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MESOPOTAMIAN ELEMENTS  
IN MANICHAËISM  
(KING AND SAVIOUR II)

Studies in Manichæan,  
Mandaean, and Syrian-Gnostic Religion

BY

GEO WIDENGREN

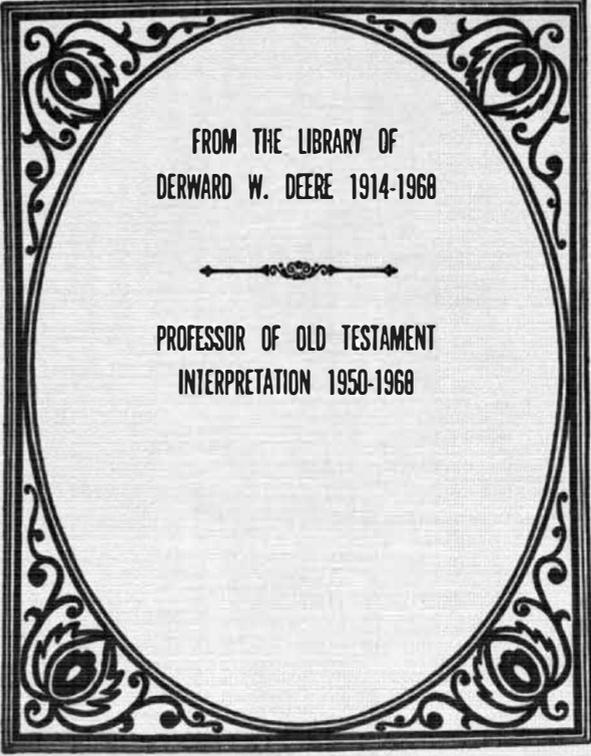
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TO  
JOHS. PEDERSEN



## Preface.

This investigation is in a way an answer to Prof. A. D. Nock who à propos my monograph on *The Great Vohu Manah* asked me about my opinion as to the Mesopotamian elements in Manichaeism, a problem which, of course, had for some time been present in my mind.

In the texts and translations given in this work insignificant variants and deviations from standard translations have not been specifically pointed out. Owing to the lack of Syriac types it has been necessary to print part of the book before the proofreading of the whole book was finished. For eventual inconsistencies and slips the reader's indulgence is therefore kindly asked for. It was further inevitable, because of financial reasons, to print this investigation before the real *King and Saviour* series could be completed. The first of these works, treating of the Israelite-Jewish conceptions, will however follow so soon that it is hoped that no serious inconvenience will be felt.

I am much obliged to my friend Dr T. Säve-Söderbergh, Lecturer of Egyptology at the University of Uppsala, who was so kind as to read some of the Coptic Manichaean texts with me and showed a great interest in this subject. I further beg to tender my thanks to my friends Dr A. Haldar, Mr H. Ringgren, T. L. F. K., and Mr H. Tegnaeus, F. L. for much help with proofreading and compiling the bibliography and indexes. Finally my thanks are due to my indefatigable collaborator Rev. G. E. Björk, B. D., who has as usual corrected my English.

This book is dedicated to Prof. Johs. Pedersen as a token of admiration and friendship.

Uppsala, September 1946.

*Geo Widengren.*



## Introduction. The State of the Problems.

The problem of the real character of Manichaeism has for many years been one of the most vexing questions in the history of the religions of the Ancient Near East. As to the historical connexions between the religion founded by Mani and the religions then existing, three main solutions have offered themselves.<sup>1</sup> Three, because Mesopotamia, the country where Mani was brought up, at his time had to count chiefly with three religions as rival factors. First, the old Mesopotamian religion with its inheritance from Sumero-Accadian times and cults. Of course this indigenous religion had, since many centuries, lost its vital force, but in spite of its lack of real vigour it was still there, and refused to die. Many people clinged to their inherited local cults, and for sheer conservatism did not want to see that its days were past and gone. The attacks of the fathers of the Syrian church of times even later than those of Mani show that the old *ḥanpūtā*, "heathenism", was still playing a rôle in the religious life of Mesopotamia, not least in offering mythic and ritual material to the innumerable sects who in all historical periods seem to have been special and ample sources of supply for the country between the two rivers.<sup>2</sup> The first scholar to take the very natural course

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<sup>1</sup> The opinion expressed by Baur that Manichaean religion is essentially an Indian-Buddhistic system may here be left aside, because it is altogether discarded by modern research; for Baur's views see *Das manichäische Religions-system* pp. 433 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Such attacks are still found in no insignificant measure in the writings of Isaac of Niniveh (d. about 460) who in this way offers us some valuable items concerning old Mesopotamian cults in his time; see Bickell, *S. Isaaci opera omnia e.g.* I pp. 209 ff., II pp. 211 ff. From about the same time (see Baumstark, *Geschichte der syr. Lit.* p. 28) is the Doctrine of Addai where we also get some particulars as to the indigenous Mesopotamian religion, see Phillips, *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle* transl. p. 23 f., text p. ٢٣. Well known is the discourse of Jacob of Serug (d. 521) on the Fall of the idols, see Martin, *Discours de Jaques de Saroug sur la chute des idoles* ZDMG XXIX

to argue that Mani owed his deepest impressions to the native religious ideas of Mesopotamia was Kessler, whose demonstration, however, in the long run must be said to have completely failed in convincing investigators of the problem belonging to later generations, and this on account of its lacking really decisive proofs. The few valuable arguments set forth by Kessler will be discussed later in connexion with the topics treated in the following investigation of the Mesopotamian components in the religion of the Manichees. Indeed, after having held the field for some years Kessler's views were soon relegated to the department of the history of erudition, and Gillis Wetter actually seems to have been one of the few to revive this opinion concerning the origin and structure of Mani's religion.<sup>1</sup> Nyberg in his survey of recent investigations into this department is therefore quite correct in stating that this explanation has been left out of account in recent discussion.<sup>2</sup>

When the explication of the foundations of Manichaeism offered by Kessler was so definitely put aside, this was — at least partly — due to the fact that the discoveries in Central Asia appeared to bring the Iranian factor to the fore. All the Manichaean authentic documents in various dialects of the Middle Iranian language (Pahlavik, Pārsik, and Sogdian) were interpreted

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(1875) pp. 107 ff. esp. pp. 131—33; further *Ausgewählte Schriften der syrischen Dichter*, übers. Landesdorfer *BKr*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 158 ff. with some good notes; in full detail *id. Die Götterliste des Mar Jacob von Sarug*; additions and corrections are given by Vandenhoff *OC* (1915) pp. 235 ff. *Die Götterliste des Mar Jakob von Sarug in seiner Homilie* etc. We need not dwell here on the oft adduced fact that the pagan Gnostics of Kharran embraced the old Chaldaean astral religion, see the texts given by Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier* I pp. 1 ff. and De Goeje in *Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> congrès des orientalistes* II pp. 285 ff. where the text and translation of several prayers to the planet gods are to be found. We may add that during the great persecution under Šapur II there was a martyr called Aitilaha who had been a priest to 𐭪𐭫𐭮, i. e. šarru bēlu, see Bedjan *AMS* IV p. 133.

<sup>1</sup> See Kessler *Mani* I esp. pp. 250 ff. and *PRE* 12 the essay “*Mani, Manichäer*”, esp. p. 266; Wetter, *PHOS* pp. 106 ff. In what is by far the best survey of the different stages in researches on Manichaeism Nyberg points out that also Harnack and Wesendonck follow much the same line of exposition, see *Forschungen über den Manichäismus*, *ZNW* XXXIV (1935) p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Nyberg *op. cit.* p. 81: “Der alte Panbabylonismus wurde von einem Paniranismus abgelöst.”

as giving evidence of the basis of Manichaeism being substantially Iranian. Richard Reitzenstein who, following the general trend in the pioneer researches of Bousset, was the protagonist of the "Iranian" faction of interpreters through his analysis of the central dogma of the Manichaean religion, that of "the saved Saviour", was eventually led to the conclusion that Mani based his doctrines on old Iranian "popular religion" as contrasted with Zoroastrianism as the religion of the Sassanian rulers, in other words as the Sassanian religion officially established.<sup>1</sup> This view was in many ways supported by the researches carried out by Benveniste and Nyberg, who demonstrated what an important rôle Zervanism played as an outstanding theological tendency, and probably also as a living religion, in the West of the Iranian empire, supported because the connexions between Zervanite speculation and Mani were apparently incontestable.<sup>2</sup> The whole complex of conflicting religions in ancient Iran was moreover

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<sup>1</sup> The chief work of Bousset is his *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, now a classic, where the Iranian element in Gnostic religion is emphasized, esp. pp. 116 ff. Reitzenstein has set forth his opinions in a great many separate books and papers, the most sensational of which surely was and — we may add — still is *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*. In this work, to quote the words of Nyberg which are much to the point, he "hat . . . ein Werk von gewaltiger Tragweite zustandegebracht", *op. cit.* p. 83. And this probably in a still higher degree than Nyberg would have been willing to admit in 1935. Many of the definite statements made by Reitzenstein were included in the last edition of his *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* which appeared in 1927. As to the question of Iranian popular religion, Nyberg, *op. cit.* p. 81, was rather sceptical, but his own investigations have been of great use in proving the existence of different Iranian religions as offshoots of the ancient Iranian popular religion. On this problem there now exists the very decisive result achieved by Dr Wikander in his recent *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran*, where we observe esp. p. 141 with the following statement: "Tatsächlich ist natürlich der orthodoxe Zoroastrismus die jüngste dieser Meinungen und die 'Abweichungen' sind eben die noch nicht gleichgeschalteten Äusserungen der altiranischen Volksreligion."

<sup>2</sup> The book by Benveniste *The Persian Religion*, and his paper *Le témoignage de Théodore bar Kōnay sur le zoroastrisme* in *MO* 26—27 (1932—33) must be mentioned here together with Nyberg's *Questions de cosmogonie et de cosmologie mazdéennes*. We need only point out here the notion of the High God in Zervanism as compared with the rôle played in Manichaean religion by "the Father of Greatness", who actually bears the very name of Zervan in the Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian language.

subjected to a thorough analytical treatment by Nyberg, followed by Wikander and the present writer. Nyberg was able to show that from times immemorial Iran seems to have been the battle ground of rival religious systems and cults.<sup>1</sup> Carrying on these researches further Wikander is now in a position to prove that the early Sassanian government, far from being a "Zoroastrian" kingdom, on the contrary invited to an exasperated competition between various religions.<sup>2</sup> This being the case, there is no wonder that Wikander has also been interested in throwing light upon the Iranian element in some Manichæan conceptions and rites.<sup>3</sup> Again, the present writer tried in an earlier work to show that Reitzenstein was perfectly right in assigning the *theologoumenon* of the saved Saviour to early Iranian mythical ideas, and traced this essential Gnostic doctrine back to common Indo-Iranian religious speculation.<sup>4</sup>

But we must arrest our steps here, for advancing so far, we have anticipated the development of the actual discussion on the historical and structural position of the religion of the Manichees. We must now turn to the third religion in Mesopotamia at the time of Mani's coming forth as the preacher of a new religion, *viz.* Christianity. It was Burkitt who in 1925 put forward the

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<sup>1</sup> Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, p. 52, treats the Mithra-religion, pp. 86 ff. the religion of the Gathas, pp. 233 ff. the Zoroastrian religion, and pp. 328 ff. the Zervanite religion and the other religions in the West. In his works *Der arische Männerbund* and *Vayu I* Wikander was able to show the importance of especially the Vayu and Mithra cults, and in his *Feuerpriester* the rôle played in the West by Anāhitā. Already Reitzenstein had emphasized the significance of the cult of this goddess, see *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe* pp. 35 ff., 217 ff. The writer has given some complementary views on the idea of the Highgod in these different religions of Iran in his *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran*.

<sup>2</sup> Wikander, *Feuerpriester*, esp. pp. 55 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Wikander, *Vayu I*, pp. 42 ff., concerning the conception of the ascension of the soul to heaven and *id.* *La confession des péchés dans le manichéisme* for the terminology and practice of confession in Manichæan religion. In this last-mentioned work Dr Wikander demonstrates that the Manichæan words for confession and penance are of Parthian origin and thus quite independent of the Zoroastrianism of the province of Fārs.

<sup>4</sup> See Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah*, and for the Indo-Iranian origin of the chief Gnostic doctrines, *id.* *Religionens värld*, pp. 358—389, esp. pp. 358—367.

thesis that Manichaeism in the main was to be understood as a Christian Gnostic sect<sup>1</sup>, and this opinion was later taken up and further worked out by Schaeder. This scholar had from the outset been a most enthusiastic partisan of Reitzenstein, describing himself in humble phrases as the mere disciple of the master Reitzenstein, only to turn round all of a sudden and enter upon a sharp controversy against his former "master".<sup>2</sup> Schaeder's views of Manichaean religion were largely dominated by his way of looking at Gnosis, which he held to be mainly based on Hellenistic speculation and practically not at all connected with Indo-Iranian religious ideas as far as its real essence was concerned.<sup>3</sup> Since similar statements had been made earlier in Germany by Harnack, Schaeder was very appropriately styled a *Harnack redivivus* by Jonas whom we have to thank for some trenchant and wholly convincing criticisms of Schaeder's general treatment of the problem.<sup>4</sup> But Schaeder had made a discovery of a more solid nature. He declared that the undeniable differences between the Eastern and Western literary Manichaean tradition was due to Mani's having "translated" his religious system into both Iranian and Christian categories. Originally conceived as a Hellenistic philosophical-religious speculative system it was in this way given a double face, an Iranian in the East and a Christian in the West. When propagating his ideas, Mani found it necessary to translate them not only into the languages of Iran and the West, but also to "co-translate" the religious terms and conceptions into their corresponding indigenous terms and notions. In this manner we have to understand the Iranian

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<sup>1</sup> Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, p. V, says that his main object has been "to suggest that the Christian element in the Religion of the Manichees is larger and more fundamental than the scholars of the last generation were inclined to allow". He further contends "that though single details in Manichaeism can be illustrated or explained from Zoroastrian sources the fundamental construction of Mani's religion remains (heretical) Christian", *ib.* p. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the different attitude shown by Schaeder in the preface, p. 203, of his *Iranische Lehren* constituting Part II of Reitzenstein-Schaeder, *SAS*, and *e. g.* *OLZ* 1928 col. 163 ff. as against his subsequent writings, *Gnomon* 5 (1929) p. 368 f.; *Gnomon* 9 (1933) p. 359 f.

<sup>3</sup> This attitude is conspicuous everywhere in his paper *Der Orient und das griechische Erbe* in *Die Antike* 4 (1928), pp. 226 ff., esp. p. 247 f.

<sup>4</sup> See Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist* pp. 51—58.

elements in Manichaeism as being only "elements of style".<sup>1</sup> Against this very attractive solution, which for some time appeared to have won general approval among scholars, Nyberg made a cautious reservation without denying its special merits.<sup>2</sup> That Schaeder's proposal was actually quite wrong in the exaggerated form it was given by its originator is a fact that the present writer hopes is demonstrated by his and Dr Wikander's recent researches. But Schaeder did not make a halt at this position, but in fact advanced further and took up his stand close to that occupied by Burkitt, who — we incidentally remark — held much the same opinion of Gnosis as Schaeder.<sup>3</sup> For in his Olaus Petri lectures in 1938 Schaeder seemed to be inclined to reduce the rôle of Mani to only that of a summer up of the doctrines advanced by such Gnostics as Marcion, Bardaisan, and Valentin,

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<sup>1</sup> Schaeder in his work *Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems*, p. 146, says: "Vor allem aber ist jetzt klar, dass die zurvanistischen und überhaupt die iranischen Elemente in den manichäischen Schriften, wie sie besonders in den Turfanfragmenten hervortreten, nicht — wie man bisher annahm — auf 'Entlehnung' beruhen, also auch nichts für die Frage hergeben, wie weit Mani von der älteren iranischen Religion 'beeinflusst' war. Dies alles beruht vielmehr auf bewusster und planmässiger Umstilisierung des in seinem Lehrgehalt feststehenden und durch diese Umformung nicht angetasteten manichäischen Systems, in Anpassung an iranische Theologie."

<sup>2</sup> See *ZNW XXXIV* (1935) p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> See Burkitt, *Church and Gnosis*, where he writes as if the whole modern research into Gnostic religion had never been done, cf. the criticisms by Bauer *ThLZ* 1933, p. 343. Burkitt considers Gnosis chiefly as an internal Christian heretical movement, and does not enter into a discussion on the results obtained by the methods of the history of religion. The endeavour of Percy, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung der Johanneischen Theologie*, to follow the same line, and *e. g.* to derive the Mandaean Gnosis from the Johannine writings is of course completely abortive; see the decisive paper by Bultmann *OLZ* 1940, col. 150 ff. *Johanneische Schriften und Gnosis*. Prof. Bultmann shows that Percy has understood practically *nil* of what Gnosis means, owing to his erroneous method. I have nothing to add to the trenchant criticisms of Bultmann, except that Percy obviously has only a microscopical knowledge of Iranian matters, a measure of knowledge which is certainly not sufficient for trying to treat Gnostic conceptions. When J. Jeremias surprisingly enough seems to accept the thesis of Percy that the conception of "the saved saviour" is due to a Gnostic interpretation of the Christian doctrine of salvation, see *SEÁ IV* (1939), p. 145 f., he exposes himself to the same censure as Percy. This contention of theirs — highly improbable from the outset — is thoroughly refuted by implication in my work *The Great Vohu Manah*.

who were of course all (of them) interpreted in the "Hellenistic" way *à la* Harnack.<sup>1</sup>

The situation thus being that recent research tends to stress the importance of Iranian popular religion as forming the basis of the Manichaean religion and to look upon Mani as principally the founder of a reformed Iranian religion<sup>2</sup>, then it will, in the nature

<sup>1</sup> According to the abstract of one of these lectures given in *Uppsala Nya Tidning*, March 22nd, 1938, Prof. Schaeder contended that the two agents constituting the spiritual postulates of Mani were Hellenism and Christianity. Among his immediate predecessors three are above all worth mentioning: Marcion, Valentin, and Bardesanes. We may add that, according to the report in the said journal, Prof. Schaeder stated that Marcion was characterized by the hypocrisy of his theological problems. A most remarkable statement! Both Burkitt and Schaeder are in their views on this point probably dependent on the opinions expressed by Alfarcic in his standard work *Les écritures manichéennes*, esp. I p. 16, where after having reviewed the works, mainly of Valentin, Marcion, and Bardaisan, he concludes: "C'est dans ce milieu très composite que le Manichéisme est né. C'est de lui qu'il procède." Here we have the thesis of Burkitt and Schaeder in a nutshell. For a characterization of Alfarcic's views on Manichaeism, see the clear remarks by Nyberg in *ZNW* XXXIV (1935), p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Because of his views on Gnosticism and Iranian religion, the present writer regrets not being able to endorse the opinion expressed by Prof. Nyberg after his already mentioned very prudent reservations as to the explanation of Manichaean religion offered by Schaeder: "Aber wichtig war es, dass Schaeder, wie wir zu hoffen wagen, endgültig den hartnäckig festgehaltenen Satz von Mani als rein *iranischen* Religionsstifter oder Reformator der nationaliranischen Religion erledigte", *op. cit.* p. 86. Firstly, nobody has of course seen Mani as anything but a founder of a Gnostic religion on a substantially Iranian groundwork. Secondly, we cannot, as has already been stated, nowadays speak of the national Iranian religion. Thirdly, Mani wishing to present himself as the man who was destined to give the Iranian empire its official religion will be clear both from the analysis of his religious system and from an insight into the religious and political situation in the Sassanian kingdom of his time. Note that much the same attempt was made by Mazdak much later when the political and religious conditions were less favourable. In addition, we may observe that the state of Iranian culture in the Sassanian period makes it rather impossible to speak of a *purely* Iranian religious reformer, and surely Bousset and Reitzenstein never understood Mani but as a Gnostic of his time, *i. e.* of the Hellenistic epoch. But the Hellenism of Mani is — and that goes without saying — an Iranian-Mesopotamian Hellenism; he is an exponent of *Iranism*. With these modifications we may completely agree with Prof. Nyberg in his conclusion that Mani is to be interpreted in the light of Asiatic Hellenism, *op. cit.* p. 86. And it is only fair to add that Prof. Nyberg would to-day be conceivably much more on the Iranian side of the exegetes of Manichaeism, as is apparent even

of things, be of great interest to answer this question: Are there then any Mesopotamian and Christian elements in the primitive form of Mani's religious system? And if there are, of what kind do they appear to be?

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from his remarks on p. 82 as to the solution proposed by Bousset: "Das Problem der Bedeutung Irans für den Gnostizismus ist sicherlich bedeutend komplizierter, als er annahm, aber seine Hauptthese scheint mir Momente zu enthalten, an denen man schwerlich vorbeikommen kann."

## CHAPTER I.

### The Two Hostile Powers. The Idea of Life.

The Manichaean myth, like all Gnostic religions, includes a drama which like the Hegelian scheme is enacted in three subsequent acts as the counterparts of the Hegelian thesis, antithesis, and synthesis, *viz.* firstly the state before the fall, secondly the fall, and thirdly the return to the original state. In our investigation it would seem to be the best method to analyze the Manichaean mythical material in connexion with these three acts of the drama of salvation.

We thus begin with a treatment of the state in the heavenly kingdom, in the origins of the universal history, according to the views of Mani. As is well known, he spoke of two realms: that of Light, and that of Darkness. We may appropriately concentrate ourselves at first on the synonymous word for Light, *i. e.* Life. For as a designation of the two opposite powers Mani would also use the appellation The Two Roots or Principles, the Tree of Life, and the Tree of Death.<sup>1</sup> The word Life altogether plays an important rôle in Mani's writings. The highest principle of good evokes the Mother of Life, **ܐܘܠܡܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ**,<sup>2</sup> and after the defeat of the Primal Man a second creation is evoked, the third one of

<sup>1</sup> See Cumont, *Recherches* II p. 96, 100 f. The Syriac term is **ܐܘܠܡܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ**. As to the Mesopotamian background of the expression "Tree of Life" we refer to the discussion below, 146 ff., 155 ff. The phrase "the Two Roots" in Pahlavi is *dō bun* as already Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees*, p. 17 n. 2, has observed. In Mani's own words, T II D 126 I V 10 ff., the advantages of his religion are enumerated. He speaks there of his revelation of the Two Roots, *'bhwmyšn 'yg dw bun*, see *MirM* II p. 5 (296). Note, however, that the Root of Life is found also in Mandaean literature as **ܕܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ**, Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien* p. 130: 11—12. In the plural it appears in Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* p. 117: 13; 134: 11. The roots of Darkness, on the other hand, appear *ib.* 313: 26; 319: 22. We cannot here take up a general discussion of the Iranian elements in Manichaeism, but refer to the remarks in the introduction. A follower of Bardaisan also speaks of these Two Roots, see Hilgenfeld, *Bardesanes* p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> See Cumont, *Recherches* I p. 14.

which was the Living Spirit who fills the function of a Demiurge.<sup>1</sup> In the Manichaean Coptic psalms we find the expression "treasure of Life" (*Psalm-Book* II p. 2: 26) as well as "the law of Life" (*ib.* p. 16: 3). The Primal Man in these psalms is called "the treasure of the Great ones of Life" (*ib.* p. 210: 18).

That the notion of Life has a still more important place in Mandaean literature is a well-known fact. Thus, in Mandaean writings there is to be found the idea of an original divine power from whom everything has emanated.<sup>2</sup> From this Life, or the First Life, as it is also called, proceed the Second Life and the Third Life. These divine Potencies seem to belong to the oldest stratum in Mandaean religion, which is otherwise characterized by its various theogonies.<sup>3</sup> A definite mythical conception seems to be introduced into this complex of emanation ideas by the appellation "Son of Life", ברדייא, which is met with in Mandaean literature.<sup>4</sup> That this name is a designation for the Mandaean Saviour (or one of the Saviours) is evident from such passages as *Mandäische Liturgien*, p. 147 f. LXXX: 5; LXXXI: 8; *ib.* LIV p. 221: 9, and above all *ib.* p. 185: 4.<sup>5</sup> But the Son of Life ought to have not only a father, but also a mother, and actually we meet in the cosmogony given by Mani also the figure of the Mother of Life, as was just stated. This term, however, is met with in other Gnostic surroundings. In the little-known sect of the Quqites we find a goddess who is properly the image of God, and with whom he brings forth a series of gods and goddesses, a series of emanations, as we see the process of creation in Mandaean literature (Pognon, *Inscriptions Mandaites*, text p. 144, transl. p. 209 f.). The Quqites call this female principle Mother of Life, أمّ حياة, thus exactly the same expression as in the system of Mani.

<sup>1</sup> See Cumont, *Recherches* I p. 20 f.

<sup>2</sup> See Brandt, *Die Mandäische Religion* pp. 24 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Brandt, *Die Mandäische Religion* p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> See Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch* p. 96 n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> For the last passage, see below, p. 90. Luise Troje has further seen that in the description of the ship of salvation given by Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch* p. 155 f. (cf. below p. 98), the three names "Son of Life", "the Fisherman" and "Sunday" are all of them but various aspects of the same figure, the Saviour, see *Sanbat, Beigabe* III in Reitzenstein, *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe* p. 359. Bardaisan also used this term as well as "the Father of Life", see *Ephr. Syr. op. omn. syr.* II 557 B f.

Now it is an interesting fact, which seems to have been overlooked in this connexion, that the term in question appears also in Ethiopic literature, for we have there the well-known conception of the Son of Man expressed in a very curious way, *i. e.* by the Ethiopic  $\omega\lambda\epsilon:\lambda\gamma\lambda:\lambda\sigma\tilde{\eta}\rho\omega$ : properly *filius prolis matris viventium*. This appellation is met with in the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (62: 7, 9, 14; 63: 11; 69: 26, 27; 70: 1; 71: 17), and further in the Ethiopic Old Test. in Ps. 80: 17; throughout Ezekiel; in Dan 7: 13, and universally in the New Test.<sup>1</sup> There is another very similar term, *viz.*  $\lambda\gamma\lambda:\lambda\sigma\tilde{\eta}\rho\omega$ , properly *proles matris viventium*, found in Num. 23: 19; Ps. 8: 4; 144: 3; 146: 3.<sup>2</sup> The question now arises: how are we to explain these odd expressions? In answering this question we must of course refer to Gen. 3: 20 in the LXX:  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \text{\textit{\textprime}}\text{\textit{\textprime}}\text{\textit{\textprime}}\text{\textit{\textprime}}\text{\textit{\textprime}}\ \tau\acute{o}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \zeta\omega\acute{\eta}$ ,  $\delta\tau\iota\ \mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \zeta\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ . And Melito of Sardes says: *Eva, vita, sive calamitas, Ecclesiam significans, quae mater viventium*.<sup>3</sup> There are however also Gnostic texts providing us with this same term and thus speaking of the Mother of all living.<sup>4</sup> But this expression, *viz.*  $\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \zeta\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ , does not coincide with an assumed Greek pattern of the Ethiopic phrase, because the Ethiopic expression lacks the word "all", and would consequently refer to a Greek  $\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \zeta\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\omega\nu$  (even as the text in Melito of Sardes). And this appellation is in reality at hand, just in a Greek text filled with Gnostic doctrines, the so called Naassene Homily, where in ch. 7: 39 we find  $\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho\ \zeta\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\omega\nu$  used about Jerusalem above.

Now this term is presumably a mistranslation, for in other passages we find this figure, the Mother, called  $\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \zeta\omega\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ , *e. g.* *Acta Archelai* ch. 7 (ed. Beeson p. 10: 5), which is the correct translation of the Syriac  $\text{\textit{\textprime}}\text{\textit{\textprime}}\text{\textit{\textprime}}\text{\textit{\textprime}}\text{\textit{\textprime}}$ , the Manichaean Mother of Life.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I owe these statistics to Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> I am still obliged to Charles *ib.*

<sup>3</sup> See Troje, *ADAM und ZΩH* p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> See Troje *op. cit. ib.*

<sup>5</sup> Other such mistranslations are recorded by Henning *MirM* II, p. 5 (296) n. 4. He might have pointed out another in one of his own texts, M 36 V 11 for there there is of course expressed the wish that "the sisters" might come to the Land of Life,  $\text{\textit{\textprime}}\text{\textit{\textprime}}\text{\textit{\textprime}}\text{\textit{\textprime}}\text{\textit{\textprime}}$ , being an obvious mistranslation of the Syriac  $\text{\textit{\textprime}}\text{\textit{\textprime}}\text{\textit{\textprime}}\text{\textit{\textprime}}\text{\textit{\textprime}}$ , which is found a great many times in the Homilies of Afrahat, as well as in the *Cave of Treasures*, ed. Bezold p. 72, transl. Budge p. 95 f.

Now there has conceivably been a widespread idea of the Mother who bore Life, and was therefore called the Mother of Life, for in some passages of Christian literature we meet with the conception that the Virgin Mary is the Mother of Life and has borne Life. Thus she is called ἡ νέα Ἐῶα, Μητέρα τῆς ζωῆς (Ps. Athanasius *PG* XXVIII col. 937). And in a Coptic text it is said: "O God-bearing, thou art the true vine which hath born the grape of Life (ⲡⲓⲤⲙⲁⲓⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲱⲛⲥ).<sup>1</sup> Perfectly explicit is in this respect also an Ethiopic hymn to Mary where it is said:

God gave the house of David a prophecy when he said that thou, O Virgin, wouldst conceive and bear Life (ወተወለደ፡ ሕይወተ፡).

Grohmann, *Äthiopische Marienhymnen* p. 77 XXII: 4.

This identification of Mary with the Mother of Life is of course a merely poetical image in these texts, but presupposes a living religious conception of a goddess, the Mother. And the usage of the language in this case shows a most remarkable coincidence with other similar modes of, let us say, "archaic" expression.<sup>2</sup> That such a figure as the Mother existed very early in Gnostic circles is in fact quite definite.<sup>3</sup> To return to Syrian soil, we find in the polemics of Aphrem against Bardaisan a hint at this Mother-goddess when he says that Bardaisan had taught about a paradise

ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲓⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲓⲛ (ⲟⲩⲗⲓ)፤ which gods measured out and founded,  
 ⲁⲧ ⲁⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲓⲛ and Father together with Mother  
 ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲓⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲓⲛ in their marriage planted  
 ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲓⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲓⲛ and layed out through their footsteps.

*Ephraemi Syri opera omnia syriace* II 558 C,  
 transl. *Ephräm der Syrer BKt*<sup>2</sup> p. 187, 8.

This paradise planted by Father and Mother is obviously the Garden of Life, a term met with on different occasions. In the Mandaean writings, where the word Life is found on nearly

<sup>1</sup> See Mallon, *Documents de source copte sur la sainte Vierge, ROC* X (1905) p. 184, quoted from Grohmann, *Äthiopische Marienhymnen* p. 247. Cf. also Lamy, *Ephraemi Hymni et Sermones* II col. 605: 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Widengren, *Religionens värld* p. 241 f.

<sup>3</sup> See Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* pp. 58—83.



In one of his hymns Aphrem says of the Saviour that the gates of Paradise were opened to him:

ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ. The Garden of Life opened its gates.

Lamy, *Ephraemi Hymni et Sermones* IV, col. 747: 4.

As we have already found in Mandaeen writings that the Saviour is called Son of Life, we may in this connexion state that also this term is to be seen in the hymns of Aphrem, *e. g.* when he speaks of "the scourgings of the Son of Life", ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ (Hymni et Sermones IV col. 693: 11 cf. 753: 13 (read ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ)).

In using this term Aphrem only carries on a usage of language which is found in the Acts of Thomas. In his song of praise the apostle (who, by the way, himself is evidently called the Apostle of Life<sup>1</sup>) uses the epithet Son of Life repeatedly.

- ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ. To be praised art Thou, the Son,  
the Firstborn of Life,  
ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ. ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ. who art from the exalted Father  
and the Word of Life.  
ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ. To be praised art Thou, the Son,  
the adored Fruit  
ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ. ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ. who didst rise upon all in mercy.  
ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ. To be praised art Thou, the Son  
of Life,  
ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ. ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ. of whose gift the Father giveth in  
abundance to the holy.  
ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ. To be praised art Thou, the Son of  
Life,  
ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ. ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ. accomplishing the will of Thy Father.

Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* I p. ܩܘܪܒܢܐ l. 15  
—17; p. ܩܘܪܒܢܐ l. 16—17; p. ܩܘܪܒܢܐ l. 2—3; p. ܩܘܪܒܢܐ l. 13—14;  
transl. II p. 245 ff.; Bedjan *AMS* 3 p. 115 l. 14—15;  
p. 116 l. 15—16; p. 117 l. 1—2; p. 118 l. 11—12.

<sup>1</sup> The Greek text, ch. 118 ed. Bonnet p. 228: 22, has τὸν ἀπόστολον τοῦτου ζῶντος which is presumably dependent on an original Syriac ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ understood by the translator as ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ, the Apostle of the Living. Such mistranslations are exceedingly common, cf. above p. 75, 106 and below p. 17 n. 5. The Syriac versions now extant have between ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ and ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ inserted the words ܕܝܫܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ, and take ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ as ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ. In this way they accordingly obtain the

In these highly interesting invocations we note at once that there are two variations of the designation "Son of Life", for beside this expression we meet the more qualified appellation "Son, the Firstborn of Life". The last title, **ܘܫܢܐ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ**, looks like a Gnostic interpretation of the name of Christ found in the New Test. *πρωτότοκος*. But if we examine the context a little closer, we will soon discover that the Gnostic title "the Firstborn of Life" cannot be dependent on the old Christian *πρωτότοκος*.<sup>1</sup> For in the epithet "the Firstborn of Life" the word Life is a designation of the Highest God<sup>2</sup>, and the Firstborn of Life is thus the same as the Firstborn of God (the Highest God). That much would conceivably be clear. But in the New Test. passages we do not find any text telling us that Christ is the Firstborn of God! Now the word Firstborn, when being an epithet of a divinity, has a long history behind it before it appears in the New Test. In Mesopotamia the young god is the Firstborn of the god, his father *e. g.* Marduk is *bukur Ea*, Ninurta is *bukur Enlil*.<sup>3</sup> In the kingdoms of South Arabia the king could be styled

text **ܘܫܢܐ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ ܘܫܢܐ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ**, ed. Wright p. 1. 4. This text has later been further altered by the corruption of **ܘܫܢܐ** into **ܘܫܢܐ**, according to which we get the text as it is printed in Bedjan's edition p. 125: 11 **ܘܫܢܐ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ ܘܫܢܐ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ**. Thus the obviously too Gnostic expression "the Apostle of Life" has been completely purged out from the Syriac versions. The term "the Apostle of Life" is common in *Ginzā* where, however, the index does not give any idea of the terminology used in several passages because the word Apostle is not indexed. From *Ginza* we may quote the following "self-predication":

כל־יהא אמא ד־הריא      I am the Apostle of Life,  
 קישטאנא ד־כארבא ל־חבבא.      the true one, in whom there is no falsehood.

Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* p. 59: 15—16 = Petermann, *R. Ginzā* p. 65: 11.

In Mandaean writings we find that the word Apostle is synonymous with the term Messenger as a designation of the heavenly Saviour sent down to save the souls. The Manichaean usage of language is completely the same, see Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah*, Topical Index s. v. Apostle and *fraēšta*.

<sup>1</sup> See the passages in Bauer, *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch z. d. Schriften d. Neuen Test.* col. 1166.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above p. 16 concerning the terms Life (the First Life), the Second Life, the Third Life. Cf. further *Balai* ed. Zetterstéen p. 39 XIII: "the Firstborn of the Father, the Hidden One".

<sup>3</sup> See *e. g.* Tallquist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* p. 66 f. s. v. *bukru* and Weir, *Lexicon of Accadian Prayers* s. v. *bukru*.

the Firstborn of the god, and in Israel the king is the Firstborn of Yahwe (Ps. 89:28).<sup>1</sup> The expression "the Firstborn of Life" can in this way be shown to be a Mesopotamian divine and royal epithet designating the king as the representative of the firstborn among the sons of the High God. In the usual Gnostic manner the concrete name of the god-father has been changed into the more abstract term Life.<sup>2</sup>

This investigation into the title "the Firstborn of Life" has presented us with the correct interpretation of the shorter name "the Son of Life", which in the light of the evidence adduced is to be understood as the Son in a special meaning, the Son *par excellence*, the oldest son, the Firstborn of Life. May we add here that also the other epithet of Christ cited here from the Acts of Thomas gets its seemingly good explanation from old Mesopotamian religious literature.<sup>3</sup>

Against this background we may also assume that at least two passages in the Syriac New Test. (and at least one in the Greek text) are to be taken as possessing a "Gnostic" implication. The statement in Coloss. of Christ runs in the Greek text as follows:

<p>ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κτλ.</p>	<p>Who is the image of the in- visible God, the Firstborn of all creation, for in him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth.</p>
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Coloss. 1: 15—16.

<sup>1</sup> For the whole question see Widengren, *King and Saviour*.

<sup>2</sup> As e. g. Ishtar has been replaced by Sophia, see Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, pp. 58 ff., and Widengren, *Religionens värld*, pp. 189 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The epithet Fruit in this case reminds us of the corresponding term Fruit used of the moon-god in Mesopotamia, of whom it is said that he is the Fruit which is born by itself, *en-bu šá ina ra-ma-ni-šú ib-ba-nu*, see Tallquist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* p. 24. It is the Syriac verb ܠܡܝܢܐ, rise, that shows the epithet Fruit to be understood as referring to an astral divinity. Otherwise the epithet could be taken in the sense indicated below, p. 125 ff., in our treatment of the conception of the Tree of Life.

