Pentadic Redaction in the Manichaean Ἐπτάδιον
Pentadic Redaction in the Manichaean *Kephalaia*

by

Timothy Pettipiece
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## ABBREVIATIONS

### Medinet Madi Codices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>1 Ke</td>
<td>Kephalaia vol. 1: “Kephalaia of the Teacher” (Polotsky/Böhlig/Funk)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Ke</td>
<td>Kephalaia vol. 2: “Kephalaia of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani” (unpublished; for overview see Funk, “Reconstruction”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ps</td>
<td>Psalm-Book part 1 (unpublished)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Ps</td>
<td>Psalm-Book part 2 (Allberry/Richter/Wurst)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hom</td>
<td>Homilies (Polotsky)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ep</td>
<td>Epistles (unpublished)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acts</td>
<td>Acts (unpublished)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Syn</td>
<td>Synaxeis (unpublished)</td>
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PART I

PENTADIC REDACTION IN
THE MANICHAEAEN KE PHALALIA
INTRODUCTION

Number and Religion in Antiquity

The role played by numbers in religion is largely unexplored territory. This is due, in part, to the fact that such patterns, if they exist, tend to become so embedded into the collective consciousness of the community that rarely is any exegetical effort expended reflecting on their origins or implications. Jews and Christians, for example, do not tend to inquire as to why there are ten commandments and not twelve, why there are twelve tribes of Israel and not twenty, or why Jesus, when he wanted to feed a crowd of his hearers, used only five loaves and two fish. Similarly, Muslims might not be inclined to question why five daily prayers are required, instead of six, or why the Qurʾān contains 114 surahs instead of 141. After all, does it really matter that Buddha only came up with four noble truths, instead of eight? In many instances, the presence of such numbers may be considered of little consequence, although in other cases they could carry a great deal of theological weight. For instance, few contemporary Christians may wonder why they are taught to conceive of God as a trinity and not a quaternity, or for that matter, a pentad. Such formulations are typically taken as “givens” that have come to form an integral part of a particular tradition’s symbolic language. But this does not mean that explanations do not sometimes exist and cannot, therefore, be sought. Numerical aspects of religion just simply are not seen as generating sufficient interest to require sustained attention. Besides, it is not as though “mainstream” religious discourses are brimming over with numerological speculations. The average reader of a standard scriptural text, be it the Tanakh, the New Testament, or the Qurʾān, is not going to be struck by an over-abundance of numerical formulations. Thus, it is not surprising that such a phenomenon goes relatively unnoticed.

The apparent lack of interest among the faithful today does not mean that the use of numbers as part of religious and theological discourse was never a matter of concern or debate. For instance, the use
of numbers in theological and exegetical contexts became particularly controversial for the early church during the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE. Irenaeus, in particular, criticized the practice of *gematria*, that is, calculations based on the numerical value of Greek or Hebrew letters, by his Valentinian opponents as arbitrary and without scriptural foundation. The bishop of Lyons also criticized what he perceived to be the arbitrary selection of biblical numbers in order to fit a particular theological system due to the fact that the scriptures contain such a wide variety of numbers and numerical patterns (*Adversus haereses*, 2.24.3), especially involving *three*, *seven*, *twelve*, and *forty*. Irenaeus cited, for instance, Valentinian exegesis of the thirty years before Jesus’ ministry as a representation of the thirty ethereal aeons of the Pleroma (*Adversus haereses*, 1.1.3), while the passion of the twelfth aeon was considered to be an allusion to the betrayal of Christ by Judas (*Adversus haereses*, 1.3.3).

It would seem, however, that, in spite of the decidedly negative reactions of some, there was a certain ambivalence about the meaning and significance of numbers in the early Christian tradition. It is clear from the amount of attention given to the question by Irenaeus that the mixture of mathematics and numerical speculation with theology was viewed by church authorities as a significant problem. Yet while heresiological writers sought to discourage the construction of elaborate theological systems using numeric series or patterns, other more philosophically inclined authors such as Clement of Alexandria and Augustine reflected gladly on the harmony and perfection that they perceived in biblical numbers.

As we can see, while numbers may not figure prominently in “mainstream” (that is, orthodox) religious discourse, faith traditions that are typically seen as existing on the fringes of orthodoxy are far more likely to make creative, even audacious, use of numbers in their efforts to communicate and interpret sacred messages. While the early fathers of the church polemically engaged their Gnostic adversaries over this issue, a similar dynamic would be played out in Rabbinic Judaism and Islam, in their reactions to Kabbalistic and Ismaeli modes of discourse, which also displayed an equally profound interest in numbers and numeric patterns. Added to this group must be the great underdogs of religious history—the people whom we have come to label as *Manicheans*. 
The followers of the 3rd-century CE Babylonian prophet known as “Mani the Living” (from the Syriac epithet Mana hiyya) inherited a vivid story from their highly imaginative master. What is remarkable for the purposes of this study is the prominent role played by numbers and numeric patterns within the basic frame of that story. In brief, Mani proclaimed that before the creation of the cosmos, two opposing powers existed in relative equilibrium. In the heavens dwelt the Father of Greatness, lord of the eternally blessed realm of light, tranquility, and peace, while far below in the depths a fierce and sinister King of Darkness brooded in his chaos. This balance was upset when the King of Darkness caught a glimpse of the light-realm and sent out an invasion force of his demonic powers. In response, the Father sent his only son, known as First Man, into battle along with five elemental powers as his armour. Tragically, the First Man was defeated and his armour devoured by the powers of darkness. Fortunately, a rescue operation was mounted when the Father called forth his consort, the Living Spirit, who in addition to retrieving First Man, commissioned Five Sons to build the universe out of the slain bodies of the dark powers. In this way, a vast and intricate machinery was put into place to purify the light substance that had been imprisoned in the darkness during the First Man’s initial fall. The Father then sent a third envoy, the Messenger, along with twelve virgins (although other accounts describe only a single virgin), to finish the counter attack and set the cosmic machinery in motion. Unfortunately, a final counter stroke was accomplished by a pair of demons, Ašaqūn and Nāmraēl, who fashioned the first human couple, Adam and Eve, on the basis of the Third Messenger’s image, thus condemning human beings to a legacy of ignorance and death. In his wisdom, however, the Father commissioned Jesus, in celestial form, to plant the seed of gnosis in Adam and his kin. Thus begins the Manichaean version of primordial history.

This summary, based on the 9th-century Syriac account of Theodore bar Khonai, illuminates the general contours of the Manichaean creation myth, as Mani himself is likely to have conceived it. What is interesting to note are the basic numerical structures underpinning such a colourful tale. This means that the general Manichaean infatuation with numbers must have its origins in Mani’s own predilection for such expressions. As can be imagined, this imaginative use of numerically coloured mythology was met with scorn and ridicule.
by the movement’s critics, especially mainstream Christians and Muslims, who thought such mythological language violated the basic rules of philosophical dialectic. Yet, in spite of the best efforts of religious leaders and sometimes governments throughout the centuries to stamp them out, the Manichaeans continue to re-emerge from extinction in some most unexpected places.

**Out of Obscurity**

While European scholars and church historians long knew of the Manichaean “heresy” from anti-heretical writings and Augustine’s notorious association with them, a number of things happened in the 19th and 20th centuries to bring them back to light. First, European scholars and orientalists began to notice Manichaeans cropping up in various medieval Muslim authors, such as al-Nadim and al-Biruni, which provided important evidence as to persistent Manichaean presence in the medieval Muslim world.1 Next, at the turn of the 20th century, European expeditions uncovered masses of textual fragments and scrolls left behind by Manichaeans at various locales in Central Asia. Most famously, the texts from Turfan (in western China) contain a huge number of mutilated Manichaean texts in a wide variety of obscure Iranian and Turkish dialects. Shortly after, yet another sensational find occurred in 1929 with the discovery of a collection of Coptic codices in Egypt, near the town of Medinet Madi, containing still more original Manichaean writings—writings much earlier than the fragments recovered from Turfan.

One of the things that enabled the identification of these texts as Manichaean was the fact that Carl Schmidt, the scholar who first inspected the codices, had just been reading the proofs of a colleague’s edition of Epiphanius’ *Panarion*, and was struck by the name of one of the codices—*Kephalaia*—which reminded him of a text described in the heresiologist’s exposé of the Manichaeans.2 This discovery inaugurated what appeared to be a new and promising era in Manichaean studies. After some initial progress, however, war broke out in Europe and publication stalled for several decades. This has meant that most of this

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material remained largely unexplored by scholars of Late Antiquity—which brings us to the current study.

The text that jogged the memory of Carl Schmidt is, now that substantial portions of it have been published, striking for another reason, namely, the extensive (some might say obsessive) use of numbers and numeric patterns as a means of expressing Manichaean theological discourse. What is more remarkable is the degree to which the number five plays a predominant role in the vast majority of these expressions. This phenomenon, most prominent in the first half of volume one, has gone unexplored and unexplained. In large part, this is due to the fact that the Kephalaia presents itself as a record of Mani’s discourses to his inner circle. Few have questioned the legitimacy of this presentation and this has led to the erroneous assumption that the prevalence of numbers in the text can easily be attributed to Mani’s direct influence. This study aims to correct this error by demonstrating that the use of numeric patterns in the Kephalaia far outstrips what is known or can reasonably be assumed about Mani’s own mode of expression. We shall see that the use of pentads and five-part numeric patterns in the Kephalaia reveals important traces of how Manichaean traditions were transmitted, received, and redacted in response to a variety of internal and external concerns of the text’s creators and their community.

The Kephalaia and Its Compilers

In spite of the fact that substantial portions of the Kephalaia have been edited and published for over half a century, its form and function have remained generally misunderstood. Since these initial publica-

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3 While Michel Tardieu pointed out the importance of five as a basic classification tool in Manichaism (Le manichéisme, 107), few have followed his lead. A superficial index of five-part series from Manichaean sources was given by Ström (“Le chiffre cinq,” 333–338), in comparison with other traditions, while in the same volume Couliano suggested that all pentads were based on the demonization of the planets (“The Counterfeit Spirit,” 53–58). See also, Lévy (“A propos de la pentade et du dualisme manichéens,” 493–500).

4 The Manichaean Kephalaia exist in two Coptic codices discovered near the Egyptian town of Medinet Madi in 1929. The first codex (Berlin codex P. 15 996 or Berlin Kephalaia codex) is entitled “The Kephalaia of the Teacher” (abbreviated 1 Ke), while the second codex (Codex C or Dublin Kephalaia codex) is entitled “The Kephalaia of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani” (2 Ke). For a recent account of the discovery of these manuscripts see Robinson, “The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi:
introduction
tions, even some of the most influential scholars have succumbed to the temptation to regard the Kephalaia either as a record of Mani’s actual discourses and teachings or as a systematic (albeit secondary) presentation of the “main points” of Manichaean theology. In reality, however, the work is neither. It should not be seen as a record of the ipsissima verba of Mani himself, nor should it be viewed as a summa of Manichaean theology. Instead, it can be more accurately described as representing the emergence or evolution of a scholastic, interpretive tradition, ostensibly rooted in an authoritative oral tradition analogous to those which led to the compilation of the Jewish Talmudic and Islamic Hadith traditions.

While the Kephalaia (literally the “Chapter-book”) may present itself as a record of Manichaean oral tradition based on Mani’s discourses
to his inner circle,\(^\text{10}\) it is essentially the product of later theological developments and elaborations that seek to respond to a wide array of specific questions, many of which appear to be rooted in ambiguities found in the canon. Typically (although not always), a chapter opens with Mani being questioned by one of his disciples about a specific point of doctrine or interpretation. This means that one of the primary aims sought by the compilers of this massive work was clarity. While Mani is famous for having recorded his teaching in a series of self-consciously canonical writings intended to definitively replace all previous revelations, the questions that are asked by the disciples give the distinct impression that Mani left many “loose ends” that needed to be resolved.\(^\text{11}\) Thus, the *Kephalaia* appears to be a deliberate attempt to deal with some of these issues within an artificially constructed context of Mani’s “apostolic authority.”\(^\text{12}\) since at the close of the *Kephalaia*’s “prologue” Mani is depicted as extolling his disciples to record the wisdom he imparted to them (1 Ke 9.5–6)—a strange command from someone who was supposed to have provided a definitive and unambiguous record of his revelation. In other words, if Mani had indeed clearly and definitively explained all the subtleties of his vision, then there should have been no need to create such an extensive corpus of secondary literature that seeks to address such a wide array of problems. We might even say that the *Kephalaia* constitutes a sort of *addenda et corrigenda* for Manichaean canonical tradition.

Still, in a more formal way, there are aspects of the *Kephalaia* that allow for its comparison with at least two genres of ancient literature. First, the fact that it exists as a collection of “chapters” (literally, Greek: κεφάλαια) on a variety of theological topics means that it could be compared to certain forms of ancient Capitaliteratur, which aimed at the collection of teachings from a spiritual teacher for the purposes of meditation.\(^\text{13}\) A classical example of such literature is Epictetus’ *Manual* (*Encheiridion*), which is essentially a collection of discourse on miscellaneous topics not unlike those found in the *Kephalaia*, such as *On friendship* (2.22), *On those who plead sickness* (3.5), or *What solitude is; and what

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\(^\text{10}\) Funk, “Reconstruction,” 151.

\(^\text{11}\) In fact, surviving fragments from Mani’s writings do indicate that some of them, such as the *Book of Mysteries*, were largely incidental in nature, while others, such as the work(s) known to Titus of Bostra, Theodoret, and Severus seem to have been more generalized, with less attention paid to fixed structures and detail.

\(^\text{12}\) Funk, “Reconstruction,” 152.

a solitary person (3.13). During the late-antique period, such literature became particularly popular among monks and ascetics, so it is not inconceivable that ascetically minded Manichaeans would have been interested in producing a work of this sort. The use, however, of the ᾿Εκπάθεια as a source of meditative discourses would seem to have more to do with how it was read during later periods than how it was formed.

The second genre with which the ᾿Εκπάθεια bears a somewhat closer resemblance, and which speaks more to its compositional origins, is the ἠρωταποκρίσις, or “question-and-answer” literature, that became popular among Jewish and Christian exegetes during the first centuries of the Common Era. This genre, which Claudio Zamagni has described as “un genre très élastique,” was a form of secondary literature used primarily for the exegesis and elucidation of canonical texts (be they Jewish, Christian, or pagan), although such works often contained apologetic, didactic, or polemical overtones. In general, the ἠρωταποκρίσις takes as its most basic form a three-part structure consisting of 1) preface/prologue, 2) questions and answers, and 3) postscript/colophon. According to this basic set of criteria, the ᾿Εκπάθεια could be classified as part of the ἠρωταποκριτικοί genre, especially if its primary aim was the elucidation of ambiguities found within canonical Manichaean tradition.

While such characteristics may allow us to identify the function and literary genre of the text, there are other internal indicators that enable us to situate its compilers within a general historical and geographic frame. I choose to call the creators of this text compilers, since it seems clear to me that it is the work of a variety of hands, be they authors, editors, or redactors. But some sense of who these individuals might have been can be gleaned from the sorts of things they wrote about. For instance, we find in the ᾿Εκπάθεια references to important figures from the Judaeo-Christian tradition, such as Adam, Enosh, Eve, Jesus, Judas, Noah, Paul, Sem, and Sethel. This is not surprising given the fact that Mani was raised in a Judaeo-Christian sect known as the Elchasaites and later styled himself, even in his letters, as an “Apostle of Jesus Christ.” What is somewhat more striking, are the vague and somewhat shadowy allusions to Zarathustra and Buddha, figures little known west

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14 Ivanka, 286–287.
17 The order of the questions does not necessarily need to reflect the progression of the text being commented on (Bussières, “Conclusions,” 185).
of Persia, but considered by Mani to be two of his key prophetic fore-runners. We also find references to rival religious groups such as “Baptists” (i.e., Mandaeans), Christians, Jews, Magi, and Nazoreans, most of whom would have been found in Mesopotamia. In terms of geography, the *Kephalaia* makes allusion to places throughout the Ancient Near East such as Adiabene, Babylon, Ctesiphon, Mesene, Parthia, Persia, Susiana, Tigris, although India is also mentioned. In addition, various ethnic groups largely from the same region are mentioned, such as Assyrians, Axumites, Babylonians, Indians, Medes, Parthians, Persians, Romans, as well as important political figures such as Ardashir, Artabanus, Hystaspes, and Shapur. Such allusions seem to indicate a social world rooted in a (predominantly) Judaeo-Christian milieu, likely originating in Mesopotamia during the late 3rd century CE. This is precisely the context that Peter Brown rightly emphasized in his important 1969 article, “The Diffusion of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire.” According to Brown, the early history of Manichaeism is firmly rooted in the history of the Syriac speaking belt that crossed the frontiers of both Sassanian Iran and Rome. These early Manichaeans, it seems, were caught between two “reactionary states,” both of which were closing ranks and attempting to consolidate imperial cultures that had less and less room for religious innovation and variety. Thus, in both cases Manichaeans were compelled to respond to external pressures such as persecution and martyrdom as well as internal pressures of group solidarity, doctrinal cohesion, and missionary expansion. One less obvious facet of this response, I will suggest, was the extensive use of numeric patterns as evidenced by the *Kephalaia*.

Yet given the fact that internal evidence appears to indicate a Mesopotamian milieu, how did the *Kephalaia* end up in Upper Egypt and recorded in Coptic, a language far removed from the Syriac used primarily by Mani and his earliest disciples? To address this problem, we may endeavour to propose a hypothetical reconstruction of the *Kephalaia*’s textual history and transmission. First, as we might imagine, come the oral and (especially) written teachings of Mani in Syriac. Mani is, in fact, practically unique in religious history for the care he took to

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18 Other indices (smaller in number) indicate specifically Egyptian providence, such as references to the months Parmouthi and Paophi in *Kephalaia* Chapter 1, although these are largely superficial.
record his own prophetic message in writing, something he harshly criticized his predecessors for not doing. Second, we might imagine the oral and written transmission and interpretation of Mani’s teachings by disciples from his inner circle, such as Sisinnios, Kustaios, and Adda in Syriac, if we presume that they came from a similar socio-cultural background, but probably to some extent this transmission happened also in Greek. Next, we might suppose that some of this material was organized and composed into “proto-Kēphalaia,” examples of which have been recently discovered elsewhere in Egypt, at the Dakhleh Oasis (ancient Kellis). This was probably done by other disciples and missionaries moving west towards and into Egypt, using Syriac (even just liturgically), Greek, and eventually Coptic as their means of communication. Finally, we might suppose the translation, redaction, and collection of what came to be an enormous amount of Kēphalaia material into large volumes, such as those found at Medinet Madi.

21 Funk has asked whether it is possible that a “patristic” tradition developed at a very early stage in the western branch of the Manichaean movement; a tradition with apostolic authority independent of the Manichaean canon. See Funk, “Reconstruction,” 152. A document such as the Cologne Mani Codex, with its various sections attributed to authoritative individuals such as Salmaios, Baraies (or Barhaies), Timotheos, Innaios, Kustaios, etc., certainly points in this direction, as does the Acts codex, which has a similar structure (Funk, personal communication).

22 The issue of original source language has been described as a “vexed question for all the Manichaean texts in Coptic” (See Franzmann “Syriac-Coptic Bilinguals,” 115). The debate around this issue, however, is frequently affected by the desire to see in these texts a more primitive stratum than is actually there. To be sure, there are elements from the texts that reveal at least an interest in some kind of Syriac sources, as is witnessed also by the Syriac-Coptic translation exercises recently discovered at Kellis (T. Kell. Syr. / Copt. 1; T. Kell. Syr. / Copt. 2) (Gardner, Kellis Literary Texts, 101). While these texts have raised the possibility (at least) that the translation process in Egypt could have been more direct, they are by no means the “smoking gun” that they are so often made out to be. After all, as Gardner points out, it is hard to imagine the translator not knowing any Greek, especially since Greek Manichaean texts of considerable literary sophistication have also been found at Kellis (not to mention the Cologne Mani Codex, also presumably from Egypt). But, even though it appears textually possible to demonstrate some direct influence, or at least colouring, of Syriac on Coptic Manichaean texts, the question that is never asked is whether or not it is sociologically possible for highly literate (and no doubt indigenous) Coptic speaking translators to work directly from Syriac sources without Greek playing some sort of intermediary role either orally or by means of written texts.

23 The existing Kēphalaia codices seem to represent two volumes from two different “editions” of the same work (Funk, personal communication). The first codex, titled “The Kephalaia of the Teacher,” may constitute volume one of its edition, while the second codex, titled “The Kephalaia of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani” may represent volume two of its (separate) edition.
exclusively in Coptic. As such, the traditions, as well as the carriers of these traditions, which led to the composition and production of the *Kēphalaia*, would have traversed at least two distinct (yet often overlapping) socio-cultural settings: late 3rd century CE Mesopotamia and late 3rd-4th century CE Egypt.\(^{24}\) This movement would have been precipitated both by the “built-in” missionary impulse of the religion as well as the persecution of Manichaean followers the executions of Mani and his successor, Sisinnios. Although the temporal division between these two settings is ambiguous, an argument could be made that the most pertinent social setting falls somewhere between the second and third stages of evolution, as outlined above.

**Canon and Tradition**

Having established the apparent form and function of the text, as well as gaining a general impression of its most likely context and creators, we can now pose the main question addressed by this study: why were the *Kēphalaia* compilers so enthusiastic in their use of five-part patterns in particular? Part of the answer lies in the recognition of the already stated contradiction between Mani’s well-known insistence on the importance of his own written revelation and the very existence of a work that purports to add to this revelation. Obviously the compilers felt compelled to work something out for themselves. However, before we can get a sense of exactly what they were up to we ought to dispense with another assumption commonplace in scholarly treatments of Manichaeism, namely that Mani’s own teaching was highly systematized and unambiguous. In some ways, this assumption was reinforced by the discovery of the *Kēphalaia*, which, in combination with the other assumption that it represents Mani’s actual discourses, gives the impression of a highly systematic world-view. This second assumption, founded on the first, has resulted in a serious error.

In spite of the fact that the major part of Mani writings have been either lost or, at best, shattered into fragments by the rage of heresiologists and the ravages of time, it is nevertheless possible to form a

\(^{24}\) There is evidence of Manichaeans in Egypt as early as ca. 280 (Letter of Theonas of Alexandria, P. Rylands 469) and ca. 290 (Alexander of Lycopolis). See Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 112. As for what shape Manichaeism may have taken in Palestine, we have no real direct evidence like we have for Egypt.
general idea of their content and style. For instance, the 10th-century Bagdad bookseller and encyclopaedist, al-Nadīm, recorded that Mani wrote seven books, one in Farsi (i.e., Perisan) and six in Syriac, the language of Syria. Among them are *The Book of Secrets* (i.e. *The Book of Mysteries*), which contains (a number of) chapters, (including) ‘An account of the Daysaniyya (i.e., the followers of Bardaisan of Edessa)’, ‘The testimony of Yastasif on the Beloved’, ‘The testimony of . . . about himself given to Ya ‘qub’, ‘The son of the widow’ (who according to Mani was the anointed and crucified one, crucified by the Jews), ‘The testimony of Jesus about himself as given in Judaea’, ‘The commencement of the testimony of al-Yamin as given after his victory’, ‘The seven spirits’, ‘The discourse on the four transient spirits’, ‘Laughter’, ‘The testimony of Adam regarding Jesus’, ‘The fall from religion’, ‘The discourse of the Daysaniyya on the soul and body’, ‘Refutation of the Daysanites on the soul of life’, ‘The three trenches’, ‘The preservation of the World’, ‘The three days’, ‘The prophets’, (and) ‘The resurrection’ (trans. Laffān).

Similarly, he stated that Mani wrote *Epistles* on a variety of topics such as “The Two Sources,” “The Eminent Ones,” “The Great Epistle of India,” “The Epistle of Kaskar,” and “The Garden.” In this way, we can see that canonical works such as the *Book of Mysteries* and the *Epistles*, seem to have been more incidental in orientation, dealing with a seemingly miscellaneous set of doctrinal, polemical, and pastoral issues, while other works such as the *Treasure of Life* and the (unidentified) source(s) used by Titus of Bostra, Theodoret, and Severus of Antioch provide only generalized presentations of Manichaean theology. This is to say that several of them appear to have lacked the rigid structuring and systematization so apparent in the *Kephalaia*, not to mention the compilers’ obsession with pentads.

Of all the fragments from canonical writings preserved in Syriac, Greek, Coptic, Latin, Middle Persian, and Arabic, only seven contain traces of Mani’s own use of pentadic series. These are: 1) fragments from *Shabuhragan* (presumably composed mid-3rd century CE), 2) pas-
sages of *The Living Gospel* (presumably composed mid- to late- 3rd century CE) from the (unedited) Coptic *Synaxeis* Codex, 3) fragments from the *Book of Giants* (presumably composed mid- to late- 3rd century CE),4) Mani’s *Epistles* (presumably composed mid- to late- 3rd century CE) 5) citations by Ephraim the Syrian (early 4th century CE),31 6) citations by the Nestorian scholar Theodore bar Khonai (8th century CE),32 and 7) the article on Mani in al-Nadîm’s *Fihrist* (10th century CE).33 What these sources reveal, as far as we can tell, is a very limited explicit use of pentads. Those that can be identified include:

*The Five Limbs*

Perhaps the most important of all Manichaean pentads, the “Five shek†inahs” (קדועים) (Theodore bar Khonai 313.17 [Scher]) (that is, the “presences” or “dwellings” of God) later become known in Graeco-Coptic tradition as the “Five Limbs”34 and constitute an ideal set of intellectual faculties possessed by a wide variety of entities, namely 1) Mind, 2) Thought, 3) Insight, 4) Counsel, and 5) Consideration.

*The Five Elements*

Of equal importance are what Mani termed the “Five ziwan†e” (ציוואים)—the “shining gods”—(Ephraim, 235 [Reeves]; Theodore bar Khonai, 7980–7984) attributed to Shabuhragan by Hutter (Manis kosmogonische Šabuhragan-Texte; trans. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, 225).


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31 Reeves, “Manichaean Citations,” 217–288. Reeves’ assertion, however, that Ephraim is “the most important textual witness to the earliest forms of Manichaean discourse” (218) is somewhat misleading, especially when he characterizes what is preserved as “Mani-citations” (220). To be sure the use of the Syriac particle *lam* א is a convincing indicator that some verbatim citations are preserved. In the majority of cases, however, statements are introduced by “as they say” (ועלו אם יאמרו) and thus cannot be directly attributable to Mani. As such, while these fragments certainly do bear witness to a very early strata of Manichaean discourse, they cannot, as a whole, be said to represent “portions of Mani’s Syriac corpus” (220).

32 See Theodore bar Khonai, *Liber scholiarium*, 313–318. Tardieu has suggested that these citations come from Mani’s *Pragmateia* (*Le manichéisme*, 93).

33 See *Fihrist*, 773–805 [Dodge]. While the great value of al-Nadîm’s account has been recognized since Flügel’s 1862 study, De Blois has recently pointed out that significant portions of al-Nadîm’s account, especially on cosmogony, are likely derived from al-Warrâq, a 9th-century, mu*tazilah theologian who took an early interest in Manichaeism (“New Light on the Sources of the Manichaean Chapter in the *Fihrist,*”) 37–45.

34 According to Funk, this series was rendered as “Aeons” in the unedited *Synaxeis* codex, which contains readings from Mani’s own *Living Gospel*, whereas in the *Epistles* codex they are translated as “Limbs” (*Epistles*) (personal communication). Al-Nadîm, for his part, calls them both “worlds” (*Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]) and “limbs” (*Fihrist*, 786 [Dodge]).
314.11 [Scher]) or, as they were more commonly known to Graeco-Coptic tradition, the Five “Elements” (ἡκτοικεύματα) of 1) Living Air, 2) Light, 3) Wind, 4) Water, 5) Fire (see 1 Ke 43:2 etc.). Also known as the Five “Sons of First Man” (Shabuhragan, Ephraim, 235 [Reeves], Theodore bar Khonai, 314.1 (not enumerated) [Scher]), “gods” (al-Nadīm, Fihrist, 779 [Dodge] Shabuhragan, 513–515 [Mackenzie]), and “Limbs” (al-Nadīm, Fihrist, 786 [Dodge]). They are also put in more traditionally Iranian dress as the “Five Bounteous Immortals” (panzān (a)mahrāspandān) in Shabuhragan (M 7980–7984 [Boyce y, 74]) as well as being described as the “Five Walls” (panz parisp) of the Light Chariot, that is, the Sun (M 98/99 [Boyce y, 61]).

The Five Sons of the Living Spirit

As already noted, the Five Sons of the Living Spirit enter the cosmogonic drama when the Father of Greatness responds to the capture of First Man by calling out a second triad made up of “Beloved of Lights,” “Great Builder,” and the “Living Spirit.” Just as First Man (the third being of the first emanation) went into battle accompanied by “five sons,” the Living Spirit calls upon his own “five sons” who aid in the slaughter of the Archons and the construction of the cosmos. These Five Sons are called “Ornament (or Keeper) of Splendour,” “Great King of Honour,” “Adamos (sic = Adamas) of Light,” “King of Glory,” and “Porter” (314.17–20 [Scher]). Shabuhragan describes these entities as the “five gods” (panz yazd) sent out by the “god Mithra” (Mihr yazd), that is, the Living Spirit (M 7980–7984 [Boyce y, 65]).

The Five Virtues

Evidence from Mani’s Epistles has confirmed the parallel ordering of both the Limbs and the Virtues in his own discourse. In particular, the “Seventh Letter to Ctesiphon; that of the Vigils” records Mani’s evocation of the Five Limbs of 1) Love, 2) Faith, 3) Perfection, 4) Patience, and 5) Wisdom in association with a blessing provided by Jesus: “But it is he who shall bless you all, my beloved / children. May he leave his love on your head, that is, / the Light-Mind. His great faith, he [will . . . in] your / vigilant Thought. His perfection, he will establish [in your] / good Insight, and his long-suffering, he [will . . .] / in your good Counsels. His
wisdom . . . / . . . he will act as in your sharp Considerations . . ."37 They are also mentioned by al-Nadîm (Fihrist, 777 [Dodge]).

The Five Vital Powers/Potentials

Also important to the light-realm is the series of five vital powers, known as 1) Life (zîhr), 2) Power (zîr), 3) Light (rîsîn), 4) Fragrance (xwaasi), 5) Beauty (agráyi) (Shabuhragan M 7983 = Boyce y 52 [75]).38

The Five Worlds of Darkness

As the negative image of the five shekinahs, Mani seems to have conceived of the kingdom of darkness as divided into five districts: 1) Smoke, 2) Fire, 3) Wind, 4) Water, 5) Darkness (Theodore 313.10–20 [Scher], al-Nadîm), also known as the “Five Ditches” (panz kandâr) (Shabuhragan M 98/99 [Boyce y, 61]) and the “Five Hells” (panz dušox) (Shabuhragan M 7980–7984 [Boyce y, 66]). As we shall see, there was some confusion among the compilers as to which demonic power held jurisdiction over these domains.

The Five Sons of Darkness

Theodore bar Khonai makes an ambiguous reference to “five sons of darkness” (314.8, 22 [Scher]) who are said to devour the Five Sons of First Man. Presumably the demonic powers who rule the five worlds.

The Five Trees (of Darkness)

While the Book of Giants refers to the fact that the “misguided” fail to recognize the “five elements, [the five kinds of] trees, (and) the five (kinds of) animals” (146 [Henning]), Theodore states that when the Messenger had slain Sin, part of its carcass fell to the ground to produce “Five Trees” (317.3 [Scher]).

Other

Added to this list could be some miscellaneous references from Shabuhragan to the “Five Houses” (mîn panz) of the Light Chariot, the “Five Angels” (prêstag panz) who collect souls, the “Five Arches” (tâg panz) built by the Living Spirit over earth (M 98/99 [Boyce y, 60–62]), as well as the “Five Constellations” (panzân axtarân): Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, and Leo (Shabuhragan M 7980–7984 [Boyce y, 66]), and the five components of human body created by demon Aț: bones, nerves, flesh, arteries, and skin (Shabuhragan M 7980–7984). None of these, however, carry the same weight in subsequent Manichaean discourse.

37 Epistles [Berlin] 50.8–14; Funk, A Work Concordance to the Coptic Fragments of Mani’s Epistles (unpublished).
38 See Hutter, Manis kosmogonische Šâbuhrâgan-Texte, 112–113; 130–134.
While the five-part structures noted above only provide an incomplete picture of what might have existed in Mani’s (mostly lost) canonical writings, they are enough to show two aspects of Manichaean discourse that will be encountered repeatedly throughout the course of this study. First, that one of the basic features of Manichaean myth-making is the attribution of five qualities to both good and evil beings, as well as the organization of such beings into groups of five, a phenomenon which is evident especially in Theodore bar Khonai’s and al-Nadîm’s accounts and, as such, must have formed part of the way in which Mani (at least sometimes) expressed his ideas. Thus, Mani can be said to have established the basic paradigm for this kind of thinking. Second is the fact that already in canonical traditions it can be observed that certain important pentads were known under a variety of aliases.

It should be noted, however, that Theodore bar Khonai’s account, which was paraphrased earlier, appears to place emphasis on the basic triadic structure of the mythic narrative. According to Theodore, three groups of three beings are presented as a series of three evocations, or emanations, through which the drama of salvation unfolds. In this account, five-part series appear to be more attributive and functional in support of the main actors from what is essentially a three-act play. For instance, the Five Sons of First Man function as “armour” for their father, who is the real hero of the first evocation, while the Five Sons of the Living Spirit, from the second evocation, appear in support of their parent, who employs them for the creation and maintenance of the cosmos.

In contrast to the emphasis on triads that can be observed in Mani’s canonical discourse, the *Kephalaia* attempts to bring pentads to the fore. While extensive use is made of canonical pentads from the light-realm such as the Five Limbs, the Five Elements/Sons of First Man, and the Five Sons of the Living Spirit, such series are employed by the compilers of the *Kephalaia*, by and large, in support of other themes such as the nature of divine being and cosmic parallelism. In addition,

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39 The alternative would be that, by Theodore’s time, canonical sources (or even pseudo-canonical sources for that matter) were “retro-fitted” to conform to later scholastic developments.

40 This may have been due, in part, to the difficulty of rendering Syriac terms like *shekinah* and *ziwanē* into Greek and Coptic. Thus, it is not necessarily Mani’s doing.

41 Even though some commentators, such as Hunter, consider Theodore’s citations as “fragmented and disjointed” (“Theodore bar Kônî and the Manichaëans,” 168), they do, nevertheless, seem to present a basic narrative.
they seem to have been equally interested in other non- (or at least only quasi-) canonical series, such as those that came to be known as the Five Fathers and the Five Greatnesses. These latter series, as we shall see, exemplify the attempt by the *Kêphalaia* compilers to transform the basic mythological structure of Manichaean cosmogony from one based on triads to one based on pentads. This process, which for our purposes will be termed *pentadic redaction*, is a reflection of the compilers’ desire to make sense of what may have been obscure or ambiguous canonical material by shaping it into what seemed to them to be a more cohesively structured whole. As for the dark-realm, we shall see that even though the compilers also made use of canonical series such as Five Worlds of Darkness and the Five Trees, these were not always as clearly defined as those belonging to the light-realm. Nevertheless, even though the compilers sought to clarify how these more ambiguous formulations ought to be understood and placed in opposition to series from the light-realm, their inherently negative associations inevitably led to their being employed for certain polemical ends largely aimed at rival religious communities. Finally, the *Kêphalaia* also presents a number of more generalized pentadic series relating to a variety of soteriological, ethical, ecclesiological, polemical, and etiological themes that equally speak to the compilers’ desire to construct a distinctly Manichaean reality based on pentads.

As such, in order to understand how five-part patterns contribute to the function and originality of the *Kêphalaia*, this study will examine the occurrence of both explicit and implicit five-part structures in order to discover how the compilers shaped, expanded, and redacted canonical material in an effort to communicate their own particular themes and concerns.
There can be no denying that the foundation of Manichaeism is to be found in the doctrine of the Two Natures, since this concept served as the basis for Manichaean ontology, cosmology, and ethics. As such, it is no surprise that, after establishing the authority of Mani as the most recent messenger of God and legitimizing the validity of the Kephalaia as a literary enterprise (1 Ke 9.6–10) in both the “Prologue” and Chapter 1, the doctrine of Two Natures would be addressed by the Kephalaia compilers straightaway in Chapter 2 “The Second, on the Parable of the Tree.” In this chapter, Mani is asked by his disciples to give an exegetical reading of Matthew 7:17–20/Luke 6:43–44, where Jesus explains to his disciples that the quality of every tree can be derived from an evaluation of its fruit (1 Ke 17.2–20), while at the same time alluding to an alternate reading of the same text among “the Sects” (NAOTHA), the generic Manichaean designation for any number of rival religious communities. First, Mani is made to caution that appearances can be deceiving. In the natural world, for instance, the “date-palm” (BNN), in spite of its pleasant appearance, is said to be quite useless (1 Ke 17.32ff.). Similarly, Judas, although he seemed to be a good disciple, still betrayed his master (1 Ke 19.1–6), while Paul, though seemingly wicked and a persecutor of the church, ultimately turned out to be one of its most productive founders (1 Ke 19.7–17).

1 One of Mani’s principal critiques of previous religious traditions was the fact that the founders did not record their teaching in writing and thus it was corrupted by later disciples (1 Ke 8.8–28; see also Chapter 151 [On the Ten Advantages of the Manichaean Religion] [1 Ke 371.6–30]). Yet even though Mani seems to have gone to great lengths to record his message in his own series of self-consciously canonical writings, he is conveniently made to legitimize the Kephalaia’s expansion of and commentary on this tradition by both the “Prologue” and “Epilogue” of the work (see Funk, “Reconstruction”).

2 This proof-text is cited by Ephraim against the Manichaeans (see Reeves, “Manichaean Citations,” 252).
Mani is then made to explain how the “Good Tree” has “Five Limbs” (1 Ke 20.12–14), which in turn are said to represent five key components of the Manichaean cosmos:

... it (that is, the good tree) has Five Limbs/ [which are: Consideration, Counsel, Insight, Thought]/ Mind. Its Consideration is the Holy Church. Its Counsel/ is the Column of Glory, the Perfect Man. Its Insight/ is the First Man, who dwells in the Ship of the Living/Waters. Its Thought is the Third Messenger/ [who dwells in] the Ship of the Living Fire, which shines in/ [the world]. But, the Mind is the Father, who dwells in the Great-ness, who exists perfectly in the Aeon of Light. ... this, that the souls who come and attain/ the Holy [Church] and also the alms which the Cate-chumens give, as they are purified by the Holy Church/ ... every deed. Consideration is that which will ... / ... they ascend to ... ... is Counsel, / [they] ascend to Insight, which is the First Man, / who dwells in the Ship of the Night. From Insight they ascend / to Thought, which is the Messenger, who dwells in / the Ship of the Day. But he, the Great Thought, who/ ... them to Mind, who is the Father, the God/ of Truth, the great Mind of all Aeons of Glory (1 Ke 20.12–31).

Here the Five Limbs are enumerated in canonical, but ascending, order.3 In this way, the Five Limbs are presented by the Kephalaia compilers in Chapter 2 as part of a programmatic statement whereby the essentially five-fold nature of being is reflected in the five stages of light liberation from the community and ritual context of the Holy Church, where the ritual activities occur (Consideration), to the cosmic conduit of the Column of Glory, which draws the light particles up (Counsel), through to the first (Insight) and second (Thought) light vessels, onto the divine homeland of the Father (Mind). This enumeration is then contrasted with the limbs of the Evil Tree.

The Five Limbs of the Evil Tree are (somewhat awkwardly) made to parallel those of the Good Tree:

... ... the evil [tree] has Five Limbs/ [which are: Consideration, Counsel, Insight, Thought, [Mind]]. / Its [Consideration is] the Law of Death which the Sects/ are taught. Its Counsel is the transmigration ... / in [various] kinds. But, its Insight is the [fiery] furnaces of/ ... ... Gehenna, which are filled with smoke. Its Thought ... / ... ... the vessel. Its Mind is ... / ... ... the lump, the last bond, the ... / ... ... those who Satan has [cast] (1 Ke 21.28–36).

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3 See Chapter 25, where the Limbs are listed in descending order.
These Limbs are associated with a progressive process of damnation from the sectarian context or “Law of Death” (Consideration), through the soul’s transmigration (Counsel), to Gehenna (Insight), a vessel of some kind (Thought), then finally the eschatological lump, or *bolos* (Mind), into which all matter will be moulded at the end of time (1 Ke 21.28–36). One might have expected that the Limbs of the Evil Tree would have been identified with negatively valued qualities such as ignorance, stupidity, or apostasy, but instead, the compiler of Chapter 2 works to establish a direct parallel between the Limbs of the Tree of Light and those of the Tree of Darkness. Such a manoeuvre is in contrast to the concept of the Five Elements for which there are two different sets. This seems to indicate either that a canonical series of Dark Limbs did not exist or that the series of divine Limbs was canonically applied to the dark-realm. The latter case appears unlikely, given the great care that was generally taken in completely dissociating the Two Natures. Instead, it is more likely that the *Kephalaia* compiler carried over the same canonical series in order to create a symmetrical contrast of the Two Trees and to re-emphasize the chapter’s cautionary message about appearances. After all, evil, although essentially different, may nevertheless appear seductive and beguiling to those not adept at separating one tree from the other. In fact, Chapter 2, although ostensibly a discussion of the Two Trees, could equally be characterized as a discourse on the “Two Paths”—the good path that leads to liberation and the luminous homeland of the Father and the evil path that traps souls within the cycle of transmigration and ultimate destruction. That both “paths” are described as having five stages is a reflection of the basic five-fold structure of both good and evil entities.

Indeed, we do know that Mani himself characterized his two opposed principles as two fruit-producing trees known as the “Tree of Life” and the “Tree of Death” from Severus of Antioch (*Homily* 123, 104–105), although in his account there is no explicit association with the New Testament parable. Moreover, the language used by Mani in these citations is more cosmological in orientation, since he places emphasis on the fact that the Tree of Life occupies the northern, eastern, and western regions of the cosmos, while the Tree of Death is

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4 The primacy and importance of the “good path” is taken up again (with slight variation) in the following chapter, Chapter 3 “The Interpretation of Happiness, Wisdom, and Power; what they mean.”

5 Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 169.
confined to the south. This means that, while the *Kêphalaia* compilers have adapted a canonical metaphor, they have given it a different colouring.

This ornamentation of the Two Natures with parallel, but ontologically opposed, five-part series, so prominently placed in *Chapter 2*, previews the way in which good and evil beings are generally conceived by the *Kêphalaia* compilers and establishes a general ontological framework for the interpretation of all sorts of cosmic phenomena. As such, five-part structure was intimately associated with one of the basic, foundational, and no doubt most primitive, of Manichaean metaphors. In fact, just as Manichaean theology as a whole is sometimes characterized as the doctrine of the “two principles and the three times,” *Chapter 2* could be stereotyped as encapsulating the *Kêphalaia’s* theology in terms of “Two Trees and Five Limbs.”

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6 Lieu suggests that the motif of the Two Trees is “unrelated” to the concept of the Two Natures (“Manichaean technici termini,” 251), although I do not believe that this assertion can be justified.
CHAPTER TWO

THEOLOGICAL PATTERNING I: LIGHT-REALM

The Faces of the Father

Given the fact that, as we just saw, one of the basic metaphors for Manichaean ontology attributes five qualities to each of the Two Principles, it would be expected that a similar characterization be applied to the Father of Greatness, the ruler of the light-realm and the personification of the good principle. Chapter 21 “On the Father of Greatness, how he is established and defined” (1 Ke 64.21–23) is particularly informative in this regard:

Just as he [is found] established in his Five Light-Limbs, which are / . . . the storehouses which are without measure or limit / . . . Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, and [Consideration] / . . . his Twelve Light-Limbs, which are / his Twelve Wisdoms. Five Great Limbs / of Light are found in each one . . . Five Great / Fountains of Blessing gush forth . . . There are Five Great / [Trees(?)] . . . . . . of Light (1 Ke 64.20–28).

In this case, the Five Limbs, which we previously saw were applied to the Two Trees, represent those entities which in Theodore bar Khonai’s account are known by the Syriac term shekinah (חִסְדַּה), although their apparent characterization as his “Storehouses” (ἵππαίον) (1 Ke 64.22) may represent an attempt to represent this term more fully.1 These Five Storehouses, in turn, are associated with Twelve Light-Limbs, also described as Twelve Wisdoms.2 In turn, we learn that “Five Great Fountains of Blessing” (Ὑπὰνα καὶ ἡμέρα τυχεῖν) (1 Ke 64.26–27) surround the Father, and, in what appears to be an extension of the basic tree metaphor, “Five Great Trees(?)) (Ὑπὸνα καὶ ἡμέρα τυχεῖν) (1 Ke 64.28). What follows is an enumeration of five characteristics of

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1 The Greek term tamieion, however, is usually reserved in the Kēphalaia for the regions of darkness (see Kēphalaia Chapter 6). See also 2 Ps. 200.1. Why the compilers opted for the term “Limbs” rather than “Aeons,” as the shekinahs are known in the Synaxeis codex (Funk, personal communication), remains a mystery.

2 This may mean that each of the Twelve Wisdoms possesses its own set of Five Limbs/Storehouses, although the lacunae in the text obscure the precise relationship.
the Father which, unfortunately, the lacunose state of the text prevents us from completely identifying. All that can be determined for certain from Chapter 21 is the following list 1) light, 2) pleasant odour, 3) living voice of ... , 4) ... -ness, and 5) great ... (1Ke 64.29–65.2). There is, however, a striking parallel between this passage and a section of the Mandaean Right-Ginza, which characterizes the “King of Light” as possessing five qualities: 1) light, 2) fragrance, 3) sweetness of voice, 4) potency of voice, and 5) beauty.3

It is unclear whether or not these five qualities are related to the Five Vital Powers found in a Middle Persian fragment attributed to the Shabuhragan by Hutter4 and discussed by Polotsky5 from Sogdian fragment M 14, which list 1) life, 2) power, 3) light, 4) beauty, and 5) fragrance as five qualities possessed by the soul,6 although there is some superficial resemblance. Nevertheless, Chapter 21 does make clear that the Kephalaia compilers conceived of the Father of Greatness as a being with five characteristics, although this characterization is a formulation that appears to be at odds with other evidence indicating that the Father was known (perhaps even canonically) as the “Four-faced God.”

The epithet “Four-faced” (τετραπροόμωστος) is known from Greek abjuration formulae (Seven Chapters 3.59, Long Formula 1461C.14)7 and the Manichaean Psalm-Book (Νούτε Νετούγα) (2Ps. 191.12; 186.9–12), although Merkelbach8 made a rather forced attempt to see the same set of four qualities expressed in Kephalaia Chapter 4 “On the Four Great Days . . . ,” Chapter 20 “The Chapter on the Name of the Fathers,” and Chapter 7 “The Seventh, on the Five Fathers.” At any rate, the tetrad is relatively well attested in Iranian, Turkish, and Chinese Manichaean sources from the East as representing 1) divinity, 2) light, 3) power, and 4) wisdom (see Iranian: M 176, M 31, M 324; Turkish: T II D 162; Chinese: Hymnscroll).910 Frequently, however, the abjuration formulae

3 See Foerster, Gnosis, 150.
4 M 7983 = Boyce y 52 [75]; Hutter, Manis kosmogonische Šābūragān-Texte, 130–134.
5 There is some confusion about the last two elements. See “Manichaïsche Studien,” 263f. (= Collected Papers, 664f.)
6 See Klimkeit, Gnosis on the Silk Road, 78.
7 Adam, Texte zum Manichäismus, 97.
8 Mani und sein Religionssystem, 39–50.
9 Tsui Chi, “Mo Ni Chiao Hsia Pu Tsan: ’The Lower (Second?) Section of the Manichaean Hymns,’” 189.
10 See Williams Jackson, “The Fourfold Aspect of the Supreme Being in Manichaism,” 11–12, although I am sceptical, however, that the “four bright seals” of love, faith, fear, and wisdom from the Turkish confessional text Xuāstunift represent the same
are the only sources cited for the presence of this concept in Western Manichaean tradition. Samuel Lieu, in his article on the Greek abjuration formulae, states that another potential occurrence of this tetrad is to be found in the “Prayer of the Emanations” from Kellis. In this case, however, the hymnist seeks to glorify the 1) power, 2) glory, 3) light, 4) word, and 5) majesty of the Father.

