

Life of Mani acc. to the Shabuhragan¹

BT 11 no. 5.1 M 49 MM ii, pp. 307-08² [How to live a good life]

... thus it is seemly that he in the same way that he takes revenge and protects the land and cultivates (it) and calls to account and eats meat and drink wine and has a wife and a servant boy and makes a house and wealth (for himself) and weeps for the sake of his body and brings ... in the land and commits robbery and damage and behaves tyrannically and mercilessly, in that same way he should ask about the wisdom and knowledge of the gods and reflect for the sake of his soul.

And also those future matters ...

... which he has, he shall keep back from lust and coition and evil thought and evil speech and evil deeds.

And he should keep his hand away from robbery, as well, and damage and *tyranny and mercilessness.

And he should *protect earth and water and fire and trees and plants and wild and domestic animals and he should not hurt them much. For those, too, are alive through that light and good grace of the gods (= the Living soul).

Just like that warrior and the farmer and ... and soul ...

[Mani and the Companion/Twin]

I said, "You have ...

and from your hand ...

and other things you have given me [and] brought to me."

And even now he himself accompanies me, and he himself keeps and protects me. And in his power I fight with Âz³ and Ahrimen⁴ and teach men wisdom and knowledge and save them from Âz and Ahrimen.

And I ... these affairs of the gods and the wisdom and knowledge of the gathering of the souls that I have received from [the] **Twin**...

... through the **Twin**

... **my own family**

... I stood.

And the path of the wise seized me, and these things that the Twin had taught me I then began to tell and to teach to my father and the elders of the family. And when they heard it they were astonished.

And just as the wise man who found and ploughed the seed of a good and fruitful tree in untilled soil [and -]ed [it] and brought it to [well-]tilled and prepared soil ...

BT 11 no. 5.2

... the twin who was *sent [from? that] light and good grace of the gods (= the Living Soul) [that] *Âz stole. And he did not allow ... to He protects the world ... liberator and savior...

... and about that light and good grace of the gods that Âz stole. And he [sent?] to the [land] of Babylon and to all the lands ...

BT 11 no. 5.3

Then I began ...

the Twin in Babylon ...

the land [of ?] in all places to wander.

... was together [with ...] ... and Arwayistan (= Mesopotamia) ... that away to Rome ... and there teach ...

¹ These texts are fragmentary. Holes are indicated by ... and restorations by [...]. An asterisc * means conjectural translation.

MP = Middle Persian. Pa = Parthian. So = Sogdian.

² BT = Berliner Turfantexte. MM = Mitteliranische Manichaica. M = Manichean manuscript (in Berlin), So = Sogdian.

³ The evil principle of Matter, Greek Hyle.

⁴ Satan, Prince of Darkness.

From a list of hymns

M 4.2v

Begun (is the list of) hymns about the deliverance.
... and favored am I who sprang from the land of Babel.
I sprang from the land of Babel and stood up in rectitude.
I am a ... herald who went forth from the land of Babel, so that I should call the call in the world.
I pray to you gods, to all the gods: Forgive me my sin in mercy!
Ended (is the list of) hymns about the deliverance.

Early childhood among the Baptists

BT 11 no. 2.15 Pa

I shall come ... On account of ... *prophet ... and from the writings ... heard the testimony. ... **Buddha** from ... I am ...
A hundred ... came ... account.
Together with ... I went to ...
Moreover ... **the assembly** ...

BT 11 no. 2.1

... **baptisthood** soft ... you were a boy ... you *baptize ... when the time came ... the well-doer. And to ... may be so that ... and for the souls.

[And in year **five**] **hundred thirty-[nine of] the rule** [of Alexander? ...] ... and praised ... they ... now you(r) twin (*yamag*) ... **Elchasai** ...

... that beloved one, hail ... said, "Hail unto [you, ...] truthful. Because ... from the father. Man ... of the captives ... gave ...

Journey to India

BT 11 no. 9 [The conversion of the king of Turan]

And when the king of Turan saw that the well-doer had got up, then he, too, from afar was on his knees. And he implores the well-doer and speaks to him respectfully "Do not come hither before me!" Then the well-doer went there. He stood up and went to meet him. And he kissed him. Then he says to the well-doer, "You are the Buddha, and we are sinful people. It is not seemly that you should come to us. Because of that for as many feet we advance towards you, so much merit and salvation will there accrue to us. But if you come towards us, then for as many feet you advance towards us, so much demerit and sin will there accrue to us."

Then the well-doer gave him his blessing. And he says to him, "Be blessed! Just as you now on earth among men are full of glory and honored, in that same way you on the last day of (your) soul, (you shall possess) the divine eye, you shall be full of glory and noble. And among the gods and the beneficent [righ]teous you shall be immortal for ever and ever."

Then ... he seized the hand ...

BT 11 no. 2.2

... so that I may take you to a *righteous *shareholder. He went to where there was righteous one, and informed him. The righteous one said, ["So be it."]

The apostle led the righteous one up into the atmosphere and said, "What is higher?" The righteous one said, "My sphere."

The apostle said, "Again, what is greater?" He said, "The earth that bears everything."

Again he said, "What is greater than these?" The righteous one said, "The sky ..."

LIFE OF MANI: BEFORE HIS COMING OUT

["Again,] what is greater?" He said, "The sun and the moon."

"Again, what is lighter?" He said, "The wisdom of the Buddha."

Then the king of Turan said, "Of all these you are the greatest and lightest, for, in truth, you are the Buddha yourself."

Then the *dênabar* (= Manichean) said to the king of Turan, "You shall act in the same way that ... you are."

Then the king of Turan said to the apostle, "... all in ..."

Then Lord Mani expounded to the king of Turan much insight wisdom, and he showed him heaven and hell, the purification of the worlds, sun and moon, soul and body, the apostles who have come to various countries, pious and sinner, and the actions of the elects and the hearers.

Then when the king of Turan and the noblemen heard this word they became happy, adopted the belief, and became well-disposed toward the apostle and the religion.

Further, when the king of Turan was [with the apostle in the garden] the king of Turan was delivered. And he found the brothers transported. The brothers did homage to the devout one, and the apostle told the king of Turan a parable:

"There was a man, and there were seven sons. When the time of death had come, he called his sons. Seven ... primeval ... and ... a cattle pick ... bound. And he said, "... bring to one place!" Nobody ... After that he opened a ...

... to Bagard (a female deity?) ...

asked me ...

wisdom of the *gods(?) ...

took the right hand ...

and before ...

After that I went ...

city ...

I went in before the *king: "Hail to you from the gods!"

The king said, "Whence are you?"

I said, "**I am a physician from the land of Babylon.**"

...

... went in. And the girl became healthy in the whole body. [In] great joy she said to me, "Whence are you, my god and vivifier and ... my ...?"

Various encounters on his journeys

BT 11 no. 2.3 [*The King of Waruzhan, Georgia*]

[The coming] of the apostle of light ..

[As he saw] the figure of the apostle/angel

... and fell forward

[and became] *unconscious. And the people were [amazed].

Thereupon [...] prayed, "To us ...

... Jesus ...

He ... the teaching of the religions by his own [... and their] evil he overcame.

[Thereupon] Habza, king of Waruzhan [said], "What is this *miracle?"

And they said, ["This] is [...]."

But ...

Habza *asked ...

BT 11 no. 2.7

... went to another land ... King Peroz ...

BT 11 no. 11

About King Tirmihir: Tirmihir

He said, "This which I asked you for tell me!" And the well-doer said to him, "Thus ... somebody who in ... shall kill."

The king makes ... to ... And that messenger said, "Know that the king ... is great. Now if you wish you (can) kill [me], but let me ...

... may seem necessary ... do not kill, because I have sworn an oath by the glory that if any misfortune occurs to you I shall report it to the king ...

... also the pupils. And he blessed the lord Mani and was satisfied. ...

BT 11 no. 20

... the king said ... about the precept ... that ... they go ...

Then the king ... many ... precept ...

BT 13.1 [Didactic text]

It is like this: Light Manohmed⁵ is foreseeing and knows and understands everything. But on account of five talks(?) he does not reveal his own foresight [to] the elects.

The first is this that if he *reveals to [them] how (his) foresight (is), (then) immediately they *disregard the apostle of the light and do not follow his commands.

And the second is because if they obtain foresight (then) self-service drapes itself over them and they do no serve one another and they abide in dispute and *superiority.

And the third (is) because if they foresee and know one another's thought, (then) immediately they despise and scorn one another, and, truly, all those thoughts and reflections that are not seemly turn back on themselves and are revealed before everybody.

The fourth (is) that if [they ...] how these foresights (are), (then) .. the whole realm ... all places ... and ... the enemy ... before their eyes ... naked ... they see.

And it will be very bad for them. They subdue the thought of their own religion.

And the fifth (is) that he does not give them foresight so that through that foresight they do not become oracles and sign-seers for the children of the world and do not turn to worldliness and lust.

On account of these five things he does not instruct them in foresight. On the contrary, that foresight is hidden from ... and from hearing.

And thus the Manohmed of the light is with respect to the elects. And he has hidden from them his own talent and foresight. Thus (is) also the column of glory, the complete man, who is clad in the five clean garments. And the wagon of the lights shine in him. And Jesus the splendor steps up into it and steps down. And the maiden of the light performs her own work in it. And the righteous judge is in it and [judges the souls] one by one.

BT 11 no. 13.2

... he says ..., "For every ... and destruction that somebody performs he receives retribution and *punishment."

Then the apostle expounded to him the birth and return of the souls and said, "Your son has no part of and share in these births."

Next, when the apostle *was in the city of Weh-*Ardasher ...

...

⁵ The Great Nous, the universal Intelligence, origin of Gnosis and dispatcher of prophets.

... there was a man, a hunter, who had captured many birds and wild animals. And he had many kinds of traps and slings. And he was very merciless and sinful. And he had mercy [on] nobody. And he also harmed many trees, as he made (his) traps. And now, through his own acts, he ... this ... [But now] he *is free from this way (of life) and he cursed (it), (saying), "... opened ...

The lord of Meshun Mihrshah

Moreover, Shabuhr, king of kings, had a brother, lord of Meshun, and his name was Mihrshah. And he was extremely hostile to the religion of the apostle. And he had arranged a garden, which was good, lovely, and extremely large, so that there was none like it.

Then the apostle knew that the time of salvation had come near. He then rose and appeared before Mihrshah, who among great merriment was seated at a feast in the garden. Then the apostle spoke, "Hail [...]."

Then Mihrshah said to the apostle, "Was there ever in the paradise that you praise such a garden as this garden of mine?"

Then the apostle understood the utterance of disbelief. Then by his miraculous power he showed him the paradise of light with all gods, divine beings, and the immortal breath of life, and every kind of garden and also other splendid things there.⁶ Thereafter he fell to the ground unconscious for three hours, and what he saw he kept as a memory in his heart. Then the apostle put his hand upon his head. He regained consciousness. When he had risen, he fell down at the apostle's feet (and) seized his right hand. And the apostle said, "That ...

The coming of the religion

BT 11 no. 18 MP

... you believe. [When you] have received the truth and [are convinced] *by [the ... of its completeness ..., then too *perhaps you shall find one of my [writings] and *read it and understand the great [mysteries] that [are] in it. Then too leave be that [...] of his.

But now too *whoever ... many ... great ... you are, so that another [does not ...] you. If it is so that something of ... [and] arrogance, which you have *taken ..., why, now the fruit of ... that I wrote you (about) ... and faith ... in fear ...

...

which themselves are the sign of ...

from the commands and the orders ...

and they became in ... with one another. And [they] began to shout [to one] another, and by deception they go [in?] and out. And by the [horrible] sin of their own astrology and sorcery they are ... deceived from within, and from ...

...

... to those strangers to ... were sent to the whole religion

... **the lord Gabryab and the lord Sisin** ... mighty brothers to the herd ... he sends ... on account of ... so that

without ... they shall not be confused. And those ... from their own evil-doing

the lord *Mani and they were not attentive to the orders and [commands] of the religion.

... letter from the lord Mani ... words and ... of Xuzestan⁷ which ...

BT 11 no. 4a.1

Beginning of the exposition of the religion: On the religion

... the well-doer, who brought us the primeval right hand and the strength of our souls. And the savior makes us whole from the *attack of lust.

⁶ This is also a typical topic in Buddhist texts.

⁷ Southwest of modern Iran.

And the *growth ... which separated the .. from the family of *life [and made it] prosperous, he too by ... the father a sign by the image ... by the law ...

...

the beloved, (so?) that when our father came from India and came to the city of Rew-Ardasher then he sent Pattig the teacher together with the brother H̄anni to India to Deb.

And he himself said at that time, “This righteousness of mine is thus blessed [that] in every country ...”

...

... from the Baptists he collected the gifts.

And what he had thought it was not. Then when the well-doer a second time was in the town of Rew-Ardasher, again a great man from Abarshahr by the name of Daryaw came to him, he himself with two brothers, Walash and Xusraw.

...

I too ... and I went to him where he had ...

And when he ... he did not want to take the gift, and he did not say anything to me I went off and I in[creased] that gift ...

BT 11 no. 16 (MP)

On the parable of the hearer Xybr’

... were prepared. Then also that woman, the mother of a girl, a bride, thinks, “This woman who has a son she has prepared this for all, and I also have a daughter. Now all that this woman has made and prepared, it is in the same way becoming also for me to do (this).

And this woman too began to *arrange like that ... like this woman ...

...

... just as she ... six ... me, who until now did not know that I, when I weep over the corporeal son, kill the spiritual one. But from now on I shall not weep and I shall not kill him.”

And she asked for forgiveness of her sin and for love. Then the lord Mani blessed her greatly and then ... went away [from] there. ...

BT 11 no. 15

...

[Then] he said to Xybr’ the ..., “[I] know [that] Daraw (your) son has found salvation because I saw an auspicious sign [about him?].”

And in those days the well-doer came there, and they performed soul services before him (= gave him alms). And at the time of the meal, when the well-doer prayed in blessing for that youth, then he himself paid homage thrice. And the children asked him, “Show us why you paid homage.” And he himself said, “I paid homage to Jesus, my own father and lord, (in recognition of the fact) that he too has accepted the wish that I asked him for and the prayer that you prayed. And behold! angles brought the soul of Daraw and placed (it) before me as if adorned in the customary fashion of the rulers.” And when Abursam and Xybr’ the ... heard (this) they went and fell down at the feet of the well-doer and said, “We believe in you, lord, and [are] *firmly [convinced that his] soul is saved. And by your [help his soul] has gone up, because [you] saw [that] sign [about him]. And we know [that ...]. Deliver my(?)

...

BT 11 no. 4a.2 [About the commandments and orders for hearers]

... the well-doer ... letter of *consolation

... he says to her, “Your [son] has gone out of the body [and he] has found rest. And [for] *ever through the service [he] performed [in life] now [he is ..., so] do not grieve!”

[When she heard this] that woman hearer [was consoled and became] very happy. ... through good deeds ... [in] eagerness took [... And for] the soul of the son [she performed] great *soul charities.

[When] heard [this], again he [paid] homage [to the lord] Mani

...

quickly an elect *went before (him)) and gave it to him (saying), “Go! Bring it to the well-doer from me, because it is not allotted to me: I am only in charge of the things pertaining to the king.”

And when he took it and went before the well-doer, then a woman who was Shabuhr’s greatest singer came to him. And she quickly took it away ...

BT 11 no. 17

... world ... manner ... sheep, pig, herd ... many demons, demonesses ... flies in space.

The miracle ... One man, when he saw that ... said: “I shall be (your) student.”

*Then [the lord Mani] said, “My teaching ...

Various missions

BT 11 no. 1 M 2 MP

The coming of the apostle into the countries

“... become familiar with the writings!”

They went to **the Roman empire** and experienced many doctrinal disputes with the religions. Many elects and hearers were chosen. **Pattig** was there for one year. He returned before the apostle.

Hereafter the Lord sent three scribes, the *Gospel*, and two other writings to **Adda**. He gave the order, “Do not take it farther, but stay there like a merchant who collects a treasure!” Adda labored very hard in these areas, founded many monasteries, chose many elects and hearers, composed writings, and made wisdom his weapon. He opposed the dogmas with these.

In everything he acquitted himself well. He subdued and enchained the dogmas. He came as far as **Alexandria**. He chose Nafsha for the religion. Many wonders and miracles were performed in those lands. The religion of the apostle was advanced in the Roman empire.

Then, when the apostle of the Light was in the city of Holwan, he called **Mar Ammo** the teacher, who knew the Parthian script and language and was also known to men and women [of high birth]. ... He sent him to Abarshahr together with Prince Ardawan and the brothers who were scribes and a miniature painter. He said, “Blessed be this religion! May it be advanced in greatness there through teachers, hearers, and soul services! And may for you ... name be ... of heart! May the great Wahman keep you in fortune and prosperity more than the previous religions!”

And they had arrived at the border post of Kushan,⁸ then the spirit of the border of Xwarasan⁹ appeared in the shape of a young woman, and it asked me, “Ammo, what do you intend? From where have you come?” I said, “I am a believer and a disciple of the apostle Mani.” The spirit said, “I do not receive you. Return to where you came from.” And it disappeared from me. Then I, Ammo, stood fasting for two days, in praise before the sun. Then the apostle appeared, and said, “Do not be disheartened. Read aloud the “Assembling of the doors” from the *Treasure of the living*. Then the following day the spirit again appeared and said to me, “Why have you not returned to your own country?” I said, “I have come a long way because of the religion.” The spirit said, “Which is this religion that you bring?” I said, “We do not eat meat nor drink wine, and we stay away from hurting the fire.” It said, “Where I rule there are many like you.” Then I read out loud the “Assembling of the doors” from the *Treasure of the living*. Then it did reverence and said, “You are a pure righteous man. From now on do not call yourself man of religion but true bringer of religion. You have no equal.” Then I asked, “What is your name?” It said, “I am called Bagard,

⁸ Approximately modern Afghanistan.

⁹ Eastern Iran.

the border guard of Xwarasan. When I receive you, then the whole east will be opened in front of you.” Then the spirit Bagard taught me “the assembling of the *five doors*”¹⁰ by means of parables.

The gate of the eyes that is deceived when seeing what is vain is similar to a man who sees a mirage in the desert: a town, a tree, water, and many other things the demon makes him imagine and kills him. It is also similar to a castle on a *rock to which the enemies have not found access. Then the enemies arranged a feast, much singing and music. Those in the castle became greedy of seeing, and the enemies attacked them from behind and took the castle.

The gate of the ears is similar to the man who went along a *secure road with many treasures. Then two robbers stood near his ear, deceived him through beautiful words, took him to a place far away, and killed him and stole his treasures. It is also similar to a beautiful girl who was kept locked up in a castle and a deceitful man who sang a sweet melody at the base of the castle wall until the girl died of grief.

The gate of the smelling nose is similar to an elephant when it from a mountain above the garden of the king became greedy of the smell of the flowers, fell down from the mountains in the night and died.

The gate of [the mouth] is similar to ...

BT 11 no. 8

... again when the apostle ... dwelt and in the place ... and he chose his own ...

[And] when **Gabryab's** time to be chosen came it was like the apostle of the light together with many elects and hearers in that ... [man]y people ... and birth and death ...

... said, “I forswear all the lie teaching of the religions, and I believe in one faith, in your religion, for you are god and the vivifier of my soul.”

... monasteries ...

BT 11 no. 2.5

... elects and hearers

.... And when the apostle was in Rew-Ardasher, then he [sent Pattig] the teacher, [and Ma]ni the scribe to Rome. And [he gave them] four instructions ...

..

from ... [who] collects [a treasure. And Adda founded] many monasteries. [And he chose] many lords. [And he composed ...] and the scriptures of the light. [And he] seized [the wisdom] [in] answer to the religions. In many ways he made and fashioned [it as a weapon?] against all religions. And he [struck down] all the teachings and made them ashamed, like somebody who [wields] a mighty weapon. ...

BT 11 no. 2.6

[How the apostle] gave four commandments: ... Ammo ...

... subdued the enemies. And [he furthered] the elects of the apostle [of the Light in the land of] Rome.

[Next, when] the apostle was in the city of Holwan, he called Mar Ammo the teacher, and ... Ardawan ...

Read aloud from the *Treasure of the living* the “**Assembling of the five doors**.” Then the following day the spirit [appeared], and it said [to me], “Why [have you not returned to your] own [country]?”

I said, “I have come a long way] because of [the religion.”

The spirit said], “Which [is this religion that you bring?]” ...

BT 11 no. 3.1 So

... on it in the western *regions, because on this earth a blessed .. is thus prepared that this goodness should be received in greatness. And be very learned and educated in it, wise and *well-spoken in the district where you are

¹⁰ The five senses. See *Kephalaia*, chap. 4.

going. And when you act the way I have commanded you, then the religion will be spread in these districts, and your work and doings will result in furtherance.

And so I command you:

First. Do not accept any (more than you need), for you shall be in the bliss of poverty, which is the foremost of all bliss.

And second. He spoke about commerce with women and [made] complete exposition *of it.

Third. Thus, do not prolong [your stay] in one place. Instead righteousness (= the righteous) ... the others on the spot ...

When the apostle had delivered the command, then he gave them the *Treasure of the living* together with other writings.

And Pattig the teacher, (one) of the twelve, Adda the bishop, and Mani the abbot together with other brothers left and came all the way to the western districts. And they made much doctrinal dispute with the religions and with the Roman ... And many elects and many [hearer]s were chosen in those places. And Pattig [the teacher] was one year in Rome. Then in the second [year ...] he returned and came to Asuristan before the apostle.

And Mar Adda said to the lord in a letter, “The command ... to the lord quickly the command ...

BT 11 no. 3.2 So

He sent [Mar Ammo] to Abarshahr

[And the ... asked Mar Adda] “Which is that mount that is faster than the wind?”

And Adda answered them, “I have good thought ... the ... attitude, whose ... is faster [than] the wind. And I have that ... whose splendor is more resplendent than the sun. And I have provisions [for ...] whose taste is [sweeter] than honey.

And the ... asked Mar Adda, “The soul, O lord, [is of what] shape?”

And Adda answered them, “The soul is similar to the body, which is divided into five limbs: one head, two arms, and two feet. The soul [is] just like that: [life] counts as the first member of the soul, the power [counts] as the second member, the light is counted as the third member, beauty is counted as the fourth member, (and) fragrance counts as the fifth member. And its form and shape is the portrait of the *self, just as it has been spoken to the [...]≤ “It cannot be seen with the corporeal eye, the corporeal ear does not hear it, and one does not grasp it with the corporeal hand, nor can it be expounded with the corporeal tongue.”

And Mar Ammo [expended] much effort there in Rome, and he purified many hearers. ... and in great ... the west ..., and [he composed] many writings, and he wrote to the ... fight ...

And the divine furtherance grew through him, and it spread throughout all the Roman territories and cities, all the way to great Alexandria.

Beginning of the sermon on Mar Ammo: He sent him to Abarshahr

How Mar Ammo [...] the border guard of Kushan

Then, when the apostle of the light, the lord Mar Mani, was in the district of Holwan, then he called Mar Ammo the teacher, who knew the Parthian language and writing and also was acquainted with lords and ladies and many nobles, and sent him together with Prince Ardawan to Abarshahr, and after (them) he sent also other scribes [and painters with] books.

[He said], “Go, dear son, to the various places on account of this, for the blessing is that in these places this ... may be received in ... and be expounded *by the teachers, and the bishops, and the preachers. Go far away, and many hearers will be purified as workers and helpers in these places, and many gifts and soul services will be purified from these places. [And] your *fame and praise will for ever be glorious in these places. *But do you always keep your own love [and ...] for this great divinity, which is the father of ... himself, who has his place in this righteousness (= among these righteous). And your letter ... with gratitude and homage, and always ... *continuously keep the glory on this account, because every time when the vivifying buddhas descended to the

creation and when they sent their own pupils to ... and preaching to the various places, and now ... in memory and mind ... and ... cognition to the root ... and were sent ... And bring the ... and the ...”

And [he went to] Abarshahr and to *Marw¹¹ ... -ed various *gain ... on account of the gain of the religion. And he purified many lords and ladies, princes, princesses (leading them) to the religion. And he completely expounded (the teaching of) the buddhahood of the apostle of the light and completed and perfected all those commands which [Mani had given] him.

BT 11 no. 3.3 Sogdian

... Nafsha herself to Jesus, Bring [me help], and ... me, beneficent lord! on account of this, that in your [hand is protection, even] in the middle of the religions.”

And [right away] an angel descended publicly before Nafsha, and laid the hand upon her, and Nafsha was healed at once and was made complete and without pain. And all the people were astounded at the miracle. And there were many who received the truth anew. And also Queen Tadhi, Nafsha’s sister (and) the wife of the Caesar, came before **Mar Adda** with great ... and received the ... [and] the truth from him.

BT 11 no. 19

... may I remain friendly [to ..] and to the ...

And Nafsha said, “Tadhi, *queen, ..., glorious sister, Caesar S., whom you [always seek?] and never will find, they ... him [and] will not call [him], because when you recognize a pure ... then both you and I [will] be changed [in ... and] face like those who are blind and beg. And there we shall be ..., but beyond ... there shall be ... which her in this world ... now you in the ...

BT 11 no. 3.3 Sogdian (cont.)

And **Mar Adda** went to ... And [when] he came [to ...] the people were very *... [over the ... and when they ...] they said, “We ... you, [and] we shall, because ... whose ... [you -ed ...

And in the night the voice and ... as had been said *by them [happened. And] he stood completely astonished, because the walls [of the] idol temple [had ..] on [... and the ...] was ... so that [there was no?] way to go up at once. And the door with the caesar’s seal had been sealed *by him. And in it, far and wide, was not a single house. And Mar Adda immediately stopped and prayed, and he said to the angle, “Let me have a parable for this ...” And the angel immediately revealed himself and came gave him knowledge:

“There are 12 ranks of people, who do [not] agree with one another. And each single one had dug ... from ... all the way to ... where the images had been seated ... are ... Of the 12 men, whoever ... eat ... make music ... went to ... Caesar and ... him the secret ...
... *wrote ... those of little knowledge ...

behavior, and (if) nobody is contrary and only serves his own desire and will, thus their endeavor and labor will not be without reward.”

And at the end (the angel) gave them the law of the form and manner of all the precepts and the *essence of the rules and the(ir) complete and comprehensive succession by number: five precepts by ten kinds; three seals by six kinds; five [garments] by ten kinds; attentiveness and readiness [by X kinds]; 12 rulerships by 62 kinds; ... each by five ... each ... each one by seven ... ; seven hymns ... and five expositions ... each] one by seven injunctions and ... confessions, each one by ...

... are ... And therefore they are called believing hearers, and they have a share in the religion, and the precept is evident to them. Now, these who are hearers and are ... in worldliness are ... yearling kids and nursing children. And their food is spiritual milk. For these, too, the precept and the command in the religion is evident, also because they are [in] the religion and ... from the living self the holy ghost, who in the ... they worship ... And also ... are ... whoever is ... to the farn of the religion (the *nous*) and from divine ... are thought of as(?) trees ... and the command is that ...

