟΥΟΥΕ ἡ ΤΡΑΜΠΕ vac Ε ΤΣΕΤΕ ΔΗ ΕΤΑΖΑ
 29 ΡΑΔΗΣ ΚΑΤῆΣ ΑΒΑΛ ἡ ΠΣΑΩῆ ΤΕ ΤΣΑΜ

Codex 362 (^); quire 23 (= 'C'); Hugo Ibscher '20'; facsimile 236.

3 ἡ ΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ: ἡ Π- ex corr? 6-7 The lack of continuity from one line to the next suggests an omission such as "... comes about; | <(it is) the power ...". 17 Perhaps ΧΙἡ[ΣΑΝΣ; but very uncertain. 21 Possibly τσετε [ετο]γκωτῆ, "the fire that they gather", cf. l. 6;

but difficult to read. 24 Perhaps εφ[ρἡηστ]εγε, "as he [fasts] (in them)". 29 One could consider e.g. ἡ κλιμα, "(seven) regions"; but very difficult to read.

1 Once again (πάλιν), they have another interpretation (ἐρμηνεία): The great righteous
 2 one (δίκαιος) is Zarades, the enlightener, the one who came from this land (χώρα)
 3 of light and revealed the law (νόμος) in the world (κόσμος):
 4 His priests and his assistants (ὑπηρέτης), they are the disciples (μαθητής)
 5 who received the law (νόμος) from him. They themselves also became righteous (δίκαιος) this
 6 way. And (δέ) the fire (that) that comes about, which they gather from (κατά) house to house:
 7 (it is) the power of fruits (καρπός) and vegetables, which is the living fire, the one that they
 8 gather from (κατά) house to house. The sticks (κλάδος) and flowers, moreover,
 9 they are the commandments (ἐντολή) that the righteous (δίκαιος) people received from
 10 [The] three sticks (κλάδος) are these: The person will
 11 [seal] his mouth that he shall not lie; his hands that he shall not
 12 (commit) slaughter; his genitals, that he shall not fornicate (πορνεύειν) . . .
 13 Also the five . . . : This is the [mind (νοῦς) that is]
 14, [the thought] that is purified, the insight that is useful, the [intellect]
 15 [and the reasoning] that is upright. Also the seven flowers: . . .
 16 that he shall not urge (?) through them.
 17 them that they (?) shall not receive evil (κακόν)
 18 them so that
 19
 20 receive evil (κακός)
 21 and the fire (that they gather ?) from the entire (?).
 22 fingers . . . when he will subdue them
 23 [the thirty] days [of the] month,
 24 the ones that the person will make apparent, as he [fasts (νηστεύειν ?)]
 25 in them, when he does the good things (ἀγαθόν) of the law (νόμος) . . . [The] three hundred
 26 and sixty, moreover, are these: They are the three hundred and sixty . . . of [this (?]
 27 person], the ones that he shall perform holy commandments (ἐντολή) in the three
 28 hundred and sixty days of the year. (Behold ?), the fire, moreover, that Zarades
 29 gathered from the seven regions (κλίμα ?), is this holy power,

2 Zarades: alternative name of Zoroaster/Zarathustra found in various sources; see Dilley 2015b, 108–110. 4 priests and assistants: zōt and rāspī ranks of Mazdayasnian priesthood. 6–8 The collection and purification of fires in Mazdayasnian ritual is interpreted in terms of collecting food for the ritual meal of the elect, which purifies the divine light in fruits and vegetables. 10–12 Three pieces of wood for the fire are interpreted as the Three Seals, the rules of conduct for the Manichaean elect; cf. 2 Ps 115:31–33; 116:16–

18; 1Ke 192.6–15; Augustine, *de mor. Man.* 19 *et passim*, an-Nadim, *Fihrist* (Dodge 1970, 789). 13–15 The five mentalities that constitute the ‘limbs of the soul’, the divine light in a person; see 1Ke 38, 96.13–27. 15–22 seven: Perhaps a reference to the days of the week and/or the seven ‘gifts’ from God that the doer of good fulfils (2 Ps 53.16–17). 28–29 Cf. M95.V.1–12 (Andreas and Henning 1932, 317–318); on the seven regions (hft qyšfr), a Mazdayasnian cosmography, see M67.V.1.9–23 (Andreas and Henning 1934, 888–889).

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1 ετογαβε τετεωασμογρ αρρηῖ αβαλ Ἰππλ. . . .
 2 νουτε vac Τεῖ τε τσετε εταζαραλнс. . [. π]ταπ Ἰ
 3 τεϋστολη Ἰπῆρωχῆ Ἰτρε ετῶσηρ ἀπ[νομος]. . χε
 4 ταρχη Ἰμῆντηαε τηρογ ετεπρωμε ηατεῖτογ πεῖ
 5 πε πεπατ Ἰητευχαρῖστεια vac Πετεωαγζερμηνεγε
 6 Ἰμαϋ δε παῖκ Ἰηπμαγ τσετε ετογαβε ετε τσαμ Ἰ
 7 πνουτε τε vac Τετηνη αρουη ρῆηκαρπος Ἰηηῖσε vac Ἰ
 8 τεογατο Ἰμῖνε vac Τετεωαγβιτῶ ρῆνουταπ. . ραχογ
 9 τετογκωτῆ Ἰμας αβαλ ρῆνη Ἰ εγεῖνε Ἰμας αρουη
 10 ἀπῆπε Ἰτσετε ετῆπῖωμα εστογβο ρῆπῖνομο
 11 ετογααβε Ἰηῖεπτολαγε ετσαανῖ εγ[.]
 12 [.] νομορ τετογχι Ἰμας αρρηῖ ἀπ. . [.]
 13 [.] ρ πε vac ηεῖ μεταγτεογ[αγ.]
 14 [.] ἀτεῖτῆκω σατηνε Ἰτσετε ετ[.]
 15 [.] Ἰηκλαδορ νετεῖτῆχ. . [.]
 16 [.] τεῖτῆβιτογ Ἰτεῖτῆε. [.]
 17 [.] [ε]το[γ]αβε ογηρ Ἰρητ[.]
 18 [.] ετ[.] εη vac Ἰτα. . [.]
 19 [.] Ἰη[ε]τῆβελ τσαμ δε χῖσαμ.
 20 [.] . ρια ετογηρ ρῆτηνε α. α. . .
 21 . . ῖσε vac ἀλλ[λα] ωφπε εκσαγνε ποικολεσποτης χε
 22 [τ]εῖ τε τσε[τε ε]τογαβε ετ[αῖ]χοορ αρακ ετβητῶ vac ῖσετε
 23 [. . ραϋ. . [.] . . α. τ vac ερεπῖαβε Ἰτκακῖα [.]
 24 [. . ερε μπ[.] ετογηρ Ἰρητ. Ἰτρε ετῶγηρ ρῆηκε
 25 [ρ]ωμε Ἰτ[.] . εῖστε ετβεῖκεσετε ἀη ῖχω
 26 [Ἰ]μας ετβητῶ χε ῶφε αταῖα [ῖ]χω Ἰμας Ἰταϋ εη
 27 χε ογαεσ Ἰτε. . . φρονησι[ε]. . ωμπωα ρω εη
 28 [. . .] . αογ. . [. . .] . . . αγ αχωρ ἀ[π]τηρῶ ογτε πρωμε

Codex 363 (^); quire 23 (= 'c'); Hugo Ibscher '21'; facsimile 237.

8 It is difficult to read Ἰπῆ- (cf. l. 3), but the sense may require a negative; perhaps ηασραχογ? 24 Perhaps [τ]ωρε, "[the

daughter", but there is no context for such a reading. 26 Or otherwise εωαγταῖα; but the reading is difficult.

1 the one that it fills up from this
 2 God. This is the fire that Zarades (carried in ?) the bosom of
 3 his robe (στολή). It (i.e. the robe) did not burn. As it is written in the [law (νόμος ?)]:
 4 “The beginning (ἀρχή) of all the almsgivings that the person will give, this
 5 is the cup with the thanksgiving (εὐχαριστία).” (This is) what is interpreted (ἐρμηνεύειν) as
 6 the bread and the water. The holy fire, which is the power of
 7 God, is the one that enters in by fruits (καρπός) and vegetables,
 8 and a multitude of kinds. (This is) what they bear in their bosoms; it (does not ?) burn them.
 9 (This is) what they gather from house to house, bringing it in
 10 to the fire-temple that is in this body (σῶμα), becoming pure through the holy law (νόμος)
 11 and the established commandments (ἐντολή), as they
 12 . . . law (νόμος). (This is) what they take up to the
 13 These that have been proclaimed
 14 you (pl.) have put behind you the fire that
 15 the sticks (κλάδος), the ones that you (take ?)
 16 you bear them and you
 17 holy . . . dwells in
 18 not (?).
 19 your (pl.) eyes. But (δέ) the power receives power
 20 that dwells among you
 21 . . . But (ἀλλά) you should know, master of the house (οἰκοδεσπότης), that
 22 this is the holy fire that [I have] told you about. This fire,
 23 If the sin of the evil (κακία)
 24 that dwells in it, the way that it dwells in the other
 25 people Behold, about this other fire, also, I say
 26 about it that it is fitting to honor it. I do not say, however,
 27 that it alone insight (φρόνησις) . . . not able, indeed, to be worthy
 28 upon it at all, neither the person

2–3 Multiple traditions refer to Zoroaster coming into contact with fire without being burned. See, e.g., *Zādspram* 16.7 and 21.24; Dio Chrysostom, *Thirty-Sixth Discourse*, 40 (Cohoon and Crosby 1951, vol. 3, 456–457); *Clementine Recognitions* 4.27 probably polemically reverses such accounts. 4–12 The Manichaean

ritual meal of the elect is compared to the Christian eucharist (see BeDuhn 2000b); the elect are able to collect safely and liberate the divine light in fruits and vegetables without hurting it, or being hurt by it (see BeDuhn 2000a).

1 nor (οὔτε) . . . something . . . upon it. Unless (εἰμήτι) purified wood has
 2 something he will place it (the wood?) upon it (the fire?)
 3 upon it. Then (τότε) Ardounabat
 4 the Judge (δικαστής) says to the Illuminator: Very great are your words!
 5 They. And (δέ) I know they have been shown to you by
 6 God, since (ἐπειδή) you proclaim everything in truth.
 7 I myself, I am your friend and helper (βοηθός). Then (τότε) the Illuminator
 8 blessed him; he gave the peace (εἰρήνη) to him; he made farewell (ἀσπάζεσθαι) to him;
 9 he departed from his presence.

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[About the] Wisdom (σοφία) that Goundesh the
 Holy (?) ... uttered with the Apostle
 from time to time (κατά καιρός καιρός).

14 [Once again (πάλιν)], (there was) a (. . .) of Shapur the king
 15 palace (παλάτιον) of the king, Goundesh [was his]
 16 [name (?)]. very much
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21 out from the palace (παλάτιον) (of Shapur ?) [the]
 22 king . . . his face (each ?) one
 23 power discourse (ὁμιλία) crowd (ἄχλος)
 24 entire . . . of the
 25 they debated with him his fame in
 26 the entire palace (παλάτιον) (of Shapur the king ?) some people of
 27 philosophy (φιλοσοφία), the people of truth, came and they . . . He debated
 28 with each one of the . . . and he was victorious over them in his speech and
 29 his discourse (ὁμιλία). It was . . . There were some [among the] disciples (μαθητής)

11 Goundesh: see BeDuhn 2015a, 66–72; cf. the Parthian Manichaean text M6040–6041 (Sundermann 1981, texts 4b.1 and 4b.2).

14 Shapur: the Sasanian emperor, or the king of Touran? Probably the former.

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1 Ἰπαποστολος εωδωβωκ ρροϋν [. . .]
 2 ἰπαλατιον Ἰπῆρο δνεγ απρ[ωμε . . . ροϋν]
 3 δνω τρε ετῆσεξε Ἰἠῆρωμε εφῶρ[ο αραϋ .] . . .
 4 αϋχοος Ἰπαποστολος ετβητῆ vac Τρε ετεφραψε
 5 ξε Ἰἠῆρωμε ἠῶραποϋ ἠῶμαροϋ ρἠῆσεξε ετῆ
 6 . . . ρ Ἰμαϋ αραϋ vac vac Τοτε απαποστολος κε
 7 [λε]γε ἠνεφμαθηης παδεφ αραϋ β . . . εφωαν
 8 [Ἰἠ]ωτῆ σεξε ἠεμεφ φαντηνεϋ αραϋ ἠ . . . ἠτα
 9 σεξε νεμεφ vac επειδῆ ἠσαϋνε δε οϋ
 10 εφωραρε vac φαντηνεϋ γαρ αραϋ ἠ[τασεϋε]
 11 ἠεμεφ τοτε τῆἠἠτῆασιρητ σῆτε
 12 [. . . .] δεφωωπε οϋν ἠοϋ[ροοϋε ἠταρε]
 13 [παπο]στολος βωκ ρροϋν ριθη ἠσα[πωρης πῆρο .]
 14 [. . . .] . . . απῆ εωδωβωκ ρροϋν ριθη ἠπ[.]
 15 [. . . .] . . ἠταρεφει εφῆϋ αβαλ ριθη ἠπ[.]
 16 [.] ἠπῆρο δεσεξε [.]
 17 [.] [. . . .] [.]
 18 [.] [.] [.]
 19 [. . . .] οϋ
 20 [. . . .] [.] φῆρε να
 21 [.]φς ξε [. . . .] β . . .
 22 . . λε] απαποστολος φξε . . .
 23 [. . .]] φε ἠ
 24 . . . εφτ] λ πνοϋτε ἠ .
 25 [. . .] . . αρχῆ] εἰ ρφ
 26 [. . .] ἠ αραϋ αφα[ς]παξε Ἰμαϋ απαποστολος χἠτῆ
 27 [ασπα]ςμος vac Τοτε παδεγοϋνδνω απαπο

Codex 365 (>); quire 23 (= 'c'); Hugo Ibscher '23'; facsimile 239.

2 απρ[ωμε: Or απρ[ἠῆρητ (vel sim). 12 δεφωωπε: Very difficult to read the expected δεφωωπε (sic?). 14 and 15 Perhaps both times "... before [the king]"?

1 of the Apostle, as they go in
2 the palace (παλάτιον) of the king, they saw this [man] . . .
3 Goundesh, the way that he debated with the people, being victorious [over them]. . . .
4 they told the Apostle about him, the way that he debates
5 with the people and catches them and binds them with the words that he
6 . . . to them. Then (τότε) the Apostle commanded
7 his disciples (μαθητής). Says he to them: if one
8 of you speak with him until I see him and I
9 speak with him. Because (ἐπειδή) I know that a
10 is bitter. For (γάρ) until I see him [and I speak]
11 with him, then (τότε) his duplicitous (?) pride
12 Now, it (?) happened one [day when]
13 [the] Apostle went in before Shapur [the king]
14 reckoned it, as he goes into the presence of the
15 When he came, coming from the presence of the . . .
16 the king, he spoke . . .
17
18
19
20 child . . .
21
22 to the Apostle, he . . .
23
24 God
25 (Goundesh) came, he
26 him; he greeted (ἀσπάζεσθαι) him. The Apostle received his
27 greeting (ἀσπασμός) . . . Then (τότε) says Goundesh to the Apostle:

366 1 Ϛτο[λος] εκτρεβο ἡνιρωμε δευ η εκτεογοεу а
 2 ραу [vac Πα.χ.]ε[π]αποστολος арау εἴτεογο арау ἡпсе
 3 χε ἡп[ноуτε] εἴтсево ἡмау хе еунаῤпагаθον ἡ(σεπωт ἡ)
 4 тἡпπετῤау vac Πα.χεγοῤηΔηω απαποστολος vac ε
 5 κτἡχροс арау етвепагаθон хе ариϙ псаἴт
 6 ἡпагаθон ϙἡпκосмос еρερωме ni(η) χω ἡμαс
 7 хе ῤпагаθон vac Псаἴт аη ἡпπετῤау ϙἡпκос[μος]
 8 ερερωме niη χω ἡμαс хе πωт ἡтἡпπετῤ[ау]
 9 εκτεογο †ноу арау ἡρογο vac Тоте па.хепап[о]
 10 στολος арау †сауне ϙωт аη хе ппетанит ωροп
 11 п[петῤау а]η ωροп аλλα πει ἡмак арау аксауне
 12 [ἡтφγсис ἡп]αгаθон хе оуеу те η niη пе преϙε[ι]ре
 13 [ἡпагаθон η] ἡтаϙ еϙавωκ ато vac Ḳсауне ат[. . .]
 14 [.]. хе оуеу те η тφγсис ἡпп[етῤау]
 15 [хе оуеу те η] niη пе преϙεῤре ἡпπεθау η ἡпκῤ
 16 [кон vac Πα.χ.]εгоῤηΔηω απαποστολος vac ἡ. . .[. . .]. .
 17 [.]ωк атхωρα ἡпоуаἴне петаἴ[.]
 18 [.]. . . .[.]. . . .[.]
 19 [. .]. . . .[.]. . . .[.]
 20 ἡппоуте. .[. .].[.]
 21 хе прωме.[.]. . . .[.]
 22 κακον еϙавωк а.[. . . .]. хω[р]а.[. . .]
 23 τεοуаϙ еϙαῤ. пагаθ
 24 он. . . . ἡκερωме σε.[. . .]. он т. .
 25 εε ἡκακον еϙωانهι. . . ϙἡ. . . .[. . .] еϙавωк а
 26 тῤаη еρεтῤῤаη наκατанта а. . . .[. vac ἡ]тарегоῤη
 27 Δηω сωтἡпсехе ἡтἡпаποστολος аϙкарωϙ [аϙ]
 28 сапῤ гар ἡтоуноу аϙмарῤ ἡпῤаη. . . λογια а†[ноу vac]
 29 Тоте агоῤηΔηω науῤϙ ἡкесап па.хеϙ апап[οστολος]

Codex 366 (^); quire 23 (= 'c'); Hugo Ibscher '24'; facsimile 240.

3 The necessary correction may be indicated by a scribal mark above the end of l. 3. η ἡмак sic! Probably †тамак has been corrupted. 26 тῤаη: Very uncertain. 28 пῤаη. . . λογια:

Whilst one immediately thinks of some word like ἀντιλογία, note that the noun here is masc. Alternatively, it is very difficult to read a construction such as περ†απολογία. 29 па.хеϙ: Very uncertain.

1 To what (purpose) do you teach these people, or (ἢ) why do you preach to
2 them? [Says the] Apostle to him: I am preaching to them the word
3 of [God]; I am teaching them so that they will do the good (ἀγαθόν) (and flee)
4 from what is evil. Says Goundesh to the Apostle:
5 Do you not tell them about the good (ἀγαθόν), “Do it!”? The reputation
6 of the good (ἀγαθόν) in the world (κόσμος) is every person says
7 “Do good (ἀγαθόν)!” Also, the reputation of what is evil in the world (κόσμος),
8 where every person says “Flee from evil!”
9 Are you now preaching more to them? Then (τότε) says the Apostle
10 to him: I myself also know that good exists,
11 [also that evil] exists. But this (I ask) you: Have you known
12 [the nature (φύσις) of the] good (ἀγαθόν)? What it is? Or who is the doer
13 [of the good (ἀγαθόν)? Or] where he will go? Do you know about the . . .
14 . . ., what it is? Or the nature (φύσις) of the [evil,
15 [what it is? Or] who is the doer of evil or of the
16 [bad (κακόν)]? [Says] Goundesh to the Apostle:
17 go (?) to the land (χώρα) of light, the one that I have
18
19
20 of God
21 that the person
22 bad (κακόν), he will go to land (χώρα)
23 proclaimed it, if he will do the good (ἀγαθόν)
24 other person therefore
25 the bad (κακόν) way, if he comes (?). as he will be going to
26 the power (?), as his end will result (καταντάω) in When Goundesh
27 heard this lesson from the Apostle he was silent. For (γάρ)
28 [he had] caught him immediately; he had bound him [at once] by his
29 Then (τότε) Goundesh returned another time. Says he to the Apostle:

367 1 ἀρχις ἀρχαῖ χε εφ τε τξε ε[τ.].
 2 ἡκεεντολαγε γαρ.[.σ]ἡπ
 3 φηε ἡρητς vac Παχεπαποστολος ἀρχ [ταδικαιοςγ]
 4 [η]η ἡχωφρε ετταῖατ ναρμπνουτ[ε.] ἡ
 5 [νε]ητολαγε τηρογ ταδικαιοςγνη τε ῖ. .[.]. . . πετ
 6 [η]ἀρτταδικαιοςγνη φασῆπωνε ἡρητς.[. .]. vac Τοτε
 7 [η]ἀχεγουνδω ἀρχ ηκεεντολαγε ρ. . . τηρογ ητε
 8 [τα]δικαιοςγνη μητηητηνουτε vac Τηηστια [πω]ληη μη
 9 [τ]μητηναε ρηεγ νε vac Παχεπαποστολο[ς] ἀρ[αχ].
 10 [. . .] τηρογ εγφοοπ [ρη]ταδικαιοςγνη. . .[. . .].
 11 [. . .]. ηε. . . εφφοοπ αν ρηηταδικαιοςγ[νη.]
 12 [. . .]. ἡ. . . τνακ.τ ρηηταδικαιοςγ[η.]
 13 [.]. ρηηταδικαιοςγνη πτογβ[ο.].
 14 [.]. μητηναε. . . ηηταδικαιοςγ[νη]. . .[. . .].
 15 [.]. καρπος ηηταδικαιοςγνη. . .[. . .]. . .[. . .].
 16 [.]. ηηδη vac ἡσηου. . ρ. . .[.].
 17 [.].ητ.[.].
 18 [.].[.].
 19 [.].
 20 [.].[.].[.].
 21 [ς]τολος [.].[.]. η.[.].
 22 [. . .]. τα[.]. ἀρχ.[. . .]. εντολη.
 23 [. . .]. το.[.].[.].[. . .].
 24 [.]. [.].[.].
 25 [.].ητογνογ.π ηη
 26 [.]. ἀρχα καλωφ ακχε.
 27 [. . .]. π ρη. [.]. [.].ηβογδδασ ρω
 28 [ω]η ημακαριος[ς] ηηταρενεμ[αθη]της φηητγ εγχω η
 29 [η]αχ ἀ[ρ]αχ χ[ε.].[.]. ηνουτε ετρηηκο

Codex 367 (^); quire 23 (= 'C'); Hugo Ibscher '25'; facsimile 241.

The portion of papyrus at the upper right evidencing traces from the end of ll. 1–2 has been dragged out of place further to the right.

4 Probably one should restore “[is the greatest of]”. 9–10 Presumably “all the commandments (εντολαγε)”, but not readable.

1 Tell me, what is the way that ?

2 For (γάρ) the other commandments (ἐντολή). [find (?)]

3 life in it. Says the Apostle to him: The strong [righteousness (δικαιοσύνη)]

4 that is honoured in the presence of God [is the greatest (?) of]

5 all of [the] commandments (ἐντολή). Righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) is the one who

6 will perform righteousness (δικαιοσύνη), he will find life in it . . . Then (τότε)

7 says Goundesh to him: Are the other commandments (ἐντολή) all . . . of

8 righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) and divinity? The fasting, prayer, and

9 almsgiving, what are they? Says the Apostle to [him]:

10 All of the commandments (ἐντολή ?) exist [in] righteousness (δικαιοσύνη)

11 it also exists in righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) . . .

12 in righteousness (δικαιοσύνη)

13 in righteousness (δικαιοσύνη). The purity

14 almsgiving . . . righteousness (δικαιοσύνη)

15 fruit (καρπός) of righteousness (δικαιοσύνη)

16 these trees. The brothers

17

18

19

20 [the]

21 Apostle

22 to him commandment (ἐντολή)

23

24

25 immediately

26 [Says (Goundesh ?) to] him: Well (καλῶς) have you

27 blessed (μακάριος) Bouddas

28 himself. When his disciples (μαθητής) questioned him, saying

29 to him: gods (?) who are in the world (κόσμος)

8–9 fasting, prayer, and almsgiving: triad of religious practices of Manichaean auditors; cf. 1Ke 192.29–193.3.

1 [σμος]μακάριος ἀραγ
 2 [.] . πικοςμος μῆμιρωμε εἴτεογο ἦ
 3 [.] . πετεινε Ἰπρητε πεταρβονοι .
 4 [.] κτεογο Ἰτμνε vac Νεἰ μεταγτεογαγ Ἰπ[ρο]
 5 ογε ετῆ[με]γ ἀφῆαναχωρε vac vac
 6 τκῆ
 7 ερε[π]ικεφαλαιον σεχε ετβε
 8 γογ[ηδ]ηω εφωινε απαποστολος
 9 Παλιν ἀ[η ατ]ογῆηδῆω (φί)νε απαποστολος ζῆπασπ
 10 ἀσμ[ος] . . . ἀσεχε νεμε[η vac Π]αχεφ ἀραγ †φ[ινε . .]
 11] κτεογαγ ἀραἰ vac Παχεεπαποστολος ἀρ[αη κ]
 12 [ασεχε] νεμηἰ vac Παχεεγῆηδῆω ἀραγ
 13 [.] . κατατῆμνε ἦ
 14] . ογῆσε ε ογ
 15 . [.] . . . [.] ναγῆ ογῆμῆαν ἀη
 16 [παχε]γῆηδῆω ἀραγ vac ερε
 17 [. . . παχεπα]ποστολος ἀραγ χε ε
 18 [.] γε . [.]
 19 [.] . [.]
 20 κ
 21 [.] . [.] [.] . [.]
 22 [.] χε [.] . vac ἦ . [.] . [.]
 23 ἦ ετβεπαγαθον χε ἀριγ . [.] . κακον [.]
 24 ἀξ [.] [.] . [.]
 25 [.] . [.]
 26 [.]
 27 . μα ναγῆ π . vac χε ε [.]
 28 [.] . ογῆ . [.]
 29 ζητ ἀεεγ πῆμῆαν [.] . [.] ετβητηγ [χε]
 30 πετανῆτ vac Πῆμα[η δε] ζωφ ετογμογ[τε] ἀραγ χε πετ

Codex 368 (>); quire 23 (= 'c'); Hugo Ibscher '26'; facsimile 242.

5 ῆαναχωρε: Or possibly read ῆαναχωρε.

1 blessed (μακάριος) to them
 2 this world (κόσμος) and these people, as I am proclaiming
 3 . . . (you are ?) the one who resembles this sort, the one who can help . . .
 4 You have proclaimed the truth. These are the things that he uttered on
 5 that day. He (i.e. Goundesh) withdrew (ἀναχωρεῖν).

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*This Chapter speaks about
 Goundesh questioning the Apostle*

9 Once again (πάλιν), Goundesh (hai)led the Apostle with the
 10 greeting (ἀσπασμός). He spoke with him. Says he to him: I ask . . .
 11 . . . [and] you recount it to me. Says the Apostle to [him: You]
 12 [may speak] with me. Says Goundesh to him:
 13 according to (κατά) its sort
 14 there is 'yes'
 15 there is also 'no'
 16 [Says] Goundesh to him: If
 17 . . . [Says the] Apostle to him:
 18
 19
 20
 21
 22
 23 about the good (ἀγαθόν): "Do it!". bad
 24
 25
 26
 27
 28
 29 . . . to do it. The 'no' (that is spoken). about it, for
 30 it is good. But (δέ), conversely, the 'no' that is spoken that is

1 Perhaps 'Blessed [Bouddas says] to them' (i.e. in reply to a question by his own disciples, 367.28). Goundesh may here recount a brief vignette from the life of the Buddha, as a comparison to the wisdom he has heard from Mani (cf. 368.3-4).

1 ῥαὺ πεῖ πε ξε εὐφρανῆσι βοῦλεγε ἵογε ἐτβε[παγα]
 2 θοοι ξε ἀριφ ἠχῆρος ξε ἵναεεφ ἐν οὔτε ἵνα. . . .]
 3 ἀραῖ ἐν πῆμαν πε πεῖ εἵτῃ εἵτεω ἀκμοῦτε ἀρ[αφ ξε] πε
 4 τῃσά vac ρῆτε σε αἰταμακ ἀψε ἐτο ἡσματος ρη[γ ἡτεπ]ε
 5 τανῖτ ἡππετῃσά αἰταμακ ἀν ἀπῆμαν εἵτ[ο ἡσ]ατ
 6 ρη[γ] ἡτεππετανῖτ ἡππετῃσά vac Παχεροῦνηδῆσ
 7 [α]ρῃσ εἵτ ἡμαγ ἵνογ πετῆεφ εἵτο ἡσῃρ ἀπῃσβηρ vac
 8 [Π]αχε παποστολος πε πετῆεφ ἐπειδῆ ἡσβῆογε τῆ
 9 [ρ]οῦ ἡπποῦτε ἡταγῃμακῶ ρῆσῃ vac
 10 [Τ]οτε ἡταρεροῦνηδῆσ σῶτῃε ἀνισεξε ἀφοῦσ[τ ῆ]σθ ἡ
 11 παποστολο[ς] παχεσ ἀρῃσ ἡπῆἵνογ ἀβαλ [ἵ]ναρῃπκ
 12 [μαθ]ῆτῆσ vac ἐπειδῆ ἡπῆρῆσθῆτ ἡσῃβε π.]
 13 [.] . . . ρετῃ αἰ ἡτῃε ἀβαλ ἡπ.]
 14 [.] φσῶ εφ.]
 15 [.] ἡ. μες ἡμεγ vac ἡεφ.]
 16 [.] ῃσῃσῃε ἡπῆσφῃ.]
 17 [.] πε vac ῃσ.]
 18 [.]]
 19 [.]]
 20 [.]]
 21 [.]σμογ.]
 22 [.]]
 23 [.] . κ]
 24 ΤΚΘ
 25 [ε]ρεπ[ικεφα]λ[α]ιον] ῃσ ἡμας. . εἵτβεροῦνη
 26 δῆσ εφ[. . .] . παποστολος ξε ἡπ πε πῶ
 27 ῃρπ ἡπῃ[κα]ιος εἵταφῃμακαρ]ῃσμοσ ἡ
 28 [ἡπ π]ε πῶ[ρπ ἡρεφ]ρῃσῃβε εἵταφῃπογαῖ
 29 [Παλιν ἀν.] [πα]ποστολος ρῆσῃτ
 30 [. . .]] εἵ ἀροῦνη [εἵτε]φῃεῃ vac Παχεσ

Codex 369 (>); quire 24 (= 'D'); Hugo Ibscher '29'; facsimile 243.

25 ροῦνη· -η- ex -φ- corr.? 26 Read e.g. εφ[οῦνη] ἡπαποστολος, "as he [asks] the apostle"; but the ἡ- is difficult.

1 evil: This is when someone is advised (συμβουλεύειν) about [the good (ἀγαθόν)]
2 “Do it!” And he says “I will not do it, nor will I
3 to me.” The ‘no’ is this evil that you speak, for it
4 is evil. So, look, I have told you about the ‘yes’ which has the two forms [of]
5 good and evil. I have also told you about the ‘no’ which [has the]
6 two [forms] of good and evil. Says Goundesh
7 to him: Which of them now is the greater, having priority over its pair?
8 Says the Apostle: The ‘yes’ is the greater, because (ἐπειδή) all the deeds
9 of God have been formed in the ‘yes’.
10 [Then (τότε)], when Goundesh heard these words, he made obeisance [before]
11 the Apostle. Says he to him: From now on, [I will be your]
12 disciple (μαθητής)! Because (ἐπειδή) there is no wiser man
13 the great one (?) of truth from the
14 he remains being
15 there.
16 in the knowledge and the wisdom (σοφία)
17 He
18
19
20
21 (he) blessed
22
23

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24
25 [This Chapter] tells about Goundesh,
26 [asking] the Apostle: Who is the
27 first [Righteous One (δίκαιος) who received the Blessing]; or
28 [who is] the first [Sinner] who received the Woe?
29 [Once again (πάλιν), (it happened one time while ?)] the Apostle was sitting
30 (Goundesh) came in before him. Says he

4–6 the yes that has two forms, etc.: i.e. saying yes to a command to do good is good, and saying yes to a command to do evil is evil; likewise, saying no to a command to do good is evil, and saying no

to a command to do evil is good. 13 the great one of truth from: or, ‘the one from whom I brought truth’.

Ἰϰ[εφα]λαίον ἡ̄τσοφια

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1 [απα]ποστολος π̄ωαρπ̄ ἡ̄δικαιος ἡ̄μ̄ πε πεταϷ
 2 [χι]μακαρισμος η̄ π̄ωαρπ̄ ἡ̄ρεφ̄ρ̄ναβε ἡ̄μ̄ πε ε
 3 [ταχι]πογαῖ ἡ̄ν̄τμ̄(τ)βαῖωαῖ vac Παχεπαποστολος
 4 [αραϷ π]ωαρπ̄ ἡ̄δικαιος πε πογαῖνε πεττμ̄αιαῖτ
 5 Ϸ[ἡ̄ν̄αι]ω̄ν̄ τηροϷ πεταϷτ̄εεϷ οϷαεεϷ ατ̄ολιϷιϷ
 6 ἡ̄ν̄π̄ḡκαρ̄ ϷανεϷαιων̄ τηροϷ vac Πμακαρισμος εταϷ
 7 χιτ̄ḡ πε †σ̄αμ̄ ετοϷνατ̄εεϷ η̄εϷ ἡ̄σ̄εναρ̄μ̄εϷ ἡ̄τ̄ḡ
 8 η̄εϷχ̄ᾱϷε ἡ̄β̄ωκ ἡ̄ρ̄ρ̄ρο Ϸἡ̄τ̄μ̄ἡ̄τ̄ρ̄ρο ω̄ᾱαν̄η̄ε vac
 9 Π̄ωαρπ̄ ϷωωϷ ἡ̄ρεφ̄ρ̄ναβε πε π̄κεκε Ϸε Ϸεφ̄ρ̄ναβ[ε]
 10 Ϸ[ἡ̄ν̄ωαρ]π̄ ἷνεϷκοσμοϷ οϷαεεϷ ϷεϷωϷτ̄ ᾱν̄ Ϸ̄ḡḡ[ω]
 11 [αρπ̄ απ]ογαῖνε ἡ̄ω̄ḡḡο αραϷ ετ̄βεπεῖ Ϸω̄ αḡ. . .
 12 [π̄ωαρπ̄ ἡ̄ρε]φ̄ρ̄ναβε vac Πογαῖ δε ἡ̄ν̄τμ̄ἡ̄τ̄βαῖωαῖ [. . .]
 13 [.] ο]γ̄μ̄ρ̄ρε ἡ̄αν̄η̄ε Ϸε Ϸεḡαḡαρ̄ḡ ἡ̄[Ϸητ̄ḷ]
 14 [.] η̄εϷϷαḡ τηροϷ Ϸḡπ̄μαḡω̄λ αροḡḡ̄ḡ [.]
 15 [.] ω̄ᾱα]ḡḡε vac Παλιν απ̄ †ḡατ̄αḡακ̄ Ϸ[.]
 16 [.]. . . . ἀπδικαιος ἡ̄ḡπ̄ρεφ̄ρ̄ναβε vac [.]
 17 [.]. βελ̄. [.]
 18 [.]. [.]
 19 [.]. [.]
 20 [.]. [.]
 21 [.].vac. [. . .]
 22 [.]. οḡ[. . .]
 23 [.] vac Π̄μακαρισμοϷ. οḡτ̄ε[. . .]
 24 [. . .]. β. ἡ̄Ϸητ̄. [.]
 25 [. . .] ἡ̄μ̄ ἀβαλ̄.[. . .] μακαρ[ισμοϷ]
 26 ἡ̄μ̄ vac Π̄μακαρι[σμο]Ϸ.[.] εϷ vac Π̄ρ[εϷρ̄]
 27 ḡαβε ϷωωϷ πεῖ πε πρ̄ωḡ[ε.]. Ϸ[.]
 28 ε̄ ἡ̄τεπ̄ω̄γ̄μ̄α.[.]. Ϸ.[. . .]. Ϸ[. . .]
 29 Ϸιχ̄ωρ̄μ̄ε vac εϷ.[.] εϷπ̄]ορ̄νεϷε Ϸ[ἡ̄τ]

Codex 370 (^); quire 24 (= 'D'); Hugo Ibscher '30'; facsimile 244.

14 π̄μαḡω̄λ αροḡḡ̄ḡ, "this place of confinement"; a usage not found otherwise in the corpus (but perhaps 389, 15?).

1 to the Apostle: Who is the first righteous one (δικαιος), the one who
2 [received] blessing (μακαρισμός)? Or who is the first sinner,
3 [who received] the woe and the misfortune? Says the Apostle
4 [to him: The] first righteous one (δικαιος) is the light, the one that is justified
5 [in] all the aeons (αιών), the one that gave itself to the tribulation (θλιψις)
6 and the pain on account of all its aeons (αιών). The blessing (μακαρισμός) that it
7 received is this power that will be given to it and will save it from
8 its enemies; and it goes and reigns in its kingdom forever.
9 The first sinner, on the other hand, is the darkness; for it sinned
10 [from the first] against its own worlds (κόσμος). Moreover, it committed iniquity from the
11 [first against the] light foreign to it. Indeed, because of this, (it is called ?)
12 [the first] sinner. But the woe and the misfortune . . .
13 an eternal bond, for it (i.e. the darkness) will be bound [by it (?)],
14 (with ?) all its powers, in this place of confinement, . . .
15 . . . [for]ever. Once again, I will tell you about
16 about (?) the righteous one (δικαιος) and the sinner. . . .
17 eyes (?).
18
19
20
21
22
23 The blessing (μακαρισμός).
24 every . . .
25 from . . . every blessing (μακαρισμός).
26 The blessing (μακαρισμός) The
27 sinner, on the other hand, this is the person
28 desire (ἐπιθυμία).
29 and defilement, as he, fornicating (πορνεύειν) in

13 an eternal bond (μήρε νᾶμηρε): cf. 1Ke 105.8.

371 1 πορνία ἐφῆκε ἐφῆραλ ἡνεγ ἡμ ῥῆπ[αλ ἐφῆ]
 2 οὔα ἀπνογτε ἐφῆωτ ἡπογαῖνε ἡἡκκε [πμογ]
 3 ἡἡῶνῆ ππετῆαγ ἡἡππετανιτ χεφῆ. [. . . .] ἡ
 4 τεκκλῆσια ἐτογαβε ἐφῆωκε ἡμας ἐφ. [. . . .] ἡμας
 5 πρεφῆρναβε πε πεῖ ἐτογμογτε ἀραχ χε οὔ[ρε]φῆβῆγ
 6 πογαῖ δε ἡἡτῆἡτβαῖῶαῖ ἐτχαχίτḿ ἡῆαγ ἡε τῆα
 7 ῆανος ἡἡτσετε τκολασις ἡἡπσῶρμε ἡἡῆῆρρε ε
 8 τογῆαμαρῆ ἡῆἡτḿ ἀῆαἡ ἡἡπῆῆῶνεφ vac ἐῖςῆἡτε
 9 ῆε ἀῖταμακ ἀπδικαῖος ἡἡπρεφῆρναβε.
 10 ἡῆἡτογ vac τοτε ἡῆῆαρεγογῆἡἡω ῆῶτῆ[ε ἀἡσεχε]
 11 ἀφῆαγ ἡτογνογ παχεφ †† ἡτκογῆωτ[ε.]
 12 †ῶωπ ἡἡκεῆματ χε ῆῶβ ἡἡ ἐαῖῶἡτ[ḿ ἐτῆἡτῆ]
 13 [ακτ]ῶτῆαῆἡτ ἐτῆἡτῆ ἀκῆῖῆε ἡἡα[ῖ.]
 14 ἡἡ[τ]ῆῆῶῆἡτ vac vac vac
 15 ῆῆ
 16 ἐρεῖπῆκεφαλαῖον ῆεχε ἐῖῆε
 17 γογῆἡἡω ἐαπαποστολος.
 18 ἀῖε.
 19 [παλιν ἀν. .].[. . . .].[. . . .]
 20 [. . .]. ος [.]παποστολος.[. . .]
 21 [. . .]. γογῆἡἡ[ω].[. . .]
 22 [. . .]. . . . ἡῆἡπ. [. . .]. . τ.[. . .]
 23 [.]. . ῆῆαἡ. [. . .].[. . . .]
 24 . . . εῖ. . . . ἡἡπετῆαν ἐφογαῆμε παῆα. . [. . .]
 25[. . .]
 26 λαοῖε. ῆ.[. . ἡ]
 27 μοῖεῖε. οῖν.
 28 ἀῖε. ἀ. . . . ογαῆμε παῆαἡἡμογ
 29 ῖεῖε ἐἡ. ἀ. ἡἡμοῖεῖε (ε)ῖεῆ
 30 ῆαῆῆ ἀραῖ. ἡἡμοῖεῖε vac vac

Codex 371 (^); quire 24 (= 'D'); Hugo Ibscher '28'; facsimile 245.

9 Perhaps ἡἡῆῆῆῆε ἐτ- "and the deeds that (are in them)", vel sim. 24 ογαῆμε: meaning unknown (and repeatedly after); see notes to the translation.

1 fornication (πορνεία), being naked, lying all the time in the lie, blaspheming
 2 against God, mixing the light and the darkness, [death]
 3 and life, that which is bad and that which is good; so that he
 4 the holy church (ἐκκλησία), persecuting (διώκειν) it, . . .-ing it.
 5 This is the sinner that they call ‘a doer of outrage’.
 6 But (δέ) the woe and the misfortune that he will receive: They are the
 7 torment (βάσανος) and the fire, the punishment (κόλασις) and the ruin and the bond
 8 by which he will be bound at the end with the evil person. Behold,
 9 then, I have told you about the righteous one (δικαίος) and the sinner,
 10 in them. Then, when Goundesh heard [these words]
 11 he gave glory immediately. He says: I make obeisance to you
 12 I give thanks to you, since every thing I have asked [you about]
 13 [you have] satisfied my heart about it. You have persuaded (πειθεῖν) me
 14 patiently.

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*This Chapter speaks about
 Goundesh, as the Apostle*

18
 19 [Once again],
 20 the Apostle
 21 Goundesh
 22
 23 it is soft
 24 what is soft is more *ouaqme* than
 25
 26 any [the]
 27 waters
 28 more *ouaqme* than the
 29 waters the waters you are
 30 touching waters.

24 *ouaqme* (ΟΥΑΘΜΕ): unknown Coptic term, apparently referring to a quality of a substance, e.g., ‘suppleness’.

372 1 Π[αχε] ἀποστολος ἀραχ πεῖ ετοῦσανῆ ἀβαλ ἡτην .
 2 [. . . .] . εφογασμε παραἡμογίεγε . . ῥαμσῃ ἀραχ
 3 ε . . [. . . .] . ἡμογίεγε ετοῦσανσῃ ἀραχ ρῆτβιχ ἡη
 4 ρωμ[ε vac] Παχεγοῦνηδῃ ἀραχ καλωσ ακχοοσ ρῆ
 5 οὔμητ[.]. . η πετσαν εφογασμε παραἡμογίεγε
 6 Τότε παχε[γ]οῦνηδῃ ἀπαποστολος vac διωτμε ετβε
 7 οὔπαραβολη εαγτεογασ ραοῦογβαν ἀνωαπῆ πα
 8 χεσ ρῆπῆρητ ογασεσ χε ἡκερλαητ ενεεεε ἡλε
 9 σαῖε ἡπαρητε ἡνογαν ἀν ερεμαλλιν ἡχφ
 10 ρε ἡαλλιν vac ἀσραπαῆτη ἀσνεῦ αογδαοσ ἡρα
 11 λητ [α]νεῦ ἀραχ ενεεε εῦχφρε πε παραρασ νε .
 12 [.] . παρτωσ vac Πεοῦεν ἡπδαοσ τερπη . . .
 13 [. . . . παρτ]φс vac ἡτοῦνοῦ ετῆμεῦ ετ [.]
 14 [.] ἀссκαркῆ ἀпкаρ παχε [. . . .]
 15 [. . . .] . ἡσφω ἡσαῖε еретῆμαλλιν савкῆ ἡθε [. .] . .
 16 [. . . .] . . τε ἀβαλ πκαραιτῆ πετηη ἡ [. .] . .
 17 [παχε го]ῦνηδῃ ἀπαποστολος vac Ταρε ρωφ . . [. . . .]
 18 [.] . † . . . ε ἡ ῦ ἀρακ . . . [. . . .]
 19 [. . . .] [. .] [.]
 20 [. . . .] φ . . ρῆπῆεοῦεν . [. .] [. . . .]
 21 [. . . .] [. .] . . ἀρ [. . . .]
 22 [. . . .] . . . vac επειδῆ . [. .] . . ἡστ [. . . .]
 23 [. . . .] [. . . .] . κ [. . . .]
 24 οὔρῆρητ . . [. .] [.]
 25 [. .] καραῖτῆ ριτκερη vac
 26 τλα
 27 εφσεχε ετβεγοῦνηδῃ ἀη
 28 εφωῖνε ἡπα[ποστολο]с
 29 Παλιν ἀν ἡκεσαп ἀγοῦνηδῃ φῆπαποστολος παχεφ [α]
 30 ραχ †τωβῆ ἡμακ ἀχιс ἀραῖ ετβε†саγρε χε ссеε
 31 сазт ἡηρο ἡηοῦων ραπῆακοῦλ ετῆρητῆ [εφ]

Codex 372 (>); quire 24 (= 'D'); Hugo Ibscher '27'; facsimile 246.

7 ραοῦογβαν (or e.g. ραγῦογβαν, sic): Cf. AE wbn 'to rise', 'shine', text should be emended. 8–9 Perhaps λερλαετ 'splendid'; but (the *Benu* bird or phoenix)? ἀνωαπῆ: Most uncertain; perhaps the difficult to read.

1 [Says the] Apostle to him: This that is displayed from
 2 is more *ouaqme* than the waters (they ?) touch
 3 the waters that are touched by the hand(s) of the
 4 people. Says Goundesh to him: You have spoken well with
 5 . . .-ness. What is soft is more *ouaqme* than the waters.
 6 Then says Goundesh to the Apostle: I have heard concerning
 7 a parable uttered about an *ouban*. We have received it. It (i.e. the *ouban*) says
 8 in its own heart: "There is no other bird more
 9 (splendid and) beautiful of my kind; there is also none whose plumage (?)
 10 (is) bolder (than my) plumage (?)." It met (*ἀπαντᾶν*) and beheld a peacock (*ταῶς*)
 11 bird. [It] looked at it, greater (and) bolder than (*παρά*) it(self) . . .
 12 more than (*παρά*) its own. The color of the peacock (*ταῶς*) delights (*τέρπειν*) . . .
 13 . . . [more than (*παρά*)] its own. At that moment,
 14 it rolled to the ground. Says (the peacock ?)
 15 ugly weakling, while your plumage (?) is small like . . .
 16 from the silence that I ascribe to
 17 [Says] Goundesh to the Apostle: My way also (is like this)
 18 to you
 19
 20 in its color
 21
 22 Because
 23
 24 a wise person
 25 silence before you.
 26
 27 *33^f*
 28 *It speaks again about Goundesh,*
 29 *questioning the Apostle.*
 29 Once again (*πάλιν*), another time, Goundesh questioned the Apostle. Says he to
 30 him: I entreat you, tell me about this egg, how it is smooth.
 31 There is no door nor opening for this sparrow that is in it. [If it]

6 ff. There appears to be little to no connection with the preceding part of the chapter. 9 plumage (*μαλλιν*): Greek *μαλλός*, cf. LSJ Suppl. 'of a bird's neck feathers'.

373

1 ὠαννοὺ Ἰπροὺν Ἰτσαῦζε ἐωαρετῶγγῆει εἰ ἀβαλ
 2 Ἰεω Ἰεω Ἰζε Ἰπροὺν Ἰτσαῦζε vac Καιταγτα ἸἸρο οὺ
 3 τε ἸἸρωβε Ἰρητῆ εἰσει ἀβαλ Ἰρητῆ vac vac
 4 Τότε παχεπαποστολοῦ ἀραφ ὠωπε εκσαῦνε [χε τ]σαῦ
 5 ζε ὠεφῶαφ(τ) τηρῆ Ἰτζε Ἰνισπογγος vac ἀκῆ[εὺ χ]ε οὺε
 6 . η . Ἰνεσῶαφωφ ὠμαατ ἀβαλ ἸἸωρῆ ἸἸβελ
 7 ἸἸρωμε vac ζἸπεῖ τζτηκ Ἰκνεγ χε τσαῦζε ὠωα
 8 φτ ῥο οὺν ἐτνεογ . . . ε ἀπχακογλ ἐτηρητῆ πσα
 9 Ἰεω Ἰπαηρ Ἰανεφ ἀροὺν Ἰπαπτηρο ὠαφσανεω
 10 ἸἸαῖεγτε Ἰπροὺν Ἰτσαῦζε vac Ἰτζε . . [.] . . .
 11 ὠαρεψανεω Ἰπαηρ ἸἸἸικον βωκ ἀβα[λ . . .] . . .
 12 [.] . . . ἸἸχακογλ ἐφωαννοὺ . [.] . .
 13 [.] Ἰπροὺν Ἰτσαῦζε ἐπειδη . [.] . .
 14 . η[.] . σοῦωνπμεῖνε Ἰπσεχε εκ . [. . . . σαῦ]ζε
 15 [.]ε[. . . .] . . . Ἰρεφῶρῆ ἐφωανοὺε [.] . .
 16 [.] ἸἸακ Ἰκ [.] . .
 17 [. . τ]σαῦζε ἐτημεγ Ἰτζε ζωφφ ετ . . [.]
 18 [.] Ἰρητῆ vac ζἸτσαῦζε . .
 19 [.] ἀτσαῦζε vac ἀγω . . . πεγ
 20 [.] πχακογλ ἐτημεγ
 21 [.] [.] ζωφκ ἸἸ . . . πσεχε
 22 [.] . . [. . .]ζε ε ἀρακ χε τσαῦζε ὠωαφτ
 23 [.] ῥωφῶαφτ εἰ πε Ἰεω Ἰζε εφ
 24 [νε]γ ἀπ . . [.] Ἰρητῆ ζἸἸακτιν Ἰπρη vac ἀλ
 25 [λα] ὠωπε εκ[σ]αῦνε χε Ἰτζε ἸἸρεφῆ
 26 [ω]ρῆ χε οὺ ε [. .] . ἸἸἸατικον πετη
 27 μεγ Ἰταφ ἸἸἸατικως ἸἸετωοοπ ζἸτσαῦζε
 28 [τ]ζε ζωφ τε τεῖ Ἰτγγῆ οὺἸἸατικον τε εωασει ἀν
 29 [α]βαλ Ἰπροὺν Ἰτσαῦζε ἸἸἸατ[ικ]ωσ vac Ἰτζε ἀν Ἰογρω

Codex 373 (>); quire 24 (= 'D'); Hugo Ibscher '31'; facsimile 247.

8 ῥο οὺν ἐτνεογ . . . ε: Obscure; other word divisions and also emendations should be considered. 8 ἀπχακογλ: ἀ- very faint

and added afterwards? 24 Perhaps ἀπχα[κο]γλ ἐτηρητῆ, "the sparrow within it"; but very difficult to see.

1 should die within this egg, how shall its soul (ψυχή) come out,
 2 in whatever way, from the inside of this egg, even though (καὶ ταῦτα) there is no door
 3 nor (οὐτε) break in it, by which it comes out?
 4 Then (τότε) says the Apostle to him: You should know [that this] egg
 5 is entirely porous like these sponges (σπόγγος). You have [seen that] (any)
 6 one (?) of its pores are (too) fine for the sight of the human eye.
 7 By this observe and see that the egg is porous.
 8 It is for the sparrow that is in it. The
 9 nourishment of the air (ἀήρ) will blow inside with that of the life-giver. It nourishes
 10 the growth inside this egg. Just as
 11 the nourishment of the spiritual (πνευματικόν) air (ἀήρ) goes out
 12 the sparrow, if it dies
 13 inside the egg, because (ἐπειδή).
 14 know the sign of this lesson, as you egg
 15 observer if he should be about to
 16 to you
 17 . . . that egg, just as indeed
 18 in it; in this egg
 19 to this egg;
 20 that sparrow
 21 yourself the lesson
 22 to you that the egg is porous
 23 (if) it is not porous, in what way might he
 24 [see] the (sparrow that is ?) within it by the rays of the sun? However (ἀλλά),
 25 you should know just like this observer,
 26 for of the spiritual thing (πνευματικόν). But that one
 27 spiritually (πνευματικῶς) what exists in this egg.
 28 This, indeed, is how the soul (ψυχή) is a spiritual thing (πνευματικόν), coming also
 29 out from inside this egg spiritually (πνευματικῶς). Moreover, just like a person

8–13 On the role of air and other forces in nourishing the growth of living things, cf. the Iranian treatise *Gyān Wifrās* (Sundermann 1997), §§ 18–69.