According to Williams Jackson, Mani viewed this four-fold nature of divinity as a “cardinal tenet” of Manichaeism, citing a passage from al-Nadīm in which Mani appears to command his followers to believe in the “Four Greatnesses” of divinity, light, power, and wisdom. Similar statements were made by Widengren and Asmussen who characterized the notion of the “four-fold God” as “the essence and synopsis of the whole Manichaean system.” In addition, Williams Jackson made allusion to “a somewhat similar fourfold division” described by Theodore bar Khonai, who lists the “four elements” as ašwqr, pršwqr, zwqr, and zrwn which appear to be Syriac transcriptions of Iranian terms. These were interpreted by Zaehner to represent Zurvanite ideas of cosmic conception, birth, decline, and rebirth. This apparent similarity, however, became one of the key components of the thesis of Manichaeism’s Iranian origins and, as such, was used by Cumont to justify the statement that “l’origine première du système doive être cherchée dans le mazdéisme zervaniste, répandu en Mésopotamie,” in spite of the fact that Theodore himself makes no connection between a Zurvanite and Manichaean tetrad.

Considering that Theodore seems to have been aware of the Zurvanite tetrad, this seems like a significant oversight if, as Williams Jackson suggests, the tetrad constituted a “cardinal tenet” of Manichaean doctrine.
and Theodore wanted to “shame” the Manichaeans through an exposé of their “perverse” doctrines. Surely such a scandalous inclusion of a Zurvanite motif would have fuelled the Syriac polemicist’s contempt for Mani’s followers.

In light of the fact that evidence continues to mount pointing towards the principally Judaeo-Christian origins of Manichaeism, the “four-faced” God is perhaps better understood as a Zurvanite flourish or accommodation. In Mazdaean theology, the god Ohrmizd was conceived as part of a divine tetrad along with time, space, and religion, although the incorporation of this tetrad into “orthodox” Mazdaism may have been a response to Zurvanite speculations. Williams Jackson admitted, however, that he could really find only one equivalence between the Manichaean and Zurvanite tetrads, and besides, Zaehner identified the Zurvanite tetrad as time, space, wisdom, and power, which differs markedly from Manichaean attestations. Zaehner also suggested that Zurvanite theology in general was based on an elaborate series of tetrads. Thus, it is conceivable that the particularly Manichaean emphasis on five was meant to counter this pattern. Even an Iranist such as Schaeder suggested that Iranian elements in Manichaism were a result of Umstilisierung rather than deliberate borrowing or influence. More recently P.O. Skjaervø (following Böhlig) has pointed out that, since the basic formulation of Mani’s system is obviously Christian, when he wanted to “dress this myth in Zoroastrian garb” he had little choice but to represent figures such as the Father and the First Man by Zurvan and Ohrmizd. Mere terminological similarities say nothing about origins and derivations, especially at a time when Zoroastrian traditions were themselves in such a state of flux. As Skjaervø succinctly states: “On no account … can it be said that the Zurvanite myth was part of Mani’s system, only the name of Zurwân was.”

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21 As BeDuhn has recently stated, Manichaeism ought to be viewed as a “legitimate, independent, oriental” stream of early Christianity (“A War of Words,” 81).
23 “Fourfold Aspect,” 15 n. 17.
24 Zurvan, 219.
26 “Urf orm und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems,” 47.
As such, *Kēphalaia* Chapter 21 may represent an attempt by the compilers to distance their discourse from a motif that may have appeared too “Iranian,” no longer fit their developing vision of how important divinities should be understood and described, or simply had lost its meaning. If Mani himself employed such an epithet for the Father of Greatness, then this would be a striking instance of the *Kēphalaia* compilers rejecting a canonical formulation in favour of one that was seen as more compatible with their systematization efforts. Ultimately, the compilers appear to have been quite determined to assert as a general principle the fact that Manichaean divinities, even the Father of Greatness, ought to be conceived as possessing five qualities. As we shall see, this conception of the highest divinity, in turn, fits with their wider efforts at the pentadization of other cosmogonic, ethical, ecclesiological, and soteriological themes so evident in the first volume of *Kēphalaia*.

The Many Sons of Man

The series of beings known to the *Kēphalaia* primarily as the “Five Sons of First Man” (τοῦ πατρὸς μεγάλης πρωτοπρογεγραμμένος) is somewhat problematic due, in part, to the variety of alias under which it was known. Also known as the Five “Elements” (τοῦ ἐκτοιχίων) (1 Ke 43.2), these “Five Sons” (μεγάλοι σύμβολοι) are characterized by Theodore bar Khonai as the “Five Shining Gods” (μεγάλοι σύμβολοι), and though not

29 Even Merkelbach is forced to admit that certain *Kēphalaia* chapters seem to expand the tetrad into a pentad (Mani, 45), although he offers no explanation.

30 Interestingly, a Coptic Manichaean text from Kellis (T. Kell. Copt. 1) describes how the “Third Messenger” reflects the “five properties (σεντά) of the Father” (see Kellis Literary Texts I, 2).

31 They are also called “Sons of Light” (μεγάλοι σύμβολοι) (Hypatius, 81.43 [Reeves, “Manichaean Citations,” 234]) and “Shining Sons” (μεγάλοι σύμβολοι) by Ephraim (Hypatius, 101.5–24 [Reeves, “Manichaean Citations,” 235]). Such an expression may lie behind the Coptic formulation “Five Splendours of the Son of Man” (τοῦ προτερόπρογεγραμμένος τοῦ πατρὸς) (1 Ke 89.8–9). It seemed much more likely to Burkitt that Jesus, to whom the same term “splendour” is also applied, should be styled “Jesus the Living” or “Life-giving.” This, of course, is not how Manichaean translators understood the term, since it is eminently clear that the “Five Sons/Elements” of early Manichaean tradition were understood in Coptic as προπεραστεῖν—“shining forth.” While it is certainly possible that Manichaean translators misunderstood such a key technical term (see Franzmann, “Syria-Coptic Bilinguals,” 118–119), it seems unlikely. It is far more probably that the basic elements of the light-realm, not to mention Jesus (one of its key emissaries), were
explicitly enumerated in his account, are known from Coptic and other sources as representing
1) Living Air (παρπ ἑτανοῦ), 2) Wind (πεθύ), 3) Light (παραίνε), 4) Water (παράφι), and 5) Fire (πε ρετε). As the essence of soul and the antithesis of matter, the Five Sons/Elements play a central role in the Manichaean conception of redemption, since they constitute the luminous essence that must be liberated through Manichaean ascetic and liturgical practice. In this way, they form the most direct link between Manichaean myth and praxis.

Outside of the Kephalaia there are surprisingly few explicit references (other than those mentioned above) to the Five Sons of First Man, the Five Elements, or the Five Intellectuals in other edited Manichaean Coptic texts—although there are a small number of implicit references (2 Ps. 12.25; 36.22), including an enumeration of each element in a “Psalm of the Wanderers” (2 Ps. 137.20–37). In itself, this is not surprising given the liturgical and hagiographical nature of edited texts such as the Psalm-Book and the Homilies. One notable exception, however, can be found in “Bema Psalm 223,” where the Father’s “strong son” (Μητεραίων Πρωτομάχος) (2 Ps. 10.7) produces “a Virgin equipped with Five Powers” (Μητεραίος Πρωτομάχος Τριφόρος Νεκρη) (2 Ps. 10.8) in order to fight the forces of darkness. This reference not only provides an additional synonym for the Five Sons/Elements, but somewhat surprisingly attributes them to a mysterious virgin-figure, who appears to act as a kind of consort or twin to First Man.

On the surface, it is difficult to see why these light-substances should have been described as “sons” at all, since functionally, the “Five Sons” constitute the “armour” or “garments” (1 Ke 69.18; 262.25) put on by First Man before going out to engage the powers of darkness. Perhaps this was simply a result of conventions of language regularly employed

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32 The canonical order of these elements seems to have been, at least for polemicists, a bit of a problem. Ephraim, for instance, makes reference to air (καλός) (Hypatius, 31.11 [Reeves, “Manichaean Citations,” 260–261]), light (καλός), wind (καλός), water (καλός), and fire (καλός) (Hypatius, 101.5–24 [Reeves, “Manichaean Citations,” 235]), while the Acta Archelai gives the somewhat idiosyncratic listing of “wind, light, water, fire, and matter (sic!))” (ἀνέμος, φως, ὕδωρ, πῦρ, ὑλή) (Beeson), although “matter” (ὑλή) is usually amended by scholars to “air” (ὑμί) (See Acta Archelai [Vermes/Lieu], 47 n. 40; see also 2 Ps. 137.36).


34 Theodore bar Khonai even records a Syriac pun on the words for “shining” (καλός) and “armour” (καλός) (Reeves, “Citations from Ephrem,” 269 n. 9).
by Manichaeans, whereby a series of secondary entities emanated by or associated with another primary being are called “sons.”35 Such a tendency is, in fact, borne out by the testimony of Ephraim, who records the way in which the expressions “sons of Light” (Ṣawātīn, Šarās) and “sons of Darkness” (Ṣawātīn, Ṣeva)36 formed part of early Manichaean discourse.

The terminological situation becomes more complex in the Kephalai, since the compilers made use of a number of other co-referential metaphors for the “Five Sons of First Man,” namely the “Five Garments” (ΤΕ ΝΠΕΣΩ) as in Chapter 70 “On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos” (1 Ke 69.18),37 as well as the “Five Luminous Gods” (ΤΟΥ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΙΠΗ[Ω]Υ) from Chapter 38 “On the Light-Mind, the Apostles, and the Saints” (1 Ke 95.16), and the “Five Shining Men” (ΤΟΥ ΝΡΗΠΝΙΡΙΠ) (1 Ke 85.34; 88.15; 89.8). While the concept of the Elements as “garments” is not attested in known canonical traditions, the epithets “Five Luminous Gods” and “Five Shining Men” are presumably a reflection of the “Five Shining Gods” (ḴONRN ḲONRN ḲONRN) known from Theodore bar Khonai.

One co-referential series in particular, however, that seems to have caused a great deal of confusion for both ancient and modern commentators is the grouping known as the “Five Intellectuals” (ΤΟΥ ΝΝΟΕΠΟΝ). While Iain Gardner, in his Kephalai “Indices” justifiably lists the Five Limbs under the Five Intellectuals,38 both the Kephalai and the Psalm-Book typically associated the Intellectuals with the Five Elements, a fact that has already been noted by Van Lindt in his study of Coptic Manichaean terminology.39 For instance, in Chapter 2 “The Second, on the Parable of the Tree,” the “intellectuals” that “clothe” the body of the Column of Glory/Perfect Man are clearly equated with the

35 This, in turn, no doubt reflects Syriac usage of the term bar (בָּר), which communicates not only the idea of son-ship, but also of “close relation, subjection, or similarity” (Payne-Smith, 53a). As for their original Syriac name—żwānā (צֶוָּנָא), “brilliant, or shining”—Burkitt offered the unlikely suggestion that this is actually an adaptation of the Middle-Iranian term ẓwāng, meaning “life-giver” (Religion of the Manichees, 111).
36 Reeves, “Citations from Ephraim,” 234 [#28].
37 See also Chapter 109 “On the Fifty Lord’s Days” (1 Ke 262.25), and Chapter 34 “On the Quality of the Garments” (1 Ke 131.20).
38 The Limbs are after all “intellectual” properties. See Gardner, Kephalai of the Teacher, 297.
39 Names of Manichaean Mythological Figures, 63–64.
“Elements of Light” (1 Ke 20.1–3). This identification can be corroborated by a “Psalm of the Wanderers” which states that the “Five Intellectuals are the Sons of First Man” (2 Ps. 161.25). Nevertheless, there appears to have been a certain degree of ambiguity as to the identity of the Intellectuals, since in Chapter 31, the Five Limbs were also associated with the preparatory activities of First Man (see below). As such, the exact equations between concepts such as the Five Elements, the Five Limbs, and the Five Intellectuals seem to have been complex and may not have been any clearer to the compilers than they are to us.

On the abstract level, however, the Sons/Elements, collectively known as the “Living Soul,” are “a property shared by all objects” within the cosmos and serve as an ontological link between the Father of Greatness and his children. This can be established by interpreting the testimony of Theodore bar Khonai, who records that when the Father sought to defend his kingdom from the dark invasion, he says, “I myself will go” (I 6/6, literally, “by means of my own soul”). As a result, First Man, whom he calls upon, along with the Five Elements, can be interpreted as the “soul” of the Father sent into battle and eventually captured by the powers of darkness. The Manichaean, in turn, is enjoined to “remember” this imprisonment of the Elements, or Living Soul, and to work for their liberation. Once this is recognized, the Manichaean may then become, to use BeDuhn’s evocative term, “a cog” in the great cosmic machinery of light-liberation. According to the Cologne Mani Codex, the notion of the suffering Living Soul was perceived by Mani at an early age when he heard the cries and lamentations of plants as they were harvested from his sectarian community’s vegetable garden (CMC 6–10). This means that, according to Manichaean hagiography at least, the plight of the Living Soul constituted one of Mani’s earliest insights into the true nature of the world around him.

Yet even in spite of the obvious importance of the “Five Sons of First Man” as a concept within Manichaeism generally, the Képhalaia

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40 Compare Chapter 72 in which the “great garment” of the Pillar of Glory/Perfect Man” is made up of Five Intellectuals (1 Ke 177.3). The fact that the Intellectuals are called a “garment” also supports their identification with the Five Elements.
41 BeDuhn, Manichaean Body, 72.
42 BeDuhn, Manichaean Body, 73.
43 BeDuhn, Manichaean Body, 76.
compilers seem to have been primarily interested in using them for the formulation of other rhetorically or doctrinally significant number patterns. For instance, according to Chapter 3 “The Interpretation of Happiness, Wisdom, and Power,” these three thematic qualities are said to exist at five levels of divine being, from 1) the Father, through the light-vehicles of 2) Sun and 3) Moon, to 4) the Elements and 5) the Holy Church. At the level of the Elements, “happiness” is said to be constituted by the Column of Glory/Perfect Man, the cosmic apparatus for light-liberation, while the Five Sons of the Living Spirit constitute “wisdom.” At the same level, however, “power” is manifested by the Five Sons of First Man, who are “folded into the Universe” (1 Ke 24.25).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Being/Context</th>
<th>Happiness</th>
<th>Wisdom</th>
<th>Power</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Great Spirit</td>
<td>rich gods &amp; angels/aeon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>Living Spirit</td>
<td>Mother of Life</td>
<td>rich gods &amp; angels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moon</td>
<td>Mind (of Father)</td>
<td>Virgin of Light</td>
<td>rich gods &amp; angels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elements</td>
<td>Column of Glory</td>
<td>5 Sons of Living Spirit</td>
<td>5 Sons of First Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>Apostle of Light</td>
<td>Leaders &amp; Teachers</td>
<td>Elect, Virgins, Ascetics, Catechumens</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly, in Chapter 4 “On the Four Great Days, which have come out from one another; along with the Four Nights,” the twelve hours of the third day are calculated by adding the Five Sons of First Man and the Five Sons of the Living Spirit to Call and Response (1 Ke 25.25–30).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Four Days</th>
<th>Dwelling</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Father</td>
<td>Aeon</td>
<td>12 rich gods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Third Messenger</td>
<td>Ship of Light</td>
<td>12 virgins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Column</td>
<td>(Cosmos)</td>
<td>5 Sons + 5 Sons + Call &amp;Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Jesus the Splendour</td>
<td>Church</td>
<td>12 Wisdoms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An analogous exegetical manoeuvre occurs in Chapter 10 “On the Meaning of the Fourteen [Great] Aeons about which Sethel spoke in [his] Prayer.” In this context, the Five Elements/Sons are added to Call and Response to form a first set of seven, while the Five Sons of the Living Spirit are added to the Living Spirit and First Man to form a second set of seven. These, Mani is made to explain, constitute the fourteen “blessings” (οἱ ἀνθρώποι) (1 Ke 43.8) or “persons” (μετανόησις) (1 Ke 43.9) through which the world was established.
5 Elements/Sons*  5 Sons of Living Spirit*
+ Call & Response + Living Spirit & First Man

(Living Air)  (Keeper of Splendour)
(Wind)  (King of Honour)
(Light)  (King of Glory)
(Water)  (Adamas)
(Fire)  (Porter)
Call  Living Spirit
Response  First Man

*Individual elements and sons not explicitly named in chapter.

Also, the Five Sons of First Man are assigned by Chapter 16 “[On the Five] Greatnesses which have [come] out against the Darkness” to the “Second Greatness,” along with Mother of Life and First Man (1 Ke 49.19–23):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part I</th>
<th>Part II (fragmentary)</th>
<th>Part III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Greatness</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Greatness</td>
<td>Mother of Life</td>
<td>…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fist Man</td>
<td>Living Spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 Sons of First Man</td>
<td>judge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Greatness</td>
<td>Beloved of Lights</td>
<td>…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Great Builder</td>
<td>Third Ambassador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Living Spirit</td>
<td>king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 Sons of Living Spirit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Greatness</td>
<td>Third Ambassador</td>
<td>…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Column of Glory</td>
<td>Jesus the Splendour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Powers of Light</td>
<td>up-rooter of trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth Greatness</td>
<td>Jesus the Splendor</td>
<td>…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All his Powers</td>
<td>Call &amp; Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>butter in milk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, in Chapter 39 “On the Three Days and the Two Deaths,” the “First Death” is marked by the mixture of Darkness and the Five Sons (1 Ke 102.36–103.2).

3 Days & 2 Deaths  Events
1st day  First Man—Living Spirit—Ambassador
2nd day  New Aeon
3rd day  Father reveals himself
1st death Mixture of Darkness and 5 Sons of First Man
2nd death Casting out of sinful blasphemers
In this way, even in spite of obvious terminological problems, the Five Sons/Elements were seen more as a convenient rhetorical tool than a concept that required extended commentary and clarification. What was it, however, that might have led to Mani’s equation of the suffering light-soul to a concept of five elements in the first place? Throughout antiquity, against the canonical Empedoclean doctrine of four elements, there was an alternate theory of five elements as the basic building-blocks of the cosmos. While it is unclear who may have originated the idea (i.e., pre-Socratics such as Pherecydes of Syros, Pythagoras, or Philolaus, although Mattéi suggests that Philolaus expounded this doctrine), it seems to have taken root in the early Academy and influenced Aristotle and post-Aristotelian philosophy well into Late Antiquity. Eventually, the quintessence, as it were, or fifth element, came to be recognized as the ethereal substance of the soul and eventually as that of the heavenly sphere and the stars. As for how such a concept might have entered Mani’s immediate environment, a doctrine of five elements seems to have played an important role in the cosmogonic teaching of Syriac sage, Bardaisan of Edessa, and his school. Ephraim the Syrian (in the fourth century CE) called Bardaisan the “teacher of Mani,” influencing him particularly in the realm of cosmology. Burkitt accepted Ephraim’s analysis that Mani derived at least some of his ideas from Bardaisan, but cautions that Mani and Bardaisan, although similar on certain points, hold very different points of view. Drijvers has also emphasized the difference between the two. Polotsky, in the footnotes to his edition, suggested that there is a veiled allusion to Marcion and/or Bardaisan as precursors to Mani in the Kephalaia’s “Introduction” (1Ke 13.30ff.). But, as with so many of the most interesting thinkers from Late Antiquity, we are forced to rely largely on fragments and secondary testimony for information about Bardaisan’s teaching, some of which may actually be drawn from his followers. Nevertheless, later Syriac tradition attributes to Bardaisan the doctrine that the world came to be from the mixture of five ele-

44 Moraux, “Quinta essentia,” 1171.
45 L’Étrange et le simulacre, 362.
46 Moraux, 1196ff.
47 Moraux, 1213ff.
48 Drijvers, Bardaisan of Edessa, 225.
49 Religion of the Manichæos, 78–79.
50 “Mani und Bardaisan,” 469.
ments: fire, wind, water, light, and darkness.\textsuperscript{51} But, as Drijvers points out, Bardaisan’s cosmological ideas only came under attack in the wake of Manichaeism.\textsuperscript{52} Thus, there may have been some desire on the part of later polemicists and heresiologists to overemphasize the role played by Bardaisanean ideas in the formation of Manichaeism. As such, while it is at least possible that Mani drew or adapted a doctrine of five elements from Bardaisan (however reluctantly), the presence of such a doctrine, and the importance of the fifth element as the substance of the soul (not found in Bardaisan), is sufficiently attested in philosophical traditions from Late Antiquity to make other derivations possible.

\textit{Cosmic Parallelism}

Two chapters in particular demonstrate the \textit{Kephalaia} compilers’ interest in the correspondence between the macrocosm and the microcosm: Chapter 38 “On the Light-Mind, the Apostles, and the Saints,” and Chapter 70 “On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos.” In Chapter 38 especially, five-part patterns are omnipresent in that they provide both the literary as well as the theological framework through which this theme is presented. As such, the compilers draw on three canonical pentads, namely the “Five Sons of the Living Spirit,”\textsuperscript{53} the “Five Limbs,”\textsuperscript{54} and the “Five Virtues,” to communicate their message.

\textsuperscript{51} See the table of accounts from Barhadbeshabba (6th cent. CE), Moses bar Kepha (10th cent. CE), Iwannis of Dara (9th cent. CE), and Theodore bar Khonai (8th cent. CE) provided by Drijvers in \textit{Bardaisan}, 98–103.

\textsuperscript{52} Bardaisan, 96.

\textsuperscript{53} According to Theodore bar Khonai, in response to the capture of First Man, the Father of Greatness called out a second triad, made up of “Beloved of Lights” (\textsuperscript{53}Splenditenens), “Great Builder” (\textsuperscript{53}Rex honoris), and the “Living Spirit” (\textsuperscript{53}Rex splendit). Like First Man (the third being of the first emanation), Living Spirit calls upon “Five Sons” who aid in the slaughter of the Archons and the construction of the cosmos, specifically the “Ten Heavens” and the “Eight Earths.” These Five Sons are called “Ornament (or Keeper) of Splendour” (\textsuperscript{53}Rex honoris), “Great King of Honour” (\textsuperscript{53}Rex honoris), “Adamos (sic = Adamas) of Light” (\textsuperscript{53}Adamos of Light), “King of Glory” (\textsuperscript{53}Rex honoris), and “Porter” (\textsuperscript{53}Rex honoris). Personally, I prefer the use of English equivalents for these names, since the use of Latin terminology, such as Splenditenens, Rex honoris, etc., so frequently used in studies of Manichaean myth, creates the false impression that such terms are somehow more original or accurate when in actual fact they are relatively late.

\textsuperscript{54} As we have seen, the most important five-part series in the whole of Manichaean discourse is what came to be known in the Graeco-Coptic tradition as the “Five Limbs” (\textit{to\'j m\'e\'lo\'c}). They are usually enumerated as 1) Mind, 2) Thought, 3) Insight, 4) Counsel, and 5) Consideration, although how to accurately translate these terms has
On the rhetorical level, the central importance of five-part patterning to Chapter 38 is made evident by its initial literary frame, since in an effort to have Mani address the issue of theodicy, the unnamed disciple is made to pose a series of five questions:

Again at one occasion, a disciple questioned the [Apostle], / saying to him: You have told us that the Light-Mind / is that which comes and supports the saints. [You have told] / us therefore that even though it is one of the gods . . . / . . . many gods exist in it. You have told / us also that at the time it enters into [the body] / of the flesh and binds the Old Man with his Five Counsels, / setting up its Five Counsels on him in the Five Limbs / [of his] body. Where is it [though], since the Old Man is bound in the / body? For, I (can) see that rebellions occur in its / bond from time to time. Secondly, I ask / you: If indeed it is a great god, unchanging and / immeasurable, how does it come to appear in the smallness of the / body?

The third thing that I want you to tell / me [is this: If(?)] the Mind is holy and pure, / [how did it come to be joined to(?)] the impurity of this body? /

Fourthly, if truly, the Light-Mind is present in [the] / saints, why does its likeness not appear to us as it / is? The fifth thing: I want / you to tell me (about) and explain your apostleship. / For, behold, it is not clear to me, since they oppress / you and persecute you in the world. / I implore you that you persuade me about these things which I have asked you (1 Ke 89.21–90.7).

Basically, what the disciple wants to know is how a great and noble divine power such as the Light-Mind can inhabit a small and defiled
body. Moreover, if this is indeed the case why does Sin\textsuperscript{55} (i.e., “rebellion”) persist? These two basic questions, however, are extended (somewhat artificially perhaps) into a five-part schema:

- **Question i)** Where is the Light-Mind in the body, if there are rebellions?
- **Question ii)** How can this great god come into a small body?
- **Question iii)** How can the pure Mind occupy the defiled body?
- **Question iv)** If the Light-Mind exists in the saints, why don’t we see his likeness?
- **Question v)** What is the nature of your apostolate, if you are persecuted?

In response, Mani is made to begin his discourse with an analogy\textsuperscript{56} in five parts. The first part of the analogy suggests that the cosmos (metaphorically understood as “Error” [πάθος]) is constructed like a human body (1Ke 90.20–22). Its external aspects are described in descending order from head to feet (1Ke 90.22–33), while its internal aspects are described from interior to exterior, from heart to skin (1Ke 91.1–5), followed by several characteristics made unclear by lacunae in the text (1Ke 91.5–13). According to the second part of the analogy, the soul of the cosmos is represented by the Five Sons of the Living Spirit (the Keeper of Splendor, the King of Honour, the Adamas of Light, the King of Glory, and the Porter), who are characterized as “Five Sleepless Watchers” (τοὺς ἄγγελους αὐτῶν) (1Ke 91.19) and are related to the Five Limbs (Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, Consideration) (1Ke 91.14–33). To these two groups of five is added a sixth element in the form of a pair: “call and response” (τωρχῆς/στάῤῥης) (1Ke 92.2–3)—the dual values at the core of the Manichaean drama of salvation. Part three states that the Column of Glory represents the Light-Mind at the cosmic level (1Ke 92.5–6), while part four recounts how the dark powers have rebelled in the watch districts of each of the Five Sons (1Ke 92.12–93.15). Finally, the fifth part of the analogy describes how the Column of Glory (acting as a kind of Light-Mind for the cosmos) assists the Five Sons in suppressing the rebellions in their respective watch districts (93.16–94.16). By means of this analogy, Mani is made to set up the basic thesis of the discourse, namely that the Light-Mind is indeed present in the body in spite of the presence of sin, thereby answering the first of the disciple’s questions.

\textsuperscript{55} In Manichaean discourse “Sin” is often a quasi-personified concept.

\textsuperscript{56} Nagel characterized this as the “makrokosmisch-mikrokosmisch . . . Lagerallegorie” (“Anatomie des Menschen in gnostischer und manichäischer Sicht,” 88).
This first part of the discourse is expressed using a series of five-fold structures that progressively integrate each part of the argument while consistently enumerating the five thematic elements in canonical order. The rhetorical repetition of five is meant to express the fundamental interconnectedness of all facets of Manichaean teaching and to reflect the quasi-scientific allure of Manichaean doctrines in Late Antiquity. The Elect, to whom this discourse is addressed, would have had no difficulty in accepting the Manichaean logic of this vivid cosmological narrative.

Mani, then, is made to continue with arguments in support of his position by shifting first to the microcosmic level of the body and second to the level of the community. By way of introduction, Mani answers the second of the disciples’ five questions (i.e., How can such a great god dwell in a small body?) by stating that even though the gods are great and mighty (1 Ke 95.4), they are nevertheless bound within their proper places (1 Ke 95.4–9). Following this, Mani answers the third of the five questions (i.e., How can the pure Mind occupy the defiled body?) by describing the creation of the body (what Manichaeans term the “Old Man”) by the agency of Sin. According to the Apostle of Light, Sin bound the Five Limbs in the body: Mind in bone, Thought in sinew, Insight in vein, Counsel in flesh, and Consideration in skin (1 Ke 95.13–19). The Light Mind, however, acts to free the Limbs from their bonds (1 Ke 96.8–21), and reestablish them in the Five Virtues of the “New Man,” or redeemed individual. As such, Mind becomes love, Thought faith, Insight perfection, Counsel patience, and Consideration wisdom (1 Ke 96.25–97.6).

Once again the number five plays a crucial role in the elaboration of this highly structured portion of the discourse. The five-fold schema of the Limbs is enumerated again in the same canonical order (Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel and Consideration) in each of the three occurrences, which, in turn, reflect the three key points in the salvation narrative in which the Light-Mind plays a critically important role: imprisonment, liberation, and re-creation.

\[\text{Sin bound limbs in the body,} \quad \begin{align*}
\text{i) Mind in bone,} \\
\text{ii) Thought in sinew,} \\
\text{iii) Insight in vein,} \\
\text{iv) Counsel in flesh,} \\
\text{v) Consideration in skin.}
\end{align*}\]
\[\text{but Light-Mind frees them,} \quad \begin{align*}
\text{i) Mind from bone,} \\
\text{ii) Thought from sinew,} \\
\text{iii) Insight from vein,} \\
\text{iv) Counsel from flesh,} \\
\text{v) Consideration from skin.}
\end{align*}\]
\[\text{and creates the New Man.} \quad \begin{align*}
\text{i) Mind is love} \\
\text{ii) Thought is faith} \\
\text{iii) Insight is perfection} \\
\text{iv) Counsel is patience} \\
\text{v) Consideration is wisdom.}
\end{align*}\]
What follows is a discussion of the implications of Sin and adversity at the community level. Here Mani emphasizes that even though the Light-Mind is king of the New Man, Sin may still cause disruptions and lead to difficulties in the Manichaean church:

As long as the Limbs of Sin are bound in this way, Sin is contained. Even though the Light-Mind is king, tribulation may still occur in the body from time to time. Sometimes Sin rises up in his Consideration and disturbs Counsel, and confuses the Wisdom and the understanding of the man (1 Ke 97.23–28).

Each of the New Man’s Five Limbs, along with the Five Virtues attached to them, can be disturbed and disrupted by Sin, causing doubt in the believer and his or her possible departure from the church. In this case, however, the presence of the Light-Mind in the individual may be preserved by the members of the community, who attempt to “correct his wisdom” (1 Ke 97.33). Yet even the correction and rebuke of the community may not suffice to keep the Light-Mind active in the individual. Eventually, the Mind “(will) be dispersed from him and return to the Apostle who sent it” (1 Ke 99.13–14). This individual will become like “a bird plucked of its feathers” (1 Ke 99.17). Such statements are presumably meant to justify the loss of community members within the wider context of the persistent activity of sin in the cosmos.

Mani then goes on to restate the answers to the first three questions and respond to the fourth (i.e., If the Light-Mind exists in the saints, why don’t we see his likeness?), by suggesting that the likeness of the Light-Mind cannot be known since it is not visible in the body (1 Ke 99.24). In addition, Mani re-enforces the macrocosmic/microcosmic parallelism at the core of his argumentation and re-assures the audience about the strong presence of the Light-Mind:

57 There is an intriguing correlation here with the Cologne Mani Codex. The actual title of this work is Περὶ τῆς γέννης τοῦ ὁμοίου σώματος, “On the Origin of His Body,” i.e., of his church. Thus, there may be an implicit parallel understood here in Chapter 38 between the metaphor of the body at the cosmological, anthropological, and ecclesiological levels. See Cameron and Dewey, The Cologne Mani Codex, 2 and Henrichs and Koenen, Der Kölner Mani-Kodex.

58 Funk, A&C.

59 In terms of rhetorical structure, it is interesting to note that in this instance, where the Five Limbs are invoked, there is an inversion of their order. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that from a “higher” cosmological perspective the Five Limbs descend in their value, while in the “lower” community context, they ascend. Also, Consideration is presumably weaker than Mind and, as such, would be attacked by sin first.
Behold the strength and the efficiency of the Light-/Mind: how great it is on all the watch-towers of the body. It stands in its encampment (and) shields every impulse of the body from the attractions of Sin. It fixes them, scatters them, (and) sets them right according to his will (1Ke 100.1–100.6).

In conclusion, Mani is made to respond to the fifth and final question by invoking, again in five parts, his own superior status as a prophet. He outlines how he has come into the world as a lone individual and has conquered with the word of God regions which cannot be conquered by force of arms. Even though the powers of the world have attempted to destroy his message, they have failed. In response to such adversities, Mani has freed his children and equipped them with superior wisdom. No one has accomplished more than him, except for Jesus himself (1Ke 100.15–102.3). In this way, Mani is made to rhetorically re-enforce the superior value of his revelation in the face of persecutions by the worldly powers and thereby validate the chapter’s thematic parallelism.

As we can see, Chapter 38 uses an elaborate mixture of five-part theological and literary patterns to communicate its message of reassurance in the face of sin and evil and to emphasize the analogous relationship between the macrocosmic and microcosmic powers. In addition, it reinforces the intimate relationship between three canonical pentads: The Five Sons of the Living Spirit, the Five Limbs, and the Five Virtues. To Manichaeans accustomed to this way of thinking, Chapter 38 no doubt offered an impressive presentation of a persistent theological and community problem.

A similar, although less extensive, analogy between body and cosmos is drawn in Chapter 70 “On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos.” In this chapter, we are told that “the entire cosmos, above and below, resembles the human body” (1Ke 169.29–30), with each component of the cosmos compared to a part of the body (1Ke 170.2–16). Here too, as in Chapter 38, the Five Sons of the Living Spirit are described as “Watchers” (Μηναηραζ) (1Ke 171.28) of five regions of the cosmos (1Ke 170.21–171.15), called “encampments” (Μηναηραζ) (1Ke 170.21) or “watch-towers” (Νοηρψε) (1Ke 171.11), while the Light-Mind guards five “encampments” of the body:

[Just as] these Five Watchers are found in this great [bond of these Five] Encampments that I have proclaimed to you, so too is it with this body, which the Elect bear. There are Five other Encampments in it. The Light-Mind guards them along with the New Man who is with him (1Ke 171.28–172.4).
Also, as in Chapter 38, “tribulation” (οἰλιφίς) (1 Ke 171.11) is said to persist under the watch of the guardians (1 Ke 171.11–172.1). Finally, each of the Five Sons of the Living Spirit is compared to an Elect who, with the aid of the Light-Mind, is able to control the various parts of the body (1 Ke 172.3–20).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5 Sons of the Living Spirit</th>
<th>who rule</th>
<th>are like Elect who</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Keeper of Splendour</td>
<td>First Three Heavens</td>
<td>rules face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King of Honour</td>
<td>Next Seven Heavens</td>
<td>rules heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adamas</td>
<td>Firmament to Four Earths</td>
<td>rules chest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King of Glory</td>
<td>Three Wheels &amp; Three Earths</td>
<td>rules stomach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porter</td>
<td>Great Earth &amp; Four Fixtures</td>
<td>rules feet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this way it can be seen that, in two different chapters (Chapters 38 and 70), the Kephalaia compilers sought to emphasize the correspondence between the cosmos and the human form—a concept essential to the Manichaean worldview. This was done to reassure the community that parallel processes of rebellion and divine suppression are at work at both levels of being. In this way, readers could imagine their own bodies as encapsulating the cosmic struggle against the powers of darkness.

Fathers of Greatness

One favourite activity of the Kephalaia compilers that speaks to their deliberate efforts at pentadic redaction is the grouping of beings from the light-realm into series known either as the “Five Fathers” or the “Five Greatnesses.” The first major discussion of this theme can be found in the work as early as Chapter 7 “The Seventh, on the Five Fathers,” where the compiler took the unusual step of numerically identifying the placement of the chapter in its title.60 In this chapter, Mani is made to explain that the Five Fathers have their origin in the Father of Greatness and that all have shared in the victory over the powers of darkness. Each of the Five Fathers is named, along with three of their emanations:

60 This seems to occur in only one other chapter in 1 Ke—Chapter 2, and apparently not at all in 2 Ke (see Funk, “Reconstruction,” 158–159).
Essentially, what this chapter presents is a five-part ontology of salvation. These Five Fathers represent the five ontological levels at which the work of salvation takes place: 1) the pre-cosmic context of the Light-realm (Father of Greatness), 2) the cosmic context of creation and the defeat of the Archons (Third Messenger), 3) the eschatological context of human history, judgment, and redemption (Jesus the Splendour), 4) the prophetological context of revelation and apostleship (Light Mind), and 5) the ethical and ecclesiological context of the Holy Church (Light-Form).

Whereas the canonical version of the myth, as known from Theodore bar Khonai, contains three series of emanations, the compilers of Chapter 7 extend this canonical formulation to a five-stage process of salvation, with three emanations occurring at each stage. Moreover, each stage moves towards a progressive focalization of the myth from the generalized, pre-cosmic context of the Father of Greatness down to the specific context of the individual Manichaean who has received the Light-Form. For example, stage one of salvation occurs at the broad, pre-cosmic level where the three “canonical” emanations occur out of the Father of Greatness. This establishes the transcendent framework of salvation. Stage two brings into focus the three components of the Third Messenger, the third canonical emanation, who provides the means by which salvation can be achieved by human beings. Stage three enumerates three hypostases of Jesus the Splendour, the main intermediary from the third emanation, who acts not only as enlightener and bringer of the Light-Mind, but as eschatological judge as well. Stage four speci-

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61 The Third Messenger was prematurely identified as the “Second Father” by the redactor in the list of the Father of Greatness’ three emanations (1 Ke 34:33).

62 This, of course, cannot be verified since Theodore’s account of the myth breaks off after Jesus the Splendour’s encounter with Adam.

63 It is important to keep in mind the role of synonymy in early Manichaean discourse. Even though three beings are emanated in each of the three canonical emanations, only one is named here as representative. Even though the Manichaean myth presents a multiplicity of different beings, in many instances they may be understood as diverse manifestations and hypostases of an original triad.
Chapter Two

Chapter 20, again with the atypical title of “The Chapter on the Name of the Fathers,” presents a similar arrangement of five mythological figures. In this chapter, Mani is made to quiz his disciples about why the Father is called “Father of Greatness” (1 Ke 63.23–24). After their stereotypical plea of ignorance, Mani reveals that the Father of Greatness is so-called because he dwells in the Great Earth, where he is surrounded by all his angels and divine companions (1 Ke 63.28–33). The discourse then turns to identifying the “greatness” of four other beings that are also called “Father.” The Third Messenger’s greatness is the “Ship of the Living Fire,” i.e., the Sun, while Jesus the Splendour’s greatness is the “Ship of the Living Water,” i.e., the Moon. The Column of Glory’s greatness has something to do with “Five Gods,” while the greatness of the Light-Mind is identified as the Holy Church (1 Ke 63.34–64.10). This list of Five Fathers from Chapter 20, however, is different from the list found in Chapter 7:

Chapter 7: 5 Fathers
Father of Greatness
Third Messenger
Jesus the Splendour
Light-Mind
Light-Form

Chapter 20: 5 Fathers
Father of Greatness
Third Messenger
Jesus the Splendour
Column of Glory
Light-Mind

Whereas Chapter 7 enumerates a soteriological sequence in which the Light-Form is given a central role at the community level, the account from Chapter 20 inserts the Column of Glory, making no mention of the Light-Form. The aim of Chapter 20, however, although also soteriological in character, seems to be to establish the location of each of the Five Fathers at one of the five principal stopping points of the Manichaean cosmic journey of salvation: from the ritual activity of the Holy Church (Light Mind) to the “Five Gods” (?) administered by the Column of Glory, to the Moon and Sun where Jesus the Splendour and the Third Messenger dwell, on to the Great Earth, the homeland of the Father of Greatness. Whereas Chapter 7 enumerates the five ontological levels of salvation, Chapter 20 lists those five beings whose efforts facilitate the accomplishment of salvation and the liberation of light.
The situation is further complicated when we look at Chapter 25 “On the Five [Fathers: From which Limbs they have come],” where we are presented with yet another variant formulation, only this time the Father of Greatness himself is not included.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Five Fathers</th>
<th>from Five Limbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Messenger</td>
<td>&lt; Mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beloved of Lights</td>
<td>&lt; Thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother of Life</td>
<td>&lt; Insight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus the Beloved (sic)</td>
<td>&lt; Counsel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virgin of Light</td>
<td>&lt; Consideration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unfortunately, almost no context is given by this extremely abbreviated chapter, other than the statement that “one came after the other (and) appeared in his time” (1 Ke 76.25). This seems to imply that the series is meant to be understood temporally, although such an understanding seems to contradict what is known about the sequence of the Manichaean myth from other sources such as Theodore bar Khonai. According to the canonical account, a “temporal” progression of these figures would run Mother of Life—Beloved of Lights—Messenger—Jesus the Beloved—Virgin of Light. Nevertheless, a clue as to how this series might be understood can be found in Chapter 7, in which the Third Messenger is called the “model of the King of Light” (1 Ke 35.8) and the “first of all counsellors” (1 Ke 34.33). This would seem to justify the Third Messenger’s placement at the head of the Chapter 25 formulation. The selection and arrangement of the other figures, however, remains obscure.

Another, albeit peculiar, presentation of the Five Fathers can be found in Chapter 148 “On the Five Books, that they belong to Five Fathers.” In this chapter, Mani is supposed to have associated “five” of his books with the “Fathers of Light” (1 Ke 355.6–7). While the Living Gospel is attributed to the Messenger and the Treasure of Life to the Column of Glory, the three writings, Pragmateia, Book of Mysteries, and Book of

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64 This example is further complicated by the fact that some of its irregular features may indicate that the compiler may have been drawing on some very early material. For example, the brevity of the chapter indicates that it may be an early “proto-kephalaic” formulation. In addition, the fact that the first father is identified simply as the “Messenger” rather than the “Third Messenger” parallels a detail which can be found in Theodore bar Khonai’s account. Similarly, the unusual formulation of “Jesus the Beloved” may be derived from some early source.
Giants are attributed to the Light-Twin, forming a kind of trilogy. The Letters, however, are said to be Mani’s own gifts. Strangely, no fifth book is named or attributed to a Manichaean divinity. Nor is the seventh of Mani’s canonical writings mentioned at all.\textsuperscript{65} It appears, however, that an attempt has been made to compress this canonical *heptateuch* into a *pentateuch* more in line with the compilers’ penchant for five-part structures.\textsuperscript{66} The fact that only six books are mentioned as four gifts may be due to scribal error,\textsuperscript{67} since the construction of such a six-four formulation runs contrary to the compilers’ penchant for *pentadic* *redaction*. Nevertheless, the enumeration of the Fathers appears equally puzzling, since it too is at variance with the three previously discussed formulations.

Finally, there seems to have been an additional discussion of the Five Fathers in Chapter 191 “There are Five Properties in the Image of our Apostle symbolizing the Five Light Fathers,” which unfortunately is entirely obscured by lacunae. At most, a general outline of the discourse can be reconstructed as enumerating Five “Properties” and Five other qualities:

**CHAPTER 191 SCHEMA:**

INTRO: Again he spoke to his disciples . . .

DISCOURSE: There are Five Properties in the Image . . .
1) First Property is humility
2) [Second Property . . .?]
3) Third [Property . . .?]
4) [Fourth Property] . . . my Image
5) Fifth [Property] is my light-wisdom.

. . . [Five other things? . . .]
1) [First . . .]
2) [Second . . .]
3) [Third . . .]

\textsuperscript{65} That the Manichaean canon contained seven writings is known from 1Ke 5.21–33, 2Ps. 46f., 139f., and Hom 25.2–5, as well as al-Nadīm and the Chinese *Compendium* (Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 62; Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 153–156).

\textsuperscript{66} That they succeeded in altering the canon is independently verified by Augustine’s *Contra Felicem*, 1.14 (Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 63; see esp. Tardieu’s table on page 64).

\textsuperscript{67} See Funk 1Ke 335, who suggests that the *Psalms and Prayers* could have been named before the *Letters*. If, however, the title was added only later, then we need not assume that the chapter itself was intentionally structured in five-parts (Funk, *personal communication*).
4) [Fourth . . .]
5) Fifth is my light-wisdom.

CONCLUSION: I have given victory . . . over all Sects . . .

While there is no way of knowing what identity and role the Five Fathers were given in this chapter, it appears as though the emphasis was placed on the qualities attributable to Mani.

As we have seen, the Kephalaia compilers present five formulations of the Five Fathers, four of which can be read. Each of these formulations, however, presents a different sequence of Fathers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 7</th>
<th>Chapter 20</th>
<th>Chapter 25</th>
<th>Chapter 148</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father of Greatness</td>
<td>Father of Greatness</td>
<td>Messenger</td>
<td>Messenger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Messenger</td>
<td>Third Messenger</td>
<td>Beloved of Lights</td>
<td>Column of Glory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus the Splendour</td>
<td>Jesus the Splendour</td>
<td>Mother of Life</td>
<td>Light Twin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light-Mind</td>
<td>Column of Glory</td>
<td>Jesus the Beloved</td>
<td>— ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light-form</td>
<td>Light Mind</td>
<td>Virgin of Light</td>
<td>Mani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the (Third) Messenger is the only figure found in all four formulations, there are nonetheless some similarities between Chapters 7 and 20 and Chapters 25 and 148. On the one hand, Chapters 7 and 20 appear the most similar, varying only in positions four and five, while Chapters 25 and 148 place the Messenger in the first position.

What then should we make of these variations?68 While the compilers were obviously using and building upon some kind of earlier material, it is difficult to imagine that a truly canonical series would be subject to such a degree of malleability, given the rigidity with which other series such as the Five Sons are maintained. Nevertheless, given the fact that we find the same expression “Fathers of Light” used in the Psalm-Book (see 2 Ps. 8.8; 36.15; 73.8; 84.29; 202.12) and the Cologne Mani Codex (33.2), we may assume that it was an epithet that existed as part of a canonical Manichaean tradition and was probably used by Mani himself as a general designation for any number of divine beings.69 That

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68 Unfortunately, other Manichaean Coptic sources provide little in the way of clarification, even though the Fathers of Light are invoked several times in the Psalm-Book. “Bema Psalm 237,” however, does enumerate a somewhat ambiguous series of Five Greatnesses of the Fathers involving 1) Mother of Life/First Man, 2) Beloved of Lights/Great Builder, 3) Third Messenger, 4) Column of Glory/Porters, and 5) Virgin/Judge/Light-Mind (2 Ps. 36.20–37.9).

69 This can be inferred from Theodore bar Khonai’s account, in which First Man responds to Living Spirit with the words “How fare our fathers (اعشه), the sons of Light in their city?” (315.1 [Scher]).
these Fathers of Light came to be thought of in terms of five-part series is likely an additional by-product of the process of *pentadic redaction* so evident in the *Kephalaia*. The fact that there are so many variant formulations, however, would seem to represent the various attempts at clarification and elaboration of this quasi-canonical trope, which appears to have been left quite ambiguous and flexible. Perhaps a concept of Five Fathers was needed to balance the recurring image of the Five Sons. Or, perhaps the Five Fathers are an attempt to re-emphasize the fact that the Father is a being endowed with five qualities or Limbs, and as such would have been compelled to send five emissaries into the drama of salvation. Or, the variant formulations might have resulted from an overabundance of hypostases and personages invoked by Mani in his writings—i.e., there were simply too many gods and hypostases to choose from. At any rate, the *Kephalaia* chapters dealing with the Five Fathers, although frustratingly contradictory, do provide us with an important glimpse into the ongoing and evolutionary process of clarification and systematization of Manichaean discourse undertaken by the *Kephalaia* compilers. This concept, in particular, appears to have caused considerable confusion and does not appear, at the stage represented by our manuscript at least, to have been resolved.

Although only mentioned in one published *Kephalaia* chapter, the compilers also present a formulation known as the “Five Greatnesses” (*tē mēnthnai*). According to Chapter 16 “[On the Five] Greatnesses which have [come] out against the Darkness,” the entire series of mythical emanations are presented according to a five-stage schema. The “First Greatness” is presented as the Father of Greatness, who has a “solitary existence” (*teqoucia ouaeta*) (1 Ke 49.17) in the realm of light. The “Second Greatness” is made up of the Mother of Life, First Man, and the Five Sons of First Man (1 Ke 49.19–23). The “Third Greatness,” in turn, contains the Beloved of Lights, Great Builder, and the Living Spirit, along with the Five Sons of the Living Spirit (1 Ke 49.23–25). The “Fourth Greatness” is described as the Third Messenger, the Column of Glory, and (somewhat ambiguously) “all the powers of light who are revealed from him” (*mēn throv noaihē etaqouing [aβaλ mmaq]*) (1 Ke 49.26–28). Finally, the “Fifth Greatness” is constituted by Jesus the Splendour and (with similar ambiguity) “all his powers” ([m]ēqoum throv) (1 Ke 49.29–31).