¹¹ City in modern Turkmenistan.

BT 11 no. 3.4

The account of Gabryab: He sent [Gabryab] to [...] to preach

... if] by the mercy of the gods I can heal the girls [from the illness], then I [ask] you this, “Turn away from the Christian religion, [and] receive the religion of the lord Mar Mani!”

Then he turned back and said to the Christians, “Christ was a miracle-working lord. He both healed the blind and the lame and the ... of (their) illness and also brought the dead back to life. And it is a rule that the son has the look of the father and that the pupil exhibits the model of the teacher. If you are really and truly the pupils of Christ and the look and model of Christ is upon you, then go all of you and heal the girl of her illness, like Jesus said to his pupils, ‘Where you place your own hand, there I shall improve by (my) divine hand.’ If you do not do it, then I shall by god’s [hand] heal the girl of (her) illness, and then you ... shall go out of the realm of Arewan [and ...].”

[The] Christians said, “We are not able [to make] her [well]. You make her well!”

Then, on the 14th, Gabryab together with his helpers stayed in prayer and supplication, and toward evening, when Jesus (= the moon) came up, then Gabryab stayed in prayer before Jesus and said to him, “You are a great god and a vivifier and a real waker of the dead. Help me this once, O beneficent lord, and give this girl improvement and help by my hand, so that both your divinity may be evident before all the people and also that we are in truth your real obedient followers.”

And he immediately asked for oil and water and blessed it with the blessing of the father and the son and the holy ghost, and he told her to rub in the oil and to apply water on it. And immediately, on the spot, the girl was pure from that impure illness. And the whole night Gabryab with his coworkers remained near that girl. And they sang hymns and turned about the praise [of the lord] until the morning [came and it became light] and the sun rose. And he stood before the glorious, great [sun god] in prayer and said with a loud voice,

“You are the bright eye [of the] whole entire world
and the great door to conveyance for all the escaping souls.
*Unworthy and unhappy the dark beings who do not believe in you
and have turned their eyes and look away from you!
Help me, great light god, and by our hands give this girl help and improvement
so that she may receive the goodness
and also these souls for whom deliverance is prepared,
that hereby they may reach the new door and the land of escape!”

And he asked for oil and water, blessed (it), and told her to rub it in and also told her to ingest some of it. And immediately, on the spot, the girls became [healed] of the illness, whole and without defects, and her body stood ... complete, just as if her ... had not been ...

And Gabryab arranged initiation by [blessed] oil into the community of hearers for ... the king of Arewan and his queen, the .. of the girls and the girl herself. And he told them, “No longer shall you be ... to serve the heretic religions [and] the images of idols and the fear of demons!”

And from the fortress Gabryab entered the city amid great praise and honor. And he chose many people to righteousness, and (there were) also many who recanted their heresy.

And when Gabryab left and went to another place to preach, the Christian’s month of fasting came, and that day of theirs came when they preach Christ’s going up on the cross. And the Christians tried to compel the lord of Arewan that he should go to church on that day. And the king of Arewan agreed, but Gabryab heard and immediately came there a second time. And *adressing and ... the king of Arewan ...

On King Shabuhr

BT 11, text 11.2

[On Mar Mani] praised the king: On "The realm is [fortunate] through five things"

... [The second is *long life* and] old age does not overcome [them].
The third is good health and illness does not overcome them.
The fourth is happy joy and sorrow does not overcome them.
The fifth is sweet ... [and hunger] and thirst does not [overcome them]. ...

Mar Mani praised the king

... the well-doer a second time ... went ... And from [Shabuhr] king of kings [a letter came] concerning that protection, and also from the Lord Peroz and Ohrmezd the scribe.

And when it was read to him he became very glad, and he praised King Shabuhr and said to the children,
"King Shabuhr is more tyrannical and harsher than some princes, and they call him an evil-doer and sinner in all lands. But let me tell you in truth that, if he persists in this mind and keeps this pleasantness toward me and does [not] order anything [bad] to my children and keeps from *.... (but) [persists] in this [...] well-doing which [...] let me tell you in truth that in the end his soul will find Life, more so than all the religions that are in deception, which lie about god and deny that light and ... against its strength and also ridicule the wisdom that is preached through the apostles and persecute the elects. And on account of this, in the end, they will perish, and they will carry the retribution of their own evil acts."

The realm is fortunate through five things

Again it has been said that the realm is fortunate in *custom (*brahm?*) through five things:

One is that a great and mighty lord dwells in it who cultivates the realm and keeps the enemies *at bay.

The second is that *keeps in ... The third is that ... The fourth is that ... [The fifth is that ...] he cultivates [it with] complete ... holds purity and water in great honor.

And in five things misfortune and destruction come unto the realm:

One when the ruler and the commanders are ... and do lawlessness to the law. The second is [when] *prayers and *teachings are ... and in *foreign languages(?) and they deceive people with lies. The third is when astrologers and oracles are lying and ... that which *is* and ... the gods ... (*End*)

BT 11 no. 11.3

... wishes ... people ...

Again the well-doer spoke to a pupil,

"All these people whom you do [...]: rulers, nobles, grandees, rich and poor, ... strive and desire and [plead],
'Grant that we may find ... in ...' And they carry ... [and] they ...

...

... they come ... these five *things they will never in this birth and death be able to find. But whoever is happy and ... and receives these ... -nesses and stays away from all evil and is full and complete with respect to good acts, he [will be ...] in the *completion of the soul when [it is separated] from the body.

And he ... these five things [too]:

[One ..

...

The *fourth is wealth(y people): (namely) if they *are always ... and wealthy and without needs, (then) they are far from every poverty and neediness.

The fifth is they re always alive and immortal and are always *unconcerned about deadly pain and commotion ...
Through these five great things these ... are always ... and wealthy.

...

BT 11 no. 14

... he says. And the well-doer blessed him and said, "I am very much obliged and grateful to you."

And again, (even) to a greater degree from [that] time onward, because the king ...

...

they serve and strive in the house too. from *the roof tops(?) ... they bless god [and] they observe the fast so that they may be saved from fire and destruction. And one out of a thousand and ... out of ten thousand who blessed ...

On Ohrmezd the Brave¹²

BT 11 no. 22.1 Pa

The account of Ohrmezd

... you make ... about the soul." They said, "... first we ... hand to ...

... **diadem** ... becomes.

And afterward a number of ... **Warhan** before that ... when he went before that ... ***Ohrmezd** ... to those ... in the manner of ...

... in the hand ... **Ohrmezd**

...

End of the account of Ohrmezd the Brave

... he uncovered his head and *threw him to the ground ... and he said, "I have ... with ... the finger ... he will destroy the ...

[When ...] is [...] let him *praise [... Ohrmezd] the Brave.

And Warhan

End of [the account of Ohrmezd [the Brave]].

[Beginning of the account of ? ...]

and the *writings ...

BT 11 no. 22.2 Pa

[On] Ohrmezd [...]: [...] the Brave [...]

... Ohrmezd the Brave ...

... those witches who have entered into ...

and ...

BT 11 no. 22.3

... And when Ohrmezd ... came, ... asked ... And they said ... And Ohrmezd ... [paid] homage to the father ...

"Whither did ... go?" ...

All kinds of words ...

...

¹² Oldest son of Shapur, reigned only ca. one year and was followed by Wahram I.

... my religion ... king the brave ... said [to] the *apostle ... demons and witches ... desire to see you ... they wish ...
Afterward ... of the buddhas and ... illuminator.
*Thus ...

Mani's last days

BT 11 no. 4a.12

And he dug out the earth of that palace and shook the ... which originally had belonged to the king of Meshun.
[And when] he again heard that ...

...

in the city of Ohrmezd-Ardxsher he was *hidden in the monastery house. [And when] the elects and hearers had gathered before him ...

...

called Abhdt, and he had a *serving hearer. And that Abhdt among many people went before the well-doer, and in his mind he ...

...

At dawn he stood on the roof in praise (and prayer). And on the door of that house ... where the well-doer ... and the well-doer

...

BT 11 no. 4a.13 “Last Journey”

... Moreover, Pattig saw another sign and said, “I see that the well-doer has risen, and for as many days ... garment ... great ... held ... that he majestically goes in and out of the wide *palace gate. Thereupon **Kirdel**, the mowbed,¹³ planned with his friends, who *served before the king counselor. And [they plotted] jealousy and cunning ...

BT 11 no. 4a.14

... Moreover Pattig says that at that time when the well-doer left the city of Ctesiphon and he ... with Bat the landlord .. he entered ... Again, when he ... in Gauxai at *Betdaraye ...
... Again the elect ... the great shepherd sent me from Gauxai hither to ... And behold, you too ... in Babel ...

BT 11 no. 23 M 3 “Mani's Last Journey”

... came after he [had summoned me], Nuhzadag the interpreter, Kushtai the *chronicler, and Abzaxya the Persian.

The king was at his dinner table and had not yet washed his hands. The courtiers entered and said, “Mani has come and is standing at the door.”

And the king sent the master the message, “Wait a moment until I can come to you myself.” And the master again sat down to one side of the guard until the king should have finished the meal, when he was to go hunting.

And he stood up from his meal and, putting one arm round the queen of Sakas and the other round Kirder son of Ardawan, he came to the master. And his first words to the master were, “You are not welcome!” And the master replied, “Why? What wrong have I done?” The king said, “I have sworn an oath not to let you come to this land.” And in anger he spoke thus to the master, “Ah, what need of you since you go neither fighting nor hunting! But perhaps you are needed for this doctoring and this physicking?” And you don't do even that!”

And the master replied thus, “I have done you no evil. Always I have done good to you and your family. And many and numerous were your servants whom I have [freed] of demons and witches. And many were those whom I have caused to rise from their illness. And many were those from whom I have averted the numerous kinds of fever. And many were those who came unto death, and I have [revived] them ...”

¹³ A high-standing Zoroastrian priest.

BT 11 no. 4a.15

... This too the king spoke to our father, "This *nask*¹⁴ ...
... all

... And the well-doer ... to him ... received ...

when [the Jews] pressed him Pilate says to them, "Let us let go Jesus Christ." [Then] the Jews [say, "If you do not] kill [Jesus¹⁵ ...

BT 11 no. 12

... hearers.

Moreover, [there was] another *pupil ... by name ... the well-doer ... that [he] gave witness to ... that you will rise in this ... *and be called ...

The well-doer said, "... about Christ ... the religion that was revealed, gave witness through (his) own ... and ... chained [and] crucified ...

[This too] you shall *say, '... they go up.'

[This too] you shall *say, 'To' [from his?]

This too [you shall say] like we ... know that the well-doer ... childhood upbringing ...
... the Baptists themselves [do not take] a wife [and] they [do not] eat [meat].

Then these ... gave witness about ... *salvation through ... father revealed ...

BT 11 no. 26V

... day of (the month of) *Shahrewar [he ascended] into the height and to [paradise?]."

Then the lord Mani [said] to that ... the son of man and, "To the religion I ... in you should act like this that you ... him ...

BT 11 no. 2.9

The speech about the omen

... throws away. He asked, "How many steps is it?" I said, "Thirty and ..."

There was a man, a hearer. ... *happily brought. ...

When it was measured ... who in cold and heat in five forms suffer woeful births: in the western hell ... and the ... of the sinners ...

Thereupon the king ...

BT 11 no. 6

... in nobility. [And] I shall be happy before [him, that] **shape of my twin and glory**.

Now, too, he comes, sits upon ..., and turns to every side ... who in his ... go in.

... truth your name. You in purity and freedom shall *preserve my ... and instruction. And I shall again come in nobility and in the whole world I shall praise you ...

BT 11 no. 2.10 MM iii, pp. 860-62 Pa

Like a sovereign who takes off armor and garment and puts on another royal garment, thus the apostle of the Light took off the warlike dress of the body and sat down in a ship of light and received the divine garment, the diadem of light, and the beautiful garland. And in great joy he flew together with the light gods that are going to the right and to the left, with harps and songs of joy, in divine miraculous power, like swift lightening and a shooting star, to the

¹⁴ Book of the Avesta.

¹⁵ There are several Gospel texts among the Manichean writings.

column of glory, the path of the light, and the chariot of the moon, the meeting place of the gods. And he stayed with god Ohrmezd, the father.

And he left the whole herd of righteousness (= the community) orphaned and sad, because the master of the house had entered *parinirvana*, and his house ...

... and the rulership of

... sign of the zodiac. (It was) on the fourth of the month of Shahrewar, on the day of Shahrewar,¹⁶ Monday at the eleventh hour, in the province of Xuzestan and in the city of Belabad, that this father of light, full of power, was taken up to his own home of light.

And after the *parinirvana* of the apostle, Uzzi the teacher gave this testimony to the whole religion concerning what he saw in the cohort, for that reason that he, Uzzi, that Saturday night was left there with the apostle of the Light. And many pious commands from the apostle of the Light he brought orally to the whole religion.

And after the *parinirvana* of the apostle of the Light, the *Gospel*, the *Ardahang*, and his garment and staff ...
... Sisin...

BT 11 no. 2.14

... I went to ... in ... rose up ... of light ... *prosperous ... which ...

... *last ... The sun [and the moon], soul and body, [prayer] and fasting, ...

... of the worlds ... teacher and ...

BT 11 no. 21.2

[Begun has the speech] that the lord Mani is the Buddha [...]

BT 11 no. 21.1...

Hear you ... dearest brothers ... elect and hearers ... all these true words [and ... which [I wrote] on account of ...

... truth ... *Pattig the teacher (one) of the twelve by the glory and power of the lord Mani ...

...

... when our lord Mani?) was given into prison. The words [of ..], which I have written, [are] my ... *Pattig the teacher (one) of [the *twelve in Abarshahr [and] *in all the cities of Hwarasan. By the words of light and the instruction of the lord Mani's father's praised name. And I have written this book by the glory and power of [the lord] Mani and by ... of ...

...

they rejoice ... and they say ... the buddha- ...

BT 11 no. 21.2

... in Marw ... [and in] the other *lands ... were many who *before me came to fight. And in Marw I ...

... *self sacrifice [and] *power to those who desire ... true and their weapon is understanding [and] (their) strength is through Manohmed ...

BT 11 no. 24.1 MM ii, Boyce, Reader, text a MP

The ascension [of the apostle of the light]

... until the end endures [in] the world."

¹⁶ June 4, 276?

The ten points of superiority of Mani's religion

And he answered ..., "This religion that I have chosen is superior and better than the other, earlier religions in ten things.

One that the religions of the forerunners was in one land and one language. Then my religion was *able to be revealed in every land and in all languages and be taught in distant lands.

Second, that the previous religions <persisted> as long as long as there were pure leaders in them. And when the leaders were raised up (to Paradise), then their religion was changed and they became slack in commandments and deeds. And they were deceived through greed, fire, and [lust]. But my [religion] will stand firm and through living teachers, bishops, elects, and hearers and through its wisdom and deeds it will endure until the very end.

Third, that the previous souls, whose deeds were not fulfilled in their own religion come to my religion and it will be itself the door to their release.

Fourth, that this revelation of the two principles and the Living Scriptures, my wisdom and knowledge is superior and better than those in the previous religions.

Fifth, that all the scriptures, the wisdom and parables of the previous religions, when they [came] to this [religion] that I ...

The five precepts for hearers

[And the first precept for hearers is this: ...they shall not kill ..., [and] they shall forgive those creatures who provide them with meat for food so that they do not kill them as if they were evil people. But dead flesh of any animals, wherever they obtain it, be it dead or slaughtered, they may eat. And whenever they obtain it, either through trading or as a livelihood or as a present, they may eat it. And that is enough for them. This is the first precept for hearers.

And the second precept for hearers is that they shall not be false and they shall not be unjust to one another ... And he shall take without [... and in] truth. And he shall walk in truth. And a hearer shall love [another] hearer in the same way one loves one's own brother and relatives, for they are children of the living family and the world of light.

And the third precept is that they shall not slander anybody and not be false witnesses against anybody of what they have not seen and not make an oath in falsehood in any matter and lie and ...

BT 11 no. 24.2 MP

[The ascension] of the apostle of the light

And whoever goes to Abarshahr and Xwarasan will see much joy, because there the light members [are] plenty ...
... [asked, "If] ... there are plenty who go to ..., then how will it be for us?"

And the master said to him, "Do not sully the offspring of the light, for he who has come unto you and has chosen you is Jesus the vivifier himself. Through his buddhas and apostles he himself will be a protector [for] you ... he will be [your] *redeemer from all ... of wind And he ...

The master said, "After my ascension there will be great rejoicing and my religion will ... to all lands. [And if anybody] oppresses [you], after my ascension this my religion will increase and be furthered in every land and district through the righteous and the hearers.

And again the lord Uzzi the teacher begged the master of the light, "When you, god, [have] ascended from us, where will you appease ... god on ... to us ...

BT 11 no. 24.3

... the learned ... together with ...

... in hymns ... the preachers and purify of the living self ... may you one by one teach help to the religion. And do not be slack in bearing the toil of the master, so that you may find pious reward and retribution and eternal life in highest.”

Then he commanded the Letter of the Seal, which [was] the *last ...

...

... pious ... that always ... they shall call “Woe!” ... sign ... they will be ...

And ... is ... which ... the pious ones ... these acts ... strong *commandments ... are ..., which all ... are eternal. ... the first whom he placed *over ...

[They shall speak] the truth. They shall not lie with lies.

*And ... *treasury of two kinds ...:

One kind (is) that somebody ... was *divinity(?) ... truly ... from it.

*Then ... lies. And ...

...

... he sent through the lord **Ammo** the teacher to the whole religion. And all his children, the elect and the hearers, paid homage to the pious lord. And the lord of the light blessed them all at parting. And weeping they went away from him. And **Uzzi** and two elect [stayed] behind. And after ...

...

[About the origin of Ohrmezd and Ahrimen]

... Neither (did) the gods ... neither] Ohrmezd [about the] primordially of Ahrimen, [nor] Ahrimen about the primordially [of] Ohrmezd.

And ... [in?] all these *Ahrimen is mixed in and thus [he speaks]:

“They are from one power and from [one] primordially and ...

That is a big and *stinking *lie.

And through ... soul.

And that ... fiery hell ... eternal ...

BT 11 no. 27 M 4523 Pa

... secrets. Prophet ... and our father four ... whose form the lord Mani ...

... *blossomed.

And Satan fell ... sixty years. He chose two ... crucifixion. Thereafter ..

BT 11 no. 28 MP

... and he is a wolf who ... a herd ... has lambs.

*And ... is connected in the religion ... the pure ones ...

...

... of the holy ghost ... *Shadormezd the benefactor.

... and according to (their) will land ... you all ...

... of the holy ghost ... to (his) own self ... principle ...

... very wise and ... possession, wife, and ...

... . And ... own ... garment ... the lord **Sisin** ... self and what ... the lord *Innaios ... the teacher ... the lord Sisin. ...

... truthful words ... own

BT 11 no. 25.1 Sogdian

... I shall be You gods ... I shall complete [in] perfection. ... on] the last day you ... before ... with red face ... reward to the blessed ones who have completed their work ... I shall receive.

What else shall be ... may be [according] to the wish of the gods who do not ... us ...

... world ... throne together with Ahrimen I did much [toil] and struggle. ... [I] showed much sorrow and displeasure.

[And] without number without count ... I freed ... patient souls from ... (and) [led them] to the light ...

BT 11 no. 25.2 Sogdian

... I became god Sroshahray [Father of Greatness] ... ruler ... god Ohrmezd [First Man].

And ... I saw [the] *gods and ... I offered ... and I received ... And ... the preservers of the religion ...

60 years ... *throne to the ... *toil and *struggle much displeasure ... I showed ...

And innumerable ... uncountable ... from this ... I saved ... time ... of the law ... command ...

Kephalaia, chap. 1, pp. 14-16

...

... he will preach ... that one, who will honor me and ... and he will give you ...

... in order to preach about the paraclete of the truth.

For he ... he has come to reveal himself to whoever has recognized him ...

... the time had come after all those years, as they ... from] Jesus until now ...

...

... until he ... and he will free them.

But when the church had donned (*phorein*) the flesh, then the time (*kairos*) had come to redeem the souls, just as in the month of Pharmuthi, in which the weed has grown so much it has to be harvested.

At this same time he [fashioned?] the image (*eikon*) that I now carry, in the years of **Artabanes**, king of Parthia. But in the years of **Ardashahr**, king of Persia, I grew up and was bigger and reached [the ripeness] of time.

In the very year that *King Ardashahr [was about to receive?] the crown, then the living paraclete came down [to me and] spoke with me. He revealed to me the hidden mystery, which had been hidden before the worlds and the generations (*genea*), the mystery of the deep and the height. He revealed the mystery of the light and the darkness, the mystery of the struggle and the war (*polemos*), and the great war ... that the darkness had caused.

He also revealed to me how the light ... the darkness by its mingling (with it), and how this world has been constructed.

He also taught me how the ships had been fastened so that the [gods] of light would sit down in them in order to purify the light [from] the creation, (and) [to throw] the dregs and seepage (*aporroia*) [into the] abyss; the mystery of the creation (*plassein*) of Adam, the first human.

He taught me also the mystery of the tree of knowledge, which Adam had eaten from so that his eyes became seeing. Also the mystery of the apostles who were sent into the world [in order] to elect the churches; the mystery of the elect [and their] commandments (*entola*); <the mystery of the sinners and their works>; the mystery of the catechumens, their helpers and [their] commandments; the mystery of the sinners and their works and the punishment (*kolasis*) that faces them.

In this way everything that will happen has been revealed to me by the paraclete ... All that the eye sees and the ear hears and the thought thinks and [...]. All that I have realized through him.

I have the All through him and became one body and one spirit.

Toward the end of the years of King Ardashahr I went forth to preach. I voyaged to India and preached to them the hope of life and chose a good selection there.

But **in the year that King Ardashahr died and his son Shapur** (Sapores) **became king**, then [he sent for me?]. I traveled from India to Persia, and from Persia I came to Babylon, Mesene, and Susiana.

I appeared before King Shapur, he received me (*hupodékhesthai*) with great honors and permitted me to wander about in [his domains and] preach the word of life.

I spent several years in [in] his following (*komitâton*), many years in Persia, Parthia, up to Adiabene and the border regions of the domain of the Roman empire.

[I have selected?] you, the good selection, the holy church to which I was sent by the father. I have [sown the] grain of life and have ...

... from east to west, as you see ...

From the Manichean Homilies: the Narrative about the Crucifixion

(Gardner and Lieu, no. 10)

P. 42.9-33

King Shapur came to Persia. He came to the town of Bashabahor (Wehshabuhr/Bishapur). An illness overcame his body, a great danger overcame him. He arrived at the time of his departure. **King Shapur died** and was led out of the world.

King Hormesad (Hormezd/Ohrmazd) arouse and was crowned in his place.

... my lord went in [to the king and said to him:] They call you “good king” ... sin. You give each and every one(?) the possibility to live. I too(?) if you wish ... from today ... till now I am with you (all) ... as you are lying there empty ... he helped him out ... that he went to the Assyrians ... my lord said ... [that] nobody should sin against me and harm [me] ... the Assyrians. Then he surrendered him ...

P. 43.9-27

... from the height through the Nous ... in the land of the Light ... of the rich ones ... wealth of Light ... the angels of praise ... The [sweet?] song ... the virgins. The shape of the beloved of [the Lights?] ... the glorious Gospel, the ... the book of the mysteries of the truth ... the king of each scripture ... the god of every good thought ... the prayed for of all the apostles. He who was expected by all the generations. He sealed it with ... with the first alphabet ... went ahead, as he wrote it ... went to every land ... he went to the river Tigris ... every place. All his children ... and his catechumens ... in every land ...

P. 44.10-28

he did not waver until he [arrived] in Hormes[daksha]har (Ohrmazdardaxshahr). He wanted to go to **Kushan**. The ... [forbade] him to go. Then he returned in anger and sorrow. He came to Hozeos (Xuzestan). He came [from?] Hormesdakshahar until he reached Maisanos (Meshan). From Maisanos he came to the river Tigris. He traveled up to Ctesiphon

Having come out along the road(?) he alluded to his crucifixion, saying to them:

“Look at me and satiate yourselves with me, my children, for I shall go away from you bodily.”

He came out ... and he went to Pargalia. He ... there. He went with Baat to the *herm[eneia]*. ... his children and the presbyters. He gave them orders regarding every single thing ...

“... pay attention to my books ... look after my widows and orphans ... ”

... to Kholassar. From Kholass[ar] ... his disciples ...

P. 45.5-27

... with Baat to the *herm[eneia]*. ...

...

... **came to Bêlapat, the place of the crucifixion** and the place where the cup of ... had been mixed.

When **the magi** noticed how people were asking: Who is it who has come in? and they told them: That is Mani—when they heard that they got all upset and full of anger. **They went and accused him before Kardel**. Kardel for his part told the *synkathedros*. Then Kardel and the *synkathedros* went and brought the accusations before the *magistor*. The *magistor* told the king. When he heard this ... then he had them send for my Lord.

On Sunday he came to Bêlapat, on Monday he was accused ... On Sunday the king gave an order regarding him and convicted him ...

Then ... my Lord ...

...

the greeting ... answered full of anger against him:

I swear by my blessedness (*eudaimonia*) and my soul and the soul of my father ...

P. 46.5-27

... after x 4 days ...

...

After he had come before the king ...

As soon as the king saw him his face was contorted by an angry laughter. He spoke many words to him:

“For three years you have been going with Baat (Badia?). Which is the Law (*nomos*) you have been teaching to make him leave Ours and accept yours? ... *hermêneia*. Why did you not go with him after I had ordered you to go with him and also come (here) with him?”

Right away my Lord realized that the matter was intended to cast blame on him ... before the kings and the nobles (*eugenês*). ... sorrow over his sister the highest of the court ladies, who had died around that time. He said ...

P. 47.1-25

“... from whom have you learnt this (allegation) that ‘Our matters are nobler than those of (the rest of) the world?’ Because, since the beginning, when the Parthians came to power, these things of yours have never [happened] as long as [We] have held the power.”

Then my Lord said to him in the presence of all the nobles: “Ask all people about me. I have no master and no teacher from whom I have learnt this wisdom [or] from whom I might have taken these things. On the contrary, when I received them I received them from God through his angel. It was sent to me from god that I should preach in your realm. For this entire world was in **error** and had gone wrong. It had fallen away from the wisdom of God, [the Lord] of All. I, however, have received it from him and have revealed the path of truth in the middle of all so that the souls of these many might be saved and avoid the punishment. For the proof of all that I bring is clear as the day: all that I [preach] existed in the earlier generations. But that is usually the case, that the path of truth sometimes shows itself and sometimes hides itself ...’