This hymn to the Saviour is rendered by the Peshitta in the following way:

ܘܢ ܘܥܘܠܘܢ ܘܥܘܠܘܢ ܘܥܘܠܘܢ ܘܥܘܠܘܢ	He who is the image of God who
ܘܥܘܠܘܢ	is not seen,
ܘܥܘܠܘܢ ܘܥܘܠܘܢ ܘܥܘܠܘܢ ܘܥܘܠܘܢ	and the firstborn of all creatures,
ܘܥܘܠܘܢ ܘܥܘܠܘܢ ܘܥܘܠܘܢ ܘܥܘܠܘܢ	and in him everything was created,
ܘܥܘܠܘܢ ܘܥܘܠܘܢ ܘܥܘܠܘܢ ܘܥܘܠܘܢ	in heaven and on earth.

*The New Testament in Syriac*, Coloss. 1: 15—16.

That the change of *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως* into ܘܥܘܠܘܢ ܘܥܘܠܘܢ gives the phrase a more Gnostic colouring seems to be beyond discussion<sup>1</sup>, for by this statement Christ is taken as the Firstborn of many creations emanating from the Father who has after him — according to the following verse “in him”, or “through him” (the double sense is implied) — created everything else in the universe. The sequel as well as the hymn in its entirety is admittedly strongly Gnostic in character.<sup>2</sup>

The other passage of interest to us in this connexion is found in the Epistle to the Hebrews where the text says of God in his dealing with his Son:

ὅταν δὲ πάλιν εἰσαγάγῃ τὸν	and further, when introducing the
πρωτότοκον	Firstborn
εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην, λέγει·	into the world, he says,
καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ	“Let all God’s angels worship
πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ.	him.”

Hebr. 1: 6.

In this text it seems most probable that the single epithet ought to be understood as designating the Saviour in His character of the Firstborn of God, and thus having the same import as that found in the Gnostic texts, this because we are here

<sup>1</sup> This also if due consideration is taken to the proposed translation of *πάσης κτίσεως* as “every created thing”, for which see ICC 35 Abbott, *Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians* p. 213.

<sup>2</sup> It may suffice to refer to Käsemann, *Leib und Leib Christi*, p. 149 f., who has clearly seen that Christ in this song is the “saved Saviour”, and thus the Aion. Only, he has not found out the exact origin of the term Firstborn, but very probably the meaning it has acquired in Gnostic religion.

confronted with an act of the enthronization drama.<sup>1</sup> We have already seen that the divine couple, Father and Mother, were celebrating their marriage in the Garden. Hence the garden is presumably to be understood as a bridal chamber. Paradise is styled by Aphrem as such a bride-chamber in one of his hymns when he says of God's gifts to Adam:

ܩܘܢܝܢܐ ܩܘܢܝܢܐ	The glorified garden,
ܩܘܢܝܢܐ ܩܘܢܝܢܐ	the bridal chamber of chastity,
ܩܘܢܝܢܐ ܩܘܢܝܢܐ	he gave unto that king,
ܩܘܢܝܢܐ ܩܘܢܝܢܐ	fashioned from the dust.

Overbeck, *Ephraemi . . . opera*, p. 342: 21—23.

The conception of the bride-chamber will occupy us later;<sup>2</sup> here we only wish to stress the fact that it seems to have been a common idea in Gnostic and Syrian Christian circles that the Garden of Life was also the bride-chamber where the divine or

<sup>1</sup> As to the translation of this part of the text the *πάλιον* has been a *cruce interpretum*. Moffat, *ICC* 39 Epistle to the Hebrews p. 11, takes it as is indicated by the translation above in the text, in support adducing some evidence from the corresponding language of Philo. He further says: "Πρωτότοκος is Firstborn in the sense of superior. The suggestion of Christ being higher than angels is also present in the context of the term as used by Paul (Col 1<sup>15, 16</sup>), but it is nowhere else used absolutely in the NT, and the writer here ignores any inference that might be drawn from it to an inferior sonship of angels. Its equivalent . . . is applied by Philo to the Logos. Here it means that Christ was Son in a pre-eminent sense; the idea of priority passes into that of superiority", Moffat *ib.* p. 11. I can echo this statement with some modifications: firstly, the background in the royal ideology explains why this epithet is used in this scene when God is depicted as introducing his Son in the assembly of the angels, from the outset a part of the coronation drama when the king is worshipped by the assembly of gods, see Widengren, *King and Saviour*, and for the Egyptian conditions Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes* p. 116 ff., secondly the sense of superiority is thus from the beginning connected with the term. Windisch, *Der Hebräerbrief* p. 13 ff., and above all Käsemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk*, pp. 58 ff. have seen that the scene depicted in the Epistle to the Hebrews is an act of enthronization, and the latter has given many fine viewpoints on the elucidation of this text. Only, the text is part of a long historical development of the royal ideology both in Israel and the ancient Near East, and this also ought to be emphasized, see Widengren, *King and Saviour* where the scene in Hebr. ch. 1 has been treated in its historical connexions with the Israelitic-Jewish ideas of kingship.

<sup>2</sup> See below p. 109 ff.

## Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism

royal nuptials were celebrated. When speaking of the Garden of Life we ought, of course, to refer to the Tree of Life planted in Paradise, and to the mythical conception of Primal Man as the watcher of the garden and, for this reason, conceived of as "the Gardener".<sup>1</sup>

Concluding these remarks on the appellation "The Firstborn of Life", we only wish to emphasize the conspicuous Mesopotamian colour of this expression.

All the mythical ideas circling round the Garden of Life bring us back to the Dilmun Epic, the Sumerian Paradise myth, with its intimate relation between the god and the goddess, their *hieros gamos*, the Primal Man as the gardener, *nu-kiri<sub>6</sub>*.<sup>2</sup> The Gnostic conception of the various divine figures: Life, the Mother of Life, the Son of Life (who is the Second Life, and can be called the Firstborn of Life), and their habitation in the Garden of Life, all these notions remind us of very ancient Mesopotamian and — it would seem — specifically Sumerian myths which possess a definite ritual background.<sup>3</sup>

In this section it remains to illustrate the Mesopotamian roots of some expressions used in Manichaean and Mandaean literature where the word Life plays a prominent rôle. We have incidentally remarked that the idea of the Tree of Life is intimately bound up with the conception of the Garden of Life. This Tree of Life has an important function to fill also in Manichaean writings, but an investigation into the connexions between the Manichaean idea of the Tree of Life and its original Mesopotamian equivalent is more conveniently reserved for a treatment

<sup>1</sup> For these mythic-ritual conceptions see Widengren, *Det sakrala kungadömet RoB* II (1943) pp. 57 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The literature on this subject is rather extensive. I only quote here the chief treatments: Langdon, *Le poème sumerien du paradis*; Witzel, *Texte zum Studium sumerischer Tempel und Kultzentren*, pp. 5 ff.; Vriezen, *Onderzoek naar de paradijsvoorstelling bij de oude semietische volken* pp. 22 ff.; Kramer, *Enki and Ninhursag*; Witzel, *Or* 15 (1946) pp. 239 ff., *Ninchursag und Enki*.

<sup>3</sup> For the ritual background of this Paradise myth see, for the time being, Widengren *RoB* II (1943) pp. 57 ff., and add to the evidence adduced there the date formula given in King *LII* III p. 214: 12 *mu kiri<sub>6</sub> dingir-ri-e ne-ge mu-un-na-dim-ma*, "the year in which the plantation of the gods was made"; further the notice in *CT* XXIV Pl. 3: 25 deserves consideration, for, according to it, there was a divine functionary *nu-kiri<sub>6</sub>-gal an-na-ge*, "the great gardener of Anu".

later on in this book.<sup>1</sup> We will content ourselves in this place with a statement to the effect that this expression has a clear Mesopotamian origin, but that it may have made its way into the Manichaean writings most probably through the medium of Christian and Christian Gnostic teachings.<sup>2</sup>

As a name of the habitation of the Highest God, the Good Principle, in Mandaean writings we very frequently meet with the appellation "the House of Life", בית הייח.<sup>3</sup> Now in Mesopotamian writings there are to be found several analogies to this expression. Thus Babylon itself is the "habitation of Life", *šubat balāṭi* (Shamashshumukin departs from Assur to the *šubat balāṭu*, *KB* III: 1 p. 200: 14). The chief temple of the town, Esagila, is called *bīt balāṭi*, the House of Life, in a context which deserves quoting verbally. It is the righteous sufferer, properly the king, who prays:

*šu-ri-ba-an-ni-ma a-na É-sag-ila* Cause me to enter into Esagila,  
*ēkal ilāni bīt balāṭi.* the palace of the gods, the House  
of Life.

Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom* p. 143: 25.

The wish to be taken into the House of Life could as well have been uttered in a Mandaean or Manichaean psalm.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See below p. 146 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See below p. 125 ff., 157.

<sup>3</sup> See the indexes in Lidzbarski's publications s. v. Haus des Lebens. This expression is synonymous with the Garden of Life, see e. g. Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien* p. 9 VI, where the Garland of Life is brought from the House of Life, as compared with *ib.* p. 146 LXXIX, where the myrtle growing in the gardens of Hibil is made a wreath for the baptism of Jordan.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. in Mandaean literature *Mandäische Liturgien* p. 35: 6 ff. where it is said that the righteous and believing men are from the House of Life; *ib.* p. 38: 4 ff. (cf. p. 132 f.) it is stated that the Saviour has come from the House of Life, and that he shows them his way from there on which he has come. Concerning the motif of the "way" see Käsemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk* p. 55, and cf. Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah* p. 56 f., for the "guide". In the Mandaean texts the believers wish to go the same way as the Saviour in order that their spirits and souls might dwell in the Škīnā of Life (cf. p. 196 XXVI); *ib.* p. 47: 4 (162: 11) the soul says: "I lifted my eyes to the height and with my soul I hoped for the House of Life": *ib.* p. 54: 6 the choir of the believers say that they will ascend to the House of Life; *ib.* p. 103: 1 (113: 9) the soul flies to the House of Life; *ib.* p. 104: 10: an imperishable building is erected for the pious in the House of Life (cf. Paul, II Cor. 5: 1,

The king, the righteous sufferer in the famous poem *Ludlul bēl nīmēki* which we just quoted in the part of the psalm of thanksgiving when he relates his passage through the twelve gates<sup>1</sup> says in his enumeration of these gates:

*ina bāb balāti ba-la-tu am-ma-lyi-ir.* In the Gate of Life, life was I given.

Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom* p. 192: 7.<sup>2</sup>

We are surely not astonished when finding the idea of the Gate of Life used also in Mandaean literature in the phrase "the Great Gate of the House of Life, באבא רבא דביתא הייא (*Mandäische Liturgien* p. 229: 9).

The very expression Gate of Life is met with in the Ps. Clementine writings, whose intimate connexion with Mesopotamian-Syrian-Palestinian Gnostic baptismal sects has been demonstrated.<sup>3</sup> In his disputation with Simon Magus Peter says that the true Christians are able to know also hidden things without any exertion thanks to their possession of the Holy Ghost, but that other people, even if they try to obtain this in the Unlimited and see Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, p. 365, who has pointed out the Gnostic background which can now be understood as possessing ancient Mesopotamian traditions); *ib* p. 158: 10: the soul is exhorted to ascend to the House of Life. These passages are collected only from the Liturgies. The *Ginzā* has, of course, still more material to provide.

<sup>1</sup> The best commentary is still to be found in Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, pp. 152 ff., even if Reitzenstein did not see, or was not interested in the psalm's setting in life as a royal psalm of thanksgiving, and perhaps underrated the indigenous Mesopotamian ideas in the ritual scheme expressed in the psalm. We may add here that the royal ideology in many cases gives us the clue to the correct interpretation of several conceptions and rites in later Hellenistic mystery religions.

<sup>2</sup> The opposition against Babylonian religion, on the other hand, seems to have led to a vigorous denunciation of the Mystery of the Twelve Gates. There are many warnings against eating and drinking from the Twelve Gates, obviously a sign of an ancient Mesopotamian mystery practice, a kind of communion, carried out during the passage through the twelve gates. In Mandaean religion, however, the Twelve Gates have been adopted as a symbol of the false religions. For instances, see Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* p. 298: 33, where a custom is hinted at of giving one's daughter away to the Twelve Gates (originally for being used in the *hieros gamos* ceremonies [?], if we assume some concrete background of the language used here [?]).

<sup>3</sup> See Cullmann, *Le problème littéraire et historique du roman Pseudo-Clémentin* pp. 170—220.

Time (𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 = the Iranian *zamān i akanārak* in Pahlavi, *zrvan akarana* in Avestic<sup>1</sup>), would not only be unsuccessful in acquiring this Gnosis, but would even lead their own souls to perdition "because he would not try by means of the Gate of Life to enter on the way of righteousness", 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 (Frankenberg, *Die Syrischen Clementinen* p. 102: 22—23 = *Recogn. II* 21: 7). The Gate of Life is here obviously thought of as giving entrance to the way of righteousness which leads to eternal life. It is impossible not to see in this passage an adaptation to the language of the New Test. But the expression *per se* nevertheless remains an interesting fact especially because it turns up in so outspoken a Gnostic surrounding. Anyhow it is more interesting to note that in the same literature we find the Saviour, the True Prophet declare: "I am the Gate of Life", ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ πύλη τῆς ζωῆς, *Ps. Clement. Hom. III* 52 (cf. III 18). This passage is of course a Gnostic parallel to John 10: 9, but, as Bauer contends, it cannot be said that we find the metaphor of the gate, or door, connected with the Saviour only in John, and that extra-biblical passages are influenced by Johannine language.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, in the Homilies of Afrahat we meet the same saying attributed to Christ: "I am the Gate of Life", 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 (Aphraatis . . . *demonstrationes* ed. Parisot *PS I* col. 145: 4).

The name of "House of Life" is also met with in Mesopotamian texts of a special kind that will occupy us many times in the sequel, *viz.* the Tammuz liturgies. The goddess here cries out in lamentation over her devastated cult-places:

<sup>1</sup> See Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi II* s. v. *akanārak*.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand there remains the question in what degree Matth. 7: 13 with parallels is influenced by the Gnostic conception of the Gate of Life. The coincidence will appear more clear if the Syriac New Test. is compared where it is spoken of the 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 into which one has to enter, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥, and which leads to Life, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥. Cf. the underlined Syriac words with those stressed above in the text! That the process is not to be understood in the opposite direction can presumably be taken for granted because the expression "the Gate of Life" is now shown to have a Mesopotamian mythic-ritual background. Note that the contemporary Jewish material adduced both by Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament I* pp. 460 ff. (where the similitude of the gate meets only in two instances) and Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus* pp. 248 ff., cannot provide the exact counterpart to the expression "the Gate of Life".

*ki-ur e-nam-ti(l)-la mu-un-ḫul-a u.* In Kinur behold the House of Life, the annihilated!

Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 172 Rev. 2.

And in the same liturgy, the series *am-e bār-na ra*, Ishtar declares that she herself will reveal to her consort Tammuz how the temple in the holy cities have been destroyed.

*[ki]-dagal e-nam-til-la al.* "The wide place, the House of Life, is destroyed" (I will tell him)!

Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 180: 18.

From the passages adduced here we may conclude that the chief temple in the old Mesopotamian cult-places could be called the House of Life. We also know that such a temple contained a sacred grove where the tree of life, the Plant of Life, was growing, supervised and tended by the king as gardener acting in his capacity of the representative of the mythical Gardener in Paradise, the Garden of Life.<sup>2</sup>

In this manner we gain the picture of a coherent totality of mythical ideas and ritual customs having their fixed centre in ancient Mesopotamian religion and completely dominated by the idea of Life.<sup>3</sup> That, on the whole, this special conception of Life held a very important place in the religious beliefs of the old country between the two rivers, cannot be doubted in view of the fact that *e. g.* the Epic of Gilgamesh is entirely built up on the account of the endeavour to gain Life, localized just to the Plant of Life. And we surely have to attach importance to the fact that the word *balātu*, life, is one of the most common vocables in Accadian language, especially in religious literature, *e. g.* in the psalms. We shall, moreover, later treat the term

<sup>1</sup> See Widengren *RoB* II (1943) p. 59 f.

<sup>2</sup> See Widengren *ib.* p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Some supplementary details might have been added here, *e. g.* the rôle played by "the Water of Life" and the expression "the Quay of Life", but I content myself with a reference to *RoB* II (1943) p. 54, as to the first conception, and for the second to below p. 102. That *e. g.* the Book of Life has a Mesopotamian origin is a well-known fact, see Pedersen, *Der Islam* V (1914) pp. 110—115. The decisive passage is found in *ABL* 545: 8 ff.: *Nabū . . . ina 'lē'īšu ša balāti nikkasu ša šarri bēlija u ša mārē bēlija [a]na ūmē šāti [līpūš]*, "on his tablet of life may Nabu make the reckoning of the king my lord and of the sons of my lord forever", *RCA* I p. 386.

Lifegiver as an epithet of the Saviour, and trace its Mesopotamian origin.<sup>1</sup> Without wanting in the slightest degree to deny the obvious fact that the conception of Life plays a considerable rôle in the Indo-Iranian religious foundations of Gnostic speculation and religion, a fact which has besides been emphasized by the writer in an earlier work<sup>2</sup>, we conclude in this connexion that it is only in Mesopotamian religion (with its offshoots in Canaanite and Israelitic mythical ideas<sup>3</sup>) that we find the religious ideas of Life developed into a coherent complex of mythical images expressed in concrete symbols from everyday life, such as garden, tree, water, house, gate etc.

<sup>1</sup> See below ch. X.

<sup>2</sup> See Widengren, *Religionens värld* p. 360, 365.

<sup>3</sup> That the term and idea of Life are very impressive religious symbols in the ancient Near East, has been emphasized by S. A. Cook in his Notes to the third edition of Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 555 ff.

As an additional remark we may add two references. So *e. g.* it is said: "Adam was set at the gate of Life", James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* p. 184 (Book of the Resurrection of Christ); and further "the gate of Life" is mentioned in Phillips, *The Doctrine of Addai* p. 10 (transl.), p. 6 (text).

## CHAPTER II.

### The Evil Power.

The description of the Evil Power, the Prince of Darkness, as given in Fihrist had attracted the attention of Kessler, and had already by him been compared with the appearance of Ti'āmat and other chaos-powers in Mesopotamian mythology.<sup>1</sup> The relevant passage in the picturesque description of al-Nadīm runs as follows.

ومن تلك الارض المظلمة كان  
الشیطان... رأسه كراس اسد  
وبدنه كبدن تتین وجناحه  
كجناح طائر وذنبه كذنب  
حوت وارجله اربع كارجل  
الدواب.

And from this dark earth Šaitān came into existence... his head like the head of a lion, and his body like the body of a dragon, and his wings like the wings of a bird, and his tail like the tail of a great fish, and his four feet like the feet of reptiles.<sup>2</sup>

Flügel, *Mani* text p. 53, transl. p. 86 =  
al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* p. 329.

The very composite appearance of the Dark Power recurs in the Coptic texts now available. There are in the Kephalaia two passages confirming the impressive picture of Fihrist, *viz.* p. 30:34—31:2 and p. 77:26—78:3. Their mutual relations have been analyzed by Böhlig, to whose investigation we may refer.<sup>3</sup> We may add that there is also in the Coptic psalms an

<sup>1</sup> See Kessler, *PRE* 12 (1903) p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> According to Polotsky, *Manichäismus*, Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl.* Suppl. Bd. VI col. 250 the word *dauābb* ought to be understood as a mistranslation of an original Iranian *dēv*, demon, taken as *dēvak*, worm. That this cannot be correct has been shown by Wikander, *Vayu* I p. 202, who, however, would also seem to assume an Iranian background for the description of the Evil Power. In view of the evidence adduced here, this is completely improbable.

<sup>3</sup> See Böhlig, *Eine Bemerkung z. Beurteilung der Kephalaia*, *ZNW* 37 (1938) p. 15.



According to Mani, the Principle of the Dark, before trying to invade the realm of Light, perceived from a distance that there was "something pleasant".<sup>1</sup> The Dark was thus possessed by a longing for Light, which eventually resulted in an attempt at securing the dominion over the kingdom of Light.

With this motif we may compare a passage from an old Mesopotamian myth where the evil principle, the Storm God Zū, feels a desire for the highest power when seeing the emblems of the sovereignty.

<i>ip-šit</i> <sup>D</sup> <i>En-lil-ú-tu i-na-aṭ-ṭa-la</i>	His eyes behold the exercise of Enlil-
<i>i-na-šu</i>	ship,
<i>a-gi-e be-lu-ti-šu na-al-ba-aš</i>	the crown of his sovereignty, the
<i>ilu-ti-šu</i>	robe of his divinity.
<i>dup šimāti [ilu-ti]-šu</i> <sup>D</sup> Zū	The tablets of destinies of his divinity
<i>it-ta na-ṭal-ma</i>	Zu beholds again and again.
<i>it-ta-na-ṭal-ma a-bi ilī ilu</i>	And as he beholds again and again
<i>Dēr</i> <sup>kt</sup>	the father of the gods, the
	god of Dēr,
<i>uk-su</i> <sup>D</sup> <i>En-lil-ú-ti iṣ-ša-bat</i>	he conceives in his heart a desire
<i>i-na lib-bi-šu</i>	for Enlilship.

CT XV Pl. 39: 5—11, transl. Heidel, *Babylonian Genesis*  
p. 122, KB VI: 1 p. 46.<sup>2</sup>

The essential point in this comparison is the desire for power over the heavenly world felt by the evil principle, and his subsequent attempt at securing for himself the supreme control over the universe. When Zū has succeeded in snatching the tablets of destiny the immediate step to be taken by the gods is, of course, that of recapturing these tablets. In order to carry out this task, several gods are asked to go and fight the evil power Zū. One after another declines the proposal, holding himself not a match for the terrible adversary, until at last Marduk apparently undertakes to recover the powerful symbol.<sup>3</sup> In the

<sup>1</sup> See Mitchell, *Ephraim's Prose Refutations* I p. LX, text p. 64: 10—12.

<sup>2</sup> "Enlilship" is the term designating supreme rulership among the gods. Enlil is the god of Dēr, written Dur-an-ki, see however Heidel, *Babylonian Genesis* p. 122 n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See Heidel, *Babylonian Genesis*, p. 125. Marduk is actually styled "the one who crushed the skull of Zū", Hehn *BA* V p. 309: 6.

Manichaeism the Father of Greatness meets the emergencies of the rise of Darkness by calling into existence various emanations by whom at last the Dark is overcome and equilibrium restored in the world. We will later have to analyze the resemblances between Marduk going out to fight the Power of Evil and the Manichaeism Primal Man descending for his combat with the Ruler of Darkness.

When speaking of the cosmological beliefs of Mani we may also refer to the curious notion that the conquered satellites of the Ruler of the Dark, the so-called Archons, are chained and put in certain places in the heavens. This their being put in chains (or crucified) and placed in the skies is apparent from the texts.<sup>1</sup>

Now, this mythical conception of the conquered gods having their places in heaven allotted to them seems to have its ultimate origin in an old Mesopotamian theologoumenon which has acquired a literary form in the Babylonian Epic of Creation. When Marduk has vanquished Ti'amat, Kingu, and their followers, he does not kill anyone of them except Kingu (whom he has taken prisoner) unless we include Ti'amat, who was however killed already in open battle. After his victory Marduk slays Kingu as a vicarious sacrifice for all the other gods in conformity to his words:

*ar-nu-uš-šū lu-ū-šá-aš-šá-a pa- I will make him bear his punishment*  
*šá-ḫi-iš tuš-ba in order that you may sit in peace.*  
*Enūma Elish VI: 26, transl. Heidel,*  
*Babylonian Genesis p. 35.<sup>2</sup>*

After having thus executed Kingu, Marduk proceeds to dispose of the conquered deities in the following manner:

<sup>D</sup>*Marduk šar-ri ilū ú-za-'i-iz Marduk, the king of the gods, divided*  
*ša <sup>D</sup>A-nun-na-ki gim-rat-su- the totality of the Anunnaki on*  
*nu e-liš u šap-liš high and below.*

<sup>1</sup> One has to compare Theodore bar Kūnay, Pognon, *Coups Mandaites* p. 128 f., *CSCO Scriptorum Syri Ser. II Vol. 66 p. 315* (= Cumont, *Recherches I p. 36*) with *Acta Archelai* ch. 8 ed. Beeson p. 11: 5. Cf. Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees* p. 28 f.; Polotsky, *Manichäismus* col. 254.

<sup>2</sup> The word *arnu* is a complex conception including both punishment and sin, see Widengren, *Psalms of Lamentation* p. 175.

*û-ad-di a-na* <sup>D</sup>*A-nim te-re-tuš* He appointed (them) to Anu to  
*na-ša-ru* watch his decrees,  
*5 × 60 ina šamē' ú-ki-in a-na* 300 he placed in the heavens as a  
*ma-šar-tu* watch.

*Enūma Elish* VI: 39—42, transl. Heidel,  
*Babylonian Genesis*, p. 37.<sup>1</sup>

The Aramaic term corresponding to *mašartu* is *maṭṭartā*. In Mandaeen literature this word plays a great part in the conception of the soul's ascent after death in passing through the heavenly spheres. During its ascension, its *massiqtā*, the soul, has to pass several *maṭṭarātā*, watch-houses. The soul carrying the heavenly letter<sup>2</sup> arrives at such a watch-house, according to a description given in the Liturgies.

פאהרא ואזיל נישמא The soul flies and goes away,  
אלמא למאטרא דשובא מטא until it arrived at the watch-house  
of the Seven.

ראב מאכסיא דהיזוייא The chief customers who saw it  
מדאנרמייא ואמרין were whispering and saying:  
מאן כידבה לענגירתא "Who wrote the letter,  
דעניש בראזה לאעדא of which no man knew its secrecy?"

Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien* p. 112: 8—10.

There are many watch-houses, for they are often mentioned in the plural, *maṭṭarātā*. In one of the songs of Left Ginzā they are called the watch-houses of the sun, the moon, the fire, the Seven, and that of Rūhā (Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* pp. 525 ff.). This cannot have been the original conception for, as Bousset contends, the Watch-houses must from the outset have been understood as the spheres of the planets.<sup>3</sup> The soul crying for help when passing these obstacles in its way is met by its own higher Ego, who brings it safely to its goal, the *terminus* of its *massiqta*

<sup>1</sup> Text after the new material published by Ebeling *MAOG* XII 4 and v. Soden *ZA* 47 (1941—42) p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> For the conception of the heavenly letter see Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* pp. 67 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Bousset, *Die Religion der Mandäer*, *Theol. Rundsch.* 20 (1917) p. 197 f. See also Schou Pedersen, *Bidrag til en analyse af de mandaeiske skrifter* pp. 122 ff.

(Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* p. 527: 17—18). The Mandaean Saviour descending to save Adam, *i. e.* Mankind<sup>1</sup>, also passes the watch-houses on his way downwards, and again, when returning to his celestial home, he destroys these *maṭṭarātā*.

מִן אֱלֵמָא דְבִישׂיָא אִפְיָקְתָּהּ לְאֲדָמָא I made Adam go out from the  
world of the evil ones,  
וְעַל כּוּל דְּמֹו סְאִינָא אֲדִיתָּהּ. and made him pass by every  
abominable image.

נְהוּרָא דְבִישׂיָא אֲשַׁכְּתִי The light of the evil ones I made  
dark

וְתַאבְאֲרִיתִינוּן לְמַאטְאֲרַתוֹן כּוּלְהוֹן and crushed all their watch-  
houses.

Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* p. 530: 16—19 =  
Petermann, *L. Ginzā* p. 92: 9—11.

As to the fettering of the Archons we may adduce a passage from a historical legend.

*ip-šu pi-i-šu ik-kam-mu-ú ilū* On the utterance of his mouth the  
hostile gods were fettered,  
*nak-ru-tu*  
*lab-šu úr(?)·šu-tu* dressed in dirty (garments).

*Assur* 13955 Obv. 26 = *ZA* 42 (1934) p. 50: 26.

The resemblance with the Manichaeian myth seems rather striking.

Another characteristic detail in Manichaeian cosmological ideas is the creation of the universe out of the vanquished evil powers.<sup>2</sup> This whole complex of creation conceptions is strongly reminiscent of the corresponding Babylonian ideas in *Enūma Elish* Tablets V—VI, for there it is described how Marduk creates the universe out of the slain Ti'amat, and man out of her consort Kingu. A most significant difference, of course, must also be noted. According to the whole tenor in Mani's system, it was completely impossible for him to imagine that man had been created by the

<sup>1</sup> For this identification see Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* pp. 35, 47 ff.; Kraeling, *Anthropos and Son of Man* p. 63 f.

<sup>2</sup> See Cumont, *Recherches* I pp. 25 ff.; Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees* pp. 27 ff.; Polotsky, *Manichäismus* col. 254.



Archon, and questioned by him as to His identity and business.<sup>1</sup> Obviously the revision of the Syriac text has been carried out with a view to removing the scandalizing effect caused by the notion of the terrible Archon.<sup>2</sup>

The Archons, as is well known, play a considerable rôle as a technical term in the Gnostic writings in Greek and Coptic languages, and there can be no doubt but that Mani has taken over this religious term which, as we have shown, had already gained a firm footing in Syriac as a special technical word in the writings of the Gnostics, a fact attested by its occurrence in the Syriac of Thomas. That the Archons are of no small importance in the Gnostic systems of the West, is perfectly conspicuous, and we need not go into details in this respect.<sup>3</sup>

The question as to from where Mani has got the term Archon(s) is thus to be answered in such a way that the term Archon(s) was very wide-spread in Gnostic circles, both Greek and Syriac speaking, and that this word was a common loanword not only in Syriac, but in many other dialects of Aramaic.<sup>4</sup> Thus everything speaks for the solution proposed here: Mani has found the

<sup>1</sup> This scene is a common one in Gnostic writings, see e. g. Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, p. 208, with his reference to Origen *C. Cels.* VI 31; on this conception cf. also Anz, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnostizismus* p. 11 ff.

<sup>2</sup> As is often the case, the Greek text has preserved the technical term giving  $\delta \alpha\rho\chi\omega\nu$  in this passage, see ed. Bonnet p. 250: 13.

<sup>3</sup> See Leisegang, *Die Gnosis* Index s. v. *Archon* and *Archonten*. In *Pistis Sophia* a special activity is assigned to the Archons, who are mentioned many times; see Index to the translation by Schmidt, *Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften*, Index s. v. *Archonten*.

<sup>4</sup> The same may hold true also in the case of the Greek word  $\beta\acute{\omega}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  used by Mani as  $\text{ܒܘܠܘܨ}$ . When Burkitt says, "the name of the *Bolus*, now attested in the Syriac of Ephraim, cannot have come from anything but a Greek source, it suggests to us that Mani drew his inspiration from the West, as much as, if not more than, from the East around him" (*Religion of the Manichees* p. 67); this conclusion would seem to be entirely unwarranted. Firstly we must observe that in his refutation Aphrem says that the guilty Souls "are found like dregs in the midst of that which they call BOLOS" (Mitchell, *Ephraim's Prose Refutations* I p. LXXII, and II p. 236 Corrigenda, Burkitt, *op. cit.* p. 66); we ought to note that Aphrem says "which *they* (stressed by me) call BOLOS", an expression which *per se* does not imply the statement that Mani himself used this word. Secondly, if it be admitted that even Mani might well have used this Greek term, nothing could forbid us to assume that he had found this

Greek term as a common loanword in Syriac in the technical meaning given it by the Gnostics and possessing the same significance as the indigenous Syriac word.<sup>1</sup> Nothing can conceivably be adduced in order to prove that Mani has borrowed this term and the notion connected with it from any Greek source. The word Archon, we conclude, is thus altogether unsuitable for scholars wishing to prove the dependence of Mani on Greek literature and culture.

Mesopotamian as to its origin is certainly, as Cumont has long ago observed, the locality of the two hostile powers. While the Kingdom of Light dominates in the North, the East, and the West, Darkness holds as its dominion the South.<sup>2</sup> According to Sumero-Accadian cosmological conceptions, the gods have their habitation in the North, whereas the South is the nether world and the abode of the demons.<sup>3</sup>

That, moreover, the general cosmological pattern including the seven planets (here as well as in Mandaean literature conceived of as evil beings<sup>4</sup>) and the twelve gates of heaven (met

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word circulating as a Greek loan-word in Syriac speaking Gnostic groups. Thirdly, it ought to be emphasized that **ܐܪܚܘܢ**, as well as **ܐܪܚܘܢ**, is a loan-word not only in Syriac but also in other Aramaic dialects in the form **ܐܪܚܘܢ**; see Dalman, *Aram. Neuhebr. Wörterbuch* s. v. p. 50 a; Lewy, *Wörterbuch ü. d. Talm. u. Midr.* I p. 200.

<sup>1</sup> The corresponding idea is expressed in indigenous Syriac with the term **ܐܪܚܘܢ**, which is e. g. used in the Bardesane Dialogue on Fate, see PS I 2 Index s. v. **ܐܪܚܘܢ**. In the Acts of Thomas we also find this same term which can accordingly be assumed to be the original Mesopotamian technical term for what is expressed in Greek as *ἀρχοντες*. In Accadian, we may add, we meet with the word *šalṭu*, st. constr. *šaliṭ*, ruler, prince, to which the Syriac term is thus only a form in the plural, a formation found also in Accadian even if we have not yet there come across the word *šal(i)ṭāni*, but *šalṭāniš*. For the Syriac word cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss* II p. 701 addit. to I p. 61 n. 2. We may add that **ܐܪܚܘܢ** is found in the very passage of the Acts of Thomas with which we have been concerned here, i. e. ch. 143 in the Sinaitic fragments, see *Horae Semiticae* III p. 217 the last line, = *Studia Sinaitica* IX p. 30 the last line; *ib.* p. 226 a l. 19; *Studia Sinaitica* IX p. 33 l. 12 = ed. Wright p. 1. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cumont, *Recherches* II p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cumont, *Recherches* II p. 164.

<sup>4</sup> As correctly observed by Scheftelowitz, *Entstehung der manichäischen Religion*, pp. 8 ff. who also remarks that in the Ethiopic Book of Enoch 18: 13 ff. (21: 3) the planets are depicted as apostatized and evil powers, *ib.* p. 11.

with also in Mandaean writings<sup>1)</sup> is a Mesopotamian inheritance in Manichaeism, goes without saying. The astronomical-astrological ideas prevalent in Manichaeism literature are, however, to be understood as belonging to the generally accepted interpretation of the universe, even if originally propagated by Mesopotamian theologians and astrologers.<sup>2</sup> At the time of Mani's appearance it is highly improbable that any specific Mesopotamian local colouring was to be felt in these conceptions except that the names remained the old Mesopotamian.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough not observed by Scheftelowitz who, on the other hand, points out that they are met with in Enoch 72: 2 ff.; 75: 4 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See the standard work by Cumont, *Astrology and Religion*.

<sup>3</sup> For the Syriac names of the planets see Jensen, *Kosmologie* pp. 134 ff.

## CHAPTER III.

### The Combat and the Rebels.

Mani taught that when the ruler of Darkness, the *rex tenebrorum* as he is called in the Western tradition, made his assault on the Realm of Light he was opposed by the Primal Man, armed, or clothed, in his Five Light-Elements. The Primus Homo is thus said to be "like a man who dresses himself in armour for battle (*Theodore bar Kōnay* ed. Pognon p. 127: 19—20 = *CSCO* Script. Syr. II 66, p. 314: 1 f.). According to the description of the fight given in *Fihrist* (Flügel, *Mani*, text p. 54, transl. p. 87 f. = *Fihrist* ed. Flügel p. 329) the Primordial Man and the King of the Dark (here called the Primordial Devil, *'iblis al-ḡadīm*) fought for a long time, but then the First Man was conquered.

This battle has its Mesopotamian counterpart in the combat between Marduk and Tiāmat. There is a moment in this fight which is of special interest in this connexion.

<i>iṭ-ḫi-ma be-lum ḡab-lu-uš ti-wa-wa-ti i-bar-ri</i>	The lord approached to look into the heart of Tiāmat,
<i>ša <sup>D</sup>Kin-gu ḡa-'i-ri-šá i-še-'e-a me-ki-šú</i>	(and) to see the plan of Kingu, her spouse.
<i>i-na-aṭ-ṭal-ma e-ši ma-lak-šú</i>	He looketh up and is then confused in his plan,
<i>sa-pi-iḫ ṭè-ma-šú-ma si-ḡa-ti ip-šit-su</i>	distracted is his mind and disordered his action.
<i>ù ilū ri-ṡu-šú a-li-ku i-di-šú</i>	Likewise the gods, his helpers, who were marching by his side,
<i>i-mu-ru-[ma] ḡar-da a-šá-ri-du ni-ṭil-šú-un i-ši</i>	when they saw the valiant hero their vision became blurred.

*Enūma Elish* IV 65—70, Heidel, *Babylonian Genesis* p. 29.