70 The Five Greatnesses are also mentioned in 2 Ps. 136.50.
This formulation varies considerably from the canonical version of the myth known from Theodore bar Khonai. As we have seen, according to his testimony, Mani conceived of his cosmogony as occurring in three emanations, or evocations, each containing three primary figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theodore bar Khonai</th>
<th>Chapter 16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Emanation/Evocation</td>
<td>1st Greatness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father of Greatness</td>
<td>Father of Greatness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother of Life</td>
<td>Mother of Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Man</td>
<td>First Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Sons of First Man</td>
<td>5 Sons of First Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Emanation/Evocation</td>
<td>2nd Greatness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beloved of Lights</td>
<td>Beloved of Lights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Builder</td>
<td>Great Builder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living Spirit</td>
<td>Living Spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Sons of Living Spirit</td>
<td>5 Sons of Living Spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Emanation/Evocation</td>
<td>3rd Greatness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Messenger</td>
<td>Third Messenger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Virgins</td>
<td>Column of Glory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus the Splendour</td>
<td>“powers of Light”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Greatness</td>
<td>5th Greatness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus the Splendour</td>
<td>Jesus the Splendour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“all his powers”</td>
<td>“all his powers”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is well known to Manichaean scholars, the third emanation is the most problematic formulation to disentangle. While Theodore states that the Messenger brought forth Twelve Virgins and Jesus the Splendour (although Jesus is not explicitly “called” in Theodore’s account), Chapter 7 ("The Seventh, on the Five Fathers") states that the Third Messenger emanated three powers: 1) the Column of Glory/Perfect Man, 2) Jesus the Splendour, and 3) a single Virgin of Light (1 Ke 35.7–17). As we have seen, however, Chapter 16 presents the third emanation as including the Third Messenger, the Column of Glory, and the ambiguous “powers of light” revealed by him (1 Ke 49.26–28). As a result, we are faced with three alternative formulations of the third emanation:

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71 While it is clear that the Messenger is definitely part of the third triad, the remaining two members are ambiguous, since there are essentially three possible candidates: 1) some sort of virgin figure, 2) Jesus the Splendour, and 3) the Column of Glory, also known as the Perfect Man (2 Ps. 133.24–25; 1 Ke 20.15; 24-23; 35-10; 37-3; 155.11).
While the compilers of *Chapter 7*, as we saw above, were motivated by a desire to present the Manichaean soteriological narrative through a telescopic five-part frame in which every “father” emanates three other beings, here the compilers of *Chapter 16* perform a similar operation by attempting to transform the canonical three-part cosmogonical schema into a five-part formulation. This meant isolating the Father of Greatness from his implicit association with the first emanation and dividing the third emanation into two parts (Greatness Four and Five). The integrity of the second emanation, however, is maintained. This, of course, is another example of the *pentadic redaction* imposed by the compilers. In this case, the basic frame of the canonical myth is altered from a three-stage to a five-stage formulation. In addition, conflicting accounts of the third evocation point to an inherent ambiguity within the canonical account that appears to have allowed the compilers to so fundamentally alter the basic frame of their cosmogonic discourse.
As we have seen, the *Kephalaia* compilers present a number of five-part patterns associated with the light-realm in order to emphasize the pentadric attributes of its inhabitants as well as the typically five-stage structure of their activities. At the same time, however, they seem to have been equally interested in sorting out the five-part structures associated with the Kingdom of Darkness. Five chapters in particular offer such presentations of the dark-realm: Chapter 6 “On the Five Storehouses which are brought forth from the Land of Darkness from the Beginning; the Five Rulers, the Five Spirits, the Five Bodies, (and) the Five Tastes,” Chapter 15 “[On the] . . . Five [Parts] . . . World of . . . .,” Chapter 27 “On the Five Forms which exist in the Archon(s) of Darkness,” Chapter 57 “On the Generation of Adam,” and Chapter 69 “On the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Stars.” As we shall see, the compilers of these chapters were interested in three primary themes—1) the genesis of the dark-realm, 2) the nature of the dark-lord and his companions, and 3) the relation of the dark powers to the zodiac and the planets—which they chose to re-enforce through the use of both theological and literary five-part patterning.

*The Evolution of Evil*

Unlike the monotheistic theological traditions of Late Antiquity that attempted to arrive at a philosophical solution to the problem of evil by attributing it either to human free-will or divine providence, Manichaeanls offered a radically different response in the form of cosmic dualism and attempted to visualize evil by means of vivid mythological images and metaphor. As such, two of the most important presentations of the Land of Darkness from the *Kephalaia* can be found in Chapter 6 “On the Five Storehouses which are brought forth from the Land of Darkness from the Beginning; the Five Rulers, the Five Spirits, the Five Bodies, (and) the Five Tastes,” and Chapter 15 “[On the] . . . Five [Parts] . . . World of . . . .” These chapters, which appear to be attempts at a more or less comprehensive description of the dark-realm, contain a literary phenomenon found
primarily in association with such sinister contexts that may be termed clustering. This happens when the compiler lumps together a number of associated five-part patterns into one short passage. For instance, in Chapter 6, Mani is made to begin his discourse by saying:

Five Storehouses have existed from the beginning in the Land of Darkness. Five Elements have poured forth from them. Also, from the Five Elements were fashioned Five Trees, (and) from the Five Trees were fashioned Five Species of Creatures according to each World, / male and female. But also, the Five Worlds [have] / Five Kings, Five Spirits, [Five] Bodies, (and) Five / [Tastes] / according to each world, which do not resemble [one another] (1 Ke 30.17–24).

The function of this cluster is to concisely summarize the stages by which the dark-realm evolved, while at the same time emphasizing its essentially five-part structure. This proposition is even re-enforced by the literary structuring of the introductory passage, which elaborates five basic statements about the dark-realm, with the fifth statement enumerating five items according to the following pattern.

Statement 1: Five Storehouses exist in the Land of Darkness.
Statement 2: Five Elements have poured forth from them.
Statement 3: Five Trees were fashioned from the Five Elements.
Statement 4: Five Species came from the Five Trees.
Statement 5: The (1) Five Worlds of Darkness also have (2) Five Kings, (3) Five Spirits, (4) Five Bodies, and (5) Five Tastes.

A similar cluster occurs in Chapter 15, “[On the] . . . Five [Parts] . . . World of . . .”:

The fifth time it spread itself to its offspring that exist [in the Five Worlds that were fashioned (and) begotten from the Five Fruits of Death, which are the Five Worlds of Flesh, the Five Creations of Darkness which Death established in them. He spread himself among the Ten Parts, the Five Male Parts and the / Five Female [Parts] . . . . . (1 Ke 48.17–22).

This passage fits into a more elaborate discourse about the Five “Parts/Times”1 that follows a similar structure to that found in the introduction to Chapter 6:

Part 1: Death-desire . . .
Time 2: Five Elements poured fourth . . .
Part 3: [Five Trees formed?]

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1 The discourse alternates between enumerating “part” (ťa=re) and “time” (cāti) in the same five-part list.
Part 4: Five Fruits from Five Trees are Five Worlds.
Time 5: The (1) Five Worlds fashioned from (2) Five Fruits, (3) which are Five Worlds of Flesh, (4), i.e., the Five Creations, distributed in (5) Five Male/Female Parts.

As such, Chapters 6 and 15 present two similar, although variant, accounts of how the Land of Darkness came into being.

**Chapter 6**
5 Storehouses
5 Elements
5 Trees
5 Species of Trees
5 Worlds, 5 Kings, 5 Spirits, 5 Bodies, 5 Tastes

**Chapter 15**
Desire/Death
5 Elements
[5 Trees?]
5 Worlds, 5 Fruits, 5 Flesh, 5 Creations, 5 Parts

Whereas Chapter 6 begins with the Five Storehouses as its point of origin, Chapter 15 begins with a more singular principle known as the “Death-desire” (ἐνοχήνθεν πτέρν πνοή) (1 Ke 47.34). From this principle, which is essentially a synonym for “Matter” (γίγνεται) (1 Ke 129.11; 180.15–16), emerge the remaining structures of the dark-realm. In this way the origin of evil is viewed as a generative process in which the Five Dark Elements, spurred on by the evil principle (variously known as Desire, Death, or Matter), develop according to an “organic” process analogous to natural phenomena such as the growth of trees and the production of fruit.

Both Chapter 6 and Chapter 15 present conceptions of the dark-realm which may be related to different streams of Manichaean canonical tradition. For example, Chapter 15 can be compared to the close association between the terms “Matter,” “Desire,” and “Darkness” known to Ephraim (4th cent. CE), who records that Mani “constructed (the theory) that sometimes Matter (ὑλή) (Δομ) displayed purposive thought” (Contra manichaeos, 1.6), while Titus of Bostra (4th cent. CE) (Contra manichaeos, 1.6), Theodoret (5th cent. CE), and Severus of Antioch (6th cent. CE) (likely drawing upon the same canonical source) state that “Matter” and “Darkness” were co-referential terms (89–90 [Reeves]). Theodoret also records that “Matter later divided itself into multiple worlds (αἰῶσι) and its fruits among them” (Kugener/Cumont, 152). Such presumably canonical accounts, however, can be contrasted with other statements from Theodore bar Khonai (8th cent. CE) and al-Nadim (10th cent. CE), which both place Darkness and its Five Worlds
at the beginning of their cosmogonies (Theodore bar Khonai 313.18–21 [Scher]; Fihrist, 777 [Dodge]). In this way, Chapter 15’s account can be seen to resemble fragments of canonical tradition from the 4th and 5th centuries CE, while Chapter 5’s account is similar to later 8th and 10th century CE accounts. This implies not only that Titus, Theodoret, and Severus drew upon a different source than Theodore and al-Nadim, but also that Chapters 6 and 15 may have drawn upon similarly distinct material.

At any rate, in spite of these differences, the fact that the evolution of the dark-realm is elaborated by the Kephalaia compilers in both chapters as occurring in five basic stages accords well with parallel structures applied to the activities of the light-realm and fits with their general project of pentadic redaction. The fact that these descriptions contain clusters of five-part series is likely meant to draw special attention to the fact that the Kingdom of Darkness is also infused with patterns parallel to those of the Land of Light.

King(s) of Darkness

Just as beings from the Land of Light are often grouped by the compilers into five-part series, the same holds true for the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Darkness. In fact, figuring out the nature of such tenebrous groupings seems to have been a theological issue of great interest to the Kephalaia compilers. One of the best examples of this preoccupation can again be found in Chapter 6, which states that it was the King of the World of Smoke as the “chief of all evil and [all] wickedness” (1 Ke 30.27–28), who “waged war with the Light” and “did battle with the exalted kingdom” (1 Ke 30.32–33). He is said to possess five sets of characteristics: 1) five zoomorphic forms (1 Ke 30.34–31.1), 2) five evil qualities of darkness, stench, ugliness, bitterness, and fire (1 Ke 31.3–6), 3) a body “harder than all iron, brass, and steel” (1 Ke 31.14), “magic arts” (1 Ke 31.17), and the ability to understand the speech and signs of all his minions (1 Ke 32.1–8), 4) he is insect-like, with a thundering voice, and short-sighted, and 5) his body is gold, his taste is salty, and his spirit rules the powers of the world.
This rather vivid description of the dark-lord, however, reveals a number of editorial seams. For instance, the compiler is not quite sure what to call the chief ruler, whom he variously names as “King of the World of Smoke” (πρω ντικοσμος κτιατνος [1 Ke 30.25]), “Archon of Smoke” (παρχωμ κτικνος [1 Ke 31.12]), “King (of those) of Darkness” (πρω ντατκεκε [1 Ke 30.33; 31.2, 27–28; 32.1, 14; 33.2, 5]) or simply “King of Darkness” (πρω ντεκε [1 Ke 31.24]). Remarkably, in much the same way as Chapter 21’s description of the ruler of the light-realm (see above), there appears to be interwoven into this depiction of the dark lord two passages with which parallels have been identified in the Mandaean Right Ginza:2

**Passage A: Manichaean**

**Kephalaia, 30.34–31.1:** His head [is lion-faced, his] hands and feet are demon- [and devil]-faced, [his] shoulders are eagle-faced, while his belly [is dragon-faced,] (and) his tail is fish-faced.

**Mandaean**

**Right Ginza, 280:** His head is that of a lion, his body is that of a serpent, his wings are those of an eagle, his sides are those of a tortoise, his hands and feet are those of a demon (trans. from Puech).

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2 This is an identification already made by Polotsky in the 1940 edition. See translations of this passage by Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, 278 and Puech, “Le prince des ténèbres,” 113. Puech believed that the Mandaean passage was based on the Manichaean, due to what he called “la gaucherie” of the prior (114). Yet, the Manichaean passage is no less (if not more) “gauche” in the way in which the compiler incorporated this outside material. Rather, the Manichaean passage seems more like a development of the Mandaean. It is, however, possible that both passages drew on some unknown antecedent.
Passage B: Manichaean

Kephalaia, 32.15–20: When it pleases him to walk, he spreads out all his limbs, and he walks. When it comes to his mind, he draws in his limbs and takes them to himself and rolls them into one another and he falls down like a grape or a great iron ball. He is terrible in his voice, he causes fear (and) frightens his powers with his voice.

Right Ginza, 280: When it pleases him, he dilates his body; when it pleases him, he makes himself small. He draws in his members and spreads them again...his appearance is horrible, his body rank, his face distorted (trans. from Puech).

Passage A, in fact, does have a precedent in Manichaean canonical tradition, since al-Nadīm attributes the following description of Satan to Mani: “His head is the head of a lion and his body like the body of a dragon (great serpent). His wing is like the wing of a bird, his tail like the tail of a great fish, and his four feet like the feet of a beast of burden” (Fihrist, 778 [Dodge]). Moreover, an additional witness to this zoomorphic description can be found in Kephalaia Chapter 27 “On the Five Forms which exist in the Archon of Darkness” (1 Ke 77.29–78.1):

As for the Archon, the leader of all the powers / [of Darkness], there are [Five Forms] in his body, according to / [the form] of the seal [of the Five] Creations which exist in the Five / Worlds of Darkness. His head has the face of a lion and / originated from [the] World of Fire. His wings and his / [shoulders] have the face of an eagle, according to the form of the Sons of Wind. / [His hands] and [his feet] are demons, according to the form / [of the Sons] of the World of Smoke. His belly has the face of / [a dragon, according to the form of] the World of Darkness. His tail [has] / the form of the fish, which belongs to [the World of the] Sons of Water. These / Five Forms are found in him; they [have come] from the Five / Creations] / of the Five Worlds of Darkness (1 Ke 77.26–78.3).

This means that we are faced with four variant descriptions of the dark-lord, each of which is expressed in five-parts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Al-Nadīm</th>
<th>Kephalaia Ch. 6</th>
<th>Kephalaia Ch. 27</th>
<th>Right Ginza, 280</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>head of lion</td>
<td>head lion-faced</td>
<td>head lion-faced</td>
<td>head of lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>body of dragon</td>
<td>hands/feet demon-faced</td>
<td>wings eagle-faced</td>
<td>body of serpent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wing of bird</td>
<td>shoulders eagle-faced</td>
<td>hands/feet demons</td>
<td>wings of eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tail of fish</td>
<td>belly dragon-faced</td>
<td>belly dragon-faced</td>
<td>sides of tortoise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feet of beast</td>
<td>tail fish-faced</td>
<td>tail fish-faced</td>
<td>hands/feet of demon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is obviously a complicated relationship between these accounts. On the one hand the descriptions from Kephalaia Chapters 6 and 27
are essentially the same, varying only slightly in the order of their terminology, while on the other hand, the descriptions preserved by al-Nadim and the Right Ginza agree in all but two of their features. Interestingly, however, a variant from the Mandaean description, i.e., the demonic hands and feet, is preserved by both Kephalaia accounts. All that we may assume is that a zoomorphic description of some sort did exist as part of Manichaean canonical tradition, although the exact composition of that description remains elusive. After all, it seems difficult to privilege al-Nadim’s testimony from the 10th century, even if he claims to quote Mani directly, over 4th or 5th century descriptions from the Kephalaia.

What then, are we to make of such variations? Perhaps the compiler felt that the canonical description available to him did not achieve the desired effect, or, perhaps he was so impressed by the other account that he sought to weave it into his own literary creation—with mixed results. At any rate, the compiler seems to have been confronted by two problems: first, how to describe the chief ruler of darkness, and second, how to name him while still preserving the canonical order of dark worlds established by Mani.

Unfortunately for the compiler, Mani’s description of the dark-realm, even if it did include some sort of zoomorphic description of the dark-lord, seems to have been ambiguous at best. Theodore bar Khonai, for instance, simply records that “the Evil Nature he calls ‘King of Darkness’ and he says that he dwelt in the Land of Darkness with his Five Worlds: the World of Smoke, the World of Fire, the World of Wind, the World of Water, and the World of Darkness” (313.18–21 [Scher]), as does al-Nadim (Fihrist, 777 [Dodge]). A certain amount of ambiguity even seems to have surrounded the nature of the term “World” as applied to the regions of Darkness, since according to Theodore bar Khonai, Mani employed the Syriac term 'alam (‘alam) which can mean either “world” or “age.” Augustine, reacting to the so-called Fundamental Epistle variously described these entities as saecula (De natura boni, 42) and naturae (Fundamental Epistle, Frag. 6b). In De moribus, however, Augustine seems to have imagined them as caves (antra) (2.19), which

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3 Presumably “wings” and “shoulders” are meant to designate the same feature of the dark-lord.

4 Mani does seem to have described evil entities in zoomorphic terms in his Shabuhragan, where he makes reference to “two lion-shaped archdemons” (Klimkeit, Gnosis on the Silk Road, 223).

5 Cumont, Recherches I, 11 n. 3.
may dimly reflect the notion of “storehouses” (ταμιεῖα) known to the *Kephalaia* and Simplicius (35.65–66 [Adam]). Cumont’s suggestion that the Latin term saecula was selected via the Greek αἰῶνες seems to be confirmed from what is beginning to be known about the Coptic translation of Mani’s *Living Gospel* (from the Synaxeis codex) in which the Five shekinahs of the light-realm are called *naïoum*. At any rate, few specific details other than their order are given about the structure, activities, or inhabitants of these dark worlds in known canonical accounts. For instance, a fragment from the *Fundamental Epistle* preserved by Augustine, describes the five regions of the land of darkness (this time in reverse order) impressionistically as deep and of immeasurable extent; in it reside fiery bodies, baneful breeds. Here, emanating out of the same principle came a boundless and incalculable darkness, together with its own progeny. Beyond the darkness lay filthy whirling waters with their inhabitants; further within were terrifying and violent storms with their ruler and progenitors. Next followed another fiery region, a prey to destruction, with its leaders and peoples. In the same way there lived inside it a breed filled with gloom and smoke, among whom loitered the horrible ruler and leader of all these worlds, who had congregated around himself innumerable princes, and he himself was the spirit and source of all of them (trans. Hendry).

In addition, Severus of Antioch recorded a statement about how “all the members of the Tree of Darkness . . . rose up and ascended with numerous powers impossible to calculate.” Such descriptions drawn apparently from canonical writings do not achieve the clarity and specificity sought by the *Kephalaia* compilers. This ambiguity is (pardon the pun) in stark contrast to the light-realm, where the Father of Greatness, as we have seen, dwells with his Five Limbs, and from which emanates a well-known cast of characters including the First Man and his Five Sons, the Living Spirit and his Five Sons, as well as the Third Ambassador, the Virgin of Light, and Jesus the Splendour. It would seem then that the compiler of *Chapter 6* for some reason felt compelled to clarify just what Mani meant by his seemingly abbreviated, or simply

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6 Cumont, *Recherches I*, 11 n. 3.
7 Funk, *personal communication*.
8 The exact nature of this writing’s relationship with the Manichaean canon remains ambiguous.
ambiguous, description of the dark-realm and to create a greater degree of *parallelism* with the World of Light. His efforts, however, left a number of obvious traces.

In order to frame and re-enforce this clarification, the compiler of *Chapter 6* gave five-part structures a central compositional role. In the first place, the chapter title (which may in fact have been added at some later stage of the textual history) somewhat awkwardly enumerates five *sets of five* to be discussed in the chapter, namely, 1) the Five Storehouses, 2) the Five Rulers, 3) the Five Spirits, 4) the Five Bodies, and 5) the Five Tastes, while (as we have seen) the introductory frame re-emphasizes the thematic centrality of five by means of a *cluster* of five statements (see above). Then, the central discourse begins, which is itself divided into five parts dealing with the five Kings of Darkness, with (as we have also seen) the section about the King of the World of Smoke itself divided into five parts:

1) King of the World of Smoke, chief of evil (*1 Ke* 30.25–33)
   1) 5 Forms are in him (*1 Ke* 30.33–31.2)
      i) head lion-faced
      ii) hands-/ feet demon-/ devil-faced
      iii) shoulders eagle-faced
      iv) belly dragon-faced
      v) tail fish-faced
   2) Also, 5 (additional) forms in him (*1 Ke* 31.3–7)
      i) darkness
      ii) stench
      iii) ugliness
      iv) bitterness
      v) fire
   3) 3 other things (*1 Ke* 31.8–32.13)
      i) body is harder than any metal
      ii) kills with his magic arts
         *(Interpolated admonition [?] : Keep away from magic! [1 Ke 31.24–33])*
         iii) knows languages of 5 worlds
   4) Also, (*1 Ke* 32.14–32.30)
      i) he can spread out his limbs or draw them in like an insect.
      ii) his voice is terrible like thunder
      iii) he can’t see what is far away
   5) These are his evil signs and symbols (*1 Ke* 32.30–33.8)
      i) his body is gold
      ii) his taste is salty
      iii) he rules over the powers and authorities of the world.
2) The King of the Worlds of Fire (1 Ke 33.9–17)
   i) lion-faced
   ii) brass body
   iii) sour taste
   iv) his spirit rules the kings of the world and the fire-worshiping sect

3) The King of the Worlds of Wind (1 Ke 33.18–24)
   i) eagle-faced
   ii) iron body
   iii) hot taste
   iv) his spirit rules idol-worshipers

4) The King of the World of Water (1 Ke 33.25–32)
   i) fish-faced
   ii) silver body
   iii) sweet taste
   iv) his spirit rules the baptists

5) The King of the World of Darkness (1 Ke 33.33–34.1)
   i) dragon-faced
   ii) tin body
   iii) bitter taste
   iv) his spirit rules oracles and soothsayers

The descriptions of the Five Kings in Chapter 6 may be summarized by the following table, which reveals that structurally the chapter as a whole enumerates five sets of five: 1) five rulers, 2) five faces, 3) five bodies, 4) five tastes, and 5) spirits or sphere of influence:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5 rulers</th>
<th>5 faces</th>
<th>5 bodies</th>
<th>5 tastes</th>
<th>5 spirits (rule)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(King of Smoke)</td>
<td>(all-faced)</td>
<td>(gold body)</td>
<td>(salty taste)</td>
<td>(powers that be)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King of Fire</td>
<td>lion-faced</td>
<td>brass body</td>
<td>sour taste</td>
<td>fire-worshipers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King of Wind</td>
<td>eagle-faced</td>
<td>iron body</td>
<td>hot taste</td>
<td>idol-worshipers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King of Water</td>
<td>fish-faced</td>
<td>silver body</td>
<td>sweet taste</td>
<td>baptists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King of Darkness</td>
<td>dragon-faced</td>
<td>tin body</td>
<td>bitter taste</td>
<td>oracles etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the concept of Five Worlds of Darkness is relatively well attested in canonical sources (Theodore bar Khonai 313.19 [Scher]; implied by *Fundamental Epistle*, Frag. 6b; al-Nadım, *Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]), in the *Kēphalaiā* they are known not only as “Five Worlds of Darkness” (1 Ke 31.2; 32.2; 48.17; 48.15; 58.9; 74.29; 77.28; 78.3; 167.23; 169.10; 11

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11 We cannot say, however, as Gardner and Lieu have recently suggested, that “elaborate descriptions of the kingdom of darkness, and its powers, are a feature of Manichaean … writings that must derive from canonical sources” (*Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 199).
169.13), but also as “Five Worlds of Flesh” (1Ke 26.33; 48.19; 121.20; 123.3; 177.18; 266.14) and “Five Storehouses” (1Ke 28.8; 30.13; 30.17; 155.19). The explicit idea of Five Kings or Archons is known almost exclusively from Chapter 6, where they are also called the “Five Spirits” (1Ke 30.15; 30.23; 34.9). This, in itself, may not be that surprising given the confusion that seems to have been created for the compiler of Chapter 6, who (as we saw above) found it difficult to reconcile the title “King of Darkness” with the fact that “smoke” is the first of the canonical Five Dark Elements. Nevertheless, the need to dissect the chief ruler of darkness into five sub-rulers is essentially a reflection of the compiler’s desire to identify and attribute a particular governing spirit or authority to what he perceived as five spheres of negative influence in the world. In the end, this association serves as the take-home message of this particular chapter.

The danger of these Five Spirits is emphasized at the end of Chapter 6, where we find a grave admonition placed in the mouth of Mani: “Therefore I tell you, my brothers and my members, perfect faithful and holy elect: Keep your hearts with you and keep yourselves from the Five Slaveries of the Five Dark Spirits. Abandon the worship of their Five Bodies. Do not interact with them, so that you might escape their bond and their punishment forever” (1Ke 34.6–12). This passage needs to be placed in its social context if it is to become comprehensible. As such, the King of the World of Smoke, the chief, is said to rule over the “powers and authorities of the earth and the whole world … those who rule over all of creation, as they humble people in their tyranny according to their will” (1Ke 33.6–8), a reference that could conceivably be applied to authorities in both the Persian and Rome Empires. The King of the World of Fire is said to rule the “Sects who worship fire” (1Ke 33.15–17), no doubt a more explicit reference to the Sassanian Kings and their Zoroastrian clergy. The King of the World of Wind, in turn, rules in “every temple, eidoleion, place of worship, statues and images, shrines of worldly Error” (1Ke 33.22–24), presumably those who follow the traditional cults. The King of the World of Water is said to rule “those who baptize with water” (1Ke 33.31), a reference to Christians, Elchasaites, or perhaps

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12 The idea of a ruler for each world is also implied by the Fundamental Epistle (Fragment 6b [Feldmann]).

13 This may even represent an innovation on the part of the Chapter 6 compiler.
even Mandaeans, while the King of the World of Darkness can be found in the utterances of soothsayers, oracles, and seers (1 Ke 34.3–4), seemingly the more popular religious practices of the time. The compiler’s effort to associate a dark ruler with each of these spheres of influences was probably driven by a desire either to draw, or more likely, to keep members of the Manichaean church away from them and in the fold. After the withdrawal of Persian imperial support, which resulted in Mani’s execution in 276/277 CE, his community experienced a period of harsh repression, persecution, and no doubt apostasy. As a result there would have been a strong desire, on the part of Manichaean teachers, missionaries, and catechists, to clearly define the dangers associated with these oppressive and competing spheres of political and religious influence, and to do so in a way that contributed to and strengthened the coherence and symmetry of the Manichaean system. Therefore, as Manichaean missionaries and catechists moved from Mesopotamia into Egypt and the Kephalaia (as we know it) began to take shape, numerical patterns, especially in terms of five-part structures, played a key role in how this coherence and symmetry was achieved and communicated.

Astrological Polemic

The third major theme addressed by the Kephalaia compilers in their descriptions of the dark-realm is the relation of the dark-powers, specifically the Five Worlds of Darkness, to the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the seven planetary powers. While there are references to the “Twelve Spirits of Error” in Chapter 15 “[On the] . . . Five [Parts] . . . World of . . .” (1 Ke 48.34) and anthropomorphic accounts of their cosmic distribution in Chapter 70 “On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos” (1 Ke 173.21–175.4), the most explicit description of the relationship between the dark powers and the Zodiac can be found in Chapter 69 “On the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Stars.” In this chapter the disciples question Mani about what powers rule over the Zodiac and the so-called “Five Stars.” In response, Mani is made to begin his discourse with an (unsuccessful) attempt at distributing the twelve signs in pairs to the Five Worlds of Darkness, which inevitably leads to the attribution of three signs to two of the worlds.
This, however, is how it should be understood: They / are drawn from the Five Worlds of Darkness, are bound in the / Sphere, and two zodiacal signs are taken per world. The Twin\(^{14}\) and the Archer\(^{15}\) belong to the World of Smoke, which / is the Mind. Also, the Ram\(^{16}\) and the Lion\(^{17}\) belong to the / World of Fire. The Bull,\(^{18}\) the Water-bearer,\(^{19}\) and the Scales,\(^{20}\) belong to the World of Wind. The Crab\(^{21}\) and the Virgin\(^{22}\) and the Fish\(^{23}\) belong to the World of Water. The Goat-horn\(^{24}\) and the Scorpion\(^{25}\) belong to the World of Darkness. These are / [the] twelve Archons of wickedness, those who wickedness does not / . . . . . . For they commit every evil and / . . . [in the] world, either in the tree or in the flesh (1 Ke 167.22–167.33).

Following this, each of the “Five Stars” (i.e., planets) is associated with a particular dark world: 1) Zeus/Jupiter to Smoke, 2) Aphrodite/Venus to Fire, 3) Ares/Mars to Wind, 4) Hermes/Mercury to Water, and 5) Kronos/Saturn to Darkness (1 Ke 167.34–168.6). Then, in the third section of the discourse, the signs are divided according to the quadrants of the sky (1 Ke 168.16–23).

What follows is a sort of astronomical revisionism, whereby the Sun and Moon, normally counted among the seven planets by ancient astronomy but cherished by Manichaeans as Light-ships, are substituted by “Two Ascendants.” According to Chapter 69, Mani is made to state that “these seven, which we have named—the Five Stars and the Two Ascendants ([anabibazwn])—they are the evil-doers who perpetuate every wickedness and evil in every single land” (1 Ke 168.11–13).

According to Roger Beck, the anabibazon is an astronomical concept that represents, along with the katabibazon, the two points (or “nodes”) at which the orbits of the Sun and Moon intersect on a monthly basis.\(^{26}\) According to Beck, this seemingly straightforward astronomical concept may have been interpreted in a sinister light by Manichaeans due

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\(^{14}\) i.e., Gemini.  
\(^{15}\) i.e., Sagittarius.  
\(^{16}\) i.e., Aries.  
\(^{17}\) i.e., Leo.  
\(^{18}\) i.e., Taurus.  
\(^{19}\) i.e., Aquarius.  
\(^{20}\) i.e., Libra.  
\(^{21}\) i.e., Cancer.  
\(^{22}\) i.e., Virgo.  
\(^{23}\) i.e., Pisces.  
\(^{24}\) i.e., Capricorn.  
\(^{25}\) i.e., Scorpio.  
\(^{26}\) “Anabibazontes,” 193.
to the fact that it is at one of these two points that eclipses of the Sun and Moon may occur.\textsuperscript{27} In addition, the fact that these nodes appear to “move” led to their being considered as quasi-planets and to their eventual incorporation into late antique astrology as the “head and tail” of a great dragon responsible for eclipses.\textsuperscript{28} Moreover, in Zoroastrian tradition, the nodes came to represent a “Dark Sun” and “Dark Moon” that acted as agents of Ahriman.\textsuperscript{29} Yet according to Beck, this reference to the \textit{anabibazontes} in the \textit{Kêphalaia} likely represents the “earliest unambiguous attested instance of the demonization of the lunar nodes.”\textsuperscript{30} This became necessary due to the fact that Manichaean theology demanded the removal of the Sun and Moon from the standard series of seven planets,\textsuperscript{31} thereby requiring substitutes in the form of the \textit{anabibazontes}. The substitution, however, remains somewhat awkward, given the fact that, while the compiler of \textit{Chapter 69} is determined to associate \textit{five} of the planets with the Five Worlds of Darkness, ancient astronomy recognized \textit{seven}. Without this substitution of the Sun and Moon by the nodes Manichaens would have appeared to violate ancient astronomical \textit{koinê}, thereby discrediting any claims to astro-nomical orthodoxy, especially in Mesopotamia where rival religious groups such as Zoroastrians and Mandaens appears to have been steeped in astrological speculations.\textsuperscript{32} Yet even in spite of Manichaean efforts to talk about astronomical concepts, observers such as Alexander of Lycopolis and, later, Augustine remained unconvinced.\textsuperscript{33} That

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{27} “\textit{Anabibazontes},” 193–194.
  \item \textsuperscript{28} Beck, “\textit{Anabibazontes},” 194. Seventh century CE Syriac author Severus Sebokht explained that this dragon is known as the \textit{athalia} (אַתְלָּי) (Nau, “\textit{La cosmographie},” 253–254), a term attested in both the Manichaean \textit{Psalm-Book} (2 Ps. 196:8: אַתְלָי) and Syriac Manichaean fragments (Burkitt, \textit{Religion of the Manichees}, 114: אַתְלָי). According to his description of Indian astronomy, al-Biruni states that “the dragon’s head” is counted among the unlucky stars by the Hindus (\textit{India}, 212 [Sachau]).
  \item \textsuperscript{29} Beck, “\textit{Anabibazontes},” 195. See \textit{Bundahišn}, 49.12 (MacKenzie, “\textit{Zoroastrian Astrology},” 8).
  \item \textsuperscript{30} “\textit{Anabibazontes},” 195–196.
  \item \textsuperscript{31} Mani attributed his recognition of the true nature of the Sun and Moon to Jesus in a fragment preserved by al-Biruni (\textit{India}, 284 [Sachau]).
  \item \textsuperscript{32} Mandaens, for instance, spoke about the “seven and the twelve” as malevolent powers (Widengren, \textit{Mani}, 69).
  \item \textsuperscript{33} Alexander joked that Manichaens should have “occasionally visited the astronomers” (\textit{Contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio}, 22), while Augustine could not reconcile his private study of astronomy with Manichaean teachings (cited by Lieu, \textit{Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire}, 178). See also Ferrari, “Astronomy and Augustine,” 263–276, who suggests that eclipses witnessed by Augustine played a role in his break with Manichaeism.
\end{itemize}
Manichaean were “amateurs” in astrology does in fact appear to be the case when we do a close reading of Ḫēphaleia Chapter 69, which contains significant compositional or editorial flaws. Similarly, the following chapter, Chapter 70 “On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos,” contains two conflicting melothesiac descriptions of the Zodiac:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signs of the Zodiac</th>
<th>Description A: 1 Kē 174.3–10</th>
<th>Description B: 1 Kē 174.21–175.2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ram/Aries</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Right Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bull/Taurus</td>
<td>Neck &amp; Shoulders</td>
<td>Right Shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twin/Gemini</td>
<td>2 Forearms</td>
<td>Right Forearm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crab/Cancer</td>
<td>Oesophagus</td>
<td>Right Rib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lion/Leo</td>
<td>Stomach</td>
<td>Right Stomach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virgin/Virgo</td>
<td>Heart</td>
<td>Right Intestines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scales/Libra</td>
<td>Spine &amp; Intestines</td>
<td>Left Belly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scorpion/Scorpio</td>
<td>Chest</td>
<td>Left Rib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archer/Sagittarius</td>
<td>Loins</td>
<td>Left Breast &amp; Kidney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goat-horn/Capricorn</td>
<td>Feet</td>
<td>Left Elbow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water-bearer/Aquarius</td>
<td>Shinbones</td>
<td>Left Shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish/Pisces</td>
<td>Soles of feet</td>
<td>Left Temple</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This chapter, which as Gardner has suggested was likely drawn from “a number of separate sources,” although re-enforcing the compiler’s anthropomorphic view of the cosmos, does little to establish his credentials as a serious astrologer.

What then are we to make of this lively, although somewhat incoherent, interest in astrological speculation? Stegemann suggested that the association of the signs of the Zodiac with the Five Worlds was some kind of game with the aspects intended to show the adversarial relationship of the signs to one another. This explanation, however, seems too obscure and technical to have generated any real meaning, even to an educated Manichaean Elect. Instead, I would suggest that the aim of Chapter 69 might not have been astrological at all, but rather polemi-
cal. As we have seen, the compilers went to great lengths in Chapter 6 to associate each of the Five Dark Worlds with particular spheres of political or religious influence. Thus, it is possible that a similar manoeuvre is at least being attempted in Chapter 69. For example, while in Chapter 6 the World of Smoke was associated with Roman and Sasanian imperial authorities, Chapter 69’s attribution of the Twin (Gemini) and the Archer (Sagittarius) may involve a similar symbolic association. Similarly, the association of the Crab (Cancer), the Virgin (Virgo) and the Fish (Pisces) with the World of Water, could reflect Chapter 6’s association of this world with rival Christian and “Baptist” groups. This interpretation (already implied by Khosroyev), although highly speculative, seems at least plausible, given the penchant of the compilers for associating mythological formations with concrete social realities. After all, allegorical interpretations of the signs are known in Jewish, Judaeo-Christian, Gnostic, mainstream Christian, and even Mithraic circles, and the planets themselves were sometimes associated by Hellenistic astrologers with particular religious groups.

At any rate, regardless of whatever polemical or scientific intentions may have been behind such formulations, it is at least clear that the Kephalaia compilers, like so many other aspects of reality, viewed the astrological powers as basically pentadic in structure. This is emphasized also by a passage from Chapter 57 “On the Generation of Adam,” where (also in the form of a cluster) Mani is made to describe how

They increased and again diminished / because there are Five Types of Authority and / Guide set in the sphere of the Zodiac and the / heavens which are above it. They have (Five) Names, by which / they are called. The first name is the “year”, the / second is the “month”, the third is the / “day”, the / [fourth] is the “hour”, (and) the fifth is the “minute.” These

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41 The signs were associated first with the twelve patriarchs and were then transferred to the twelve apostles (Daniélou, “Les douze apôtres et le zodiaque,” 14–21).
44 Goodenough, Jewish Symbols, 153.
45 For instance, Jupiter with Zoroastrianism, Mars with idolaters, or Venus with Arab religion (Khosroyev, “Zu einer astronomischen Realie,” 349 n. 32).
46 Polotsky/Böhlig, 145.10 note.
In this chapter a certain Babylonian catechumen has questioned Mani about why the lifespan of Adam and his generation seemed so much longer than the people of their time. Mani is made to respond by saying that Five Authorities rule the various life-spans of beings in the world, from year to month to day to hour to minute. The fact that people’s lives are becoming increasingly short means that the end is near and that their light substance is dwindling. Whereas Adam and Eve were full of light substance, their lives were longer, they were larger, and produced more offspring, contemporary people are small, ugly and evil, meaning that they are nearly void of light. While this discourse is meant to address the apparent discrepancy between the life-spans of biblical figures and later generations, the explanation is framed by a pentadic conception of both the astrological powers and their influence on history, which is itself conceived of as having five phases. This, of course, represents yet another example of the pervasive emphasis on five-part structures presented by the compilers.

This desire to present a set of astrological speculations based on pentads, although no doubt influenced by the same *pentadization* process observed above, was also driven in this case by a systemic contradiction generated by Manichaean veneration of the Sun and Moon and their generally negative evaluation of five of the canonical seven planets. In this way, the pentadization of the planets can be seen less as a stylistic or ideological preference and more as a response to a genuine doctrinal problem.

But why go to such great lengths to emphasize the pentadic structure of the powers of Darkness if this is already a quality possessed by the powers of Light? On the doctrinal level, the system appears to demand it, particularly when, as in the image of the Two Trees, the natures are depicted as essentially symmetrical in orientation, with parallel sets of Five Limbs attached to two coeternal sources of being. Besides, as we have seen, Mani himself appears to have described the Land of Darkness as made up of Five Elemental Worlds, although, unlike the Realm of Light, he seems to have left fewer clues as to what impact such a structure had on other aspects of evil. Thus, the *Kēphalai* compilers were forced to build upon and expand existing material. One particularly difficult issue for the compilers seems to have been
the way in which Mani ordered the Dark Elements, with Smoke first and Darkness last. This, as we saw in Chapter 6, caused a great deal of confusion for the compiler, who found it difficult to reconcile a being called “King of Darkness” with the fact that the World of Darkness came fifth in the canonical series. Similarly, the relation of the Sun and Moon to the planets also caused a theological quandary. Such traces of conflicting and contradictory ideas indicated that even at the stage when the surviving text was being edited, the Kephalaia compilers were still engaged in sorting out some of the difficulties contained within the canonical tradition.
CHAPTER FOUR

OTHER TYPES OF PATTERNING

Aside from five-part patterns dealing with specific structural and operational aspects of either the light or dark realms, a variety of other pentadic formulations can also be found in the Kephalaia dealing with a range of 1) soteriological, 2) ethical, 3) ecclesiological, 4) polemical, and 5) aetiological themes.

Soteriological Patterning

The Kephalaia compilers’ efforts to present general soteriological themes in five-parts is evident in Chapter 13 “On the Five Saviours, Resurrectors of the Dead, along with the Five Resurrections,” Chapter 16b (On the Five Advents), Chapter 18 “[On the Five] Wars [which the] Sons of Light waged with [the Sons] of Darkness,” Chapter 19 “On the Five Releases; what they mean,” Chapter 103 “On the Five Wonderworks that the Light-Mind reveals to the Elect,” Chapter 112b (On the Five Things Revealed by Jesus), and Chapter 176 “On the Spiritual Transition in Five(?) Forms and that through which the Church changes.”

Chapter 13 presents a series of “Five Resurrecting Saviours” (τοῦ Νεκρονεφτομένου) (1 Ke 45.17), although the fragmentation of the text allows for the identification of only the third and fourth. In this series, the Father is placed in third position, which appears strange given the importance usually accorded to him as the foundation of all subsequent being, while Light-Mind is placed in fourth position.

In Chapter 18, the confrontation with the dark-realm is presented as a series of “[Five] Wars” (τοῦ ἁπαλασθένος)† waged by the “Sons of Light” (ἡμῶν οὐσίαν) (1 Ke 58.2–3). Here an additional series of “five sons” is created, although this time using primary actors not normally designated as “sons” such as First Man, the Living Spirit, Third Messenger, Jesus the Splendour, and Call & Response. Again, as in Chapter 16, the three-part canonical version of the myth is transformed

† τοῦ has been restored (1 Ke 58.2). Even though only four of the wars are readable, I am assuming, based on this restoration, that five wars were described.
into a series of five conflicts. Interestingly, the same five figures appear in Chapter 16 as a series of five "advents" (nqinei), with the "advent" of each agent assigned to a particular metaphor. The advent of First Man, for instance, is compared to a noble son deceived by his enemies (1 Ke 50.19–20), while the advent of the Living Spirit is compared to a judge sent by a king to quell an insurrection (1 Ke 50.28ff.). The advent of the Third Messenger, in turn, is likened to a king who comes to inspect the work of his artisans (1 Ke 52.22ff.), while the advent of Jesus the Splendour evokes the image of a man sent to root out and burn evil trees (1 Ke 53.19–27). Finally, the advent of Call & Response is compared to the homely image of butter being melted into warm milk (1 Ke 54.26ff.). Chapter 19 again presents the same series, only this time it is identified as the "Five Releases" (tē nqinei nqinrbal) or "Liberations" (nqin+ouw). The fragmentary state of the chapter has obscured many of the details, but in general we find here an additional formulation of Manichaean soteriology in five parts.

Also on the soteriological level, there are a small number of five-part structures relating specifically to the influence of the Light-Mind on the individual. For instance, in Chapter 103 "On the Five Wonderworks that the Light-Mind reveals to the Elect" Mani is made to describe "Five Light Signs" (tou mheine noua) (1 Ke 257.13) that the Light-Mind works among the Elect, namely, 1) Wisdom, 2) Faith, 3) ... , 4) Love, and 5) Severity of Judgment (1 Ke 257.13–24). It is by means of these Five Signs that the Light-Mind "purifies, refines, raises, and saves" (1 Ke 257. 29–30) the New Man. Although this series of qualities differs from that of the canonical Five Virtues discussed above, which includes 1) Love, 2) Faith, 3) Perfection, 4) Patience, and 5) Wisdom, there is an ecclesiological context to Chapter 103 that seems to justify the arrangement. Whereas Wisdom is the product of the Elect’s preaching activity, Faith is the desired result among his hearers. The unknown third quality appears to promote peace in the community, while Love is engendered among the brothers and sisters. Finally, Severity of Judgement enables the Elect to purify the community of error. In this way, the "Five Light

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2 As we can see, Chapter 16 somewhat awkwardly juxtaposes two different series, one labelled as the Five Greatnesses and the other (presumably) the Five Advents. This may indicate that two separate kēphalaia have been combined together to form a single chapter. After all, the benediction at the close of Chapter 16 mentions only the Five Advents, a series that is described in elaborate detail, while the Five Greatnesses are given only an abbreviated, formulaic description (see Gardner, Kēphalaia of the Teacher, 54).
Signs” revealed by the Light-Mind, although soteriological in nature, are ecclesiological in orientation and can thus be seen to cross over into this category.

An additional soteriological pattern can be found in Chapter 112b (On the Five Things Revealed by Jesus). According to this chapter, Jesus is said to have revealed “Five Great Things” (1 Ke 268.4) to humanity: 1) its affiliation with the race of Light, 2) the condition of the Aeon of Greatness, 3) the heroic activities of the Light, 4) the purpose of his mission, and 5) the imprisonment of the rebels (1 Ke 268.5–18). This list essentially constitutes the “gnosis” originally delivered by Jesus to Adam and Eve (1 Ke 268.2) and, later, by all the “apostles” to humanity. The motif that Jesus revealed to Adam his true nature is recorded by both Theodore bar Khonai ([317.15–28 [Scher]]) and al-Nadim (Fihrist, 784 [Dodge]) as attributed to Mani, although neither source records such a specific, five-part elaboration of this message. Thus, once again, the compiler seems to have shaped canonical material into a pentadic frame.

A final soteriological pattern can be found in Chapter 176 “On the Spiritual Transition in Five(?) Forms and that through which the Church changes.” In this rather fragmentary chapter, several series of five “transitions” (phētērakia) are described. The first series appears to describe the movement of the individual towards righteousness and entry into the Holy Church (1 Ke 453.4–455.6), while the second series describes the fate of the soul after death, as it passes through the various stations and light-vehicles to its eventual reunification with the Father (1 Ke 455.7–456.17). This second series then appears to be re-expressed, although this time with slight variations in detail and an association with the “Five Dwellings” (toy mmonh) (1 Ke 458ff). While the exact details of these transition series are impossible to reconstruct, it is at least clear that the movements of the soul were seen as taking place in five-stages.

These chapters demonstrate the degree to which the Kephalaia compilers viewed their drama of salvation as a five-act play, rather than the three acts established by the founder of their religion.

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3 Here I am suggesting that 1 Ke 267.18–268.18 might have constituted a separate chapter that has been embedded within Chapter 112 “The Human Being is less than all the Things of the Cosmos, and He is more shipwrecked than them All” (1 Ke 266.3–268.27). This section even has its own Q & A frame (1 Ke 267.18–28) typical of individual chapters.
Pentadic structures appear to play a role in Manichaean ethics as well, particularly in Chapter 91 “Also on the Catechumen, who is saved in a Single Body,” Chapter 146: “The Old Man has Five Foods to live on; the New Man has Five Others,” Chapter 165 “Envy exists in Five Forms” and Chapter 189 “[On the Five Temptations].”

Chapter 91 contains two discourses on Catechumenate ethics. For the first discourse, Mani is questioned by an Elect about how a Catechumen can avoid the process of reincarnation. In response, Mani is made to describe three sets of five characteristics that the Catechumen must possess. First, the Catechumen must regard 1) his wife as a stranger, 2) his house as an inn, 3) his family as fellow travellers, 4) his possessions as borrowed, and 5) his thoughts must always be on God (1 Ke 228.24–229.6). Second, the Catechumen must practice continence (enkrateia) by 1) not eating meat, 2) fasting and prayer, 3) almsgiving, 4) lack of malice, and 5) devotion to the church (1 Ke 229.20–29). Third, the good Catechumens can be known by the fact that they are 1) like the “good pearl” mentioned in Mani’s Treasure of Life, 2) not bound by the enemy, 3) purified according to their deeds, 4) healed and purified, and 5) constantly at prayer (1 Ke 230.6–29). For the second part of the discourse, Mani is asked about what happens to the prior sins of those Catechumens who were idolaters, blasphemers, murderers, and magicians before entering the church (1 Ke 231.12–24). In response, Mani is made to argue that as long as such a Catechumen 1) accepts the faith, 2) separates Light from Darkness, 3) perceives the mystery of the Living Soul, 4) receives the right-hand of peace, and 5) prays to the Light-Mind for forgiveness (1 Ke 232.1–8) all prior sins will be forgiven. In addition, the Catechumen’s position may be improved by 1) abstinence, 2) vigils, 3) fasting, 4) care for the Living Soul, and 5) prayer (1 Ke 233.5–14). What follows is an account of how the Catechumen’s sin is divided into five parts. While four of these parts may be forgiven by the church, the fifth requires further purification (1 Ke 233.21–234.20).

Essentially what Chapter 91 presents is four sets of five-part ethical patterns, two from the first discourse (Discourse A) and two from the second (Discourse B):
Discourse A (1)  Discourse A (2)  Discourse B (1)  Discourse B (2)
abstinence  vegetarian diet  faith  abstinence
hospitality  fasting and prayer  separation of natures  vigils
detachment from family  almsgiving  mystery of Living Soul  fasting
detachment from things  lack of malice  right-hand of peace  care for Living Soul
piety  devotion to church  prayer to Light-Mind  prayer

It is interesting, however, to compare what relation these five-part ethical patterns might have with the “Ten Commandments,” which according to al-Nadīm, Mani established for the Hearers (i.e., Catechumens) (Fihrist, 789 [Dodge]), and which are known in various branches of Manichaeanism, against 1) idol-worship, 2) lying, 3) greed, 4) killing, 5) fornication, 6) theft, 7) pretences/false teaching, 8) sorcery, 9) doubt, and 10) sloth. In fact, there is little in either of Chapter 91’s lists to suggest any conformity with the canonical list from al-Nadīm, although four of the canonical commandments appear to be alluded to when Mani is asked about the prior sins of idolaters, blasphemers, murderers, and magicians just before the second discourse.