The king said to him: “Why is it that God reveals this to you, while ... God has not [reveled] it to us as well, we who are the lords of the whole land ...?”

My Lord said: “It is God who has the Power ...

P. 48.1-27

“Whatever you want, do that with me! For I will tell the truth before you. **King Shapur took care of me.** [He] wrote letters to all the nobles with the contents: ‘Protect him and support him so that no one plots and sins [against him].’ [But] you have access to the proofs that King Shapur took care of me and the letters he wrote for me in every land to the nobles that they should protect me.

“And also King Hormêsad ... I was with him then ... after King Shapur It is you who ... yourself have seen that Hor[mêsad?] is much revered.”

When the king saw that he ... every advice and every defense and that there was no case against him ... killing ... hostage (taking) ... said:

“Look, O sun, you are [witness? how] the king in his shamelessness [plots?] against me.”

After that the king gave an order and ... had my Lord chained. He laid three chains on his ... foot chains on his feet. The laid a chain on his neck. Some young men dragged him (away) ... before him in fear. Then, after this ... remembered that foot chains on his feet were ... had brought him here. After he had gone in to the king ...

...

“... where did she go?”

P. 49.9-31

...

The king said to him: “Reveal to me the matter ... which place? Where has she gone? ... or ... has she gone ...?”

... and the end of the world ... but nobody dies now ...

The king was silent. ... the things he had asked him about ...

“... the earth, you know it is seven. .. How old is he ... and is destroyed?”

DEATH OF MANI ACC. TO THE COPTIC HOMILIES

My Lord said: "... the whole world ...
... x00 years ... then the ... happened ... the whole world."
The king ...

P. 50.6-28

... he began making allusions ...
...

(Gardner and Lieu, no. 12)

He went to sleep. Then ... he gave instructions to those who were his about every one of his matter. First he gave orders regarding his children ... as they went with him ... who were to become *archêgos* after him ... in which he was to rise up ...

"Be strong and firm of heart ... do good ... and the Psalms ...

P. 51.10-32

... out from this world ...
... the winking of the angels ...
... the grace (*kharis*) ...
... my father ...

P. 52.1-27

... iron on me ..
... [my] father, the First Man, who ... hear my voice in my straits and ...
... as he wept ... before his father so that he would help him ... his voice, he was heard ... the pure and the mixed ...
the voice of his imploring ...he said again:

"... the draperies ... my plea and my prayer."

He called ... by his name and the angel in ... glory. I call all your names ... from his prison. Put on my robe of ...
out ... from this world. O my father, First Man, ... [I] open the gates of my imploration ...

...

... my voice angels ... hear the voice of my imploring ... my chains. May I be heard ...

P. 53.1-35

... as I humiliate myself before ... exalted Bema.

O judge of the worlds, ... [hear] the prayer of the just ... O true father of the orphans and husband of the grieving widow.

O first one of Justice, hear the voice of him who is in straits ... my redeemer.

O Perfect Man, Virgin of Light, pull up to you my soul from this abyss. Put those who hate me to shame through your ...

You have sent me to this ... of the Nous of the Greatness, the substance (*ousia*) ...

You have commissioned and sent me, [hear] my plea quickly. Release the prisoner [from the hands] of those who ravaged him.

Release the chained from the iron. Pull my spirit up from the ... my soul ...

... perished in this world ... which I have borne in it for the sake of your ... [since my] youth.

May your great power ... your mighty angels ... mockery and to throw off my chains ... and give the house to its lord.

... in his body. Take off my garment ... the dogmas. For him who asks you you [answer him] ... before you him you give ... calls to you ... you heard the ... orphans ...

...

DEATH OF MANI ACC. TO THE COPTIC HOMILIES

your hope ... apostle ... sermon ...

P. 60.1-31

... he came out and rose up to the height [with the power which] had come to fetch him.

(Gardner and Lieu, no. 14)

This is the memorandum about the day of his crucifixion to the time when he came out.

On Sunday he came to Bêlapat. On Monday he was accused. On Tuesday ... he secured his church until Saturday.

They sought him and chained him ... all those who hated him. They chained him on the 8th of Amshir (Wednesday?), (from which) until the day he rose up in the height there are 26 days,¹⁷ during which he was chained in these iron chains.

At 11 o'clock he rose out of this body, up to the dwellings of his greatness in the height. **He met his form** (*morphê*) ... **of the Lights.**

He came out and he jumped into the height [with?] the power that had come for him.

Behold, just ... [like?] the idol appears out of the temple ... shining lamp. He was fetched ... He rose up from the world ...

...

the great holy just one ... the world and all the false religions (*dogmata*) ... those who hated and the criminals ... the givers of peace ...

... away from among the demons ...

... of the apostle ...

... the height ...

... away from his own race ..

... **the good translator** (*hermeneutês*)...

P. 61.2-30

...

The voice of ... of the sermon became silent. He arose from the worlds ... the great redeemer. The ... of the Chosen.

He became calm [and arose], the great believer ... the good father of the orphans. He rose up, [the husband] of the widows, the master of the scriptures, ... of the psalms, of the psalmists. He ... his servants, the merchant his merchandise, his disciples, the [good?] planter his plants,

...

... the apostle who ... the apostles of all generations, who came ..., the preacher of Life. **The translator from the land of great Babylon**—like an arrow [from] a bow he penetrated the world. He went out ... like a hero(?) ... the great *oioumenê* ...

... of this world ...

... crowned like **Sethel** ...

... he bore witness about himself on earth, and they praised him ... and the powers. Also in Heaven ... the gods and the angels honored and praised him ... all the holy ones and the ...

¹⁷ Monday, 4th of Baramhat.

DEATH OF MANI ACC. TO THE COPTIC HOMILIES

(Gardner and Lieu, no. 15)

P. 68.7-30

... adversities and mockeries ... from here. Humans ... he endured among ...

...

... from **Eve**, his true sister ... he fell three times ... **Adam**. He made 373 ... **Cain** and his whole family ... **Enosh**, **Sem**, **Shem**, and the other ... evil.

400,000 just ones ... the years of **Enoch** ... when they had come down ... adversities befell ... all the apostles.

What is ... Bema. For they reached this ... they mocked him. Also when ... they did not release him ... the crucified robbers ... all; for they gave him gall to drink ... his clothes among themselves ... his blood with their spears

...

The son of our God is it ...

P. 69.4-34

the son ... Zebedeus ...

... the bad things and **persecutions** ... the waters and the seas ...

Terrible is that which his disciples [had to endure] from those who persecuted them in each land. Many had the skin pulled off the soles of their feet. They [brought] a pan, placed him in it, and [lit fire] under him until the water boiled. He screamed and made sounds like ... many they tortured ... Many had their eyes gouged out.

Behold, these were revived(?) ... and these adversities befell them ... in foreign lands ...

Their bodies fell ... and the trees. Their bones [were scattered] in every land. The wolves, lions, ... their corpses.

Behold, **Paul** [saw his] Lord as he had performed signs and [miracles. How much] did he endure! How much did he see ... on sea and on land ... the inner and outer ... put him [II Cor. 11:35] in a basket and let him down [through a] window before the Jews ... he gave the garment ... twelve breads. He ate ...

P. 70.1-31

... the prayer ...

Also Zaradrusht (**Zarathustra**) who ... among the Persians ... him before the king ... how much from ... he reveals ... the two natures (*phusis*) which fight with [one another] ... also the matter of his dead body (*soma*): they revered [it] more than all the apostles.

Behold, ... his dead body, so that they should not throw it ...

Behold, Zaradrusht, as it is written, [was buried?] in the tombs of the kings ... they took his dead body ... garment and laid him in honor ...

In the land of **India** ...

...

... out of the world ... [they distorted?] the **truth** (*alêthês*). They did not throw out their dead bodies ... they weep over them and wail ... whoever sees the place of burial ... and remembers him to the good ... their shame is apparent ... each generation.

He also bound ... hinder humans, they know ... like(?) our father ...

(Gardner and Lieu, no. 19)

P. 76.1-34

... this year in which ...

Three more years came ... without anybody sinning against his people. ... They had appeased their anger [as] he had (fore?)told while he was still on earth.

But then ... after the crucifixion of my Lord [Satan?] began to insinuate (himself). His anger congregated ... from below ... began gradually ... in each land.

DEATH OF MANI ACC. TO THE COPTIC HOMILIES

The [Evil one? contained?] his anger until the 15th year. [Then] the evil ones and the criminals [came and ...] for him. For Satan harbored dis-grace against his devotees ... and on the outside

The kings [of the world] became angry ... the devouring fire ...

The wolves [attacked the herds] of sheep in order to kill and scatter. ... among the flocks; in order to destroy ...

The evil ones forced their way into the [vineyard?] ... and cut off the branches ...

The robbers forced their way into the treasury ... destroyed the treasures.

The cattle forced its way ... and trampled it as it was being raised.

... forced their way into the dovecots ... the fearful birds.

[In each] land the rumor of the crucifixion [spread] ... Persia, from Maisanos ... and Ktêsiphon, in Hoze and Babylon in each single town.

How many are ... and left them annually, virgins and celibates (*egkratês*)?

They caught and killed ... sheep. They caught the .. his treasures ...

(Gardner and Lieu, no. 20)

P. 81.4-33 (about Sisinnios)

... O my father, ... send your power so that it may bear the ... of those who have been crucified. ... place of rest. Take up to you the souls of the catechumens who have been destroyed.

In the years of **King Warharan** (Wahram/Bahram) **son of Warharan** this happened. But he and the whole [group] of the **magi** and those who denied ... to the good ones and the givers of peace ... the crucifixion of our Lord. Then when, after [these great] adversities and dangers ... in this manner, while externally ... but internally he carried ... his Justice (*dikaïosunê*) ... about which he had preached. ... to crucify him.

The world [was filled with his] fame. It came to the ears of the kings, [and they became] angry at that time. They ... the Justice. They went ... with the deniers, who had ... **they wrote pamphlets** (*biblidion*) and showed them to the king. Filled with evil ... protection of the magi ... they deny his Hope (*elpis*) ... all ... the king and the nobles ...

...

A great disaster happened ... their anger ... his devotees ...

P. 82.3-32

... they brought him before the king. He interrogated him about each and everything. My Lord Sisinnios [answered him] well (*kalos*). He convinced him ... in his place.

But **the king tortured him** ... Lust(?), saying to him: "...

He forced him: "... listen to me! ... But if you listen to me I shall ... You are a handsome man. Why ... yourself? Why do you wish to kill yourself? [Defend?] yourself so that I won't kill you!"

Then he said to the king: "... your words and your deeds. ..."

His heart was firm, he did not waver before him. brought swords, laid them out in a row, ...

The king said to him: "Look and ... my word!"

[But] my Lord Sisinnios [said]: "I have one who is more to be revered than you. ... I fear the one who ... your word."

Then the king became angry [and said]: "Who is it of whom you re more afraid then me?"

[Sisinnios said]: "... God. My heart fears ..."

Then the king ... him once, twice, and three times, but was unable to persuade him. Then he lifted a sword [and said to him]: "I shall now kill you ..."

... his cross like his [Lord] ... from the king. He did not falter [before?] the crowd of the other one ... he was not afraid ...

P. 83. 3-33

... his shoes. He took off his ... his own hair. He ...

The king lifted his hand and struck(?) him with the sword. ... blood flowed like ...

DEATH OF MANI ACC. TO THE COPTIC HOMILIES

[Then] three presbyters ... Apket, and Abesira, brothers ...

His crucifixion had taken place. ... [in] the city ... They crucified him ... at 9 o'clock on the 1st of ...
... the hours. He went ...

The ten years during which [he had been] *arkhêgos*(?) his heart had never faltered. ... [he drank] the cup of the crucifixion of his Lord [Mani]. ... after him. He received the crown ... on the road of his redeemer ... peace. He went in to the peace ... he found compensation for his suffering. ...

And also the brothers who had been crucified [with him] ...

His word was [then] laid upon Innaios. ... 'the *arkhêgos* of the *dogma*.' ... heard the plea of the just one ... the wailing and weeping of those who called ...

After the murder of this crucifixion now ... among all of them, there came down ... and found his sons in their adversity.

...

For a danger befell ... king, as he suffered a lot, like ... All his *tagmata* and his doctors [were unable to heal the illness?] that had come over him. Those who understood his law (*nomos*) ... hurried [to ...], because they wanted to heal him. They were unable to ...

In that hour ...

P. 84.2-34

... he decided ... in presence of the king ... true ...

He noticed ... medications, in brief, a pretext ... God, who had helped him ...

.. oaths: "I shall ... medications in all your heart ... good deeds and the good of your religion (*dogma*) ... I have killed your sons so that you [fear me?] and do not heal me. I did not wish it, [but these] evil [people] who accused him. ... whatever is among you all speak it ... do not be afraid! This is all passed ... from today."

So he healed him ... God. He got fame, the gods and ... helped him. He received letters (of protection) from the [king allowing him to travel] in every land. He ... in face of the whole world.

... hand, as they were brought to the table ... that he should sit next to him. ... He gave him gold and silver. He did not accept it ... that he might obtain power ... only God and his Hope. He ... before the king and the nobles ... they honored him. More and more ... He received victory and grace(?). ... his religion (*dogma*).

Fame ... those who were honored and those who were despised ... the Chosen and the catechumens ... from(?) God. The Justice ... great fame came to it ... They built and arranged ... from the places ...

P. 85.1-30

... every place. They wrote the letters [to the] nobles (dwelling) on every river ...

In the palace of the king peace descended upon ... upon the Justice. They made friends ... with the grandees (*megistanos*) and the petty kings (*arkhontes*) ... before the Good (*agathon*).

The three [years of] **King Warharan** is when this happened. ... in peace at that time. ... it became very famous.

Then [after this] ... **he came up to Belapat and died**. He [entered the peace] ... at that time from the ... of the world.

Praised be the ... and the word of the apostle! ... which he proclaimed. ... they will be pulled out of the world ... they will perish. The church ... in all its places.

A crowd ... compensation in their body. ... church saw her ... as she constantly stood there. ... they wanted to do evil. She is a stone of offense [Rom. 9:32-3]. ...

all worlds. She is ... all. She will not waver till the day ... and her limbs, which will rule in ...

[Woe upon him] who denies it and does not concur with it (*metanoëi*) [and does not] honor it! Hail upon those ... and their believers and every ... for it is he who will find [eternal life].

Amen.

End of the section [of the narrative]

About the crucifixion of the Savior, the [true] apostle

DEATH OF MANI ACC. TO THE COPTIC HOMILIES

P. 86.1-34

... Mani the living without ... the exalted one, whom the Father of [Greatness?] ... sent out through the Mother of Life ... the exalted king. The first who ... through the First Man.

I [praise] ... whom the Beloved of the Lights pulled up ... [the Great] Builder. The descendant of the Living Spirit

...

I honor you, who were generated ... greatness, who is the messenger ... Jesus the Splendor, father of the Virgin [of Light] ... the praised Judge [who judges] each and every one who is chained in the flesh ...

[I] praise you, for us his eons and ... trees and ... which are in it ... of life.

I praise you with the voice ... you, the pure light ... the holy members of the house, the ether, which ... father(?) of truth, whom my Lord ...

[I] praise you, for he belongs ... who does not grow old, the imperishable one ... [who] are the son and moon of God, the light bodies ... who reveal your ... call and hearing ... the first of all lights ...

We have written this book ... for it is ... whom the glorious gods sent us ... the shining eons ... all the members of his house ... **they led him from world [to world, from] eon to eon**, until he reached ...

At that hour ... the angels ... **a virgin came toward him** ... they kissed one another ...

P. 87.1-22

... **who sits firmly on his throne** ... kissed with the kiss ... quickly went inside ... of all the apostles ...

...

... Sapores king of Persia in the ... the great sword appeared ... my devotees, the just ... the great horse which ... nobody knows to whom it belongs ... appeared who was to mount it ... the sect (*dogma*) of the baptists ... the law (*nomos*) ... he nourished ... a great angel stood there ... he spoke to them: the boy who ... the throne of the great judge ... and performs a great judgment ... while his face ...

...

... he spends seven years ...

[About the Twin]

P. 88.1-20

... in it. He taught him about the great [war which] had taken place between these two powers. ... in them.

He also said: ... the soul ... Which ... take prisoner ... body ... in the underworld and ... back out of their chains.

... he rose up to the height ...

I asked you, O truth, you did not ...

He informed me [about] this world, which will be dissolved, and about that which ... the New Eon, the great ... of the gods, as it will be built ...

...

... wound animals during the hunt ... **he took me to the upper regions** ... I alone am ...

P. 89.1-22

I raised my loud voice as [I said to] my people: "Come to me. I have ... an angel. Spare me ... great drum ...

...

I entered into ... in their affairs ... as they said to me: "Why ... you ... the manner (or: measure) among us ..."

I said to them: "The great ... the two faces as it belongs(?) to me. ...

... they are more unpleasant than the dark night ... what I have(?) ... expelled me from their town as I ...

... to discourage their anger. I ... I never cease ... with them ...

... father ... live in them ...

P. 90.2-21

... so that he may fetch **my ship** ...

... to the shore ... convey across ...

I came(?) [to] the shore ... sea.

Why do I endure this(?) ...

[Who] will love you (fem.) until I ... horrible ... she is not distressed by the waves of the sea(?). ...

... he has hidden(?) you in a ...

... who usually changes(?) herself ... drink the cup of the ...

... So therefore go ...

P. 91.1-33

happens in every place, as each and everyone persecutes me ... like sheep who are persecuted by wolves everywhere. Thus it is also with me, my children, ... How many lands have I searched through, how many cities(?) [as I sought] my daughter, whom I love, until ... met me **in the years of King Shapur**.

[Satan] became envious and quickly(?) snatched him away. His son placed the crown on his head in his place. ... to me a lot during his rule, as ...

How many places have I searched through, how many oceans have I gone around ... to Persia.

Ammo (Ammos) and They said: Many [oceans] have we gone around ... in every place. We came as we were traveling [to] ... ocean. Then a whale came up from the ocean ... its head, while begging and imploring our father. [But] our father ordered him to go away without showing him any grace. And again this animal came ... as it was disturbed(?).

Then our father spoke to those who ...: "Look at him, O children! That was a student ... He came as he was talking about the Living Soul ... a plant. He said to the apostle: "... a plant, why did it not cry out when a tore [it] out, [but] was silent(?)?"

So there you see this one, how he ... his head, as he carries it and suffers.

[We were on our] way, O king(?), when our father sat on ... Then a big lion came down ... weeping. Then our father ordered him to ... and forgave him. Then he again said to us: "You [see this one]. That is Pilate, who convicted Jesus. But [he] spoke a word in his favor, namely: "... are clean of the blood of this just one [Mt. 27:24]." Therefore he received absolution for his sins.

... a tyrant locked him up ... the whole world became dark ... a tremor ...

P. 92.1-35

... son, who pronounces the ... nobody goes ... outside the city ... the voice that you will hear will call ... to the gate which they seek(?) ... my golden bird once, who comes(?) ... to him.

If he calls again [thousands and] tens of thousands will follow him.

When I had heard(?) ... consoled(?) me. I came and told him the word ... before me. He blessed me, saying: "... my son. While you are with me many are those who ... remember them according to our ...for one will be able to(?) ... to him a long life until he ... we are blessed (*makarios*) because we remembered ... you (all) ... believe in him, but we have cursed ... so that they know that they are fighting with ... students and teachers among us who have fallen(?) ...

... began to defame and accuse our Lord. ... the fight against us had flared up one day with the sects ... and a drawn sword was in his hand ... father. But that man ... as he ... away from us. Our father was because of their disbelief ... they often let loose their mad dogs ...

What shall we tell you now about [all] the sufferings [which] our Lord endured? For human strength [is not enough for the pains] he suffered in every land ... as he sought his honored virgin ... the *eparkhoi* and the ... in every city ... as he ... as they persecuted him.

Numerous are the sufferings ... sea, as he went ... him, as he went ...

P. 93.5-33

... they persecuted us, they threw us ...

DEATH OF MANI ACC. TO THE COPTIC HOMILIES

We went to a place ... stood and prayed ... as he prayed so that he cried out [loud?]: “[My] blessed father, why am I carrying ... in the world? [I] barely ... on the earth. I have never struck a human being. For your sake, O my blessed father, ... him as he was weeping, as his tears [flowed. We] wept as we saw him ...

He came into enmity with the kings for his sake ... world. The world could not endure him ... whose enemy he had not been till he ... all this.

He did not detest ... the good one ...

When we had gone in ... from Susa (*Suson*) the tyrant ... went in and sent for our father. ... that hour we swallowed ... she who loves our father ...

When the lamb had risen up to the aeon ... raging like a demon ... he went in to him and said to him: “[Who] sent you? For whom are your sermons?”

Then ... said: “... I said to him: ‘I am the servant of the ... who has sent me out to select ... fallen into many sins.’”

Then ... neck chains ... neck chains ... leg ...

P. 94.7-22

... in the persecutions ...

... [from] the first day when ... [these] persecutions and these ... oppressions [began have I] testified about this misery to you ...

... in the way I transmitted to you earlier(?) ...

... the king will come to judge this world. ... [my] writings, so that they will be handed to him: my great Gospel [from] A to Ω and the Treasure of Life and all ... and the Book of Mysteries the exalted Pragmateia and the Book [of Giants] ... all of them they shall bring ...

P. 95.2-23

... which he made. Behold the ... the Testament which I gave to the ... For the ... which I wrote to you ... I took none of you ... none of you ...

... and bishops ... did violence to the sons whom they had crucified ... believed that I had given them ... and these lords.

For I gave ... the lamb(?) which the tearing wolves ... one another with a call and to one ... you, my big children(?) ... my small children ... he came for all the lambs ... for he knows that none other ... and their fill(?) as they ... the shepherds and the ... rise up in the height.

He who is like that ... the numerous tears in my presence ...

... tears. I shall take his face(?) ... when he shall unveil himself ...

P. 96.1-22

... but help(?) ...for the catechumen who worries ... he never yet strayed from the path ...

... I did them. In the way he gave ... apostle ... the honor ... therefore you too ... [the Chosen] and the catechumens, the great ... and [the small] ... my mouth ... you ever.

Also in my misery ... [I] look up at you as I am not able to ... lift my head or move my hands or my feet [because] of the iron.

And while I am in these miseries ... good for you. As when ... I pronounced them in a ...”

When he had said this ... saying: “... [I] see you ... the Chosen and the catechumens ... to the right. We went out as he blessed us ... they closed the doors of the prison. ... We are those who were left behind ...iron, so that I shall stand ...

[End of the Manichean Homilies]

Cosmogony and cosmology acc. to the *Shabuhragan*

M 98-99

(Have mercy) on me, Yisho'frazend, a new and untrained scribe, who wrote this in love, and on all the toilers

The Living Spirit and the Mother of Life construct the world

The firmament

... and they attached] the seven planets and suspended the **two dragons** (= the lunar nodes) and chained them. On that nethermost heaven they suspended them and appointed two angels, male and female, in order to make them turn ceaselessly at their cry.

The two chariots of the sun and the moon

And again they led upwards to the border and the highest of the light. And from the wind and light, water and fire that had been purified from the mixture and made and arranged two light chariots:

that of the sun from fire and light, with five walls—of ether, wind, light, water, and fire; and twelve doors and five houses, and three thrones, and five soul-gathering angels within the wall of fire;

and that of the moon god from wind and water, with five walls—of ether, wind, light, water, and fire; and fourteen doors, and five houses, and three thrones, and five soul-gathering angels within the wall of water.

And they donned ...

Construction of the earths

1. *And again god Mihr (The Living Spirit) donned three garments from that purification—of wind, water, and fire, and went down to **the dark earth**. And in order to create the great building, the new paradise, over it he filled in those five graves of death¹⁸ and made them even.

And corresponding to the heavens he layered and put down over the dark earth four layers—of hot wind, darkness, fire, and water, one on top of the other.

And he let one wall *go down from the light earth eastward, (then) southward, (and finally) westward and connected it back to **the light earth** again.

2. Then he made another great earth and placed it on top of the layers. And he made that god Parmangen (Atlas) House-master over it.

And on that earth, within (the first wall, he made) another wall, toward the east, south, and west, also with three regions, three columns, and five arches: [one from] the end of the wall in the west to the western column, and the second from the western column to the southern column, and the third from the southern column to the eastern column, and the fourth from the eastern column to the end of the wall in the east, and the fifth, the great one, from the eastern to the western column, and (finally) a great and firm earth with twelve doors corresponding to the doors of the heavens.

And on top of that earth, along the circumference, he made four walls and three graves. And **in the inner grave he enclosed the demons** and placed the nethermost earth on (their) head.

3. And he placed five quadratic columns in order to arrange the zodiac from it (them?) by hand(?), and he placed a great earth on the columns and vaults and two walls on the shoulder(s) of the House-master god. And he arranged *vaults eastward and westward on top of the outermost wall and northward on the light earth.

¹⁸ The five Dwellings of the realm of Darkness.

4-5. And on top of that great Mazman earth, and hither from the graves, (he placed) two other, mixed, earths. And he made all the doors (in the shape) of reeds and *irrigation canals in order to lead upward a great amount of water and fire through them. And around the earth(s) he arranged one wall with four doors. And in the four regions he placed four angels, which uphold the nethermost heaven, corresponding to and equally dressed as the upper (angles).

The hells

And he constructed twelve hells, three in each district, in order to sweep the excrements from the four dark regions into them. And on this side of them he arranged an *evil pool to serve as a surrounding sea and, also in the middle of that evil pool, **a prison for the giant of the sea.**

The last earth

[An] again, on the face of the earth, [he made] mountains [and] valleys [to serve as] a clear separation [of the regions from one another(?) ...

M 7984.2

... about the corporeal: End of the speech about the corporeal

... and not to hell, where they also will find no happiness, until their *annihilation arrives.

And when the god Mihr (the Living Spirit) had made and arranged those four layers (that were) the prison of the demons; and four earths on columns and ...; and doors and walls and graves and hells and reeds in the bowels of the earth; and mountains and valleys and springs, rivers and oceans; and ten heavens with regions and places and districts and houses and towns and tribes and lands and borders and guards and gates; thresholds, turns and double hours and walls; and a **zodiac** with planets and stars and **the two chariots** of the sun and the moon with houses and thrones and gates and a chief gate guard; and prison master and border guard master and house master and town master and tribe master and land master; and all kinds of things in the universe,— then that Newsbringer god (the Call) and Informer god (the Answer), whom the One of Female Form (Mother of Life), the mother of Ohrmezbay (First Man), [and had draped over] their own bodies, were *both [led up] and were placed before that Land-master (Splenditenens) who stands above the whole heaven and holds the head of those gods(?).