The question in this case is: who is confounded? Marduk or Kingu? The latest translator, A. Heidel, thinks that it is Kingu

who is confused at the sight of Marduk. Some stylistical features in the epic could possibly be adduced to support this view. Nevertheless, this opinion must be left out of account, for Labat has most convincingly shown that in this short moment of the battle there is a slight hesitation on the side of Marduk, and that this little intimation is the only trace of the defeat of Marduk left in the Epic of Creation, a defeat that is otherwise well attested by many texts.<sup>1</sup>

In the sequel there will be many occasions for us to revert to the description of the defeated Saviour. Here we are mainly concerned with the fact that even the account of the combat between Marduk and the powers of evil originally seems to have hinted at Marduk's being conquered by his adversaries.

In Manichaean Coptic texts we often hear of the "rebels" who have been overcome by the First Man, who is for this reason glorified in the following words:

The Warrior, the strong one of manifold activities,  
 who subdued the rebels by his Power, our Father,  
 the First Man of glory whose victory and garland are blessed.

*Psalm-Book II p. 1: 15—27.*<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Labat, *Le poème babylonien de la création* p. 43. Cf. the hesitation shown by Tishpak before the battle, Heidel, *Babylonian Genesis* p. 120: 20 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The Coptic term ⲉⲣⲟ clearly reflects the Syriac word ܩܘܪܘܢܐ, which is met with also in Mandaean literature as ܩܘܪܘܢܐ, concerning which see Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch* p. 1 n. 3. As Lidzbarski points out, the meaning of "be victorious" must be explained from the juridical language. Lidzbarski says: "Im Mandäischen findet sich oft der Sinn: vor Gericht unschuldig befunden werden, da obsiegen", *ib.* He further contends that ܩܘܪܘܢܐ must have come from the Accadian, and says: "Im Assyrischen hat *zakū* noch den Sinn 'rein sein', doch seltener, während die gewöhnliche Bedeutung 'frei sein' ist. Welche Rolle das Wort im Assyrischen in der Gerichtssprache spielt, kann ich aus den Wörterbüchern von Delitzsch und Muss-Arnolt nicht ersehen", *ib.* Actually this statement needs some modification. In religious terminology the meaning "be clean, pure" for *zakū* is not at all uncommon in the prayers, see Weir, *Lexicon of Accadian Prayers*, s. v. *zakū*. In juridical language, on the other hand, the verb *zakū* means "to be free of obligation", see Hinke, *A New Boundary Stone*, glossary p. 269, but that does not suit the subject in our case. Driver & Miles, *The Assyrian Laws, passim*, shows how the person who in a process was declared free of obligation could be styled "victorious" in the process, and hence *zakū* could acquire the sense of "be victorious", see Driver & Miles *op. cit.* passages indexed in the glossary s. v. *zakāu*. Lidzbarski's conclusion (*op. cit.*

The Rebels are thus the enemies of the First Man and, for that reason, also the adversaries of the Father of Greatness who sent out Primordial Man in order to ward off the assault made by the powers of Darkness. It is therefore said of the Father that it pleased him that by His Word

he should subdue the rebels who desired to exalt themselves above that which was more exalted than they.

*Psalm-Book II p. 9: 29—30.*

More instructive is another passage in the Coptic Psalms where we read:

But he subdued the great sea,  
he subdued the rebels also that are in it,  
he sank its rebels also in it,  
he set guards over them to watch them.

*Psalm-Book II p. 213: 6—9.*

In this place due emphasis ought to be laid on the association of the Rebels with the sea, a very interesting feature which shall occupy us a little later in our investigation. But now we are primarily concerned with the term Rebels. The Coptic word for Rebels is Ⲭⲉⲗⲉⲣⲉ, which presumably goes back upon a Syriac ܪܝܒܝܢ, rebels. This term is actually found in Manichaean writings extant in Syriac. In the account by Theodore bar Kōnay of the salvation of Adam by Jesus, Adam beats his breast and cries: "Woe, woe to the framer of my body, and to the chainer of my soul, and to the Rebels who have enslaved me!" (Pognon

p. 2) that ܝܘܒܝܬܐ means "purity of soul", and "victoriousness" is thus, notwithstanding these small modifications, correct, and he has further pointed to the close resemblance between the Mandaean ܝܘܒܝܬܐ ܕܝܘܒܝܬܐ and the Manichaean ܝܘܒܝܬܐ ܕܝܘܒܝܬܐ found in the Book of Scholies by Theodore bar Kōnay, ed. Pognon p. 127: 21; *CSCO Script. Syr. II Vol. 66 p. 314: 3*; cf. also Cumont, *Recherches I* p. 17. The same expression is found also in the Acts of Thomas, ch. 147 ed. Wright p. ܥ ܠ. 4 f.; ed. Bedjan p. 155: 5 in the phrase: "may we receive the crown of victory"! As to the meaning of ܝܘܒܝܬܐ, the sense of "guiltlessness", or "freedom of obligation", in the juridical sense seems to be original. In Manichaean Coptic texts, instead of merely "victory" we find the expression "the prize of victory", but the text in *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel p. 335, with الزكوة clearly shows that Victory and Prize of Victory are synonymous, see Polotsky, *Ein Manifund* p. 72.









even "sea", *ti'āmtu*, *tāmtu*, being the ordinary name of the salt sea or ocean, there are several sea monsters, called "the gods, her helpers, who marched at her side, "*ilū rēṣūša āliku idiša* (*En. el.* IV 107). When *Ti'amat* is overcome, and those helpers of hers are taken prisoners, *Marduk* asks for the god who is guilty.

*lip-hu-ru-nim-ma ilū rabūti* Let the great gods be assembled  
hither,  
*ša an-nam li-in-na-din-ma* and let the guilty one be delivered  
*šu-nu li-ik-tu-nu* up in order that (the other) be  
established.

*Enūma elish* VI 15—16, Heidel, *Babylonian Genesis* p. 35.<sup>1</sup>

Even if the expression for "guilty" in *Enūma elish* is not the same as in the Mandaeen text just quoted, the underlying idea is nevertheless the same. The gods who made war have a guilt to expiate, they are guilty. In the sequel *Marduk* further asks:

*man-nu-um-ma šá ib-nu-ú tu-ku-un-tu* Who was it that created the strife  
*ù ti-amat ú-šá-bal-ki-tú-ma iḱ-šu-ru ta-ḥa-zi* and caused *Ti'amat* to revolt and  
prepare for battle?

*Enūma elish* VI 23—24, Heidel, *Babylonian Genesis* p. 36.

In this passage too the idea is the same as in the Mandaeen and Manichaeen texts, though in point of language there is no perfect correspondence, the Accadian verb being *nabalkutu* (IV 1 of *balkātu*), "to revolt" whereas the Aramaic verb is *מאראר*, also meaning "to revolt" (the Syriac *ܡܪܝܢ* is the same verb). But actually *nabalkutu* is the common Accadian term for "to revolt". The root *מרר*, on the other hand, is, as far as I know, not attested in Assyro-Babylonian texts, and the equivalence between *Enūma elish* and Manichaeen-Mandaeen literature may well be said to be striking.

<sup>1</sup> The translation by Heidel "but let them be established" misses the point, Labat, *Le poème babylonien* p. 145: 16, "pour que subsistent (les dieux)" gives the correct meaning. It is the question of a sacrifice of a substitutional character as Labat has demonstrated most convincingly, see *op. cit.* p. 143 n. 8 and *RES* (1935) p. XXIV f.

Another little detail may also deserve a special mentioning. In the Mandaean Liturgies (*Mandäische Liturgien* p. 185: 3) it was said that the heavenly Saviour treads down the rebellious powers with a club in his hand. Now Marduk too in *Enūma elish*, armed with the scimeter, *miṭtu*, (*Enūma elish* IV 37) stands, *izazza*, on Ti'āmat after having subdued her (*Enūma elish* IV 104). He is further described as trampling the fettered helpers of Ti'āmat (*Enūma elish* IV 118). It is also stated that Marduk treads upon Ti'āmat (*Enūma elish* IV 129). The word used in the two last instances is *ikbus* from the verb *kabāsu*, the common expression in Accadian for "trample upon", "tread down". This *kabāsu*, or *kabāšu*, is the same root as that used in the Mandaean texts where we find the inf. מִיכְבַּשׁ, and the part. מִכְבֵּישׁ.<sup>1</sup>

If we sum up the conclusions of this little investigation into the notion of the Rebels, we may say that we are able to state a close resemblance in this complex of ideas between the Manichaeic and Mandaean texts. The correspondence between these two literatures does not seem to be due to any dependence of one religion on the other. Instead, the fact that all the relevant ideas — yes, even the philological expression in one case — could be traced back to the Babylonian Epic of Creation, shows that both Manichaeic and Mandaean religions are in this respect, as well as in the material analyzed in the preceding chapter, dependent on the mythical ideas of the old Mesopotamian religion, and thus must have a common source as to the ideas and customs they have in common. As will be obvious from the sequel, the statement made here is no isolated case, but will be followed by many more and even more important items.

As an addition, we may at this juncture point out that the Manichaeic account of the descent of Primordial Man to fight the Prince of Darkness and his host has a curious counterpart in a description given by Aphrem of how Christ overcame the Evil one. After having described the fall of Adam in a preceding part of the poem, of which four stanzas are lost, Aphrem goes on saying:

<sup>1</sup> While in accadian I l (= peal) is employed, the Mandaean language seems to prefer the Pael (= II l) although the inf. peal מִיכְבַּשׁ, as we have seen, can also be used.

ٲٲا ٲح الالها اسنلا ولا سناد	There came, however, another fighter who did not succumb.
هللعه لانه رسل	And He dressed Himself in the armour
ٲده ارٲس اٲم	in which Adam was conquered.
سرسب صلا ٲٲا لرسبه	And the Adversary saw the armour of the conquered one
سسط	
سبب هلا اٲس ٲٲا رسل.	and was glad, and did not perceive that he was seduced.
ٲلعه صبلا له	What was inside frightened him,
ٲلحه صلحه له.	what was outside encouraged him.
صلا ال ٲسلا	The Evil one came in order to con- quer,
سارٲس هلا صب.	and was conquered, and did not hold the ground.

Overbeck, *Ephraemi Syri ... Opera selecta* p. 339 stanza 6.

In this stanza it ought to be stressed that Christ as well as Adam, his predecessor, is thought of as a soldier entering the battle-ground clad in heavy armour. This conception recurs in the narration of the defeat suffered by the First Man, and which we now read of in the Scholies by Theodore bar Konay. It must be especially pointed out that there is a certain coincidence in phraseology. Aphrem says *هللعه لانه رسل* and Theodore bar Kōnay *ٲلحه رسل لصلط* (ed. Pognon p. 127: 19 f., *CSCO II* Vol. 66 p. 314: 1 f.). It is thus a curious fact that Aphrem, who violently refutes the Manichees in his poetic imagery, is nevertheless deeply influenced by expressions and symbols constantly recurring in Manichaeon writings.

We may supplement our observation in this case by adding that in one of his Epiphany hymns Aphrem says of Christ that

رسل لجه سبب سامللا	He put on the armour, He triumphed and was crowned.
رسله صم طارح سالحس.	He left the armour on earth, and was elevated.

Lamy, *Ephraemi Syri Hymni et Sermones* I col. 99: 11.

Let us emphasize the fact that Christ after His final victory when He receives the triumphal crown, the garland of victory which we come across so many times in Manichaeian psalms, leaves His armour (= the body, the corporeal elements) on earth, but Himself returns on high. This of course coincides with the corresponding trait in the Manichaeian myth that the Saviour dresses Himself in his armour, which is His corporeal elements, but leaves His armour (= the Light elements making up His body, or His dress, or His armour) on earth, i. e. in the material world, when He Himself returns to His home in the realms of Light on high.

## CHAPTER IV.

### The State of the Defeated Saviour (the Soul).

In Manichaean Coptic texts there are many interesting passages describing the state of the Saviour when he has been defeated and imprisoned by the Powers of Evil. There is such an account which for various reasons can claim our special attention. The psalm in this case introduces the imprisoned Saviour as lamenting over his state. Since the Saviour is in the usual way the great prototype of every human soul, the psalmist in like manner cries for help.

I am a prince, wearing a crown with the kings.

Christ (guide me:my Saviour, do not forget me)!

I knew not how to fight, for I am of the city of the Gods.

Christ!

From the time that the hated one cast an evil eye on my kingdom,

Christ!

[I] left my Fathers at rest, I went, I gave myself to death for them.

Christ!

[I] armed myself, I went forth with my first [. . .

Christ!

[He] went without, I fought, he went within, he protected me.

Christ!

Thou madest agreement with me at the time, saying: 'If thou art victorious, thou shalt receive thy garland.'

Christ!

I was victorious in the first struggle, yet another fight arose for me.

Christ!

Since I was bound in the flesh I forgot my divinity.

Christ!

I was made to drink the cup of madness, I was made to rebel  
against my own self.

Christ!

The Powers and Principalities came within, they armed them-  
selves against me.

*Psalm-Book* II p. 117: 3—24.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian (Parthian) language there is a psalm whose diction bears a close resemblance to the Coptic text, *viz.* M 33 R II where the hero is also a prince, *vispuhr*, as in the Psalm-Book he is a *μεγιστᾶνος*. He gives his own self, *grēv*, to the enemies as a fetter, *band*, for them, as in the Coptic hymn he gave himself up to death for the powers of darkness. When he is bound in the chains of his adversaries he gives forth a cry to the Mother of Life, who asks the Father of Greatness<sup>2</sup>, "The beautiful son without pain, for what reason is he torn asunder among the demons?" (R II 81—83 *Mir M* III p. 32 (877)). The young prince is saved, returns to his house, and is met by his Mother who embraces him (V I 92—98 *ib.*). The epithet *anāzār*, "without pains", given to the prince in this hymn recurs in the famous "Zarathustra fragment" M 7 where the Saviour Zarathustra addressing his own self says, "Heavy is the drunkenness in which thou art slumbering, awake and behold me" (V II 89—92 *Mir M* III p. 27 (872))! The soul answers, "I, I am the tender son without pains of Srōshāv, I am mixed and, behold, suffering. Take me out of the embrace of death" (V II 97—103)! We recognize from the Coptic psalm the following traits: the Saviour is described as a young prince; he gives himself into the hands of his enemies in order to be a trap for them; he is, however, sunk in the slumber of death, which is likened to drunkenness. He then cries for help and is rescued, so that he can return to his heavenly abode.

In the Coptic psalms these misery-descriptions of the state

<sup>1</sup> Some traits remain rather uncertain. Who is the Helper? I do not think that he is anybody but the Higher Self who has come to rescue the part of the Ego that is imprisoned in matter.

<sup>2</sup> The terms are actually the same as in the original Syriac texts written by Mani, only that the Mother of Life is exchanged for the Living Mother, on which cf. above p. 17.

of the defeated Saviour (the Soul) play a considerable rôle. As a fine specimen of this literary *genre* the following passage deserves quoting.

[The] Youth groaned and wept  
 in the pit which is at the bottom of Hades.  
 The Youth groaned and wept,  
 his cry [to the Great Brightness went] up:  
 "Hast thou not heard, o Great Brightness?  
 Hath none told the word to thee  
 that Hades hath been stirred up and rebelled,  
 and they of the abyss have put their arms upon them?  
 The false Gods that have rebelled  
 have taken their armour against me.  
 The goddesses, the daughters of shame,  
 have set up their armour against me.  
 The goddesses, the daughters of shame,  
 have set up their spears.  
 The stinking and foul demons  
 have prepared to make war with me."  
 When the Mighty one heard,  
 when they told him the word,  
 he called a Messenger, the Adamas of Light,  
 the pitiless, the subducer of the Rebels,  
 saying, "Go down, go, o Adamas, succour the Youth!  
 Succour the Youth that is beneath the pit,  
 that is at the bottom of Hades!"

*Psalm-Book* II p. 209: 13—28.<sup>1</sup>

In this psalm we see that the divine hero is called the Youth and is imagined lying in Hades, or the Pit, as it is also called, surrounded by his enemies who are described as the stinking demons of Hades and as false gods and goddesses.

Now it is an interesting fact, noted long ago by Reitzen-

<sup>1</sup> I have tried to restore the original metre, which can be easily regained because of the very clear *parallelismus membrorum*. The style is strongly reminiscent of certain passages in Mandaean *Ginzā*, the Left part, second, and third books. The term "thy brightness" presumably corresponds to a Syriac *ܕܘܨܝܗ*, which is found in the Sinai fragments in the wish of the Apostle: "I shall stand before thy brightness" (or splendour) *Studia Sianitica* IX p. 39.

stein, that the famous *Hymn of the Pearl* (or the *Song of the Soul* as its name is often rendered) plays on the same theme as that found in the Coptic and Iranian texts.<sup>1</sup> What ought to be laid stress upon in this connexion is the formal likeness between the Manichaean texts and the Syriac Gnostic poem. There we also find the young prince descending into the realms of Darkness and Evil. The Coptic psalm informs us that there was an agreement with the prince that he was to receive the prize of victory if he conquered the powers of evil. The same is actually said of the prince in the *Song of the Pearl* too (Bevan, *The Hymn of the Soul* p. 13: 9—15). He is likewise made to forget his origin because of the nourishment given to him by his secret adversaries, just as in the Coptic psalm the hero drinks the cup of madness and forgets his divinity. In the Syriac song the prince then falls asleep, but is awakened by the cry of his Higher Ego as his Saviour, the motif of the cry often being found in the Coptic psalms.

We should now like to call attention to some supplementary details not found in the description of the fallen Soul in the *Hymn of the Pearl*, *viz.* the attacks by demons and wild beasts. This trait is found both in Coptic and Iranian texts, and stands out clearly from the passages already cited. Some additional items may be quoted here.

I am in the midst of my enemies, the beasts surrounding me.

*Psalm-Book II p. 54: 13.*

Or in another passage:

Do not, Light, do not forsake me in the midst of the wild beasts.

*Psalm-Book II p. 66: 20—21.*

The same prayer for not being forsaken returns in another text.

Do not forsake me, even me thy slave, in the presence of the  
Sons of Matter!

Do not allow any of the demons to prevail over me as I  
come unto thee!

I see a merciless crowd like vultures surrounding me.

*Psalm-Book II 61: 19—20.*

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<sup>1</sup> See Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* pp. 70 ff. He had, however, not yet access to the Coptic texts.



ܐܘܢ ܕܥܣܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܢ	He who bringeth me down from the height
ܐܘܢ ܕܥܣܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܢ	and bringeth me up from the regions below; . . .
ܐܘܢ ܕܥܣܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܢ ܐܘܢ ܕܥܣܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܢ	He who scattereth my enemies and my adversaries;
ܐܘܢ ܕܥܣܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܢ ܐܘܢ ܕܥܣܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܢ	He who giveth me power over the bonds that I might loose them;
ܐܘܢ ܕܥܣܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܢ ܐܘܢ ܕܥܣܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܢ	He that hath overthrown by my hands the dragon with seven heads, and set me at his roots that I might destroy his seed.

Harris & Mingana, *Odes and Psalms of Solomon*  
p. 325 f. transl. Ode XXII: 1, 3—5.

Here we find the dragon again and the fight with him. The statement that the Saviour was set at his roots recalls the passage in the Manichaean cosmogony when the Primal Man descends to the Abyss and cuts the roots of the dark elements.<sup>1</sup> But, as we have seen before, Darkness was conceived as being a dragon, and the parallel between the Odes and the Manichaean account would then seem to be perfect. Moreover, we find the general motifs of the fight against the adversaries and the liberation from the fetters. And yet, in this special case, we must not lose sight of the possibility that the Odes may in the theme of the descent to Hades and the state of the Saviour there be directly influenced from the Old Test., which has beyond all contradiction exercised a profound influence on the language and the ideas of the Odes.<sup>2</sup> We must surely include the possibility, which has hitherto been overlooked, that the Odes are one of the last

<sup>1</sup> See Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees*, p. 26 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> This fact, which is conspicuous everywhere in the commentary given by Harris and Mingana, must not be lost sight of because it is important for the understanding of the survival of corresponding Old Test. conceptions of the king's sojourn in Hades. I treat this question in my *King and Saviour*. Cf. also Widengren, *Königens wilstelse i dödsriket* *SEA* X (1945) pp. 66 ff.

offshoots of the royal ideology based upon the sacral kingship in Israel. As can now be seen with increasing clearness, this ideology also comprehended the king's descent to the nether world after the pattern of the descent of the young Mesopotamian god to the lower parts of the earth, a journey of which we will have much to say in the sequel.<sup>1</sup>

If then the Odes are not quite unequivocal in this special point, we can instead with some confidence fall back on Mandaeen evidence. In these texts the soul, who, as usual in Gnostic texts, is also identical with the Saviour, is said to have awakened from its slumber and sleep (Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* p. 466:23; 473:13—14). The soul further asks how it will endure living with lions and dragons, and evil people who pursue it (Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* p. 474:8 ff.). On the whole beasts play a considerable part in the descriptions of the soul's existence in the world of matter, and we will return to this subject.<sup>2</sup> As to the nether world (or in Gnostic writings on the whole, the world as well) we may refer to the soul's question who threw it into the wall of the Planets ("Who threw me in their wall?" רבשורין מאן רמאן, Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* p. 502:33 = Petermann, *L. Ginzā* p. 73:1). In the accounts of the descent into the nether world undertaken by the Mandaeen Saviour Hibil the lower regions are clearly described as a fortified town, as Kroll has pointed out. He has further seen the Babylonian origin of this idea, and it may suffice to refer to his comprehensive treatment of these conceptions.<sup>3</sup> In this connexion we only wish to point to such passages as those of Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 122:15 ff., and 418:3 ff., where, in order to break through the walls of the nether world, the Mother-goddess orders the door-keeper to open the gates, exactly the same motif as we shall find later in the Coptic psalm in *Psalm-Book* II p. 197:22 ff.<sup>4</sup>

We may remark in this place that the idea of the Saviour (or the Soul) being thrown into a deep pit recurs also in Mandaeen writings, as will appear from the following quotation.

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 64 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 68 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Kroll, *Gott und Hölle* p. 278.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 74 f. We may add that in Witzel, *op. cit.* p. 408:18, the word *bad* is used of Hades, which is the common ideogram for *dūru*, "wall", "fortress".

שאריליא בבירא דְעומקיא They throw me away into the deep pit  
 דְנאמלרא בישיא ולא סאלקיא into which the Evil fall without  
 ascending.

Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* p. 507: 7—8 = Petermann, *L. Ginzā* p. 75: 16—17.

It is significant that we find in Mandaean texts, too, the technical term Pit as a name for the habitation of the fallen Soul, because, as we have seen, this word was a special designation of the nether world also in the Manichaeian psalms.

With the Manichaeian and Mandaean descriptions of the defeat suffered by the First Man, or the descent of the Saviour, we may from Christian literature compare not only the Odes of Solomon, but also some interesting passages in the poems of Aphrem, e. g. the following about the fall of Adam.

مع زهنا ؟ حبي ابياب حذلي  
 From the height of Eden the ad-  
 versary cast me down,  
 حوصلا ؟ متنا  
 and in the abyss of the dead  
 هبعب ؟ نولا ح.  
 he threw me down that he might  
 deride me.  
 خوص عفتا  
 My beautiful garments  
 ااحلج حله انا.  
 were swallowed up and do not exist.  
 حوصلا ااهلبع  
 I was confused and overthrown,  
 ااهلبع انا حله عولا.  
 and hurled down into Hades.  
 انا حبي انا منا حوصلا  
 And behold I am made a nest of  
 worms,  
 حوصلا ح همل انا ح.  
 and moth and tape-worms gnaw  
 at me.  
 فزوم نوصي نساب.  
 My Saviour, Thy resurrection shall  
 renew me.

Lamy, *Ephraemi Syri Hymni et Sermones* IV col. 629: 2.

If we sum up the essential traits in this account of the fall of Adam, we see that the Primus Homo has been overcome by his adversary, and from the height cast down into the pit, overthrown and confused, deprived of his original garments of light. He is now lying in the Abyss among the dead, being gnawed by the worms. These points have as many resemblances to the picture of the defeat and misery of Primordial Man in



“Our Light”, as is apparent elsewhere (*e.g.* Lamy IV col. 659: 2), is Christ in whom mankind, *i.e.* Adam, is conquered when He is lying in Hades. But just as Light overcomes Darkness, Christ, our Light, was resurrected from Sheol to vanquish the Evil one at the end of the days. Darkness had for a time defeated Light, but in the same way as Light in the beginning was victorious over Darkness (*i.e.* at the creation, note that Aphrem uses the word **ܕܡܘܬܐ**) so the victory of Darkness was only of a temporary character, and will be succeeded by the complete victory of Light. At the end of the universe Satan, the Head of Darkness, will be found guilty and convicted.

We observe at once that Aphrem is here painting with mythical colours of the same kind as in Manichaeism, and that the picture as given by him is mythical in a degree apt to obscure the simple facts he wishes to state. This is to be explained by the poetical imagery used by him which conceivably goes back to ancient Mesopotamian times, and therefore often betrays its origin.

In this connexion we cannot refrain from quoting a little liturgical poem in which the fall of Adam is lamented over. The form would at once seem to arrest our attention.

<b>ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܕܢ ܕܥܕܢ</b>	The Bride-chamber of Adam
<b>ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܕܢ ܕܥܕܢ</b>	was prepared in Eden.
<b>ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܕܢ ܕܥܕܢ</b>	And the Watchers were amazed over him
<b>ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܕܢ ܕܥܕܢ</b>	how exalted he was,
<b>ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܕܢ ܕܥܕܢ</b>	and all the birds (were amazed)
<b>ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܕܢ ܕܥܕܢ</b>	who were living there.
<b>ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܕܢ ܕܥܕܢ</b>	But accursed Jealousy
<b>ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܕܢ ܕܥܕܢ</b>	banished him from there.
<b>ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܕܢ ܕܥܕܢ</b>	Then began to cry

that the Evil one is he “who is of non-existence” as opposed to God, the Good Principle who is Existence. The construction *dʿlā ʿiṭiā* is developed along the same lines as an Accadian (esp. New Babylonian) *ša la iṣi* (inf.), properly “that of not-existing”, cf. *ša la nakāri* “that of not-altering”; see Rimalt, *Wechselbeziehungen zwischen dem Aramäischen und dem Neubabylonischen*, WZKM 39 (1932) p. 115. It is further interesting to note that the phrase above **ܕܡܘܬܐ** is from a stylistic point of view strongly reminiscent of the Manichaean designation of the Evil Power, **ܕܡܘܬܐ** (*Theodore bar Kōnay* ed. Pognon p. 127: 9, CSCO II Vol. 66 p. 331: 21 f.).

رقتا حلكموس: the birds lamenting:  
 هـ هـ معينا Alas, alas, o Beautiful One!  
 هـ هـ متحنا. Alas, Alas, o Mighty One!  
 مع علب عفتير Who stripped your beautiful things?  
 هـ هـ صرت حر. Who led you astray and scorned you?  
 Zingerle, *Syrische Poesien*, ZDMG 18 (1864) p. 753.

The birds in Paradise form, as it were, the mourning choir, lamenting over the state of the fallen Adam. He is deprived of his beauty, he is led astray and scorned, he who once was mighty and beautiful. Especially significant are the repeated cries of wailing: Alas! That the situation of Adam in this case, too, is strongly reminiscent of the descent and defeat of the Primus Homo in the system of mani is not to be contested. But the special feature in this liturgical poem with the choir of the birds lamenting over the fallen Primordial Man is so striking that obviously we have to look in a special direction to find the real clue to its interpretation.

Here, too, we want to lay stress on the fact that Adam has been deprived of all his "beautiful things", a motif recurring in a poem by Balai to be quoted just hereafter. It is also found *e. g.* in one of Aphrem's hymns about Paradise (Overbeck, *Ephraemi Syri . . . opera selecta* p. 350: 1 f.: "and Adam put on glory", (هـ هـ علب عفتير). That Adam through his fall was dispossessed of this body or garment (for as usual in Gnostic writings they are interchangeable) is not an unusual conception both in Syriac, Armenian, and Jewish literature (Preuschen, *Die apocryphen gnostischen Adamschriften* p. 214 f.).

As a specimen of the way in which the pattern of the myth of the Primal Man has survived in the poetic language of the Syrian ecclesiastical poets we may also quote a passage from one of Balai's pieces of poetry. There he gives a symbolical interpretation of the parable of the good Samaritan in the following manner:

انه رح حنعا: A man went down  
 نبد ص اه نعلم from Jerusalem,  
 ولحقه ص ص ص ص and robbers smote him  
 هـ هـ هـ هـ هـ هـ and maltreated him mercilessly,

مفلجيه او تسدهوب . and stripped him of his clothes,  
 مفعوم او مفعوم . and left him like dead.

اومر من ادم . Adam, however, was  
 رحنا ؟ افسس . the man who was smitten  
 مع املنا ؟ by the Accuser  
 مفعوم او مفعوم . and Death in Hades.  
 موم او موم . But when Christ came,  
 موم مع موم . He saved him from Death.

Zetterstéén, *Beitr. z. Kenntnis d. relig. Dicht.*  
*Balai's* p. LX, transl. p. 49.

We note in this parable, or rather allegory, the mythical traits in which it is seen: Adam, the father of mankind, the Primordial Man, is depicted as having descended to the nether world, where he is stripped of his clothing, smitten, and left like one dead. But the Saviour, Christ, descends, too, into the lower regions and saves the Primordial Man, Adam, from his adversaries, the Devil and Death. If we subtract from the poem the proper names Christ and Adam, the story could be told as well in the Manichaeic, or Mandaean, myth of the descent of the heavenly Primordial Man and his liberation through the coming of the Saviour, the Messenger, or the Apostle.

In the descriptions of the state of the Saviour in the nether world we have constantly found strong reminiscences of the Manichaeic-Mandaean myth in the older Syriac Christian writings and liturgical poetry. In answering the question how these agreements are to be explained we are reminded of the already ascertained resemblance of Marduk's fight with Ti'āmat, on the one hand, and the combat between the First Man and the Power of Darkness, on the other. We were able to establish a general trend in these two battle descriptions revealing many common details, and even common philological expressions. Such was the case with the combat in general and the expression Rebels especially. Let us now try to proceed along the same way of interpretation and genetically analyze the state of the divine Hero after he went out to fight his enemies, but suffered defeat.

As we were able to see in *Enuma elish*, there was a moment

when even the warlike Marduk betrayed some lack of confidence, and this moment in the action could most probably be understood as the only survival within the Babylonian Epic of Creation of an original account of the defeat of Marduk and his imprisonment by the Powers of Evil in the nether world.<sup>1</sup> Actually, there is first of all one text in which Marduk is pictured as in prison and suffering by the hands of his cruel adversaries.<sup>2</sup> Marduk has descended far away from sun and light. He is beaten and lacerated, his blood flowing from his wounds. But not only in this text is Marduk represented as a suffering and dying god. There are also liturgies from ancient times in which Marduk has the same character as Tammuz, the prototype of this kind of deities. Such liturgies have of late been transcribed and translated by Witzel, who has made most valuable contributions to our understanding of these extremely difficult texts.<sup>3</sup>

In Tammuz liturgies of this kind the suffering and death of Tammuz is often described as an assault by the enemy's forces on the god and his land. This idea can be illustrated by a short quotation:

<i>be-lum a-di ma-tim</i>	O Lord, how long
<i>nak-ri dan-nu ig-da-mar mat-ka</i>	will the mighty foe annihilate
	thy country?

Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 332: 2.<sup>4</sup>

The god is said to be exposed to the fury of his enemies.

<i>erim erim ru-uš-a ma</i>	To the fury, to the fury of the
	enemies he is exposed.
<i>dingir ka-ša-an gu-la erim ru-</i>	The god, the great lord, to the
<i>uš-a ma</i>	fury of the enemies he is ex-
	posed.
<i>ka-ša-an giš-gal-la-ka erim ru-</i>	The lord of the great tree, to
<i>uš-a ma</i>	the fury of the enemies he is
	exposed.

See above p. 41 f.

<sup>1</sup> This text is KAR 143, edited and translated by Zimmern in his *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest* II pp. 14 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien und Verwandtes*.

<sup>4</sup> The Sumerian text has: *umunu me-na-šù ur-ri kalag-ga ma-da-zu til-e*.

- ka-ša-an dumu-gi-ba erim ru-uš-a ma*      The lord, the ill-treated son, to the fury of the enemies he is exposed.
- ka-ša-an a-ma si(?)-gi erim ru-uš-a ma*      The lord of full flood, to the fury of the enemies he is exposed.
- u-šu-gal-a-na ra erim ru-uš-a ma*      The great ruler of heaven is knocked down, to the fury of the enemies he is exposed.

Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 108 III 16—21.<sup>1</sup>

The epithet of Tammuz, *dumu*, "child", or "son", is the same as we have found in both Coptic and Iranian Manichaean psalms as a name for the Saviour.<sup>2</sup>

In another liturgy the young god is said to march out to the hostile country.

- ḫar-ra-du ana māt nu-kur-tim ina a-la-ki-ka*      O Hero, when thou goest out against the hostile land.

Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 136: 9.<sup>3</sup>

The state of Tammuz as conquered by his adversaries is described in various modes of expression. Very common is it to say that he is imprisoned. He can *e. g.* be pictured as

- ir ma-ra*      he who is lying in the trap.

Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 80: 30.<sup>4</sup>

So it can be said by Ishtar lamenting her beloved husband:

- šag-mu gi-ir-ra edin-na na-mu-ma-a[l]*      My heart is sending wailing of flute to the steppe,  
*ki-kal-a šu-du-a-šu*      to the place where the strong one is chained,

<sup>1</sup> No Accadian translation is extant. The Sumerian text is phonetically written, and accordingly very difficult to translate.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> The Sumerian text has: *ur-sag ki-bal-a di-da-zu-de*.

<sup>4</sup> No Accadian text is extant.

*ki-a-lal-a* <sup>D</sup>*dumu-zi-da-šu* to the place of the chains of  
Tammuz,  
*ki-šu-e sil ba-an-ši-em-ma-š[u]* to the lamb which is given  
in the power of the  
nether world.

Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 396: 11—14.<sup>1</sup>

Very often it is said in the Tammuz liturgies that the god is imprisoned in a prison, or watch (Sumerian *na*, or *enunga*<sup>2</sup>), as *e. g.* in this line:

*[umun ka-nag-ga sib-ba u]-nu-túk* The lord of the land, the inde-  
*en-nu-un-gá bi-dür* fatigable shepherd is lying in  
prison.

Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 168: Rev. 22.<sup>1</sup>

In the nether world Tammuz is exposed to woe in the Pit, which is a name of the Hades not at all uncommon in Mesopotamian texts.<sup>3</sup>

*mu-lu tul-i a ba-dib* The lord is exposed to the woe  
in the pit.

Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 345: 39 ff.

Tammuz is also often described as thrown into a heavy sleep.

*ù-lul-la ku-ku me* Thou art slumbering in an over-  
whelming sleep.

Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 168: Rev. 9.

The same holds true of Enlil as a "Tammuz figure".

*a-a* <sup>D</sup>*mu-ul-lil* *ù-lul-la ku-ku* Father Enlil sleeping in an  
overwhelming sleep.

Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 246: 8.

Because of the great importance "sleep" has in Gnostic and, not least, Manichaeic technical language a third proof may not

<sup>1</sup> No Accadian text is extant.

<sup>2</sup> See the passages quoted by Witzel, *op. cit.* in his survey p. X.

<sup>3</sup> Another passage where the pit is mentioned as the dwelling place of Tammuz is in Witzel *op. cit.* 432: 5.

be out of place to show that the phrase where the sleep of the god is spoken of is quite a formula in the liturgies.

*ša alū sir-ra-a-ti šal-lu a-di ma-tim*      The sleeper of the revolt of the demons — how long?

Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 330: 18.<sup>1</sup>

Presumably enough evidence has been adduced to show from where the trait of the sleep in which the god is thrown after his descent to the nether world and his defeat in the battle against the Evil Powers has to be derived. We have already seen that the first action in the drama, the fight, had its exact counterpart in Old-Mesopotamian myth (and of course ritual). Now we are surely entitled to ascertain that also the second act, the defeat and the slumber of death, has the same source as to its formal elements, *viz.* the so-called Tammuz religion, which, however, was in no wise limited to the cult of Tammuz. Actually, we are instead more and more beginning to realize that living religion in Mesopotamia had everywhere such a "Tammuz type".<sup>2</sup>

In Manichaean texts we found that the armour of Light of the First Man, in which he had dressed himself when going out to fight the powers of Evil, was swallowed up by Darkness. According to Syriac (and Armenian) texts, Adam, too, lost his garment of glory after his fall. This loss of the garments of Light recurs in Mesopotamian Tammuz texts, where it is related that Tammuz is deprived of his clothes (Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 92: 10—13; 94: 37; 126: 8). Now Tammuz is constantly praised as he who is surrounded by splendour (108: 8; 178: 16; 428 Rev. 1; 432: 3). In losing his vestments he is thus deprived of his glory. And in Witzel, *op. cit.* p. 92: 10—13, the evil powers have taken away his royal vestments, crown, garment, sceptre and shoes. He is thus dispossessed of his royal splendour. It is, moreover,

<sup>1</sup> The expression "the sleeper of the revolt of the demons" is curious and does correspond with the Sumerian text. I think that it must be understood as the god who is sleeping the sleep caused by the demons.