It appears as though the compiler of Chapter 91, although apparently interested in the Ten Commandments of the Catechumenate, has decided to divide two variant sets of them into two sets of five, to which he has appended in each case a five-part discussion of purity. It is difficult to imagine why this was done, except perhaps in response to a greater need for ethical flexibility depending on the type of person entering the Catechumenate. Could it be that a generally upstanding person entering the church was subject to a slightly different set of criteria than someone with a criminal past? We cannot be sure. What is clear is that the compiler of Chapter 91 has rejected a ten-part ethical framework in favour of one with five parts.

Chapter 146 presents the radical difference between what influences and sustains the individual prior to and post conversion. Whereas prior to conversion the individual is sustained by 1) physical beauty, 2) evil discourses and myths, 3) beautiful works (of some kind), 4) worldly

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5 Sims-Williams, “Manichaean Commandments,” 578.
foods, and 5) sexual desire (1Ke 349.24–350.3), after conversion this sustenance is exchanged for 1) the spirit of the church leaders, 2) liturgical prayer, 3) joy, 4) itinerate preaching, and 5) scripture (1Ke 349.5–18). As is so often the case in *Kephalaia* theology, good and evil, although radically different in their nature, are conceived of as structurally analogous. Just as the Good and Evil Trees both have Five Limbs, so too are the Old Man and New Man driven by five sources of nourishment. Again, this reinforces the fundamentally parallelism of the two opposed natures.

Unfortunately, while the lacunous state of *Chapter 165* completely obscures the five forms of envy, two of the five temptations can be read from *Chapter 189*, namely the fourth, desire for women (1Ke 485.23), and the fifth, apostasy during persecution (1Ke 485.30–486.7). Somewhat clearer is the distinction made by *Chapter 193* between the “Five Properties” of the Evil One and the Good One. To the “Evil One” are attributed 1) …, 2) slander, 3) murder, 4) greed, and 5) mixing of light and dark (1Ke 490.27–29), while to the “Good One” are attributed 1) fasting, 2) grief, 3) almsgiving, 4) faith, and 5) separation of light and dark (1Ke 491.5–6). Here, again, the qualitative rather than the structural difference between the two natures is emphasized.

It is interesting to note that in none of these ethical chapters is reference made to the canonical “Five Virtues” of 1) love, 2) faith, 3) perfection, 4) patience, and 5) wisdom known from Mani’s *Epistles* (50.9–14) and al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]). This indicates yet another deviation from canonical traditions by the compilers.

*Ecclesiological Patterning*

While we could see that some of the soteriological patterns discussed above had certain ecclesiological overtones, one *Kephalaia* chapter in particular, *Chapter 137* “On the Five Types of Brotherhood that are distinguished from one another,” contains an important discussion of ecclesiological issues. In this chapter, a distinction is made between five types of individuals who form part of or are associated with the Holy Church, namely 1) brothers, 2) children, 3) disciples, 4) “day-labourers,” and 5) slaves (1Ke 338.25–27). “Brothers” are the “people of righteousness” (πρόφανοι ντά [προφανεία]) (1Ke 338.29) guided by the Light-Mind, while the “children” are “considerate people” (μνημονικεί) (1Ke 339.9) who always follow the ways of truth. “Disciples” are described as “splen-
did sheep” (τέσσαρες πάττημα) (1 Ke 339.17), who follow their teacher in patience, while “day-labourers” (ἐργαζόμενοι) are those whose commitment to the Church is not total (1 Ke 339.21–29). Finally, “slaves” (δούλοι) are vain and disobedient people who flee at the first signs of persecution (1 Ke 340.1–12). Interestingly, while the discourse classifies Church members according to these five groups, the reader is encouraged to reject the last two as “foreign races” (μετανόησεν οἱ άνθρωποι) (340.14).6 While this five-fold division of the Church appears to have nothing to do with the formal, five-part hierarchy of 1) Teachers, 2) Bishops, 3) Presbyters/Elders, 4) Elect, and 5) Hearers known from a variety of Manichaean sources,7 it is important to remember that what is being described by Chapter 137 are not formal, ecclesiastical classes but rather types of relationships. Whereas acceptable members of the Church behave like “brothers,” “children,” or “disciples,” unacceptable members act with the indifference of “day-labourers” or, worst of all, the disloyalty of “slaves.”8

An additional, albeit enigmatic, reference to five-part ecclesiastical structures can be found in Chapter 3 “On the Interpretation of Happiness, Wisdom, and Power; what they mean.” This chapter, after enumerating the five levels of existence at which these three concepts can be found, closes with a cluster of references to “Five Happineses, Five Wisdoms, and Five Powers” (1 Ke 25.3–4) which are then (following a lacuna) set into some kind of relation to “Five Churches” (1 Ke 25.4). What this reference to Five Churches means, however, remains entirely mysterious.

**Polemical Patterning**

While we have seen that Chapter 6 and Chapter 69 used five-part patterns for polemical ends, a similar technique is used in two additional polemical9 discussions of rival religious groups. The first instance can

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6 This represents a kind of stylistic division sometimes employed in the Κεφαλαία whereby a five-part series is divided into three good and two bad components. A similar effect is achieved by Chapter 39 “On the Three Days and the Two Deaths,” in which the doctrine of “Three Times” is contrasted with two moments of defeat for the Darkness.

7 Tardieu, Le manichéisme, 77–78; Lieu, Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire, 27.

8 There is no doubt a social dimension to this metaphor’s revilement of “day-labourers” and “slaves” as “foreign races” that would be worthy of exploration.

9 Interestingly, both chapters make use of the word ΜΝΗΜΑΠΑΝΕΓΩΥΤ. While the exact meaning of this word remains a mystery, given its connection with a rival teaching it presumably indicates something to do with error.
be found in Chapter 12, where Mani is asked to explain the “Five Words which are proclaimed in the teaching of the Baptists” (1 Ke 44.25–26) and other sects. Unfortunately, the lacunous state of the text once again prevents us from reconstructing what these “Five Words” might have been, with the exception of “Third Messenger” as the second in the series (1 Ke 44.36–45.1). Similarly, in Chapter 100 “On the Dragon, the one with Fourteen Heads; what is it and . . .,” Mani is questioned by a disciple on the existence of a fourteen-headed dragon mentioned in the “laws of the Magi” as dwelling in “Five Hallows” (τοῦ μαγικοῦ) (1 Ke 252.1–3). In response, Mani is made to give an anthropological interpretation in which the fourteen heads of the dragon are said to represent the seven (sic!) senses of the head and the seven senses of the body (1 Ke 252.19–253.2). The “Five Pits” (τοῦ νήσης) in which the dragon dwells, however, are said to represent five of the internal organs (1 Ke 253.2–7).

Aetiological Patterning

Finally, a small class of what might be termed aetiological patterns can be identified in chapters where Mani is made to account for the existence of certain natural or biological phenomena. For instance, in Chapter 95 Mani is made to offer an explanation of five different manifestations of cloud (1 Ke 240.19–244.13), while in Chapter 67 he is made to describe five aspects of the sun, namely its 1) light, 2) beauty, 3) peace, 4) life, and 5) force (1 Ke 162.1–13). Similarly in Chapter 68, Mani is made to describe five effects of fire, such as the fact that it 1) destroys materials, 2) separates fire, light, ash, and smoke from wood, 3) gives taste to food, 4) helps craftsmen work, and 5) helps people to see (1 Ke 166.19–30). In addition, Chapter 104 presents a particularly enigmatic discussion of five ways in which the energy provided by food is expended by human beings through 1) intellectual pleasure, 2) speech, 3) physical activity, 4) sexual intercourse, and 5) procreation (1 Ke 258.10–23). Interestingly, emphasis is placed on the well-being and

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10 One would expect Mani to describe the five senses of the head and the body, but the fact that fourteen heads are mentioned necessitates the description of seven. Besides, if one counts two ears, two eyes, two nostrils, and one mouth, one arrives at seven. See 1 Ke 173.1–4.

11 I use the term aetiological to mean that the author(s) are attempting to account for and explain the existence of various worldly phenomena through the lens of Manichaean ideology.
needs of the fifth product, the child, as most important, while the other four are seen as unimportant and incidental. Finally, *Chapter 107* offers a five-part explication of the production of speech (1 Ke 261.3–12) based on a metaphor involving the work of craftsmen.

Such chapters are generally very brief and seem to have served as simple aetiological discussions about commonplace topics that were likely seen as problematic when viewed through the lens of Manichaean ideology. For instance, the status of fire as both a Light and Dark Element no doubt caused confusion as to its utility. Similarly, Manichaean condemnations of procreation likely perplexed some of the Catechumens with families. The fact that such issues could be explained in terms of five-part patterns would have been reassuring to the *Kephalaia’s* intended audience, for whom a pentadic vision of reality was being constructed.
CONCLUSIONS & IMPLICATIONS

This study of five-part numeric patterns in the Manichaean Kēphalaia has led to one primary conclusion, namely, that the text contains a considerable number of theological formulations that appear to be at variance with what we know, or can infer, about canonical Manichaean traditions. This means that the compilers of the work deemed it necessary to alter, expand, and improvise upon the teachings of their founder in order to address a variety of themes that were seen as either pressing or simply of interest. If this is the case, then why did they do it? What were some of the factors that might have stimulated this departure from teachings and traditions that Mani, we assume, had expected to be definitive? In response, three factors appear to have been at work that led to this creative use of numeric patterning: 1) scholastic redaction, 2) response to adversity, and 3) missionary expansion. Moreover, by way of conclusion, some suggestions will be offered as to why the number five was favoured in particular as well as who could have been the driving force behind this numeric interest.

Scholastic Redaction

As was stated above, from what we can piece together from the many scattered remains of Mani’s own writings, it does not appear that his work was very systematic in nature. Rather, likely written over a substantial period of time in varying circumstances,¹ Mani’s writings seem to have been largely incidental, dealing with a wide range of (often miscellaneous) theological, polemical, and pastoral concerns (as in the Book of Mysteries and Epistles). In some cases, he seems to have presented a more-or-less straightforward narrative of his cosmogonical, prophetological, or eschatological ideas (as in Shabuhragan, Living Gospel, and the

¹ In fact, we have no clear ideas about how the canon came to be formed or if the canonical writings (plus Shabuhragan) were, in fact, the only ones he composed during his lifetime.
source[s] used by Theodore bar Khonai and al-Nadîm), while in others, he appears to have been somewhat of a collector of pre-existing traditions (as in the Book of Giants). Besides, the fact that he attempted to portray his vision artistically by means of his Picture-book implies that Mani may have been more interested in the aesthetic impact of his message than its systematic presentation. More importantly, however, none of these canonical writings appear to have contained the same degree of fascination with numbers and numeric patterns as can be found so prominently expressed in the *Kêphalaia*. This means that, at some point in the (largely obscure) literary history of the work, the compilers of the *Kêphalaia* saw fit to introduce these patterns in order to resolve what may have been a substantial number of “loose-ends” and ambiguities in the canonical tradition. By doing so, they were attempting to construct a more cohesive and, by extension, more competitive theological vision of the cosmos. The fact that the compilers of so many chapters display a pronounced preference for five means that the editorial efforts in which they engaged can be reasonably described as an essentially scholastic process of *pentadic redaction*.

First, we observed that the compilers of the *Kêphalaia* appear to have adopted as a general theological principle the idea that divine beings—both good and evil, light and dark—ought to be conceived of as having five basic properties. This was, as we saw, dramatically (and it would seem programmatically) expressed in Chapter 2 through the radical opposition between the “Two Trees,” an early Manichaean metaphor for the two radically opposed principles. In this case, the two opposed natures, so fundamental to Manichaean cosmology, are conceived of as being qualitatively different, though structurally identical.

Then we directed our attention to the light-realm, where we saw that this interest in conveying the five-fold nature of divine being was extended to the most revered of such beings, the Father of Greatness, who, even though he was known in canonical (and later eastern) traditions both as the “Four-faced God” and as having “Five Limbs,” was portrayed by the compiler of Chapter 21 a being characterized by five qualities.

Following this, we looked at the degree to which the *Kêphalaia* compilers were faced with considerable conceptual and terminological challenges in their efforts to describe the constituent elements that give light-being its substance. These “Five Elements,” also known as the “Five Sons of First Man,” the “Five Luminous Gods,” and at times even the “Five Intellectuals,” are found in an often bewildering array of
contexts that do not always allow for a clear differentiation of concepts. Nevertheless, in spite of this obvious terminological variability and confusion, we also noted that the compilers do not appear to have been interested in sorting them out. Rather, this series, particularly under the guise of the “Five Sons,” served as a convenient literary and rhetorical tool for the construction of other more elaborate patterns and formulations involving other number patterns.

Next, we examined the degree to which five-part patterns played a pivotal role in both the theological and literary formulations of Chapter 38, a text that might be considered the centre-piece of Kephalaia volume one. In this chapter, really a treatise, Mani is made to go to great lengths to explain to a reticent disciple his assertion that the human body is really just a microcosmic representation of the macrocosm and that both domains display an equally pentadic structure in which a divine guardian watches over five districts continually disturbed by the rebellions of the dark powers.

Our final foray into the light-realm involved an examination of how the Kephalaia compilers sought to transform the basic pattern of Manichaean conceptions of divine activity from one based on three-stages (most clearly evidenced by Theodore bar Khonai’s account) to one based on five. This was expressed by means of the highly variable series known as the “Five Fathers” as well as the grouping identified as the “Five Greatnesses.” Each of these cases appears to have represented a deliberate attempt at the pentadic redaction of Manichaean discourse.

When it came to the dark-realm, the compilers were compelled to be more creative in their redaction efforts, since, as far as we can tell, Mani’s descriptions of the land of darkness do not appear to have been all that specific. This meant that the compilers had to construct a vision of the dark-realm that was equally rooted in five-part patterns and, as such, could be symmetrically opposed to the light-realm.

In the first place, we saw that the compilers attempted to account for the basic evolution of the dark-realm out of the evil principle variously known as “Matter,” “Darkness,” “Sin,” and “Death.” This meant positing five stages of development before the elaboration of

\[\text{2 Given the obvious and overriding importance of luminous series such as the “Five Limbs” and the “Five Elements,” especially in canonical traditions (see above), I do not accept Couliano’s suggestion that the Five Planets are the basis of all Manichaean pentads and, therefore, the dark-realm must have preceded the light-realm in Manichaean ideological formulation (“The Counterfeit Spirit,” 57). If anything, this study demonstrates that the opposite was the case.}\]
the dark-realm into five separate elemental worlds. How to describe these individual jurisdictions, however, became a challenge, since the canonical ordering of dark elements, which had placed “smoke” in first position and “darkness” last, led to a terminological difficulty that the compilers were not quite able to overcome. As we saw, this problem became most evident in Chapter 6, which applies no less than four different names to the chief ruler of the “Five Worlds of Darkness,” although here too, as in Chapter 38, five-part patterning was woven into the literary and rhetorical structure in order to drive home the essentially pentadic nature of evil.

Next, we saw that Manichaeans also got into trouble when they attempted to malign only five of the seven planets known to antiquity, with the exception of the Sun and Moon, which they viewed as light-ships ferrying liberated light-particles back to their homeland. This necessitated the substitution of the “Two Ascendants,” an astronomical concept that they do not appear to have completely understood, since as Roger Beck has described it, the “Ascendant” (anabibazon) was meant to be complimented by a “Descendant” (katabibazon). Then, the compilers’ attempt to associate the twelve signs of the Zodiac with the “Five Worlds of Darkness” led to equally patchy results, although in this case, this artificial construction seems to have had a polemical motivation.

Then, in a more generalized way, we examined how the Kēphalaia compilers used five-part numerical patterns in order to address a variety of soteriological, ethical, ecclesiological, polemical, and aetiological themes. Here too, we observed that, especially in soteriological, ethical, and ecclesiological contexts, the compilers presented pentadic constructions at variance with what can be known from canonical traditions.

Such an extensive, albeit often subtle, reshaping of Manichaean discourse implies that the teaching and writings that Mani left behind were not seen as sufficiently clear and, as such, required extensive commentary and retooling. After all, the mere existence of an apparently scholastic work such as the Kēphalaia on such a massive scale indicates that, in fact, there were a considerable number of ambiguities in the Manichaean tradition that needed to be addressed, since we may assume that many chapters have as their kernel some sort of exegetical puzzle found within the canon. This kind of redactional work not only runs contrary to the finality and definitiveness that Mani appears

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to have claimed for his “gospel,” but it also challenges the assumptions of many modern scholars who have allowed themselves to be influenced by such claims. In fact, there is a long tradition in Manichaean Studies of scholars asserting the general uniformity and consistency of Manichaean doctrine across its bewildering array of culturally specific milieux. Even Polotsky talked about the essential unity of Manichaean traditions from North Africa to China. These conventional assumptions about Manichaean discourse can be summarized as follows:

1) that Mani established a complete theological system in all of its details,
2) that this system was transmitted essentially unchanged from one socio-historical context to another, and
3) that this system can be reconstructed from the diverse, but essentially uniform, sources into which it was recorded.

Today, however, it no longer seems appropriate to talk about a unified “Manichaean system,” especially one formulated and set-in-stone by Mani himself. Rather, as this study has shown, Manichaean theology, even at a relatively early stage, seems to have existed in varying states of flux and evolution, depending on the context in which it circulated.

4 Such assumptions, for example, have even led Lieu to assert that “literalist” understandings of Mani’s teaching made Manichaeism “a static religion” (Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire, 32). This implies, however, that basic features of the discourse did not change and made it easily exposed to philosophical attack.

5 Polotsky, “Manichäismus,” 101 [240].

6 Recently Gardner and Lieu state that in contrast to mainstream Christianity, which worked out its doctrinal formulations over centuries, “Mani took great pains to establish a total religion based upon his own comprehensive scriptures and preaching,” thus, there is “less scope in the study of Manichaeism to trace the evolution of doctrine, since all teaching was rigidly tied to the very details of the divine word in Mani’s scriptures” (Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire, 9–10).

7 Rudolph suggested that Coptic sources come “closest to the original system” (Gnosis, 334), while Heuser, in spite of his efforts to focus on a limited socio-historical source base in his study of Manichaean myth in Coptic texts, suggests that “the Manichaean myth in toto can be deduced from” these sources (“The Manichaean Myth,” 5).

8 In his presentation of the Manichaean “system” Hans Jonas stated that he made use primarily of Theodore bar Khonai, “supplemented by whatever pieces of material from parallel texts fit into a particular passage” (The Gnostic Religion, 209). Later, Klimkeit would allude to the fact that Manichaean sources reveal “a remarkably unified system” (Gnosis on the Silk Road, 4).

9 Recently, BeDuhn and Mirecki have cautioned against viewing the original Mesopotamian formulation of Manichaeism as “a static base” upon which later tradition rested (“Placing the Acts of Archelaus,” 7). In the same vein, Sala has pointed to divergent
However, as Jason BeDuhn has pointed out, Manichaean ritual, in contrast to doctrine, seems to have been one aspect of the religion that remained particularly consistent throughout the wide array of cultural environments, and, in fact, theology may have acted more as a conceptual framework meant to support ritual. Thus, it seems more appropriate to talk about phases of Manichaean theology. Just as mainstream Christian theology can rightly be identified by any number of qualifiers, such as ante-Nicene, post-Chalcedonean, etc., so too would it be desirable for scholars to develop similar nomenclature based on critical evaluation of the sources. This is partly a result of the fact that some scholars have been somewhat overenthusiastic in their desire to hear the authentic voice of Mani preserved in texts such as the *Kephalaia*, which presents itself (artificially I believe) as a record of his discourses. Such a desire, although not surprising, runs contrary to the function and purpose of the work as identified by this study. A methodological lesson can and should be learned from the degree to which many New Testament scholars are generally sceptical about how much material from the gospels can be directly attributed to Jesus. While Jesus of course never intended to found a religion, it is thought that canonical early Christian writings do contain at least a core of authentic material drawn more or less directly from his teaching (reflected in part by the hypothetically posited Q-document in particular). Many decades of careful study have shown the degree to which this material has been shaped by the redactional and editorial efforts of the first generations of Christians. We should assume that a similar relationship exists between a work such as the *Kephalaia* and the words of Mani himself, although in his case he seems to have deliberately sought to found (or at least reform) his notion of the true religion. While it may be assumed that on some level a certain amount of *Kephalaia* material was drawn either from Mani’s own writings or from oral traditions passed down by early disciples and teachers, the vast majority seems to have undergone a substantial amount of expansion and revision. It just so happens that

strains of Manichaean doctrine (“Narrative Options in Manichaean Eschatology,” 65–66).


11 In fact, on a basic level, it is difficult to judge the distance of anything attributed to *Manichaios* from Mani himself, since the Syriac epithet, “Mani the Living” (*Mani hiyya*), on which this common form of his name is based seems to reveal at least some degree of hagiography.
Conclusions & Implications

this particular study has focused on redactional tendencies by means of numeric patterning, although there would certainly be other thematic gateways worthy of exploration.

Adversity and Persecution

The desire to clarify the teachings of the founder may not have been the only reason that so many Kēphalaia chapters were shaped by such a redactional tendency, since some of those most deeply interested in five-part patterns also reveal a keen awareness of both external and internal pressures perceived by the community. External pressures, for example, are evoked most explicitly in the efforts of Chapter 6 to describe the properties of the Five Worlds of Darkness, which ultimately lead to an association of these worlds not only with rival religious communities such as Zoroastrians, Christians, and “pagans,” but even, as in the case of the great World of Smoke, the “powers that be.” As such, we are told most emphatically that “the spirit of the King of (those of) Darkness is the one who rules / today in the powers and authorities of the earth and the / whole world. I mean those who rule over all of creation, / humbling people in their tyranny according to their will” (1 Ke 33.5–8). This statement no doubt reflects bitter memories of persecution at the hands of Sassanian and Roman authorities.

After the deaths of King Shapur I (ca. 272 CE) and his successor Hormizd (273 CE), both of whom had been favourably disposed to Mani and his teaching, religious and political machinations began within the Sassanian administration against the new, upstart religion. In particular, Kirdir, the Zoroastrian “high-priest,” sought to bring the empire’s religious minorities under control,12 as is evidenced by one of his surviving inscriptions, which states, in Middle Persian, that “the Jews, the Buddhists and the Brahmans, the Nazarenes (i.e., Aramaic-speaking Christians) and the Christians (i.e., Greek-speaking), the Baptists and the Manichaeans were struck throughout the land.”13 Eventually, this led to the imprisonment and death of Mani (ca. 276 or 277 CE) and the scattering of the Manichaeans from Mesopotamia. Within fifteen years, Mar Sīsin (i.e. Sisinnios), the successor to Mani as head of the church, or

12 Lieu, Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire, 108.
13 Gignoux, Les quatre inscriptions du Mage Kirdir, 69–70. See also Hutter, “Manichaeism in Iran,” 308.
archēgos, was also executed by Vahram II (292 CE). Some Manichaeans, fleeing this persecution, took refuge at the court of King Amaro (‘Amr ibn ‘Adi) at Hira, to the southwest of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Eventu-
al, Amaro was even able to convince King Narses to halt the per-
secution of the Manichaeans, although this was done, in part, strate-
gically, since Emperor Diocletian had recently issued an edict against
the Manichaeans on his territory in 303 CE. This was seen by Narses as
an opportunity to gain Manichaean support. But, soon enough after,
under Hormizd II (303–309 CE), the Zoroastrian priesthood again agi-
tated for the king to strike at the Manichaeans.

Similarly, under the Roman Empire, Manichaeans were faced with
periodic persecution and toleration. After making initial inroads into
Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, Mani’s followers were (unjustly) con-
demned by Diocletian for purportedly propagating the “dammable cus-
toms and perverse laws of the Persians.” The so-called “Edict of
Milan” (312 CE), however, brought some respite on a whole range of
religious matters and, as a result, Manichaeans seem to have flour-
ished in places such as the Nile Valley, where the Coptic Kēphalaia
were likely produced, Palestine, where a teacher such as Julia could
flourish, and Italy, where Augustine, on the recommendation of some
rather well connected Manichaean “saints,” was appointed Chair of
Rhetoric in Milan. This relative religious peace was short-lived, since
with the accession of Theodosius anti-heretical measures were rein-
forced (380 CE). Ultimately, by the time of Justinian, Manichaeans were
outrawed and the Elect threatened with death.

While the bitter memories of these persecutions are a well-known
feature of the Manichaean Homilies, especially the “Sermon on the

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14 According to the Chronicle of Seert, the close relation between Manichaeans and
Christians in the Sassanian Empire led to Vahram II’s persecution of both groups
(Patrologia Orientalis 4.3:237).
15 See Pedersen, “A Manichaean Historical Text,” 196.
16 Hutter, “Manichaeism in Iran,” 309.
17 Hutter, “Manichaeism in Iran,” 309. See also Lieu, Manichaeism in the Later Roman
Empire, 106–109.
19 For the “Edict of Diocletian” see Gardner and Lieu, Manichaean Texts from the
Roman Empire, 117–118; see also Lieu, Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire, 122–123.
20 Mark the Deacon, Life of Porphyry, 85–91; see Scopello, “Julie, manichéenne d’Anti-
21 Confessions, 18.
22 Gardner and Lieu, Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire, 111.
Great War,” echoes can also be heard in the Kephalaia, which may in fact draw on traditions pre-dating the Homilies. For instance, in Chapter 189 “[On the Five Temptations],” the fifth temptation menacing the Elect, presumably apostasy, comes during persecution:

[The fifth is this:] If persecution / [happens] in . . . through the persecutor . . . / . . . the Sects, those who stand in . . . / . . . tribulation. Or again as they . . . / . . . as they strike him with whips . . . / . . . and they come to “crucify” him and he does not turn . . . / . . . from his truth and he bears every thing . . . / . . . wrath, bond, (and) crucifixion. In these Five / Temptations . . . / . . . of the Elect / . . . he receives the . . . / . . . increases in faith and becomes true . . . / . . . his knowledge . . . temptation . . . / . . . and he returns immediately and reveals / the truth and . . . gives . . . (1 Ke 485.30–486.13).

Such a vivid description reveals that persecution formed part of the living memory of the Kephalaia compilers and influenced at least some of their pentadic formulations.

The adverse effects of persecution are also incorporated into Chapter 137 “On the Five Types of Brotherhood that are distinguished from one another.” This chapter, which as we previously saw, enumerated five types of people found in the church, suggests that the fourth and fifth classes, the so-called “day-labourers” and, especially, the “slaves” fleed at the first sign of persecution (1 Ke 340.6–7).

While it is obvious that persecution was a subject that the compilers incorporated into some of their numeric formulations, less obvious is the possibility that such formulations acted as a fortification strategy in the face of real or potential persecutions. It seems at least plausible to suggest that the attempt to shape Manichaean discourse and ideology into such regularized and reoccurring patterns could have served as a means to strengthen the faith of adherents, especially the Elect, to whom the Kephalaia as a work appears to have been directed. The broad application of pentadic structures, which were seen as indicative of divinity itself, to such a wide range of phenomena could only serve to reinforce the Manichaean claim to truth and, thereby, support the

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23 See Pedersen’s idiosyncratic, yet thorough, study: Studies in The Sermon on the Great War. According to Pedersen, this homiletic texts was meant “to strengthen the persecuted community in 3rd or 4th century Mesopotamia” (28).

24 For instance, in the “Sermon on the Great War,” Mani is made to say “I weep for my Kephalaia” (Hom 18.6), which may indicate that “kephalaic” literature of some sort existed prior to the composition of the Homilies. See Pedersen, Studies, 90–93.

25 In this case “crucify” is likely a synonym for torture.
typical Manichaeans boast to have an explanation for everything. Such a vision of reality, if it could be seen to reproduce itself throughout the cosmos, may have helped to keep adherents in the fold and held them fast during times of adversity and repression.

Missionary Expansion

An additional aspect to which numeric patterning may have contributed is the missionary expansion of the movement. As is well known, Manichaeism was a self-consciously missionary religion. As Lieu has written, “mission was the driving force behind the religion from its very inception.”26 Mani’s assertion that the previous revelations of Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus had been unjustly limited to specific socio-cultural settings meant that he actively sought to deliver his message to a wide range of audiences. As such, modelling himself on Paul, Mani undertook missionary journeys to diverse parts of the Sassanian Empire,27 which enabled him to encounter and preach to Christians in the west, Buddhists and Brahmins in the east, and Zoroastrians in the Iranian heartland. His disciples followed suit, with Mar Adda being primarily responsible for the western mission and Mar Ammō as the chief organizer of the mission to the east.28

Numeric patterning may offer us a glimpse into one of the missionary techniques employed by Manichaean, at least in the western context to which our texts testify. As Asmussen observed: “Mani and his missionaries knew the importance of repetition. When well-known material and names occurred again and again, a feeling of security and confidence was produced in the minds of the listeners.”29 As such, the repeated presentation of Manichaean doctrines in predictable and self-reinforcing patterns, such as those involving five, could have contributed to the palatability and plausibility of the missionary’s teaching. In addition, the fact that the number five was used with such frequency could have also had a mnemonic value, since a series of five points could be easily recalled using five fingers.30 After all, a number of the Kēphalaia

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26 Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire, 88.
27 Lieu, Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire, 88.
28 Lieu, Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire, 90.
29 Manichaean Literature, 113.
30 In fact, ancient theoreticians suggested that the five fingers of the hand could
chapters that elaborate five points are extremely brief—almost catechetical (see, for instance, *Chapters* 25, 33, 37, 68, 107, 193)—with little or no literary frame. Such chapters appear to represent “proto-kephalaia”\(^{31}\) and it may well be that many more elaborate chapters have their origins in such brief, mnemonically digestible, didactic texts. This means that numeric patterning, especially those patterns involving five, could have served as a valuable pedagogical tool for the Manichaean missionary.

*Why five?*

But why, we may ask, was five favoured as a figure around which so much of the Manichaean world-view was organized? The fact that five played such a central role in the development of Manichaean discourse is, as we have seen, rooted in the fact that Mani and Manichaeans seem to have believed as a general principle that most beings (both Light and Dark) possess five qualities. This concept, in turn, was connected to the Manichaean conviction that the human being, with its five limbs, five senses, five fingers, and five toes (on each limb), was a microcosmic representation of both the wider macro-cosmos\(^{32}\) and the divine power at its source. After all, according to Manichaean cosmology, when the demons conspired to create Adam and Eve, they used the androgynous image of the Third Messenger as a model (Theodore bar Khonai 317.7–11 [Scher]). This basic anthropological importance of five, however, was likely drawn from 2nd-century Syriac philosopher Bardaisan, who according to Ephraim taught that all entities possess five aspects corresponding to the five senses. Each must have its own colour, its own smell, its own taste, its own texture, and its own voice;\(^{33}\) sentiments definitely echoed by the description of the dark ruler in *Chapter 6.* In addition, the fact that Mani seems to have inherited a concept of

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\(^{32}\) For example, *Kephalaia Chapter* 70 is called “On the Body, that it was made to resemble the cosmos.” Also, the Manichaean account from the *Acta Archelai* states that “this body is called cosmos in relation to the great cosmos (i.e., the macrocosmos)” (τὸ γὰρ σῶμα τούτῳ κόσμῳ καλεῖται πρὸς τὸν μεγάν κόσμον [9-4]).

\(^{33}\) See Ephraim, *Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan*, 223 (Mitchell).
Five Elements, perhaps also from the school of Bardaisan, as the basic building blocks of both the soul and its material antithesis, as well as the concept of the Five Limbs, means that some of the most fundamental concepts in Manichaean theology were canonically expressed as pentads. This, in turn, provided the precedent for later teachers and theologians to use, expand, and reinvent this basic paradigm.

Who was responsible?

While we have sought to reconstruct the methods and motivations of an alleged group of anonymous compilers, a clue to who may have instigated or at least influenced this process of enumeration and systematization may be found in a Sogdian fragment from Turfan on the healing of Nafsha of Tadmor/Palmyra. In this text, Mar Adda, the primary Manichaeans missionary to the west, is said to have received a vision from the master himself, in which everything, we are told, is explained “fully and completely by numbers.”\(^{34}\) Michel Tardieu suggested that Adda, who held the ecclesiastical rank of “teacher,”\(^ {35}\) may have in fact been the author of the *Kephalaia*.\(^ {36}\) We may never be able to validate such a bold suggestion, but it at least seems plausible that Adda, if not the actual “author” of the *Kephalaia*, may have provided the main impetus or model for the development of this interest in enumeration and systematization. This Iranian fragment would seem to provide the much needed “authorization” from Mani for Adda (and/or his associates) to do something that Mani’s great religious project was supposed to have made unnecessary—that is, the interpretation, clarification, and systematization of the teaching of God’s ultimate messenger. Mani’s canonical writings were supposed to have been definitive, but as the “prologue” to the *Kephalaia* itself reveals (1 Ke 8.34–35), where

\(^{34}\) So. 18223 + So. 18222 (Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 113). See also Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte*, 44 (3-3).

\(^{35}\) Funk has raised the question as to whether or not the “teacher” referred to by the title of the first *Kephalaia* volume is in actual fact the author rather than Mani (“Reconstruction,” 154, n. 17).

\(^{36}\) Tardieu, “Principes de l’exégèse manichéenne,” 134, n. 73. Cited (tentatively) by Funk, “Reconstruction,” 154. Adda is known to have composed his own writings, which were sometimes mistaken for those of Mani (Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 91). This, in fact, may have been the result of conscious imitation or attribution of his words to the master, not unlike the situation found within the *Kephalaia*. 
Mani is made to exhort his disciples to record what he taught them, the definitive and final pretence with which Mani packaged his writings was quickly overridden by the needs and circumstances of the communities he left behind.
PART II

TRANSLATIONS FROM *THE KEPHALAIA OF THE TEACHER* [BERLIN CODEX]
Note on Translations

The following translations have been left in their codex page format in order to facilitate cross-referencing with Part I and comparison with the original edition (to which the reader is strongly encouraged to refer). Also, mythological figures and theological concepts of particular relevance to Part I have been rendered in italics purely for emphasis. In addition, I have made every effort to incorporate (as yet unpublished) Addenda et corrigenda (A&C) by W.-P. Funk into the translation of these selected chapters. The final published version of these A&C is slated to appear at the end of the Polotsky/Böhlig/Funk edition of Kephalaia volume one. As such, references to the A&C are simply meant to indicate that an improved or alternate reading exists. However, as in the case of the translations as a whole, any inaccuracies in the rendering of these valuable A&C are mine. Note also that any words or phrases followed by (?) are conjectural reconstructions.
16.35 The first parable they asked him about (and) implored [him to]
16.36 interpret for them is this: While [crowds of . . .]1
17.1 were gathered . . . his disciples stood
17.2 before him (and) questioned him, saying: We implore you, our
17.3 Lord, that you [teach us] and interpret for us these
17.4 two trees [which Jesus] described to his disciples, as is written
17.5 in the Gos[pel, where he said]:2 The good tree produces
17.6 [good fruit,] and [the] evil tree produces bad fruit
17.7 [. . . Neither is there a] good [tree] that produces bad fruit,
17.8 [nor is there an evil tree that] produces good fruit.
17.9 [Every tree is known by] its fruit.
17.10 [We] implore you, then, that you [now teach us about]
17.11 these two trees [and] interpret them [for us] . . .
17.12 . . . as they grow [on the] earth. For they are described . . .
17.13 [in the] writings . . . . . . them . . .
17.14 . . . . . . word (?) . . .
17.15 . . . . . . mystery by mystery.
17.16 There are some among the Sects3 who interpret these two
trees, counting them as good trees along with the rest of the good
17.17 things4
17.18 on this mixed earth. Each [one(?)] . . . . .
17.19 to them, relating them to . . .
17.20 a single interpretation.
17.21 Then our Lord Manichaios, the Apostle, sent [from5 the] Greatness,
spoke
17.22 to his disciples: Very great is this matter which [you uttered . . .]
17.23 . . . . . . . .
17.24 . . . . . . . .
17.25 . . . . . . . .

1 Funk, personal communication.
3 ΝΑΟΤΗΑ: the generic term used in Graeco-Coptic Manichaean texts for any number of rival religious groups.
4 A&C: ΦΙΝΑΚΑΝΤ [ἐγχα] | Ἡ ἁγίας. The disciples appear to want Mani to address an interpretation of this parable that runs counter to Mani’s radical separation of the Two Natures.
5 A&C: ΠΑΒΑΛ [ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ | Ἑκάστος.
by his own mouth . . . .

evil. The Sects . . . .

. . . . . . . .

This (fact), however, that they [interpret] the two trees, considering them

to the trees . . . in a single interpretation . . .

For . . .

tree, which grew on this mixed earth
date-palm. For . . .
established them, that the date-palm is not completely useful

cabbage, while it wounds . . . .

first a(?) . . . . in them

they [become sweet(?)] to the end . . . It was

in its fibres and its branches . . . . and dies.⁶

There is an evil smoke among them . . .
date-palm . . before the tree which . . .

evil. For it will pass judgement . . .
or those who . . .

(date-palm?) is] the one which they name . . .

the kind . . .

name it “tree” . . .

sweet . . . .
in . . .

. . . . . . . .

writing . .

. . . . . . . .

it . . . they establish . . .

human being . . . .

which . . . it is sweet . . .

seed of . . . and it is useful

for their food . . . . . .

. . . . . . . .

. . . . . . . .

will interpret . . . . . .

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⁶ A&C: ἄνθος.
chapter 2

18.32 ... will not join ... ... 
18.33 ... people who are named ... ... 
18.34 ... ... ... ... 
18.35 ... ... ... ... 
18.36 ... ... ... ... 
18.37 ... that they ... ... 

19.1 [Apostle]. He was counted among the [twelve],
19.2 but, in the end, it is written about him that Satan [entered him].
19.3 He handed the Saviour over to the Jews (and) they seized and 
[crucified him]^9
19.4 to the tree. Thus, Judas Iscariot was first 
19.5 called a good man, [but in the end, an evil man,]^10
19.6 a traitor, and a murderer ... [It is written about]
19.7 Paul that he was a persecutor at first, who ... the church 
19.8 of God, as he persecuted ... ... 
19.9 ... ... ... ... 
19.10 ... ... ... ... 
19.11 a great revelation, he has [proclaimed it in ... ]^11
19.12 the church [of] my Lord, he has ...
19.13 [a] bad ... at first ... and ...
19.14 ... ... interpret ... ...
19.15 ... ... their interpretation ... ... 
19.16 ... a good man, correctly ... ... 
19.17 ... being totally evil. For ... ...
19.18 they were created through the mixture of [Light and Darkness(?)]
19.19 as they all stood in [love?] ... ... 
19.20 they were shaped and were established in the ... and ... 
19.21 which are mixed in all things. Behold! ... the 
19.22 interpretation of the Sects does not agree with^12 ... ...
19.23 ... listen, and I will reveal to you about the ... 
19.24 [which] the Saviour explained in the [parable] about the good tree 
and 
19.25 the evil tree ... ... call them from ... 
19.26 They do not know what sort of thing they are [on their] inside and 
outside, 
19.27 [without] knowledge, they equate them ... in their interpretation of 
19.28 what kind of thing these two trees are. But, hear how^13 
19.29 I will reveal to you ... the interpretation [of the parable (?)]^14

^8 A&C: δε rather than κε.
^9 A&C: λυσαν[α] [κε]παλαιφυμα.
^11 A&C: ενετελελεζε ± 10.
^13 A&C: λαλαζωθιν [κα].
19.30 of the tree and the usefulness(?) ... Father ...
19.31 ... everything, as ... in the ...
19.32 ... of the world ... in the ...
19.33 ... [righteous]ness of this good tree ...
19.34 ... the light of this good tree ...
19.35 ... the Column [of Glory], the Perfect Man\textsuperscript{15}

20.1 ... these \textit{Five Intellectuals} that clothe his body ...
20.2 ... of this good tree, which are the Elements of
20.3 Light, mixed (and) compounded in the universe. The fruit
20.4 of the good tree is Jesus the Splendour, the glorious, the Father
20.5 [of] all the Apostles. But, the taste of the fruits of the [good]
20.6 tree [is the] Holy Church with its Teachers and its
20.7 ... [Elect and its] Catechumens. Behold! This is the good
20.8 tree] ... ... ...
20.9 ... ... ...
20.10 ... evil fruits
20.11 ... ... [I will] reveal to you ... ...
20.12 ... it (that is, the good tree) has \textit{Five Limbs}
20.13 [which are: Consideration, Counsel, Insight, Thought]
20.14 Mind. Its Consideration is the Holy Church. Its Counsel
20.15 is the Column of Glory, the Perfect Man. Its Insight
20.16 is the First Man, who dwells in the Ship of the Living
20.17 Waters. Its Thought is the Third Messenger
20.18 [who dwells in] the Ship of the Living Fire, which shines in
20.19 [the world]. But, the Mind is the Father, who dwells in the Great-
20.20 ness, who exists perfectly in the Aeon of Light.
20.21 ... this, that the souls who come and attain
20.22 the Holy [Church] and also the alms which the Cate-
20.23 [chumens] give, as they are purified by the Holy Church
20.24 ... every deed. Consideration is that which will ...
20.25 ... they ascend to ... ... is Counsel,
20.26 [they] ascend to Insight, which is the First Man,
20.27 who dwells in the Ship of the Night. From Insight they ascend
20.28 to Thought, which is the Messenger, who dwells in
20.29 the Ship of the Day. But he, the Great Thought, who
20.30 ... them to Mind, who is the Father, the God
20.31 of Truth, the great Mind of all Aeons of Glory.
20.32 This is the good tree that produces good fruit ...
20.33 ... is all life and eternal light ... ...
20.34 ... exists ... ever ... It is blessed ...
20.35 ... good ... evil ... ...

\textsuperscript{15} A&C: π[ε]γλος [ἵππων π] ρεφ[ε] τ[ζηκ].
21.1 ... who exists in ... ...
21.2 ... ... from ... ...
21.3 ... ... also ... ...
21.4 ... ... ... as he is
21.5 ... ... ... ...
21.6 ... ... ... ...
21.7 ... ... ... ...
21.8 ... ... ... ...
21.9 ... ... ... ...
21.10 ... ... ... ...
21.11 ... ... ... ...
21.12 ... ... the good tree ... ...
21.13 ... ... ... of fire ... ...
21.14 ... ... those who [rule?] ... ...
21.15 ... ... heaven and the wheel [of the stars?] ... ...
21.16 ... ... they are the Five Fleshes who go ...
21.17 ... ... the fruis ... ...
21.18 ... ... Insight as the Error, the mystery which ... ...
21.19 which Satan has set in the cosmos. But the [taste] of
21.20 these evil fruits are those wicked people, the Sects ... ...
21.21 who are bound by various laws, they and their teachers ... ...
21.22 [the] Law of Death, they taste it (and) thirst for [it]
21.23 [and it delivers] the soul[s] to death. This is the tree, [that]
21.24 [produces] good [fruit], which our Lord has called:
21.25 [The good tree that] produces good fruit. He has [stated?] ... ...
21.26 in the writings ... all the Sects know it.
21.27 ... ... [I will] reveal to you (and) you ... ...
21.28 ... ... the evil [tree] has Five Limbs
21.29 [which] are: Consideration, Counsel, Insight, Thought, [Mind]
21.30 ... Its [Consideration is] the Law of Death which the Sects
21.31 ... are taught. Its Counsel is the transmigration ... ...
21.32 ... in [various] kinds. But, its Insight is the [fiery] furnaces of
21.33 ... ... Gehenna, which are filled with smoke. Its Thought ... ...
21.34 ... ... the vessel. Its Mind is ...
21.35 ... ... the lump, the last bond, the ...
21.36 ... ... those who Satan has [cast]
. . . the great . . . . . .
. . . and they fall . . . . . .
. . . the Darkness . . . . . .
. . . all and they take away . . .
. . . engulfed into the lump and are bound . . .
. . . the fruit of Darkness, which they . . .
. . . . . . for eternity.
. . . his face . . . every mishap. The
. . . [un]fortunate ones [who] will arrive there, they do not have the
. . . chance of

repentance.
. . . this is the interpretation of the evil tree which I have
. . [interpreted] for you . . .
. . . . . good fruit . . . . . .
. . . . . its fruits are evil . . . . . .
. . . . . . it in its days of being . . . . . .
. . . . . . it. Therefore . . . . . .
. . . . . . and my beloved . . . . . .
. . . . . . them in truth, as it is changed . . . . . .
. . . . . they . . . . . .
. . . . who is left in his Good Land . . . . . .
. . . . life and light, since Death and Darkness do not [exist] . . .
. . . But, the evil tree is Matter . . . . . .
. . . it gave itself form in . . . . . .
. . . . . . that existed in his Evil Land . . . . . .
. . . . . . Darkness and Death. Blessed is everyone

[who recognizes?] these two trees and separates them from one
. . . another,
. . . and knows that they did not come to be from one another, (that) they
. . . . . . did not come from one another, and (that) they did not come out of
. . . one. The
. . . person who separates them will enter into the Aeon of Light.
. . . [as I have] revealed them to you, and he will see . . .
. . . the bad fruit did not originate from
. . . . . . it . . . The one who will not separate it . . .
. . . from one another, he will fall to the land . . .
. . . . . . until he attains . . .
. . . . The . . . . . .
. . . Blessed is he who believes and . . .
. . . Darkness, he who grows . . .
. . . forever and ever.

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16 A&C: 211 RANQAT NIHR.
CHAPTER 3

THE INTERPRETATION OF HAPPINESS, WISDOM, AND POWER; WHAT THEY MEAN

23.17 Again, the Enlightener spoke to his disciples, as [he(?)]
23.18 [was] sitting in the assembly of the church: What do these
23.19 [three things] mean, which are called in the cosmos “happiness,”
23.20 [“wisdom,”] and “power,” which people pride themselves on
23.21 . . . the happiness of the cosmos . . .
23.22 . . . . . . [wisdom(?)] in the cosmos has a . . .
23.23 . . . [power(?)] of the world will pass away.
23.24 [People] pride themselves on them (and) praise . . .
23.25 Now . . . thing is revealed in a great17
23.26 . . . . . . which I have said to you.
23.27 [I will]18 teach you another happiness which does not19 [perish(?)] . . .
23.28 [another]20 wisdom [which does not] end, and another power which
does not
23.29 [pass away(?)]. But now listen! I will reveal to you
23.30 [how] these three things are—[happiness,]
23.31 wisdom, and power.
23.32 [The first]21 glorious [happiness] is the Father, the God [of]
23.33 [Truth. He who] is established in the Great Land of [Light.]

24.1 But his glorious wisdom is his Great Spirit, who . . .
24.2 . . . . . . below, which is coursing through all his Aéons,
24.3 as they too are sailing through it. His great power is
24.4 all the Rich Gods and Angels who
24.5 are called forth from him, as they . . . . .
24.6 those who are called “Aéons” . . . . .
24.7 . . . . . . . .
24.8 . . . . . . . .
24.9 [the one] that is named “Sun” . . . .
24.10 . . . [the Ship of] Living Fire . . . [the Third]
24.11 Messenger, the Second Greatness . . . [The]
24.12 glorious happiness is the [Living] Spirit . . .

