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MANICHAEAN STUDIES

Pentadic
Redaction in the
Manichaean
Kephalaia



TIMOTHY PETTIPIECE

BRILL

Pentadic Redaction in the Manichaean *Kephalaia*

Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies

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Pentadic Redaction
in the Manichaean *Kephalaia*

by

Timothy Pettipiece



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August 2008, Gatineau, QC

NB: An earlier version of “Chapter 2: Faces of the Father” has been published in *Vigiliae Christianae* 61 (2007): 470–477, while an earlier version of portions of “Chapter 2: Cosmic Parallelism” appeared as “Rhetorica manichaica: A Rhetorical Analysis of *Kephalaia* Chapter 38, ‘On the Light-Mind, the Apostles, and the Saints’” in *Coptica-Gnostica-Manichaica: Mélanges offerts à Wolf-Peter Funk* (Québec: Les Presses de l’Université Laval / Louvain: Éditions Peeters, 2006), 731–741.

ABBREVIATIONS

Medinet Madi Codices

- 1 Ke *Kephalaia* vol. 1: “*Kephalaia of the Teacher*” (Polotsky/Böhlig/Funk)
2 Ke *Kephalaia* vol. 2: “*Kephalaia of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani*” (unpublished;
for overview see Funk, “Reconstruction”)
1 Ps *Psalm-Book* part 1 (unpublished)
2 Ps *Psalm-Book* part 2 (Allberry/Richter/Wurst)
Hom *Homilies* (Polotsky)
Ep *Epistles* (unpublished)
Acts *Acts* (unpublished)
Syn *Synaxeis* (unpublished)
A&C Funk, *Kephalaia I: Addenda & Corrigenda* (unpublished)

PART I

PENTADIC REDACTION IN
THE MANICHAEAN *KEPHALAI*

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 Qur'ān 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 Qur'ān, 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 *Manichaeans*.

The Manichaean Love of Numbers

The followers of the 3rd-century CE Babylonian prophet known as “Mani the Living” (from the Syriac epithet *Mani 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, Ashaqlūn and Namrael, 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-Nadīm 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

¹ Ries, *Les études manichéennes*, 67–118.

² Schmidt and Polotsky, “Ein Mani-Fund,” 6.

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 unexplored³ 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,⁴ its form and function have remained generally misunderstood. Since these initial publica-

³ While Michel Tardieu pointed out the importance of five as a basic classification tool in Manichaeism (*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:

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 discourses⁵ and teachings,⁶ or as a systematic⁷ (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*⁸ 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")⁹ may present itself as a record of Manichaean oral tradition based on Mani's discourses

1929–1989," 19–62. Much of the Berlin *Kephalaia* codex was published by Polotsky and Böhlig (1940 and 1966), while the remainder is being published by Funk (1999, 2000, and forthcoming). For a recent account of the characteristics, content, and reconstruction of the *Kephalaia* codices, see Funk, "The Reconstruction of the Manichaean *Kephalaia*," 143–159. The Dublin *Kephalaia* codex is included in Giversen's 1987 facsimile edition, although it is not (to my knowledge) currently being edited.

⁵ See Schmidt, *Ein Mani-Fund*, 23. Also, Lieu, for instance, talks about *Kephalaia* chapters as "extant discourses of Mani" (*Manichaeism in the Roman Empire*, 177). While the enthusiasm of scholars for finding the authentic voice of Mani in such a text is understandable, somewhat more unsettling is the way in which the *Kephalaia*, as a primary source for Manichaeism, is sometimes simply pillaged by scholars for proof-texts in support of particular readings and hypotheses, with little or no attention paid to the chapter context from which such references are taken.

⁶ Widengren spoke about "Mani's teaching, as set down in the *Kephalaia*" (*Mani and Manichaeism*, 69), while Ort characterized the *Kephalaia* as "a summary of Mani's doctrines based on his own writings" (*Mani*, 23).

⁷ Even Tardieu, in spite of the incredible balance and control of his *Que sais-je* volume, seems to indulge in a slight excess of rhetoric when he characterizes the *Kephalaia* as "une véritable *summa theologica* du manichéisme" based on Mani's *logia* (*Le manichéisme*, 66–67). Similarly, Koenen characterized the *Kephalaia* as a "dogmatic textbook" ("How Dualistic is Mani's Dualism?", 3).

⁸ In its existing form, it does not appear to be structured with the same degree of deliberation as other systematic theological treatises from the period, such as Origen's *De principiis*.

⁹ This would seem to be the best way to translate the title (Funk, *personal communication*), although common usage prevents us from going that far. Nevertheless, I cannot help wonder whether the intended title is *Kephalaia of the Teacher* or simply just *The Teacher* (or in the case of volume two—*The Wisdom of My Lord Mani*), although evidence from both the Coptic *Homilies* (18.6) and the *Acta Archelai* 62 would seem to support the traditional interpretation of the page headings. As for the identification of individual chapters in this study, I have opted for *chapter* instead of *kephalaion*, a technical term which, though correct, has no real benefit and tends to obscure the unique character of each textual unit.

to his inner circle,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.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,”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 (1Ke 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.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*

¹⁰ Funk, “Reconstruction,” 151.

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.

¹² Funk, “Reconstruction,” 152.

¹³ Ivanka, “ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΑ,” 285–291.

a *solitary person* (3.13). During the late-antique period, such literature became particularly popular among monks and ascetics,¹⁴ 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 *Kephalaia* 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 *Kephalaia* bears a somewhat closer resemblance, and which speaks more to its compositional origins, is the *erotapokrisis*, 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.¹⁵ In general, the *erotapokrisis* takes as its most basic form a three-part structure consisting of 1) preface/prologue, 2) questions and answers, and 3) postscript/colophon.¹⁶ According to this basic set of criteria, the *Kephalaia* could be classified as part of the *erotapokritic* genre, especially if its primary aim was the explanation of ambiguities found within canonical Manichaean tradition.¹⁷

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 *Kephalaia* 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 Elchasaïtes 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

¹⁴ Ivanka, 286–287.

¹⁵ Zamagni, “Une introduction,” 7–24.

¹⁶ Zamagni, “Une introduction,” 24.

¹⁷ The order of the questions does not necessarily need to reflect the progression of the text being commented on (Bussièrès, “Conclusions,” 185).

of Persia, but considered by Mani to be two of his key prophetic forerunners. We also find references to rival religious groups such as “Baptists” (i.e., Mandaean), 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.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ These early Manichaeans, it seems, were caught between two “reactionary states,”²⁰ 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

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.

¹⁹ Brown, “Diffusion,” 93.

²⁰ Brown, “Diffusion,” 97.

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.²¹ Next, we might suppose that some of this material was organized and composed into "proto-*Kephalaia*," 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,²² 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 *Kephalaia* material into large volumes, such as those found at Medinet Madi,²³

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 *Kephalaia* 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 *Kephalaia*, 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 Manichaeans following 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 *Kephalaia* 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 *Kephalaia*, 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.²⁵ 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. Laffan).²⁶

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.”²⁷ In this way, we can see that canonical works such as the *Book of Mysteries* and the *Epistles*,²⁸ 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 *Shabuhrgan* (presumably composed mid-3rd century CE),²⁹ 2) pas-

²⁵ Tardieu provides one of the most concise accounts of canonical writings in *Le manichéisme*, 43–61. See also the (somewhat idiosyncratic) selection of fragments in Gardner and Lieu’s *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 151–175.

²⁶ Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 155.

²⁷ Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 165. A number of epistles found in this list are attributed to early disciples.

²⁸ Somewhat clearer, however, is the apparent near absence of doctrinal content from the Medinet Madi and Kellis codices of Mani’s *Epistles* (Funk and Gardner, *forthcoming*).

²⁹ MacKenzie, “Mani’s *Šabuhrgan*,” 83–141. See also those fragments (M 98/99 and

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)³⁰ 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-Nadīm'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 *shekinahs*" (ܩܘܘܿܘܿܬܐ) (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 *zivanē*" (ܩܘܿܘܿܬܐ)—the "shining gods"—(Ephraim, 235 [Reeves]; Theodore bar Khonai,

7980–7984) attributed to *Shabuhraḡan* by Hutter (*Manis kosmogonische Šābuhraḡān-Ṭexte*; trans. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, 225).

³⁰ Henning, "The Book of Giants," 52–74 [115–137].

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* ܠܐ is a convincing indicator that some verbatim citations are preserved. In the majority of cases, however, statements are introduced by "as they say" (ܕܩܘܿܘܿܬܐ ܕܩܘܿܘܿܬܐ) 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 scholiorum*, 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-Nadīm's account has been recognized since Flügel's 1862 study, De Blois has recently pointed out that significant portions of al-Nadīm's account, especially on cosmogony, are likely derived from al-Warrāq, 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-Nadīm, 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” (**ΝΕΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ**) of 1) Living Air, 2) Light, 3) Wind, 4) Water, 5) Fire (see 1Kc 43.2 etc.).³⁵ Also known as the Five “Sons of First Man” (*Shabuhrgan*, Ephraim, 235 [Reeves], Theodore bar Khonai, 314.1 (not enumerated) [Scher]), “gods” (al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 779 [Dodge] *Shabuhrgan*, 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 *Shabuhrgan* (M 7980–7984 [Boyce y, 74])³⁶ 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]). *Shabuhrgan* 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

³⁵ See the same choice of vocabulary in the Iranian translation of Mani’s *Book of Giants* (see Henning, “Book of Giants,” 58).

³⁶ Al-Nadīm appears to make a distinction between the Five Limbs of the “Realm (Earth) of Light,” which equal the Five Elements, and the Five Limbs of the “Sky of Light” (see *Fihrist*, 786 [Dodge]). There does not seem to have been an absolutely clear demarcation between the Limbs and the Elements, since in several instances (see below the question of the identity of the “Intellectuals”) they bleed into one another.

wisdom ... / ... he will act as in your sharp Considerations ...”³⁷ They are also mentioned by al-Nadīm (*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 (*zīhr*), 2) Power (*zōr*), 3) Light (*rōšn*), 4) Fragrance (*xwāš*), 5) Beauty (*agrāy*) (*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 313.19–20 [Scher], al-Nadīm), also known as the “Five Ditches” (*panz kandār*) (*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” (*mān panz*) of the Light Chariot, the “Five Angels” (*prēstag panz*) who collect souls, the “Five Arches” (*tāg panz*) built by the Living Spirit over earth (M 98/99 [Boyce y, 60–62]), as well as the “Five Constellations” (*panzān axtarān*): Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, and Leo (*Shabuhragan* M 7980–7984 [Boyce y, 66]), and the five components of human body created by demon Āz: 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 Šābuhragān-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-Nadīm's accounts and, as such, must have formed part of the way in which Mani (at least sometimes) expressed his ideas.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰

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.⁴¹ 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,

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 *zivanē* 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 Kōnī and the Manichaeans," 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 *Kephalaia* 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 *Kephalaia* also presents a number of more generalized pentadic series relating to a variety of soteriological, ethical, ecclesiological, polemical, and aetiological 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 *Kephalaia*, 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.

CHAPTER ONE

BASIC ONTOLOGICAL PATTERNING

The Two Trees and the Five Limbs

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)¹ 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 6:43–44,² 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” (ΝΑΟΓΜΑ), 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” (ΒΝΝΕ), in spite of its pleasant appearance, is said to be quite useless (1 Ke 17.32 ff.). 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).

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.⁴ 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),⁵ 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

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 *Kephalaia* 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 *Kephalaia* 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.⁶ 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 *Kephalaia*’s theology in terms of “Two Trees and Five Limbs.”

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* (ܫܟܝܢܗ), although their apparent characterization as his “*Storehouses*” (ΝΤΑΜΙΟΝ) (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*” (†Ϟ ϩΝΝΑϞ ΝΖΑΛΜΕ ΝΤΕ ΠϞΑΜΕ) (1 Ke 64.26–27) surround the Father, and, in what appears to be an extension of the basic tree metaphor, “*Five Great Trees(?)*” (†ΟΥ ϩΝΝΑϞ ΝΩΗΜ) (1 Ke 64.28). What follows is an enumeration of five characteristics of

¹ The Greek term *tamieion*, however, is usually reserved in the *Kephalaia* for the regions of darkness (see *Kephalaia* Chapter 6). See also 2Ps. 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 *Shabuhrgan* 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” (τετραπρόσωπος) is known from Greek abjuration formulae (Seven Chapters 3.59, Long Formula 1461C.14)⁷ and the Manichaean *Psalm-Book* (ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΗΤΟΥΖΟ) (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*).^{9,10} Frequently, however, the abjuration formulae

³ See Foerster, *Gnosis*, 150.

⁴ M 7983 = Boyce y 52 [75]; Hutter, *Manis kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte*, 130–134.

⁵ There is some confusion about the last two elements. See “Manichäische Studien,” 263 f. (= *Collected Papers*, 664 f.)

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 Manichaeism,” 11–12, although I am sceptical, however, that the “four bright seals” of love, faith, fear, and wisdom from the Turkish confessional text *Xuāstuānīfī* represent the same

are the only sources cited for the presence of this concept in Western Manichaean tradition.¹¹ 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.¹² In this case, however, the hymnist seeks to glorify the 1) power, 2) glory, 3) light, 4) word, and 5) majesty of the Father.¹³

According to Williams Jackson, Mani viewed this four-fold nature of divinity as a “cardinal tenet”¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ Similar statements were made by Widengren¹⁶ and Asmussen who characterized the notion of the “four-fold God” as “the essence and synopsis of the whole Manichaean system.”¹⁷ 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 *zrw*n (ܐܫܘܩܪܐ ܡܫܘܩܪܐ ܙܘܩܪܐ ܙܪܘܢܐ) which appear to be Syriac transcriptions of Iranian terms.¹⁸ These were interpreted by Zaehner to represent Zurvanite ideas of cosmic conception, birth, decline, and rebirth.¹⁹ 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 doit être cherchée dans le mazdéisme zervaniste, répandu en Mésopotamie,”²⁰ 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

series associated with the Father. For a more recent discussion of the Iranian origins of this series, see Van Tongerloo, “The Father of Greatness,” 336–339.

¹¹ See Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, 19 n. 1; Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, 191 n. 12; Richter, *Die Herakleides-Psalmen*, 67 n. 36b.

¹² “An Early Byzantine Formula for the Renunciation of Manichaeism,” in *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East*, 273.

¹³ See Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 195–196.

¹⁴ “Fourfold Aspect,” 16.

¹⁵ “Fourfold Aspect,” 13.

¹⁶ *Mani and Manichaeism*, 46.

¹⁷ *Xuāstūānīfī: Studies in Manichaeism*, 220.

¹⁸ See Williams Jackson, “Fourfold Aspect,” 15 n. 17.

¹⁹ *Zurvan: A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, 224.

²⁰ Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme*, I., 8 n. 2.

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,²¹ 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” Mazdaeism may have been a response to Zurvanite speculations.²² Williams Jackson admitted, however, that he could really find only one equivalency between the Manichaean and Zurvanite tetrads,²³ and besides, Zaehner identified the Zurvanite tetrad as *time, space, wisdom, and power*,²⁴ which differs markedly from Manichaean attestations. Zaehner also suggested that Zurvanite theology in general was based on an elaborate series of tetrads.²⁵ 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 Manichaeism were a result of *Umstilisierung* rather than deliberate borrowing or influence.²⁶ 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.²⁷ 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 Zurwān was.”²⁸

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).

²² See Duchesne-Guillemin, “L’Église sassanide et le mazdéisme,” 10.

²³ “Fourfold Aspect,” 15 n. 17.

²⁴ *Zurvan*, 219.

²⁵ *Zurvan*, 229–230.

²⁶ “Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems,” 47.

²⁷ “Iranian Elements in Manichaeism: A Comparative Approach,” 271.

²⁸ “Iranian Elements,” 272.

As such, *Kephalaia* 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 *Kephalaia* compilers rejecting a canonical formulation in favour of one that was seen as more compatible with their systematization efforts.²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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 *Kephalaia*.

The Many Sons of Man

The series of beings known to the *Kephalaia* primarily as the “Five Sons of First Man” (†ΟΥ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΩΑΡΠ ΝΡΩΜΕ) is somewhat problematic due, in part, to the variety of alias under which it was known. Also known as the Five “Elements” (†ΟΥ ΝΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ) (1 Ke 43.2), these “Five Sons” (ܣܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ) are characterized by Theodore bar Khonai as the “Five Shining Gods” (ܣܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ),³¹ and though not

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

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

³¹ They are also called “Sons of Light” (ܣܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ) (*Hypatius*, 81.43 [Reeves, “Manichaean Citations,” 234]) and “Shining Sons” (ܣܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ) 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” (†ΟΥ ΝΡΗΜΗΡΙΕ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΡΩ[Η]Ε) (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 ηριε—“shining forth.” While it is certainly possible that Manichaean translators misunderstood such a key technical term (see Franzmann, “Syriac-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 sources³² as representing 1) Living Air (ΠΑΗΡ ΕΤΑΝΖ), 2) Wind (ΠΤΗΥ), 3) Light (ΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ), 4) Water (ΠΜΑΥ), and 5) Fire (ΤΣΕΤΕ). As the essence of soul and the antithesis of matter,³³ 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” (ΜΠΕΔ[ΦΗ]ΡΕ ΝΧΩΡΕ) (2 Ps. 10.7) produces “a Virgin equipped with Five Powers” (ΝΤΕΔ[ΠΑ]ΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΕΣΤΗΩ ΑΖΡΗΙ ΑΪΕ ΝΘΑΜ) (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.³⁴ Perhaps this was simply a result of conventions of language regularly employed

described as entities which reflect their origin by emanating their essence—in other words, they *shine*.

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 (ⲓⲚⲓⲠ) (*Hypatius*, 31.11 [Reeves, “Manichaean Citations,” 260–261]), light (Ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁ), wind (Ⲡⲱⲟⲓ), water (Ⲡⲱⲩ), and fire (Ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁ) (*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!*)” (ἀνεμος, φῶς, ὕδωρ, πῦρ, ὕλη) (Beeson), although “matter” (ὕλη) is usually amended by scholars to “air” (ἀήρ) (See *Acta Archelai* [Vermes/Lieu], 47 n. 40; see also 2 Ps. 137.36).

³³ Polotsky, “Manichäismus,” 115.

³⁴ Theodore bar Khonai even records a Syriac pun on the words for “shining” (Ⲡⲱⲩ) and “armour” (Ⲡⲱ) (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” (ܠܝܘܢܝܢ ܕܠܘܚܐ) and “sons of Darkness” (ܠܝܘܢܝܢ ܕܠܘܠܐ) formed part of early Manichaean discourse.

The terminological situation becomes more complex in the *Kephalaia*, since the compilers made use of a number of other co-referential metaphors for the “Five Sons of First Man,” namely the “Five Garments” (ܩܘܢܝܢܘܬܐ) 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” (ܩܘܢܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ) from *Chapter 38* “On the Light-Mind, the Apostles, and the Saints” (1 Ke 95.16), and the “Five Shining Men” (ܩܘܢܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܩܘܢܝܢܘܬܐ) (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” (ܩܘܢܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܩܘܢܝܢܘܬܐ) 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” (ܩܘܢܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܩܘܢܝܢܘܬܐ). While Iain Gardner, in his *Kephalaia* “Indices” justifiably lists the Five Limbs under the Five Intellectuals,³⁸ both the *Kephalaia* 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* (ܒܪ), 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—*z̄wānā* (ܠܘܢܝܢ), “brilliant, or shining”—Burkitt offered the unlikely suggestion that this is actually an adaptation of the Middle-Iranian term *z̄wēyn’g*, 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 54* “On the Quality of the Garments” (1 Ke 131.20).

³⁸ The Limbs are after all “intellectual” properties. See Gardner, *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 297.

³⁹ *Names of Manichaean Mythological Figures*, 63–64.

“Elements of Light” (1 Ke 20.1–3).⁴⁰ 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”⁴¹ 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” (ܝܘܨܘܦܝܢ, 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/its liberation.⁴² 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.⁴³ 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 *Kephalaia*

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 *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 Kē 24.25).

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

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 Kē 25.25–30).

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

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” (ΝC[ΜΑΜΕ]) (1 Kē 43.8) or “persons” (ΜΠΡΟΣ[ΩΠΟΝ]) (1 Kē 43.9) through which the world was established.

<i>5 Elements/Sons*</i>	<i>5 Sons of Living Spirit*</i>
+ 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):

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

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).

<i>3 Days & 2 Deaths</i>	<i>Events</i>
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.⁴⁴ 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),⁴⁵ it seems to have taken root in the early Academy and influenced Aristotle and post-Aristotelian philosophy well into Late Antiquity.⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹ Drijvers has also emphasized the difference between the two.⁵⁰ 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 Manichees*, 78–79.

⁵⁰ "Mani und Bardaisan," 469.

ments: fire, wind, water, light, and darkness.⁵¹ But, as Drijvers points out, Bardaisan's cosmological ideas only came under attack in the wake of Manichaeism.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.

Cosmic Parallelism

Two chapters in particular demonstrate the *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,"⁵³ the "Five Limbs,"⁵⁴ and the "Five Virtues," to communicate their message.

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

⁵² *Bardaisan*, 96.

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" (ܘܫܘܒܘܬܐ ܕܠܘܚܐ), "Great Builder" (ܘܫܘܒܘܬܐ ܕܘܫܘܒܘܬܐ), and the "Living Spirit" (ܘܫܘܒܘܬܐ ܕܠܘܚܐ). 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" (ܘܫܘܒܘܬܐ ܕܠܘܚܐ), "Great King of Honour" (ܘܫܘܒܘܬܐ ܕܠܘܚܐ), "Adamos (*sic* = Adamas) of Light" (ܘܫܘܒܘܬܐ ܕܠܘܚܐ), "King of Glory" (ܘܫܘܒܘܬܐ ܕܠܘܚܐ), and "Porter" (ܘܫܘܒܘܬܐ). 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.