<sup>2</sup> The text-interpretations by Witzel are from this point of view very interesting because they show that many of the High gods of Mesopotamia were actually dying and resurrecting gods as well as Tammuz. That this is the same in such cases as Marduk and Ninurta and Enlil, is universally admitted.

expressly stated that he is stripped of his "shining ornament" (*ar-li* Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 126: 8). The resemblances to the First Man who is deprived of his bright armour and Adam who put off his glory seems rather remarkable.

The Youth in the Manichaean Coptic psalm was made to drink the cup of madness, and the state of drunkenness into which the soul has sunk is often referred to in Gnostic texts. In Mandaean texts this motif plays a considerable part, as has been ascertained by Jonas.<sup>1</sup> But in Tammuz liturgies it seems as if this theme had as yet not been identified. On account of the important place held by it in the Old Test., it must, however, have existed in these Babylonian descriptions of the state of the missing young god as it perfectly agrees with the image of the heavy sleep. The Old Test. passages (Book of Isaiah 51: 17, 22) are significant but cannot be analyzed in this connexion.<sup>2</sup>

In the description of the fate suffered by the Primal Man there is a special detail worth observing. It is narrated that, when the First Man with his Five Sons had given himself up to the King of Darkness, and his five sons, the situation was as when a man mixes poison in the bread to his foe. And then the narrative goes on:

ܘܥܠܘܗܘܢ ܘܥܠܘܗܘܢ ܘܥܠܘܗܘܢ  
 ܘܥܠܘܗܘܢ ܘܥܠܘܗܘܢ ܘܥܠܘܗܘܢ  
 ܘܥܠܘܗܘܢ ܘܥܠܘܗܘܢ ܘܥܠܘܗܘܢ  
 ܘܥܠܘܗܘܢ ܘܥܠܘܗܘܢ ܘܥܠܘܗܘܢ

When they had devoured them, their mind was taken from the five bright gods, and they were like a man bitten by a mad dog, or a serpent, through the venom of the Sons of Darkness.

*Theodore bar Kōnay* ed. Pognon p. 127: 27—29,  
*CSCO* II Vol. 66 p. 314: 10—13.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist* p. 113 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This analysis is undertaken in my work *King and Saviour*, where the formal likeness between these Old Test. passages and the corresponding ones in the Tammuz liturgies is demonstrated.

<sup>3</sup> For the text, see Cumont, *Recherches* I p. 18 n. 3, and Schaeder *SAS* p. 343. For the likeness above in the text we have also to compare a passage in Ign. ad Ephes. 7: 2: "For they are mad dogs, biting stealthily, against whom you must be on your guard, for their bite is hard to heal." Ignatius hence sees his adversaries as demoniac beings.

With this quotation we may compare a passage from Aphrem's refutations of the heretics, when he says:

As a Physician He did justly	اس اهل حج مارلس
in that sin, the bringer of pains,	؟ لسهلسا حله مارلا
He was rooting out from mankind;	حج موع مع آعملا.
for that Primal Serpent	سما حج موع موصلا
had bitten the Primal Adam	بلس موع لاوم موصلا
not with teeth but with advice,	لا حنبل الا حصللا
He too healed the wound	اهسه اف موع لعمسلا
with commands and not with drugs.	حقمبل ولا حقمصللا.

Mitchell, *Ephraim's Prose Refutations* II p. 166:  
stanza LXXXVI, transl. p. LXXVII f.

The coincidence of the descriptions given both by Aphrem and Mani is rather striking. Aphrem says that the Primal Serpent had bitten the Primal Man, Adam; Mani compares the state of Primal Man with that of a person bitten by a mad dog, or a serpent. Curiously enough, Aphrem in this case seems to have preserved more of the mythical colours than Mani. At the bottom of this very remarkable likeness there may actually be an ancient myth telling how the Man-god was bitten by a serpent, and thus plunged into a state of unconsciousness. But even if we retain the dog in the misery description given by Theodore bar Kōnay of the fate that befell the Primal Man, there is an old tradition behind the expression. Ancient Mesopotamian psalms of lamentation contain some odd mentionings of the evil caused by dogs. Such an evil from dogs is to be found in an incantation, too, edited in the *KAR*.<sup>1</sup> Here the evil done by the dog to the reciter of the incantation is rather ridiculous, and has, at any rate, nothing to do with biting. In this text, however, the original background seems to be rather mythical, for the incantation priest says:

*lugal erida-ga me-en*

I am the king of Eridu.

*MVAG* 1916 p. 17: 7.

<sup>1</sup> See *MVAG* 1916 pp. 17 ff. For the relevant passages see Weir, *Lexicon of Accadian Prayers*, s. v. *kalbu*.

The king of Eridu is no less a person than Ea who is the ruler of this ancient cult centre, and therefore, can also be called the king of Apsū, where Eridu is situated. Ea is the protector of the incantation priests who are acting on his behalf.<sup>1</sup> In the said incantation it is asked

*kalba šú-a-tú šu-[ri-di-šu] ina* Cause this dog to go down into  
*apsī* apsū.

*MVAG* 1916 p. 19: 15.

This prayer shows that from the outset there must have been something more than trivial mishappenings connected with the dog that one wishes to have sent down into the abyss. Can we possibly suppose that he comes from the deep, and for that reason ought to be sent back to his infernal abode? We cannot, however, advance any further with the help of this incantation text, owing to the lack of textual material.

As to the serpent, we are in about the same position. There is one passage in a psalm of lamentation where the sufferer says:

*ina lumun šīri ša ina bīti(?) -ia . . .* On account of the evil of the  
snake in my house . . .  
*pal-ka-ku ad-ra-ku u šu-ta-du-ru-* I am afraid, I am gloomy, and  
*ku* I am cast into gloom.

Schollmeyer, *Sumer.-babyl. Hymnen u. Gebete*  
an Šamaš p. 65: 16, 19—20.

If we follow the same method as before, and return to the Tammuz liturgies, we find there the dogs as representing the hostile forces in the nether world. Thus it is said in one passage:

*ki-ág dag-ga-na ur ba-e-ná(d)* In the abode of the Beloved one  
the dogs are lying.

Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 324: 38,  
Zimmern, *Tamuzlieder* p. 227.

Owing to the scantiness of the material it is, of course, quite impossible to arrive at any definite conclusions, but the coin-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dhorme, *Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie* p. 32 f.: "L'incantateur n'est que le vicaire du dieu dont il porte le costume, c'est le dieu qui parle et agit par l'organe de son ministre."



plaints in the psalms of lamentation and in the incantation series.<sup>1</sup> In the *Maḳlū* series we repeatedly meet with violent outbursts against sorcerers (male and female) and demons (male and female). It is of special interest in this connexion to find that the reciting sorcerer says to his demoniac enemies:

*ak-ta-mi-ku-nu-ši ak-ta-si-ku-nu-ši* I have bound you, I have fettered you.

Meier, *Maḳlū* IV 69 (p. 31).

We have seen above that the Saviour bound the female Archont after he had awakened Adam and liberated him from possession by the demons.<sup>2</sup>

That the driving away of the demon from a sick person is a common motif in Accadian psalms of lamentation as well as in incantations, need not be especially stressed. One proof may, however, be cited from the section of the psalm called "prayer".<sup>3</sup>

*tu-ru-ud u-tuk-ku* Drive away the Utukku demon!

Ebeling, *Quellen* I p. 3: 44.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, the expulsion of the demon in the Manichaean description corresponds with the same trait in Accadian texts where, however, the ritual aspect of the idea is prevalent, whereas in the Manichaean description it is the mythical side that dominates the situation. The curious expression that the Saviour "appeases him by His art" ought, in the light of the parallels already brought forth, to be understood ritually as the magic art exercised by the magician, the *mašmašūtu*, or *āšipūtu*, being the Accadian equivalent of the Syriac *'ummānūtā*. And the verb "appease", *šallā*, obviously corresponds to *pašāḫu* which is used

<sup>1</sup> See the survey given in Widengren, *Psalms of Lamentation* p. 198 f.

<sup>2</sup> The verb "to bind" is used also in Mandaean literature in connexion with the demons, the *devs*, (the same word as in the Manichaean text) in *Mandäische Liturgien* p. 22: 1 עֲרִירִין דְּאִירִיא, "the demons may be bound!" Cf. further R. Ginzā ed. Petermann p. 84: 5 = Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* p. 84: 27 ff. and L. Ginzā ed. Petermann p. 55: 13—14 = Lidzbarski p. 477: 32—33.

<sup>3</sup> For other specimens of similar wishes see Widengren, *Psalms of Lamentation* p. 269 f.

<sup>4</sup> In Syriac the verb ܫܠܝܝܢ is used in the same meaning as *ṭarādu* in Accadian, see Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* s. v.

even in incantations when the Saviour Marduk goes to his father Ea and tells him that an evil curse has befallen a man whom he pities.

[*mi-na-a*] *e-pu-uš amēlu šu-a-ti* What this man has done I do  
*ul idī ina mi-ni-i i-pa-aš-šah* not know, by means of what  
 he will be appeased.

Zimmern, *Šurpu* V/VI 44 (p. 26:26).<sup>1</sup>

And in *Maklū* VII 31—49 the incantation speaks of the healing of the sick man (possessed by the Asakku demon who is driven away) as his “appeasing”, *pašāhu*, a verb that recurs repeatedly in the text.<sup>2</sup>

Is it too bold to assume that old mythic-ritual conceptions circling round the healing of a figure “Man” who is nobody but the king<sup>3</sup> has been used by Mani in this case to illustrate the dire straits in which Adam, the “Man”, had been entangled? If this be the case, the hero of the incantation texts, the king who is the representative of mankind, has later on been replaced by any private sufferer. “Man” has been assaulted by demons of sickness, but is saved by the Saviour god Marduk. Such a theme would be a most suitable *point de départ* in this connexion. An intermediary link has in this case been the late Mesopotamian conception of Tammuz as “mankind”, a far-reaching religious idea about which we will have to speak later on in this investigation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *lišapšihšu* in the same meaning *Šurpu* VII: 82, ed. Zimmern p. 38: 82.

<sup>2</sup> See *Maklū*, ed. Meier p. 47 f.

<sup>3</sup> See for the time being Widengren, *RoB* II (1943) p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> See below “Conclusions”.

## CHAPTER V.

### The Dialogue between the Messenger and the Primal Man.

When after the defeat the Primal Man is left slumbering in his sleep of death he is awakened by the arrival of a Messenger sent down from the heavenly Father of Greatness. A long and valuable relation of the scene when he meets the Primus Homo is given in one of the Coptic psalms.

Lo, the news-bearer hath been sent with the news of the Land of Light  
to tell us the news of Heaven.

He was sent, he came hurrying and rejoicing to the First Man,  
that [he] might tell him the news.

He came and knocked at the gates and cried, 'Open quickly  
that I may tell you the news of Heaven'.

'Rise up, o First Man, open thy gates that are shut  
that I may tell thee the news.

Rise up, o First Man, arouse thy beloved ones,  
that I may tell thee the news.

Rise up, o First Man, sound, o trumpet of peace,  
that I may tell thee the news.

Rise up, o First Man, gather the host of the Gods,  
that I may tell thee the news.

Rise up, o First Man, spread (?) the cry (?) of the good news,  
that I may tell thee the news.

Rise up, o First Man, set in order the fragments of the tower,  
that I may tell thee the news.

Rise up, o First Man, lead back the host to its city,  
that I may tell thee the news.

Rise up, o good shepherd, take the lamb from the mouth of the wolf,  
that I may tell thee the news.'

'Who art thou, for my doors are shut? Give a sign that I may  
open for thee, and thou tell me the news.'

'I am the son of the son of the Father, the son of the Father  
hath sent me to tell the news.

Open, open quickly, open the gates that are shut,  
that the news may be told thee.'

As the gates were about to open, he was found inside the door,  
that he might tell him the news of the heavens.

The First Man found him at his side, he rejoiced and said to him:  
Tell me the news.

What doth my Father do, the Father of the Light? . . .  
Tell me the news.

*Psalm-Book II p. 197: 18—198: 24.*<sup>1</sup>

From the well-known description of this meeting given by *Theodore bar Kōnay* (ed. Pognon p. 128: 5 ff., *CSCO Script. Syr. II Vol. 66 p. 314: 20 ff.*)<sup>2</sup> we recognize most of the details of the coming of the Messenger: especially the dialogue between the First Man and the Messenger in which the First Man asks the Messenger how their fathers, the sons of Light, are faring in their city. But here the information is much richer. We get to know that the Messenger finds the Primordial Man enclosed in a walled town, whose gates he orders to be opened. That the nether world is thought of as a fortified town is a regular trait in its description, as we have already ascertained.<sup>3</sup> The Messenger is asked who he is, and answers with a presentation of himself, relating his origin and his commission. He further most urgently, in repeated exhortations, requests the Primal Man to rise up, and in his turn to arouse his beloved ones, to gather the host of the gods, and to lead back the host to its city. Thus, not only the First Man is to arise and return to his heavenly home, but he

<sup>1</sup> I have tried to restore the original metre in this poem, which seems to be modelled after the pattern of the Mesopotamian liturgies (cf. e. g. Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien*, p. 6: 24—32, with its refrain: "prayers shall be performed to thee"). Allberry's translation of  $\mu\psi\mu\epsilon \pi\alpha\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$  as "the news of the skies" cannot be correct, for apparently we have to do with an expression in which the Greek  $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu \sigma\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\acute{\omega}\nu$  reflects a Syriac  $\text{ܩܘܡܝܢܐ}$ . It is of course not especially the news of the skies, but those of the heavenly kingdom that would be of value for the First Man to know. The refrain "tell the news" which returns with small variations on every line has probably been sung by the choir. The section of the psalm quoted here is in reality entirely built upon this refrain.

<sup>2</sup> The text is quoted below, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 58.

also ought to bring back his own Elements of Light. It is the well known motif of the "gathering of one's Self" which is met with here, a theme which Jonas has meritoriously analyzed in Gnostic writings.<sup>1</sup>

The same scene is found in Mandaean writings, and it would be well to quote it here for a comparison between Manichaeism and Mandaean conceptions. In order to get the necessary background we must, however, give a short survey of the Mandaean cosmological views which are at the bottom of this special text. According to Mandaean ideas found in a text in the *Drāshē dMalkē* there are two worlds, one of Light, the other of Darkness. The last is identified with this present world, the other is said to be outside the universe (Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch*, text p. 50, transl. p. 55). The present world is ruled by a lord called "the king of this world", מַלְכָא דְהָאֵזִין אֲלֵמָא (Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch*, p. 50: 4 text). This king is later on in the context said to have begun a fight against Light. As a result of the combat between Light and Darkness the visible world is created, a typical mixture of these potencies.<sup>2</sup> The soul, the pure Mana, is brought into the body. The corporeal Adam is created by the mixing of the two opposite principles, the good one, water, and the bad one, fire.

מִן נּוֹרָא וּמִן מֵיָא אֲדָאִם דְּפִאֲגֵרִיא עֲתִיגְבִיל.	Out of fire and of water the corporeal Adam was shaped.
נִצְבִירִיא לְאִשְׁנָנְרָא וְעַל רְבָא דְדָאֲרִיא שְׂאֲדֵרִיא.	They created the Messenger and sent him to the head of the generations.
קִרְאֵבָהּ בְּנִאֲלוּזָא בְּנִאֲוָהּ דְּמֵאֲרֵגוּשׁ אֲלֵמָא.	He cried with a call into the tumult of the world. <sup>3</sup>
עַל קִאֲלָהּ דְּשִׁנְאֲנְרָא אֲדָאִם דְּשִׁאֲכִיב עֲתָרָא.	At the voice of the Mes- senger Adam, who was lying down, awakened.

<sup>1</sup> For the "gathering", see Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist* p. 139 f.

<sup>2</sup> As to the "mixing", or "mingling", see Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, p. 104, and for the Iranian background of this conception, Widengren, *Religionens värld* p. 365, 371, 377.

<sup>3</sup> For this expression, cf. Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, p. 119 f. Concerning אֲלֵמָא, Syr. ܐܠܡܝܐ, see Schaefer, *Iranische Beiträge* p. 56 (254).

אדם עתא ד־שאכיב אלאנפֿה ד־שגאנדא נפֿאק.	Adam, who was lying down, awakened and went to meet the Messenger:
אתא בשלאם אשגאנדא	“Come in peace, o Mes- senger,
שליהא ד־הייא ד־מן בית אב אתא.	Apostle of Life, who hath come from the house of my Father! <sup>1</sup>
האיזון נציביא הייא יאקיריא ושאפיריא באתראיון.	How the precious, beautiful Life is planted at its place!
האיזון תריצליא כורסיא ודמוחאי ד־האשכא במאליא יאתבא.	How a seat is set up for me and my figure of Darkness is sitting in wailing!
מאליל אשגאנדא ולאדם ד־פאגריא ד־נימארלה	The Messenger answered and said to the corporeal Adam:
שאפיר תראץ כורסיאך אדם ודמוחאיך האכא במאליא יאתבא.	“Beautifully hath one erected thy seat, Adam, and thy figure is sitting here in wailing.
כולהון לטאב עדיכרון ולדיליא ניצבון ושאדרון עלאד.	All thought of thee for good, and created me, and sent me to thee.
עתית עפירשאך אדם ד־עפארקאך מינה ד־האיזון אלמא.	I have come and will in- struct thee, Adam, in order to save thee from this world.
צות ושומא ועתאפראש וסאק בזאכוחא לאחאר נהור.	Hearken and listen, and be instructed, and ascend with victory to the place of Light!

Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch* p. 52: 3—53: 1 (text), p. 57 (transl.).

<sup>1</sup> The expression ‘Apostle of Life’ is a *terminus technicus* for the Gnostic Saviour and synonymous with Messenger. In Manichaean writings there is a constant alternation between two terms, Apostle and Messenger, and the word Apostle is found as early as in Zoroastrian literature; see Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah*, Topical Index s. v. Apostle, Messenger. The expression

The resemblance between this passage and the Manichæan account in *Theodore bar Kōnay* is really remarkable, and has, among others, been observed by Jonas.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, the topics met with in the Mandaean narrative of the coming of the Messenger to Adam are of so constant a recurrence in Gnostic literature that nothing entitles us to speak of a definite Manichæan influence on Mandaean conceptions in this special case.<sup>2</sup> We find here, *inter alia*, the following themes: the descent of the heavenly Messenger; his awakening of the slumbering cosmic soul fettered in the bonds of matter; his "call" heard above the tumult of the world; Adam's answer to this "call" with his greeting of peace; Adam's lamentation over his own situation; the promise given by the Messenger that Adam, *i. e.* the collective personality of human souls, is to be released, and shall ascend with him to his original home where a seat is prepared for him. All these subjects are common both in Mandaean and other Gnostic writings.<sup>3</sup>

The coincidence between Manichæan and Mandaean religions, because their likeness lies so much in the general trend in this case as in the preceding one, rather compels us to look for a common origin from which these resemblances might receive their mutual explanation. Actually, as to the topic dealt with here the genetic interpretation is ready at hand. The constant theme of the meeting between the Messenger sent to rescue the First Man, and the dialogue between him and the First Man slumbering in the heavy sleep of death, is often met with in its Mesopotamian pattern in the Tammuz liturgies.

We have above had ample opportunity of ascertaining the

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'Apostle of God' (or 'of Light', or equivalent terms) as a designation for the heavenly Saviour descended on earth is however found not only in Mandaean and Manichæan and other Gnostic writings, but also in Christian and Islamic literature, see Widengren, *Religionens värld* pp. 379 ff., 419 and below ch. X.

<sup>1</sup> Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist* p. 131 says: "Eine vollkommene Parallele zu dem letzten manichäischen Zitat bildet J 57". For the expression "Thou art come in peace", cf. *Psalm-Book* II p. 214: 11 ff., and below p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> For this reason I cannot accept the opinion of Puech's expressed in these words: "Il apparaît, surtout, que les mandéens ont fait des emprunts au manichéisme (voir le fragment cosmogonique du Livre de Jean p. 54—57)," *RHR* CLXXX (1941) p. 64 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See *e. g.* Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, pp. 94 ff. "Der Logos der Gnosis".

fact that the Manichaean description of the combat of the Primordial Man, and his defeat and imprisonment, had its perfect counterpart in the Tammuz religion of Mesopotamia. Now we have to observe that in the liturgies there is often a situation of the following character: The imprisoned deity is lying as dead in the nether world when another deity is sent down to him in order to help him. In Sumerian (or bilingual) texts it is, of course, the Mother Goddess who addresses the young male god, exhorting him to arise from the place where he is lying in his heavy sleep. When Tammuz is introduced as answering this exhortation we get a scene strongly reminiscent of the Manichaean and Mandaean descriptions with their most typical dialogue between the Messenger and the First Man. We may quote here from the Tammuz liturgies a characteristic specimen.

*nin-e šeš-a-ni gi-mu-un-na-dé-e* The sister to her brother she  
cried:  
*šeš-mu ki-ná(d)-zu zig-ga ama-zu* My brother, arise from thy  
*dè-ri-ib-la(l)* restingplace; thy mother may  
look after thee!

Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 312 Obv. 20—21 =  
Thureau-Dangin *RA* 19 (1922) p. 178: 20—21.

At this cry Tammuz answers in the following way:

*šeš-e nin-a-ni mu-na-ni-eb-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>* The brother his sister he an-  
swered:  
*šu-bar-mu nin-mu šu-bar-mu* O my deliveress, my sister,  
my deliveress!  
*ki-ná(d)-mu sahar kur-ra-gé mu-* My resting place is the dust of  
*lu-a-dú(g)-ba ne-ná(d)* the nether world, I am lying  
among murderers.  
*ù-sá-mu mud-e mu-lu erim-ba* My sleep is agony, I am im-  
*ne-dab* prisoned among enemies.  
*nin-mu mu-ná(d)-a-mu nu-mu-* My sister, from my resting  
*zig-ga-mu* place I cannot arise.

Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 314: 9—10, 15—17 =  
Thureau-Dangin *RA* 19 (1922) p. 179: 9—10, 15—17.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The translation by Thureau-Dangin presents very small deviations as against that by Witzel, which has mostly been followed here. There are only

In another most remarkable passage when the goddess addresses her lamentation to Tammuz, he answers her in this manner:

<i>ana a-ma-ti šá-a-ti</i>	<i>kar-rad</i>	At this word, the hero at this
<i>ana a-mat šá-a-ti</i>		word,
<i>kar-rad ana a-ma-ti šá-a-at iṣ-</i>		the hero at this word it was
<i>sa-ri-iḫ-šū ir-te-di</i>		stirred up in him, he followed.
<i>ti-bi ri-kab ti-bi ri-kab be-lum</i>		“Stand up! Arise! Stand up!
<i>ti-bi ri-kab</i>		Arise! O Lord, stand up!
		Arise!”
<i>šá šu-ḥa-ru-uš-ki pi-ti</i>		“What I am bound with, loosen!”
<i>ina ni-bi-it ap-luḫ-ti be-lí-i-ni</i>		Roared our Lord in the dress of
<i>iš-gu-um</i>		armour.
<i>šá-ki-kiš il-lik-ma ana [biti-</i>		He went higher up, and ap-
<i>šū] iṭ-ḫi</i>		proached his temple.

Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 140 Obv. 2—4, 21; Rev. 2—6.<sup>1</sup>

Of remarkable details we note in this text that Tammuz is bound, and therefore asks for being loosened from his fetters. He is further said to be dressed in armour, a mode of expression which Witzel interprets as a symbol of his being bound with magical instruments.<sup>2</sup> But would it not be easier to remember the whole situation: the young warrior-god has gone out to fight the enemies, he has departed for the land of the foe, as it is said in the liturgies, and he is constantly styled the Hero. What

insignificant details that remain somewhat uncertain. This may be specially stressed since no Accadian interlinear translation is extant.

<sup>1</sup> The Sumerian text here is somewhat more complete, but in order to leave as little room as possible for doubt, I have in this case preferred to rely on the Accadian translation. I cannot quite understand why Witzel says that *šuharuški* ought to have the meaning “beladen” instead of “anbinden”, Witzel *op. cit.* p. 143, note to the passage in question. The verb *šahāru* anyhow has the meaning “to bind”, and this fits very well here. We note the expression “roared”. The cry by Tammuz is a passionate one, cf. also Witzel *op. cit.* 442: 6—7, where the cry of the Mother-goddess awakens him from his heavy sleep whereupon he answers with his “cry”. We have to compare the description given by *Theodore bar Kōnay*, ed. Pognon p. 128: 8, where the cry awakening the First Man is likened to a sharp sword. In his turn he then immediately answers this cry.

<sup>2</sup> Witzel says: “Das Panzerkleid doch wohl Symbol der Verzauberung” *op. cit.* p. 143, note to the passage in question, but in this case we wanted some parallel texts.

could be more natural than to depict him as clad in heavy armour? Anyhow, we cannot but deny that this is another striking point of resemblance between the Tammuz liturgies and the Manichaeic description of the First Man and his combat against the Sons of Darkness. There is also to be observed the fact that Tammuz is fettered and asks for deliverance. He cannot free himself, but must be saved by his helpers, who exhort him to arise and return. That this help is given him is tacitly understood, for then we hear that he is going higher up and approaching his temple. In some other passages, not quoted here, the god is requested to look at his city (Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 160: 1—2). This would perhaps correspond to the fact that the Primal Man, when awakened from his sleep of death, as his first question inquires about the conditions in the city of Light. In the words of the Coptic psalm we found the exhortation directed to the First Man: Rise up, o good shepherd, take the lamb from the mouth of the wolf! This exhortation has, of course, a New Test. colour, but it may not be out of place to compare such passages as those of Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien*, p. 128: 7—8, where lambs and sheep are said to be driven away to the nether world. And note that Tammuz himself is called the Lamb (Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 94: 34—37).

In view of these facts that have been adduced here, we hold we are completely entitled to ascertain that the dramatical scene between the Messenger and the Primal Man is to be traced back to the corresponding meeting between the Mother-goddess and Tammuz in ancient Tammuz texts. And hence, of course, the Mandaean scene with Adam and the Messenger would presumably be explained as an old Mesopotamian inheritance in Gnostic religion, and not as being due to any special Manichaeic influence.

## CHAPTER VI.

### The Return of the Saviour (the Soul): the Customers and the Merchandise.

In the Coptic texts we meet with the expression "customers" in the form of the Greek loanword *τελώνης*, *e. g.* in the following passage where unfortunately the text is damaged.

The customer in the trust of [thy deeds].

*Psalm-Book II* p. 97: 10.

The meaning of this context and the justification of the restoration made by the editor is made out by a description given elsewhere in the texts of three ships, one laden, one half-loaded, and the third empty. Of the last one it is said:

That which is empty is left behind.

Woe to it, the empty one, that comes empty to the place of  
the customers:

it shall be asked, having nothing to give.

Woe to it, for it has nothing aboard:

it shall be despoiled evilly as it deserves

and sent back to the *μεταγγισμός*.

*Psalm-Book II* p. 218: 2—7.

To this context the editor adds in a note the following statement: "*τελώνης* . . . here and at 97, 10 denotes the heavenly officer who examines the soul and its merchandise when it has finished its voyage."<sup>1</sup> This hint at the connexion between the notion of the customers and that of the merchandise is, of course, quite correct. We shall quote here some samples of evidence illustrative of these symbolic expressions.

In Mandaean writings the use of the word Customers in conjunction with the Merchandise in a technical meaning would

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<sup>1</sup> *Psalm-Book II* p. 218 note to l. 4.

seem to be quite clear. Some quotations which are good illustrations of the context in which the Customers are usually found in Mandaean literature may be given here.

<p>נישמא זאריז נאפשאך באגראך ועובאראך וזירקא.  ועוהראך דאזלאתבה נאפשא וסאכא ליתלה. לא כילבה פארסא ולא מאנדאז בה כורכין. שביקיבה מאטאראי וגזיראי ומאכסיא קאימא עלה.</p>	<p>O soul, gird on thyself with thy reward and thy work and alms!  For the way that thou goest is wide, and there is no end of it. Parasangs are not measured off on it, and mile-stones are not erected on it. Watchhouses are left on it and bailiffs and Customers are stand- ing on it.</p>
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Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* p. 519: 9—16 = Petermann, *L. Ginzā* p. 84: 8—11 (with an insignificant variation to be found also in Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch* p. 180 f).

The situation is to be understood thus that the soul armed with its good works has to go its way upwards, a way that is long and terrible and has its end in a place where watchmen, bailiffs and customers are standing.

Another text describes the meeting between the soul and the customers.

<p>שובא היכון שיביאהיא הדארילה לפאגראי ויאתביא  ואמרילה פוק נאפקית נישמא נאילאך קודאם מאכסיא.</p>	<p>The Seven Planets are surrounding my body, and are sitting, and say to it: Go out, if thou goest out, o soul, we shall bring thee before the Custo- mers.</p>
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Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* p. 546: 16—20 =  
Petermann, *L. Ginzā* p. 104: 9—11.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The exhortation to the soul: Go out! is, of course, not to be cancelled from the text (against Lidzbarski) a) for stylistic reasons because the stichos would otherwise be too short, b) because there must be an address to the soul with a call to ascend in order that the dangers implied in the ascent might be depicted before the eyes of the soul. The meaning of the saying of the planets is thus: Well, go out and ascend, but know that if you do so then...

The scene with the soul meeting the Customers is depicted in a passage in the *Drāshē dMalkē* where the ascent of the soul is described.

ומינטול דְּכּוּל מאן דְּטִין סאלין	For everyone who is laden is ascending,
דְּריקאן האכא מִיתאגזאר.	he who is empty is sentenced here.
ואילה לריקאנא	Woe to the empty one
דְּריקין קאיים בית מאכסיא.	who is standing empty in the house of the Customers.

Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch* p. 177: 4—7 (text), p. 175 (transl.).

That the soul is “empty” in the house of the Customers means that it has brought no merchandise with it, that much can clearly be made out from the relevant passages. First, however, we wish to quote a prayer for the righteous souls showing that the souls are questioned in the house of the Customers.

ראב מאכסיא לאניקים קודאמאיכין	The chief of the Customers shall not stand before you,
ודאיאניא דְּשיקרא לאנישאיכונכין.	and the false judges shall not question you!

Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien* p. 104: 8.

We may now revert to the question of the connexion between the “empty” soul and the deficiency of merchandise. In the liturgies, *e. g.*, we read:

כול מאן דְּהלא ועתאנגאר	Everybody who is sweet and acts as a merchant
ניתיא וניסאב בתארתינין עדה.	shall come and take with both hands.
כול מאן דְּלאהלא ולאעתאנגאר	Everybody who is not sweet and does not act as a merchant,
ריקין קאיים בית מאכסיא.	is standing empty in the house of the Customers.
באייא ולאמאשכא	He seeks and does not find,
ושאייל ולאמיתהיבלה.	and he asks but it is not given unto him.

אמינטול דהואלה בעדה ולא עהאב      Because he had in his hand and  
 did not give,  
 האחאם באהיש בכאנפה ולאמאשכא.      he is searching there in his  
 bag and does not find.

Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien* p. 189: 2—6.

We remember the fact that in *Psalm-Book II*, p. 218: 2—7, it was spoken of the ship which is empty and comes to the Customers, even as in Mandaean texts we hear of the “emptiness” of the soul standing before the Customers. The empty ship is thus but another symbolic expression for the soul who has no good deeds to provide itself with. We have already hinted at the fact that these good deeds are called Merchandise, and actually we saw that the righteous one acts as a merchant, dealing with good works. This is not the case with the “empty” one, who for that reason has nothing in his bag to show the Customers. Especially illuminating is the following passage from one of the psalms.

Thy wares that thou hast made, behold, they have gone before thee, part of them will follow thee, part of them will overtake thee. Rejoice, therefore, and be glad as thou steppest before the judge.

*Psalm-Book II* p. 70: 18—21.

The wares, which are good deeds, accompany the ascending soul when it appears before the judge (κρίτης). In this passage, of course, this figure plays the same rôle as is elsewhere assigned to the Customers.

The idea of trade or merchandise is very prominent not only in Manichaean texts, but also in Mandaean writings and Syriac literature. Let us first quote some typical proofs of this expression from the Manichaean hymns.

O soul, forget not thyself,  
 nor faint, nor eat out thy heart.  
 Lo, the ships are moored for thee,  
 the barks are in the harbour.  
 Take thy merchandise aboard  
 and sail to thy habitations.

*Psalm-Book II* p. 147: 32—37.

The situation is perfectly clear: the soul is likened to a merchant who is just about to embark the ships lying ready in the harbour. The soul shall sail to its place of destination. The soul has to enter upon its long and dangerous voyage to its original home to which it is returning. On the way thither, it comes to a place in the heavenly regions where it is detained and examined as to its good works. The locality of this examination is compared to a custom house where the ship's cargo is cleared. The ship's cargo, *i. e.* the merchandise, is the good deeds of the human soul. The likeness of the ship to its merchandise seems to have been a very popular one and has been utilized in various manners. Another illustration of this may be quoted.

Lo, the ship has put in for you, Noah is aboard, he steers.

The ship is the commendment, Noah is the Mind of Light.

Embark your merchandise, sail with the dew of the wind.

*Psalm-Book II* p. 157: 19—21.<sup>1</sup>

We see here that the terms for ship and pilot, which in a proper sense are used as a parable, are in this instance utilized in an allegorical meaning.<sup>2</sup>

Since the ascent and the returning home of the First Man is the prototype of the ascending of human souls, we need not be astonished to find the image of merchandise in connexion with the return of the saved Primal Man. Thus we read of the meeting between him and the heavenly Beings, the Fathers of Light:

The Fathers of Light came that they might help their loved one.

Take the news.

They helped the First Man, he cried before him in joy: Behold me, behold my merchandise.

Lo[, this is the news].

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<sup>1</sup> The Mind of Light takes the human minds up to the celestial home from where it has descended. The human minds are parts of the Great Mind of Light. We meet here with the Iranian theologoumenon in Manicheism, see Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah*.

<sup>2</sup> For the distinction between parable and allegory, cf. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, pp. 11 ff. and Bultmann, *Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* pp. 179—222.

Great is the joy that there was, the First Man being in their midst, laden with a garland and a palm.

Lo, this is the news.

May it happen to us at the same time that we may be counted in his merchandise and rejoice with all the Aeons.

Lo, this is the news.

*Psalm-Book II* p. 202: 12—19.<sup>1</sup>

In this case all human souls are regarded as the merchandise of the First Man. The souls of mankind are thus in a way the good deeds of the Primal Man, which reminds us of the correspondence between the works and the state of the soul.<sup>2</sup>

The ships of the merchants as the vehicles of salvation are mentioned in a Coptic hymn, included in the Psalms of Thomas, where the poet speaks of the great work of creation done by the Living Spirit.<sup>3</sup>

He called it the sky, he spread out this great sea,  
 he built the ships and launched them on it,  
 the ships of the great traders, the faithful men of Truth,  
 the barks of the merchants, that will convey up the distilled  
 part to life.

*Psalm-Book II* p. 213: 2—6.

The well-known ships of Light, the *naves lucidae*,<sup>4</sup> bringing up the light-particles, are thus identified with the ships embarked by the souls, and laden with their merchandise. Conceivably the equation good deeds = merchandise = souls holds true even in this case. The Coptic term for merchandise  $\mu\pi\tau\tau\epsilon\pi\pi\omega\tau$ , reflects the Syriac word  $\text{ܡܢܝܢܘܬܐ}$ . This term is met with in a distinctly Gnostic environment, viz. the Song of the Soul, where a passage

<sup>1</sup> For the translation observe that the word  $\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\alpha\tau$  in this place can be rendered literally "at the same time", meaning both that and "moreover", as Dr Sæve-Söderbergh points out to me.

<sup>2</sup> For this correspondence the chief Iranian text is *Haðūxt Nask* 2: 7—14, see e. g. Widengren, *Religionens värld*, pp. 374 ff.; *The Great Vohu Manah*, p. 86; Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life* pp. 33 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For the great part played by *Spiritus Vivens*, see Cumont, *Recherches I* pp. 25 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Concerning them, see Cumont, *Recherches I* p. 36 n. 1.

relating the descent of the Parthian Prince (= the Gnostic Saviour) to the land of Egypt (= the material world) says:

<p>         ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥          ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥       </p>	<p>         And forasmuch as I was one and          alone          I was an alien to the people of          my inn.          A kinsman, a freeborn,          from the East, I saw there,          a lad, fair and gracious,          a son of princes, and he came to          me in company,          and I made him my companion,          I made him a partaker as a fellow          in my merchandise.       </p>
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Bevan, *The Hymn of the Soul* p. 15: 23—27,  
 Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* I p. ٥٥٥,  
 Bedjan, *AMS* 3 p. 111.

We note here that the descending Saviour has a Merchandise, ٥٥٥, to distribute in the world. This reminds us of the instance just cited in the Coptic Psalm where the First Man after his ascent to his heavenly home cries out, "Behold me, behold my merchandise" (*Psalm-Book II* p. 202: 15).

Aphrem too speaks of this Merchandise when he says in his polemic against Bardaisan:

<p>         ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥          ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥          ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥          ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥       </p>	<p>         For not a little loss is it          that has entered through Bardaisan,          that inexperienced folk who have heard          have suffered loss          of the merchandise of their lives.       </p>
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Mitchell, *Ephraim's Prose Refutations II* p. 153: 25—31,  
 transl. II p. LXXI stanza XL.