374

1 με εφμααζε αρετῶ ῥηνογηῖ ἡῖτωμ ἡωροϋτωτ ἡῖ
 2 προ ἡπῖηῖ ετῖμεγ ἡτεπρωμε ναχοϋσηλ ῥῖ
 3 πῖηῖ ετῖμεγ δε σεσατμεπρηαϋ ριβαλ επειδη οϋ
 4 πῖ[εϋ]ματικος πε πρηαϋ ετῖμεγ चापढबे ἡϋ
 5 νοϋρῶ [ῥῖ]ποϋσματ τηρῶ ἡνχαῖε ἡπῖηῖ ἡτεπῖητῖ
 6 ει αβαλ ἡ[ς]εσατμεϋ ριβαλ vac Τρε ρωωϋ τε τεῖ ετρωα
 7 ρετῖϋχη ἡπιχακοϋλ ει αβαλ ῥητσαϋζε μαρελαγε
 8 ωρρωλϋ ἡμας επειδη οϋπῖηατῖκον τε vac
 9 τλβ
 10 [ε]ϋσεχε αν ετβεροϋνηδῆω εϋμαστ
 11 [ρι]θη ἡπαποστολοϋ ερωτω ἡπῖ
 12 [νας ἡ]θησαϋροϋ ἡπωνεῖ vac
 13 [Πα]λι[η αν αρω]πε ἡκεσῖη ερεγοϋνηδῆω ῥμας[τ. .]
 14 .[. . . .] ερωτω ριτρεῖη ἡπῖησαϋροϋ ἡπῖ[ωνεῖ] vac
 15 [απ]απ[οστο]λοϋ θεοϋ αραϋ ἡρῖημας ἡσεχε [. . . .]
 16 .[.] αϋ αν ἡπρωμε εϋ .[. . . .]
 17 [πῖησα]ϋροϋ ἡπωνεῖ πεαϋ.[. . . .]
 18 ταπο . πῖϋς.[. . . .].[.ε]
 19 τβερωβ ἡῖμ ετβεποϋαῖω [. . .].[. . . .κο]
 20 σμοϋετρωτ . . .ω[.]
 21 ῥῖπικοςμοϋ vac ἡταρεγοϋνηδῆω ρωτῖη [α]πῖσεϋ[ε]
 22 εταπαποστολοϋ τερωαϋαῖϋς[ηε]
 23 απῖωμε vac Παϋεϋ απαποστολοϋ ἡεπῖ[ι]ωμε [το]
 24 νω οϋϋωμε πε[.] .[.] . ε σηε αρα[ϋ]
 25 αρα ἡταϋει ῥῖη . . .[.] . . ἡτω[.] . . .π
 26 σεχε ετσηε αραϋ [. . .].ε[γ]ραφεϋς [σα]
 27 τμεϋ vac vac Παϋεπαποστολοϋ αραϋ οϋϋωμ[ε]
 28 ἡβῖρε πε ἡταϋ .[.] . ἡ . .ϋ . . .[.] . . .ωροϋ αρ[αι]
 29 σε τνοϋ δε ερεπῖ[ϋ]ωμε ο ἡεω ἡρε μαρεκε vac Π[αχε]

Codex 374 (^); quire 24 (= 'D'); Hugo Ibscher '32'; facsimile 248.

5 ποϋσματ: The -ϋ- appears to have been altered by the scribe to add a -ς-. 18 ταπο . . πῖϋς: Perhaps a scribal error for αποκαλυ-

ϋς 'revelation', reading αποκαπϋς or απολυπϋς; alternatively read πϋς 'nine' (but there is no context for this number).

1 who will be standing in a house and he shuts the windows and
 2 the door of that house; and the person will shout in
 3 that house so that the sound is heard outside. Because (ἐπειδή)
 4 that sound is a spiritual thing (πνευματικόν), it will pierce and
 5 penetrate [through (?)] the entire structure of the walls of the house and the vibration
 6 comes out and it is heard outside. This also is the way that
 7 the soul (ψυχή) of the sparrow comes out from the egg. No one
 8 is able to prevent it because (ἐπειδή) it is a spiritual thing (πνευματικόν).

332

*It speaks again about Goundesh, sitting
 before the Apostle, as they read the
 [Great] Treasury (θησαυρός) of Life.*

13 [Once again (πάλιν), it] happened another time, as Goundesh is sitting
 14 as they read in his presence from *The Treasury* (θησαυρός) of Life.
 15 The Apostle uttered great lessons to him
 16 also the person
 17 [*The Treasury* (θησαυρός) of Life] is
 18 the revelation (?).
 19 about every thing, about the time
 20 world . . . joined
 21 in this world. When Goundesh had listened [to] this lesson
 22 that the Apostle uttered [written]
 23 in this book. Says he to the Apostle: Very great is [this] book!
 24 It is a book written in [it].
 25 Did (ἄρα) it come from the the
 26 lesson that is written in it scribe
 27 heard it? Says the Apostle to him: It is a
 28 new book; it So, tell [me]
 29 now, how does the book stand in your regard? [Says]

7–8 On the intangible nature of the spiritual, cf. 1Ke 125.1–24. 14
 Treasury of Life: one of Mani’s books; cf. 1Ke 5.23, 230.8, 230.21;
 Hom 25.2, 94.19; 2 Ps 139.60. See Stein 2016.

375

1 ΓΟΥΝΔΗΩ ἀραϑ (<... μῆλαγε ὧνω ἀραϑ) ναρρεῖ μῆπετνεεϑ μῆπε
 2 το ἵχωρε παραπιχῶμε ἀλλα εἰςχε κῆα. . . .
 3 †ναχοοc ἀρακ χε ερεπιχῶμε τῆταν(τ) ἀεϑ vac
 4 ἀῖcωτῆμεοϑπαραβολῆ ἵοϑσοογε vac χε ἀϑῖρρο [ωω]
 5 πε εϑῆτῆοϑῶμε ἵμῆε εναῖοϑc vac εϑτ. [. . .]
 6 τε. . . . vac ερεcαωῖ ἵρῶϑ ϑῆτῶμε εϑ†[ϑ]ῆϑ ἵ
 7 πῖρρο vac Πωαρπ ἵρῶβ ετῶοοπ ϑῆτῶμε ἵμῆε
 8 πε πνεϑ ετερεῖχαχε ἵπῖρρο νααρϑ ἀρετοϑ ἀραϑ
 9 ὡαϑμαρτῶμε ἀτῆπε νῆμῶε νεμεϑ ἵϑῖρο
 10 ἀραϑ vac Πμαρcνεϑ χε εῶαντεῖνωμε ἵτῆῆτῖ
 11 ρο οϑωωῖχαcῖρητ ἀχῶϑ ἀῖπε ἵμαϑ ὡα[ϑμ]αρ
 12 ῖ ἀχῆπῖρητ ἵϑῆε ἀποϑῶϑ ἵϑῶβ[ῖο. . .]
 13 [.]. . . τ vac Πμαρῶαντ χε [εῶαντε. . .]
 14 [.]. . . ἀβαλ ἀχῶϑ μῆπῖφοcῶατο[ν.]
 15 [.] ἵϑῖ. . . ἵϑεϑτϑ ἀραϑ ἵϑαῖcε. [.]
 16 [.]. ἀβαλ ἵμαc ἵϑῶ. . . ἵϑῶλε. [.]
 17 [. . .]. . . τῶϑη ἀβαλ ἵ. πῖφοcῶ[τον vac]
 18 [Πμ]ἀρ[ϑταϑ] ἵρῶβ χε εῶαντε. . . . εϑῆα.
 19 ἀρα[. . .]. . . . πῖφοcῶατον ὡαρεπῖρρο μαρτῶ
 20 νε ἀ. χα. ῖ. . . . ἵτεπ.
 21 ὡαπε. . . . ῖν. εϑ ἀβαλ. . . πεϑ
 22 φοcῶατον νεϑ vac Πμαρτῶϑ χε εῶαντε. ἀ
 23 . . . [. . .]. . . ῖῆ. πμαῖτ ὡαϑμαρῖ
 24 [.]. . . π. cce ἀβαλ ἵμαϑ ἵτεπρεῶε ὡ
 25 [πε ἵπῖ]φοcῶατον τῆρῖ vac Πμαρcαϑ ἵρῶβ χε
 26 [εῶαντ]ε. . . . ῖ. ἵοϑῖεϑε. . . . εϑαῶε ὡαϑ
 27 ναχτῶνε. . . . ε ἀραϑ ἵτε. . . . ἵνῖμοϑῖεϑε ϑλαῖ
 28 ἵcῖοϑϑρ. . . . ε ἵρητοϑ vac Πμαρcαῶϑ ἀν ἵ
 29 ϑῶβ ετῖτῶνε ἵμῆε χε εῶ[αντ]εοϑρκο η οϑρεβῶ

Codex 375 (^); quire 24 (= 'D'); Hugo Ibscher '33'; facsimile 249.

1 Text has been omitted by the scribe; perhaps a restoration that ends ὧνω ἀραϑ following the preceding ΓΟΥΝΔΗΩ ἀραϑ by homeoteleuton, although one might rather expect νεμεϑ (“with it”) following ὧνω. 12 εϑῶϑ for εῶβ, ‘weak’; or conceivably read

χῶϑ for χοϑϑ, ‘fervour’. 24 One would suppose ἵηcce, but -η- and the meaning of “fixed from them” are both difficult; a better reading might be πλ(α)ccε, “formed from them”. 27 Possibly †ῶνε ἵμῆε (“this precious stone”), but the spacing is rather large.

1 Goundesh to him: ⟨. . . nothing compares to it (?)⟩ in my regard; there is no greater and
 2 stronger than (παρά) this book. But (ἀλλά), if you will (permit me ?),
 3 I will tell you what this book is like!
 4 I have heard a parable (παραβολή) one day, that there was a king
 5 who had a wonderful precious stone, it being
 6 for there were seven things in this stone giving benefit for
 7 the king. The first thing that occurs with this precious stone:
 8 Whenever the enemies of the king will be arrayed against him,
 9 he binds this stone to his head and fights with them and is victorious
 10 over them. The second: If the children of the kingdom
 11 wish to be arrogant against him, to be superior to him, [he] binds
 12 it over the heart and he discerns their weakness (?) and he subdues . . .
 13 The third: [If] . . .
 14 out over him and his camp (φόσσατον)
 15 and he . . . and he raises himself over them and he exalts
 16 from it, and he and he swathes (?)
 17 the night from his camp (φόσσατον).
 18 The fourth thing: If . . . he
 19 his camp (φόσσατον), the king binds this
 20 stone to and this . . .
 21 occurs out . . . his
 22 camp (φόσσατον) to him. The fifth thing: If . . .
 23 the road, he binds it
 24 (formed ?) from them, and rejoicing comes about
 25 [for his] entire camp (φόσσατον). The sixth thing:
 26 [If] . . . waters . . . be bitter, he
 27 casts this (precious?) stone upon them and (it makes ?) these waters sweet,
 28 and it betters . . . in them. The seventh thing, moreover,
 29 that is in the precious stone: If a famine or bad season

5 wonderful precious stone: lit. 'good true stone', but ἄμνη has a range of uses reflecting positive value. 14 camp: the Latin loan-word *fossatum* appears consistently in references to the court sur-

rounding a monarch, apparently imagined as a mobile comitatus, as was indeed typical practice under the Sasanians.

376

1 ὦνε ὦπε ρῖπεφοσσατον ὠαβιῶνε νῖ
 2 κῶαζ ρῖτμητε Ἰπεφοσσατον ντεπσι μῖπρη
 3 Ἰ[ογϷ]ε ὦπε ρῖπῖφοσσατον τηρῖ Ἰτεπρκο
 4 οῦϷ [αβ]αλ Ἰμαγ ἸτῶλιϷις vac Τοτε παχεπῖ
 5 ρο ἀν[ῖμε]ρετε ἸπῖεϷηῖ ῖῶνε Ἰπῶα Ἰογῖρ Ἰ
 6 Ἰηῖ πεῖαῶῖσογῖτῖ ῖε πῖαῶϷ Ἰνασ Ἰρῶβ Ἰ
 7 ρῖτῖ εῖῖρῖηῖ Ἰηῖ εῖῖρῖηῖ ἀν Ἰπαφοσσατον τηρῖ
 8 ΠαχενεϷεῖγενῖς ἀραϷ Ἰῖτεῖῖῶνε τῖμη ἸμεϷ
 9 καῖαῖεῖτε Ἰῖτῖσατ Ἰῖτῖρῖεῖα εῖτανῖτ εῖῖ
 10 ρῖτῖ [α]λλῖ Ἰτακ οῖαεεκ πεῖατεογο ἀραν εῖτῖτῖ
 11 Τοῖ[ε παχεπ]ῖρρο ἀραϷ vac εῖῶαντεοῖρῖωμε Ἰποοῖε. .
 12 [.]κοορ Ἰῖεῖ πῖκοορ εῖοῖ.[.]
 13 [.]οῖῶβῶσ ἀπσαπ vac Ἰκο. [.]
 14 [.εῖ]ῖαεε τῖῶνῖ Ἰπῖεῖ Ἰκεῖῶ[ῶσ.]
 15 [.].οῖ.ε.[.]
 16 [.].vac Ἰμαλῖακαῖτῖς Ἰρῖοῖτεν.[.]
 17 [.].ε Ἰ.αῖ.οῖ ρῖῖαεεκ Ἰ.[.]
 18 [.].τα.αῖ.[.] Ἰῖ
 19ῖ.τε.οῖ.οῖ.εεκ.[.] Ἰ ῖ
 20 ρακ.νεῖῖεοῖεν ἀπλαρῖερ Ἰῖπ.Ἰαῖρῖαῖ[ῖ]
 21 τῖς.ῖῶνε Ἰῖνε εῖτοῖ.οῖαῖοῖ.εῖοῖῖ
 22 Ἰη ταῖῖτ Ἰῖμαρῖηῖ.Ἰῖβῖοῖε.ῖ εῖτῖῖ
 23 αῖτ vac Ἰ.ῖῶνε ρῖῶς.αρ.ο. βῖεῖαῖρη
 24 μα τηρῖ εῖτερεπῖηῖ Ἰη ραῖ vac Παχε[πῖρρο α]
 25 νεϷεῖγενῖς ῖοορ ἀραῖ ῖνοῖ ῖε εῖ.εῖ
 26 ἸεεϷ εῖτῖαῖῖτ vac.ῖῶνε σταῖῖτ.Ἰ
 27 ρῖτῖ ρῖῖβῖοῖε Ἰῖρησιῖος Ϸ.Ἰῖ.
 28 πε εῖτῖηῖ ρῖαῖρηῖα εῖτανῖτ vac Π[α]ῖενεῖγενῖς
 29 ἀραϷ Ἰαῖρηῖα τ.ρῖηῖ [εῖῖ]ρῖηῖ εῖν οῖτε
 30 εῖῖῶν εῖ Ἰῖτῖ[σατ] ῖῖῶνε Ἰῖηε vac Παχεπῖρρο

Codex 376 (>); quire 24 (= 'D'); Hugo Ibscher '34'; facsimile 250.

13 Perhaps understand κοορ ('piece', 'corner', 'facet?') again as in l. 12. 23 It is difficult to read οῖβε, 'against' or 'alongside'.

29 Probably ταῖῖτ, 'honoured', from the context; but impossible to read.

1 occur in his camp (φόσσατον), he carries this stone and he
 2 places it in the midst of his camp; and abundance and
 3 plenty occur in his entire camp (φόσσατον); and the famine
 4 ceases [from] them, and the affliction (θλίψις). Then (τότε) says the king
 5 to [his loved ones] and his household: This stone is worth how much? Or
 6 who will be able to give its value? For these seven great things
 7 in it give benefit to me, as they also benefit my entire camp (φόσσατον).
 8 Say his nobles (εὐγενής) to him: This stone is without price (τιμάω)
 9 on account of (κατά) its size and its quality and the good use (χρεία) that is
 10 in it. But (ἀλλά), you yourself are the one who can explain to us about it.
 11 Then (τότε) [says the] king to them: If a person today
 12 piece (?) of these; this piece (?) being
 13 a *shboos* at the time. The pieces (?).
 14 [which] is very high for the usefulness of another *shboos*
 15
 16 The fair mild seas (μαλθακότης ?)
 17 . . . in the shells (?) of . . .
 18
 19 shell to
 20 you . . . the ones that give color to the splendor and the . . . pearl (?)
 21 . . . this precious stone that they that they value (τιμᾶν)
 22 is honored; and he fills this house (with) these things which are
 23 honored. . . . this stone, indeed, against (?) all these
 24 treasures (χρήμα) with which this house is filled. Says [the king to]
 25 his nobles (εὐγενής): Tell me now, which [is the one that]
 26 is more honored? . . . this stone is honored
 27 in it with these useful (χρήσιμος) things
 28 that is filled with these good treasures (χρήμα)? Say the nobles (εὐγενής)
 29 to him: These treasures (χρήμα) (honored?) in this house do not [give] value, nor (οὔτε)
 30 are they equal with the [quality] of this precious stone. Says the king

12 piece (?) (κοορ): perhaps 'facet'. 13 *shboos* (σβωωσ): term of uncertain meaning used in contexts where it appears to be a measure of distance, e.g., *parasang* (1Ke 153.27; 449.27), cf. CD 611a

σφω. 16 mild seas (μαλθακότης): cf. μαλακότης, LSJ 1077a; μαλακία 1076b; μαλθακός 1077b–1078a.

377

1 ἀραγ̄ κ̄αλλως̄ ἀτετ̄ν̄χ̄οος̄ χε̄ ς̄ε̄ω̄η̄ω̄ ν̄ε̄με̄ς̄ ἐ̄ν
 2 ο̄υτε̄ σ̄εν̄η̄ ἐ̄ν ο̄ῡβε̄τ̄ς̄ω̄τ̄ vac̄ ἐ̄πεῑδ̄η̄ †̄ω̄νε̄ ἡ̄μ̄η̄ς̄
 3 τ̄ον̄ω̄ σ̄ταῖ̄αῖ̄τ̄ ἐ̄τ̄βε̄ν̄νᾱς̄ ἡ̄ρ̄β̄η̄ο̄ῡε̄ ἐ̄τ̄ς̄εῑρε̄ ἡ̄[μαγ̄]
 4 ἡ̄εν̄ τ̄η̄ρ̄νε̄ ἡ̄σ̄η̄ nim̄ vac̄ τ̄οτε̄ πᾱχε̄το̄(γ̄ν̄δ̄)ἡ̄ω̄
 5 ἀπ̄ρ̄ἡ̄νο̄γαῖ̄νε̄ vac̄ ἡ̄π̄ρη̄τε̄ ς̄ε̄ ἡ̄†̄νᾱς̄ ἡ̄ω̄[νε̄ ἐ̄]τ̄ταῖ̄
 6 αῖ̄τ̄ τ̄ξε̄ ς̄ω̄τ̄ τε̄ τ̄εῖ̄ ἡ̄π̄ῑνᾱς̄ ἡ̄χ̄ω̄με̄ vac̄ Π̄ε̄τᾱκ̄τε̄
 7 ο̄ο̄ο̄π̄ῑμ̄ἡ̄τε̄(τ̄ε̄) ἡ̄λο̄γ̄ος̄ ἀραῖ̄ ἐ̄τ̄β̄η̄τ̄ῖ̄. . . . ἀρᾱϑ
 8 ἡ̄τ̄ξε̄ ἡ̄†̄ω̄νε̄ χε̄ ὄ̄τ̄ξ̄η̄γ̄ ς̄η̄ξ̄ω̄β̄ nim̄ vac̄ τ̄ξε̄ ς̄ω̄τ̄ τε̄
 9 τ̄εῖ̄ ἡ̄π̄ῑχ̄ω̄με̄ ἐ̄ρε̄π̄ω̄ ἡ̄τ̄ς̄ο̄φ̄ιᾱ τ̄η̄ρ̄ς̄ ς̄η̄ξ̄ ἀρᾱϑ
 10 ϑ̄†̄ξ̄η̄γ̄ ς̄ἡ̄ξ̄ω̄β̄ nim̄ ἡ̄γ̄ρᾱφ̄ᾱγε̄ τ̄η̄ρο̄ϑ̄ ἐ̄τ̄. . [. . .]. . .
 11 [. . .] ς̄ε̄ω̄η̄ω̄ ἐ̄ν ἡ̄μ̄π̄ῑνᾱς̄ ἡ̄χ̄ω̄με̄ vac̄ ἡ̄τ̄ξε̄ [.]
 12 [. . .] ἀγ̄μᾱρ̄η̄ῖ̄ ἡ̄ρ̄η̄το̄ϑ̄ χε̄ ἐ̄. [.]
 13 [. . .] . . . ο̄ῡεῖ̄ ο̄ῡβε̄τ̄τ̄ῑμ̄η̄ ἡ̄μ̄π̄ω̄. [.]
 14 [. . . vac̄ τ̄]ξε̄ ς̄ω̄τ̄ τε̄ τ̄εῖ̄ ἡ̄ἡ̄γ̄ρᾱφ̄ᾱγε̄ τ̄η̄ρο̄ϑ̄ [.]
 15 [. . . . τ̄κ̄]ἡ̄ας̄ ἡ̄γ̄ρᾱφ̄η̄ ἡ̄τ̄ε̄κ̄ τε̄τε̄ρε̄τ̄ς̄. [. . .]
 16 [. . .] vac̄ τ̄οτε̄ πᾱχε̄πᾱπο̄ς̄το̄[λο̄ς̄ δ̄]
 17 [γ̄]ο̄γ̄ν̄[δ̄]ἡ̄ω̄ κ̄αλλ̄ως̄ ἀκ̄ξ̄ω̄ (<...†̄)ω̄νε̄ ὄ̄ο̄ ἡ̄τ̄γ̄πο̄ς̄. . . [. . . .]
 18 . . . ἡ̄τ̄. . . ἡ̄τ̄ῖ̄ ἀρ̄ο̄γ̄η̄. . . . ἐ̄. . . . τ̄ἡ̄ ἡ̄π̄ῑχ̄ω̄με̄ vac̄
 19 [τ̄οτ̄]ε̄ πᾱχ̄[ε̄ϑ̄] †̄. . . . [.]. †̄ς̄ᾱγ̄η̄ς̄. ἀτ̄
 20 [ς̄]ε̄ρ̄μ̄η̄η̄[ιᾱ ἡ̄†̄π̄]ἀρᾱβο̄λ̄[η̄] ἐ̄τ̄ᾱκ̄τε̄ο̄γ̄ᾱς̄ ἀραῖ̄ ἡ̄†̄ω̄νε̄
 21 ἡ̄π̄ῑρ̄ρο̄ χε̄ ω̄ω̄π̄ε̄ ἐ̄κ̄ς̄ᾱγ̄η̄ς̄ ἡ̄τ̄ᾱϑ̄ ἀ†̄ω̄νε̄ χε̄ ο̄ῡε̄γ̄ τε̄
 22 [η̄] π̄ῑς̄ᾱω̄ῖ̄ ἡ̄ξ̄ω̄β̄ ἐ̄τ̄χ̄ρ̄η̄ς̄ῑμ̄ε̄γε̄ ἐ̄τ̄ξ̄ἡ̄†̄ω̄[η̄]ε̄ [ς̄]ἡ̄ε̄γ̄ ἡ̄ε̄
 23 ἡ̄ε̄τ̄†̄ξ̄η̄γ̄ ἡ̄π̄ῑρ̄ρο̄ ἐ̄τε̄ρε̄ †̄ω̄νε̄ ἡ̄τ̄ο̄ο̄τ̄ῖ̄ κ̄ς̄ᾱγ̄η̄ς̄ ἡ̄μ̄ᾱγ̄
 24 [.] vac̄ Πᾱχε̄το̄γ̄ν̄δ̄η̄ω̄ ἀρᾱϑ̄ ἀνακ̄ (<...ακ̄) ο̄γ̄πᾱρᾱβο
 25 λ̄η̄ τε̄ταῖ̄τε̄ο̄γ̄ᾱς̄ χε̄ ἀῖ̄ς̄ᾱτ̄ἡ̄ς̄ ἀλλ̄ᾱ †̄ς̄ᾱγ̄η̄ς̄ ἐ̄ν̄ ἀτ̄
 26 ς̄ε̄ρ̄μ̄η̄η̄ιᾱ ἡ̄†̄πᾱρᾱβο̄λ̄η̄ χε̄ ἐ̄ς̄ς̄η̄μ̄ᾱνε̄ ς̄ᾱε̄γ̄ vac̄
 27 [τ̄οτε̄] πᾱχε̄πᾱπο̄ς̄το̄λο̄ς̄ ἀρᾱϑ̄ vac̄ ς̄ω̄[τ̄]ἡ̄ς̄ ἀραῖ̄ †̄η̄νο̄ϑ̄ τ̄ᾱ
 28 τ̄ᾱμακ̄ χε̄ ἐ̄γ̄ τε̄ τ̄ξ̄ε̄ρ̄μ̄η̄η̄ιᾱ ἡ̄†̄πᾱρᾱβο̄λ̄η̄ χε̄ π̄ῑρ̄ρο̄
 29 nim̄ πε̄ ἡ̄ τ̄ῖ̄ω̄νε̄ ἡ̄μ̄η̄ς̄ ο̄ῡε̄γ̄ τε̄ ἡ̄ ς̄ἡ̄ε̄γ̄ νε̄ ἡ̄ρ̄β̄η̄γ̄ε̄

Codex 377 (>); quire 24 (= 'D'); Hugo Ibscher '35'; facsimile 251.

7 Possibly χε̄ ς̄ε̄ς̄η̄ξ̄ ἀρᾱϑ̄, "for they are written in (?) it". 10–11 "All the writings that are in the world", vel sim. 11–12 "Just like these great goods with which they filled the house", vel sim. 13–14 "... against the value and the ... of this precious stone", vel sim. 17 The scribe has omitted some text, understand: "Well have you

spoken (about this) stone". 19 "Then again he says to Goundesh ..."; vel sim. 24 ἀνακ̄ (<...ακ̄): Presumed haplography, reading e.g. "I (myself, I have given to you (ἀρακ̄?)) a parable ...". 28 ἡ̄†̄πᾱρᾱβο̄λ̄η̄: The initial ἡ̄- is clear.

1 to them: You have told it well (καλῶς), for they are not equal with it
2 nor (οὔτε) do they approach its quality. Because (ἐπειδὴ) this very precious stone
3 is honored on account of the great things that it does
4 for all of us every time. Then (τότε) says Goundesh
5 to the Illuminator: So, in the manner of this great, honored [stone],
6 this is indeed the way with this great book, the one about which you
7 proclaimed these fourteen *logoi* (λόγος) to me (for they are written ?) in it,
8 just like this stone, that it gives benefit in everything. This is indeed like
9 this book: As the measure of all wisdom (σοφία) is written in it,
10 it gives benefit in everything. All the writings (γραφή) that
11 . . . they are not equal with this great book. Just like (these great ?)
12 (treasures ?) with which they filled the house, that
13 against the value (τιμή) and the . . . (of this precious ?)
14 (stone ?). This is indeed like all the writings (γραφή)
15 . . . it is your great writing (γραφή) that its (?)
16 Then (τότε) says the Apostle [to]
17 Goundesh: Well (καλῶς) have you spoken (about this) stone. It has types (τύπος)
18 it in of this book.
19 [Then (τότε)] says [he]: I I know the
20 interpretation (ἐρμηνεία) [of this] parable (παραβολή) that you have recited to me about this stone
21 of this king. For it is what you should know about this stone, namely, what it is;
22 [and (ἤ)] these seven useful (χρήσιμος) things that are in this stone, what they are,
23 the ones that give benefit for the king, whose stone this is. Do you know them
24? Says Goundesh to him: I (have given you (?)) a parable (παραβολή),
25 the one that I recited, because I had heard it. But (ἀλλά) I do not know the
26 interpretation (ἐρμηνεία) of this parable (παραβολή), what it signifies (σημαίνειν).
27 [Then] says the Apostle to him: Listen to me. Now I will
28 tell you what is the interpretation (ἐρμηνεία) of this parable (παραβολή).
29 Who is the king? Or what is his precious stone? Or what are these things

7 fourteen *logoi*: perhaps a reference to the number of sections in the book, of which there were at least seven apud Augustine, *De natura boni* 44.

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1 εἰτῆρηγ ῥῆτῶνε εἰτῆμεγ vac Ωφπε ογῆ εκ
 2 ςαγῆε δε ἀνακ πε(τ)τῆταντ ἀπῆρο εἰτῆμεγ †ω
 3 ἡ[ε] ῥωωφ τε τῆασ ἡσοφια ἡτῆτῆδιακρισις τεταγ
 4 ῥ. ἡπνογτε vac διῶφλῆ ἀβαλ ἡρητῆ ἡτ
 5 ἀποκ[αλλυ]τῆς τῆρῆς ἡῆτῆσοφια τῆρῆς ἡτῆσῆτ εῶα
 6 τε ἡδ. . . . ἡῆῆρηεφτῆσῶ ἀρε ἀρετογ ἀραῆς ἡσε
 7 †τοοτ.[. . . .] εῶαγῆρο ἀραγ τῆρογ ῥῆτῆσοφια
 8 ἡτα. . . . ἀρε ἀρετῆ ῥῆτασ. . . . vac Παλιν ἀν ἀρῆ
 9 ς. ἀν ῥῆῆναωῆρηε ἡῆῆναωῆρηε ἀογ
 10 [. . . .]. ογῆεῆεγῆρηγ ἡσελεσλες. .
 11 [. . . .]. ἡῆῆεγῆρηογ vac ἡπ[[ο]]ογῶωε ῥωωτ δ. .
 12 [. . . .]. τῆεβαγ ἀναῆαστῆροφαγῆ. . . [. . .]
 13 [. . . . Δικ]αιοςγῆη ῶαρετῆῆτῆσῆρητ. . [. . .]
 14 [.]. τῆῆτῆωογῶ(γ) ἡσεωρε ἀρετ[ογ. . . .]
 15 [. . .]. στογ ἀρηῆ. . . . πε ἡ. . . . χ. [. . . .]
 16 [. . . .]. παιδεγῆ ἡῆαγ ἡταῆ.
 17 [. . . .]. τῆδικῆαιοςγῆη vac εῶαντετῆδι
 18 κῆαιοςγῆη ογῆ. . . . ε. . . . ἡτῆῆτῆρο.
 19 ῥῆτῆσοφια ἀν εκ. ἡῆεκ. c
 20 δ. ἡτα. ἡεγ
 21 ςιχ. . . . †σῆαν ἡεγ ςιτῆπ. . τ ακα[. . .]. ἡπκωτ
 22 ἡτῆδικῆαιοςγῆη vac Ταρογῆ. . . ῥῆτογῆηε ἡσετῆ
 23 σῶτῆ vac ἡσετῆῆραλογ ἀπαρογ ς. . . ἡπῆιωγῆμοσ ἡ
 24 πῆρασμοσ ἀγῶ τρε. . . ἀρεῆ ἡεγ ῶα[. . . .]
 25 ἡσετῆηκ ἀρετογ ἡαγῆσῶτῆη ςητῆ ἡῆοῆιγῆς τῆρογ
 26 Παλιν ἀν εῶαντεῆῆωῆρηε σῶαβε ἡσεῶωωτ ἡ
 27 ογῆῆτῆε ἡ ογῆῆατ ἡ ογῆαλες ἡ ογῆροφῆ ἡς[ε]
 28 ογῶμ ῥῆτῆσοφια vac ῶαῆσεχε ἡῆῆελεγῆεροσ
 29 ἡῆῆελεγῆερα ἡτασεχε ἀν ἡῆῆκατῆχογῆμενοσ

Codex 378 (^); quire 24 (= 'D'); Hugo Ibscher '36'; facsimile 252.

4 E.g. "... that was given to me from God"; but ςιτῆῆ for "from (God)" is difficult to read. 6 For the pl. noun preceding "and the teachers" perhaps Δογμα, 'sects'; the same pairing is found at the start of ch. 295 where one notes the adverse connotation. 11 Erasure mark, presumably ἡπῆ- was intended ("I did not ..."). 15 Perhaps

χεστογ ("raised them up"). 21 Possibly ςιτῆῆρητ, "through the mind (or: 'heart')". 23-24 Probably ἡ(ῆπ) ("(and the) trial (?)") has been omitted between the lines. 24 ἡεγ: Initial ἡ- very uncertain; there may be a scribal correction or addition.

1 that give benefit in that stone? You should know, therefore,
 2 that I am the one who is like that king. This stone, too,
 3 is the great wisdom (σοφία) of differentiation (διάκρισις), the one that has been
 4 (given to) me from (?) God. I have shown through it this
 5 complete revelation (ἀποκάλυψις) and all this wisdom (σοφία) of this quality.
 6 If the sects (δόγμα ?) and the teachers are set firm against it and they
 7 lay hands (on it ?), there is victory over all of them through this wisdom (σοφία);
 8 set firm in my Once again (πάλιν), some
 9 among my children and my disciples (μαθητής) . . .
 10 against one another, and they quarrelled . . .
 11 with one another. (I) myself did not wish to . . .
 12 teach them about the conducts (ἀναστροφή)
 13 righteousness (δικαιοσύνη). Arrogance . . .
 14 pride, and they stood fast . . .
 15 raised (?) up
 16 educate (παιδεύειν) them, and I
 17 righteousness (δικαιοσύνη). If
 18 righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) of the kingdom . . .
 19 in the wisdom (σοφία) also, as you (?) your (?) . . .
 20 for them
 21 give power for them through the . . . You have (?) . . . the edification
 22 of righteousness (δικαιοσύνη); so that they are not . . . in their truth, and they are not
 23 defeated, and they are not cast back . . . the persecution (διωγμός)
 24 (and the) trial (?)—and the way (I ?) will write to them (?)
 25 —and they are set firm. They shall not be afraid of any afflictions (θλίψις).
 26 Once again (πάλιν), if these children are deprived, and if they lack
 27 an alms or a gift or a garment or food (τροφή), and if they
 28 eat of wisdom (σοφία), I speak with the free men (ἐλεύθερος)
 29 and free women (ἐλεύθερα), and also speak with the catechumens (κατηχούμενος)

3 differentiation (διάκρισις): i.e. the distinction between light and darkness, the ability to distinguish and separate them. 7 lay hands: for rare negative sense, cf. Hom 10.9. 8–11 cf. 1Ke 219.1–221.17 and P. Kell. Copt. 53, 31.16 for Mani responding to such situations. 12–13 conducts . . . righteousness: *The Conducts of Righteousness* is a title of one of Mani's Epistles, see P. Kell. Copt. 53, 71.18 and comm. (Gardner 2007, 63 and 82–83); cf. 385.12. 22–

25 On this passage, cf. 1Ke 379.1–6, on the 'twelfth righteousness'. 25 afraid (ἄσπις γητ-): cf. CD 834a. 26 these children: i.e. the elect, who rely on lay support for their food, clothing, shelter, etc. 28 eat of wisdom: in the sense of having nothing else to eat? Or, 'eat in wisdom', i.e. in accord with the rules of the elect, and hence worthily.

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1 ἸΠΠΑΡΧΤΕ ἸΣΕΤῚΝΗἸΤΜἸΤῚΝΑΕ ἸΤΑΧΙΤΣ ΤΑΡῚΟΙΚΟ
 2 ΝΟΜΗ ἸΤΑΕΚΚΛΗΨΙΑ ΤΗΡῚ vac ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΝ ΕΩΑΝΤΕ
 3 ΖἸΡἸΒΩΝΕΥ ΕΥΖΑΥ ἸΡΕΦΡΝΑΒΕ ΕΥΤΕΟΥΟΝΙῚΕ[ΧΕ]
 4 ΕΤΖΑΥ ΟΥΒΕΤῚΝΗΕ ΕΥΤΕΟΥΟΖἸΝΑΒΕ [ΑἸΡΩ]Ἰ
 5 Ε ΕΤΑΝΙΤ ΦΑΪΣΕΧΕ ΑΝ ΝΕΜΕΥ ΖἸΤΣΟΦΙΑ. [. . .] Δ
 6 Ἰ. ΠΟΥΖΗΤ ἸΣΕΡῚΛῚΟΗΤ ἸΣΕΑΝΕἸΤΕ ΖἸΠΑΓΑΘΟΝ
 7 ἸΝΟΥ ἸΝΙΣΕΧΕ ΕΤΒΑΣΕ ΕΤΑΥΤΕΟΥΑΥ ΦΑΥΚΤΑΥ
 8 ΖΩΦῚ ἸΣΕΤΕΟΥΟΖἸΣΕΧΕ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΖΙΤἸΠΑΓΑΘΟΝ
 9 ΕΤΑΥΧΟ ἸΖΗΤΟΥ vac ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΝ ΕΩΑΝΤΕΝΑΩΗΡΕ ΜἸ
 10 ΝΑΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΖΙΣΕ ΖἸΠΡΙῚΕ ΕΤΟΥΖΑῚΕ ἸΖΗΤῚ ΠΕΤΑἸΤΑ
 11 ΦΕΑἸΩ ΕΤΟΥΤΑΦΕΑἸΩ ἸΜΑῚ ἸΤΕΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΖἸΝΕΝΤΟΛΑΥΕ
 12 [.] ΦΑ. . . ΟΥ ΜἸΠΟΥ. . . . Ζ. . . Ε ΕΥ. [. . . .].
 13 [.] ΣΕΧΕ ΑΝ ΝΕΜΕΥ ΖἸΤΣΟΦΙΑ ΕΤΒΕΠΕἸ. [. . . .]. .
 14 [.] ΕΤΒΕΤῚΜἸΤΡΡΟ ΕΤΑΝῚ ΕΤΣΒΤΑἸΤ. [. . . .] ΟΣ
 15 [.] ἸΖἸΤΑΝΤἸ ΕΥΝΕΥ ΑΡΑΥ Ἰ. . . [. . . .] . .
 16 [. . .] ΟΣ ἸΜἸΕ ΝἸΥ ΑΖΟΥΝ ΧΕ. . . . [.] ΧΟΟΣ
 17 [. . .] ΕΤΟΥΤἸΚ ΑΡΕΤΟΥ ἸΖΗΤῚ. . . . [.] .
 18 [.] ΝΕΝΤΟΛΑΥΕ ἸΣΕΖ. Φ. ἸΤ.
 19 . ΕΤΖ. . . . ἸΠΣΑΝΒΑΛ ἸΝΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ vac ἸΤΑΥ ΖΩ
 20 ΦΥ ΝΑ. . . . ΝΕΥ Ε. . . . ΣΟ. . . . ΑΝΙΣΕΧΕ. . Τ. . .
 21 ἸΜΑΥ. . . ἸΣΕΝΕΥ ΑΡΑΥ ΖἸΟΥἸΩΡῚ ἸΜ. . ΖΑΠῚ ΕΥ
 22 ΒΑΥΤ ΑΖΟΥΝ ΑΥἸΕΛ Φ. . . . Ε ΖΩΦΥ ἸΣΕΤΦΚ ἸΖΗΤῚ
 23 [.] ΠΟΥΡΑΤ ΕΤΑΥΡΕΦΕ. . . . Η. ἸΣΕΝΟΥΖΕ ΑΒΑΛ ἸΤ
 24 ΘΛΙΨΙΣ ΜἸΠΡΙῚΕ ΜἸ. . . . ΗΤ ΕΤΕΦΑΥΡῚΥΤἸ ἸΖΗΤῚ
 25 . ΕΤΑΟΥ. ΖἸΤΣΟΦ[ΙΑ] ῚΕ ΕΤΟ ἸΟΥ. . . . ΜΑΤ
 26 [.] ΡΒΟΗἸ. . . . ΑΤΑΕΚΚΛΗ[ΣΙΑ] Δ ἸΣἸΥ ἸΜ vac vac
 27 [ΤΟ]ΤΕ ΠΑΧΕΓΟΥΝΔἸΩ ΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΦΑΠΟΟΥῚΕ ἸΠΕΤ
 28 [.] ΕΤΑΝΙΤ. ΝἸ ΑΒΑΛ. . ΡἸΟἸΕ ἸΜΑῚ vac ἸΝΟΥ
 29 ῚΕ ΔΙΣἸΟΥΩΝ ΤΖΕΡΜΗΝΙΑ ἸΤΦ[ΝΕ] ΧΕ ΤΕΚΣΟΦΙΑ ΤΕ
 30 [Τ]ΕΤΑΥΤΕΕΣ ΝΕΚ ἸΤἸΠΠΟΥΤΕ Ἰ[ΤΑΚ] ΠΕ ΠῚΡΟ ΕΤΕΡΕ
 31 [Τ]ΦΝΕ ἸΤΡΟΥΤῚ Ἰ. . ΕΤἸ ΖΩΦ[. . .]. ΠΩΖ ΦΑΡΑΚ

Codex 379 (^); quire 24 (= 'D'); Hugo Ibscher '37'; facsimile 253.

9 ΕΤΑΥΧΟ: Although this reading is almost certain there may be a correction mark through the -α-; perhaps to indicate a scribal error for ΕΤΑἸΧΟ ("that I have planted")?

1 of the faith; and they give me alms, and I receive it, and I
2 steward (οικονομεῖν) my entire church (ἐκκλησία). Once again (πάλιν), if
3 some wicked evil people, sinners, proclaim these words
4 that are bad against us, against the truth, exhorting sins [against people]
5 that are good; again, I speak with them in wisdom (σοφία),
6 . . . their heart, and they become gentle and are pleasant in the good (ἀγαθόν)
7 Now, these impetuous words that they have uttered are turned back
8 too, and they proclaim good words through the good (ἀγαθόν)
9 that (I (?)) planted in them. Once again (πάλιν), if my children and
10 my disciples (μαθητῆς) suffer in the toil in which they labor, that which I have
11 preached (and) which they preach; and (δέ) one of the commandments (ἐντολή)
12 (breaks ?) and their as they
13 . . . again, (I) speak with them in wisdom (σοφία) about this
14 . . . about his kingdom which is alive and prepared
15 some likenesses that are seen
16 . . . true enters, so that said
17 in which they are set fast
18 the commandments (ἐντολή), and they this ,
19 (the one) that outside of all the worlds (κόσμος). They
20 themselves will these words
21 them . . . and they will see them in a . . . view, as if they
22 are gazing in a mirror themselves, and they are strengthened in it
23 . . . the gladness that they celebrated , and they will be set apart from the
24 affliction (θλίψις) and the suffering and the . . . in which they grieve (λυπεῖν),
25 (that ?) which So, in this wisdom that is
26 . . . assists (βοηθεῖν) my church at every moment.
27 Then (τότε) says Goundesh to the Apostle: Until today, this
28 good . . . did not to me from . . . apprehend (νοεῖν) it. So, now
29 I have learned the interpretation (ἐρμηνεία) of this stone, that it is your wisdom (σοφία)
30 that was given to you from God. [You] are the king whose
31 stone this is. Indeed (?), reach you (?).

2–9 cf. P. Kell. Copt. 53, 32.2–33.23 and 62.12–16 (Gardner 2007, 40–43, 60–61).

380

1 ξε ἀϊνεῦ ἀβαλ ἀϊῆμε ἀϊραιθεανε ξε ἀνακ οὔ
 2 π. . . . ῥ οὔνητι πωνῆ ἀθαν vac vac
 3 Τοτε [πα]χεπαποστολος ἀγοῦνηδῶ ἐκαωνῆ Ἰκωκ
 4 Ἰζ[ητ Ἰ]κῶνε ἀν ζιτοοτ Ἰτηῆτατμοῦ Ἰῆπῶν[ῆ]
 5 ἐκῶδ[ηπ]ῆτεγε Ἰκταχρακ ῥῆνισεχε ἐτακσα
 6 τμοῦ Ἰτοοτ vac Τοτε παχεγοῦνηδῶ ἀπαποστο
 7 λος ἀνακ ἐταχοος ἀρακ ξε εἰτηταντ̄ δεγ εἰτη
 8 ταντ̄ ἀγρωμε Ἰβαλαῶρε ἐαφσωχε Ἰκῆμη
 9 τςναγς Ἰρωμε Ἰβαλαῶρε ἀβρο ἀραγ τηρογ
 10 ἀφ. . . . ὕ ἀπκαῖ ζαρετῆ vac Παχεπιρωμε ἐτῆμεῦ
 11 ῥῆ[τε vac Νεῦ]Ἰοῦνας δε Ἰεσκῆ ἀγῶκῆρωμε. . [. . .]
 12 . . [. . . .] ἐ παραπιρωμε ἐτῆμεῦ ἀφχ. . [. . .]
 13 . . [. . . .] . . ἀφραζτῆ ἀπιτη ζαρετῆ ἀφ. . . [. . .]
 14 . . [. . .] . τῆμητςασιζητ Ἰῆτῆμητ. . . . [. . . .]
 15 . . [. . .] . ζαρετῆ Ἰπικεβαλαῶρε ἐτῆμεῦ. . [. . .]
 16 ταφ. . . . τ. . . . πετῆεφ. . . [. . .]
 17 ξε. ἀπικῆμητς
 18 ναγς Ἰρωμε Ἰβαλαῶρε. [. . .] . . Ἰπ. . . . ἀἶβρο
 19 ἀραγ. [. . .] . ταπ. . . . παρωτ̄
 20 αχῆπ. . . . ῥητ. . . . ρ. . . . οῦνας
 21 τε π. . . . Ἰῆτςωρε. . . . Ἰ vac Π. . . . Ἰῆτςωρε
 22 Ἰπικῆμητςναγς Ἰταφ. καῖ ἀκ
 23 βρο ἀραῖ vac Ἰτακ ῥωκ [. . .] ἀρη. με. . .
 24 Ἰποοῦ ἐμπατηεῦ ἀ[ρα]κ ἀίσεχε Ἰῆηετο Ἰαβε
 25 ἀἶβρο ἀραγ ῥῆτςοφία Ἰτφιλοσοφία Ἰνοῦ εἰς
 26 ῥητε ἀβρο ἀραῖ ῥῆτςοφία Ἰῆ. τ ἀν Ἰετ
 27 κεῖρε Ἰμαγ Ἰζ[οῦο ἀ]ραῖ Ἰῆδικαῖος. . . ἀθο. Ἰῆ
 28 αβε φῶνῶ νεμε[κ] ἀβρο ἀραῖ vac Παχεπαπο
 29

Codex 380 (>); quire 24 (= 'D'); Hugo Ibscher '38'; facsimile 254.

2 Perhaps οὔπετανῆ "a living one". 10 Perhaps ἀφραζτοῦ, "he struck them" (cf. l. 14). 13 E.g. ετο Ἰχωρε before παρα, "who was stronger than that man". 28 One might well read ἀγαθος,

(i.e. "there is no other righteous person so good"); but the syntax of the clause is difficult to understand without emendation.

1 For I have seen, I have comprehended, I have perceived (αἰσθάνεσθαι) that I am a
 2 (living one?). I have life to the end!
 3 Then says the Apostle to Goundesh: You will live and you will be
 4 content; and you will also find from me deathlessness and life,
 5 if you believe and strengthen yourself in these words that you have
 6 heard from me. Then says Goundesh to the Apostle:
 7 I can tell you what I resemble. I am
 8 like a champion who has fought with another
 9 twelve champions. He was victorious over them all.
 10 He (struck?) them to the earth at his feet. That man says
 11 in his own [heart] (that) there is no greater champion of his
 12 sort! Now (δέ), [there was] a long interval of time. Another man was found
 13 (who was stronger?) than that man. He
 14 he struck him to the ground at his feet; he
 15 his arrogance and his . . . -ness
 16 at the foot of that other champion
 17 the one who is greater
 18 against these other twelve
 19 champions I was victorious
 20 over them spread me
 21 upon the by the is great.
 22 The . . . strength The . . . strength
 23 of these other twelve, earth. You were
 24 victorious over me. You yourself,
 25 today. Until I saw you I debated with those who are wise;
 26 I was victorious over them in the wisdom (σοφία) of philosophy (φιλοσοφία). Now,
 27 see, you have been victorious over me in wisdom (σοφία) and (?). also, those that
 28 you do [more than] me. There is no righteous person (δίκαιος) (so good?); there is no
 29 sage equal with [you]. You have been victorious over me! Says the

8 champion (Γαλλαδιρε): this term is used in the Coptic title of Mani's *Book of Giants* (2 Ps 46.30), where it seems to correspond to Middle Iranian *k'w* ('hero, lord') more than to Greek γίγας ('giant'),

otherwise used for the same book's title (e.g., Hom 25.4). Here the more ordinary sense of 'champion, wrestler, combatant' is involved.

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1 [C]ΤΟΛΟΣ ἀραϗ χῆῆποογε ρωκ ἀβαλ κασεϗ[ε. . . .]
 2 [. . .] σοφία ετακχιτῆ ἡτοοτ ἡῆπσαγνε ἡ[τΔιακρ]!
 3 [C]ΙC ετπωρσ ἀβαλ ἡρωβ νιμ ἀπῆμα vac
 4 ἮΛΓ
 5 ерепкеφалаион ϗω ἡμαс εтве
 6 παποστολος ϗε εϗтρεпгpαφεϗс с
 7 ρεῖ ἡρῆεπιστολαγε εϗϗαϗ ἡμαϗ κα
 8 ταμα ма
 9 Παλιν ἀν ἀσωπε κκεснϗ ερεπαποστολος ρμαсτ
 10 ἀπῆτῆ ερεῆγpαφεϗс ρмаст ριτῆεη εϗсρεῖ ἡρῆε
 11 πιστολαγε καταма ма ἀγοῦνδηϗ εἰ ριοῆ ἡπ[ἀπο]
 12 ϗτολος ἀϗсωтне ἀραϗ тρε εтῆсρεῖ ϗωρ[ιc. . . .]
 13 [. . .] мо ἡμαϗ ρῆεϗεπιστολαγε [.]
 14 [. . .] ρα. ἡαρϗтне оϗ. . . [.]
 15 [. . .] ερῆ. βαλ βωк ἀροῦν [.]
 16 [. . .] ρῆοϗωρϗ ἡῆοῦῆтῆρῆηρῆт ϗε νερῆοϗ. [. . .]
 17 [. . .] ϗ. ρос εтβαсϗ εтϗ. . . [. . .]
 18 [. . .] ἡтвес.
 19 [. . .] vac ϗ.
 20 [. . .] εῆν.
 21 . ιсε ϗ.
 22 [. . .] . ἡ. ἡ
 23 [. . .] . β.
 24 [. . .]
 25 ἀροῦν ἡ. ἡοῦῆ. ἀϗ ρῆπρῆт εт.
 26 ἡ ἡтнеϗ. οῗαβε. ἀῖ vac ἀλλα ρῆρϗ
 27 με νε εοϗ. ἀн ρко ἡ. ἡλλαοϗε.
 28 θε. ἡтρoφ.
 29 γαρ ϗ. н. οн. βα. τῆσῆημαϗ ἀсoϗ

Codex 381 (>); quire 24 (= 'D'); Hugo Ibscher '39'; facsimile 255.

1–3 For the restoration of τΔιακριc see 378, 3; the parallel might suggest to read τηασ ἡσοφια, “the great wisdom”. 3 πωρσ: I.e. πωλσ ‘deliver’. 6 and 10 ηγpαφεϗс: This spelling is attested elsewhere in the Medinet Madi corpus (Hom. 25, 18), or one might prefer γpαφεс. 15 E.g. “the ones on the outside go in”. 16 νερῆοϗ: Otherwise read νερῶηε, but the -η- is quite convincing

(perhaps the text was corrected) and the νε- before ρῶηε would be unexpected. 17 The poorly preserved text looks like ηϗκαιρос εтβαсϗ εтϗηϗ ρ[β]αλ, although it is difficult to know what this might mean (“this rebellious season that is completed?”); nevertheless, one should also consider to read твесϗε ‘rebellion’ in l. 18.

1 Apostle to him: From today hold firm. You will speak (with the great ?)
2 wisdom (σοφία) you have received from me, with the knowledge of [differentiation (διάκρισις)]
3 that delivers everything to its place.