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" (ϮΟΥ ΠΜΕΛΟΣ). 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

been the subject of perennial debate within Manichaean studies. The Syriac version of the series ܠܘܨܝܘܬܐ ܠܚܘܒܝܘܬܐ ܠܘܨܝܘܬܐ ܠܘܨܝܘܬܐ ܠܘܨܝܘܬܐ (Theodore bar Khonai 313.17 [Scher]) is equivalent to the Greek terms νοῦς, ἔννοια, φρόνησις, ἐνθύμησις, λογισμός, which were then rendered into Latin as *mens, sensus, prudentia, intellectus, cogitatio* (*Acta Archelai*, 10 [Beeson, 15.11/25]). In Coptic the series is **ΝΟΥΣ, ΜΕΓΕ, ΟΒΩ, ΟΑΙΝΕ, ΜΑΚΜΕΚ**. Originally, these are what Theodore identifies as the Five *shekinahs* (ܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܠܘܨܝܘܬܐ) (Theodore bar Khonai 313.16 [Scher]). In Syriac, the word ܠܘܨܝܘܬܐ represents the “dwelling-place” or “presence” of divinity, as in a temple or shrine (Payne-Smith, 576b). In Theodore’s account, the ethereal *shekinahs* of the Father are contrasted with the more concrete “worlds” (ܥܘܠܘܬܐ) of the King of Darkness. Why the *shekinahs* were understood as “Limbs” (**ΜΗΕΛΟC**) by the compilers remains a bit of a puzzle, since when associated with the Father of Greatness they would be more properly understood as “aeons” (**ΝΑΙΩΝ**). This is, in fact, precisely how they are characterized in the Coptic version of Mani’s *Living Gospel* (Funk, *personal communication*). This rendering, however, does not seem to have greatly influenced the *Kephalaia* tradition, which opted for the occasional use of **ΝΤΑΜΙΟΝ** and the more regular use of **ΜΗΕΛΟC**. It does seem, however, that al-Nadīm provides evidence that even in Syriac tradition they may have already been characterized as “Limbs” (*Fihrist*, 768 [Dodge]).

body. Moreover, if this is indeed the case why does Sin⁵⁵ (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 analogy⁵⁶ in five parts. The first part of the analogy suggests that the cosmos (metaphorically understood as “Error” [ΠΑΛΗΗ]) is constructed like a human body (1 Ke 90.20–22). Its external aspects are described in descending order from head to feet (1 Ke 90.22–33), while its internal aspects are described from interior to exterior, from heart to skin (1 Ke 91.1–5), followed by several characteristics made unclear by lacunae in the text (1 Ke 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” (ΤΟΥ ΝΕΟΥΡΙΤ ΝΑΤΗΚΑΤΕ) (1 Ke 91.19) and are related to the Five Limbs (Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, Consideration) (1 Ke 91.14–33). To these two groups of five is added a sixth element in the form of a pair: “call and response” (ΤΩΖΜΕ / ΣΩΤΗΜΕ) (1 Ke 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 (1 Ke 92.5–6), while part four recounts how the dark powers have rebelled in the watch districts of each of the Five Sons (1 Ke 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.

⁵⁵ In Manichaean discourse “Sin” is often a quasi-personified concept.

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.

Sin bound LIMBS in the body, but LIGHT-MIND frees them, and creates the NEW MAN.

- | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| i) MIND in bone, | i) MIND from bone, | i) MIND is love |
| ii) THOUGHT in sinew, | ii) THOUGHT from sinew, | ii) THOUGHT is faith |
| iii) INSIGHT in vein, | iii) INSIGHT from vein, | iii) INSIGHT is perfection |
| iv) COUNSEL in flesh, | iv) COUNSEL from flesh, | iv) COUNSEL is patience |
| v) CONSIDERATION in skin. | v) CONSIDERATION from skin. | v) CONSIDERATION is wisdom |

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:⁵⁷

As long as the Limbs of Sin⁵⁸ 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,⁵⁹ 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 Περί τῆς γέννης τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, "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 (1 Ke 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 (1 Ke 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” (1 Ke 169.29–30), with each component of the cosmos compared to a part of the body (1 Ke 170.2–16). Here too, as in *Chapter 38*, the Five Sons of the Living Spirit are described as “Watchers” (ΜΜΑΝΡΑΙΣ) (1 Ke 171.28) of five regions of the cosmos (1 Ke 170.21–171.15), called “encampments” (ΜΠΑΡΑΜΠΟΛΗ) (1 Ke 170.21) or “watch-towers” (ΝΟΥΡΨΕ) (1 Ke 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 (1 Ke 171.28–172.4).

Also, as in *Chapter 38*, “tribulation” (Θλιψις) (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).

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

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).

<i>5 Fathers</i>	<i>1st Emanation</i>	<i>2nd Emanation</i>	<i>3rd Emanation</i>
1st Father of Greatness	Great Spirit/Mother	Beloved of Lights	Third Messenger ⁶¹
2nd Third Messenger	Column of Glory	Jesus the Splendour	Virgin of Light
3rd Jesus the Splendour	Light-Mind	Great Judge	Youth
4th Light-Mind	Apostle of Light	Twin	Light-Form
5th Light-Form	Victory-Angel	Garment-Angel	Crown-Angel

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, judgement, 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,⁶² 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.⁶³ 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-

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.

fies the three principal ways in which the Light-Mind, a main hypostasis of Jesus the Splendour, aids humanity. Finally, *stage five* enumerates the three gifts gained by the individual once he or she has received the Light-Form.

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*:

<i>Chapter 7: 5 Fathers</i>	<i>Chapter 20: 5 Fathers</i>
Father of Greatness	Father of Greatness
Third Messenger	Third Messenger
Jesus the Splendour	Jesus the Splendour
Light-Mind	<i>Column of Glory</i>
<i>Light-Form</i>	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.

<i>Five Fathers</i>	<i>from Five Limbs</i>
Messenger	< Mind
Beloved of Lights	< Thought
Mother of Life	< Insight
Jesus the Beloved (<i>sic</i>)	< Counsel
Virgin of Light	< Consideration

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.⁶⁴ 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*

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.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.⁶⁶ The fact that only six books are mentioned as four gifts may be due to scribal error,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 ...]

⁶⁵ That the Manichaean canon contained seven writings is known from 1 Ke 5.21–33, 2 Ps. 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).

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).

⁶⁷ See Funk 1 Ke 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:

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

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

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 (ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲗ), 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” (**ΤΕ ΜΗΝΤΝΑΟ**).⁷⁰ 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” (**ΤΕΦΟΥΣΙΑ ΟΥΑΕΤΙ**) (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” (**ΝΟΑΜ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΟΥΑΙΝΕ ΕΤΑΥΟΥΩΝΗ [ΑΒΑΛ ΜΜΑΦ]**) (1 Ke 49.26–28). Finally, the “Fifth Greatness” is constituted by Jesus the Splendour and (with similar ambiguity) “all his powers” (**[Ν]ΕΦΟΑΜ ΤΗΡΟΥ**) (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:

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

As is well known to Manichaean scholars, the third emanation is the most problematic formulation to disentangle.⁷¹ 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:

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).

Theodore bar Khonai	<i>Kephalaia</i> Ch. 7	<i>Kephalaia</i> Ch. 16.
Messenger	Third Messenger	Third Messenger
12 Virgins	Column of Glory/Perfect Man	Column of Glory
Jesus the Splendour	Jesus the Splendour	“powers of light”
	Virgin of Light	

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.

CHAPTER THREE

THEOLOGICAL PATTERNING II: DARK-REALM

As we have seen, the *Kephalaia* compilers present a number of five-part patterns associated with the light-realm in order to emphasize the pentadic 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, Manichaeans 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 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, / 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 Kc 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 Kc 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?]

¹ The discourse alternates between enumerating “part” (ταίε) and “time” (σαν) 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.

<i>Chapter 6</i>	<i>Chapter 15</i>
5 Storehouses	Desire/Death
5 Elements	5 Elements
5 Trees	[5 Trees?]
5 Species of Trees	5 Fruits
5 Worlds, 5 Kings, 5 Spirits,	5 Worlds, 5 Fruits, 5 Flesh,
5 Bodies, 5 Tastes	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” (ΕΝΘΥΜΗΣΙΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΜΟΥ) (1 Ke 47.34). From this principle, which is essentially a synonym for “Matter” (ΖΥΛΗ) (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 (*hylē*) (𐭪𐭣𐭥) displayed purposive thought” (𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥) [Reeves #3]), 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-Nadīm (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.

	1) 5 Forms	2) 5 (forms)	3) Other	4) Also ...	5) Signs
King of Smoke	head lion-faced	Darkness	hard body	insect like	gold body
	hands & feet demon-faced	Stench	kills w/ magic	thunder voice	salty taste
	shoulders eagle-faced	Ugliness	dark languages	short-sighted	rules powers
	belly dragon- faced	Bitterness			
	tail fish-faced	Fire			

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” (ΠΡΡΟ ΜΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΜΠΚΑΠΝΟΣ [I Ke 30.25]), “Archon of Smoke” (ΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΜΠΚΑ[ΠΝΟΣ] [I Ke 31.12]), “King (of those) of Darkness” (ΠΡΡΟ ΝΗΑΠΚΕΚΕ [I Ke 30.33; 31.2, 27–28; 32.1, 14; 33.2, 5]) or simply “King of Darkness” (ΠΡΡΟ ΜΠΚΕΚΕ [I 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: Manichaeae

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 fished-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).

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 Manichaeae, due to what he called “la gaucherie” of the prior (114). Yet, the Manichaeae passage is no less (if not more) “gauche” in the way in which the compiler incorporated this outside material. Rather, the Manichaeae 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.

Mandaean

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.

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

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,³ while on the other hand, the descriptions preserved by al-Nadīm 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.⁴ After all, it seems difficult to privilege al-Nadīm'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-Nadīm (*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 ܐܠܡܐ (*ʿalam*) which can mean either “world” or “age.”⁵ 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

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” (ταμειᾶ) known to the *Kephalaia* and Simplicius (35.65–66 [Adam]). Cumont’s suggestion that the Latin term *saecula* was selected via the Greek αἰῶνες⁶ 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 **ΝΑΙΩΝ**.⁷ 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*⁸ 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).⁹

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.”¹⁰ 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

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.

⁹ Feldmann, *Die ‘Epistula Fundamenti’*, fragment 6a. For translation see Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 169–170.

¹⁰ Kugener and Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme II*, 125.

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-worshipping 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-worshippers
- 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:

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

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-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 777 [Dodge]),¹¹ in the *Kephalaia* 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 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” (1 Ke 26.33; 48.19; 121.20; 123.3; 177.18; 266.14) and “Five Storehouses” (1 Ke 28.8; 30.13; 30.17; 155.19). The explicit idea of Five Kings or Archons is known almost exclusively from *Chapter 6*,¹² where they are also called the “Five Spirits” (1 Ke 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*,¹³ 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” (1 Ke 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” (1 Ke 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 “kings of the world” as well as the “Sects who worship fire” (1 Ke 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” (1 Ke 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” (1 Ke 33.31), a reference to Christians, Elchasaites, or perhaps

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 Twin¹⁴ / and the Archer¹⁵ belong to the World of Smoke, which / is the Mind. Also, the Ram¹⁶ and the Lion¹⁷ belong to the / World of Fire. The Bull,¹⁸ the Water-bearer,¹⁹ and the Scales,²⁰ / belong to the World of Wind. The Crab²¹ and the Virgin²² / and the Fish²³ belong to the World of Water. The Goat-horn²⁴ / and the Scorpion²⁵ 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 (**ANABIBAZON**)—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

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.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.²⁸ Moreover, in Zoroastrian tradition, the nodes came to represent a “Dark Sun” and “Dark Moon” that acted as agents of Ahriman.²⁹ Yet according to Beck, this reference to the *anabibazontes* in the *Kephalaia* likely represents the “earliest unambiguous attested instance of the demonization of the lunar nodes.”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,³¹ thereby requiring substitutes in the form of the *anabibazontes*. The substitution, however, remains somewhat awkward, given the fact that, while the compiler of *Chapter 69* is determined to associate *five* of the planets with the Five Worlds of Darkness, ancient astronomy recognized *seven*. Without this substitution of the Sun and Moon by the nodes Manichaeans would have appeared to violate ancient astronomical *koinē*, thereby discrediting any claims to astronomical orthodoxy, especially in Mesopotamia where rival religious groups such as Zoroastrians and Mandaeans appears to have been steeped in astrological speculations.³² Yet even in spite of Manichaean efforts to talk about astronomical concepts, observers such as Alexander of Lycopolis and, later, Augustine remained unconvinced.³³ That

²⁷ “Anabibazontes,” 193–194.

²⁸ Beck, “Anabibazontes,” 194. Seventh century CE Syriac author Severus Sebokht explained that this dragon is known as the *athalia* (ܐܬܠܝܐ) (Nau, “La cosmographie,” 253–254), a term attested in both the Manichaean *Psalm-Book* (2 Ps. 196.8: ܐܬܠܝܐ) and Syriac Manichaean fragments (Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees*, 114: ܐܬܠܝܐ). According to his description of Indian astronomy, al-Biruni states that “the dragon’s head” is counted among the unlucky stars by the Hindus (*India*, 212 [Sachau]).

²⁹ Beck, “Anabibazontes,” 195. See *Bundahišn*, 49.12 (MacKenzie, “Zoroastrian Astrology,” 8).

³⁰ “Anabibazontes,” 195–196.

³¹ Mani attributed his recognition of the true nature of the Sun and Moon to Jesus in a fragment preserved by al-Biruni (*India*, 284 [Sachau]).

³² Mandaeans, for instance, spoke about the “seven and the twelve” as malevolent powers (Widengren, *Mani*, 69).

³³ Alexander joked that Manichaeans should have “occasionally visited the astronomers” (*Contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, 22), while Augustine could not reconcile his private study of astronomy with Manichaean teachings (cited by Lieu, *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.

Manichaeans were “amateurs” in astrology³⁴ does in fact appear to be the case when we do a close reading of *Kephalaia Chapter 69*, which contains significant compositional or editorial flaws.³⁵ Similarly, the following chapter, *Chapter 70 “On the Body, that it was made to resemble the Cosmos,”* contains two conflicting melothesiac³⁶ descriptions of the Zodiac:

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

This chapter, which as Gardner has suggested was likely drawn from “a number of separate sources,”³⁷ 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.³⁸ 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-

³⁴ Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire*, 179.

³⁵ Such as the attribution of *three* signs to two of the five worlds.

³⁶ A similar concept relating the parts of the body to the Zodiac is described by al-Biruni in his chapter on Indian astronomy (*India*, 218 [Sachau]). Nagel compared these arrangements to melothesiac lists from the *Apocryphon of John*, although these are not put in relation to the Zodiac (“Anatomie des Menschen,” 91). According to Nagel, such formulations are a reflection of the tendency (or “mania” for that matter) of Manichaean discourse for typology, analogy, harmony, and symmetry (“Anatomie des Menschen,” 91).

³⁷ Gardner, *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 179.

³⁸ Stegemann, “Zu Kapitel 69,” 217–218, followed by Widengren, *Mani*, 70–71.

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),³⁹ 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,⁴⁰ Judaeo-Christian,⁴¹ Gnostic,⁴² mainstream Christian,⁴³ and even Mithraic⁴⁴ circles, and the planets themselves were sometimes associated by Hellenistic astrologers with particular religious groups.⁴⁵

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)*⁴⁶ *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

³⁹ Khosroyev, "Zu einer astronomischen Realie," 349.

⁴⁰ A number of ancient synagogues contained mosaic representations of the Zodiac. See Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*; Hachlili, "The Zodiac in Ancient Jewish Art," 61–77; Ness, "Astrology and Judaism," 126–133.

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).

⁴² Welburn, "The Identity of the Archons," 241–254.

⁴³ See Zeno of Verona, *Tractatus de duodecim signis ad neophytos* (CCSL 22), 105–106; Hübner, "Das Horoskop der Christen," 120–137.

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.

Five / Places and these *Five Dwellings* are found in the sphere and / the heavens. These regions have *Five Powers* ruling over / them (1 Ke 145.7–16).

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 *Kephalaia* 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" (ΤΟΥ ΝΩΗΡ ΝΡΕΓΤΟΥΝΟΥΣ) (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" ([ΤΟΥ] ΜΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ)¹ waged by the "Sons of Light" (ΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΟΥΛΙΝΕ) (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

¹ ΤΟΥ 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 16b*² as a series of five “advents” (ΝΟΙΝΕΙ), 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” (Τῆς Νόινρβαλ) or “Liberations” (Νοϊντογω). 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” (τοῦ ἡμεῖνε νογαῖνε) (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 Judgment enables the Elect to purify the community of error. In this way, the “Five Light

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 *kephalaia* 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, *Kephalaia 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*).³ 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” (ΜΜΕΤΑΒΑCIC) 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” (ΤΟΥ ΜΜΟΝΗ) (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.

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.

Ethical Patterning

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):

<i>Discourse A (1)</i>	<i>Discourse A (2)</i>	<i>Discourse B (1)</i>	<i>Discourse B (2)</i>
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 Manichaeism,⁴ 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.⁵ 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

⁴ See Sims-Williams, “The Manichaean Commandments,” 577–578.

⁵ Sims-Williams, “Manichaean Commandments,” 578.

foods, and 5) sexual desire (1 Ke 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 (1 Ke 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 (1 Ke 485.23), and the fifth, apostasy during persecution (1 Ke 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 (1 Ke 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 (1 Ke 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 (1 Ke 338.25–27). “Brothers” are the “people of righteousness” (ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΑ[ΙΚΑΙΟΥΣΥΝΗ]) (1 Ke 338.29) guided by the Light-Mind, while the “children” are “considerate people” (ΝΡΗΜΜΑΚΜΕΚ) (1 Ke 339.9) who always follow the ways of truth. “Disciples” are described as “splen-

did sheep” (ΝΕΣΑΥ ΜΠΡΙΕ) (1 Ke 339.17), who follow their teacher in patience, while “day-labourers” (ΝΧΑΪΒΕΚΕ) are those whose commitment to the Church is not total (1 Ke 339.21–29). Finally, “slaves” (ΝΘΑΟΥΟΝΕ) 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” (ΜΠΙΓΕΝΟC CNEY ΝΦΜΜΟ) (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 ecclesiological 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 Happinesses, 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

⁶ This represents a kind of stylistic division sometimes employed in the *Kephalaia* 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 metaphoric revilement of “day-labourers” and “slaves” as “foreign races” that would be worthy of exploration.

⁹ Interestingly, both chapters make use of the word ΜΗΤΠΑΡΑΠΕΖΟΥΤ. 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” (†ΟΥ ΝΦΑΙΨΑ) (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.*)¹⁰ senses of the head and the seven senses of the body (1 Ke 252.19–253.2). The “Five Pits” (†ΟΥ ΝΒΗΒ) 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 aetiological¹¹ 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 65* 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

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 actiological 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 *Kephalaia* 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, prophetic, or eschatological ideas (as in *Shabuhrgan*, *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 *Shabuhrgan*) were, in fact, the only ones he composed during his lifetime.

source[s] used by Theodore bar Khonai and al-Nadīm), 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 *Kephalaia*. This means that, at some point in the (largely obscure) literary history of the work, the compilers of the *Kephalaia* 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 *Kephalaia* 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 *Kephalaia* 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.²

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

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*).³ 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 *Kephalaia* 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 *Kephalaia* 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

³ “Anababizontes,” 193.

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.⁴ Even Polotsky talked about the essential unity of Manichaean traditions from North Africa to China.⁵ These conventional assumptions about Manichaean discourse can be summarized as follows:

- 1) that Mani established a complete theological system in *all* of its details,⁶
- 2) that this system was transmitted essentially *unchanged* from one socio-historical context to another,⁷ and
- 3) that this system can be reconstructed from the diverse, but essentially *uniform*, sources into which it was recorded.⁸

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.⁹

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.¹⁰ 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,¹¹ 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).

¹⁰ BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body*, 6–7.

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.

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 *Kephalaia* 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 Sisin (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).¹⁴ Some Manichaeans, fleeing this persecution, took refuge at the court of King Amaro (‘Amr ibn ‘Adi) at Hira,¹⁵ to the southwest of Seleucia-Ctesiphon.¹⁶ Eventually, Amaro was even able to convince King Narses to halt the persecution of the Manichaeans, although this was done, in part, strategically, 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 agitated for the king to strike at the Manichaeans.¹⁷

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)¹⁸ condemned by Diocletian for purportedly propagating the “damnable customs and perverse laws of the Persians.”¹⁹ 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 flourished in places such as the Nile Valley, where the Coptic *Kephalaia* were likely produced, Palestine, where a teacher such as Julia could flourish,²⁰ and Italy, where Augustine, on the recommendation of some rather well connected Manichaean “saints,” was appointed Chair of Rhetoric in Milan.²¹ This relative religious peace was short-lived, since with the accession of Theodosius anti-heretical measures were reinforced (380 CE). Ultimately, by the time of Justinian, Manichaeans were outlawed and the Elect threatened with death.²²

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

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.

¹⁸ Brown, “Diffusion,” 92–103.

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’Antioche,” 187–209.

²¹ *Confessions*, 18.

²² Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, 111.

Great War,”²³ echoes can also be heard in the *Kephalaia*, which may in fact draw on traditions pre-dating the *Homilies*.²⁴ 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”²⁵ 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” fled 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

²³ See Pedersen’s idiosyncratic, yet thorough, study: *Studies in The Sermon on the Great War*. According to Pedersen, this homiletic text 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 Manichaean 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 Manichaeans, 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 *Kephalaia*

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-cosmos³² 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

serve as a valuable tool in the memorization of a discourse (Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 124).

³¹ See *T. Kell. Copt. 1* in Gardner, *Kellis Literary Texts*, 2.

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 τοῦτο κόσμος καλεῖται πρὸς τὸν μέγαν 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 Manichaean 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.

CHAPTER 2

THE SECOND, ON THE PARABLE OF THE TREE

- 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[spel, 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
17.17 trees, counting them as good trees along with the rest of the good
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*.

² See Luke 6:43,44 and Mt 7-17-20.

³ **ΝΑΟΓΜΑ**: the generic term used in Graeco-Coptic Manichaean texts for any number of rival religious groups.

⁴ A&C: **ἸΝΝΕΤΑΝΙΤ [ΕΥΣΑ]** |¹⁸ **[Χ]Π**. 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 [Ζ]ΝΤΗΝ** |²² **ΤΝΑΘ**.

- 17.26 by his own mouth
 17.27 evil. The Sects
 17.28
 17.29
 17.30 This (fact), however, that they [interpret] the two trees, considering
 them
- 17.31 ... to the trees ... in a single interpretation ...
 17.32 For
 17.33 ... tree, which grew on this mixed earth
 17.34 ... date-palm. For ...
 17.35 ... established them, that the date-palm is not completely useful
- 18.1 ... their child, while it wounds
 18.2 ... first a(?) in them
 18.3 ... they [become sweet(?)] to the end ... It was
 18.4 in its fibres and its branches and dies.⁶
 18.5 There is an evil smoke among them
 18.6 date-palm ... before the tree which
 18.7 evil. For it will pass judgement
 18.8 or those who
 18.9 ... [date-palm(?) is] the one which they name
 18.10 the kind ...
 18.11 name it “tree” ...
 18.12 sweet
 18.13 in ...
 18.14
 18.15
 18.16
 18.17 writing ...
 18.18
 18.19 ... it ... they establish ...
 18.20 human being
 18.21 ... which ... it is sweet ...
 18.22 ... seed of ... and it is useful
 18.23 for their food
 18.24
 18.25
 18.26
 18.27
 18.28 ... from the tree ... which ...⁷
 18.29
 18.30
 18.31 ... will interpret

⁶ A&C: ἡξιμοῦ.