And the god Mihr and the One of Female Form, **the creators**, were both led up to paradise and, together with Ohrmezbay and the Most Pleasing of the Lights (Friend of the Lights) and the Creator-of-the-New-World god (Great Builder), stood in reverence before the ruler of Paradise. And they bowed and did deep homage and said, “We greet you, lord, who by your own miracle power and blessing created us. And through us you have bound the Âz (Hyle) and Ahrimen (Prince of Darkness) and demons and witches. [... bring forth a new god who] shall [... and] command [him] that he shall go and inspect that prison of the demons; and (that) he shall apportion revolution and movement to the sun and the moon and (thus) be a deliverer and redeemer of that light and good grace of the gods (the Living soul), which in the beginning was smitten through Âz and Ahrimen and the demons and the witches— and even now they keep it oppressed—, and also that which is enclosed in the earth and the sky throughout the various regions and suffers pain; and (that) he should prepare a road and path up to the highest for the wind, water, and fire!”

*End of the speech about the corporeal
The speech about Naresahyazd (Third Messenger)*

Beginning of the speech of god Naresah.

Then the ruler of paradise by his own miracle power and blessing created the three gods: god Realm of Light (Third Messenger) and the god Wisdom and Power (Jesus the Splendor), (and) He Who Leads Up (Column of Glory), so that, just as the lord is himself the ruler of paradise and holds all the light in it, thus that god Realm of Light should be lord and ruler over the earth and heaven and hold (all) the light in the universe, and (so that the three) should reveal day and night.

And the god Wisdom and Power ... that light and good grace (the Living Soul) that after the ... [had ...

M 7981.1

The dragon of the sea and Adamas.

... [and by the semen of the archonts] plants, flowers and meadows and *azih*r and various growing things were sown and grew. And Âz (Hyle) herself mingled her own self into them.

And that one part that fell on the ocean—an ugly, ravenous, and fearful monster came of it, and it crawled out of the ocean and began to do harm in the world.

Then the god Mihr sent, from among those five gods of his own creation (his five sons), that four-shaped one (Adamas), who stretched out that monster in the northern district, from east to west, in the entire north, stamped his foot (on it), and threw (it down). And he stood upon it, so that it could do no harm.

And that god was made town-master over the entire earth [and heaven], the universe, [over north and] east, south and west, in order that he should protect the world.

Âz pollutes the earth.

And when that salacious and *man-consuming Âz fell from heaven onto the earth, on dry and wet land, it befouled it with all kinds of weeds and monsters from its own self.

The abortions from hell begin reproducing on earth.

Then the demons and the witches, raging devils, monsters and *succubae, bipeds and quadrupeds, winged and poisonous and *reptilian—all those who were pregnant from hell in the beginning and then were bound in the eleven heavens—**saw the brilliance and splendor of the god Realm-of-Light** (Third Messenger), **and they lusted for him and lost their minds**. Then their own misbirths were *aborted from them and came down to the earth and began crawling upon the earth. And they ate food and fruit from the trees and became bigger and (turned into) monsters and Archons. And from the food and fruit of the trees that Âz came into them, and they were agitated by lust and copulated together.

The Third Messenger tells the Great Builder to build the final prison.

Then the god Realm of Light told the god Creator of the New World, “Go and build beyond the earth and heaven (and) the universe and within those five hells toward the south, from there in this direction over the hall of darkness, from east to the western district, similar to paradise, a new building! And in the middle of that building make a firm prison for Âz and Ahrimen and the demons and the witches!

And then, when that light and good grace of the gods, which Ahrimen and the demons had devoured and is tormented and turns around in every region and (in) the demons and the witches—that, after it is purified and is pulled up to the highest and (when) the renovation comes about, then Âz and Ahrimen and the demons and the witches shall be bound in that prison for ever *beyond recovery!”

The Third Messenger tells the Great Builder to build the new paradise.

“And on top of that new building make the new paradise, where Ohrmezd and these gods who by their own miracle power and light seized and bound Âz and Ahrimen and the demons and the witches. And for us [make] a throne and ... And ...

M 7980.1

... and **by wisdom and knowledge**, over the great body [macrocosmos], create the ether, and after the ether the wind, and after the wind the light, and after the light the water, and after the water create the fire!”

And he donned them as a garment, and he held the fire in the hand. And he went against Ahrimen and the demons and struck them down and bested them. And ...

... [and he will purify] wind [and light. And] he will arrange [...] and will purify water (and) fire. And together they will always be of the same intention and the same power. And his own original light and good grace (which was) in the care of these *Mahrspands* (sons of First Man) and the will of Ohrmezbay, was loosened from them.

... and ... will ...

After the god god Wisdom and Power had placed that god Carrier of the Regions (Atlas) in the middle of the universe he arranged those gods. Then again the god Realm of Light, the god of Female Form (the Mother of Life), and Ohrmezbay, by their own shape and ...

The speech of the movement (of) the days

... he placed those gods [and] that [god] *Jewel-mine¹⁹ in the chariot of the sun and the moon, so that [they might redeem] that light and good grace of the gods that, from the beginning, Âz and the demons and the witches, male and female, had chewed and swallowed and still hold caught, and also that (part) of the wind and water and fire which they, until the renovation, chew and [swallow ...

M 7980.2

... of ... mixed into [it], when Ohrmezd and Ahrimen fought together. And afterward he leads up that light and good grace (Living Soul) by the revolution and movement of the sun and the moon and the care and healing of the gods from the earth and the heaven, the whole universe, and [he brings it] to [paradise ...

... day ... becomes. And again, when it is fifteen by the monthlies, at half (= full) moon, Ohrmezbay creates and arranges that light and waxing of the moon god by the god Own Shape. And from full moon (it is) sixteen by the monthlies until the invisible (= new) month, (when it is) twenty-[nine by the monthlies. ...

... and] the invisible [moon] come together, [then] Ohrmezbay ... rises from the chariot of the moon god and enters into the chariot of the sun. And those gods whom Ohrmezbay from half moon to the invisible moon day by day [transfers] from the chariot of the moon god to the chariot of the sun ...

... one month is reckoned in thirty days and by new moon and half moon and invisible moon and becomes visible.

And that Âz and Ahrimen and utter darkness and stinking burning wind and poison of death and furious scorching and the poison of the demons and [the witches shall? ...

M 506R

The month of Âban and Taurus (Gaw)

... and also [the month of] Âban is opposite demonesses: parching, scorching, and [dark], and the sign of Taurus moves in it. And the ... [from them] is opened ..., and trees ... and by ...

M 7981.2 (+ M 506V)

... when] the day is completed in those 30 revolutions of that second threshold, then the month of Âban is attached and becomes visible. And in the month of Âban the day is 11 hours and the night 13. And then too in the universe the sun glitters and shines.

The month of Adur and the Twins (Dopahikar) and the seasons

And then too the sun rises from that second threshold to the first threshold, which is higher, larger, and thicker than the others. And another thirty days of the month of Âdur (are) those same 30 revolutions and the 360 double hours he fitted into that same first threshold that the moon ... dwelt in. And also the month of Âdur is opposite

¹⁹ *ratmagotra?*

demonesses: parching, scorching, and dark, and the sign of the Twins moves in it. And he opens the heat from them downward. And plants and fruits begin to ripen. And then, during those 30 days of the month of Âdur, the 360 “seconds”²⁰ that are in one full hour, day by day 12 “seconds” are taken again from the night and are added to the day in their (proper) place. And (thus) the day is 12 hours, and the night 12. And they are both equal. And then the whole universe is again summer and at mid-day it is noon, which was how the sun moved at the beginning.

And afterward he divides one year into 12 monthlies corresponding to the 12 signs (of the zodiac) into spring and summer, fall and winter, and makes (them) visible. And trees bloom and meadows and grass and fruits and plants ripen, and the animals procreate.

The epagomena (intercalary days)

And when the sun highest in the sky in that *expanse of the universe, month after month move above and opposite the (five) signs of Aries, Taurus, the Twins, Cancer, and Leo, then, corresponding to these five signs during five months those five days are added: for (each) sign, each month one day, the one that they now consider the five *gahs* in Iran.

In Non-Iran, as well, corresponding to these five signs severally ten days are added: to each sign two days.

And in the same manner the sign of Virgo: in one month one day is added. That is when it starts to release coldness down from them, and the trees (begin) to *increase discoloring, and fall (begins) to be reckoned, and the universe (begins) to be sunset.

And in the same manner the sign of Pisces: in one month one day is added. That is when it begins to release warmth down from it, and the trees (begin) to bloom, and spring (begins) to be reckoned, and the universe (begins) to be dawn.

Those are, then, the five days that they now consider the five *gahs* in Iran and the 12 days (used) in Non-Iran.

M 7984.1

*The speech about Gehmurd and Murdiyanag*²¹
[The speech about the decreasing of day and night]

... at first(?), he will pull [... out of?] Ahrimen and the demons (and) up from the universe and lead (it) up to the sun and the moon and convey (it) to **its own family** in paradise. **And then the universe will be restored.**

And Âz and the demons will be undone, and for the sun and the moon and the gods there will be rest and repose.

And at first, too, when these gods, by the turning and movement and increasing and decreasing of the sun and the moon, divided (the universe) up by regions, places, and borders and (when) they made visible days and nights and months and years and (they) purified the light out of the universe, then that accursed (lit.: whose offspring is smitten) Âz, who had fallen down from heaven and had donned trees and plants as garments, (thereby), from the trees and plants, (also) donned those throw-offs, the monsters and the Archons, who had fallen from heaven. And that splendor and excellence of god Narêšah, ... was ... and they saw ...

And again he saw the sun and the moon move, and similarly he saw **that light and good grace of the gods** too, which he kept grasped, **the god and the sun and the moon were continuously purifying it out of the Âz and the universe and preserving it in his chariots and conveying it to paradise.**

The decreasing of day and night
Gehmurd and Murdiyanag

²⁰ 1 “second”= 10 seconds

²¹ Gehmurd (Adam) = dead life, Murdiyanag (Eve) = mortal woman.

Creation of mankind

Then that *lusty Âz was filled with rage, and it began to seek a way out and thought, “I will form two creatures, male and female, after those two forms, male and female, of god Narêsah to be a garment and covering for me [which] I will be arranged *in [so that ... and] these [two] *creatures may not be taken from me and I may not endure need and distress.”

Then that Âz, of all those misbirths of the demons that had fallen from the heaven onto the earth, that Archon who was male and that Archon who was female, lion-shaped, *lusty, raging, sin(ful) and thievish, those it donned as a garment. And it made them its own covering and garment and lusted inside them.

And just as in the beginning in that dark hell, its own devilish abode, Âz itself had taught the demons and witches, the raging devils, the monsters and the Archons, male and female, lust and coitus, thus, afterward too, Âz again began to teach in the same manner lust and coitus to those other monsters and Archons, male and female, who had fallen from heaven down to earth, so that they should lust and copulate and mingle with their limbs together and outlandish misbirths should be born from them and Âz should take those misbirths and eat them and make two forms out of them, one man and one woman.

M 7982

Creation of Gehmurd

Then that monster and the male and female Archons taught lust and coition to all of them, and they mingled together with the limbs together. And their misbirths were born and raised. And they gave their own misbirths to those two Archons, the male and female of lion form, which had been created as garments for Âz and full of desire, and Âz devoured those misbirths. And those two Archons, the male and female, lusted and mingled together with limbs together. And that shape which they had donned as garments, from those misbirths of the monsters and Archons which it had eaten, that it formed after its own desire, and it made a body **in male shape with bones, tendons, flesh, veins, and skin.**

Adam’s material soul and language

And it bound that (part) of the light and good grace of the gods that the misbirths of the monsters had infiltrated through the fruits and *êwar* in that body as soul. And it placed inside it its own desire, lust and, copulation and animosity and bad-mouthing, hate and sin, rage and *pollution and *tidar* and mindlessness and antireligionism and doubt, thieving and lying, robbing and evil-doing, obstinacy and *≈aburagi*, vengefulness and *≈êbag*, sorrow and despair, pain and ache, poverty and destitution, illness and old age, stench and *'prgyy*.

And all those words and sounds of those aborted monsters, from which it shaped that body, those it gave to that animal creation, so that it should speak and know various words.

Astrological ties of Adam

And (the new creation) was also formed and shaped after that male appearance of the gods that it had seen from the chariot, and, from above, it connected to it from the heaven (its) beginning from and attachment to the monsters and Archons and the star signs and the planets, so that from the monsters and the star signs desire and sin should rain upon it and fill its mind (*nous*), so that it would become even more thieving and monstrous and filled with concupiscence and lust.

Adam’s name

And when that male creature was born, then it named it “first man,” that is, Gehmurd (living dead).

Creation of Murdiyanag

And then the two lion-shaped Archons, male and female, again ate of the same misbirths who assisted them (before) and lust and copulation filled them, and they mingled together with the limbs together. And that Âz which

had filled them through those misbirths of the monsters that they had eaten, that once more shaped and fashioned another body with bones, tendons, flesh, veins, and skin.

Eve's material soul and language

And it bound that (part) of the light and good grace of the gods that the misbirths of the monsters had infiltrated through the fruits and *êwar* in that body as **soul**. And it fitted inside it and filled into it even more than in Gehmurd its own desire, lust and, copulation and animosity and bad-mouthing, hate and sin, rage and *pollution and *tidar* and mindlessness and antireligionism and doubt, thieving and lying, robbing and evil-doing, obstinacy and *≈aburagi*, vengefulness and *≈êbag*, sorrow and despair, pain and ache, poverty and destitution, illness and old age, stench and *'prgyy* and all kinds of heresies and sinning. And those words and sounds of all those aborted monsters, from which it was shaped, those it gave to that female too, so that it too should speak and know various words.

Astrological ties of Eve

And (the female) was also formed and shaped after that female appearance of the gods that it had seen from the chariot, and, from above, it connected to it from the heaven (its) beginning from and attachment to the monsters and Archons and the star signs and the planets, so that from the monsters and the star signs desire and sin should rain upon it and fill its mind (*nous*), so that it would become even more thieving and monstrous and lusty and desirous and seduce that male with desire and people be born in the world from those two creatures and be filled with concupiscence and desire and behave with rage and vengeance and without mercy and strike water and fire, trees and fruits and serve concupiscence and desire and do the will of the demons and go to hell.

Eve's name

Afterward, when that female creature was born, then they called it “female of the glories,” that is Murdiyanag (wife of the (living) dead).

The demiurge (creator) speaks to Adam and Eve

And when those two creatures, male and female, had been born into the world and been raised and become bigger, then *Âz* and the demons and the Archons were mighty happy. And **that leader of the Archons** called an assembly of the monsters and Archons and **said** to the two humans, “**I created earth and heaven**, sun and moon, water and fire, trees and fruits, wild animals and (other) creatures for your sake, so that thereby you may rejoice in the world and be content and happy and do my will.”

The dragon watcher

And he left a monstrous and fearful dragon as guard over the two misbirths (saying), “He shall watch them and not allow anybody to lead them away from us. For those monsters and Archons fear the gods and are worried that they may come upon us and strike us or bind us, as the two misbirths were shaped and formed after the appearance and shape of the gods.”

The first two humans begin their life

Afterward, when that first man and female of the glories, the first man and woman, began to move about on the earth, then the *Âz* in them awoke, and rage filled them, and they began to dig wells and strike trees and plants and move about on the earth in a rage and be concupiscent.

And they do not fear the gods. And they do not recognize the five *Mahraspands*, which the world is arranged from, and **they ceaselessly harm them**.

Afterward, because of ...

M 7983

The speech about soul and corpse

... comes to it, his soul grows in life, strength, light, beauty and excellence and in (due) time is born.

And when he is born, then he is nurtured and lives in body and soul through that same *nawn* of the demons and the mixture of the gods and comes to maturity. And he becomes a garment of Âz and for desire a cover. And he strikes water and fire and trees and creatures, **his own family**, and harms it. And that makes Âz and desire happy, because he does their will and direction. But it makes neither water, nor fire, neither trees nor creatures happy, because he is their enemy and tormentor, and **he does not realize** that Âz keeps him **mindless and damned**. And until the time and star sign under which that misbirth was born, no oppression comes upon it from the helpers who are above it. (But) then, at last, that misbirth lives and moves about, and when their hate and oppression come upon it, then the misbirth dies. And it is pulled up, and for its own acts it suffers punishment.

And mankind, male and female, who are born in the universe have all been shaped by Âz.

Âz as craftsman

And from the water and plants and various fruits that through mankind come to Âz and *are eaten by that Âz, by its own deceit, then fashions and shapes misbirths from it. And as long as the water and plants remain in various places in mountains and plains and have not come to Âz and mankind, then mankind is not born from them. But when they have come to mankind then Âz by its own dissimulation fashions and shapes misbirths from them. For, like a builder who wishes to build a palace and by his own knowledge assigns (what is needed) from the various materials of the palace to each room and each door and (then) builds (them), or like a tailor who by his own insight makes a garment from various stuff, and like a painter who by his own talent paints a picture from various colors.

And as long as the materials for the palace and the stuff for the garment and the color for the painting, which those craftsmen fit together and build and sow and paint, is in various places and the individual pieces have not been fitted together with their own parts, then they are not considered as either palace or garment or picture. But when the craftsmen by their own care fit together each item of the materials and the stuff and the color to their own product, well, then they build and sow and paint the palace and the garment and the image. And afterward they are assembled and become visible.

In the same manner that accursed Âz, which fashions and shapes male and female misbirths, [assigns (what is needed)] from the *nawn* of the demons and from the mixture of the gods, which is mingled with water and plants, [to the various parts of mankind, and mankind is assembled and becomes visible.] ...

Descriptions of paradise and its lord

M 178 I Sogdian Cosmogony

The five greatneses

[The first is the great king god Zurwan, father of righteousness.]

[The second, the 12 aeons who stand] before the great king god Zurwan.

The third, the blessed places without count and number in which the light gods, angels, mahraspands, and powers dwell, in great bliss and joy.

The Fourth, the pure air in the light paradise, wondrous, beautiful to behold: immeasurable (is) its goodness for them. By supernatural power it shall by itself bring into being the god's marvelous dress and garment, throne, diadem, and fragrant wreath, ornaments, and fineries of all sorts.

The fifth, the light earth, *self existent, eternal, miraculous. In *height it is beyond *reach, its *depth cannot be perceived. No enemy and no *injurer walk this earth. Its divine pavement is of the substance of diamond that does not shake for ever. All good things are born from it: adorned, graceful hills wholly covered with flowers, grown in much excellence; green fruit-bearing trees whose fruits never *drop, never rot, and never become wormed; springs flowing with ambrosia that fill the whole paradise; its groves and plans; countless mansions and palaces, thrones and *benches that exist in perpetuity for ever and ever.

Thus arranged is the paradise in these five greatneses. They are calm in quietude and know *no fear*. They live in the light, where they have *no darkness*; in eternal life, where they have *no death*; in health *without sickness*; in joy, where they have no sorrow; in charity without hatred; in the company of friends, where there is no separation from them; in a shape that is not brought to nought, in a divine body, where there is no destruction; on ambrosial food without restriction; wherefore they bear no toil and hardship. In appearance they are ornate, in strength powerful, in wealth exceedingly rich; of poverty they know not even the name. Nay they are equipped, beautiful, and embellished; no damage occurs to their bodies. Their garment of joy is finery that never gets soiled, of seventy myriad kinds, set with jewels. Their places are never destroyed ...

The Lord of Paradise

M 102 R1-8 HR II

... because he is a great sovereign in battle and full of love. He it is who was [not over]come by the enemy, because he .. a friend. He it is over whom no foul smell came, because he is all ... fragrance. He it is who was not seized by death, because he is all life.

M 730 Pa WL II

... he has 12 diadems of light, and before him stand the 12 great ones, his sons, 12 of the same kind, the brilliant form of the father of light; the many gods, divinities, and jewels in the train of the sovereign of paradise. He created, called forth, and placed, and besides those the twelve great first born giants and sovereigns ..

His great glory they always bless and praise, the merciful god, the righteous god, truly with joy ...

Counsel and instruction he gave his sons that they perfect and finish ...

... the powerful one, the highest of the gods, lord of the magnates, the most divine of the divinities. Praise upon god, the glory of the lights, the light of the blessed realm where you dwell, pure and brilliant, beautiful and gentle, wholly full of joy, peace, and trust. Eternal life ... fragrance ...

M 533 II Pa Boyce, ABC hymns

... All the divinities] and gods were evoked [and established] by him. All rejoice in him and to [give] praise. The land of light ... through its five pure thoughts. It is fragrant with sweet winds. It shines in every region. Powers, divinities, and gods, jewels and joyous aeons, trees fountains, and plants rejoice in him each day. The ... living sea ... clothed through him

Description of hell and its lord²²

M 507 Pa Boyce, ABC hymns

... the hideous demon ... and the form ...

He scorches, destroys, ..., terrifies, ...

He flies upon wings, as a being of the air. He swims with fins like one of the water. And he crawls like those of the darkness.²³

He is with armor on (his) four limbs, as when the children of the fire run against him in the manner of the beings of hell.

Poisonous springs gush from him, and [smoky] fogs are breathed out from him. He *shakes (his) teeth [like] daggers. ...

... through ... and hideousness ...

... they ... one another ... tyranny of perdition.

They are rotting upon couches of darkness. In pursuit of lust and desire they give birth and again destroy one another. The quarrelsome prince of darkness has subdued those five pits of destruction through great ... terror and wrath.

He has flung much poison and wickedness from that deep upon ... and it(?) stood ... through ...

The first man (Ohrmezbay/-bag), his battle, and rescue

M 10 (poem)

The righteous god, the highest of the gods, [to] whom [belong] diadem and eternal glory, was proud and glad, the blissful one among the lights, when you were born in the realm.

The twelve sons and the aeons of aeons of the pure air were happy-minded.

All gods and inhabitants, the mountains, trees, and springs, the wide strong palaces and halls, became glad-minded through you, friend.

When the lovely maidens and girls, sprung from Sense, saw you, they all unanimously with praise blessed you, faultless youth.

Tambourines, harps, and flutes sounded, music of songs from all sides.

All gods were in front of you, prince, son of a king. Voices sound from the pure air, music of songs from the light earth, as they say to the father of light so,

“The battle-stirrer has been born who makes peace. For ever all-good, the highest of gods, has entrusted you with **three tasks: Destroy death, smite the enemies, and cover the whole paradise of light!**”

You paid homage and went out for battle and covered the whole paradise of light.

The tyrannical prince was bound for ever and ever, and the dwelling-place of the dark ones was destroyed.

The light friend, the first man, was there until he carried out the father’s will.

BT 4 no. 3.1 MP

.... and beset like a ... shepherd in the middle of wild animals, a skipper in the middle of the turmoil of the sea, like a ruler in the middle of battle and fighting. And they sent to him a **call**, like they shoot a letter by arrow [into] the town. Quickly it hurried down, [like] a large boulder into the sea. And it made five good omens: 1. that he ..., second *greeting*, *third ..., fourth *separation ... the wounded, ... fifth ...

... that, “... I cannot rescue [and ...] you, (so) I will leave you there.”

²² His head is that of a lion (from the world of fire), his wings and shoulders like those of an eagle (from the world of the children of the winds), his hands and feet are demons (from the world of the children of the world of smoke), his belly like that of a dragon (after the world of darkness), his tail like that of a fish (from the world of the children of water).

²³ See *Kephalaia*, chap. 27.

COSMOLOGY. THE FIRST MAN, HIS BATTLE, AND RESCUE

They were content and swore with Ohrmezbay (First Man): “By earth and heaven, sun and moon, the two lamps [and] candles, your diadem and crown: Be faithful to us!”

He promised, “[If] you do not sin, (then) I shall [not] punish (you).”

They became (his) helpers [and] bound and killed demons. [And] *that other thing ... great ... I fell ... this fire ... killing ...

BT 4 no. 4.1 Pa

... in the hunter’s hand. [It was like] a ... in a man’s hand. And (like) a hero who does not waste (his) arrow on the ... and instead hurls (it) at the attackers and (their) leaders. In the same manner Ohrmezbay holds the five lights, and **he threw them out before the demons like *fodder and grass before the cattle**. And when the demons *saw the fire ..., at once they rose against ... they desire (it). ...

nos. 4.2 + 4.1

... a hunter ... lion-like ... a noble ... *to **the living self** ... bound them ... **[like] fish with [a hook ...]** ... false witness(?), wild animals [with ..., **flies with] honey**, ... with ..., and entrap dogs with ... and daggers(?), **thus he seized the demons with the five lights**.

And Ohrmezbay went out to the dark earth, like a lion against a powerful ... and a powerful assailant against the enemies’ castle. And he split the demons, and he *skewered the dark earth like a sharp point the ..., an ax the tree, [and] a powerful assailant the castle. And he was in it for a long time, and he ... the enemies ...

M 21 R MM iii Pa

... when] the windy demons understood that ..., then all like a hard cohort jointly fell over him in the windy land.

Then Ohrmezbay (First Man) prayed to his mother, and his mother prayed to the god the Righteous One (the Father): “Send a helper to my son, for he has carried out your will, and he has come into oppression.” ...

nos. 4.3 + 4.2 + 4.4

... that] he/you should build ... the five sons ... a powerful ... who own ... a helper ... rejoiced ... **the Mother of the Righteous the Living Spirit ... went out to the border. And they saw Ohrmezbay in the middle of the enemies like a shepherd who is beset by wild animals**, [a skipper who] is beset [by] the waves, and a ruler in battle who is beset by the enemies, in the same manner they sent **the god Call** to him like a letter of greetings and an arrow that they shoot into the castle, and quickly speeding like [a boulder into the sea] it split ... [And it made ... good] omens ...

no. 4.4

[First that he ...], second [greeting, third ...], fourth [*separation], fifth, [sixth ...] the seven planets to ..., seventh that sun and moon ...

M 21 V MM iii Pa

Swiftly the god [Call] descended, and he split up the cohort of the demons and gave him greetings from the father and all the aeons. He said: “Collect your limbs, for your redeemer has come.”

And Ohrmezbay rejoiced at the joyful good news, and he created the god Answer, and they both went up ... [And] the Mother of the Righteous [donned] the god Answer, [and the Living Spirit donned the god Call]. ...

BT 4 no. 4.3 V

... are [in great] honor. ... the five lights ... the Mother of the Righteous ... clean ... Father and ... did homage ... And he received praise from the Father [and] all the gods. And in ...

COSMOLOGY. THE FIRST MAN, HIS BATTLE, AND RESCUE

BT 4 no. 5 Pa

Homage to Father! Blessing [to the son]! Honor to the chosen spirit! [... to] the glory of the religion! Praise to Light Manohmed (Great Nous)!

The light is imprisoned in matter—Seduction of the archonts

M 741 Sadwes (the Living Spirit) and Pesus (Hyle)

He takes the light away from it in many forms and fashions. By gentle means and harsh he releases the captives from bondage.

He purifies his own life and encourages them to move after the apparition and to follow the form.

Bright Sadwes shows her form to the raging devil. By her own nature she seduces him.

He thinks she is the essence. He sows ...