333

*This Chapter tells about
the Apostle: How he causes the Scribes (γραφείς)
to write Letters (ἐπιστολή), sending them to
different Places.*

9 Once again (πάλιν), it happened another time, when the Apostle was sitting
10 down, the scribes (γραφείς) sat before him writing
11 letters (ἐπιστολή) to different (κατά) places. Goundesh came before the
12 Apostle. He listened to him, the way that he writes without (χωρίς) . . .
13 them in his letters (ἐπιστολή)
14 assure you (pl.)
15 (those who are outside ?) go in
16 . . . with assurance and understanding, so that the companions (?)
17 (this ?) rebellious time (καιρός ?) that is completed (?)
18 of the rebellion (?) . . .
19
20
21
22
23
24
25 in in (?) a house in the heart that (?) . . .
26 holy However (ἀλλά), there are some
27 people who hungry any
28 food (τροφή ?)
29 For (γάρ), do not find water to drink,

382

1 [CENH]Υ ΑΒΑΛ ΝCΕΧΙΜΑΥ ἡ CΕCΟΥ ΕΥΤΗCΟΥ ΔΕ [CΕ]
 2 [ΝΑΜΟ]Υ vac ΕΩΑΝΤΕΠΕΜΑΝ ΑΝ ΤΕΡΑΥ ἡ CΕΖΗΜΑΝ Ζ[ἡ]
 3 [ΟΥΖΗ]ΑΜ ΕΦΚΗΒ CΕΝΑΜΟΥ ΖΑΤΕΖΗΜΕ ΜἡΠΕ(Μ)ΔΗ vac
 4 ΕΥ[ΩΑΝΑ]CΒΕ ΑΝ ἡ CΕΑΡΑΩ CΕΝΗΥ ΑΒΑΛ ΕΤΒΕΠΟΥΑ
 5 ΡΑ[Ω ἡ]CΕΚΩΤΕ CΑΟΥΝΑ ΕΦΖΗΜ ἡ CΕΤΖΜΑΥ ΕΥΤΗ
 6 CΜΗ . . . ἡ CΕΤΖΜΑΥ CΕΝΑΜΟΥ ΖΑΠΧΕΦ ΕΥΩΑΝἡ
 7 ΚΑΖ ΑΝ ΖἡΟΥΜΑ ΕΦΜΑΧἡ ΕΥΖΗΜΑCἡ ἡ ΖΗΤἡ CΕΝΑΩΙ
 8 ΝΕ CΑΟ[Υ]ΜΑ ΕΦΟΥΕCΤΩΝ ΧΕ ΕΥΑCΟΥΤΩΝ ΝΕΥΜΕΛΟC
 9 ΑΒΑΛ ἡ[Ζ]ΗΤἡ ἡ CΕΛΟ ΕΥΘΛΙΒΕ ΕΥΖΗΩ vac ΟΥΗΡ CΕ ΤΕ Τ . .
 10 Cἡ . [.] . ΕΥCΩ ΕΥΜΑΧἡ ΖἡΤΕΥΘΛΙΨΙC ΕΥΖΗΠ ΕΥΖΗ
 11 [Ω . . .] ἡ ΠΙΖΩΒ ΟΥΖΩΒ ἡ ΟΥΖΟΟΥ ΕΜ ΠΕ ΟΥΤΕ Π . .
 12 [.] ΔΤΕ vac ΔΛΛΑ ΠΖΩΒ ΠΕ ΠΕΙ ἡ ΟΥΕCΚΕ Ε . [.]
 13 [.] ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΟΥΚΕΛΕΥCΙC ἡ ΡΡΟ ΠΕ Π . Ω . vac
 14 [ΠΑΧΕΠΑΠΟ]CΤΟΛΟC ΑΡΑΥ Ε . . . ΟΥἡ ἡ CΩ ἡ ΖΕ [. . .]
 15 [.] ἡ ΑΩΗΡΕ ΖἡΠΚΑΙΡΟC ΕΤΜΑΧἡ vac [ΠΑΧΕ]
 16 [ΓΟΥ]ἡΔΗΩ ΑΡΑΦ ΕΩΩΠΕ ΝΑΜΗ(Ε) ΚΘΑΡΕ ἡ Μ[. . .]
 17 [. . .] . ΖἡΡἡΜἡ ΝΕ CΕΤΑΧΟ ΑΡΑΥ . . . [. . .]
 18 Κ ΑΠΕΤΚ ΤΗΡἡ ΧΕ . [. . .]
 19 . ΒΙ . . . ΜΕ ἡ ΖΗΤΟΥ
 20
 21 ΡΕΝΕΦ Τ ΥΑΝ ἡ Κ
 22 ΜΕ ΑΡΕ ἡ Π . Ρ . . . ΑΝ ΝΕΥ
 23 Ε Κ
 24 ΡΕ Ρ
 25 . . ΝΕΥΚΑΔΥ ΑΝ ἡ . . . ΝΕΦ
 26 . . Ε vac ΤΟΤΕ ΚΑΝ Ν
 27 . ΚΕΖΟΥCΙΑ ΝΕΚ Δ
 28 ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΤΗΡC vac ΓΑΡ
 29 ΝΡΩΜΕ ΤΠΑΡΖΗCΙΑ ἡ ΠΡΑΚ ΤΔΙ
 30 ΚΑΙΟCΥΝΗ ΤΗΡC Ε[Τ . .] . . C vac vac

Codex 382 (^); quire 24 (= 'D'); Hugo Ibscher '40'; facsimile 256.

6 CΜΗ . . . : The sense is surely "if they do not find the place" "find a way". 12 Perhaps read ΖΑΤΕ 'moment' and understand "... nor is it a matter of a few moments"; vel sim.

1 [they come] out and they take water and drink. But (δέ), if they do not drink, [they]
2 [will die]. Moreover, if the fever overtakes them and they become feverish [with
3 a] doubled [fever], they will die of the temperature and the fever.
4 Also, if they are wet and become cold, they will come out because of their
5 cold, and seek after a place that is hot; and they are made warm. If they do not
6 find (the place) and are made warm, they will die on account of the frost. Also, if they
7 are in pain in an uncomfortable place where they are sitting, they will seek
8 after a place that is spacious, so that they can stretch their limbs (μέλος)
9 out in it, and they stop being afflicted (θλίβειν) and confined. So, how much is . . .
10 they remain uncomfortable in their affliction (θλίψις), hidden and confined
11 This matter is not a thing of a day, nor . . .
12 Rather (ἀλλά), the matter is this: For an interval of time . . .
13 because it is a royal command
14 [Says the] Apostle to them: Of what sort, therefore (σὺν),
15 my children in this difficult time? [Says]
16 Goundesh to him: If truly you have confidence (θαρρεῖν) in
17 are true people, they condemn them
18 to the one that you all of it, that
19 in them
20
21 is pleasant
22
23
24
25 . . . they also were leaving them (?).
26 . . . Then (τότε) you will
27 your (?) authority (ἐξουσία) for you
28 entire church (ἐκκλησία). For (γάρ).
29 the people. The freedom (παρρησία) and the peacefulness the
30 entire righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) that

383	1	[ΠΑ]ΛΙΝ ΔΗ ΑΙΣΩΤΜΟΥΣΕΞΕ ΝΤΖΕ ΧΕ ΑΦΩΩΠΕ ΝΧΙΑΛΕ
	2	ΖΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΠΡΡΟ ΝΗΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ ΑΦΜΑΖΕ ΑΒΑΛ.
	3	. . . . . ΕΥ. . ΖΗΤΧΩΡΑ ΝΗΖΗΤΟΥ ΗΠ.
	4	. . . . . ΧΙΤΗΝΤΣΑΟΥΑΝ Ζ.
	5	. . . . . ΡΟΣ ΑΦΩΩΧΕ ΑΡΑΥ.
	6	[.]. ΑΡΑΥ vac ΤΑΚΤΗΝΕ.
	7	[.]. ΤΕ ΑΝΡΜΠΕΖΗΤΟΥ.
	8	[.]. ΠΗΣ.
	9	[.]. ΛΑΥΕ ΜΠΖ.
	10	[.]. Ε. Κ ΑΤΣΕΤΕ.
	11	[.]. ΑΥΤΠΕ. . . [.]
	12	[.]. ΑΙΧΙΣΕ. . . [.]
	13	[.]. ΕΥΤΑΚΟΥ Δ. [.]
	14	[.]. ΕΤ. . . [.]
	15	[.]. . . Ε. . . ΤΑΚΟΥ Δ. [.]
	16	[.]. . . ΖΡ. . . [.]
	17	[.]. . . [.]
	18	[.]. [.]
	19	[.]. [.]
	20	[.].
	21	[.]. [.]
	22	[.].
	23	[.].
	24	[.].
	25	[.].
	26	[.].
	27	[.].
	28	[.].
	29	[.].

Codex 383 (^); quire 24 (= 'D'); Hugo Ibscher '41'; facsimile 257.

1 αφωωπε: Not "it happened" but "he was"; i.e. "There was a man named Alexander ...".

1 Once again (πάλιν), I heard a lesson of this kind, that there was
2 Alexander, the king of the Macedonians; he travelled forth . . .
3 in the land (χώρα) of the Indians
4 received the servitude
5 Alexander (?); he cut them
6 (said) to them: Be you (pl.) strong
7 to the people of India . . .
8
9 any of the
10 to the fire . . .
11 they tasted . . .
12 I have raised . . .
13 as they were strengthened . . .
14
15 strengthened them . . .
16
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2 ff. Not enough survives to identify the specific part of the story of Alexander the Great in India cited here. But the occurrence of such a story here may be due to the letters Alexander writes in India, addressed to his mother and to Aristotle, in the Ps.-Callisthenes Alexander Romance.

ἡ κεφαλαῖον ἡ σοφία

384

1 ⲕⲉ . . . ⲡⲉⲓ̅ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲟⲛⲏⲥ ⲧⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̅ⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲗ
2 ⲗⲁ ⲛ̅ . . . ⲉⲗⲕⲟ ⲉⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̅ⲙⲁⲅ̅ vac ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲡⲁⲡ
3 ⲟⲩⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ vac ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲡ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉⲉⲗ̅ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲡⲓ̅ⲟⲅ̅ ⲛ̅
4 ⲉⲡⲓ̅ⲣⲟⲩⲉⲅ̅ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲟⲅⲁⲣⲉⲧ̅ⲕ̅ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲕⲉⲣⲟⲙⲉ . .
5 ⲡ . . . ⲧⲉⲕ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲓ̅ ⲁⲧⲁⲣ̅ⲡⲉⲓ̅ vac ⲡⲁ
6 ⲭⲉⲛⲓⲣⲟⲙⲉ ⲛ̅ⲁⲓ̅ⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲉⲁⲓ̅ⲉ̅ ⲛ̅ [. . . .]
7 ⲁⲅⲓ̅ ⲁⲣⲟⲅ̅ⲛ̅ ⲁⲅ̅ [. . . .]
8 ⲃⲓ̅ⲛⲉ [. . . .]
9 . . . ⲉⲗ̅ . . ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲓ̅ ⲉⲓ̅ [. .]
10 ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲧⲣⲉⲧⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ϥⲉⲣⲓ̅ϥⲉ [. .]
11 [.] ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲓ̅ⲟⲩⲱⲡⲉ [. . . .]
12 [.] . . . ⲉⲛ ⲉⲓ̅ⲣⲟⲙ̅ ⲁⲧ̅ [. . . .]
13 [.] ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲗⲟⲅ̅ [. . . .]
14 [.] [. . . .]
15 [.] ⲛ̅ ⲛ̅ⲣⲏⲧⲟⲅ̅ [. . . .]
16 [.] . ⲁⲣⲁ . ⲡ [. . . .]
17 [.] [.]
18 [.] [.]
19 [.] [.]
20 [.] [.]
21 [ⲧⲗⲗ]
22 [.] . . [. .]
23 [.] [. .]
24 [.] [. .]
25 [.] [. .]
26 [ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ̅] [.]
27 [.] [.]
28 [.] . . . [.]
29 [.] ⲁⲅⲱⲃⲟⲕ]

Codex 384 (>); quire 24 (= 'D'); Hugo Ibscher '42'; facsimile 258.

21 The placing of the new chapter start here is somewhat conjectural.

1 . . . this to your disciples (μαθητῆς) the way that I told it to you. However (ἀλλά),
2 . . . hunger (?) cease from them. Then (τότε) says the
3 [Apostle] to him: This judgement that you have given, and the five
4 as it is useful for you yourself and the other people . . .
5 you. However (ἀλλά), I am the one to whom it was happening, to make me
do this!
6 Say these beautiful righteous ones (δίκαιος),
7 they came in
8 find
9 as it happens to me . . .
10 with the slaughter; and they suffer . . .
11 However (ἀλλά), I exist
12 not (?) as I approach
13 and his
14
15 in them
16
17
18
19
20
21 [334]
22 (This Chapter)
23
24
25
26 [Once again],
27
28
29 [they went]

12 approach: or 'command'.

385

1 [α]πκοςμος ουῆογαν ἡρητοῦ ερῆσαρ νε [ουῆ]
 2 [ο]γαν ερῆμαθηης νε vac ἡταρεπαπο[[στολος.]
 3 [.] . αφῆλυπη αφπωω ἡρηт τονω εтвнт[ου vac]
 4 [α]γογνδηω ει αφῆтῆ εφῆλυπη αсрапантн ер[ен]
 5 ρωμε ἡεγгеннς μαρε ἡῆγογνδηω vac Παχ[εο]γῆ
 6 ἡῆρωμε εтῆμεγ ἀπαποστολος αρακ κ[ῆ]λυπη
 7 [.] . ου vac Παχεπαποστολος араφ εῆρλυπη εтвени
 8 ρωме етаγρεῖе авал ἡтδικαιосγνη ἡῆρογτε
 9 εαγκω ἡсωγ ἡπαγαθон εтгаῖтееφ νεγ αγβωκ α
 10 πκοςμος εтвепеῖ παρηт маχῆ араῖ εтвнтῆου . .
 11 [.] ωρη νεῖ ριμαθηтнς αῖωαπογнас ἡ . . .
 12 [.] . φανтгсеваγ ἀναασтροφαγῆ [.]
 13 [. . .] . . . εтκαат εтсмаант ἡтδικа[ιοςγνη .]
 14 [. . .] . . . ῆπαρηт же еφантeоуθλιψ[ис .]
 15 [. . .] . . . тeгаῖ еγaρῆтгак ἡῆ ἡсeвωλ [αβал]
 16 [.] . . . ου{θλι}θλιψ[ис тeгаῖ αγκαат аг . [. . .]
 17 [.] vac Тote пахeπп[ωме]
 18 [εтῆμεγ α]παποστολος тλυπη еткe . . . не
 19 [.]] . . . εтe ἡп
 20 [.] [. . .] . па . . . не
 21 [.] . . . [. . .] [. . .] . . [. . .] . . .
 22 [.] . [.] α
 23 [.] . . [. . .] . паχεπп[ωме] агк . .
 24 [εт]μαρε н[ем]εφ н εтвениρωме ет[αγ]
 25 βωκ απκοςμος ε̄ ἡ
 26 πῆαννιχαῖος παποστολος тῆтант ἡῆρηте аг
 27 сгime ἡна . . εнаоус еоγῆтeсгῆωρη ἡмеγ ἡῆ
 28 ἡωρη νεωρη еφареоγнве ἡῆоγπωω ἡρηт тeг
 29 ас кагаогаῖω огаῖω εтвeῆρωме еганоγ нтoтῆс

Codex 385 (>); quire 25 (= 'E'); Hugo Ibscher '43'; facsimile 259.

12 The scribe may have written стeвaγ (sic); e.g. ναασтpоφαγῆ [εγρωεγ], "[worthy] conduct" (cf. P. Kell. v Copt. 19, 8).
 23 Difficult to read πκεоуе, "the other one" (nor simply πκε).

27 ἡна . . . : Possible erasure mark at the end indicating a scribal error, e.g. ἡнаоу (sic).

1 [to] the world (κόσμος). There are some among them as teachers; [there]
 2 are some as disciples (μαθητής). When the [Apostle]
 3 (heard this) he became sad (λύπη). He was very broken-hearted on account of [them].
 4 Goundesh came and found him sad (λύπη). It happened (ἀπαντᾶν) as [the]
 5 noblemen (εὐγενής) were walking with Goundesh. Says [one]
 6 [of] those men to the Apostle: Why are you sad (λύπη)
 7 (about) them? Says the Apostle to him: I am sad (λυπεῖν) on account of these
 8 people who have fallen away from the righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) of God,
 9 having left behind them the good (ἀγαθόν) that I gave to them. They went to
 10 [the] world (κόσμος); because of this my heart pains me, because of them. (They
 11 (were) children to me, and disciples (μαθητής). I received a great . . .
 12 . . . until I teach them the (worthy ?) conducts
 13 that are made (and) constructed of righteousness (δικαιοσύνη)
 14 in my heart; that, if an affliction (θλίψις)
 15 befall me, they might be supports for me and be freed [from (?)]
 16 an affliction (θλίψις) befall me. They have left me (and) they . . .
 17 Then (τότε) says [that man]
 18 [to] the Apostle: This sadness (λύπη) that you
 19
 20
 21
 22
 23 Says this man to the other one
 24 [who is] walking with him on account of these people who
 25 went to the world (κόσμος) (the grief ?) of
 26 the Mannichaios the Apostle is like in this way to a
 27 woman of good . . . who has children and
 28 grandchildren. Grief and heartache befall
 29 her from (κατὰ) time to time, on account of the people of hers who will die.

12 conducts: cf. 378.12–13 and note. 25 ff. Mani's grief at losing his 'children' as apostates from his church is compared to the grief of a woman losing her children and grandchildren to death. 26 the Mannichaios: thus consistently with the article, as if a title (cf. 'the Christos'), both when written as one of the abbreviated *nomina*

sacra and when written out fully as here. On this spelling, with double -n-, cf. 395.15 below, and see Augustine of Hippo, *c. Faust.* 19.22; *de haer.* 46.1; it occurs also in Hom 28.6, 28.9, 31.3, 56.9, and 86.1 interspersed with the spelling 'Manichaios'.

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 1 [.] ε] τ β ε σ σ γ γ γ ε ν η σ ε τ ο γ η α ο γ ρ .
 2 [.] χ ε μ α σ κ ι μ ρ α λ γ η ἡ β η γ η μ ι μ ε [.]
 3 [.] . ε γ ρ α λ σ λ ἡ μ α σ ρ ἡ ρ ἡ σ ε χ ε vac ἡ τ α ρ ε π α ι κ
 4 [α σ τ η] ς σ ω τ μ ε ε τ β η τ ὀ α ρ χ α γ α ρ μ ο γ τ ε α ρ α ς ρ . . .
 5 ε . . [.] . ε ρ ε (π) π ω ω ἡ ρ η τ ε τ β ε μ ι ρ ω μ ε ε τ ἡ μ ε γ τ ε
 6 ρ α γ † η [ο γ π] ε τ α γ χ α ρ π ε τ α γ α ρ ρ ὀ α γ χ ι τ ω β ῖ ω ἡ ρ ὀ [η]
 7 ο γ ε ε τ α γ . . ἡ γ vac π α χ ε † ς ρ ι μ ε α ρ α γ † ς ι ε . [.]
 8 ε ι τ ε ἡ τ α γ ς ε π ε ι θ ε ε ν η ε . κ . . τ ε π ε ι θ ε ε . η ε
 9 ε γ α . . κ κ ἡ ρ η τ ε ν α τ ρ ο γ ῥ η ρ β η ο γ ε ἡ σ ε χ ι τ ω β ῖ ω
 10 π ε τ ρ α γ π ε τ α ρ β α ἰ λ ε α ρ α γ α ρ τ ο γ χ ω ρ ρ η .
 11 ε τ ρ ι τ ο γ ε ρ η τ α ρ ο γ ε ι ἡ σ ε χ ι τ ω β ῖ ω . . . [.]
 12 [.] [.] . τ ο γ vac ε τ β ε π ε ἰ α ν α κ ρ ω τ α ν † ῥ ἡ λ γ η η [.]
 13 [.] [.] ε π α ι κ α ς τ η σ σ ω τ ἡ α η ἡ σ ε χ ε [.] [.]
 14 [.] [.] . . β ε ρ α ρ α ς vac vac
 15 [.] [.] π ἡ μ η ς π α π ο ς τ ο λ ο ς ἡ ς α γ η ε χ ε [.] [.]
 16 [.] . . [.] α β α λ ἡ τ δ ι κ α ι ο ς γ η η α γ β ω κ [.]
 17 [.] . ἡ ἡ β ε ο γ δ ι κ α ι ο ς γ η η ο γ . . ς . . . vac
 18 [ἡ τ α ρ ε] π α π ο ς τ ο λ ο ς σ ω τ η . . [.] [.]
 19 ἡ ρ ἡ τ ῆ δ ι κ α ι ο ς γ η η [.]
 20 σ η [.] [.] [.]
 21 [.] [.] . ο η η [.] [.]
 22 . . [.] [.] [.]
 23 τ ο γ . . [.] ε π π . . . [.] [.]
 24 [.] . [.] . [.] vac ε τ β ε π ε ἰ [.] [.] . ε . . [.]
 25 χ ε α γ η α . ο γ α γ ρ ε ς ε ρ ε ἡ τ δ ι κ α ι
 26 ο σ γ η η vac η ε ρ α μ α ἰ ἡ ρ α γ ω . ο γ ε ω α
 27 τ ρ α η τ α ρ ο γ χ ι ἡ π η ε μ ε ς α θ α η ρ ἡ π ω η ρ ω α
 28 α η η ε vac vac τ ο τ ε π α χ ε π α π ο ς τ ο λ ο ς α η χ ε
 29 ε τ β ε π ι ρ ω β ρ ω α ἡ ῥ ἡ λ γ η η ε τ β η τ ο γ χ ε † ς α γ η ε χ [ε]

Codex 386 (^); quire 25 (= 'E'); Hugo Ibscher '44'; facsimile 26o.

6 α α γ: -q- ex -c- corr. 7 Difficult to read ε τ α γ ω β ῖ α γ (lit. "that they had exchanged", i.e. "they received the payment for the deeds that they had done"); but there are few alternatives. 8 ε ι τ ε, one might prefer ε π ε (ι Δ η) ('because'); η ε . κ, the letter before -κ- may have an erasure or correction mark (thus η ε κ -?). 9 . . κ κ: If

correct, perhaps -κ- duplicated in error. 12-13 Perhaps † ῥ ἡ λ γ η η [τ ο μ ω] | [τ ο τ ε ἡ τ α ρ] ε π α ι κ α ς τ η σ ("... I am [very] sad. [Then, when] the judge heard ..."). 15 ἡ μ η ς: Uncertain. 27 Perhaps (e.g.) χ ι ἡ π ο ρ ο "receive the victory", but difficult to read.

1 . . . on account of her relatives (συγγενής) who will

2 so that she shall not be shaken by sadness (λύπη) every time

3 as they comfort her with some words. When the judge (δικαστής)

4 heard about her, he sent (and) he summoned her to . . .

5 as (the) heartache on account of those people befell

6 them. Now, what they sowed is what they reaped. They received the requital for the deeds

7 that they had done (?). Says this woman to him: I suffer (grief ?),

8 whether (εἴτε ?) they are not persuaded (πείθειν) (not ?) persuaded (πείθειν)

9 . . . not to allow them to do these things, and they receive the retribution

10 the evil that visited them, it (caused) them to stumble (?). . .

11 that is before them that they might come and receive the retribution

12 them. On account of this, I myself, also, am (very ?) sad (λυπεῖν).

13 (Then [τότε ?] when ?) the judge (δικαστής) heard these words

14 to her.

15 the Mannichaios the Apostle, he knows that

16 from the righteousness (δικαιοσύνη). They went

17 . . . sins; a righteousness (δικαιοσύνη)

18 [When] the Apostle heard

19 . . . in his [righteousness (δικαιοσύνη ?)] . . .

20

21

22

23

24 On account of this,

25 that they have they have of righteousness (δικαιοσύνη).

26 Oh that . . . care to

27 the end, so that they receive the victory (?) with him at the end, in the life for

28 ever! Then (τότε) says the Apostle again:

29 Indeed, because of this matter I was sad (λυπεῖν) about them. For I know

3 ff. the woman of the parable (= Mani) is summoned to a judge (= God) who justifies the fate of those whom she has lost, who deserved their punishment; even in full recognition of this, she still

grieves. 15 the Mannichaios: the name or title is given here in its abbreviated form.

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1 ζἸ̄νευ νε Ἰ̄πετῤαγ εἤριτογεῤη η̄ εγ̄. [.]ο
 2 Ἰ̄νἸ̄καῤ εἤληῤ νεγ̄ χε ἀνεγ̄ αἤ. [1]κα[Ἰοcγνη.].
 3 ἀγναγῤογ Ἰ̄κεcαἸ ἀβαλ Ἰ̄μαc ἀγ̄. . . [.]
 4 τοῦ ἀπcωρμε φῤαληῤε vac vac
 5 τ̄λε
 6 εγ̄χω Ἰ̄μαc χε πα. χε πα. ποcτολοc
 7 χε Ἰ̄cβω Ἰ̄νἸ̄ταῤτι cῤοοἸ ζἸ̄ρω
 8 με Ἰ̄νἸ̄ cαβελη. Ἰ̄νἸ̄μαῤθηῤc
 9 Παλιν ἀν πα. χε φῤcτηρ ἀνεγ̄μαῤθηῤc χε Ἰ̄cβω
 10 Ἰ̄ταῤτι cῤοοἸ ζἸ̄ρωμε Ἰ̄νἸ̄ cῤἸ̄νἸ̄μαῤαἸ ζἸ̄νἸ̄. .
 11 . . . ζἸ̄νἸ̄ραἸ Ἰ̄νἸ̄μεγἸcτανοc vac Πα. φ
 12 ογ̄ηῤ Ἰ̄ηῤτοῦ τηροῦ φῤαῤἸ̄ν. . [.]
 13 Ἰ̄[αφ]ηῤε Ἰ̄νἸ̄μαῤεῤε χε τἸ̄cηγ̄ τἸ̄ναῤε ε[Ἰ.]
 14 [. . .] πἸκοcμοc vac Ἰ̄νἸ̄ πεῤῤηῤω νεμεἸ. [.]
 15 [. . .]. . χε μεχρἸ ογ̄αἸκ εῤεἸρωμε ναῤ. . . . [. . .]
 16 [. . .]. Ἰ̄τῤ Ἰ̄τ. c ἀραγ̄ Ἰ̄.
 17 [. . .]. Ἰ̄νεἸ ογ̄Ἰ. τῤ. Ἰ̄ποογε ἀ.
 18 τε. ογ̄. Ἰ̄τακτεογ̄αῤ χε
 19 εῤη. ἀ. μαῤηῤηc [. . .] ογ̄Ἰ. . . κ
 20 . εῤ. ζ. εῤκ. . . . [. . .]. Ἰ̄νογ̄
 21 [εἸ]εἸ. . . κκηκ ἀηῤ χε ρῤμε Ἰ̄νἸ̄ εἤῤἸ̄πἸκο
 22 [c]Ἰμοc. cεχιῤ. . . [. . .]. ε Ἰ̄
 23 [α]cε ογ̄Ἰ[. . .]. Ἰ̄. εογε νογ̄ω.
 24 Ἰ̄πβλἸ[π]. ε vac vac Τοῤε πα. χε πα. ποcτολοc
 25 ἀραῤ πεῤαἸτεογ̄αῤ ἀρακ χε τἸ̄cηγ̄ Ἰ̄μαῤ εἸcε. χε
 26 ἀῤῤβcω. . Ἰ̄τ. Ἰ̄ταἸτεογοπεἸ ἀ
 27 ρακ εῤβεν. ζε Ἰ̄ρογ̄. . . χωρἸ τοἸκonoμἸ
 28 ἀ Ἰ̄προογ̄ Ἰ̄νἸ̄καἸροc {πκαἸροc} ογ̄τε λαγε ζἸ̄τηἸ

Codex 387 (^); quire 25 (= 'E'); Hugo Ibscher '45'; facsimile 261.

8 One cannot read the expected form cαβλλε (with first pers. sing. suffix?); perhaps the scribe somehow wrote cαβεληη in error.

18 Probably Goundesh (cf. 388, 14) is introduced to question the apostle in this line.

1 what are the evils that are before them! Or what
 2 and the pain that is hidden for them! For they saw the [righteousness (δικαιοσύνη ?)] (but)
 3 they set themselves apart from it once more. They have
 4 them to the error forever.

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*It tells that the Apostle said:
 This Teaching of Insatiableness exists in every
 Person, except for me (?) and my Disciples (μαθητής).*

9 Once again (πάλιν), says the Illuminator (φωστήρ) to his disciples (μαθητής): This teaching
 10 of insatiety exists in every person. It is in the rich people, in the . . .
 11 . . . , in the kings and the grandees (μεγιστάνος).
 12 dwells in all of them, except
 13 [my] sons and my daughters, since we are satisfied, we are [not] waiting for . . .
 14 . . . this world (κόσμος). Who is equal with us
 15 as far as (μέχρι) a loaf, while the people will (?)
 16 to them
 17 there is today
 18 (Goundesh says to him?): You have preached that
 19 disciples (μαθητής) . . . there is . . .
 20 that you now,
 21 because (έπειδή) you are (?) stripped naked, so that every person who is in this
 22 world (κόσμος) they receive of
 23 loss
 24 except [the] Then (τότε) says the Apostle
 25 to him: That which I proclaimed to you (is) that we are satisfied with it. I am speaking
 26 about the garment This is what I proclaimed to
 27 you, about the without (χωρίς) the management (οικονομία)
 28 of the day and the season (καιρός) {the season}, nor any in the

13 ff. Manichaeans adhered to rules limiting them to food for one day, and a single garment per year; see *The Letter to Mesene on the Two Bodies* (M731, Boyce 1975, 185), and accounts in Reeves 2011, 212–215. 26 garment: see previous note.

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1 Ἰ[.]. . . . Ἰπικοςμοϋ vac Ἰἵαρε νεϋ εν επειδῃ
 2 .[.]. . . ε ριναβε vac Πει ὄγν πεταῖχοοϋ νεκ ε
 3 .[.Ἰ]Ἰἵαρε Ἰλαογε εν vac Ἰλλα
 4 Ἰ. . [. . . .]Ἰ Ἰἵαρε δε εγνηῃ αρογν ατμετα
 5 νοια [. . .]. . . πεῖ πετογαωῖ παπειθε πε πεῖ δε ε
 6 ρεῖἸ[γχαγε] Ἰηροῦ Ἰηοῦ αρογν ἀκκαναβε ἀβαλ vac ε
 7 πειδῃ παγαθον ετερεῖρωμε ναεεϋ εγαεεϋ Ἰτοῦ
 8 Ἰγχι ογαρετοῦ εγνηῃ Ἰταϋ εἸ αρογν Ἰσεροῦ. . .
 9 Ἰἵ εογαχοοῦβε Ἰἵ εν vac εογατασοῦμανελαε
 10 Ἰἵ εν εογροῦμἸτεωωτ Ἰἵ εν Ἰ κερωβ εἸἵ
 11 εἸἵογε Ἰηροῦ Ἰπικοςμοϋ vac εαπρα Ἰνοῦ Ἰπει Ἰω
 12 λ[Ἰ α]βαλ δε πεῖ ναμνε πετογαωῖ εἸογωωτοῦ. . .
 13 .[.]ἸἸἸἸἸἸ ἸἸἸἸἸἸ vac
 14 Ἰτοτε [παχε]γοῦνδῃω αραϋ εἸσεεεε κἸρογαῖνε
 15 [αραῖ] ἀνακ δε αἸρωαρἸ. . . εοῦεεε εϋωῃω [. . .]. . .
 16 εἸ ἸἸἸἸἸἸ πεῖ ἸἸἸἸἸἸ ἸἸἸἸἸἸ [αῦ]β[α]
 17 ωαρ εσαεῖ ἀβαλ εἸἸἸἸἸἸ Ἰσοῦ. . . Ἰ. . . . [. . . .]
 18 ἸἸἸἸἸἸ αρηῖ ἸἸἸἸἸἸ αρετῆ ἸἸἸἸἸἸ. . . . [. . .]
 19 χοοϋ εἸἸἸἸἸ. ὄν
 20 δεϋ. . . ἸἸἸ. [. . .]. vac
 21 επειδῃ Ἰ. . [. .] Ἰαδε νε ε. [Ἰ]
 22 εἸἸἸ. . . . ὄγνοῦ αρω. . ἸἸἸἸ Ἰ. . . . [. . . .]
 23 . . . [. .] Ἰκαρ πα. β ἸἸἸ. ἀβαλ Ἰ
 24 π. ἸἸἸἸἸἸ. ἸἸ. [. . .]
 25 ἸἸἸἸ ἸἸἸἸἸἸἸ ἸἸἸἸἸἸ. [. . .] . . . [. .]
 26 ερη vac εἸἸἸἸἸἸἸ ερωκ ἀἸ[Ἰ]οῦἸ vac δε
 27 Ἰεεεε εἸακἸεογαϋ εϋεμαδἸἸ. ἸἸἸἸἸἸἸ πα
 28 ραἸἸἸἸ ἸἸἸἸἸἸ. πε Ἰκαραῖ
 29 ἸἸ εἸωδἸἸἸ vac vac vac

calligraphic design and text in Manichaean Aramaic script

Codex 388 (>); quire 25 (= 'E'); Hugo Ibscher '46'; facsimile 262.

5 πειθε: N.b. used here as a masc. noun ('belief'). 18 Perhaps ἸἸἸἸἸἸ ἸἸἸἸἸἸ, meaning "and it rears itself up"? 21 Presumably: "Because they are enemies" (i.e. the fox and the lion). 27 Ἰεογαϋ (with papyrus creased), or otherwise Ἰεογαϋ; perhaps

<εἸἸἸἸἸἸἸἸ ("in truth"), but difficult; εἸἸἸἸἸἸἸ -Ἰ- written below the line? 29 εἸωδἸἸἸἸ: -Ἰ- ex corr.; or otherwise perhaps εἸωδἸἸἸἸ with a noun omitted after (e.g. "if <these words of truth (?)> come from you").

1 -ness of this world (κόσμος). We are not waiting for it, because (ἐπειδή)
 2 and sin. This, therefore (οὖν), is what I have told you,
 3 we are satisfied with it, we are not waiting for anything. Rather (ἀλλά),
 4 of the souls (ψυχή), that they have come in to repentance (μετάνοια)
 5 . . . this is what I desire. My conviction (πείθειν) is this, that
 6 all the [souls (ψυχή)] are coming in to the forgiveness of sins!
 7 Because (ἐπειδή) the good (ἀγαθόν) that people will do they do for their
 8 soul (ψυχή) alone. Moreover, they are not coming in and making a . . .
 9 for me if they cannot sow a seed for me; if they cannot plant a vineyard
 10 for me; if they do not do business for me or something else among
 11 all the things of the world (κόσμος). Now, as to this, I
 12 make clear that this truly is what I desire, desiring their . . .
 13 find the rest and life for ever.
 14 Then (τότε) [says] Goundesh to him: Behold the lesson you use to enlighten
 15 [me]! Yet I have previously . . . a lesson equal . . .
 16 and yours. This is like in this way [to a] fox
 17 might come out from its den, and it (encounters a lion?) . . .
 18 and it stands and stops still and it rears itself (up?) . . .
 19 speaks in its
 20 that it
 21 Because (ἐπειδή) (they) are enemies,
 22 in it . . . immediately (?), it (i.e. the fox) . . . down, it
 23 the earth out from
 24 the from now
 25 . . . I am like this fox in this lesson
 26 You, yourself, are like the lion. For
 27 the lesson that you recounted (is) established (<in> truth?), (and) is a better one than (παρά)
 28 mine! From today (what is proper for me?) is silence
 29 when I follow after (?) you.

5–6 This issue of whether all souls ultimately would be redeemed, or some forever lost, was a subject of divisive debate in the later Manichaean church; see ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Mughni* (Reeves 2011, 267); Sala 2007. 14 ff. What follows shows little sign of being integrated with the preceding section of the chapter. 16 ff. Goundesh appears to cite the Aesop fable of the Lion and the Fox (Perry no. 10, attested in the century before Mani in the collection of

Babrius), regarding the Fox’s initial uncertainty about approaching the intimidating lion, the like of which it had never seen. 29 when I follow after you: or ‘when I come from your presence’. The phrasing here is difficult. Post 29 A notation in very small Manichaean script, difficult to decipher, is written below the last line of Coptic text on the page.

1 τλς̄
2 εϕτερογο αν ετβεγογνδηω χε αϕει
3 αρογν ριθη Ἰπαρχαῖς ἀπαρχαῖς ὠν̄τ̄ῶ
4 χε κρεγ vac παχεϕ χε †βασε
5 Πάλιν αν Ἰκεσῆ ἀρογνδηω ει αρογν ριθη [Ἰπα]
6 ποστολος παχεπαποστολος ἀραϕ κρεγ [Ἰνεω]
7 Ἰρε vac Παχεγογνδηω ἀπαποστολος †βασε vac
8 Τότε παχεπαποστολος ἀραϕ χεεγ ακ . . . ε†σε
9 χε ἀρακ vac Καιταγτα κρεϕεγ καλωσ ρῆ(π)κοςμοσ κωο
10 νε εν ἀλαοϕε κχπαῖτ αν ραπαϕεῖτε Ἰτηῆτῆῖμα
11 ο Ἰπκρημα Ἰπκοςμοσ κωαατ Ἰλαοϕε εν
12 κῆτοοτῶ αν Ἰρωμε Ἰιμ ρῆογταῖο vac Πῆρο ϕωϕτ
13 Ἰσϕκ καλωσ ρῆρῆβελ ετανιτ χεεγ †νογ κσε
14 χε χε †βασε vac Παχεγογνδηω ἀπαποστολοσ χε
15 . . . εϕηλ αρογν Ἰπῆῶχαχε ρῆπῆμαῖ. [. . . .]
16 [. . .]. . . εϕαχοοσ Ἰνεω Ἰρε χε †ρωεγ vac Ἰεϕα[. . .]ε
17 [. . .]ϕε Ἰεω Ἰρε εϕρῆτλγπῆ Ἰπῆωα. . . [. . . .]
18 [. . .]χε. . . πε πνεγ ετερεπεϕχαχε Ἰαχιϕε [. . . .]
19 [. . .]. α. . . ῆ vac αγω αν Ἰρογο Ἰρογο ῆσαγνε ε. [. . . .]
20 [. . .ετ]βεεγ Ἰνεω Ἰρε (Ἰρε)τβε vac ἀνακ ρωτ αν ροσον [. . .]. .
21 [. . . .]. επῆῖ εϕογῆρ Ἰρητῶ. . . ε τονω ν.
22 [. . . .]. ϕ.
23 [. . . .]. η. . . . [. . .].
24 [. . . .]. ϕαπ Ἰιμ εῖνηγ. [. . .]. [. . .]. . .
25 [. . . .]. . . ρατβε εγρῆρῆαρῆ ριχῆπῆμα. . . [.]
26 αρογν Ἰαρεπαρητ ω.
27 νεγ ε. βε vac αγω ϕαπ Ἰιμ εῖνα αρογν
28 Ἰ ῆῖς
29 τωτ μαῖ. μαῖωῖσσωβε vac χε †σαγνε.
30 ογε ἀραϕ. . . Ἰῆῖ χε τναϕρε
31 [. . .]. παρ̄. . . Ἰρηῖστωτ ἀραῖ ρι
32 [. . .] ε†βεπεῖ αν ἀνακ πετβ. . . ε ανεῖ τηρογ τρε

Codex 389 (>); quire 25 (= 'E'); Hugo Ibscher '47'; facsimile 263.

1 The chapter number is written above the running header. 4 †βασε: -α- ex -λ- corr. 8 Understand "Why have you forgotten (ὠβῶ?) ..." vel sim. 14-15 The line-end is difficult to determine;

perhaps e.g. ογ[ρ]ϕῆ ("A man, if he is confined ..."). 15 Probably "place of confinement"; cf. 370, 14? 32 -πεῖ αν ἀνακ: very uncertain; one expects πετβασε, but difficult to read.

1
2 *It tells again about Goundesh, that he came*
3 *in before my Lord. My Lord asked him:*
4 *What are you doing? Says he: I am discontent!*
5 Once again (πάλιν), on another occasion, Goundesh came in before [the]
6 Apostle. Says the Apostle to him: What are you doing? How (are you)?
7 Says Goundesh to the Apostle: I am discontent!
8 Then (τότε) says the Apostle to him: Why have you (forgotten ?) what I say
9 to you? And thus (καὶ ταῦτα) you are well (καλῶς) content in (this) world (κόσμος); you
10 are not deprived of anything. You are also born for the multitude of wealth
11 and property (χρῆμα) of the world (κόσμος). You lack for nothing;
12 you also are (held) in honor by every person. The king regards
13 you well (καλῶς) with good eyes. Why now do you
14 say: "I am discontent"? Says Goundesh to the Apostle:
15 (A person ?), if he is confined with his enemy in this place of (confinement ?) . . .
16 how will he say "I am content"? Or how will he . . .
17 . . . as he is in sadness (λύπη) and
18 whenever his enemy will raise . . .
19 and also more and more he knows . . .
20 . . . on account of what, of what kind of carnage? I, myself, also, so far as (ὄσον) . . .
21 the house (?) he is dwelling in . . . very much
22
23
24 every occasion as I am coming
25 are killed as they are cast down upon the place (?)
26 in. Let not my heart (be disturbed ?) . . .
27 them And every occasion I am going in
28
29 trembling. I shall not I shall not ridicule (?), for I know
30 to him . . . I do not know that the good
31 trembling for me . . .
32 . . . because of this, moreover, I (am) the one who (is discontented ?) by all these, the way

4 disturbed (βαλεε): term of varying forms and range of meanings appears to regard the condition of his good soul confined with its
(see CD 625b–627b), here apparently in the sense of ‘discontent, enemy, the evil forces, within the body.
unsettled, upset,’ or even ‘violated’. 15ff. Goundesh’s complaint

390

1 . . [. .] ἠμᾶϊ ἀκτοῦνογιετ ἀβαλ χε ροσον εἰοῦνοῦ α
 2 π[νοῦ]τε ἠτετῆνε πετε ἀνακογαβαλ ἠμαϷ ρωωτ
 3 [. . .]. . τῆμῆτῆρο χῆπῆκαρ ἠογαῖνε ρογοβισε εν
 4 [. . .]. . . παρητ ραῖτ ἀραῖ εν ρῆπικοςμος ἀλλα . .
 5 . . . ἀραῖ πε πεῖ ἀταογεῖε ἀναχαχε ετκωτε ἀραῖ
 6 ἠ. ἠ ἀν ἀπαγενος ἠῆταωαρῆ ἠβριρωμε vac ἠ
 7 τ. ἀπμα ετῆμεῦ ἠναρῶεῦ καλωс vac
 8 Τοτε ἠταρεπαποστολοс σατμεπεῖ ἠτῆοῦνδῆω . . .
 9 πισεχε ἀκτεογαϷ ετβεπιχαχε ετοῦνηρ . . .
 10 ἠςωμα ετε ἠταϷ πε πρεϷρωтве ετῆῆ . . ἠ
 11 ἠῆπῆῆ vac Οὔμακαριос πε πεταϷςῆοῦων
 12 [. . .]. . ἀβαλ ἠνεϷρῆνοῦε χε εϷαωνε ρῆπῆῆῆ.
 13 [. . .]. . ἀςταϷ vac vac vac
 14 τλζ
 15 ερεπικεφαλαιον σεχε εтвегоῦνδῆω
 16 εϷωῖνε ἠπαποστολοс χε πῆμῆтςῆαῦс
 17 ἠρωμε ετακσαтпоῦ ἠтаксатпоῦ ἀπ
 18 ἠϷστηριον ἠῆμῆ ἠ πῆωβесῆаῦс ἠтаϷ
 19 ἠтаксатпоῦ ἀπἠϷστηριον ἠῆμῆ
 20 Παλιν ἀν ἀгоῦνδῆω ωῆπαп[ос]толос παχε[Ϸ]. . [. . . .]
 21 ἠ. [. . .]. . . ἀκ. ρ. [. . . .]
 22 . . [. τ]ῆροῦ ἠτακς[αтп]οῦ ἀπἠϷт[ῆρι]ον [ἠῆμῆ]
 23 χ[ε.]. . σβοῦ οῦτε ἠπ. ρεοῦ ἠ. [. . .]
 24 . . [. . . .]. . . ἀχιс ἀ. . χ. οῦ. [. . .]. . . [. . .]
 25 vac Παχεπαποστοлос ἀραϷ.
 26 . . σε εταῖсатпоῦ.
 27 . . ἀῖсатпоῦ ἀπἠϷστηριον ἠπῆμῆтςῆаῦс ἠпа
 28 στοлос ἠπсῆр vac ἠпаποστοлос ρωωῦ ἠпаποστοлос
 29 εϷωооп ρωωϷ ἀπἠϷστηριον ἠπῆωβесῆаῦс ἠ[ρ]εϷ
 30 ρῆῆме нетῆк ἀρετοῦ ρῆπῆῆε ἠῆπῆῆε [не]то [ἠ]
 31 εзоῦсῆа ἀχῆπῆμῆтςῆаῦс πῆωβ[есῆаῦс] ἠаг[гелос]

Codex 390 (^); quire 25 (= 'E'); Hugo Ibscher '48'; facsimile 264.

10 Possibly ετῆῆπῆῆ "who is in the house"; cf. 389, 21. 13 ϷтаϷ: Perhaps the verb (т)сто 'turn back'; but usually with ἀβαλ. 18 πῆωβесῆаῦс ἠтаϷ: Poor preservation, but probably scribal emen-

dition as the final -Ϸ is oddly formed and there is scarcely sufficient space for ἠтаϷ (e.g. ἠ(т)αϷ?). 23 -σβοῦ: -β- ex corr.?

1 (you have). . . me. You have opened my eyes. For, although (ὅσον) I am distant from
 2 the [God] of the truth, the one from whom I myself am,
 3 his kingdom or his light-earth, (I am) no longer discontent.
 4 my heart is not glad in this world (κόσμος). Rather (ἀλλά), . . .
 5 . . . to me is this, to be made distant from my enemies who surround me,
 6 (and to come closer ?) to my people (γένος) and my first progenitor.
 7 to that place, I will be well (καλῶς) content.
 8 Then, when the Apostle heard this from Goundesh, (he says)
 9 (to him:) This lesson you have uttered about this enemy who dwells . . .
 10 body, he it is who is the murderer who is in (the house ?)
 11 of this spirit (πνεῦμα). Blessed (μακάριος) is the one who has known
 12 his deeds, so that he will live in his spirit (πνεῦμα)
 13 turn him back (?).

337

*This Chapter speaks about Goundesh,
 who asked the Apostle: These Twelve
 Persons that you selected, by what Mystery (μυστήριον)
 did you select them? Or these Seventy-two, moreover,
 by what Mystery (μυστήριον) did you select them ?*

20 Once again (πάλιν), Goundesh questioned the Apostle. Says [he]
 21
 22 all of them, by [what] mystery (μυστήριον) did you select them?
 23 For nor of the is more than
 24
 25 Says the Apostle to him:
 26 that I selected them
 27 . . . I have selected them by the mystery (μυστήριον) of these twelve apostles (ἀποστόλος)
 28 of the savior (σωτήρ). Also the apostles (ἀποστόλος) of the apostles (ἀποστόλος),
 29 they too exist by the mystery (μυστήριον) of these seventy-two
 30 guides, the ones who are established in the height of the heavens, the ones that have
 31 authority (ἐξουσία) over the twelve. (And) the seventy[-two] angels,

2 The God of Truth (or True God) is the ultimate source of all souls. 8ff. Mani merely affirms Goundesh's reflections on his predicament in the body and his aspirations to transcend it. 16–19 twelve, seventy-two: twelve teachers and seventy-two bishops of Manichaeism church order; cf. 2 Ps 22.4, 44.8. 27 twelve apostles: of Jesus, as prototype for the twelve teachers; cf. 1 Ke 12.27–29,

13.11. 29–30 seventy-two guides: various figures are referred to as 'guides' or 'helmsmen' in Coptic Manichaeism literature; here apparently angels. 31 over the twelve: perhaps the twelve signs of the zodiac, viewed as negative powers in Manichaeism; cf. 1 Ke 48.31–49.9, 166.31–175.24, 2 Ke 406.4–7.

391

1 ζωωφ ἡρεφῖρῖμμε εἰτηκ ἀρετοῦ ζ[ἡπχαις ἡμπ]
 2 ἡγε εἰωοοπ ἀπμγςτηριον ἡπμῖτ[ςναγς ἡ. . .]
 3 ἡτεπογαῖνε μεταγταρῖμοῦ ἀβαλ ζῖ[πῖωτ εἰτηκ]
 4 ἀρετοῦ ζιτῖεζη vac Πμῖτςναγς ζωωφ [. . . . εἰτη]
 5 κ ἀρετοῦ αῖσεζωοῦ ἀρετοῦ ζἡτδικαῖος[νη τ]ἡρῖ
 6 ἡταγ μεταῖτ ἀτοτοῦ ἡτεκκληςια χῖ. . . . τῖ ἀτο
 7 . . . χεογαωωπε νες ἡμανε ζιρεφςανεω χαγμα(ῖ)
 8 τ ζογριτ ζιρεφτῖροτῖ ἡςεσανεω ἡνεκλεκτος
 9 ἡἡκατηχογμενος εἰτηζητῖ vac Παλιν ἀη παχε
 10 γογνδηω ἀραφ πικεωβεςναγς ἀη ἡρωμε εἰτακ
 11 ςατποῦ ἡτακσατποῦ ἀπμγςτηριον ἡἡμ εακσε
 12 ζωοῦ ἀρετοῦ ζἡτδικαῖος[νη vac Παχεπ[απο]ςτο
 13 [λ]ος ἀραφ ἡταῖσατποῦ ἀπμγςτηριον ἡπωβ[εςναγς]
 14 ἡαποςτολος ἡπςωρ νεταφσατποῦ ἀφςεζω[οῦ ἀρ]
 15 εἰτο[γ] ζἡτῖεκκληςια vac Πωβεςναγς δε ἡ. . . [. . .]
 16 [. . . [. . . ἡταγσατποῦ οὔβεπωβεςναγς. . . .
 17 [. τ ἀχῖπωβεςναγς. ς
 18 [. . . . ςναγς δε ἡαγγελος vac Π. . . οὔε ἡμ. . . οὔ ἡ
 19 ἀγγελος. . . . γς. . . ἡμῖτ ἡαγγελος vac ε. . . . ῖ
 20 π. . . . ς ἡαγγελος ςεο ἡ. . . [. . . .].
 21 π. . . . τοῦ vac Π. . . . ἡαγγελος [. . .]. . . . ἀ
 22 ἡαγγελος. . . ζωφ ἡαγγελ[ος. . .] εἰτοῦ
 23 ἡααχ. . . . ἡαγγελος εἰγα. οὔ.
 24 πει ἡτ. . [. .]ἡτ. . ἡνιαγγελος τηροῦ ε. . ς. . ἀ
 25 πογε πογ[ε] ἡνιαγγελος εἰτηπ ἀπωβεςναγς ἡ
 26 ἀγγελος. . . οὔτβα τοῖε ἀτ. . . . ς ἡωμογῖωε
 27 ςεςμῖτ ζῖπκεογε vac Πωι δε ἡἡτηπε ἡἡαγγελος
 28 τηροῦ ἡἡπωβεςναγς ἡαγγελος οὔνωβε ἡἡ
 29 ςαωῖ ἡτβα. ωῖ σαωῖ ἡω[ο] ςαωῖ ἡωε ἡἡωβε

Codex 391 (^); quire 25 (= 'E'); Hugo Ibscher '49'; facsimile 265.

2-3 Perhaps "fathers (ἡῖωτ) of light", vel sim. 4 Perhaps "twelve [teachers (ἡςαζ) ...]"; these being the foremost grade in the hierarchy of the church. 6-7 One might read ἀτῖτῖ ἀτοῖτῖ (dupli-

cated in error, with a correction mark at the start of l. 7?); perhaps as an intended aside to Goundesh ("... to you"? 18 It could be either twelve or seventy-two (angels) at the start of the line.