⁷ A&C: π[.] ... ἀβλ[λ] ἡπρω[η][ν] . ετ[.] ... [... ..]

- 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 Man¹⁵
- 20.1 ... these [*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 *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

¹⁵ A&C: π[σ]τγλος [ἴπελαγ π]ρωμ[ε] ετ[χηκ].

- 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 Fleashes* who go ...
- 21.17 ... the fruits
- 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]
- 22.1
- 22.2
- 22.3
- 22.4
- 22.5
- 22.6
- 22.7
- 22.8
- 22.9
- 22.10

- 22.11 the great
 22.12 and they fall
 22.13 the Darkness
 22.14 all and they take away ...
 22.15 ... engulfed into the lump and are bound ...
 22.16 the fruit of Darkness, which they ...
 22.17 for eternity.
 22.18 ... his face ... every mishap.¹⁶ The
 22.19 [un]fortunate ones [who] will arrive there, they do not have the
 chance of
 22.20 repentance.
 22.21 ... this is the interpretation of the evil tree which I have
 22.22 ... [interpreted] ... for you ...
 22.23 good fruit
 22.24 its fruits are evil
 22.25 it in its days of being
 22.26 ... it. Therefore
 22.27 and my beloved
 22.28 them in truth, as it is changed
 22.29 they
 22.30 ... who is left in his Good Land
 22.31 ... life and light, since Death and Darkness do not [exist] ...
 22.32 ... But, the evil tree is Matter
 22.33 ... it gave itself form in
 22.34 ... that existed in his Evil Land
 22.35 ... Darkness and Death. Blessed is everyone
- 23.1 [who recognizes(?)] these two trees and separates them from one
 another,
 23.2 and knows that they did not come to be from one another, (that) they
 23.3 did not come from one another, and (that) they did not come out of
 one. The
 23.4 person who separates them will enter into the Aeon of Light.
 23.5 [as I have] revealed them to you, and he will see ...
 23.6 the bad fruit did not originate from
 23.7 it ... The one who will not separate it ...
 23.8 from one another, he will fall to the land ...
 23.9 until he attains ...
 23.10 The
 23.11 Blessed is he who believes and ...
 23.12 Darkness, he who grows ...
 23.13 forever and ever.

¹⁶ A&C: ΖΝ ΒΑΝΦΑΙ ΝΗΜ.

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 Aeons,
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 “Aeons” ...
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: ΟΥΝΑ[σ].

¹⁸ A&C: [ΑΝΑΚ ΔΕ] [Τ][ΝΑ]ΤΣΕΒΟΤΗΝΕ.

¹⁹ A&C: ΕΜΑÇ.

²⁰ A&C: Α[. . .] [Ζ][Α]Ν [ΚΕÇΟ]ΦΙΑ.

²¹ A&C: [ΤΩΑΡΠ̄ ΝΕΥΔΑΙΜΟ]ΝΙΑ.

- 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]
- 24.17 [Waters] Happiness ...
- 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 Happinesses*, the *Five Wisdoms*, 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.

CHAPTER 4

ON THE FOUR GREAT DAYS,
WHICH HAVE COME FROM ONE ANOTHER;
ALONG WITH THE FOUR NIGHTS

- 25.11 Again the Enlightener spoke: There are Four Great Days which have
25.12 [from one another, they] have been called forth [from] one another. come
25.13 [Great Day] is the Father, the God of Truth, the first ... The First
25.14 among the Aeons of his Greatness in his Living
25.15 [Kingdom]. The twelve hours of this Great Day
25.16 [are] the Twelve Great, Rich Gods of [Great]ness,
25.17 [those] who are the first Calls which he called (into being) according to
- 25.18 his Greatness. He distributed them among the Four Regions,
25.19 three to each side.
25.20 The Second Day is the Third Messenger, who
25.21 dwells in the Ship of Light. Its twelve hours are
25.22 the Twelve Virgins who he summoned in his Greatness.
25.23 [The] Third [Day] is the Column of Glory, [the great]
25.24 [Porter, who is greater than] all [the Porters], who supports ...
25.25 all these ... those above and those below. Its twelve hours are
25.26 the *Five Sons of the First Man*, the *Five Sons of the Living*
25.27 *Spirit*, those who support all burdens of the
25.28 cosmos, along with the Call and Response, which are counted among their ten
- 25.29 brothers. These are the twelve light-hours of the Third
25.30 Day. The Fourth Day is Jesus
25.31 the Splendour, who [dwells in] his church. Its twelve
25.32 hours are the twelve Wisdoms, which are his
25.33 [light-hours]. These are the Four Great Days which have come
25.34 [forth from one another] (and) which were called from one another. They ...
- 25.35 ... Blessed is everyone who knows them and
25.36 ... of Light.
- 26.1 [Know also this!]: Just as Four Days [exist],
26.2 so too do Four Nights exist.
26.3 The First Night is the Land of Darkness. It has
26.4 twelve dark [shadows], which are the hours

- 26.5 of Darkness. The twelve shadows of the first Night
 26.6 are the *Five Elements* of the Land of Darkness, [which]
 26.7 have poured forth in its *Five Senses* and ...
 26.8 have ... in its *Five Elements* and its *Five* ...
 26.9 the *Five* [*Spirits(?)*] who dwell in its Elements ...
 26.10 These are the twelve shadows and spirits of the first Night.
 26.11 The second Night is Matter, the sculptor
 26.12 who has formed ...
 26.13 and every ruling power that is in the World [of Darkness, which]
 26.14 has fashioned it in *Five Senses*, *Five* [*Male*]
 26.15 and *Five Female*, two to a world ,as well as the fire and [lust]
 26.16 [which] dwell in men and women, inflaming them
 26.17 for one another. These are the twelve Spirits of this
 26.18 second Night. But, this Matter, it is the Thought of Death, which
 26.19 causes the King of Darkness and his powers to prepare for
 26.20 war and battle against the Aeons of Greatness. But,
 26.21 it was caught (and) snared by the First Man (and) carried
 26.22 to by the powers ... it was brought
 26.23 from the Land of Death (and) placed ... above
 26.24 and below in the [entire] cosmos, in the *Five Parts*
 26.25 which are above in the heavens along with the *Five* [*Parts* which] are
 below
 26.26 in the lower lands, along with the heat [and the] cold, which
 26.27 are the father and the mother, their fire and their desire.
 26.28 This is the second Night, which is born our of the first
 26.29 Night. It was snared by the First Man (and) brought
 26.30 by the Living Spirit (and) placed in this mixed world ...
 26.31 above and below. The [upper part is the(?)]
 26.32 senses of men; the lower part [... the senses(?)]
 26.33 of women. The third [Night is the *Five*]
 26.34 *Worlds of Flesh* [*five(?)*]
- 27.1 [male] and the *five* female, those who are born of the powers
 27.2 ... they fell upon the earth, while they are revealed in
 27.3 the dryness and cold, along with the fire and desire
 27.4 [which] dwells in them, which impel them towards one another.
 27.5 [Matter], however, is the Thought of Death, which is [Mother] of
 27.6 them all, as it is named among them "Night,"
 27.7 the male and female [powers]²² of flesh, along with the fire and
 27.8 [desire] ... twelve hours of
 27.9 ... Night. This, again, is the third Night, in
 27.10 [the] World of Flesh, which is born out of the second
 27.11 Night, which the Living Spirit crucified in the

²² A&C: [𐌺𐌛]𐌱𐌰.

- 27.12 [entire²³ 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 out²⁴ (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.

²³ A&C: [CΜOC TH]P[Q].

²⁴ A&C: [XΕ] NT[AYEΙ ABAA] AY[σ]ΦΛΠ.

CHAPTER 6

ON THE FIVE STOREHOUSES WHICH HAVE
POURED FORTH FROM THE LAND OF DARKNESS FROM
THE BEGINNING; THE FIVE ARCHONS, THE FIVE
SPIRITS, THE FIVE BODIES, (AND) THE FIVE TASTES

- 30.17 Again, the Enlightener spoke to his disciples: *Five Store-*
30.18 *Houses* have existed from the beginning in the Land of Darkness. *Five*
30.19 *Elements* have poured forth from them. Also, from the *Five*
30.20 *Elements* were fashioned *Five Trees*, (and) from the *Five Trees*
30.21 were fashioned *Five Species of Creatures* according to each World,
30.22 male and female. But also, the *Five Worlds* [have]
30.23 *Five Kings*, *Five Spirits*, [*Five*] *Bodies*, (and) *Five* [*Tastes*]
30.24 according to each world, which do not resemble [one another].
30.25 The King of the World of Smoke, [he]
30.26 He has come from the depth of [the darkness. This is he who is]
30.27 the chief of all evil and [all] wickedness. The initial
30.28 spread of the war came to be [through] him—all
30.29 battles, fights, quarrels, conflicts, destructions,
30.30 struggles, errors, contests. It is he [who first] stirred
30.31 conflict and war along with his worlds [and his] powers. Afterwards,
30.32 he waged war with the Light, doing battle with
30.33 the exalted kingdom. But,²⁵ as for [the King] of Darkness,
30.34 there are *Five Forms* in him: his head [is lion-faced, his]
30.35 hands and feet are demon- [and devil-]faced, [his]
30.36 shoulders are eagle-faced, while his belly [is dragon-faced,]

31.1 (and) his tail is fished-faced. These *Five Forms*, the imprints of his
31.2 [*Five*] *Worlds*, are found in the King of (those belonging to) Darkness.
31.3 There are also *Five Properties* in him. The first is his
31.4 darkness. The second is his stench. The third is
31.5 his ugliness. The fourth is his bitterness—his very soul.
31.6 The fifth is his fire, which burns like a
31.7 *peis*²⁶ of iron being melted by the flame.
31.8 There are also three other things about him: The first is that his
[body(?)]²⁷

²⁵ A&C: **εκ[ι δε απρο]** (cf. ι Κε 173.27).

²⁶ Meaning of **πειω** unknown, see Polotsky/Böhlig 31 n. 7.

²⁷ A&C: **σωμα** (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
 powers
- 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
 place will
- 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
 things
- 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
 their
- 32.12 beginning or their end, but he knows and perceives only
 32.13 that which is before his eyes.

²⁸ A&C: [xω]τε.

²⁹ A&C: σεξε rather than σεσε.

- 32.14 There is also another, different thing in the King of (those
belonging to)
- 32.15 Darkness. When it pleases him to walk, he spreads out all his limbs,
32.16 and he walks. When it comes to his mind, he draws
32.17 in his limbs, takes them to himself, rolls them into
32.18 one another, and falls down like a grape or a
32.19 great iron ball. His voice is terrible.
32.20 He causes fear (and) frightens his powers with his voice.
32.21 For, when he speaks, he is like the thunder
32.22 among the clouds and is like the ... of the one who ...
32.23 When he cries out and he ... and he cries ...
32.24 on his powers, they tremble and turn and fall at his feet
32.25 like birds, while they ... bird ...
32.26 and they fall down to the earth. However, there is only this one thing:
32.27 he does not know what is far from him. He does not see what
32.28 is in the distance, nor does he hear it. But that which is
32.29 before his face, this he sees, hearing it (and)
32.30 knowing it. These signs and evil symbols
32.31 are found in the chief of the demons and
32.32 devils, the King of all the mountains of darkness. [When]³⁰
32.33 the Land of Darkness produced him, it [begot him in its]
32.34 cruelty, in its evil, in its wrath
- 33.1 more than all his fellow-Archons, who are in all his worlds.
33.2 Gold is the body of the King of (those of) Darkness.
33.3 The bodies of all the powers who belong to the World of
33.4 Smoke are gold. But, the taste of its fruit is
33.5 salty. The spirit of the King of (those belonging to) Darkness is the one
who rules
- 33.6 today in the powers and authorities of the earth and the
33.7 whole world. I mean those who rule over all of creation,
33.8 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
33.10 all beasts. His body is brass. So too are [the bodies]
33.11 of all the Archons who belong to the fire.
33.12 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
- 33.14 one who rules in the nobles and leaders who are
33.15 under the command of the powers and authorities and the kings of
the
- 33.16 world. His spirit is also the one found in the Sects
33.17 who worship fire, as they offer their sacrifices to the fire.

³⁰ A&C: π[CA]π AN [ETA]-.

33.18 Also, the King of the Worlds of Wind has an eagle-face. His
 33.19 body is iron. Also, the bodies of all those who belong to
 33.20 the wind are iron. Their taste is the burnt taste
 33.21 in every form. His spirit is that of the idol-worshippers,
 33.22 the spirits of Error that are in every temple, *eidoleion*,
 33.23 place of worship, statues and images, shrines
 33.24 of worldly Error.

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

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

34.1 tin. But, the taste of their fruit is bitter.

34.2 Also, the spirit, who rules over them, is the spirit
 34.3 who speaks even today in the soothsayers, as they give oracles,
 34.4 in seers of every kind, (and) in the demented,
 34.5 as well as in spirits who give oracles of any kind.

34.6 Therefore I tell you, my brothers and my
 34.7 Limbs, perfect faithful and holy elect:
 34.8 Keep your hearts with you and keep yourselves from the
 34.9 *Five Slaveries* of the *Five Dark Spirits*.
 34.10 Abandon the worship of their *Five Bodies*. Do not
 34.11 interact with them, so that you might escape their bond
 34.12 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 they alone be given the victory, (so) the victory is also given to their
not (that)
Aeons.
- 35.7 The Second Father who has come forth from the First Father is the
35.8 Third Messenger, the replica of the King of Light.
35.9 But, he too has called (and) emanated three
35.10 powers. One is the Column of Glory, the Perfect Man,
35.11 he who supports all things, the Great Column
35.12 of Blessing, the Great Porter, who is greater than

³¹ Father (εἰωτ) here is an error for “emanation” (προβολη) (Funk, *personal communication*).

- 35.13 all the porters.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.³³ The third power is
 35.28 the Youth, the great [power of]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
 father
 35.31 the King of . . . the Saviour . . . see him, as he speaks
 35.32 [to the Jews(?)]:³⁵ “*What*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

³² A similar formulation may be found in a hymn/litany from Mani's *Living Gospel* (*Synaxeis*) (Funk, *personal communication*).

³³ A&C: [ϩϩ]ϫⲟϥ [ϩϩ]ϫⲟϥ.

³⁴ Funk, *personal communication*.

³⁵ See Polotsky/Böhlig 35.32.

³⁶ See John 8.38 (Polotsky/Böhlig 35 n. 32).

- 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

- 38.25 the Angels who are in the Aeon of Light kissed him, as well as all the
 38.26 . . . and shrines(?) of the Church and the Companions who
 38.27 belong to the house of his people. They kissed him as
 38.28 he was to depart from them. They escorted him, kissing
 38.29 him with the kiss of love and affection.
 38.30 The First Adoration is the adoration with which the First Man
 38.31 adored him when he came [from the depth]
 38.32 which is below. He bent his knee, [adoring]
 38.33 the God of Truth and all the Aeons [of Light],
- 39.1 who belong to the house of his people, as he implored them for a
 power to
 39.2 accompany him as he was leaving.
 39.3 The First Laying on of Hands which the Mother of Life placed
 upon
 39.4 the head of the First Man armed him (and) made him
 39.5 strong. She laid hands on him (and) sent him into battle. He came
 39.6 down (and) accomplished his struggle with the Great Powers and the
 39.7 Enmity. By these *Five Signs*, by these *Five Mysteries*,
 39.8 the First Man came from the Aeon of Light
 39.9 against the Enemy. He humbled him (and) defeated him with them.
 39.10 Also, when he came up from the war, he entered
 39.11 the Kingdom of the houses of his people through these *Five Mysteries*.
 39.12 The (Sign of) Peace with which [he came] up is the (Sign of) Peace
 which the
 39.13 Call gave to him, when he was sent by the Father of the
 39.14 Living. He gave him the (Sign of) Peace in the World of Darkness.
 39.15 This same (Sign of) Peace with which he went down is
 39.16 also the one with which he came up from the struggle. Thus, it is
 according to the
 39.17 mystery of this (Sign of) Peace, which the Call gave to
 39.18 the First Man, that the (Sign of) Peace is found down here, the one
 39.19 which has been named and heard among the powers of the Father.
 The
 39.20 second Right Hand, however, is the one which the Living Spirit gave
 the
 39.21 First Man when he came up from the struggle. According to
 39.22 the mystery of that Right Hand has this (other) Right Hand come into
 being.
 39.23 It is the one which exists [among] the people, when they give it to one
 another,
 39.24 which is honoured and [appreciated]³⁷ among them. But, this
 second Kiss,
 39.25 the one with which the [Father of] Life and the Mother of the

³⁷ See Polotsky/Böhlig note 24. Also, Funk, *personal communication*.

- 39.26 Living kissed the First Man after he came back
 39.27 from the struggle, this Kiss is also found among the
 39.28 people, when they kiss one another with it, or
 39.29 when they depart and are far from one another, or also when
 39.30 they approach one another in accordance with this mystery.
 39.31 [The] second Adoration (is the one) with which the First Man
 adored
- 39.32 [before this]³⁸ time the God of Truth and
 39.33 [his twelve(?)]³⁹ blessed Aeons and all the Aeons
 39.34 [which exist in the]⁴⁰ whole Great [World] of Light, when
- 40.1 the Father of Life and the Mother of the Living raised
 40.2 the Man from the depth of the struggle. According to the mystery
 40.3 of this second Adoration, has this Adoration existed. This is the one
 40.4 that is found today among the people who adore
 40.5 and honour one another. The second
 40.6 Laying on of Hands is this, that after the Living Spirit had led the
 First
- 40.7 Man up from the war, he rescued him from all the
 40.8 waves. He brought him up (and) gave him rest in the Great
 40.9 Aeons of Light which belong to the house of his people.
 40.10 He set him before the Father, the Lord of All.
 40.11 Then, when he ascended to the great Father of
 40.12 Light, a voice came to him from on high, saying:
 40.13 “*Set my son, my first-born, at my right, that I might*
 40.14 *place all his enemies as a footstool under his feet.*”
 40.15 He received this great Laying on of Hands, so that he might become
 leader
- 40.16 of his brothers in the New Aeon. Also, according to the mystery
 40.17 of the second Laying on of Hands has the Laying on of Hands
 40.18 existed. It is the one which is found among the people, when they lay
 hands on
- 40.19 one another, as the great give authority to the small. These *Five*
 40.20 *Mysteries*, these *Five Signs* which existed first in the divinity,
 40.21 they were proclaimed in this world through an apostle. The people
 40.22 have learned them (and) set them in their midst. But⁴¹ these mysteries
 have not
- 40.23 existed from the beginning among the
 40.24 powers of Darkness. Also, the Light-Mind, which comes
 40.25 into the world, it comes in these various forms. With these *Five*
 40.26 *Words*, it chooses its Church. First and foremost

³⁸ A&C: [ζ]ΑΤ[εζ]Η ΜΠΙΝΕΥ.

³⁹ A&C: [ΠΕΦΗΝΤΕΝΑΥΣ].

⁴⁰ A&C: [ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΠΝΑΘ Ν]Κ[λ][ζ].

⁴¹ A&C: Αλ]λα.

- 40.27 it chooses its Church with a (Sign of) Peace
 40.28 and gives peace at first to people. If someone receives the
 40.29 (Sign of) Peace and becomes a Child of Peace, afterwards, he is chosen
 40.30 for the faith.⁴² Thus, when he receives the (Sign of) Peace, he receives
 [the]
 40.31 [Right] Hand and belongs to the Right Hand. Thus, when [he
 receives] the Right
 40.32 Hand, the Light-Mind draws him to himself and makes him approach
 [the]
 40.33 Church. With the Right Hand, he receives the [Kiss of Love]
 40.34 and becomes a Child of the [Peace⁴³ ...]
- 41.1 With the Kiss, he receives Adoration and adores the God
 41.2 of Truth and adores also the Holy Church ...
 41.3 the hope of the faith of good things. When they
 41.4 receive the (Sign of) Peace and the Right Hand, the Kiss and the
 Adoration,
 41.5 at the end of these things they lay upon them the Right Hand of
 Mercy. They
 41.6 too receive the Laying on of Hands, which will be laid upon them and
 41.7 they will be set and built in the truth and made strong from it forever.
 41.8 They come to the Light-Mind with these good signs
 41.9 and they make people perfect and adore and
 41.10 glorify the God of Truth.
 41.11 Furthermore, at the time of their coming forth, when the Light-
 41.12 Form goes out before them and spreads them out from the Darkness
 to the
- 41.13 Light and [is in them],⁴⁴ the Light-Form calms the
 41.14 man with the Kiss and its rest from the terror of
 41.15 the demons who destroy his body, by its likeness and its
 41.16 image. The heart of the Elect which leaves his body
 41.17 finds rest in it, and then the angel who holds the Prize
 41.18 extends to him (his) Right Hand and draws him from
 41.19 the depth of his body and receives him with the Kiss
 41.20 and the Love. This soul adores its redeemer,
 41.21 which is the Light-Form. But, at the same time
 41.22 that ... he perfects and increases according to ...
 41.23 ... [and become king]⁴⁵ in the House of the Living and the Gods
 41.24 and Angels and all the Apostles, along with the Elect
 41.25 and he takes the crown, the blessing,⁴⁶ and the glory in eternal life.
 41.26 [Therefore], I say to you, my brothers and Limbs,

⁴² Cited by Crum 365a.

⁴³ A&C: **ΝΤΕ[Τ]ΡΗΝΗ** ...

⁴⁴ Funk, *personal communication*.

⁴⁵ A&C: **[ΝΚΡΡ]ΡΟ ΖΗ**.

⁴⁶ A&C: **ΠΤΜΟΥ ΜΝ ΠΕΛΥ**.