17 A&C: oýma[6].
24.13 . . . [wisdom(?)] is the Mother of Life . . .
24.14 . . . . . . [all] the Rich
24.15 Gods and Angels who are found within the ship.
24.16 Happiness, wisdom, and power also exist in the Ship [of the Living]
24.18 . . . the Mind of the Father. But, wisdom [is the]
24.19 [Virgin] of Light. Power, also, which is in the Ship, is [all]
24.20 the Rich Gods and Angels who are found in it.
24.21 These three (things) also exist in the Elements—happiness, wisdom,
24.22 and power. Happiness is [the Column of Glory],
24.23 the Perfect Man, wisdom is the [Five Sons of the]
24.24 Living Spirit, but, the great power [is the]
24.25 Five Sons of the First Man . . . . . . [who]
24.26 [are enclosed] (and) kneaded into the Universe, which . . . . . .
24.27 as it supports the Universe.
24.28 Then again, happiness, wisdom, [and power]
24.29 [are found] in the Holy Church. Great, glorious [happiness,]
24.30 is the Apostle of Light, [who is]
24.31 [sent] from the Father. Wisdom [is the Leaders]
24.32 and Teachers, who journey in the Holy Church, [proclaiming]
24.33 wisdom and truth. Great [power] . . . . . .
25.1 . . . all the Elect, the Virgins, and the Chaste,
25.2 [along with] the Catechumens, who are in the [Holy] Church . . .
25.3 . . . the Five Happineses, the Five Wisdosms, and the Five Powers . .
25.4 . . . . . . in the Five Churches. Blessed is
25.5 everyone who will know them, for he . . . . . .
25.6 . . . kingdom forever.
25.11 Again the Enlightener spoke: There are Four Great Days which have come from one another; they have been called forth from one another. The First Great Day is the Father, the God of Truth, the first . . . among the Aeons of his Greatness in his Living Kingdom. The twelve hours of this Great Day are the Twelve Great, Rich Gods of Greatness, those who are the first Calls which he called (into being) according to his Greatness. He distributed them among the Four Regions, three to each side. The Second Day is the Third Messenger, who dwells in the Ship of Light. Its twelve hours are the Twelve Virgins who he summoned in his Greatness. [The] Third [Day] is the Column of Glory, the great Porter, who is greater than all the Porters, who supports . . . all these . . . those above and those below. Its twelve hours are the Five Sons of the First Man, the Five Sons of the Living Spirit, those who support all burdens of the cosmos, along with the Call and Response, which are counted among their ten brothers. These are the twelve light-hours of the Third Day. The Fourth Day is Jesus the Splendour, who [dwells in] his church. Its twelve hours are the twelve Wisdoms, which are his light-hours. These are the Four Great Days which have come forth from one another] (and) which were called from one another. They . . .

25.35 . . . Blessed is everyone who knows them and . . . of Light.

26.1 [Know also this!]: Just as Four Days [exist], so too do Four Nights exist. The First Night is the Land of Darkness. It has twelve dark [shadows], which are the hours
of Darkness. The twelve shadows of the first Night
are the Five Elements of the Land of Darkness, [which]
have poured forth in its Five Senses and . . .
have . . . in its Five Elements and its Five . . .
the Five [Spirits?] who dwell in its Elements . . .
These are the twelve shadows and spirits of the first Night.
The second Night is Matter, the sculptor . . . . .
. . . . . . who has formed . . .
and every ruling power that is in the World [of Darkness, which]
has fashioned it in Five Senses, Five [Male]
and Five Female, two to a world , as well as the fire and [lust]
[w]hich dwell in men and women, inflaming them
for one another. These are the twelve Spirits of this
second Night. But, this Matter, it is the Thought of Death, which
causes the King of Darkness and his powers to prepare for
war and battle against the Acons of Greatness. But,
it was caught (and) snared by the First Man (and) carried
to . . . . . by the powers . . . it was brought
from the Land of Death (and) placed . . . above
and below in the [entire] cosmos, in the Five Parts
which are above in the heavens along with the Five [Parts which] are
below
in the lower lands, along with the heat [and the] cold, which
are the father and the mother, their fire and their desire.
This is the second Night, which is born our of the first
Night. It was snared by the First Man (and) brought
by the Living Spirit (and) placed in this mixed world . . .
above and below. The [upper part is the?] senses of men; the lower part [. . . the senses?] of women. The third [Night is the Five]
Worlds of Flesh . . . . [five?]

[male] and the five female, those who are born of the powers
. . . they fell upon the earth, while they are revealed in
the dryness and cold, along with the fire and desire
[w]hich dwell in them, which impel them towards one another.
[Matter], however, is the Thought of Death, which is [Mother] of
them all, as it is named among them “Night,”
the male and female [powers?] of flesh, along with the fire and
[desire] . . . twelve hours of . . . . .
. . . Night. This, again, is the third Night, in
[the] World of Flesh, which is born out of the second
Night, which the Living Spirit crucified in the

\[22\] A&C: \[56\] a?.
27.12 [entire\textsuperscript{23} cosmos, above] and below in the heaven . . .
27.13 . . . The fourth Night is the Law of [Sin,]
27.14 [which] is the Spirit of Darkness that speaks through the twelve
27.15 [spirits], the twelve Sects, which are the strippings,
27.16 the twelve Zodiacs of Matter, which are
27.17 its thrones. It (that is, Matter) is announced, as it is moulded and
27.18 manifest in the Old Man. But, the hours of this fourth
27.19 Night, which is the Old Man who rules among the Sects, they are the
27.20 twelve evil spirits . . . the Old Man, who . . .
27.21 . . . . . .
27.22 . . . . . .
27.23 . . . . . .
27.24 [Blessed is he who(?)] distinguishes the day and the night . . .
27.25 . . . . . . of Death. This is the fourth [Night]
27.26 . . . . . . which have come forth from one another, one . . .
27.27 . . . . . . as the Days of Light
27.28 that they come out\textsuperscript{24} (and) have revealed one another. So too
27.29 . . . [do the Nights(?)] come to be from one another.
27.30 Blessed is the one who knows and who distinguishes and
27.31 . . . . forever.

\textsuperscript{23} A&C: [\textit{chos th}p[q].
\textsuperscript{24} A&C: [\textit{xq} n\textit{tr}\textit{ai}\textit{vi}\textit{ll}l\textit{aiq}].
\textit{ari}.
Again, the Enlightener spoke to his disciples: Five Store-
Houses have existed from the beginning in the Land of Darkness. Five
Elements have poured forth from them. Also, from the Five
Elements were fashioned Five Trees, (and) from the Five Trees
were fashioned Five Species of Creatures according to each World,
males and females. But also, the Five Worlds [have]
Five Kings, Five Spirits, [Five] Bodies, (and) Five [Tastes]
according to each world, which do not resemble [one another].
The King of the World of Smoke, [he] . . . . .
He has come from the depth of [the darkness. This is he who is]
the chief of all evil and [all] wickedness. The initial
spread of the war came to be [through] him—all
battles, fights, quarrels, conflicts, destructions,
struggles, errors, contests. It is he [who first] stirred
conflict and war along with his worlds [and his] powers. Afterwards,
he waged war with the Light, doing battle with
the exalted kingdom. But, as for [the King] of Darkness,
there are Five Forms in him: his head [is lion-faced, his]
hands and feet are demon- [and devil]-faced, [his]
shoulders are eagle-faced, while his belly [is dragon-faced,]
(and) his tail is fished-faced. These Five Forms, the imprints of his
Five Worlds, are found in the King of (those belonging to) Darkness.
There are also Five Properties in him. The first is his
darkness. The second is his stench. The third is
his ugliness. The fourth is his bitterness—his very soul.
The fifth is his fire, which burns like a
peiˇs of iron being melted by the flame.
There are also three other things about him: The first is that his
[body(?)]

25 A&C: ek[i Δε Απρό] (cf. 1 Ke 173.27).
26 Meaning of peiˇs unknown, see Polotsky/Böhlig 31 n. 7.
27 A&C: σώμα (doubtful reading).
31.9 [is hard] (and) very strong, as if (in) its bitterness Matter
31.10 built it . . ., which is the Thought of Death,
31.11 that which formed it by the nature of the Land of
31.12 Darkness. Thus is the [body(?)] of the Archon of [Smoke]. It is
31.13 harder than all iron, brass, steel, and
31.14 [lead,] since there isn't any cleaver or implement to
31.15 pierce28 or cut it. For Matter, its fashioner, built it
31.16 . . . strong and hard. The second (thing is) that he strikes
31.17 [and] kills by the utterance of his magic. His preaching and his
31.18 hearing, all his foolish speech,29 make magic
31.19 and invocations for him. When it pleases him, he calls it upon
31.20 himself and hides, by his magic, from his
31.21 companions. Also, when it pleases him, he reveals himself to his
31.22 [and] appears to them, so that the sorcery which people
31.23 practise today . . . in this world are the mysteries of
31.24 the King of Darkness. Therefore, I command you
31.25 at all times: Keep yourselves away from magic and the sorcery
31.26 of Darkness, since the person who learns them and
31.27 [practises] them, and perfects them, at the end, where the King
31.28 of (those belonging to) Darkness and his powers will be bound, in that
31.29 also be bound the soul of the one who lives by them and
31.30 [walks] in the [magic] of Error. Whether it is a man or a
31.31 [woman], this is the judgement which has been given. They are cut
31.32 . . . the judgements of God, for he who will
31.33 . . . and their king.

32.1 The third (is) that the King of (those belonging to) Darkness knows the
32.2 speech and the language of his Five Worlds. He understands
32.3 everything that he hears from their mouths, as they speak with one
32.4 another—each according to his language. [Every] plan
32.5 which they conceive against him (and) every deceit which they discuss
32.6 with one another in order to bring it upon him—he knows them.
32.7 He also knows the gestures by which they give signs
32.8 to one another. But his powers and the archons
32.9 who are under him, they do not understand his speech. All these
32.10 are revealed to him, although their heart is not revealed to him.
32.11 He does not know their mind and their thought, he does not consider
32.12 beginning or their end, but he knows and perceives only
32.13 that which is before his eyes.

28 A&C: [jw]te.
29 A&C: ceexe rather than cesece.
32.14 There is also another, different thing in the King of (those belonging to) Darkness. When it pleases him to walk, he spreads out all his limbs, and he walks. When it comes to his mind, he draws in his limbs, takes them to himself, rolls them into one another, and falls down like a grape or a great iron ball. His voice is terrible.

32.20 He causes fear (and) frightens his powers with his voice. For, when he speaks, he is like the thunder among the clouds and is like the ... of the one who ...

32.23 When he cries out and he ... and he cries ... on his powers, they tremble and turn and fall at his feet like birds, while they ... bird ... and they fall down to the earth. However, there is only this one thing: he does not know what is far from him. He does not see what is in the distance, nor does he hear it. But that which is before his face, this he sees, hearing it (and) knowing it. These signs and evil symbols are found in the chief of the demons and devils, the King of all the mountains of darkness. [When] the Land of Darkness produced him, it [begot him in its] cruelty, in its evil, in its wrath ... 

32.30 more than all his fellow-Archons, who are in all his worlds.
32.32 Gold is the body of the King of (those of) Darkness. The bodies of all the powers who belong to the World of Smoke are gold. But, the taste of its fruit is salty. The spirit of the King of (those belonging to) Darkness is the one who rules today in the powers and authorities of the earth and the whole world. I mean those who rule over all of creation, humbling people in their tyranny according to their will.

33.9 But, the King of the Worlds of Fire is lion-faced, the first of all beasts. His body is brass. So too are [the bodies] of all the Archons who belong to the fire. Their taste is the sour taste in every form.

33.13 But, the spirit of the King of those who belong to the World of Fire is the one who rules in the nobles and leaders who are under the command of the powers and authorities and the kings of the world. His spirit is also the one found in the Sects who worship fire, as they offer their sacrifices to the fire.

30 A&C: πιγα[γα]ν [ετα]-.
33.18 Also, the King of the Worlds of Wind has an eagle-face. His body is iron. Also, the bodies of all those who belong to the wind are iron. Their taste is the burnt taste in every form. His spirit is that of the idol-worshippers, the spirits of Error that are in every temple, *eidoleion*, place of worship, statues and images, shrines of worldly Error.

33.25 But, the King of the World of Water has a fish-face. His body is silver. So too, all the Archons that belong to water, their bodies are silver. Also, the taste of their fruit is the sweetness of water; the sweet taste in every form. Also, the spirit of the King of the Archons of Water is the one who rules today in the Sects of Error. Those who baptize in the baptism of water, (placing) their hope and their trust in the baptism of water.

33.33 [The] King of the World of Darkness is a dragon. His body is lead and tin. So too, all the Archons [that belong to the World of] Darkness, their bodies are lead and tin. But, the taste of their fruit is bitter.

34.1 Therefore I tell you, my brothers and my Limbs, perfect faithful and holy elect: Keep your hearts with you and keep yourselves from the Five Slaveries of the Five Dark Spirits. Abandon the worship of their Five Bodies. Do not interact with them, so that you might escape their bond and their punishment forever.
CHAPTER 7

THE SEVENTH, ON THE FIVE FATHERS

34.16 Again, as the Enlightener, our father the true Apostle,
34.17 sat among his disciples
34.18 proclaiming to them the greatness of God, he said again to
34.19 them in this way in his revelation: There are Five Fathers,
34.20 who have been called forth one from another, and one has also come
34.21 from the other. The First Father is the Father of
34.22 Greatness, the glorious one who is praised, he whose greatness has no
34.23 measure, who is the first monogenes, the first
34.24 eternal who exists with the Five Fathers forever.
34.25 He who exists before all that has existed and
34.26 will exist. He, then, the glorious Father, he has called
34.27 three emanations from himself. The first is the Great
34.28 Spirit, the First Mother, she who has come from the Father, she was
34.29 revealed first. The second is the Beloved of
34.30 Lights, the great, glorious Beloved, who is honoured, [who]
34.31 has come from the Father and has appeared from him.
34.32 The Third {Father}\(^{31}\) is the Third [Messenger,]
34.33 the first of all counsellors, [who has come from the]

35.1 First Father (and) has appeared. This is the First Father,
35.2 the First Power, he from whom the three great powers have come.
35.3 This is the First Father, the first eternal, the root
35.4 of all lights. He from whom the three emanations have come.
35.5 They have subdued the Darkness (and) destroyed it. It pleased him
35.6 not (that) they alone be given the victory, (so) the victory is also given to their
35.7 Aeons.
35.8 The Second Father who has come forth from the First Father is the
35.9 Third Messenger, the replica of the King of Light.
35.10 But, he too has called (and) emanated three
35.11 powers. One is the Column of Glory, the Perfect Man,
35.12 of Blessing, the Great Porter, who is greater than

\(^{31}\) Father (ειαυτ) here is an error for "emanation" (προβολα) (Funk, personal communication).
35.13 all the porters.\textsuperscript{32} The second is Jesus the Splendour, the glorious,
35.14 the one through whom eternal life is given. The
35.15 third is the Virgin of Light, the Glorious Wisdom, she
35.16 who stole the heart(s) of the Archons and the Powers by her image,
fulfilling
35.17 the will of the Greatness.
35.18 The Third Father who has come forth from the Second Father,
35.19 he is Jesus the Splendour, the glorious. He too has summoned
35.20 three calls like the Second Father:
35.21 The first power which he called forth is the Light-Mind,
35.22 the Father of all Apostles, the first of all the churches,
35.23 he who Jesus set, after our likeness, in the Holy
35.24 Church. The second power which Jesus called
35.25 is the Great Judge, who judges all the souls
35.26 of people, his tent being set in the air [under(?)]
35.27 the wheel [of the] stars.\textsuperscript{33} The third power is
35.28 the Youth, the great [power of]\textsuperscript{34} light in his two per-
35.29 sons in . . . I am talking about that one who he established
35.30 in the Call [and] Response. [He has established] himself through his
35.31 the King of . . . the Saviour . . . see him, as he speaks
35.32 [to the Jews(?)].\textsuperscript{35} “What\textsuperscript{36} I have seen by means of my Father,
35.33 [this I say to] you. You too, what you have seen
35.34 [by means of your father], that you do.”

36.1 The Fourth Father is the Light-Mind, he who chooses
36.2 all the churches. He, too, has called three
36.3 powers after the likeness of Jesus. The first power is the Apostle
36.4 of Light, he who comes whenever he puts on the Church
36.5 of the flesh of humankind and becomes leader of
36.6 Righteousness. The second (power) is the Twin, who comes to the
36.7 Apostle and reveals himself to him, since he is a companion to him,
36.8 being bound to him everywhere (and) always helping him in
36.9 all the tribulations and the dangers. The third (power)
36.10 is the Light-Form, which the Elect and the
36.11 Catechumens assume when they renounce the world.
36.12 The Fifth Father is the Light-Form which
36.13 reveals itself to each one who leaves his
36.14 body in the same way as the Apostle, along with the Three
36.15 Great, Glorious Angels who come with it. While the one holds

\textsuperscript{32} A similar formulation may be found in a hymn/litany from Mani’s \textit{Living Gospel (Synaxeis)} (Funk, \textit{personal communication}).
\textsuperscript{33} A&C: [\texti{τροχος} [\texti{πολιος}]
\textsuperscript{34} Funk, \textit{personal communication}.
\textsuperscript{35} See Polotsky/Böhlig 35.32.
\textsuperscript{36} See John 8.38 (Polotsky/Böhlig 35 n. 32).
114 translations
36.16 the Victory-prize in his hand, (and) the second wears the Garment
36.17 of Light, the third is the one who holds the Diadem
36.18 and the Wreath and the Crown of Light. These are the
36.19 Three Angels of Light who come with this Light-
36.20 Form and are revealed with it to the Elect and the
36.21 Catechumens. These are the Five Fathers which have come from
36.22 one another, they have revealed (and) appeared from one
36.23 another. Blessed is the one who knows and understands them,
36.24 for he will find eternal life and put on the Garments of
36.25 Light which are given to the Righteous, [the Faithful], the
            Peace-Giving,
36.26 and the Doers of Good.
CHAPTER 9

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE (SIGN OF) PEACE,
WHAT IT MEANS, THE RIGHT HAND,
THE KISS, THE ADORATION

37.31 Again, the Disciples asked the Apostle, saying
37.32 [to him]: This (Sign of) Peace and this Greeting which are found in
the world,
37.33 from who [have they come]? Or, the Right Hand which exists in
37.34 [the world], since it is honoured by people, whose is it? Or, the
37.35 [Mystery of the] Kiss, with which people greet one another,
37.36 . . . . . Or, who is it who has revealed this

38.1 Adoration, with which people honour one another? Or, the Laying on
of
38.2 Hands, which the great one often lays upon the one bowed
38.3 before him, as he honours him (and) makes him great, whose
38.4 Laying on of Hands is it? Then he spoke to his Disciples:
38.5 These five matters which you have asked about, while they appear
38.6 in the world to be minor and small,
38.7 they are, in fact, great (and) glorious. I shall reveal to
38.8 you their mysteries. As for these Five Signs,
38.9 they are the mystery of the First Man, he who came with them
38.10 from the Aeon of Light. Also, after he completed
38.11 his struggle, it was with these good signs that he came up
38.12 (and) was received into the Aeon of Light.
38.13 The First (Sign of) Peace is the one that the Gods and Angels in the
Land
38.14 of Light gave to the First Man when he came
38.15 out against the Enemy. The Gods and the Angels
38.16 went with him, accompanying him (and) giving him their (Sign of) Peace and
38.17 their might and their blessedness and their victory. This is the First
38.18 (Sign of) Peace which the Gods and Angels gave the First
38.19 Man as he came out from the Aeon of Light.
38.20 The First Right Hand is that which the Mother of Life gave the
First
38.21 Man, when he came out to the struggle.
38.22 The First Kiss is that with which the Mother of Life greeted
38.23 the First Man, as he departed from her (and) went
38.24 down to the struggle. All the rest of the Gods and
the Angels who are in the Aeon of Light kissed him, as well as all the
belong to the house of his people. They kissed him as
he was to depart from them. They escorted him, kissing
him with the kiss of love and affection.
The First Adoration is the adoration with which the First Man
adored him when he came [from the depth]
which is below. He bent his knee, [adoring]
the God of Truth and all the Aeons [of Light],
who belong to the house of his people, as he implored them for a
accompany him as he was leaving.
The First Laying on of Hands which the Mother of Life placed
the head of the First Man armed him (and) made him
strong. She laid hands on him (and) sent him into battle. He came
down (and) accomplished his struggle with the Great Powers and the
Enmity. By these Five Signs, by these Five Mysteries,
the First Man came from the Aeon of Light
against the Enemy. He humbled him (and) defeated him with them.
Also, when he came up from the war, he entered
the Kingdom of the houses of his people through these Five Mysteries.
The (Sign of) Peace with which [he came] up is the (Sign of) Peace
which the
Call gave to him, when he was sent by the Father of the
Living. He gave him the (Sign of) Peace in the World of Darkness.
This same (Sign of) Peace with which he went down is
also the one with which he came up from the struggle. Thus, it is
according to the
mystery of this (Sign of) Peace, which the Call gave to
the First Man, that the (Sign of) Peace is found down here, the one
which has been named and heard among the powers of the Father.
The second Right Hand, however, is the one which the Living Spirit gave
the
First Man when he came up from the struggle. According to
the mystery of that Right Hand has this (other) Right Hand come into
being.
It is the one which exists [among] the people, when they give it to one
another,
which is honoured and [appreciated] among them. But, this
second Kiss,
the one with which the [Father of] Life and the Mother of the

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37 See Polotsky/Böhlig note 24. Also, Funk, personal communication.
Living kissed the First Man after he came back from the struggle, this Kiss is also found among the people, when they kiss one another with it, or when they depart and are far from one another, or also when they approach one another in accordance with this mystery.

[The] second Adoration (is the one) with which the First Man adored 

[before this] time the God of Truth and [his twelve(?)] blessed Aeons and all the Aeons [which exist in the] whole Great [World] of Light, when

the Father of Life and the Mother of the Living raised the Man from the depth of the struggle. According to the mystery of this second Adoration, has this Adoration existed. This is the one that is found today among the people who adore and honour one another. The second Laying on of Hands is this, that after the Living Spirit had led the First Man up from the war, he rescued him from all the waves. He brought him up (and) gave him rest in the Great Aeons of Light which belong to the house of his people.

He set him before the Father, the Lord of All. Then, when he ascended to the great Father of Light, a voice came to him from on high, saying:

"Set my son, my first-born, at my right, that I might place all his enemies as a footstool under his feet."

He received this great Laying on of Hands, so that he might become leader of his brothers in the New Aeon. Also, according to the mystery of the second Laying on of Hands has the Laying on of Hands existed. It is the one which is found among the people, when they lay hands on one another, as the great give authority to the small. These Five Mysteries, these Five Signs which existed first in the divinity, they were proclaimed in this world through an apostle. The people have learned them (and) set them in their midst. But these mysteries have not existed from the beginning among the powers of Darkness. Also, the Light-Mind, which comes into the world, it comes in these various forms. With these Five Words, it chooses its Church. First and foremost

\[38 \text{A&C: } \text{[g]at[eg]h mpiney.}\]
\[39 \text{A&C: } \text{[neghitchyne].}\]
\[40 \text{A&C: } \text{[etxooip gh pnao n]k[\lambda]\{g\}.}\]
\[41 \text{A&C: } \text{[\lambda]\{\alpha\}.}\]
it chooses its Church with a (Sign of) Peace
and gives peace at first to people. If someone receives the
(Sign of) Peace and becomes a Child of Peace, afterwards, he is chosen
for the faith. Thus, when he receives the (Sign of) Peace, he receives
[the] Right Hand and belongs to the Right Hand. Thus, when [he
receives] the Right Hand, the Light-Mind draws him to himself and makes him approach
the Church. With the Right Hand, he receives the [Kiss of Love]
and becomes a Child of the [Peace.]  

With the Kiss, he receives Adoration and adores the God
of Truth and adores also the Holy Church . . .
the hope of the faith of good things. When they
receive the (Sign of) Peace and the Right Hand, the Kiss and the Adoration,
at the end of these things they lay upon them the Right Hand of Mercy. They
too receive the Laying on of Hands, which will be laid upon them and
they will be set and built in the truth and made strong from it forever.
They come to the Light-Mind with these good signs
and they make people perfect and adore and
glorify the God of Truth.
Furthermore, at the time of their coming forth, when the Light-
Form goes out before them and spreads them out from the Darkness
to the
Light and [is in them], the Light-Form calms the
man with the Kiss and its rest from the terror of
the demons who destroy his body, by its likeness and its
image. The heart of the Elect which leaves his body
finds rest in it, and then the angel who holds the Prize
extends to him (his) Right Hand and draws him from
the depth of his body and receives him with the Kiss
and the Love. This soul adores its redeemer,
which is the Light-Form. But, at the same time
that . . . he perfects and increases according to . . .
. . . . . . [and become king] in the House of the Living and the Gods
and Angels and all the Apostles, along with the Elect
and he takes the crown, the blessing, and the glory in eternal life.

[Therefore], I say to you, my brothers and Limbs,

Cited by Crum 365a.
A&C: \[\text{nte}[t]\text{phnh} . . . .
Funk, personal communication.
A&C: \[\text{frpp}\text{po} 2\text{h}.
A&C: \text{tph}	ext{moy m}\text{m pnav}.
41.27 let there be these *Five [Signs]* in your hands, since they are honoured before each one of you, which are the (Sign of) Peace, the Right Hand, the Kiss, the Adoration, and the Laying on of Hands. This, which I have brought to you from the House of the Living, from the Father who has sent me. Know that a great mystery . . . . . . him, by these *Five Signs* which I have brought . . . . . . you will separate from the world, since . . . . . . you have known the first

42.1 (Sign of) Peace, the first Right Hand, the first Kiss,
42.2 the first Adoration and the first Laying on of Hands.
42.3 Therefore, let this Laying on of Hands be great among you who honour and adore the Teachers, Deacons, and Presbyters.
42.4 Those who I have lain hands on, I have set upon them the great Laying on of Hands, since they are established in a great mystery: (that is) the Laying on of Hands of the Divinity is placed upon the head of the Teacher. Therefore, he who rejects it and despises it, and considers it nothing, he sins against God in a great sin and also against me.
42.5 But, you, my beloved, be zealous in these *Five*
42.6 . . . . . . you and . . . . .
42.7 . . . . . . perfect in these (things). Each time [you] . . . . .
42.8 . . . want, he will answer you . . . . .
42.9 . . . . . . as he who spoke to [you] . . . . .
42.10 . . . . . . in the name of the . . . . .
42.11 . . . . . . which are in the Storehouses of [Darkness(?)] will want(?)
42.12 . . . . . . your hearts . . . . .
42.13 . . . . . . which he established through you . . . . . .
42.14 . . . . . . hears you, he knows everything that you do . . . . . . this
42.15 . . . . . . he turns himself to you . . . . . . and he will . . .
42.16 . . . . . . from you the tribulation of . . . . .

47 Funk, *personal communication*.
ON THE MEANING OF THE FOURTEEN [GREAT] AEONS ABOUT WHICH SETHEL SPOKE IN [HIS] PRAYER

42.27 Again, the disciples asked the Apostle (and) said to him: We [implore] you, our Lord, that you clarify for us this statement that is written
42.28 [in] the prayer of Sethel, the first-born son of Adam, when he says,
42.29 “You are glorious, you fourteen great Aeons of Light.”
42.30 Tell us, our Lord, what do the Fourteen Great
42.31 Aions of Light mean. Then, the Enlightener [spoke]
42.32 [to them]: Allow me to interpret for you [the fourteen]
42.33 great Aeons of Light, which he spoke about ...
42.34
42.35 Know this, that ...

43.1 ... below stands in the Fourteen [Great Aeons]
43.2 ... ... the Five Elements, the Sons of the First
43.3 Man, along with the Call and Response, since they are added(?)
43.4 (and) dwell in them. These make seven—five and two
43.5 ... ... the [Five?] Sons of the Living Spirit who
43.6 ... support the] entire [weight] of the world, along with the Living
43.7 [Spirit and the First] Man, their parents. These are the Fourteen
43.8 [Blessings which he has] proclaimed—the Blessing which has fourteen
43.9 [aspects(?)], the one through which the world is established.
43.10 [These are the Fourteen] Aeons of Light, the ones about which the
[great]

43.11 Sethel [spoke(?)] in his prayer, since they were interpreted
43.12 ... [the Land] which is not visible. This Land has ...
43.13 ... [established] them (and) they carried the Enemy ...
43.14 ... [repaid] them. The hidden fullness which ...
43.15 ... ... [the Third?] Messenger, he who came from the Father ...
43.16 ... ... he came (and) established him among these ...
43.17 as they call him: Good Father of [all the Aeons and Gods],
43.18 the pure ones and the mixed ones. He has become leader and

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48 εὐταγέας (τώρα) (meaning unknown—not τωρά “anoint”).
49 προσκυνήσεως or προσκυνῶν (Polotsky/Bohlig 43.9). See A&C: προσκυνήσεως rarely used in Kēphalaia.
50 Funk, personal communication.
43.19 great king like the First Father, the Lord of all these counsels.
43.20 It is by this will that the world has been held together
43.21 ... ... ... to the end of all things.
ON THE MEANING OF THE FIVE WORDS WHICH ARE PROCLAIMED

MNTPARAPEHOUT51 IN THE COSMOS

44.23 52 Again the disciples [asked the Apostle, saying to]
44.24 to him: Tell us, our Lord, the Five Words which are proclaimed
44.25 in the teaching of the Baptists and [these] other words which53
44.26 are found in the other Sects. They speak their name, that is, those
44.27 who are called—“pure,” saying that this [first]54
44.28 life and the second life . . . . .
44.29 . . . make their heart along with the mind . . and the . .
44.30 Law of . . . 55 . . . .
44.31 . . . . . .
44.32 . . . . . .
44.33 . . . . . .
44.34 name him with the name, “father” . . . .
44.35 this nameless, the one who no one . . . .
44.36 . . . his name. The second [word is the]

45.1 Third Messenger . . .
45.2 of Life, who they also call, “father” . .
45.3 . . . . . .
45.4 . . . . . .
45.5 the First Father. The Law . . .
45.6 living . . Law of Good and Evil,
45.7 for this is the one who56 gave victory to the Aeons of Light [(over?)

45.8 Enemy (and) humbled the rebels . . .
45.9 . . . . . [their]
45.10 being and their world. It had (?) . . .
45.11 them in this border until the end-time. . .

51 The exact meaning of MNTPARAPEHOUT remains unclear. The same word also
occurs in a similar polemical context in Chapter 100 (1Ke 252.10).
52 A&C: Line count error in Polotsky/Bohlig edition; line 11 jumped.
53 A&C: H|N |NI|KE|E|E|E|ET].
54 Funk, personal communication.
55 A&C: το | 30 το NT . . .
56 A&C: τα | τα | τα | τα.
the powers which the world established in them
... are [all(?)] one living body
... against one another.

57 A&C: n[e]te.
CHAPTER 13

ON THE FIVE SAVIOURS,
RESURRECTORS OF THE DEAD, ALONG
WITH THE FIVE RESURRECTIONS

45.19 Again, [the] Enlightener spoke . . . . .
45.20 . . . . . . . . .
45.21 . . . . . . . . .
45.22 . . . . . . . . .
45.23 . . . . . . . . .
45.24 . . . in him59 . . . . .
45.25 [The second Resurrection is] . . . . .
45.26 . . . . . . . . .
45.27 But, the third Resurrection is the Father, the first . .
45.28 . . . . . since in his word all life
45.29 . . . . . gathers together and goes to him and receives(?)
45.30 . . . . . they finish60 and rest.
45.31 [The fourth Resurrection] is the Light-Mind, since
45.32 . . . . . . . . .

46.1 . . . each The fifth Resurrection is61 . . .
46.2 . . . fifth Resurrection to the Good . .
46.3 . . . the Father, the first-established
46.4 . . . . . all powers and he establishes
46.5 . . . reveals . . . upon them
46.6 . . . . . them and he draws them to himself . . . a great62 . . .
46.7 . . . . . pleases(?) him . . . also
46.8 . . . . . and he sets them . .
46.9 . . . . . in him and they remain, until
46.10 . . . . . Blessed is the one
46.11 . . . . . and he . . . the day of
46.12 . . . . . perfect in eternal life.63

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59 A&C: ἔφη καὶ ἰδοὺ.
60 A&C: ἔδωκαν.
61 A&C: [ . . . ] . . . ὅμως ἐκτὸς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ . . . ἐνεκέργεται[. . .] αὐτῷ ἑαυτῷ.
62 A&C: [ . . . ] . . . τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἑαυτῷ . . . σακοῦ ἄρα . . . ὁ γὰρ Ἐ.
63 A&C: χρύσων[. . .] ἐνισχύεται.
Chapter 14

The Meaning of the Silence, the Fast, [the Peace], the Day, [and] the Rest; what they mean

46.16 Again the disciples asked the Enlightener, saying:
46.17 Explain to us the Five Words which are spoken in the
46.18 world, since they call . . . . . “Peace,” another,
46.19 “Silence,” (and) they call [the “Fast”(?)], another “Day,” (and) another
46.20 [“Rest”(?)] . . . [We implore you], our Father, that you clarify
46.21 for us . . . . .
46.22 . . . . . .
46.23 . . . . . .
46.24 . . . . . .
46.25 . . . . . .
46.26 . . . . . .
46.27 . . . . . .
46.28 . . . . . .
46.29 . . . since he causes the body to . . . .
46.30 all desires of the world . . .
46.31 . . . the body in righteousness . . .
46.32 . . . the Column of Glory . . .
46.33 . . . since . . .

47.1 . . . . . .
47.2 . . . . . .
47.3 . . . He whom they call . . . he is the
47.4 First Man, he who dwells in the Ship of the Living Waters
47.5 . . . [Light] . . . . . . they call him
47.6 . . . . . .
47.7 . . . . . .
47.8 . . . . . .
47.9 . . . . . the glorious . .
47.10 . . . . . the Enlightener . .
47.11 . . . call him, “Day” . .
47.12 . . . . . .
47.13 . . . . . .
47.14 . . . in the Great Aeon, that . .
47.15 . . . scattered in the world, he who . .

64 A&C: Νομ[τ] Μ[ρ] Λ[α] [etc. etc. etc.]
47.16 . . . . established in the . .
47.17 . . . . and the soul . .
47.18 . . . . rejoice in eternal life.65
47.19 Blessed is the one [who . . .] and believes in
47.20 the great . . . . forever and
47.21 ever.

65 A&C (lines 18–19 confused in Polotsky/Böhlig): [...] . . . . . . . . . . . . οὐναυ φιλήμον[2] [φιλήμον Βαρνιτ] οὐκετὶ . . . . . . τούτον. γ. ε. ε. . . . οὐκανετε [λ].
CHAPTER 15

[ON THE] . . . FIVE [PARTS(?)]66 . . . WORLD OF . . .

47.26 [Again, while the Enlightener] was sitting among his disciples
47.27 [and preaching to them about(?)]67 the great and secret things of God
47.28 [and on the]68 Two Natures, his disciples said
47.29 [to him] . . . Has death risen (and) established itself
47.30 . . . . . . or else has it changed itself . . .
47.31 . . . . . . its armour . . . in its . . .
47.32 . . . . . . But, it has fulfilled . . . he has installed the foundation69
47.33 . . . . . . .
47.34 . . . . . . this Though of Death exists70
47.35 . . . . . . .

48.1 . . . . . . . and it moves it . . . . .
48.2 . . . those who are in the . . . [of] the Land of Darkness . . .
48.3 . . . . . . first part.
48.4 But, after a long time, in which there is no peace71 . . . the
48.5 Though of Death . . . . . .
48.6 it gushed (and) poured forth. [These are the Five Elements(?)]72
48.7 of Death, those which have gushed forth . . . .
48.8 . . . . . . which are [the Smoke,]
48.9 [the Fire, the Wind], the Water, and the [Darkness] . . . . . .
48.10 . . . the second time . . . . .
48.11 The Third Part is73 . . . . .
48.12 . . . they were formed . . . . .
48.13 those that Death has established in them . . . .
48.14 The Fourth Part is the evil fruit . . . which has been formed74
48.15 on the Five Trees, which are in the Five [Worlds of]
48.16 the Land of Darkness.
48.17 The fifth time it spread itself to its offspring that exist [in the Five] . . .

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66 The chapter seems to enumerate a series of parts, although the reconstruction of

67 Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig 47-27.
68 Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig 47-26.
69 A&C: Aϊqαιρην τουτε .
70 A&C: [± ινα εναι διεθνεις ηνε πατεροπατε] .
72 Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig 48.6.
74 A&C: [. . . . εταυπλαξ]15 έξ ηναι χμ.
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TRANSLATIONS

48.18  Worlds that were fashioned (and) begotten from the Five
48.19  Fruits of Death, which are the Five Worlds of
48.20  Flesh, the Five Creations of Darkness which Death established in
48.21  them. He spread himself among the Ten Parts, the Five Male Parts and
48.22  Five Female [Parts] . . . . .
48.23  . . . . . .
48.24  Just as in the case of the Land of Darkness, it is its spirit and its . .
48.25  that nourish the Five Elements . . . .
48.26  so too concerning the Ten Parts which (are found) in [males and]
48.27  females, the fire and the desire of the flesh . . . .
48.28  them, as they join with one another . . . [they have established]
48.29  them against the First Man. This is . . . .
48.30  . . . . . . of Darkness
48.31  they have condemned him forever. According to the mystery of
48.32  Twelve Parts which are found in the Darkness . . . .
48.33  against the First Man, the Twelve . . . .
48.34  the Twelve Spirits of Error, those who [exist]
48.35  in the Twelve Zodiacs . . . .

49.1  they are opposing the Second Living Man,
49.2  who dwells in the Holy Church. They persecute him, like
49.3  they persecuted [already]75 in the beginning the First Man in the
49.4  Land
49.5  . . . . . .
49.6  . . . . the Light, that dwells in the Church
49.7  . . . . the Twelve Sects
49.8  . . . . his holy Father forever and
49.9  [ever].

75 A&C: ὃ[を迎え ὅ]τοινε.
[ON THE FIVE] GREATNESSES WHICH HAVE [COME] OUT AGAINST THE DARKNESS

49.13 [Again, the Enlightener spoke] to his disciples: The Light\textsuperscript{76}.
49.14 . . . . . . [the] Darkness, he conquered it with \textit{Five Greatnesses}.
49.15 [The first Greatness] is the Father of Greatness, he who [exists]
49.16 [in] silence and secret, established in his Land
49.17 [of Light, in his proper place. Four Greatnesses appeared
49.18 (and) came out from him. They were arranged in ten parts and were
established
49.19 as a perfect twelve. The second Great-
49.20 ness which poured forth, appeared, (and) was manifested by the first
49.21 Greatness is the Mother of Life, the Great Spirit, along with
49.22 the First Man [and his] \textit{Five Sons}. [These are the second]
49.23 Great[ness]. The third [Greatness is the]
49.24 [Beloved of] Lights, the Great Builder, the Living Spirit, and the
49.25 \textit{Five Sons of the Living Spirit}. These are the third Greatness.
49.26 [The fourth] Greatness is the Third Messenger and
49.27 [the] Column of Glory, and all the powers of light that are revealed
49.28 [from him. These are the] fourth Greatness.
49.29 [The] fifth Greatness which came from the Father is Jesus the
49.30 Splendour and all his powers, which he called forth, his emanations
which . . .
49.31 [are] poured forth (and) revealed by him. As for the fact that they
are set forth
49.32 . . . . . . these \textit{Five Sons of the First Man}
49.33 . . . . . . the entire construction. The other five are the \textit{Five}
49.34 \textit{Sons of the Living Spirit}, who are set in five places, supporting
49.35 . . . . . . completed in

50.1 twelve parts which . . . . . . [There is] another two added
50.2 to them, namely the Call and [the Response], which
50.3 are the father and the mother who Jesus the Splendour appointed by
his
50.4 advent as successors in his place . . . the great Land.
50.5 of Light\textsuperscript{77} . . . . . .
50.6 . . . . . . in them.

\textsuperscript{76} A&C: η[ω]Τ[α]\textsuperscript{77}.
\textsuperscript{77} A&C: ῥ[ώ]ω[λ]θ[ε].
50.7 . . . . . .
50.8 the First Man who has come . . . .
50.9 . . . . . .
50.10 . . . belonging to . . . . .
50.11 existing in⁷⁸ their kingdom . . . .
50.12 rank before those who belong to his [house] . . . .
50.13 . . . . . .
50.14 . . . his enemies . . . .
50.15 and suffering through their evil and they take from him . . .
50.16 and kingdom and they take [him into]
50.17 captivity and they remove (any) company from him. But, he . . .
50.18 in his humility, he becomes confident and restrains his enemy
50.19 . . . in silence. Just as this man, this noble son,
50.20 is surrounded by his enemies, so too
50.21 is the coming of the First Man
50.22 [in the midst of the Archons], the enemies of Light.
50.23 The coming of the Living Spirit, however, and the command he received
50.24 (and) with which he fell upon all the Archons, is different from that of
50.25 the First Man. His coming . . . the coming of the First
50.26 Man. The coming of the Living Spirit is like
50.27 this: once he was sent from the Greatness to bring
50.28 back the First Man, he is like a judge
50.29 the king might send to quell the violence of
50.30 this person, the noble son against whom his enemies
50.31 sinned. But this man . . . the judge⁷⁹
50.32 strong, firm and severe . . . . . .
50.33 and he . . . . . . in his right-⁸⁰

51.1 righteousness and his strength and he convicts
51.2 all the condemned according to their rebellious hearts and he
51.3 repays each one according to his worth. Those who are worthy of
51.4 beating, he strikes them with harsh whips. Those, however,
51.5 who are worthy of having some of their limbs cut, or indeed of
51.6 . . . . . . and he pays them their due
51.7 . . . . . . and he binds them, chains them, and hangs some
51.8 . . . . . . and he acts towards them in this way by [righteous]
51.9 judgement [and he] kills them in order to flay their skin
51.10 . . . . . . that they be killed by slaughter
51.11 . . . . . . until they die. Those, however, for whom it is suitable
51.12 . . . . . . to remove them from their homes, he will

⁷⁸ A&C: εὐποιητ [ἡ]-
⁷⁹ A&C: πρῶτον . . . . . κ[πί]θ[ν] [ς . .]
⁸⁰ A&C: [. . . βῆ τερακλά].
51.13 [remove them according to] righteous judgement, just like those who committed
51.14 crimes [(and) sinned against] the noble son. Also, the colleagues
51.15 [and the servants] of this judge, those who belong to
51.16 [him, in] great strength, suddenly and
51.17 quickly, they do the will of their lord.
51.18 Just as the pure judge was sent by
51.19 the king (in order to) recover this man, the
51.20 noble son, so too was the Living Spirit
51.21 sent by the King of Light
51.22 [to bring] judgment and to recover the First Man,
51.23 he against whom the King of Darkness sinned (and) committed
51.24 [He] sinned against him, along with his rebellious powers. When he came,
51.25 he brought up the First Man. Also, all the Archons,
51.26 the Powers of Sin, those who committed crimes (and) sinned against
51.27 [of] the First Man, he judged them according to righteous
51.28 judgment. He bound them in the heaven and the earth. He placed each one
51.29 of them in the place suited to him. He measured each one of them
51.30 according to his cruelty and according to his humility. While some
51.31 of them he shut, [in prison], others he hung upside down. Some
51.33 . . . . . . are crucified, while others (are made to)
52.1 sit down all the time. Some are fastened to
52.2 their companions, distressed by harsh bonds.
52.3 Others he has made wardens over one another,
52.4 among themselves, in order that they might do his will
52.5 to those that are under them.
52.6 Therefore, know, o my beloved, that after
52.7 the Father of Life passed judgment . . . . .
52.8 he revealed (himself) to all the powers [of Darkness (and)]
52.9 judged them like a just judge . .
52.10 . . . . . . .
52.11 [This] is the first judgment which the [Living] Spirit [passed] against
52.12 [concerning the] First Man. [To the First Man] he

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81 That is, the Living Spirit.
82 Dittography (Polotsky/Böhlig).
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52.13 awarded the victory according to his victory, while the [Archon\textsuperscript{84} of Darkness] 
52.14 he condemned according to the condemnation by which he erred \ldots 
52.15 \ldots he sinned.\textsuperscript{85} \ldots Such a bond was found for him \ldots 
52.16 the earth until the end-time, when the [world] will be destroyed 
52.17 and consumed by the great fire and separated. While [the] 
52.18 Light [will] go to its own land, the Darkness [will] remains in 
52.19 [the bond] and fetter forever. 
52.20 \ldots [As for] the advent of the Third Messenger, who came 
52.21 [to inspect] those imprisoned in the Zone, he 
52.22 is like a great king who comes and inspects his artisans 
52.23 \ldots \ldots and \ldots 
52.24 \ldots those who are good among the artisans and the builders 
52.25 and the craftsmen who he assigns to each 
52.26 place, seeing that they have done their work well 
52.27 (and) attended to his works in their way, he rejoices 
52.28 [greatly] \ldots he thanks these craftsmen 
52.29 who have fixed his things (and) [fulfilled] his orders. 
52.30 Just as the great king comes and inspects 
52.31 his works and his camps, so [too] 
52.32 is the advent of the Third Messenger, [since] 
52.33 after he comes, he too sees [his works] 
52.34 fixed, accomplished, (and) \ldots \ldots 

53.1 ranks of Archons, distributed and fixed 
53.2 above and below, outside and 
53.3 inside, with great skill, which his brothers had done, 
53.4 who came before him to the struggle; those who fixed (and) created 
53.5 the world before he had come. He saw the gods and the 
53.6 angels standing firm (and) holding camp 
53.7 \ldots watching the entire Ruling Power \ldots 
53.8 \ldots which the first powers had done, 
53.9 [which are the] First Man, the [Living Spirit] 
53.10 and [the] Great [Spirit, the] Mother of Life. Then, after he saw 
53.11 them, that they [completed with] great wisdom all the works. 
53.12 \ldots \ldots they saw, he spoiled(?) \ldots 
53.13 \ldots his [advent], by which he had come (and) [revealed] 
53.14 himself. He said to the Living Spirit: The judgment you gave \ldots 
53.15 \ldots good, what you proclaimed \ldots \ldots 
53.16 you have [given] them accordingly because they have stirred (and) \ldots 
53.17 those who were not worthy. 
53.18 The advent of Jesus the Splendour, when he came \ldots \ldots 

\textsuperscript{84} A&C: [\textit{\thetaι\rho\iota\nu \lambda\epsilon\varsigma \mu\alpha\iota\varsigma \pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota}]. 
\textsuperscript{85} A&C: \ldots \textit{\lambda\gamma\iota\nu\pi\nu\alpha\rho\iota\nu\epsilon\gamma\iota}.
53.19 all, since he was like a man being
53.20 [sent] to root out . . . . .
53.21 burn a hard reed\textsuperscript{86} with fire. And so when
53.22 he first cut the evil trees with his
53.23 axe, he rooted [them] out . . . . .
53.24 and their bodies with his fire, so that they might not grow again
53.25 [from] now on, nor produce fruit, which the evil are to eat
53.26 . . . afterwards, [he] for his part planted his [good] plant, [the]
53.27 Tree of Life, which produces good fruit.
53.28 Thus, also, is it with the advent of Jesus the Splendour,
53.29 [which] happened in [this way]. For he also appointed himself
53.30 . . . . . . his power and his wisdom, in his
53.31 . . . . . . appointed(?) him king and saviour
53.32 . . . . . . in his glorious wisdom

54.1 he has destroyed them, bound them, and consumed them. Just as
54.2 the fire burns and destroys trees, so too did he do
54.3 his will in the Zone
54.4 with many powers, until he reached the fleshly form
54.5 of Adam and Eve, the first human beings [and did]
54.6 his will through Eve. He . . . [he gave]
54.7 hope also to Adam and the good news . . .
54.8 . . . glorious, he went up to [the height] . .
54.9 . . . [of] light. Then [the Call and the]
54.10 Response, the great counsel that came to the Elements,
54.11 which stood in a mixture, he [combined with] them (and) established
54.12 himself in silence. He takes up . . . [until the Last]
54.13 [Time], when he will awaken and establish himself with the Great
54.14 Fire and gather to himself his own soul and mould
54.15 it into the Last Statue. You (s.) will find him too, as he
54.16 sweeps away (and) throws into impurity that
54.17 which is foreign to him. The Life, however, and the Light
54.18 which are in all things, he collects it to himself and gathers it
54.19 on his body. When this Last Statue
54.20 is perfect in all its limbs, then he will depart
54.21 and ascend from this great struggle through
54.22 the Living Spirit, his father, he who comes and destroys . .
54.23 limb and brings it up from the gathering(?) . . . the dissolution
54.24 and end of all things. Now, his counsel,
54.25 the Call and Response, resembles
54.26 a stick of butter, (which) a person takes and puts
54.27 it in warm milk. It melts and blends
54.28 with this warm milk. It melts again
54.29 [in] silence and stillness amid . . .

\textsuperscript{86} A&C: \textit{iaxk}. 
but, by the power and the taste of this [milk] . . .
drawn to it and fixed and makes the [milk cold] . . .
in . . . . . . and . . . . . [this milk]

it throws it and casts it out. Also, the cream and the
fat and the beauty of the milk it draws to itself.
This is also like the coming of
that enthumesis, the counsel of life, which
is the Call and Response that came to the Elements.
That is, at the end it will awaken and establish itself and gather
together with itself all life and the light which is
[left] in all things. Placing them on
its body, it will gather them to itself . . .
. . . . . . in his image forever . . . . . .
. . . . . . . from this time. Blessed is
each one who [believing] in these Five Advents and strengthening
himself
[in the] knowledge of them will ascend to the height and redeem . . .
. . . . . . and he is not counted . . .
. . . . . . . . .

58.4 [Again][87] the Enlightener spoke: The Sons of Light have waged Five

58.5 [Wars] with the Sons of Darkness, in which the Sons of Light

58.6 [have subdued the] Sons of Darkness completely.