He groans when he no longer sees the form. Light is born in the sphere: she gives it to the powers up above.

The dirt and dross flows from it to the earth. It clothes itself in all phenomena and is reborn in many fruits.

The dark raging devil is ashamed, for he was distraught and had become naked. He had not reached the ones above and had been bereft of what he had achieved.

He left the body an empty shell and descended in shame. He covered himself in the womb of the earths, whence he had risen in brutishness.

For the great kingdom of delivery awaits on high, ready **for those who know**, so that they find peace therein at last.

The sinful dark Pesus runs hither and thither in brutishness. To the upper and nether limbs she gives no peace at all.

She seizes, she binds the light in the six great bodies: in earth, water, and fire, wind, plants, and animals.

She fashions it in many shapes. She moulds it in many figures. She fetters it in a prison, so that it may not rise up on high.

She weaves on all sides. She builds up. She sets a watcher over it. Greed and lust were made its fellow captives.

She mixed destructive air into those six great bodies. She builds up her own body but destroys the misbirths of those.

The light powers above discomfit all rage devils, the misbirths of that Pesus, who is a higher place.

S 9

Angry became Âz, that evil mother of all demons, and she made a heavy disturbance for the sake of helping herself.

And of the dirt of the demons and the filth of the demonesses she made this body, and she herself entered into it.

From the five *Mahraspands* (sons of First Man), the armor of Ohrmezbay, she formed **the Good Soul** and fettered it in the body.

She made it **like one blind and deaf, unconscious and deceived, so that at first he might not know his origin and family.**

She created the body and prison and fettered the soul, which grieved: "My jailers are robbers, demons, demonesses, and all witches!"

Firmly she fettered the soul into the deceitful body, and she made it hateful and evil, angry and vengeful.

Then Ohrmezbay (First Man > Jesus) had mercy on the souls, and in human form he came down to the earth.

He maimed the evil Âz, and he revealed and clearly showed everything that has been and will be.

Swiftly he revealed that this body of flesh was not made by Ohrmezbay, nor was the soul itself fettered by him.

For the wise soul of the fortunate one there was resurrection. He believed in the knowledge of Ohrmezd, the good lord.

All injunction and orders and seals of the peacefulness he accepted to the greatest extent like an active hero.

He doffed **the corpse of death** and was saved for ever. And he ascended to paradise, into that land of the blessed.

BT 4 no. 5 Pa

At that time, when the Living Spirit [and] the Mother of the Righteous [together with] Ohrmezbay rose up [from] the darkness, the five lights [were left behind] and the five Ahrimanic *armies took **the *orphaned light**. And they stand **like flies in [the honey]**. ...

... that] Ahrimanian [army (is)] like prisoners, and similarly the five sons of the Living Spirit (are) like prison guards. And Call and Answer are similar to ...

And thirteenth the Column of effulgence, [great] ruler of the whole world, [who], when Âz ... clever in ... and deceived ..., [then] it fashioned Shaklon (the male Archon) and ... Pesus, its own ...

M7800 Sogdian

Discourse on the aborted demons

They ate fruit from the forest. And when the abortions fell, they began to drink water from the wells and to eat fruit from the trees. And they remembered the beauty of god Mihr (Third Messenger). They began to look for him. Thereupon the Thought of Death, Âz, donned the two aborted demons, Shaklon and Pesus, and in Shaklon's voice she gave orders to the other demons: "Do not look up, for it is your ...! Instead, go, male and female demons, and copulate and fulfill your lustful desire with one another! Give birth to children, and bring me your abortions one by one, and I will make such a thing that you do not need to look up to the sky."

And the abortions accepted the order and did as they were told. They brought 80,000 abortions before Shaklon and Pesus. And they received them and they brought them one by one to a place(?). And Shaklon ate 40,000 and Pesus the other 40,000. And they copulated with one another and said: "We have fixed our mind on god Mihr so that what is born from us will ... to the gods." ...

The Living Spirit arranges the universe

BT 4 no. 6 Pa

Beginning of "Light of Manohmed"²⁴

... like a fly in honey.

Then he made earth and heaven from the mixture of the five lights and the five Ahrimanian armies. And in that manner those living ..., the Living Spirit [and] the Mother [of the Righteous], made ten heavens, one [sphere?, and] two chariots, three garments, [and three] ditches, for ring walls, in [which ...]. And he imprisoned the five Ahrimanian armies in the earths and the heavens. ...

... sign ... And in that manner **they made the little world similarly to the large world** in every respect complete [in ...] and to look at. ... star signs, *all the demons [in the three] ditches, four ring walls, ... master of ... and master of torture. ... -s, mountains and forests, cold and heat, years, [months, ...] -s.

BT 4 no. 7 MP

... he ... them ... of all the heavens, and he arranged the edges of that great heaven over them. And because that heaven, which is above the ... earth itself, was made strong [and] steady and on *account of ... hard and *four ... the monster *powers ...

... aeons stand above the edges of the earth of the four aeons, which have the foot on this earth. And with (their) heads and arms [they ...] up *against the heaven. ... four edges, each one *harder than the other, and they stand each one ...

BT 4 no. 8 MP

... gave (them) the *Mahrspands* [5 elements] to eat. And all the [demons were] captured thereby. And one hell [and ...] for the demons were made. ... power[s] ...

²⁴ Manohmed = the Great Nous.

... and ... mountains ... and around the four aeons he set up a ring wall, in [which the demons] and the demonesses are imprisoned ... [male and] *female *separate ... *watcher ...

BT 4 no. 9 Pa

... an evil pool *where ... which burns ... from this ... misbirths ...

... days ... in those ... [of many?] *kinds and birds ... *to ... *that ...

BT 4 no. 10 Pa

... dispatched ... the assailants ... he was born(?) and chased away. And all the harsh demons and witches who charged with harsh voices ...

... you?] donned [three] garments: of [water] fire, *wind.²⁵ And the living water shone in you. And it was visible to all the assailing powers. And the ...

BT 4 no. 11 Pa

*[...] on the *saying of teaching*

Paradise

... nor anger, [neither lust] nor desire, [neither ...] nor deceit, neither ... nor ..., neither destruction nor ruin, nor looting, nor evil, neither hunger nor thirst, neither cold nor heat, neither grief nor sorrow, neither pain nor sickness, neither aging nor death, neither from ... nor *ugliness. And the lucky, ... fortunate who ...

Hell

... and that ... too, where Ahrimen and the *demons had gone forth, (was) in five caverns, each one deeper than the other.

And that Âz, mother of the demons, from whom all the evil had come, [went forth] from those five caverns with the five poisonous wells and with the five [bad] tastes: salty, sour, [biting, burning?], and bitter.

Sun and moon

... to consciousness ... *with ... the five lights ... took [and] he fitted two chariots with five ring walls each.

He (the Living Spirit) fitted the chariot of the sun from fire and pure light. And in each ring wall he fitted twelve doors. And altogether there are 60 doors.

And again he fitted the chariot of the moon from wind and water of immortality, [and he] fitted fourteen doors in each [ring wall. And] altogether there are 70 [doors].

[And] again he placed five angels of the purity of the five lights in the chariot of the sun and five in the moon, who [are] the -ing²⁶ angels ... they ... And they fitted them in this manner, these two chariots, **like somebody who fits out a good shuttle boat in a fearful sea.**

And again he ... the bodies of those demons that had fallen from the heavens ...

BT 4 no. 12 Pa

... in ... and ... will *come, and ... for a long time in ... but not that light [which] was [in the ...] and the five caverns ... similar ...

... *oppression ... the sun god, and ... whose life was cut off ... he brings and ... is like ...

BT 4 no. 13 MP

... itself ... the whole life ... [which] was swallowed ... and attacked ... was -ed and arrayed and purified. And he -ed the darkness and the assailants ... made ... and *correspondingly(?) ... himself *father(?) ...

²⁵ Cf. Shab. 26- 30.

²⁶ Cf. Shab. 22-23 *rw'ncyn prystg pnc* "five soul-gathering angels."

... the *layerings *and [... them] in the mixture. ... they doffed and *discarded the wombs of darkness [and were] donned by the powers of darkness.

And the second *abortion [that had] plunged down to the earth ...

BT 4 no. 14 Pa

... *ordered, and by ..., and he devoured all the *enemies [and] *made ... and swept [them away?] ... cleaned ... and he terrified the assailants who had *come up from the depths ...

... all the ... and all the ... he [made] ... and **cleansing** ... everywhere. from ... above and below and in ... he would stand ... **the maiden light**, (s)he ...

BT 4 no. 15 MP

... nether ... rises ... light ...

... is *deceived ... that which ... from ... nether to ... rises ... in this manner from above the ... rises forth. And full [of light] it ... up ... the power of ... holds *clothed(?) ... *thus in all ...

... of ... *four *ring walls (?) ... are **full of that light that they swallowed**, [and] when they and when these two light chariots make them shake and quake, then that light that [was] mingled with them is cleansed ...

... trees ... *all ... in it ... and ...

BT 4 no. 1 MP

no. 1.1

... and] he too descended [into that] mixture, where the father of these elements that were enclosed in that great corpse [macrocosm] himself came up(?). **And he taught them that sign on high and gave them movement up to the assembly on high. And they strive hard and rise up.**

And the limbs of the mixture, which are bound in the great corpse, were all shaken by the artistry of that great ...

... were shaken [by? the ...] of the powers, [were?] fitted and painted onto this corpse. [And] the ... of the ... powers were ... to ... And like a ruler who with talent built that ... and made a [wall] for the misbirths and the hostages who were in that land, [thus ..., too], built ... [and ...] arranged ...

[And when it by] its own ... had fitted ... and made (it) ... and firm, [then] that fortress ...

... hard [and like] a person which stands between those above and those below, **thus it (Âz) clothed itself in it**. And it made it into a monster and a thief, so that through it would be able to [... and] to pollute the *powers with it and turn them down into the *abyss. And it assembled it in all (its) limbs and ... connected (it) with 300 [..., with ...] bones, [with ...] hundred veins, with ... pieces of meat, with 200 *muscles, with 900 sinews, with [...], and 9000 [hairs, and ...

... that] building which the aeons ... [in all] the lands [and in all] the earths, and the offspring of the light and the darkness, both that of the well-doer and of the evil-doer, appeared in it. And that ..., the offspring of the aeons and the primeval head so shone among all those powers in beautiful form like a bright star among the dark ones. And like a human being among wild animals and like a god among demons. Like that did that god appear, ... a human being ...

... and again it looked to all those powers like a delicious meal to the hungry, so that when it stands before them, then they swallow it all. And ...

... -ing and had ... and offspring in ... And [if?] they are pleased [with] it, ...

... who feared that he might be fond of that power in whose shape he had been made and might pull (him) away from them, (they) ... their own praise of ...

.. will take it from him(?) and he himself will so keep it in prison **until the time of the Restoration**. And because at all times and in all [places and] in all ... [it is tormented?] in the great corpse (the cosmos) ...

... which he] keeps ..., are all deceitful and are neither truthful nor of the same opinion about it, and they made it through deceit. Itself, too, -s about them. And they ...
... from ... and family and ... of that land ... rulership ...

no. 1.2

... a great ruler [who] becomes revealed. And at the mere look of him all the aeons tremble, because he loosens those who are bound. And there will be great terror among all the aeons, and for the lives who are enclosed in all the things fashioned (by them) there will be loosening and cleansing.

And he appeared [... in all] things fashioned (by them) [.. in] the border areas [...], **and all the powers which are [in those places] saw the shining form**. And he [appeared to] the powers similar [to ...], and he ... after the number of all the *abortions of the powers who *are in ... he *placed that ... [and] formed ... power ... in male ...

... from ... who [saw] that beauty and shape before ..., that one [thought], "Perhaps I see, and ... does not see him. And ... he was not ... from them so that ... back and either ... or ... or ... -s ... But ... saw ... and he Manohmed (Great Nous).

... the living ... who appeared, that strong light escaped and left, and all those powers who had seen that form were enthralled because in the beginning they had not seen that goodness and blessed form that is of the living kindred nor had it *revealed itself to them in that manner. ...

... in ... more ... powers. The aeons ... from ... teachings(?) ...

no. 1.3

... was ... and he ... [lust and] desire the body ... the prison of Manohmed was opened, and that light which was in them ...

... female ... and **he [saw] that ... [in] female form**, (then) great longing for the look and beauty [of ...] of ...

no. 1.4

... and the powers who were full [of] that light they then took away from it. They were like ... who are full of food and wine and [are] longing and ... for the delight and ... to ... And ... kick *away ... which they *had ... and they cut open and battered the ...

... all the mountains, all the lands of the earth, all the walls, all the layers of the earth, all the arrangements ... all the ... in ... the aeons in space [and] all the aeons in heaven [and] those of ... this ...

no. 1.5

... the hard ... and the revolving wheel. From all the aeons in space, from all the aeons on the earth, from all the mountains, from all the layers, from all the springs, ...

... the *sun ... stood ... away ... taste ... is destroyed ...

... bound ... had been [enclos?]ed ... the father of the *glories , [the] *most beloved Narêсах ... that ...

... **informed** [the ...] who are the rulers of the universe and he ... **all the carriers of Manohmed** (the prophets) **who in all the aeons carry the burden of those up above and those down below and all the [other?] lights** ...

no. 1.6

... and from the highest he came forth like a mighty army in which there were many powers. And that ... ruler of it was subdued through the *battle and in shame [been brought away as] booty ...

... who] had been shaped [for ... and] destruction, and itself was shaken by the intention of them all and he *filled Manohmed inside them. And by the -ness which he had -ed outside of them ...

Construction of the earths and the heavens

BT 4 no. 2 MP

... rain ... like hail ... hail-? and ... like thunder and hail when it rains down from the clouds, and in all the worlds there was sound and *clamor at that -ing that they -ed and threw down from heaven. And the sound of the throwing down when they were thrown down and fell onto the earth was like this: clamor, breaking, and *roaring and lamenting and ... when they fell from heaven to earth.

... the earths were fitted together from it (them), and they were ... on that great *mazman* (earth), which ... And that ... all the ... and the great heaven of the nethermost worlds and up from that *mazman* were layered down all the earths, all the individual arches, the vaults, and the layers, and he made them (into) the earth. And in the individual canals and layerings ...

... who holds the control of the borders.

And the god Mihr fitted together the fundament of every earth like the craftsman of a building, who stands in a building and had dismissed his workers but was not *accepting defeat. The bring *material, and by (his) mastery he himself puts together the entire structure of that palace and builds (it). And in that manner, by (his) craft, he assembles that palace room by room, ...

... *skill ... and ... palace ... which he wishes to build. And from that small material, which they bring him by back loads and arm loads he assembles and builds that big and mighty *assembly hall by his own craft.

In the same manner the god Mihr by his own ... and cleverness and craft assembled all the nether worlds and all the earths as I have told you, that structure of the earth ... not the entire ...

... built ... the mixed earths and those monsters [who] were captive and [bound in it], those [he placed in] high mountains. And those who were reptilian and *dryst* and had to be bound from below, those he *drove into prison and bound them inside the earth. The tyrannical -s, the monsters, demons and robbers, attackers and assailants, and fighters without count, those he ... in *places that ... like ...

About tastes

... There are (some) [who] are *sharp and until death they roast and cut (them). There are (some) that are sweet, and they burn and *press them more with sweetness than (with) fire. And there are (some) that are bitter, and they are tyrannical through their venom of their own poison. These are the five tastes, the beginning of the tyrannies that were from the bottom of the darkness as the tastes of the dark bodies. And from each of these five tastes ... thousand tastes are derived. ...

BT 4 no. 3.2 MP

... makings ... with many *resting places and ... The army of demons was bound inside and locked in.

Another on the sphere ..., where the twelve [star signs] are bound and the seven planets. Woe to him ...

... from above, then he threw down that which was left over from the building of the heavens, which had been dissected and detached. From that he fitted together **eight earths**. **Then the god Mihr donned three garments and showed himself to the demons face to face.** ... [in] the ditches, venom ... fire, away ...

BT 4 no. 3.3

... a cloud ... [like] a pregnant woman. ... copper-worker, left Bushyasp, the Arsacid queen of the Parthians, in the water(?). The princess ... the woman to the garden ... lamenter ... sweep away the dark demons.

That cloud which *rises from the dark demons, the ether comes out of it with ... The demonesses who flee from it, wherever they come, they make damage, until they are *expulsed.

The cloud which [rises] from the windy demons ...

... of the same *family as ... an *entertainer who performs various *dances.

The watery demons (and) fiery demons, rain and lightning comes out of them. The angles bind the demons, (but?) wherever they come they do harm to the trees and the creatures. The Maiden Light ... the gods and ... manner the *light ... and they purify (it).

[And the demons?] of the hot season (are) *together in the 12 months, in 4 parts: summer and ...

The sea monster is overcome and laid out from east to west (cf. Shb 243-267)

... all ... the new world, the sphere, three wheels, then the mixture turned back and rained on dry and wet. That part which fell on the sea found its own self in it, the *enclosure of the three ditches. And the sea was for it [like] a womb, the fire [was like a And when it was] -og it [came] forth [in] its own aborted self [in order to] oppress ...

It came up from the sea. It wished to do five things: ...

... like ... an *elephant at the *goad. And he pressed it like wind and clouds and seized it with might like a bird in a *hunter's [hand]. And it ran to the northern district like a gazelle to the hunting ground. And he laid it down, the head in the east, the feet in the west, between four mountains, its waist in the north, its face in the south, like lion in a pitfall. [He placed (his)] left foot on (its) chest and neck and the right foot on ...

Creation of mankind

BT 4 no. 1.7

... the light ..., which shine in heaven, had themselves in previous time, (while) in the living self(?), been mixed with demon worship. [But] at a later (time) they become clean and purified through the power of craftsmanship and freed from that demon worship. *And those ... (and) they connected them ... *form with ..., and [they?] arranged a room and share for them in the corpse of the demonesses. But **the wise, who recognize their own self**, they should ...

The body (“corpse”) and its astrological ties, micro- and macrocosmic correspondences

... with reason. ... and the moon ... this ... for the sake of ...

... is divided [into seven?] *corporeal [... -s], which are none other than the seven demonesses. The first (is) skin, the second flesh, the third veins, the fourth blood, the fifth sinews, the sixth [bones, the seventh marrow?] ...

... is divided [into ... limbs], which are those that are on the hands and feet: 18 on the hands and 18 on the feet. And the consideration of each one of them (is as follows): five fingers, [two] great veins, [one] elbow together [with one ..] (are) nine [limbs. ...

... and ... in it (are) 360 parts of 360 (different) shapes, which are (those) of 360 angels.

... keeps ... all the interior limbs in such a way that they take all the veins in the corpse from it and ... around all the interior [limbs ...

... lice and nits and fleas *ticks and *worms and the other ... that are ... them, who are festering outside the corpse, these are all in the *likeness of wild animals, who move about in the desert, in the mountains, in the step, and in the forests.

... mixture ...

... is *shaken(?) and his ... who (is/are) not able to ... nor ... will be ... corpse ... will ...

... wished to bury everything corporeal and all its varieties in that corpse and be king in it. And it ... the beginning of ...

... *excrements ... Thus are these 12 gates of that mixture in that child. They were fitted to correspond to the 12 doors of the heavens, and he *attached the spheres and the star signs and the stars into each of the limbs. And he ... downward motions [and ...] -s and ... the layers [and] the mountains and the valleys [and] the forests and springs, wells, and rivers and oceans and shores, and *inlets(?), and ring walls and *ditches and all ...

no. 1.8

... that corporeal ... fleshy thus ... the ... world ... somebody ... this ... fleshy this ... and ... that ... always ... and ...

... took ... and made this corpse into the little world (microcosm), so that it would be king in it. And it filled it all with deceit and deception and disunity, because it has(?) many *very deceitful powers in the great corpse.

... then ... the friends ... which they ... enclosed ... And for this reason they are not able to rise above it nor *attack (it). And from under it ... hand ...

... will *deceive the little world of the flesh. And it became deceptive and wished to make it its own property and be king in it. For this reason it ... love for this fleshy corpse ...

COSMOLOGY. CREATION OF MANKIND

... of ... new ... in ... will *deceive(?) .. made ..., then all those powers who were parts of that child had given their own child and limbs to them were all gathered out and ...

... is destroyed. What will be destroyed through this? How will he form (it)? **And how was that desirable beautiful form similar to this stench and *abortion?**

And those powers who at that time had engendered those misbirths were all very happy and were all *proud of it. And they ... in ...

... will see that which (is) *different from them, which always stands opposite them and which by their craft ... distressed ... first ... in this way ... destroys ... wish ... that ...

no. 1.9

... on ... greatness increases, and their beauty, strength, and goodness increases. And they are nurtured and grow big and are always happy and *content. And them ... world ...

... see [the] ... who escaped it. And through that rulership, which is not *assigned, by the victory of the blessed [gods? they are led up] to the light paradise by *Sroshahray (Column of Glory?) ...

no. 1.10

... and the heavens ... varieties ... were all *packed into ... And it ... the great ... which ... *by (its?) craft [had ...] in [that] corporeal which ...

... them ... became ... *understanding ...

... *from day to *day, and from month to month, and from year to year (it) began to grow up and *increase [before] *our face(?) and [become more] precious. And *that ...

no. 1.11

... they fill ... [And] they speak so, “Worship and prayer to the great light and mighty ... of all praises ...

BT 4 no. 17 Pa

The making of Adam and Eve

... -s, hurt[s ...] and the female in *60 ... [the male] leans to the right and the female to the left.

And again he *suspended a *water *(wash) basin so that ... the dirty *water: eye, ear, and ...

... and in this manner] he shaped the ... soul from Ohrmezd’s (First Man’s) *soul and from Ahrimen [the dark?] body, like milk *when they separate butter and *curds, like [when] they *purify ... and three parts come from that ... [And ...] and in ...

BT 4 no. 18

no. 18.1

... spoke words of desire with her. And at once she began burning with desire and she *azaft* ... in all the ... [And ...] Gehmurd (Adam) ...

... and he said so [to ...], “How did [you] endure ... and ... were you happy ... our ... and you were ... from us also ... of ...

... painted ... then you (plur.) ... the angels ... will ... call (his/her?) name ... *Then (s)he ... those angels and the other ... of Gehmurd ... of ...

... *Murdiyanag (Eve) ... and stood naked before Gehmurd, when she had been adorned through ... and sorcery. And (s)he ... like when Gehmurd ...

no. 18.2

... in rage, and they come behind him, then at once he laid that boy on the ground, and he drew seven circles around the boy (Seth, Shetil) and pronounced over him the living and holy name. And he said so, "... and *abzajt* ... they will be ... all the ...

... lusting ... then they stood ..., and from afar they ... the boy (thinking) that if Gehmurd were to take him up from the same circle then they would steal him away from them (the circles/parents?). [Then at that time?] Gehmurd lifted his face [up] to the highest on high and said so, "You (plur.) ...

... and *firmly *like that ... made ... [And] he loosed that curse and oath too [from him? and began?] to give the boy milk [and ...]. And Gehmurd [bent] down and lifted the boy from the ground [and] said to him, "...

... he told the demons so):

"Go and throw that ... and pollution of the filth of death into the wells so that if that boy drinks (from them), then he will soon die!" And he told the female witches, "Let none of you ... "

Afterward ... the boy ... to ...

no. 18.3

... and for 80 years (while) he did not bring him back to Murdiyanag, he was in righteousness. **And all those years when Murdiyanag was with Gehmurd, she did not become pregnant from him.** And all the powers of [darkness] were doleful. [And for] all those [years when ...

... and a medicine .. kind ... to ... *gave ... *took ... when ... and ...

... and be ...!"

Then Murdiyanag became sorrowful and she swore a heavy oath before Shaklon (the male Archon) and all the powers and said so, "You, by this ... something ...

BT 4 no. 19 Pa

... when he arranged the little [world] as the foundation stone of the earth and the heaven and he divided it into the four worlds. And in those four [worlds ...] and ten ...

... the twelfth pain and ...

And when those two destructive creatures were born, Adam and Haway (Eve), mankind [was engendered from them ...

BT 4 no. 20 Pa

... those two ... Haway (Eve) sinful ... Adam [away] from the religion ... third time and ... that purity

... mankind the creatures [of ...like the seed ...

... in that manner] they [came down] to the earth because of the beauty of the females, like when assailants ... *cut out from ...

.. fleshy ... blood ... to the *side [of ...] lameness and ... hear, form, ... a narrow *defile and ...

BT 4 no. 21

... Shaklon ... *and [gave] him *milk ... Shetil ...

... away from the religion ... and ...

Eschatology acc. to the *Shabuhragan*

...

that prophet because in ...

did ..., that (one) at the crossing [of ...] his own self becomes visible before his eyes. And the guilty ... sees *nobody

...

... the renovation occurs [then it will be] bound in that prison for eternity together with Âz and [Ahrimen] and the demons and the witches, because he amassed (wealth) for his body and [was] lustful and he [received] the heresy of Ahrimen [and the demons] and he [did not perform] deeds for the sake of his own soul ...

... and mighty men will be removed [in] that battle. *And [the -s] will not remain behind. Those ... who ... and hold the world ... will dwell ... [At that] time there will be lies [and ...] in the world, and mankind ... and they will ... And for the religious there will be

...

... and] the powers too will be struck down. And afterward ... every single person will *hold his own ...and of good will they will dwell in joy. ... And they will be friends and fond of each other. And fighting will subside, and battles will be ended, and great happiness will come unto the religious [together] with their helpers, and they will be serving the ... And they will teach wisdom and knowledge [to] ... [And lust] and desire and demon and witch will tremble [before the] torment ... time ...

*[The two principles of] the Shabuhragan
On the coming of the son of men*

... through the demons and ... *deceived, so that they would ... and say, “We are the instructors of the gods ... in this path that we ...”

Mankind will mostly be deceived and proceed according to the will of their evil actions. And the religious who does not believe his own religion will also join them. And at the time when things will be like this in the world, *then there will appear a great sign on earth and in heaven and on the sun and the moon and in the constellations [and] the stars.

Thereafter God Power-and-Wisdom (Jesus the Splendor), who first gave that male creation, the original first male human, wisdom and knowledge, and since, at each turn and in each age, has sent wisdom and knowledge to *men—in that last age too, close to the Restoration, the God Power-and-Wisdom, together [with] all the gods and the religious, [will ...]. Then he will stand [up] in heaven, and a great cry will resound, and it will be announced in the universe.

And these gods (sons of the Living Spirit) who are master of the house, master of the village, master of the tribe, master of the land, and master of the border-guard of the universe, heavens and earths, and the tormentor of the demons, they will praise God Power-and-Wisdom. And those of mankind who are rulers in the world will come running to pay homage to him, and they will receive his orders. And the lustful [and] evil-doing and *tyrannous mankind will regret.

Afterward God Power-and-Wisdom will send messengers to east and to west, and they will go and [bring] the religious with (their) helpers and the evil-doers [together] with (their) accomplices forward before God Power-and-Wisdom, and they will pay homage to him.