- 41.27 let there be these *Five* [*Signs*] in your hands, since they are honoured
before
- 41.28 each one of you, which are the (Sign of) Peace, the Right Hand, the
41.29 Kiss, the Adoration, and the Laying on of Hands. This, which I have
brought
- 41.30 to you from the House of the Living, from the Father who has
41.31 sent me. Know that a great mystery
41.32 him, by these *Five Signs* which I have brought
41.33 you will separate from the world, since
41.34 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
42.4 honour and adore the Teachers, Deacons, and Presbyters.
42.5 Those who I have lain hands on, I have set upon them the great
42.6 Laying on of Hands, since they are established in a great mystery:
42.7 (that is) the Laying on of Hands of the Divinity is placed upon the
42.8 head of the Teacher. Therefore, he who rejects it and despises
42.9 it, and considers it nothing, he sins against God in a great
42.10 sin and also against me.
42.11 But, you, my beloved, be zealous in these *Five*
42.12 [*Signs(?)*] you and
42.13 perfect in these (things). Each time [you]
42.14 ... want, he will answer you
42.15 as he who spoke to [you]
42.16 in the name of the⁴⁷
42.17 which are in the Storehouses of [*Darkness(?)*] will want(?)
42.18 your hearts
42.19 which he established through you ... each one
42.20 hears you, he knows everything that you
42.21 do ... with one another this
42.22 he turns himself to you and he will ...
42.23 ... from you the tribulation of

⁴⁷ Funk, *personal communication*.

CHAPTER 10

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]
42.28 you, our Lord, that you clarify for us this statement that is written
42.29 [in] the prayer of Sethel, the first-born son of Adam, when he says,
42.30 “*You are glorious, you fourteen great Aeons of Light.*”
42.31 Tell us, our Lord, what do the Fourteen Great
42.32 Aeons of Light mean. Then, the Enlightener [spoke]
42.33 [to them]: Allow me to interpret for you [the fourteen]
42.34 great Aeons of Light, which he spoke about ...
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(?)⁴⁸ to
them
- 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(?)],⁴⁹ the one through which the world is established.
43.10 [These are the Fourteen] Aeons of Light, the ones about which the
[great]⁵⁰
- 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

⁴⁸ εἴταρος (τωρς (meaning unknown—not τωρς “anoint”).

⁴⁹ προσευχή or προσώπων (Polotsky/Böhlig 43.9). See A&C: προσευχή 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.

CHAPTER 12

ON THE MEANING OF THE
FIVE WORDS WHICH ARE PROCLAIMED
*MNTPARAPEHOUT*⁵¹ IN THE COSMOS

- 44.23 ⁵²
44.24 Again the disciples [asked the Apostle, saying to]
44.25 to him: Tell us, our Lord, the *Five Words* which are proclaimed
44.26 in the teaching of the Baptists and [these] other words which⁵³
44.27 are found in the other Sects. They speak their name, that is, those
44.28 who are called—“pure,” saying that this [first]⁵⁴
44.29 life and the second life
44.30 ... make their heart along with the mind ... and the ...
44.31 Law of ...⁵⁵
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?)
the]
- 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 *ΜΝΤΠΑΡΑΠΕΖΟΥΤ* remains unclear. The same word also occurs in a similar polemical context in Chapter 100 (1 Ke 252.10).

⁵² A&C: Line count error in Polotsky/Böhlig edition; line 11 jumped.

⁵³ A&C: *Μ|Ν [Ν]ΚΕÇ[Ε]Χ[Ε] [ΕΤ]*.

⁵⁴ Funk, *personal communication*.

⁵⁵ A&C: *ΠΝΟ |³⁰ ΜΟC ΝΤ*

⁵⁶ A&C: *ΤΑC ΓΑΡ [ΤΕ]ΤΑÇΤ*.

- 45.12 the powers which⁵⁷ the world established in them⁵⁸
 45.13 are [all(?)] one living body
 45.14
 45.15 against one another.

⁵⁷ A&C: $\mathfrak{N}[\epsilon\tau]\epsilon\phi\epsilon$.

⁵⁸ A&C: $\mathfrak{N}[\zeta]\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$.

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 Resurrector is]
45.26
45.27 But, the third Resurrector 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 Resurrector] is the Light-Mind, since
45.32

46.1 ... each The fifth Resurrector is⁶¹ ...
46.2 ... fifth Resurrector 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

⁵⁹ A&C: ΗΛΦ ΝΖΗΤΦ.

⁶⁰ A&C: Θ]ΑΥΚΩΝ.

⁶¹ A&C: [... ..] ... ΝΙΜ vacat ΠΜΑ[Ζ]ΤΟΥ ... ΡΕΦΦΕ[Ζ][Ο ΛΖΡΗ].

⁶² A&C: Β Τ ΗΜ[Α]Υ Ν[Φ]ΣΑΚΟΥ ΑΡΑΦ [. .] . ΟΥΝΑΣ Μ.

⁶³ A&C: ΖΗΠΩΝ[Ζ ΦΑ]ΛΗΖΕ.

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 us⁶⁴
46.22
46.23
46.24
46.25
46.26
46.27
46.28 . . . the gatherer
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: ΝΟΥ[ἴ]ΕΤῆ [Α]Ε[Α]λ [. . . etc.

- 47.16 established in the ...
 47.17 and the souls ...
 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): [...] οὐναῖ
 ζῆπῶν[ζ] [φ]λληηζε vacat |¹⁹ νεῖετ[α] ηπετ τῶν . γ . ε ε νῆναζε
 [α].

- 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
 the
 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
 these
 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
 Land
 49.4 of Darkness. As the First Man humbled the Darkness
 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: Ἡ[ΦΑΡΤΙ Ἡ]ΤΖΟΥΙΤΕ.

CHAPTER 16

[ON THE FIVE] GREATNESSES WHICH HAVE
[COME] OUT AGAINST THE DARKNESS

- 49.13 [Again, the Enlightener spoke] to his disciples: The Light⁷⁶
 49.14 [the] Darkness, he conquered it with *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] *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 *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 *Five Sons of the First Man*
 49.33 the entire construction. The other five are the *Five*
 49.34 [*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 Light⁷⁷
 50.6 in them.

⁷⁶ A&C: Α Π[Ο]Υ[Α]ΙΝΕ.

⁷⁷ A&C: ΠΠΟΥΑΙΝ[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
 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 right⁸⁰
- 51.1 eousness 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: εϕωροη [2]N-.

⁷⁹ A&C: πρῶνε ... κ[ρ]ι[τ]η[ς].

⁸⁰ A&C: [... ζῆν τεϕδικαι].

- 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
crimes.
- 51.24 [He] sinned against him, along with his rebellious powers. When he⁸¹
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
the Sons
- 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 shut⁸²
- 51.32 [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,⁸³ 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
the Archons
- 52.12 [concerning the] First Man. [To the First Man] he

⁸¹ That is, the Living Spirit.

⁸² Dittography (Polotsky/Böhlig).

⁸³ A&C: $\omega \text{ n}[\alpha \text{ n} \epsilon] \rho[\epsilon] \text{ t} \epsilon$.

- 52.13 awarded the victory according to his victory, while the [Archon⁸⁴ of
Darkness]
- 52.14 he condemned according to the condemnation by which he erred ...
- 52.15 ... he sinned.⁸⁵ ... Such a bond was found for him ...
- 52.16 the earth until the end-time, when the [world] will be destroyed
and consumed by the great fire and separated. While [the]
- 52.17 Light (will) go to its own land, the Darkness (will) remains in
52.18 [the bond] and fetter forever.
- 52.20 ... [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 and ...
- 52.24 ... 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] ... 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)
- 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 ... watching the entire Ruling Power ...
- 53.8 ... 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 they saw, he sp oiled(?) ...
- 53.13 ... his [advent], by which he had come (and) [revealed]
53.14 himself. He said to the Living Spirit: The judgment you gave ...
53.15 ... good, what you proclaimed
53.16 you have [given] them accordingly because they have stirred (and)
raised
- 53.17 those who were not worthy.
53.18 The advent of Jesus the Splendour, when he came

⁸⁴ A&C: ΠΑΡ[ΧΩΝ ΔΕ ΉΠΚΕΚΕ].

⁸⁵ A&C: ... ΑΦΉΝΑΒΕ.

- 53.19 all, since he was like a man being
 53.20 [sent] to root out
 53.21 burn a hard reed⁸⁶ 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 ...

⁸⁶ A&C: ἰαρκε[τ].

- 54.30 but, by the power and the taste of this [milk] ...
 54.31 drawn to it and fixed and makes the [milk cold] ...
 54.32 in and [this milk]
- 55.1 it throws it and casts it out. Also, the cream and the
 55.2 fat and the beauty of the milk it draws to itself.
 55.3 This is also like the coming of
 55.4 that *enthumesis*, the counsel of life, which
 55.5 is the Call and Response that came to the Elements.
 55.6 That is, at the end it will awaken and establish itself and gather
 55.7 together with itself all life and the light which is
 55.8 [left] in all things. Placing them on
 55.9 its body, it will gather them to itself ...
 55.10 ... in his image forever
 55.11 from this time. Blessed is
 55.12 each one who [believing] in these *Five Advents* and strengthening
 himself
 55.13 [in the] knowledge of them will ascend to the height and redeem ...
 55.14 and he is not counted ...
 55.15

CHAPTER 18

[ON THE FIVE] WARS [WHICH THE] SONS OF
LIGHT WAGED WITH [THE SONS] OF DARKNESS

- 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
have come
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 Eight⁹⁰ 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 fetter⁹¹
58.32 since he
58.33 ... he dividēd them

⁸⁷ A&C: [ΠΑΛΙΝ ΔΗ Π]ΑΧ[Ε].

⁸⁸ See Polotsky/Böhlig 58.17.

⁸⁹ See Mt 3:10.

⁹⁰ A&C: 2ῆ Π[Θ]Μ[ΟΥ]Ν.

⁹¹ A&C: ΧΝ Ν[Τ][Ῥ][ΝΑΘ ἦ]ΜῆΡΕ ΗΝ Π[Ῥ]C³² ΝΑΖ.

- 59.1
 59.2
 59.3 [The Third War(?)] is (that of) the Third Messenger,
 59.4 [when⁹² he revealed] his image
 59.5 below ... drew
 59.6 all light and the possessions
 59.7 those who oppressed
 59.8 the entire Ruling Power
 59.9 boasting⁹³ of the light
 59.10 as he extended himself
 59.11 ... When a man comes, being strong,
 59.12 possesses his richness
 59.13 silver and
 59.14 his⁹⁴ arrogance and his wantonness.
 59.15 This too is like the Ruling Power ...
 59.16 all rich ... walking ...
 59.17 Light
 59.18 ... he cleansed and purified him.
 59.19 The Fourth War is the one Jesus the Splendour, the glorious, waged
 59.20 with all the rebels who rebelled above and below.
 59.21 When the Light was purified from them by the image of the Third
 59.22 Messenger, their bonds were stripped ...
 59.23 ... the splendour in the Fourth War, he came and waged ...
 59.24 ... rebellion of the whole Ruling Power. He smote ...
 59.25 the whole ... again he established the entire construction (and) made

 59.26 a great struggle. He subdued it
 59.27 ... he did the will of the Greatness. [He]
 59.28 [gave] hope to Adam ... his Ship of Light
 59.29 which the Counsel of Life
 59.30 which are the Call and Response ...
 59.31 ... great
 59.32 he placed ... on the ...
 59.33 and the ...
- 60.1
 60.2 the death which ...
 60.3 with it and he conquered ...
 60.4 forever and gave the kingdom
 60.5 the Great War
 60.6 ... fight⁹⁵ with the Sons of Darkness

⁹² A&C: ΠΣΗΥ ΕΤΑΓ-

⁹³ A&C: Η]ΝΤΨΟΥΦΟ.

⁹⁴ A&C: [ΤΕΦΗΝΤ]-.

⁹⁵ A&C: ... [ΜΙ] [Φ] Ε ΗΝ.

- 60.7 the good struggle against [the evil(?)]⁹⁶ ...
60.8 from eternity to eternity
60.9 every elect who will
60.10 p laced in him and conquers it
60.11 like these *Five*
60.12 receive the(?) victory

⁹⁶ Suggested in Polotsky/Böhlig translation.

CHAPTER 19

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
to
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: 2[IPe]²²T[q].

61.18 he appeared in the Zone, he revealed [his]
 61.19 image before the firmaments. He distilled the upper [light]
 61.20 (and) established the Original Just One, the beginning⁹⁸
 61.21 of all churches. He received the likeness ...
 61.22 ... he made himself like an angel in the ... until
 61.23 he went and came down to the fleshly form and established
 61.24 the earths and all the fixtures. He also liberated
 61.25 ... the immeasurable Light in the entire construction. He gave
 61.26 [the] Call and the Response to the Elements (and) fashioned
 61.27 Jesus the Youth. He went up (and) remained in the
 61.28 [Land of] Light. The Fifth Release
 61.29 and Rescue is the Great Counsel's,
 61.30 [which is the] Call [and] the Response. For it too
 61.31 ... [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 ... his
 62.20 Light-image in this Last Statue. These *Five Great*
 62.21 *Powers* ... revealed and they came to good [but not] to
 62.22 evil.⁹⁹ They established on
 62.23 First Man ... after he came toward
 62.24 from the struggle, he ordered (and) established
 62.25 world
 62.26 First Man
 62.27 his coming. In
 62.28 this way ... they stood with

⁹⁸ A&C: ΜΠΑΡΧΙΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΤΑΡ |²¹ΧΗ.

⁹⁹ A&C: ΑΥ |²²ΒΟΝ[Ε] ΝΤΑ[Ι]Ν.

- 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 it ...

CHAPTER 20

THE CHAPTER ON THE NAME OF THE FATHERS

63.22 Again, the Enlightener spoke to his disciples: The [Father]
63.23 [of] Greatness, who is so named, why is he called “Father”
63.24 [of] Greatness? His disciples said
63.25 to him: We implore you, our Lord, that you clarify for
63.26 us concerning this Greatness, namely, what it means that he is called
63.27 “Father” of Greatness. Then, he spoke
63.28 [to] his disciples: The Father is the first established (being),
63.29 [who is called] “Father” of Greatness,
63.30 his greatness is the Great Earth, where he dwells (and) is established
63.31 the essence of Light, which supports
63.32 all the Rich Ones and Angels and dwellings
63.33 established upon him.
63.34 [Also,] the Third Messenger is called
63.35 [“Father.” His greatness] is the Light-ship of the Living Fire,

64.1 [in which he dwells] (and) is established.
64.2 [Also,] Jesus the Splendour is called “Father” too.
64.3 His greatness is the Ship of the Living Waters, in which he dwells
64.4 [(and) is established.]
64.5 The Column of Glory [is also called] “Father.” His greatness
64.6 ... the *Five Gods* of the holy ... who dwell
64.7 [(and) are established] in them
64.8 Also, the Light-Mind is
64.9 [called] “Father.” His greatness is the [Holy]
64.10 Church, since he dwells (and) [is established] in it. It too
64.11 in him alone. They
64.12 ... Light.

CHAPTER 21

ON THE FATHER OF GREATNESS, HOW
HE IS ESTABLISHED AND DEFINED

- 64.17 Again, the Apostle [spoke] to [his] disciples: Hear
64.18 [this statement] which I will proclaim to you: Very great is
64.19 the [size(?)]¹⁰⁰ of the Light before those who hear and understand
64.20 it concerning the first Father of Greatness. Just as he
64.21 [is found] established in his *Five Light-Limbs*, which are
64.22 ... the storehouses without measure or limit
64.23 ... Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, and [Consideration]
64.24 ... his Twelve Light-Limbs, which [are]
64.25 his Twelve Wisdoms. *Five Great Limbs*
64.26 of Light are found in each one ... *Five Great*
64.27 *Fountains of Blessing* gush forth ... There are *Five Great*
64.28 [*Trees(?)*]¹⁰¹ ... of Light.
64.29 The First is his Light, which illuminates ... it gushed
64.30 forth and poured ... all Aeons.
64.31 The Second is the Good Odour of the ...
64.32 and permeates all the Aeons of Greatness.
64.33 The Third is his Living Voice of ...
64.34 ... all his Aeons ...
64.35 The Fourth is his ... -ness ...
- 65.1 ... gush forth ... from ...
65.2 The Fifth is his Great [and] splendid ... which ...
65.3 which has revealed itself at all times, which lasts all ...
65.4 that which is fashioned by them ...
65.5 sealed by them ... sealed ...
65.6 as they send ... in ...
65.7 ... they are nourished ... [his]
65.8 Living Voice, also, ... joy ...
65.9 set up anew, which gushed forth ...
65.10 ... as they ... and become rich ...
65.11 also, beautiful ... portrayal ...
65.12 adornment ... they live ...
65.13 ... forever.

¹⁰⁰ Very uncertain, perhaps something like “wonder” or “marvel” (Funk, *personal communication*).

¹⁰¹ A&C: ο[Υ]Ν ΤΟΥ ΜΝΑΣ [Ν] | ²⁸ΨΗΝ (very uncertain).

CHAPTER 24

[ON THE TIMES . . .]

- 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

¹⁰² A&C: Ν[ΤΑΥ²] ΑΥΤΩΚ | ¹⁶ΑΡΕΤΟΥ ΜΗΠΤΟ ΑΒΛΛ [Η]ΠΡΟΪΨΤ.

¹⁰³ A&C: Α[Ζ] [ΟΥΝ] ΑC[X] [ΙC] ΑΗ Ν[ΤΝ] Ν[Ψ] [...]

¹⁰⁴ Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig.

¹⁰⁵ A&C: Probably not the “Statue” (ΑΝΔΡΕΙΑC) proposed by Polotsky/Böhlig. Read something like ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΡΟΥ . [. . Ν]ΗΥ.

- 71.9 comes to this time
- 71.10 he revealed . . .
- 71.11 From the time that they
- 71.12 called him (and) he came, until the time that he, in turn, called
- 71.13 [the *Five Shining Gods* who] are his sons. They
- 71.14 too [also spent a long] time with the Father, that
- 71.15 [is, the time] that lasted from the descent of the
- 71.16 [First Man] to the ascent of the Last Statue. The
- 71.17 [*Five Gods*] spend a period of such length hidden in(?) the First Man.
- 71.18 But, [during the] time that they waited, they were called (and) came
out.
- 71.19 Hear also this other thing that I will teach to you (about) the
- 71.20 time when the Mother of Life was called forth from the Father of
- 71.21 Greatness—Had she pushed herself and come down of her own
desire,¹⁰⁶
- 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(?)]¹⁰⁷
- 71.25 he called his Great Spirit, he thus set her on
- 71.26 the Land of Greatness through one of the three that belong to the
twelve,
- 71.27 those who are hidden in the veil of light, who
- 71.28 are established in . . . the southern region.
- 71.29 [The] work of the Mother [of] Life is like this, when
- 71.30 [the Father] called her (and) established her in the place where he
wanted
- 71.31 her to be established as the Thought of people, which
- 71.32 many and searched every place where
- 71.33 the blink of an eye or as a
- 72.1 a bird(?) . . .
- 72.2 This is also like . . .
- 72.3 . . . the Mother of Life in . . . when
- 72.4 . . . throw it . . . over to the place . . .
- 72.5 . . . he perfects his Great Spirit and sets her in
- 72.6 [the place where he wanted] her according to [his will].
- 72.7 . . . when¹⁰⁸ the *Five Gods* called by their Father¹⁰⁹
- 72.8 [they stood] before him, as he wished, that . . .

¹⁰⁶ There may be an element of polemic against Gnostic figures such as Barbelo whose descent occurs of her own will. See *Secret Book of John*.

¹⁰⁷ A&C: πϣη[γ]?

¹⁰⁸ A&C: ηπϣηγ.

¹⁰⁹ A&C: ηπρωγωτ.

- 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
- 73.22 to the time when the Father will unveil his face
- 73.23 [and they come] into his hidden Storehouses and he calls them
- 73.24 and also¹¹⁵ sets up each in [his place], there is no measure
- 73.25 [or limit] to this time. And so until that time, it is possible
- 73.26 [for] all [Teachers] and Saviours, and Apostles of
- 73.27 Strength to speak of and reveal what
- 73.28 happened and what will happen. But before
- 73.29 they were formed above, it was not possible for every
- 73.30 Apostle and [Teacher] to preach about this beginning,
- 73.31 forever. It is also not possible for [all]
- 73.32 [Apostles] and Teachers to speak of and reveal
- 73.33 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: ΝΤΕ ΤΗΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ Η[ΠΡΟ].

¹¹⁴ A&C: ΝΤΩ |²²ΖΗΕ].

¹¹⁵ A&C: [ΑΝ Ν][Ϛ]ΣΕΖΩΥ.

¹¹⁶ A&C: ΧΗΠΧΥ.

¹¹⁷ A&C: ΝΣΕΟΥ |²ΩΖ.

- 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 great¹¹⁸ 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 shining land
 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 away¹¹⁹
 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.¹²⁰
 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

¹¹⁸ A&C: οὐρεκε ε[ναψωσ].

¹¹⁹ A&C: μν κροσμοσ να[ο]γίγε.

¹²⁰ See *Shaburagan* (MacKenzie, 517).

- 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
- 75.30 occurred until the time of this binding ... these *Five Things* ...
- 75.31 ... Light.
- 75.32 [Know]¹²¹ 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]¹²²
- 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]¹²³
- 76.6 to it. It is not possible for [anyone to ... nor is it possible] for¹²⁴
- 76.7 the Apostle and the Teacher
- 76.8 an eternal bond [in the] Lump
- 76.9 ... from the time when
- 76.10 fight¹²⁵ with one another [until] the time ...
- 76.11 [one] another and each one
- 76.12 ... bond
- 76.13 ... and they proclaim
- 76.14 moment and time.

¹²¹ A&C: [Ϟⲟⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧ]ⲛϥⲁⲮ[ⲛⲉ] ϫⲉ.

¹²² A&C: [ⲙⲛ ⲅⲁⲙ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲉ ⲁⲧⲣⲉϩⲟⲡⲓ] |³ⲛ[ⲙⲁ]ϥ.

¹²³ A&C: ⲙⲛ ϩⲓ |⁶ⲁⲧ ⲁⲣⲁϥ.

¹²⁴ A&C: ⲙⲛ ⲅⲁⲙ].

¹²⁵ A&C: †[ⲧ]ϩⲛ ⲙⲛ.

CHAPTER 25

ON THE FIVE¹²⁶ [FATHERS:
FROM WHICH LIMBS THEY HAVE COME]

- 76.18 Again the Apostle spoke about [the emanation¹²⁷ of the *Five Fathers*]
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]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.

¹²⁶ A&C: **ε̅τ̅β̅ε̅ π̅[τ̅]ο̅γ̅** ... etc.

¹²⁷ A&C: **ε̅τ̅β̅ε̅ τ̅[π̅ρ̅ο̅]β̅[ο̅λ̅]η̅ η̅π̅[τ̅ο̅γ̅]**.

¹²⁸ A&C: **ι̅[η̅ς]**.