58.7 [The First] War is the that of the First Living Man, he who [has]

58.8 [(waged war) with the] King of Darkness and all the Archons who

58.9 [from the] Five Worlds of [Darkness(?)] ... he caught

58.10 [them with] his net, which is the Living Soul. He ... 

58.11 ... in the snare and ... face of ...

58.12 ... his maiden, the Living Fire ...

58.13 [They had no means] of escape from [his] net ...

58.14 ... he caught them like fish ...

58.15 ... the Five Counsels of the Five Elements ...

58.16 ... he cut (and) uprooted the roots of [the Five]

58.17 [Trees(?)][88] ... roots of the evil trees like an axe.

58.18 As the Saviour said: Behold, the axe is at the root

58.19 [of] the evil tree, so that it might not produce evil fruit from now on.[89]

58.20 The Second War is the that of the Living Spirit ...

58.21 ... he established the works and the Worlds of Light.

58.22 He scattered the Archons (and) bound them in the middle ...

58.23 ... the stars in the Eight[90] Earths ...

58.24 in the Three Vehicles. For the Archons

58.25 rebelled (and) rose up against the Living Spirit. They wanted to

58.26 ... since they knew (and) perceived that he would bind [and]

58.27 fetter them with harsh bonds. But he, the Living Spirit,

58.28 with many faces (and) a multitude of terrors, with many hands

58.29 (and) with great hardheartedness, [revealed] himself to them,

58.30 (and) imprisoned them with great skill. None among

58.31 them could be saved from his [great] bond and his fetter[91]

58.32 since he ... .......

58.33 ... he divided them ... .......

[88] See Polotsky/Böhlig 58.17.
[89] See Mt 3:10.
[90] A&C: ξανήστρεφε τον Πατέρα [θεου].
[The Third War?] is (that of) the Third Messenger,
[when he revealed] his image . . .
. . . bowed . . . drew
all light and the possessions . . .
those who oppressed . . .
the entire Ruling Power . . .
boasting of the light . . .
as he extended himself . . .
When a man comes, being strong, . . .
possesses his richness . . .
silver and . . .
his arrogance and his wantonness.
This too is like the Ruling Power . . .
all rich . . . walking . . .
. . . . . . Light
. . . he cleansed and purified him.
The Fourth War is the one Jesus the Splendour, the glorious, waged
with all the rebels who rebelled above and below.
When the Light was purified from them by the image of the Third
Messenger, their bonds were stripped . . .
the splendour in the Fourth War, he came and waged . . .
rebellion of the whole Ruling Power. He smote . . .
the whole . . . again he established the entire construction (and) made . . .
a great struggle. He subdued it
he did the will of the Greatness. [He]
gave hope to Adam . . . his Ship of Light
. . . . . . which the Counsel of Life
. . . . . . which are the Call and Response . .
great . . .
he placed . . . on the . . .
and the . . .

60.1 . . . . . .
60.2 . . . the death which . . .
60.3 . . . with it and he conquered . . .
forever and gave the kingdom . . .
60.5 . . . the Great War . . .
60.6 . . . fight with the Sons of Darkness . . .

92 A&C: пчкн тккп.
93 A&C: мннфоно.
94 A&C: зккпк.
95 A&C: . . . [. мн][9]e мн.
... the good struggle against [the evil(?)\textsuperscript{96}]

... from eternity to eternity

... every elect who will

... placed in him and conquers it

... like these Five

... receive the(?) victory

\textsuperscript{96} Suggested in Polotsky/Böhlig translation.
ON THE FIVE RELEASES: WHAT THEY MEAN

60.16 [Again,] our Father spoke: There are Five [Releases]
60.17 by which the Light was saved from all
60.18 [the Archons and] Powers of Darkness.
60.19 [The First] liberation and rescue is the First Man’s.
60.20 For, when the First Man escaped from
60.21 [the prison of] the Archons by means of the Living Spirit, who came  

60.22 him97 . . . . . .
60.23 the First Man, much light and [much] power
60.24 was rescued from the whole Ruling Power. They ascended
60.25 with the First Man to the Aeons of Greatness.  This [is the First]
60.26 Release.
60.27 The Second Rescue is the Living Spirit’s, for when
60.28 the Father of Life and the Mother of the Living established the
60.29 heavens and the worlds . . . .
60.30 world, the earths and their rulers. A great deal of Light
60.31 was rescued by them . . . the First
60.32 Man who had been swallowed . . . . Light . . .

61.1 . . . . . . .
61.2 . . . third war . . . .
61.3 . . . until the time when . . . .
61.4 . . . above . . . .
61.5 . . . on the . . . .
61.6 . . . world.
61.7 [The Third Liberation(?)] is the Third
61.8 [Messenger’s . . he] revealed [his]
61.9 [image] . . . . he . .
61.10 . . . authority, he . . . .
61.11 . . . which . . . .
61.12 . . . . . . .
61.13 . . . from them . . . .
61.14 . . . . Now, this is . . . .
61.15 . . . [his] image, which [is illuminated by the]
61.16 Third Messenger.
61.17 [The] Fourth Rescue is Jesus [the Splendour’s, for when]  

97 A&C: χιρε\textsuperscript{22}\tau|\textsuperscript{q}. 
61.18 he appeared in the Zone, he revealed [his] image before the firmaments. He distilled the upper [light]
61.19 (and) established the Original Just One, the beginning
61.20 of all churches. He received the likeness . . .
61.21 he made himself like an angel in the . . . until
61.22 he went and came down to the fleshly form and established
61.23 the earths and all the fixtures. He also liberated
61.24 . . . the immeasurable Light in the entire construction. He gave
61.25 [the] Call and the Response to the Elements (and) fashioned
61.26 Jesus the Youth. He went up (and) remained in the
61.27 [Land of] Light. The Fifth Release
61.28 and Rescue is the Great Counsel’s,
61.29 [which is the] Call [and] the Response. For it too
61.30 . . . . [the] soul from the [Land(?)] of Greatness.

62.1 . . . . .
62.2 . . . . . . they smote it(?) . . .
62.3 . . . . .
62.4 . . . . .
62.5 . . . . . [the] Living Spirit . . .
62.6 . . . . .
62.7 . . . . .
62.8 . . . . .
62.9 . . . . . as he gave . . . .
62.10 . . . . . the liberation . . . .
62.11 . . . . . The first . . . .
62.12 . . . . . [he] ascended (and) he . . . .
62.13 . . . . . as he . . . .
62.14 . . . . . wisdom . . . .
62.15 . . . . .
62.16 . . . . . The Fourth . . . .
62.17 . . . . . . . . his wisdom
62.18 . . . . . But, the Fifth . . . .
62.19 . . . . . to him and he set it . . . .
62.20 Light-image in this Last Statue. These Five Great Powers . . . revealed and they came to good [but not] to evil. They established . . . .
62.21 Power . . . . after he came toward
62.22 . . . . . First Man . . . . established
62.23 . . . . . . . . First Man . . .
62.24 . . . . . . . . his coming. In
62.25 . . . . . . . .
62.26 . . . . . . . . First Man
62.27 . . . . . . . . his coming. In
62.28 this way . . . they stood with . . . .

98 A&C: ἡ παρθενικὴ τάφ | 21 χρ.
99 A&C: Λή | 22 ΡΩΝ[ε] ΝΗΛ[φ ἔ] |
62.29 ... ... ... ... 
62.30 ... ... ... ... 
62.31 ... ... ... ... 
62.32 ... ... ... ... 
62.33 ... ... ... ... 

63.1 ... because of the Light, which he plucked from ... 
63.2 ... the Messenger. The Counsel [of] 
63.3 Life, which is the Call and Response, will make ... 
63.4 ... seal the commandment and the ... 
63.5 all the apostles in this last time, while they ... 
63.6 ... life of the Statue [and] he will carry out the condemnation of the souls

63.7 ... ... [he] will send ... 
63.8 ... ... power ... from ... 
63.9 ... as it lives ... ... the will ... 
63.10 Father, the establishment ... ... ... 
63.11 strong, they went ... enemy (and) they ... 
63.12 all upon ... conquered this land which ... 
63.13 ... ... in it forever ... 
63.14 ... ... they came from him at the beginning and will return 
63.15 again to the Light at the end. 
63.16 Blessed is every one who will understand these mysteries ... 
63.17 ... up ... from the beginning to ... 
63.18 ...
Again, the Enlightener spoke to his disciples: The [Father] of Greatness, who is so named, why is he called “Father” of Greatness? His disciples said to him: We implore you, our Lord, that you clarify for us concerning this Greatness, namely, what it means that he is called “Father” of Greatness. Then, he spoke to his disciples: The Father is the first established (being), his greatness is the Great Earth, where he dwells (and) is established. The essence of Light, which supports all the Rich Ones and Angels and dwellings established upon him.

Also, the Third Messenger is called “Father.” His greatness is the Light-ship of the Living Fire, in which he dwells (and) is established.

Also, Jesus the Splendour is called “Father” too. His greatness is the Ship of the Living Waters, in which he dwells (and) is established.

The Column of Glory is also called “Father.” His greatness is the Ship of the Five Gods of the holy . . . who dwell established in them . . . . Also, the Light-Mind is called “Father.” His greatness is the Church, since he dwells (and) is established in it. It too . . . in him . . . alone. They . . . Light.
Again, the Apostle [spoke] to [his] disciples: Hear
the [size?]\textsuperscript{100} of the Light before those who hear and understand
it concerning the first Father of Greatness. Just as he
found] established in his Five Light-Limbs, which are
... the storehouses without measure or limit
... Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, and [Consideration]
... his Twelve Light-Limbs, which [are]
his Twelve Wisdoms. Five Great Limbs
of Light are found in each one ... Five Great
Fountains of Blessing gush forth ... There are Five Great
[Trees?]\textsuperscript{101} ... Light.
The First is his Light, which illuminates ... it gushed
forth and poured ... all Aeons.
The Second is the Good Odour of the ... all his Aeons of Greatness.
The Third is his Living Voice of ... all his Aeon
The Fourth is his ... gushed forth ... from ...
The Fifth is his Great [and] splendid ... which ...
which has revealed itself at all times, which lasts all ...
that which is fashioned by them ... sealed ...
sealed by them ... sealed ...
as they send ... in ... ...
... they are nourished ... [his]
Living Voice, also, ... joy ...
set up anew, which gushed forth ...
as they ... and become rich ...
also, beautiful ... portrayal ...
adornment ... they live ...
... forever.

\textsuperscript{100} Very uncertain, perhaps something like “wonder” or “marvel” (Funk, personal communication).
\textsuperscript{101} A&C: o[γ]ν τογ ἱλασ [N] | ψln (very uncertain).
70.12 . . . . . a great judge
70.13 . . . then a time also . . . which was depicted
70.14 . . . [revealed] by the Father, the first established being. After
70.15 . . . . the two Calls which he called stood
70.16 in the presence of their Father.102 The Mother of Life, the Great
70.17 [Spirit(?)] . . . a long period in the First Father . . .
70.18 . . . . For someone measuring
70.19 the grains of sand or boulders(?) of the mountains or
70.20 the sand of the sea or the body of the firmaments, as they crumble
70.21 . . . the body of the Four Mountains and the Three
70.22 Vehicles that surround the world. As they all crumble
70.23 . . . . . and are reduced to[?] fine powder(?)
70.24 Know that there is a limit to the grains of sand [found in(?)]
70.25 the whole world. It is possible to count grains of sand
70.26 yearly [and to count(?)] the grains of sand of the whole world,
70.27 but the period of time that the Great Spirit passed with the Father,
70.28 [the] first established being, cannot be counted. He initially
70.29 formed her in this way—he set her up in his inner storehouse,
70.30 in stillness and silence. When [they] needed
70.31 her, she was called, (and) she came forth from the Father [of
Greatness].
70.32 She beheld all her Aeons of Light.
70.33 Moreover, from the time that she was called [she set herself up]

71.1 and came along and was empowered by103 . . . . .
71.2 on his [body] . . . all Aeons . . .
71.3 she also received power from them all. This [is also the way]
71.4 with the First Man. This is how the Man
71.5 spent a long time hidden(?104 in the Mother, staying in her
71.6 inner chambers. The time-span that I have proclaimed
71.7 to you, from when the First Man came [down to]
71.8 the struggle to the time when his [. . .]105

104 Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig.
105 A&C: Probably not the “Statue” (ἈΝΑΡΕΙΑΣ) proposed by Polotsky/Böhlig. Read something like ετερε πυου [. . . Ν]ΗΥ.
71.9 comes to this time . . . . . .
71.10 . . . . he revealed . . .
71.11 . . . . From the time that they
called him (and) he came, until the time that he, in turn, called
[the Five Shining Gods who] are his sons. They
too [also spent a long] time with the Father, that
[i.e., the time] that lasted from the descent of the
[First Man] to the ascent of the Last Statue. The

71.12 From the time that they called him (and) he came, until the time that he, in turn, called
the Five Shining Gods who are his sons. They
too spent a long time with the Father, that
[i.e., the time] that lasted from the descent of the
[First Man] to the ascent of the Last Statue. The

71.13 [Five Gods] spend a period of such length hidden in(?) the First Man.
71.14 But, [during the] time that they waited, they were called (and) came out.
71.15 Hear also this other thing that I will teach to you (about) the
time when the Mother of Life was called forth from the Father of
Greatness—Had she pushed herself and come down of her own
desire,106 from the height of the Father to the earth, then [she would have
spent]
[a thousand] years and many ten-thousands until she reached the
earth.
71.20 [Though] there is no measure or limit to the height of the Father,
[when(?)]107 he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the
twelve,
71.21 those who are hidden in the veil of light, who
are established in . . . the southern region.
71.22 From the height of the Father to the earth, then [she would have
spent]
71.23 [a thousand] years and many ten-thousands until she reached the
earth.
71.24 [Though] there is no measure or limit to the height of the Father,
[when(?)] he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the
twelve,
71.25 he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the
twelve,
71.26 those who are hidden in the veil of light, who
are established in . . . the southern region.
71.27 From the height of the Father to the earth, then [she would have
spent]
71.28 [a thousand] years and many ten-thousands until she reached the
earth.
71.29 [Though] there is no measure or limit to the height of the Father,
[when(?)] he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the
twelve,
71.30 he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the
twelve,
71.31 those who are hidden in the veil of light, who
are established in . . . the southern region.
71.32 From the height of the Father to the earth, then [she would have
spent]
71.33 [a thousand] years and many ten-thousands until she reached the
earth.
71.34 [Though] there is no measure or limit to the height of the Father,
[when(?)] he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the
twelve,
71.35 he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the
twelve,
71.36 those who are hidden in the veil of light, who
are established in . . . the southern region.
71.37 From the height of the Father to the earth, then [she would have
spent]
71.38 [a thousand] years and many ten-thousands until she reached the
earth.
71.39 [Though] there is no measure or limit to the height of the Father,
[when(?)] he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the
twelve,
71.40 he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the
twelve,
71.41 those who are hidden in the veil of light, who
are established in . . . the southern region.
71.42 From the height of the Father to the earth, then [she would have
spent]
71.43 [a thousand] years and many ten-thousands until she reached the
earth.
71.44 [Though] there is no measure or limit to the height of the Father,
[when(?)] he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the
twelve,
71.45 he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the
twelve,
71.46 those who are hidden in the veil of light, who
are established in . . . the southern region.
71.47 From the height of the Father to the earth, then [she would have
spent]
71.48 [a thousand] years and many ten-thousands until she reached the
earth.
71.49 [Though] there is no measure or limit to the height of the Father,
[when(?)] he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the
twelve,
71.50 he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the
twelve,
71.51 those who are hidden in the veil of light, who
are established in . . . the southern region.
71.52 From the height of the Father to the earth, then [she would have
spent]
71.53 [a thousand] years and many ten-thousands until she reached the
earth.
71.54 [Though] there is no measure or limit to the height of the Father,
[when(?)] he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the
twelve,
71.55 he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the
twelve,
71.56 those who are hidden in the veil of light, who
are established in . . . the southern region.
71.57 From the height of the Father to the earth, then [she would have
spent]
71.58 [a thousand] years and many ten-thousands until she reached the
earth.
71.59 [Though] there is no measure or limit to the height of the Father,
[when(?)] he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the
twelve,
71.60 he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the
twelve,
71.61 those who are hidden in the veil of light, who
are established in . . . the southern region.
71.62 From the height of the Father to the earth, then [she would have
spent]
71.63 [a thousand] years and many ten-thousands until she reached the
earth.
71.64 [Though] there is no measure or limit to the height of the Father,
[when(?)] he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the
twelve,
below, so that they might rule over them ... ... 
72.15 one another. He ordered them (and) spread them about ... 
72.16 ... of the son. He stripped himself from them ... 
72.17 ... he armed himself (and) bound himself to ... 
72.18 in one ... of the silence on the edge of the earth ... 
72.19 He, too, the First Man, spent a long time 
72.20 until he gave power to his Sons, until he bore 
72.21 them. After his bearing of them, while standing in the 
72.22 height between the border, he also spend time 
72.23 in this way, like the number and quantity of rain-drops, 
72.24 dew, and mist which falls in 
72.25 the world. This is how he also spend time standing 
72.26 between the borders until the moment when he descended to 
72.27 the struggle. 
72.28 When the Father of Greatness [called] the Great Spirit 
72.29 and the First Man and the Glorious Gods who were destined(?) 
72.30 to appear from him at this same time, he 
72.31 fashioned the Great Builder in the [Land of] Light [and] 
72.32 the Living Spirit and the strong and efficient Gods which came [from] 
72.33 him. Also at this time, he fashioned the Messenger 
72.34 and Jesus the Splendour and the Virgin of Light 
72.35 and the Column of Glory and the Gods who [came from them].

73.1 ... the Father [shaped them(?)] he 
73.2 and formed [them] at the same time. They came from one another, 
73.3 one by one, 
73.4 [Hear] also this other [thing that(?)] I will proclaim to you ... 
73.5 from the time when the Darkness rose up to 
73.6 ... ... essence of light 
73.7 ... ... these three emanations 
73.8 ... from the will of the Father against the Enemy ... 
73.9 ... ... he has ... 
73.10 ... ... darkness ... 
73.11 ... ... according to the will ... 
73.12 ... ... ... ... 

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110 A&C: φίλος πατὴρ ... εὐθυμεύεται.
111 A&C: ... η ἀνάπτυξιν ... ἀπό τον θάνατον τῆς ψυχῆς τούτης. 
112 A&C: [c]ουρίαν ἐν ἀπειρίᾳ ... [ ... ἔνα ἑαυτόν ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τῆς ψυχῆς τούτης. There is 

dittography in the Polotsky/Böhlig edition, in which line 3 of the translation appears 
twice (73).
73.13 . . . . . .
73.14 . . . . the world . . . . .
73.15 . . . . in it/her(?) . . . separated from . . .
73.16 . . . . in which way he rests and rejoices . . .
73.17 . . . . in his kingdom until the [time when]
73.18 [the face] of the Father will be unveiled before [all] the glorious
73.19 Gods and all the ones rich in divinity,113 [the]
73.20 emanations which came forth against the Enemy.
73.21 [From] this time, when he formed the Three Calls114
to the time when the Father will unveil his face
73.22 [and they come] into his hidden Storehouses and he calls them
73.23 and also115 sets up each in [his place], there is no measure
73.24 [or limit] to this time. And so until that time, it is possible
73.25 [for all] Teachers and Saviours, and Apostles of
73.26 Strength to speak of and reveal what
73.27 happened and what will happen. But before
73.28 they were formed above, it was not possible for every
73.29 Apostle and [Teacher] to preach about this beginning,
73.30 . . . . . . forever. It is also not possible for [all]
73.31 [Apostles] and Teachers to speak of and reveal
73.32 . . . . . . from116 the time when all the Fathers

74.1 [of Light enter into to the Father’s hidden ones and they dwell]117
74.2 . . . . . . find power in them in its place
74.3 . . . . . . of God . . . . since it exists forever,
74.4 it remains with the Aeons. It has no end,
74.5 but their establishment . . . . . eternal
74.6 is their life (and) it exists in every generation.
74.7 If someone asks . . . . . . and
74.8 about this eternal ending . . . in the ruin
74.9 . . . . . . But . . . . . .
74.10 . . . . . . that he proclaims . . . . . .
74.11 . . . . . . who asked him . . . . . .
74.12 . . . . . . the disciples . . . . . .
74.13 . . . . . . since . . . . . .
74.14 . . . . . . and he gave . . . . . .
74.15 . . . . . . because of Matter, the Thought [of Death] . . .
74.16 . . . . . . which I said to you: [This] is how . . .
74.17 . . . . . . come to their storehouse . . .
74.18 . . . . . . in its Five Elements. It too . . .
74.19 . . . . . . the period of time that it spent until it revealed

113 A&C: ἔτε τινινούτε ἡ[προ].
114 A&C: ἐνω [22] [ἡ].
115 A&C: [Ἀ Ν] [ὑ] [κε] [κε] [ω] .
116 A&C: . . . ἔκκε. . .
117 A&C: ἔκεω [ὑ].
74.20 itself to its Elements, before it had come to the Trees, it spent
74.21 a long time establishing
74.22 ... before it had come down/up(?) to the trees, it made ... 
74.23 in the trees (and) spent a long time and a great delay ... 
74.24 among them, before it had formed the fruit
74.25 ... and formed the fruit. It also spent a long [time]
74.26 in the fruit. It is not a small amount of time [that it] 
74.27 spend in the fruit, before it had formed ...
74.28 ... after a long time ... the [demons]
74.29 of its Five Worlds in the immeasurable forms 
74.30 ... in the production(?) of the fruit in the demons
74.31 and the devils. They fell upon their land ...
74.32 nourish. It is not a small amount of time that they [passed in the] 
74.33 worlds until they nourished amidst

75.1 ... ... ... to make ...
75.2 ... that the Great [King], who dwells in it.
75.3 and the Great [King], who dwells in it.
75.4 Know that ... ... who in ...
75.5 ... ... ... at the time when ...
75.6 ... ... ... its essence, it bore 
75.7 ... ... ... Matter ... to war ... 
75.8 ... ... ... the person who 
75.9 is perfect. [From the time] that the [war] occurred ... 
75.10 ... ... ... ...
75.11 ... ... existed in ...
75.12 ... ... by which they ensnared a ...
75.13 ... [The Second is] ... that he built ...
75.14 ... [the] world established. The Zone
75.15 ... below until the time when it 
75.16 is released. The Third is the ...-ing 
75.17 ... ... the works and the world will pass away
75.18 ... [from the] time when they are established until the time [when] 
75.19 their end is brought about and their being destroyed ...
75.20 ... [The] Fourth is the release by which the world is released
75.21 and all things restored and destruction 
75.22 [reaches] them in that Great Fire [which] will burn them for fourteen- 
75.23 hundred and sixty-eight years.
75.24 ... [The Fifth] is how the Last Statue will be fashioned 
75.25 ... [from] the remains of everything and the Light separates 
75.26 from its place and ascends and rules in its kingdom, and

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118 A&C: [\text{o\u03b9}\text{\textbackslash e}\text{\textbackslash k}\text{\textbackslash e}\text{\textbackslash e}\text{\textbackslash e}\text{\textbackslash k}\text{\textbackslash e}\text{\textbackslash e}].
119 A&C: [\text{n}\text{\textbackslash n}\text{\textbackslash k}\text{\textbackslash o}\text{\textbackslash c}\text{\textbackslash o}\text{\textbackslash c}].
120 See Shaburagan (MacKenzie, 517).
148 translations

75.27 the Darkness, on the other hand, will be transformed and placed in the tomb ...
75.28 ... and (will be) bound with it in an [eternal] fetter.
75.29 From the time when this first war occurred until the time of this binding ... these Five Things ...
75.30 ... Light.
75.31 ... Light.
75.32 [Know] that from the time when it moved and rose
75.33 [up in its] earth until the time of its bond, it is possible
75.34 [for the Apostles and the] Elect and the Teachers to speak and make statements

76.1 about it. But before ...
76.2 it from the powers, [no one can count]
76.3 it or measure it, since it is eternal.
76.4 [From the time] that it is put in chains and bound
76.5 [in] the Lump ... [there is no measure] to it. It is not possible for [anyone to ... nor is it possible] for
76.6 the Apostle and the Teacher ...
76.7 an eternal bond [in the] Lump ...
76.8 ... from the time when ...
76.9 fight with one another [until] the time ...
76.10 [one] another and each one ...
76.11 ... b and ...
76.12 ... and they proclaim ...
76.13 moment and time.
76.14

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121 A&C: ūwpe etet nca[he] xe.
122 A&C: m[n m]n[he] xteqo[pi].
123 A&C: m[n m]n[he] xteqo[pi].
124 A&C: m[n m]n[he] xteqo[pi].
125 A&C: t[w t]on m[n m].
Chapter 25

ON THE FIVE\textsuperscript{126} FATHERS: FROM WHICH LIMBS THEY HAVE COME

76.18 Again the Apostle spoke about [the emanation\textsuperscript{127} of the Five Fathers] from which limbs they have come
76.19 [from] the Father, one after the other. Thus he spoke: [the Messenger]
76.20 [came] from his Mind, the Beloved of Lights
76.21 [from his Thought], the Mother of Life from his Insight, [Jesus]\textsuperscript{128}
76.22 the Beloved from his Counsel, the Virgin of Light
76.23 from his Consideration. This is the way that [these Five Fathers]
76.24 were called (into being). These Five Advents came from the Five Limbs of the

76.25 Father. One came after the other (and) appeared in his time.

\textsuperscript{126} A&C: etbe η[τ]ογ... etc.
\textsuperscript{128} A&C: i[θε].
ON THE FIVE FORMS WHICH EXIST IN THE ARCHON's OF DARKNESS

[Again] as the Apostle sat in the assembly, he said [to]

[his] disciples: As for the Archon, the leader of all the powers

[of Darkness], there are [Five Forms] in his body, according to

[the form] of the seal [of the Five Creations] which exist in the Five Worlds of Darkness. His head has the face of a lion and originated from [the] World of Fire. His wings and his shoulders have the face of an eagle, according to the form of the Sons of Wind. His hands and [his feet] are demons, according to the form of the Sons of Smoke. [A dragon, according to the form of the] World of Darkness. His tail has the face of a dragon, according to the form of the World of Darkness. These Five Forms are found in him; they [have come] from the Five Creations of the Five Worlds of Darkness. When he wants, [he goes] on his two feet and . . . the World of [Smoke]. Also, when he wants, he [appears] to them as four . . . on his hands and feet like [the] Sons of Fire. When he wants, he lifts (himself) with his wings like the Sons of the Wind. Also, when he wants, he leaps into the waters like the Sons of the Water. Also, when he wants, he creeps on [his belly] like the Sons of Darkness. [These Five Forms exist in him. There are also three other in him. [The First]: . . . his powers . . . . . . The Second: . . . . . . his magic. When he [wants, he calls upon it] [himself] and hides from his powers. [Also, when he wants] he shows himself to them (and) causes wounds and [carnage with his] magic. By the word which he utters on occasion, he does [his magic]

129 Or “appearances”?
130 That is, as a quadruped.
131 A&C: no lacuna.
132 A&C: Rααqι.
78.18 with it. The Third: His body is strong, so that all the . . .,
78.19 all the teeth and the claws of his powers may not pierce [him].
78.20 No body of iron and copper will be fitting for him nor\textsuperscript{133}
78.21 will they imprison him, since he was created and fashioned
78.22 from the bitter Consideration of Matter, the Mother of the demons
78.23 evil spirits. There are also three other (forms) in him. When [he
78.24 his fire blazes and his whole body becomes like a [. . . of]
78.25 the fire. Also, when he wants, he sends out
78.26 frost and his entire body becomes cold like . .
78.27 snow. The Third: When his powers [stand]
78.28 before him, he looks at them and knows what [is]
78.29 in their heart. He knows what is in [their heart]
78.30 and their face so long as they stand before him. [When]
78.31 they retreat from him and remove themselves from him [he does not]
78.32 know what is in their heart. There is no life [in him]
78.33 at all, but his life is the gall of [anger] and [poison,\textsuperscript{134} which are
visible]
78.34 in his face. By his terror . .

79.1 of imprisonment(?) which stands before him. Behold, do not deliver
79.2 yourselves, my beloved, to the forms of this Archon, the root
79.3 of all wickedness, the bosom and camp
79.4 of every ugliness. But, you, keep yourselves
79.5 from him and his evil wisdom which dwells in your
79.6 bodies, lest they mix with you and they destroy your
79.7 gentleness and change your wisdom into a lie.
79.8 But be diligent and perfect
79.9 before the Mind of Truth which has revealed itself to you, that
79.10 you may . . . and be drawn up . .
79.11 to the height and inherit [life] from [eternity]
79.12 [to] eternity.

\textsuperscript{133} A&C: o[yte].
\textsuperscript{134} A&C: mηn p[η]eto[y].
ON THE FIVE THINGS THAT HE CONSTRUCTED
WITH THE HARD BODIES OF THE ARCHONS

86.22 Again, the Enlightener spoke: The Living Spirit constructed [Five]
86.23 Great Things from the veins, brains, [and] hard [bodies.]
86.24 The First is the disk which sits on [the]
86.25 shoulders of the Porter. The [Second] is the arch of [the]
86.26 column which is before him. [The] Third is the [shape]
86.27 of the form of gehenna. The Fourth is the [Seven]
86.28 Columns which he set up in the Great Sea in the
86.29 Seven Parts of the world. The Fifth is the Four
86.30 Walls which surround the passage.
Again the Enlightener spoke about the Living Spirit: When he built (and) constructed the worlds, he suspended the zones in their zones within their zones again. The First Zones are (those of) the Five Powers of Darkness, male and female.

This (statement) that “he suspended a zone in a zone” (means that) he suspended the Five Powers of Darkness in the Five Splendours of the Son of Man. For the whole enmity is fastened and bound in them.

Also, within the zone are the Five Sons of the Living Spirit, for the entire construction hangs on them as he heard him too. The other...

That he suspended [the zones?] (means that) he suspended them from the upper firmaments to the firmaments further down which is in a zone is the Great King of Glory, who exists... within the ...

... the world.
ON THE LIGHT-MIND, THE APOSTLES, AND THE SAINTS

89.21 Again at one occasion, a disciple questioned the [Apostle],
89.22 saying to him: You have told us that the Light-Mind
89.23 is that which comes and supports the saints. [You have told]
89.24 us therefore that even though it is one of the gods . . .
89.25 . . . many gods are found in it. You have told
89.26 us also that at the time it enters into [the body]
89.27 of the flesh and binds the Old Man with its Five Counsels,
89.28 setting up its Five Counsels on him in the Five Limbs
89.29 [of his] body. Where is it [though], since the Old Man is bound in the
89.30 body? For, I (can) see that rebellions occur in its
89.31 bond from time to time. Secondly, I ask
89.32 you: If indeed it is a great god, unchanging and
89.33 immeasurable, how does it come to appear in the smallness of the
89.34 body? The third thing that I want you to tell
89.35 me [is this: If?] the Mind is holy and pure,
89.36 [how did it come to be joined to?] the impurity of this body?

90.1 Fourthly, if truly, the Light-Mind is present in [the]
90.2 saints, why does its likeness not appear to us as it
90.3 is? The fifth thing: I want
90.4 you to tell me (about) and explain your apostleship.
90.5 For, behold, it is not clear to me, since they oppress
90.6 you and persecute you in the world.
90.7 I implore you that you persuade me about these things which I have
90.8 asked you.
90.9 Then he spoke to this disciple: My entire revelation,
90.10 (and) it is true before you. One and the same is it everywhere. [What,
90.11 then,]
90.12 are you missing? This disciple said [to the Apostle]:
90.13 While indeed you have revealed everything (and) persuaded [us]
90.14 that they are

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true before us, nevertheless I would also like to get to know the Light-Mind as it is.

Then, the Apostle spoke to him: If I go on once again to relate to you these things that you are (already) versed in, they being true before you, (then) by means of these things which you are versed in, you will come to know [what you are missing]. I will give the perception of those who perceive for your sake. I will let the living fountain gush forth for those who thirst, that they might drink and live.

Then the Apostle said to him: All Error, when the Enemy of Light established it, was established after the likeness of a human being. The head of the cosmos is the edge of the garments. Its neck is the collar of the garments. Its stomach is [the] Five Folds which are the . . . of the garments. Its ribs are [all] the firmaments. Its navel [is the] circuit of stars and the Zodiac. [The parts], however, [which] extend from its navel {from its [navel]} to its loins is [the . . .] which extend from the circuit [to the corners] of the Four Worlds. Its loins are the . . . which is below . . . on the head of the Porter. Its . . . from the . . . to the earth on which the Porter stands. Its shinbones and its feet are . . . of the [Porter(?)] and the entire Zone which belongs . . . . .

Its heart is humankind, its liver is the four-legged beasts. Its lung is the species of birds that [flies in] the air. Its spleen is the species of fish that swims in the waters. Its kidneys are the world of reptiles who creep [on] the earth. Its outer skin is the wall that . . . [which] surrounds the fixtures and the great fire. Its . . . the passages of the great fire. Its flesh is . . . of the Darkness. Its gall is the passage of . . . its large intestine is the breadth of the great . . . of the worlds. Its veins . . . . . all [the springs] and sources. Its eyes [are] . . .

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137 A&C: ἄναγωγήν [ἐν] [ἐν] ἰδίῳ οὐχικά.
139 "being true before you" added by scribe slightly above the line (Polotsky/Böhlig 90.17).
140 Crum 162b.
141 Literally "sphere, globe".
142 A&C: τεκαρπίζει πε . . . ην . . .
143 A&C: πε πίνακα ἱντρέ νν . . . πε[ι]α | παν.
91.12 ... Its feet are the Four Regions144 ...
91.13 ... which ...
91.14 ... This is the way that each one has provided the worlds with mēte.
91.15 While the Five Gods are fixed in it ... ...
91.16 they are its soul and its life ... ...
91.17 is a sinful person ... ...
91.18 ... the Living Spirit and the Messenger ...
91.19 the Five Sleepless Watchers. He has ...
91.20 the Keeper of Splendour, the Mind, which is ... [in the]
91.21 [world] of the upper Mind. It has ...
91.22 the whole ... of the powers of heaven [which] in ... ...
91.23 the great King of Glory who is [the Thought found]
91.24 in the Seventh Firmament. He humbled ... ...
91.25 ... also the Adamas of Light, who is the Insight ...
91.26 in this mēte. He gave ... because of the Desire of Matter.145 [He has]
91.27 also placed the King of Glory, who is the Counsel ...
91.28 the long-suffering upon the Three Images, that of wind, that of
91.29 fire, (and) that of water. He has given him the ...
91.30 ... do evil.
91.31 [The ...] also of the Porter, who is Consideration ... 
91.32 [the] wisdom in the ... which is above, he made him ...
91.33 ... the foundation, [which is below] ...

92.1 Again, the Messenger distilled from them the Five
92.2 Intellectuals of Life. Also, the Call and Response were set
92.3 in them, now making them six Sons of the Living Spirit,
92.4 along with six Sons of the First Man.
92.5 Again, the Messenger set in them the Great Mind,
92.6 which is the Column of Glory, the Perfect Man.
92.7 Again, Jesus the Youth was set among them, who is
92.8 the Image of the Living Word, of the Proclamation and the Hearing.
92.9 He strengthened these camps, above and below,
92.10 so that each one of them may secure itself in the circuit of its
92.11 watch-post, (and) so that rebellion and deceit might not occur in its
92.12 watch.
92.13 Look, then, and see: The Keeper of Splendour stands in the
92.14 Great Mind, in the camp that (sits) above the prison
92.15 of those who are bound, so that he might bring to naught all the
92.16 gloom of death.
92.17 But, deceit and rebellion occurred. Sin aborted,
92.18 ... [intertwined] with the soul, and mixed with the Light which was
92.19 freed by the image of the Messenger (and) went [up to] ...
92.20 ... [in the] Third Firmament, which is above the watch-tower

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144 A&C: π[λ]ταμακάν.
145 A&C: θεοφόβησεν Νίταγλα[λ].
... the Keeper of Splendour. From this place, too, it intertwined with the Light. It came out (and) went down to the dry and the moist. It [fashioned] the trees [in]\textsuperscript{146} the dry, while in the sea it took form immediately and made a great rebellion in the sea. Behold and see that the great King of Honour, he who is the Thought found in the Third Firmament, he is [terrible] with wrath. But, rebellion (still) [occurred], since deceit and hate are found in the camp, (that is,) the Watchers of heaven who came down to the earth during his watch: they engaged in every act of deceit. They revealed the arts in the world (and) unveiled to human beings the mysteries [of] heaven. There is no limit to (the) rebellion and destruction (that) occurred on the earth. The Adamas ... ...
and deceit occurred in his camp: which is, when the abortions fell down, Adam and Eve were formed and begotten, so that by means of them they might rule the world. They accomplished all the works of Desire on the earth; the whole world was filled with their Desire. By means of this $mêle,$\textsuperscript{147} they also persecute the churches (and) kill the apostles and the righteous in the watch-district of the Adamas of Light, from time to time throughout the generations. Also, in the watch of the great King of Glory, he who is the great Counsel (and) who has authority over the Three Wheels, disturbance and tribulation occurred, since they ... the earth (and) disturbed the Three Earths. When the Messenger revealed his image, the roads closed to their [escape?] their departure was hindered [when?] the wind, the water, and the fire came into them. Also, in the watch of the Porter, he who humbled ... rebellion in the lower depths ... ... bent, the lower fixtures stripped ... ... in the lower foundation. ... ... Because of the earthquake which occurred in the watch of the Keeper of Splendour, the Column of Glory came forth being ... ... and acted as [a?] helper to the Keeper of Splendour. He bore all the weight. Also, because of the deceit and the rebellion which

\textsuperscript{146} A&C: [g][R].

\textsuperscript{147} Meaning no known, but something like “leeway”(?).
158 translations

93.24 occurred during the watch of the great King of Honour; (that is,) the
93.25 Watchers who came down to the earth from the heavens,\(^{148}\) because of them
93.26 the Four Angels were commanded (to) bind the Watchers
93.27 with a bond forever in the prison of those who are black.\(^{149}\)
93.28 Their sons were wiped off (the face of) the earth.
93.29 Since the abortions also came down during the watch of the
93.30 (and) begot Adam and Eve, because of this great deceit
93.31 and the mystery of evil, he sent Jesus
93.32 . . . the prayer of the Five Sons, he bore . . .
93.33 . . . the abortions, he fastened them beneath the
93.34 . . . the Mind of Adam.

94.1 Also, because of the earthquake which occurred in these Three
94.2 Earths, and because the roads ended (and) the fountains of
94.3 wind, water, and fire ceased, Jesus descended (and)
94.4 bore Eve. He made straight the paths of the wind, the water, and
94.5 the fire, opened to them the fountains, (and) constructed for them the
94.6 paths of ascent. Again, since the
94.7 earth which is below the Porter (was) stripped [of the] fixtures which
94.8 . . . indeed, because of this, Jesus came down to bear
94.9 [Eve.] Before he reached that place, he ordered (and) strengthened
94.10 the fixtures which are below, (then) returned (and) went back up to his
94.11 resting-[place][?]. Then the Apostle said to him:
94.12 See all these watches of the Zone, in which these great gods
94.13 are lords, watching over them . . . .
94.14 rebellion and deceit occurred in them. The . . .
94.15 . . . in them from time to time, in great humility;
94.16 until they humble the powers of enmity.
94.17 This is also how it is with the body—a great power dwells
94.18 within it. Even though it is small in its form, Sin nevertheless
94.19 dwells within it along with the Old Man, who resides in it. It is
94.20 by a very great wisdom, until the Light-Mind
94.21 finds the way to humble this body and drive it [according]
94.22 to its will. As in the watches
94.23 of his great brothers who are lords out in the Zone—
94.24 (that is,) the great body, (where) earthquake and deceit occur
94.25 from time to time—so too in the watch-tower of the

\(^{148}\) According to Henning this passages represents a fragment from Mani’s Book of Giants (W.B. Henning: Selected Papers II [Leiden: Brill, 1977], 135).
\(^{149}\) See Polotsky/Böhlig 93.27. This passage is a puzzling piece of Manichaean cosmology, perhaps reflecting the influence of another (Enochic?) tradition.
Mind, which is the body of the flesh, does Sin raise from time to time its agitations in the body. But, in this way, know that the powers of Light are good. The beginning and the end are revealed to them. Everything they do, they do with correct judgement. Because of this, they allow the enmity to initiate Error and to do its will [for] a while. Then, they are seized . . .

. . . they have acted first in righteous judgement.

But, as for this other (question), which you posed: How does the Light-

Mind come, this great strength, and endure such a small body of flesh? Behold, again, and see these gods that . . . they [are] great and strong, yet each one of them is limited (and) confined in [the] place where it stands, like trees cleaving to their taproot. This also is the way that each one of them cleaves to its taproot in the world, according to [the] size of the place where he stands, enduring until . . . the end But, know also . . . the world stands, being established . . . [the] Living Spirit in all his Limbs . . . Sin took this body away from the [Land] [of Light and(?)] established it in his Limbs. It removed his [body] [from the Five Bodies of Darkness (and) established the body. His [soul], however, he took from the Five Luminous Gods (and) bound it to the Five Limbs of the Body. It bound Mind in bone, Thought in sinew, Insight in vein, Counsel in flesh, Consideration in skin. It set [it] in its Five Powers: Its Mind on the Mind of the soul, [its] Thought on the Thought of the soul, its Insight on the Insight of the soul, [of] the soul, its Counsel on the Counsel of the soul, (and) its Consideration on the Consideration of the soul. It set its Five Angels and its Authorities on the Five Limbs [of the Soul], which he took (and) bound in the flesh. . . impregnating the soul, drawing it each time to all [sorts of] evil works, to all sins of Desire, to the worship of idols, to the Sects of Error, to humility in the humility of slavery, as it stands serving the foul things which do not last, worshipping . . . . . . idols of wood and gold and silver . . . they čaje(?), serving the filthy

150 See Gardner, Kephalaia of the Teacher, 99.
151 A&C: ἀκακία.
152 6αξη: meaning unknown and reading uncertain (noted in Polotsy/Böhlig).
and unclean beasts that are ugly in their appearance and their form. It put on Error and oblivion, (and) forgot its essence, its race, and its kind. Not recognizing the door of the prayer-house, it cried out to him (and) became hostile to its father . . . . . . its own light. Also, when the Light-Mind came and found the soul, it . . . and gave it a . . . . . . . it put it on in the . . . . . . . . . . the b and s . . . . . . . Limb(s) in the body. It frees the Mind [of the Soul and] [releases] it from bone. It releases the Thought [of the Soul] from sinew and binds, in turn, the Thought [of Sin in] sinew. It releases the Insight of the Soul from vein, and binds, in turn, the Insight of Sin in vein. It frees the Counsel of the Soul and releases it from the flesh and binds the Consideration of Sin in the skin. This is how it releases the Limbs of the Soul and makes them free from the Five Limbs of Sin. These Five Limbs of Sin which are released, it binds them. It establishes the Limbs of the Soul, builds them up, refines them, and establishes them in the New Man, a son of righteousness. When it fashions and establishes and purifies the New Man, then it acquires Five Great, Living Limbs from the Five Great Limbs and places them in the Limbs of the New Man. It places its Mind, which is Love, in the Mind of the New Man. Thought, on the other hand, which is Belief, it sets [in] the Thought [of the New] Man, who it refines. Insight, which [is Perfection, it places]

in the Insight of the New Man. His Counsel, which [is] Long-suffering, it places in his Counsel. Wisdom, which is his Consideration, (it places) in the Consideration of the New Man. It purifies the image of the word from the word of Sin and adds it to its (own) word, so that its . . . might be a nourisher and strengthener . . .

154 A&C: ω[λ][ϕ] . . . . . ι[τ] ιεθ [ι]ογ [.].
155 That is, the Light-Mind.
156 Polotsky/Bohlig suggests that the elements “wisdom” and “consideration” should be inverted (97 n. 2).
97.7 . . . . . . When it perfects
97.8 . . . . . . the twelve limbs, then\(^{157}\) . . .
97.9 . . . . . . and his wisdom. His . . .
97.10 . . . . . . becomes righteous and perfect . . .
97.11 . . . . . . first he ran . . .
97.12 . . . . . . instead of this, it now runs . . .
97.13 . . . . . . its road and its path and its . . .
97.14 [it] also [raises itself up] to the Great Aeon . . .
97.15 . . . . Therefore the Old Man is bound in his . . .
97.16 . . . . . . and his desire, his . . . . . . his
97.17 foolishness in these *Five Limbs of the Body*. [Just as]
97.18 the Spirit of Darkness is enclosed with them in a bond and in
97.19 a severe affliction, the New Man, on the other hand, rules
97.20 in his Love, in his Belief, in his Perfection, in his
97.21 Long-suffering, and in his Wisdom. Also, his king, who\(^{158}\)
97.22 [is the Light-Mind], is king over all. It [rules over him]
97.23 [according to] its will. As long as the Limbs of Sin are bound\(^{159}\)
97.24 in this way, Sin is contained. Even though the Light-Mind
97.25 [is] king, tribulation may still occur in the body from
97.26 time to time. Sometimes Sin rises
97.27 up in his Consideration and disturbs Counsel, and confuses
97.28 Wisdom and the understanding of the man and causes truth
97.29 to leave him in favour of doubt and to make statements (that) are
97.30 inane and without salt.\(^{160}\) When the sign of his
97.31 foolishness comes . . . in the Church, the Teachers and
97.32 [the . . .] and the Deacons,\(^{161}\) and the Elders gather
97.33 . . . [and] become his helpers and correct his Wisdom
97.34 . . . . . . . . . his Consideration was established

98.1 in this (man). His Wisdom has secured its place (and) ordered
98.2 . . well. If, however, he does not accept the rebuke
98.3 and the encouragement\(^{162}\) of his brothers and his helpers, then
98.4 Sin rises up again from Consideration to
98.5 Counsel and takes his Long-suffering [from him] and clothes him
98.6 with cowardice and loss, and the sign\(^{163}\) (of this) becomes evident
98.7 among his brothers, his . . . . .
98.8 every [deed] that he does . . . .
98.9 the advice of his brothers and he becomes . .
98.10 foolishness. A struggle and a war occur (between)

\(^{157}\) A&C: *tote*.
\(^{158}\) A&C: *πρόπος αν [ε]τε*.
\(^{159}\) A&C: *φιλοργυγος* [ηροπ].
\(^{160}\) A&C: *νεκρεσυβα* | \(^{20}\) [ε]τον χρυσον ἐνακ.\(^{161}\)
\(^{161}\) A&C: *φιλα[λ]ακονος*.
\(^{162}\) Crum 122b.
\(^{163}\) A&C: *φιλε ποιηνεν οψαν*.
162 translations

98.11 the Light-Mind and Sin in Counsel. The
98.12 brothers gather\(^{164}\) together and they become . . .
98.13 . . . him and they quiet the . . . . .
98.14 . . . they put him in his place again . . .
98.15 one another in his struggle. If, however, . . .
98.16 that place, then Sin rises up again to . . .
98.17 . . . and clothes him with Desire and pretension and
98.18 pride, and he leaves his Teacher and brothers.
98.19 He always wants to go in and out alone,
98.20 he wants to eat (and) drink alone, as a solitary. He
98.21 always wants to walk alone. This, then, is the
98.22 sign that the habit of his brothers does not please him. If he
98.23 [lets] his heart [succumb(?)] to lust, Sin will again raise
98.24 the Death-desire in his Thought. He . . . to
98.25 vanity and he gives up his faith and his truth leaves
98.26 him. When the sign of his foolishness
98.27 appears and his notoriety spreads though the Church, the
98.28 wise ones of the Church assemble so that they might strengthen his . . .
98.29 and build him up in the rule\(^{165}\) of God. (Then), if he has accepted
98.30 advice of his brothers and heard the . . . . . .
98.31 and has turned away from his anger and . . . . . .

99.1 (then) it is possible that he (might) live and conquer Sin and all its
99.2 wars. But if he does not strengthen this watch, it (will) come back
99.3 and put on and disturb his Mind, which was originally
99.4 at rest. It (will) disturb his love for his Teacher and his
99.5 instructor. It (will) remove from his heart the love for the Church
99.6 and fill it totally with hate, and all his brothers (will) become hateful
99.7 to him. His brothers and his beloved and his companions,
99.8 who love him, they (will) be like enemies to him.
99.9 Now, if\(^{166}\) this man is disturbed in this way, and he abandons his
99.10 love and his desire to change himself, (then) this
99.11 man (will) become, in turn, a lost vessel and he (will) leave the
99.12 Church and he (will) reach his end in the world.
99.13 The Mind which was in him (will) be dispersed from him and return
99.14 to the Apostle who sent it. He becomes filled with evil spirits
99.15 and they play with [him], drawing him here and there, and he, in
99.16 becomes like an worldly man, changing and being like a
99.17 bird plucked of its feathers {and becomes earthly}. 