1 also, the guides who are established [in the height of the]
 2 heavens, they exist by the mystery (μυστήριον) of these [twelve (fathers ?)]
 3 of the light, the ones who were called out from [the Father and established]
 4 before him. As for the twelve [(teachers ?) that are established],
 5 I set them up in complete righteousness (δικαιοσύνη).
 6 They are the ones I have given into the hands of the church (ἐκκλησία).
 7 . . . that they might become for it the shepherds and nourishers, guides,
 8 guardians and helpers; and they nourish the elect (ἐκλεκτός)
 9 and the catechumens (κατηχούμενος) who are within it. Once again (πάλιν) says
 10 Goundesh to him: Also, these other seventy-two persons that you have
 11 selected, by what mystery (μυστήριον) did you select them, having set
 12 them up in righteousness (δικαιοσύνη)? Says the Apostle
 13 to him: I selected them by the mystery (μυστήριον) of the seventy-[two]
 14 Apostles (ἀποστόλος) of the savior (σωτήρ), the ones whom he selected. He set [them]
 15 up in his church (ἐκκλησία). But (δέ) these seventy-two
 16 they were selected against the seventy-two
 17 over the seventy-two ;
 18 but-two angels (ἄγγελος). The
 19 angels (ἄγγελος). ten angels (ἄγγελος).
 20 these angels (ἄγγελος), they are
 21 them. The angels (ἄγγελος).
 22 angels (ἄγγελος). Also, the angels (ἄγγελος). . . that they
 23 will angels (ἄγγελος), as they
 24 all of these angels (ἄγγελος).
 25 each one of these angels (ἄγγελος) that is counted to these seventy-two
 26 angels (ἄγγελος). . . ten thousand are given to eight hundred (?).
 27 They are established in the other one. But (δέ) the measure and the number of all the
 28 angels (ἄγγελος) (is) from (?) these seventy-two angels (ἄγγελος). There are seventy and
 29 seven times ten thousand seven [thousand], seven hundred and seventy-

13–14 seventy-two apostles of the savior: see Luke 10.1ff., a passage likely known to Mani via the Diatessaron. 16 against: or ‘corresponding to’; but most likely they serve as subjugators over/against

seventy-two agents of darkness, cf. line 17. 26 ff. On the complex enumerations of Manichaean uranology, probably reflected here in computations of numbers of angels, see Leurini 2013, 87–157.

392

1 [CNAYC NAGG]ELOS NEY NQAPN CEHTPE M̄PAGGELOC[C]
 2 [CNEY. . .] QO CNEY Q M [.]
 3 [.]Y vac QAPETHPE CE QWPE M̄PQWBCNAYC[C]
 4 N̄[AGGELOC] THPOY TOYHPE TE TEI M̄PQWE vac YIC N̄THP
 5 YIC N̄[QO Y]IC N̄QE M̄NPETAI M̄NAGGELOC CNEY
 6 PQI PE PEI M̄HTHPE N̄NAGGELOC OYBEPHYCTHPION
 7 CE M̄PQWBCNAYC N̄AGGELOC AYCTW̄ M̄PQWBCNAY[C]
 8 N̄QW̄QETE METAICTPOY AICEQWQOY APETOY ZHTA
 9 EKKLHCIA vac EICEHTE CE AIXOC APAC CE N̄TAICTPI
 10 PQWBCNAYC N̄POME APHYCTHPION N̄NIM METAICE
 11 ZWQOY APETOY ZHTADIKAIOCYNH METAKWN̄T ETBHTOY vac
 12 PAXE[GO]YNDH̄W APAC AICEQE THPOY XNTAICTW̄TME A[.]
 13 [. . .] N̄TOTK̄ vac TOYQWT N̄TK̄EYDAIMONIA T̄. . . [.]
 14 [. . .] . . . CE ZWB NIM EĀQWNTK̄ APAC AKPEIQE M̄
 15 M̄[AI] N̄KMATNEPZH̄T ETBHTĒ vac vac TOTE . . .
 16 M̄N̄H̄AS THPOY . . . [.] . . .
 17 XAY M̄PAPCTOLOC AMACOCYKEOC EY
 18 TMĒTANOIA ETQ̄PQEY CE AYOYNDH̄W XICTOPIA
 19 M̄PAPCTOLOC AQWOLK̄ APAC AQXAYNICECE NB̄LKE
 20 PAXEQ E . . [.] . . ANAK . . . NYE ZMP . . . EI
 21 XW M̄NAS [. . .] PCA M̄PXI N̄TCO
 22 FIA ET[.] M̄POOZ E
 23 T̄P̄ . . . T̄COPIA ETAITEOYO APAC vac T̄N
 24 CE AKWOK AKXICTHEIPOTONIA . . . EKA . . . OYCY N̄
 25 TAC TE T̄COPIA M̄POME ETM̄MEY CE [AK]PEIQE APAC
 26 AKR̄MAOHTHC NEQ vac N̄TAREGOYNDH̄W CWTMENICECE
 27 ETAMACOCYKEOC XAYCOY NEQ AYOYNDH̄W CQWE AQ
 28 XAY M̄NASOCYKEOC . . . EIT̄NTANT̄ M̄PHTE ANAK
 29 M̄N̄TCOPIA ETAIPWZ APAC N̄TOOT̄. . . . OYQOME

Codex 392 (>); quire 25 (= 'E'); Hugo Ibscher '50'; facsimile 266.

1 -TPE: One might consider a scribal error for THPPE ("the number"); see 391, 27 and the following lines. 12-13 Perhaps "[this | wisdom]". 18 TMĒTANOIA, 'change of heart' or 'repentance': very

uncertain. 21 -PCA: So it seems, but there may be a correction mark through -C.

1 [two angels (ἄγγελος)] for them. At first they are the number (?) of the [two] angels (ἄγγελος)
 2 two thousand
 3 Thus, one arrives at the number for all these seventy-two
 4 [angels (ἄγγελος)]; their number is this for the seventy: Nine from the
 5 nine [thousand, nine] hundred with the great one and two angels (ἄγγελος).
 6 The measure is this, and the number of the angels (ἄγγελος), corresponding, then, to the
 7 mystery (μυστήριον) of these seventy-two angels (ἄγγελος). They selected these seventy-two
 8 ministers, the ones that I have selected. I set them up in my
 9 church (ἐκκλησία). Behold, therefore: I have told you how I selected
 10 these seventy-two people, by what mystery (μυστήριον), the ones whom I
 11 set up in righteousness (δικαιοσύνη), the ones whom you asked me about.
 12 Says Goundesh to him: I have been persuaded (πείθειν) now since I have heard (this ?)
 13 (wisdom ?) from you. I revere your good fortune (εὐδαιμονία). I
 14 that everything I have asked you about you have persuaded (πείθειν)
 15 [me], and you have calmed my heart about it. Then (τότε) . . .
 16 and all the great ones
 17 sent (news ?) of the Apostle to Masoukeos, (reporting ?)
 18 the repentance (μετάνοια) that he accomplishes, in that Goundesh received the wisdom (σοφία)
 19 of the Apostle. He was angry at him. He sent these words of anger,
 20 saying: in the . . . as I
 21 tell it do not receive the wisdom (σοφία)
 22 that the moon (?).
 23 I make . . . this wisdom (σοφία) that I have proclaimed to you.
 24 that you went, you received the commission (χειροτονία). But what
 25 is the wisdom (σοφία) of that man, in that [you have] believed (πείθειν) him?
 26 You became a disciple (μαθητής) of his. When Goundesh heard these words
 27 that Masoukeos sent to him, Goundesh laughed. He
 28 sent to Masoukeos . . . as I am like this: I
 29 and the wisdom (σοφία) that I have attained from him (am like ?) a

17 Masoukeos: otherwise unknown sage figure, evidently a former teacher of Goundesh, see 395.29. The abrupt introduction of this character in the middle of this chapter, at what seems to be the natural conclusion of the previous story, is indicative of the rather

coarse redaction of materials in this codex. 24 commission (χειροτονία): this term is used in the Coptic Manichaica to refer to the laying on of hands, in this case for an ordination or commission. 27–28 sent (xαγ): apparently in a letter or by messenger, cf. 395.24.

393

1 [Ἰρ]ατλ. γ. [.]
 2 † ραβωκ αρογν α. . . [.]
 3 Ἰνκωφς Ἰβρβωροϋ ἀβλ Ἰν. . . . [. . . . n]
 4 κωφς Ἰττειτοϋ αχωφ Ἰβαλεφ Ἰμαγ. [. . . .]
 5 ρ. . Ἰρητοϋ Ἰωωροϋ Ἰμαφ Ἰρητοϋ [. . . .]
 6 . . χε Ἰρηρογτεν ἐνερω παρἸκωφ[ς]. . . [. . .]
 7 [.]ε πωμε σε ετἸμεϋ ῥφορε Ἰνιρβωος. . . .
 8 χωφ αρογν Ἰβωκ αρογν αγνασ Ἰπολις ερεξἸ
 9 ρωμε Ἰεγενης Ἰρητς Ἰρημεγιστανος εϋ
 10 ῥφορε εϋβαλε Ἰνχιρβωος ετἸανοϋοϋ. . . .
 11 [.] . ἐνερωοϋ vac εωαντεπρωμε ετἸμεϋ νεϋ
 12 [ανιρ]βσαγε ετἸμεϋ ετἸεσωοϋ ετερεἸ[. . . .]
 13 ῥφορε Ἰμαγ ωαφμοϋρ ἀπωπε μη. . . [. . .]
 14 α. . . . ρολως ωαφνεχνεχ αραφ ογαρετἸ
 15 ρβσαγε ετἸβαλε Ἰμαγ εϋῥφορε Ἰμαγ
 16 [. . .] [. . . .]
 17 [. . . .] [. . . .] . . . β ρ . . . φφ
 18 [. . . .] Ἰ vac . . . ο . [. . . .] . . . ε .
 19 [. . . .] ἸνωἸτ ωβ
 20 [. . . .] γ ογαρετοϋ . . . [. . .] .
 21 [.] ἸνωἸτἸ ετἸβαλτ
 22 Ἰν . [.] ρφ . . . και . .
 23 [. . . .] αβ . [.] . ογα . . . ρἸνογἸπς Ἰροογε
 24 [. . . .] . . . [.] [. . . .] .
 25 [. . . .] . νοϋ χε . [. . . .] Ἰμαφ
 26 Ἰβαρε ἀρετἸ εϋκηκ αρηγ ρἸ

Codex 393 (>); quire 25 (= 'E'); Hugo Ibscher '51'; facsimile 267.
 3 βρβωροϋ, 'cast (off)'; cf. Hom. 59, 7. 8 (First) αρογν: -ρ- ex corr.

1 pauper (who)
2 he will go in to
3 the rags, and he casts them off and he
4 rags, and he puts them upon himself, and he clothes himself with them
5 . . . in them, and he prides himself in them (saying),
6 “There are none more splendid and beautiful than (παρά) the rags (I am wearing).”
7 Thus, that person wears (φορεῖν) these clothes . . .
8 . . . in, and he goes in to a great city (πόλις), where
9 there are nobles (εὐγενής) and grandees (μεγιστάνος) who are
10 wearing (φορεῖν) and clothed with good clothing . . .
11 . . . beautiful. If that person looks
12 [at] those beautiful garments that the
13 wear (φορεῖν), he is filled with shame
14 wholly (ἔλωζ). He loathes his own self
15 garments that he is clothed with as he wears (φορεῖν) them
16
17
18
19 and he asks
20 their own
21 of the tunics that are wrapped
22
23 in a number of days
24
25
26 and he stands, stripped naked by

1 In this story Goundesh compares himself and his former wisdom to a pauper (ἔατλ) wearing rags who knows nothing better, cf. 394, 7. 3-4 rags (κῶδω): specifically burial cloth, wrappings, or shroud (CD121a); the sense of lines 2 ff. might be that he enters a tomb and takes the shroud from a corpse.

ἡ κεφαλαιον ν̄τσοφια

394

1 . [. . . .] . ερωμε ἡεγτενης . . . ἡηταβε[.]
2 . [. . . .] . ἡνεφ ἡφουρε ἡεραβε̄ς ζωω .
3 . [. ρω] με ἡεγτενης ζωω ειμεγιστανος ε .
4 . [. . .] . εαie ἡρογτεν ετε ηρωμε ἡελεεϑ
5 ερ[οc] . . . ηεφ εαρηφορε ἡηαγ εραβεσογ .
6 . [. .] . . ταξε ζωτ τε τεi ειτηταντ̄ απρω
7 με ἡερατiλ εατηη ἡποου vac τσοφια εταi
8 τσεβο εραc ἡτοοτ̄κ εραc εραονεβεαγε . . .
9 εγ . εαρεφε ἡηητ̄ε εραγτ̄ εαωc εαηη ἡπο
10 ογ εi δε ἡταβεερε ερετ̄ ἡπαααιc πμα
11 ἡηαioε παποστολοc εαιχι ἡτοοτ̄ ἡπια . . .
12 . [.] . ε ετσοφια ἡτοοτ̄ ἡiενογωη̄ ἡτα[ε]
13 πε [πα]ποστολοc ἡηηη vac Πεταγτηαγε εi . . .
14 . ηεφκεμαθηηc εη εμηη εητη̄εσοφια vac ἡ
15 πηηγ εταεεεε ηεηεφ εαεερο ε εη̄
16 τη̄εσοφια εαεερε . τη̄ . . [. .] . εητη̄εσο[φ]
17 εα . . . ε εᾱ . ογ . [. . .]
18 .
19 . [.]
20 . [.] εγ ἡταηο [. . . .]
21 . . εα . . ἡσοφια [. . . .]
22 τοοτ̄κ vac ἡταεεεβο ερωτ̄ ἡ . [. . . .] . τη̄
23 ἡητη̄ρο πετωλη̄ εβαλ . [. . . .] . ο . [.] .
24 ετ[ε]ερωβ ηηη vac ε . . . ε . . [. .] . ω ἡ . .
25 ἡφορε ἡηαc vac ἡ . . . ε . . [. .] . ω ἡ . .
26 εηηηηογ εηαηηχη ηηε ετ ἡ

Codex 394 (^); quire 25 (= 'E'); Hugo Ibscher '52'; facsimile 268.

10 E.g. "But I turned myself around and I went ..." vel sim. 10-11 One expects a double -ηη- for 'Mannichaios' as consistently spelt in this codex, so perhaps ημα[η]ηηαioε (but overlong for the

line) or ημα(η)ηηαioε. 13-14 One would suppose εηηηηογε "from God", but there is not the space. 22 ἡταεεεβο, "I have taught": ἡ- most uncertain, and added.

1 noble (εὐγενής). . . and he entreats [him]
 2 gives to him, and he himself dresses (φορεῖν) and clothes him.
 3 nobles (εὐγενής) and grandees (μεγιστάνος), also, . . .
 4 . . . splendidly beautiful . . . that these free (ἐλεύθερος) people
 5 . . . to him. He wore (φορεῖν) them, he was clothed
 6 My way also is this, as I am like this person.
 7 (I have been ?) impoverished before today. The wisdom (σοφία) that I have
 8 been taught (?) by you is like these (former ?) garments.
 9 I rejoiced in it, zealous for it before today.
 10 , however, and I went to the foot of my lord
 11 Man(n)ichaios the Apostle. I have received from him this . . .
 12 this wisdom (σοφία) from him. I have recognized him. He
 13 is [the] Apostle of truth. The one who was sent
 14 his other disciples also are filled with his wisdom (σοφία). Any
 15 time I would debate with him he is victorious over (me ?) in
 16 his wisdom (σοφία); he is victorious in his wisdom (σοφία)
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21 wisdom (σοφία).
 22 . . . you. I myself taught his
 23 kingdom, the one that displays
 24 . . . about everything.
 25 wear (φορεῖν) it. I
 26 in the fullness of my soul (ψυχῇ), just as

1–5 One of the nobles replaces the man's rags with fine clothing, then the others bestow more fine clothes upon him, analogous to Mani and his disciples bestowing wisdom on Goundesh, see

lines 11–14. 10 ff. Here begins an extensive encomium on Mani by Goundesh, extending to 395:23.

395

1 ζῆτῆς ἐρενεμαθ(τη)ς ἀν ρεωε ν̄ζητῆ vac
 2 Πάλιν ἀν ἐρετασοφία τῆταντ̄ ἡπρητε vac
 3 νε ἡμας ζαθῆ ἡποοῦ ν̄τρε ν̄οῦβαγ ν̄τω[ρ] ἐφ]νηχ
 4 ζῆνοῦραχναγ ἐρεπτηγ νανιφε ἀχωφ [. . . .].
 5 ὠφπε ν̄θολαφ ἀβαλ ζῆμμα ἐτεφνηχ ν̄ζητῆ χε
 6 μαρεπιτωρ σῆσᾶμ ν̄τακῆ ἀροῦν ν̄φᾶρε ἀρετῆ ρι
 7 ὅν ἡπτηγ vac θε ζωφ τε τεῖ ν̄τωαρπ̄ ἡσοφία ἐταῖ
 8 σῆνοῦωνῆ σιρας σιροπιτωρ vac τσοφία ζωφ ἡβρ̄
 9 ρε ἐταῖχιτῆ τ̄νοῦ ἡτῆπαποστολος σιρας σιρο
 10 πιτηγ ἐταφτῆλο ἀβαλ ἡτ̄ραχναγ ν̄τῆ. . vac τ̄ρε
 11 ζωφ τε τεῖ ἐταφβι ἀβαλ ἡμαῖ ἡτ̄ωαρπ̄ ἡσοφία ε
 12 τ̄ενεσῆζητ πε ἡπισῆχιν ἀτακῆ ἀροῦν [. . . .]
 13 . . . οῦβετσορμη ἡτ̄σοφία ἐταῖχιτῆ ν̄τη[παπ]ο
 14 στολος χεστῆταντ̄ ἀν ἡχιτσοφία ἐτ[αῖ]χιτῆ
 15 ἡτῆπαρχαῖς πμαννιχαῖος παποστολος [. . . .]
 16 . . . οῦνασ ἡστυλος ἡωνε εφᾶρε ἀρετῆ. . . .
 17 χε γνοφος ν̄ιμ ν̄τ. . . . φ. [. . . .]. .
 18 ἡμαῖ μαγσῆσᾶμ ἡ. . ἐπειδῆ [τσο]φία
 19 ο. τ̄. ρ ἀχωφ vac τ̄οτε. . . [. . . .] τσο
 20 φία ἡπαποστολος ἡσοφία τηροῦ ἡ. σ
 21 τοῦ. ε ἀκιμ ἀραγ χῆἡπηνεγ ἡ. ἡσε
 22 βι ἀβαλ. ἡτ̄σοφία ἐταῖχιτῆ ἡτῆπαρχαῖς
 23 πμαννιχαῖος παποστολος vac τ̄οτε.
 24 ἡτ̄. . ε. γοῦνηδῆφ. χαγνισεχε ἡμασοῦ
 25 κεος ἀφταμαγ ἐτβετσοφία ἡπαποστολος χε
 26 νανοῦς οῦφτβε παρὰτσοφία ἐταμασοῦκεος
 27 τ̄σεβο ἀγοῦνηδῆφ ἀρας vac ἀμασοῦκεος εἰ ἀππα
 28 λατιον ἡπρ̄ρο σαπωρηс vac Παχεφ ἀγοῦνηδῆφ ἐτβε
 29 εῦ ἐκακατσοφία ἡσωκ ἐταῖτ̄σεβακ ἀρας ἡκ

Codex 395 (^); quire 25 (= 'E'); Hugo Ibscher '53'; facsimile 269.

6 ἡτακῆ: -α- ex -κ- corr. 14-15 Here we may find the source of the title of the codex. 24 There may have been no letter intended before χᾶγ, although there is space and what appears to be an

ink-trace. 26 οῦφτβε: The exact reading uncertain, one expects σοῦφτβε, "it surpasses" (haplography?).

1 in it, while his disciples also rejoice in it.
 2 Once again (πάλιν), my wisdom (σοφία) resembles this sort: . . .
 3 it before today, like a pile of chaff cast
 4 on a threshing-floor when the wind will blow upon it
 5 occurs and it scatters it away from the place in which it is cast, so that
 6 this chaff shall not have power to remain, and it is lifted up in
 7 front of the wind. This is also the way of the first wisdom (σοφία) that I have
 8 known, it is like this chaff. The new wisdom (σοφία), however,
 9 that I have received now from the Apostle, it is like
 10 this wind that swept through this threshing-floor of . . . This,
 11 indeed, is the way that he took from me this first wisdom (σοφία)
 12 that was in me. I did not find strength to remain in . . .
 13 . . . against the onrush (ὄρμη) of this wisdom (σοφία) that I received from the [Apostle].
 14 For it also resembles—namely this wisdom (σοφία) that [I] received
 15 from my lord the Mannichaios, the Apostle
 16 . . . —a great pillar of stone, standing firm . . .
 17 that every storm-wind (γνόφος)
 18 me; they shall not have power to . . . ; because (ἐπειδή) [this] wisdom (σοφία)
 19 is upon it. Then (τότε) the wisdom (σοφία)
 20 of the Apostle. All the wisdoms (σοφία) of
 21 to shake them from this time and they
 22 carry away this wisdom (σοφία) that I received from my lord
 23 the Mannichaios the Apostle. Then (τότε)
 24 Goundesh (to?) send these words to Masou-
 25 keos. He told about the wisdom (σοφία) of the Apostle, that
 26 it is good, surpassing (παρα) the wisdom (σοφία) that Masoukeos had
 27 taught Goundesh about. Masoukeos came to the
 28 palace (παλάτιον) of King Shapur. Says he to Goundesh:
 29 Why are you renouncing the wisdom (σοφία) that I taught you? And you

3ff. The same parable of separating wheat from chaff with the help of a strong wind, but told by Mani himself, appears in a Parthian kephalaion preserved in M499, M706, and M334b; it culminates as above, with Mani's instruction being compared to

the strong wind (Colditz 1987, 284–287). 15 the Mannichaios: cf. 385.26 above. 16–17 Presumably the pillar is able to withstand strong storm winds. 24 send (xay): in a letter or by messenger, cf. 392.27–28.

1 ḡκεογῖε vac ΤΟΤΕ ΠΑΧΕΓΟΥΝΔΗΩ ΔΡΑΦ ἴακ ε .
 2 . [.]κει αμογ ταχιτκ ḡπρωμε εταῖτσεβο ατσοφι
 3 Δ [NT]οροτῖ ḡκνευ ναμνε χε παποστολος ḡπποογτε
 4 τσοφια ḡπποογτε ḡρητῖ ετβεπεῖ ρωαπῖ
 5 ḡττοοτῖ ḡτσοφια αῖτσεβο ΔΡΑC vac vac
 6 ΤΟΤΕ ΑΚΕCΑΠ ΔCΡΑΠΑΝΤΗ ΕΓΖΑΤῖΝΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ ḡπῖCνευ
 7 ΓΟΥΝΔΗΩ ḡḡμαCογκεοC ΔΓΟΥΝΔΗΩ ΔΑΥ ḡπαπο
 8 CΤΟΛΟC χε εῖCμαCογκεοC ḡḡμα ζατηῖ εῖCχε πρωβ
 9 ρεκεC τωων ḡκει αḡḡμα ḡκCεχε νεμεφ ταρεκ
 10 ΩΔΑΤῖ ΔΒΑΛ ḡτῖḡḡḡτωογωο ḡḡτḡḡḡτCαCῖρητ ε .
 11 ḡτареφḡḡме ΔN ḡḡḡαζτε χε πεαυ τηρῖ
 12 π[ε] . ḡρητῖ ετβητῖ εῖωογωογ . [.]
 13 ζ[.] vac ΤΟΤΕ ΑΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΤΩΩN ΔΦΒΦΚ [.]
 14 εφ . [.] . ε ετογḡηζ ḡρητῖ ḡτареφβωκ ΔφC . . . [.]
 15 . [. ḡ]ḡογερḡηυ Δτταβλα ΔφραCпаζε ḡḡμαγ
 16 . [.] C χḡḡḡαCḡḡαCḡοC ḡττοοτῖ Δγταβῖ . . .
 17 . . [. .] ΔΒΑΛ ΖḡḡπαποCΤΟΛΟC
 18 ε . [. . .] ḡḡḡτῖ ω . . . ογε χε εῖ [.]
 19 ḡ . [. . .] ḡτḡḡ . . . β ḡτ
 20 ΒΑ ḡḡκocḡο[C] . ΔN ετ ε τCΟ
 21 ΦΙΑ ḡḡḡογτε χε ερεπḡκocḡοC Δρε Δρετῖ ḡεω ḡ
 22 ζε ḡ ḡτḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡεω ḡρητε ḡ π
 23 ḡεω ḡρε ζḡḡ ḡḡḡωω .
 24 Εγωῖβε Εγḡḡḡνε ρωμε ετ
 25 ḡαγτ ḡCεεῖ ΔΒΑΛ ΖḡḡḡḡκocḡοC ḡτḡḡḡβωκ Δτο ḡ ḡεῖ
 26 ετḡḡḡ ḡτḡφ Εγχḡḡ ḡḡμαγ Εγḡḡḡ ḡCεογωḡḡ ΔΒΑΛ
 27 ΔNακ εῖḡεογε χε . . Εγ ḡτḡCḡḡτῖ . ετḡḡḡCωβε
 28 Ζḡḡḡḡβḡḡε ετογ . . λ ετανῖ . . [N]εῖ εῖ Cε Δτοτ
 29 τḡḡε ετετḡḡḡεCτ Δḡḡḡḡ εῖωḡḡCωβε Ζḡḡḡḡογῖ

Codex 396 (>); quire 25 (= 'E'); Hugo Ibscher '54'; facsimile 270.

8 ḡḡḡα: One expects ḡḡḡḡ. 13 Δφβφκ, "he went": very uncertain. 14–16 E.g. "When he went he found them with one another at the gaming-table. He greeted them and Masoukeos (?) received his greeting ...". 19–20 τḡḡβα, "ten thousand (worlds)": very uncertain. 23 Perhaps read ωφω as meaning 'balance' in this context,

or otherwise a word for the movement of the counters or roll of the dice; the point being the turns of fortune (ll. 24–26) in a game such as backgammon. 28 Perhaps ετḡḡḡ εḡ, "... which are not alive".

1 (are turning to ?) another one. Then (τότε) says Goundesh to him: Hail to you! . . .
 2 . . . you come. Come, and I will take you to this man, from whom I taught this wisdom (σοφία)
 3 and you will see truly that [he is] the Apostle of God
 4 the wisdom (σοφία) of God is in him. On account of this, receive
 5 from him this wisdom (σοφία) I have taught about.
 6 Then (τότε) another time it happened (ἀπαντᾶν), the two were with one another,
 7 Goundesh and Masoukeos. Goundesh sent for the
 8 Apostle: See, Masoukeos is here with me. If it
 9 pleases you, arise and come to this place and debate with him. You can cause
 10 him to break off from his boastfulness and pride . . .
 11 Again, when he has understood and believed that the entire glory
 12 is in it about you, as I boast . . .
 13 Then (τότε) the Apostle arose. He went . . .
 14 that dwells in him (?). When he went, he (found them with ?)
 15 one another at the gaming-table (τάβλα). He greeted (ἀσπάζεσθαι) them
 16 (and Masoukeos ?) received his greeting (ἀσπασμός) from him. They entreated . . .
 17 from the Apostle
 18 , in that I am
 19
 20 ten thousand (?) of the worlds the
 21 wisdom (σοφία) of God: In what way is this world established?
 22 Or (ἤ), in what manner was it formed? Or (ἤ),
 23 in what way? and the . . .
 24 as they change, as they alter people who are
 25 killed and they come out from this world (κόσμος), to where have they gone? Or (ἤ) these
 26 that are come, moreover, being born of them, coming and becoming manifest?
 27 I am thinking that and I find you (pl.) playing with
 28 these things that are (foolish ?), that are (not ?) alive. Indeed, these things come into
 29 your (pl.) possession while you (pl.) are sitting down! When I play with these little

14 in him: or 'in it'. 15 gaming table (τάβλα): perhaps simply a dice-table, but possibly a game related to backgammon, of which this would be one of the earliest known references; see Austin 1934; Daryae 2002. 24 change (αἴβε) ... alter (πῶνε): i.e. the

vicissitudes of life and death; cf. ἄτρωβε ἄτρωνε as qualities of God and the realm of light in 1Ke 178.21 and 2Ps 155.20. 27–28 playing with (αἴβε ἑῷ): see CD 321a.

1 counters (?), there is no knowledge in the matter. I (find no ?)
2 fortune (τύχη ?) in the thing you (pl.) have done [Then (τότε)]
3 says Masoukeos to the Apostle: You [yourself know]
4 all these lessons that you have uttered. Says the Apostle
5 to them: Yes, I know all these lessons that I have uttered to
6 you (pl.). Says Masoukeos to him: If you know about every
7 thing, when I ask you about a single lesson, explain it to me!
8 Says the Apostle to him: Ask for what you want from me.
9 And I, myself, I will explain it for you. Says Masoukeos:
10 Does this world (κόσμος) . . . from the first time
11 increases and it becomes big
12 as it comes is there not decrease and it diminishes and it
13 Says the Apostle to Masoukeos: This world (κόσμος) . . .
14 today when it has become
15 diminishes and it as it comes there is not
16
17
18
19
20 and it gives
21 through . . . you reflect and you see
22 this world (κόσμος) ; that is, from the first time (καιρός).
23 Thus, every person who has come to be in the world (κόσμος), from
24 where . . . to this world (κόσμος); or from where first to this
25 world (κόσμος)? without measure,
26 without number, For the matter
27 is made clear (like this ?): that as this world (κόσμος) comes there is no increase
28 coming forth forward (?), and it
29 Says the Apostle again to him: I have asked you

1 counters (ἄλλοολε): lit. 'pebbles' (cf. 1Ke 70.19); but here as a counter in a game such as backgammon, or perhaps dice.

398

1 ζ[. . . .]α]γρεξε Ἰογωτ τεογας ἀραϊ Ἰψγχα[γ]
 2 ε [νετωοο]π ἸἸπκοσμοσ Ἰταγει Ἰεω ἸἸμα ἀπκ[ο]
 3 ς[μοσ vac] Παχεμασογκεοσ ἀραϗ Ἰταγει ἀβαλ ἸἸ
 4 π[. . . .]. . . ἸετἸἸἸμογτε ἀραϗ ἸτωτἸ Ἰε τχωρ[α]
 5 ἸπρογαἸνε παιων ἸπρογαἸνε vac Παχεπαποστο
 6 λοσ ἀρ[α]ϗ τεογας Ἰψγχαγε εἸταρογει ἀβαλ ἸἸἸἸ
 7 ωἸ Ἰ[πο]γαἸνε Ἰταγει Ἰογσαπ Ἰογωτ χἸἸἸἸἸ
 8 Ἰταγει ἀπκοσμοσ κατακαιροσ καιοροσ vac Παχεμα
 9 σογκεοσ ἀραϗ πρωσ ογανἸ ἀβαλ Ἰε Ἰψγχαγε εἸ
 10 ρ. Ἰογαεεσ Ἰταγει ἀπκοσμοσ Ἰεγ. . . Ἰ
 11 ε. vac Παχεπαποστολοσ ἀραϗ Ἰε Ἰπροογε
 12 εἸταπκοσμοσ ωωπε α. . . . ἸἸἸεγ. . ε.
 13 ακσωτμε δε. . . ἸἸἸ ωβἸ
 14 . [. . . . ε]! ἀβαλ ἸἸπἸωἸμα Ἰφωκ ἀπ.
 15 α. [. . . π]αχεμασογκεοσ ἀραϗ ἸτἸε αἸ.
 16 . . [. . .] . . ἀρἸπαγαθον Ἰφωκ ἀπ.
 17 . . [. . .] α. [. . .] .
 18 Ἰ. [. . .] [. . .] . [. . .] ς
 19 α. [. . .]
 20 τε Ἰ. κ. ωωπε. [. . .] .
 21 εἸταἸ. . . [. . .] † † [. . .] αἸγε[ι]
 22 ἀβαλ Ἰ[Ἰπ]Ἰκοσμοσ ἀγωκ ἀπαιων ἸἸογαἸνε ε.
 23 σἸτἸ εἸω. εἸβε. [. . .] . . . Ἰκο
 24 σμοσ. εἸταρἸπκεογε αἸει ἀβαλ Ἰ[Ἰπκ]οσμοσ
 25 ἀγωκ ἀτκολασισ. κοσμοσ. [. . .] . Ἰ αἸω.
 26 . ϗ σ. vac Ζαπρα Ἰε[Ἰ] ε]τακτεογα[γ]
 27 Ἰε ἀβαλ Ἰ. Ἰ. ἀρ. [. . .] . εἸταϗωωπε
 28 Ἰτ. . . Ἰ. ωωπε ἀβαλ. . . Ἰπκεσεξε
 29 αν ωατεϗταντἸ ἸἸμαγ εϗσμαανἸ. . . . αἸ Ἰψ[γ]
 30 χαγε τηρογ Ἰταγει ἀβαλ ἸἸἸογτε Ἰσεχιτογ ἸἸπκο

Codex 398 (^); quire 25 (= 'E'); Hugo Ibscher '56'; facsimile 272.

1 τεογας: τ- ex χ- corr. (i.e. xe)? 13 There is not sufficient space for ρωἸε ἸἸἸ ("every person", cf. 397, 23) nor ογαν ἸἸἸ ("every-

one"). 15 Possibly ἀρἸωἸε, "(just like) a person ..."; although one expects ἸογρωἸε.

1 (also about) a single lesson. Explain to me (about) these souls (ψυχή),
 2 [the ones that exist] in the world (κόσμος). From what places did they come to this
 3 [world (κόσμος)]? Says Masoukeos to him: They came forth from
 4 the . . . as you (pl.) spoke about it yourselves; that is, the land (χώρα)
 5 of light, the aeon (αἰών) of light. Says the Apostle
 6 to him: Explain it. These souls (ψυχή), when they came from the aeons (αἰών)
 7 of light, did they come on a single occasion? Or else,
 8 did they come to the world (κόσμος) from time to time (κατά καιρός καιρός)? Says
 9 Masoukeos to him: The matter is made clear that these souls (ψυχή) come (?)
 10 alone. For what did they come to the world (κόσμος)? . . .
 11 Says the Apostle to him: On the day
 12 that the world came to be
 13 You have heard, however (δέ), (that) every . . . is able to find
 14 [comes] out from his body (σῶμα), and he goes to the
 15 Says Masoukeos to him: Just like a (person ?)
 16 he did the good (ἀγαθόν) and he went to the
 17
 18
 19
 20 exists
 21 that I have they [came]
 22 out from this world (κόσμος), they went to the aeon (αἰών) of the lights . . .
 23 found it, as he on account of these
 24 worlds (κόσμος) who have done the other one, they came out [from the] world (κόσμος).
 25 They went to the punishment (κόλασις) . . . world (κόσμος) he has . . .
 26 With regard to these things that you have explained,
 27 that from that occurred
 28 by the occurred from . . . This other lesson,
 29 also: Unless it is like them, it is (not?) constructed . . .
 30 All the souls (ψυχή) have come forth from God and were received (?) in the

24 did the other one: i.e. other than the good, the bad.

399

1 [C]ΜΟΣ ἩΤΑΥΧΙΤΟΥ ΑΒΑΛ ἩΠΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ ἩΤΑΥ ΔΕ Α[Υ]ΕΙ
 2 [Α]ΒΑΛ ἩΜΑ(Ϸ) ΑΥΖΑΡΘΟΥ ΖἩΠΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ vac ἩΤΖΕ ἩΟΥ[. .].
 3 [Ἡ]ΕΚΩΤ ΕΦΑΣΜἩΖἩΝΚΕΟΣ ἩΒΛΧΕ ΧΕ ΕΦΑ. . . [. . .]
 4 Α. . . ἩΟΥ. . . ἩΟΥΩΤ vac ΕΦΑΦΒΙΠΟΥΑΜΕ ΖΕ. . . [. . .]
 5 ἩΝΙΚΕΟΣ ΕΤΝΑΩΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΠΙΜΑΚΜΕΚ
 6 [.]Ν. . . C vac ΠΜΑ ΔΕ ΕΤΑΦΒΑΧΠΑΜΕ. . . Τ. . . ΑΦ
 7 [. . .]. ΑΦΩΧΒΕ ΑΦΩΤΑ vac ΔἩΝΚΕΟΣ ΖΩΦΥ. . . ΖΝΚΕ
 8 [ΟC] ΠΖΩΒ ΔΕ ΟΥΑΝἩ ΑΒΑΛ ΕΤΑΥΒΙΠΑΜΕ Ν. . . . ΧΕ
 9 [ΑΦΩ]ΧΒΕ ΑΦΩΤΑ vac ΘΕ ΖΩΦ ΤΕ ΤΕΙ ΕΤΕΡΕ. . . . ἩἩ
 10 [Π]ΩΦΧΒΕ ἩΠΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΟΥΑΝἩ ΑΒΑΛ ΕΤΒΕΝ. . . .
 11 [. . .]. . . . Ε ΕΤΑΥΡΠΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΑΥΒΩΚ ΑΠΟΥΑἩΝΕ. . . ΝΙ
 12 [. . .]. ΔΕ ΕΤΑΥΡΠΚΑΚΟΝ ΑΥΒΩΚ ΑΤΚΟΛΑCΙC. . . .
 13 [.]. . . ΕΚΑCΟΥΦΩἩ ΖΙΤἩΠΕΙ ΧΕ ΑΠ. . [. . . .]
 14 [. . .]. . . ΖΟΥ ἩΠἩΡΖΟΥ ἩΤΑΦ ΟΥΤΕ ἩΠἩΡ[.]
 15 [. . .]. . . . Κ vac ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΝ ΤΝΑΤΕΟΥΟ ΑΡΑΚ [. . .]
 16 [.]. ἩCἩΖ ΑἩΓΡΑΦΑΥΕ ἩΝΙΑΤΕ. . . Ν. . . .
 17 [.]. ΝΕ. ΥΨ[. . . .]. ΟΥ
 18 [.] ἩΧἩἩΡΩΜΕ ΑΠΑΖΟΥ [. . .]. . Υ. . Ε. . . .
 19 [.] ΖἩ. [. . .]. . . Ο. . .
 20 [.]. Χ. ΧΙΟΥ[. . .].
 21 [.]. . ΝΕ. ἩΡΑΜΠΕ ἩΠΟΟ[. . .]. . ΟΥ
 22 [.]. Ν. Ε ΝΙΩΑΡΠ ἩΧἩἩΡΩΜΕ ΑΛ
 23 [.]. ΑΡΩ. . . . Ε ΝΙΩΑΡΠ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΖἩ
 24 [.]. ἩΡἩΠΕΟΥΕ vac ΠΟΥΑΖΕ
 25 [.]. ΟΥ ἩΘ. . [.Ἡ]Ζ ΕΤΒἩΤΟΥ ΧΕ ΟΥ
 26 [.]ἩΖ. ΡἩΝ. ΡΑΜΠΕ ΕΦΑΝἩ ΖΟ
 27 [ΤΑ]Ἡ ΕΡΕ ΠΚΑΙΡΟΣ ΝΗΥ ΜἩ. . [.Ἡ] ΕΦΝΗΥ ΜἩΩΧΒΕ
 28 [. . .]. ἩΙΑΖΟΥ. . Ζ. Κ ΕΤΚΝΕΥ. [Ρ]ἩΠΕΥΕ ἩἩΡΩΜΕ

Codex 399 (^); quire 25 (= 'E'); Hugo Ibscher '57'; facsimile 273.

2 ἩΜΑ(Ϸ) ΑΥ-: Evident textual corruption, the required -Ϸ may be indicated by a mark. 11 Possibly Ψ]ΥΧΑΥΕ, 'souls'. 21 One might

read ἩΡΑΜΠΕ ἩΠΟΟZ "years of the moon"; but ἩΠΟΟΥ[ε "years today" is more probable in the context.

1 world (κόσμος). It is from this world (κόσμος) that they were received. And (δέ) it is they who came
2 out from (it). They were arranged in this world (κόσμος), just like a . . .
3 potter, if he might mould some pottery vessels (σκεύος), so that if
4 . . . a single . . . If he takes their clay
5 these many vessels (σκεύος) according to the thought
6 The place, however (δέ), where he scored (?) this clay he has
7 . . . it was diminished; it was defective. The vessels (σκεύος) themselves . . .
8 vessels (σκεύος). But (δέ), the matter is apparent, that they have handled this clay so that
9 [it was] diminished, it was defective. This also is the way that . . . and
10 [the] diminution of this world (κόσμος) is revealed on account of
11 souls (ψυχή ?) who have done the good (ἀγαθόν), they have gone to the light; but these
12 (others) who have done evil (κακόν), they have gone to punishment (κόλασις) . . .
13 you can understand through this that the . . . has . . .
14 but it was not more; nor (οὔτε) was it
15 Once again (πάλιν), I will explain to you . . .
16 it is written in the writings (γραφή) of the fathers
17
18 the human generations back
19
20 receive a
21 years today (?).
22 these first human generations
23 these first generations (γενεά) in
24 years. Their lifetime
25 about them, that a
26 year he is alive.
27 Whenever (ὅταν) the season (καιρός) comes it (?) comes, there is no diminution
28 . . . (in) the fields (?). that you see (with) the years of the people

400

1 †ἸΟΥ ΧΕ ΖἸΚΟΥἸ ΝΟΥΡ̄ ΝΕ ΣΕΣΑΒΚ̄ ΩΑΤΟ vac Πσε
 2 χ[ε. .] ΟΥΑΝῆ ΑΒΑΛ ΖΙΤἸΠΚΑΖ ΧΕ ΝΩΒΩΩΣ ΜἸἸ
 3 . .[.]. ἸἸἸἸἸἸἸἸ ἘΤΑἸΩΑΡἸ ἸΡΩΜΕ ΩΙΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΑ
 4 ΩΟΥ ΑἸΚΟΥἸ ΑΥΣΒΑΚ ΑΥΣΩΟΥ ΑΝΕΟΥΕΡΗΟΥ ΑἸ
 5 ΩΒΩΩΣ ΣΒΑΚ ΜἸἸἸἸ ἘΤΑΥΩΙΤΟΥ ΑΝΣἸΤΟΥ ΕΟΥΡ̄
 6 ΚΟΥἸ Π. . . ἸΩΑΡΠ ΑΠΑΖΟΥ vac ἸἸΑΖΟΥ ΑΝ ΜἸἸΚΑἸῆ
 7 ΕΤΕΡΕἸΡΩΜΕ ΧΟΒΡῆ ΑΡΑΥ ΕΥΧΙῆΖῆ ΝΒΡῆ †ἸΟΥ ῶ
 8 ΑΥΣΩΟΥ ΑΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΣΕΧΙῆΡῆ ΕΝ ἸΘΕ ΕΤΟΥΧΙἸΠ. .
 9 ΖἸἸἸἸἸἸἸἸ ἸΝΩΑΡἸ ἸΧἸἸἸἸἸἸ vac ἸΚΕΚΑΥῆ
 10 ΑΝ ἸἸ. ΡΗΟΥΕ ΑΤΟΥ†Πῆ ῶΧΒΕ ΑῆΣΒΑΚ ΠΑΡῆ. .
 11 Νῆ. . . . ΡῆΠῆ vac ΖἸΤῆ ῶ ἸΝΙῆΒἸἸῆ ΤἸΡΟΥ. .
 12 . .[. .] ῶΒΑΚ ΑΡΑΥ ΠΚΟΣῆ ῶΧΒΕ † ΑΠΑΖΟΥ [. .]
 13 [. . .]. . † ΕΝ ῆ† ΕΝ ΣΑΘἸ ἸΤῆῆ ῆΤΑΚΧΟΟΣ [vac]
 14 [ΤΟΤΕ ΠΑΧ]ῆΜῆΣΟΥΚΕΟΣ ΑΡΑῆ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΑΚΧΟΟΣ Χῆ [Π]
 15 [ΚΟ]ῆΜῆ † ΑΠΑΖΟΥ ΕῆῶΧΒΕ Εῆ† ἸΤΑῆ ΕΝ ΣΑΘἸ
 16 ῆ. . ΤῆἸ Τῆ ῆΕ ΑἸΑΚ ῆΤῆἸΧΟΟΣ vac ΑΛΛΑ ΠῆΤΑΚ[. . . .]
 17 Ἰ.[. . . .]. Π. .[.]
 18 ΖΑΤ. . ἸΤἸ. .[. . . .]. ΑΒῆ ΑἸ ΑἸΣ. . . ΝἸἸ[. . . ΚΟ]
 19 ΣῆΜῆ. . . .[. .]. ΟΥΤῆ. [. . . .]
 20 ΕΝ ἸΠ. . .[. .]. ἸΤῆ. ΝἸΣῆΧῆ Πῆ[ΤῆἸ]
 21 ΩἸΤῆ [ΑΡΑ]ῆ ΑΚΤΑΜῆἸ ΑΡΑῆ. . . . Χῆ Τῆῆ[ΟΦΙΑ]
 22 Ἰ[ΣΟ]φἸΑ ΤἸΡΟΥ ΕΤῆἸΠῆΚΟΣῆΜῆ. .[. . . .]
 23 ΠῆἸΘῆ ἸΤΟΥἸΟΥ ΑῆΚΑΡῆΩῆ vac vac
 24 ΤῆἸ
 25 ΕΡῆΠῆΚῆΦΑΛΛΙΟΝ ΣΕΧ[ε] ῆΤῆΒῆΟΥῆΡῆΜῆ
 26 ΕἸΩΔῆΣῆΦἸΣ Πῆ Πῆ[Ρῆ]Ἰ ῆἸῆῆῆ ΑἸΜῆΣΟΥ
 27 ΚΕΟΣ ΜἸἸΓΟΥἸΔἸΩ [Α]ῆῆἸ ΖἸΘἸ ἸΣΑΠῆΡῆῆ
 28 vac ΠῆΡῆ vac
 29 ΠῆΛἸΝ ΑἸ ΖἸἸΠῆΧἸ Πῆ[Σ]ἸἸ ῆΥῆΡῆΜῆ ΕἸ ΕἸΩ[Δ]ῆΣῆΦἸΣ Πῆ
 30 ΠῆῆΡῆΝ ΠῆἸἸἸἸ[Τ ῆ]ΤἸΠῆΣῆἸΠῆἸῆ ῆἸῆῆῆ ΑἸΜῆΣΟΥ

Codex 400 (>); quire 25 (= 'E'); Hugo Ibscher '58'; facsimile 274.

6 Perhaps a verb has been omitted before ΑΠΑΖΟΥ, meaning something like “the former measurements were turned back” or “left behind”. 8 Presumably ΧΙἸΠῆΡῆ “receive the seed”; but difficult to read (added in by the scribe at the end of the line?). 10 Ἰ. ΡΗΟΥΕ: Read ἸἸΡ(ἸΠ)ἸΟΥΕ (“these years”); or another word cor-

rupted by the ἸἸἸἸἸἸἸἸ of the line above? 11 Understand ΕἸΣΖἸΤῆ ῶ: There may also be a further omission, e.g. “See, then, (I have explained how) all these things ...”. 16 ῆ. .: The text may be corrected. 18 One might consider ΑἸΣΑῆῆ, “I have written it”; but very uncertain.

1 now, that there are fewer by how much? They are decreased to what point? The
 2 lesson, (then ?), is made apparent by the earth, that the *shboos* and the
 3 . . . of miles (μίλιον) that the first people measured, they were delimited
 4 to this small one. They decreased (and) they restricted one another. The
 5 *shboos* decreased with the measurements they measured. We found them
 6 reduced; . . . first (. . .) backwards (?). The fields also, and the pastures
 7 where the people sowed seed, they receive much seed. So, now
 8 they have restricted one another. They do not receive seed the way that they receive the (seed ?)
 9 in the years of the first human generations. The others
 10 also of the . . .; their taste was diminished. It lessened beyond (παρά). . .
 11 year. See, then, (I have explained how (?)) all these things . . .
 12 . . . decreased for them. The world (κόσμος) is diminished; it goes backwards . . .
 13 not, nor does it go forward the way that you said.
 14 [Then (τότε) says] Masoukeos to him: Well (καλῶς) have you spoken that [the]
 15 world (κόσμος) goes backwards as it diminishes; indeed, it does not go forward.
 16 . . . this is just as I myself said. But (ἀλλά), that which you have (told ?). . .
 17
 18 I have written it (?).
 19 worlds (κόσμος). nor (οὔτε)
 20 not. these lessons. That [which I have]
 21 asked you about, you have informed me about it. that your [wisdom (σοφία)]
 22 (surpasses) all the wisdom (σοφία) that is in this world (κόσμος). (I am)
 23 persuaded (πείθειν). Immediately he was silent.

338

*This Chapter speaks about a Man,
 Iodasphes being his Name, who is greater than Masou-
 keos and Goundesh. He came before Shapur
 the King.*

29 Once again (πάλιν), at this same time, a man came, Iodasphes being
 30 his name, the wise man who is from the east, greater than Masoukeos.

2 shboos: see 376.13 and note. 26 Iodasphes: the culminating figure in progressive sage challengers to Mani. Although Iranian in form, the name is unattested except in the Arabic *Bilawhar wa-Yudasaf*, where as 'Yudhasf' it has heretofore been assumed

to derive from Budhasf ('Bodhisattva') by a reading or copying mistake in Arabic script. Its appearance here some four centuries earlier requires a fresh explanation.

401

1 [κ]εος vac Πνασ αν πε αγωγ(ν)δνω αχει. [.] . . αχ[ο]γν
 2 [ρ]ιθη ἡσαπωρης πρ[ρ]ο αχτεογορνεζεε ἡς[οφο]ς
 3 [ἡ]ρῆνρητ ριθη ἡσαπωρης πρρο αχ. [.] .
 4 [.] γ ηεγ vac Τοτε παχεῖωδασφης ασαπωρης
 5 [π]ρρο ἡτακ πε σαπωρης πρρο πνασ ἡρρο ποικ
 6 [π]χαῖς ἡογατο ἡχωρα ἡκερρο ενεεγ απκ. .
 7 [.] vac Μἡκεἡτρρο εσωνω ἡτκἡτρρο. . . .
 8 [ρ]ῆμαο ρἡρως ἡμ φαατἡπιουε ἡμετε ετκωα
 9 [ατ] ἡμαγ ἡτκ ογρωμε ἡογωτ ρἡτκἡ[ν]τ[ρρο]
 10 [εγ]αωταπολογία ἡἡ ἡῖεεε μεἡἡ ἡῖρο [απαῖ]
 11 [ἡτα]ρεσαπωρης πρρο σωτἡἡει ἡτἡἡωδασ[φης αχ]
 12 [κα]ρωγ vac Τοτε ογἡογ[ρ]ωμε ἡπμα ετἡἡ[εγ. .]
 13 [εγ]τρἡἡτ απρρο επρην πε καρδελ πω[ηρε ἡ]
 14 [αρτ]αβα(ν) εγἡπ ατχωρ(α) ἡςαλανων πα[χεε ασαπω]
 15 [ρης] πρρο vac σε ογἡογρωμε ἡπμα εγασεεε ἡ[εμ]
 16 [εγ.] α. ἡ.
 17 [.]εκ[τ]εογοπρην αραι vac Παχε. πωἡ
 18 [ρ]ε ἡ[α]ρταβαν πμνης ἡδικαῖος. [.] . ῖ. . . ἡἡ
 19 [.] τἡἡτρρο ἡταγ. . πετεογἡο[γ.] . . . εεε
 20 [χε με]ἡεγ ἡῖρο αραγ vac vac Παχεσαπω[ρη]ς πρρο
 21 ακα[ρ]δελ πωἡρε ἡαρταβαν εκωανβ[ω]κ. . [.] .
 22 [τ]ατογ [ἡἡ]νεγερἡογ ἡτεπμἡνἡχαιος ε[εε]ε μεἡ
 23 εγ ἡῖ[ρο α]ραγ ἡκει ἡταμαῖ αθε εταγ[ρο] αραγ
 24 [.] ογ ετκογαω[ϗ] τ[η]νατεεγ [.] [.] . .
 25 [.] π[ω]ἡρε ἡαρταβαν [.] . εν. [.] [.] πρρο
 26 [.] [.] . . ρογ[.] [ω]τ[.]
 27 [.] . . κ. . . ἡδασφης ἡ. . . . [.] [κ]ατηχογ
 28 [με]ἡἡ vac α. . . . δε σα. . [.] [κ]αρδελ [πω]ἡρε

Codex 401 (>); quire 26 (= 'F'); Hugo Ibscher '59'; facsimile 275.

2 ἡς[οφο]ς, 'wise': very uncertain. 5 ποικ: The scribe may have begun to write the Greek word οικοδεσποτης (occasioned by its use in previous chapters?), before switching to the Coptic for 'lord'. 7 One supposes ητακ ογ[ι] at the end of the line ("You are a ..."); but scarcely sufficient space. 12-13 and 14-15 The thin slivers of papyrus at the start of these lines have slipped and now

appear misplaced. 12 Perhaps restore (νε)ογἡογ[ρ]ωμε, "there was a man ..."; or otherwise suppose an omitted verb and corrupt text, e.g. "they tell of a man ..." σε(....)ογ ἡογ[ρ]ωμε. 27-28 κατηχογ[[με]ἡἡ: The fem. is entirely uncertain, but governed by the gender evident in the following sentence.