CHAPTER 27

ON THE FIVE FORMS WHICH
EXIST IN THE ARCHON{S} OF DARKNESS

- 77.25 [Again] as the Apostle sat in the assembly, he said [to]
77.26 [his] disciples: As for the Archon, the leader of all the powers
77.27 [of Darkness], there are [*Five Forms*] in his body, according to
77.28 [the form] of the seal [of the *Five*] *Creations* which exist in the *Five*
77.29 *Worlds of Darkness*. His head has the face of a lion and
77.30 originated from [the] World of Fire. His wings and his
77.31 [shoulders] have the face of an eagle, according to the form of the
Sons of Wind.
77.32 [His hands] and [his feet] are demons, according to the form
77.33 [of the Sons] of the World of Smoke. His belly has the face of
77.34 [a dragon, according to the form of the] World of Darkness. His tail
[has]
78.1 the form of the fish, which belongs to [the World of the] Sons of
Water. These
78.2 *Five Forms*¹²⁹ are found in him; they [have come] from the *Five*
[*Creations*]
78.3 of the *Five Worlds of Darkness*. When he wants, [he goes]
78.4 [on] his two feet and . . . the World of [Smoke]
78.5 Also, when he wants, he [appears] to them as four¹³⁰ . . .
78.6 on his hands and feet¹³¹ like [the] Sons of Fire.
78.7 When he wants, he lifts (himself) with his wings like the Sons of
78.8 the [Wind]. Also, when he wants, he leaps(?)¹³² into the waters
78.9 [like the] Sons of the Water. Also, when he wants, he creeps on
78.10 [his belly] like the Sons of Darkness. [These *Five*] *Forms* exist
78.11 in him. There are also three other in him. [The First]:
78.12 . . . his powers
78.13 The Second:
78.14 his magic. When he [wants, he calls upon it]
78.15 [himself] and hides from his powers. [Also, when he wants]
78.16 he shows himself to them (and) causes wounds and [carnage with his]
78.17 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: βαῶῑ?

- 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 nor¹³³
 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
 [and]
 78.23 evil spirits. There are also three other (forms) in him. When [he
 wants]
 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,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.

¹³³ A&C: ο[γτε].

¹³⁴ A&C: η[η π]μετο[γ].

CHAPTER 33

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.

CHAPTER 37

ON THE THREE ZONES

- 89.3 Again the Enlightener spoke about the Living Spirit: When he
89.4 built (and) constructed the worlds, he suspended the zones
89.5 in their zones within their zones again. The First Zone{s}
89.6 are (those of) the *Five Powers of Darkness*, male and female.
89.7 This (statement) that “he suspended a zone in a zone” (means that) he
suspended
89.8 the *Five Powers of Darkness* in the *Five Splendours of the Son of*
89.9 *Man*. For the whole enmity is fastened and bound in them.
89.10 Also, within the zone are the *Five Sons of the [Living] Spirit*,
89.11 for the entire construction hangs on them as he
89.12 heard him too. The other ...
89.13 after them. That he suspended [the zones(?)] (means that)
89.14 [he suspended them from the] upper firmaments [to the firmaments
further down]
89.15 which is in a zone is the Great [King of Glory],
89.16 who exists within the ...
89.17 ... the world.

CHAPTER 38

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
 asked you.
- 90.8 Then he spoke to this disciple: My entire revelation,
 90.9 which I have revealed, I have made it known to my Church
 90.10 (and) it is true before you. One and the same is it everywhere. [What,
 then,]
 90.11 are you missing?¹³⁵ This disciple said [to the Apostle]:
 90.12 While indeed you have revealed everything (and) persuaded [us]¹³⁶
 that they are

¹³⁵ A&C: ε[Υ ΠΕΤ] | ¹¹κ[ΨΛ]ΑΤ ΠΜΑΔ.

¹³⁶ A&C: ΑΚΠΘΕ [ΠΜΑΝ] ε[ΥΘ ΠΗΗ] | ε.

- 90.13 true before us, nevertheless I would also like to get to know¹³⁷ the
Light-
- 90.14 Mind as it is.
- 90.15 Then, the Apostle spoke to him: If I go on once again
- 90.16 to relate¹³⁸ to you these things that you are (already) versed in, they
being true
- 90.17 before you, (then) by means of these things which you are versed in,¹³⁹
you will
- 90.18 come to know [what you are missing]. I will give the perception of
those who perceive for your sake. I will let
- 90.19 the living fountain gush forth for those who thirst, that they might
drink and live.
- 90.20 Then the Apostle said to him: All Error, when the
- 90.21 Enemy of Light established it, was established after the likeness of
- 90.22 a human being. The head of the cosmos is the edge of the garments.
- 90.23 Its neck is the collar¹⁴⁰ of the garments. Its stomach is
- 90.24 [the] *Five Folds* which are the ... of the garments.
- 90.25 Its ribs are [all] the firmaments. Its navel [is the]
- 90.26 circuit¹⁴¹ of stars and the Zodiac. [The parts], however, [which]
- 90.27 extend from its navel {from its [navel]} to its loins is [the ...]
- 90.28 ... which extend from the circuit [to the corners] of the Four
- 90.29 Worlds. Its loins are the ... which is below ...
- 90.30 on the head of the Porter. Its ... from the ...
- 90.31 to the earth on which the Porter stands.
- 90.32 Its shinbones and its feet are ... of the [Porter(?)]
- 90.33 and the entire Zone which belongs
- 91.1 Its heart is humankind, its liver is the four-legged beasts.
- 91.2 Its lung is the species of birds that [flies in]
- 91.3 the air. Its spleen is the species of fish that swims in the waters.
- 91.4 Its kidneys are the world of reptiles who creep [on]
- 91.5 the earth. Its outer skin is the wall that ... [which]
- 91.6 surrounds the fixtures and the great fire. Its ...
- 91.7 the passages of the great fire. Its flesh is¹⁴² ...
- 91.8 of the Darkness. Its gall is the passage of ...¹⁴³ its
- 91.9 large intestine is the breadth of the great ...
- 91.10 of the worlds. Its veins all [the springs]
- 91.11 and sources. Its eyes [are]

¹³⁷ A&C: ασοϋφ[η] [ζ][ωτ] η[π]νοϋς.

¹³⁸ A&C: ατοοτ [αν] ητ[α] |¹⁶τ[ε]ϋγο λρακ.

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: τεϋσαρζ πε . μη

¹⁴³ A&C: πε πμαν[χ]ιϋρε ηη πε[ϋ] |⁹ηαδ.

- 92.19 ... the Keeper of Splendour. From this place, too, it intertwined
 92.20 with the Light. It came out (and) went down
 92.21 to the dry and the moist. It [fashioned] the trees [in]¹⁴⁶
 92.22 the dry, while in the sea it took form immediately
 92.23 and made a great rebellion in the sea.
 92.24 Behold and see that the great King of Honour, he who is
 92.25 the Thought found in the Third Firmament, he is [terrible]
 92.26 with wrath. But, rebellion (still) [occurred], since deceit and
 92.27 hate are found in the camp, (that is,) the Watchers
 92.28 of heaven who came down to the earth during his watch:
 92.29 they engaged in every act of deceit. They revealed the arts
 92.30 in the world (and) unveiled to human beings the mysteries [of]
 92.31 heaven. There is no limit to (the) rebellion and destruction (that)
 occurred on the
 92.32 earth. The Adamas
 92.33 ... perfection, he stands on
- 93.1 and deceit occurred in his camp: which is, when
 93.2 the abortions fell down, Adam and Eve
 93.3 were formed and begotten, so that by means of them they might rule
 the world.
- 93.4 They accomplished all the works of Desire on the
 93.5 earth; the whole world was filled with their Desire. By
 93.6 means of this *mēte*,¹⁴⁷ they also persecute the churches (and) kill
 93.7 the apostles and the righteous in the watch-district of the Adamas
 93.8 of Light, from time to time throughout the generations.
 93.9 Also, in the watch of the great King of Glory, he who is
 93.10 the great Counsel (and) who has authority over the Three
 93.11 Wheels, disturbance and tribulation occurred, since they ...
 93.12 the earth (and) disturbed the Three Earths. When the Messenger
 93.13 revealed his image, the roads closed to their [escape(?)]
 93.14 ... their departure was hindered [when(?)]
 93.15 the wind, the water, and the fire came into them.
 93.16 Also, in the watch of the Porter, he who humbled ...
 93.17 rebellion in the lower depths
 93.18 bent, the lower fixtures stripped
 93.19 in the lower foundation.
 93.20 Because of the earthquake which occurred in the watch of the
 Keeper
 93.21 of Splendour, the Column of Glory came forth being and
 acted as
 93.22 [a(?)] helper to the Keeper of Splendour. He bore all the
 93.23 weight. Also, because of the deceit and the rebellion which

¹⁴⁶ A&C: [2][**1**].

¹⁴⁷ Meaning no known, but something like “leeway”(?).

- 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
 Adamas
- 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
 paths
- 94.6 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
 inhabited
- 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.

- 94.26 Mind, which is the body of the flesh, does Sin raise
 94.27 from time to time its agitations in the body.
 94.28 But, in this way, know that the powers of Light
 94.29 are good. The beginning and the end are revealed to them.
 94.30 Everything they do, they do with correct judgement.
 94.31 Because of this, they allow the enmity
 94.32 to initiate Error and to do its will [for]
 94.33 a while. Then, they are seized ...
- 95.1 ... they have acted first in righteous judgement.
 95.2 But, as for this other (question), which you posed: How does the
 Light-
- 95.3 Mind come, this great strength, and endure such a small
 95.4 body of flesh? Behold, again, and see these gods that
 95.5 ... they [are] great and strong, yet each one of them is limited (and)
 95.6 confined in [the] place where it stands, like trees
 95.7 cleaving to their taproot.¹⁵⁰ This also is the way that each one
 95.8 of them cleaves to its taproot in the world, according to
 95.9 [the] size of the place where he stands, enduring until
 95.10 ... the end¹⁵¹ ... But, know also
 95.11 the world stands, being established ...
 95.12 ... [the] Living Spirit in all his Limbs
 95.13 Sin took this body away from the [Land]
 95.14 [of Light and(?)] established it in his Limbs. It removed his [body]
 95.15 [from the *Five*] *Bodies of Darkness* (and) established the body. His
 95.16 [soul], however, he took from the *Five Luminous Gods*
 95.17 (and) bound it to the *Five Limbs of the Body*. It bound Mind
 95.18 in bone, Thought in sinew, Insight in vein, Counsel
 95.19 in flesh, Consideration in skin. It set
 95.20 [it] in its *Five Powers*: Its Mind on the Mind of the soul,
 95.21 [its] Thought on the Thought of the soul, its Insight on the Insight
 95.22 [of] the soul, its Counsel on the Counsel of the soul, (and) its
 95.23 Consideration on the Consideration of the soul. It set its *Five*
 95.24 *Angels* and its *Authorities* on the *Five Limbs*
 95.25 [*of the Soul*], which he took (and) bound in the flesh.
 95.26 ... impregnating the soul, drawing it each time to
 95.27 all (sorts of) evil works, to all sins of Desire, to the
 95.28 worship of idols, to the Sects of Error, to
 95.29 humility in the humility of slavery, as it stands serving
 95.30 the foul things which do not last, worshipping
 95.31 idols of wood and gold and silver
 95.32 they *čajē*(?),¹⁵² serving the filthy

¹⁵⁰ See Gardner, *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 99.

¹⁵¹ A&C: $\overline{\text{NT}}\text{ZAH}$.

¹⁵² $\text{CAXH}^?$: meaning unknown and reading uncertain (noted in Polotsy/Böhlig).

- 96.1 and unclean beasts that are ugly in their appearance and their
 96.2 form. It put on Error and oblivion, (and) forgot
 96.3 its essence, its race, and its kind. Not
 96.4 recognizing the door of the prayer-house, it cried out to
 96.5 him (and) became hostile to its father
 96.6 ... itself, being evil
 96.7 ... to its own light. Also, when¹⁵³ the Light-
 96.8 Mind came and found the soul, it ... and gave it a ...¹⁵⁴
 96.9 ... it put it on in the
 96.10 ... its wisdom
 96.11 ... it becomes for it a
 96.12 ... the bonds
 96.13 Limb(s) in the body. It¹⁵⁵ frees the Mind [of the Soul and]
 96.14 [releases] it from bone. It releases the Thought [of the Soul]
 96.15 from sinew and binds, in turn, the Thought [of Sin in]
 96.16 sinew. It releases the Insight of the Soul from vein,
 96.17 and binds, in turn, the Insight of Sin in vein. It
 96.18 frees the Counsel of the Soul and releases it from the flesh
 96.19 and binds, in turn, the Counsel of Sin in the flesh. It
 96.20 releases the Consideration of the Soul from the skin and binds
 96.21 the Consideration of Sin in the skin.
 96.22 This is how it releases the Limbs of the Soul
 96.23 and makes them free from the *Five Limbs of Sin*.
 96.24 These *Five Limbs of Sin* which are released,
 96.25 it binds them. It establishes the Limbs of the Soul, builds them up,
 96.26 refines them, and establishes them in the New Man, a son of
 96.27 righteousness. When it fashions and establishes
 96.28 and purifies the New Man, then it acquires *Five*
 96.29 *Great, Living Limbs* from the *Five Great Limbs*
 96.30 and places them in the Limbs of the New Man. It places its Mind,
 96.31 which is Love, in the Mind of the New Man. Thought,
 96.32 on the other hand, which is Belief, it sets [in] the Thought [of the
 96.33 Man, who it refines. Insight, which [is Perfection, it places] New]
- 97.1 in the Insight of the New Man. His Counsel, which [is]
 97.2 Long-suffering, it places in his Counsel. Wisdom,¹⁵⁶
 97.3 which is his Consideration, (it places) in the Consideration of the New
 97.4 Man. It purifies the image of the word from the word of
 97.5 Sin and adds it to its (own) word, so that its
 97.6 ... might be a nourisher and strengthener ...

¹⁵³ A&C: ΠΝ[Ε]Υ [ΑΝ] ΕΤ[Ε]ΦΑΡ[Ε] ΠΝΟ[ΥC].

¹⁵⁴ A&C: Φ[Α][Ι] ΝΥ[Τ] ΝΕC [Ν]ΟΥ[.].

¹⁵⁵ That is, the Light-Mind.

¹⁵⁶ Polotsky/Böhlig suggests that the elements “wisdom” and “consideration” should be inversed (97 n. 2).

- 97.7 When it perfects
 97.8 the twelve limbs, then¹⁵⁷ ...
 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, who¹⁵⁸
 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 bound¹⁵⁹
 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 encouragement¹⁶² 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 sign¹⁶³ (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: ΤΟΤΕ.

¹⁵⁸ A&C: ΠΑΡΡΟ ΑΝ [Ε] ΤΕ.

¹⁵⁹ A&C: ΜΠΝΑΒΕ [Μ]ΗΡ.

¹⁶⁰ A&C: ΖΗΝΟΧΕ ΕΥΒΑ |³⁰[ΒΑ]Τ ΕΜΝ ΖΗΟΥ ΗΜΑΥ.

¹⁶¹ A&C: ΜΝΝ[ΔΙΑ]ΚΟΝΟΣ.

¹⁶² Crum 122b.

¹⁶³ A&C: ΝΤΕ Π[Ο]ΥΜΕΙΝΕ ΟΥΩΝΖ.

- 98.11 the Light-Mind and Sin in Counsel. The
 98.12 brothers gather¹⁶⁴ 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 rule¹⁶⁵ of God. (Then), if he has accepted [heart]
 98.30 advice of his brothers and heard the [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, if¹⁶⁶ 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}.

¹⁶⁴ A&C: $\Psi\text{AP}[\epsilon] \text{N} | ^{12}\text{C}[\text{NH}]\Upsilon \text{C}\omega\Upsilon\text{Z}$.

¹⁶⁵ Crum 122b.

¹⁶⁶ A&C: $\epsilon\psi\alpha\text{NTE}$.

99.18 Behold!¹⁶⁷ 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 jurisdiction¹⁶⁸ 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
 polluted,
 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!¹⁶⁹ 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

¹⁶⁷ A&C: [ε]ϰτε.

¹⁶⁸ A&C: ζῆ πρλ ἵ[ζ]επ.

¹⁶⁹ A&C: εἰ[ς][ζ]ἡτε.

¹⁷⁰ A&C: [ντε]πλ[ζ]φ[β].

- 100.24 world alone. Both the forms [and] types of the body,
 100.25 both gold and silver, both brass . . . money and
 100.26 numerous gifts, both armour and armaments, [the]
 100.27 multitude of humanity have submitted to me—
 100.28 many divinities and idols from the
 100.29 furnaces. You have seen the [kingdom] of the world, how
 100.30 with many graces and gifts, with
 100.31 armour and war and [violence] they have hardly humbled the
 100.32 cities and subdued the lands. [I, however, I have subdued]
 100.33 without armour and without [armaments . . .]¹⁷¹ distant [cities]
- 101.1 through the word of God. In distant lands
 101.2 they bless my name and it is glorified in all lands.
 101.3 Know also this other thing that I will teach you: the
 101.4 kings have striven with me, along with the princes and the
 101.5 officials and their functionaries, so that they might destroy this truth,
 101.6 (but) they have had no power over me in this regard. Now, if I am
 alone,
 101.7 why did they have no power over me, namely, all those who strove
 101.8 with me? The third thing is that [there is]
 101.9 no one in the world who has given freedom to his children and
 101.10 his brothers and his relatives (and) freed them
 101.11 from the variability of all things just as I
 101.12 have made all my sons free from every toil, and [how I have]¹⁷²
 101.13 granted every freedom(?).¹⁷³ The fourth thing: I have [clothed] them
 101.14 with the armour [of] wisdom, so that you (s.) will not find one single
 101.15 person who will . . . and conquer them. Just as no
 101.16 one has been able to conquer me in the entire world, so too is it
 101.17 with my children. No one will be able to conquer them.
 101.18 The fifth thing: I have chosen with my power this entire, great
 101.19 election. I have given to my children my staffs of knowledge¹⁷⁴
 101.20 and the great fountains of wisdom. Because the previous¹⁷⁵
 101.21 apostles did not give their churches wisdom¹⁷⁶ as I
 101.22 gave to mine,¹⁷⁷ I have strengthened my church (and) have left it
 101.23 every good thing that is useful to it in every (sort of) work.
 101.24 I have planted good and sown truth in every land, near
 101.25 and far. Apostles and elders
 101.26 have I sent to every land. Because the previous

¹⁷¹ A&C: lacuna in manuscript.

¹⁷² A&C: **ἦν τ[ζε ε]ταῖ.**

¹⁷³ Funk, *personal communication*.

¹⁷⁴ A&C: **ντε π[ς]αγνε.**

¹⁷⁵ A&C: **ἦπε[ν][φ]αρτ.**

¹⁷⁶ A&C: **οὔσοφια.**

¹⁷⁷ A&C: **τ[ζε] ἀνακ |²²[ετ]αῖτεες ντωῖ.**

- 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(?)]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
and
- 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;
(things) which
- 102.7 you have done by your power and the power of the one who sent you.
Who
- 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
ourselves in
- 102.11 your faith and keep your commandments and, moreover, that we be
content
- 102.12 with the words you have proclaimed to us.

¹⁷⁸ Suggested by Polotsky/Böhlig, 101.33.

CHAPTER 39

ON THE THREE DAYS¹⁷⁹ AND THE TWO DEATHS

- 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
(down)
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,¹⁸⁰

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 dwell¹⁸¹ 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]

¹⁷⁹ The topic of the “three days” was, according to al-Nadīm, 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: $\tau\omicron\gamma(\omicron\gamma)\omega\zeta$.

103.11 the Father will unveil his [image] over them ...
 103.12 and raise them up ...
 103.13 and take them into his hidden storehouse ...
 103.14 and give ... to his soul. He will pour upon them ...
 103.15 his ambrosia and his sweet aroma, which will take away
 103.16 all the tribulation that they saw with their (own) eyes, and give them¹⁸²
 103.17 relief and eternal joy. When his
 103.18 grace satisfies them and he gives them his fruit¹⁸³ and
 103.19 they are renewed, he will then call them [in] peace
 103.20 and silence and perfect their substance [in] the same
 103.21 measure as his former aeons and reveal every power
 103.22 in its aeon, in its dwelling place. They will dwell in the New
 103.23 Age with their aeons. When they dwell with their aeons,
 103.24 they will become immeasurably rich
 103.25 for timeless eternity. From this moment on, they will not count this
 103.26 time among them, nor the number
 103.27 of days and hours through every generation,
 103.28 forever and ever. The Father will not be hidden from them from this
 103.29 moment on. Once he has been unveiled to them,
 103.30 he will [stay] unveiled forever. These are the three great days
 103.31 [that the Father of] Greatness has accounted for in the reckoning of
 103.32 [the number] of days.¹⁸⁴ The two deaths, however, which I have
 103.33 [proclaimed to you are these:

104.1 The first death is from the moment when the Light fell into
 104.2 the Darkness (and) mixed together with the Archons of Darkness until
 104.3 the moment when the Light will be purified and separate from the
 104.4 Darkness through that Great Fire. The remainder, which will be left
 over in
 104.5 it, will (be) built (onto) and add(ed) to this Last
 104.6 Statue. The second death is the death by which
 104.7 the souls of sinful people die, when
 104.8 [they] will be stripped of the shining Light which illumined
 104.9 the world and they are, in turn, separated from the Living Air from
 which they
 104.10 received breath, and they are deprived of the Living Soul which
 104.11 ... in the world, and they are separated and swept
 104.12 away from this Last Statue ...
 104.13 ... and they are bound in every limb
 104.14 the woman(?)¹⁸⁵ will become ... and ...
 104.15 their torture and their tribulation, because their deeds ...

¹⁸² A&C: [N][q][t] nεγ n̄.

¹⁸³ A&C: n̄nεqκap̄t̄oc̄.

¹⁸⁴ A&C: n̄]n̄]z̄[ooγ̄ε].

¹⁸⁵ Unlikely reading, perhaps "terror" (Funk, *personal communication*).

- 104.16 those three places. Since they have blasphemed (and) despised the
104.17 Holy Spirit in every generation of the world. These are the
104.18 two deaths: the first death is temporal, while the second
104.19 death is eternal—it is the
104.20 [second death!]