\(^{165}\) Crum 122b.

\(^{166}\) A&C: εφαντε-. 
99.18 Behold! I have shown you (s.) and clarified for you (s.) that, just as
99.19 agitation occurs in the Zone, in the camps of
99.20 these great and mighty gods. So too
99.21 disturbance happens from time to time in the jurisdiction of the
99.22 Light-Mind. Just as these watchers stand
99.23 [in] the Zone (and) are not visible, so too is it with the
99.24 Light-Mind, [since] it is not visible in the body.
99.25 Also, just as these outer [watchers] are great,
99.26 but bend (and) [bow] (and) shrink according to the size of the task
99.27 assigned to each one of them, so too is it with the
99.28 Mind. It too is great and exalted, but it has bent itself
99.29 (and) shrunk according to this small, repulsive body.
99.30 Just as the gods [in the] outer Zone are excellent,
99.31 pure, (and) established [in] the mixture of the All, and yet not
99.32 [so too does the] Light-[Mind] stand in its
99.33 ... ... ... ...

100.1 Behold the strength and the efficiency of the Light-
100.2 Mind: how great it is on all the watch-towers of
100.3 the body. It stands in its encampment (and) shields
100.4 every impulse of the body from the attractions of Sin.
100.5 It fixes them, scatters them, (and) sets them right
100.6 according to its will. It also does another excellent (and)
100.7 exceptional thing—it sets a great spirit on the
100.8 Elect. Indeed, you (s.) find him established on the earth,
100.9 rising in his heart, (and) going up to the Father, the
100.10 God of Truth, he who is established above
100.11 all the works of loss. It also rushes in
100.12 his Insight and his Consideration, and goes down to
100.13 the Land of Darkness, from which the Darkness has sprung.
100.14 His heart runs and meets everything, after having . . . them.
100.15 Then he said to that disciple: Behold! I have taught you (about)
100.16 the deeds of the Light-Mind. To the one who has
100.17 open and perceptive eyes it will be visible, (but) to the one who
100.18 does not have these eyes it will not be visible.
100.19 As for my work, which is [revealed] (but) is not clear to you—
100.20 the works that I have done—I am the one who will teach
100.21 them and I will clarify for you these wonders [of] my works170
100.22 and my leadership.
100.23 Heed this! that I, a single Manichaios, have come into the

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167 A&C: [e]ie{te}.
world alone. Both the forms [and] types of the body,
both gold and silver, both brass . . . money and
numerous gifts, both armour and armaments, [the]
multitude of humanity have submitted to me—
many divinities and idols from the
furnaces. You have seen the [kingdom] of the world, how
with many graces and gifts, with
armour and war and [violence] they have hardly humbled the
cities and subdued the lands. [I, however, I have subdued]
without armour and without [armaments . . .] distant [cities]
through the word of God. In distant lands
they bless my name and it is glorified in all lands.
Know also this other thing that I will teach you: the
kings have striven with me, along with the princes and the
officials and their functionaries, so that they might destroy this truth,
(but) they have had no power over me in this regard. Now, if I am
alone,
why did they have no power over me, namely, all those who strove
with me? The third thing is that [there is]
no one in the world who has given freedom to his children and
his brothers and his relatives (and) freed them
from the variability of all things just as I
have made all my sons free from every toil, and [how I have]172
granted every freedom(?).173 The fourth thing: I have [clothed] them
with the armour [of] wisdom, so that you (s.) will not find one single
person who will . . . and conquer them. Just as no
one has been able to conquer me in the entire world, so too is it
with my children. No one will be able to conquer them.
The fifth thing: I have chosen with my power this entire, great
election. I have given to my children my staffs of knowledge174
and the great fountains of wisdom. Because the previous175
apostles did not give their churches wisdom176 as I
gave to mine,177 I have strengthened my church (and) have left it
every good thing that is useful to it in every (sort of) work.
I have planted good and sown truth in every land, near
and far. Apostles and elders
have I sent to every land. Because the previous

171 A&C: lacuna in manuscript.
172 A&C: Ἡ ἡ Τ[σ] εται.
173 Funk, personal communication.
174 A&C: ΜΤ ΠΕΛΑΙ.
175 A&C: ΦΕΙΝ[Ν] ΙΑΡΗ.
176 A&C: ΟΥΚΟΣΦΙΑ.
177 A&C: Τ[σ] ΑΝΑΚ 22[∫Τ]ΑΙΣΕΚ ΝΤΩΥ.
101.27 apostles who went to them earlier did not accomplish what I have accomplished  
101.28 [in] this past generation, save for Jesus alone, the son of  
101.29 [the] Greatness who is the father of all apostles.  
101.30 For all the apostles have not accomplished what  
101.31 [I have] accomplished. Behold and see now how great is my  
101.32 [power] and my diligence. For no one among the previous  
101.33 [apostles, who appeared before me(?)]\textsuperscript{178} in the flesh was like me in  
101.34 . . . . . . through me. For this great  

102.1 door has been opened, which I have opened, to the gods and angels  
102.2 the people and all the spirits and living souls which are  
102.3 prepared for life and eternal rest.  
102.4 Then, when his disciples heard all these words which he had  
102.5 proclaimed to them, they answered (and) said to him: Great  
102.6 and strong are all these things which you have proclaimed to us;  
102.7 you have done by your power and the power of the one who sent you.  
102.8 could fully repay you for the grace which you have  
102.9 done for us, except this one who sent you? But, this is the only  
102.10 thanks available to us to repay you, (namely) that we strengthen  
102.11 your faith and keep your commandments and, moreover, that we be  
102.12 with the words you have proclaimed to us.

\textsuperscript{178} Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig, 101.33.
102.16 Again the Apostle spoke to his disciples:
102.17 Know! my beloved ones, that three great, mighty days
102.18 occur in the universe as well as two great,
102.19 bitter deaths. When his disciples heard (this)
102.20 they said to him: Tell us, our father, what are these
102.21 three great days or what are these two bitter
102.22 deaths. He said to them:
102.23 The first day is our Father, the Man—from the moment
102.24 that the First Man came down to the depth of the Darkness (and)
102.25 was submerged in it. (Then), the Living Spirit was sent(?), who went
102.26 (and) brought him up. After the Man ascended, the Father of
102.27 Life and the Great Spirit set in order the affairs and the worlds
102.28 (both) above and below. Moreover, the glorious Messenger
102.29 came and boarded the Ship of the Day.
102.30 He revealed his glorious image (and) purified [the Light]
102.31 from all things. He journeyed through the heights of the
102.32 heavens, until the time when the world will be dissolved,
102.33 all things destroyed, the Great [Fire] unleashed,
102.34 and the Last Statue ascends. These three deeds
102.35 were begun on this first [day, when the First Man]
102.36 was sent along with his Five [Sons. The first death].

103.1 however, is the Darkness, which mixed with the Five Sons
103.2 of the First Man. The second day
103.3 is when the Fathers of Light, who were victorious in the struggle,
103.4 will sit on their thrones in the New Age and dwell
103.5 on the New Earth. They (will) rule in the New [Age]
103.6 until the time when the Father will unveil his image
103.7 above them. It is necessary that they dwell\(^1\) in the New Age
103.8 for the length of the first day that he spent [in affliction].
103.9 They will rule in this way and rejoice in [the New]
103.10 Age. The great third day [is when]

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\(^{179}\) The topic of the “three days” was, according to al-Nadîm, the subject of a chapter of Mani’s work, *Treasure of Life* (Dodge, 798; Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 52).

\(^{180}\) Something like “night” might make more sense here (Funk, *personal communication*).

\(^{181}\) A&C: τοῦ[οῦ|φή].
the Father will unveil his [image] over them . . .
and raise them up . . .
and take them into his hidden storehouse . . .
and give . . . to his soul. He will pour upon them . . .
his ambrosia and his sweet aroma, which will take away
all the tribulation that they saw with their (own) eyes, and give them
relief and eternal joy. When his
grace satisfies them and he gives them his fruit and
they are renewed, he will then call them [in] peace
and silence and perfect their substance [in] the same
measure as his former aeons and reveal every power
in its aeon, in its dwelling place. They will dwell in the New
Age with their aeons. When they dwell with their aeons,
they will become immeasurably rich
for timeless eternity. From this moment on, they will not count this
time among them, nor the number
of days and hours through every generation,
forever and ever. The Father will not be hidden from them from this
moment on. Once he has been unveiled to them,

The first death is from the moment when the Light fell into
the Darkness (and) mixed together with the Archons of Darkness until
the moment when the Light will be purified and separate from the
Darkness through that Great Fire. The remainder, which will be left
over in
it, will (be) built (onto) and add(ed) to this Last
Statue. The second death is the death by which
the souls of sinful people die, when
[they] will be stripped of the shining Light which illumined
the world and they are, in turn, separated from the Living Air from
which they
received breath, and they are deprived of the Living Soul which
.in the world, and they are separated and swept
away from this Last Statue . . .
and they are bound in every limb
. . . the woman (?) will become . . . and . . .
t heir torture and their tribulation, because their deeds . . .

A&C: [ŋ][q][t] ney ŋ-.  
A&C: 
A&C: ŋ[ŋ][2][ooye].

Unlikely reading, perhaps “terror” (Funk, personal communication).
those three places. Since they have blasphemed (and) despised the
Holy Spirit in every generation of the world. These are the
two deaths: the first death is temporal, while the second
death is eternal—it is the [second death!]
Again, the Enlightener spoke: Three conduits are found in the entire Zone (running) from the depth to the height.

The first conduit is the root of all the higher powers: those that are found in all the heavens; those that come down (and) are bound to the lower earths. Since the lower earth is the hide, the garment, and the body of higher powers in the heavens. For when the Father of Life established the worlds of heaven, he stripped them of their bodies (and) threw them to the lower earths. While the upper worlds became psychic and pneumatic, the lower worlds became somatic and carcass-like . . . Because of this, he . . . the powers of heaven (and) sealed it on their bodies and their carcasses that are in the earths, so that when Life comes up from the fullness of these earths, it may be completely drawn to the height through the roots of the heavenly, those that are nailed in their bodies, and all Life will be distilled from these places. The dregs, however, that is swept away from the purity which comes up to the height, is left to fall down into the channels of the conduits and flow down to . . . and be thrown into the deep. This is the first conduit, which runs from the powers of heaven to their bodies and their carcasses on the earth. (It) also (runs) from their bodies and [their] carcasses on the earth to the powers of heaven.

The second conduit is the one that runs from the temples and the dwellings and the cities in heaven down to . . .
the Five Kinds of Trees that grow upon the earth. Life comes up from the Trees to the temples and the cities. But, the Life and the Fire of the heavenly ones comes down to the Trees in their conduits. The third conduit, however, is all the powers and the companions who dwell in all the firmaments, those whose roots run down from them to the Five Worlds of Flesh that creep upon the earth, fixed to one another. While Power and Life gather together in the Worlds of Flesh and go out from them in various forms, the powers of heaven draw it to them upwards through the conduits. [The] dregs, however, and the desires and the evils and the wraths, which abound in the powers of heaven, they are poured their various conduits. They are poured into human beings [and] the rest of the beasts. When the heavenly cause the dregs, the stink, and the poison to flow down to the creations of flesh below, the creations abound in desire, in wrath, and in evil [through] the energy of their fathers on high. The Apostle [spoke]:190 As for the wheel of the stars. It does not have a root on this earth but its roots are bound in the All. But, [the wheel of the stars], thriving on the Power and the Life that comes up [from] the earth through the conduits and the firmament above, draws Life from these conduits that lead up to the firmaments and the worlds of heaven above it, drawing Life from that place. Then the disciples asked the Enlightener (and) said to him: If the wheel has no root on this earth, where then do the stars and the zodiacal signs find the power to become masters over these Five, even though you tell us that the wheel has no root? For you have told us that as everything diminishes on the earth, the powers above in the heavens gather it through a conduit. Also, we see that every thing which happens to a man—whether wealth comes to him or he is struck by poverty, his sickness or his health—it happens to him through the Zodiac and the stars under which he was begotten. Then he spoke to his disciples: That which I proclaimed to you—that the wheel has no root—I proclaimed it to you correctly. It is certainly correct here, since when the

190 This may indicate an originally separate chapter.
122.19 Living Spirit, the Father of Life, established the heavens and
122.20 the firmaments above, he bound their roots together with
122.21 the earths below in their carcasses, which he had stripped from
122.22 them. But, after he established the wheel, he did not
122.23 bind its root to the earths, but rather bound the
122.24 root of the wheel to the sea-giant. Then, when the
122.25 Messenger came, he revealed his image,
122.26 purified and took [away] the light from all the heavens, then Matter,
122.27 in turn, which is found in all the Archons, leapt out
122.28 from them against the image of the Messenger (and) ascended
122.29 so that it might attain it, (but) it did not attain it. It turned and fell
122.30 down. Then, when if fell from the height,
122.31 it scattered itself into three parts. The first part
122.32 fell onto the wheel, another [part fell onto the earth, (and still)
another]

123.1 one fell into the sea. [From]\(^{191}\) the part which fell to
123.2 the sphere, the roots were bound in the trees and (the) flesh.
123.3 Because of this, they took power and ruled in the Five
123.4 Worlds of Flesh and the Five Worlds of the Tree.
123.5 Through the nature (i.e., of Matter) that came down upon the wheel,
123.6 the root was bound in the trees. Also, through the abortions that
123.7 came down, other roots were bound in the flesh. Because of
123.8 this, too, the stars and the zodiacal signs took power over the trees
123.9 and the fleshes through the root of Sin, which fell down,
123.10 and the root of the abortions who were aborted and fell
123.11 down. But, these other conduits, which the Living Spirit
123.12 bound in the earths, those by which the soul of the Elements came
123.13 to the heavens, they are not bound to the wheel,
123.14 but are robbed from the powers in the wheel
123.15 to which they are attached. The disciples spoke to the
123.16 Enlightener: We implore you, our lord, that as you proclaimed
123.17 to us (and) gathered these words . . .
123.18 you have told us (about) the first kind of conduit.
123.19 The first is that which runs from the firmament to the earths and
123.20 that which runs from the wheel to the sea-giant.
123.21 This is only one, but the other root runs
123.22 from [the temples] the to the trees. The third (is) the one that is bound
123.23 by the abortions in the flesh. Also, bound in the flesh are the fathers of
123.24 abortions, who are in heaven . . . and fettered with and those who
123.25 . . . We implore you, our lord, that you clarify
123.26 for us [which]\(^{192}\) conduit is it that surpasses its

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191 A&C: x|HH-.  
123.27 [counterpart] ... with more life and soul being drawn
123.28 [by it] than its counterpart.
123.29 The Enlightener [spoke] to his disciples: You have examined
123.30 ... you have asked about this statement in greatness, great
123.31 ... [the] earth, many lives come down
123.32 ... the Father of Life has drawn them

124.1 (and) fastened them from [every?]193 power. He bound them together with
124.2 the earths which are the roots
124.3 of every ruling power. These (are the conduits) through which the Life of the
124.4 Living Soul is drawn up, coming up from
124.5 the entire earth, from all the mountains, the fields
124.6 and the islands. Second to this first great root
124.7 comes the root of the trees, which was bound to the temples
124.8 and the buildings which are above. Then, since so much life
124.9 comes up from the tree and the whole cross,
124.10 being drawn from them to the height, (it is) like
124.11 a great host. But, the one which is reduced ...
124.12 their conduits ... taking up ...
124.13 place (?)194 the roots [on]195 earth. They are woven (and) knit [with]
124.14 entire earth in all worlds. Also, those of the trees are found on
124.15 the entire earth, whether small or great. But the root
124.16 of people and that of beasts is196 not found
124.17 on the entire earth, but only in this world of the
124.18 south. These fleshes do not yet make ... in the
124.19 entire world of the south ... there is a little
124.20 bunch of them in ... above
124.21 the world of the south in ... ...
124.22 also in their number beyond ... I have explained
124.23 to you about the roots [and those (things) that]197 are found in them. [I have]
124.24 taught you that they are bound in their [roots] ...
124.25 together with one another. They move toward one another, drawing the
124.26 life from one another through the energy of the higher powers,
124.27 which move toward the nature which dwells in all of them.
124.28 But when they crush the Matter which is in [them] and

\[193 \text{A&C: [MBH}. \]
\[194 \text{A&C: [KEAX}. \]
\[195 \text{A&C: [ET2N}. \]
\[196 \text{A&C: [MN TANAYE}. \]
\[197 \text{A&C: [MN NENT][M]WOOPI}. \]
124.29 plunder it, then it too, this Matter, ...
124.30 its limbs and overflow ... ...
124.31 one another ... move ... ...
124.32 ... ... ... ...
Again, a Babylonian catechumen questioned the Enlightener, saying to him: Speak to me, my lord, and clarify for me about Adam, the first man. When was he created, in what way was he formed, or in what way was he begotten? Does his generation resemble the generation which is begotten today among humankind, or else is there a distinction to be found between his birth and what happens today? For, behold, Adam was strong in his substance, great was his size, (and) long were his years. He passed many years in the world. But he is not the only one that we have found to be strong, but also all the others who were begotten in his generation. Long were their years also. These people, however, who are begotten today, their substance diminishes (while) their power and the remainder of their years wane. Why, then, is the birth of those begotten today different than that of the first . . . . .

in his very place. Behold also the stars and the zodiacal signs, they remain in their places. Why then has the life-span and the years of these latter ones diminished and gotten shorter than these ancients who are counted among this first generation? But he, our Enlightener, in his deep wisdom and his great understanding said to this catechumen who had asked him: They increased and again diminished because there are Five Types of Authority and Guide set in the sphere of the Zodiac and the heavens which are above it. They have (Five) Names, by which they are called. The first name is the “year”, the second is the “month”, the third is the “day”, the [fourth] is the “hour”, (and) the fifth is the “minute.” These Five Places and these Five Dwellings are found in the sphere and the heavens. These regions have Five Powers ruling over

A&C: [ል]פא אוֹנן.

See Polotsky/Böhlig, 145.10 note.
them. The ruler of the year is found there, (as is) the ruler of the month,
the ruler of the day, the ruler of the hour, (and) the ruler of the minute; (each) one above his companion. The one who is above in each case is lord over the one who is below him. As to humanity, which is being begotten along with the animals, it is by these powers that it is begotten; but they, these powers, have authority from the beginning of creation to the end of the world. At the beginning of the generations, it was the powers that rule over the years that ruled. Because of this, the offspring begotten in their generation and their era found their years long, passing many life-spans in the generation of Adam and that of Sethel, his son, as well as (the generation) of those who came after him. After they ceased to rule, that is, the powers that ruled over the years are shorter than the years, so also the life-span of the offspring begotten by them is shorter than the life-span of those begotten in the generation of the powers who ruled the years. When the authority of the powers who ruled the months them. Therefore, since the days are shorter than the months, so too was the life-span of the offspring begotten by them shorter than the life-span of those begotten by the powers who ruled the months. Also, in the same way, the offspring who were begotten by the hours as well as that of the minute, their lihme$^{200}$ are shorter than that of the months and that of the days. The Enlightener spoke to this Babylonian catechumen: Behold how the end of the world is nigh! The life-span of people is down to nothing. Their days lessen (and) their years wane because the Life and the Light [which] was in the world in these previous generations was greater than that of today. Because of this, they are shrinking in their substance (and) their life-span has become shorter. Again, this Babylonian catechumen spoke to the Enlightener: I implore you, my lord! Just as you clarified for me and persuaded perhaps this means that the “conduits” through which life flows into every being are getting shorter or more restricted (Funk, personal communication).

$^{200}$ Perhaps this means that the “conduits” through which life flows into every being are getting shorter or more restricted (Funk, personal communication).
146.18 me regarding the years—why the
146.19 years of these ancients increased and why, in turn,
146.20 these latter ones decrease; you told me, also, that they have lessened
146.21 in their substance (and) you said that all these ones lessen because
146.22 of the Life and the Light which they received in the world—
146.23 proclaim to us this other thing, by what sort of birth was all this
146.24 offspring of humankind made by one man and one
146.25 woman, Adam and Eve?  The Enlightener spoke to this
146.26 catechumen: You rightly ask about this
146.27 matter, so know and understand it. For, just as these
146.28 first generations were greater in their Light,
146.29 purer in their substance, and also greater are their years, so too
146.30 were their offspring more numerous than the offspring of this time.
146.31 They passed a longer time being . . . in [the]
146.32 belly of their mother. Afterwards . . . . .

147.1 conceived a multitude in a single womb. Sometimes they would beget
147.2 five in a single womb. Sometimes they would beget six in a single
147.3 belly—sometimes less, sometimes
147.4 more. Because of this, the offspring of Eve and that of her children
147.5 were more numerous and the earth was filled with them alone.
147.6 Since the offspring of the generation of the ancient people who were
147.7 begotten in the world was much different than that of today,
147.8 their conception and their birth does not resemble that of those born
147.9 later, who are born today in the womb of a woman.
147.10 For those who are begotten today in these latter generations,
147.11 standing small, they are crippled and, it is even as single ones that
147.12 begotten in a single belly, barely two, more or less,
147.13 being ugly in their appearance, reduced in
147.14 their size, and weak in their limbs. Their teachings and [their]
147.15 thoughts are filled with evil. They are evil-doers. They are drowned.
147.16 They consume their life-span with suffering (until) death takes them
147.17 quickly. After this catechumen
147.18 heard these words, he adored and gave glory, saying to the
147.19 I thank you, my lord, for you have satisfied my heart (and)
147.20 persuaded me by making progress about these things that I asked you
about.
161.31 Again, he added and said to his disciples:
161.32 [There are] Five Qualities in the Sun which it manifests every time it comes into the world.

162.1 The first is its light, for it illuminates, by means of its light,
162.2 the world and all the creatures found in it.
162.3 The second is its beauty, because when it shines it floods beauty and splendour on all creatures and all things.
162.4 The third is its peace, because when the Sun lights up the world, all people are greeted by it and they offer peace to one another.
162.5 The fourth is the Life of the Living Soul, that it releases from all bonds and fetters of heaven and earth.
162.6 The fifth: it empowers the Elements, and also gives scent and taste to the entire Cross of Light. Just as you can see that its light illuminates more than all lights found in the world, so too is its beauty more beautiful than the beauty of all people. Its peace, too, surpasses all the powers and watchers that are found in the world. Its liberation, with which it liberates the Living Soul, is a full day more than all the liberations. The power that is in its Limbs is a great power and is stronger than all powers.

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201 A&C: [ŋɔːɛŋ nɪŋ].
Again he spoke: This fire that burns (and) is revealed to today’s world does Five Things.

The first thing that it does is this: It destroys (and) burns wood and everything that is placed on it.

Second: It separates four properties from wood. These are fire and light, ash and smoke. Third: It gives taste and aroma to whatever is cooked by it. It also gives warmth and joy to whoever is brought near to it. The fourth thing that it does: All craftsmen mould the implements with which they fashion. Fifth: It reveals light and people can see with its help.
ON THE TWELVE SIGNS OF THE
ZODIAC AND THE FIVE STARS

166.34 Again, one time as the Apostle [sat]
167.1 in the assembly, a disciple stood before him (and) asked
167.2 him, saying: We implore you, our lord, that you proclaim
167.3 to us and clarify about the twelve signs of the Zodiac
167.4 which are set in the Sphere. How are they ordered, or to which place
167.5 do they belong according to their nature? Or for that matter these Five
Stars
167.6 that surround them, where do they come from, or why did the
craftsman appoint
167.7 them as authorities and guides? He who is the Great
167.8 Builder, who established the whole of creation, he bound them (and)
167.9 closed them in the Sphere. We implore you, our
167.10 lord, that you satisfy us regarding these things which are hidden from
everybody.
167.11 Then, he spoke to this disciple who had asked him: Both
167.12 these twelve zodiacal signs that he put in the sphere and these
Five Stars that turn above them, they are present in all the Archons
167.14 according to their nature. They are all enemies and adversaries to
167.15 one another.202 They plunder one another through the activity of the
Great
167.16 Builder who fashioned all the worlds. He set
167.17 [them] (and) bound them in the Sphere above, which always turns.
167.18 When it turns and moves them, they do everything
167.19 that pleases them above and below according to their will.
167.20 But, there is a governor above them, a debt-collector
167.21 causing them to act, coercing them, (and) taking from them what
167.22 is theirs. This, however, is how it should be understood: They
167.23 are drawn from the Five Worlds of Darkness, are bound in the
Sphere, and two zodiacal signs are taken per world. The Twin203
167.25 and the Archer204 belong to the World of Smoke, which

202 Written above line 15: “one is pressing the other; they are hung from one another” (Polotsky/Böhlig).
203 Gemini.
204 Sagittarius.
167.26 is the Mind. Also, the Ram\textsuperscript{205} and the Lion\textsuperscript{206} belong to the
167.27 World of Fire. The Bull\textsuperscript{207}, the Water-bearer\textsuperscript{208}, and the Scales\textsuperscript{209}
167.28 belong to the World of Wind. The Crab\textsuperscript{210} and the Virgin\textsuperscript{211}
167.29 and the Fish\textsuperscript{212} belong to the World of Water. The Goat-horn\textsuperscript{213}
167.30 and the Scorpion\textsuperscript{214} belong to the World of Darkness. These are
167.31 [the] twelve Archons of wickedness, those who wickedness does not
167.32 . . . . . . For it is they commit every evil and
167.33 . . . [in the] world, either in the tree or in the flesh.

168.1 Know, also about these \textit{Five Stars},\textsuperscript{215} the wanderers(?),\textsuperscript{216} how they are
168.2 put in place. The star of Zeus is generated by
168.3 the World of Smoke, which is the Mind. Aphrodite,
168.4 in turn, came to be from the World of Fire.
168.5 Ares, however, belongs to the World of Wind. Hermes
168.6 belongs to the World of Water, while Kronos belongs to the World
168.7 of Darkness. The Two Ascendants,\textsuperscript{217} however, belong to
168.8 fire and lust, which are dryness and
168.9 moisture, they are the father and mother of all these things. But,
168.10 the Sun and the Moon, who are counted along with them,
168.11 artificially, so that they might be ruled over. You will find them
168.12 at every moment. These seven, which we have named—the \textit{Five Stars}
168.13 and
168.14 every wickedness and evil in every single land, above
168.15 and below, in every creation, in dryness
168.16 and moisture, in tree and flesh.
168.17 Again, I am revealing to you about these zodiacal signs: They are

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item Aries.
\item Leo.
\item Taurus.
\item Aquarius.
\item Libra.
\item Cancer.
\item Virgo.
\item Pisces.
\item Capricorn.
\item Scorpio.
\item Zeus = Jupiter; Aphrodite = Venus; Ares = Mars; Hermes = Mercury; Kronos = Saturn.
\item That is, the planets.
\item The \textit{anabibazontes}, see discussion above.
\item Inserted between lines 10 and 11 (Polotsky/Böhlig 168). A \textit{homoioleteuton} seems to have occurred due to the double occurrence of \textit{AXOYX NEHEY}. See A&C.
\end{itemize}
distributed and ordered to four sides, three at each corner in these four places. They are fastened to the Sphere that turns. The Ram, the Lion, and the Archer, these three belong to one side. The Bull, however, the Goat-horn, and the Virgin, these three belong to the other side. But, the Twin, the Scales, and the Water-bearer belong to another side. The Scorpion, the Fish, and the Crab belong to another corner. They are set in this way. They are fixed to these four sides (and) distributed in the Sphere. When the side of the Ram, the Lion, and the Archer is plundered by the governor who is above it, who coerces it along with the guiding (stars) who go above it, tribulation overtakes every four-footed beast below this place. But, when the [side] of the Bull, the Virgin, and the Goat-horn is plundered, [tribulation] at once comes to be in the herbs and the vegetables and all the fruits of the trees. But, when the side of the Scorpion, the Fish, and the Crab, is plundered there will be a lack of water on the earth and famine will occur everywhere. However, when the side of the Twin, the Scales, and the Water-bearer is plundered, deficiency and diminishment in the category of humanity will occur everywhere. Behold, I have clarified for you about these twelve zodiacal signs, that they have been formed from the Five Worlds of Darkness and bound in the Sphere. I have also taught you about the Five Stars, that they too have come to be from the Five Worlds of Darkness. I have proclaimed to you, also, about the Two Ascendants, that they stand (according) to the mystery of fire and lust, which is dryness and moisture, the father and mother. I have also revealed to you about the Sun and the Moon, that they are foreign to them. But because of the (irresistible) force of the planned arrangement according to which one thing takes on the other, and they are being plundered them, that is why they were counted among them according to the numerical value, although the Sun and Moon come from the Greatness, (and) do not belong to the stars and the zodiacal signs.
CHAPTER 70

ON THE BODY, THAT IT WAS MADE TO RESEMBLE THE COSMOS

169.27 [Again], at a time when the Apostle was sitting in the assembly amidst the congregation, he spoke to his disciples: While the entire cosmos, above and below, resembles the human body,

169.31 [the] makeup of this body of flesh (also)

170.1 resembles the cosmos. Its head resembles by way of example the Five Garments. But, from its neck down to the site of its heart, it resembles the Ten Firmaments. The heart is there in resemblance of the wheel of the Sphere that turns. From its heart down to its mid-section, it resembles that air which flows from the Sphere down to the earth. The male (part) of the body resembles the Great Earth. From its intestines down to its loins it resembles the Three Earths. But, the shinbones of its foot resemble the space where the Porter stands.

170.12 The soles of its feet resemble the Great Earth on which the Porter stands and the Four Fixtures which are under his feet. Its liver resembles the Vehicle of Fire. Its flesh resembles the Vehicle of Darkness. Its blood resembles the Vehicle of Water. In this way, the small body resembles the great cosmos in its firmaments, in its rank, in its mountains, its walls, and its vehicles, as I have revealed to you. Again, I am revealing to you that there are Five Great Camps in this great outer zone, over which the Five Sons of the Living Spirit rule. In the first upper watch-tower, the one in which the Keeper of Splendour rules, the pinnacle of all things, his authority is placed over the Three Heavens. Those that are under him are, nevertheless, above the great King of Honour.

170.28 As for the second watch-tower, the one in which the great King of Honour rules, his authority (is) placed over the Seven Firmaments below him. As for the third
chapter 70

170.31 watch-tower, the one over which the Adamas [has authority,] 219

171.1 ruling from the firmament down to the [earth],
171.2 it commands 220 according to his authority the Sphere and the
171.3 worlds of air, along with the other four worlds, which are fixed on
171.4 this earth. The fourth watch-tower, which the King of
171.5 Glory possesses is the Three Wheels. But, his
171.6 authority lays over the Three Earths which are over
171.7 the Porter. The fifth watch-tower is the watch-
171.8 tower over which the Porter has authority, since he
171.9 also rules, according to his authority, over this Great Earth,
171.10 which is established on it, along with the Four Fixtures which are
171.11 his feet. Tribulation has occurred in the Five Watch-Towers from
171.12 time to time. In the watch-tower of the Keeper of Splendour,
171.13 Sin wanted to gush forth against the image
171.14 of the Messenger, but it was hindered at that
171.15 place. He made it turn in shame.
171.16 Also, an earthquake and deceit occurred in the watch-tower of the great
171.17 King of Honour, that is, the watchers, who existed
171.18 when they ... they came down, namely, those
171.19 who had been sent, until they were humbled. Also, in the
171.20 of the Adamas, the abortions came down (and) fashioned the
171.21 figure of flesh. Also, in the watch-tower of the King of Glory,
171.22 there was movement in these Three Earths, which are above
171.23 the Porter. The route and the ascent
171.24 of these Three Wheels—(the wheel) of wind,
171.25 of water, and of fire—were blocked. Also, in the watch-tower of the
171.26 Porter, the lower fixtures were stripped off (and) their
171.27 bonds levelled. A great earthquake occurred in that place.
171.28 [Just as] these Five Watchers are found in this great
171.29 [bond of these Five Encampments that I have proclaimed

172.1 to you, so too is it with this body, which the
172.2 Elect bear. There are Five other Encampments
172.3 in it. The Light-Mind guards them along with the
172.4 New Man who is with him. The elect person who
172.5 dominates and humbles the countenance of his face, which is above
172.6 body, and guides it to the good, he symbolizes the
172.7 mystery of the Keeper of Splendour who has power over
172.8 the watch-tower above the Zone. He who rules

219 A&C: [ο θεοκοικία τον άγιο εξ].
220 A&C: εξικαλοιωθή.
172.9 [over] his heart and humbles it symbolizes the great King of Honour who humbles the Seven Heavens. He who rules his chest and humbles his desire becomes like the mystery of the Adamas of Light, he who humbles Matter. He who humbles the stomach and rules the fire found in it, but also the purity of the food that enters it, he symbolizes the King of Glory, he who turns the wheels (and) sends life upward. He who rules over the rank of the archons beneath his feet and binds it with the bond of peace symbolizes the Porter, he who humbles with his feet the lower abyss. Also, the teaching of wisdom, which circulates through this body, symbolizes the Virgin of Light, who goes up (and) comes down in the Zone that is above and below. Also, the Love and the Joy, the Faith and the Truth by which a person lives symbolizes these Two Light Ships. For, it is through them that the Living Soul ascends, is liberated, leaves the lower abyss, and attains the upper height. Again, know this other thing, that there are Four Worlds in this Body of Flesh (and) there are Seven Archons in every one [of these Four] Worlds. The first [world is from its] neck upwards, but the Seven Archons that are found in this upper world, they are the two eyes and the two ears and the two nostrils. The other is the mouth, which is the taste organ. [The] second world is from its neck down to its entire stomach, but the Seven Archons which are found in this second world, they are its two arms—those that symbolize its two ears found in its first world above—and its two breasts, which symbolize its nostrils, and the two eyes of its heart and the depth of the stomach between the two breasts, which are in the chest symbolize the mouth. Again, there are Seven Archons in the third world of the body, which are the fat, the lung(s), the spleen, the liver, the gall, and its two kidneys. Also, in the fourth world below, there are seven others in the same pattern—its two buttocks, its two testicles, its two loins, and the member from which the seed comes, which begets all the forms. Again, the Enlightener said to those who were listening to him:
Ram, the Bull, the Twin, the Crab, the Lion,  
the Virgin, the Scale, the Scorpion, the Archer, the  
Goat-horn, the Water-bearer, and the Fish, these are the twelve  
zodiacal signs that are found in the world of heaven, that are in the  
Sphere, fastened and bound to this turning wheel, the one by which  
they are forced, nailed, and planted. But, behold all these twelve  
zodiacal signs, this is how they are ordered and made head  
[and] ... in the Sphere above heaven, which is the wheel of the  
[stars]. This, then, is how they are ordered. They are ordered so that  
you might  
find the head ... and find the tail between one another.  
... they also exist in this way, namely  
those which we have proclaimed one after the other in this body. They  
are counted among them in their sum and number from the head to  
the feet. Its head is the Ram, its neck and its shoulders  
the Bull, its two forearms the Twin,  
its oesophagus(?) the Crab, its stomach  
[the] Lion, its heart the Virgin, the backbone of the  
statue and its diaphragm the Scales, its chest  
[the] Scorpion, its loins the Archer, its feet  
the Goat-horn, its shinbones the Water-bearer, (and)  
the soles of its feet the Fish. Behold (how) these too  
are distributed among them. They are found in this body,  
turned aside (and) bent like these twelve zodiacal signs.  
They are ordered and spread among one another, the head  
to the tail, just as they are in the wheel  
... which is turned to heaven.  
They, too, are counted among  
the sum and number of the body and all its limbs.  
But, what we have proclaimed—that they are turned to the side, bent,  
(and)  
spread out—this is so, because from its head down to its  
loins, they are counted six on its left, (and) six others on its right.  
The six that are on its lower right are those which I  
will proclaim. The right temple is the Ram, its right shoulder  
the Bull, its right forearm  
the Twin, its right rib the Crab,  
its stomach the Lion, (and) the right side of its intestines  
the Virgin. The other six which we have spoken  
about, they are found on the left side, going  

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221 A&C: οὐμὴ ἀκοῦε.  
222 While ἄψωμε normally means “stomach,” Böhlig suggested oesophagus (Speiseröhre) due to the fact that stomach comes next in the list.  
223 A&C: etc[rite].
from its loins to its head. Its left . . .

is the Scales, its left rib the Scorpion,

its left breast and its left kidney [the]

Archer, its left elbow the Goat-horn,

its left shoulder the Water-bearer, (and)

its left temple the Fish. This is the way that the

craftsman of the body ordered (and)

arranged (and) made them level to one another, head to [tail].

Again, he spoke: Hear this other word which I will proclaim

to you. Know that there are many powers found

in this body—these are the companions who are its leaders.

There are eight-hundred and forty myriads of Archons

ruling over the human body. They are distributed

(and) established four to a dwelling. The sum and

the number of their dwellings is two-hundred and ten myriads.

When all these Archons come, creeping (and) wandering

within the body, and they meet one another, they

break against one another and destroy one another and . . .

When powers . . . .

together(?) they leap out of the body in which a person is going to
dies, and they cause evil tumours and blows and burning wounds

on the body. Either they make him sick inside [or] they would come out upon him externally. These wounds

contract at first and pour forth their liquid.

They release their ooze until they contract . . .

. . . and the core is dug out of the wound. Afterwards,

their wounds are carved out and healed and relieved

at the site where they came out.

224 A&C: [n].
CHAPTER 91

ON THE CATECHUMEN, WHO IS SAVED IN A SINGLE BODY

228.8 Again, this Elect spoke to the Apostle:225 I have
228.9 heard you, my lord, say that there is a Catechumen
228.10 who does not enter a body other than this one alone. Rather
228.11 when he leaves his body, his soul
228.12 ... in the firmament above and he journeys to the place
228.13 of [rest]. Now, I implore you, my lord, that you
228.14 open my eyes to the deeds of this Catechumen
228.15 who does not enter into another body—What kind are they or what is
228.16 his form or what is his sign so that I might
228.17 know it and tell the rest of my brothers, that they might proclaim
228.18 it to the Catechumens, so that they might be exalted by
228.19 this and ascend in peace to the Good?
228.20 Then, the Apostle said to him: I will open your
228.21 eyes to the deeds of these Catechumens
228.22 of faith, who do not enter into (another) body. The sign of
228.23 this perfect Catechumen is this—You find his226
228.24 wife in the house with him, dealing with him as if they are strangers.
228.25 Also, his house he treats like an inn.
228.26 He says, “I dwell in a house rented by days
228.27 and months.” His brothers and his relations
228.28 are considered by him to be strangers attached to him,
228.29 journeying with him on the road, knowing that ...
228.30 they will be separated from him and each one returns to [their own
228.31 place].227

229.1 house, they are considered by him (to be) like vessels on loan. [He]
229.2 takes them, and they serve him, (but) afterwards he gives them [to]
229.3 their owner. He does not place his trust in them or his wealth.
229.4 He removes his Thought from the world, and places his
229.5 heart in the Holy Church. At all times, his Thought
229.6 is set upon God. But, what’s more than all that—
229.7 solicitude, respect, and love for the saints who
229.8 are with him—he cares for the Church like [his] house,

225 A&C: ἀποστόλος.
226 A&C: τε[τε]-
227 A&C: οὖ[ε] ἑ[ε] ἡ[ἡ] ὁ[ὁ][ὁ] ὁ[ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὁ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [ὅ] [.ordinal number]225
226
227
in fact more than his house. He entrusts all his wealth to the Elect men and women. For this is what [the] Saviour preached through the mouth of his Apostle: From today onwards those who have wives, let them become like those who do not. Those who buy like those not buying, those who rejoice like those not rejoicing, those who weep like those not weeping, those who profit from this world like those not in wantonness. Those who . . . those which proclaimed, were proclaimed about these perfect Catechumens, who depart from this body alone and return to the height. They are like the Elect in their behaviour. This is the sign of these Catechumens who do not enter a body. There are others too who possess self-control, [keeping] the flesh of every beast from their mouths, being eager for fasting and daily prayer, helping the Church according to their means through almsgiving. Malice is dead in them. The motions of their feet made it towards the Church more than towards their home. Their hearts are upon it at all times. Their posture and their comportment is like that of the Elect. They have stripped all the affairs of the world from their hearts. But, this person, with the mind set upon the Holy Church at every moment and his gifts and . . . and his honour and his grace which benefits his life, as he journeys with them to the Holy Church along with those who come to the Church, whether they are his children or his wife or one of his relations. He rejoices greatly over them and he loves them, sharing all his wealth with them. Behold! This is the sign and the model of these Catechumens who do not (re)enter a body. Like the “good pearl,” which I described for you in the Treasure of Life—it is priceless.

So too is it for these Catechumens who do not (re)enter a body. But, when they do leave their bodies, they journey in their way and pass on to a higher place and enter into life. They are not, however, condemned and bound by the chains of the enemy, but they are purified in the heavens and plucked like a fruit

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228 See 1 Cor 7:29–31.
229 A&C pace Bohlig: “die keinen Wert hat.”
230 A&C: Line 14 of manuscript was missed in original edition. Read and renumber accordingly: ἅβατρ [καὶ] ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν ἀληθώς χρίστου καὶ θύμη ἐπίλαξε ἀλλα.
that will ripened and be plucked from the tree. This is also how the
almsgiving that is passed on to the Elect resembles it
in many forms, purifies it, and enters into
the Land of the Living. This is also how the souls
of these Catechumens resemble it, those who do not (re)enter
a body. But, as for the matter of the Catechumens,
I have written it down in the *Treasure of Life*.

Just as they are freed and are purified one by one
giving their deeds, according to their approach to the Church,
this is also the way that their ascent comes closer to them,
their healing and their purity.
Therefore, it is also fitting for the Catechumen that he pray at
times for repentance and forgiveness of sins from God
and the Holy Church. Because of his prior
and present sins, his deeds will be gathered together,
the earlier and the later ones, and allotted to him.

Then, after his disciples heard these words from him,
they blessed him and glorified him with great praise. They
said: You are praised, our father; (and) you are glorious. Blessed is
the hope that endures in us because of you. For great is the [wisdom]
that you bring to souls. For (to) the Elect you have revealed
the works and the commandments of the election
in which they will live. And even regarding the Catechumens,
have you not neglected them, but you have taught them in various
degrees, stages, and steps so that they might rise
from them to the Good, each one according to (his) [ability], and
attain the Land of the Living.
But now we implore you, our lord, that you proceed and
preach to us about this matter that we have asked you about and
open our eyes as to the people who become disciples (and) . . .
and enter into the Church, [either] Elect or
Catechumens. The former sins that they committed [in] the
world before they became disciples, where do they go? Since
there are some among them (who) formerly adored idols, worshipping
(and) revering the gods. Others also among them were firmly
established

in the teaching of the Sects, blaspheming God.

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232 A&C: *ετανάσισθαι* [TK A] *παρά*.
233 A&C: *ετεύχθησθε*.
They have also blasphemed other enlighteners, who are in the heavens.

Some among them also committed other sins: whether it be theft or murder or adultery or . . .

the sin of magic or error of false witness

or other . . . These are evident in the wicked works of the world

in which people first [walked]. Then, when they hear the word of God, will they put aside

(there) prior sins or will they not?

[We implore] you, then, our lord, that you open our eyes

[as to this question] which we have asked you and give rest to our hearts.

Then the Apostle spoke to them: Very great is this question

[that] you have asked me. I will reveal (the answer) to you.

[Know], therefore, that every person who accepts the hope

[and the faith] has separated the Light from the Darkness, he has perceived

[the] mysteries of the Living Soul, he has received the right hand of

Peace brought (by) the Light-Mind, who dwells in the Holy

Church, and he has prayed for forgiveness of sins from the Light-

Mind. Know, therefore, that all his prior sins

which he committed from the day he was born until

the day that he accepts the hope of God (and) has removed his heart

from all the Sects and the idols of Error, they are

all forgiven him. He will not be asked about them from now on,

nor will he receive retribution for them—if it is the case that he

remains

in his faith and [live] without committing henceforth these

prior sins, which he committed. Afterwards, he has borne . . .

. . . . they have been forgiven him, they will

not protect him henceforth from all his prior sins.

Should he return again to his prior actions

and re-offend, then they will be counted against him

along with all his sins, the former and the latter. He will receive

retribution for all of them, since God granted him repentance

and forgiveness from his folly, but

he still did not persevere in the repentance that God

granted to him. But, had he persevered in the catechumenate

(and) in his faith and left all his prior deeds

\[235\] A&C: η\[ο\]|γ\[θ\]|ξ\[ο\]|γε\[23\]|\[πε\ η\ ο\]|γ\|ο\|ν\|ο\|ς\|.

\[236\] A&C: ε\[η\]|ε\|ο\|γ\|ε\|.

\[237\] A&C: ε\[η\]|α\|ν\|\[χ\]|\[ν\]|ο\|γ\|κ\|.

\[238\] A&C: \[η\]|η\|ε\|.

\[239\] A&C: Ν\[ψ\]|λ\|τ\|.
232.26 behind him, then all his sins would be left
232.27 to him, whether he is an Elect in his election,
232.28 [or] a Catechumen in his catechumenate.
232.29 The one, then, who is a Catechumen, he will [stand firm]
232.30 in his catechumenate. The latter\textsuperscript{240} sins [which]
232.31 he commits, they will be forgiven him en masse,
232.32 because of his fasting, and [his prayer and his]

233.1 almsgiving. Hear, now, how I (will) reveal to you
233.2 the works of the faithful Catechumens. The truly
233.3 faithful Catechumen performs his Fifty Fasts,
233.4 fasting on the Fifty Lord's Days of the [year].
233.5 He also retains their purity, restraining himself [from]
233.6 the desire for his wife. He purifies his bed by
233.7 abstaining on all of these Lord's Days. He (restrains himself[?])
233.8 in his eating, and does not defile his food with the . . .
233.9 of fish or all the pollution of flesh and blood. Also, he [does not]
233.10 eat anything polluted on these Lord's Days. [He] also keeps
233.11 his hands from wounding or inflicting pain on the Living
233.12 [Soul]. Their prayers\textsuperscript{241} are observed by him; he observes
233.13 them (and) comes to prayer daily—every hour (of) every
233.14 day. All these hours of prayer will be added\textsuperscript{242}
233.15 to his fasting and his almsgiving, which he offers
233.16 every day of the year. Also every act of charity is added to
233.17 his goods: the fasting, which he performed, the clothing which he has
given
233.18 to the Saints. They share a daily communion
233.19 with them in their fasting and their good(ness).
233.20 These are counted along with the others and one half of his works
233.21 are performed for good, the other half for sin. Truly, the sins
233.22 which he commits half of the year are
233.23 divided into Five Parts. Four of them are forgiven him by
233.24 the patronage of the Holy Church through the faith
233.25 [and the] love of the Elect. On the one hand because of this, but on
233.26 the other, because he is aware of the knowledge (gnosis)—he has
separated the
233.27 [Light] from the Darkness (and) offered hymns and prayers
233.28 [to the] Enlightener from heaven. Also, the rest that he has
233.29 [taken] . . . this . . . Because of these good (deeds) that
233.30 [he performs], four parts are permitted him, four
233.31 . . . . . . sins that he has committed

\textsuperscript{240} A&C: ni\textsuperscript{2}[\textit{\textsc{ae}}\textit{eev}e]n.
\textsuperscript{241} That is, the prayers of the Lord's Day.
\textsuperscript{242} A&C: \textit{[\textit{\textsc{c}}\textit{e\textit{n}h\textit{a}}]}n\textit{[\textit{\textsc{m}o\textit{y}}] \textit{\textsc{a}} | 15[\textit{x}}\textit{n} \textit{\textsc{teq}}}. 
from the day that he became a Catechumen. As for the rest, he will be questioned about a single part and receive a thrashing\textsuperscript{243} and an immersion, and is later purified, either above or below. He is purified according to the value of his works, and he is purified, cleansed, and adorned. Afterwards, he is fashioned a Light-image and is drawn and elevated to the Land of Rest, so that, where his heart is, his treasure is there too. Until he becomes strong in his catechumenate he will receive repayment for his good (works) in this way. If, however, he should lie or turn away from the truth, then all his sins will be counted against him again, the former and the latter. The judgement [which] condemns his sins will be poured over him. But, if he should confirm himself in his faith and become strong in it, then a fate will be (assigned[?]) to him and he will come back again, be just, escape, and save his live in eternal life. At the time of his departure, he will go and rest in eternal life. When the disciples heard these words of wisdom, they glorified their teacher (and) contemplated the first Light, which makes wise through the Mind and the richness of his knowledge.

\textsuperscript{243} A&C: ω[γς|υς].
THE APOSTLE ASKS HIS DISCIPLES: WHAT DOES CLOUD MEAN?