And the religious will say to him, “Our [god and] lord! if it pleases you we will say something about that which the sinners have done to us.” And God Power-and-Wisdom will answer them so, “Look on me, and be happy! Behold, whoever may have harmed you, him I shall bring to justice for you and seek *account (from). But everything you wish to say before me I (already) know.” Then he blesses them and calms their hearts and sets them on (his) right side. And they will dwell with the gods in happiness.

And he separates the evil-doers from the religious and sets them on (his) left side. And he curses them and says so, “You will not arise whole and not be all brilliance, for [the] sin that you have committed and the unjust distress you committed that you did to [the son of men ...

On the judgment and the separation

[And to the helpers?] of the religious, who stand on the right side, he says so, “Welcome, you through whom the *blessed one(s) of Time [was/were ...]. Because I was hungry and thirsty, and you gave [me] food. I was naked, and you clothed me. I was ill, and you healed me. I was bound, and you loosed me. I was a captive, and you set me free. And I was an exile and a wanderer, and you gathered me to (your) house.” Then the helpers of the religious will bow low [to him] and will say to him, “Lord, you are god and immortal, and lust and desire do not overcome you. And you do not become hungry and thirsty, and pain and ache do not reach you. When [was it] that we did you this service?” And God Power-and-Wisdom says to them, “That which you did [to] the religious that [service] you did for me. I and shall give you the reward of paradise.” They [become] very happy.

[And] again to those evil-doers who stand on the left side he says so, “You evil-doers were body-centered and greedy, sinning and attached to wealth, and I accuse you of it. Because I was hungry and thirsty, and you did not give [me] food. I was naked, and you did not clothe me. I was ill, and you did not heal me. I was a captive and an exile, and you did not receive me in your house(s).” And the evil doers say to him so, “God and lord, when was it that [you were] so badly treated and we did not save you?” And God Power-and-Wisdom says to them, “That which the religious *complained about you, (by) that you have sinned against me, [and I] *will accuse you of that. And you are sinners, because you have been unjust enemies of the religious and you have distressed (them) and had no mercy on them. And [toward] the gods you are sinful [and] guilty.” Then he appoints angels over those evil-doers. And they will take them and throw them into hell.

And when God Power-and-Wisdom cares for the world, then day, month, and year will come to an end. And *weakness will come unto lust and desire, and pain and ache and ... and famine and torment will tremble and din no (more). And wind, water and fire will run (free) in the world, and rain will fall softly, and *trees and grass and fruits and plants ... will grow. And in the world there will be ... and relief, and mankind will listen to the religion. And all [will be ...] and of good will and soul-loving. [And ... and] love [and ...] will ... And when they pass by a cemetery and a place of ossuaries and ... them, [then] they will remember their own family and relatives [who] passed away and will say, “Alas for those who died in that age of sin and were destroyed! But who may raise up their heads from their resting-places and teach them this joy in which we now dwell?

And of “The coming of the Vivifier”

And now: “The leading up of [God Power and] Wisdom”

... God Power-and-Wisdom ... earth ... will ... who ... mankind and his ... and [will] himself lead ... up to his own throne. [And he will lead the wind], water and fire up [from] the earth, [and they will] *dwell in happiness. [And when] the wind, water and fire [begin] to run free [in the world], then for the universe, earth and heaven, the time of the restoration will come. And from the whole world they will raise up the dead and lead the religious to [paradise].

And wild animals and trees and winged birds and the creatures in the water and the reptiles on the earth will leave the world [and] go [to] hell. And afterward wind, water, and fire will be cut away from that nethermost earth, which the gods House Master (Atlas) and Leads up the Wind (King of Glory) stand upon.

And the new world and the prison of the demons, which the god Creates the New World (Great Builder) shaped, that too will be fitted [on to] paradise and be made [firm].

Then *Ohrmezbay [and that] moon god [... will make for themselves from] the universe a covering, [and that] light and good grace of [the gods that was bound in] the universe, [that is set free ... from] the universe And the ... will be removed ... just like when] snow melts.

And when he leads up that light and good grace [of] the gods, then the universe, earth and heaven, from the uppermost heaven to the nethermost earth, the whole world will take ... and will come loose from its covering and arrangement.

Then again the god Mihr will lead from the chariot of the sun to the universe. And a call will resound, and the gods who are house master, town master, tribe master and land master, border-guard master and tormentor (of the demons) in each heaven and each earth and who keep the world arranged [and] torment Âz and Ahrimen and the demons [and] witches, to them all it will become known that Âz and Ahrimen and the demons and the witches [and] the raging devils, monsters and *copulators ... together with ...

About the collapse of the universe

Afterward, that god House Master, who stands upon that nethermost earth and keeps the earths arranged, [and] that god Leads the Wind Up, who is with him, who leads up wind, water, and fire, and that god Town Master (Adamas), who stands upon this earth and keeps that monster dragon cast down in the northern region, together with (their) helpers go forth to paradise.

Then all the earths will collapse upon one another onto those four layers, the prison of the demons.

Ascension of the five gods (sons of First Man = Living Soul)

And the (god) of Female Shape, the mother of Ohrmezd, will appear from the chariot of the sun and will look upon the heavens. And that god Land Master (Holder of Splendor, Splenditenens), who stands over all the heavens and holds the hands of those five gods ... and that ... god who is between ... *south ...

... together [with] those five gods [who] in the beginning Âz and Ahrimen and the demons [and] demonesses [had] seized for their own light and good grace, *those [too go forth to] paradise. And those five gods who in the beginning [had been] struck through Âz and Ahrimen and the demons and demonesses [far away from] paradise, in paradise they too will again become as whole and similar as their creator Ohrmezbay (was) in the beginning too, when they had not yet been struck through Âz and the demons. And that god Carries the Regions, who holds the earths and heavens arranged, leads them to paradise.

The great fire

Then the ten heavens and the one revolving round heaven with regions, thrones, houses and towns, tribes and lands, districts [and] borders, guards and gates, thresholds, *rastwans* and “hours” and the four layers, prison of the demons, and the four earths with ...

On the fierceness of the great fire

... *thrones and regions, mountains and valleys and excavated canal and hell with Âz [and] the great Ahrimen and the demons and [demonesses, the raging devils] the monsters [and] *copulators [who are] all fitted and squeezed into them, will all collapse.

And those three poisonous and dark ditches and the burning which had been made around the universe, those are loosed upon them. And that raging burning which now guards and encloses and stands guard over the universe that

goes burning in north and east, south and west and (its) height and depth, [width] and length. And the universe, earths and heavens, will burn in that burning like wax in fire. And Âz and Ahrimen [and] the demons, raging devils, *monsters [and] *copulators and

... and for [1]468 years they will be tormented and writhe and suffer distress. And that power and *battle-force of that light and good grace of the gods that (is) on earth and in heaven and (that) Âz and the demons had been struck down and set upon, will in that conflagration go out from it and become pure and go up to the sun and the moon. And it will be in the appearance of god Ohrmezbay, and together with the sun and the moon they will go up to paradise. And Ohrmezbay from the northern district and god Realm of Light (Third Messenger) from the eastern and god Creates the new World from the southern and the god Mihr (Living Spirit) from the western district, the stations of these gods, together with their own (people) and *helpers will stand on that structure of the new paradise, around that conflagration, [and] will look [at] the conflagration.

And those religious too who [are in] paradise will sit [on] thrones of light.

On the souls [of the] evil-doers

Then they will come into the presence of the gods and stand [around] that conflagration.

[And the] evil-doers [will be tormented] and writhe and suffer in the conflagration. And that conflagration will not harm those religious in the same manner that now this fire of the sun and the moon does not harm. And when those evil-doers are tormented and writhe in that conflagration, then they will look up and beseechingly they will say to them, "May your good fortune become ours! Give us a life-line into our hands to pull us up, and save us from this burning! We did not think that it would befall us so ... and harshly, but if we had known, then we would have believed that which was said to us. *We too would have accepted the religion and would have subdued lust [and desire] and we would have been your [... and] helpers. And [we would not have found ourselves in this] distress."

[And the religious] will say so, "You evil-doers, do not prate, because we remembered that in [life?] you submitted to the wish for lust and the instructions of desire, and you have ... ed (to?) oppressive ..., [and you did not] consider the soul and [were] inimical to [us]. And you pursued and persecuted us from land to land, and you did not believe that we were the fulfillers of the will of the gods. And you never considered that this misfortune might befall you and might hold But if you had accepted [from] us *the wisdom and knowledge of the gods* and if you had loved the soul and had gone by the path of the gods and [had] been in the same path (as we) and (our) helpers [and if] lust and desire had [not entered your] bodies and you did not *associate with robbing thieves and ..., then ... [and] misfortune [would] not have come [upon your] soul,

The two principles of the Shabuhrgan

and you would not [now] be beseeching us. [So do not] prate and do not complain ..., because, as for this that we have come here in the presence of the gods, that is not (because) we have come on account of evil-doers. No, we have come ... on account of those who [in that old?] world were good toward the religious. And because of you evil-doers it was not possible for them to enter and receive that ... religion and deeds and to cast off lust and desire [and] be of the same [path] as the religious and ... And for this reason have they come to grave misfortune and ... are tormented and writhe and suffer distress in [that] conflagration. Now we fill ... lust and desire ... and two(?) ... we ... with you ...

... and will not be bound with Ahrimen [and] the demons in the eternal prison. But you rejoice at this misfortune because it came upon you through lust and desire and your own actions. And how can we save you from this distress when the one who decides the judgment *comes from within ... ?"

And [afterward] every soul that is born in the *body [through lust and] desire and (which) lust and desire engender and does not lay it down and is body-serving and does the wish of desire and holds the ... of Ahrimen, that (soul) will be bound in eternal prison with Ahrimen [and] the demons.

And that (soul) which does the will of the gods [and] is of the [same] path as the religious and (their) helper [and that one too which is] good to them will be with the gods in paradise [in happiness].

... the evil-doers ... the evil-doers ... grave burning will be distress.

The two principles ...

And [those] souls ... in whose bodies lust [and] desire are born and for as long as earth and heaven stand do not receive the wisdom and knowledge of soul-gathering and do not *enter the religious community, and yet are not [evil-]doers, but go to [fight and] battle and do the will of lust and desire and serve the [evil-]doers and also *bestow goodness on [the religious] and because of lust and desire and ... and *xrg* and tyranny ... [consort] with will be ... with ... he ... you ... the righteous(?) ...

[And that (soul) which does the will of the gods ...
... -ness that ... you lie sick until you become ruler over ... [And when] you arise whole then you will *bind on the diadem and become ruler.

In the same manner, that soul of the helpers and workers of the religious, the one which from the first was whole together with Ohrmezd and the gods and [that one too which was deceived?] through *Âz* and the demons, now that lust and desire have been born in (its) body, (now) [it does] the actions of lust and desire, and the evil-[doers] ... (it) by evil actions ... that ...

... and ... Then ... and together with the gods, the shape of its own [family?], it sits down in the chariot, and its [turn] and movement is past the god Carries the Regions. And the sun and the moon and Ohrmezdby ... and they go up to paradise in the same way that ... too went up. And in paradise it will be *joyful.

And his prison [of lust and] desire [will be] *judged like ... was ...

[The two] great [principles] of the Shabuhrgan

... shall] be made known like ...

... conspicuousness of ... being of ...

... then that ... of ... them

... and your soul ...

... the religious who ... shape of the soul, thought, speech, [and] actions, sin ... and *our ...

.. was the passer of judgments ... his own thought ... they beseech and ... the well-doer ... me too ...

... *helps ... or ... me gives (him) to wear ... the -ness of you gods ... and your service ... soul-loving ... and ... and amassing (wealth) for the soul ... because I ...

...

MacK f

... they were the universe, [earths and] heavens, and that which I have made *that year] and month, turning and movement summer?] and winter and whoever they move ... and wind, water, [and fire ... trees ...

... paradise ... in the beginning ... the Restoration ...

[The two principles of the] Shabuhrgan

ESCHATOLOGY ACC. TO THE *SHABUHRAGAN*

... went up with sun and moon to paradise. And the other was not *purified and remains mixed in the universe, then now too the sun and the moon *shine upon it. And each day on ... Then ... it ...

The two great principles [of the Shabuhrgan]

... and leads to sun and moon. And the light [that] is bound to bones and sinews and flesh, veins, skin and [that ...] through salaciousness, copulation and evil thought, evil speech, and evil actions, ... own ...

Parthian text on the End of the World

M 2 II Pa

And then the battle-stirring gods lead and guide their aeons and those who are of the same form, which they had called into the great earth and placed (there), by divine proclamation to the new world and settle there in the same way as nomads, who (going) from place to place with their tents, horses, and possessions, put up and pull down (the tents).

But that power of the light that is so mixed with darkness that it cannot be separated from it again, which is not of the same form because from the beginning it foresaw, "So it is for me, because it was so decided." Therefore it is not called of the same form.

And again, those five (sons of First Man) prayed in the battle to Ohrmezdbag (First Man), "Do not leave us in the corpse of darkness, but send us power and a helper!" And Ohrmezdbag promised them, "I will not abandon you to the powers of darkness." In that case it was not the power that knew, "For me the mixing with darkness in the beginning reaches an injury and heaviness so wretched that I cannot be taken away and separated from darkness." No, that was the power that knew, "My mixture is of such a kind that I can be purified and saved by the help of Ohrmezdbag and the brothers." And they did not pray for that reason that, if they did not pray, then Ohrmezdbag would not help them. But to them on account of that prayer. And the hope and promise of Ohrmezdbag increased the(ir) power in the same way as fighters whose power increases through the zeal put on by the voice and the heart of their friends.

And the gods will not be sorrowful because of that bit of light that is mixed with darkness and cannot be separated out, for sorrow is not characteristic of them. On the contrary, through the peace and joy that is radically characteristic of them, through (the fact) that they are joyous and for that reason that they have subdued and bound Ahrimen together with the enemy.

And for a short while they clothed themselves inwardly with the costume of joy, but outwardly they were visible in armed warlike appearance. And after they have bound it in a prison of oblivion and they themselves are ruling over it, then they are joyous, proud, and happy, because nobody can any longer do them harm.

And when all the battle-stirrers have rested for a short while in the new world and when also that little bit of the light earth and its mountains, wherefrom the materials for building the new world had been taken, has been restored, and when also the last man stands as the mightiest in stature, and when the warlike gods together with the five lights have been healed from their wounds, then all the jewels, the apostles, and the battle-stirring gods stand up and appear before the sovereign of paradise with pleas and prayer: First Ohrmezdbag together with the Last Man, the Mother of the Righteous, the Friend of the Lights, Narêsafyazd (Third Messenger), Bamyazd (Great Builder), the Living Spirit, Jesus the splendor, the Maiden Light, and the Great Manohmed (Nous), these light fathers together with their gods, apostles, and aeons, all rightly in one thought, with one praise, in one voice, in one word, in one wish.

They raise their voice in prayer and worship for the great jewel Sroshaw, the primeval, the righteous god, the highest of gods, and they say, "You, you are the father of the light, of primeval existence from eternity, and to your dominion there is no harm. And also that sinner who boasted deceitfully and fought with your greatness has been seized and bound in an extraordinary tomb, out of which he can no longer go. And also the earth, the dwelling-place of the enemies, we have overthrown and filled up and above we have built the light fundament of the new world. And for you there are no more enemies and rivals, but yours is the eternal victory. Come now, and show mercy upon us! Uncover your bright figure, the loveliest of sights, for us who are longing for turning to it and becoming glad and joyous through it."

Then the sovereign of paradise ...

The Sermon on the Great War in the Coptic Homilies

(Gardner and Lieu, no. 71)

P. 7.9-30

Let us revere our good father and praise our ... redeemer. For he has revealed all [to us]. He has taught us all and spread it out before us.

Mani's Revelation and teaching

He gave us the knowledge of the Beginning. He taught us the ... of the Middle and also the separation at the End. ... and the annihilation of the worlds which is prepared for the bodies and the spirits (*pneuma*). Our father, our apostle let us not be without this. While he dwelt in our midst he helped us and supported us well. And also on the day he went out he left his goods to the orphans and widows. He ... to praise him and to spread his fame ... the words of the truth.

He proclaimed to us ... the cup of anger and a ... the murders that are prepared for the worlds ... realms that are prepared ... the nobles, the free, the slaves, ... the evil and the good ...

Actions of Hyle in the world

P. 10.24-32

... While they are still in their body he is before this entire race, this enraging, destructive tribe (*phulê*) ... of the fire ... which (fem.) the apostles of the Light [threw out] ... of their places in every land ... Babylon, in the witchcraft ... mockery ... all lands ...

P. 11.2-30

[in?] the libations and the sacrifices. She ... on the earth. She instituted the Sabbaths, the celebrations, and the fasts. She wrote the law and instituted it as ...

The Prophets

A rage came over her from above. [Jesus] was [sent] to her. He came and appeared to her in bodily form. [He went to?] the battle place(?) with her. He shamed her through ... he made her ashamed. He destroyed her ... as his brother. He called woe down upon her. ... He dissolved her law and her ... He cursed her and destroyed her dwelling places. ... her temples. He ...

... anger over his face. She roared ... wrath over him. He sacrificed himself for her ... He fulfilled his mystery on the cross.

In the hour when her temple had been destroyed she left Jerusalem and came and settled here in the present. She began to rule in **the fire of the magi**. Then, once more, this apostle was ... He was sent to her in the middle of ... Before [him] she must flee to every place, as they kept throwing her out of her world.

Zarades (Zarathustra) threw her out of Babylon, **Jesus** threw her out of Jerusalem.

But now **the third apostle, the redeemer**, was sent to her. He had already revealed himself to her. He will stay with her till the end of the world. It is the third apostle who was commanded and sent to her. He will constantly call over her in his ... till the end of all flesh, calling over her ... and also banishing her erring sons ... her kings and nobles ...

The fate of Mani's books in the Great War

P. 24.28-33

... these books that are written on their names ... the praise through the love that ... as it is the power of God so that the bring to church ... yearly ... monthly ...

P. 25.1-34

They will get into the hands of the Just and the devoted: **the Gospel and the Treasure of Life, the Pragmateia, and the book of Mysteries, the Book of Giants, and the Letters, the Psalms and the Prayers** of my Lord, **his Picture Book** and his revelations, his parables and mysteries,—nothing will be lost.

How much will be lost? How much will be destroyed?

Thousands will be lost, and another thousand will get into their hands. And finally they have found them again. They will kiss them and [say]: “O wisdom of the Greatness, O armor of the Apostle of Light. [Whither] did you get lost and ... Where do you come from? In which place were you found?”

I am happy that the book got back into their hands. ... its lord that they have not found it. You will find them, how they [read] *parêsia* in them, how they pronounce in it the name ..., the name of its lord and ... and the name of all those who have given ... and the name of the scribe who wrote it and also [the name] of him who interpunctuated it and the name ... they praise ... [I] revere them, I ... weep over them, for I know ... where their bodies lie ...

...

The church was oppressed and had to suffer, ... where it could get a firm footing, and it had no ... as it had no ... place ... the crowd of other religions (*dogma*) and their families ...

At that time, however, [Justice ...

P. 26.1-2

in which the magi are now. For it is they who rule in the world.

...

The end of the world

P. 36.8-31

... who blow the trumpets of truth ... flutes(?), as they blow them before him (**Jesus the Judge**). They will strike the glorious drum and its sound will be heard in every world.

The worlds will be gathered before him, like a herd of sheep before the shepherd. [They will come] in rows in bright crowds and throw themselves (at his feet) and pay him homage.

The angels ... will be empowered and will collect all the flesh. ... All peoples(?) and all languages will praise him all together.

Every god who is mixed with(?) ... they all will praise the sweet ... Every god who is cleansed and pure ... its power and bliss (*eudaimonia*) ...

...

all languages(?), the laws (*nomoi*) and the religions (*dogmata*), they will pay him homage, as they beg before him.

His virgins and his restraints (*egkratês*) ... will open their mouths [and praise] his glory. He will come down and set up his Bema in the middle of the great general assembly (*oikoumenê*) ...

P. 37.3-26

... **will stand ..**

... catecumens ... they have served [his] church ...

... **to his left** ...

... the judgment (*apophasis*) which will come out of his mouth.

Then the great Splendor will open his mouth, the praised king of kings. Through his sweet praised mouth he will proclaim his glorious word. But through the voice of his living word all languages will understand ... each land and each language ... the meaning of his words. Before his ... to his throne.

Four families ...: one is that of the kings and the nobles, ... the peoples of the whole world ... families are also ... one is that of all religions (*dogmata*) ... and all worlds ...

P. 38.2-26

... **Then those to the right** ... will be astonished. For that which ...

THE SERMON ON THE GREAT WAR IN THE COPTIC HOMILIES

... *parrhêsia*, and they will say [Mt. 25:37-43]: “[On what] day, O Lord, [did we] ...?” [He] will say to them: “Whatever you did ... for the sake of my name, for the sake of ..., you have served me. And I ...”

And the ones who stand to his right, those he will make just and [give them] victory., namely the catechumens ... whom he has called to the realm of the Light. [His] just ones ... however, and his virgins ... he has made [into] angles.

On the contrary, the bocks that stand to his left [will] see the hope that he has given to those standing to his right. [Their] heart(?) will rejoice for an instant, as they believe(?) [that the] victory of the sheep will also come to them. Then he will [turn to those] who stand to the left, and he will speak and say to them: “[Away from] me, you accursed ones! Go to the fire ... devil(?) and his powers. For I was hungry and thirsty [and] none of you helped [me]. ... And they will say: “[On what day] did we see [you], O Lord, ...

P. 39.1-34

... in every world ... earth ... the gods and angels who came with him: the gods, the angels, and the Chosen, being intermingled, and ... the sin and sweep it out together with all the evil that is in the world.

The trees will be green(?) and speak: for there is no persecutor ... for it was ... envious of the truth. The catechumens ... this king of the Light ... as he shows himself ... see him with the eyes of the body, the way [they] today [see] ... They will see him ... the picture of the Light, as they all rejoice and ... him.

Greed (*epithumia*) will remove itself from them and also the other kinds of temptations. **If they wish they may take off the garment of the body and receive the victory before him.** [And they will find] the road evened out from him up to the realm of the Light.

Thus he will rule for quite a while among his ... Then he will rise up to his gods and angels. His ... will join him.

The destruction of the world

Then, after Jesus, comes the destruction of the world ... the flesh will gradually pass away and be eliminated from the world. When ... the flesh has passed away and has disappeared and the whole has been cleansed upward, the world [will be] ... and remain deserted ... and remain for quite a [while] in this state.

...

... only the earth, which stands ... and the trees, which grow ... the splendid ...

The victorious gods leave this world

Then(?), after the time of its destruction(?) ...

P. 40.3-25

... to their realm, [in] which the First Man ... [He] will unveil his face and gather his sons to him ... the Living Spirit.

They will spread out(?) the OÚmophoros (Atlas), so that he ascends and rises and ... the exalted ... of his father, so that he throws [down his burden?] ... of peace comes.

Then the Pheggokatokhos (Splenditenens) will cease and ... the *arkhê* of the garments(?) ...

... of the King of Glory will ... of the glorious king will go ... will ascend to the height. They will give signs ... “All arise!”

Adamas ... who protects his brothers, will go to the height. all will ... and leave all ... of the world, those that are outside it ... he who is the Burden-bearer (Atlas) and those who are ...

All free men will be discharged ... Some of them ... to the Light, some will remain here ...

The collapse of the world and the fire

The sphere will sink down by its weight ... will sink. The three ... the earth. Its destruction will come ...

P. 41.5-24

THE SERMON ON THE GREAT WAR IN THE COPTIC HOMILIES

... the entire ... which this fire will have consumed. He will ... new. He will bring the Darkness into the grave(?), [its] maleness and its femaleness. He will cover ... before it, and he will destroy the sinners ...

... in it. Then the eons ... Greatness. He will give them what they ... He will give favor to his fighters, whom he had sent out to do battle with the Darkness. The will ... and ... the curtains, and **he will reveal to them his image. The entire Light will flow into him.** They will go into the *storehouse/treasury (*tamieion*), and they will reemerge in glory ... king in both realms: the king of the eons of the Light, that is the father, the King of the Light ... while the King of the New Eon is the First [Man].

... and the Statue (*andrias*) ... and the apostles and the ... the Sabbath will belong to ... belongs to Sunday ...

P. 42.5-8

... your father, who are all sitting there ... today, as they are keeping this mourning and fast.

Completed is the Sermon on the Great War

Prophetic Successions and Opposition to the Religion

M 299a Henochbuch (Book of Enoch)

... and hereafter, time after time, the holy spirit (Wahman = the great Nous) also proclaimed his greatness through the mouth of the primeval prophets, who are:

Shem, Sem, Enosh, Nikotheos, ... and Enoch.

Until ... and he was [a sower] of the seed of [truth]. Just as you ...

Kephalaia (Berlin copy)

The advent of the Apostle has occurred at the occasion ... as I have told you:

From Sethel, the first-born of Adam up to Enosh, together with Enoch.

From Enoch up to Sem, the son of Noah. ...

... **Buddha** to the East, and the Aurentes (Arhants), and the other ... who were sent to the East.

From the advent of the Buddha and the Aurentes up to the advent of **Zarathustra** to Persia, the occasion that he came to King Hystaspes.

From the advent of Zarathustra up to the advent of **Jesus Christ**, the son of greatness (...) who came to the Jews.

Kephalaia (Dublin copy)

The Lord **Zarathustra** came to Persia, to King Hystaspes; he revealed the law that is still really established in Persia.

The Lord **Buddha**, the wise, the fortunate: he came to the land of India and to the Kushans; he revealed the law that is still really established in all of India and among the Kushans.

After him came the **Aurentes** (= Arhants) and *Kebellos to the East; they revealed the law that is still really established in the East: the Middle of the world, and in Parthia. he revealed the law of truth among all these.

Afterward, **Jesus Christ** in the West of the Romans came to all the land of the West.

M42, Parthian, conversation between Jesus and "the Boy" (i.e, the light soul)

(Jesus) I have instructed the Great Nous to send you messengers when ... had come. Be patient, like the burdened beings of Light are.

(The Boy) The world and its children were alarmed. For my sake **Zarathustra** came down to the land of Persia, exposed the truth, and began selecting my "limbs" from among the beings of Light of the seven ... (= saving souls).

(Jesus) When Satan saw that he had descended, he sent out the demons of wrath against him, before they could counterattack. They had hurt you, O beloved, and the truth was distorted.

(The Boy) My suffering went away when the **Buddha** Shakyamuni ... he opened the gates of salvation for the fortunate souls that he saved in the land of India.

(Jesus) Because of the means and wisdom that you received from the Buddha, Devadatta (Dêbat) became envious of you, O great virgin(!). When the Buddha went into nirvana he told you: Wait here for Maitreya (= the Buddhist Messiah).