1 Also he is the superior to Gou(n)desh. He came in
 2 before Shapur the King. He uttered some wise (σοφός ?) words
 3 before Shapur the king. He
 4 him. Then (τότε) says Iodasphe to Shapur
 5 the King: You are Shapur the King, the great king; the [[master (?)]]
 6 lord of a multitude of lands (χώρα). There is no other king greater than your
 7 . . . There is no other kingdom equal to your kingdom. (You are)
 8 rich in every thing, except this one only which you
 9 lack: You do not have a single person in your kingdom
 10 who is able to give a defence (ἀπολογία) to me and debate with me and be victorious [over me].
 11 When Shapur the King heard these things from Iodasphe [he was]
 12 silent. Then (τότε) there was a man of that place . . .
 13 near to the king, his name being Kardel the son of
 14 Artaban, belonging to the country of the Salanians (?). [Says he to Shapur]
 15 the King: Yes, there is a man here who can debate [with]
 16 [him] (and be victorious over him. Says Shapur: I will) . . .
 17 if you tell his name to me. Says (Kardel) the son
 18 of Artaban: The righteous (δίκαιος) Mannichaios
 19 your kingdom. He (also ?) is the one who has a (?). He can debate
 20 with him and triumph over him. Says Shapur the King
 21 to Kardel, the son of Artaban: If you should go (and you)
 22 match them with one another, and this Mannichaios debates with
 23 him and [triumphs over] him, and you come and tell me the way that he [triumphed (?)] over him
 24 (whatever) you want I will give it
 25 (Kardel) the son of Artaban (says to?) the king
 26
 27 Iodasphe (a ?) catechumen (κατηχουμένη).
 28 Now (δέ), she (?). Kardel the son

2–3 The hendiadys ἄς[οφο]ς [ἄ]ρῆνῆς is unusual. 13 Kardel 84–88. 14 Salanians (σαλλανων): uncertain ethnic group within the Sasanian Empire (Zarangiana?); see Gardner 2015, 86–87.

402

1 ἸΑΡΤΑΒΑΝ ΧΕ ΑΧΧΑΥΣ ΑΠΑΧΑΙΪΣ ΠΜΑΝΝΙΧΑΙΟΣ vac
 2 . . [. .] . ἸΤΑΡΕΨΕΙ ΑΦΒΩΚ ΣΕ [Δ]ΡΟΥΝ ΑΚΑΡΔΕΛ ΠΩ[Η]
 3 Ρ[Ε] ἸΑΡΤΑΒ[Δ]Ν ΩΑΠΡΕΨ ΔΡΟΥΝ vac ΔΥΤΥΜΕΣΤ ΖΙΧΝ[.]
 4 Ἰ . . ΔΙΑ . . vac ἸΤΑΡΕΨΩΔΑΣΦΗΣ ΝΕΥ ΑΡΑΦ ΑΦΣΕ[ΧΕ]
 5 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΕΪ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΑΦΝΕΥ [Δ]
 6 ΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΕΨ ΖἸΠΨΕΨΕ ΟΥΠΑΠΕΔΥ Π[Ε]
 7 ΟΥ vac ΔΥΩ ΑΝ ΔΥΝΕΥ ΑΡΑΦ ΧΕ ΨΕΖἸ[ΤΟΥ]
 8 ΑΪΤ ΑΒΑΛ ΣΕΩ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΨΩ ἸΤΑΦ ΕΝ ΝΕΜΕΥ vac ΔΥ[Ω]
 9 [. . .] . ΑΦΝΕΥ ΑΠῸΡΟ ΧΕ ΝΕΩΩΨ ῶΩΒΙΑΪΤ ΑΦΣ[Ἰ]
 10 [ΠΩ]ΝΕ ἸΝΕΨΩΨΕΨ ΕΤΒΕΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΙΜ Π[Ε]
 11 [ΠΕΪ] ΕΥ ΠΕ ΠῸΡΩ vac ΤΟΤΕ ΠΑΧΕΓΟΥΝ[Δ]ΗΩ ΑΙ[Ω]
 12 [ΔΑΣ]ΦΗΣ ΠΕΪ ΕΤΚΝΕΥ ΑΡΑΦ ΠΕΪ ΠΕ ΠΜΑΝΝ[ΙΧΑΙ]
 13 [ΟΣ ἸΔ]ΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ἸΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΨΑΥΝ[Ε ΣΕ]
 14 [ΔΩΒ Ἰ]Ἰ ΠΤΗΡῶ ΒΑΛἸ ΝΕΨ ΑΒΑΛ vac ΤΟΤΕ ΠΑ[ΧΕ]
 15 [ΪΩ]ΔΑΣΦΗΣ ΑΓΟΥΝΔΗΩ ΕΙΣΧΕ ΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ [. .]
 16 . . . ΧΕ ΠΕ ΟΥἸΨΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΒΑΛΠ ΝΕΨ ΑΒΑΛ ΨΝΑ[. .]
 17 ΠΑΧΕΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΑΡΑΦ Ω[Ἰ]
 18 Τ ΑΠΕΤΚΟΥ[Δ]ΩΨ ΤΗΡῶ ΨΝΑΤΕΟΥΑΦ ΑΡΑΨ ΕΡΕΤΣ[Ο]
 19 ΦΙΑ . . . Ἰ[Π]ΝΟΥΤΕ ἸΤΡΟΥ vac ΠΑΧΕΨΩΔΑΣΦΗΣ Α
 20 . . [. . .] . ΑΝΑΚ ΖΩΤ ΑΝ ΨΟΥΨΩΨἸΤΚ ΑΥΨΕΨΕ
 21 [. . . Τ]ΕΚΣΟΦΙΑ vac ΠΑΧΕΨΩΔΑΣΦΗΣ ΑΡΑΦ [Κ]ΧΙΟΥ[Ω]
 22 ΕΤΒΕΠΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΕΤΑΡΕ ΨΡΕΤΨ ΟΥΨΑΑ[ΝΗΖ]Ε ΠΕ Ε[ΔΦ]
 23 ΩΨΠ[Ε Α]ΒΑΛ ἸΜΑΦ ΟΥΨΕΨΕ ΨἸΝΑΝ[ΗΖΕ] ΧἸἸΜ[ΔΝ]
 24 ΟΥ ἸΤΑΥΚΑΤῶ [ΑΥ]ΜΑΑἸΚΨ ΖἸ[Π . . .] . Τ[. Ἰ]
 25 ΠΝΟΥΤ[Ε] vac ΤΟΤΕ [ΠΑ]ΧΕΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟ[Σ Α]ΓΟΥΝ[Δ]
 26 Ἰ[Ω ΠΚ]ΟΣΜ[ΟΣ ΕΤΑ]ΥΣΜἸΤΨ ΟΥ[ΜΟΥ]ΝΚ Π[Ε Ἰ]
 27 ΤΑΥΜΑἸΚῶ [. . .]ἸΚ . . . ἸΤ . ἸΠΝΟΥΤΕ vac ΟΥΝ . [. .]
 28 ΑΡΧ[Η] ἸΠΜΟΥἸΚ [. .]ΕΤΑΨΩΨΕ vac ΟΥ . . . ῶΧΩ . [. .]

Codex 402 (^); quire 26 (= 'F'); Hugo Ibscher '60'; facsimile 276.

12–13 and 14–15 The thin slivers of papyrus at the start of these lines have slipped and now appear misplaced. 15–16 It is difficult to read the expected [ἸΠ]ἸΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ ("If he is the apostle of God"). 19 ἸΤΡΟΥ: Uncertain, perhaps corrected? 25 The start of ΤΟΤΕ

can be clearly seen upside-down on a scrap of displaced papyrus in the bottom centre of the frame. One might suppose that the apostle now speaks to Iodasphes, but 'Goundesh' appears certain from the clear omicron.

1 of Artaban, so that he sent her to my lord the Mannichaios.
 2 when he came, therefore, he went in. Kardel, the son
 3 of Artaban, received him in. He had him sit upon
 4 When Iodasphe saw him, he asked
 5 about the Apostle: Who is this? Because (ἐπειδή) he saw
 6 that the Apostle is great (and) splendid in his appearance.
 7 And also, they looked at him, for they are
 8 close by. They all are drinking, but he does not drink with them. And
 9 he looked at his face, for it is beautiful (and) different. He sought
 10 information from his companions about the Apostle: Who is [this]?
 11 What is his work? Then says Goundesh to
 12 Iodasphe: This one whom you see, this is the
 13 righteous (δικαίος) Mannichaios, the Apostle of God. He knows, (therefore,)
 14 [about everything]. The totality is disclosed to him. Then (τότε) says
 15 Iodasphe to Goundesh: If he is the Apostle
 16 ; there is everything disclosed to him! I will
 17 (ask him a question ?). Says the Apostle to him: Ask
 18 me everything that you want! I will explain it to you, for the
 19 wisdom (σοφία) (given by ?) God (is) from me (?). Says Iodasphe to
 20 : I myself, also, I want to ask you for a lesson
 21 (from?) your wisdom (σοφία). Says Iodasphe to him: Do [you] declare
 22 about this established world (κόσμος) (that) it is eternal, having
 23 existed from its own self from eternity? Or else,
 24 was it built (and) produced by (the of)
 25 God . . . ? Then (τότε) the Apostle says to Goundesh (?):
 26 . . . this constructed world (κόσμος) is a product.
 27 It was fashioned (by the) of God. There is a (?)
 28 beginning for the product that has come about.

8 he does not drink with them: cf. Acts of Thomas 1.5 (Klijn 2003, 26) for a similar scene of an apostle at a festive event, but not joining the others in drinking. 9 his face is ... different: cf. 405.24. 11–14 See Böhlig 1989, 251; 1992, 67. 21–25 Whether the world is eternal or created is the first pair of alternatives of

the *avyākata* (unanswerable) questions in the Buddhist tradition (e.g., *Cūlamālunkya Sutta*). This question is associated with the followers of the 'pseudo-prophet Būdhāsaḥ' in Biruni (11th century; Sachau 1879, 189).

403

1 [.] . ε παχεῖωδ[α]σφῆ[ς . . .] . .
 2 [.] . κτεογαϋ ἡκ [. . .]
 3 [.] . [.] . ουτε [. . .] . [. . .]
 4 ρα τ [. . .] . λ
 5 Ἰ πκοσμος εφμογοῦνκ εν πε
 6 σε νημ . . . ὑ γαραϋ πε
 7 [.] η ουσινωφπε ου
 8 [.] . εφτῆταντ ἀπρητε
 9 [.] . καρ αβαλ ἡμ ρῆ
 10 [.] . . τρε ρωϋ τε τεῖ ἡπκοσμος [. . .]
 11 [.] . ραϋτ αβαλ ἡ . . . ἀρηῖ . . [. . .] . .
 12 [.] τηκ ἀρετῆ ἡ vac Τοτε πα[χε . . .] . .
 13 [.] ἀραϋ π τῆ ἡπωην ετ [. . .]
 14 [.] γε πσεχε ετακτεογαϋ πωην [. . . .]
 15 [.] καρ πε εταϋ [. . .]
 16 [.] αϋ . χῆπ [. . .]
 17 [.] ἀρετῆ αν [. . .]
 18 [.] . . . [.] . . . [. . .] . .
 19 [.]] πκοσμος [. . .] . . . [. . .] . .
 20 [.]] χε πκ[οσμος . . .] . .
 21 [.]] . παχεϋ χε . . [.] . .
 22 [.]] [. . .]
 23 . . [.] μ φανη
 24 ρε [.] ρῆ ροϋ τεϋ
 25 [.] . [.] ἡβηγε
 26 [.]]] εϋ
 27 [.]]] . μεκ χε πκοσμ
 28 [ος]] . τεϋ εϋχπο ἡμαϋ ἡρητῆ ρῆοῦμῆ

Codex 403 (^); quire 26 (= 'x'); Rolf Ibscher '(1)'; facsimile 285.

14 πσεχε: Or perhaps πσε(χε) δε ("However, the lesson").

1 Says Iodasphe . . .
2 you explained it and you
3
4
5 the world (κόσμος), if it is not produced
6 every . . . on its (?) account
7 a state of being
8 . . . is like this
9 . . . earth (?) from
10 This also is the way of the world (κόσμος)
11 flourishes (?) from up
12 . . . [is] set firm Then (τότε) says (the)
13 (Apostle?) to him: The of this tree that
14 The lesson that you explained: This tree
15 is the earth that has
16
17
18
19 this world (κόσμος)
20 that the [world (κόσμος ?)]
21 he says that
22
23 forever
24
25 the things
26
27 that this world (κόσμος)
28 as they are born in it in a

404

1 τ[. . .] εφάγοϋφάηη [. . . τσφαιρα ἡἡ]
 2 ς[ιο]γ σκωτε ςσιτε σπιητ σε . . . [.]
 3 η[. . .] η ἡπορ [.]
 4 [. . .] ςεμαξε ςεπῖε ςερακ . . ςετηκ αρε(τ)ογ εν
 5 ἡογμα ἡογωτ ἡηιϋ αν ἡἡβρησε
 6 ἡἡἡπιτε ἡηικων ἡἡκκκλος ετεωαγ
 7 αβαλ ςεσηκ ρωογε ςεμαξε ςερακ εν ςετηκ
 8 αρετογ εν ἡογμα ἡογωτ vac ἡσμη τηρογ [. . .]
 9 [. . .] ἡἡτεγ ρρακ ἡμεγ ριςραρτ αλλα [. . .]
 10 [. . .] ς[ε]σηκ σπιητ σεσιτε σεπωνε vac εκα [. . .]
 11 [. . ἡ] εω ἡξε κε ερεπκοσμοϋ τῆταἡτ α [. . .]
 12 [. . .] .ξε ογωα(α)νηξε πε ογρωβ ἡτ [.]
 13 [. . .] ἡανκϋ vac κεταγτα ηκερωμε ετε [.]
 14 [. . .] .νεγ αραγ κε εγχο ἡμαγ ἡρητ[ῆ . . .]
 15 [. . .] . ςεναογωσϋ δε ἡσετεκο . . . [. . .]
 16 [. . .] .νεφεζογσιαστης ἡταγ . . . Δ [.]
 17 [. . .] ηε . . . ε . . . γκατ [.]
 18 . . [. .] σωλι [.] . . [.]
 19 . . [. .] . . . [. .] . . . πε [.]
 20 . . [. .] . . . [. .] . ἡηογ ἡτα [.]
 21 ρα [. . .] . ασωλι [.]
 22 . . [. . .] [.]
 23 ετϋ . . [. .] [.]
 24 νεκασἡητς ἡταϋ εσω . . καλωϋ . . . [. . .] . .
 25 λος τηρογ νεκασἡητογ [. . .] . .
 26 . . εϋ . . γ εν πἡ νεἶ [. . .] ογ
 27 εν πε εγϋσηρ εγ . . . νεκασἡητογ [.]
 28 . . . ἡηογἰεογε ετ . . . [.]
 29 τογ εν πε εγσηκ [.] αλλα . . [.] κο

Codex 404 (>); quire 26 (= 'x'); Rolf Ibscher '1'; facsimile 286.

1 εφάγοϋφάηη-: Obscure; presumably a scribal error is involved, there may be an erasure mark through the penultimate η of the sequence. 4 Presumably ςερακ εν, cf. l. 7 (“they are not at rest”); but difficult to read. 24 Perhaps εσωοσι, “it being (well)”; but

very uncertain. 26–27 and 28–29 There may again have been the same construction of νεκασἡητογ negated; i.e. “you would not find them”.

1-ness. If they should [the sphere (σφαῖρα ?) of the]
2 stars, it rotates, it turns, it runs. They (?)
3 of the moon
4 . . . they move, they shine, they are not (?) at rest, they are not set firm
5 at a single place. Also, the blasts (of wind) and the lightning, (the)
6 and the rainbows, the images (εἰκῶν) and the orbits (κύκλος) that
7 out, they are drawn themselves; they move; they are not at rest; they are not set
8 firm at a single place. All the powers
9 they do not have rest there, nor tranquillity. Rather (ἀλλά),
10 . . . they are drawn, they run, they turn, they alter. If you
11 . . . of what sort. For the world (κόσμος) is like
12 for an eternity is a matter of
13 . . . produced it. Even though (καὶ ταῦτα) the other people who
14 see them, for as they are born in [it]
15 But (δέ) they will perish and be destroyed
16 . . . its holders of authority (ἐξουσιαστής), they
17
18 . . . show
19
20
21 show
22
23
24 rather you would find it, it being (?) well (καλῶς)
25 all the, you would (not ?) find them
26 . . . as it does not (?). (you would ?) not (find ?) them,
27 as they sail, as they . . . ; you would (not ?) find them
28 . . . the waters (you would ?) not (find ?)
29 them, as they are drawn Rather (ἀλλά), (the)

405

1 [c]μoς τηρϷ ετα. . . [.]η εϷτηκ αρετϷ [zē]η[. . . .]
 2 [τ]ηροϷ ετῆρητϷ νεκασονποϷε ποϷε ἡρητϷ [. . .].
 3 [τη]κ αρετϷ εἰπῆμαῖωωπε εϷκιν εἰ οϷτ[ε εϷ].
 4 [.]ε εἰ vac ενεοϷαανηζε πε πικoςμος {νε}νε[μῆ]ξβ
 5 ἡβῆρε ναοϷωνη αβαλ ἡρητῆ πε vac αλλα πετϷοοῖ
 6 ἡρητῆ χῆμπωαρπ ἡροοϷ ἡταϷ αν πετκασοντϷ εϷ
 7 οϷανη αβαλ ἡρητῆ νεμῆεβῆβῆρε να. . . η αβαλ
 8 ἡ[η]τῆ πε οϷτε η. εοϷα.χ\π/ο εἰ αν ἡρητῆ vac
 9 [το]τ[ε] ἡτ[ε] ἀρεῖωδασφης εϷτμε ανεῖ ητῆπ[α]ποστο
 10 λο[ς] αϷτ[ε]αϷ ἡτοϷηοϷ vac Πα.εϷ εἰνοϷ. . . [.]
 11 [. . .]οϷ πε πεῖ ἡτρε ετακχοος χε οϷρωβ π[ε] πκο
 12 [ςμο]ς ἡταγμankῆ οϷαανηζε ηταϷ εἰ π[ε] οϷτ[ε]
 13 [.]εἰ πε vac αλλα οϷρωβ πε εαϷωωπε [.]
 14 [. . .]. . . . κβραῖτ εἰπσεχε vac vac
 15 [ἡ]ροϷ ετῆμεϷ αροϷηδηω οϷρατ αϷρεϷε [.]
 16 [. . .]νεϷγενης ετῆμμα ετῆμεϷ vac τ[ο]τε πα
 17 [χεῖωδασ]φης. . . ὕ. ετϷκ. [. . .]. [.]
 18 [.]η αροϷη δ. [.] . . . [.] . . . ε. [. . .] . . .
 19 [.] . . . απαπ[ος]τολος εϷ. [.] . . . [. . .] . . .
 20 [.] . . . ετῆ. [.]ε εἰηταμῆτρ[.] . . . [. . .] . vac
 21 [το]τε πα.εῖ[ω]δασφη[ς] ακαρ.ελ πωηρε [ἡ]αρτα]βαν
 22 [.] . . . ε η. [. . .] β. [.] . . .
 23 [. . .] . [. . .] [. . .] . . . τῶνω ϷοϷω[. . .]
 24 [. . .] . [. . .] . . . ἡπκαε vac πϷωμα ωβῖ[α]ῖτ ἡητϷ
 25 [. . .] . [. . .] . β.αλ. vac επειδη ημεῖνε τη
 26 [ροϷ] . [. . .] ἰον ετ. ε εϷοοῖ εἰπεῖ
 27 [.] . . . ερε. αλ
 28 [λα π]ημεῖν[ε] . εϷτνα. εαβκ οϷ. . . . ε
 29 [. . .] . . . [. . .] . Ϸωμε. . . . πϷμεῖνε εϷο ἡε

Codex 405 (>); quire 26 (= 'x'); Rolf Ibscher '2'; facsimile 287.

1 E.g. [zē]η[σλμ], "[in] (all) the [powers]". 8 η. εοϷα.χ\π/ο: The second letter may have been struck out by the scribe; perhaps a future imperfect was intended. 20 εἰηταμῆτρ[. . .]: Possibly

εἰηταμῆτρ[ρο], "in my kingdom", referring to the country from which Iodasphes has come? 26 -ἰον: Presumably ζωδιον (see 406, 4) and read "all the signs of (?) the Zodiac".

1 entire world (κόσμος) that it is set firm in all the . . .
2 that are in it. You would find each one in it (being)
3 set firm in its dwelling-place, neither being moved nor (οὔτε) . . .
4 . . . If this world (κόσμος) were eternal thing, there would be nothing
5 new revealed in it. Rather (ἀλλά), that which exists
6 in it from the first day, it also is that which you will find
7 apparent in it (now). There is nothing new would . . . forth
8 in it; nor (οὔτε) also would they (?) generate in it.
9 Then (τότε), when Iodasphes heard these things from the Apostle
10 he gave glory immediately. Says he:
11 . . . is this, like that which you have said, that [the world (κόσμος) is] a thing
12 that was produced. Indeed, it is not an eternal (thing) nor (οὔτε)
13 is it. Rather (ἀλλά), it is a thing that has come into being
14 You are victorious in this lesson!
15 [On] that day Goundesh was glad. He rejoiced
16 . . . the nobles (εὐγενής) who were at that place. [Then (τότε) says]
17 Iodasphes
18 in to
19 to the Apostle, as you
20 the ones that you . . . in my (kingdom ?)
21 [Then (τότε) says] Iodasphes [to] Kardel the son [of Artaban]:
22
23 very much, he
24 the earth. His body (σῶμα) is different and his
25 Since [all] the signs
26 [of the zodiac (?)] that, they exist in this
27 Rather (ἀλλά),
28 his sign is diminished
29 person . . . his sign is like

24 his body is different: cf. 402.9. 25ff. sign (μείνε): apparently used here of a zodiacal sign.

1 whom I saw the Mannichaios (?)
 2 [the] Apostle. His sign is this.
 3 Also, you (pl.) should know that this person, the authority (ἐξουσία) of the
 4 seven stars and the twelve zodiacal (signs) (ζώδιον) (is) upon him.
 5 However (ἀλλά), at the hour and the day in which he was born, this
 6 great star increased. It shone forth much greater, it being . . .
 7 . . . being more than (παρα) the seven and the twelve and the
 8 entire sphere (σφαῖρα). It was this person that was born in that star.
 9 This person whom you see is Bouddas, a person . . .
 10 . . . Then (τότε) Iodasphe made obeisance before the Apostle.
 11 Says he to him: Blessed are the people who
 12 and they guard your commandments (ἐντολή) and they are set [fast]
 13 [in the] certainty that, at the end, they will live in your . . .
 14 [and they will] rest themselves in your rest forever and ever.
 15 (Blessed is the person) who might see you and believe in you
 16 be fortunate. When Kardel the son
 17 of Artaban heard these words which the Apostle had [(received ?)]
 18 [from] Iodasphe, he in them.
 19 to him
 20 Iodasphe
 21 Iodasphe for the lessons that he asked
 22 . . . Iodasphe was set firm
 23 his hand
 24 because of him and
 25 Kardel the son of Artaban proclaimed (to)
 26 Shapur the King. When Shapur (heard this he)
 27 rejoiced greatly. He He
 28
 29 a single [true (?)] wise man (σοφός) in your kingdom . . .

3–8 Cf. teachings ascribed to Būdhāsaf by Masudi (10th century), in Manichaeism, so perhaps this statement reflects Iodasphe's
 noted in Crone 2012: 27. 4 seven stars: more typically five stars cosmology.

407

1 [.] . . . [.]
 2 [.] . . [.]
 3 [. . . .] [. . . .] . . . [. . . .]
 4 [. . . .] . τεογας αρακ ᾿η [.]
 5 [. . . .] ρωμε [. . .] . . . [.]
 6 [. . .] βαλ εν ᾿η φουγ α [. . .] . . . [.]
 7 [. . .] πρωμε ετρεχε νεμεφ . . [. . .] . . . [.]
 8 [. . .] . . . αινεγ [. . .] ᾿ρ [.]
 9 [.] . . . [.] [.]
 10 [.] vac ᾿ηταξ [.]
 11 [. . .] . ετσμαμαατ . . . ᾿ηκ [.]
 12 [.] χε α [.]
 13 [.] αφουγ [.]
 14 [.] βρ [.]
 15 [.] [.]
 16 [.] [.] [.]
 17 [.] [.]
 18 [.] [.]
 19 [.] [.]
 20 [.] [.]
 21 [.] [.]
 22 [.] [.]
 23 [.] [.]
 24 [.] . . [.] . . . [.] [. . .] . .
 25 [.] [.] . . . [.] [. . .] . .
 26 [.] [.] . . . [.] . .
 27 [.] [.] [.] . .
 28 [.] . . [. . .] [.] [.] . .
 29 [.] [.] [.] [.] . .

Codex 407 (^); quire 26 (= 'x'); Rolf Ibscher '(129)'; facsimile 289.

1
2
3
4 . . . (I) explained to you
5 person
6
7 . . . this person who debates with him
8 I saw
9
10 You
11 . . . that is blessed
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29

408

1 [.] οὐατβε ρῆπεινε ρ . . . [.]
 2 . [.] τε τεκψχη [.]
 3 . [.] εἰτβ[ε]πιωαμτ σε ἡρωβ αἰσω ρῆτκῆῆ[τῆρρο] vac
 4 . . [.] . [.] μο . . αὔτσεε ηῆι ριτῆππουτε μη[. . .]
 5 . [.] †ε[.] ε . . κογ vac εἶναεἶτογ αν ρῆτκῆῆ[τῆρρο]
 6 [. . .] . . [.] . ἀγαθον ἡαωπε νεκ ρατμπη[ουτε] vac
 7 Το[τε παχεσαπω]ρης ῆρρο [αραα χ]ῆῆππουε αβ[αλ .]
 8 [.] ε [.] . . μα . ενε . [. . .]
 9 ρῆτῆαμῆῆτῆρρο ῆππομοσ μη . . . [.]
 10 [.] . [.] † νεκ vac ἀπαποστολος σμαμε [. . .]
 11 [.] [.] [.]
 12 [. . . ρ]ῆη ῆῆρρο ααωακ . . . κτησιφωη [.]
 13 [.] ῆ παχεα αρα[α]
 14 [.] . . . [.] . . . [.]
 15 [.] . . [.] . . [.] . . . [.]
 16 [. . .] . . . [.] ογ . [. .] [.]
 17 [.] [.] [.]
 18 [.] [.] [.]
 19 [.] [.] [.]
 20 [.] [.] [.]
 21 [.] [.] [.]
 22 [.] . . . [.] [.]
 23 . . [. .] . [. .] [.] [.]
 24 κ[.] . ε . μη[.] [.]
 25 . [.] [.] . . [.]
 26 . [. . .] ῆ . [.] . . [.]
 27 ῆβ[. .] ρῆτῆῆσινε[.] . . [.] vac
 28 Παλιν [αν] ἀπιμα . . [.] . . [.]

Codex 408 (>); quire 26 (= 'x'); Rolf Ibscher '129'; facsimile 290.

2 Possibly -ἡασ τε τεκψχη, "great is your soul". 28 Perhaps ἀπιμαη[τησ ("this disciple"); but very uncertain.

1 is superior in the likeness

2 (great is ?) your soul (ψυχή)

3 On account of these three things, therefore, I have remained in your kingdom.

4 is given to me through God

5 , as I will also do them in your kingdom

6 good will occur for you with [God].

7 Then (τότε) [says Shapur] the King [to him: From] today

8

9 in my kingdom make the law (νόμος)

10 for you. The Apostle blessed . . .

11

12 . . . before the king. He went (again to ?) Ctesiphon

13 him. Says he to [him]

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27 humbled (?) in his advent

28 Once again (πάλιν), this (disciple ?)

1–6 Mani has been summoned into Shapur’s presence, and is speaking to the king. 9–10 On Shapur issuing an edict protecting Mani and his right to proselytize, see Hom 48.2–9. 12 Ctesiphon: cf. 345.11 and note.

409

1 [.]. [.]

2 [. . .]

3 [. . .] ἀφτεογο ἀραφ ἡσιου

4 [. . .] φ . ἡπ

5 [. . .] . . . οὔφσῃ ἡτοὔεζογσια τηροῦ vac vac

6 [Τοτε πα]χεπαποστολος ἀραφ πικεσεχε ἀν ετακωντ̄

7 [ετβη]τῆ ἀνακ ετατεογαφ ἀρακ vac φωπε εκσαγνε ἡ

8 [πρη]τε χε ππῆα ἡτετπρογῶσια πω . . ἡ . ε

9 [. . .] . ε πε ρῆῆπῆα ἡπικοςμος πετῆφ[.] . ει ἡ

10 [. . . .] . . κατὰογαῖω ογαῖω ἡῆτεογο . [. .] . . .

11 [. . . .] τηροῦ vac vac vac

12 τλθ

13

14 [Παλιν ἀν . .] ε . παποστολ[ος]

15 ἡησαβεογε ἡτεπσαῖπῆε ἀγοῦνηφ [.]

16 [.] ρα . [. . .] ἀποδῆμη ἡταβωκ ἀ . [. . .]

17 [.] . [. . .] . ἡρητῆ [. . .] . .

18 [.] ρ

19 [.] π καβωκ ἡρητῆ vac ἀλλα

20 [.] παγαθον ἡητσοφια ετακ

21 [.] ἰω ἡμαγ ἡηκερωμε εἰε

22 [.] κ . αβιη[ε ἡπ]φνη

23 [.] σατμεσ ἡτοοτ[κ π]ε πεῖ

24 [.] ἡμεγ ρῆαγα[θ]ος νε ἡ

25 [.] ἀροῦν ἀη[ιρ]βηογε ἡτα[κα]ιοσυνη

26 [.] . . . ἡητσοφια ἡ[β]ογδαδασ ἡηταναπο

27 [στολος] ἀκοῦωνε ἀβαλ ἡηταφεαῖω ρῆηπσαῖπῆ

28 [ἰε] . . . οὔ ἀφ vac ἀνακ †ηαῖρωβ

29 [.] . ἀραῖ ἀῖς . [. . .] ἀτοοτ vac ἀλλα πικεσεχε

Codex 409 (>); quire 26 (= 'x'); Rolf Ibscher 'x.140'; facsimile 283.

14 One supposes ερεπαποστολ[ος, e.g. "(it happened one time) while the apostle ...". 21 Perhaps ταφειω, 'preach'. 27 2nd pers. sg. subject is uncertain.

1
 2
 3 he explained to him (?). stars
 4
 5 annulled all of their authority (ἐξουσία).
 6 [Then (τότε)] says the Apostle to him: Also, this other lesson [about] which you asked me,
 7 I am the one who can explain it to you. You should know in
 8 [this manner], that this spirit (πνεῦμα) of foreknowledge (προγνωσία).
 9 among the spirits (πνεῦμα) of this world (κόσμος), the one that makes
 10 from (κατά) time to time. And it explains all of
 11
 12 339
 13 (It tells).
 14 [Once again (πάλιν)], (it happened one time) while the Apostle (was talking about ?)
 15 the wise ones of the east, Goundesh was
 16 (I will) go abroad (ἀποδημεῖν) and I will go
 17 in it
 18
 19 you will go in it. However (ἀλλά),
 20 the good (ἀγαθόν) and the wisdom (σοφία) that you have
 21 (taught, the things that you preached ?) to the other people . . .
 22 find [the] life
 23 hear it from [you (?)], is this
 24 there, they are good ones (ἀγαθόν)
 25 in to these works of righteousness (δικαιοσύνη)
 26 the wisdom (σοφία) of (?) Bouddas and that of the Apostles
 27 you revealed and preached in the east
 28 I, I will do the work
 29 to me. I have to me. However (ἀλλά), this lesson

8 foreknowledge (προγνωσία): cf. 1 Ke 102, 255.22–257.7. 13 The chapter title is an unusually short single line, not preserved. 14 ff. Goundesh appears to resolve to visit eastern lands, and to meet

with sages about whom Mani has told him. On Mani's journey to India, encounter with its sages, and preaching there, see Funk 2009. 26 Buddha and Apostle: cf. M6041 (Sundermann 1981, 89).

1 ḿ [.]
 2 βα ὄρο [.]
 3 εἰ . ἄ . ῥḿρωμε ḿπμα εἰḿμεγ [.] [. . .]
 4 ḿ . . . κ σεἰμετε νεμεκ [. . .]
 5 νεμεκ αἰχωρα εἰακβωκ αρας ḿ [. . .]
 6 τε ḿτḿνεγ απρωμε εἰαεἰαεἰω νεḿ [. . .]
 7 πετανχι ḿτοοτḗ ḿτḗελπικ vac εἰωανḿτ . . . [. . . ḿ]
 8 τḗει απμα ἰναωθαρε χε ἰναει ḿτασντκ ὀ[ε ετ]
 9 κο ḿ[μα]ς ῥḿτḗικων εἰνεγ αρακ ḿḗητς vac
 10 Τοτ[ε] π[αχ]επαποστολος αραχ κ . . . ḿπ . . . [.]
 11 . . [.] ḿαγρκ αν ḿκει εκακ [.]
 12 ἄ . . [.] . πεἰαεἰαεἰα αρακ [.]
 13 [. . ἰ] τωβḗ ḿμακ αἰογἰε αρακ [.]
 14 [. . .] ḿταθαρε ḿαḿηε χε [.]
 15 [.] [.]
 16 . . [.] . . . αρακ εἰσχε ḿḿαν [.]
 17 . . [.] . . ε ḿ [.]
 18 . . [.] ε χε [.]
 19 ḗοḗḿḗηω vac καβωκ ḿκει [.]
 20 εḿ ῥḿπḗωμα ἄλλα ἰνα ḿ [.]
 21 πεἰḿ . ḗ . ḿαγτ vac τḗτε [.]
 22 απικ[εχε] εἰαεἰαεἰα [.]
 23 ἄλλα . . . ḿτ ανακ εḿ ῥḿπḗκοσḿος [.]
 24 αεἰωω ḿḗητ vac Παχ[εα] αραα [. ῥḿ]
 25 τωσε εḿανοογḗ ḿḗχ[ο] ḿḗḗωḿη ḿ . . [.]
 26 ḿḗḗκεκαογε ḿḗω[κ] . ἄḿḿα π [. ῥḿ]
 27 κωτ εḿεσωογ ḿḗκ . . . ε ḿḗḗκεκαγε [.]
 28 ρε vac ḿ ḿḿ ḿταα πε π . . ḿḿογḿα . . [.]

Codex 410 (^); quire 26 (= 'x'); Rolf Ibscher '(x.140)'; facsimile 284.

7 πετανχι: The 1st pers. pl. subject ("we received") is not certain, but presumed from sense following l. 6. 11 Possibly εκακω (ḿσωκ) or εκακα-, i.e. "you will leave (behind)"; see 411, 2–6. 13

αἰογἰε: I.e. αἰογεἰε, "I have been distant"; but most uncertain and perhaps corrected. 27–28 Perhaps read [ωḿ]ρε, 'child(ren)' (cf. 411, 2).

1
 2 triumph
 3 people of that place
 4 they agree with you
 5 with you to this land (χώρα) to which you went
 6 and we see this person who preached to us (?).
 7 the one from whom we (?) received this hope (ἐλπίς). If I shall bring
 8 and come to this place: I will be confident (θαρρεῖν) that I will come and find you [the way that]
 9 you are in this image (εἰκῶν) in which I am seeing you.
 10 Then (τότε) says the Apostle to him:
 11 . . . (you will) return again and come, leaving (behind ?).
 12 (I am) the one who can explain it to you
 13 . . . [I] entreat you, I have been distant (?), to you
 14 . . . and I am truly confident that
 15
 16 to you. If not (?),
 17
 18 (says the Apostle to ?)
 19 Goundesh: You will go and you will come (back when I am).
 20 not in this body (σῶμα). However (ἀλλά), I will
 21 the one who . . . is dead (?). Then (τότε) (Goundesh was greatly saddened ?).
 22 about this [word] that he (i.e. Mani) had uttered
 23 Rather (ἀλλά), . . . I am not in this world (κόσμος).
 24 He was heartbroken. Says he (i.e. Goundesh) to him (i.e. Mani). [some]
 25 good plants and he [plants] some trees
 26 some others, and he goes (again ?) to these places. The [some]
 27 beautiful buildings, and he . . . some others
 28 (children ?). Or (ἤ), rather, who is the . . . of their (?).

9 this image in which I am seeing you: cf. Hom 54.18–19 and 57.15–16, where changes to Mani’s glory and image presage his transition to death. 24ff. Goundesh employs a number of analogies to

Mani’s work in the world: like a gardener, a builder, a parent. He questions why such a person would wish to leave behind his plants, his building, or his children.

1 [. . . .]ραϑ ῥᾶνσιχ ἡῖρῆκεκαοῦε ἡῖρῆ . . . [.]
2 [.]οετακееϑ vac ετвееῦ екаканеκωhre . . .
3 [εκακω] ἡσωκ ηῖωλῆ ετανιτ ετακταβοῦ ηῖωην
4 [αν ε]τακχαϑ vac χееῦ σε екаκω ἡсωк ἡῖκωт ἡсаῖ
5 [ε] ηῖεκκλησια ἡῖνιμαῖνοῦωρ εтηесωου ηετακτα
6 [σοῦ α]κκαοῦε катаμα ма χееῦ екаκω ἡсωк ἡῖи
7 [σω]ῃα ετακχπαϑ ете ἡγραφαγε ηε ἡῖηῖαποκα
8 [(λγ)ψις] ἡβῖρε ἡῖηῖηασ ἡсoφια етoῖ ηεαγ етак
9 [χπο ρ]ἡητεκκλησια χееῦ екаканеῖ τηροῦ ἡк
10 [βωк ἡ]κλο γαραϑ екηα σε ατο ἡῖпφрβωк χε †.
11 [. . .]к τoνω vac εῖωannaγῖт ἡтаеῖ εῖαеῖ . . . ρη
12 [†]сoφια етῆαωρε ηес εῖαωῖηιμα χ . . .
13 [. . . .] vac τoтe παχeπαпoстoлoς αγωῖηδ[ηω.]
14 [. . . .] . ῥᾶηαχωρε εη ηтавωк οὔτε . . [. . .]
15 [. . . .] . . . ω . . . ηαγραφαγε ἡῖηηηη[. . .] . [. . .]
16 [. . . .] . εῖεῖ [αβ]αλ ἡῖηαγ ῥῖпсωма [. . .]
17 [. . . .] [. . .]ηп vac † . . . ρηтoῦη[ηт]ε
18 [. . . .] [. . .]саγηe . . . ωou vac
19 [.] . [.]οῦλ . . . οῦ [.]
20 [.] . [.] φzωγpαφh ἡῖη[. . .]
21 [.] . . ρп . . [. zωг]pαφh ἡῖηαϑ
22 [.] . [.]ηeлoς τηροῦ ϑ
23 [.] . ε . [.] αραϑ . . ἡῖη . . .
24 [. . .] ρo vac ωαϑχι εη ἡῖηηтῆ ἡῖηῖρωου
25 [. . .] αβαλ ω[. . .] . . . ε ηтe ηсω εϑ
26 [. . .] ωтηe . [. . .] . . соycoῦ ηηηoῦηαγε
27 [. . .] . ρoоῦe ηηηeβeтe . [. . .] . πкωт χωк ἡῖηκε

Codex 411 (^); quire 26 (= 'x'); Rolf Ibscher (x.139); facsimile 281.

5-6 τα[σοῦ, "planted them": Or possibly τα[ηαγ, "created them". 7-8 αποκα[[λγ)ψις]: The same scribal omission at 374, 18?

1 to him by the hands of some other ones, these
 2 the way (?) that you did. Why would you leave your children? (Why ?)
 3 [would you] leave behind you these good shoots that you have planted, these trees
 4 [also that] you have sown? For what, then, would you leave behind you these beautiful buildings,
 5 these churches (ἐκκλησία) and these lovely dwellings, the ones that you have [planted]?
 6 You [have] left them from (κατά) place to place. For what would you leave behind you this
 7 body (σῶμα) to which you have given birth, which is the writings (γραφή), and the new
 8 revelations (ἀποκάλυψις), and this great glorious wisdom (σοφία), to which you have
 9 [given birth] in the church (ἐκκλησία). For what would you leave all these and
 10 [go and] desist from them? Indeed, where are you going? Do not go, for I . . .
 11 . . . you very much. If I should return and come, I would in
 12 [this] wisdom (σοφία) that I await, I would seek these places (?).
 13 Then (τότε) says the Apostle to Goundesh:
 14 (I) do not withdraw (ἀναχωρεῖν) and go, nor (οὔτε).
 15 my writings (γραφή) and my
 16 I am departing them in the body (σῶμα).
 17 I . . . in their midst
 18 know (?).
 19
 20 he has (?) fashioned (ζωγραφεῖν) it
 21 fashioned (ζωγραφεῖν) it
 22 all the limbs (μέλος) he . . .
 23 to him
 24 He does not receive in it any openings (?)
 25 from in this way, and he remains being
 26 moments and the hours
 27 . . . days and the months. The building completes the other (?)

3–4 shoots . . . trees: for Mani as a gardener who plants a church, and departs until it is time to harvest its fruits, see 1Ke 9.21–11.35. 6–7 this body: for the Manichaean church as a body to which Mani has given birth, cf. *CMC* title and 46.9. 20 fashioned (ζωγραφεῖν): for the use of this term in Manichaean texts, see Nagel 1981. 20 ff. Mani provides an analogy, extending to 412.15, possibly

about an architect or artist who sketches out a plan or fashions a model before executing it. But there is also birthing language here, and imagery of followers as the ‘limbs’ of the body of the church Mani has created. 22 limbs: or ‘parts’ if an inorganic analogy is involved. 24 openings: or ‘doors’ or ‘mouths’.

412

1 ρῆ. . . ε δε οὐκ ἔνεκεμος ἀν. [.]
 2 ὀνῶν μὲν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἑσπέρην vac
 3 [ἀλλ]ὰ φάσμα τοῦ κῆρυκος ἡμῶν ἔμποι[.]
 4 ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν ἑσπέρην vac εὐφρανζωγρ[ἀφν ρωφ]
 5 ἡμῶν ἡτῆρα ἡμῶν ἡτενεμμελος ἄνκ ρῆτῆ[κων]
 6 τότε φάσμα ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἀροῦν ἡμῶν φῶρ[.]
 7 ἄλλο ἀροῦν φάσμα ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν [.]
 8 ἄλλο ἀροῦν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ε ἡμῶν [.]
 9 ε. ἡ vac τότε φάσμα ἀβαλ ἡμῶν εἰ[.]
 10 εἰ ἀν ἡμῶν εὐφρανζωγρ[ἀφν ρωφ]
 11 φά. ο ἡμῶν εὐφρανζωγρ[ἀφν ρωφ]
 12 εὐφρανζωγρ[ἀφν ρωφ] ἡμῶν ἡμῶν τῆ[.]
 13 [.] ε ἡμῶν εὐφρανζωγρ[ἀφν ρωφ] ἡμῶν [.]
 14 [.] ἡμῶν εὐφρανζωγρ[ἀφν ρωφ] ἡμῶν [.]
 15 [.] vac τῆ[.] ἡμῶν εὐφρανζωγρ[ἀφν ρωφ] ἡμῶν [.]
 16 [.] ἡμῶν εὐφρανζωγρ[ἀφν ρωφ] ἡμῶν [.]
 17 [.] ἡμῶν εὐφρανζωγρ[ἀφν ρωφ] ἡμῶν [.]
 18 ἡμῶν λ ε. εἰ. [.]
 19 λ. ἡμῶν [.]
 20 [.] ἡμῶν ἡμῶν [.]
 21 κ. ἡμῶν ἡμῶν [.]
 22 φ. εὐφρανζωγρ[ἀφν ρωφ] ἡμῶν [.]
 23 ἡμῶν vac εἰ φά. [.] [.]
 24 [.]
 25 τῆ[.] ἡμῶν [.]
 26 λφωφ ρῆνεμμελος ἡμῶν [.]
 27 ρωφ ἡμῶν κατ [.]
 28 ἡμῶν ἡμῶν εἰ [.] [.]
 29 σῆ εὐφρανζωγρ[ἀφν ρωφ] ἡμῶν ἡμῶν [.]

Codex 412 (>); quire 26 (= 'X'); Rolf Ibscher 'x.139'; facsimile 282.

9 One might consider ἡμῶν εἰ, “my kindred”; but uncertain and the context is unclear. 16 Perhaps ἡμῶν εὐφρανζωγρ[ἀφν ρωφ], “(I chose) my

church”; but very uncertain. 24–25 Perhaps “the entire church”, supposing εκκλησία (unreadable); cf. 413, 1–2?

1 for there are also some other limbs (μέλος) (he is not ?)
 2 able to complete at the time (καιρός) when he fashions (ζωγραφεῖν) (them?).
 3 Rather (ἀλλά), he stamps and seals (σφραγίζειν) them with the
 4 of the limbs that are in this little one. If he [himself] fashions (ζωγραφεῖν)
 5 it and makes it beautiful, and completes its limbs (μέλος) in the [image (εἰκῶν ?)],
 6 then (τότε) he returns and enters and takes possession (φορεῖν) of
 7 gathered in. He dwells in it and completes some . . . (that he?)
 8 gathers in it.
 9 Then (τότε) he gives birth to it.
 10 also, after a delay according to (κατά) the season (καιρός καιρός)
 11 and he casts forth (?) all his limbs (μέλος).
 12 that he has marked (?) and he (?). . . in
 13 and that birth is completed in
 14 . . . and this child displays
 15 Again, this also is my way that
 16 times when I chose my church (ἐκκλησία ?).
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21 tell you
 22
 23 I
 24 entire church (ἐκκλησία ?)
 25 in a (make a ?)
 26 roof through its (i.e. the church's) limbs
 27
 28 they did not complete them as I (have).
 29 that time in and I (?).

9 ff. Cf. 1Ke 10.34–11.6. 26 roof: as symbolizing completion and perfection, cf. 2Ps 189.24–26; P. Kell. v Copt. 32,30; and 2Ke 413.2 below. 28 they did not complete them as I (have): probably

referring to the previous apostles of God; cf. 1Ke 7.19–8.28, and the texts on the superiority of Mani's religion compared in Lieu 2006.

413

1 [. . .]. . . [. . .]. ἡσυχαστοῦ ἀβαλ ἡντ.

2 [τη]ρ̄ vac †να[. . .]. . . ς νταογαρογρ̄ ἡταρογλωβω

3 [. . .]. . . [. . .]. κοσμος ἡνογαίεγτε.

4 [. . .]. ἡσπωρ̄ω ἀβαλ ἡνεστηξ̄ ἀχ̄ν̄ν

5 ε. [. . .]. τηροῦ ἡτεπκοσμος ἡθε ἡπ̄λιλοῦ ετ. .

6 χ. [. . .]. ἡνεμελος ἡωαρ̄π̄ ἡνογτ̄σ̄β̄κο ἡ(ν)ας δε

7 ἡας ἡἡνεμελος ω. ᾶ

8 ἡἡτρωμε vac vac

9 [τοτε παχε]παποστολος αγωνηδω.

10 [. . .]. νε ντακ ἡσω.

11 [. . .]. ος.

12 [. . .]. τηρ̄ ἡ.

13 [. . .]. ακ. οὔ πξ.

14 [. . .]. εκτμαῖο ἡρητοῦ. [. . .].

15 [. . .]. . . vac ἡταρεγογνηδω σωτμε [anic]εξε

16 [ἡτἡπα]ποστολος ἀφωεξαἡ ἡτογνοῦ. [. . .]. ε.

17 [. . .]. [.]

18 [. . .]. [.]

19 [. . .]. [.]

20 [. . .]. [.]

21 [. . .]. ντ. χ. . . . [. . .]

22 [. . .]. ελ. . . . [. . .]

23 [. . .]. ἡἡτρω νανηξε vac

24 [τἡ]

25 [. . .]. [. . .]. . . καρδελ πωηρε

26 [ἡαρτ]αβαν. . [. βω]κ αρογν φα.

27 [. . .]. ἡ.

28 ξ. ωηρε. . [. . .]. νεμ.

29 Πα[λιν] αν καρδελ πωηρε ἡαρταβαν ει ριθη ἡπαποστολος

30 [.]. χ. [. . .]. . . ωηρε ἡσει νεμηῖ

Codex 413 (>); quire 26 (= 'X'); Rolf Ibscher 'x.138'; facsimile 279.

1 Perhaps "in the entire church", supposing εκκλησια (unreadable). 23 "... and will rest in the kingdom forever", vel sim. 29 ἡαρταβαν: Or perhaps better ἡαρβαν (sic).

1 and they are completed in the entire (church [ἐκκλησία] ?)

2 I will. it, and I cast forth (?) and make a roof

3 world (κόσμος) in a greatness

4 and it spreads out its wings over

5 all the of the world (κόσμος), like this little one who . . .

6 his limbs (μέλος) first in miniature. However (δέ), some great

7 great in his limbs (μέλος)

8 humanity.

9 [Then (τότε) says] the Apostle to Goundesh:

10 you

11

12 entire

13

14 as you are justified in them

15 When Goundesh heard [these] words

16 [from the] Apostle, he sighed immediately.

17

18

19

20

21

22

23 kingdom forever.

24 [340]

25 *Kardel the Son*

26 *of Artaban [went] in to*

27

28 *Children*

29 Once again (πάλιν), Kardel the son of Artaban came before the Apostle.

30 (He says to him:). children, and they come with me

2 roof: see note to 2Ke 412.26 above. 23 The Goundesh sequence of material concludes here.

1 απ. . . . ε εἰδωνῆ̄ ν̄ρητοῦ ν̄τετ[. . . .]. . . [. . .]
 2 β. ἀγ. . . . ε θε̄ ετκμεῖε. . . [. ογ] ἀνη̄ ἀβα[λ
 3 ρ̄ν̄. . . ογ̄ ν̄σε̄τεογας̄ ν̄σαωη̄τ̄ ν̄ρ̄ν̄[. . . .]. . . [. . .]
 4 τ̄ν̄. . . vac ἀλλὰ ν̄ρωμε̄ ετκατεχε̄ η̄[. . . .]. . . [. . .]
 5 ν̄. . . . τογ̄ χε̄ πε̄τ̄νατεογας̄ ἀρακ̄. . . . [μν̄ν̄]
 6 σω̄ι ν̄ρη̄τ̄ν̄ vac Δοογ̄ ἀραγ̄ ἀν̄ χε̄ ν̄. . . . τ̄ ν̄σε̄. [. . .]. . . ν̄
 7 κ. . . . ε̄τωογ̄ῑτ̄ vac Τοτε̄ πᾱχε̄παποστολο̄ς [ακαρ] Δε̄λ
 8 πω̄ηρε̄ ν̄αρταβαν̄ ἀῑχοος̄ μεν̄ χε̄ †. ογ̄.
 9 ν̄σε̄μαρ̄ε̄. . . τκ̄. [. . . .]
 10 ἀγ̄ ρ̄η̄τ̄. . . . ετακ̄τεογας̄. . . . [. . . .]
 11 λανα. [. . . .]
 12 χε̄ †ογ̄αν̄ε̄. ν̄π. . . [. . . .]
 13 κατα. . κ. [. . . .]
 14 [. . . .]. . ρ̄ᾱτηκ̄ ν̄π. . . ῖ. [. . . .]
 15 [.] π̄σε̄χε̄ ν̄π̄νογ̄τε̄. [. . . .]
 16 [.] ογ̄αν̄ε̄. . ε̄ ἀ. . ρε̄. ν̄. [. . . .]
 17 [. . . .]. [. . . .]
 18 [. . . .]. ς̄ ν̄π. [. . . .]
 19 [. . . .]. [. . . .]
 20 [. . . .]. . . ε̄ σεο̄ ν̄. [. . . .]
 21 [. . . .]. [. . . .]
 22 [.]. [. . . .]
 23 π̄σε̄χε̄ ν̄τ̄. [.]
 24 μ. ε̄φαχο̄ ν̄ογ̄. [.]
 25 χο. π̄νω̄ρε̄ χε̄. ν. . . [.]
 26 χωκ̄. φ. . . ε̄ φασ̄. κ. . . . [.]
 27 ν̄βωκ̄. . . λ̄ ρ̄η̄κ̄.
 28 ἀρογ̄ν̄ ε̄π̄ρο̄σον̄. β.
 29 ἀφ̄χο̄ ἀραρ̄ ν̄νω̄ρε̄ [.] η̄ν̄. [.]