240.16 Again, as the Apostle sat in the assembly of his disciples, the sky was cloudy that day,
240.18 (so) he raised his eyes and looked at this cloud.
240.19 (and) said to his disciples: This cloud, which appears before you, as you look at it, I will reveal to you and teach you how it ascended.
240.22 Know that it is stripped from Five Places, ascends above this Great Earth, is then revealed and is visible in the middle-air.
240.25 The cloud that ascends from the upper fire towards the image of the Virgin of Light, which she makes visible to it, its sign is the flash found in lightning-bolts . . . passing away . . . But it is purified towards [the image of the Virgin of] Light [to whom] it becomes visible.
241.1 . . . the Archons are stripped off of the lightning-bolts. They go out and separate, but these angels are sent to them immediately so that they might seize them.
241.4 Knowing that they never do good, (and that) every place that they touch they cause death and ruin, when the angels make for them and come beside them . . . they flee in their distress before them and come [to] what(ever) they meet and assume it. Like a thief, (when he) is caught (and) flees from a man stronger than him, who pursues him in order to overtake him. Now, these Archons who escape to this cloud, they bear that which they meet . . . in . . . it, which they do not . . . will seize this little bit, whether a tree [that] they found in the way or beasts or people. In short, every place that they assume, they burn and

\[24^4\] A&C: [ΠΗΕ ΝΠΙΑΡΩΝΟΣ Χ]•.
\[24^5\] A&C: [ΝΕΓ ΑΡΑ].
241.17 destroy with the fire of their bodies—that is the Archons, the
241.18 sons of fire, those who are stripped of the fire.
241.19 The cloud, however, that rises up from the
241.20 water and ascends to the Virgin of
241.21 Light, its sign(s) are this thunder and this noise which
241.22 is in the air in various forms and (which people) hear.
241.23 . . . when the Archons who belong
241.24 to those found in the cloud find time, they strip themselves
241.25 of this cloud,246 flee from it and leave it behind
241.26 [them. But, their sign]247 is this, that in every place which [they]
241.27 [destroy] they make frost and hail and snow,
241.28 and they lay waste248 to seeds and fruit and plants, and they
241.29 . . . every place [that] they destroy. Angels are also sent
241.30 [down]249 to seize them. But,

242.1 the angels,250 while pursuing them in order to seize them, cause this
242.2 destruction.
242.3 [The] cloud, however, which rises up from the wind,
242.4 comes up to the middle-air; towards the image of the
242.5 Virgin who makes it visible—its sign is
242.6 [the] dark wind that blows bitterly.
242.7 By these winds, however, and these storm, living beings
242.8 are purified in her. But, the Archons who are stripped of the wind
242.9 cloud descend from it, being secure in
242.10 their image. All these rivers and seas, which
242.11 they reach and attain, they make waves in them and
242.12 raise . . . and they . . . the ships and they
242.13 cause destruction among those who they destroy251 and they seize
242.14 . . . astray(?).
242.15 Also, the cloud that belongs to the Light, when they
242.16 are stripped of it . . .
242.17 . . . the Virgin becomes visible.
242.18 sign(?) too . . . but its sign is
242.19 this—so that you might find it as it journeys in rest and calm.
242.20 Living beings are purified in it by rest and calm,
242.21 but the Archons that are stripped from it and run (to) every place252

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246 A&C: [n̕th][l][oo]λε ἡμᾶς.
248 A&C: [nicεg] νεική.
249 A&C: [AT][p]ογιανωγ.
to which they come, they leave and take life
from them and the angels of the Virgin, its sign is this, that their living beings are purified by it in rest and peace. These Archons, however, who are stripped of this cloud, they come down from every place (in which) they are found... They cause them to the middle and draw the Light from them and throw the demons down to those Seven Pits, which beyond the Great Sea that is the passage of the waters found outside of the cosmos.

Then, his disciples said to him: Open our eyes, our Lord, to which place these Seven Pits come down to. [The Apostle] spoke to them: These pits and these roads until they reach the lower earths, and meet the feet of the Porter. Hear, also this other thing: Sometimes these angels are dispatched to them to catch the Archons. When the Archons because the angels pursue them, they approach their commands. But, these Archons free themselves and bear [the tree] and [the flesh] and swallow them in these two offspring, [that of the] tree and that of the flesh. The angels leave their...
196 translations

243.24 ... behind, so that they might guard them until the moment when
243.25 [these] Archons will be stripped of the tree and the
243.26 [flesh] and go up to the height. They also gather
243.27 ... height and they draw them out from
243.28 ... to them in their first
243.29 [forms and images],\(^{265}\) those that they first bore,

244.1 and they take the Light from those left behind.
244.2 But, they too throw them down to these Seven outer
244.3 [Paths] that are in the Great Sea, the place where
244.4 they threw these first ones. When they return to the middle
244.5 ... come and bear the Light that is in them.
244.6 Behold, then, I have opened your eyes concerning this cloud, how
244.7 it ascends to the height and (how) the living beings that are purified in

244.8 I have also taught you (about) the Archons that are in it, how
244.9 they cause these adversities and how they are seized
244.10 and thrown into the prison below by the angels
244.11 who were given the command by the power of the Virgin
244.12 of Light, she who has authority over the entire Zone to\(^{266}\) purify
244.13 the living beings that are in it. Then, after his disciples
244.14 heard [these things from him],\(^{267}\) they glorified him, saying:
244.15 You ... [(have) revealed]\(^{268}\) all the secrets, o
244.16 instructor of all revelations. We thank
244.17 you, our father, with great professions, since you have
244.18 opened our eyes concerning everything. You have given us great
244.19 [staffs]\(^{269}\) of knowledge, so that through them we might give
discrimination
244.20 to those who hear us.

\(^{265}\) A&C: ἡμόρ | \(^{291}\)φάγε Ἡν ἁνγρίκικων.
\(^{266}\) A&C: λόγων \(^{139}\)τή.
\(^{267}\) A&C: κωτ[ή α]νεί \(^{296}\)τοτήκα.
\(^{268}\) A&C: ἥτα[κ ...] ... ὁμαλή ἀλαλ.
\(^{269}\) A&C: 2π[κ] ἀσκ.
ON THE DRAGON, THE ONE WITH FOURTEEN HEADS; WHAT IS IT AND ... 

251.29 [Again] one of his disciples asked the [Apostle ...]
251.30 ... ... spreading ... ...
251.31 ... ... ...
251.32 ... ... ...

252.1 The laws of the Magi say that there is a
252.2 dragon with fourteen heads holed
252.3 up [in his] lair, in Five Hollows! Now, I implore
252.4 you, my lord, that you open my eyes concerning this statement.
252.5 Is there really a real270
252.6 dragon who has fourteen heads or is there, rather, a spiritual
252.7 explanation? Then the Apostle said to him:
252.8 There is never any dragon in the flesh, nor does it have fourteen heads,

252.9 as the Magi claim. Rather, this statement is a [parable]271
252.10 that they have proclaimed in [error?]272
252.11 ... the Magi did not know, however, the true
252.12 meaning of273 all the statements that they recorded,
252.13 [supposing them] (to be) real.274 This is also the way with this
252.14 dragon, which they ... considering it (to be) a real
252.15 dragon ... I will open our eyes
252.16 to ... ... the dragon is the teaching ...
252.17 ... ... of the flesh ...
252.18 ... the fourteen heads, however, which are attributed to
252.19 the [dragon], they are like this: the seven senses that are found
252.20 on [the] head of the body, which are the two eyes with which
252.21 it sees, the two ears with which it hears,
252.22 the two nostrils with which it smells, as well as
252.23 its tongue275 with which he selects and tastes

270 I take σωματικόν here to mean “real”, rather than “bodily” or “corporeal”, states that imply real existence. The disciple seems to want to know whether such a dragon really exists.
272 A&C: οὐχὶντ[παραπειγοντ].
275 A&C: ι[ς] [Φ] [Η] [Ι] [Τ] [Ε].
the various flavours that are found in every form.

[These are] the seven heads of the dragon, the seven senses that (are part of) the human form . . .

... below. The seven of the body are these: two hips,\footnote{A&C: \textit{tēkōte}.} two buttocks, [two . . .]

... Archon . . . . .

... . . . . . .

... [the] seven [heads that]

above and below, they add up and make [four]teen heads for the dragon. The \textit{Five Pits}, however, which they spoke about, in which the dragon is holed up (and) spread, they are these: The first is [the] tongue, the second is the lung, the third is the heart, the fourth is the spleen, and the fifth is the [blood that] flows through them. He also looks out from them [and] reveals his image and his appearance from above and below as he makes war [with]

his fourteen heads. He who recognizes the dragon, which is the desire of [the] body, struggles with it, conquers it, and kills it in them, will thus [be called]\footnote{A&C: \textit{Nē [+] [e] ὑωτή [e] ἀπὸ [q] εἰν [a] ὑωτή 14 [a] παq}.} the righteous one, holy and elect, a good man. He conquers without suffering on the day [of] his advent. Behold, then, I have taught you about the dragon, the one with fourteen heads. \textbf{Blessed is everyone in whom it is dead, killed, or damaged. He will live forever and become a person who is} victorious in all his works.
ON THE FIVE WONDERWORKS THAT THE LIGHT-MIND REVEALS IN THE ELECT

257.12 Again, the Apostle spoke: The Light-Mind
257.13 works Five Light-Wonders for the Elect. The first
257.14 sign is the Wisdom that the Elect preaches
257.15 and proclaims in all its forms, in all its kinds,
257.16 (and) in all its places. The second is Faith,
257.17 since after his preaching of Wisdom, he ... the Wisdom\[278]
257.18 preached and the others hear it and believe.
257.19 The third is [the] ... in his Wisdom
257.20 by his preaching, with which he proclaims Peace
257.21 to the assembly of his brothers ...
257.22 [The] fourth is Love, because he loves Wisdom and the
257.23 brothers and sisters who sit in his [presence.]
257.24 [The] fifth is the terrible Severity of Judgement, with which
257.25 he separates those who have not received the hope\[279] of God. Also,

257.26 in error, whom he finds in the Church, he severely judges
257.27 them rightly on account of their foolishness.
257.28 [The] Light-[Mind] places these Five Signs in the New Man,
257.29 [whom] it has purified, refined, raised up, (and)
257.30 [saved] ... Blessed is everyone
257.31 ... the Mind and is diligent in his Wisdom
257.32 ... this other thing: These Five Signs

258.1 are established and perfected in him and perfect him so that
258.2 [he might] become a spotless vessel and a priceless pearl\[280]
258.3 forever and ever.

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\[278\] A&C: \emph{e[...\]q\eta\iota\alpha...[...\]\\text{\textsuperscript{\textacuten}}\text{\textacuten}}\.

\[279\] Here “hope” is synonymous with “message” or “gospel” (see \textit{Kephalaia}, “Prologue” 7.18–8.7 and \textit{Kephalaia} 371.6–30). Possibly a reflection of Syriac \textit{\text{\textacuten}\text{\textacuten}} “gospel” from \textit{\text{\textacuten}} “hope.”

\[280\] Compare \textit{Kephalaia} Chapter 91 “On the Catechumen” (1 Ke 230.6–11).
[Again] he spoke to his disciples: The food that people gather together of every kind, so that they might eat it and (have) it enter into the body, it breaks down into

Five Products. The first product is that which comes out of the human being in amazement, raises in the Mind, and comes out of all the limbs—it is without measure. The second is that which comes out of the human being in sound and word. The third is that which leaps from them in power and diligence. The fourth is that which is produced in the pleasure of desire between male and female. The fifth is that which is made and formed in the flesh and is produced and issues from them—this is this corporeal product. This product, which they produce, only its parents know. Its affection and its reason and its love they seek daily for all time. The other four products they do not perceive, nor do they pity them, since they are not evident to them.
ON THE KIND OF SPEECH THAT . . .

260.31 Again, he spoke about the production of speech, which [comes]
260.32 from the mouth and is heard with the [ears].
260.33 He said . . . . .

261.1 . . . and the throat draws it in, the tongue
261.2 is spread, the teeth cut it, and the lips [gather]
261.3 it together. Speech comes out through the power of [these Five]
261.4 *Limbs* and is heard outside. Just as
261.5 a coin that one (person) smelts, [another]
261.6 forges, and still another cuts as it is turned, another
261.7 puts a seal on it, (while) another wipes the sieve, [so]
261.8 these *Five Craftsmen* beautify and fashion [their]
261.9 coin, and it comes into people’s use and becomes a good
261.10 by which they buy and sell—so too is this speech
261.11 fashioned and adorned by the *Five [Limbs]*,
261.12 when it comes out (and) is heard by the ears [of]
261.13 others.
ON THE FOUR QUALITIES THAT ARE FOUND IN
THE EYE AND THE FIFTH, WHICH IS HIDDEN IN THEM;
TO WHOM THEY BELONG

265.13 [Again] he spoke: There are Four Qualities found in [the eyes] 281
265.14 of human beings that see, as they look at . . . . .
265.15 [without] 282 the four that are hidden in them . . . they belong . .
265.16 While [the cold] that is in the [eye] belongs [to them, the heat?] 283
265.17 belongs to the fire. The pupil 284 however, belongs to the Light-
265.18 Mind, which perceives what is hidden in all things,
265.19 since it inhabits the Living Air.
265.20 [Again] he spoke: Why does the pupil of the eye [see],
265.21 seeing during the day, but the approaching night it [does not see]?
265.22 Which mystery does this signify?
265.23 [This (thing), 285 which] you do not know, I will explain [it]
265.24 [to you. 286 The fact that] the pupil of the eye [cannot see at night]
265.25 [signifies the] mystery of the [First Man] . . .
265.26 . . . . . is the door . . .
265.27 . . . . . below . . .
265.28 . . . the other four regions. Since in the . . .
265.29 . . . . . above, he has . . .
265.30 . . . . . great . . . they have . .
265.31 . . . . . also that which comes down 287 . . .
265.32 . . . . . the Living Spirit 288 . . .

266.1 [the] First Man has risen through him (and) has known
266.2 everything.
Then, after he had proclaimed this,  
that moment one of his disciples said  
to him from among those standing before him: Tell  
us, our Lord, and clarify to us this matter.  
If this likeness of humanity does not belong to  
God, as you spoke about, why did Jesus come into  
the world, the Son of the Living God, reveal  
himself (and) suffer tribulation and persecution, get hung  
upon the cross (and) have his enemies commit against him the  
torture and shame of their wickedness?

[The] Apostle [said] to him: Jesus did not come (and) reveal  
 himself to the world because of humanity alone, but  
rather, before he came (and) revealed (himself) on the earth,  
 [he accomplished first his] great and strong [works] outside of  
 [the great world].  But, when he finished doing his
work outside of the great world, he came ...
Indeed it was he who sent the Apostles for the Good  
to every generation, and revealed to them Five Great Things:
[First]: He told them that they belonged to the race of Light.
Second: He revealed to them about the Aeons [of Great-]  
ness], how they exist, and he taught them about [the]  
[nature] of Darkness, how it too exists.  
The Third time: He proclaimed to them about the [Heroism]
[Second]: He revealed to them about the Aeon ... [of Great-]  
ness], how they exist, and he taught them about [the]  
[nature] of Darkness, how it too exists.  
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ness], how they exist, and he taught them about [the]  
[nature] of Darkness, how it too exists.  
The Third time: He proclaimed to them about the [Heroism]

[First]: He told them that they belonged to the race of Light.
Second: He revealed to them about the Aeon ... [of Great-]  
ness], how they exist, and he taught them about [the]  
[nature] of Darkness, how it too exists.  
The Third time: He proclaimed to them about the [Heroism]
were engulfed. The Fifth: He opened our eyes (to the fact) that the rebels will be bound by a great fetter, those who rebel against the Good and against the righteousness which has been proclaimed by the Apostle.
Again, the Apostle spoke to his disciples . . .

as he was sitting among his community: There [are Five] Types (of Brotherhood) found in the Church that I have chosen. The first are the “brothers,” the second are the “children,” the third are the “disciples,” the fourth are the “day-labourers,” (and the fifth are) . . . (the “slaves”) . . . . . .

which are in it . . . .

the people of righteousness . . .

. . . . . .

after he made it ready . . . .

. . . their shadow is light in the Church . . .

. . . this way. The Light-Mind . . .

. . . which is their shepherd and separates them from . . .

. . . each one according to the hue that it . . .

. . . for they are like brothers, who do not hide themselves [from]

. . . the task which is appointed them, but rather the task which [they]

are able to do in the Church, they really do it.

[The] “children,” however, are those caring and wise people,

the craftsmen, those considerate people . . .

. . . every moment, as they preach the truth always, with

no falsehood in their mouths at all. Every single Church

in which a judgement is found, they do not . . . this

judgement, but rather they judge according to righteous

judgement. They do even more and seek God.297

But, they do not separate from him, since they are [his] “children”.

[The] “disciples,” too, they are honourable and

patient people, splendid sheep, who live in

wisdom, following their teacher in patience

. . . as they follow the foot-prints of their shepherd, who

[is a guide] for them toward (what is) good and useful.

[The “day-]labourers,” however, are those people who stand in

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297 Funk, personal communication.
339.22 righteousness according to three things: on account of the ... in order to
339.23 ... and on account of the clothing in order to acquire and wear,
339.24 and on account of bodily honour, since they are honoured
339.25 by empty praise until the time
339.26 ... When one of these three [things] will be lacking,
339.27 [they ...] and they flee and become strangers
339.28 ... ... ... their guide
339.29 ... ... ... ...

340.1 But, [the “slaves,”] they are the people who reproach
340.2 ... their spirit, which is full of vanity, as they ...
340.3 ... are heedless and cruel, not heeding
340.4 [their] shepherd. But, their sign is this: as long as ...
340.5 ... the rest, as they stand in the Church. But, when
340.6 tribulation rises against them
340.7 and persecution comes upon them, they attach themselves to
340.8 whatever comes to them immediately and carry it away by stealth and run away from
340.9 Church, without anyone knowing, (and) become strangers to it, and
340.10 go to another foreign place—while the people of this place
340.11 do not know—so that they might do the will of their
340.12 desire. Because of this, I say to you
340.13 that blessed is every one who guards himself and does not accept
340.14 the type of these two foreign races, which are the
340.15 “day-labourers” and the “slaves” who are in the
340.16 Holy Church. Rather, he (should) receive ... the type of these
340.17 other three: the “brothers,” or the “children,” or the “disciples,”
340.18 accepting their type so that he might live forever
340.19 in their (Way of) Life.
THE OLD MAN HAS FIVE FOODS TO LIVE ON;
THE NEW MAN HAS FIVE OTHERS

348.31 [Again] he spoke . . . .

349.1 there is holy food with which the Holy
349.2 Spirit feeds his children, as he . . .
349.3 . . . through them in the holy images . . .
349.4 . . . . . . .
349.5 [The] first food is the spirit, that [of the great(?)]
349.6 teacher, that of the leaders, that of the brothers, and that [of] the
349.7 sisters, which the perfect Elect see and
349.8 rejoice in.
349.9 The second food is the prayer that he (i.e., the Elect) prays
349.10 hour after hour.
349.11 The third food is the joy that he
349.12 proclaims hour after hour and rejoices in.
349.13 The fourth food is the preaching [that he preaches]
349.14 everywhere he goes.
349.15 The fifth food is a holy book that he carries
349.16 in his hand, either reading everything written inside
349.17 or listening to the one who reads it. Or, having read,
349.18 he gets others to listen
349.19 and finds the way to make them read it.
349.20 These are the Five Foods which the Elect
349.21 . . . practices and receives . . .
349.22 . . . . . . the food of life
349.23 . . . life through it forever.
349.24 Again, he spoke: Five Foods also come
349.25 [from] Matter, those on which it feeds . . .
349.26 . . . the image of the Old Man.
349.27 [The first] food is every sight of the world
349.28 the various . . . of pleasant forms
349.29 [that] he will see and rejoice at.
349.30 [The second] food is the evil discourses . . .
349.31 . . . the telling of holy myths
349.32 . . . and the lying speech (found) in
349.33 [them] . . . the statements and exaggerations . . .
349.34 . . . to proclaim, profiting them . . .
349.35 [The third food] is the beautiful work . . .
349.36 . . . . hours of . . .
349.37 [The fourth food] is the food [of the world(?)]

350.1 which people eat and from which they are sated and rest.
350.2 The [fifth] food is the sexual desire
350.3 with which people fornicate.
350.4 These [are] the *Five Foods* of Matter which
350.5 . . . sin, (and) from which the Old Man
350.6 eats and becomes strong.
350.7 Blessed is every holy Elect who keeps his
350.8 heart from these *Five Foods* and the dinners of
350.9 Matter . . . all to snare and sin
350.10 . . . and drive him to their retribution and their
350.11 torment, under which they will (have to) suffer, that is, those who eat
350.12 [them].
CHAPTER 148

ON THE FIVE BOOKS, THAT THEY BELOONG TO FIVE FATHERS

355.4  Again the Enlightener spoke to his disciples:
355.5  These great writings that I have written for you, they are
gifts given freely to you by the Fathers of
355.7  Light.
355.8  The great Living Gospel is the gift
355.9  of the Messenger
355.10  The Treasure of Life is the gift of the Column of
355.11  Glory. The Pragmataia and the Book
355.12  of Mysteries and the Writing of the Giants, these
355.13  three holy writings which form a single one,
355.14  they are the gifts of the Light-Twin.
355.15  All the Epistles, too, that I have written to you,
355.16  from time to time, they are my gifts and my
355.17  presents. This is the good fruit that I have given
355.18  [to you] from the Good Tree.
355.19  [Be thankful], you yourselves, my beloved,
355.20  [be] encouraged by these good writings,
355.21  [those] which have been freely given to you by
355.22  [the Fathers] of Light. Receive them into your
355.23  [hearts] and believe in them. Write them on you
355.24  . . . memory, for you will . . .
355.25  [through them] to eternal life.
CHAPTER 165

ENVY EXISTS IN FIVE FORMS

409.10 [Again] the Enlightener spoke to his disciples: ... 
409.11 ... ... ... ... 
409.12 ... what is envy? ...298
409.13 ... ... ... ... 
409.14 ... ... ... ... 
409.15 ... ... ... ... 
409.16 ... ... ... ... 
409.17 ... ... ... ... 
409.18 ... ... ... ... 
409.19 ... ... ... ... 
409.20 ... being wise in wisdom ... 
409.21 ... Also, the third envy is ... 
409.22 ... ... ... ... 
409.23 ... ... ... ... 
409.24 ... ... ... ... 
409.25 ... ... ... ... 
409.26 ... on account of what ... envying ... 
409.27 ... living in ... ... 
409.28 ... ... ... ... 
409.29 ... ... ... ... 
409.30 ?
409.31 ?

410.1 either [in] the name of a teacher or because of a 
410.2 disciple, either great or small ... 
410.3 Envy ... ... ... 
410.4 alms ... ... ... 
410.5 brother(?) ... ... ... 
410.6 ... ... ... ... 
410.7 ... ... ... ... 
410.8 ... ... ... ... 
410.9 ... ... ... ... 
410.10 ... ... ... ... 
410.11 ... ... ... ... 
410.12 Behold, I have clarified for you envy (and) 
410.13 its Five Forms ... ... ... 

298 Funk, personal communication.
410.14 from you . . . so that you do not [envy]
410.15 one another . . . envy . . .
410.16 one another . . . envy . . .
410.17 you . . . . .
410.18 great . . . . .
410.19 fight . . . . .
410.20 toil . . . Blessed is every one [who separates]
410.21 himself from every envy . . . . .
410.22 . . . . . .
CHAPTER 176

ON SPIRITUAL TRANSITION IN [FIVE(?)] FORMS AND THAT THROUGH WHICH THE CHURCH ADAPTS

452.31 Again the Apostle spoke to his [disciples who sat]
452.32 in his presence about the [transition . . .]

453.1 . . . done in the Church. He said [to them]:
453.2 [There are] Five Transitions, through which . . .
453.3 . . . transitions from [the] body.
453.4 [The first] transition: He passes from the body
453.5 of heaven and earth and the body of human beings. Afterwards,
453.6 he will come to this statue of humanity.
453.7 [The second] transition: He changes from the
453.8 . . . . . . .
453.9 . . . bearing the body . . .
453.10 . . . the Catechumen.
453.11 [The third] transition: He changes . . .
453.12 . . . . . . .
453.13 . . . riches and . . . .
453.14 . . . the world and his . . . .
453.15 . . . and the [just(?)] . . . . . . his righteousness
453.16 he bears the body . . . their righteousness
453.17 . . . . . . .
453.18 . . . . . . .
453.19 . . . . . . .
453.20 . . . . . . .
453.21 . . . . . . .
453.22 . . . . . . .
453.23 . . . . . . .
453.24 . . . in the place . . . from the . .
453.25 . . . . . . . to the good place . .
453.26 . . . . . . . the soul . . .
453.27 . . . . . . . in the resting place . .
453.28 . . . . The fourth transition . . . .
453.29 . . . . pass . .
453.30 . . . . the life of the human being in . .
453.31 . . . . . . .

454.1 The . . . which it . . .
454.2 . . . the entire profit that is polluted . .
every ... and earthen vessels and herbs ...
... the vessel so that he may acquire it ...
... the quarrel ...
... return ...
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... ...)
... it receives him ... 

... this Holy Church.

The third transition is this: He passes from [the Enlightener] of the Night and goes to the place of the Enlightener of the Day. He enters the Ship of the Day ... 

... holy ... of his riches ... 
... he has glorified(?) ... 
... again to the Ship of the Night. 

The fourth transition: [He] passes from the Third Messenger and the Great First Righteous One. He reaches him and rests in himself ... 

... of the teacher. The Great First Righteous One ... 
... with the spirit of his brothers and they ... 
... and he reaches this place and rejoices for them. 
[The last] transition is when he changes from ... 
... at the end time. On the day when the Father will ... 

... to the secrets of the Father, this Elect 
will also rise and all the spirits 
of his brothers elect, and will come to the Father, the God of Truth, and find rest by their Father. They remain with him for all time, which ... 
... he will purify them and send them to peace [and] 
rest, and he [will] raise them up and assign them [each] 
one in his place. They [will] dwell in the Light [and] live forever, [being] in the heart of the Father ... 
... These are the Five [Spiritual] Transitions 
through which the spiritual person passes 
from place to place. But whenever ... 
... and they reveal life in the presence [of the Aeon] ... 
... forever. Because of this, I say to you 
that blessed is every faithful Elect [who knows] 
that the commandment of this transition is great before ... because 
of it, he will become a perfect and thoughtful man, so 
that he might perfect all the commandments ... 
and [become] free of fault ... 
... the transition. Again [he spoke: (?) I implore you: (?)] my lord, that you tell me about and [open my eyes to] the commandment of transition. The ... 

... also transitions ... 
... from ... belongs to ... 
[whose mystery]? Or does the testimony of this
Then the Apostle spoke to this disciple: Rightly have you asked. I will tell you... say...

... likeness of the mystery of...
The soul also...

... it will live...

... the transition of... but...

... it will bear the earths and clothe them... tribulation. ... it will cast out in

... [Sun(?)] and Moon and bears

... spirit...

... it bears the...

... Again, it distils it and purifies the

... and it... and it transitions

... from every body of the world...

... the transition of...

... it ascends into

... holy, distilled, (and) purified. The [second transition]:

... It ascends to the Column [of Glory and enters the]

... ship of the First Man, which shines...

... The third transition: [It leaves(?)... the]

... ship of the First Man and goes...

... so that every vessel that shines is purified. [The fourth]

... transition: It exits...

... also the air of the creations and the...

... The fifth transition...

... from [the] Great First Righteous One...

... the greatness... and enters his...

... from the...

... the chambers of the world...

pottery...
458.20 . . . . . . .
458.21 . . . it leaves behind . . . .
458.22 . . . in its transition . . . .
458.23 . . . it shines and glorifies and . .
458.24 . . . Then, when . . . .
458.25 . . . it remains in him . . . .
458.26 . . . from . . . .
458.27 . . . the living . . . .
458.28 . . . the place of enmity . . . .
458.29 purified also. It goes . . . .
458.30 [our] image(?), but . . . [it leaves]
458.31 behind the upper earth and goes . . . .

459.1 . . . . . . .
459.2 . . . . . . .
459.3 . . . the Church . . . .
459.4 . . . the transition . . . .
459.5 . . . Church, and they . .
459.6 . . . and they . . . .
459.7 . . . and they are saved . . . .
459.8 . . . . . . .
459.9
459.10
459.11
459.12
459.13
459.14
459.15 Middle part of page is not preserved
459.16
459.17
459.18
459.19
459.20
459.21
459.22 . . . . holy . .
459.23 . . . . fasting . .
459.24 . . . . which are above . .
459.25 . . . . the holy assembly . .
459.26 . . . . in the height . .
459.27 . . . . he, too, . .
459.28 . . . . small and they . .
459.29 . . . . also . .
459.30 . . . . . . .
459.31 . . . . . . .

460.1 . . . . . . .
460.2 . . . . . . .
CHAPTER 176

460.3  ...  ...  ...  ...
460.4  ...  ...  ...  ...
460.5  ...  ...  ...  ...
[ON THE FIVE TEMPTATIONS]

484.20 [Again] ... ... ...
484.21 ... ... ...
484.22 ... ... ...
484.23 ... ... ...
484.24 ... ... ...
484.25 ... ... ...
484.26 ... ... ...
484.27 ... ... ...

485.1 ... and he resists the temptation ...
485.2 ... and his heart does [not] sink ...
485.3 ... the desire for something to eat and something to drink ...
485.4 ... resisting the temptation and he becomes
485.5 ... the purification of his food ...
485.6 ... perfect and true.
485.7 [The] second temptation is when ...
485.8 ... ... ...
485.9 ... has established ... ...
485.10 ... ... ...
485.11 ... ... ...
485.12 ... this one, however, ... the temptation of the ...
485.13 ... and he ... the truth.
485.14 [The third] temptation is when ...
485.15 ... and suffers from it ...
485.16 ... ... ...
485.17 ... ... ...
485.18 ... and leaves his ... ...
485.19 ... ... ...
485.20 ... ... ...
485.21 ... ... by which he is tested ...
485.22 ... ... ...
485.23 ... The fourth temptation is the desire for women
485.24 ... ... ...
485.25 ... ... desire for possessions
485.26 ... ... wants to let it fall
485.27 ... ... this perfect Elect has not
485.28 ... ... and he does not defeat and does not move
485.29 ... [but he resists] it.
485.30 [The fifth is this:] When a persecution
[happens] in . . . beyond the persecutor . . .

the Sects, those who stand in . . .

tribulation. Or again as they . . .
as they strike him with whips . . .

and they come to crucify him and he does not turn . . .

from his truth and he bears every thing . . .

wrath, bond, (and) crucifixion. In these *Five*

Temptations . . . . of the Elect

he receives the . . . of . . . When [he]
increases in faith and becomes righteous . . .

his knowledge . . . temptation . . .

and he returns immediately and reveals

the truth and . . . gives . . .

. . . . . . .
CHAPTER 191

THERE ARE FIVE PROPERTIES IN THE IMAGE OF OUR APOSTLE SYMBOLIZING THE FIVE LIGHT FATHERS

487.9 [Again] he spoke to his disciples: There are Five Properties ...
487.10 in the Image ... in the Five ...
487.11 ... The first is the humble aspect ...
487.12 ... it is with this property that I have acquired my Church ...
487.13 ... and bear the temptation of [good(?) and]
487.14 just [souls(?)] ... ...
487.15 ... humble ...
487.16 ... ...
487.17 ... ...
487.18 ... apostle, the twelve ...
487.19 ... ...
487.20 ... the First Man ...
487.21 ... chosen ...
487.22 ... The third property ...
487.23 ... ...
487.24 ... the First Man ...
487.25 ... he and ...
487.26 ... ...
487.27 ... ...
487.28 ... I have ...
487.29 ... Image

488.1 ... the beauty revealed to you in the Image ...
488.2 ... he reveals ...
488.3 ... in a beautiful image he has saved (?) ...
488.4 ... through the beauty of his image.
488.5 [The] fifth property is my light-wisdom ...
488.6 ... from the Living Fire which ...
488.7 ... weed(?), but, while I receive the property of ...
488.8 ... [laying on of hands(?)].299 Since in his wisdom and his ...
488.9 ... in all the worlds, he has revealed
488.10 ... ...
488.11 ... ...
488.12 [wears] their flesh. It is his own will that he has done [in]

299 Funk, Kephalaia (I): Zweite Hälfte, 488 [432], note line 8.
488.13 all [the] worlds, in his wisdom, (and) in his love.
488.14 [This is also that way that] I have chosen my Church . . .
488.15 . . . . . .
488.16 . . . . . .
488.17 . . . . the soul of the . . .
488.18 . . . . he received . . .
488.19 . . . . . .
488.20 . . . . . .
488.21 . . . . which I have come to love . . .
488.22 . . . . . .
488.23 . . . . . .
488.24 . . . Father . . . .
488.25 . . . . . .
488.26 . . . . . .
488.27 . . . again, b dongs to . . . .
488.28 . . . I have left it, I have chosen . . .
488.29 . . . . . .
488.30 . . . . . .

489.1 . . . wicked evil . . .
489.2 [the] wicked desire of evil . . .
489.3 . . . in this Image of . . .
489.4 daily, namely, those who have seen me . . .
489.5 depict the images, it depicts in their hearts . . .
489.6 their inner image perfected in my Image . . .
489.7 . . . likeness and vision of silence.
489.8 . . . [The] fifth: Through my light-wisdom I have separated . . .
489.9 good from evil, Light from Darkness. I have separated Error from . . .
489.10 . . . their god. I have given victory to them through my . . .
489.11 . . . victory. All the Sects . . .
489.12 . . . in the . . . their body . . .
489.13 . . . the Land of Light, from which they have come . . .
489.14 . . . rest forever.
The Evil One has [Five Properties];
The Good One has [Five Other Properties]

Again he spoke to his [disciples: The Evil One has]
Five Properties, [which are . . .]
slander(?) murder, [greed, mixing of Light]
and Darkness. This is . . .
about which I have taught you . . .

[He who] acts on them and lives by them . . .
. . . the truth and the kingdom of God . . .
torture and punishment forever.
[The Good One] also [has] Five Good Qualities,
which are fasting, pity, [almsgiving],
faith, and separation of Light [and Darkness].
He who acts on these Five Good Qualities . . .
. . . [he] will not taste [death] . . .
. . . but, he will share in life . . .
. . . well, and inherit the [kingdom of]
[God].

Funk, Kephalaia (I): Zweite Hälfte, 490 [436].
Translated from Theodore bar Khonai’s Syriac Liber scholiorum (ed. Addai Scher; CSCO 69; Louvain: Imprimerie orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1954, pp. 313–318), this excerpt, in spite of its relatively late date, is perhaps the most important secondary witness to how Mani likely conceived of his own cosmogonic myth, especially in terms of Syriac terminology.1

313.10 On his abominable teaching: It is, however, necessary that we set down a little of the fictitious blasphemy of Mani the wicked in this book in order to shame the Manichaeans. For he says that before there was heaven and earth and all that is in them, there were two natures—one good and the other evil. The good nature dwelt in the Realm of Light, and he calls him “Father of Greatness.” He also says that his Five Shekinahs dwelt beside him:2

313.11 Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, and Consideration.4

313.12 The evil nature he calls King5 of Darkness and he says

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1 In the following notes comparative references will be made to the following English, French, and German translations: Yohannan (from Williams Jackson, Researches in Manichaeism, 121–154); Schubert (from Haardt, Gnosis, 289–295); Reeves (from Jewish Lore, 185–206); Reitenztein and Schaeder (from Studien, 342–353); Pognon (from Inscriptions mandaites, 184–193).


4 While the terms for the Five Shekinahs are notoriously difficult to translate, Burkitt suggested that they should be rendered as follows: sense (as in sanity or sound mind), reason (as in reasoning faculty), thought (or mind), imagination, and intention (as in will) (Religion of the Manichees, 33). Pognon translated: l’intelligence, la science, la pensée, la réflexion, et le sentiment; Yohannan: intelligence, knowledge, reason, thought, and deliberation; Reitzenstein and Schaeder: Bewusstsein, Vernunft, Denken, Vorstellung, and Gesinnung; and Reeves: mind, knowledge, intellect, thought, and reflection.

5 Scher’s text actually has יוחנן: “angel” of Darkness, while other manuscripts read יוחנן: “King,” which is supported by other sources such as the Acta Archelai 12.4 and Kēphalaia Chapter 6 (see Reeves, Jewish Lore, 201 n. 18). As Reeves points out, the epithet “Angel of Darkness” can be found in 1QS 3:20–22 (Reeves, Jewish Lore, 201 n. 18).
that he dwelt in his Dark Land with his Five Worlds,\(^6\)
the World of Smoke, the World of Fire, the World of Wind, the World of Water,
and the World of Darkness. And he says that when the King of Darkness sought
to ascend to the Realm of Light, these Five Shekinahs stirred
and he says that the Father of Greatness then
thought and said: “From the worlds of these Five Shekinahs
I will not send from them to do battle because for tranquility and peace
they were created by me. Rather, I myself will go and do
battle.” And he says that the Father of Greatness called the Mother
of Life, and the Mother of Life called the First Man,\(^7\) and the First
Man called his Five Sons, like a man who puts on armour
for battle. And he says that an angel went forth against him, whose
name
was Nhshbt,\(^8\) holding in his hand a crown of victory. And he says
that he spread out light before him, i.e.,\(^9\) First Man. When
the King of Darkness saw it, he thought and said: “That
which I desired in the distance, I have found nearby.” Then
First Man gave himself and his Five Sons
as food for the Five Sons of Darkness, like a man
who has an enemy mixes deadly poison into a cake\(^10\) and gives it
to him. And he says that when they ate them, their reason
was taken from the Five Shining Gods\(^11\) and they became like
a man bitten by a rabid dog or snake (because of) the venom

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\(^{6}\) Pognon: cinq mondes (Inscriptions mandaiites, 184); Yohannan: “five worlds” (Researches in Manichaeism, 224); Reitzenstein and Schaeder: fünf Äonen (342); Schubert: “five Aeons”; and Reeves: “five Aeons.” The translation of as “world” is, however, supported by Coptic sources, especially Kephalaia Chapter 6, which uses the Graeco-Coptic word kosmos for the five regions of darkness. The fact that matter is so closely associated with the dark realm cannot really justify the use of a term such as “aeon,” which in such systems is usually reserved for entities of the higher realm.

\(^{7}\) Yohannan: “Primal Man”; Schubert: “Primary Man” and “Primal Man”; Reeves: “Primary Man.”

\(^{8}\) Both Yohannan and Reeves leave the name unvocalized, while Schubert translates “Nachashbat.” This name is not found in any other sources, although the abjuration formulae attest the term στερεωθεσία “crown-bearer” (Reeves, 201 n. 24).

\(^{9}\) The in this construction seems to be a “pronom annonciateur” (Costaz, 507). Yohannan and Pognon attribute the spreading out of light to First Man, while Reitzenstein and Schaeder, Hespel and Draguet, and Reeves attribute the action to the angel.

\(^{10}\) Schubert: “in a kitchen.”

\(^{11}\) According to Payne-Smith ἄρμα means “guardian” (115a), while ἄρμα is not listed with a . Why is this? Could there also be some sort of confusion or play on words with ἄρμα “armour” (115a), since in other sources the five sons are known as First Man’s “armour”?
of the Sons of Darkness. And he says that when the First Man regained
his reason and prayed to the Father of Greatness seven times
and he called the Second Calling—the Beloved of Lights, and the
Beloved of Lights called the Great Builder, and the Great Builder called the
Living Spirit, and the Living Spirit called his Five Sons: the Ornament of
Splendour from his Mind, the Great King of Honour from his Thought,
the Adamos of Light from his Insight, the King of Glory from
his Counsel, and the Porter from his Consideration. They came
to the Land of Darkness and found First Man
swallowed by the Darkness along with his Five Sons. Then the Living
Spirit called out with his voice and the voice of the Living Spirit
became like a sharp sword and it revealed the form of the First Man,
and he said: "Greetings to you, O good one in the house of evil,
O shining one in the house of darkness, O god who dwells in the house of
wrathful beasts who do not know their honour." Then First Man answered

14 Payne-Smith states that πνεῦμα is normally feminine “except when used of the Holy Spirit” (533b), which reflects a theologically motivated interpretation of grammar. The Manichaean Living Spirit, rooted in early Syriac images of spirit, would have originally been conceived as feminine, since she is essentially an elaboration of Mother of Life, the second member of the first divine triad. The fact that the neuter word πνεῦμα was used in Greek created a gender ambiguity and an eventual shift in Coptic, in which it is considered a masculine noun.
15 Theodore reports that the Living Spirit called forth “his sons” Ματθαί. It is not inconceivable that an eight-century author such as Theodore, accustomed to the theologically masculine interpretation of “spirit” would have naturally used the masculine suffix when referring to the sons. It cannot be assumed that this wording is taken verbatim from Mani.
19 Yohannan: “the righteous one”; Schubert: “o Good Man”; Reeves: “O Excellent One.”
20 Yohannan: “the luminous one”; Schubert: “Creature of Light”; Reeves: “O Divine One.”
21 The manuscripts read εχθήματα, “their glory,” which was amended by Lidzbarski to ἐχθρασία “his honour” (followed by Schaedler and Reeves), presumably referring to the Father. This reading, however, is also problematic since this is a vocative address to the First Man. Thus, it could conceivable be amended to ἐχθρασία “your glory.” The original manuscript reading may simply imply that the beasts are without honour.
and said: “Come, you who bear the merchandise of peace.”

And he said: “How fare our fathers, the sons of Light in their city?” And the Call said to him: “They are faring well!” And (Living Spirit) and Call and Response joined with one another and they ascended to the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit. And Living Spirit put on the Call and the Mother of Life put on the Response, her beloved son, and they descended to the Land of Darkness to where First Man and his sons (were). Then the Living Spirit ordered three of his sons, that one should kill and another skin the Archons, the Sons of Darkness, and deliver (them) to the Mother of Life. The Mother of Life stretched out the sky from their skins and made Eleven Heavens. And they threw down their corpses to the Land of Darkness and made Eight Earths. And the Five Sons of the Living Spirit each completed his task. The Ornament of Splendour is the one who holds the Five Shining Gods by their waists and below their waists the heavens were spread out. Also, the Porter is the one who bends down on one of his knees and carries the earths. And after the heavens and the earths were made the Great King of Glory sat among the heavens and kept watch over everything. Then, the Living Spirit revealed his forms to the Sons of Darkness and from the light which had been swallowed by them from these Five Shining Gods he filtered the light and built the Sun and the Moon. And (with) light that was left over from

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22 There appears to have been some confusion by the copyist here (?)
23 Yohannan: “the Appellant and the Respondent”; Schubert: “the Call and the Answer”; Reeves: “the Caller and the Respondent.”
24 Yohannan: “her”; Schubert: “its”; Reeves: “her.”
25 is interpreted by Yohannan, Schubert, and Reeves to mean “three of his sons” since it is clear that Living Spirit has five sons.
26 Other sources indicated that “ten heavens” should be read instead.
27 This perhaps indicates the same gender ambiguity as with the Third Messenger who reveals male and female aspects.
28 Yohannan: “and the light (of the Stars) more than a thousand”; Schubert: “and over a thousand stars.”
315.22 (the making of) the vessels she\textsuperscript{29} made the wheels,\textsuperscript{30} wind and water and fire. He
descended and forged them beneath the Porter. The King of Glory called
and raised above them a bed\((?)\) so that they might ascend over those
Archons who are subdued by the earths that they might serve the \textbf{Five}
\textit{Shining Gods} without being burned by the venom of the Archons.
And he says that the Mother of Life, First Man, and the Living Spirit
rose in prayer and asked of the Father of Greatness
and the Father of Greatness heard them and called the Third
Evocation—
the Messenger. And the Messenger called Twelve Virgins,\textsuperscript{31}
with their garments, their crowns, and their attributes: the first is
majesty, the second wisdom, the third victory,
the fourth persuasion, the fifth chastity, the sixth truth,
the seventh faith, the eighth patience, the ninth
uprightness, the tenth grace, the eleventh justice,
\textit{(and) the twelfth light}. And when the Messenger came to those
vessels, he commanded three servants to make the vessels move.
The Great Builder he commanded to build a New Earth and Three
Vessels\textsuperscript{32} to ascend. And when the ships went and reached the middle
of heaven, then the Messenger revealed his images, male and female,
and was manifested to all the Archons, the Sons of Darkness, male
and female. At the appearance of the Messenger, who was beautiful in
his forms,
all the Archons were inflamed with lust, the males
for the image of the female, and the females for the image of the male.
They began to expel through their lust the light which they had
swallowed from
the \textbf{Five Shining Gods}. Then the sin which was in them
conspired and like a hair in dough it mixed itself
with the \{light\}\textsuperscript{33} which came out of the Archons and it sought
to enter in. Then, the Messenger concealed his image and separated

\textsuperscript{29} This feminine verb form supports the idea that the Living Spirit was conceived as a feminine being by early Manichaeans.

\textsuperscript{30} Yohannan and Reeves translate “wheels”; Schaeder \textit{Sphären}; Pognon \textit{vases}.

\textsuperscript{31} According to Reeves, the Twelve Virgins are identified with the twelve signs of the \textit{Zodiac} (\textit{Jewish Lore}, 204 n. 46), yet this needs to be reconciled with the depiction of the \textit{Zodiac} found in the \textit{Kephalaia} (see Chapter 3 above).

\textsuperscript{32} Both Yohannan and Reeves have translated “wheels” for \textit{fina} \textit{medi} \textit{init} “wheels” (see Payne-Smith, 3a).

\textsuperscript{33} All manuscripts read \textit{fina} “moon,” which has been corrected to “light” \textit{fina} \textit{fina} by most commentators (Yohannan, 245; Reeves, 204 n. 48).
the light of the *Five Shining Gods* and the sin which (was) in them.

316.23 It (i.e., sin) then fell onto the Archons from whom it had fallen, but they did not accept it, like a person who recoils from his vomit. It (i.e., sin) then fell down to the earth, half on the moist (part) and half on the dry, and it became a hateful animal in the image of the King of Darkness. The Adamos of Light was sent against her, made war with her and defeated her. He turned her on her back, struck her heart with a spear, 34

317.1 and threw his shield on her mouth. He set one of his feet on her thigh and another on her chest. That (part) which fell on dry land sprouted itself into *Five Trees*. He says that these Daughters of Darkness were pregnant from before by their natures and because of the beauty of the Messenger’s form which they saw, they miscarried their foetuses 35 and they fell to the earth. They ate the seeds of the trees. The abortions counselled with one another and remembered the form of the Messenger which they had seen and said: “Where is the form that we saw?”

317.9 Then, Ashqalun, the son of the King of Darkness, said to the abortions: “Give me your sons and your daughters and I will make you a form like the one you saw.” They brought (them) and gave (them) to him. He ate the males and gave the females to Namrael, 36 his companion. Namrael and Ashqalun then united with one another and she conceived and gave birth to a son, and named him Adam. She conceived (again) and gave birth to a daughter, and named her Eve. He says that Jesus the Splendour came to Adam, the innocent, and awoke him from the sleep

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34 Manuscript reads ρυθάγος “aorta,” corrected to ρυμ μεδιν “spear” by Cumont (See Scher 316 n. 8).

35 Could there be a play on words here between κόρα “foetus” and κορά “iniquity” (Payne-Smith, 405a)?

36 There are a number of variants for the name of Ashqalun’s consort (See Scher, 317 n. 4, Yohanan, 249 n. 118, Reeves, 204 n. 53), although Namrael has been adopted as standard.
of death, so that he might be delivered from many (evil) spirit(s).\footnote{Just what this phrase means remains unclear. According to Yohannan, \textit{CSCO} 229 entails a reference to the “two Archons” mentioned by al-Nadîm (\textit{Researches}, 250), while Reeves suggests it refers to Ashaqlun (\textit{Jewish Lore}, 205 n. 56). See Pognon, \textit{Inscriptions mandaïtes}, 192 n. 2. At any rate, it seems clear that Adam is being liberated from negative forces.} Just as a righteous person finds someone possessed by a mighty demon and calms him with his skill, thus also was Adam when the Beloved found him lying in a deep sleep. He awoke him and held him and shook him and expelled from him the deceptive demon and bound from him the great Archonic power. Then Adam examined himself and recognized who he was. He (i.e., Jesus) revealed to him the Fathers on high and how his soul was wholly thrown into leopard’s teeth and elephant’s teeth, swallowed by swallowers and gulped by gulpers, eaten by dogs, mixed and imprisoned in all that was, and bound in the stench of Darkness. He says that he (i.e., Jesus) raised him and made him taste the Tree of Life. Then, Adam cried out and wept and raised his voice loudly, like a lion that roars and tears. He threw (himself down) and beat (his chest) and said: \textit{“Woe, woe to the one who formed my body and to the one who bound my soul and to the tyrants who have enslaved me.”}
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