(The Boy) Then **Jesus** had mercy for a second time. He sent the four pure winds to help me. He bound the three winds, he destroyed Jerusalem and the steeds of the demons of wrath.

(Jesus) Judas Iscariot poured the cup of poison and death over you (the Boy), together with the sons of Israel. And much further sorrow ...

Sogdian text (Henning, "Murder of the Magi")

The first calumniator and sinner was Marten (= Eve), who three times led **Adam** astray from the (true) religion.

The first murderer was Cain, who killed his own brother.

DOCTRINE: MANI'S PREDECESSORS

In the East the first wicked deed was done by the A....s (?) who spoilt the Brahmanic religion and established the ten adversities in the world.

The second calumniator was Zhamasp, who slandered **Zarathustra**.

(The second murderer was) King Naksintar (= Alexander), who murdered the Magi.

(The second sinner was) Kughune, son of Ahrimen (= the devil), who spoilt the Magian religion.

The third calumniator was Wpr'tt (?), the *shaman* (= Buddhist) and King Shoka (= Ashoka), who slandered the **Buddha**.

The (third) sinner (was) Devadatta (the Buddha's uncle), who spoilt the Buddha's religion.

The fourth calumniator was Iscariot who slandered **Christ**.

The fourth sinner Satan (Sogd. Satana, grammatically female gender) the evil who spoilt the Christian religion.

There were still other sinners whom the Âz and Ahrimen used as their steeds and who slandered the Buddhas, the Arhants, the righteous Dêndars (= Manicheans), and the Pious Men.

M 788r2-8 (Henning, "Murder of the Magi")

The holy spirit also took as his mounts Simon, ... James, Cephas, Mariam, Martha, Paul, Peter, Thecla, BHYR, ... and Hermas the shepherd, and they became apostles in the various lands and kept the religion in a state of purity.

The Book of Giants

c (Henning, "The Book of Giants")

... hard ... arrow ... bow, he that ...

Sam said, "Blessed be ... had [he?] seen this, he would not have died."

Then Shahmizad said to Sam, his son, "All that Mahaway ..., is spoilt(?)."

Thereupon he said to ..., "We are ... until ... and ... that are in(?) the fiery hell(?) ... As my father Wirogdad, was ..."

Shahmizad said, "It is true what he says. He says one of thousands. For one of thousands ..."

Sam thereupon began ... Mahaway too in many places ... until to that place ... he might escape(?) and ...

BT 4 no. 22 MP

... Afterward Atanbish seized the 200 ... to ... split ...and he [brought] them before broke ... and he threw (him?) over the four edges of the earth and took his *weapon of ... And those three giants too who were with Atanbish were killed and he [carried] them before those watchers and giants who were with him. And when those [giants who were with] Atanbish ...

... be ... and ... in *agreement and gather your wits!" [And the] -s who [were] in height ... helmet ... comes to ...who ... the mountains ... and the one who makes *sadwar*, was killed. And that great angel killed the one who was their envoy. The flesh-eaters were battered and the -ers of ... were vanquished, killed was the one who ... with one step ...

L I MP (ms. in St. Petersburg)

... concerning Mazendaran

... you do not endure ...

Again he said, "Take these two stone tablets to that *place where it is written! And first bring the message to Mariman: Why are you running so fiercely? Now I have come and I have brought these two tablets so that I can read to the giants the one to Mazendaran."

Shahmizad said, " Read the manuscript of Enoch the interpreter, ... from the speech about Mazendaran!"

THE BOOK OF GIANTS

Sam of the giants

Afterward Sam said to the giants, "Come let us eat and be merry!"

Because of (their) despondency they did not eat (but) went to sleep. Mahaway went to Atanbish (and) told (him) everything. Again Mahaway came. Sam had a dream: He came up above heaven. He got fever from the earth. He swallowed a *barrel of water. Rage came from the water. The ... became invisible. He saw before him the rulers of heaven. ...

The Principles of Mani's Religion

Mir. Man. ii; and in Boyce, Reader, text a; Kephalaia, chaps. 1, 154

The religion that I have chosen is in ten things above and better than the other, previous religions.

1. The religions of those of old were only in one country and in one language, but my religion is of that kind that it will be manifest in every country and in all languages, and it will be taught in far-away countries.

2. The previous religions endured only as long as there were pure leaders in them. When the leaders had ascended, then their religions fell into disorder and became negligent in commandments and works. And in ... But my religion, because of the living [scriptures?], of the teachers, the bishops, the elect, and the hearers, and because of its wisdom and works will endure to the end.

3. The souls "whose deeds were not accomplished" in their own religion will come to my religion, which certainly will be the door of redemption for them.

4. My revelation of the two principles and my living scriptures, my wisdom and knowledge are above and better than those of the previous religions.

Kephalaia:

Jesus came to the West, and after his death his disciples wrote down his words. Zarathustra came to the land of Persia to King Hystaspes (Persian Wishtasp), but he did not write books, though his disciples remembered and wrote down his words after his death. And finally, when the Buddha came, he preached much wisdom and established churches, but he did not write anything, and it was his disciples who remembered and wrote down his words after his death.²⁷

5. The writings and the wisdom and the apocalypses and the parables of earlier religions were gathered everywhere and came to Mani's religion and were added to the wisdom which he revealed.

Kephalaia adds:

"As water will be added to water and becomes much water, so were the ancient (earlier) books added to my writings and became a great wisdom the like of which was not proclaimed (hitherto) in all ancient (earlier) generations."²⁸

[The rest is lost.]

²⁷ *Kephalaia*, chap. 1.

²⁸ *Kephalaia*, chap. 154; cf. Böhlig, 1988.

Gnosis

Mir. Man. ii, 8-9 [297-299] (Boyce, Reader, ad 1-3)

M9IR

... for it is all mixed with evil, limited in time and space, and transient.

And the wise and those of select judgement are able to recognize the limitless, timeless, and unmixed goodness of Paradise by the limitedness in time and space and mixture of the goodness in the material world.

And likewise the existence of the countless and limitless evil of Hell can be known from the countable and limited evil that is seen in the material world.

And if, in the material world, the limited and transient goodness and evil, as well as their mixture with each other, could not be seen, then the notion of getting away from evil and of coming to goodness could not occur to the thought of anybody.

And if the soul did not see the knowledge that has accrued to it through 10,000 births, ...

M9IV

... it would not be able?] to recognize the profit that comes from the eternal, timeless, and unmixed goodness.

Then he needs a leader and guide who can show him the road and passage to be delivered from the evil and to come to the eternal, unmixed, and intransient Soul.

But, just in case anybody may say that if knowledge can only come to mankind through the Doors which I have written above, then each person should have these Doors soundly in knowledge, and equally and in like manner, then the answer about this matter is the following:

In many places in this book I have shown the reason for sectarianism is greater or lesser knowledge of the mixture. And he who thinks this or says (it), in that ... he ...

Now that I have ... this ... mankind ...

The material soul and the body

Mir. Man. ii, 8-9 [299-300] (Boyce, Reader, ae 1-3)

M9IIR

... By this it is evident that it is of the same stuff (*gohr*) as the body. That is evident from what I wrote above, and it is clear to those of select judgement. And since these two—both the bodily frame (*tenigerd*) and the spirituality (*mênogih*)—are both dark, unknowing, and indiscriminating, and of the same kind (*≈awonih*) and are the being (*astih*) and substance (*mayag*) of the body, we must ask, of what kind and of what stuff is the soul? And since the kind and stuff of the soul has been revealed in many places in this book, it is not difficult to know it, namely that the soul is of different stuff from the body and is mixed and fitted and bound in the body with the spirituality of the body, that is, anger, lust (*az*), and desire, like

M9IIV

... in the state of being of one stuff, mixture, fittedness, and binding, thus it is not possible like pure silver, which, because no mixture, fittedness, and binding with *otherness is evident in it when it is one and unmixed, but when the silver is mixed with copper or something else, then the mixture, fittedness, and binding with that thing is as evident in it as a copper drachma or a *sytwg*.

And in similar manner and like the silver in copper, the soul inside the brute matter and frame of the body, consisting of bone, flesh, skin, blood, wind, ..., and filth ... with the bond of the spirituality [of the body] ... from the eye, which ...

Polemical hymn (M 28.1r)

They say about the souls that as long as they are wearing the corpse
and the bodily form so long they do not receive a form.

The worlds are amazed at the deceived idols,
the images over the walls: wooden and stony.

They fear the deception. They bend down and do homage to it.
They have relinquished the father in paradise, and they worship the deception.

And I *dressed his shape, and I made the vivifyer his teaching.
And he laughed at me the *tearing laughter of men.

I made perplexed and ashamed Adonai and his misbirths (asking):
“If there is (only) one god, who deceived Adam?”

The ruined ..., *exotic and beguiling, with cracked skin.
Why do you paint the child of god on the ... and (thus) make it born.

The judgment (after) death has been arranged for the evil in hell.
Why have you imputed Ahrimen and his evil to the son of God?

**Lo! Again, these too who worship the blazing fire,
they themselves know from here that their end is to the fire.**

**And they say that Ohrmezd and Ahrimen are brothers.
And on account of this talk they will go to destruction.**

Falsehood and scorn they speak about Ohrmezd (saying) that: “Mahmi
the demon taught (him how) to make the world light.”

The creatures of Ohrmezd and Ahrimen fight and struggle.
And you are enemies of both lineages.

...

You(?) and [...] that ... misbirth [and] ill-famed, who ... from the path
When did Joseph become the courted one?

They call the son of Mary the seventh son of the Lord.
If he is lord of all, who crucified his son?

The evil rightly come to hell, because they
themselves made the sin and the destruction of the sinners.

Like that which they did: That god of Marcion,
because he led (away?) what did not belong to him they seized him and killed (him).

DOCTRINE: A POLEMICAL HYMN

The soft, pleasant, and nice one they made into a robber and a thief.
And they call him benefactor (who is) the exterminator of the child of the others.

That terrible one who said while he had not yet tasted death
tormented the doer of deeds (saying): Why did you crucify me?

Like (him) who turns least to sweetness
these sinful misbirths too never become beneficent.

...

Shape and form (is) of another ... He cannot receive (it)
*from the fleshy corpse, the frame he made for this reason

that: "I shall debase it as well as defile it!" When they don this corpse
and (even if) if they go to become princes, then they will be in the same manner.

(I say) in truth that sin is un-... (even) if in the realm
of heaven: They will be a sink and sewer, *polluted and soiled.

In the end they will be brought to shame all those who worship
the idols, on that last day, and they will go to destruction.

Place on my head the helmet of the fighters
so that for ever I may be victorious in this battle and struggle!

Thus my word says like a (man) mighty and superb,
and the gods will relinquish him who thinks in this way.

Woe unto everyone who rejoices in ...
and the lady had become envious of every intelligence.

Everybody has taken and chosen by his intelligence the word that he
wishes, and he always shapes that one which destroys (his) helpers.

**They run about undressed through the blandishment of possessions
and in the garment which they explain to the time through parables.**

All the paths of ruin and the numerous
courses and the many roads, crooked and misleading.

And their empty tastes and the victuals of the belly:
they have laid hands on the soul with great ruins.

Epistula Fundamenti
(Gardner and Lieu, no. 53)

After Feldmann, 1987.

Frg. 1

Mani, the apostle of Jesus Christ by the providence of God, the Father.

Frg. 2

These are the wholesome words from the perennial and living fountain. Whoever hears them and at first believes them and then guards what they teach will never be subject to death but will enjoy eternal and glorious life. For he is indeed to be regarded as blessed who, having been instructed in this divine realization, will remain in eternal life.

Frg. 3

The peace of the invisible God and knowledge of the truth be with (my) holy and dearest brothers, who believe in the heavenly commandments in the same manner and follow them! But may also the right (hand) of the Light protect you and tear you away from every evil aggression and the noose of the world! And may the piety of the Holy Spirit open up your innermost heart so that you may see your souls with your own eyes.

Frg. 4a.

So, let me answer truly your questions about that which you told me you would like to know, O dearest Patticius, namely, how it is with the birth of Adam and Eve, whether they were brought forth by the Word or born from a body. For most authors in their various scriptures and revelations discuss and teach variously regarding these matters. Therefore almost all peoples ignore the real truth about this matter, as well as all those who have discussed it long and exhaustively. For if they had had the good fortune to know clearly the circumstances of the lineage of Adam and Eve they would never have been subject to corruption and death.

Frg. 4b

Therefore, in order to be able to arrive at an understanding of this mystery without any ambiguity, several things must needs be discussed.

Frg. 4c

Hence, if you like, first listen to what was before the world was made and in what manner the battle was fought, in order that you may distinguish between **the nature of the Light and the Darkness**.

Frg. 5a

For there were in the beginning these **two substances** divided from one another, and a God, Father, ruled the Light, eternal in his holy origin, magnificent in his power (*virtus*), true by his very nature, always rejoicing in his own eternity.

He keeps with him wisdom and vital senses, through which he also encompasses the twelve limbs of his Light, being clearly the copious wealth of his own realm. Now, in each of his limbs are hidden thousands of countless and immense treasures, while the Father himself—foremost in price, unfathomable in magnitude—keeps joined with him the blessed and glorious aeons, whose number and variety cannot be estimated. With these the holy and illustrious Father and sire passes the time. Nobody in his wonderful realms ever lacks anything, and nobody is placed lowest in order.

Frg. 5b

Thus, his most splendid realms are founded upon the blessed luminous Earth, so that nobody can ever move or shake them.

Frg. 6a-c

Now, next to one part and side of that illustrious and holy Earth there was the earth of Darkness, deep and immense in magnitude, in which fiery bodies dwell, pestilential races. From this same *nature* infinite darkness went out with its own abortions. Beyond this (darkness) were dirty and whirling waters with their inhabitants. Inside it were horrible and vehement winds with their own prince and sire. Next, a fiery and corruptible region with its leaders and nations. In the same manner, inward, a people full of fog and smoke, in which the terrible prince of them all dwelt, who was himself the mind and origin of them all. And these were the five *natures* of the pestilential land.

And those five races who inhabited those *natures* were wild and pestilential.

Frg. 7

Now, **the Father of the most blessed Light knew** that the great destruction and devastation that was surging up from **the Darkness was threatening his holy aeons** unless he set against it an outstanding, remarkable, and powerful deity, by which he could overcome and at the same time destroy the race of Darkness, so that when it had been destroyed the inhabitants of the Light would have eternal calmness.

Frg. 8a

The father, who had sired the sons of Light there, and the Air and the Earth itself and the sons themselves are **of one substance**, and all things (there) are the same.

Frg. 8b

For that is the *Epistula Fundamenti*, as your Holiness knows well and I have said as well, that it contains the beginning, the middle, and the end.

...

Frg. 9

Then he (the prince of Darkness) said in his fantasies to those who were there: "What do you think of this great light that is rising? Look, how it moves the sky somehow and shakes most of the powers (*potestates*)! I think it is best that you give *me* the Light you have in your strength (*vires*). Thus, **I shall form an image of that great one**, who appeared in such glory, and through it we shall be able to rule and finally be freed from having to move about (exclusively) in the Darkness."

When they heard this they deliberated for a long time among themselves and decided it would be best to give him what he had asked them, for they were not quite sure they would be able to hold on to the Light forever. Therefore they thought it best to give it to their prince: in this way they could be sure they would get to rule.

Now we must consider how they gave him this Light which they had, for this too is scattered throughout all the divine scriptures and heavenly mysteries. For those who possess the knowledge it is of course not difficult to know how it was given, for whoever wishes to look at it truly and faithfully will find it familiar and open.

Since there were **both sexes** among those who had gathered, that is, **females and males**, he made them have intercourse, during which some emitted their semen and some were made pregnant. The offspring was of course similar to those who produced it, and the first born obtained most of the strengths of the parents. The prince took this of theirs and rejoiced over it as over an exquisite gift. Now, we can still observe how the nature of evil becomes the maker of bodies and takes from them strength to makes (new ones), and in exactly the same way **the afore-mentioned prince received the offspring of his companions**, which had the senses and wisdom (*providentia*) of its parents, as well as Light, which had been transmitted through the procreation, **and he ate it all**.

From this food he acquired a number of strengths, for it contained not only the fortitude, but even much more the slyness and depraved senses from the wild mind of the progenitors.

He called his wife, who was of the same race as himself. And having intercourse with her he emitted his semen like the others (before him) and an abundance of the evils which he had devoured, adding a considerable amount of his own thought and strength, so that it would be his own sense which formed and shaped all that he had gushed forth. His partner received these things like a well-cultivated earth usually receives the seed. And in her the images of all the heavenly and earthly powers (*virtutes*) were constructed and woven together, so that **that which was being shaped came to look like the full sphere.**

Frg. 10

But it was the enemy, who hoped he had crucified the savior, the father of the just, who himself was crucified. At the time one thing happened although another thing appeared to the eye.

Frg. 11

The souls which, for love of the world, permitted themselves to stray from their previous Light nature, became enemies of the holy Light, armed themselves openly to fight and destroy the holy elements, and became followers of the fiery spirit, and also by their unholy persecution afflicted the holy Church and those Chosen in it, the keepers of the heavenly commandments, will be kept out of the bliss and glory of the holy Earth. And because they **permitted themselves to be overcome by evil, they will continue in that race of evil**, being themselves denied entrance to that peaceful Earth and immortal regions. This will happen to them because they became so tied up in wicked deeds that they became strangers to the life and freedom of the holy Light. Therefore they cannot be received into those peaceful realms but are molded together in that afore-mentioned horrible ball, which it is even necessary to put a guard over. Hence, these souls will be attached to those things which they loved, left in that ball of Darkness, having brought it upon themselves by their merits. For they did not seek to learn about these future things and segregated themselves from them when they were given time (to do otherwise).

Alexander of Lycopolis (ca. 300)

(Gardner and Lieu, nos. 24 end, 57)

... like that Manichaïos, who is a Persian by descent, who according to our teaching surpassed everybody in telling amazing stories. ... They say he arose during Valerian, campaigned together with Sapore the Persian, and died after having incurred his anger.

The following account of his teaching came to us from those who knew the man.

He postulated two principles (*arkhaî*): God and Matter (*húlê*), of whom God was good and Matter evil (*kakós*). God had more good than Matter had evil. When he says Matter he does not, however, like Plato mean that which becomes all things when it takes on quality and form (which is why Plato calls it all-absorbing and mother and nurse), or like Aristotle the element in which form and lack appear, but something different from these. For he calls Matter the unordered movement that is in every being.

Alongside with God there are other powers (*dúnamis*), serving him, as it were: all good; likewise with Matter: all evil.

The splendor and the light and the upper region was all with God; the murkiness and the darkness and the nether region was all with Matter.

God also had aspirations, but all those good, and matter likewise, but all evil.

Once upon a time Matter became desirous (*epithumía*) to reach the upper region, but when she reached it she was amazed at all the splendor and light that was with God and wished to oust God and assume power herself. Now God wished to punish her, but had nothing evil with which to punish her, for there was nothing evil in the house of God.

So he sent against Matter a power, which we call the soul (*psukhê*), which was to mingle completely with her. For it would mean the death of Matter when subsequently it was separated from her. And so, according to **God's**

foresight (*prónoia*), the soul was mixed with Matter, something dissimilar with something dissimilar. But through this mixture not only Matter suffered, but the soul as well. For in the same way that a bad vessel often causes its contents to change, so also did the soul inside Matter suffer and deteriorated from its actual nature (*oúsa phúsis*) into participating (*metousía*) in evil.

God was sorry about this and sent another power, which we call the demiurge [the Living Spirit]. After arriving and having taken the creation of the world in hand, he extracted from Matter as much of the power as had not yet suffered anything untoward (*átomos*) from the mixture, and so first sun and moon came into being. That which had become only moderately evil became the stars and the rest of the sky. The part of matter which was left after the sun and moon had been separated from it was thrown outside the world, and that is that fire which burns but is darkish and dull like the night.

In the other elements and the plants and animals consisting of them the divine power was unequally mixed.

So in this way the world came into being, and in it the sun and the moon by their becoming and disappearing ever separate from Matter the divine power and lead it up to God. For after the demiurge another power in the light form of the sun came down and performed all this [the Third Messenger]. Now, this work is very clear and obvious even to the blind, as it were. For when it waxes the moon receives the light that has been separated out from Matter and it becomes full of it at this time. But when it has become full, then as it diminishes it leads it to the sun, which sends it on to God. When it has done this it starts taking up again, after the next full moon, the soul transhuming up to it. And having received it he likewise lets it be carried up to God on its own. And this it does constantly.

And an image is to be seen in the sun which is like that of a man. Matter became envious of it and fashioned a man from herself according to how much power she possessed through the mixture. Thus man too has some of the soul in him. Indeed, the image contributed a lot to the fact that man has more of the divine power than other mortal living beings, for he is an image of divine power.

As for Christ, he is the Nous. He too once came from the upper region and released the greatest part of this power for God. And, of course, in the end he was crucified and so brought Gnosis, in such a way that the divine power was insinuated into, even crucified in Matter.

Now, since God's decision is that Matter is to be annihilated, one should abstain from everything that has a soul, but satisfy oneself with vegetables and everything that has no feelings, and also abstain from marriage, sex, and child-making, in order that the soul does not transhume even more within Matter through the sequence of generations.

One should not oneself by performing mechanical cleansings try to expel those things with which the mixture with Matter has sullied the power.

These are the main points of what they say. They worship mostly the sun and the moon, not as gods, but as a way to reach God. But when the divine power has been completely separated, then, they say, the outer fire will collapse and will consume both itself and everything else that remains of Matter.

Acta Archelai (ca. 350?)

(Gardner and Lieu, no. 58)

IX.

The reason why a person dies is as follows:

A pretty, adorned, and **very elegant maiden** secretly approaches the Archonts who were brought up and crucified to the firmament. **When she appears, she looks to the males like a pretty woman, but to women like a good-looking and attractive youth.** And when the princes see her thus adorned, they are overcome with lust for her, and because they cannot reach her they are violently excited by the fire of love and completely carried away by the heat of passion.

So they run after her, but when the maiden suddenly is nowhere to be seen, then that great prince produces from himself great clouds, in order to obscure the entire world in his rage. When he makes a great effort, like a man sweats after work, so also this prince sweats from his effort, and his sweat are the rains.

If the prince is cheated of his harvest too by the maiden, then he pours out a plague over the entire earth, so that it causes men to die. For this body is also called a cosmos corresponding to the greater cosmos, and all men have roots which are attached from below to those above. So whenever he is cheated by the maiden, then he begins cutting off the roots of men, and when their roots are cut off, then a plague breaks out, and thus they die. And if that which is above the roots is shaken by the tension, then an earthquake ensues and consequently the Omophoros [Atlas] is shaken. Such is the cause of death.

X.

But now I will tell you **how the soul wanders in five different bodies**. First a little part of it is cleansed. Then it wanders into the body of a dog, a camel, or another animal. If the soul has murderous tendencies, it is transferred into the bodies of lepers. If it is found during the harvest, it goes into people with speech impediments.

The names of the soul are the following: Nous, Thinking [memorization?] (*énnoia*), Insight [knowledge] (*phrónêsis*), Thought [mental impulse?] (*enthúmêsis*), Reflexion [conceptualizing?] (*logismós*).

The harvesters who harvest are like the Archonts who were in the Darkness from the beginning, when they ate of the armor of the First Man. Therefore they must be changed into grass, pears, barley, heads of corn, or fruits, so that they too may be harvested and cut off.

Furthermore, if someone eats bread, then he too must become bread and be eaten. If someone kills a bird, then he too must become a bird. If someone kills a mouse, then he too must become a mouse.

Furthermore, if someone is rich in this world, then when he departs from his tent he must wander into the body of beggar, so that he travels around begging and afterward goes into eternal punishment.

But because this body belongs to the archonts and Matter, whoever plants a Persea tree must go through several bodies, until that Persea tree is felled.

If someone builds himself a house, then he is distributed throughout those entire bodies.

If someone bathes, then he harms his own soul in the water.

And if someone does not give the Elect his (share of) alms, then he will be punished in hell, and his body will become that of Hearers, until he has given many alms.

Therefore they bring the Elect the very best of foods. When these are about to eat bread, they first pray, saying as follows to the bread: "I did not harvest you, I did not grind you, I did not torture you, and I did not throw you into the pot. It was another who did this and who brought you to me. I have eaten you without guilt." And when he has said this for himself, then he says to the Hearer: "I have prayed for you." And so he gets up and leaves.

As I just told you, if someone harvests, then he will be harvested. In the same way, if he throws grain into the machine, he himself will also be thrown in. He who stirs becomes gruel. He who bakes bread becomes bread. Therefore it is forbidden for them to work.

Furthermore, there are some other worlds, from which these luminaries arise, once they have gone down in this world.

And if someone walks on the earth, he strikes the earth. And he who moves a hand strikes the air, since the air is the soul of men, animals, birds, fish, and reptiles.

And, as I told you, if there is anything in the world, it is not the body of God, but of Matter, and it is darkness and must be darkness.

XII.

Now, as for how **Adam** was created he says as follows: He who says "Come, let us make a man after our image, after our similitude, or after the form we saw!" is the archont, who (actually) says to the other archonts: "Come, give me of the light which we caught, and we shall make a man after our, the archonts', form, and after the one we saw, that is, the First Man!" And so he (or: they) created man.

Now, they created Eve in the same way, giving her some of their own (evil) aspiration (*epithumía*) for the deception of Adam.

And through these events did the molding of the (little) cosmos come about through the creation activity (*dêmiourgía*) of the archonts.

Now, **God** has no part in this cosmos nor does he rejoice over it, because, **in the beginning, he was stolen by the archonts and he got into trouble**. Therefore he daily sends (someone) to steal his soul from them via these luminaries, the sun and the moon, through which the entire cosmos and the whole creation is carried off (as booty).

Now, he who spoke with Moses, the Jews, and the priests he says is the archont of Darkness, and the Christians, Jews, and pagans (*ethnikós*) are one and the same, as they revere the same god. For in his aspirations he seduces them, as he is not the god of truth. And so therefore all those who put their hope in the god who spoke with Moses and the prophets have (this in store for themselves, namely) to be bound with him, because they did not put their hope in the god of truth. For that one spoke with them (only) according to their own aspirations.

XIII.

After all this, he says, in the end—as he, the Elder, wrote—: When he shall show his image, the Omophoros [Atlas] will let go of the earth, and thus the great fire is let loose, and it consumes the entire cosmos. Then he will place the Ball (Latin: the souls) in midst the New Aeon, so that all the souls of sinners shall be bound for eternity. Now, these things will come about as soon as the (Last) Statue has come.

Now, all the emanations (*probolái, prolationes*): Jesus, the one in the little ship, and the Mother of Life, and the twelve steersmen, and the Maiden of Light, and the Third Elder (= Tertius Legatus), the one in the big ship, and the Living Spirit (Latin: whence the Living spirit is also said to be in the great ship), the (Latin: great) wall of wind, air, and water and the interior live fire (all) dwell in the small luminary until the fire consumes the whole cosmos. I was unable, however, to learn in how many years.