We should note in this instance the expression "the merchandise of their lives".

Aphrem also uses the word "merchant", ٥٥٥, as an epithet



The situation is clear from the sequel. The ascending Saviour bringing with him his disciples as the saved host whom he has liberated from the bonds of the evil powers pays the toll in order to be allowed to pass through the celestial spheres upward.

That in Mandaean writings the notion of the Merchandise which has to be carried out by the Saviour plays a part equally important as in Manichaeism, goes without saying. In our preceding investigation we have already hinted at the parallelism between the "empty" soul standing before the Customers, trying in vain to find something in its bag, and the empty ship arriving at the custom-house, only to be sent back because it has no merchandise on board. That the idea of merchandise underlies the Mandaean picture of the Customers searching the soul is presumably quite apparent. A confirmation of this supposition is found in some texts in the Mandaean liturgies where the idea of the soul's dealing with its own good works is clearly expressed. Thus *e.g.* it is said:

<p>ברהייה תירצה לקאלה ולפאטור שובא דנימאר לון.</p>	<p>Bar-Hayyē raised his voice and said at the passing away of the Seven:</p>
<p>אנא זיבנא לראהמאי אתיה ומאמלאליא כשיטיא למהאימניא. גובריא דזאבניא זיבנאי זאכואתון ברישאיהון מיתגאדלאן.</p>	<p>"I have brought goods to my friends and true words to the faithful. For the men who buy my goods are their rewards woven around their heads.</p>
<p>זאכואתון מיתגאדלאן ברישאיהון וסאלקיא האזילה לאתאר נהור.</p>	<p>Their rewards are woven around their heads and they ascend, seeing the place of Light.</p>

Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien* p. 185 XIV 4—9.

In this connexion we may mention that the Mandaean Saviour as well as the Manichaeism has power to let the righteous souls embark in his ship, and then carries them safely past the Customers. This is evident from a passage in *Drāshē dMalkē*.

<p>אנא אלראהמאי דאבארנון ותאריצנון בספינתאי ומאהליפנון כולהון מאכסיא.</p>	<p>I guide my friends and erect them in my ship, and bring them past all the Customers.</p>
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Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch* p. 159: 9—11 (text), p. 160 (transl.).

We return, however, to the idea of the merchant and the Merchandise. In one of the liturgies we meet with a long passage where these conceptions are mentioned very fully. The text describes the actions of the Saviour, and goes on:

באהאר האר מן אלפא	He chooseth one out of a thousand,
ומן תריין אלפיא באהאר תריין.	out of two thousand he chooseth two.
משאוילון תאנגאריא	He maketh them merchants
דבנאווה דתיביל אבריא.	who in the midst of Tibil are mer- chants.
מיחאנגריא באגרא וזידקא	They are merchants for hire and charity,
מן שאמיש וסירא נאהריא.	more than sun and moon do they shine.
אנא לכאנא דנישמאתא	I, to the stem of the souls,
אחית שיהלון ושאדרון.	I came, they dismissed and sent me away.
עכא דזיבננה לזיבנאי	Many a one who bought my goods,
ועכא דעתכאלאל ושכיב.	many a one who wrapped himself and lied down.
עכא דזיבננה לזיבנאי	Many a one who bought my goods,
אינה באנהורא עתימליא	his eyes were filled with Light.
אינה עתימליא באנהורא	His eyes were filled with Light,
האזילה לרבא בית תושלימא.	and he seeth the Great in the house of perfection.

Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien* p. 154: 8—155: 2.

In the last passage we find the technical terms **תאנגאריא**, "merchant", and **עתאנגאר**, "to be a merchant". In the Syriac Hymn of the Soul we have already met with the corresponding word **ܘܠܝܘܢ** which is "merchandise", and in Aphrem both this term and the word **ܘܠܝܘܢ**, merchant. As to the word for Customer it is in the Syriac texts **ܡܚܝܬܐ**, and in Mandaean literature **ܡܚܝܬܐ**, as we have already ascertained. Now it is an interesting fact that actually both these words for "merchant" and "customer" are of an ancient Mesopotamian origin. The Syriac **ܡܚܝܬܐ**, in the Absolute **ܡܚܝܬܐ**, is the same as the Accadian *mākisu*. It is, of course, not so easy to argue that this word must be an Accadian loan-word in Aramaic since it could be contended to be of a common Semitic origin. The root **ܡܚܝܬܐ** is met with as early as in the Aramaic papyri from Egypt in the noun **ܡܚܝܬܐ**, tax (Pap. 81: 112

ed. Cowley p. 195).<sup>1</sup> Probably still earlier the same word is found in Hebrew (see Gesenius-Buhl, *Handwörterbuch* s. v. מִכְסָּה) in approximately the same sense. What seems to speak for an original Accadian derivation of the word is the fact that in Accadian we meet with the verb *makāsu*, "to take toll, tax, customs", and the nomen agentis *mākisu*, "tax-gatherer", "customer", as well as the noun *miksu*, *maksu*, "toll, tax, customs". In Aramaic and Hebrew, on the other hand, the corresponding verb is not found until in Middle Hebrew, a fact which seems to point in the direction of a borrowing in old times of the nouns, and in late times the formation of a *verbum denominativum*. Zimmern who does not mention *mākisu*, but only *miksu*, takes this last word as an Accadian loan-word without any further discussion, which seems somewhat hasty.

If it is difficult to ascertain whether the Accadian *mākisu* is at the bottom of the Syriac and Mandaic terms, we should seem to be on safer ground in the case of the Merchandise and the Merchant. Without any doubt, these terms go back to the Accadian *tamkāru*, "merchant", and *tamkārūtu*, "merchandise". The word *tamkāru*, in its turn, was also a loan-word in Sumerian in the form of *dam-gar* (*tām-kara*), properly "great merchant".<sup>2</sup>

Thus we obtain the development: Accadian *tamkāru* > Syriac *taggārā* > Mandaic *tangārā*.<sup>3</sup>

That the Saviour is called Merchant is then probably a Mesopotamian inheritance. This hypothesis seems to be corroborated by the very interesting fact that Merchant is a title of Enlil, who is styled Merchant, *dam-gar*, *tamkāru*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On account of Syriac *maksā*, tax, this noun ought presumably to be taken as a qatl nomen, and to be added to the list given in Leander, *Laut- und Formlehre des Ägyptisch-Aramäischen*, p. 72, and not as a qitl nomen, *ib.* p. 75 where it is however said: "vielleicht jedoch ein qatl-Stamm".

<sup>2</sup> See Salonen, *Nautica Babylonica*, p. 23, who points out that *tām-kara* < *tamkāru* is the oldest Accadian loan-word known in Sumerian.

<sup>3</sup> That the Mandaic *tangārā* is a secondary development from *taggārā*, is evident from the usual Mandaic treatment of the geminated consonant *gg* > *ng*, for which see Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* § 68. Nöldeke, *ib.* p. 76, takes this development for quite sure, but did not dispose of the Accadian material. A development *mk* > *mg* > *ng* in *tamkāru*, as compared with *tangārā*, is very improbable in view of the fact that similar processes are not found in other Mandaic words.

<sup>4</sup> See *Babyloniaca* II p. 151 n. 2; p. 160 n. 4, and Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* p. 243.

Actually, the similitudes of merchants, merchandise, and trading are very appropriate symbols in the religious language of the old Mesopotamian mercantile culture. The metaphor of the merchant with his merchandise on board his ship and who has to pay toll in order to be allowed to pass through the house of the customers is a realistic picture from every-day life in ancient Babylonia.<sup>1</sup> And in this connexion we surely ought to observe that the Mandaean term Chief Customer, ראבב מאכסיה, has its Accadian counterpart in the expression *rabi-miksi*, "chief customer".<sup>2</sup>

Even if the Customers are not found in Sumerio-Accadian literature as demoniacal beings, the application of this word in the sense of evil, divine figures may presumably be said to be easily accounted for when we remember that another category of public functionaries have given their name to an ill-omened class of demons, *viz.* *rābiṣu*, "executive officer", and then "lurker". Thus the designation of an officer has changed into a name of a demon. And most interesting of all, the Sumerian ideogram for *rābiṣu*, MAŠKIM, is used in Sumerian texts to denote various categories, *int. ul.* the customers too!<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the *rābiṣu* appears as guardian of the gates in clearly mythical surroundings, for several deities are styled *rābiṣu* even in their capacity of door-keepers.<sup>4</sup> In view of this evidence, it does not seem at all too audacious to assume that *mākisu* has had much the same technical meaning as *rābiṣu* although it has not yet been found in any mythical texts.

In the Hellenistic and Roman ages there was in Greek speaking circles, too, a widespread religious idea that souls after death had to ascend to the highest heaven in passing through the seven spheres of planets, every gate being watched by an Archon, ἀρχων, or the boundaries of which were guarded by Custom-houses, τελώνια.<sup>5</sup> The interesting fact that the technical term Customer

<sup>1</sup> We may compare *e. g.* *mi-ik-su a-na bīt šarri i-nam-din*, San Nicolo & Ungnad, *Neubabyl. Rechts- und Verwaltungsurk.* III p. 159: 10.

<sup>2</sup> See Nicolo & Ungnad, *Neubabyl. Rechts- und Verwaltungsurk.* IV p. 194: 4.

<sup>3</sup> See Widengren, *Psalms of Lamentation*, p. 202, with references to Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexicon* 2: 2, 295 d, and Walther, *Das altbabylonische Gerichtswesen*, Index s. v. *rābiṣu*.

<sup>4</sup> See Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* p. 173.

<sup>5</sup> For these well-known conceptions, see Cumont, *Die orientalischen Religionen* p. 115 with notes on p. 270 f. and *After Life* pp. 100 ff.



The expression in Pognon, p. 128: 12 f.,  has proved a genuine *crux interpretum*.<sup>1</sup> We are certainly now in a position to maintain that Lidzbarski ought to have adhered to a proposition of his to translate  as "merchandise". Actually  cannot mean anything but "the merchandise of tranquillity and peace". The text thus looks upon the heavenly Messenger as a merchant who brings tranquillity and peace as his merchandise to the First Man who is in dire straits, and surely in need of both.

The notions of merchant and merchandise as technical terms for the *lucrum spirituale* have played a rôle in later Syriac literature, and also in the language of Muhammad and early Islam, as Andrae has demonstrated. And still we find the old Mesopotamian terms connected with this religious idea.<sup>2</sup> In the Qur'ân the words are *tāġir* for merchant, and *tiġārah* for merchandise, both loan-words from Syriac.<sup>3</sup> Thus these technical terms, too, give evidence of the tenacity with which ancient Mesopotamian words and ideas have continued their life through Syrian Christianity and Gnostic religion down to Islam.

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tion proposed by Schaeder, *op. cit.* p. 344 n. 2. I find it, however, unnecessary to expunge  in . I have further retained the word  in Pognon, p. 128: 10, because I am not sure that we must always count with a completely smooth metric system in verses having the old Aramaic structure employed here, and in the other passage demonstrated by Schaeder to be of a metrical character, *op. cit.* p. 343. The use of the old Semitic verse instead of the later systems, which are used even in so old a poem as the Hymn of the Soul, gives evidence of the antiquity of these metrical passages.

<sup>1</sup> See the discussion by Schaeder, *op. cit.* p. 263 n. 2, and p. 352 additional note to p. 263 n. 2. In the last passage he quotes a *dictum* by Lidzbarski, who says that the word  "heisst wohl 'marchandise'. Besser wurde freilich  'Brief', noch besser das graphisch fernstehende, ohne Vokalbuchstaben näherstehende  'Botschaft' passen."

<sup>2</sup> See Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum* p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> See Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* p. 181 f., who, however was ignorant of the Accadian origin of the word; Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ân* p. 90 f. with whom I cannot agree, cf. p. 92 n. 3.

## CHAPTER VII.

### The Return of the Saviour: the Ship and the Shipmaster.

We have already met with the similitude of the Ships on — which the souls are, as distilled parcels of Light, brought up to the realms of Light. In addition, we may quote here the following exhortation to the soul:

Now go aboard the Ships of Light and receive thy garland of glory,  
and return to thy kingdom and rejoice with all the Aeons.

*Psalm-Book II p. 55: 11—13.*

The same idea is met with in another typical passage:

On those ships of Light shall your souls go aboard.

*Psalm-Book II p. 213: 26—27.*

And in a psalm to Jesus His cross is said to be a ship both for Him and for the souls.<sup>1</sup>

Thou madest the cross a ship for Thyself, Thou wast the sailor on it.

My Lord.

... the cross was a ship, the souls were passengers.

My Lord.

*Psalm-Book II p. 123: 33—36.*

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<sup>1</sup> In the Ignatian epistle to Ephes. 9: 1 we read: "You were stones of the temple of the Father, prepared beforehand for a building of God the Father, being raised to the heights by the engine of Jesus Christ, which is the Cross, using as your rope the Holy Ghost", Srawley, *The Epistles of St. Ignatius* transl., Gebhardt, Harnack & Zahn, *Patrum apostolicorum opera* text. In this passage the Cross is the μηχανή much in the same manner as in the *Acta Archelai*, ch. 8, it is spoken of the Manichaeian conception of the μηχανή, as has been demonstrated by Schlier, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* p. 112. On Syrian soil the Greek term has been used as a loan word, which is evident from the Syriac translation in *Corpus Ignatianum*, where ܡܚܢܐ is found in this place, see the edition by Cureton, p. 26: 6. We have to draw a comparison with this idea of the passage above where the cross functions as a ship.

Mani is said to have descended to earth by means of the ships of Light, for we hear in a psalm of the Bema:

We worship the ships of Light that ferried thee across as thou camest.

*Psalm-Book II p. 42: 18—19.*

When the believer is saved from his earthly existence he exclaims:

Through the sailing of the ships of Light I have come outside.

*Psalm-Book II p. 83: 33.*

We have seen in the foregoing pages that this conception of the Ships recurs in Mandaean writings where it plays a rather considerable rôle in some passages.<sup>1</sup>

In his lamentation Hibil thus asks:

כמא נישירפלוך ספינאחא      How long will the ships be sinking,  
וכמא נירזקפוך לאחאר נהור.      and how long will they rise up to  
the place of Light?

Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch* p. 203: 14—204: 1 (text),  
p. 197: 13—15 (transl.).

In the same book there is, as Schlier has observed in chapter 36, a long description of the work of the Saviour, "the Fisherman", in which he describes how He brings his friends upwards in his ship which is incorruptible, has "sails of Splendour" and "passes by the heart of heaven".<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The coincidence between the Manichaean and Mandaean symbolical language has been noted by Schlier in his *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* pp. 110 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The Mandaean expression ܩܢܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ, properly "whose wings are wings of splendour" (read this text with Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch* p. 155 n. 3), completely agrees in terminology with the Accadian mode of expression where one speaks of the *kappāti* of the *eleppu*, the ship, i. e. the sails of the ship. For *kappāti* see Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge* p. 131. The etymology of the Mandaean ܩܢܝܢܐ causes some difficulty. It is obviously the same word as the Syriac ܩܢܝܢܐ for *geppā* < \**genpā*. This ܩܢܝܢܐ cannot be connected with the Mandaean ܩܢܝܢܐ, as Nöldeke wants, *Mandäische Grammatik* p. 77 n. 4, *GGÄ* 1884 p. 1019. This is shown by the coincidence between the Mandaean *ganpā* and the Syriac *geppā* (< *genpā* < *ginpā* < *ganpā*) as against the Accadian *agappu* (for which see the *Annals of Tiglatpileser III R 9: 56 a-gap-pi-šu-nu*). The Mandaean phrase ܩܢܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ recalls an Accadian phrase *redū ina*



cannot be understood as anything but the human souls being the "treasure" of the Saviour.<sup>1</sup> The Saviour has preserved his "treasure", the souls, and brought them up in His Ship to the harbour of Life; so it is we have to interpret the sense of these verses of Aphrem.<sup>2</sup>

The Harbour of Life at which the ship with the human soul arrives is mentioned also in other passages (e. g. *Hymni et Sermones* IV col. 613: 4), the expression **ܩܝܦܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ** obviously being a *terminus technicus*. It is worth noting that as early as in the *Odes of Solomon* 38: 3 we find the idea of the "Haven of Salvation", **ܩܝܦܘܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ**, in connexion with the notion of baptism.<sup>3</sup> The word in v. 1 **ܩܝܦܘܢܐ**, "vehicle", must, as Lundberg contends, surely be translated "ship", and not "chariot", on account of the succeeding image of the harbour.<sup>4</sup>

That the similitude of the Ships of Salvation go back to ancient Mesopotamian designations of divinities and the part played by ships in Babylonian cult, seems to be quite apparent.

We remember that in Manichaean religion the sun and the moon were represented as Ships of Light bringing the souls to heaven, and that Mandaean writings mention the Ship of Salvation while, on the other hand, their art pictures the ships of even the Sun and the Moon sailing on the ocean of heaven.

<sup>1</sup> For the notion of the "treasure" in this meaning cf. Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah* p. 87 f., and *id. Religionens värld* pp. 316 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For the epithet "Shipmaster" cf. further Lamy, *Hymni et Sermones* IV col. 783, XXV: 4.

<sup>3</sup> See the remarks by Bernard, *The Odes of Solomon* p. 123. When, however, he says that in the sequel of the Ode the poet has "forgotten the metaphor with which he began", this cannot be correct. The odist depicts Error and his Bride as a counterpart to Christ and His Bride the Church, i. e. the sum of the souls of the believers or possibly the individual soul, according to the well-known Gnostic shift between cosmological and psychological ideas. The believer has to avoid this bridal couple and, instead, be one partner in the true spiritual marriage between Christ and the believer(s). Note that the connexion between the sailing on board the ship to the "haven of Salvation" and the entrance into the Heavenly Bride-chamber is near at hand because they are only two different metaphors of the goal of the soul's journey.

<sup>4</sup> See Lundberg, *La typologie baptismale* p. 76. Actually the Syriac **ܩܝܦܘܢܐ** is a perfect parallel to the Accadian *narkabtu*, which is a ship for freighting and for the traffic of passengers; see Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge* p. 7, 22. The Syriac **ܩܝܦܘܢܐ** would thus perfectly agree with the Aramaic **ܩܝܦܘܢܐ**, but also have the special meaning of "ship".

It is against this background we have to consider the fact that the moon-god in ancient Mesopotamia is thought of as a ship sailing over the sea of heaven. He is thus called *ma-gur-ku-an-na* (= *makurru ellitu ša šamē*) *CT XV 17: 1* (= Perry, *Hymnen und Gebete an Sin* p. 16), "the holy ship of heaven". The moon-god is also in mythical texts described as the heavenly ship.

*lugal má-gur<sub>8</sub>-kù an-na diri-ga* To the King, the holy ship,  
sailing on heaven,  
*ama-ni ul-la mí na-mu-un-ne* his mother with joy speaketh  
the friendly words.

*SRT 9: 62—63, ZA 47 (1941—42) p. 205.*

Not taking these more cosmological conceptions into account, we have other material from the old Mesopotamian religion throwing light on the soteriological aspect of these nautical similitudes. In the Tammuz cult we meet with the symbol of the ship, which plays an important rôle in Tammuz liturgies. The consort of this god, Ishtar, is said to have sent a large ship to the nether world where her husband is imprisoned.

*ki-bi-a kal gišmá gul-gul a kur-* Fitting out a large ship at this  
*ra-ni-dè* place she sent it to the water  
of the nether world.

Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 96 Rev. III 17,  
Zimmern *SKL 2* Rev. III 17.

It is obviously this ship that is addressed in the following words:

*má-ka-zal-l[a] [má-a-zu]* A ship of joy [is thy ship] . . .,  
*má-ŠAR + KID-ši má-a-[zu]* a ship loaded with treasures  
is [thy] ship.

Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 424 Rev. 14—15,  
*RA XV* p. 128 Rev. 14—15.

As the latest editor says, the situation alluded to in this poem is the moment when "Ishtar" (in this case Nanshe) with her gifts is sailing away to rescue Tammuz. Such a scene is comprehensively related in another liturgy belonging to the cult of Sin, the moon-god of Ur.

The goddess expresses her wish to depart in order to bring back the god from Hades.

[u-mu]-un ne-u za-e ki-ta u<sub>3</sub>-dè O Lord, I shall sail away to bring thee back from the lower world.  
Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 446: 11, Zimmern *SKL* 35 Obv. I 11.<sup>1</sup>

She then carries out her plan, embarks and sails off. When she has arrived at her brother's place of imprisonment, she takes her brother-consort on board and returns with him on her ship.

lu-deb-má sag-gá ama lu-giš-ú- She cried to the ship's acquirer:  
edin-ra gá gù-mu-un-na-dè-e Bring the Mother to the man  
of trees and plants on the  
steppe!<sup>2</sup>

giš na-an-zi giš na-an-zi šeš-ra The bark went away to him, the  
má tur bark went away to him, it  
entered to the brother.

dam-e gišmá-te-ra u<sub>3</sub>-dè To the consort who drew near  
with the ship he went up.

Dama-tur gišmá-te-ra u<sub>3</sub>-da-a-ni To the Mother of the pen who  
drew near with the ship he  
went up.

ka-an-na ba-tr ka-ki-ta ba-te The gate of heaven was reached,  
the gate away from the lower  
world was reached.

Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 446 Obv. II 7—Rev. I 4,  
Zimmern *SKL* 35 Obv. 7—Rev. I 4.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Sumerian verb *u* means both *rakābu* I 1 "to ascend", and "travel", and *rakābu* III 1 "make to travel", "to transport", see Salonen, *Nautica Babylonica* p. 91. As Salonen remarks, *op. cit.* p. 110, this term is often a parallel to *dirig*, "to sail" = Accad. *ḫlp*<sup>3</sup> IV 1, for which see *op. cit.* p. 106. In the first half of the verse we thus find *u* in the meaning "to sail", in the second half, in the sense of "to transport". Salonen does not always seem to have utilized the Tammuz texts. The word *ki* = *eršetu* is a common designation of the lower world, see Tallqvist, *Sumerisch-Akkadische Namen der Totenwelt*, pp. 8 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "The steppe" is a very common name of the nether world, see Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. X and Tallqvist, *Sumerisch-Akkadische Namen der Totenwelt* pp. 17 ff.

<sup>3</sup> According to Salonen, *Nautica Babylonica*, p. 4, *lu-deb-ma* is the "acquirer of the ship", *deb* being "to acquire" with reference also to our passage. For *giš* = vehicle, see Witzel *op. cit.* p. 448.

We may observe that the term "shipmaster" can be given to various gods. Khumatbal<sup>1</sup> is thus called *malāḥ eršetim* (*VAT 10057* = *TuL* p. 5: 5), "the shipmaster of the nether world". And Ninda can be styled *malāḥu nāsih tarkullu* *CT XXIV*, 10: 5, "the shipmaster, pulling out the (anchor)pole".<sup>2</sup>

Ships, moreover, are associated with various Mesopotamian gods and goddesses who at religious festivals embarked their own sacred vessels.<sup>3</sup> But this fact *per se* does not carry us any further in our discussion on the cosmological and soteriological aspects with which we are concerned in this place. Of considerable interest is, however, the fact that in an incantation from Assur mention is made of the quay of Life where the ship seems to be moored.

<i>markasu šá iseleppi a-na kūr</i>	The rope of the ship is at the
<i>šul-me</i>	quay of Peace,
<i>markasu šá ismakurri a-na kūr</i>	the rope of the ship is at the
<i>balāṭi</i>	quay of Life.

*KAR* 196 Obv. II 51—52, Ebeling *AGM XIV* (1923) p. 68 f.

It is important to note that the ship in question thus has a definite association with the idea of Life. If this fact is added to the Mesopotamian material already adduced we may venture upon the hypothesis that behind the enigmatical expression in the magical text (where the context unfortunately is broken) lies some mythical reality implying the conception of a ship sailing with the saved god from prison to the realms of Life.

If we sum up the points of agreement between the Manichaean texts and the Mesopotamian material, we should firstly emphasize the fact that an astral divinity in both religions is conceived of as a ship sailing on the ocean of heaven. Next there is to be laid stress on the Saviour's being rescued by

<sup>1</sup> The name means "take away swiftly!"; see Ebeling *TuL* p. 5 n. i.

<sup>2</sup> See Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, p. 128, 322. For the form *malāḥu* > *malāḥu*, see Salonen *Nautica Babylonica* p. 10. The Aramaic ܡܠܚܐ (with a secondary gemination of *l*) speaks for the same pronunciation. The word is the Sumerian loan-word *ma-lah*, Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge* p. 133. Tammuz too is called "the shipmaster", *lu-má*, Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien* p. 16: 189.

<sup>3</sup> See the survey given by Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge*, pp. 58 ff.

returning from his imprisonment in a ship which arrives at heaven. Minor resemblances in Mandaean nautical terminology would seem to constitute a connecting link between Manichaeian and Mandaean religious technical terms. Christian Syrian poetry is conceivably also in a certain debt to old Mesopotamian texts as to its own poetical expressions and metaphors. Additionally we may observe that the Saviour seems to be thought of both as the Ship and the Shipmaster, but that the second conception is predominating in Christian literature.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### The Manichaean Purification Ceremonies.

In the Coptic Manichaean psalms there are many allusions to certain purification ceremonies through which the believer has been cleansed from moral and bodily defilements. We shall quote some instances of which the first is from Ps. CCL.

I call unto thee, O victor eternal:  
hear my cry, O compassionate one,  
and let thy members cleanse me;  
and do thou wash me in thy holy waters  
and make me spotless, even as I am.  
Lo, the time has drawn near,  
may I return to my habitations.

*Psalm-Book II p. 59: 24—28.*

The background of this passage is already given with some of the first lines of this poem when the suppliant says, "The *πλάσμα* of the earth I will put off me" (1. 2), or, "I will strip myself of the world" (1. 8). The psalmist is on the point of leaving the world and that is why he says, "Lo, the time has drawn near, may I return to my habitations." In this moment when he is about to return to his former celestial home he calls upon the Saviour and asks for purification in his holy waters. The Coptic expression in this instance is *μοῦϊερε*, thus a clear plural. The cleansing in water, accordingly, has to take place immediately before the death of the believer. The same inference seems to be possible to draw from another passage, Ps. CCLXIII. In that psalm the speaker repeatedly expresses his longing for the heavenly Bride-chamber (a technical term that will occupy us a little later) *e. g.* *Psalm-Book II p. 79: 17; 80: 18, 20—21*, a fact which evidently shows that the situation is the same, *viz.* that the psalmist has to recite this psalm in the moment when

he shall leave material existence. This being the case we are not astonished at finding the same connexion between death and cleansing ceremonies when it is said:

Purify me, my bridegroom, o Saviour, with thy wa[ters].

*Psalm-Book II p. 79: 29.*

Also in a third passage, Ps. CCLXXIX, we are presumably entitled to count upon the same situation, for here it is said that "the time has come nigh" (*Psalm-Book II p. 100: 11*) and the adressed person is urged: "Do thou walk up to thy rest (?)" (*ib. p. 100: 13—14*).<sup>1</sup> Further, mention is made of the assembly of the Gods which he left in the beginning (*ib. 100: 25—26*), and it is said that the Judge who will appear before the believer will furnish him with "wings of Light, like an eagle hovering, ascending out of his air" (*ib. 100: 29—31*). All these traits apparently make it obvious that the one addressed is ascending through the air towards the assembly of the Gods, because the time has come for him to depart definitely from this world below and return to his heavenly origin. When the soul meets the Judge he is said to purify the ascending soul.

He will wash thee also and purify thee with his pleasant dews.

*Psalm-Book II p. 100: 28.*

In Ps. CCLXXXII there is to be found the same parting speech as in Ps. CCLXIII containing "the positive confession" and "self-laudation" of the departing soul, modelled on the corresponding speeches recited by the Saviour in the hour when He is about to leave the world and shake off the bonds of material existence. We find such farewell addresses in the Acts of Thomas, ch. 144—48, and their most famous specimen is, of course, the long farewell-speech by Jesus to his disciples in John ch. 13—16.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The text is somewhat uncertain here:  $\bar{\pi}\tau\epsilon\mu\alpha\delta\epsilon\ \alpha\rho\rho\eta\iota\ \alpha\pi\epsilon\mu[\tau\alpha\eta].\ \bar{\mu}\tau\alpha\eta$  as a noun means "rest", "peace". I assume a Greek  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$  behind the Coptic word, see Crum, *Dictionary* p. 194, and ultimately the Syriac  $\bar{\mu}\tau\alpha\eta$  ( $\bar{\mu}\tau\alpha\eta$ ) which is a technical term occurring e.g. in the Odes of Solomon. Arvedson has rightly emphasized the importance of this idea in Gnostic circles, see *Das Mystorium Christi* pp. 204 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Reicke in his dissertation *The disobedient Spirits*, p. 235, has given some references to ancient Christian literature of relevance to this *topos*, and further pointed to the pattern in Isaiah 50: 4—11 (for this passage cf. Engnell *SEA X*

As we have just seen, the soul was, when ascending, purified in the dew of the Saviour. That purification is asked for in another psalm where the following request is directed to the Saviour:

O Saviour, O Son of God, [take] me unto Thee quickly,  
wash me in the dew of the Column of Glory.

*Psalm-Book II* p. 103: 34—35.

The Column of Glory is none other than the Perfect Man, the Saviour.<sup>1</sup> The Coptic word for dew, *ιωτε*, used here of the dew of the Perfect Man, and *Psalm-Book II* p. 100: 28 of that of the Judge who is the God of Mani<sup>2</sup>, recurs in a very interesting passage where Mani is praised on the Bema-day and *inter alia* invoked in the following words:

Wash us now therefore in the dew-drops of thy joy,  
for we are ordained to the service of the holy Bema, O  
glorious one.

Open to us the passage of the vaults of the heavens  
and [walk] before us to the joy of thy kingdom, O glorious one.

*Psalm-Book II* p. 41: 20—23.<sup>3</sup>

That also in this address to Mani we are confronted with certain purification ceremonies, on one hand, and the ascension of the human soul, on the other, cannot possibly be denied. The last is implied in the exhortation to Mani to walk before the ascending soul, opening a passage through the heavens.

(1945) pp. 58 ff. See further Bultmann, *ZNW* 24 (1925) p. 114 f., 131 n. 2; *Das Evangelium des Johannes* pp. 378 ff., esp. p. 378 n. 10.

<sup>1</sup> For some references, see Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah* p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> According to the disputation between Mani and a Nazaree (Christian) *Kephalaia* p. 222: 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> As indicated above, p. 75 n. 1, it seems to me that in some places where the editor has translated *πητε* with "skies" the translation "heaven(s)" is to be preferred. In the New Test. the most obvious mistranslation of the Aramaic *ܫܘܘܩܝܘܬܐ* with *οἱ οὐρανοί*, instead of *ὁ οὐρανός*, is provided by the well-known expression the "kingdom of Heaven(s)", *βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*, used by Matt. as corresponding to *βασίλεια τοῦ θεοῦ*, see Bauer, *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch z. d. Schriften d. Neuen Test.* col. 948. The Greek expression is too literal a rendering of the Aramaic *ܫܘܘܩܝܘܬܐ ܫܘܘܩܝܘܬܐ*, for which see Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* p. 179.

The purification rites found in the Manichaean Coptic writings are thus performed in the moment when the Manichee is on the point of leaving his earthly existence, or on the day when the Bema-festival is held. Concerning this religious feast, the greatest among the Manichees, we now have considerably more material at our disposal than earlier<sup>1</sup> owing to a new Sogdian text edited, translated, and commented by Henning. That the last-quoted hymn is one recited after the liturgical meal at the Bema-festival, seems obvious in view of the established fact that after the meal hymns were sung in which Mani was requested to take the partakers of the meal with him up to their heavenly home in connexion with his own ascension.<sup>2</sup> This last detail explains to us the reason why the purification ceremonies can be mentioned both together with the Bema-festival and in connexion with the moment of death. The *tertium comparationis*, the link between these two occasions is the ascent to the world of Light.

Now the existence of purification ceremonies in Manichaean cult has for a long time been a matter of controversy in the discussion on Manichaean religion. The opinion generally accepted seems to have been that the existence of such rites as resemble Christian baptism cannot be proved.<sup>3</sup> In view of the clear

<sup>1</sup> See Allberry, *Das manichäische Bema-Fest*, *ZNW* 37 (1939) p. 2—10, *id.* *Symbole von Tod und Wiedergeburt*, *Eranos Jahrbuch* VII (1940) p. 146 f.

<sup>2</sup> See Henning *BuBb* p. 46:46—48 *xwd'y' tw žwyy syn mnyc 'w ichyšt*, "O Lord, Thou departest, make me too to ascend!" That the psalm in question belongs to the collection of Bema-psalms seems to speak for the hypothesis propounded in the text above.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Schaeder *Iranica*, p. 19—24, with whom Puech would seem to agree, *Erlösung im Manichäismus*, *Eranos Jahrbuch* IV (1937) p. 281: "Es scheint nicht, dass die manichäische Gnosis Sakramente gekannt hat. Sie verwirft die Taufe und gestattet nur — auch das ist nicht sicher — ein, auf die Erwählten beschränktes Abendmahl." The reservation as to the ritual meal is probably cancelled by the Bema liturgy in Henning, *BuBb*, even referred to. I have not overlooked that Allberry, *ZNW* 37 (1938), is rather sceptical towards Henning's interpretation of *pš'h'ryy* as a "meal". He nevertheless admits that there is some reliable evidence speaking for the existence of some kind of a eucharistic meal. Puech, in return, has meritoriously pointed out other ritual acts in Manichaeism. Polotsky holds that the Kephalaia condemn baptism. "Eine Wassertaufe haben die M.er zweifellos nicht gehabt: sie ist eine hylische Institution, in der der 'Geist' der finsternen Welt des Wassers zum Ausdruck kommt (Keph. 30); und andere Taufriten sind nicht bezeugt", *Manichäismus*, Pauly-Wissowa Suppl. Bd. 6 col. 264. That possibly the baptism in water was

evidence provided by the Coptic texts, this opinion can no longer be justified, but has to be entirely revised. And this in a special direction. In the course of our investigation we have repeatedly seen that there are unmistakable connexions between Manichaean religion and Mandaean writings. As to the question of a Manichaean "baptism", it must surely be said to make food for thought that, according to the reliable report given by al-Nadīm, Mani had proceeded from a sect of baptizers in Southern Babylonia, to which his father belonged, and which must conceivably have had much influence on Mani from doctrines and rites of about probably the same type as those of the Mandaeans. That this fact cannot be totally dismissed, has been often emphasized.<sup>1</sup>

There is especially one point to stress in this connexion. We have just found in the allusions to Manichaean purificatory rites that there was a very close and apparently obvious association between these ceremonies and the ascent of the soul. But this very association is found in the religion of the Mandaeans in their famous so-called *massiqtā*, the baptism in the moment of death.<sup>2</sup>

Not only the Mandaeans, however, have known and performed a baptism in the hour of death, but also other Gnostic sects, e. g. in the school of Valentinus the so-called Marcosians.<sup>3</sup> But in view of the fact that so many points of coincidence are found between Manichaeism and Mandaicism, we are rather inclined to see, in this agreement between Mandaean and Manichaean purification and "baptismal" rites, a proof of a special Mesopotamian origin.

not practised among the Manichaeans is no argument against the assumption that they have had purificatory rites. A perfect parallel would present itself in the Mandaean attitude, because the Mandaeans reject Christian baptism, but are nevertheless themselves most zealous baptizers; as to their attitude, cf. Brandt, *Die Mandäische Religion* p. 98 f.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the opinions of such scholars as Kessler, Wetter, and Scheftelowitz.

<sup>2</sup> The merit of having interpreted the ideas connected with the *massiqta* belongs to Reitzenstein, who in his *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 43—92, gave a trenchant analysis of the hymns and rites which are included in the Mandaean "death-mass". He later followed up his researches in the much-discussed *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe*, where gigantic perspectives of the history of religion are revealed. For the discussion see, above all, Schlier *Zur Mandäerfrage*, *Theol. Rundschau* N. F. 5 (1933), pp. 1—34, 69—92, where a good survey is given.

<sup>3</sup> The chief passage is found in Irenaeus, *Adv. haereses* I, XXI 5.

Another detail may in this connexion be of importance. In one of the passages adduced here we find a close conjunction between their purification ceremonies, the ascent of the soul, and the entrance into the heavenly bride-chamber, which is said to be the goal of the journey upwards. Thus Ps. CCLXIII, from which we have already quoted a sentence, is introduced by the following prayer to Christ:

Let me be worthy of Thy Bride-chambers [that are full of  
Light.

Jesus Christ, receive me into Thy Bride-chambers, [Thou  
my] Saviour.

*Psalm-Book II p. 79: 17—20.*<sup>1</sup>

This metaphor of the bride-chambers of Light is well-known from the Coptic psalms. Some instances deserve to be cited here.

Christ, my bridegroom, hath taken me to His Bride-chamber,  
I have rested with Him in the land of the immortal.

*Psalm-Book II p. 63: 3—4.*

The wish expressed in the quotation above (*Psalm-Book II p. 79: 17—20*) is accordingly described as fulfilled here. The believer has really been taken to the "Bride-chamber(s) of Light" *μανημελεετ ποταινε*. In fact, a synonymous expression of "to be saved" seems to be "to be taken to the Bride-chamber(s) of Light", or similar wordings. As a proof we may quote the following prayer.