CHAPTER 48

ON THE CONDUITS(?)¹⁸⁶

- 120.23 Again, the Enlightener spoke: Three conduits are found
120.24 in the entire Zone (running) from the depth to the height.
120.25 The first conduit is the root of all the higher powers:
120.26 those that are found in all the heavens; those that come down
120.27 (and) are bound to the lower earths. Since the lower earth
120.28 is the hide,¹⁸⁷ the garment, and the body of higher powers
120.29 in the heavens. For when the Father of Life
120.30 established the worlds of heaven, he stripped them of their bodies
(and)
120.31 threw them to the lower earths. While the upper worlds
120.32 became psychic and pneumatic, the lower worlds
120.33 became somatic and carcass-like ...
- 121.1 Because of this, he ... the powers of heaven (and) sealed
121.2 it on their bodies and their carcasses that are in the earths, so that
121.3 when Life comes up from the fullness of these earths,
121.4 it may be completely drawn to the height through the roots of the
heavenly, those
121.5 that are nailed in their bodies, and all Life will be distilled from these
121.6 places. The dregs, however, that is swept away from the purity
121.7 which comes up to the height, is left to fall down
121.8 into the channels(?)¹⁸⁸ of the conduits and flow down to ...
121.9 and be thrown into the deep.¹⁸⁹ This is the first conduit, which
121.10 runs from the powers of heaven to their bodies and their
121.11 carcasses on the earth. (It) also (runs) from their bodies and [their]
121.12 carcasses on the earth to the powers of heaven.
121.13 The second conduit is the one that runs from the temples and the
121.14 dwellings and the cities in heaven down to

¹⁸⁶ The precise meaning of **ΛΙΖΜΕ** is uncertain.

¹⁸⁷ According to Theodore bar Khonai, the Living Spirit uses the flayed skins of the Archons, i.e., “their hides” (ⲗⲉⲛⲛⲉⲛⲓ) (315.10 [Scher]) to construct the heavens and their corpses to construct the earths. This may be the idea reflected by the Coptic term **ΠΚΩΚ ΛΖΗΥ**, which Polotsky/Böhlig translated as *das Ausgezogene* and Gardner as “stripping off.”

¹⁸⁸ Even though the same word, **ΛΙΖΜΕ**, is used, it seems to imply another aspect of the “conduit.”

¹⁸⁹ What is being imagined here is some kind of distillation apparatus.

- 121.15 the *Five Kinds of Trees* that grow upon the earth. Life comes
 121.16 up from the Trees to the temples and the cities. But, the Life
 121.17 and the Fire of the heavenly ones comes down to the Trees in their
 121.18 conduits. The third conduit, however, is
 121.19 all the powers and the companions who dwell in all the firmaments,
 121.20 those whose roots run down from them to the *Five*
 121.21 *Worlds of Flesh* that creep upon the earth, fixed to one another.
 121.22 While Power and Life gather together in the *Worlds*
 121.23 *of Flesh* and go out from them in various forms, the
 121.24 powers of heaven draw it to them upwards through the conduits.
 121.25 [The] dregs, however, and the desires and the evils and the wraths,
 which
 121.26 abound in the powers [of] heaven, they are poured
 121.27 their various conduits. They are poured into human beings
 121.28 [and] the rest of the beasts. When the heavenly cause
 121.29 the dregs, the stink, and the poison to flow down to the creations
 121.30 of flesh below, the creations abound
 121.31 in desire, in wrath, (and) in evil
 121.32 [through] the energy of their fathers on high.
 121.33 The Apostle [spoke]:¹⁹⁰ As for the wheel of the stars. It does not
 have
 121.34 [a root on this earth] but its roots are bound in the
 121.35 [All.] But, [the wheel of the stars], thriving on the Power
 122.1 and the Life that comes up [from] the earth through the conduits
 122.2 and the firmament above, draws Life from these conduits
 122.3 that lead up to the firmaments and the worlds
 122.4 of heaven above it, drawing Life from that place.
 122.5 Then the disciples asked the Enlightener (and) said to him: If
 122.6 the wheel has no root on this earth, where then do the stars
 122.7 and the zodiacal signs find the power to become masters over these
Five
 122.8 *Fleashes* and the *Five Trees*, even though you tell us that the
 122.9 wheel has no root? For you have told us that as everything
 122.10 diminishes on the earth, the powers above in
 122.11 the heavens gather it through a conduit. Also, we see
 122.12 that every thing which happens to a man—whether wealth
 122.13 comes to him or he is struck by poverty,
 122.14 his sickness or his health—it happens to him
 122.15 through the Zodiac and the stars under which he was begotten.
 122.16 Then he spoke to his disciples: That which I proclaimed to
 122.17 you—that the wheel has no root—I proclaimed it to
 122.18 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 it 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 fleshs 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
 the
- 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

¹⁹¹ A&C: x]NÑ-

¹⁹² A&C: [NOY]iETN A [BA]λ [x]ϵ ϵ[Ϙ] Nλ[i][z]ME.

- 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]
 the
- 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 fleshs 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 A&C: [NIM².

¹⁹⁴ A&C: KAAAT².

¹⁹⁵ A&C: [ET2N].

¹⁹⁶ A&C: MN TA NTENAYE.

¹⁹⁷ A&C: NNANON [MN NET][W]OOT.

- 124.29 plunder it, then it too, this Matter, ...
- 124.30 its limbs and overflow
- 124.31 one another ... move
- 124.32

CHAPTER 57

ON THE GENERATION OF ADAM

- 144.15 Again, a Babylonian catechumen questioned the
144.16 Enlightener, saying to him: Speak to me, my lord, and
144.17 clarify for me about Adam, the first man. When
144.18 was he created, in what way was he formed,
144.19 or in what way was he begotten? Does¹⁹⁸ his generation
144.20 resemble the generation which is begotten today among
144.21 humankind, or else is there a distinction to be found between his birth
144.22 and what happens today? For, behold,
144.23 Adam was strong in his substance, great was his
144.24 size, (and) long were his years. He passed many years
144.25 in the world. But he is not the only one that we
144.26 have found to be strong, but also all the others who were
144.27 begotten in his generation. Long were their years also. These
144.28 people, however, who are begotten today, their substance
144.29 diminishes (while) their power and the remainder of their years wane.
Why,
144.30 then, is the birth of those begotten today
144.31 different than that of the first
- 145.1 in his very place. Behold also the stars and the zodiacal signs, they
remain
145.2 in their places. Why then has the life-span and
145.3 the years of these latter ones diminished and gotten shorter than
145.4 these ancients who are counted among this first generation?
145.5 But he, our Enlightener, in his deep wisdom
145.6 and his great understanding said to this catechumen
145.7 who had asked him: They increased and again diminished
145.8 because there are *Five Types of Authority* and
145.9 *Guide* set in the sphere of the Zodiac and the
145.10 heavens which are above it. They have *(Five)*¹⁹⁹ *Names*, by which
145.11 they are called. The first name is the “year”, the
145.12 second is the “month”, the third is the “day”, the
145.13 [fourth] is the “hour”, (and) the fifth is the “minute.” These *Five*
145.14 *Places* and these *Five Dwellings* are found in the sphere and
145.15 the heavens. These regions have *Five Powers* ruling over

¹⁹⁸ A&C: [α]ρα ουν.

¹⁹⁹ See Polotsky/Böhlig, 145.10 note.

- 145.16 them. The ruler of the year is found there, (as is) the ruler of the
month,
- 145.17 the ruler of the day, the ruler of the hour,
- 145.18 (and) the ruler of the minute; (each) one above his
- 145.19 companion. The one who is above in each case is lord over the one
who is below
- 145.20 him. As to humanity, which is being begotten along with
- 145.21 the animals, it is by these powers that it is begotten; but they, these
powers,
- 145.22 have authority from the beginning of creation to the end of the
- 145.23 world. At the beginning of the generations, it was the powers that rule
- 145.24 over the years that ruled. Because of this, the offspring
- 145.25 begotten in their generation and their era found their
- 145.26 years long, passing many life-spans in the generation of Adam and
- 145.27 that of Sethel, his son, as well as (the generation) of those who came
after him.
- 145.28 After they ceased to rule, that is, the powers that ruled over the
- 145.29 years, the powers that rule over the months ruled in turn. Just as the
- 145.30 months are shorter than the years, so also
- 145.31 the life-span of the offspring begotten by them is shorter
- 145.32 [than the life-span of those begotten] in the generation of the powers
who ruled
- 146.1 the years. When the authority of the powers who ruled the months
- 146.2 was finished, the powers of the days took power after
- 146.3 them. Therefore, since the days are shorter than the months,
- 146.4 so too was the life-span of the offspring begotten by them
- 146.5 shorter than the life-span of those begotten by the powers who ruled
- 146.6 over the months. Also, in the same way, the offspring who were
begotten by the
- 146.7 hours as well as that of the minute, their *lihme*²⁰⁰ are shorter than that
of
- 146.8 the months and that of the days. The Enlightener spoke to this
- 146.9 Babylonian catechumen: Behold how the end
- 146.10 of the world is nigh! The life-span of
- 146.11 people is down to nothing. Their days lessen (and) their years
- 146.12 wane because the Life and the Light [which]
- 146.13 was in the world in these previous generations was greater than that of
- 146.14 today. Because of this, they are shrinking in their substance (and) their
life-span
- 146.15 has become shorter. Again, this Babylonian
- 146.16 catechumen spoke to the Enlightener: I implore
- 146.17 you, my lord! Just as you clarified for me and persuaded

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
were more
- 147.5 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
they are
- 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
Enlightener:
- 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.

CHAPTER 65B

(ON THE FIVE QUALITIES OF THE SUN)

161.31 Again, he added and said to his disciples:

161.32 [There are] *Five Qualities* in the Sun which it manifests

161.33 [every time]²⁰¹ 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
162.4 floods beauty and splendour on all creatures
162.5 and all things.

162.6 The third is its peace, because when the Sun
162.7 lights up the world, all people are greeted
162.8 by it and they offer peace to one another.

162.9 The fourth is the Life of the Living Soul, that it releases
162.10 from all bonds and fetters of heaven and earth.

162.11 The fifth: it empowers the Elements, and also gives
162.12 scent and taste to the entire Cross of Light. Just as you
162.13 can see that its light illuminates
162.14 more than all lights found in the world, so too is
162.15 its beauty more beautiful than the beauty of all people. Its peace,
162.16 too, surpasses all the powers and watchers that are found
162.17 in the world. Its liberation, with which it liberates
162.18 the Living Soul, is a full day more than
162.19 all the liberations. The power that is in its Limbs
162.20 is a great power and is stronger than all powers.

²⁰¹ A&C: [𑀩𑀭𑀸𑀢𑀺𑀢𑀺].

CHAPTER 68

ON FIRE

166.19 Again he spoke: This fire that burns (and) is revealed to
166.20 today's world does *Five Things*.
166.21 The first thing that it does is this: It destroys
166.22 (and) burns wood and everything that is placed on it.
166.23 Second: It separates four properties from wood. These
166.24 are fire and light, ash and
166.25 smoke. Third: It gives taste and aroma to
166.26 what(ever) is cooked by it. It also gives warmth and
166.27 joy to who(ever) is brought near to it. The fourth thing that
166.28 it does: All craftsmen mould
166.29 the implements with which they fashion. Fifth:
166.30 It reveals light and people can see with its help.

CHAPTER 69

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
do
167.5 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
167.13 *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
167.24 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.

- 168.18 distributed and ordered to four sides, three at each corner in
 168.19 these four places. They are fastened to the Sphere that turns. The
 Ram,
 168.20 the Lion, and the Archer, these three belong to one side.
 168.21 The Bull, however, the Goat-horn, and the Virgin,
 168.22 these three belong to the other side. But, the Twin,
 168.23 the Scales, and the Water-bearer belong to another side. The
 Scorpion,
 168.24 the Fish, and the Crab belong to another corner. They are
 168.25 set in this way. They are fixed to these four sides (and) distributed
 168.26 in the Sphere. When the side of the Ram,
 168.27 the Lion, and the Archer is plundered by the governor
 168.28 who is above it, who coerces it along with the guiding (stars) who
 168.29 go above it, tribulation
 168.30 overtakes every four-footed beast below this place.
 168.31 But, when the [side] of the Bull,
 168.32 the Virgin, and the Goat-horn is plundered, [tribulation]
- 169.1 at once comes to be in the herbs and the vegetables and
 169.2 all the fruits of the trees. But, when
 169.3 the side of the Scorpion, the Fish, and the Crab, is plundered
 169.4 there will be a lack of water on the earth
 169.5 and famine will occur everywhere. However, when
 169.6 the side of the Twin, the Scales, and the Water-bearer
 169.7 is plundered, deficiency and diminishment in the category
 169.8 of humanity will occur everywhere.
 169.9 Behold, I have clarified for you about these twelve
 169.10 zodiacal signs, that they have been formed from the *Five*
 169.11 *Worlds of Darkness* and bound in the Sphere. I have
 169.12 also taught you about the *Five Stars*, that they too have come to be
 169.13 from the *Five Worlds of Darkness*. I have proclaimed
 169.14 to you, also, about the Two Ascendants, that they stand (according) to
 169.15 the mystery of fire and lust, which is
 169.16 dryness and moisture, the father and mother.
 169.17 I have also revealed to you about the Sun and the Moon, that they are
 169.18 foreign to them. But because of the (irresistible) force of the planned
 arrangement
 169.19 according to which one thing takes on the other, and they are being
 plundered
 169.20 them, that is why they were counted among them according to the
 numerical
 169.21 value, although the Sun and Moon come from the Greatness,
 169.22 (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
169.28 the assembly amidst the congregation, he spoke to his
169.29 disciples: While the entire cosmos, above and
169.30 below, resembles the human body,
169.31 [the] makeup of this body of flesh (also)

170.1 resembles the cosmos. Its head resembles
170.2 by way of example the *Five Garments*. But, from its neck
170.3 down to the site of its heart, it resembles
170.4 the Ten Firmaments. The heart is there
170.5 in resemblance of the wheel of the Sphere that turns. From its heart
170.6 down to its mid-section, it resembles that air
170.7 which flows from the Sphere down to the earth. The male (part)
170.8 of the body resembles the Great Earth. From its
170.9 intestines down to its loins it resembles
170.10 the Three Earths. But, the shinbones of its foot
170.11 resemble the space where the Porter stands.
170.12 The soles of its feet resemble the Great Earth on which the
170.13 Porter stands and the Four Fixtures which are under his
170.14 feet. Its liver resembles the Vehicle of Fire.
170.15 Its flesh resembles the Vehicle of Darkness. Its
170.16 blood resembles the Vehicle of Water. In this way,
170.17 the small body resembles the great
170.18 cosmos in its firmaments, in its rank, in its
170.19 mountains, its walls, and its vehicles, as I have
170.20 revealed to you. Again, I am revealing to you
170.21 that there are *Five Great Camps* in this
170.22 great outer zone, over which the *Five Sons of the Living*
170.23 *Spirit* rule. In the first upper watch-tower,
170.24 the one in which the Keeper of Splendour rules,
170.25 the pinnacle of all things, his authority is placed
170.26 over the Three Heavens. Those that are under him are,
170.27 nevertheless, above the great King of Honour.
170.28 As for the second watch-tower, the one in which the great King of
Honour
170.29 rules, his authority (is) placed over the Seven
170.30 Firmaments below him. As for the third

- 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 commands²²⁰ 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
watch-tower
- 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
his
- 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 ΝΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ ΛΧΩΣ ΕϚ].

²²⁰ A&C: Ε[Ϛ]ΧΙΟΥΘ.

172.9 [over] his heart and humbles it symbolizes the great
 172.10 King of Honour who humbles the Seven Heavens. He
 172.11 who rules his chest and humbles his desire
 172.12 becomes like the mystery of the Adamas of Light, he who
 172.13 humbles Matter. He who humbles the stomach and
 172.14 rules the fire found in it, but also the purity
 172.15 of the food that enters it, he symbolizes
 172.16 the King of Glory, he who turns the wheels (and) sends
 172.17 life upward. He who rules over the
 172.18 rank of the archons beneath his feet and binds it with the
 172.19 bond of peace symbolizes the Porter, he who humbles
 172.20 with his feet the lower abyss. Also, the teaching
 172.21 of wisdom, which circulates through this body,
 172.22 symbolizes the Virgin of Light, who goes up
 172.23 (and) comes down in the Zone that is above and
 172.24 below. Also, the Love and the Joy, the Faith
 172.25 and the Truth by which a person lives symbolizes
 172.26 these Two Light Ships. For, it is through them that the Living
 172.27 Soul ascends, is liberated,
 172.28 leaves the lower abyss, and attains
 172.29 the upper height. Again, know this other thing,
 172.30 that there are Four Worlds in this Body of Flesh (and)
 172.31 there are Seven Archons in every one [of these Four]
 172.32 Worlds. The first [world is from its]

173.1 neck upwards, but the Seven Archons that are found
 173.2 in this upper world, they are the two eyes
 173.3 and the two ears and the two nostrils.
 173.4 The other is the mouth, which is the taste organ.
 173.5 [The] second world is from its neck down to
 173.6 its entire stomach, but the Seven Archons which
 173.7 are found in this second world, they are its two arms—
 173.8 those that symbolize its two ears
 173.9 found in its first world above—and its two
 173.10 breasts, which symbolize its nostrils,
 173.11 and the two eyes of its heart and the depth of the stomach
 173.12 between the two breasts, which are in the chest
 173.13 symbolize the mouth. Again, there are Seven
 173.14 Archons in the third world of the body,
 173.15 which are the fat, the lung(s), the spleen, the liver, the gall,
 173.16 and its two kidneys. Also, in the fourth world
 173.17 below, there are seven others in the same pattern—its
 173.18 two buttocks, its two testicles, its two loins,
 173.19 and the member from which the seed comes, which begets
 173.20 all the forms.
 173.21 Again, the Enlightener said to those who were listening to him:

The

- 173.22 Ram, the Bull, the Twin, the Crab, the Lion,
 173.23 the Virgin, the Scale, the Scorpion, the Archer, the
 173.24 Goat-horn, the Water-bearer, and the Fish, these are the twelve
 173.25 zodiacal signs that are found in the world of heaven, that are in the
 173.26 Sphere, fastened and bound to this turning wheel, the one by which
 173.27 they are forced, nailed, and planted. But, behold all these twelve
 173.28 zodiacal signs, this is how they are ordered and made head
 173.29 [and] . . . in the Sphere above heaven, which is the wheel of the
 173.30 [stars]. This, then, is how they are ordered. They are ordered so that
 you might
 173.31 find the head . . . and find the tail between one another.²²¹
 173.32 they also exist in this way, namely
- 174.1 those which we have proclaimed one after the other in this body. They
 174.2 are counted among them in their sum and number from the head to
 the
 174.3 feet. Its head is the Ram, its neck and its shoulders
 174.4 the Bull, its two forearms the Twin,
 174.5 its oesophagus(?)²²² the Crab, its stomach
 174.6 [the] Lion, its heart the Virgin, the backbone of the
 174.7 statue and its diaphragm the Scales, its chest
 174.8 [the] Scorpion, its loins the Archer, its feet
 174.9 the Goat-horn, its shinbones the Water-bearer, (and)
 174.10 the soles of its feet the Fish. Behold (how) these too
 174.11 are distributed among them. They are found in this body,
 174.12 turned aside (and) bent like these twelve zodiacal signs.
 174.13 They are ordered and spread among one another, the head
 174.14 to the tail, just as they are in the wheel
 174.15 . . . which is turned to heaven.²²³ They, too, are counted among
 174.16 the sum and number of the body and all its limbs.
 174.17 But, what we have proclaimed—that they are turned to the side, bent,
 (and)
 174.18 spread out—this is so, because from its head down to its
 174.19 loins, they are counted six on its left, (and) six others on its right.
 174.20 The six that are on its lower right are those which I
 174.21 will proclaim. The right temple is the Ram, its right shoulder
 174.22 the Bull, its right forearm
 174.23 the Twin, its right rib the Crab,
 174.24 its stomach the Lion, (and) the right side of its intestines
 174.25 the Virgin. The other six which we have spoken
 174.26 about, they are found on the left side, going

²²¹ A&C: **οὔτωι κρεοῦε**.

²²² While **φασπε** normally means “stomach,” Böhlig suggested oesophagus (*Speiseröhre*) due to the fact that stomach comes next in the list.

²²³ A&C: **ετς[ιτε]**.

- 174.27 from its loins to its head. Its left ...
 174.28 is the Scales, its left rib the Scorpion,
 174.29 its left breast and its left kidney [the]
 174.30 Archer, its left elbow the Goat-horn,
- 175.1 its left shoulder the Water-bearer, (and)
 175.2 its left temple the Fish. This is the way that the
 175.3 craftsman of the body ordered (and)
 175.4 arranged (and) made them level to one another, head to [tail].
 175.5 Again, he spoke: Hear this other word which I will proclaim
 175.6 to you. Know that there are many powers found
 175.7 in this body—these are the companions who are its leaders.
 175.8 There are eight-hundred and forty myriads of Archons
 175.9 ruling over the human body. They are distributed
 175.10 (and) established four to a dwelling. The sum and
 175.11 the number of their dwellings is two-hundred and ten myriads.
 175.12 When all these Archons come, creeping (and) wandering
 175.13 within the body, and they meet one another, they
 175.14 break against one another and destroy one another and ...
 175.15 in them there. When powers
 175.16 together(?) they leap out of the body in which a person is going to
 175.17 dies, and they cause evil tumours and blows and burning wounds
 175.18 on the body. Either they make him sick inside [or]²²⁴
 175.19 else they would come out upon him externally. These wounds
 175.20 contract at first and pour forth their liquid.
 175.21 They release their ooze until they contract ...
 175.22 ... and the core is dug out of the wound. Afterwards,
 175.23 their wounds are carved out and healed and relieved
 175.24 at the site where they came out.

²²⁴ A&C: [H].

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
place].²²⁷
228.31 Gold, silver, and vessels of

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: ἀπαποστολος.

²²⁶ A&C: τῆ[α]-.

²²⁷ A&C: οὐ[ε] ᾧ[ε] νε[ε] ἀπ[ε]ρ[α].