Codex 414 (^); quire 26 (= 'x'); Rolf Ibscher '(x.138)'; facsimile 280.

6–7 Understand: “and they leave behind the other (ν̄κε-) things that are empty”, vel sim. 23 Perhaps one might read π̄σε̄χε̄

ν̄τ̄μη̄ε̄, “the word of truth”. 27 βωκ̄. . . λ̄: Presumably βωκ̄ ἀβαλ, “goes out”; but difficult to read.

1 to the I might live among them
2 the way that you love . . . displayed
3 in and they proclaim it about two hundred (?) . . .
4 However (ἀλλά), these people who hold (κατέχειν)
5 ; so that what I will explain to you
6 after me in it. Tell it to them also, so that (they) and they (leave behind ?) the
7 (other things ?) that are empty. Then (τότε) says the Apostle to Kardel
8 the son of Artaban: Indeed (μέν), I have said that I (?).
9 and they walk
10 in the . . . that you have uttered
11
12 that I reveal
13 according to (κατά)
14 with you
15 the word of God
16 is revealed
17
18
19
20 they are made of
21
22
23 the word of truth (?).
24 he will sow
25 sows this field, so that
26 completes, he shall
27 and he goes out (?) from
28 in, so long as (ὅσον).
29 he has sown many fields

1 [. . .]ϛτετε. . ερεπνοϛς ἰογαῖνε ο ἰμας εϛ. . .
 2 [. . .]αϛ ρῖπ[χ]ῖσε ἰῖσωτῖπ ἰτεκκλῆς[ῖ]α εῖτ. [. . .]
 3 [ἰῖα]ρε ἀρετῖ ἰρητῖ ἰῖζωγραφῖ ἰμας εῖγαρε. . .
 4 [ἰνε]ϛπιστος τηροϛ φαϛχω ἰτρε ἰῖσωτῖ ἰρητοϛ
 5 [ἰτρ]εῖτῖρικων χωκ ἰρητοϛ τηροϛ vac Τοτε φαϛχῖπο
 6 ἀβαλ ἰμας ἰκεατο ἰνοϛς εῖεῖνε ἰμας ἰῖ
 7 [. . .]οϛωρ ρῖτῖεκκλῆςια ταροϛρῖροϛριτ ἰσεραῖς
 8 [α]ῖπερε εῖτανῖ εῖαϛχῖα χῖμμαϛ τῖνοϛ αῖω ρῖτοο
 9 [τ]ῖ ἰτεπεῖρε εῖτανῖ αῖεῖτε ἰσεχῖα ρῖμα ἰῖ vac
 10 [ἰαῖ]ρε ρωτ ἀν εῖτατεῖτοϛ νεκ ἰαροϛσω εῖῖτοοτκ
 11 [ἰσε]αρε νεμεκ εῖρατῖκ εῖταφεαῖω ἰσεχε [ἰ]ῖφῖ
 12 [εῖ]εῖρε ἰπερῖω ἰπνοϛτε vac εῖφῖαντεῖῖρωῖ[ε σ]ῖφῖε
 13 [αῖ]ϛ ἰσεχῖπνοϛς ἰῖσαῖνε ἰτοοτοϛ vac ἰ. [. . .]. . . .
 14 [. . . .] ρῖτῖχωρα τηρῖ εῖτῖμεϛ vac Τοτε σεο ἰμας. . . .
 15 [. . ρῖ]ἰμα ἰῖ εῖογαϛῖ ἰαροϛσωκ ἰπορῖ[ωλ]ῖε [ἰῖ]
 16 [αῖ] ἰπορσαϛτοϛ ἰπορεῖμαρτε ἰμας. [. . ρῖελ]
 17 [εῖ]θερος τηροϛ νε εῖφῖωε ἀν ἰπνοϛτ[ε.]
 18 ἰρηρε vac εῖτεπεῖ τῖτῖτοοτῖ χε εῖκακ. . . [. . . .]
 19 [. . .]α. . ἰῖοῖνασ ἰταῖο ἀποϛ ἰαρεκ χεκ. . . .
 20 [. . .]επειδῖ εῖαρε ἀρετῖ ρῖπῖοσῖος α.
 21 [. . .]νοϛτε vac Τοτε πακεκαρδελ ἀραϛ ῖφῖρε ἰ
 22 [(αρτ)α]ῖβῖα ἰῖσωτῖεπεῖ εῖτῖμαντ ἰτῖνε εῖτανῖ. . . .
 23 [. . .]. . . . ἰῖῖφῖ ἰῖῖῖαῖς ρωβ ἰῖ ἀν εῖτεκ
 24 [οῖαω]ῖ [ἰῖῖ] τῖαῖεῖτῖ vac vac
 25 τῖα
 26 [ερεπικε]φα[λ]αῖον σεχε εῖβεοϛκατῖ
 27 [χοϛ]ῖ[ενοσ ἰ]ῖπιστος παῖακος πε πῖ
 28 [ρεν]. . . .ϛ[ω]ῖῖαποστολοϛ αῖωῖνε
 29 [Παλῖν α]ῖ. . .[.]. κατῖχοῖνε[ἰνο]ς ἰπιστος παῖακος
 30 [πε πῖ]ρε[ἰν ῖφῖ]ῖ[ρ]ε ἰαῖταωαρεῖρ ῖφῖρε ἰμοϛσαρ αῖ

Codex 415 (^); quire 26 (= 'X'); Rolf Ibscher '(x.137)'; facsimile 277.

1 ο ἰμας: Very uncertain, but difficult to read e.g. σμανε ('bless'); similarly see l. 14? 2 Perhaps εῖτα[ἰῖ], "living (church)". 6 One might read ρῖφῖ. 6–7 One expects ἰῖ[τ]ροϛοϛωρ, "and he causes them to dwell"; but it is difficult to read. 11 εῖταφεαῖω:

-τ- ex corr. 22 αῖῖσωτῖεπεῖ: There may be a scribal correction of the first three letters. 27–30 The strip of papyrus at the start of these lines is better read two letters further to the left.

1, of which the Light-Mind (νοῦς) is, as it (i.e. the Light-Mind)
 2 in the heights; and he chooses the [living (?)] church (ἐκκλησία),
 3 [and is set] firm in it and fashions (ζωγραφεῖν) it, as all his
 4 faithful ones (πιστός) are awaited. He speaks in this way and he listens through them,
 5 [and he causes] his image (εἰκῶν) to be perfected in them all. Then (τότε) he gives birth
 6 . . . out of him another multitude of minds (νοῦς) resembling him; and he
 7 (causes them to?) dwell in his church (ἐκκλησία), so that they become guardians and guard
 8 the living seed that he has sown from them. Now they have become fertile (?) through
 9 him; and the living seed becomes numerous, and they sow it in every place.
 10 My own seeds, also, that I will give to you: Let them stay by you;
 11 [and they] stand with you, being beside you, preaching the word of life,
 12 doing the work of God. If the people listen
 13 to them, and they receive the mind (νοῦς) and the knowledge from them
 14 . . . in that entire land (χώρα), then (τότε) they are of it (?), (as they . . . ?)
 15 [in] every place they want. Let them go. Do not [hinder]
 16 [them], do not impede them, do not restrain them; (for)
 17 they are all free people (ἐλεύθερος), serving God also,
 18 free. On account of this, I am helping you so that you might
 19 and a great honor is reckoned to them before you, so that you . . .
 20 . . . because (ἐπειδή) you are set firm in the world (κόσμος)
 21 . . . God. Then (τότε) says Kardel to him, the son of
 22 ⟨Art⟩aban: I have heard this, which is constructed of the living truth, . . .
 23 (You are) our father and our master. Moreover, any thing that you
 24 [want from me] I will do it.

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26 [This Chapter] speaks about a
 27 faithful (πιστός) Catechumen (κατηχούμενος), Pabakos is his
 28 [Name]. ... he asks the Apostle a Question.
 29 [Once again (πάλιν)], (there was a) faithful (πιστός) catechumen (κατηχούμενος), Pabakos
 30 [is his] name, [the] son of Artashahar, the son of Mousar. He

2 in the heights ... he chooses the ... church: cf. 1Ke 12.2–9.
 30 Pabakos ... Artashahar: two names associated with the Sasa-
 nian dynasty, and appearing e.g., in the trilingual inscription of

Shapur at the Ka'ba-I Zardušt (Huysse 1999); see Gardner 2015a, 90;
 Dilley 2015b, 116.

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1 εἰ ἀροῦν ῥιθῆ ἠπαποστολος παχ[ε]ϥ ἀραϥ †. [. . .]
 2 ϥ. . ἠμακ παχαῖϥ vac τεογοπσεχε ἀραῖ ε†ωῖν[ε ἠ]
 3 μακ ἀραϥ vac ῥσῆϥ ἀπνομος ἠζαραδῆς ἠ†ρε ϥ[ε]
 4 οὔαν ἠῖμ ε†αχοος χε οὔμηε εῖν πε πῖνοῖ[ος. . .]
 5 . . ἀβαλ ῥἠπογαῖνε vac Παλιν ἀν ῥοῦφῶνῆ ἀβ[αλ ῥἠ]
 6 πνομος ἠζαραδῆς χε πεταχοος χε τχωρα ἠπῶϥ
 7 αῖνε ωοοπ εῖν ἠταϥ πετανεϥ εῖν ἀτχωρα ἠπ[οῦαῖ]
 8 ἠε vac Παλιν ἀν παχεϥ χε πεταχοοϥ χε ἠῖραῖ ἠ[α]
 9 ωφπε πετῖμεϥ πετεῖἠῖραῖ ἠα†εραϥ vac Πῶα[ἠ†]
 10 σε ἠσεχε ἀζαραδῆς τεογαϥ ῥἠπνομος vac vac
 11 Παλιν ἀν ἀῖωτῆ ἀνεκωῖνε εϥχω ἠμας χε ῥ[σῆϥ]
 12 ῥἠπ. . [. . .]. ἠῖῆϥ vac εαῖῆϥ χοος χε πεταχιογα ἀ[πῖωτ]
 13 ϥε[ἠακω ἠ]εϥ ἀβαλ πεταχι(οῦ)α ἀπῶῖρε σεῖακω ἠ[εϥ]
 14 ἀβαλ [πετ]αχιογα ἠταϥ ἀπῖἠα ε†ογαβε σεῖακ[ω]
 15 [ἠεϥ] ἀβαλ εῖν ριχῖπκαρ οὔτε ῥἠῖπῖοϥε ἀλ[λα ϥα]
 16 [ωφπε ε†τα]χῖ† ρα. . ἀαβε ωῖραῖνε ϥανῖνασ. [. . .]
 17 [.]πῖωφω† ἠρεπ ἀβαλ. [.]
 18 [.]. ῥ ἀϥωφω†πῖωφω† ἠρεπ ἀβαλ ἀχῖἠ
 19 [.]. vac ἀλλα ἀϥῖρεϥμοϥχῆ χε εϥ.
 20 ε†οῦ χῖἠἠαϥ.
 21 ἠ. καπῖ. [.]
 22 χοοϥ ἀνεϥῖαῖῆϥ ἀκελεϥε ἠεϥ [πα]
 23 χεϥ ἀραϥ χε πεταραῖκ νοϥ. . ἀτκογασε ἠοϥ[ἠεῖ]
 24 κτο ἠτκε ἀραϥ πεταβῖτεκωτῆἠ κατῖκερα[ῖτε]
 25 ἀβαλ ἠϥωϥ πετακαβεκ ἠοῖἠῖῖον β[ωκ ἠ]ε[ἠεϥ ἠ]
 26 σνεϥ vac Παλιν ἀν παχεϥ εῖσχε τετῖἠ[εῖνετῖεῖ]
 27 ἠῖωτῆ ἠτετῖνετῖε†α(ϥ)μαστε ἠῖἠ[ωτῆ εω πε πε]
 28 τῖῖματ ἠῖπετῖαγαῖον χε ἠρεϥῖῖαβε [ρωϥ πεῖ]
 29 πετοϥεῖρε ἠμαϥ ἀλλ[α] ἀἠακ †χω ἠῖἠ[σ ἠῖτῆ χε]
 30 μεῖπετῖμαστε ἠῖωτῖῖε ωῖἠῖ ἀ[χῖἠνετῖχαχε]

Codex 416 (>); quire 26 (= 'X'); Rolf Ibscher 'X.137'; facsimile 278.

4-5 E.g. [εϥω]† ἀβαλ, “[he] is cut off from”. 9 πετε-: Correction mark through -τε-. 12 One might well suppose ῥἠπῖνο[ἠο]ϥ (“in the law”); but a final -ϥ is not convincing. 16 It is difficult to read ἠαβε ‘sin’; cf. 417, 29 ραῖῖαβε, “under (eternal) bonds”,

though there is scarcely sufficient space here without scribal correction. 23 νοϥ. . . : The missing word is presumably a ‘blow’, but difficult to read e.g. ἠα. 27 ἠε†α(ϥ)μαστε: ἠε†αῖμαστε, sic.

1 came in before the Apostle. Says he to him: I (ask)
 2 you my lord: Explain to me this lesson that I am asking
 3 you about. It is written in the law (νόμος) of Zarades this way:
 4 “Everyone who will say that this law (νόμος) is not true (will)
 5 (be excluded ?) from the light.” And again (πάλιν), it reveals [in]
 6 the law (νόμος) of Zarades: “Whoever will say that the land (χώρα) of
 7 light does not exist, he is one who will not see the land (χώρα) of
 8 light.” And again (πάλιν) it says: “Whoever will say that no end will
 9 occur, that is the one whom no end will befall.” Now, these three
 10 sayings: Zarades has proclaimed them in the law (νόμος).
 11 Once again (πάλιν), I heard your children saying that it [is written]
 12 in the law (νόμος ?) of Jesus, as Jesus has said: “Whoever will blaspheme against [the Father]
 13 [will be forgiven]; (and) whoever will blasphem(e) against the Son will be forgiven;
 14 but whoever will blaspheme against the Holy Spirit (πνεύμα) will
 15 not be forgiven upon earth nor (οὔτε) in the heavens. Rather (ἀλλά), [he will]
 16 [be condemned] under bonds (?) forever.” Let these great . . .
 17 this prohibition
 18 they decreed this prohibition upon
 19 Rather (ἀλλά), they have become causers of pain; in that they . . .
 20
 21 put this (?).
 22 said to his disciples (μαθητῆς), he commanded (κελεύειν) them. He (i.e. Jesus) says
 23 to them: “The one who will strike you a (blow) to your [right] cheek,
 24 turn the other one to him; the one who will take your cloak, put your other [robe]
 25 out beside it; whoever may compel you for a mile (μίλιον), go with him
 26 two.” Once again (πάλιν), he says: “If you (pl.) [love the ones who love]
 27 you (pl.), and you (pl.) hate those who have hated [you, what is]
 28 your (pl.) gift and your good (ἀγαθόν)? For sinners [also, this]
 29 is what they do. Rather (ἀλλά), I say [to you (pl.)]:
 30 love the one who hates you (pl.); pray [over your (pl.) enemies];

3–10 Cf. Dilley 2015b. 12–16 With the exception of the last clause, the wording here is found in EvThom. log. 44, rather than in the canonical gospels; see Funk 2002. 17 Lit. exclusionary judgement: Cf. 1Ke 159.2. 23–26 The quotation blends elements of Mt. 5:39–

41 and Lk. 6:29; cf. Didache 1:4. 416.26–417.1 The quotation blends and reorders Lk. 6:27–28 and 6:32–33, along with Mt. 5:46 and other additions; cf. Rom. 12:14.

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1 [CM]ΔΜΕ ḡΝΕΤΖΑΥΦ ΔΡΩΤḡ ΕΤΔΙΩΚΕ ḡΜΩΤḡ
2 [†NO]Υ ΣΕ †ΤΩΒḡ ḡΜΑΚ ΠΑΧΑῖς vac ΠΕΙΘΕ ḡΜΑῖ ΝΚΜΑ
3 [ΤΝ]ΕΠΑΡΗΤ ΕΤΒΕΠΙΣΕΧΕ ΧΕ ḡΕΩ ḡΖΕ ΝΤΑΥ Εḡḡ
4 ḡΟΥΤΕ ΝΕ ΑΥΦΑΤΠΙΦΩΩΤ ḡΖΕΠ ΑΒΑΛ ḡḡΠΟΥΑῖ
5 ΑΧḡḡΑΡΝΗΤΗΣ ḡḡḡΧΑΤΟΥΑ ḡḡḡΕῖ ΕΤΑḡḡΝΑΒΕ
6 ΑΡΑḡ ΑḡΠΩΖ ΖΩΩΦ ΔΝΕḡΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΑḡΧΟΟΦ ΑΡΑḡ
7 [ΧΕ ΒΙ] ΔΡΗῖ ḡΤḡḡΕΤḡΔΙ(Ω)ΚΤΗΣ ΦΛΗΛ ΑΧΩΥ ḡΠḡ
8 [†]Φḡḡḡ ḡΠΕΤΖΑΥ ΖΑΠΕΤΖΑΥ vac ΠḡΦΒ Οḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ Δ
9 [ΒΑ]ḡ ḡḡΠΙΣΕΧΕ ΧΕ ΟḡḡḡΕΠ ΣΝΕḡ ΦΟΟΠ vac Δḡḡ. . .
10 [. . . Αḡ]ḡΟΥΟΥΤ ΑḡΜΟΥΡ ΑḡḡΟΥΧΕ ΑḡΚΟΛΑḡῖς ΑḡΠḡḡ
11 [ΖΩ]ΦΦ ΔΝΕḡΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΑḡΧΟΟC ΑΡΑḡ ΧΕ. . [.] . [.]
12 [. . .] †ΤΩΒḡ ḡΜΑΚ ΠΑΧΑῖς ΒΑΛ†ΠΑΡΑΒ[Ο]ḡḡ ḡḡḡ. . .
13 [. . .]Ε ḡΚΤCΑΒΑῖ ΑḡΕCΖΕΡΜΗΝΙΑ ΧΕ ḡḡḡ Π[Ε. . .]
14 . [. . .] . . vac vac ΤΟḡḡ ΠΑΧΕΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΑΠ[ΑΒΑΚΟC]
15 Π[ΚΑΤ]ḡΧΟΥΜΕΝΟC ΚΑḡΦC ΑΚΩΝΤ ΑΠΙCΕḡ[Ε ΑΝΑΚ]
16 ΖΩ[Τ Π]ΕḡΑΠΕῖΘΕ ḡḡḡḡ ΕḡΒΗΤḡ vac Πḡḡ. [.]
17 ΤḡΟΥΑΦ. ΧΟΟC Χḡ. [.]
18 Ε. ḡ. [.]
19 [.]
20 ἰ. ḡ. Εḡḡ.
21 vac vac Δḡḡ. Εḡḡḡḡ ΠḡΦΜΕ Εḡḡḡ
22 [C]ḡΕḡΕ Εḡ ΑΠΙΝΟΜΟC ΕḡCḡḡ Αḡ ḡḡΠCΑḡḡ Εḡḡḡḡ
23 [Δ]ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ ΑΡΑḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ
24 [Ε] ḡḡḡ. Πḡḡḡḡḡ Αḡḡḡḡḡḡ Αḡ Εḡḡḡ ΑḡΚΟΛΑ
25 [C]ḡC vac. . [.] . ḡ. ḡḡ vac ΧΕ Πḡḡḡḡḡḡ ΑΠḡ
26 [Ω]ḡ Cḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ ΑΒΑΛ Πḡḡḡḡḡḡ ΑΠΩḡḡΕ Cḡḡḡḡ
27 ḡḡḡ ΑΒΑΛ Πḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ΑΠḡḡḡ ΕḡΟΥΑΒΕ Cḡḡḡ
28 ΚΩ ḡḡḡ ΑΒΑḡ Εḡ ΖΙΧḡḡḡḡ Οḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ Εḡ
29 [Λ]ḡ ΦΑΦΩΠḡ Εḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ vac

Codex 417 (>); quire 27 (= '1X'); Rolf Ibscher '1X.136'; facsimile 305.

1 ΕΤΔΙΩΚΕ: -†- ex corr. 4 ḡΟΥΤΕ: ḡ- sic, read ḡ-. 9-10 Perhaps
ḡḡ Αḡ[ΔΛ], "(they have) come forth"; the apparent diaeresis on -ḡ-
would be in error. 25 The spelling with -ḡ- of ΧḡΟΥΑ is almost

certain here (contra l. 27), as it is at 418, 29; but there may be a
correction mark.

1 bless those who curse you (pl.), who persecute (διώκειν) you (pl.).”
2 Now, therefore, I beseech you, my master: Persuade (πειθῆναι) me and set
3 [at rest] my heart about this lesson: In what way are they through
4 God? They have decreed this prohibition and this woe
5 upon the deniers (ἀρνητῆς) and the blasphemers and those who have sinned
6 against them. Yet, they counselled (?) their disciples (μαθητῆς). It was told to them:
7 “(Endure ?) your persecutors (διώκτες). Pray over them. Do not
8 repay evil for evil.” The matter is made apparent to me
9 [from] this lesson, that there are two judgements! They . . .
10 . . . , they killed, they bound, they cast to punishment (κόλασις). Yet, they counselled
11 their disciples (μαθητῆς). They said to them: “.
12” I beseech you, my master: Unravel this parable (παραβολή) for me
13 and teach me its interpretation (ἐρμηνεία); for you are (the one who can
14 instruct me ?). Then (τότε) says the Apostle to [Pabakos]
15 the catechumen (κατηχούμενος): Well (καλῶς) have you asked me about this lesson, [I]
16 myself am the one who will persuade (πειθῆναι) you about it. The one that
17 proclaimed it said that
18
19
20
21 He has because (ἐπειδὴ) the person who will not
22 believe (πιστεύειν) this law (νόμος), although he is sated with the knowledge,
23 preaching it by his mouth and not believing them: there is nothing
24 true (for ?) that one. At his end, moreover, he goes to the
25 punishment (κόλασις). , so that “Whoever will blaspheme against the
26 Father will be forgiven; and whoever will blaspheme against the Son will
27 be forgiven; but whoever will blaspheme against the Holy Spirit (πνεῦμα) will
28 not be forgiven upon the earth nor in the heavens. Rather (ἀλλά),
29 he will be condemned under bonds forever.”

7–8 Cf. 1Cor. 4:12; Mt. 5:44; Rom. 12:17; 1Thes. 5:15; 1Pet 3:9. 10
cast to punishment (κόλασις): Cf. Mt. 25:46. 11–12 Perhaps “Do
not judge” (Mt. 7:1; Lk. 6:37), creating the contradiction of teaching

that Pabakos wishes resolved. 16–25 Perhaps the parable of the
ungrateful servant (Mt. 18:23–35) is referenced here; cf. 419.11–12
below. 25–29 cf. 416.12–16 and note.

ἠκεφαλαιον ἠτσοφια

418

1 †κεπαρβωλη αν εταпсῶρ τεογас ογρελπiς [ρι]
 2 μετανοια τεταφτεес ριρητḥ ἠπεταρμετανοι[ε]
 3 πεταρρητη ηηтаϭ εν нῑρμετανοιε ογμογ ѡαα[ηη]
 4 ρε ηῑογсwρme ἠατογεiνε πεταφκααϭ ριτῑρεη
 5 ανακ δε †νατεογотзермhηia араκ ἠ†παρβωλη
 6 πεταφτεογϭ σε γε πεταχιογϭ απῑωт сенаκω
 7 ηεϭ αβαλ ηῑωт пе п†оγ ἠστοιχειωη ετε η[ει ηε]
 8 ηῑωт ἠ†стаγρос тнrῑ ηῑπгенос тнrῑ ηηр[ωme]
 9 ηῑρῑωβ ηιη ευχпо ἠμαϭ ριχῑпкаρ πεταχιο[γα]
 10 ηῑῑ ηῑ κατηχογμεηос πεтна αβαλ араγ ηῑ. [.]
 11 ηηῑсωс ηῑηαγρῑ ηῑει ηῑтωβῑ η. . .
 12 ηῑпканаве αβαλ ἠтῑτεκκληcia ετογав[ε ἠ]
 13 [сеκ]ω ηεϭ αβαλ πεταφτεογϭ αν γε πεταχιογϭ
 14 [αποη]ρε сенаκω ηεϭ αβαλ ποηре εтῑχῑ[ογ]α
 15 [араϭ пе п]стаγρос ηπογῑνε vac πεταφτεογϭ [ан] γε
 16 [πεταχι]ογῑ араϭ ηηтаϭ ηῑ п[κ]ατηχογμεηос [.]
 17 [. . . .]. . . ϭ ав[α]λ ἠ†стаγρос ηпоγῑνε алл[α.]
 18 [. . . .α]ϭῑηογῑηῑ αῑραιсῑαηе араϭ γε. . . [.]
 19 . . [.] . . . εϭωῑηει αρογη ατεκκληcia ετογав[ε]
 20 ηϭ. . ϭ ρῑογηαε сенаκω ηεϭ αβαλ пканаве Δ[ε]
 21 αβαλ εтаωωpe ἠпкατηх[ο]γμεηос εϭ[α]ωωpe
 22 ηεϭ ρῑтῑηηsteia ηῑпῑωληηη ἠтῑηῑηηаε
 23 γε αῑρῑογηаε ηῑ†ψγχη εтаηῑ εтвеηῑῑ пканав[ε]
 24 αβαλ ηατερεαϭ γε αῑрῑаवे арас vac тη ηῑ[т]
 25 ηηsteia ἠρηтḥ ηтκ. η . ηῑп. . . . ϭωλη[λ]
 26 ἠμαϭ ηῑтῑηηηηаε εῑαтеес сенаρμεταноia η. .
 27 ρικанаवे αβαλ γε αῑрῑаवे атψγχη εтаηῑ vac
 28 πεταφτεογϭ де ρωωϭ γε πεταχιογῑ απῑηα εтo[γ]
 29 αβε vac сенаκω ηεϭ [ав]αλ ен vac πῑηα εтo[γ]αβε εтῑχεογῑ

Codex 418 (^); quire 27 (= '1X'); Rolf Ibscher '(1X.136)'; facsimile 306.

2 ρῑρηтḥ: ρῑ- ex ἠ- corr. 19-21 There is a displaced papyrus fragment at the end of these lines. 22 тῑηῑηηηаε: -ῑ- ex corr.

26 It is difficult to read ηεϭ at the end of the line.

1 Also, this other parable (παρὰβολή) which the Savior (σωτήρ) has preached: A hope (ἐλπὶς) [and]
 2 repentance (μετάνοια), which he has put forward (?) for the one who will repent (μετανοεῖν);
 3 but for the one who will not reflect and repent (μετανοεῖν) (there is) an eternal death
 4 and unending loss, which he has set before him.
 5 Now (δέ), I am the one who will explain the interpretation (ἐρμηνεία) of this parable (παρὰβολή) to you.
 6 That which he proclaimed, therefore, “The one who will blaspheme against the Father will be
 7 forgiven”: The ‘Father’ is these five elements (στοιχεῖον) (and) [these are]
 8 the father of the entire cross (σταυρός) and all the race (γένος) of [humankind]
 9 and everything that is begotten upon the earth. The one who will blaspheme:
 10 This is the catechumen (κατηχούμενος) who goes out from them, and he . . .
 11 repents (μετανοεῖν ?) afterwards, and he turns around and comes and entreats for . . .
 12 . . . and the forgiveness of sins from the holy church (ἐκκλησία); [and]
 13 he is forgiven. Also, that which he proclaimed, “The one who will blaspheme
 14 [against the Son] will be forgiven”: The ‘Son’ that he blasphemes
 15 [against is the] cross (σταυρός) of light. [Also], that which he proclaimed,
 16 [“The one who] will blaspheme against him”: he is the catechumen (κατηχούμενος) [who]
 17 the cross (σταυρός) of light; but (ἀλλά)
 18 . . . he has recognized it and perceived (αἰσθάνεσθαι) it, so that
 19 , if he shall come in to the holy church (ἐκκλησία),
 20 and (serves?) it with charity, he will be forgiven. Now (δέ), the forgiveness of sin
 21 that will occur for this catechumen (κατηχούμενος), it will occur
 22 for him by his fasting (νηστεία) and his prayer and his almsgiving,
 23 in that he performed charity with this living soul (ψυχή). Because of this, the forgiveness of sin
 24 will befall him, for he sinned against it. The and the
 25 fasting (νηστεία) in it and the . . . he will pray
 26 for, and the almsgiving he will give, they will make repentance (μετάνοια) (for him?)
 27 and forgiveness of sin, for he sinned against the living soul (ψυχή).
 28 But (δέ), conversely, that which he proclaimed, “The one who will blaspheme against the Holy Spirit
 29 will not be forgiven”: The ‘Holy Spirit’ (πνεῦμα) that he blasphemes (πνεῦμα)

1–4 Cf. Lk. 13:2–5; 17:3–4. 7–9 For the concept of the “cross of light,” see 1Ke 208.11–213.20; for the Manichaean teaching on the five elements animating the world, see 1Ke 177.27–30, and the Iranian Manichaean text, *The Sermon on the Soul* (Sundermann

1997). 22 fasting, prayer, and almsgiving: the triad of catechumen duties; cf. 1Ke 192.29–193.3. 23 performed charity with this living soul: i.e. gives food laden with the living soul to the elect as alms.

419

1 [π]ε τεκκλησια ετ(τ)ουβαῖτ vac Πετχιουα [α]ραc πε ναο
 2 [Γ]μα ἡτετπλανη επιροσον δε σεχιουα αραc σενακα
 3 [η]εϋ αβαλ εν ἡνναβε ετογειρε ἡμαϋ αραc vac επειδη
 4 [π]ει πε προ ἡψυχαγε ετρηφορε σαρз ερεῖφωωτ αν
 5 [ἡτ]μητρρο ἡμπνογε κατ ἡρηтc vac εтвеπεῖ πεταχιουα
 6 [ατεκ]κλησια сенаκω неч аβαλ ен оϋτε ριχῆпкаρ оϋ
 7 τε ρῆμῆпоγε vac Пкаρ пе текκλησια ετογαβε тпе пе
 8 неχῆηϋ εττρογαῖне εтмаρε ρῆμῆпῆγε vac Петерετεκ
 9 [κ]λησια σε ετογαβε наканечнаве неч аβαλ ен vac ἡκε
 10 [ι]ατε αν ἡπογαῖне наканечнаве неч ав[α]λ ен vac
 11 [Σαπ]ρα δε ἡπετακτεογαϋ γε εтвеεϋ ανιατε ἡπογαῖ
 12 [не] таχοῖψυχαγε атвасанос аϋπωρ а[. . .].
 13 [. . .]. . . . аϋχοc араϋ γε тактῆне аροῖн а[. . .].
 14 [. . .]. . . . наε мῆоϋтсо аχῆπεтаωασεтῆне . . .
 15 [.]. [ε]εϋ γε нιαте ἡπογαῖне vac Тροϋтте [.]
 16 [. . .]. аβαλ vac Πῆεϋ γαρ ετοῖνανεϋ аτψϋχ[н. . .].
 17 [.]. ἡρηῆмет . . . [. . .]. . . [. . .].
 18 [. . .]. ε[. . .]. ια ἡεϋ саχιοεлпс [.].
 19 [.]. . . [. . .] αc аβαλ ἡπογαῖне аϋтахаc а[. . .]. . а
 20 [.]. те . . . теογαϋ ρωϋ ἡμαοηтῆс γε
 21 [.]. . . аω . . [ε]αλλῆ ἡпωρтωβῖω [. . .]. . ε.
 22 [.]. . vac επειδη ἡταϋ пе ποϋῖωт ἡтаϋ пе
 23 [.]. ἡтаϋ πεтаβῆпоγρεп аρηῆ аῖпноϋ
 24 [те]. η εϋωανттезоϋсια неϋ ави ἡтоотоϋ
 25 [.] χι]ησανc аρηῆ ρῆпоγρεп ἡἡῆΔιω
 26 [гῆос ρит]ἡηληстῆс ἡἡηсане vac αλλα аϋтпмϋ
 27 [стῆριон ἡ]пөβῖо мῆпκωмῶ γε εϋαῖωт ἡсωϋ
 28 [.]. . сане чаχипреп аρηῆ мῆпоγχι
 29 [.]. Διωκтῆс vac vac vac

Codex 419 (^); quire 27 (= '1X'); Rolf Ibscher '(1X.135)'; facsimile 303.

2 σενακα: Or corrected to κω? 8 неχῆηϋ: -χ- ex corr.? 12-13 One expects аϋπωρ ανεγμαοηтῆс (cf. 417, 6, 10-11). 17 ρῆῆмет: First -ἡ- may have an erasure mark (ρῆмет-, "some ..."?). 18 . ε[. . .]. ια: The traces are not entirely convincing for ηε[ταν]οια, but e.g. "the church and the repentance therein, it can receive the hope ...". 21 It is difficult to read as expected

ἡπετγαϋ at the line-end (cf. 417, 8, "Do not repay evil for evil"). 24 ἡтоотоϋ: ἡ- ex α- corr.? 28 Perhaps here is repeated "robbers and thieves" (cf. l. 26), vel sim.; the reading of -χιπ-, "receive this (judgement)", is very uncertain and may be corrected (one might expect вι with аρηῆ as in ll. 23-25 meaning 'endure'). 28-29 Perhaps πογχι|ησανc, "their violence" (cf. l. 25).

1 is the purified church (ἐκκλησία). The one who blasphemes against it is the
 2 sects (δόγμα) of error (πλάνη). And (δέ), so long as (ὅσον) they blaspheme against it, they will
 3 not be forgiven of the sins they have performed against it; since (ἐπειδή)
 4 this is the gate of the souls (ψυχή) that wear (φορεῖν) flesh (σάρξ), the keys
 5 of the kingdom of the heavens also being set in it. Because of this, the one who will blaspheme
 6 against the church (ἐκκλησία) will not be forgiven; neither (οὔτε) upon the earth nor (οὔτε)
 7 in the heavens. The earth is the holy church (ἐκκλησία); heaven is
 8 the ships that shine light, that travel in the heavens. So, the one whom the
 9 holy church (ἐκκλησία) will not forgive his sins for him, also the
 10 fathers of light will not forgive his sins for him.
 11 However (δέ), [as] to what you have uttered: Why did the fathers of light
 12 condemn the souls (ψυχή) to torment (βάσανος)? They have counselled (their
 13 disciples?), they said to them: "Be you (pl.) strong in
 14 charity and restraint upon the one who will strike you (pl.)."
 15 the fathers of the light. The beginning
 16 For (γάρ) the time when they will see the soul (ψυχή)
 17
 18 it will receive the hope (ἐλπίς)
 19 it from the light. They condemned it
 20 also proclaimed it for (?) disciples (μαθητής), in that
 21 is shown: "Do not repay (evil for ?)
 22 (evil?)." Since (ἐπειδή) he (i.e. Jesus) is their father, he is
 23 He is the one who will bear their judgement up to God
 24 when he gives them the authority (ἐξουσία) to endure from them
 25 violence in their judgement, together with persecution (διωγμός)
 26 (through ?) these robbers (ληστής) and these thieves. But (ἀλλά) he gave the
 27 [mystery (μυστήριον) of] humiliation and mockery, so that as they will pursue them,
 28 he will receive this judgement and their (violence ?)
 29 persecutors (διώκτης).

4 gate of souls: Cf. 1Ke 277.4-10. 4-5 keys of the kingdom: Cf. Mt. 16:19. 12 torment (βάσανος): cf. Mt. 18:34; Lk. 16:23-28. 26 ff. the mystery of humiliation and mockery: a possible allusion to the soldiers' mocking and abuse of Jesus (Mt 27:27-31; Mk 15:16-20; Jn 19:2-3), or the mockery he endured on the cross (Mt 27:38-44; Mk

15:27-32; Lk 23:35-39), the passage seems to indicate that through this mystery Jesus draws judgement and persecution away from his disciples and upon himself, in a kind of substitutionary suffering; cf. Mk 10:45; Jn 15:13.

1 Παλιν αν †τ[α]μο ἡμακ απκεουε χε ου. . . . ε [ἡδλω]
2 κτης ετηνη ἡσωυ εγαπωε ατουραη ἡσεχι†ρελ[πικ]
3 ἡσερκατηχογμενος ἡσει αρουη ατμετανοια [νι]
4 μαοητης δε σαυνε εν χε ним ἡμαγ πετηνη δ[τ]
5 μετανοια ἡ ним π(ε)τηνη εν ταρο††τωβ̅ιω ἡπ[ετ]
6 νη ατμετανοια ἡсenaε neq ἡἡпκεουε ρωφ[q ет]
7 νη εν ατμετανοια ἡсemaρ̅ῖ ἡτωβ̅ιω нneqἡabε vac
8 ετβεpeῖ ρω απс̅ωρ xоос aνεἰμαοητης χε vi αρηῖ
9 ραπιδω[г]μος ἡнетΔιωκε ἡμωτη ἡἡπκωμ̅ῖ. . .
10 σατηνε χε ατρη εϕατωβε ἡτωβ̅ιω .
11 Διωκτηс ἡἡnχαχε ετηνηт ἡсωου vac . [.]
12 . [. с]ωρ †ἡμ̅εῖне ἡἡἡβ̅ιο ἡтчекκληси[α]
13 . [. ἡἡμ̅υстһριон ἡἡкаρα†τ̅ῖ [. .]
14 [. ἡἡπογαῖне vac Πετ . . ωφσε араq [.]
15 [.] . . ωατρα(н) ἡсenaρ̅τε an ἡἡπ̅χ
16 [.]πρ̅ουε ἡταν ωα[. .] . . .
17 . [.] π̅xinβanс ἡἡνεqχαχε ηтρε . [. . . .]
18 . . [.] κ [. . . .]
19[.] ρ̅απ̅κ̅αρ̅ ἡἡс̅ε̅ча̅χε vac . . [.]
20 σ̅ἡ μαρнесчаχε ἡτωβ̅ιω . . . [.] . . . [пстаγ]
21 ρос ἡἡπογαῖне χε ατρη м[.]
22 τωβ̅[ῖω] ἡἡπεп vac Тρε[. . .]εταρε . [.]
23 σ̅ἡб̅am ἡμαρнесΔιωκτηс ἡτωβ̅ιω м . . [. . . vac ἡ̅]
24 таρεпавакос π̅κατηχογμενος с̅ωτ̅me . . .[. παπο]
25 столос аqоуωт аqс̅maḿе аq†eay .[.т̅†]
26 ἡτεκοϑεωте τ̅ἡωп ἡἡε̅κ̅μαт π̅ἡ . [.]
27 εантаβε̅ξ ἡмаq ακουαηρ̅ῖ араn .[.]
28 аq†eay ηεq аqс̅maḿе ἡмаq аqкаp[ωq vac vac]
29 ἡ̅ἡἡ
30 ερεπικεφαλαιον χω ἡмас χε ep[ε]
31 παпoстoлoс ρ̅ἡε̅ст ρ̅ἡт̅εκ̅κ̅ληс[ia ay]

Codex 420 (>); quire 27 (= 'IX'); Rolf Ibscher 'IX.135'; facsimile 304.

5 η: Ex-χ-corr. (cf. l. 4). 9-10 Probably "and the mockery of those who pursue you", vel sim. 16 ἡταν: The ἡ- may be overwritten with a ς-; did the scribe intend ἡραε ('last') but confuse it with ἡτ(ρ)αν ('at the end')? 20 σ̅ἡ . . .: Perhaps σ̅ἡб̅am (cf. l. 23); but the traces are not convincing. 22 Understand τρε τε τεῖ ("This

is the way ..."), vel sim. 24 E.g. с̅ωт̅me aνεῖ ἡт̅ἡπαπο|cтолос, "... heard these things from the apostle"; but there is not space unless a scribal omission. 25 π[αχεq, "he said"; vel sim. 26 π̅ἡ̅χ̅α̅[ic ρωβ ним], "... our master. Everything ..."; vel sim.

1 Once again (πάλιν), I (can) inform you about this other one (i.e. saying), that
 2 persecutors (διώκτης) who are pursuing them, they will reach their end and receive this hope
 (ἐλπίς);
 3 and they become catechumens (κατηχούμενος) and enter into repentance (μετάνοια).
 4 But (δέ) [these] disciples (μαθητής) do not know who of them will come to
 5 repentance (μετάνοια) or (ἢ) who does not come (to it); so they make the requital for the
 [one who]
 6 is come to repentance (μετάνοια), and have pity on him; and, conversely, the other one who
 7 is not come to repentance (μετάνοια), and the requital of his sins is completed.
 8 Indeed, because of this, the Savior (σωτήρ) said to his disciples (μαθητής): “Bear up
 9 under the persecution (διωγμός) of those who persecute (διώκειν) you (pl.) and the mockery
 10 (of those who pursue ?) you (pl.),” so that at the end he will seal the requital
 11 . . . (the) persecutors (διώκτης) and enemies who are pursuing them. (In ?)
 12 (this way the ?) Savior (σωτήρ) gave the sign of the humiliation of his church (ἐκκλησία)
 13 the mystery (μυστήριον) of the silence
 14 of the light. The one who (will ?) strike against him
 15 until the end, and he also possesses the
 16 the last (?) day
 17 the violence against his enemies, just as
 18 the silence
 19 . . . about the pain its enemies
 20 is able (?) to pay its enemies the requital [the]
 21 cross (σταυρός) of light, so that, at the end
 22 requital for the judgement. This is also the way (?) that
 23 is able to pay its persecutors (διώκτης) the requital
 24 When Pabakos the catechumen (κατηχούμενος) had heard (these things from ?) [the]
 25 Apostle, he made obeisance, he blessed, he gave glory. (He said): [We pay]
 26 obeisance to you. We give thanks to you our [master (?). Everything]
 27 for which we entreated you, you have revealed it to us
 28 He gave glory to him. He blessed him and he [was silent].

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*This Chapter says that, while
 the Apostle is sitting in the Church (ἐκκλησία), a*

8–9 Cf. 1Cor. 4:12; Lk. 21:12–19. 12–14 humility ... silence: cf. 1 Ke
 50.17–19; 151.28–32.

421

1 ρωμε νεγτενης ει αρογν ριτεφεζη
 2 αρεξε νεμεφ ρνητσοφια ἡπ[νογ]τ[ε]
 3 [Παλιν] αν αρωπε νογνη ε[ρεπαπ]ο[στολ]οϛ ρη[ε]ϛτ ρητ
 4 [εκ]κλησια αγνας ἡρωμε ει αρογν ριτε]φεζη ογεγτε
 5 [νη]ϛ πε ἡτεμτηρρο εφηη [α]. . . . οϛ ἡτημτηρρο vac αϛ
 6 [τεο]γο αραϛ ἡτσοφια ἡπνογτε αητεαγ ρωφϛ τονω ἡ
 7 [τσο]φια ἡπνογτε εταφτεογας αραϛ vac vac
 8 [Τοτε π]αχεπιρωμε ετημεγ απαποστολοϛ τρομλια ετκ
 9 [τεο]γο ἡμαϛ ναποϛ. . . . τ τκσοφια χακ[.]
 10 [.] ἡρβηογε αν ετκειρε ἡμαγ. . [.]
 11 [.] απετογανη αβαλ ηαρρηνηβελ vac. . [.]
 12 [.] εε. . αραῖ αν. ρογ vac αλλα. . [.]
 13 [.] . . [.] [.]
 14 [.] . . [.] [.]
 15 [.] [.]
 16 [.] . . [.] [.]
 17 [.] . . [.] [.]
 18 [.] [.]
 19 [.] [.]
 20 [.] [.]
 21 [.] επειδη κνεγ εν αμ. βε
 22 [.] vac [Πα]χεπιρωμε αραϛ ερε
 23 [.] ογ κρμαστ ἡπμα vac ριε
 24 [.] ογανη νεκ αβαλ κνεγ αραγ
 25 [.] σακσοαν ἡναβαρ ωαγαρ ἡνηφτογ
 26 ἡνηγογωαν ἡνηκίλαν ἡνητρεμηνια ἡνητ[τ]χωρα ἡ
 27 οξεοϛ ἡνη[.] ρελλας ἡνηταραβια τηρϛ vac κνεγ αραγ
 28[.] ακει εκρμαστ ρ[ι]ταεζη η ακραποδμηη
 29 ακβοκ α[.] λ. [α]κει ἡταϛ ἡρητογ
 30 παχεπιρωμε αραϛ ἡμαν ἡνη[ε]γ αραγ εν ἡνογ ροσοη

Codex 421 (>); quire 27 (= '1X'); Rolf Ibscher 'IX.134'; facsimile 301.

28 ακει: Very uncertain. 30 ἡνη[ε]γ: Although there does not appear to be room enough for this reading, the papyrus is probably

creased in the centre of the page and should allow for another one or two letters through ll. 26–30.

1 Noble (εὐγενής) came in before him.
 2 He (i.e. Mani) spoke with him in the Wisdom (σοφία) of God.
 3 Once [again (πάλιν)], it happened one time as the Apostle is sitting in the
 4 church (ἐκκλησία): A great man came in before him, a noble (εὐγενής)
 5 of the kingdom belonging to the . . . of the kingdom. He (i.e. Mani)
 6 proclaimed to him the wisdom (σοφία) of God. For his part, (the noble) gave glory greatly for
 7 the wisdom (σοφία) of God that he (i.e. Mani) had proclaimed to him.
 8 [Then (τότε)] says that man to the Apostle: The homily (ὁμιλία) that you
 9 proclaim is good your wisdom (σοφία) that you have
 10 also the things that you do
 11 . . . about what is revealed before our eyes.
 12 to me However (ἀλλά),
 13
 14
 15
 16
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21 because (ἐπειδὴ) you do not see
 22 This man says to him: Yes.
 23 (The Apostle says) . . . (when) you are sitting at this place; then
 24 (the countries that?) are revealed to you, do you see them:
 25 Sakastan and Abarshahr and India
 26 and Kushan and Gilan and Armenia and the land (χώρα) of
 27 Ozeos and (even?) Greece and all Arabia? Do you see them
 28 . . . (when ?) you have come (and) are sitting before me? Or (ἢ) have you gone abroad (ἀποδημεῖν)?
 29 Have you gone to (these other lands ?); moreover, did you enter them?
 30 Says this man to him: No, I do not see them. Now, so long as (ὅσον)

25 Sakastan (σακαστᾶν): in eastern Iran; Abarshahr (αβασρασαρ): modern northern Afghanistan and Tajikistan; Gilan (κιλαν): in northeastern Iran; India (φῖντογ): given the context, probably northern Iran near the Caspian sea; land of Ozeos: Susiana, modern Khuzistan in southwestern Iran. 26 Kushan (κουσαν):

422	1	. . . . . [ . . ] . . . . . ΠΙΒ .
	2	. . . . . vac
	3	[. . .] . . [. . .] . . [. . .] . . [. . .] ὅτε ἐπειδή κἠεύ [. .]
	4	ἐν [. . .] . . [. . .] ἡζητοῦ ἐτβε[εγ]
	5	ῥωροῦ ἐν [. .] ῥωροῦ μ . [. .]
	6	οὔτ vac ἀ πα.χ.ε.π.α.πο.στο.λο.ς ἀ [. .]
	7	. . ε ῥωροῦ vac κα [. .]
	8	[.] [.] [. .]
	9	. [.] vac ἐπειδή ζ [. .]
	10	. . . . [ . . ] . . . . . ἐτιμέγ . . [. .]
	11	[.] ἀβαλ ἡμαγ ἡσε [. .]
	12	[.] χηῖππ[εγ] . . [. .]
	13	[.] [.] . . [.]
	14	[.]]νεω [.]
	15	[.]] ε [.]
	16	[.] [.]
	17	[.] [.]
	18	[.] [.]
	19	[.] [.]
	20	Ρ . [. .] [.]
	21	. . [. . .] [.] [.]
	22	ε [. .] [.] [. ΡΩ]
	23	με ἐταγει ἡζητοῦ [. .] . . [. vac]
	24	Τζε ρωφ τε τεῖ ἡτχωρ[α] ἡπογαῖνε . [. .] ἡνα[π]ο
	25	στολοϛ ἐταγει ἀπ[κοϛ]μϛος ἡταγ . [. .] . ε ἐτβ[η]
	26	τῷ κε ῥωροῦ ρῖνοῦμῆ ἡρωμε . [. .] . β [. . .]
	27	ἀγνεγ ἀραϛ ἀγει [αγτ]ἀφεαῖω ἐτβῆτῷ [. .] ἀγ ἀγχ .
	28	ς . ἐτβῆτῷ κε ῥωροῦ ρῖνοῦμῆ vac εἰ[ς] ρῖτε τῆα[τα]

Codex 422 (^); quire 27 (= 'IX'); Rolf Ibscher (‘IX.134’); facsimile 302.

24–28 The papyrus is probably creased in the centre at the bottom of the page and one should allow for another one or two letters

through these final lines. 27–28 One expects to read ἀγχοῖοϛ (“they told”), but the traces are not convincing.

1
2
3 (The Apostle says) because (ἐπειδὴ) you do not see
4 in them, why
5 do they not exist? it exists
6 says the Apostle to
7 exist. You
8
9 ; because (ἐπειδὴ)
10 that
11 from them and they
12 from this time
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23 people who have come among them
24 This also is the way of the land (χώρα) of light the
25 apostles (ἀποστόλος) who have come to the world (κόσμος), they (have spoken) about
26 it, that it truly exists. The people (learned about it, because ?),
27 they (i.e. the apostles) saw it, they came, [they] preached about it ; they have (told ?)
28 about it, that it truly exists. Behold, I will [tell]

3–23 The point is that the noble believes in the existence of distant lands, even though he has never seen them personally, because of the reports of others who have been there. 24ff. See Dilley 2015c.

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1 μακ απογ(ε) πογε ἡναποστολος κατανουρεη νε
 2 ταγει αγωλπ̄ αβαλ εἰπκοσμος vac αγχαγζαραΔHC
 3 ατπερσις φαῦστασπης π̄ρρο αφογωνεἰπνομος
 4 [αβ]αλ ετσαντ̄ ἡμνε εἰπτπερσις τηρς vac ΒΟΥΔΔΔC
 5 [α]η̄ πμακαριος αχει απκαε̄ ἡπεἰτοῦ ἡηγοϋσαν
 6 [α]φογωνε̄ αν αβαλ ἡπνομος ετσαντ̄ ἡμνε εἰπεἰ
 7 τοῦ τηρ̄ ἡηγοϋσαν vac ἡηνωϋ αν (α)αγρεἰτης ει μη
 8 κηβηλλος ατανατολη αφογωνε̄ αν αβα[λ] ἡπνο
 9 μος ετσαναντ̄ ἡμνε εἰπτανατολη vac εελ . . [. .] ει ατ
 10 παρθια αφογωνεἰπνομος ἡτμηε α[βα]λ εἰπτπαρθια
 11 τηρς vac ΔHC πχρς ει απσανρωτπ̄ αφοϋ[νε] . [.] ἡτ
 12 μηε εἰπσανρωτπ τηρ̄ vac ἡαποστολος [δε τηροῦ]
 13 ἡτεπνοῦτε ἡηιεϋατε ἡαϋρε οῦη̄ . [.]
 14 . ὕ εαγει αβαλ ἡπμα ετἡμεϋ εἰποῦμη̄τ[.]
 15 . οϋαν ἡεἰτοῦ εαγταρποῦ εἰπμα αγ[χιτοῦ α]
 16 εἰπ ἡβωκ αἰνεϋ αγει αἰρη̄τρε αγχοος [χε τχω]
 17 ρα ἡπογαἰνε ϋοοπ ἡτανει αβαλ ἡμας vac εἰπ[τε] αν
 18 [ϋ]οοπ ἡτνεϋ απμα ετῆϋοοπ ἡεἰτϋ αἰϋ
 19 [. .] ε εἰπκοσμος αγμαθη̄τεϋε ἡηρωμε . . . ε .
 20 α . . εθον αγχιμαἰτ̄ εἰτοῦ αγχιτοῦ ατχωρα ἡ
 21 πογαἰνε τπολις ἡηαϋραἰ vac Τοῦμαρτγρι[α] ϋοοπ
 22 ϋατνοῦ εἰπνεγτραφαγε εἰπηχωρα τηροῦ vac . . . αποῦ
 23 . η̄τ . . . vac ΔΔAM αν ἡησθ̄ ενωϋ ἡησἡμ ενωχ
 24 ἡηνωε̄ ἡηωἡμ ηρωμε τηροῦ αναγεελος ει
 25 αβαλ εἰπχωρα ἡπογαἰνε αγταρποῦ αγχιτοῦ αεἰπ
 26 αγτσεβαϋ ατχωρα ἡπογαἰνε τρε ετεσϋοοπ ἡμ[αc]
 27 αγτσεβαϋ αν εεἰπτε ἡηπμα ετῆϋοοπ ἡεἰτῆ αγ
 28 ἡαϋροῦ αγει απμα ἡκεσαἰ ἡταροῦει δε αγσεχε
 29 αγρη̄τρε ετβετχωρα ἡπογαἰνε ἡηεἰπτε χε σε

Codex 423 (^); quire 27 (= 'IX'); Rolf Ibscher '(IX.133)'; facsimile 299.