Have mercy on my poverty, have compassion upon my sins.

Teach me the way to Life that I may come to the rejoicing.  
I will dwell in thy Aeons, thy Bride-chambers of Light.

*Psalm-Book II p. 197: 3—5.*

The prayer may then get quite a formal character as, for instance, in this passage:

Take me into thy Bride-chambers  
that I may chant with them that sing to thee.

*Psalm-Book II p. 117: 29—30*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Psalm-Book*, p. 80: 18, 20 f.; p. 197: 3—5.

The expression "the Bride-chambers of Light" is well-known from early Syriac Christian literature. Aphrem, for instance, speaks of it in his refutations of the Gnostics when he says in his polemics against Bardaisan:

<p>ܐܠܝܢܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܡܝ ܡܘܬܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܡܝ ܡܘܬܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܡܝ ܡܘܬܐ ܡܘܬܐ ܡܝ ܡܘܬܐ ܡܘܬܐ ܡܝ ܡܘܬܐ ܡܘܬܐ ܡܝ ܡܘܬܐ ܡܘܬܐ ܡܝ ܡܘܬܐ</p>	<p>For if Lazarus, when he died, had gone up to the Bridal-chamber of Light, an injury our Lord did him in that He turned him back to his body, the prison-house.</p>
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Mitchell, *Ephraim's Prose Refutations* II  
p. 165 stanza LXXXV.

The term the Bride-chamber of Light is thus attested as an expression current as early as in Bardesanite Gnosis. Much about the same time, or a little later, we find the same technical term in the Acts of Thomas when, in the form of the Apostle Thomas, Christ says in his missionary speech to the newly married couple:

<p>ἔσεσθε . . . προσδοκῶντες ἀπολή- ψεσθαι ἐκεῖνον τὸν γάμον τὸν ἄφ- θροον καὶ ἀληθινόν, καὶ ἔσεσθε ἐν αὐτῷ παράνυμφοι συνεισερχόμενοι εἰς τὸν νυμφῶνα ἐκεῖνον τὸν τῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ φωτὸς πλήρης.</p>	<p>Ye shall be . . . looking to re- ceive that incorruptible and true marriage, and ye shall be therein groomsmen entering into that Bride-chamber which is full of immortality and light.</p>
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*The Acts of Thomas* ed. Bonnet Greek text ch. 12 p. 118,  
James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* p. 369 f.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Syriac version has: "Ye shall be . . . hoping for when ye shall see that true marriage which is in heaven, and ye shall be therein, and ye shall be counted with them that enter the Bride-chamber", ed. Bedjan *AMS* 3 p. 14, Wright, *Apocryphal Acts* II p. 156 has the following text: "Ye shall be hoping (for the time) when ye shall see the true wedding-feast; and ye shall be in it praisers (of God), and shall be numbered with those who enter into the Bridal-chamber." The Ethiopic text, however, essentially agrees with the Greek text in that it is the newly wedded couple who shall not only see, but even themselves receive the true marriage in heaven. It says: "Ye shall hope for (when) ye shall receive the marriage which shall never be brought to an end, and ye shall be there the friends of the Bridegroom, by whom ye shall be known when ye come unto that marriage feast which is immortal and the



For a comparison with corresponding features in the early Odes of Solomon Bernard has, as well as Wensinck, drawn attention to the hymns of Aphrem sung on the Feast of Epiphany, and has rightly emphasized the fact that the crowning with a garland points to baptismal ceremonies. Let us in this place only give a quotation from the Odes.

Like the arm of the bridegroom over the bride,  
so is my yoke over those that know me.

And as the couch that is spread in the chambers of the  
bridegroom and the bride,  
so is my love over those that believe in me.

Ode XLII: 8—9.<sup>1</sup>

Here again we come across the word Bride-chamber, *ἡμεῖς*, which we have met as a technical term in the language of the Gnostics. But else the notion of the true marriage does not play any conspicuous part in the Odes. Still this metaphor must be at the bottom of many of the Odes, for the Garland that plays so great a part in these poems, as is easily understood, is nothing but the nuptial crown borne at the wedding by the bride and the bridegroom.<sup>2</sup>

By now we may safely contend that the idea of the heavenly marriage is an old Mesopotamian inheritance in Manichaean literature. This statement is corroborated by the fact that the *hieros gamos* is described with many details in an early Gnostic poem, *viz.* the Hymn of the Daughter of Light found in the *Acts of Thomas*. Here the Bride-chamber is pictured with some interesting details.

<p>ἦς ὁ παστὸς φωτεινός, ἀποφορὰν ἀπὸ βαλσάμου καὶ παντὸς ἀρώματος διαπνέων, ἀναδιδούς τε ἄσμηγν ἠδὲ ἴαν σμύρνης τε καὶ φύλλου. ὑπέστριωνται δὲ ἐντὸς μυρσίνας</p>	<p>Her chamber is bright, breathing forth the odour of bal- sam and all spices, and giving out a sweet smell of myrrh and leaf; and within are myrtles strewn on the floor,</p>
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<sup>1</sup> For the conception of the "yoke", see Arvedson, *Das Mysterium Christi* pp. 174 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Bernard, *The Odes of Solomon* p. 45 f. compared with James, *Christian Myth and Ritual* pp. 163 ff.

καὶ ἀνθέων παμπόλλων ἡδου- and of all manners of odorous  
 πνόων, flowers,  
 αἱ δὲ κλειστάδες ἐν καλάμοις and the door-posts are adorned  
 κεκόσμηγνται. with reeds.

*The Acts of Thomas*, ed. Bonnet Greek text ch. 7 p. 109 f.,  
 James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* p. 367.<sup>1</sup>

As has been argued in another work, this description fits well into the picture of the Mandaean bride-chamber as Mrs. Drower saw it in our own time. She says, "In and out of the sides of the structure are twisted fresh flowers and myrtle, and twigs of every kind of tree available, and in addition, bright-coloured rugs or embroideries may be fastened round the sides of the hut. On the occasion of Little Bird's wedding, the hut was adorned with the pink sweet-scented roses called *jūri*, and myrtle and young orange-leaves added their perfume to that of marigolds and roses".<sup>2</sup>

This picture of the wedding-hut among the Mandaeans of the Mesopotamia of our day could not coincide in a more perfect manner with the description given in the Hymn to the Daughter of Light.

That the bridal-chamber adduced here is in both cases intended to symbolize a garden would presumably be quite obvious, and the reason for this symbolical structure will occupy us a little later.

There is among scholars a common opinion that the *hieros gamos* theme is lacking in Mandaean writings.<sup>3</sup> That this is not quite correct has been shown by Reitzenstein, who has pointed

<sup>1</sup> The Syriac text in this poem is allegorizing and clearly secondary. The Ethiopic text in Budge, *The Contendings of the Apostles* I p. 340 (transl. II p. 409) is abridged, but supports the Greek version.

<sup>2</sup> Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq & Iran* p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact the Mandaean term *gnānā* corresponding to *g'nōnā* is not met with in surroundings which give an impression of the Holy Marriage. The word is, moreover, not at all frequent in Mandaean writings. Bultmann writes of late: "Übrigens findet sich das Motiv des ἱερός γάμος nicht in allen gnostischen Systemen; es fehlt z. B. bei den Mandäern", *Das Evangelium des Johannes* p. 127 n. As to the Holy Marriage in Hellenistic Mystery-religions and among the Gnostics in general, see Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* p. 34 f., 99, 245 f.

to the religious significance of their wedding ritual, and contended that the priest is in this ceremony acting the rôle of the Saviour and that of the bridegroom at one and the same time.<sup>1</sup> Again, it is of special interest for us to find that in these nuptial rites the connexion between *hieros gamos* and baptism is apparent, for the bridegroom is baptized on his festival day.<sup>2</sup> This same conjunction is to be found also in many passages in early Syriac literature from which some references to especially liturgically concentrated writings are presented here.<sup>3</sup> First a quotation showing the association of the heavenly bride-chamber with baptism.

In the alternating songs of Narsai we have a dialogue between Jesus and John the Baptist at the moment when Jesus asks John to let him receive baptism. John excuses himself and turns aside off the way, but Jesus urges him to fulfil his request:

Jesus:

ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ	I have declared my will to you, why do you dispute?
ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ	Draw near and baptize me for you are not burning!
ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ	The Bridal-chamber is prepared, you shall not turn me from the wedding feast that ex- pects me.

John:

ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ	I have prepared the way I was sent for,
ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ	I have betrothed the bride that I was ordered to [do].

<sup>1</sup> See *Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse*, p. 63 n., and *Die Vorgeschichte*, p. 29 n., where he says: "Den Gott stellt . . . der Priester dar, der zugleich für den Bräutigam eintritt . . . Es ist also eine Art *ἱερός γάμος*." He refers especially to Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien*, pp. 232—246, and there to Song XVIII p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> See Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien*, p. 233 n. 2, with a reference to Siouffi, *Études sur la religion des Soubbas*, p. 107, 121 ff. See also Drower, *The Mandaeans* p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> I have treated this whole complex of ideas already in my phenomenological work *Religionens värld* pp. 187 ff., and I shall revert to the problem in another connexion.

ܠܐܘܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܠܥܘܢܐ  
 ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܠܥܘܢܐ  
 Thy rising will be great over the Aeons,  
 now that thou hast come I will not  
 baptize thee.

Jesus:

ܕܠܥܘܢܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܠܥܘܢܐ  
 ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܠܥܘܢܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܠܥܘܢܐ  
 The bride that thou hast betrothed to  
 me is expecting  
 that I shall descend, be baptized and  
 make her holy.

ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܠܥܘܢܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܠܥܘܢܐ  
 O, friend of the bridegroom, do not re-  
 fuse

ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܠܥܘܢܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܠܥܘܢܐ  
 the ablution that is prepared.

Feldmann, *Syrische Wechsellieder von Narses* p. 12: 12, 23;  
 13: 28.

Is it not a very significant thing that the Bride-chamber and the wedding-feast are mentioned here quite unequivocally in connexion with the baptism of Jesus? And we ought to remember that this holds true not only of the great prototype of every Christian's baptism but also, as we have found, of ordinary baptism. Now in order to meet the presumed objection that our demonstration attaches undue importance to what may be only a poetical language (by the way, it is certainly most astonishing that this poetical language, wherever found, always seems to point to cultic realities!) let us turn to the Syrian liturgies themselves. Are we able to ascertain there the same intimate connexion between baptism, the Bride-chamber, and the wedding feast? In answering this question we must try to give some quotations from extant liturgies, at the same time keeping in mind that these rituals have been adapted to suit the needs of a baptism of children instead of adults.

This applies especially to the Nestorian liturgy of baptism which is a later revision of an original ceremony for adult baptizands.

After the signing we find here the following liturgical instructions and actions:

And when he signs them, they enter the baptistery, as they are, with the thurible and the candles and the cross and the Gospel and the rest. And they begin the responses before they are brought in:

Open unto me the gates of righteousness!

The gates of the spiritual Bride-chamber are opened for the atonement of the children of mankind, and now through the gift of the Spirit from heaven mercifulness and charity are given to everybody.

Enter therefore, ye invited, into the delight that was prepared for you!

And the gates of heaven have been opened.

Diettrich, *Die Nestorianische Taufliturgie* p. 9, Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals* II p. 196 (with slight deviations).

The allusions found in the poetical works are accordingly corroborated by the Syrian liturgy in the Nestorian church. There is a definite connexion between the baptismal rites and the metaphor of the heavenly *ḡnōnā* into which the baptizands are entitled to enter in order to receive the true marriage, as it was said in the Acts of Thomas ch. 12. But how can this odd connexion be explained? Before answering this question, let us quote some passages from the Chaldaean Breviary showing that the Bride chamber that we found in the Gnostic hymn in the Acts of Thomas recurs in Syriac liturgical literature. It is, of course, a common theme there, as well as in the poetry of Narsai, that Christ has married the Church. More interesting is it to note that there is a special wording in some passages describing this marriage, *e. g.* in the following.<sup>1</sup>

<p>ܘܢܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܢܐ ܘܢܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܢܐ</p>	<p>In the Holy of Holies, which cannot be described, the Son of the King hath built to His Bride a glorified Bride-chamber.</p>
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Bedjan, *Breviarium Chaldaicum* 3: 425.

And it is said of this Bridal chamber:

<p>ܘܢܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܢܐ ܘܢܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܫܘܢܐ</p>	<p>A Bride-chamber Our Lord hath knotted to His Church, a spiritual one.</p>
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Bedjan, *Breviarium Chaldaicum* 1: 407.

<sup>1</sup> For these references I am indebted to Engberding, *Die Kirche als Braut in der ostsyrischen Liturgie*, *OCP* 3 (1937) pp. 5 ff.



Still more interesting is another prayer glorifying the bridegroom.

ܘܡܢ ܒܝܬܗ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ  
The bridegroom in his chamber  
is like

ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ  
the sun that riseth in the firma-  
ment,

ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ  
whose rays pervade the air

ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ  
and whose light giveth joy to  
creation.

ܘܡܢ ܒܝܬܗ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ  
The bridegroom in his chamber  
is like

ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ  
the Tree of Life in the Church,

ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ  
whose fruits are suitable for food

ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ  
and whose leaves for medicine.

ܘܡܢ ܒܝܬܗ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ  
The bridegroom in his chamber  
is like

ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ  
the spring which runs through  
Eden,

ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ  
of which the wise have drunk,

ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ  
and even the foolish have obtained  
consolation.

ܘܡܢ ܒܝܬܗ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ  
The bridegroom in his chamber  
is like

ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ  
the unblemished pearl,

ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ  
which the chief merchants bought,

ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ  
and through which they were en-  
riched and ennobled.

Zingerle, *Syrische Poesien*, ZDMG 17 (1863) p. 732 f.,  
Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals* p. 275 (transl.  
from a slightly different text).

In this prayer the bridegroom is likened to the Sun, the Tree of Life, the spring in Paradise, and the unblemished pearl. While the scriptural basis of all these metaphors is quite apparent<sup>1</sup> the combination of these similitudes is nevertheless striking. Why

<sup>2</sup> See the notes given by Zingerle, *op. cit.*

this glorification of the bridegroom, and why these very symbols? The answer is at hand: all these metaphors are designations of the king and saviour. As early as in the Code of Hammurabi the Mesopotamian king is compared with the sun, and this symbol of his is rather common.<sup>1</sup> The king in Mesopotamia is further the Tree of Life<sup>2</sup>, and has the Water of Life.<sup>3</sup> The Pearl is from the outset an Iranian designation of the Saviour<sup>4</sup>, and has been taken over by Gnostic circles.<sup>5</sup> The three first metaphors are accordingly of Mesopotamian origin, the fourth alone being Iranian. Now in Christian times all the four similitudes are very common symbols of Christ. Christ as *Sol Salutis* is too well known to need any commentary.<sup>6</sup> The Pearl is also found as an honorific name of Christ in Syriac poetry.<sup>7</sup> And in the next chapter we will have many occasions to speak of Christ as the Tree of Life and the Water of Life.

In another work the Mesopotamian background of the ideas of *hieros gamos* and especially of the wedding hut as a type of the garden of paradise has already been pointed out. There is a Sumerian *hieros gamos* text describing the marriage of Ininni and the king Idin-Dagan in which we find a picture of the wedding hut corresponding both to the description given in the Acts of Thomas and to that of the Mandaean bride chamber given by Mrs Drower.<sup>8</sup> The idea of the bridal chamber as the scene of the Holy Marriage can accordingly be traced back to an ancient Mesopotamian ritual body.<sup>9</sup> The Syriac word *g'nōnā*, which must *via* *νομφών* be the original word used in the Mani-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Widengren, *Psalms of Lamentation* p. 10 f., Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship* p. 183, Dhorme, *La religion assyro-babylonienne* p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, pp. 26 ff., Widengren *RoB* II (1943) pp. 53 ff.; cf. further below p. 138 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship* p. 28, Widengren *RoB* II (1943) pp. 54 ff.; cf. further below p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> See Wikander, *STK* 17 (1941) p. 232 f.

<sup>5</sup> See Edsman, *Le baptême de feu* pp. 190 ff.

<sup>6</sup> I refer to the well-known work by Dölger with this title.

<sup>7</sup> See Edsman, *Le baptême de feu* p. 191 f.

<sup>8</sup> See the text in Witzel, *KS* 6 p. 22: 22—25, esp. line 23: *ú ú-sar bur-gál-e g<sup>h</sup>er-in-na mu-ni-ib-sikil-e-ne*, "laid there plants, garden plants, twigs of cedar".

<sup>9</sup> I do not ignore the Old Test. conceptions which I have treated in my *King and Saviour*. They too are, however, ultimately dependent on the Mesopotamian myth and ritual pattern. I refer also to *Religionens värld*, p. 189 f., 192.

chaeen psalms, where we now have the Coptic  $\mu\alpha\pi\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\tau$ , is in itself seemingly from *ganūnu*, an Accadian loan-word in the Syriac language.<sup>1</sup> This term must have played a considerable part in the Mesopotamian glorifications of the *hieros gamos* ceremonies, which were connected with the royal feasts, e. g. the New Year festival and the enthronization rites.<sup>2</sup> With the last sentence we have again been brought back to the Mesopotamian origin of this complex of ideas and ceremonies. Thus, to take but one passage from such an ancient royal liturgy, we may quote the wish uttered by Išmē-Dagan when he is taking part in the enthronization ceremonies:

<sup>1</sup> The term "bride-chamber" is found in Mandaean literature as  $\text{ܡܢܚܘܢܐ}$ , the same word as the Syriac  $\text{ܡܢܚܘܢܐ}$ . The development  $g^n\bar{o}n\bar{a} > g^n\bar{a}n\bar{a}$  is anomalous, and Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* § 98 a p. 116, offers no explanation. Bezold, *Glossar* p. 100, however, gives also the forms *ganīnu* and *ginīnu* besides *ganūnu*. It is for that reason possible that the second, long vowel was indifferent, and that we had a fourth form too, viz. \**ganānu* which is now extant in the Mandaic *g'nānā*. This word is not met with in the wedding ritual, but as a compensation in Petermann, *R. Ginzā* p. 147 last line, in a scene of the nuptial feast. The Syriac and Mandaic words are taken by Zimmermann, *Akkadische Fremdwörter* p. 32, as "wahrscheinlich" loan-words from the Accadian *ganūnu*. It is tempting to advance a step further and in this word see a Sumerian loan-word from the Sumerian *gà-nun*. But the good Semitic etymology provided for *ganūnu* seems to prohibit such a proposition (which I had accepted in *Religionens värld*, p. 194 f.). For if we compare *ganūnu* with the root *gnn*, which is well attested in Semitic languages, a satisfactory sense seems to be obtained since the verbs from this root mean "to cover", "to shelter", "to protect". Then it is more natural to take *ganūnu*, "(sleeping) chamber", "bridal chamber", as well as *gannatu*, "garden", as derivatives from this root, as is actually done in Gesenius-Buhl, *Handwörterbuch* p. 145. It is rather tempting to derive the Arabic *ǧinn* from this root (its Semitic origin is demonstrated by the Ethiopic equivalent *gānēn*, see Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge* p. 63 with approval by Nyberg, *APAIMA* p. 358 n. 21. In this case the Arabian *ǧinān* and the Ethiopian *'agānent* would perhaps be the protective deities, and the intimate connexion between the *ganūnu* and the *gannatu*, the Syriac *g'nōnū* and *gann'tā*, would find a philological explanation corresponding to the ideological one ascertained in the course of this investigation. Is it further too far-fetched to assume that the Arabic *ǧānn*, "serpent", which also belongs here (see Nöldeke *op. cit.* p. 63) has been given its name because of its intimate association with the mythical garden, where it perhaps once was a protective divinity?

<sup>2</sup> I shall treat this myth and ritual complex in another work. For the time being cf. Widengren, *Psalms 110* p. 24 f., *Religionens värld* pp. 265 ff. and for the Israelitic-Jewish material *King and Saviour*.

*ga-nun-zi-mah sag-ma ha-ma- ni-in-gar* The holy, exalted bed chamber  
he may give me.

Witzel, *KS* 7 p. 58 Obv. II (1) 17.

We may also point out that as, according to the Chaldaean Breviary, Christ had nursed His bride with oil and water, so does Idin-Dagan before the *hieros gamos* anoint the goddess with oil and purify her with water (*KS* 6 p. 23).

In this place we may in addition also refer to Mandaean evidence. In the Mandaean ritual, too, the bridegroom is treated as "king", *malkā*, as Mrs Drowers lets us know. And we note with considerable interest that both he and his bride perform baptismal rites on the day for their wedding.<sup>1</sup> This fits well into the general scheme, and the Mandaean religion is thus on the same line as we have found in the ancient Mesopotamian cult and in the Nestorian church and Syrian Christianity on the whole.

Presumably the few remarks given in this chapter as to the Mesopotamian background of Manichaean purification ceremonies will suffice to explain the close connexion found in the Coptic psalms between the baptismal rites and the metaphor of the bridal chamber. At the same time we have seen that clear traces of this complex of myth and ritual conceptions have survived in Syrian Christianity. It seems that in this case the intermediary rôle played by the Syrian church in transmitting these ideas to the religion of the Manichees would be absolutely evident. For it is only in the Syrian church that the whole complex preserved its organic coherence and its dominating place, whereas in Manichaeism we find only some cursory allusions. On the other hand, the close association between baptismal rites and death, as we have already observed, points in the direction of the Mandaeans. Their baptism, again, is closely connected with ancient Babylonian purificatory rites, as Zimmern contended.<sup>2</sup> This whole

<sup>1</sup> See Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq & Iran* p. 62 and above p. 113 n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See Zimmern in *Orientalische Studien: Theodor Nöldeke . . . gewidmet* p. 959. Interesting comparisons of a definite value as to Christian baptism and the Babylonian purificatory ceremonies are given by Schrank, *Babylonische Sühnriten*, p. 70 f., only that he has not seen that these rites of purification obtain their real importance on condition that they are put in their setting in life in the royal ritual.

question, of course, requires a new investigation, in which first of all the old Mesopotamian enthronization ritual must be reconstructed and analyzed in order to provide the necessary foundation for future research in this department.

We promised to offer an explanation of the fact that the wedding hut was built as an imitation of the garden of paradise. In view of the data collected in this chapter the solution of the problem would presumably not be far away. As we have had an opportunity to ascertain, the bridal chamber of Adam was the paradise garden for it is said:

The glorified garden,  
the bridal chamber of chastity,  
He gave unto that king,  
fashioned from the dust.

Overbeck, *Ephraemi Syri . . . opera selecta*, p. 342 stanza 2.<sup>1</sup>

We are reminded here of the part played by the king as the gardener and the guardian of paradise, the garden where the Tree of Life was growing. We are constantly referred to the same myth and ritual pattern of the Ancient Near East.

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<sup>1</sup> The Syriac text is given above p. 24.



Tree of Life. That there is a close connexion between the two first actions, the exorcism and the baptism, need not be specially stressed, for in the baptism of early Christianity exorcism and baptism made up a complete unity, or rather, exorcism was one necessary part of the baptismal ritual. Why this actually *must* be so cannot be explained here.<sup>1</sup> But we ask also: is there any connexion, too, between baptism and eating from the Tree of Life? And what cultic reality does that mythical conception represent? In order to answer these questions we must first try to ascertain who in reality this Tree of Life usually designates in Manichaeism. There can be no doubt about the answer. Jesus is this Tree of Life. A Manichaean interpretation of the Christian Trinity says:

Jesus, the Tree of Life, is the Father:  
 the fruit, the Mind of Light, is the Son:  
 the Maiden, this sweet one, is the holy Spirit.

*Psalm-Book II p. 116: 7—9.*

In Iranian tradition Srōš (Sraoša) is this Tree of Life<sup>2</sup>, but in this case we really meet with a "co-translation".

Of greater interest it is that Mani himself has overtaken this epithet of Jesus, and can accordingly be called in the psalms "Mani, the Tree of Life, full of gay fruit" (*Psalm-Book II p. 80: 24*). Primarily, however, it is Jesus who in Manichaeism holds this position, for it is also said of Him that He is the "living wine", *i. e.* the Wine of Life.

Jesus, my true guard, mayest Thou guard me:  
 Firstborn of the Father of the Lights<sup>3</sup>, mayest Thou  
 guard me.

Thou art the living wine, the child of the true wine.

Give us to drink a living wine from Thy wine.

*Psalm-Book II p. 151: 4—7.*

Jesus alone has from the outset the right of being called the Tree of Life because He is the Wine of Life who gives to His

<sup>1</sup> This question requires a special investigation, which will be given in another work.

<sup>2</sup> See Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah* p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> For this designation of the Saviour see above p. 20.



Another passage emphasizes the antithesis between the two trees.

<p>         ܐܠܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܫܘܥܘܗ ܐܘܠܡܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ          ܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ          ܕܗܝܘܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ          ܕܗܝܘܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ       </p>	<p>         There came unto us in its love          the blessed tree.          The tree absolved the tree,          the fruit came to nought through          the fruit,          the death-bringing through life.       </p>
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Lamy, *Ephraemi Hymni et Sermones* II col. 807: 1.

Christ as the Tree of Life has blotted out the sin emanating from the eating of the tree in paradise. Christ is the fruit from Marjam who has frustrated Satan's deception of mankind in the shape of Adam and Eve who ate from the fruit. That is why Christ as Life has annihilated the death-bringing fruit. This thought is alluded to many times in the hymns of Aphrem (*e. g.* *Hymni et Sermones* II col. 517 ff.). 'This real Tree of Life abundantly gives its fruits to mankind.

The Tree of Life will satisfy thee and extend to thee its living fruits.

Burgess, *The Repentance of Niniveh* p. 180 (quoted from Bernard, *The Odes of Solomon* p. 65).

In some other instances, however, we find that the Tree of Life is identified with the cross on which Christ was crucified.

<p>         ܐܠܡܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ          ܕܗܝܘܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ          ܕܗܝܘܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ          ܕܗܝܘܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ       </p>	<p>         The Tree of Life is the cross          which gave a radiant life to our race.          On the top of Golgotha Christ          distributed life to men.          And henceforth He further promised us          the pledge of eternal life.       </p>
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Lamy, *Ephraemi Syri Hymni et Sermones* IV col. 769: 2.

The cross has opened the lost paradise to mankind.

<p>         ܕܗܝܘܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ          ܕܗܝܘܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ ܕܗܝܘܐ       </p>	<p>         The cross of Jesus hath opened          Eden which our sins kept closed.       </p>
---	---

ܠܘܟܠ ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ  
 ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ

And thenceforward went forth  
 a path filled with life.

Lamy, *Ephraemi Syri Hymni et Sermones* III col. 737: 2.

The *terminus technicus* for the Tree of Life is 'ilān ḥaiyē. It is interesting to note that there must exist a connexion between this Tree of Life which here is the cross, and the *pharmacum vitae* given by Christ. In the first place, let us stress the fact that the cross is a figuration of Christ as the Tree of Life. This is expressly stated in the following instance if we keep it together with the two just quoted.

ܕܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܢ  
 ܕܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܢ

Our Saviour typified His body in  
 the tree,  
 the one from which Adam did not  
 taste because he sinned.

Lamy, *Ephraemi Syri Hymni et Sermones* I col. 113: 18.

Accordingly, the cross is mystically interpreted as the Tree of Life from which Adam could not eat in paradise on account of his sin.

Christ as the Tree of Life and, at the same time, the wood of the cross seems to be spoken of in another hymn of Aphrem's.

ܗܝ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ  
 ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ

Extremely mournful was the Tree  
 of Life  
 when He saw concerning Adam  
 that he was hidden from Him.  
 In the virgin earth He plunged  
 and was hidden,  
 and He arose and shone forth  
 from Golgotha.

Rahmani, *Ephraemi Hymni de virginitate* XVI: 10 p. 49.

It is a common thought in the Syrian church that the body of Christ present in the Eucharist gives life to the communicants. It is well known that in this church after baptism the neophyte at once partook of the communion and was thought to be restored to paradise.<sup>1</sup> This idea has found a special expression in cult

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Bernard, *The Odes of Solomon* p. 74; Rahmani, *Testamentum Domini* p. 220 f.

practice in so far as the baptizands should bring nothing but one loaf of bread to the Holy Communion (ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ, Rahmani, *Testamentum Domini* p. 126: 5 ff.). The conception of the return to paradise is expressed many times in Syrian literature. We may quote Aphrem who says:

ܦܠܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܘܚܐ ܘܡܘܠܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ.	He openeth unto you His door, and maketh you enter Eden.
ܦܘܠܐ ܕܐܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܚܘܨܐ ܐܝܡ ܚܘܨܐ ܕܗܘܢ ܥܘܢ ܗܘܢ ܕܥܘܢܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ.	The fruit that Adam did not taste in paradise today is placed in our mouths with joy

Lamy, *Ephraemi Syri Hymni et Sermones* I  
col. 111: 10; col. 113: 17.

In another very interesting poem among his Paradise hymns the Syrian poet says:

ܘܥܘܕ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ.	The priest in the Gnosis of the Hidden one with the ephod entereth the sanctuary in the symbol of paradise and tasteth the Tree through the Mystery of Manifestation.
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●verbeck, *Ephraemi Syri . . . opera selecta* p. 349 stanza 7.

Here the comparison between paradise with the Tree of Life, on one hand, and the sanctuary with the elements of Holy Communion, on the other, is expressly drawn by Aphrem. The same thing is said by a writer living many centuries later, but conceivably not only in this respect preserving old ideas.

The entrance to the Holy of Holies signifies the entering into the Tree of Life from which Adam was prohibited.

*Moses bar Kepha, Expositor* 1911 p. 341.

We have seen that Aphrem addressing himself to the newly baptized alludes to the body of Christ as the substantial element





if only thoughts are directed to His vivifying power. We read *e. g.* in another of the Nisibenian songs:

ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲧⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ      The Medicine of Life entered Sheol  
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ      and vivified its dead.

Bickell, *Ephraemi Syri Carmina Nisibena* p. 63: 179 f.

Returning to our main theme we may appropriately quote a passage from a homily on Easter by Qurilyona where he makes Christ teach His disciples about the celebration of Easter.<sup>1</sup>

ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲧⲗⲁ	This day
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ	may be holy
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ	and blessed and comely
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ	more than all days.
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ	On it may be comforted
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ	all who are distressed.
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ	On it may be liberated
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ	all who are subdued.
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ	On it may be redeemed
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ	all who are afflicted.
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ	On it — further — may go out
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ	all who are imprisoned.
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ	On it may be consecrated
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ	the visible waters
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ	of baptism.
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ	On it — further — may be established
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ	baptism.
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ	On it may be born
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ	the perfect people.

<sup>1</sup> For Easter as the great feast of baptism see *e. g.* Baumstark, *Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr der syrischen Jakobiten*, pp. 247 ff. For the mystical interpretation of this fact see *Expositio officiorum ecclesiae*, CSCO Scriptorum Syri II Vol. 92 Versio p. 87 f., Textus p. 96 f.: "Why, when Our Lord was baptized on Epiphany, Iṣoyabh ordered baptism on the eve of resurrection" etc. Cf. also Casel, *Art und Sinn der ältesten christlichen Osterfeier* in *JLW* XIV (1934) p. 51.

صه بهللم	On it may be rejuvenated
هقلا بهلامه.	the old men who have grown old.
صه بههم ل	On it may the children on earth
حتلا طانحلا.	be many for me.
صه بهللم	And on it may be elevated
أبلا لانهلا.	mankind unto the height.

ZDMG XXVII (1873) p. 576: 509—533.

Leaving aside all other interesting topics in this hymn we only wish to lay stress upon one special passage.<sup>1</sup> It is said of the day of Easter:

On it may be rejuvenated  
the old men who have grown old.

By partaking in the Eucharist, here understood to be the medicine of Life, old men are rejuvenated. Every man who partakes of the plant, or fruit, of Life gains life in a very real sense of the word, being made young again. This conception perhaps carries us a step further, back to the popular eschatological beliefs in the Syrian church, especially found in the writings of Aphrem.<sup>2</sup> Here again we meet the idea of rejuvenation, but this time connected with the vivid pictures of the existence in paradise. There is one hymn quoted by Andrae which most aptly illustrates this conception.<sup>3</sup> Aphrem thinks that the gift of rejuvenation is distributed in paradise. But in the homily on Easter by Qurilyona we saw that even on earth people were able to be young again by participating in the Eucharist. There is, however, no real inconsistency in the two trends of thought. Even here on earth the Christians are partakers of the gift which is bestowed abundantly in paradise. As has

<sup>1</sup> Among other topics we note that baptism is thought of as being an elevation to heaven, a kind of *massagtā*, a conception with which we may compare, *int. al.*, the doctrine taught in Rignell. *Briefe von Johannes dem Einsiedler*, p. 16, where we actually find this term (أبلا). The most interesting topic is perhaps the liberation of the prisoners, a motif recurring in association with the coronation festivals, see Widengren *RoB* II (1943), p. 71 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, pp. 146 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Andrae, *op. cit.* p. 148.



ܘܗܘܝ ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ ܐܠܐ      And to him that overcometh I  
    shall give  
 ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ      to eat from the Tree of Life,  
 ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ      that which is in the para-  
    dise of God.

*The New Testament in Syriac, Book of Revelation 2: 7.*<sup>1</sup>

The word ܡܥܘܠܐ very often denotes the tree of the Cross, but in the Syriac translation of the Book of Revelation it is used of the Tree of Life throughout the book.<sup>2</sup> It is however specially interesting in this connexion to note the idea that Christ hanging on the cross is imagined to be the cluster of the true vine. This conception is brought to the fore in an impressive passage of one of the poems by Qurilyona.

ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ      This is the vine that giveth to  
    drink  
 ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ      to mankind so that they obtain  
    their lives.  
 ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ      This is the vine that through  
    its drink  
 ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ      comforteth the souls of the  
    mourners.  
 ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ      This is the vine that through its  
    wine  
 ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ      purifieth creation from iniquity.  
 ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ      It is the cluster that pressed it-  
    self out  
 ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ      at eventide in the upper chamber,  
 ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܒܪܝܢܐ      and gave itself in the cup to His  
    disciples

<sup>1</sup> For the Jewish background in this passage see Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis* p. 209. Bousset has, however, not seen that there is a cultic situation here. Christ as the Tree of Life is alluded to, whose bodily elements offered in the Eucharist are the fruits of this tree. For the expression "to overcome" see Bultmann, *Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mand. u. manich. Quellen*, in *ZNW XXIV* (1925) pp. 128 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The idea of the Cross as the Tree of Life is found, e. g., in Lamy, *Hymni et Sermones* IV col. 769: 2; III col. 737: 2; I col. 113: 18. It occurs already in Ignatius, *ad Trall.* 11: 2, for which see Schlier, *Religionsgesch. Unters. z. d. Ign. brief.* p. 108 n. 1.



of its roots<sup>1</sup>, and instead wish to emphasize the fact that the symbol of Christ as the Tree of Life with His bodily elements imagined to be the cluster of grapes hanging from the living vine and in this manner distributing Himself to His worshippers recurs in liturgical literature. From the liturgical homilies by Narsai we may quote two passages.

<p>                 ܘܡܢ ܡܕܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܘܡܢ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ                  ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ                  ܡܫܘܠ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ                  ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ                  ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ             </p>	<p>                 And while the Body and the Blood is                  being distributed to all receivers,                  the Church crieth out in honour of                  the Mysteries; and thus it saith:                  "Lo, the Medicine of Life!"             </p>
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Mingana, *Narsai . . . Homiliae et Carmina* I p. 29;  
 Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* p. 29.

It is important to note that during the distribution of the Eucharist the congregation thus states that in the Holy Communion it receives the very Medicine of Life. The other passage is also of special interest.

<p>                 ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ                  ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ             </p>	<p>                 By the hand that plucked the fruit                  in Eden wickedly,                  by the same He hath reached out                  to us the fruit of Life wisely.                  In Adam He cursed us and gave us                  for food to gluttonous Death;                  and by a Son of Adam He hath                  opened to us the spring of His                  sweetness.             </p>
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Mingana, *Narsai . . . Homiliae et Carmina* I p. 58;  
 Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* p. 58.

We need not especially point out how near the conception expressed in the last quotation agrees with some sayings from the works by Aphrem cited above.

The very realistic ideas of life connected with the symbol of the Medicine of Life or the Tree of Life (which are, as we have

<sup>1</sup> That the Johannine symbol of the grape-vine is the Tree of Life has been demonstrated by Schweitzer *EGO EJMI* pp. 39 ff. I shall revert to the question.

seen, completely identical) have been met with in the preceding pages. From later liturgical literature (which is very difficult to assign to a definite date) we may give the following quotation showing much the same conceptions.

Behold, the Medicine of Life, which descended from on high, is dispensed in the Church, and is hidden in the Sacraments, in the bread and wine. Put forth now your hands, O ye who are dying, and have taken up your abode in Sheol on account of our sins, take and be forgiven, and attain unto life, and reign with Christ, and sing and say: Alleluia, this is the Bread, of which if any man shall eat he shall escape hell.

Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals* II p. 167 f. § 2.

We have already found in Aphrem's *Carmina Nisibena* the name of Medicine of Life given to Christ descending into Sheol in order to liberate the imprisoned souls. In this liturgical section we see how the dying souls in Sheol are thought of as being restored to life by partaking of the Medicine of Life which is given to them in the Sacrament of the bread and wine.