- 229.9 in fact more than his house. He entrusts all his wealth to the
 229.10 Elect men and women. For this is what [the] Saviour
 229.11 preached through the mouth of his Apostle:²²⁸ *From today*
 229.12 *onwards those who have wives, let them become like those who do not.*
 229.13 *Those who buy like those not buying, those who rejoice like those not rejoicing,*
 229.14 *those who weep like those not weeping, those who profit from this world*
 229.15 *like those not in wantonness. Those who . . . those which . . .*
 229.16 proclaimed, were proclaimed about these perfect Catechumens,
 229.17 who depart from this body alone and return to
 229.18 the height. They are like the Elect in their behaviour.
 229.19 This is the sign of these Catechumens who
 229.20 do not enter a body. There are others too who possess
 229.21 self-control, [keeping] the flesh of every beast from
 229.22 their mouths, being eager for fasting and daily prayer,
 229.23 helping the Church according to their means
 229.24 through almsgiving. Malice is dead in them.
 229.25 The motions of their feet made it towards the Church more than
 229.26 their home. Their hearts are upon it at all times. Their posture
 229.27 their comportment is like that of the Elect. They have stripped all the
 229.28 affairs of the world from their hearts. But, this person,
 229.29 with the mind set upon the Holy Church
 229.30 . . . at every moment and his gifts and
 229.31 . . . and his honour and his grace which benefits
 230.1 his life, as he journeys with them to the Holy Church
 230.2 along with those who come to the Church, whether
 230.3 they are his children or his wife or one of his relations.
 230.4 He rejoices greatly over them and he loves
 230.5 them, sharing all his wealth with them.
 230.6 Behold! This is the sign and the model of these Catechumens
 230.7 who do not (re)enter a body. Like the “good pearl,”
 230.8 which I described for you in the *Treasure of Life*—
 230.9 it is priceless.²²⁹
 230.10 So too is it for these Catechumens
 230.11 who do not (re)enter a body. But, when they do leave
 230.12 their bodies, they journey in their way and pass
 230.13 on to a higher place and enter into life.
 230.14 They are not, however, condemned and bound by the chains of the
 230.15 they are purified in the heavens and plucked like a fruit
 enemy, but²³⁰

²²⁸ See 1 Cor 7:29–31.

²²⁹ A&C *pace* Böhlig: “die keinen Wert hat.”

²³⁰ A&C: Line 14 of manuscript was missed in original edition. Read and renumber accordingly: ΜΑΥ[Τ]ΑΧΑΥ ΝΤΑϞ ΝϞΕΜΑΡΟΥ ΖΝ ΤΗΡΡΕ ΗΥΙΧΑΧΕ ΑΛΛΑ.

230.16 that will ripened and be plucked from the tree. This is also how the
 230.17 almsgiving that is passed on to the Elect resembles it
 230.18 in many forms, purifies it, and enters into
 230.19 the Land of the Living. This is also how the souls
 230.20 of these Catechumens resemble it, those who do not (re)enter
 230.21 a body. But, as for the matter of the Catechumens,
 230.22 I have written it down in the *Treasure of Life*.
 230.23 Just as they are freed and are purified one by one
 230.24 according to their deeds, according to their approach to the Church,
 230.25 this is also the way that their ascent comes closer to them,
 230.26 their healing and their purity.
 230.27 Therefore, it is also fitting for the Catechumen that he pray at
 230.28 all times for repentance and forgiveness of sins from God
 230.29 and the Holy Church. Because of his prior
 230.30 and present sins, his deeds will be gathered together,
 230.31 the earlier and the later ones, and allotted to him.

231.1 Then, after his disciples heard these words from him,
 231.2 they blessed him and glorified him with great praise. They
 231.3 said: You are praised, our father, (and) you are glorious. Blessed is
 231.4 the hope that endures in us because of you. For great is the [wisdom]
 231.5 that you bring to souls. For (to) the Elect you have revealed
 231.6 the works and the commandments of the election
 231.7 in which they will live. And even regarding the Catechumens,
 231.8 have you not neglected them, but you have taught them in various
 231.9 degrees,²³¹ stages, and steps so that they might rise
 231.10 from them to the Good, each one according to (his) [ability], and
 231.11 attain the Land of the Living.
 231.12 But now we implore you, our lord, that you proceed and
 231.13 preach to us about this matter that we have asked you about²³² and
 open
 231.14 our eyes as to the people who become disciples²³³ (and) ...
 231.15 and enter into the Church, [either] Elect or²³⁴
 231.16 Catechumens. The former sins that they committed [in] the
 231.17 world before they became disciples, where do they go? Since
 231.18 there are some among them (who) formerly adored idols, worshipping
 231.19 (and) revering the gods. Others also among them were firmly
 established
 231.20 in the teaching of the Sects, blaspheming God.

²³¹ See W.-P. Funk, "Prolégomènes," 11.

²³² A&C: ΕΤΑΝΩΝ[ΤΚ Λ]ΡΑΦ.

²³³ A&C: ΕΤΕΨΑΥΜΑΘΗΤΕΥΕ.

²³⁴ A&C: ΕΙ[ΤΕ Ζ]ΝΕΚΛΕΚΤΟΥΣ [ΝΕ] Η ΖΝ̄.

- 231.21 They have also blasphemed other enlighteners, who are in the
 heavens.
 231.22 Some among them also committed other sins: whether it be theft²³⁵
 231.23 or murder or adultery or . . .
 231.24 the sin of magic or error of false witness
 231.25 or other . . . These are evident in the wicked works of the world
 231.26 in which people first [walked]. Then, when they²³⁶
 231.27 hear the word of God, will they put aside
 231.28 (their) prior sins or will they not?
 231.29 [We implore] you, then, our lord, that you open our eyes
 231.30 [as to this question] which we have asked²³⁷ you and give rest to our
 hearts.
- 232.1 Then the Apostle spoke to them: Very great is this question
 232.2 [that] you have asked me. I will reveal (the answer) to you.
 232.3 [Know],²³⁸ therefore, that every person who accepts the hope
 232.4 [and the faith] has separated the Light from the Darkness, he has
 perceived
 232.5 [the] mysteries of the Living Soul, he has received the right hand of
 232.6 Peace brought (by) the Light-Mind, who dwells in the Holy
 232.7 Church, and he has prayed for forgiveness of sins from the Light-
 232.8 Mind. Know, therefore, that all his prior sins
 232.9 which he committed from the day he was born until
 232.10 the day that he accepts the hope of God (and) has removed his heart
 232.11 from all the Sects and the idols of Error, they are
 232.12 all forgiven him. He will not be asked about them from now on,
 232.13 nor will he receive retribution for them—if it is the case that he
 remains
 232.14 in his faith and [live] without committing henceforth these
 232.15 prior sins, which he committed. Afterwards, he has borne . . .
 232.16 they have been forgiven him, they will
 232.17 not protect²³⁹ him henceforth from all his prior sins.
 232.18 Should he return again to his prior actions
 232.19 and re-offend, then they will be counted against him
 232.20 along with all his sins, the former and the latter. He will receive
 232.21 retribution for all of them, since God granted him repentance
 232.22 and forgiveness from his folly, but
 232.23 he still did not persevere in the repentance that God
 232.24 granted to him. But, had he persevered in the catechumenate
 232.25 (and) in his faith and left all his prior deeds

²³⁵ A&C: Η [Ο]Υ[Χ]Ι[Ο]ΥϞ | ²³[ΠΕ Η Ο]ΥΦΟΝΟΣ.

²³⁶ A&C: ΕΤΕ[ΟΥ]Ϟ.

²³⁷ A&C: Ε]ΤΑΝ[Χ]Ι[Ν]ΟΥΚ.

²³⁸ A&C: [ΗΜΕ].

²³⁹ A&C: Ν[Φ][Χ]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 latter²⁴⁰ 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 prayers²⁴¹ 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 added²⁴²
 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

²⁴⁰ A&C: Ν[ζ]αεεγε.

²⁴¹ That is, the prayers of the Lord's Day.

²⁴² A&C: σεναα[π]ογ α |¹⁵[x]ñ τεε-.

- 234.1 from the day that he became a Catechumen. As for the rest,
 234.2 he will be questioned about a single part and receive
 234.3 a thrashing²⁴³ and an immersion, and is later
 234.4 purified, either above or below. He is
 234.5 purified according to the value of his works, and he is
 234.6 purified, cleansed, and adorned. Afterwards, he
 234.7 is fashioned a Light-image
 234.8 and is drawn and elevated to the Land of Rest, so that,
 234.9 where his heart is, his treasure is there too.
 234.10 Until he becomes strong in his catechumenate
 234.11 he will receive repayment for his good (works) in this way.
 234.12 If, however, he should lie or turn away from the truth, then
 234.13 all his sins will be counted against him again, the former and
 234.14 the latter. The judgement [which] condemns his sins will be poured
 over him.
 234.15 But, if he should confirm himself in his faith and
 234.16 become strong in it, then a fate will be (assigned[?]) to him and he will
 come
 234.17 back again, be just, escape, and save
 234.18 his live in eternal life. At the time of his
 234.19 departure, he will go and rest in eternal
 234.20 life. When the disciples heard
 234.21 these words of wisdom, they glorified their teacher (and) contemplated
 234.22 the first Light, which makes wise through the Mind and the
 234.23 richness of his knowledge.

²⁴³ A&C: ο[γc]ηφϵ.

CHAPTER 95

THE APOSTLE ASKS HIS DISCIPLES:
WHAT DOES CLOUD MEAN?

- 240.16 Again, as the Apostle sat in the assembly of his
240.17 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
240.20 before you, as you look at it, I will reveal to you
240.21 and teach you how it ascended.
240.22 Know that it is stripped from
240.23 *Five Places*, ascends above this Great Earth, is then revealed
240.24 and is visible in the middle-air.
240.25 The cloud that ascends from the upper fire
240.26 towards the image of the Virgin of Light, which she
240.27 makes visible to it, its sign is the flash
240.28 found in lightning-bolts ... passing away ...
240.29 But it is purified towards [the image of the Virgin of]²⁴⁴
240.30 Light [to whom] it becomes visible.²⁴⁵
- 241.1 ... the Archons are stripped off of the lightning-bolts. They go out
241.2 and separate, but these angels are sent to
241.3 them immediately so that they might seize them.
241.4 Knowing that they never do good, (and that) every place that they
touch
241.5 they cause death and ruin, when
241.6 the angels make for them and come beside(?) ...
241.7 they flee in their distress before them and come [to]
241.8 what(ever) they meet and assume it. Like a
241.9 thief, (when he) is caught (and) flees from a man stronger than him,
who
241.10 pursues him in order to overtake him. Now, these Archons
241.11 who escape to this cloud, they bear that
241.12 which they meet in ...
241.13 it, which they do not ... will seize
241.14 this little bit, whether a tree [that] they found
241.15 in the way or beasts or people. In short,
241.16 every place that they assume, they burn and

²⁴⁴ A&C: [ΠΙΝΕ ΝΤΤΙΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ Π].

²⁴⁵ A&C: [ΝΕC ΑΒΑΛ].

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

²⁴⁶ A&C: [ΝΤΚ]λ[ΟΟ]λε ΜΜΑΥ.

²⁴⁷ A&C: [CΩΥ] πο[Υ]Μεϊνε.

²⁴⁸ A&C: [ΝCεω]φφ.

²⁴⁹ A&C: [α]τ[ρ]ογβαπογ.

²⁵⁰ A&C: [ΝΝΑΓΓ]ελοC.

²⁵¹ A&C: ΝΟΥΤΕΚ[Ο Ν]ΤΗ[ΗΤ]Ε ΝΝΕΤΟ[Υ]Ν[Α]ΤΕΖΑΥ.

²⁵² A&C: ΝCεΠΩΤ μα ΝΙ[Μ].

- 242.21 to which ⟨they⟩²⁵³ come, they leave . . . and take life²⁵⁴
 242.22 from them . . . sent to them²⁵⁵ and the angels
 242.23 seize them. Also, the cloud that rises [up]
 242.24 from the mixed air and comes up to [the image]
 242.25 of the Virgin, its sign is this, that [their living beings]²⁵⁶
 242.26 are purified by it²⁵⁷ in rest and peace. These Archons, however,
 242.27 who are stripped of this cloud, they come
 242.28 down from every place (in which) they are found . . .
 242.29 They cause them(?)
 242.30 The colour²⁵⁸ . . . until [the angels come . . .]²⁵⁹
- 243.1 they seize them and take them in their midst. Their strippings,
 243.2 which are left behind at every place
 243.3 that they reach, either the begetting of trees or the begetting [of]
 243.4 flesh, they bear to the middle . . . withering(?),
 243.5 they cause great danger, but (as for)
 243.6 these Archons, the angels are also [sent]
 243.7 to the middle and draw the Light from them and
 243.8 throw the demons down to those Seven Pits, [which] (are)
 243.9 beyond the Great Sea that is the passage of
 243.10 the waters found outside of the cosmos.
 243.11 Then, his disciples said to him: Open our eyes,
 243.12 our Lord, to which place these Seven Pits come
 243.13 down to. [The Apostle] spoke to them:
 243.14 These pits and these roads [descend]²⁶⁰ until
 243.15 they reach the lower earths, and [meet]²⁶¹ the
 243.16 feet of the Porter. Hear, also this other thing:
 243.17 Sometimes these angels are dispatched to them
 243.18 to catch the Archons. When the Archons . . .
 243.19 because the angels pursue them, they approach²⁶² them . . .
 243.20 those who are given the commands. But, these Archons
 243.21 free themselves and bear
 243.22 [the tree] and [the flesh] and swallow them in these two²⁶³ offspring,
 243.23 [that of the]²⁶⁴ tree and that of the flesh. The angels leave their

²⁵³ A&C: **ετ(ογ)ναει.**

²⁵⁴ A&C: **ουφν[ζ].**

²⁵⁵ A&C: **τνναυ [ζ]ιρετου.**

²⁵⁶ A&C: **ωαρφο[υωνζ].**

²⁵⁷ A&C: **νηητς.**

²⁵⁸ A&C: **εογεν.**

²⁵⁹ A&C: **ωαν[τ]ε ναγτε[λος ει ν̄].**

²⁶⁰ A&C: **νη[λι]τ [βηκ λπιτν̄] ωαν-**

²⁶¹ A&C: **νςετωμητ ανουρη |¹⁶τε.**

²⁶² A&C: **σετζνο.**

²⁶³ A&C: **ς[ν]εγ.**

²⁶⁴ A&C: **[παπ][ω]ην.**

- 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
 it.
- 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 to²⁶⁶ 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: **ἦΜΟΡ** |²⁹**[ΦΛΥΕ ΜΗ ΝΟΥΖΙ]ΚΩΝ.**

²⁶⁶ A&C: **ΔΩ** |¹³**ΤΩ.**

²⁶⁷ A&C: **ΩΤ[ΜΕ Λ]ΝΕΙ [ΝΤΟΟΤΩ].**

²⁶⁸ A&C: **ἦΤΑ[Κ. .] . . . [ΩΛΠ] ΔΒΛΛ.**

²⁶⁹ A&C: **ΖΡ[ΔΒ]ΔΩΣ.**

CHAPTER 100

ON THE DRAGON, THE ONE WITH
FOURTEEN HEADS; WHAT IS IT AND . . .

- 251.29 [Again] one of his disciples asked the [Apostle . . .]
 251.30 spread ing
 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.

²⁷¹ A&C: ΟΥΠΑΡΑ[ΒΟ] |¹⁰[ΛΗ] ΠΕ.

²⁷² A&C: ΟΥΜΗΤ[ΠΑΡΑΠΕΝΟΥΤ].

²⁷³ A&C: Δ[Ε] ΑΘΕ[Ρ] |¹²[ΜΗΝ]ΙΑ ΜΗ[Ε].

²⁷⁴ A&C: Α[ΡΑ]Υ ΕΥ |¹³Φ[Π Μ]ΝΑΥ Α[ΠΣΩΜΑ]ΤΙΚΟΝ.

²⁷⁵ A&C: Π[ΕΦΜΑΝ]ΧΙ[ΤΠ]Ε.

- 252.24 the various flavours that are found in every form.
 252.25 [These are] the seven heads of the dragon, the seven
 252.26 senses that (are part of) the human form ...
 252.27 ... below. The seven of the body
 252.28 are these: two hips,²⁷⁶ two buttocks, [two ...]
 252.29 ... Archon
 252.30
 252.31 [the] seven [heads that]
- 253.1 above and below, they add up and make [four]teen
 253.2 heads for the dragon. The *Five Pits*, however, which they
 253.3 spoke about, in which the dragon is holed
 253.4 up (and) spread, they are these: The first is [the] tongue,
 253.5 the second is the lung, the third is the heart,
 253.6 the fourth is the spleen, and the fifth is the [blood that]
 253.7 flows through them. He also looks out from them [and]
 253.8 reveals his image and his appearance from above
 253.9 and below as he makes war [with]
 253.10 his fourteen heads. He who recognizes
 253.11 the dragon, which is the desire of [the]
 253.12 body, struggles with it, conquers it, and kills
 253.13 it in them, will thus [he be called]²⁷⁷
 253.14 the righteous one, holy and elect, a good
 253.15 man. He conquers without suffering on the day [of] his
 253.16 advent. Behold, then, I have taught you about the dragon, the
 253.17 one with fourteen heads and his *Five Pits*,
 253.18 in which he hides and conceals (himself), doing his will
 253.19 from them at all times. Then this disciple said
 253.20 to him: My heart is persuaded, my lord, by that which you have
 253.21 proclaimed to me. You have taught me about the dragon, the one
 with fourteen
 253.22 heads. Blessed is everyone in whom it is dead, killed,
 253.23 or damaged. He will live forever and become a person who is
 victorious
 253.24 in all his works.

²⁷⁶ A&C: ΤΚ[ε]ΖΤ[ε].

²⁷⁷ A&C: Ν[ι]Τ[ι]Ζ[ε] ΕΥΝΑΜ[ο]ΥΤ[ε] ΑΡΑ[σ] ΕΥΝ[α]ΜΟΥΤΕ |¹⁴Α[α]ΡΑ[σ].

CHAPTER 103

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 Wisdom²⁷⁸
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 hope²⁷⁹ of God. Also,
those
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 pearl²⁸⁰
258.3 forever and ever.

²⁷⁸ A&C: ε[.] . . φτα . . . [. .] . . ατσοφια.

²⁷⁹ Here “hope” is synonymous with “message” or “gospel” (see *Kephalaia*, “Prologue” 7.18–8.7 and *Kephalaia* 371.6–30). Possibly a reflection of Syriac ܩܘܘܠܘܢ “gospel” from ܩܘܠܘܢ “hope.”

²⁸⁰ Compare *Kephalaia* Chapter 91 “On the Catechumen” (1 Kc 230.6–11).

CHAPTER 104

ON FOOD, THAT IT IS APPOINTED TO
FIVE PRODUCTS IN THE HUMAN BODY

258.7 [Again] he spoke to his disciples: The food that
258.8 people gather together of every kind,
258.9 so that they might eat it and (have) it enter into the body, it breaks
down into

258.10 *Five Products.* The first product is that which
258.11 comes out of the human being in amazement, raises in
258.12 the Mind, and comes out of all the limbs—it is without
258.13 measure. The second is that which comes out of the
258.14 human being in sound and word. The third is that which
258.15 leaps from them in power and diligence.
258.16 The fourth is that which is produced in the pleasure of desire
258.17 between male and female. The fifth is that
258.18 which is made and formed in the flesh and
258.19 is produced and issues from them—this is this corporeal
258.20 product. This product, which they produce, only its
258.21 parents know. Its affection and its
258.22 reason and its love they seek daily for
258.23 all time. The other four products they do not perceive,
258.24 nor do they pity them, since
258.25 they are not evident to them.

CHAPTER 107

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.

CHAPTER III

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 down²⁸⁷ ...
265.32 the Living Spirit²⁸⁸ ...
- 266.1 [the] First Man has risen through him (and) has known
266.2 everything.

²⁸¹ A&C: ΖΗ[ΠΒΕΛ].

²⁸² A&C: [ΧΩ]ΡΙΣ.

²⁸³ A&C: [...]Ψ ΜΕΝ ΕΤΖΗ ΠΒ[Ε]Λ [Ε][Ι]Η[Π ΑΠΜΑ]Υ.

²⁸⁴ A&C: ΚΕΚΕ.

²⁸⁵ A&C: [ΠΕΙ ΕΤ]ΕΤΗ-.

²⁸⁶ A&C: [ΝΗΤΗ ΑΒΑΛ ΠΕΙ].

²⁸⁷ A&C: [± 16]Τ ΑΝ ΤΕΤΑΞΕΙ.

²⁸⁸ A&C: [± 15 Π]ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΕΤΑΝΩ.

(ON THE FIVE THINGS REVEALED BY JESUS)

- 267.18 Then, after he had proclaimed this,
 267.19 at that moment one of his disciples said
 267.20 to him from among those standing before him: Tell
 267.21 us, our Lord, and clarify to us this matter.
 267.22 If this likeness of humanity does not belong to
 267.23 God, as you spoke about, why did Jesus come into
 267.24 the world, the Son of the Living God, reveal
 267.25 himself (and) suffer tribulation and persecution, get hung
 267.26 upon the cross (and) have his enemies commit against him the
 267.27 torture and shame of their wickedness?
 267.28 [The] Apostle [said] to him: Jesus did not come (and) reveal²⁸⁹
 267.29 (himself) to the world because of humanity alone, but
 267.30 [rather, before he]²⁹⁰ came (and) revealed (himself) on the earth,
 267.31 [he accomplished first his]²⁹¹ great and strong [works] outside of
 267.32 [the great world].²⁹² But, when he finished doing his
 268.1 [work] outside of the great world, he came . . .
 268.2 [he *sōrs*]²⁹³ out with Adam and Eve (and) revealed [to them].
 268.3 Indeed it was he who sent the Apostles for the Good
 268.4 to every generation, and revealed to them *Five Great Things*:
 268.5 [First]: He told them that they belonged to the race of Light.
 268.6 Second: He revealed to them about the Aeons [of Great-]
 268.7 [ness], how they exist, and he taught them about [the]
 268.8 [nature]²⁹⁴ of Darkness, how it too exists.
 268.9 The Third time: He proclaimed to them about the [Heroism]²⁹⁵
 268.10 of Light, how it overcame the power
 268.11 [of] Darkness (and) defeated it.
 268.12 Fourth: He taught them that he had come to the region of death
 268.13 in their midst, which is the flesh, until he might benefit them and
 268.14 them from the gate of hell below in which they

bring

²⁸⁹ A&C: $\alpha\phi\omicron\upsilon\gamma[\omega\mu\eta][\zeta]$.

²⁹⁰ A&C: $[\zeta\alpha\tau\epsilon\zeta\eta\ \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\sigma\ \epsilon\mu\pi\alpha]\tau\epsilon[\sigma\iota]\epsilon\iota$.

²⁹¹ A&C: $[\alpha\sigma\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\omega\alpha\rho\tau\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\eta}\nu\omicron\gamma][\zeta]\omega\beta$.

²⁹² A&C: $[\pi\eta\alpha\delta\ \bar{\eta}\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma]$.

²⁹³ A&C: $[\alpha\sigma]\sigma\omega\rho\omega\ \lambda\beta\alpha\lambda$ (meaning unknown).

²⁹⁴ A&C: $[\tau\omicron\gamma] \text{ } ^{\text{B}}[\sigma\iota\alpha\ \bar{\eta}]\pi\kappa\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$.