1 ἡναποστολος: Initial ἡ- ex corr. 3–8 There is a strip of papyrus in the left hand margin, with ink traces, that does not belong here. 9 ελ . . [. . .]: The name is most probably that of Elchasai, but the spelling uncertain. 11 There is not space for the expected

πνομος ('the law'). 20 It is difficult to read αγεθον; although one might well expect here "they taught them what is good", vel sim. 24 ωἡμ: ω- ex corr.

1 you about each one of the apostles (ἀποστόλος) by (κατά) name, they who
 2 came (and) appeared in this world (κόσμος). Zarades was sent
 3 to Persia, to Hystaspes the king. He revealed the truly-founded
 4 law (νόμος) in all of Persia. Again, Bouddas
 5 the blessed (μακάριος), he came to the land (χώρα) of India and Kushan.
 6 He also revealed the truly-founded law (νόμος) in all of
 7 India and Kushan. After him again, Aurentes came with
 8 Kebellos to the east (ἀνατολή). They also revealed the truly-founded
 9 law (νόμος) in the east (ἀνατολή). Elchasai (?) came to
 10 Parthia. He revealed the law (νόμος) of truth in all of Parthia.
 11 Jesus the Christ came to the west. He (also ?) revealed the
 12 truth in all of the west. [Now (δέ), all] these apostles (ἀποστόλος)
 13 of God and these busy merchants
 14 . . . as they came from that place in-ness
 15 among them. For they were seized from this place; they were taken
 16 up; they went, they saw, they came (back), they bore witness; they have told [that the]
 17 land (χώρα) of light exists and that we have come from it. Also, hell
 18 exists, and we have seen the place where it is. They
 19 (dwelt ?) in the world (κόσμος). They made disciples (μαθητεύειν) of the people
 20 good (?), they became guides for them; they took them to the land (χώρα) of
 21 light, this city (πόλις) of good fortune. Their testimony (μαρτυρία) exists
 22 till now in their writings (γραφή), in all these countries (χώρα).
 23 Also, Adam and Seth, Enosh and Sem, Enoch
 24 and Noah and Shem, all these men: The angels (ἄγγελος) came
 25 from the land (χώρα) of light and seized them. They took them up.
 26 They taught them about the land (χώρα) of light, how it exists;
 27 and they were also taught about hell and the place where it exists. They
 28 returned, they came to this place again. And (δέ) when they came, they spoke.
 29 They bore witness about the land (χώρα) of light and hell, that they

7–8 Aurentes and Kebellos: on these names, probably representing *Arhat* and *Kevalin*, see Deeg and Gardner 2009. 9–10 For the connection of Elchasai to Parthia see Hippolytus *Ref.* IX, 13.1–2; cf.

discussion in Crone 2012(b): 283. 23–28 See Reeves 1996; cf. *CMC* 45–72; 1Ke 12.10–12; Hom 68.15–19; 2 Ps 142.4–9.

424

1 {σε}ϱοοη̄ ἀγ̄ρη̄πεταγ̄τεε̄ϱ ἀτοοτοϱ ζιτη̄νη̄νοϱτε
 2 νη̄ ο̄ε̄ ε̄ταγ̄μᾱθη̄τε̄ε̄ ἡ̄μαγ̄ ἀγειρε̄ ἡ̄νη̄β̄νη̄ο̄ε̄ ε̄τα
 3 νη̄τ̄ ἀγεῑ ἀβαλ̄ ρ̄η̄ποϱσ̄ω̄μᾱ ἀγ̄β̄ωκ̄ ἀτ̄χ̄ω̄ρᾱ ἡ̄ποϱγ̄ᾱ[ῑ]
 4 η̄ε̄ τ̄πολῑε̄ ἡ̄νεϱγ̄τ̄χ̄η̄ς vac τ̄οϱμᾱρτ̄γ̄ριᾱ ϱοοη̄ ϱᾱ†
 5 νοϱ ρ̄η̄νεϱγ̄τ̄ρᾱφ̄ᾱγε̄ vac ε̄ῑε̄ζη̄τε̄ ο̄ε̄ ᾱῑτᾱμᾱκ̄ ἀη̄ῑ[ρ̄ω̄]
 6 με̄ εῑ ἀβαλ̄ ρ̄η̄τ̄χ̄ω̄ρᾱ ἡ̄ποϱγ̄ᾱῑνε̄ ἀπ̄ῑμᾱ ἀρ̄ω̄με̄ ἀη̄
 7 β̄ωκ̄ χ̄η̄η̄π̄ῑμᾱ ἀτ̄χ̄ω̄ρᾱ ἡ̄ποϱγ̄ᾱῑνε̄ vac ἀνακ̄ ρ̄ω̄[ω̄]τ̄
 8 ε̄τ̄κ̄η̄ε̄[γ̄] ἀρᾱϱ̄ ᾱιβ̄ωκ̄ ἀτ̄χ̄ω̄ρᾱ ἡ̄ποϱγ̄ᾱῑνε̄ ᾱῑνεϱ̄ ρ̄ω̄ ἀ
 9 τ̄χ̄ω̄[ρᾱ ἡ̄]π̄ο̄[γ̄]ᾱῑνε̄ ἡ̄नाव̄ελ̄ τ̄ρε̄ ε̄τε̄ςϱοοη̄ ἡ̄μᾱε̄
 10 ᾱῑη̄[εϱ̄ ἀη̄] ἀε̄η̄η̄τε̄ ἡ̄नाव̄ελ̄ ἡ̄τ̄ρε̄ ε̄τ̄ϱ̄ϱοοη̄ ἡ̄μᾱε̄ ἀ[ῑ]
 11 χ̄ῑ. . [. .] . . ρ̄ῑτ̄η̄νη̄νοϱτε̄ vac ᾱῑε̄ῑ ᾱῑοϱ̄ω̄νη̄ ἀβαλ̄ η̄π̄ῑη̄[ᾱ]
 12 [ρ̄η̄π̄κο]ςμο̄ς vac ᾱῑτᾱϱε̄ᾱῑϱ̄ η̄π̄σε̄χε̄ η̄π̄η̄νοϱτε̄ vac ᾱῑε̄[.]
 13 [. . . .] Δε̄ ἡ̄π̄η̄νοϱτε̄ ρ̄η̄π̄κο̄ςμο̄ς χ̄η̄η̄π̄ε̄η̄η̄τε̄ ἀ[π̄]
 14 [ε̄ῑβ̄τε̄ ἀγ̄]η̄η̄ς̄ η̄ρ̄ω̄με̄ σ̄ω̄τ̄με̄ ἀρᾱῑ ἀγ̄η̄ε̄τε̄ε̄. [.]
 15 [. . . .] ἀοϱη̄ρ̄ ἡ̄ρη̄τοϱ̄ ρ̄η̄β̄η̄νη̄ε̄ ε̄ταν̄η̄τ̄ ἀγεῑ ἀβ̄[αλ̄]
 16 [ρ̄η̄ποϱε̄]ϱ̄η̄μᾱ ἀγ̄β̄ωκ̄ ἀτ̄χ̄ω̄ρᾱ ἡ̄ποϱγ̄ᾱῑνε̄ ἀγ̄η̄η̄. [.]
 17 . . [.] . . γ̄ ε̄γ̄η̄κ̄ ἀρε̄τοϱ̄ ε̄γ̄ϱοοη̄ ϱᾱρ̄οϱη̄ ἀποοϱ̄
 18 ε̄ῑε̄ζη̄τε̄ ᾱῑτᾱμᾱκ̄ ἀγ̄η̄η̄ς̄ ἡ̄μᾱρτ̄γ̄ρο̄ς vac ε̄ᾱγεῑ ἀβαλ̄
 19 ρ̄η̄τ̄χ̄ω̄ρᾱ η̄ποϱγ̄ᾱῑη̄(ε̄) ᾱῑτε̄. . . . ἡ̄ ἀνε̄τᾱγ̄β̄ωκ̄ ἀ
 20 . . [.] ἀτ̄χ̄ω̄ρᾱ ἡ̄ποϱγ̄ᾱῑνε̄ ἀη̄ vac
 21 Το̄τε̄ πᾱχε̄π̄η̄ρ̄ω̄με̄ ε̄τ̄η̄με̄γ̄ ἀπαποστολο̄ς ἀ[ῑ]η̄μᾱε̄
 22 τε̄ †η̄νοϱ̄ χ̄ε̄ τ̄χ̄ω̄ρᾱ ἡ̄ποϱγ̄ᾱῑνε̄ ϱοοη̄ τ̄ρε̄ ε̄τακ̄τᾱ
 23 μᾱῑ ἀη̄ᾱποστολο̄ς τη̄ροϱ̄ ε̄ταγ̄εῑ ἡ̄π̄ῑμᾱ ε̄τ̄η̄με̄γ̄ χ̄ε̄
 24 ἀγεῑ ἡ̄π̄ῑμᾱ ε̄τ̄η̄με̄γ̄ ἀγ̄η̄εϱ̄ ἀρᾱς ἀγεῑ ἀγ̄τᾱϱε̄ᾱῑϱ̄ ε̄τ̄
 25 β̄η̄η̄ς̄ vac ἀλλᾱ †τ̄ω̄β̄ε̄ ἡ̄μᾱκ̄ χ̄ε̄ ε̄κατ̄ρᾱνη̄εϱ̄ ρ̄η̄नाव̄ελ̄
 26 χ̄η̄η̄π̄ῑμᾱ ἀπ̄η̄ε̄ῑνε̄ ἡ̄τ̄χ̄ω̄ρᾱ ἡ̄ποϱγ̄ᾱῑνε̄ ε̄τακ̄η̄εϱ̄ [ᾱ]
 27 ρ̄ᾱς vac vac Το̄τε̄ πᾱχε̄παποστολο̄ς ἀρᾱϱ̄ ἀνακ̄ ε̄
 28 τᾱτ̄σε̄βακ̄ ἀπ̄η̄ε̄ῑνε̄ χ̄η̄η̄π̄ῑμᾱ η̄μᾱρτ̄γ̄ρο̄ς ε̄τ̄η̄
 29 ρ̄ᾱτ̄ η̄η̄π̄η̄ε̄ῑνε̄ ἡ̄μ̄η̄ε̄ ἡ̄τε̄τ̄χ̄ω̄ρᾱ ἡ̄ποϱγ̄ᾱῑνε̄ τε̄τᾱ

Codex 424 (>); quire 27 (= 'IX'); Rolf Ibscher 'IX.133'; facsimile 300.

8 π- may have been added at the start of the line to read η̄ε̄τ̄-
 κ̄η̄ε̄[γ̄] (uncertain). 19 Probably ᾱῑτε̄οϱ̄ο̄ ἀη̄, "I have also

recounted ...". 22 It is difficult to read ἡ̄- before τ̄ρε̄, although
 there is a space.

1 they exist. They did that which was entrusted to them by God.
 2 Those, then, who became disciples (μαθητεύειν) of them: They did good deeds;
 3 they came forth from their body (σῶμα) and they went to the land (χώρα) of light,
 4 the city (πόλις) of the well-favored (εὐτυχής). Their testimony (μαρτυρία) exists till
 5 now in their writings (γραφή). Behold, then, I have instructed you: These
 6 people came from the land (χώρα) of light to this place; people have also
 7 gone from this place to the land (χώρα) of light. I, myself,
 8 whom you are looking at: I went to the land (χώρα) of light. Indeed, I have seen
 9 the land (χώρα) of light with my eyes, the way that it exists.
 10 Again, I have [seen] hell with my eyes, the way that it exists. I have
 11 received from God. I came; I revealed this place (i.e. the land of light)
 12 in this world (κόσμος). I preached the word of God. And (δέ) I . . .
 13 of God in the world from the west to [the]
 14 [east. A] multitude of people have heard me. They have believed (πιστεύω) . . .
 15 How many among them have done good deeds! They came forth
 16 [from their] body (σῶμα); they went to the land (χώρα) of light. They have brought (?) . . .
 17 being established, existing therein until today.
 18 Behold, I have told you about a multitude of witnesses (μάρτυρος). For they have come forth
 19 from the land (χώρα) of light. I have (recounted, also, ?) about they who went
 20 to the land (χώρα) of light again.
 21 Then (τότε) says that man to the Apostle: I have
 22 believed now that the land (χώρα) of light exists, the way that you have
 23 told me about all these apostles (ἀποστόλος) who came to that place; for
 24 they came there, they saw it, they came (back), they preached
 25 about it. But (ἀλλά), I entreat you, could you enable me to see by my eyes
 26 from this place (i.e. here) the sign of the land (χώρα) of light that you have seen?
 27 Then (τότε) says the Apostle to him: I am the one who
 28 will teach you about the sign from this place. (I am) the witness (μάρτυρος) who is
 29 entrusted with the true sign of the land (χώρα) of light, the one that

12–14 Unlike previous apostles, whose mission was limited to one geographic region, Mani's mission extends throughout the world; cf. 1Ke 16.5–12; see Lieu 2006. 18 multitude of witnesses: cf. 1Tim.

6:12, 2Tim. 2:2, Heb. 12:1. 26–29 sign of the land of light: the sun, cf. 1Ke 160.10–13.

425

1 [ΝΑΠ]ΟCΤΟΛΟC ΤΑΦΕΑΪΟΥ ΕΤΒΗΤῚ ΜἸ ΟΝΙΑ . .
 2 [ΕΤΑϞ]CΩΛΠ ΝΕΥ ΑΒΑΛ ΖΙΤἸΠΠΟΥΤΕ vac ΠΕΤΑϞΕΙ ΑΒΑΛ ΖἸ
 3 [ΤΧΩΡΑ] ἸΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ ΕΦΟΥΑΝῒ ΑΒΑΛ ἸΜΗΝΕ ἸΜΗΝΕ
 4 [ΖἸΠΚ]ΟCΜΟC vac ΦΠῚΕ ΦΜ . . . ΦΤΡΟΥΑΙΝΕ . [.]
 5 [. . .] . [. . .] . ΧΩΡΕ ΠΕ ΝΑ . . ΠῚΠῚΕ ΜἸΠῚΟΥΑΙΝΕ ΠΑ
 6 [ΡΑἸ]ΟΥΑΙ[Ν]Ε ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΖΜΠΚΟCΜΟC vac ΠῚΟΥ[Α]ἸΝΕ ΕΦ
 7 [. .] . ΠῚΕ vac ΦΑϞΤΤῚΡΗΝΗ ΜἸΠCῚΡΑΖῚΤ ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC ΤΗΡῚ
 8 [ΦΑ]ΡῚΤῚΡΗΝΗ ΑΝ ΜἸΠCῚΡΑΖῚΤ ΕΙ ΑΒΑΛ ἸΜ . . [.] . . ΒΦΚ
 9 [. .] . . Δ . . . vac ΦΑΡΕἸΡΩΜΕ ΑΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΧΙΟΥ
 10 [.] . ΕΙΡΗΝΗ vac ΕΦΩΑΝΒΦΚ ΑΝ ΝῚΖΩΠ ΑΒΑΛ [. . .]
 11 [.] ῚΡΗΝΗ ΑΝ ΕΤΑCΕΙ ΝΕΜΕΦ ΩΑCΝΑΥΖῚ [. . . .]
 12 [.] ἸΚΕCΑΠ vac ΦΑϞΒἸΤῚΡΗΝΗ ἸΤἸΠΚΟ[CΜΟC]
 13 [ΕΡΕΠΚΟCΜΟ]C ΤΗΡῚ ΜΟΥΖ ΝῚΡῚΤῚ ΖΙCῚΩΤ vac Ε[. . . .] .
 14 [.] ΜΠΠΑC ἸΦΩCΤΗΡ ΕΤΟΥΑΝῒ . [. . . .]
 15 [.] ΝΤΑ[.] . . . Τ . ΑΝ ΜἸΠΜΕἸΝΕ . . [. . .]
 16 [. .] . [.] C . [.] ΕΠ [.]
 17 [. .] . [.] . ἸΤΑ Φ [.]
 18 [. .] . [.] [.] Ὶ . . . Ν[. . .]
 19 [. .] . [.] [.] Ε vac ΝΤΑΥ ΖΦΩΥ
 20 [. .] . [.] [.] . [.]
 21 [. .] . . Δ ἸΤΧΩΡΑ ἸΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ ΖΙΧΩΟΥ vac Ἰ Ε
 22 [. .] [. .] . Ϟε Ἰ . . . [ΚΟ]CΜΟC ΤΗΡῚ Ἰ . . ΠΕΤ
 23 [. . . .] . . . [. .] ῚἸἸCΩΩΝΤ . . Φ . . . ΟΥῚΝ . . . Υ ΑΒΑΛ
 24 ΜΠ ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΤΗΡῚ ΝΑCΩC ΑΠῚἸ ἸῚΤῚ
 25 [Κ]Ο vac ΕΙCΠῚΟΥ ΑΝ ἸΝΟΥΤΕ ἸΤΑΥ ΠΕ ΠΜΕἸΝΕ ΝΤΧΩ
 26 [ΡΑ] ἸΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ (Ἰ)ΤΑΥ ΠΕ ΠΩΝῒ ΜἸΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ
 27 [Ἰ]ἸΚΩΤῚ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜἸἸΚΕΡΩΜΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ vac ΠΜΕἸΝΕ Ἰ
 28 ΠΚΟCΜΟC [. .] . . ΕΥ ΑΤΟΥΩΗ Ἰ[Κ]ΕΚῚ ΕΤΚΡἸΡΑΜΤ Ἰ

Codex 425 (>); quire 27 (= 'IX'); Rolf Ibscher 'IX.132'; facsimile 297.

1 The subject of the following passage is the sun, but it is difficult to suggest the term/s used to introduce it here. 5–6 Perhaps a verb such as ΟΥΑΤΒΕ has been omitted, e.g. “its brightness and its

light surpass all the lights ...” (cf. IKE 162, 30 ff.). 10–11 Presumably “hidden from the world [ἸΠΚΟCΜΟC]”; vel sim. (cf. 426, 10). 21 Perhaps ἸΤΑΥ ϞΕ, (“Therefore, they ...”); vel sim.

1 the apostles (ἀποστόλος) preached about, and
2 [that was] unveiled to them by God; the one that has come out from the
3 [the land (χώρα)] of light, being revealed day by day
4 [in] the world (κόσμος). It shines forth, it . . . , it gives light
5 is strong . . . its brightness and its light [more]
6 [than (παρά)] all [the] lights that are in this world (κόσμος). Its light
7 (shall?) shine forth. It gives peace (εἰρήνη) and quiet to the entire world (κόσμος).
8 Also, this peace (εἰρήνη) and quiet comes forth from (it ?) and goes
9 Moreover, all the people receive
10 peace (εἰρήνη). Moreoever, if it should go and be hidden from [the]
11 [world (κόσμος ?)], this peace (εἰρήνη), also, that has come with it shall return . . .
12 another time; it takes this peace (εἰρήνη) from the [world (κόσμος)],
13 [for] all [the world (κόσμος)] is full of fear and trembling.
14 this great luminary (φωστήρ) which is displayed
15 also, and the sign
16
17
18
19 They themselves
20
21 the land (χώρα) of light upon them. (Therefore, they ?)
22 entire world (κόσμος) . . . the one that
23 among the creatures from
24 this entire world (κόσμος) will be overthrown and be
25 destroyed. The five gods, also: They are the sign of the land (χώρα)
26 of light, because (ἐπειδή) they are the life and the light
27 of all the buildings and of all the people, too. The sign of
28 this world (κόσμος) to this dark night that is obscured

7-14 Cf. 1Ke 159.22-27. 13 fear and trembling: cf. Phil 2:12. 25-27
Cf. 418.7-9 and note. 28 ff. Cf. 1Ke 160.18 ff.

426

1 ἡεγ̅ χε̅ ογ̅κεκε̅. . [. .]
 2 ογ̅. . χ̅η̅. . . ἡτε̅ ἡ̅ρωβ̅ η̅η̅ [. .]
 3 α. ἡ̅η̅ἡ̅σογ̅βω̅φ̅η̅ ε̅γ̅ει̅ρε̅ ἡ̅μα̅γ̅. . .
 4 τ̅η̅. Δ. . . γ̅ε̅ ἡ̅ρ̅ικ̅ ἡ̅η̅ἡ̅ρε̅τ̅β̅[ε̅.]
 5 ο. γ̅. . . α. . . ε̅γ̅ει̅ρε̅ ἡ̅μα̅γ̅ ρ̅η̅τογ̅ω̅η̅ [.]
 6 κ. ἡ̅η̅ἡ̅κ̅. α. . ε̅. . . †τ̅κε̅ς ἡ̅η̅ἡ̅.
 7 ἡ. ρ̅ ε̅ω̅α̅γ̅η̅ε̅ρ̅ε̅ ἡ̅τογ̅ω̅η̅ vac Π̅η̅ε̅γ̅ ε̅τ̅[.] ε̅.
 8 ογ̅. α̅βα̅λ̅ ρ̅η̅π̅ικ̅ο̅ς̅μο̅ς̅ ω̅α̅ρε̅ν̅ικ̅α̅κ̅ο̅η̅. . . [.]
 9 ε̅π̅ικ̅ο̅ς̅μο̅ς̅ τ̅η̅ρ̅ῆ̅ μο̅γ̅ρ̅ ἡ̅ρ̅η̅ρ̅ε̅. [.]
 10 ε̅ς̅ω̅α̅ρ̅ᾱ̅να̅χ̅ω̅ρ̅ε̅ α̅η̅ ἡ̅ς̅ρ̅ω̅π̅ α̅βα̅λ̅ ἡ̅π̅κ̅[ο̅ς̅]
 11 [μο̅ς̅ vac ω̅]α̅ρε̅ν̅ε̅ς̅κα̅κ̅ο̅η̅. . τ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅γ̅ ἡ̅η̅η̅ε̅ς̅ρ̅. [. .]
 12 [. . .] [.]ω̅ς̅. . α̅βα̅λ̅ ἡ̅π̅κ̅ο̅ς̅μο̅ς̅ vac ἡ̅τα̅ς̅ β̅ε̅. [. . .]
 13 [.]π̅η̅ε̅ἡ̅ε̅ ἡ̅ε̅μ̅η̅τε̅ vac χ̅ε̅ ἡ̅η̅π̅ε̅το̅ ἡ̅ρ̅ῆ̅τ̅[ε̅. . .]
 14 [. . .] ε̅ ρ̅η̅π̅κ̅ο̅ς̅μο̅ς̅ vac vac Π̅[α̅λ̅ι̅ν̅ α̅η̅]
 15 [πα̅χ̅]ε̅π̅ι̅ρ̅ω̅μ̅ε̅ ἡ̅ε̅λ̅ε̅γ̅θ̅ε̅ρ̅ο̅ς̅ α̅π̅[α̅πο̅στο̅λο̅ς̅. .]
 16 [.] χ̅ε̅ [α̅]κ̅τ̅ς̅ε̅βα̅ι̅ α̅π̅η̅ε̅ἡ̅ε̅ ἡ̅τ̅χ̅ω̅ρ̅[α̅ ἡ̅π̅ο̅γ̅α̅ἡ̅ε̅}
 17 [ἡ̅η̅π̅η̅ε̅ἡ̅] ἡ̅ε̅μ̅η̅τε̅. [.] ε̅ε̅. [.] . .
 18 [.] χ̅ε̅τ̅. [.] . .
 19 [.] ε̅ α̅η̅. . . [. .] ε̅τ̅α̅. [. .] .
 20 α̅λλ̅α̅ †τ̅ω̅β̅ε̅ρ̅ ἡ̅ἡ̅α̅[κ̅]. . α̅ρ̅α̅ἰ̅. [. .] . . .
 21 [.] ἡ̅η̅. ἡ̅τ̅η̅. [. . τ̅χ̅ω̅]
 22 ρ̅α̅ ἡ̅π̅ο̅γ̅α̅ἡ̅ε̅ ρ̅η̅τ̅. vac vac
 23 Πα̅χ̅ε̅πα̅πο̅στο̅λο̅ς̅ α̅ρα̅ϕ̅. ς̅ε̅. [. .]
 24 ε̅η̅. ρ̅ω̅μ̅ε̅ vac ε̅π̅ε̅ι̅δ̅η̅ ἡ̅ε̅ε̅ϕ̅ πα̅ρ̅. [. . .]
 25 ϕ̅ε̅ε̅χ̅ε̅ ἡ̅ε̅μ̅ε̅γ̅ ε̅η̅ vac ε̅ρ̅ε̅π̅η̅ρ̅ω̅β̅ τ̅ἡ̅τ̅α̅ν̅τ̅ ἡ̅π̅η̅ρ̅η̅τ̅[ε̅]
 26 ἡ̅τ̅ρ̅ε̅ ἡ̅ο̅γ̅να̅ς̅ ἡ̅ρ̅ρο̅ ε̅ϕ̅α̅ο̅γ̅ω̅φ̅ε̅ α̅ς̅α̅γ̅ρ̅ο̅γ̅ρ̅α̅λ̅β̅ω̅[ε̅]
 27 α̅ρ̅ο̅γ̅η̅ χ̅ε̅ ε̅ϕ̅ω̅α̅η̅ο̅γ̅ω̅φ̅α̅γ̅ρ̅†ρ̅α̅λ̅β̅ω̅φ̅ε̅ α̅ρ̅ο̅γ̅[ἡ̅]
 28 ε̅ω̅α̅ϕ̅κε̅λε̅ε̅γ̅ε̅ ἡ̅ο̅γ̅ρ̅ω̅μ̅ε̅ ἡ̅ο̅γ̅ω̅τ̅ χ̅ε̅ϕ̅α̅ς̅α̅γ̅ρ̅ς̅ α̅ρ̅ο̅[γ̅η̅]

Codex 426 (^); quire 27 (= 'IX'); Rolf Ibscher ('IX.132'); facsimile 298.

5–6 Perhaps ρ̅η̅τογ̅ω̅η̅ [ḿ]κεκε̅, “in the dark night”. 7–8 E.g. the world”; but the papyrus surface is very poor. 24 Presumably “The time when these things are made manifest (ογ̅α̅η̅ε̅ α̅βα̅λ̅) in πα̅ρα̅, “more than”.

1 them, so that a darkness (?)
 2 every thing
 3 and the evil stars, they do them
 4 magic and the slaughters
 5 they do them in the (dark ?) night
 6 and the the giving of pain and
 7 as they arise at night. The time when (these things ?)
 8 are made manifest (?) in this world (κόσμος), these evils (κακόν)
 9 as this entire world (κόσμος) is full of fear
 10 . . . if it should withdraw (ἀναχωρεῖν) again and be hidden from the world (κόσμος).
 11 All its evils (κακός), (moreover) and its
 12 from the world (κόσμος). Therefore, it
 13 . . . the sign (?) of hell, for there is not anyone afraid
 14 in the world (κόσμος). [Once again (πάλιν)],
 15 [says] this free (ἐλεύθερος) man to [the Apostle]: (I know ?)
 16 that you have taught me about the sign of the land (χώρα) [of light]
 17 [and the sign] of hell
 18
 19
 20 . . . But (ἀλλά) I entreat [you]: (Tell) me
 21 [the land (χώρα)]
 22 of light
 23 Says the Apostle to him:
 24 person; because (ἐπειδή) he is greater than (παρά ?)
 25 he does not speak with them. This matter is like this:
 26 The way a great king might want to gather together an armed force.
 27 For, if he wants to gather together this armed force,
 28 he orders (κελεύειν) a single man, so that he will gather it together.

5 they do them in the night: cf. Eph 5.12–13; Jn 3:20–21; *Epistle to Menoch* apud Augustine, *C. Iul. Op. imp.* 177 and 187. 26 ff. Cf. 1 Ke 119.25 ff.

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1 [φ]αρ[ε]πιρ[ω]με ρωφ[ι] ἡοῦ[ω]τ[ι] χρο[ο]ς α . . τ . . [.] . .
 2 [. . .] πιητ[ι] χρο[ο]ς αω[ε] ντεπω[ε] κελεγε[ι] ἡκε[ω]ε .
 3 [. τβ]α ἡρω[μ]ε vac Πῆρο εν πετεωαφ[α]ρ[ε]τ[ι]ματε[ο]ς
 4 [τε τ]ηρ[ε] αροῦν[ι] ριτοο[τ]ῆ ογαρεε[τ]ῆ vac αλλα ριτ[η] .
 5 [. . . .] . . ς ἡπῆρο φαρ[ε]σαρ[ε]τ[ι]ματε[ο]τε τηρ[ε] α
 6 [ροῦν] ριτ[η]ἡνας ἡπεφ[α]λατιον ἡἡνεφ[ι]νωταρι[ο]ς
 7 [Τ]ρε οὔ[ν] [τ]ε τεῖ ἡπῶτ[ι] πνοῦ[τ]ε ἡτετ[ι]μη[ι] πῶτ[ι] ἡ
 8 [πρ]η ἡἡποο[ρ] vac εφω[α]νοῦ[ω]φ[ω]τ[η]ναγ[ο]υνομο[ο]ς ἀπκο
 9 [σ]ο[ο]ς φαρ[ε]σαρ[ε]τ[ι]ματε[ο]ς ρῆνεα[γ]γελο[ο]ς vac φαρ[ε]σαρ[ε]τ[ι]ματε[ο]ς
 10 [λο]ς †]νοῦ ετ[ε]φ[α]τ[η]ναγ[ι] ς . . . ἡοῦρω[μ]ε ἡοῦ[ω]τ[ι]
 11 [ετ]ῆρ[ε]δικαιο[ο]ς παρ[α]ἡρω[μ]ε τηροῦ[ι] ἡ
 12 [.] πιρ[ω]με ἡοῦ[ω]τ[ι] vac φαρ[ε]σαρ[ε]τ[ι]ματε[ο]ς [.]
 13 [.] . . φαρ[ε]σαρ[ε]τ[ι]ματε[ο]ς ἡἡπῶε φαρ[ε] . [. . .]
 14 [.] τβ[α] ἡρω[μ]ε εναφω[ο]υ vac Πνεῦ . [. . .]
 15 [.] . . ἡαχ[ι]π[ι]σα[ι]νε ἡἡπῆνομο[ο]ς . [. . .]
 16 [.] . . ἡηγ[ι] ἀβαλ[ι] ρῆποῦ[ω]μα . [. . .] [. . . .]
 17 [.] ἡσε† ῆ ἡπ[.]οῦ . ἡ
 18 [.] . σμ[.] . [ρ]ωμε ἀ
 19 . [.] [.] ετ[ε]φ[α]τ[η]ναγ[ι] vac
 20 ἡτ[ε]φ[α]τ[η]ναγ[ι] ἡρω[μ]ε ἡρω[μ]ε ἡνωσε[ι]σε[ι] ἀφ†
 21 [. . .] . παπο[ο]στολο[ο]ς [. . .] οὔ[ν] ἀνετα[ι]
 22 [. . .] εἰδ ἀῖ ρῆποῦ[ω]μα ἀβαλ
 23 [.] ε ἡἡπῆνε
 24 [.] [.] χε εφω[α]τ[η]ναγ[ι]πῆνομο[ο]ς ἀπκο[ο]μο[ο]ς
 25 εφω[α]γ . [. . .] . ριτ[η]ἡοῦρω[μ]ε ἡοῦ[ω]τ[ι] ἡῆω[ω]λπ ἀβαλ ρωφ[ι]
 26 ἡτοο[τ]ῆ [π]ῆπ[ι]νοῦ[τ]ε ριτ[η]πιρ[ω]με ἡοῦ[ω]τ[ι] φαρ[ε] ατ[η] (αγ)
 27 κεφω ἡρ[ω]με εναφω[ο]υ vac vac
 28 τμη
 29 εφ[ε]σε[ι]σε[ι] ἀν ετ[ε]φ[α]τ[η]ναγ[ι]πῆνομο[ο]ς ἀπκο[ο]μο[ο]ς
 30 μεν[ο] [ο]ς εφω[ι]νε ἡπαπο[ο]στολο[ο]ς ἀγ[ι]σε[ι]σε[ι]
 31 Παλιν ἀν ἡκε[ω]ε[ι] ἀπαβακο[ο]ς π[ε] (α)τ[η]νοῦμενο[ο]ς φω[ι]ρε

Codex 427 (^); quire 27 (= 'IX'); Rolf Ibscher '(IX.131)'; facsimile 295.

1 Presumably ἀμῆτ, "to ten"; but difficult to read. 10 Understand a verb such as σωτῆ, 'to choose'. 13 φαρ[ε]σαρ[ε]τ[ι]ματε[ο]ς - ex corr. 17

Perhaps ἡπ[κ]οῦ[ι], "the small (one?)"; but very uncertain. 20-21 E.g. "he gave glory (†εαγ), he blessed the apostle ...".

1 For his part, this single man says to (ten ?) . . .
2 . . . these ten tell a hundred, and (each of) this hundred orders (κελεύειν) another hundred
(and reach ?)
3 ten thousand (?) men. This king is not the one who gathers all this army
4 together by his own hand; rather (ἀλλά), through
5 of the king. He gathers all this army
6 [together] through the great ones of his palace (παλάτιον) and his clerks (*notarius*).
7 [Now], this is [the way] of the Father, the God of Truth, the father of
8 [the sun] and the moon: If he wishes to send a law (νόμος) to the
9 world (κόσμος) he sends one among his angels (ἄγγελος). This angel (ἄγγελος)
10 now, that he will send, (chooses ?) a single person
11 [who] is more righteous (δίκαιος) than (παρά) all the people, and he
12 this single man. This law (νόμος)
13 it reaches a hundred, from this hundred it (spreads)
14 (to) many ten thousands of people. When
15 will receive this knowledge and this law (νόμος)
16 come out from their body (σώμα)
17 and they give (?).
18 person
19 that is good.
20 When [this] great man heard these words he gave
21 . . . the Apostle the ones that
22 me in a revelation (?).
23 and the sign
24 for when they send the law (νόμος) to the world (κόσμος),
25 they . . . through a single man; and it (i.e. the law) is revealed, indeed,
26 from God through this single man. He comes to se(nd)
27 many other thousands of people.

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It tells again about Pabakos the Catechumen (κατηχούμενος).

He asks the Apostle about a Lesson.

31 Once again (πάλιν), on another occasion, Pabakos the catechumen (κατηχούμενος), the son

1	ἡ. [.] . . ἄ. . ρ αϥ[ε]! ριθῆ ἡπαποστολος παχεϥ †. [.] . [.]
2	. . . . . ρητκσοφια τατεουας ανρωμε τα. [.] . . . [.]
3	νεκσεχε ετοι ἡεαυ ριθῆ ἡνρωμε vac Ουἡραῖνε ρἡ[νεγ]
4	γενηс φαυτεαυ νεκ ἡсесмаме ἡмаκ ἡπне[γ εγ]
5	αωτμε ατκсоφια vac анаκ ρωτ αν φαιρεωε τον[ω το]
6	νω ἡττατε ετἡμεγ πνεγ ετογναχιντοοτ ητ[κсо]
7	φια ετἡατεουας αραγ vac Ουἡρηκεκαγε αν ρἡ[νεγτε]
8	ηηс ετ. τκсоφια ετἡαφ[. . .]
9	ἡμαс ἡαατεουοпκῑρεη φαυ. . . τἡ ἡсεῑρ. [.] . . . [.]
10	. . . [.] . . . του. αγτεου. . . . [.] . . . [.]
11	. . . [.] . . . ετвηк vac анаκ ρωт †ηαῑλυπη. [.] . . . [.]
12	. . . [.] . . . φαιμεουε αβαλ ρἡπαρηт χε. [.] . . . [.]
13	[.] βε ἡμεγ vac φαιμεουε αν αβαλ. [.] [.]
14	[.] πσο ετεογνητἡ. [.] . . . [.] . . . [.]
15	[.] εη ουβεπχραπ ἡἡ. . . ογα ε[.] [.]
16	[.] εтвηсεχε ἡтсоφια εтτεουас [.] [.]
17	[.] [.] [.] . . . [.] . ἡ. [.] . . [.] . . . [.]
18	[.] [.] . . . [.] . . . [.] . . . ἡ. [.] [.]
19	[.] [.] [.] [.] [.] . vac
20	Τοτε παχεπαποστολοс апавакос †. [.] . . . [.]
21	. . . . . τεουοпсεχε vac ἄ. . . αγτεου.
22	εϥ. . . †ταφαιω. οηс.
23	πсεχε vac †ηαατεουαϥ αρακ.
24	πсεχε σε етапἡχαῖс τεουαϥ ἡ. πσ[α]
25	ογαν ετογαταῖοпqхαιс εἡηтq η. . . . [.] . . . ἡπε
26	κλεκтос εтχηк ἡἡпκατηχογμεηос [ἡ]пстос
27	ηεταρω εγἡἡ αβαλ ἡтἡηε ἡἡпη. . . χωριс λαγ
28	ε ηχвиη ραιῖβε εγтаχαῖт азов εηη. . . φηпκa[1]
29	ρос ετογνηη αβαλ ρἡпсωηa vac Πειῑ πε πсαογαν ε
30	τεφαυτεαυ ἡпq . . ἡтqлаῖсе. . . πмакари

Codex 428 (>); quire 27 (= 'IX'); Rolf Ibscher 'IX.131'; facsimile 296.

1 Presumably ἡαρταφαραρ (cf. 415, 30); but one cannot be certain of the exact spelling. 12 αβαλ: Very uncertain, the initial α may have a correction mark. 15 Perhaps ἡἡпχιογa, "and the blasphemy (that they have spoken)". 16 τεουас: Very uncertain. 17 In mid-page perhaps сωρ, 'saviour'; in which case the logion or

parable of Jesus is introduced here by Pabakos. 26 [ἡ]пстос: Final -с writ large. 27-30 The papyrus may be creased so that an extra letter has been allowed through the tear in the latter part of the line.

1 of (Artashahar), came before the Apostle. Says he: I . . .
 2 in your wisdom (σοφία); so that I proclaim it to people and I . . .
 3 your glorious words before the people. There are some among the
 4 nobles (εὐγενής) (who) glorify and bless you, when [they]
 5 hear your wisdom (σοφία). I myself rejoice very much
 6 at that moment when they receive from me (your ?) wisdom (σοφία),
 7 that I proclaim to them. Moreover, there are others among the nobles (εὐγενής)
 8 who (when they hear) your wisdom (σοφία), as I will . . .
 9 it, and I proclaim your name, they and they become
 10 they uttered
 11 about you. I myself, I will grieve (λύπη)
 12 I consider in my heart that
 13 therein. I also consider
 14 the victory that I have
 15 against the impediment and the blasphemy (?) (that they have spoken ?)
 16 about the words of the wisdom (σοφία) that I proclaim (?).
 17
 18
 19
 20 Then (τότε) says the Apostle to Pabakos, I (am the one who will ?)
 21 explain this lesson. he proclaimed
 22 I preach
 23 this lesson. I will explain it to you
 24 The lesson, then that our lord proclaimed the
 25 servant whose master will be honored, as he has not . . . (is like?) the
 26 perfect elect (ἐκλεκτός) and the faithful (πιστός) catechumen (κατηχούμενος),
 27 the ones who remain being constant (in) the truth and the without (χωρίς) any
 28 blemish or fault, while they are condemned to something until the time (καιρός)
 29 they come forth from the body (σῶμα). This is the servant whom
 30 they shall glorify for his . . . on his account . . . the praising (μακαρισμός)

10–11 they have uttered ... about you: e.g., 'bad things'. 17–19 Pabakos appears to have quoted a logion of Jesus (cf. l. 24 'the lesson that our lord proclaimed'), unfortunately not preserved;

based on Mani's exposition (24ff.), it is most likely the parable of the faithful and unfaithful servants (Mt. 24:45–51; Lk. 12:42–46).

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1 ϸΜΟС ἸἢΠСΜΑΜΕ ΕΦΜΑΤΝΕϸ. . . [. . .] . ΠἸΜ . [.]
 2 [. . .] ἈΝ ἸΑΤΡΙϸΕ ἸΑΤΟΥἸΝΕ vac Πικεοϸε ϸϸϸ εἶτε οϸ
 3 ΕΚΛΕΚΤΟС ΠΕ Εἶτε οϸΚΑΤΗΧΟΥΜΕΝΟС ΠΕ ἸΚ(ϸ)ἸΤḠ Εϸ
 4 ΤΩΚ ἈΡΕΤϸ ἸἸΟΥΚΡΑϸ ἸΑΤΠΡΑϸ vac ΕΚ . . . ἸἸἸ
 5 ἸἸἸΟΥΕ Εϸ . . . ϸ ΕἸϸ . . . Π . ἸἸἸ ΕϸἸἸἸ ἈΒΑΛ ἸἸΠḠ
 6 ϸΩΜΑ vac Πεί ΠΕ ΠϸΑΥΝΩΩΝΕ ΕΤḠΑΥ ΕΤΕϸΑΡΕΠϸΑἰС
 7 . . . [.] . . ϸ ΕΤΒΗΤḠ vac ΩΑϸΧἸ ϸΩΩϸ ἸΠΟΥΑἰ ἸἸΤḠΑСΑΝΟС
 8 ἈΤḠḠἸ ἸἸḠϸἸΝΕἰ ἈΒΑΛ ΕϸΩḠἈΝΕἰ ἈΒΑΛ ἸἸΠḠϸΩΜΑ vac
 9 [. . .] . . . ἸἸḠḠ ΠḠΩḠḠ ΕϸΩḠΠΕ Π ḠḠḠ
 10 [. . .] . . . [.] ἸἸḠḠΚΑΤΟΥḠΚ ἈΒΑΛ ΕΚΤḠΩḠḠḠḠ [. . .] . .
 11 [. . .] . ἸἸḠḠΟΥḠἸΝΕ ἸΠΟΥḠἸΝΕ ΕΚСΕϸΕ ΕΚΤḠ[ΩḠḠ]ἸḠ . .
 12 [. . .] . ḠḠḠḠ ἸἸḠḠ ἸἸḠḠḠḠḠḠ ḠḠḠḠ [.]
 13 [.] ἸḠḠḠḠḠḠḠ ΕϸḠḠḠ ḠḠḠḠ . . [. . .]
 14 [.] . . ḠḠ Ḡ . ἈΡἸ ΕϸḠḠḠḠḠḠ
 15 [.] ḠḠ . . . ḠḠḠ ΕϸἸἸἸḠ ἈΒΑΛ ἸἸΠḠϸΩ
 16 Ἰ[Ḡ] . . ḠḠ . . . Ḡ . Ḡ . ἸḠ vac . . Ḡ [.]
 17 [.] . ἸḠḠḠḠḠ vac ḠḠḠ ḠḠ ḠḠḠ ΠḠḠḠ . . .
 18 [.] ΕϸΩḠΠΕ ΕϸḠḠḠḠḠḠ ḠḠḠ ḠḠḠḠ ἸḠḠḠḠḠ
 19 [.] ḠḠ . Ḡ ḠḠḠ . . . Ḡ ḠḠḠḠ . . Ḡ .
 20 [. . .] ΠḠḠḠḠḠ ḠḠḠ vac ΠḠḠḠḠḠ ΕḠḠḠ . . .
 21 [.] . . ϸ ḠḠḠḠḠḠḠḠ ϸΩΩϸ ἸḠḠḠḠ vac ḠḠḠḠḠḠḠ
 22 [.] . ΠḠḠḠḠ[Ḡ ΕḠḠḠḠ]Ḡ Εἰ ἈΒΑΛ ἸἸΠḠ[Ḡ]Ḡ ḠḠ
 23 [.] ḠḠḠ ḠḠḠḠ ḠḠḠḠ ἸḠḠḠḠḠ vac ḠḠ[ḠḠ] ḠḠ
 24 [. . .]Ḡ[. . .] . . . ḠḠḠḠḠḠ ΕḠ . . . ḠḠḠḠ ἸἸḠḠḠḠḠ ΕḠḠḠ
 25 ḠḠ[.]ḠḠḠḠḠḠ ΕḠḠḠḠ ΕḠḠḠḠḠḠḠ ἸḠḠḠ ḠḠḠḠ
 26 ḠḠḠ . . [. . .] . ḠḠḠḠḠḠ . . ἸḠḠḠ ϸΩΩΚ ἸἸḠḠḠ
 27 ḠḠḠḠ ἸḠ[Ḡ]Ḡ vac ΕḠḠḠḠ ΠḠḠḠḠ ΕḠḠ(ḠḠḠ)ḠḠḠ ḠḠḠḠ ΕḠḠḠḠḠḠḠ
 28 ἸἸḠḠḠḠḠ ἸḠḠḠ ἸḠḠḠḠḠḠ ḠḠḠḠḠ ΕḠḠḠḠ ΕḠḠḠḠḠ ḠḠḠ
 29 [Ḡ]ḠḠḠ ἸḠḠḠḠḠḠ Εἰ ἈΒΑΛ ḠḠḠḠ ḠḠḠḠ ΕϸḠḠḠḠḠ ἸḠḠḠḠ
 30 [. . .] ḠḠḠ ἸḠḠḠḠḠ[ḠḠ] ϸΩΩϸ ἸἸḠḠḠḠḠḠḠ

Codex 429 (>); quire 27 (= 'IX'); Rolf Ibscher 'IX.130'; facsimile 293.

1–2 Perhaps ἸἸΠḠḠḠ[ἸἸḠḠ]ḠḠ, “in this place of rest”. 5 Probably ḠḠḠḠ, “at the last” (see l. 8); but difficult to read. 24 Presumably ἸἸḠḠḠḠḠḠḠḠ, “do not be afraid”. 26 There may be ink to the left of the line-start where the scribe has added in some text, read

⟨...ḠḠḠḠ...? 27 ΠḠḠḠḠ ΕḠḠḠ(ḠḠḠ)ḠḠḠ ḠḠḠḠ: E.g. “the person who will ((speak)) evil about me” (cf. ll. 13, 25). 29 ΠḠḠḠḠ: Initial π- is very difficult, perhaps corrected?

1 and the blessing, as he rests himself (?). . . (in the place of)
2 (rest ?) unwearied, unending. But this other one, whether (εἴτε) he is an
3 elect (ἐκλεκτός) or a catechumen (κατηχούμενος), and you (find) (?) him
4 ensconced in undivided guile. If you in some
5 matters (?), that are . . . that are . . . (at the) end, as he comes forth from his
6 body (σῶμα). This is the wicked, evil servant whose master shall
7 because of him. For his part, he receives the woe and torment (βάσανος)
8 at the end, at his coming forth, when he comes forth from his body (σῶμα).
9 (Therefore), you, my child, if is possible (?)
10 do not you cease preaching
11 . . . and you shine the light as you speak and preach . . .
12 you achieve it for those who will listen to you
13 and he utters evil words against me
14 to me, if he will return . . .
15 as he comes forth from the
16 body (σῶμα).
17 again. This is the way the benefit . . .
18 if he returns and he arrives another time
19 to these places (?). . .
20 his thanks is given. The blessing which he will . . .
21 he will, for his part, receive blessing there; and he returns
22 (just like ?) [that] bird (?) comes out from the nest, and it
23 (returns and ?) goes in to the nest (?) again. So, now,
24 (do not) be afraid, nor (οὔτε) do on his account
25 these evil words that they uttered against me
26 to all . . . You yourself, you have no
27 sin. Because (ἐπειδή) the person who will (speak) evil about me resembles
28 this: Like a foolish person who will come walking on the
29 road, and the wind rises up against him and it stays afflicting (θλίβειν) him
30 ; and this person, indeed, in his foolishness,

430

1 [σε] ῥαγω ἡρῆ εὐρῶ vac εὐφωρῆ . . .
 2 χε ἡπε ἰε ἡπῆρῶ ῥ ἡμῆρῶ ἡ[α]
 3 χωφ ἀπῆτῆ ἡμῆρῶτῶ ἡφ ῥῆπῆρῶ ἡφῆ . . .
 4 ἀροῦν ἀμῆπῆτῆ χε φαρῆπῆτῆ ῥωφ ἡαῖρῆ . . .
 5 ἡκεσαπ . ἡ ῥτῶ ἀροῦν ἀμῆπῆρο ἡπῆρωμε . ῥ . ἡεφ
 6 βελ τῶμ ῥαπῆρῶ ετῆμῆε ἡτεπῆρωμε (ε)τῆμ(ε)τῶμῆτῶ
 7 σε βῆε ἡφτῶ vac χε ἡταφῶρῶεφ οῦαῖεεφ ῥῆν
 8 πτηγ ῥ ἡπῶρῶεφ ῥῆλαῖε vac Παρητε [.]
 9 πε πεῖ . [. .] πτηγ εταφῆ ῥῆπῆχιν [. .]
 10 [. οῦα] ἡ ἡμ εταῖρῶ πῆρῶ ετῶτεφ [. .]
 11 [.] οῦαν ἡμ αν εφασμαμοῦοῦτῆ [. .]
 12 [.] εφασμαμοῦοῦτῆ [.]
 13 φτεοῦο ἡπῆκεσεχε ἀραχ χε οῦαν ἡμ [.]
 14 ἡαῖπεαῖ νεφ ἡπεταῖσ ἀφ . [.]
 15 ἡῆρῶ ἡπῆρωμε τῆροῦ ἡατ . [.]
 16 ἡ ερεπῆοῦτε ἡαῖμαῖα vac ἡμ πετ[. .] . [. . . .]
 17 χε πῆαχο ἡπῆρωμε τῆροῦ ἡαῖταῖα εφ [. . . .] . [. . . .]
 18 α ἀβαλ ἡπῆοῦτε πε vac ερεπῆμαμε [. . . .]
 19 ῥ ῥαγω ἡπῆρωμε τῆροῦ ἡαφ [. . . .]
 20 Τότε παχεπαβακος πατηροῦμενος ἀ [. . . .]
 21 τῆ ἡνεῖ τῆροῦ οῦ ἡ [. . . .]
 22 τ ῥ ἡμῆε ῥῆρο [. .] ταῖα [. . . .]
 23 ἡμαφ vac Παχεπαποστολος ἀραχ ἡτ [. .] . [. . . .]
 24 ῶνῆ αν εφῆνοῦφ φασῆτῶ ἡχιοῦαν ἡμ [. . . .] . [. . . .]
 25 εφταῖαῖ ἡτῆμῆε ῥῆτῆαπρο vac Τότε παχεπαβα
 26 κος ἀραφ νεετῆσοφία τῶνῶ ἡανοῦς παρῆμ
 27 σοφία τῆροῦ ετῆμῆκοςῆ vac ερεπῆ(σ)ῆος τῆτῆανῆ
 28 ἀρῆμοῖεε εῦραλῶ ε ῥῆτῆαῖ εα [. .]
 29 τχωρα ἡῆρῆτοῦ χε [. . . .] ἡτεῆεωατε εῶςῆηρ ἡ[ε]
 30 εἰ ἀῆῆμοῖεε [ετ]ῆμῆε ἡσεοῦ [. . . .] ἡῆητοῦ ἡ[. .]

Codex 430 (^); quire 27 (= 'ix'); Rolf Ibscher ('ix.130'); facsimile 294.

1 The foolish man “abuses the wind (ῥαγω ἀπτηγ)” with “bad words (ῥῆκεσε εὐρῶ)”, vel sim. 6–7 The text appears corrupt; understand “and that man ..., his foolishness thwarted him like this (ἡφτῶε sic, ἡτῶε?)”. 7 E.g. ῥῆμῆρῶ, “by his curses”. 9 The probable sense is “I am like this wind”; χιν [. .], apparently

not χινῆανῆ (‘violence’). 11 and 12 εφασμαμοῦοῦτῆ: 2nd. person pl. suffix (cf. Lk. 6:28) or 1st sing. plus e.g. ἡρῆτῶ? 25 τῆτῆαπρο: More likely 2nd than 3rd person (“his mouth”) as expected. 26 E.g. ἡτῆα παρα-, “it is more”. 28 Perhaps “in this great sea” (cf. 431, 8); but difficult to read ῥῆτῆαῖ ἡθαλασσα without emendation.