From the liturgical commentary by George of the Arabs (d. 724) on the Jacobite liturgy we are able to quote a couple of passages demonstrating the uninterrupted continuity of these ideas.<sup>1</sup>

ܘܠܠܗܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ  
ܘܠܠܗܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ  
ܘܠܠܗܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ  
ܘܠܠܗܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ

The entry of the male into the Holy of Holies signifies the approach to the Tree of Life, from which in the beginning Adam was withheld by reason of the transgression of the commandment.

Connolly & Codrington, *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy* p. 1 (text), p. 15 (transl.).

As we are able to ascertain, this idea is nearly always expressed in so fixed wordings that we might be entitled to speak

<sup>1</sup> I have quoted one of these passages already in *Religionens värld*, p. 246, where the connexion with the royal ideology and the Mesopotamian pattern has been stressed.

of a formulated doctrine. We remind the reader of the identical passages in the works by Aphrem and Moses bar Kepha, which were given in the preceding.

In another passage this doctrine (or perhaps we should say dogma) which, as it would seem, is generally accepted in the Syrian church, is nearly completely summed up and formulated when the commentator says:

ܩܪܒܢܐ ܕܥܡܘܢܐ ܕܥܡܘܢܐ ܕܥܡܘܢܐ ܕܥܡܘܢܐ ܕܥܡܘܢܐ  
 ܕܥܡܘܢܐ ܕܥܡܘܢܐ ܕܥܡܘܢܐ ܕܥܡܘܢܐ ܕܥܡܘܢܐ ܕܥܡܘܢܐ

The altar signifies to us Emmanuel Himself, who is the Tree of Life. The bread and wine which are upon it (signify) the body of God the Word, wherein was blood also, and they are the fruits of the Tree of Life.

Connolly & Codrington, *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy* p. ܘ (text), p. 17 (transl.).<sup>1</sup>

Because of the material already adduced in the foregoing pages this passage needs no commentary. We only wish to stress the fact that the *mythical* ideas with which we are concerned in this chapter can without intermission be shown to have a fixed ritual setting in life.

The Syriac term *sam ḥaiiē*, the medicine of life, is properly the "medicinal plant of life", for *sammā* is the medical herb.<sup>2</sup> It is the same word as the Accadian *šammu*. This fact at once takes us back to the Accadian equivalent of *sam ḥaiiē*, i. e. *šambalāti*, the plant of life, and the important part played by this conception in Mesopotamian myth and ritual.<sup>3</sup>

We cannot enter here upon a discussion of the Mesopotamian ideas of the Tree of Life, but we only wish to emphasize the significant position held by them in the royal ideology.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the name of Emmanuel the editor compares Dionys. Areop. *De Eccles. Hier.* ch. IV.

<sup>2</sup> See Jensen, *KB VI* 1 p. 574, and Budge, *Syriac Book of Medicine II* p. 722, where a *sammā d'ḥewyā* is mentioned which is a gentian.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above p. 29 and below p. 156.

<sup>4</sup> See Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, pp. 25 ff., and Widengren, *RoB II* (1943) pp. 53 ff.

There is, however, a curious detail in the poem by Qurilyona which deserves a renewed examination, this time from an historical point of view. It was said there as to the day of Easter:

On it may be rejuvenated  
the old men who have grown old.

By partaking in the Eucharist, in this instance understood as the medicine of life, old people are rejuvenated. This conception recalls to our minds the curious name of the plant of life given to it in the Epic of Gilgamesh, *i. e.* "young becomes man as old", *šēbu išahir amēlu* (*Epic of Gilgamesh* ed. Thompson XI 281).<sup>1</sup> Thus, in the ancient Mesopotamian mythical designation of the plant of life, we find the same notion of rejuvenation expressed as in the homily by the Syrian-Christian poet.

To return to the Syriac texts, we may point to a passage in the *madhrāshā* on Paradise where with a somewhat bold combination of two metaphors Aphrem enounces the following exhortation:

ܐܘܠܢܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܐܘܠܢܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ    Come, let us cling to the Tree,  
ܘܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܘܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ    who gave us the Bread of Life.

Overbeck, *Ephraemi Syri . . . opera* p. 354: 6 f.

The adaptation of the symbol used in John 6: 35, 48 (51)<sup>2</sup> to the common image of the Tree of Life seems to point to the use of this expression as being nearly conventional. More concrete background is provided in a passage from another Syrian poet Isaac of Antioch when he says:

<sup>1</sup> It may deserve mentioning that the Syriac word *sābā* is the same word as the Accad. *šēbu*. The original meaning of the root is "to get grey hair", cf. Brockelmann, *Lex. Syriacum* p. 469 s. v. ܫܒܐ, "crines albi", and Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch* s. v. ܫܒܐ.

<sup>2</sup> In the last passage *ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ζῶν* is given in the Greek text, but else *ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς*. The Syriac text in *Evangelion Dampharreshē* correspondingly has ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ and ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ. The alternation is an instructive illustration of what has been stated above, p. 125. In view of the text given above in the exposition, the Aramaic expression originally used was presumably ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ (= Syriac ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ). The use of the word ܡܫܚܐ shows that the Cross is intended, for ܐܠܠܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ is an idiomatic phrase meaning "to be hung on the cross". Aphrem thus, in a way, plays with the verb ܐܠܠܐ in its association with the noun ܡܫܚܐ.

ܐܠ ܐܘܨܝܗ ܕܗܝܘܬܐ ܕܗܝܘܬܐ  
 ܕܗܝܘܬܐ ܕܗܝܘܬܐ ܕܗܝܘܬܐ  
 ܕܗܝܘܬܐ ܕܗܝܘܬܐ ܕܗܝܘܬܐ

Come, marvel at the Tree,  
 that groweth without watering,  
 and on which the fruit of Light hangeth.

Bickell, *Isaaci Antiocheni . . . opera* I p. 256: 141 f.

Mark the contrast to the Tree of Life in ancient Mesopotamian religion, the symbol of the 'Tammuz' god, who has not life without being watered with the water of life by the king in the royal cult.<sup>1</sup> Tammuz as the Tree of Life cannot grow without the ritual watering, for a well known text depicts the dying Tammuz as a withered plant which has not water to drink (Zimmern, *Tammuzlieder* No. 3: 16—25). The Syrian Christian conception is of special interest as offering both an illustration of the tenacity with which Mesopotamian ideas survived in the Syrian church and a striking example of the antithesis Christ—Tammuz. Christ is described as the Tree of Life and, accordingly, He has inherited the old Tammuz symbol, but at the same time He is felt to be infinitely superior to Tammuz.<sup>2</sup>

That, notwithstanding this passage, the Water of Life has played a considerable rôle in the mythical ideas of Syrian Christianity can nevertheless easily be proved, *e. g.* by a passage from the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles where Thomas exclaims:

ܐܠ ܐܘܨܝܗ ܕܗܝܘܬܐ ܕܗܝܘܬܐ  
 ܕܗܝܘܬܐ ܕܗܝܘܬܐ ܕܗܝܘܬܐ

But we speak of . . . the incorruptible food of the Tree of Life and of the Draught of Life.

Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*  
 p. 177 (text), p. 177 (transl.).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Widengren *RoB* II (1943) p. 53 f.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the fruit of Light, we refer to the Mandaean text quoted below, p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> For the translation of the difficult ܐܘܨܝܗ ܕܗܝܘܬܐ ܕܗܝܘܬܐ, see Wright, *op. cit.* 177 n. a. Note the realistic mode of expression! The Greek version in this section of the text has a rather different rendering of some value for our purpose giving

ἀλλὰ λέγομεν . . . περὶ τῆς ἀμύρου- But we speak of . . . the immortal food  
 ὠδου τροφῆς καὶ τοῦ ποτοῦ τῆς ἀμ- and the draught of the true vine.  
 πέλου τῆς ἀληθινῆς.

Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* II: 2 p. 154; James, *The Apocryphal Testament* p. 382.

This text shows, *inter alia*, that the true vine, Christ, is nothing but the Tree of Life.

The food of the Tree of Life and the Draught of Life, as Wright has observed, have their counterparts in the Hymn to the Daughter of Light where we read:

ܘܡܥܘܨܘ ܠܐܬܪ ܘܠܐ	And they shall praise the living
	Father,
ܘܦܚܠܘ ܠܘܗܘܐ ܘܠܘܗܘܐ	whose majestic light they have
	received,
ܘܠܘܗܘܐ ܘܠܘܗܘܐ ܘܠܘܗܘܐ	and have been enlightened by the
	splendour of their Lord,
ܘܦܚܠܘ ܠܘܗܘܐ ܘܠܘܗܘܐ	of whose supply they have re-
	ceived
ܘܠܘܗܘܐ ܘܠܘܗܘܐ ܘܠܘܗܘܐ	that never hath any corruption,
ܘܠܘܗܘܐ ܘܠܘܗܘܐ ܘܠܘܗܘܐ	and have drunk of the Life
ܘܠܘܗܘܐ ܘܠܘܗܘܐ ܘܠܘܗܘܐ	which maketh those who drink
	of it long and thirst.

Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* p. ܡܚܪ (text), p. 151 (transl.); Preuschen, *Zwei gnostische Hymnen* p. 15, 17.

The Greek version provides a rather different text, of which we will only quote the end.

οὐ τὴν ἀμβρωσίαν βρωσιν ἐδέ-	Whose immortal food they have
ξαντο	received
μηδὲν ὄλον ἀπουσίαν ἔχουσιν	that hath no corruption at all,
ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου	and have drunk of the wine
τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος	that giveth them neither thirst
καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν	nor desire.

Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* II: 2 p. 110 (text); James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* p. 367 f. (transl.).

Curiously enough, and contrary to what seems to be an almost general rule, the Syriac text in this section of the poem seems, on the whole, to have preserved more of the original wording.<sup>1</sup> We find here such Gnostic terms as Splendour, *zīwā* (cf. the

<sup>1</sup> The Armenian version, Preuschen *a. a.* p. 16, preserved in a fragmentary condition has advanced further toward a text that is completely watered down. It gives only:

<i>mek' camanesçuk' 'i harsanis erknawor</i>	We shall come to the heavenly wedding,
<i>ew arbçuk' zginin ura.rar.</i>	and drink the wine that maketh joyous.

Manichaeen and Mandaean texts), and Life, *ḥayyē*, as a divine hypostasis as well as a concrete matter to eat and drink. But what does it mean when we hear of the Draught of Life, or of the Life that is drunk? The Greek version has read *ἵνα* instead of *οἶνον*, thus getting "wine" instead of "life". That cannot help us in this case. We have rather to think of the well known passage 1 Cor. 12:13 where we read: *καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν . . . καὶ πάντες ἐν πνεύμα ἐποτίσθημεν*. This enigmatical saying has been combined by Reitzenstein with the words uttered by Jesus in John 4:14 and 6:32, 35. He says: "Beide Stellen (*i. e.* John 4:14 and 1 Cor. 12:13) wären erklärt, wenn sich im ältesten christlichen Ritual ein organischer Zusammenhang zwischen Taufe und Abendmahl erweisen liesse."<sup>1</sup> The material adduced here from the Syrian church shows that such an organic connexion is at hand at least in Syrian Christianity within and outside the "orthodox" church, but the complete demonstration why this simply *must* be the case can, of course, not be given in the present work.<sup>2</sup>

Accordingly we think that the drinking of Life, the Draught of Life, spoken of in the Acts of Thomas is the baptism which is mentioned together with the Eucharist, the food from the Tree of Life.<sup>3</sup> With this agrees the interpretation of certain

<sup>1</sup> Reitzenstein, *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe* p. 62 n. 2. The passage 1 Cor. 10:4 is to be compared, as also Lietzmann admits, *An die Korinther*, p. 63. In that case we have to do with the drinking of baptismal water as the draught administered in Holy Communion. For a bibliography on this question cf. Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, p. 165 n. 3 and p. 134 n. 1. For the time being, I refer also to my paper in *RoB V* (1946), *Den himmelska intronisationen och dopet*, pp. 28 ff. esp. pp. 49 f.

<sup>2</sup> I hope to be able to show in another work that in connexion with baptism and communion we find the survival of an ancient ritual of enthronization. For the time being, see the paper in *RoB V* (1946) esp. pp. 52 f.

<sup>3</sup> In this connexion we may refer to the praise of Christ (in a Eucharistic prayer!) in the Acts of John, ch. 109; Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* p. 66 (text), p. 64 (transl.).

For Thou art the Lord, who wast called the root of immortality  
and the fountain of incorruption, and the foundation of the Aeons.

The expression *ܕܠܗܘܘܬܗ* can also be translated as by Wright "the universe" (properly "the worlds"), but in view of the clear Gnostic surroundings in these acts it seems obvious that we should translate *ܕܠܗܘܘܬܗ* by "Aeon", which implies infinity both in room and time. For this translation of the

passages in the Odes of Solomon given by Bernard. We have *e. g.* the introduction to Ode 30.

<p>         ܩܠܘܢ ܡܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܕܗܝܘܢ          ܩܠܘܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܕܗܝܘܢ       </p>	<p>         Fill ye water for yourselves          from the living fountain of          the Lord:          for it hath been opened to you:          And come all ye thirsty and          take a draught,          and rest by the fountain of          the Lord.          For fair it is and pure;          and it giveth rest to the soul       </p>
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Harris & Mingana, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*,  
Ode XXX: 1—3.

Bernard has compared with this passage some verses from another Ode where we read:

<p>         ܩܠܘܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܕܗܝܘܢ          ܩܠܘܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܕܗܝܘܢ       </p>	<p>         And water of the Logos drew near          my lips          from the fountain of the Lord          plenteously.          And I drank and was inebriated          with the living water that doth          not die.       </p>
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Harris & Mingana, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*,  
Ode XI: 6—7.<sup>1</sup>

Syriac word cf. also the note by Nöldeke in Cumont, *Die orientalischen Religionen* p. 276 n. 109. The passage in the Acts of John just quoted has an interesting counterpart in the Mandaean liturgies.

Thou art the fountain, the great root of Life.  
 Thou art the First, thou art the Last.

Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien* p. 130: 11 f.

We note here the same association between the Water and the Tree of Life, and also the praise of Christ as an Aeon!

<sup>1</sup> For the translation see Lewy, *Sobria Ebrietas* p. 84.

In both these Odes we are obviously confronted with the water of Life, which in the 11th Ode is the water of Gnosis too. The water of Life is also the water of Wisdom.

The water of Life also meets in the 6th Ode:

<p>         ܢܥܡ ܕܢܗܪܐ          ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܢܗܪܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ.       </p> <p>         ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ          ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ.       </p>	<p>For there went forth a stream and became a river great and broad.</p> <p>All the thirsty upon earth were given to drink, and thirst was done away and quenched; for from the Most High the draught was given.</p> <p>Blessed then are the ministers of that draught, who have been entrusted with that water of His.</p> <p>For every one knew them in the Lord, and they lived by the water an eternal life.</p>
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Harris & Mingana, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*,  
Ode VI: 8, 11—13, 18.

It is worth observing that the cultic background, as Bernard contends, is proved by the Syriac term *ܕܥܘܠܡܐ*, which in the Coptic version has its counterpart in the Greek loan-word *διάκονοι*. We can agree with Bernard when he says that this word "may carry an allusion to the Christian deacons who administered baptism."<sup>1</sup>

That the Water of Life in the Odes of Solomon is especially thought of as being the Water of Wisdom is generally admitted.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that, through the mediation of Israelitic-Jewish

<sup>1</sup> Bernard, *The Odes of Solomon* p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> See the commentary given by Harris and Mingana, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon* p. 235 f., 367 f.

ideas, this conception ultimately goes back to ancient Mesopotamian mythical notions, although the historical evolution as yet remains rather obscure.<sup>1</sup>

The realistic understanding of the term and conception of Life found in the Syrian church is met with in the Odes too, as has been demonstrated long ago by Lindblom. From the Odes we may, above all, refer to the 18th Ode, v. 2 f.

ܐܠܚܡܗ ܘܥܘܩܒܗ	My members were strengthened
ܐܣܝܗ ܕܠܐ ܢܦܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܠܬܗ.	that they might not fall from His power.
ܫܚܘܢܗ ܕܡܝܢ ܥܝܢܝܗ ܘܫܘܒܗ ܡܢ ܥܝܢܝܗ.	Sickness removed from my body,
ܘܫܘܒܗ ܡܢ ܥܝܢܝܗ ܘܫܘܒܗ ܡܢ ܥܝܢܝܗ.	and it stood for the Lord by His will.

As Lindblom has shown, this notion of Life in the Odes represents the concrete meaning of health and freedom from sickness. "More explicitly, it cannot be said that the new life in the first place is understood in a physical meaning. It implies a liberation from bodily sickness and infirmity."<sup>2</sup> From the realistic idea of the import connected with "Life" we are carried back to the meaning of "Life" in the Johannine writings.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We may hint at the well-known fact that Ea who has the command of the water of life proceeding from Apsû by means of the use made in conjurations of this water is the god both of magic, wisdom and healing, see *e. g.* Dhorme, *Les Religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie*, p. 33 f. The missing link is, however, not yet analyzed.

<sup>2</sup> Translated by me from Lindblom, *Lifrets idé* p. 43. The same very concrete evaluation of the benefits provided by the sacraments is found *e. g.* in the doctrines of the Gnostic Menander who had a very high opinion of the vivifying power of the baptism in his own name, for it is said in Irenaeus I 23: 5 that by means of the baptism of him his disciples achieved a revival and were able to "*perseverare non senescentes et immortales*". Here again the idea of rejuvenation in eternity! May we in this connexion also recall the words of Didache X: 3 ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου, where the association of the elements of the Eucharist and eternal life would seem to point to the underlying idea that eternal life is given by means of the Holy communion? It is true that the kind of life given is not explained in greater detail, and for that reason the passage has not much to give except as an early testimony of the ideas connected with the distribution of communion.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lindblom *op. cit.* pp. 170 ff. and *Das ewige Leben*, p. 227 f., pp. 232 ff. See further especially Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, *e. g.* pp. 174 ff., 193 ff.



מיריאי אנא גופנא עלאנא דקאיים על פום פראש	Miryai I am, a grapevine, a tree that standeth at the mouth of Frash.
שאהפיא דעלאנא האליא וטונה דעלאנא מארגניא אופה דגיפנא זיורא ואלואתה נהורא יאקרא ריהה דרא בעלאניא	The leaves of the tree are gems, and the fruits of the tree pearls. The shoots of the vine are brightness, its vines precious light. Its fragrance is diffused among the trees,
ואזיל בכולהון אלמיא ארהויא ציפריא דאראר סירא בעלאנא עתיב סירא עתיב בעלאנא דבאיין ניקנון קינאיהון טאיסרא + בגארה ולאכאינביא	and it goeth out into all worlds. The birds of the air smelt it, a visiting party sat down in the tree. A visiting party sat down in the tree who wish to build their nest. They flutter around it and do not fix themselves on it.
מן אופה אכלין זירקא ומן גאיה שאתין האמרא.	From its shoots they eat the falling leaves, and from its inner part they drink wine.

Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch* p. 131: 14—132: 6 (text),  
p. 129: 19—130: 4 transl.).<sup>1</sup>

Note here that the description of the fruits, branches and leaves of this tree agrees with the words in the poem by Isaac of Antioch inasmuch as the fruit of Light is hanging on the Tree of Life.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the translation see the notes by Lidzbarski, *op. cit.* p. 85 n. 8 and p. 129. However, I think that *האליא* can be retained in this place and compared with the Syriac word *ܣܠܐ*, "sand", "gravel" — by Thompson, *Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry* p. 177, tentatively put to the Accad. *aban haltu*, "alunite stone". In that case it would in Mandaic have acquired the general meaning of "precious stone" and later "pearl". As to the difficult word *א-ע*, I put it with some hesitation to the Syriac *ܘܥܕܐ*, "visitation"; the vocal shift *a > i* has its counterpart in *ܘܥܕܐ* to *ܘܥܝܐ*, see Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* § 89 p. 101. For a similar description of the tree and the birds see Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq & Iran* p. 386 where a passage from an obviously late legend is related.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 140. Of course, in this expression there is also an allusion to Christ as a Being of Light, descended from the realms of Light.



We are reminded of the description by Theodore bar Kōnay how Jesus came to Adam and made him erect.<sup>1</sup>

The Saviour thought of as a grape-vine with healing powers, but, nevertheless, at the same time a person speaking enlightening words, this is an idea which can be attested, *e. g.* in a passage in *Ginzā*.

גופנא אנט גופאן הייא	A vine I am, the vine of Life,
עלאנא דכארבא ליתבה	a tree whereupon there is no lie.
עלאנא דתושביהתא	A tree of glory,
דכול מאן דארהאבה	from whose odour everyone is living.

היא	
כול מאן דשאמא שותה	Everyone who listeneth to its discourse,
אינה בנהורא עתמליא.	his eyes fill with light.

Petermann, *R. Ginzā* p. 65: 21—23 (text) =  
Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* p. 59: 39—60: 4.<sup>2</sup>

The Saviour will also bring the soul up to the heavenly vine outside the worlds.

עיאסקאד עהאויאך גופנא	I will bring thee upward and show thee
	the vine,
דקאיים לבריות אלמא.	that is standing outside the worlds.

Petermann, *L. Ginzā* p. 121: 24 f. (text) =  
Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* p. 573: 19 f.

This extra-mundane vine is spoken of in another passage, where it is given the names of Sām and Shar. The soul is said to be saved from the planets, and then the text goes on:

כול מאן דניתפאראק מינאיהון	Everyone who freeth himself from
	them,
ניסאק ניהזינון להייר רורביה	will ascend and behold the mighty
בשכינאחון	Life in its škinā.

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> With this text ought to be compared Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* p. 59: 15 ff., where the Apostle of Life, שזיהא דהייר, is called "the tree of glory" from whose odour everyone gets life exactly as in the text quoted. From this passage we conclude that the Vine of Life is also the Apostle of Life, *i. e.* the Messenger sent out by Life. For the term Apostle of Life, cf. above p. 21, 77. For the identity between the Saviour and the saved souls in *Ginzā*, p. 59: 15 ff., cf. the remarks by Ström, *Religion och gemenskap*, p. 157. For the text see Lidzbarski, *op. cit.* p. 59 n. 3, who accepts the reading א:א in Petermann, p. 65: 21.



from a comparison between the two texts cited.<sup>1</sup> The grape-vine that the soul is able to see at its *massiqtā* to heaven has its definite place in the world of Light. In a text relating the ascension of the saviour Shitil it is said:

<p>זיקיא זיקיא נאסבילה לשיתיל בר  אדאם  עודאמייא עודאמייא מדאברילה  ואסיק אקמוייה על מאטארתא  דשילמאי</p>	<p>Winds, winds took away Shitil,  the son of Adam,  storms, storms led him away,  made him ascend and placed him  near the watch-house of  Shilmai,</p>
<p>גאברא גאנזיברא דסיכיא דזיוא לניט  בערה</p>	<p>the man, the treasurer, who is  holding the pins of splendour  by his hand</p>
<p>ואקלידיא דכושטא על תרין דראייה  פתולה באבא דבית + גינזא</p>	<p>and the keys of Kushtā on (his)  two arms.  They opened for him the gate  of the treasure house,</p>
<p>דהאלולה בר גודא רבא דשרארא  ואייל מאהוילה האהו גופנא</p>	<p>lifted up for him the great curtain  of Truth,  brought him in and showed  him that vine</p>
<p>דנאוה זיוא וגאמבה נהורא  עקבה מיה ואופה עותריה</p>	<p>whose inner part is splendour,  whose sides are light,  whose heels are water, and  whose branches Uthras,</p>

<sup>1</sup> The bird as a symbol of the soul is a widespread conception. For Assyrian-Babylonian religion see such passages as the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, ed. Thompson VII col. IV 38, and the *Descent of Ishtar*, Obv. 10. In the Syrian church it is a common conception that souls are winged beings after death flying upwards to heaven. It may suffice to refer to such passages as the *mēmra* of the soul by Narsai, Mingana, *Narsai Homiliae et Carmina* II p. 17 and p. 15 (this homily is translated by Allgeier *ARW* XXI pp. 364 ff.). The poems by Aphrem and Balai also provide ample material in this regard. The same conception survives in Islamic eschatology, see Eklund, *Life between Death and Resurrection*, p. 16 f., who on p. 17 renders a tradition from Ibn Māga according to whom the spirits of the believers are green birds eating from the trees of paradise, thus a perfect analogy of our Mandaean text!

ולואתה פאסימניא דנהורא whose leaves are the lanterns of  
light,  
ובהזירא כאנא רבא דנעשמאתא. and whose seed is the great  
root of souls.

Petermann, *L. Ginzā* p. 8: 7—14 (text) =  
Lidzbarski, *Ginzā* p. 429: 3—11.<sup>1</sup>

The vine is accordingly situated in the heavenly treasure house, watched by the treasurer Shilmai.<sup>2</sup> The description of the heavenly vine recurs in the liturgies where we read:

סיגדית ושאבאתה להאך גופנא I glorified and praised this glo-  
rious, first Vine,  
רישא קאדמאיא whose inner part is water, whose  
branches are Uthras,  
דגארה מיה אופה עותריא whose leaves are the lanterns of  
light.  
ואלואתה פאסימניא דנהורא. In its shadow the Uthras are  
sitting,  
בטולה יאתבניא עוחריא. in the great, first cloud of light.

Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien* p. 72 XL: 4—73: 1.

The words by Lidzbarski seem very appropriate in this case: "Man sieht, wie sich die Grenzen zwischen Pflanze und Lebewesen verwischen".<sup>3</sup> Actually we have already seen how the Saviour in Mandaean literature is completely depicted as the grape-vine, and from the text last quoted it would appear that there is a very close and intimate connexion between the Saviour

<sup>1</sup> Lidzbarski takes this text as a prose composition. It is anyhow a rythmical structure of the language, and this section has close affinities to the liturgical text quoted immediately hereafter.

<sup>2</sup> The word "treasurer", ܫܝܠܡܝܐ, is a priestly title in Mandaean religion, see Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq & Iran*, pp. 169—174. For the same title in Manichaeism, Syrian Gnosticism, and Christianity see Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah*, p. 76, 78, 86 and add that M 11 Rev. 21 the *mānsārārān* of the Mother are called "treasurers", *ganzvarān*, see *MirM* II p. 33 (324) n. 3. From the writings by Aphrem we may refer to Lamy, *Hymni et Sermones* III, col. 703: 4, where we find ܫܝܠܡܝܐ.

<sup>3</sup> *Das Johannesbuch* p. 6 n. 2.

and the heavenly beings, the Uthras.<sup>1</sup> He is the grape-vine, and they are his branches. Or the souls are said to be fed upon his leaves and buds. From it they drink wine and exult. We are accordingly able to observe a definite relation between the vine, its branches, and the wine flowing from its grapes. This coherent association is of special value for our researches, as will be clear from the whole of this investigation.

The Saviour in the Mandaean writings makes his appearance not only as the Tree of Life, but also as the gardener bringing water to the precious plants, and to Miryai, who — as we have seen above — is the very Tree of Life. The Saviour in this passage is described as the white eagle, an ancient symbol of the King and Saviour in the Near East.<sup>2</sup> This Saviour says in a speech:

אתיה למיסרא למיריאי	I am come to heal Miryai
ומאשקויא מיא לשיחליא טאביא	and bring water to the good,
ויקיריא	precious plants,
גיפנא דקאימיא על פום פראש	the grape-vines standing at the
	mouth of Frash.
בדאולא היוארא דאלין	In a white bucket I draw
ומאשקין מיא לשיחלאי	and bring water to my plants.
סאבילנא ודאראנא	I carry and take
על דראיאי דזיוא דעתליא	by my arms of splendour and bring
	water.
סאבילנא ודאראנא ומאשקנא	I carry and take and bring water.
טובה דמן מיאי שתא	Blessed be he who hath drunk from
	my water!
שאתיאי ומייתאטיא ומייתקאיאם.	He drinketh and is healed and
	made firm.

Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch*, p. 135: 2—8 (text),  
p. 132: 12—18 (transl.).

<sup>1</sup> Concerning them see Lidzbarski, *Uthra und Malakha in Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke . . . gewidmet* pp. 537 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For the eagle as a symbol of the deity see Cumont, *Études Syriennes*, pp. 108 ff. As a symbol of the king of Babylonia the eagle is found in the Old Testament in Ezek. 17: 1—7. In Syriac literature the same symbolic expression is used of Christ, e. g. *Ephr. Op. Syr.* II 469 D and Wright, *Contrib. to the Apocr. Lit.* p. 21 (transl.). Possibly the enigmatical *hl*-bird in the Ras Shamra texts, see *Syria* 22 (1941) p. 110, interpreted by Virolleaud as the incarnation of the king is the same figure?

We observe here that the task of the Saviour is to bring water to his plantation in order that the plants may be healed and made firm (מִיִּתְקַאֲיָאֵם). It should probably not be out of the way to associate the last expression with the Mandaean terms for being baptized, alluded to in the preceding chapter.<sup>1</sup> Anyhow, we see that the plantation of Life<sup>2</sup> cannot have existence without the Saviour giving it water to drink, just as we are able to state when quoting another Mandaean text, where the connexion between the plantation and the living water, the Water of Life, is perfectly clear. The Saviour says in this text that he has come into the world in order to plant the plantation of Life, and then goes on saying that living water was brought

[מִיִּתְקַאֲיָאֵם] לְמִיִּתְקַאֲיָאֵם in order to plant [pompous plants]  
 וּמַאֲשַׁקִּינֵן מִיָּא דִּיִּיא. and give them living water to drink.

Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch* p. 237: 16 (text),  
 p. 219: 10 f. (transl.).<sup>3</sup>

Summing up the Mandaean evidence, we may accordingly state that this literature contains the conception of the Tree of Life as no one but the Saviour himself. This Tree of Life has healing powers, and from it human souls eat and drink in order to get a share in its salubrious potency. The Tree of Life is mostly described as a grape-vine, but there are other descriptions showing a more enigmatical plant the appearance of which indicates an artificial origin with leaves that are gems and pearls as fruits. The Saviour has not merely the more passive aspect of the Tree of Life, the grape-vine from which human souls eat and drink. He is also the gardener giving the Water of Life to this Tree of Life and the whole plantation of Life to drink. He has thus also an active aspect. This active aspect of the Saviour is stressed through the conception that he has the power of healing, being the vine, "that is entirely healings". This reminds us of the fact that the medicine of Life, moreover thought of as the very Tree of Life, in the Syrian church was said to possess even healing powers. From the poem by Isaac of Antioch we

<sup>1</sup> See above pp. 123 f.

<sup>2</sup> See above pp. 18 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The supplementary additions are those given by Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

are able to conclude that the Eucharist is the true "healing", **اهل**. The Odes were not so explicitly cultic in this regard, but the notion of healing from even bodily sickness was clearly brought to the fore in this poetry, as we had ample opportunity to ascertain.

To return to the Manichaean material, which by now we have nearly lost sight of, we may in this connexion find place for a quotation from *Fihrist*, where Mani is praised in the following manner:

مستبح انت ايها النير ماني هاديننا	Praised be thou, o shining, Mani, our guide,
اصل الضياء وغصن الحياة	root of enlightenment, branch of Life,
الشجرة العظيمة التي هي شفاء كلها.	mighty tree that is entirely healings.

Flügel, *Mani* p. 65 (text), p. 96 (transl.);  
*Fihrist* ed. Flügel p. 333.<sup>1</sup>

The expression met with here, "that is entirely healings", is the same that we found as an old liturgic formula in the Mandaean writings. Behind the isolated Manichaean phrase we may accordingly assume an old Mesopotamian cultic prayer-formula. It is also of considerable interest for our investigation to note that also Manichaean religion has preserved the conception of the healing powers of the Tree of Life.

That the Mandaean conceptions, which fit in very well with the corresponding Syrian Christian (as well as with the Johannine doctrines<sup>2</sup>), are to be traced back to a Mesopotamian origin,

<sup>1</sup> For the translation of the text cf. Flügel, *op. cit.* p. 307 n. 236, where he has corrected his translation given on p. 96. The agreement between the Manichaean and Mandaean formulas has been stated also by Schweizer, *EGO EIMI*, p. 42 n. 238. I cannot share his opinion as to a supposed Iranian origin of this conception of the healing powers of the Tree of Life because there is a perfect continuity in Mesopotamia with reference to this idea. It has survived also in Chinese Manichaean literature where, moreover, we find the Tree of Life also in the shape of a tree with gems, see *W. L.* I p. 30!

<sup>2</sup> For the Johannine conceptions of the Saviour as the grape-vine, and the ideas of the plantation of God, I refer to the work of Schweizer, *EGO EIMI*, and Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes* pp. 406 ff.

has been demonstrated in an earlier work.<sup>1</sup> In Assyro-Babylonian literature and religion we find exactly the same ideas, and this time in a fixed ritual setting. The Mandaean description of the Tree of Life with its fruits and leaves consisting of gems and pearls has its perfect counterpart in the Epic of Gilgamesh (ed. Thompson p. 52 col. V 48—51). The healing powers of the plant of Life in Mesopotamian myth and ritual have already been alluded to.<sup>2</sup> The Tree of Life represented in the cult by a conventionalized tree of a highly artificial character is the symbol of the "Tammuz" deity, and has the power of providing life and health to worshippers. In cultic ceremonies the king acts as the representative of this divinity, but at the same time he also appears as its active aspect, giving it the Water of Life to drink from a bucket which he carries in his hand. In this function he fulfils his duty as the Gardener, the ritual representative of the mythical Gardener Tagtug, who is the Primal Man and Primordial king living in the paradise of Dilmun. In this paradise, situated between the "Two Rivers", the Tree of Life grows; but this mythical aspect has its corresponding equivalent in the ceremonies of the temple-cult. Every sanctuary would seem to have had its sacred grove, the ritual counterpart of the paradise where the Tree of Life is growing at the mouth of the Water of Life, *i. e.* the Euphrates (and we have seen that this is the case also in Mandaean conceptions). Here the king, acting as the incarnate Saviour, gives the divine Tree of Life to drink of the Water of Life, thus revivifying its dead power. We must also emphasize the close connexion between the Tree of Life and the Water of Life. This association is found not only in the ritual, which is, of course, always nothing but a visible expression of mythical notions, but also in these very mythical conceptions, according to which the Tree of Life is watered by the Water of Life streaming forth from the rivers of paradise. Hence, the Water of Life is especially the water of the Euphrates, a statement of value for the analysis of later baptismal sects in Mesopotamia.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *RoB* II (1943) p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Concerning this question see, for the time being, my paper in *RoB* V (1946) p. 31.

The Garden (of Life) understood metaphorically as the Manichaeian community is found in M 36 V 19—20, see *MirM* II p. 35 (326) where Henning, n. 8 from M 11 R, quotes a phrase showing that the bishops are called "the keepers of the well-cultivated garden". The connexion with the corresponding Mandaean and Johannine Christian ideas seems quite clear. It is the ancient Mesopotamian conception of the Garden of Life as the plantation of God with the king as its gardener which is still surviving in Manichaeian literature.

Concluding our remarks on the rôle played by the Tree of Life in Manichaeian, Mandaean, and Syrian-Christian religions, we are thus able to state that there is one and the same complex of mythic-ritual ideas underlying their common conceptions in this respect. This complex goes back to the ancient Mesopotamian myth and ritual pattern. But we cannot conceal our impression that this pattern seems to have attained the richest development in Christianity with its fully developed sacramental piety. As to the conceptions of the Tree of Life, we are therefore more inclined to see in this idea of Manichaeism an influence from Christian environment in Mesopotamia than from the survival of indigenous religious ideas in Mesopotamian baptismal sects. This is, of course, only a hypothesis, but might have some probability speaking in favour of it.

## CHAPTER X.

### The Epithets of the Saviour.

Among the many names given to the Saviour in Manichaean hymns we have already in the previous chapter treated that of the Tree of Life. In this concluding section we only wish to direct attention to some few more attributes where the Mesopotamian background is sufficiently clear.

As we have just spoken in the preceding pages of the healing powers ascribed to the Saviour as the Tree of Life, we may appropriately say some words of the Saviour as the Physician.<sup>1</sup> We may quote the following passage where the situation seems to be that personified Matter (ϩλη) supplicates the Saviour for healing.

I heard the cry of a physician,  
the cry of an exorcist coming to [me].  
[I] heard the cry of a physician  
healing his poor ones(?),  
He standeth, he healeth his beloved ones(?),  
perfecting all his believers.  
O Exorcist(?), heal me, loose my [bonds(?)]!  
Heal me(?), o charm-looser, for thy healing is not [of the earth]!  
Thy cures are not of this world.  
Thy healing is of the land of the Living ones.

*Psalm-Book* II p. 220: 26—221: 3.

The description of the Saviour as both a physician, ϩϩϩϩ, and an exorcist, properly a "charm-looser", ϩϩϩϩϩ, agrees exactly with the scene of Jesus coming to the demon-possessed Adam and liberating him from the demons. In this case we assumed that Jesus was here depicted as an exorcist much after the pattern of Marduk, the healer-god of Mesopotamia. The prevalence

<sup>1</sup> See *W. L.* I, p. 37 f.: *MirM* II p. 22 (313) with n. 5.

of the word "exorcist" in the Coptic psalms shows that our analysis of the narrative by Theodore bar Kōnay was correct. It will also be clear from these psalms, as well as from the Iranian hymns, that the epithet of Physician was a very common one ascribed to the Saviour.<sup>1</sup> That the term Physician is also the designation of the Mandaean Saviour, is only what could be expected since also in this religion his healing powers are glorified in his character of the Tree of Life.<sup>2</sup>

Early Syrian Christianity knows the name of Physician for the Saviour. In the sequel of the already cited saying concerning the bites of the mad dogs<sup>3</sup> Ignatius says:

There is one Physician, of flesh and of spirit.