²⁹⁵ A&C: $\tau\eta\bar{\eta}\tau[\alpha\omega\rho\epsilon]$.

268.15 were engulfed. The Fifth: He opened our eyes (to the fact)
268.16 that the rebels will be bound by a great fetter, those who
268.17 rebel against the Good and against the righteousness
268.18 which has been proclaimed by the Apostle.

CHAPTER 137

ON THE FIVE TYPES OF BROTHERHOOD
THAT ARE DISTINCT FROM ONE ANOTHER

- 338.22 Again, the Apostle spoke to his disciples ...
338.23 as he was sitting among his community: There [are *Five*]
338.24 *Types* (of Brotherhood) found in the Church that I have chosen. The
[first]
338.25 are the “brothers,” the second are the “children,” the [third are]
338.26 the “disciples,” the fourth are the “day-labourers,” (and the fifth are)
338.27 ... (the “slaves”)²⁹⁶
338.28 ... which are in it
338.29 ... the people of righteousness ...
338.30
338.31 ... after he made it ready
- 339.1 ... their [shadow(?)] is light in the Church ...
339.2 ... this way. The Light-Mind ...
339.3 ... which is their shepherd and separates them from ...
339.4 ... each one according to the hue that it ...
339.5 ... for they are like brothers, who do not hide themselves [from]
339.6 the task which is appointed them, but rather the task which [they]
339.7 are able to do in the Church, they really do it.
339.8 [The] “children,” however, are those caring and wise people,
339.9 the craftsmen, those considerate people ...
339.10 ... every moment, as they preach the truth always, with
339.11 no falsehood in their mouths at all. Every single Church
339.12 in which a judgement is found, they do not ... this
339.13 judgement, but rather they judge according to righteous
339.14 judgement. They do even more and seek God.²⁹⁷
339.15 But, they do not separate from him, since they are [his] “children”.
339.16 [The] “disciples,” too, they are honourable and
339.17 patient people, splendid sheep, who live in
339.18 wisdom, following their teacher in patience
339.19 ... as they follow the foot-prints of their shepherd, who
339.20 [is a guide] for them toward (what is) good and useful.
339.21 [The “day-]labourers,” however, are those people who stand in

²⁹⁶ See 340.15. W.-P. Funk, *Kephalaia (I): Zweite Hälfte [Lieferung 13–14]* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1999), 168 note line 338.27.

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
whatever comes
340.8 to them immediately and carry it away by stealth and run away from
the
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.

CHAPTER 146

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
 from
- 350.12 [them].

CHAPTER 148

ON THE FIVE BOOKS, THAT
THEY BELONG 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
355.6 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 *Pragmateia* 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 ...

- 454.3 every ... and earthen vessels and herbs ...
 454.4 ... the vessel so that he may acquire it ...
 454.5 the quarrel ...
 454.6 ... return
 454.7
 454.8
 454.9
 454.10 ... changes
 454.11 ... rest
 454.12 great ...
 454.13
 454.14 great ...
 454.15
 454.16
 454.17
 454.18
 454.19
 454.20
 454.21
 454.22
 454.23 twelve ...
 454.24
 454.25 ... every
 454.26
 454.27
 454.28 ... a man, and he changes ...
 454.29

 455.1 ... the New Man, who comes to him ...
 455.2 ... he becomes a healthy man ...
 455.3 ... and he does the will that his good physician
 455.4 has prescribed for him, which is the commandment of [transition].
 455.5 [He] becomes a solitary ...
 455.6 ... as is written in the scripture.
 455.7 [He said]: There are *Five* other *Transitions*,
 455.8 through which the human being transitions in ...
 455.9 [of the] body. The first transition that [he experiences]
 455.10 is [this]: When the time comes and he leaves his
 455.11 body, he passes from the body of destruction,
 455.12 from the image of flesh and blood, and abandons human
 455.13 custom, he renounces all the mirages
 455.14 of this world and enters into the presence of the Great
 455.15 [Judge]. His deeds ... him before
 455.16 [the] Judge of Truth. The second transition
 455.17 [that] he experiences: He passes from ...
 455.18 to the First Man ...
 455.19 ... [the] Enlightener of the Night toward the place that ...

- 455.20 ... it receives him
 455.21 ... this Holy Church.
 455.22 The third transition is this: He passes from
 455.23 [the Enlightener] of the Night and goes to the place of the
 455.24 Enlightener of the Day. He enters the Ship of the Day
 455.25 ... holy ... of his riches ...
 455.26 ... he has glorified(?)
 455.27 again to the Ship of
 455.28 [the Night. The fourth] transition: [He] passes
 455.29 [from the Third] Messenger and
 455.30 [transitions ...] and goes to the place of the Great
- 456.1 [First] Righteous One. He reaches him and rests in himself ...
 456.2 ... of the teacher. The Great First Righteous One ...
 456.3 ... with the spirit of his brothers and they ...
 456.4 ... and he reaches this place and rejoices for them.
 456.5 [The last] transition is when he changes from ...
 456.6 ... at the end time. On the day when the Father will ...
 456.7 [unveil his(?)] face and all the Fathers of Light
 456.8 ... to the secrets of the Father, this Elect
 456.9 will also rise and all the spirits
 456.10 of his brothers elect, and will come to the
 456.11 Father, the God of Truth, and find rest by
 456.12 their Father. They remain with him for all time, which ...
 456.13 they, too, the course will suffice for them. The ...
 456.14 ... he will purify them and send them to peace [and]
 456.15 rest, and he (will) raise them up and assign them [each]
 456.16 one in his place. They (will) dwell in the Light [and]
 456.17 live forever, [being] in the heart of the Father ...
 456.18 ... These are the *Five [Spiritual] Transitions*
 456.19 through which the spiritual person passes
 456.20 from place to place. But whenever ...
 456.21 ... and they reveal life in the presence [of the Aeon] ...
 456.22 ... forever. Because of this, I say to you
 456.23 that blessed is every faithful Elect [who knows]
 456.24 that the commandment of this transition is great before ... because
 456.25 of it, he will become a perfect and thoughtful man, so
 456.26 that he might perfect all the commandments ...
 456.27 and [become] free of fault ...
 456.28
 456.29 ... the transition. Again [he spoke:(?) I implore you(?) my]
 456.30 lord, that you tell me about and [open my eyes to]
 456.31 the commandment of transition. The ...
- 457.1 also transitions ...
 457.2 from ... belongs to
 457.3 [whose mystery]? Or does the testimony of this

- 457.4 [transition] ...? Then the Apostle spoke to this
 457.5 [disciple]: Rightly have you asked. I will tell
 457.6 [you] ... say ...
 457.7
 457.8
 457.9 likeness of the mystery of ...
 457.10 The soul also ...
 457.11 it will live ...
 457.12
 457.13 ... the transition of ... but ...
 457.14 ... it will bear the earths and clothe them
 457.15 ... tribulation. ... it will cast out in
 457.16 ... [Sun(?)] and Moon and bears
 457.17
 457.18 spirit ...
 457.19
 457.20 it bears the ...
 457.21 ... Again, it distils it and purifies the
 457.22 ... and it ... and it transitions
 457.23 ... from every body of the world ...
 457.24
 457.25
 457.26
 457.27 ... first. The power ...
 457.28
 457.29
 457.30 p asses from ...
- 458.1 rest, those who live in the *Five Dwellings* ...
 458.2 this transition of stillness.
 458.3 [The] first transition is this: [It ascends into]
 458.4 the Living Air and comes into the ...
 458.5 holy, distilled, (and) purified. The [second transition]:
 458.6 It ascends to the Column [of Glory and enters the]
 458.7 ship of the First Man, which shines ...
 458.8 The third transition: [It leaves(?) ... the]
 458.9 ship of the First Man and goes ...
 458.10 so that every vessel that shines is purified. [The fourth]
 458.11 transition: It exits
 458.12 also the air of the creations and the ...
 458.13 ... The fifth transition
 458.14 ... from [the] Great First Righteous One to ...
 458.15 ... the greatness ... and enters his ...
 458.16 from the ...
 458.17 the chambers of the world
 458.18
 458.19 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

460.3
460.4
460.5

CHAPTER 189

[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

- 486.1 [happens] in ... beyond the persecutor ...
 486.2 ... the Sects, those who stand in ...
 486.3 ... tribulation. Or again as they ...
 486.4 ... as they strike him with whips ...
 486.5 ... and they come to crucify him and he does not turn ...
 486.6 ... from his truth and he bears every thing ...
 486.7 ... wrath, bond, (and) crucifixion. In these *Five*
 486.8 *Temptations* of the Elect
 486.9 ... he receives the ... of ... When [he]
 486.10 ... increases in faith and becomes righteous ...
 486.11 his knowledge ... temptation ...
 486.12 ... and he returns immediately and reveals
 486.13 the truth and ... gives ...
 486.14

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 ... all ... which I have come to love ...
 488.22
 488.23
 488.24 ... Father
 488.25
 488.26
 488.27 ... again, belongs 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
 489.10 Darkness. I have separated Error from ...
 489.11 ... their god. I have given victory to them through my ...
 489.12 ... victory. All the Sects ...
 489.13 ... in the ... their body ...
 489.14 ... the Land of Light, from which they have come
 489.15 rest forever.

CHAPTER 193

THE EVIL ONE HAS [FIVE PROPERTIES];
THE GOOD ONE HAS [FIVE OTHER PROPERTIES]

- 490.26 Again he spoke to his [disciples: The Evil One has]
490.27 *Five Properties*, [which are ...]
490.28 slander(?),³⁰⁰ murder, [greed, mixing of Light]
490.29 and Darkness. This is
490.30 about which I have taught you
- 491.1 [He who] acts on them and lives by them ...
491.2 ... the truth and the kingdom of God ...
491.3 ... torture and punishment forever.
491.4 [The Good One] also [has] *Five Good Qualities*,
491.5 which are fasting, pity, [almsgiving],
491.6 faith, and separation of Light [and Darkness.]
491.7 He who acts on these *Five Good Qualities* ...
491.8 [he] will not taste [death] ...
491.9 ... but, he will share in life ...
491.10 ... well, and inherit the [kingdom of]
491.11 [God].

³⁰⁰ Funk, *Kephalaia (I): Zweite Hälfte*, 490 [436].

APPENDIX

THEODORE BAR KHONAI'S
RÉSUMÉ OF THE MANICHAEAN MYTH
(ANNOTATED TRANSLATION)

Translated from Theodore bar Khonai's Syriac *Liber scholiorum* (ed. Addai Scher; CSCO 69; Louvain: Imprimerie orientale 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
313.11 a little of the fictitious blasphemy of Mani the wicked in this book
313.12 in order to shame the Manichaeans. For he says that before
313.13 there was heaven and earth and all that is in them, there were two
313.14 natures²—one good and the other evil. The good
313.15 nature dwelt in the Realm of Light, and he calls him “Father
313.16 of Greatness.” He also says that his *Five Shekinahs* dwelt beside him:³
313.17 Mind, Thought, Insight, Counsel, and Consideration.⁴
313.18 The evil nature he calls King⁵ of Darkness and he says

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); Reitzenstein and Schaeder (from *Studien*, 342–353); Pognon (from *Inscriptions mandaites*, 184–193).

² **ܐܬܝܢ ܚܬܝܢ**.

³ **ܣܘܪܘܨܝܢܐܝܢ**. Yohannan: “Glories”; Schubert: “dwelling-places”; Reeves: “Shekinahs.”

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, and 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 **ܡܠܟܐ** “angel” of Darkness, while other manuscripts read **ܡܠܟܐ** “King,” which is supported by other sources such as the *Acta Archelai* 12.4 and *Kephalaia 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).

- 313.19 that he dwelt in his Dark Land with his *Five Worlds*:⁶
 313.20 the World of Smoke, the World of Fire, the World of Wind, the World
 of Water,
 313.21 and the World of Darkness. And he says that when the King of
 Darkness sought
 313.22 to ascend to the Realm of Light, these *Five Shekinahs* stirred
 313.23 and he says that the Father of Greatness then
 313.24 thought and said: “*From the worlds of these Five Shekinahs*
 313.25 *I will not send from them to do battle because for tranquility and peace*
 313.26 *they were created by me. Rather, I myself will go and do*
 313.27 *battle.*” And he says that the Father of Greatness called the Mother
 313.28 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 *Nhsbt*,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 cake¹⁰ 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

⁶ **𐤌𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤃 𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤁**: Pognon: *cinq mondes* (*Inscriptions mandaites*, 184); Yohannan: “five worlds” (*Researches in Manichaeism*, 224); Reitzenstein and Schaeder: *fünf Äonen* (342); Schubert: “five Aeons”; and Reeves: “five Aeons.” The translation of **𐤌𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤃** as “world” is, however, supported by Coptic sources, especially *Kephalaia Chapter 6*, which uses the Graeco-Coptic word **κοσμος** 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: “Primal 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 **στέφανοφόρος** “crown-bearer” (Reeves, 201 n. 24).

⁹ The **𐤏** in this construction seems to be a “pronom annonceur” (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 **𐤓𐤁𐤏** means “guardian” (115a), while **𐤓𐤁𐤏** is not listed with a **𐤌**. Why is this? Could there also be some sort of confusion or play on words with **𐤓𐤁𐤏** “armour” (115a), since in other sources the five sons are known as First Man’s “armour”?

- 314.13 of the Sons of Darkness. And he says that when the First Man
regained
314.14 his reason and prayed to the Father of Greatness seven times
314.15 and he called the Second Calling—the Beloved of Lights,¹² and the
Beloved
314.16 of Lights called the Great Builder,¹³ and the Great Builder called the
Living
314.17 Spirit,¹⁴ and the Living Spirit called his¹⁵ *Five Sons*: the Ornament of
Splendour¹⁶
314.18 from his Mind, the Great King of Honour from his Thought,
314.19 the Adamos¹⁷ of Light from his Insight, the King of Glory from
314.20 his Counsel, and the Porter¹⁸ from his Consideration. They came
314.21 to the Land of Darkness and found First Man
314.22 swallowed by the Darkness along with his *Five Sons*. Then the Living
314.23 Spirit called out with his voice and the voice of the Living Spirit
became like
314.24 a sharp sword and it revealed the form of the First Man,
314.25 and he said: “*Greetings to you, O good one*¹⁹ *in the house of evil,*
314.26 *O shining one*²⁰ *in the house of darkness, O god who dwells in the house of*
314.27 *wrathful beasts who do not know their*²¹ *honour.*” Then First Man answered

¹² ܘܠܘܟܘܪܘܢ... Yohannan: “Friend of Light”; Schubert: “Friend of the Lights”; Reeves: “Friend of the Luminaries.”

¹³ Yohannan: “Great Ban”; Schubert: “Great Architect”; Reeves: “Great *Ban*.”

¹⁴ Payne-Smith states that ܠܘܟܘܪܘܢ 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*” ܠܘܟܘܪܘܢ. 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.

¹⁶ Yohannan: “Custody of Splendor”; Schubert: “Adornment of the Light”; Reeves: “Ornament of Splendour.”

¹⁷ Yohannan: “Adamas”; Schubert: “Adamas”; Reeves: “Adamos.”

¹⁸ Yohannan: “Supporter”; Schubert: “Bearer”; Reeves: “Porter.”

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 ܠܘܟܘܪܘܢ, “their glory,” which was amended by Lidzbarski to ܠܘܟܘܪܘܢ “his honour” (followed by Schaeder 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 conceivably be amended to ܠܘܟܘܪܘܢ “your glory.” The original manuscript reading may simply imply that the beasts are without honour.

- 314.28 and said: “*Come, you who bear the merchandise of peace.*”
- 315.1 And he said: “*How fare our fathers, the sons of*
 315.2 *Light in their city?*” And the Call said to him: “*They are faring*
 315.3 *well!*” And (Living Spirit)²² and Call and Response²³ joined with one
 another
 315.4 and they ascended to the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit. And
 Living Spirit
 315.5 put on the Call and the Mother of Life put on the Response, her²⁴
 beloved
 315.6 son, and they descended to the Land of Darkness to where First
 315.7 Man and his sons (were). Then the Living Spirit ordered three
 315.8 of his sons,²⁵ that one should kill and another skin the Archons, the
 Sons of
 315.9 Darkness, and deliver (them) to the Mother of Life. The Mother of
 Life
 315.10 stretched out the sky from their skins and made Eleven²⁶ Heavens.
 315.11 And they threw down their corpses to the Land of Darkness and
 made Eight
 315.12 Earths. And the *Five Sons of the Living Spirit* each
 315.13 completed his task. The Ornament of Splendour is the one who holds
 the *Five*
 315.14 *Shining Gods* by their waists and below their waists the heavens were
 315.15 spread out. Also, the Porter is the one who bends down on one of his
 knees
 315.16 and carries the earths. And after the heavens and the earths were
 315.17 made the Great King of Glory sat among the heavens
 315.18 and kept watch over everything. Then, the Living Spirit
 315.19 revealed his forms²⁷ to the Sons of Darkness and from the light which
 had been
 315.20 swallowed by them from these *Five Shining Gods* he filtered the
 315.21 light and built the Sun and the Moon.²⁸ And (with) light that was left
 over from

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 *ܘܫܘܒܘ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ* 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 she²⁹ made the wheels:³⁰ wind and water
and fire. He
315.23 descended and forged them beneath the Porter. The King of Glory
called
315.24 and raised above them a bed(?) so that they might ascend over those
315.25 Archons who are subdued by the earths that they might serve the *Five*
315.26 *Shining Gods* without being burned by the venom of the Archons.
315.27 And he says that the Mother of Life, First Man, and the Living
Spirit
315.28 rose in prayer and asked of the Father of Greatness
- 316.1 and the Father of Greatness heard them and called the Third
Evocation—
316.2 the Messenger. And the Messenger called Twelve Virgins,³¹
316.3 with their garments, their crowns, and their attributes: the first is
316.4 majesty, the second wisdom, the third victory,
316.5 the fourth persuasion, the fifth chastity, the sixth truth,
316.6 the seventh faith, the eighth patience, the ninth
316.7 uprightness, the tenth grace, the eleventh justice,
316.8 (and) the twelfth light. And when the Messenger came to those
316.9 vessels, he commanded three servants to make the vessels move.
316.10 The Great Builder he commanded to build a New Earth and Three
316.11 Vessels³² to ascend. And when the ships went and reached the middle
316.12 of heaven, then the Messenger revealed his images, male and female,
316.13 and was manifested to all the Archons, the Sons of Darkness, male
316.14 and female. At the appearance of the Messenger, who was beautiful in
his forms,
316.15 all the Archons were inflamed with lust, the males
316.16 for the image of the female, and the females for the image of the male.
316.17 They began to expel through their lust the light which they had
swallowed from
316.18 the *Five Shining Gods*. Then the sin which was in them
316.19 conspired and like a hair in dough it mixed itself
316.20 with the {light}³³ which came out of the Archons and it sought
316.21 to enter in. Then, the Messenger concealed his image and separated

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

³⁰ Yohannan and Reeves translate “wheels”; Schaeder *Sphären*; Pognon *vases*.

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

³² Both Yohannan and Reeves have translated “wheels” for  “wheels” (see Payne-Smith, 3a).

³³ All manuscripts read  “moon,” which has been corrected to “light”  by most commentators (Yohannan, 245; Reeves, 204 n. 48).

- 316.22 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
 316.24 accept it, like a person who recoils from his vomit. It (i.e., sin) then fell
 down to
 316.25 the earth, half on the moist (part) and half on the dry, and it became
 316.26 a hateful animal in the image of the King of Darkness. The Adamos
 of Light
 316.27 was sent against her, made war with her
 316.28 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
 317.2 her thigh and another on her chest. That (part) which fell on dry land
 317.3 sprouted itself into *Five Trees*. He says that these Daughters of
 317.4 Darkness were pregnant from before by their natures
 317.5 and because of the beauty of the Messenger's form which they saw,
 they
 317.6 miscarried their foetuses³⁵ and they fell to the earth. They ate the
 seeds of the
 317.7 trees. The abortions counselled with one another and remembered
 the form
 317.8 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*
 317.10 *me your sons and your daughters and I will make you*
 317.11 *a form like the one you saw.*" They brought (them) and gave (them) to
 him. He ate
 317.12 the males and gave the females to Namrael,³⁶ his companion.
 317.13 Namrael and Ashqalun then united with one another and she
 conceived
 317.14 and gave birth to a son, and named him Adam. She conceived (again)
 and
 317.15 gave birth to a daughter, and named her Eve. He says that Jesus the
 Splendour
 317.16 came to Adam, the innocent, and awoke him from the sleep

³⁴ Manuscript reads *ⲗⲃⲓⲁⲣ* "aorta," corrected to *ⲗⲃⲓⲁⲣ* "spear" by Cumont (See Scher 316 n. 8).

³⁵ Could there be a play on words here between *ⲗⲃⲁ* "foetus" and *ⲗⲃⲁ* "iniquity" (Payne-Smith, 405a)?

³⁶ There are a number of variants for the name of Ashqalun's consort (See Scher, 317 n. 4, Yohannan, 249 n. 118, Reeves, 204 n. 53), although Namrael has been adopted as standard.

- 317.17 of death, so that he might be delivered from many (evil) spirit(s).³⁷ Just
as
- 317.18 a righteous person finds someone possessed by a mighty demon
317.19 and calms him with his skill, thus also was Adam
317.20 when the Beloved found him lying in a deep
317.21 sleep. He awoke him and held him and shook him and expelled from
him
- 317.22 the deceptive demon and bound from him the great
317.23 Archonic power. Then Adam examined himself and recognized who
he was.
- 317.24 He (i.e., Jesus) revealed to him the Fathers on high and how his soul
was wholly
317.25 thrown into leopard's teeth and elephant's teeth, swallowed by
swallowers
- 317.26 and gulped by gulpers, eaten by dogs, mixed
317.27 and imprisoned in all that was, and bound in the stench of Darkness.
317.28 He says that he (i.e., Jesus) raised him and made him taste the Tree of
Life. Then,
- 318.1 Adam cried out and wept and raised his voice loudly, like
318.2 a lion that roars and tears. He threw (himself down) and beat (his
chest) and said:
- 318.3 “*Woe, woe to the one who formed my body and to the one who bound my soul*
318.4 *and to the tyrants who have enslaved me.*”

³⁷ Just what this phrase means remains unclear. According to Yohannan, *ܪܘܒܝ ܪܒܪܘܢ* implies a reference to the “two Archons” mentioned by al-Nadīm (*Researches*, 250), while Reeves suggests it refers to Ashaqlun (*Jewish Lore*, 205 n. 56). See Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, 192 n. 2. At any rate, it seems clear that Adam is being liberated from negative forces.

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