1 curses (the wind with ?) some bad (words ?). If he should see, moreover (?)
 2 that these curses
 3 down upon him(self), and it takes hold of him and he . . . on the earth and he . . .
 4 in upon this wind; so that the wind itself should turn this . . .
 5 again in upon the face of this man, and his
 6 eyes shut (?) on account of that earth; and that man (< . . ., his) foolishness
 7 thwarted him in (this) way (?), in that he wounded himself alone by (his curses ?);
 8 (whereas) the wind, it did not wound him at all. My manner (also)
 9 is this: (I am like ?) this wind that had come in its strength (?)
 10 . . . every one who will curse, the curse that he will give (will fall upon ?)
 11 (him himself ?). Also, every one who will bless you (pl.) . . .
 12 blessing that he will bless you (pl.)
 13 . . . he proclaims this other lesson to you: Every one
 14 will give the glory to him . . . the one who announces it (?)
 15 and the curses of all the people will
 16, as God will justify him. Who is the one who
 17 for the condemnation of all the people will not be able to condemn him
 18 is from God; while the blessing
 19 curses of all the people will (not ?) be able to
 20 Then (τότε) says Pabakos the catechumen (κατηχούμενος) to :
 21 I (?). . . of all these things
 22 therein and victory . . . preach
 23 him (?). Says the Apostle to him,
 24 also life (?) that is good, he will find it, namely every one
 25 who proclaims this truth by your (?) mouth. Then (τότε) says
 26 Pabakos to him: Very great is your good wisdom (σοφία), (it is) more than (παρά)
 27 all the wisdoms (σοφία) that are in this world (κόσμος); for the world (κόσμος) is like
 28 some sweet waters . . . in this great (sea ?) . . .
 29 the land (χώρα) of the Indians; for . . . of (?) the merchants as they sail and
 30 come across those waters, and they in them . . .

8 it did not wound him at all: i.e. the wind itself did not harm himself, but his curses did not hurt the wind. 11–12 bless you (pl.): the man, but the latter's own curses against the wind rebounded or "bless me". against him; or "he did not wound it at all": i.e. the man only hurt

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1 [. .]. ἄρνευ ἀ. . . ἡ ἡς(ε)ῤαπαντη ἡτεοῦτηῦ εῦν[α]
 2 ὠτ νερσε ἀραῦ ἡῤαῖτοῦ ἀβαλ ἡνιμα ἐτῆμεῦ ἡσεῖ
 3 . . . λ ἡπῆτηῦ ἡσεοῦεῖ ἀβαλ ὠαπνεῦ ἀν ἐρεπῆτηῦ
 4 ἡ[α]ῤεῖε ἡῤεῖε vac Πνεῦ δε ἐτερεπῆτηῦ ἡαῤεῖε ἡ
 5 [οῦ]ῤαμη ὠωπε ὠαῤεῖε ἀν ἡσεῖ(τ)ῤε ἡιμ ἡσεῖαῤ
 6 ῤ[οῦ] ἡσεῖε ἀ[π]ἡα πῆμα πῆα ἐτερεπῆτηῦ εῤεῤε
 7 ἡῤητῖ ἡσεῖε ἀβαλ ῤἡἡιμοῦεοῦε ἐτῆμεῦ ἡσεῖε
 8 ἡσεῖε vac ἡῤε οῦν ἡῤἡαε ἡθαλασσα ῤε ῤε
 9 [τ]ε τεῖ ἡπῆκομοε vac Τεπῆμῖα ἐτῆμῖ ῤἡπ[κομ]οε
 10 [. .]. . οῦῤῖ ἡμαε εῖραε εῖροἡιμοῦεοῦε εῤα[. . .]. [.]ἄ. .
 11 [. .]. ῤο τκσοφῖα ῤωοκ εῖροἡιμοῦεοῦε [. . .]. .
 12 [ῤῖ]ῤῖωῤοῦ vac ἡεῤατε ῤωοκ ἐῤεῤωτ ῤἡθαλασσα [. .]
 13 [. . .]. ῤῖεπῆκατηχοῦμενοε μετκαεμη. . . .
 14 . . . τῤεσοφῖα τεῤνεεε ἡεοῤαεῖε παῤεσοφῖα ἡ[ιμ]
 15 ῤἡπῆκομοε εῤῆε ὠαῤηε vac Πῆτηῦ ῤεῖ εῤοῦ. . .
 16 [ὠα]ῤεῖῤῖεῤεῤατε ἡεῤ. . . ἡοῦεοῦε ἀῤἡἡιμοῦεοῦε
 17 [. .]. ἡῖεοῦε ἡεεῤα ἐῤἡπῆκομοε τηῤῖ
 18 [ε] πῆε ἐτερεπῆε ἡεῖ ἡεεῤε ἀτῤεσοφῖα ὠα
 19 [ῤ]εἡῖεοῦε ἡεεῤα ὠῤῖῤωῤῖ ἡεῖεῤεῤε νεῖ vac
 20 . [.] . . κα . . . εῤεῤε ῤῖοῤεῤε ἀτῤεσοφῖα ἐῤεεοῦο ἡ
 21 [η]ἄε ἀραἡ. . . . νεῤῖεῤε ἐῤῖεῤε νεἡ ὠαἡεῤε ἡῤῖ
 22 ἡαῤῖ ἡ ἡῤῖεῖ ὠαῤακ ἡεεεῤαπ εῤ ἡῤῖεῤε
 23 ἀῤακ vac. ἐῤκαεοῤαῤ ἀραἡ ἡῤε ἡἡεῤατε
 24 ἐῤεῤα. ἀβαλ ἡἡιμοῦεοῦε ἐῤεπῆτηῦ ἐῤ
 25 ἡεῤ vac ἀλλἄ ὠαῤἡαῤοῦ ἀν ἡσεῖε ὠαἡιμοῦε ἡἡαῤ
 26 ἡεεεῤαῤ ἐῤεῤεῤε ἀβαλ ἡἡαῤ ἡεεῤε vac ἀἡαἡ ῤε
 27 ἡ ἀν τῆἡε ἡῤῖ εῤε ὠατῤεσοφῖα ὠατῤεἡε vac Τἡ

Codex 431 (^); quire 27 (= '1X'); Rolf Ibscher '(1X.128)'; facsimile 291.

5 εῤε (‘fight’): So it seems; but there may be a correction mark after -ω- and perhaps one should read εῤ (‘drink’) plus omitted

text ((...)), possibly referring to bitter waters? Initial ἡ- very difficult; ex ε- corr.?

9 ἡπῆκομοε:

1 and ⟨they?⟩ meet (ἀπαντᾶν). And a fierce wind
2 rises against them and it blasts them from those places; and they become
3 . . . by this wind and are far away; until when again this wind
4 will fall and is stilled. But (δέ) when this wind will fall
5 [a] calm occurs; they shall endeavor again and they (can) make every way (?); and they turn around
6 and they come to this very place—the place where these sweet waters
7 are—and they take from those waters and they drink
8 and they live. Therefore (οὖν), just like this great sea (θάλασσα), this also is the way
9 of this world (κόσμος): The desire (ἐπιθυμία) that is cast in the [world (κόσμος)]
10 it, it can be compared to these waters that
11 your own wisdom (σοφία) can be compared to these waters
12 propel them. For their part, the merchants who sail the sea (θάλασσα) . . .
13 . . . trade with (?) the catechumens (κατηχούμενος), the ones who put voice (?). . .
14 . . . your wisdom (σοφία) that is great and surpasses more than (παρα) every wisdom (σοφία)
15 in this world (κόσμος). It lives forever. Indeed, the wind that ,
16 it propels the merchants and it (piles ?) waters upon the waters
17 [like (?)] these masters of the body (σῶμα) that are in this entire world.
18 [For] whenever the person will come and listen to your wisdom (σοφία),
19 the masters of the body (σῶμα) disturb him, and they frighten him.
20 (And he cannot ?) listen perfectly to the wisdom (σοφία) that you proclaim
21 to us . . . their sufferings (?) that frighten us; we go and we
22 turn around again and we come towards you time and time again, and we listen
23 to you. (These lessons ?) that you will proclaim to us (are) like these merchants
24 who across these waters because of the fierce wind.
25 But (ἀλλά), they shall return again and they come to these springs of water;
26 and they drink sweet water from them and they live. Also, we ourselves,
27 we are pleased to come towards your wisdom (σοφία) (and) your truth. We

432 1 . . [. .] ἡ . . . ἄν ἀροῦν ἀνεκωρηε ἡ τῆσωτμε
 2 ἄ τῆσφια ετανε ἡ τῆσφιε ἡ ρητῆ vac
 3 ΤΟΤΕ ΠΑΧΕΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΑΠΑΒΑΚΟΣ ΠΚΑΤΗΧΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ
 4 ΠΣΕΧΕ ΕΤΑΚΤΕΟΥΑΦ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΔΚΤΕΟΥΑΦ vac Πισεχ[ε] ετα[κ]
 5 ΤΕΟΥΑΦ ΔΚΤΕΟΥΑΦ ΑΠῆΜΑΝΤΕΟΥΑΦ ΑΠΑΒΑΚΟΣ ΚΑ[ΡΩΦ]
 6 ΑΦΕῆΕΣΤ vac vac ΤΟΤΕ ΠΑΧΕΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΑΝΕ[ΦΩΗ]
 7 ΡΕ ΠΙΡΡΑΥ ΜῆΠΙΤΑΦΕΑΪΩ ΝΕΤΕΤῆΣΩΤΜΕ ΔΡΑΥ ἡ ΤΟ
 8 ΟΤ ἡ ΤΩΤῆ ΟΥΑΡΕΤΤΗΝΕ ΕΝ ΝΕΤΣΩΤΜΕ ΔΡΑΥ ΑΛΛΑ
 9 ΣΕΣΩΤΜΕ ΔΡΑΥ ΖῆΤῆΜΤΕ ἡ ἡΝΑΣ ΝΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ἡ ΧΩΡ[ε]
 10 ἡ ῆ ἡ ἡΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΕΤῆΖῆΤΟΥ ΣῆΟΥΩΝ ΑΛΛΑ [. .]
 11 ἡ . [. . . .] ἄν ἡ ἡΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤῆΤ ΕΤΘΝΑΪΤ ΔΡΑΪ . [. .]
 12 . ἡ . [. . .] ΕΤΒΕΤΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ ΜῆΤῆΜῆΤῆΟΥΤΕ vac Τ
 13 [ΦΑΡῆ ἡ] ἄχρῆ τε ῆεκκλῆσια ἡ τε[ῆ] τῆσφια . . [. .]
 14 [.] ΜῆΠΙΤΑΦΕΑΪΩ ΜῆΠῆΝΑ . . vac vac
 15 Τ[ΜΑΡΣῆ] ἡεκκλῆσια πε πῆτῆλος ετοῖ ἡεαῦ . [. .] . .
 16 . . . ἡ ἡΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΕΦΩΒΡΑΟΥῆΤ ΜῆΠῆ [. .]
 17 [ΤΜΑΡΩΑΝΤΕ ἡσαῦρῆ τε τ]σαῦρῆ ἡΠῆΝΑ . . . ἄρετοῦ ΜῆΠῆ . .
 18 vac vac
 19 Τῆαῦρῆτε ἡεκκλῆσια πε πῆαῖ ετῆροῦαῖνε ἡτοῦ[ΦΗ vac Π]
 20 ἡἡΟΥΩΡ ἡΠΦΑΡῆ ἡΡΩΜΕ ἡἡἡΟΥΤΕ ἡἡἡΑΓ[ΓΕ]
 21 ΛΟΣ ἡἡἡΡῆΜΑΪ ΕΤΣῆΑΝῆ ΖΑΤῆΦ vac vac
 22 Τῆαῦρῆτε ἡεκκλῆσια πε πῆαῖ ἡΠῆΝΑΣ ΜΦΩΣῆΤῆΡ ΜῆΡΟ
 23 ΟΥ vac ΠῆἡἡΟΥΩΡ ἡΠΠΡΕΣΒΕΥῆΤῆΣ ἡἡἡῆ ἡΡ . .
 24 . . [.] . [ἡ] ἡἡἡΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΟΥῆΣ ΖΑΤῆΦ vac vac
 25 Τῆαῦρῆτε ἡσαῦρῆ τε τσαῦρῆ ἡΦΕΓΓΟΚΑΤΟΧΟΣ . ῆ . . .
 26 εφῆμαῦτε ἡἡῆβνοῦε τ[ἡ]ροῦ ετῆπῆανῆτῆ φ . [.]
 27 ἡἡἡῆΟΥΤΕ ἄν τῆροῦ ἡἡἡΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΣῆΑΝῆ ΖΑΤῆΦ
 28 Τῆαῦρῆτε ἡεκκλῆσι[α] τῆτῆροῦ ἡΠῆΝΑΣ ἡῆΡΟ ΝΤΕ
 29 ΠΤΑΪΟ ΜῆΠῆΜΑῆΩΦΕ vac vac vac
 30 Τῆαῦρῆμοῦνε τῆτῆροῦ ἡΠῆΔΑΜΑΣ ἡΠΟΥΑῖΝΕ ἡἡῆ
 31 ἡἡἡΟΥΩΡ ΠΕΤῆῆΚ ἄρετῆ ἄΧῆΤΖΩῆῆ vac

Codex 432 (>); quire 27 (= 'IX'); Rolf Ibscher 'IX.128'; facsimile 292.

14 Perhaps "[this voice] and this preaching", cf. l. 7.

1 among your children, and we listen
 2 to your living wisdom (σοφία) and we live in it.
 3 Then (τότε) says the Apostle to Pabakos the catechumen (κατηχούμενος):
 4 The lesson that you uttered, you proclaimed it well (καλῶς). This lesson that you
 5 uttered, you proclaimed in its place of proclamation. Pabakos [was silent].
 6 He sat (down). Then (τότε) says the Apostle to his children:
 7 This voice and this preaching, the ones which you (pl.) are hearing from
 8 me, you (pl.) are not the only ones who hear them! Rather (ἀλλά),
 9 they listen to them in the midst of the great, strong churches (ἐκκλησία).
 10 The and the righteous (δίκαιος) who are in them know; but (ἀλλά)
 11 also, and the angels (ἄγγελος) who are intermingled, who are drawn near to me . . .
 12 on account of the righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) and the divinity. The
 13 [first] congregation is this church (ἐκκλησία) of the essence (οὐσία)
 14 and this preaching and this
 15 [The second] church (ἐκκλησία) is the Pillar (στύλος) of Glory
 16 . . . the angels (ἄγγελος), its (i.e. the Pillar of Glory's) companions and the
 17 [The third congregation is the] congregation of and the . . .
 18
 19 The fourth church (ἐκκλησία) is the ship which illuminates the [night, the]
 20 dwelling-place of the First Man and the gods and the angels (ἄγγελος)
 21 and the rich ones who are established with him.
 22 The fifth church (ἐκκλησία) is the ship of the great illuminator (φωστήρ) of the
 23 day, the dwelling place of the Ambassador (πρεσβευτής) and the
 24 and the angels (ἄγγελος) who dwell with him.
 25 The sixth congregation is the congregation of the Keeper of Splendour (φεγγοκάτοχος) . . .
 26 holding everything that is below; . . .
 27 and also all the gods and the angels (ἄγγελος) who are established with him.
 28 The seventh church (ἐκκλησία) is the one which is before the great King of
 29 Honor and his dwelling-place.
 30 The eighth is the one before the Adamas of Light and his
 31 dwelling-place, the one which is set firm upon the zone (ζώνη).

11 the angels that are intermingled: possibly, with the congregation during its ceremonies; for the broader belief in their presence, see Muehlberger 2013. 13 ff. Cf. 1Ke 23.31–25.6. 17–18 The identity of this third congregation is uncertain; in other accounts (e.g., 1Ke

20.14 ff.; 1Ke 36.34 ff.; 1Ke 46.28 ff.), there is no stage between the Pillar of Glory and the Moon ('Ship of the Night'). 20–21 angels and rich ones (ρῆμαῖ); cf. 1 Ke 24.4–20; 126.8–28.

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1 [TMA]ρῆς. . . [.] . . [.]]
 2 [. . .] . περὶ μαρτυρίας μῆναγγελοῦ ἐτο[γνη] ρατην[] vac
 3 [TMAρ]ῆτε τ. [.]
 4 ἠνοῦτε μῆναγγελοῦ ἐτςμ[α]ντ ρατ[η]ν[] [vac]
 5 εἰς τῆν τε σὲ ἡνάσ ἡσαγγελοῦ ἡχωρε ἡτεπῆντ ἡρρο π[σ].
 6 [. . .] . . . ε ἡλεμῆδε ἡνοῦτε ἐτογᾶβε vac Πρραγ ἐτογᾶβε
 7 [.] . ἡς . . . ἡρεπεμῆτ ἡ
 8 [.] . ᾶε ἀραφ ᾶετ[.] νετετῆ
 9 [.] ᾶε σε. ἐν . . . ἡοῦμασ ἡκρῖσις ἐς . [.] . ᾶε . [.]
 10 [. . .] . ᾶς ῥῆπρραγ ἐτετῆσωτῆε ἀραφ [.]
 11 [. . .] . [.] οῦ ἡσαγγελοῦ ρα [.]
 12 [. . .] φ . ᾶωτῆε ἀραφ ἡ ᾶ [.]
 13 [. . .] . [.] μῆοῦστῶτ ῥῆτεκκλησια . [. . .]
 14 [.] . . . [.] . ἡταρεπ [. . .] vac
 15 TMΔ
 16 [.]
 17 [.] . . . [.] .
 18 [.] . [.] .
 19 [Παλιν ἀν] . . . [. . .] [.]
 20 [.] ᾶφει ἀβαλ ἀρῶμε . . .
 21 [.] [.] ρῶμε ἡπῆνομοσ ἡ[τε] ἡῖοῦ
 22 [Δαίος . .] ᾶῖνε ἡμακ ἀ τε
 23 [.] . [.] . [.] . ᾶφῶπε ᾶἡ . . ε
 24 [.] . ἀραφ ἀ . . . ᾶπε vac Ταναστᾶσις δε
 25 ἐτασῶ . [. . .] . ᾶπε ἡ . . ᾶγε ἐταγῆραγαθον
 26 [.] . ἀ[η]ῆε ε . [. . .] . vac ἐπειδῆ ἐρεπνοῦ
 27 [τε] . [.] ἀλλα τᾶν[α]στᾶσις ἡταφ τε τετῆ
 28 [. . .] . μακ . . [.] . ἐτετῆσερο ἀρῆῆ ἡῖσῶμα σῶο
 29 οῦ ἐν οὔτε π ἐν vac τῶῖνε ἡμακ ρῶτ ἀπῖσεχε

Codex 433 (>); quire 28 (= 'VIII'); Rolf Ibscher 'VIII.127'; facsimile 321.

8 Perhaps ᾶετῶτ, “they tremble” (cf. l. 13). 14 One expects: “When Pabakos heard these words he was silent”, vel sim. (the scribe may have shortened the expected ending in error or haste?). 25 Perhaps ἐτασῶφ[πε], “(the resurrection) that has occurred”.

28–29 One might suppose ᾶωοον ἐν was repeated, with a negative in error (i.e. “Does it exist or not exist?”); but such a reading is uncertain and the emendation problematic.

1 The ninth (is the King of Glory)

2 . . . his dwelling-place and the angels (ἄγγελος) who [dwell with him].

3 The tenth (is the) . . . (Porter)

4 . . . the gods and the angels (ἄγγελος) who are established with him.

5 See, these ten great, mighty congregations of these ten kings . . .

6 the captains, the holy gods. The holy voice

7 while his ten

8 . . . (said ?) to him: They tremble (?). the ones who

9 in that they a great judgement (κρίσις), which

10 with this voice that you (pl.) listen to

11 congregations

12 listen to it

13 and a trembling in the church (ἐκκλησία)

14 When

15 344

16 (This Chapter)

17

18

19 [Once again (πάλιν)]

20 he went out. A person . . .

21 person of the law (νόμος) of the Jews (ἰου[δαίος] ?)

22 question you

23 they came about from . . .

24 to him . . . occurred. Now (δέ), the resurrection (ἀνάστασις)

25 that has occurred (?), (did it) occur for someone who has done good (ἀγαθόν)

26 for ever Because (ἐπειδή) God

27 But (ἀλλά) this resurrection (ἀνάστασις), conversely, is the one that (?)

28 that you (pl.) set up for the bodies (σώμα). Does it

29 exist or (οὔτε) (does it not exist ?)? I, myself, ask you about this lesson.

22 ff. It is unclear who poses the question to whom.

1 [.]. . . [.] . . ρῆπε . μ[.] . ριτ .
 2 [.] . [.] ἦμαν vac Πα.χεπελεγεθρος ἀραϑ
 3 [.] . [.] εϑσογταντ̄ vac Πα.χεπερῆνογαῖ
 4 νε ἀραϑ χεκηκ ἡρητ̄ σωτμε̄ χε ἡντωνε̄ ντε
 5 ἡαωπε ἡνισωμα vac επειδῆ ἡρωμε̄
 6 . . . [.] . . ἡμεγ̄ ογαρε̄ πεταουτωνε̄ ωω[πε]
 7 ἀλλα ο ωε . . π. ουτω[ν]ε̄ πε ἡταχιτῑ δ[β]
 8 [α]λ ριτῆ[ἦ]καρπος ἡκκαρ ἡνῆτβηαγε vac ει . [.] . .
 9 [.] . . ἀνῆ̄ ἡτεπνογτε̄ ρογρεπ̄ εϑ . [.] . [.]
 10 [.] . . εζ . . ογ . . . ἡαωινε̄ σαπ . [.] . [.]
 11 [.] . . ουτωκ̄ ἀρετῆ̄ ἡρητῆ̄ πετ . . ρ .
 12 [.] . ἡεχιπερε̄ ετςμαντ̄ νεμεγ̄ vac ἦ . [.] . [.]
 13 [.] τογν̄ . . ἡη̄ σεη̄ . . ιρε̄ . [.] . ἡ . [.] . . [.]
 14 [.] ἡ[ε]χῑ ἡογς̄ τογ . . ε̄ η̄ . [.] . . [.]
 15 [.] . . σω ε̄ [.] . . [.] [.]
 16 [.] . . ε . . γ . . [.] . . [.] . . [.] [.]
 17 ἀ[.] . . [.] [.] . . [.]
 18 . [.] . . [.] . ε̄ ἡκκαρ[πος . . [.] [.]
 19 σαγνε̄ ἡπ . [.] . . [.] [.]
 20 ρ . . ἡπε̄ εϑαω [.] [.] vac
 21 ἀλλα . [.] εκηκ̄ ἡρητ̄ ς̄ [.]
 22 ἡῆ ωωπε̄ πω [.]
 23 πη̄ . . κηκ̄ ἡρητ̄ † [.]
 24 πιτω̄ ἡνογτε̄ νε̄ . [.] . ε vac Πανρ [πηγῆ πογαῖνε̄]
 25 πμαγ̄ ἡητσετε̄ νετ[αγ]βασανιζε̄ ἡ[μ]αγ̄ [αγ]ωωπε̄[ι]
 26 σε vac αγτωνε̄ ρατβα[σανο]ς̄ ἡἡπῆ[καρ] . [.] . . [.] . . [.]
 27 τῆῶηρε̄ ἡππ[ογτ]ε̄ νετῆμε̄[γ] . [.] . [.] . . [.] . . [.]
 28 η̄ ἡπετμαγτ̄ νᾱ . [.] . νεγ̄ χε̄ ογ[.] . ε̄ . [.] γςω . [ογ]
 29 ἀρετω̄ ἡτετῆητ̄[α]χε̄ πετω̄ ἀρετῆ̄ ἡ

Codex 434 (^); quire 28 (= 'VIII'); Rolf Ibscher ('VIII.127'); facsimile 322.

13 Perhaps σεη̄χιπερ̄, "they will receive judgement"; but very uncertain. 29 (ογ)αρετω̄: -τ- ex -ρ- corr.

1

2 [or] not? Says this free man (ἐλεύθερος) to him:

3 as it is made straight. Says the Illuminator

4 to him: If you are willing, listen; for there is no raising of

5 will occur for these bodies (σώμα). Because (ἐπειδή) the people

6 therein a time, the one when a raising has occurred.

7 However (ἀλλά), is a raising they did receive

8 through [the] fruits of the earth and the beasts.

9 alive (?), and God makes a judgement, as he

10 will seek after

11 a steadfastness in it, the one that

12 and they receive the judgement that is prepared for them.

13 They will receive judgement (?).

14 and they receive a

15

16

17

18 the fruits (?).

19 know

20 as he will

21 However (ἀλλά), if you are willing.

22 occurs. This

23 you are willing, I (?).

24 These five gods—the air, [the wind, the light],

25 the water and the fire—the ones that [were] tormented (βασανίζειν) (and) received

26 suffering: They have risen from this torment (βάσανος) and this [pain];

27 the children of God. Those (who have risen from?)

28 the dead them, so that

29 themselves of the enmity; the one in which they are (set) firm (?).

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1 [ρῆ]τῷ νε[τῆ]μευ νετερε. . . [.]

2 [. . .] ἀραγ ἡμ̄νε αν̄ ἡταγ νετ̄α. [. ῥ̄]

3 [β]αλ̄ αβαλ̄ ἡτῆῆτ̄αᾱε ετ̄. . . α. [.]

4 [. . .] ἡῖ ἡσεων̄ε̄ ἡσετογβο ἡσε. . . . [.]

5 [. . .] ογ̄τε̄ σεναμογῆ αβαλ̄ ρ̄ῆπ̄σ̄ωμ̄α [.]

6 [.] . . . vac τ̄βα. . . τε. [.]

7 [.] . ἡπαρ̄. . . ετ̄ς̄. . . . [.] . . . χ̄.

8 [.] . π̄κοσμ̄ος vac α. . . ἡκ̄. . . ἡ. σ̄ω. . .

9 [.] σενακακογ̄ αρηγ̄ ἡῆς̄. ε̄ ρ̄ῆ

10 [.] ἡᾱ ετ̄νεῆ. . . κ̄. τ̄ω.

11 [.] ἡπ̄ρη̄ ἡῆπορ̄. [.]

12 [.] ἡᾱ ογ̄. [.] . [.]

13 [.] ααν̄. . . ε̄ ἡ. αρ̄.

14 [.] ἡαωωπε vac ε. . . πε̄ ἡῆ.

15 ε. [.] ρ̄ελ̄π̄ς̄ ἡῆπογ̄τε̄ ἀραγ̄ απ̄.

16 ἀπιμᾱ αβαλ̄ ἡῆρω̄με̄. . . [.]

17 [. . .] ρ̄ε[λπ]ις̄ ἡῆπ̄[ογ̄]τε̄ vac [. . .] [.]

18 [.] [. . .] . . . [. . . .]

19 [.] [. . .] [.]

20 [.] [. . .] ρ̄η̄.

21 [.] [. . .] ἀποστολ̄[ος̄. . .]

22 [.] . ἡ[.] οος̄.

23 [.] ἡε̄. ωῆρε.

24 π̄. vac τ̄σαγ̄νε̄. . ἡμαγ̄. . . ωαρεογ̄

25 ἡῆνογ̄με̄. . . ε̄ π̄κοσμ̄[ος̄. . .] . . ογα

26 vac τ̄[. . .] ἡεογ̄ε̄. ἡρη̄τ̄ῷ vac π̄ωαρ̄π̄ ἡ

27 [ἡ]ογ̄με̄ ετ̄[α]ωωπε̄ πε̄. . . εῖ αρη̄ῖ ἀπ̄ωαρ̄π̄ ἡ

28 ρ̄ωμε̄ αε̄ τ̄σαῆ ετ̄ναρ̄μ̄[εγ̄] ας̄ρ̄βαλ̄ αβαλ̄ ασεῑ α

Codex 435 (^); quire 28 (= 'VIII'); Rolf Ibscher ('VIII.126'); facsimile 319.

1 Those, the ones who

2 to them truly again; they are the ones who [made]

3 free from the enmity

4 . . . and they live and they are purified and they

5 . . . nor (οὐτε) will they remain in the body (σῶμα)

6

7

8 the world (κόσμος). They have

9 . . . they will strip off the (bodies ?)

10

11 . . . of the sun and the moon

12

13

14 . . . will occur

15 hope (ἐλπίς) of God to them

16 to this place from the people

17 hope (?) of God (?).

18

19

20

21 Apostle . . .

22 (spoke ?)

23 child(ren ?)

24 I know (?)

25 . . . [seven?] salvations this world (κόσμος)

26 in it. The first

27 salvation that occurred is the one that came down to the First

28 Man, that is, the power that saves [him]. It made (him) free; it came

26 ff. Here begins a list of seven salvations that have occurred in cosmic history; cf. 1Ke 60.13–63.18, where only five salvations are listed that do not exactly correspond to the ones here. 28 the

power that saves [him]; i.e. the Living Spirit; cf. 1Ke 60.19–26; 85.23–25; described as a power in 1Ke 271.30–272.23.

1 [down (?)] The
2 [second salvation] that occurred is the body (σῶμα) of the ones who
3 were purified from the . . .
4 The third salvation is
5 [the] time when he calms it; he bore it up
6 light. The fourth salvation [is]
7
8 their manner of . . . The fifth salvation (?) is this
9 in to the Pillar (στῦλος) of Glory. It is . . .
10 The sixth salvation is Jesus the savior (σωτήρ), . . .
11 therein
12 The seventh [salvation]
13 is the Apostle whom they call 'savior' (?), . . .
14 all the of the . . . , as they receive
15 the one who becomes for them savior . . .
16 the ones who will give him to affliction (θλίψις)
17 is an elect (?).
18
19
20 each one becomes savior
21 [345]
22 *This Chapter*
23
24 Once again (πάλιν): It happened one time while the Apostle . . .
25 with Shapur the king. (His ?) child(ren?) came [in]
26
27 in the heart forever (?). [They (?)] say (further ?): (The) entire world belongs to the person.
28 Why then has he not listened to the word of God?
29 Once again (πάλιν) he (i.e. Mani) thought. He says: All the catechumens (κατηχούμενος)
30 who are in the palace ([παλάτιον ?]): How many (?) will they ever be?

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 1 ἡπαρεφωφκ ἀροῦν ε . . . ἡρ . [.]
 2 παποστολος σεχε παχεφ αραφ vac Οὔῃ[.] . [.]
 3 [.]ἡφῃρε εῤχω ἡμας χε ετβεεῤ ἡπε . ἡῃ[.]
 4 [σῶ]τμε ἀπσεχε ἡπῃοῤτε vac ἡῃκατηχοῤμε[νος . . .]
 5 [. .] . ἡσοῤ εῤῃαροῤῃρ vac Τοτε παχεεῤρο [.]
 6 [. . .] ς [. . .] . . . ε vac ἡετῃμεῤ [.]
 7 [. . .] . . . ἀχρια φοφ ἡεῤ vac ἡε [.]
 8 [. . .] . . . ταφεαῖω ἡτεῤρῃῃ ἡσεχοος . . . [.]
 9 [.] ἂβαλ ριπχιε σεναῤρο ἡεῃῃ [.]
 10 [.] ἡικεκαγε [.] ῤῃῃ [.]
 11 [πα]λ[α]τιον ἡεετ [. . .] . ῤῃαφ . . . [.]
 12 [.] . ἡῤ [.] . ῤῃ vac [.]
 13 [.] [. . .] . . [.] ἡκα . . ῤ ἡοῤ [.]
 14 [.] . [. . .] . . [.] ἡτε . ἡ [.]
 15 [.] [. . .] . . ῤ vac εῤτῃταντ ἀπ [.]
 16 [.] . . . ἀρ ἡεετ . . . οῤβοῤλ . . . [. . .]
 17 [. . .] ε ἡῃ [. . .] ῤῃ . ε [. . .]
 18 . . [.] [. . .] . . .
 19 [.] ἡῃχαγε [. . .]
 20 [.] .
 21 [.] . [. . .] . ς ἡοῤεῤνοῤε vac vac . . . εταῃ
 22 . . [.] . ἡῃ ἀραφ ἡῃχαγε . . . ἡατο
 23 . . [.] vac Παχε [. .] οῤ ἀραφ
 24 . . [.] . . . εῤ ἀχ . . . τε ἀριτε ἀβαλ ἡτερε ἡοῤβα
 25 ἡμαφ εῃ ε ἡτετκ . . εκιε ἡς
 26 . . β ῃκ . . [. .] . . ῃ δε ναφφπε ἡμαγ χε
 27 ἡπῃοῤ . . . ἡτῃῃ . . [.] ἡεεσε ἡ . . ῤ εταχιτοῤ ἀ
 28 . . ς [.] . ρ ἀῤταφεαῖω ετβῃτοῤ
 29 ἀζαραδῃς . [.] ῤ . . . [.] . ἡπετῃαῤῃ εταῤμοῤ

Codex 437 (>); quire 28 (= 'VIII'); Rolf Ibscher 'VIII.125'; facsimile 317.

4 ἡπῃοῤτε: -π- is very uncertain; ἡῃκατηχοῤμε[νος: initial ἡ- is difficult (looks more like π-) but the plural is expected. 29 Possibly τε[ο]ῤοεεχε, "(Zarades has) uttered (a) word".

1 When he went in

2 the Apostle spoke. Says he (i.e. Mani) to him (i.e. the king): There are

3 children, saying: Why (has he not?)

4 listened to the word of God? Our catechumens (κατηχούμενος) . . .

5 will become how many? Then (τότε) says the king (to the

6 (Apostle?) Those

7 need (χρεία) exists . . . for them.

8 . . . preach the peace, and they say

9 in the heights. They will reign with me

10 these other ones be the

11 palace (παλάτιον), and they I will

12

13

14

15 they resemble

16

17

18

19 souls (ψυχή)

20 error (πλάνη), as they

21 their deeds.

22 to him, the souls (ψυχή) (will become?) these multitudes

23 Says . . . to them:

24 they have faded away like a

25 of his that which he, and it

26 But (δέ) . . . will happen to them, for

27 they did not . . the truth awaken . . . who can receive

28 they have preached about them.

29 Zarades has (uttered a word?) . . . of the dead who have died

1 [.]. ἄρμε ἀβλ. . . τὰ. . . . ἀσε vac. [.]
 2 [.] ἡ χε νετσανῆ σεμηρ εταπογαστη οὔ[.]
 3 [.] vac Πάλιν ἀν ἀίησ πμακαριος χοος ετβ[η]
 4 [του χε] ηεί ετασνογωνπῖωτ ζῆνογσωβε ε. [.]
 5 [.]. vac Πάλιν ἀν ἀφτῆτωνογ ἀτ[ε] [ἡ]
 6 [παρθενο]ς ἡσεση εανογλαμπας χνε ἡτο ζ[ωε]
 7 [.] εἰ ἀροῦν ἀπμαῖωελεετ ἡἡπσωτηρ
 8 [.]. ὠτ[ε] ἡπρο ἀ. . . . ἡ vac †χ[ω] ἡμα[ς]
 9 [.]. . . ηεί ετσαχβε. . ἡμαχ χεβωκ ἀπ
 10 [μαῖωε]εετ ἡωαανηζε ετ[ε]βταῖτ ἡπῆ. . β. .
 11 [.]. . . λος vac vac Πάλιν ἀν παχεφ χε σε
 12 [ναβωκ ἀβ]ἀλ ἀτ[κ]ολασις ὠ[α]ἀνηζε vac ἡδικ[α]ιος
 13 [.] πφνηῆ φαανη[ε]ε [. . .] ἀν. . [. . .] χ.
 14 [.]. εφ[α]ίειτ vac Πάλ[ι]ν ἀν [. . .] λα.
 15 [.] ππῆριος ετ[τ]. vac. [. . .] σογ[. . .]. . .
 16 [.] ἡ ἀτ[ε]σετ[ε] vac ἡζι. ἡ. [.].
 17 ἡἡνογρορε ἡρε. vac ἀγ. . . [. . .]
 18 [.] τῆἡτ. π. . . [. . .] ἡτ
 19 [.]. . . ἀτ[ε]. [.]
 20 [.]. ε πῆογ ἡ. [. . .] . . [.]
 21 [.] ὠνηῆ ἡζητῆ χε. [.]. ε. . . [.]
 22 . . [. . .]. ἡπῶνη τῆἡτῆ. . [.]. ἡ. . [.].
 23 χι. φωστηρ ἡἡ. . . [.]. . τ. [.]. κ.
 24 με. . [. . .]. ἀις ἡτηἡτ. . [. . .]. οὔ. . [.].
 25 ἡποῦ†ἡταν ἡταγ. . . [. . .]. ἀλλα. . . [.] ἡ
 26 †ζε ἀγ[ε]ρμε ζῆπῆ. [. . .] ἀγ[ε]ρταγρε ἡἡ[αποστο]
 27 λος ἡἡδικαιος ἀγ[ε]. . . . ἡ ἡπρ. . . . ἀγ ἡτ[ε]
 28 τδικαιοςῆ vac ετβ[ε]. σενα. [. . .]
 29 ἡζαν vac τεταἡαποστ[ολος τ]ῆρογ. . . . ἡζητ[ε]. . [. . .]
 30 ἡσωτῆ [. . .] ταγ[ε]νογ[ω]ν. ε vac Π

Codex 438 (^); quire 28 (= 'VIII'); Rolf Ibscher ('VIII.125'); facsimile 318.

8 The new sentence starting at the end of the line is very faint but unreadable. 18 Possibly τῆἡτ[ε]σε, 'foolishness'; but very and may have been erased. 16 Presumably 'weeds' (ΖΙΖΑΝΙΟΝ); uncertain.

1 lead astray

2 in that the ones that are fettered, they are bound when (?) the breadth has . . .

3 Once again (πάλιν), Jesus the blessed (μακάριος) spoke about

4 [them, that] these who may know the Father deficiently . . .

5 Once again (πάλιν), he compared them to five

6 foolish virgins (παρθένος) whose lamps (λαμπάς) had gone out. "You (fem.) [yourself (?)],

7 come in to the bridechamber with the Savior (σωτήρ)

8 close the door (against them?). I say

9 these who are (not?) deficient, so that you (fem.) go to [the]

10 eternal [bridechamber] which is made ready

11 " Once again (πάλιν) he says: "They

12 [will go] to everlasting punishment (κόλασις). [But] the righteous (δίκαιος)

13 (into) eternal life."

14 who is condemned. Once again (πάλιν)

15 the tower (πύργος) that is

16 go to the fire. The weeds (ζι[ζάνιον]?)

17 and the dogs

18 the-ness

19

20 The death

21 live in it, so that

22 the life. The-ness

23 illuminator (φωστήρ)

24 the-ness

25 they did not give rest However (ἀλλά),

26 the way they strayed in the They crucified (σταυρώω) the [apostles]

27 and the righteous (δίκαιος). They of

28 the righteousness (δικαιοσύνη). On account of they will

29 the final, the one in which all the apostles (ἀποστόλος)

30 the chosen who knew (the Father?)

5ff. Cf. Mt. 25:1ff.; Ev. Thom. log. 75. 8 or: '(lest) they close the door (against you)'. 12-13 Cf. Mt. 25:46 16 Cf. Mt. 13:40. 26-27 Cf. Mt. 5:12; Mk. 12:5; Lk. 6:23, 11:47-50, 13:34.

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1 [. .]
 2 . . [. .] . . [. .] . . ΦΩΦ ΑΒΑΛ . ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΣ Ἡ ἩΝ
 3 [. . . .] ρα . . vac Ἡ
 4 ΤΗΣ
 5 [ε]ρεπικεφαλ(α)ιον χω Ἡμας χε ε
 6 [τ]βесаπωρης π̄ρο ρ̄ν . . . ρ
 7 [.] ο̄ νερεπ . . . [. .]
 8 [Παλιν αν] αςωωπε Ἡ[ΟΥς]Ἡγ απ̄ρο ει α[. . .] . . [. . . .] κτη
 9 [σιφωη] τπολις αςωωμεπ . . [.] . . [. . . .] .
 10 [. . . .] . εφνα αρογν η̄[.] . . . [.] . .
 11 [. . . .] π̄ρο δε η [.] . .
 12 . [. . ρ] μαστ ρ̄νη λαος . [.] . .
 13 [. . . .] . εγο κ . . . αρ . . . ε Ἡτε . [.] . .
 14 [. . . .] . νεμερ ρ̄ητσοφια αφ
 15 . [. . . .] Ἡμαν ερε πετταχραϊτ
 16 . [. . . .] . . . [. .] . ερ . . . ετε Ἡ [.]
 17 [. . . .] . εκ . γ φ vac ε ε . . . φ . . .
 18 [. . . .] . ει Ἡ χε π ςτ . αρ
 19 [. . . .] . [. . . .] π̄ρο . ρ̄ν ταληλ
 20 [.] . [.] τδ οη ετραλ . . .
 21 [.] ς ηγ Ἡνη[.] . . . ε
 22 [.] τς Ἡογατο Ἡο . . . Ἡ
 23 [.] . τ μεριςτανος Ἡ . . . π̄ρο
 24 [.] τ̄η . ελαμ εια ωτ ρι
 25 [.] ῥ̄ . . . κε βι αρηῖ Ἡμηνη
 26 [.] . . . Ἡ τηρ̄ ἩἩτηγ ετσαγρ ἩἩτη
 27 [.] Ἡογ̄νηρωγ ἩἩπεφ Ἡ
 28 [.] ἩἩτσεβε ωαγπωτ ωαραφ
 29 [.] αλλα πμογ ἩἩτρετβε
 30 [.] [. . . .] . ἩἩογναβε Ἡσετ̄

Codex 439 (^); quire 28 (= 'VIII'); Rolf Ibscher ('VIII.124'); facsimile 315.

6 Possibly ρ̄ητχφρα, "in the land (of) ...". 7-10 There appears to be some papyrus from the previous page (?) still affixed at the end of the line; letters such as γφ (between ll. 8-9) and φνη̄ (ll. 9-10) must be ignored. 8 απ̄ρο ει α[, "the king came ..."; but

very uncertain. 12 Perhaps "he sat in the midst (ρ̄ητημητε) of the people". 20 Perhaps ετραλλ̄, "which is sweet". 26-27 E.g. τρ̄η[με, 'heat' or 'fever'.

1
2 danger (κίνδυνος)
3
4 346
5 *This Chapter says that*
6 *about Shapur the King in (the Land of?)*
7
8 [Once again (πάλιν)]: It happened one time, the king came
9 [Ctesiphon] the city (πόλις). He heard the
10 as he goes in and he
11 But (δέ) the king
12 sitting in the (midst?) of the people (λαός)
13
14 with him in wisdom (σοφία), he
15 or yes? The one that is strengthened
16
17
18
19 the king rejoiced
20 which is sweet (?)
21 with the
22 a multitude of and
23 grandees (μεγιστάνος) the king
24 hasten (?)
25 bears up daily
26 all the and the winds that are gathered and the heat (?)
27 rain and frost
28 (in) foolishness they run to him
29 But (ἀλλά) the death and murder
30 and a sin; and they do not

1
2
3 . . . holy (ἅγιος)
4
5
6 and the ambrosia (ἀμβροσία)
7
8
9 to him.
10 of the fathers to him; and they receive . . .
11 God at their end . . .
12 Once again (πάλιν), . . .
13
14
15 daily.
16 . . . from wicked people
17 the saws . . .
18 enemy
19 in the wisdom (σοφία)
20
21
22 His other apostle (ἀποστόλος)
23 persecute (διώκειν) the people
24 condemn them by the law (νόμος)
25 they will (?).
26 foolishness. This one also, who the
27 them by his protection. They will
28 forever. The other ones
29 But (δέ) they come in to
30 They themselves will
31 the fire and the error
32 apostle (ἀποστόλος) of this

24 condemn them by: cf. CD591b ףװױט א.א.נ-

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1 [. ω] κ̄ ἡ̄ρητ̄ ε̄ωτκ̄ ἡ̄τνᾱωτε̄ ᾱτδικᾱιο̄ς̄νη̄ ς̄
 2 [. . .] π̄μᾱἡ̄τ̄ρη̄π̄ ἡ̄π̄νο̄γ̄τε̄ χ̄ε̄ εκ̄ανο̄γ̄με̄ ᾱβαλ̄ ἡ̄τ̄βα
 3 [σαν]ο̄ς̄ ἡ̄τ̄ολῑφ̄ις̄ ε̄τ̄ᾱω̄ρο̄π̄ ρ̄ῑθη̄ ἡ̄τ̄γ̄χᾱγ̄ε̄
 4 τ̄μ̄ζ̄
 5 ε̄ρε̄π̄ικ̄ε̄φᾱλᾱῑον̄ ς̄ε̄χ̄ε̄ ε̄τ̄βε̄πᾱπο̄στο̄λο̄ς̄
 6 ε̄τ̄ε̄ρ̄νο̄γ̄πο̄λις̄ ρ̄η̄ο̄γ̄η̄βε̄ χ̄ῑτο̄γ̄
 7 [Παλιν] ᾱη̄ ᾱς̄ω̄ω̄π̄ε̄ ε̄ρε̄πᾱπο̄στο̄λο̄ς̄ πᾱρᾱ[γε̄ ρ̄]ἡ̄ο̄γ̄πο̄λις̄ . .
 8 [. . .] ἡ̄ς̄ω̄κ̄ ᾱἡ̄ν̄
 9 [. . .] . χ̄ῑ ἡ̄π̄ρ̄ρο̄ ᾱνε̄γ̄ ᾱπ̄ω̄ᾱῑε̄ ἡ̄
 10 [. . .] ἡ̄π̄ρ̄ρο̄ σᾱπ̄ω̄ρη̄ς̄ vac ἡ̄τ̄ᾱρο̄γ̄
 11 [. . . .] μᾱθη̄της̄ ἡ̄πᾱπο̄στο̄λο̄ς̄
 12 [. . . . π̄]ῤ̄ρη̄ν̄ vac Πᾱχ̄ε̄π̄ρ̄ἡ̄νο̄γ̄[ᾱῑνε̄ . .]
 13 [. . . .] . λ̄ ε̄ ρ̄ἡ̄[. .]
 14 [. . .] . τ̄
 15 [. . .] . ἡ̄το̄γ̄ πᾱχ̄ε̄π̄ρ̄ἡ̄νο̄γ̄ᾱῑνε̄ ἡ̄
 16 [. . .] γ̄ ρ̄ω̄ς̄ ἡ̄ο̄γ̄τε̄ vac Πᾱχ̄ε̄π̄ρ̄ἡ̄νο̄γ̄ᾱῑνε̄ . .
 17 [. . .] ᾱγ̄ ε̄ρ̄ἡ̄χ̄ω̄ρε̄ νε̄ ρ̄ἡ̄το̄γ̄ . .
 18 . [. .] ρ̄ἡ̄νε̄γ̄ς̄ω̄μᾱ σ̄ῑρᾱγ̄ σ̄ῑρο̄
 19 . [. .]
 20 ς̄ω̄μᾱ χ̄ε̄ νε̄ε̄γ̄ ρ̄ἡ̄χ̄ω̄ρε̄
 21 κ̄λᾱδος̄ ἡ̄με̄γ̄ ρ̄ῑε̄ο̄γ̄
 22 [. . .] . ο̄γ̄ᾱμ̄ῃ̄ μᾱρε̄π̄ῃ̄νο̄γ̄
 23 [. . .] . ρ̄ε̄λη̄ς̄ ᾱτ̄ς̄ε̄τε̄ ἡ̄τ̄ω̄τ̄η̄
 24 [. .] . ἡ̄ ᾱκα
 25 [. .] . ᾱβαλ̄ νᾱρ̄ρ̄ἡ̄ρ̄ω̄μη̄ε̄
 26 κ̄ᾱρ̄ . . . [. .] . ἡ̄ῑω̄η̄ν̄ ε̄τ̄ς̄ᾱβ̄κ̄ ε̄γᾱ
 27 [. .] . ε̄ ε̄γ̄τ̄νᾱγ̄ο̄π̄ω̄ρᾱ ᾱ
 28 [. .] . ἡ̄μ̄ἡ̄β̄ω̄ ἡ̄ε̄λᾱλε̄ ε̄ῑ ᾱ
 29 [. .] ἡ̄π̄η̄ρ̄π̄ ἡ̄ς̄τ̄νο̄γ̄τε̄
 30 [.] . . . [. . με̄γ̄] ἡ̄ς̄τ̄ᾱνο̄ς̄ vac ἡ̄τ̄ω̄τ̄ἡ̄

Codex 441 (>); quire 28 (= 'VIII'); Rolf Ibscher 'VIII.123'; facsimile 313.

7 πᾱρᾱ[γε̄, 'pass (through)': Very uncertain. 21–22 Perhaps God ...". 27–28 Presumably ε̄γ̄τ̄νᾱγ̄ο̄π̄ω̄ρᾱ ᾱ|βᾱλ̄, "as they send forth fruit". 22–23 Perhaps μᾱρε̄π̄ῃ̄νο̄γ̄[τε̄, "Let his

1 (your?) heart's desire (?) attaches you to the protection. The righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) 441
 2 . . . the place of judgement of God, so that you will be saved from the
 3 [torment (βάσανος)] and the affliction (θλίψις) that can occur before the souls (ψυχή).
 4
 5 *347*
 6 *This Chapter speaks about the Apostle,*
 7 *who is in a City (πόλις). Some Priests receive their*
 8 [Once] again (πάλιν) it happened, while the Apostle is passing through (παράγειν) a city (πόλις) . . .
 9 you, I have
 10 receive the king to watch the festival of
 11 . . . of king Shapur. When they
 12 disciple (μαθητής) of the Apostle, (N.N.)
 13 (was) his name. Says the Illuminator:
 14
 15 them. Says the Illuminator:
 16 as God. Says the Illuminator: . . .
 17 because they are strong in their . . .
 18 in their bodies (σῶμα). They resemble . . .
 19
 20 bodies (σῶμα), for they are great in strength
 21 branches (κλάδος ?) therein and color (?)
 22 eat it. Let his God (?)
 23 guard (?) the fire. You (pl.)
 24
 25 out in front of the people
 26 earth these trees that are diminished, they can
 27 (blossom?) as they send fruit (ὀπώρα)
 28 (forth) and these vines come
 29 (out?) of fragrant wine
 30 grandees (μεγιστάνος). You (pl.)

9 festival: given the springtime imagery in 26–29, probably Nowruz; cf. the description of the festival in the epic *Vis u Ramin*

(Morrison 1972, 19–21), which probably preserves elements dating back to Parthian times.

ἡ κεφαλαιὸν ἡ τσοφια

442 1 ζῶττηνε ναωρηε <...> ζῆνηρβηγε ετανιτ μετε . [.]
 2 . . . ἡμαγ τετῆχο ἡνικαρπος ετρωεγ ετε ἡταγ [νε]
 3 τσοφια ἡπῶληλ τπαρθενια ἡπτογβο ἀλ[λα.]
 4 . . . ἀν τετηματηετηνε ζῆπμαῖογωρ ἡη[. . .]
 5 . . . λ εττρο[γ]αῖνε ἀχῆνετῆρβηογε ετανιτ ζῆ[τμη]
 6 τῆρο ἡνετανῆ φαανηρε ἡνανηρε ζαμην vac vac
 7 VAC VAC
 8 VAC VAC
 9 VAC VAC
 10 VAC VAC
 11 VAC VAC
 12 VAC VAC
 13 VAC VAC
 14
 15
 16 *The sequence of individual chapters ends here.*
 17
 18 *There follows a version of the literary cycle*
 19 *devoted to the 'Last Days' of the Apostle.*
 20
 21
 22
 23
 24
 25
 26
 27
 28
 29
 30

Codex 442 (^); quire 28 (= 'VIII'); Rolf Ibscher '(VIII.123)'; facsimile 314.

1 A verb has been omitted, e.g. "(be strong) ..." or "(remain) in good deeds". 3 Otherwise τσοφια, "my wisdom"; vel sim. 3-4 E.g. ἀλ[λα ἡ]θαη, "but, [at] the end, ...".

The Chapters of the Wisdom

1 yourselves, my children, (are) ⟨. . .⟩ in good deeds, the ones that . . .
2 them. You give birth to these useful fruits (καρπός), which [are]
3 wisdom (σοφία) and prayer, virginity (παρθενεία) and purity. However (ἀλλά), [at]
4 the end (?) you (pl.) will rest yourselves in the dwelling-place of the . . .
5 . . ., which cast light upon your good deeds; in [the]
6 kingdom of those who live forever and ever, amen.

442

(seven lines left blank)

The sequence of individual chapters ends here.

*There follows a version of the literary cycle
devoted to the 'Last Days' of the Apostle.*

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