Ignatius ad Ephes. 7:2.

In the Syrian church we might style this epithet a standard designation of Christ.<sup>4</sup> From the poems by Narsai and Balai we may give some illustrations of this idea.

ܩܘܼܠܼܘܼܢ ܕܢܘܼܫܼܐܼܢܼܐ ܕܢܘܼܫܼܐܼܢܼܐ ܕܢܘܼܫܼܐܼܢܼܐ  
 ܕܢܘܼܫܼܐܼܢܼܐ ܕܢܘܼܫܼܐܼܢܼܐ ܕܢܘܼܫܼܐܼܢܼܐ  
 ܕܢܘܼܫܼܐܼܢܼܐ ܕܢܘܼܫܼܐܼܢܼܐ ܕܢܘܼܫܼܐܼܢܼܐ  
 ܕܢܘܼܫܼܐܼܢܼܐ ܕܢܘܼܫܼܐܼܢܼܐ ܕܢܘܼܫܼܐܼܢܼܐ  
 The sick, the fallen, and the weak,  
 their disease handled the Physician  
 and brought the medicine to their  
 wounds.

Feldmann, *Syrische Wechsellieder* p. 28: 10 (text),  
p. 44: 10 (transl.).

The typical combination between sickness and sin, found in the Ancient Near East as early as in the Sumerian-Accadian and Israelitic psalms of lamentation<sup>5</sup> is met with also in the Syrian church as in this example:

ܕܢܘܼܫܼܐܼܢܼܐ ܕܢܘܼܫܼܐܼܢܼܐ ܕܢܘܼܫܼܐܼܢܼܐ  
 ܕܢܘܼܫܼܐܼܢܼܐ ܕܢܘܼܫܼܐܼܢܼܐ ܕܢܘܼܫܼܐܼܢܼܐ  
 The good Merciful one  
 brought Himself down to earth

<sup>1</sup> See *Psalm-Book* II, Index s. r. cēne.

<sup>2</sup> See the indexes of Lidzbarski's publications, *Mandäische Liturgien* and *Ginzā*.

<sup>3</sup> See above p. 68 n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> For this designation see e. g. Ott, *Die Bezeichnung Christi als Ιατρος*; Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung* I pp. 139 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See e. g. Widengren, *Psalms of Lamentation* pp. 165 ff.

ܒܥܝܢܝܘܢ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ  
 ܡܢ ܩܪܝܢܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ  
 ܘܗܝܠܝܘܢ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ  
 ܘܡܫܚܝܘܢ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ.

Zetterstéén, *Beitr. z. relig. Dichtung Balai's* p. ܕ LVII (text),  
p. 33 LVII (transl.).

In this poem we also recognize the ancient Mesopotamian-Israelitic idea that sickness is caused by impure demons.

In a compendious form the association of sin and disease is clearly expressed in a passage from the same collection.

ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ  
 ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ  
 ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ  
 ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ.

Zetterstéén, *Beitr. z. relig. Dichtung Balai's* p. ܕ V (text),  
p. 37 V (transl.).<sup>1</sup>

In a perhaps more allegorical form the same similitude is used in the alternative songs by Narsai when he says:

ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ  
 ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ.

Feldmann, *Syrische Wechsellieder* p. 27: 1 (text),  
p. 43: 1 (transl.).

The Manichaean psalms contain the epithet of Physician coupled with the idea of the medicine of Life. As an illustration, we may quote a prayer to the Saviour.

<sup>1</sup> "The Good" is very common as a designation of God in the Syrian church. Have we to do in this case with an inheritance from Gnostic circles such as the followers of Marcion? In Mandaean writings, too, this term is found very frequently, see the indexes in Lidzbarski's publications s. v. "Der Gute".



No. 15 and 16), and must for this reason be held to be one of the oldest in Mandaeen literature as to external evidence of date. As the formula seems to have been of a certain importance and of general use in magic inscriptions we may give a quotation from its context.

אנאת אסיה	Thou art the Physician
+ דמאסיה נישמאתא	who healest the souls by means of the
במלאלא.	word.
אסיה לוטאתא	Heal the maledictions
דלאטויא ליאזיד בר	wherewith they have cursed Yazid, son of
שישין.	Shishin!

Pognon, *Inscriptions Mandaites* p. 44: 8—10  
(using the parallel ib. p. 51: 19).

With this formula of prayer we ought to combine a predication in the Liturgies.

אסיה דסאמה מיה	O Physician, whose medicine is the water,
אתא לראהמאך הוילון	come, be a physician to thy friends!
אסיה.	

Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien* p. 108: 5—6.

From these two passages we may accordingly conclude that among the Mandaeans the Saviour was thought of as a physician who healed such sick persons as were cursed by their enemies, by means of the water and his word, and was in this way able to render inefficacious the maledictions pronounced by their adversaries owing to which they had been possessed with the demons causing them sickness and other evils on account of their sins.<sup>1</sup>

These conceptions have their equivalents in ancient Mesopotamian culture and religion. The incantation priest who personified the healer-god Marduk<sup>2</sup> used together with his incantation formulas purification ceremonies in which he made use of water from *apsū*, "the House of Wisdom"; and by this pure water, the Water of Life<sup>3</sup>, he was able to heal the sick and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the incantation formulas in the works by Pognon, *op. cit.*, Lidzbarski, *Ein mandäisches Amulett*, Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. Dhorme, *Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie* p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> See above p. 140.



find the notion of the Saviour god as a physician healing the sufferer by the use of water and efficacious formulas.

Accordingly, *via* the Mandaean religious and magical literary documents we are again brought back to Mesopotamian religion, and for this reason we have to face the problem: What remains to be said about Syriac Christian texts as witnesses of the Christian conception of the Saviour as the Physician healing sinners and sufferers from the possession by evil demons who cause them various diseases and hold them fettered in their sins?

Presumably this problem cannot be solved in any other way than by assuming a strong Mesopotamian influence on Syrian Christianity, an influence preserving the idea that the Saviour is the Physician. The Old Test., early Judaism, and the New Test. could, of course, be adduced to furnish us with evidence of the propagation of the idea that sickness is caused by the possession by demons who are exorcised. In this case, however, where the very Mesopotamian background is evident from the association of exorcism with purification ceremonies in order to save sinners from the possession by demons, it may nevertheless be convenient to leave this material aside. Only in Mesopotamian culture do we get the obvious explanation of the Saviour's being called the Physician of Souls.

Intimately bound up with this appellation is another epithet, "the Raiser from the dead".<sup>1</sup> From one of the Manichaean hymns in Middle Iranian language we may quote a typical passage.

<i>dryst 'wr bwxt'r 'y wrdg'n</i>	Hither for health, o Saviour of the fettered,
<i>w bšyħk 'y xst'n.</i>	and Physician of the wounded!
<i>dryst 'wr wygr's'g 'y xwft'n</i>	Hither for health, o Awakener of sleepers
<i>[w 11]gžyn'g 'y xwmryn'n</i>	and Shaker of the drowsy
<i>[x]yzynd'r 'y mwrđ'n.</i>	who art the Raiser of the dead!

M 28 R I 26—31 = *MirM* II p. 22 f. (313 f.).

And we know that a Manichaean fragment in the Pārsīk dialect, M 371, speaks of "the Lifegiver of the dead", *zīndakkar ēy murdān*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For this epithet in Manichaean hymns in the Middle Iranian language see *W. L.* I p. 21 f. and p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> See *W. L.* I p. 22.

This notion of the Saviour as the Lifegiver is, of course, well attested in Syriac literature from which we will only give a few quotations. Thus *e. g.*, it is said in the poems of Balai:

ܘܚܝܘܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܘܥܠܡܝܢ ܘܥܠܡܝܢ  
ܘܥܠܡܝܢ ܘܥܠܡܝܢ ܘܥܠܡܝܢ

He vivified the dead,  
and healed the paralytic.

Zetterstéen, *Beitr. z. relig. Dichtung Balai's* p. LX.<sup>1</sup>

And in Syriac poems we also find the exact equivalent of the Manichaean expression "Lifegiver of the dead", for there we meet with the designation of the Saviour as ܘܚܝܘܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ (Feldmann, *Syrische Wechsellieder* p. 20: 33). We may also briefly refer to the fact that the term for "Saviour" in Syriac is actually Lifegiver, ܘܚܝܘܢ<sup>2</sup>, the same name as that used in Mandaean, ܡܢܐܪܝܐܢܐ.<sup>3</sup>

The strong emphasis laid on the Saviour's character of Lifegiver reminds us of the corresponding conception in Mesopotamian religion. There the name of *muballitu*, Lifegiver, is exceedingly common as an epithet of the divinity.<sup>4</sup> We have especially to note that the Manichaean and Syrian-Christian phrase "the Lifegiver of the dead" has its perfect counterpart in the well-known Accadian *muballit miti*.<sup>5</sup>

Another name of the Saviour's which is very common in Manichaean texts is "Light". It is nothing but natural that the Saviour, who is the representative of the Good Principle, should be the incarnation of Life and Light. As to the designation of Jesus in Manichaean literature as the Light, or the Shining One, the Bright One, the Splendent One, etc., the material collected by Waldschmidt and Lentz may be referred to.<sup>6</sup> In this place, however, we want to point to a more special epithet of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *ib.* p. ٣٠ XXX.

<sup>2</sup> See Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum s. v.*

<sup>3</sup> See Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, § 116 p. 138. In the Syriac version of the Acts of Thomas published *Horæ Semiticæ* 3, the Apostle is said to be ܘܚܝܘܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ (p. 19 V col. b l. 14 f.). In the ordinary version it is God who is proclaimed the "Life-giver of the Souls" (ed. Wright p. ܘܚܝܘܢ)!

<sup>4</sup> See Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* p. 67 f.

<sup>5</sup> See Tallqvist *op. cit.* p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> See *W. L.* I p. 36.



origin of the epithet given to the Manichaean Saviour is perfectly evident.

We come now to the most interesting, and perhaps also the most important of the titles given to the Manichaean Saviour, *viz.* the "Messenger". It is well known that Mani gave that name to the third emanation, evoked ultimately from the Father of Greatness. Mani apparently called that figure "the third Messenger"<sup>1</sup>, which by implication indicates that both the First Man and the Living Spirit are also regarded as Messengers. The word used in Syriac is ܡܨܘܠܡܐ, for which an older form, ܡܨܘܠܡܐ, is found in other Syriac texts.<sup>2</sup> The cyclic revelation of the true religion is entrusted to such Messengers as are sent out every one to his own people and to his own generation.<sup>3</sup> In this way Mani counted three Messengers before him, *in toto* accordingly four. But all these Messengers are but incarnations of one and the same being, the heavenly Messenger who is the Saviour *de préférence*.<sup>4</sup>

The Manichaean term and conception of the Messenger have their counterpart in the Mandaean word (*a*)šgandā, actually the same word as 'izga(n)dā.<sup>5</sup> We have already seen that in Mandaean writings the Saviour is given the title of Apostle,<sup>6</sup> a title very frequent in Manichaean literature too.<sup>7</sup> Both in Manichaean and Mandaean religion Apostle and Messenger are syno-

<sup>1</sup> See Cumont, *Recherches*, I p. 34. For the figure of the Messenger see also Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah*, Topical Index s. v. Messenger. For the ordinal number "third" cf. also the passage in the Baruch-book by Justinus: "The father Elohim . . . sent forth his third angel Baruch to the help of the Spirit which is in all men", Hippolytos, *Refutatio* V 26, 21. Also in this case the active Saviour who brings about definite salvation is the third Messenger. The Greek term ἄγγελος used here presumably goes back to the Aramaic word ܡܨܘܠܡܐ (Syriac ܡܨܘܠܡܐ), which means both "messenger" and "angel".

<sup>2</sup> See Widengren, *op. cit.* p. 21 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See, above all, al-Birūnī, *Chronologie*, ed. Sachau p. 207 (text), Sachau, *Chronology*, p. 190 (transl.); also quoted by Flügel, *Mani* p. 317.

<sup>4</sup> See *e. g.* Widengren, *op. cit.* pp. 33, 64 ff. where the Iranian background is emphasized; Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, p. 30, and Schaeder, *Urform und Fortbildungen*, p. 102 f., both of whom are quoted Widengren, *op. cit.* p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> See Widengren, *op. cit.* p. 21 n. 2, and cf. p. 80.

<sup>6</sup> See above pp. 21, 77.

<sup>7</sup> See Widengren, *op. cit.* Topical Index s. v. Apostle.



That in this Epiclesis the Divinity invoked is the maternal Spirit of God has long been understood.<sup>1</sup> What we are especially concerned with in this prayer is the fact that, while in the previous passage it was Christ who was given the title of Messenger, in this section it is the Divine Mother conceived as the Spirit that receives the same epithet. In the same Epiclesis in its Greek version it is again apparently another divine person that is called Messenger. This passage runs as follows:

ἐλθὲ ὁ πρεσβευτῆς τῶν πέντε μελῶν, νοῦς ἐννοίας φρονήσεως ἐνθυ- μήσεως λογισμοῦ, κοινωνήσον μετὰ τούτων τῶν νεωτέρων·	Come, Messenger <sup>2</sup> of the five members, mind, thought, reflection, con- sideration, reason, communicate with these young men.
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Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* II 2 p. 142 f. (text),  
James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* p. 376.

The Greek terms, as Burkitt says, "are clearly the equivalents"<sup>3</sup> of *haunā*, *madd<sup>e</sup>ā*, *re'ānā*, *maḥṣabtā*, *tar'ūtā*.<sup>3</sup> We are now also in the position to see how the Syriac version in its present form has been changed from its original shape.<sup>4</sup> The Greek text shows that from the outset the Messenger in this case is the Nous, the Mind including the five faculties of reasoning as aspects of the Mind. As has been stated, nothing forbids the Mind's being conceived of as feminine gender.<sup>5</sup>

In the cases hitherto adduced we have met with both a purely Divine being, the Mother, and a Divine as well as Earthly being, Jesus Christ. But we find also that a purely earthly being (from

<sup>1</sup> I refer to the commentary given by Bornkamm, *Mythos und Legende*, pp. 89 ff., who explains the various names used in this prayer.

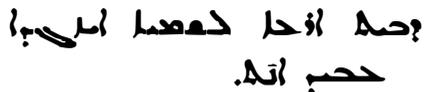
<sup>2</sup> The emendation of *πρεσβύτερος* into *πρεσβευτῆς* was first suggested by Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 235, and accepted by Cumont, *Recherches* I, p. 58 n. 3, and Burkitt in James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 378.

<sup>3</sup> Burkitt in James, *op. cit.* p. 378.

<sup>4</sup> The first four "members" have been blotted out, and ܡܘܨܝܐ has been changed into ܡܘܨܝܐ.

<sup>5</sup> Burkitt in James, *op. cit.* p. 378, and Bornkamm, *op. cit.* p. 100, who says of the Mother: "sie selbst kann als der Bote der fünf Verstandesglieder angerufen werden."

our viewpoint seen) is called Messenger. As a typical example, we may refer to a situation depicted in the Doctrine of Addai when the Apostle Addai came to Edessa. The people were (are) then reporting his arrival with these words: "Behold, the Messenger has come and dwells here",  (Phillips, *The Doctrine of Addai* p. 9 (text), p. 6 (transl.). This saying shows that the preacher of the gospel who is the Sent one, *i. e.* the Apostle, can consistently be styled Messenger, because, as we already mentioned, Apostle and Messenger are alternative terms for the Saviour who has "come" into the world,<sup>1</sup> or is "sent" down into material existence. Jesus in a long, very interesting speech containing some of the topics treated in this investigation is addressed in the following words:

 Who wast made the Messenger between earth and heaven.

Bedjan *AMS* 2 p. 71: 4.

In the sequel it is, typically enough, spoken of His descent and His ascension, His showing help to those who descend with Him and His revealing the crown of victory to those who ascend with Him.

In other words, there are above all two technical terms for the Saviour indicating his "being sent", *viz.* Apostle and Messenger. These names can, therefore, without any discrimination be given to the Divine being sent down from on high, or to the earthly representative of this Saviour, and this both in Manichaeism and Mandaicism, on one side, and Christianity in its more Gnostic colouring, on the other.

And now to the Mesopotamian background of the term Messenger. As has been pointed out in another connexion<sup>2</sup> the words *'izga(n)dā* and *(a)šgandā* are merely loan-words from the Accad. *ašgandu*, in itself a Sumerian loan in Accadian. As to the conception of the sending out of a Saviour to mankind, it can in Mesopotamia be traced back to the royal ideology with its demo-

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the term "coming" see Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah*, Topical Index, *s. v.* "coming" of the Apostle, and add a reference to Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes* p. 30 n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See Widengren, *op. cit.* p. 21 n. 2.

cratized offshoots in priestly circles. We may, for instance, quote a passage from the Shamash texts.

<i>mār šip-ri ša <sup>D</sup>E-a a-na-ku</i>	I am the Messenger of Ea.
<i>a-na bul-luṭ a-me-lu mut-tal-li-ki</i>	In order to give life to straying mankind
<i>iù-a-ti iš-pur-ra-an-ni</i>	he hath sent me.
<i>ša <sup>D</sup>E-a iš-pur-ra-an-ni ú-ša-</i> <i>an-na-ni</i>	What Ea hath sent me to, he hath announced to me.

Schollmeyer, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete*  
p. 31 II 2 ff. (text), p. 38 II 1 ff. (transl.).

As has already been stated in another work, the words spoken by the priest in this case are legitimate only in the mouth of the king.<sup>1</sup> On his enthronization the king is sent out to his people in order to carry out the commission entrusted to him by the High God, his father.<sup>2</sup>

With the "self-predication" in the Shamash text we may compare a typical address in the Acts of Thomas.<sup>3</sup> Here the predication is directed to the Apostle himself in the following words:

ܘܢܝܢܘܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܠܝܝܢܐ	O Twin of Christ, and Apostle
ܕܥܠܝܝܢܐ	of the Most High,
ܘܫܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ	and sharer in the hidden word
ܕܗܝܘܢܐ	of the Life-giver,
ܘܩܒܠܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܠܝܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ	and receiver of the secret mys-
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܠܝܝܢܐ	teries of the Son of God...
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܠܝܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܠܝܝܢܐ	Thou Kinsman of the great
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܠܝܝܢܐ	race
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܠܝܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܠܝܝܢܐ	that condemneth the enemy
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܠܝܝܢܐ	and redeemeth his own,
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܠܝܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܠܝܝܢܐ	that hast become the cause of
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܠܝܝܢܐ	life for many...
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܠܝܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܠܝܝܢܐ	who didst come to the straying
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܠܝܝܢܐ	men,

<sup>1</sup> See Widengren, *Religionens värld* p. 418.

<sup>2</sup> The demonstration is given in my works *King and Saviour*, and *Konung och frälsare*.

<sup>3</sup> This comparison has been made already in Widengren, *Religionens värld*, p. 418 f.

ܐܘܬܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ and, lo, by Thy epiphany and  
 by Thy divine words  
 .+ܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ they are now turning unto the  
 true God who sent Thee.

*Acts of Thomas* ch. 39 (reconstructed text).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I cannot discuss in so many details as would be desirable the reasons for my reconstruction of the text, but can only briefly indicate the viewpoints that have been decisive for my opinion of the text.

The Greek version gives the following text:

Ὁ δίδυμος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ ἀπόστολος τοῦ ὑψιστοῦ,  
 καὶ συμμύστης τοῦ λόγου τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀποκρῦφου,  
 ὁ δεχόμενος αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀπόκρυφα λόγια . . .  
 ὁ συγγενῆς τοῦ μεγάλου γένους,  
 τοῦ τὸν ἐχθρόν καταδικάσαντος καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους λυτρωσαμένου,  
 ὁ πρόφασις τῆς ζωῆς πολλοῖς γενόμενος ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἰνδῶν  
 ἦλθες γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς πλανωμένους ἀνθρώπους,  
 καὶ διὰ τῆς σῆς ἐπιφανείας καὶ τῶν λόγων σου τῶν θεϊκῶν  
 νῦν ἐπιστρέφονται πρὸς τὸν ἀποστέλαντά σε θεὸν τῆς ἀληθείας.

Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* II 2 p. 156 ch. 39.

O Twin of Christ, Apostle of the Most High,  
 and initiate in the hidden word of Christ,  
 who receivest his secret oracles . . .  
 Thon Kinsman of the great race,  
 that hast condemned the enemy and redeemed His own,  
 that hast become an occasion of life unto many . . .  
 for thou hast come to the straying men,  
 and by thy epiphany and thy divine words  
 they are now turning unto the true God who sent thee.

It is easy to follow the work of the redactor. In the same manner as that which we have observed before he has watered down this epiclèse by altering one word here and by glossing a few words there, or leaving out some other in another place, thus creating a totally new impression of the text. I give below a translation of the Syriac version in order to show the method used.

O Twin of Christ, and Apostle of the Most High,  
 and sharer in the hidden word of the Life-giver,  
 and receiver of the secret mysteries of the Son of God . . .  
 son of a great generation, who became bereaved,  
 that by the power of thy Lord thou mightest deprive the enemy of many,  
 so that thou mightest become the cause of life to the country of the Indians,  
 thou who didst come against thy will to men who were straying from God,  
 and, lo, by thy epiphany and by thy divine words they are turned unto life.

Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* II p. 180 (transl.), I p. ܘܢܝܢܝܢ (text).

The chief ideas: the Messenger being sent out by God with a special message that has been proclaimed to the Messenger, in order to save the straying men, are the same in both the Shamash text and the Epiclesis in the Acts of Thomas. Accordingly, it is not difficult to establish a Mesopotamian background here, but at the same time we must keep in mind that corresponding Iranian ideas can easily be found, which however would carry us too far to work out in detail.

A few words must also be said of the synonymous term Messenger *viz.* the Apostle. It has already been remarked that in a technical sense the word Apostle denotes the heavenly Saviour,<sup>1</sup> who has "come" into the world, being "sent" by the true God. It is unnecessary to adduce Manichaean material illustrative of the use of the term Apostle to indicate the Saviour since this question has been treated in another work. There the Iranian

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In the phrase **ܕܢܘܨܢܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ** the words **ܕܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ** have been left out by the redactor, thus completely spoiling the meaning here. The words **ܕܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ** have been changed into . . . **ܕܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ** **ܕܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ** which spoils the original sense. For the expression **ܕܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ** cf. above, p. 60, a text showing that both expression and thought are to be found in Syriac literature (*cf.* also p. 50). For the phrase "to redeem one's own", cf. John 1:11 in the retroversion of Burney.

ܕܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ	Unto His own He came,
ܕܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ	And His own received Him not.

Burney, *The Aramaic Origin*, p. 41 f.

In the Acts of Thomas we find the common Gnostic idea that the Saviour redeems his own. We may also compare Iren. I 21, 5: "I return to my own from where I have come." The Saviour descends in order to free his own, and then returns to his own. The word-play is possible only in Aramaic, cf. Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, p. 35 n. 7, who gives many other illustrations of this expression. Both the Greek and the Syriac version have added the words "to (in) the country of the Indians" by adding which they have narrowed down the sense of the address to only local relevance. The original wording is preserved in ch. 48 where we read in an address to Jesus: "thou hast become the cause of life to all mankind." The addition of "against thy will" associates the epiclesis with the novelistic introduction to the acts. The last line in the Syriac version could have been the original one if we did not miss a reference to the true God who has "sent" the Apostle, a topic very common in all Gnostic and early Christian literature, cf. Bultmann, *op. cit.* p. 30 n. 2.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 21 n.

background of this use of the language has been brought to the fore.<sup>1</sup> In this place something ought to be said also of the eventual Mesopotamian contribution to the history of this religious term. That, for instance, the term Apostle in Mandaean writings fills the same function as in Manichaean literature has already been stated.<sup>2</sup> But the same holds true also of Gnostic literature in the Syriac language. Thus, *e. g.*, it can on one hand, be said, that the Saviour actually is God, or the Son of God. Hence we read in *The Doctrine of Addai* that Abgar wrote to Jesus saying: "Either Thou art God, who hast come down from heaven and doest these things, or Thou art the Son of God, who doest all these things", p. 4 (transl.), p. ۵ f. (text). But in the Acts of Thomas we find the alternative put in quite another way, for there it is said of the Apostle: "This man is either God or the Apostle of God," Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, p. 153 (transl.) p. ۱۵۳ (text). Accordingly, we get the impression that the alternative of being God is being His Son, or His Apostle, the Son of God hence being the equivalent of the Apostle of God. The addresses to the Apostle Thomas in these Acts bearing his name constantly reveal the Apostle's being treated as the Saviour. It may suffice to refer to the Acts of Thomas, ch. 31, where the Apostle is called the Twin of Christ (and we stress the import of the term Twin<sup>3</sup>), ch. 42, 44, 49 etc.<sup>4</sup> Further we note that Thomas is sent immediately from "the true God" (ch. 39), or "the new God" (ch. 42). He is therefore "the Sent one", *i. e.* the Apostle.<sup>5</sup>

Now it is a hitherto rather neglected fact that the term "apostle", *i. e.* the Sent one, is an old name of the Mesopotamian ruler who is the Sent one of the High God and for that reason called *našparu*.<sup>6</sup> Both Messenger and Apostle thus have their

<sup>1</sup> See Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah*.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 21 n.

<sup>3</sup> See Widengren, *op. cit.* pp. 25 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also Widengren, *Religionens värld* p. 382 f.

<sup>5</sup> The "true" God and the "new" God are Gnostic conceptions, being opposed to the god of this world, cf. Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, pp. 243 ff., and Schweizer, *EGO EIMI* p. 133 f.

<sup>6</sup> See Widengren, *RoB* II (1943) p. 69 f.

Mesopotamian counterparts, and can be said to belong to the sphere of royal ideology.

Many other terms could here be taken up for an examination. We only refer to such appellations as the Tree of Life, the Gate of Life, etc. But such words have already been treated sufficiently in the foregoing. We think that enough has already been said also of the titles of the Saviour to prove that there is really a definite Mesopotamian colour in many of these names with which the Manichaean Saviour is praised by his worshippers.

## Conclusions.

The preceding investigation has furnished us with a positive answer as to the question of Mesopotamian elements in Manichaeism. There is in reality a clear Mesopotamian background to the religion preached by Mani. We have found that these Mesopotamian elements have presumably reached Mani in a two-fold manner, directly and indirectly. As we have stated in the Introduction, the old indigenous religion of Mesopotamia was still alive in the time of Mani, and some of its leading ideas must have exercised an influence which cannot have been entirely insignificant, although the real vigour of Mesopotamian religion cannot have been too great. By far the most important part must have been played by the Gnostic movements in Mesopotamia, and by Syrian Christianity. But no absolutely strict line of demarcation can be drawn between these two entities as far as Mesopotamian conditions are concerned.

From the starting point of the interpretation of the Gnostic movements we noted the many coincidences between Manichaeism, Mandaeism, and Syrian Gnosis. As far as they have been treated here to a very large extent these resemblances refer to poetical language and technical expressions in what has been called by Reitzenstein the *Kunstsprache* of the Gnostics. But at the same time it is necessary to keep in mind that these terms and phrases have nearly always been used with the same intention in the literary remains of Manichaeism, Mandaeism, and Syrian Gnostic religion. And having stated this we have just touched upon our main problem. What is it that can be said to be the central topic, common to all these religious movements which we have tried to compare in this investigation? The answer is at hand immediately. We always find that, being religions of salvation, they are chiefly interested in the ancient Mesopotamian myths of salvation and influenced by them, because they are illustrative of the work of the Saviour, His summons to the Soul, and the effort made by the Soul to answer this call, and to ascend to

its original home. The agreement between Manichaeism, Mandaeism, and Syrian Gnostic religions would seem to point to a fixed religious language in which these ideas of salvation current in Mesopotamia were expressed in the period long before Mani. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain the fact that documents of early Christian Gnosis contain so much of the same expressions and ideas as Manichaeism. The possible hypothesis of Manichaeism influence on both Christian Gnosis and Mandaeism is nullified by the fact that these elements could be traced back to ancient Mesopotamian religion. Behind the three religions treated here we detect a common religious language, belonging to movements that could perhaps be called Pre-Gnostic, or early Gnostic. Mani found a Gnostic language already existing in Mesopotamia with many technical expressions, a "language of art", developed in the centuries before our era and perhaps in the first century A. D. too.

The main theme of this religious language is the drama of salvation. This dramatical action goes back on the Mesopotamian pattern. It is a play acted in several acts, each of which having its exact counterpart in Mesopotamian religion, and moreover in a special type of religion, *viz.* the so-called Tammuz-religion. The Mesopotamian pattern of this kind furnishes Mani with a real drama filled with pathological feelings. In Manichaeism we are able to ascertain what sort of Mesopotamian religion it was that disposed of most vigour and power of surviving. That was the Tammuz-religion as it is crystallized in the royal ideology, with the king as the earthly representative of the young god. In Manichaeism we are able to follow the initial disintegration of the old pattern which is nevertheless kept intact in a degree that must be said to be astonishingly high. In ancient Mesopotamia it was the king who represented the divine Saviour, in the religion of Mani as well as in Mandaeism and Syrian Gnostic religion it is the Apostle, or Messenger, that is this representative. The development has gone from the royal ruler to the divine Being incarnate in his earthly representative. From King to Saviour, we might say, if we only keep in mind that at the outset the King is also Saviour, and that in the course of the history of these ideas the Saviour still retains much of the position of the king.

But the significant thing in Mani's taking over this Mesopotamian mythologoumenon is the use he has made of it. These mythical ideas have already been stated as possible to interpret as elements of style, because they are understood in the light of the Iranian theologoumena. We are confronted with an Iranian interpretation of a Mesopotamian myth. The Saviour whose descent, combat, defeat, captivity, and liberation are depicted according to the Mesopotamian pattern is not more Tammuz, but the Great Soul, in Iranian language the Great Vohu Manah, the divine, cosmic *manah* comprising all human *manah*-s. But the concrete colours in the Manichæan myth are still there and clearly discernible as an old inheritance from Mesopotamia.

Next we have to ask: What conception of Tammuz has provided Mani with the *tertium comparationis* between Tammuz and the Great Vohu Manah, The Iranian conception of the Saviour? How could Tammuz be interpreted both as an individual and as a collective entity? This question is easily answered by a reference to a late Babylonian commentary text, according to which Tammuz is the *amēlūtu*, "mankind".<sup>1</sup> We must assume that the decisive step in fusing Mesopotamian and Iranian religions of salvation had been taken many centuries before Mani when the figure of the "Great Man" as the outstanding figure of Saviour had begun to be worshipped in the country between the two rivers. In this process of fusion the god Tammuz whose traits we are in some degree still able to discern behind the deity "Primal Man", has played a prominent rôle.<sup>2</sup>

It would seem that Manichæan religion could afford us with an illustration of the process enacted when a syncretistic religion is born. All the essential indigenous features of the myth are interpreted through the medium of the new religious belief, in this case the Iranian popular religion breaking into Mesopotamia with evidently great vigour and power of expansion.

The originality of Mani, as in most cases of founders of new religions, does not lie so much in *what* he says as in *how* he says it. He seems to have inherited most of his leading religious ideas, if not all, as well as his fixed literary expressions, from his Mesopotamian surroundings with their three religious com-

<sup>1</sup> See Ebeling *TuL* p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. similar views in Kraeling, *Anthropos and Son of Man* pp. 100 ff.

ponents, the indigenous religion, Christianity, and Iranian religion. The Manichaean religion as preached by Mani shows us his double descent. Born of Iranian parents in a Mesopotamian country and having grown up in a South Babylonian sect of baptizers he has been influenced both by Mesopotamia and Iran.<sup>1</sup>

The religious-political purpose of Mani's appearance now seems rather evident if only seen against the background of the religious policy adopted by the Sassanian rulers.<sup>2</sup> By propagating a syncretistic religion Mani is able to offer the Sassanian King of Kings a religion well suited to be acceptable both to his Iranian and Mesopotamian subjects. The basic thoughts in his religious system are Iranian, but the language is that of the Mesopotamian Gnostic with Christian sympathies. For in this religious language of Mani's the Christian element too is conspicuous. Let it however be understood that it is the language of the Syrian church with its inherent, predominant Gnostic element. The question of the Mesopotamian elements in Manichaeism carries us in this way over to the problems of the rôle played by Gnosis in Syrian Christianity and of the relations between Manichaeism and Mandaëism. That no definite answer can be given in this investigation to these difficult problems goes without saying. It is nevertheless to be hoped that the preceding researches might have contributed to the understanding of the ideas common to these three religions of Mesopotamia.

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<sup>1</sup> The mingling of Iranian and Mesopotamian elements often goes so far that it is difficult to draw a sharp border line. We remind the reader of the fact that Reitzenstein found a proof of the Iranian origin of the traits treated in this investigation in their being carried back to India, see *Vorchristliche Erlösungslehren* in *KÅ* 22 (1922) p. 118 f.

<sup>2</sup> For the interpretation of Mani's political aims see Wikander, *Feuerpriester* pp. 206 ff., with whose views I agree in all essentials.



The return of the fallen Primal Man into paradise to the sounds of song and music from the inhabitants of the blessed dwellings who pay homage to him recalls the Manichaean scene in the Paradise of Light when the First Man is blessed by the heavenly beings who are singing and playing tambourines, harps and flutes. This description is given in one of the hymns in Middle Iranian language (M 10 in Henning, *Geburt und Entsendung des manichäischen Urmenschen*, text p. 318, translation p. 312).

That the end must be in conformity with the origin is one of the leading ideas of not only Manichaean but all Gnostic systems. No wonder, then, that the returning First Man must be greeted in the same way as he was when he made his first appearance in the region of Light. In Psalm-Book II we probably have this situation before us when in an unfortunately broken passage it is said:

The assembly, the progeny of the [Light-Nous(?) sing to thee(?)]  
[the maidens and virgins(?)] on high make music to thee.

*Psalm-Book II p. 99: 1—2.*<sup>1</sup>

This heavenly choir presumably has its earthly counterpart in the assembly of the righteous, of whom the following exhortation is made:

O virtuous assembly of the righteous, sweet and pleasant singers,  
the lamps that are gathered, that are full of hymns, light them  
quickly in your joy!

*Psalm-Book II p. 94: 31—33.*

In an Iranian poem we read of the death of Mani:

<i>'wd pd wzrg š'dyft 'd bg'n rwšn'n</i>	And in great joy together with gods of Light
<i>ky 'c dšn 'wd hwy šwynd pd šnng</i>	who advance to the right and to the left of him, at the sound of harps
<i>'wd srwd cy š'dyft frwšt pd wrc</i> <i>bg'nyg</i>	and joyous song — he flew in di- vine power.

T II D 79 R 8—12 *MirM III p. 16 (861).*

<sup>1</sup> The supplementary restorations by me are based on the comparison with the Iranian hymn M 10. They remain, of course, highly uncertain.

## Abbreviations.

ABL	= Harper, R. F., Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum.
AGM	Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin.
AMS	Acta martyrum et sanctorum, ed. Bedjan.
ARW	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
BA	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft.
BE	Babylonian expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.
BKv <sup>3</sup>	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter.
BuBb	Ein Manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch von Henning.
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.
CT	Cuneiform texts from Babylonian tablets in the British Museum.
GGA	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
ICC	The International Critical Commentary of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.
JLW	Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft.
KAR	Ebeling, E., Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts.
KB	Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.
KS	Witzel, M., Keilinschriftliche Studien.
KÅ	Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift.
LIH	King, L. W., The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi.
LSS	Leipziger semitische Studien.
MAOG	Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft.
Mir M	Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan von Andreas & Henning.
MO	Le monde oriental.
MVAG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft.
NGGA	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, Nachrichten.
OC	Oriens Christianus.
OCI <sup>1</sup>	Orientalia Christiana Periodica.
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
Or	Orientalia.
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus ed. Migne, Series graeca.
PRE	Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche.
PS	Patrologia Syriaca.
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.
RCA	Waterman, L., Royal correspondence of the Assyrian empire.
RES	Revue des études sémitiques.
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions.
RoB	Religion och Bibel. Nathan Söderbloms-Sällskapets Årsbok.

- ROC Revue de l'Orient chrétien.  
SAS Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland von Reitzenstein und Schaeder.  
SBH Reisner, G., Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen.  
SBT Zimmern, H., Sumerisch-babylonische Tamûzlieder.  
SEÁ Svensk exegetisk årsbok.  
SKL Zimmern, H., Sumerische Kultlieder.  
SRT Chiera, E., Sumerian religious texts.  
STK Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift.  
ThLZ Theologische Litteraturzeitung.  
ThQ Theologische Quartalschrift.  
TuL Ebeling, E., Tod und Leben.  
WL I Waldschmidt-Lenz, Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus.  
WZKM Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.  
ZA Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete.  
ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.  
ZNW Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche.

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#### Correction:

- P. 62, l. 6: *Syrische Poesien* read: *Beiträge z. syr. lit.*
- P. 156: *Tagtug* is to be read: *Uttu*.

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