And after all this there will be the restoration (*apokatástasis, restitutio*) of the two natures (*phúsis*; Latin: luminaries), and the archonts will inhabit the lower parts, the Father the upper ones, having recovered his Own.

This entire teaching he entrusted to his three disciples, ordering each of them to go in the (three) directions (Latin: the three directions of the world). In this way Addas obtained the west, Thomas the land of the Syrians, while Hermeias traveled to Egypt, and till this day they stay there, in order to establish a foundation from the teaching.

...

LXII.

Now I shall tell you where this Mani came from and what he did, he who gushed forth against us from the province of Persia, he against whom I have arranged already a second disputation. I shall also clearly show where his teaching comes from. He is not the first author of this kind of teaching, nor the only one. It was in fact a certain Scythianus, who lived at the time of the apostles, who created and led this sect. ... It was this Scythianus who introduced that self-contradictory doctrine of dualism, which he himself had taken from Pythagoras, like all the other followers of this dogma, who all defend that doctrine of dualism, straying from the straight path of the scripture. But nobody achieved such an impudent following as that Scythianus. For he introduced the notion of enmity between two unborn (principles) and all that stuff that follows from such an assertion.

Now, this Scythianus was himself a Saracene, who took a wife somewhere from upper Thebes. She persuaded him to live in Egypt more than in the deserts. I wish that province had never received him, where he both lived and had learned the wisdom of the Egyptians. For he was, we admit, rich in both ingenuity and wealth. He had a pupil, who wrote four books for him: the *Mysteries*, the *Chapters*, the *Gospel*, and, last of all, the *Treasure*. He had these four books and the one student, Terebinthus. Since the two of them had decided to spend some time together(?), only Scythianus enjoyed running about in Judea, in order to get together with all those who seemed to him knowledgeable. Luckily he died there without having been able to promote (his teaching).

LXIII.

But that student, Terebinthus, having packed up all he had, fled and came to Babylonia, which is now a province inhabited by Persians and at a distance about a six days and nights' journey from where we are. When he came there, he presented himself as being replete with all the wisdom of Egypt and began calling himself Buddha. He pretended to have been born of a virgin and raised in the mountains by an angel. But a certain prophet called Parcus and Labdacus son of Mithra maintained that he was a liar, and every day they had heated discussions about this matter. But what's the need of many words? Even if he was frequently censured, still he announced to them the things that had been before time, both about the sphere and the two luminaries, but also whither and how the souls depart and in what way they return to bodies and many other such things, even worse ones, for instance, God started the war in the beginning, in order that he might be believed to be a prophet. As he was being accused of such things, he came to a widow with his four books, having acquired no disciples there other than that one old woman, who became his collaborator. Then, one time, getting up in the morning, he went up to a high solarium, where he began invoking some names, which Turbo told us only seven elects had learned. So when he had gone up there to perform some rite or action, he went up alone, so that he could not be found guilty by anyone, for if he hid it or made light of it, he thought he would be exposed to the punishments by the princes of the air. While he was thinking thus, the most just god under earth orders him to be led by the spirit, and instantly thrown down from up on high his lifeless body fell down, and the old woman buried him.

LXIV.

Then all the things he had carried with him from Egypt remained with her, and she was very happy at his death for two reasons: because she did not particularly enjoy looking at his doings and because of what she had obtained by inheritance. For she was very prescient. When she was left alone she wished to have somebody as a servant and bought a seven-year old boy named Corbicius, whom she immediately freed and began educating. When he was twelve, the old woman died, leaving him her worldly goods, including the four books that Scythianus had written, each containing just a few verses, however. Then Corbicius, having buried his mistress, began using all the things left him and moved to the center of the city, where the Persian king lived, and having changed his name he called himself Manen [acc.] instead of Corbicius, actually Manes, according to the Persian way of declining nouns. That boy reached the age of sixty, having acquired all the knowledge in the land, almost more than anybody else, but especially what was in those four books. He also acquired three disciples: Thomas, Addas, and Hermas. He translated the four books and claimed authorship after having inserted much new material, similar to the tales of old wives. Thus, he had those three disciples who knew about his wrong-doings. He wrote his own name upon those books, having erased that of the previous owner, as if he had written them all by himself. He then sent his disciples with the things he had written in those books to the upper parts of that province, to various villages and cities, so that he had someone to follow him. Thomas wanted to go to Egypt and Addas to Scythia [var. Syria], while only Hermas chose to stay with him.

But when they had left, a son of the king fell ill with some disease, and the king offered a large reward to whoever would cure him. Then that Manes, like those who play with cubes (that is dice), went to the king and told him he would cure the boy. When the king heard that, he received him in great honor and treated him well. I will not bore the listeners by telling at length what he did. The boy died, or rather was extinguished, in his hands. Then the king threw Manes in jail, where he was put in heavy chains. The two disciples who had been sent to teach throughout the towns, were sought for punishment, and they of course fled never ceasing to insinuate this alien doctrine inspired by Antichrist in all places.

LXV.

After this they return to their master and tell him what had happened to them. They also learn what evil had befallen him. So after his followers had come to him and told him about the troubles they had suffered in various places, they tried to persuade him to let them convert to salvation. For they were very worried that the same bad things that had happened to him might happen to them. But he made a speech, telling them not to worry. Then, while in prison, he made them obtain some Christian books, but those whom he sent to all the various places were

held in great hatred by those who revered the name of Christians. So taking a little money, they went to places where Christian books were written, and presenting themselves as Christian novices, they asked for books they might buy. And, in brief, they buy all the books of our scriptures and bring to him in prison. He took them, and being a smart fellow, he began looking for passages that might confirm that duality of his, though it was not his, but that of Scythianus, who had brought it forth a long time ago. And, basing himself on our books, he made this assertion like when he disputed with me, pointing to some passages, while changing others, only retaining the name of Christ. He pretended to adopt this name, so that they would not chase his disciples throughout the towns when they heard the holy and divine name of Christ. After having found the word “paraclete” in one of the books, he began calling himself the paraclete, although had he read more closely he would have noticed that the paraclete had already come at the time the apostles were on earth. When the Persian king was informed about this he decided Manes had to be punished! After being warned in a dream, Manes bribed the jailer with much gold, escaped from prison, and fled to the fortress of Arabion. From there he sent a letter with Turbo to Marcellus, our friend, saying he was coming [to Karkhar and later Diodoris. That is where the great disputations took place which you saw and in which I showed clearly that he was a pseudo-prophet. But the jailer who had let him go, was punished, and the king ordered him to be sought everywhere and apprehended. When I learned about this, I had to tell you, for he is sought by the Persian king to this day.

LXVI.

When the crowd heard this, they wanted to seize Manes and hand him over to the power of the Barbarians, for they were just across the river Stranga, and there were some who had already come to get him but finding him nowhere had left. For he had fled again. But when Archelaus had made this known, Manes instantly fled and got away, since nobody was pursuing him, for the crowd was as usual more interested in listening to what Archelaus had to tell them. But then several went in pursuit of him. But he went back where he had come, crossed the river, and came back to the fortress Arabion, where he was apprehended and taken to the king. The king was very upset and unhappy and wanted revenge for the two deaths, that of his son and of his jailer. He ordered Manes to be skinned and hung before the gates of the city, his skin to be inflated by chemicals, and his flesh to be given to the birds.

When these events were known later, Archelaus added them to the previous account for them to be known to everybody, as I who wrote this told you in my previous writings. All the Christians came together and decided to pass sentence over him or transmitting a kind of epilogue to his death consonant with the things he had done in the rest of his life.

Augustine, de Haeresibus §46

(Gardner and Lieu, nos. 40, 59)

1. The Manicheans came from a certain Persian called Manes, although, when his insane doctrine was first preached in Greece, his disciples preferred to call him Manichaeus, avoiding the word “insanity” [*mania*]. whence some of them, allegedly more learned but actually more mendacious, geminating the *n*, call him Mannichaeum, as if “pouring manna.”

This one put together **two principles**, different from and opposing each other, as well as eternal and coeternal (that is, having always been), and also two *natures* or *substances*, namely, of good and bad. In this he followed other old heretics, as he thought. They maintain according to their dogmas that between them there is battle and mixture and the cleansing of good from evil, but also eternal damnation (together with evil) of the good which cannot be cleansed, and they tell many fables, which it would be too tedious to include here.

But on account of these vain and impious fables they are led to say that the good souls, which they believe ought to be freed from the mixture with the bad souls, that is, the opposite ones, are **of the same nature as God**. Therefore some admit that the world is made **from the nature of God**, although from the mixture of good and evil which occurred when the two natures fought one another. But they do not only say that it is the *virtues* of God that perform the cleansing and liberation of good from evil throughout the entire world and from all its elements, but also their Chosen ones (Electi) through the food they eat. And they maintain that the *substance* of God is mixed into that very food as well as into the entire world, and they believe it is cleansed in their Chosen ones by that kind of life which the Chosen ones of the Manicheans live, which is as it were healthier and better than that of their Hearers (Auditores). For they maintain that their Church consists of these two professions: Chosen and Hearers. But in other men, also in their own Hearers, they believe that this part of the good and divine *substance*, which is retained mixed and tied in foods and drinks but most of all in those who generate sons, is bound more solidly and badly.

2. They maintain that whatever of the light is cleansed (*purgatur*) from everywhere is returned to the realm of god and to its own home, as it were, by certain ships, which, as they say, are the moon and the sun and are made from the same pure *substance* of God. And they say that that corporeal light, which lies close to the eyes of mortal living beings, not only in these ships, where they believe it is purest, but also in all other light things, in which it is mixed—according to them—and so must be cleansed, is the *nature* of God.

For they attribute to the race of darkness (*genti tenebrarum*) five *elements*, which produced their own principles and which are called smoke, darkness, fire, water, and wind.

In the *smoke* two-footed animals are born, from which they think men originated; in the *darkness* quadrupeds originated; in the *waters* swimming things; and in the *wind* flying things.

To these five bad, fighting elements five other elements were sent from the realm and *substance* of God, which were mixed in that fight: air was mixed with smoke, light with darkness, the good fire with the bad fire, the good water with the bad water, the good wind with the bad wind.

As for those two ships, that is, the two celestial luminaries, they distinguish between them as follows: They say the moon is made from the good water and the sun from the good fire. And in these ships there are holy *virtues* which, on one hand, transfigure themselves into males in order to seduce the females of the opposite race (*gentis adversae*) and, on the other, into females in order to seduce the males of that same opposite race. And when their desire has been aroused by this seduction the light which they held in their members is supposed to flee from them, and is taken up by the angels of the light to be cleansed, and, when cleansed, it is put into those ships to be carried back to their own realms.

For this reason—or rather because they are forced by their disgusting superstition—their Chosen are led to consume a kind of eucharist to which human semen has been added, so that that divine *substance* is cleansed from that too, as from the other food they consume.

They do say that *they* do not do this, but some others using the name of Manicheans. As you know, however, they were found in a church in Carthage when you were deacon there, when some were brought before the tribune by

Ursus, who was then in charge of the royal house. On that occasion an eleven-year-old girl named Margarita revealed that loathsome act and told she had been abused at this kind of criminal mystery. But he was barely able to make another Manichean “holy” woman, Eusebia, confess that the same thing had happened to her. She kept saying she was intact and demanded that she be examined by an obstetrician, who, however, then told what she had examined and what she had found, namely, that entire foul crime, how flour is spread beneath the persons lying with her in order to catch the semen and mix it (with the flour). (When Margerita had told about these things the tribune had been absent and so had not heard them.)

Also in recent time some of them have been found and brought to the church, in accordance with the episcopalian *Gesta*, which you sent to us, where during diligent interrogation they have confessed that this is not a sacrament but an “exsecrament.” One of these was a certain Viator, who, although he said that those who do this were properly called Catharistas, yet, when he explained that other parts of that selfsame Manichean sect were divided into Mattarii’s, and specifically Manicheans, was unable to deny that all these three forms were originally propagated by one and the same person and generally Manicheans.

And there is no doubt about it that all those Manichean books are common to all, in which are described those strange happenings about the transfiguration of the males into the females and from the females into the males that led to the seduction of the princes of darkness of both sexes and their dissolution through desire, so that the divine *substance* that was kept captive in them might be liberated and flee from them.

It is from these events that all the other disgusting stuff originated, however much they try to deny that it has anything to do with them. For they think they are imitating as much as they can the divine *virtues*, so that they may cleanse a part of their God, namely, that foulness which they believe is kept in all heavenly and earthly bodies and the semens of all things and therefore also in the semen of men. And consequently, they must cleanse it through chewing also from human semen just as they do from the other semens they consume in their food. And therefore they are also called *Catharistae*, roughly “cleansers,” because they cleanse it so diligently that they do not even abstain from such horribly foul food.

3. They do not, however, eat meat, as if the divine *substance* had fled from those dead or killed and whatever does remain were not worthy to be cleansed in the belly of the Chosen. Nor do they indeed eat eggs, as if they too expire when they are broken. Nor, they say, must they eat any dead bodies, and only what is caught in flour so it does not die survives of the meat. But nor do they use food made from milk, even though it is milked or sucked from the living flesh of living beings, not because they think there is no divine *substance* mixed in it, but because they are not certain about it. For they also drink no wine, saying it is the dregs of the princes of darkness. When they eat grapes they imbibe no must, even new.

4. **They believe the souls of their Hearers return to the Chosen** or, if they are lucky, to the food of their Chosen, so that when they have been cleansed from that may return to no bodies. But the other souls they believe return to animals and to everything that are fastened with roots and grow in the earth. For they think that plants and trees are alive and believe that they can feel the life that is in them and feel pain when they are hurt and that nobody can tear or pick anything from them without their being tormented. Therefore they consider it evil even to clean the field of thistles. And so, dementedly, they accuse agriculture, which is the most innocent of all human crafts, as if guilty of several homicides. They do, however, acquit their Hearers of this, because through it they provide their Chosen with food, so that that divine substance, cleansed in their belly, obtains for them the pardon of those through whose presentation it is dragged to be cleansed.

Thus those same Chosen, who never work in the fields or pick apples or ever tear off any leaves, expect these things to be brought to them for their use by their Hearers, living from so many and such great murders of others, according to their own vain beliefs.

And they also warn those same Hearers of theirs not to kill living beings if they eat meat, so as not to offend the princes of darkness who are tied in the heavens and from whom they say all meat originated.

And if they have spouses they should avoid conception and reproduction, lest the divine substance, which enters them through food, be bound in the chains of the flesh in their offspring. This is how they imagine the souls enter all flesh, that is, through food and drink.

Hence they automatically condemn marriage and prohibit as well as they can, since they prohibit reproduction, which is why marriages are made.

They maintain that the parents of Adam and Eve were princes of the Smoke. This is because Saclas, their father, first devoured the fetuses of all his companions, including all the divine substance that was mixed in them, and then slept with his wife, thereby chaining it in the flesh of his offspring as if with mighty chains.

5. They do, however, state that Christ existed, the one our scripture calls the Serpent, by whom they assert they have been illuminated, so that they opened the eyes of knowledge (*cognitio*) and were able to tell good and evil apart, even though Christ is supposed to have come in recent times to free the souls, not the bodies. Nor is he supposed to have been in a true body, but to have offered to human senses a simulated aspect of flesh in order to fool them, in which he feigned not only his death but also his resurrection.

The God who gave the Laws through Moses and spoke through the Hebrew prophets is not supposed to have been the true God, but one of the princes of darkness. And they read the scriptures of the New Testament itself as if it were falsified, taking from it what they like and rejecting what they dislike and even place ahead of the scriptures several apocrypha, as if they held everything that is true.

Jesus Christ's promise of the *paraclete* Holy Ghost²⁹ they say was fulfilled in their heresiarch Mani. Hence, in his writings, he calls himself the apostle of Jesus Christ, because Jesus Christ had promised he would send himself, and in him he sent the Holy Ghost.

6. And for this reason Mani himself had twelve apostles, in imitation of the apostolic number, which the Manicheans preserve to this day. For from among their Chosen they have twelve whom they call masters, and a thirteenth they have as their prior. There are 72 bishops, who are ordained by the masters, and presbyters, who are ordained by the bishops. They also have deacons of the bishop.

Now the rest are called only Chosen. But even those who seem suitable are sent to this error, either, in case one exists, in order to keep it up and expand it, or, in case none exists, to sow the seeds of it.

They maintain that baptism in water brings nobody any benefit, nor do they think that any of those whom they deceive should be baptized.

They pray to the sun during the day, in whatever direction it is in its course, and to the moon at night, if it is visible. If it is not visible, they stand and pray toward the north, which is where the sun after setting returns to the east.

They attribute the origin of sins to the substance of the opposing race, not to the free choice of will. All the flesh that they dogmatically say is mixed in all men they maintain is not of God, but an artifice of the evil mind, which is coeternal with the principle that is contrary to god. According to them carnal desire, by which the flesh desires contrary to the spirit, is not a weakness in us because (human) nature was spoiled (*vitiatum*) in the first man, but a contrary substance, which clings to us in a way that when we are freed and cleansed it is separated from us and it too lives eternally in its own nature.

And those two souls, or minds, one good, the other evil, fight one another in the same man, when the flesh desires contrary to the spirit and the spirit contrary to the flesh.³⁰

And this fault (*vitium*) will never be healed in us, as we say. Instead, when the substance of that evil has been separated and secluded from us, when that century has come to an end after the conflagration of the world, it will be bound in a certain ball (*globus*) as if in an eternal prison. They also affirm that some souls that are actually of good

²⁹ John 16:7: Nevertheless I tell you the truth; It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.

³⁰ Galatians 5:17: For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other: so that ye cannot do the things that ye would.

nature, but were unable to be cleaned of the contagion of the evil nature, will serve as a kind of covering or lid attached to that ball.

Contra Felicem (excerpts)

17. And when they read and they came to the passage “Thus, his most splendid realms are founded upon the blessed luminous Earth, so that nobody can ever move or shake them” (*Ep. fund.*, frg. 5b), then Augustine said: “Where did he have this earth from, which he is talking about? Did he make it or sire it, or was it equal to and coeternal with him. I mean this “blessed luminous Earth” he is talking about.

Felix said: As it is written: “In the beginning ... And the earth was invisible, sullied, (*coinquinabilis*), and unstructured (*incomposita*).” This is how I understand it: In the beginning God made heaven and earth, and the earth was like two earths, it seems to me, or, according to Mani, two realms. ...

18. **Felix** said: ... As I was saying about that earth in which God is, whether it was made by him, whether he sired it, or whether it is coeternal with him. It is like this: Just like God is eternal and there is nothing manufactured there, so everything is eternal.

Augustine said: So he neither sired nor made it?

Felix said: No, it is coeternal with him.

Augustine said: But if he had sired it it would not be coeternal with him?

Felix said: That which is born has an end. That which is not born has no end.

Augustine said: For whom was he then a father or whose father was he, whom he just called father? For if he had sired nothing he could not have been father.

Felix said: Well, there are other things that he sired.

Augustine said: So, those things that he sired, they are not coeternal with him, or are they too coeternal with him?

Felix said: Whatever God sired is coeternal with him. ...

Felix said: Both he who sired and those he sired and the place where they are located are coeternal.

Augustine said: So they are of *one substance*?

Felix said: One!

Augustine said: This which is God the father, this is also his sons and that earth?

Felix said: All are this one thing.

Augustine said: So he is not the one who sired this earth but its inhabitant?

Felix said: That too.

Augustine said: If he neither sired nor made it, I don't see how it is related to him other than by its proximity, like somebody who has a good neighbor. So we already have two unborn things, the earth and the father.

Felix said: As a matter of fact, there are three: the unborn father, the unborn earth, and the unborn air.

Augustine said: **All this is *one substance* (*una substantia*)?**

Felix said: **One!** ...

Contra Faustum (excerpts)

(Gardner and Lieu, nos. 49, 69)

15.5

[425] ... Or don't you recall that love song of yours, in which you describe the great ruling king, holding a scepter, perennial, wearing crowns of flowers, and looking resplendent. Even if this were the only one you love like that, you ought to blush in shame. Indeed, even a single man wearing flower crowns would displease a virtuous wife.

Also, you cannot also not say this was said or manifested with some mystical significance, since you are wont to praise Mani above all for speaking the naked and proper truth to you, without any figurative coverings. So you sing about your God, holding a scepter, wearing crowns of flowers. I hope at least he puts down the scepter when he puts on the crowns of flowers! This kind of effeminate luxury does not befit the royal staff.

Moreover, he is not loved by you only. For you follow singing and add twelve aeons clad in flowers, full of melodies, and throwing their flowers in the face of the Father. And there you also talk about those twelve great gods, three in each of the four directions, by whom he is surrounded. But you were never able to figure out how you can make someone out to be immeasurable whom you say is surrounded in this way. And then you add innumerable inhabitants of the realm, the armies of the gods, and the cohorts of the angels. And all this, you say, was not made by God, but generated from his substance.

15.6

Thus you are persuaded(?) to worship innumerable gods by not supporting the wholesome teaching in which it is taught that one Son was born from one God and the Holy Spirit belongs to both. And these it is illegitimate to call not only innumerable but not even three gods. These have not only one and the same substance, but also one and the same function through that one and the same substance that belongs to them alone, at the same time as they appear as individuals through the corporal creation.

20.2

In fact, under the name of Father God the omnipotent, Christ His Son, and the Holy Spirit, we render cult to the same god (*numen*). But we believe that the Father himself inhabits the supreme, primordial Light, which Paul elsewhere calls inaccessible,³¹ whereas the Son resides in this second and visible Light. Since, however, he himself is double (*geminus*), as the apostle knew him, saying Christ is **the power (*virtus*) of God and the wisdom of God**,³² we believe his power dwells in the sun, but his wisdom in the moon.

But we also state that this whole surrounding air (*aeris hunc omnem ambitum*) is the seat and dwelling of the Holy Spirit, who is the third majesty, and also that the earth, conceiving by his powers and spiritual effusion, bore **the suffering Jesus**, who is the life and salvation of men, **hanging from every tree**.

Therefore we have regarding all things almost the same religious belief as you regarding the bread and the chalice, although you hate most strongly those (of us) who practice these things.

This is our faith.

Contra Fortunatum (excerpts)

3. ...

Fortunatus said: And our profession is just that, namely: God is incorruptible. He is luminous, inaccessible, and impassive. He dwells in eternal light, which is his own. He produces nothing from himself that is corruptible.

³¹ Cf. I Timothy 6:16: Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see: to whom be honor and power everlasting. Amen.

³² Cf. I Corinthians 1:24: But unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God.

Darkness, demons, Satan, or anything else that is opposed to him is not to be found in his realm. He sent a savior similar to himself.

The word was born from the constitution of the world when the world was made; after the world was made it came among men. It chose for itself souls worthy of it, sanctified for his holy will, for his heavenly commandments, imbued with faith and reason about the heavenly matters. With it as leader, from here these souls will again return to the realm of God, according to His holy promise, which said: *“I am the way, the truth, and the door. Nobody can come to the Father other than through me.”*³³

This we believe, for otherwise, that is by the mediation of any other, the souls cannot return to the realm of God, unless they find this very thing: the truth, the way, and the door. For he himself said: *“he that has seen me has seen the Father”* and *“He that believes on me, shall not taste death for eternity, but is passed from death unto life and shall not come into condemnation.”*³⁴

This we believe, and this is the reason for our faith and why, to the extent of the strength of our spirit (*animus*), we obey his commandments following this one faith, that of this trinity: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

4. **Augustine** said: These souls, which you agree come from death to life through Christ, who threw them into death?

Fortunatus said: From here on, pray follow the consequences and contradict me, if there is nothing but God!

5. **Augustine** said: Indeed, you, pray answer that which you ask: why did he give these souls over to death?

Fortunatus said: Indeed, you, pray say whether there is anything other than God or whether all things are in God!

6. **Augustine** said: I can answer this much: The Lord wished me to know that God can suffer no necessity nor any violation or corruption. Since you, too, agree to this, by what necessity did he send hither those souls which you say return through Christ?

Fortunatus said: Since you have said so far that God revealed to you that he is incorruptible, as he also did to me, we should now investigate the reason how or why the souls came into the world in order that he must free them from this world through his only son similar to himself, if there is nothing other than him!

...

11. **Augustine** said: ... We can see, however, that the soul is a sinner, caught in trouble, seeking the truth, and in need of a savior. To me this variability of the soul shows that the soul is *not* God. For if the soul is the substance of God, then the substance of God errs, the substance of God is corrupted, the substance of God is violated, the substance of God is deceived, which it is a crime to say!

Fortunatus said: So you do deny the soul can be from God as long as it is subject to sins, vices, and the things of the world and is led by error, since it is impossible that either God or his substance can suffer this! For God is incorruptible and his substance immaculate and holy. Now, what I ask you is whether the soul is from God or not. We are agreed that this is so and show from the coming of the savior, from his own holy preaching, his own choice, while he had compassion on the soul. And it is according to his will we say the soul came, so that he could free it from death and lead it to eternal glory and return it to the Father. But what is it you say about the soul and hope for: Is it from God or not? And the substance of God, from which you deny the soul has come, is it unable to suffer any sufferings?

³³ John 14:6: Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me. — 10:7:

Then said Jesus unto them again, Verily, verily, I say unto you, I am the door of the sheep.

³⁴ John 14:9: Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou then, Shew us the Father? — John 5:24: Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life.

12. **Augustine** said: I both denied that the soul is the substance of God and that it is God, nevertheless it is originally from God, because it was made by God. He who made and what he made are two separate things. He who made is completely incapable of being corruptible, but that which he made cannot be equal (*aequalis*) to him who made it.

Fortunatus said: I did not say it was similar (*similis*), either. But since you said the soul is something made, pray tell wherefrom God found the substance of the soul.

13. **Augustine**: (God is omnipotent and could create from nothing (*de nihilo*.)

For so we read: “He gave the order, and it was done. He commanded, and they were made.”³⁵

Fortunatus said: All things are made from his command?

14. **Augustine** said: This is what I believe: all things that have been made.

Fortunatus said: Things that have been made agree with one another, but these things do not fit together; consequently it is certain that they cannot be one and the same substance, even though they came to make up this world and become its exterior form by the command of one and the same. For the rest it is clear by the things themselves that the Darkness and the Light are nothing similar, nor truth and lie, death and life, soul and body, and the other similar things, which both in names and looks differ from one another. It is also certain that our Lord was completely correct in saying that “Every plant, which my heavenly Father has not planted, shall be rooted up, which brings not forth good fruit,”³⁶ and that the tree had roots.

Now, from this also the rationale of things is certain, that there are two substances in this world, which differ in looks and names: of these two one is that of the body, while the other is eternal, which is the one we believe is that of the omnipotent Father.

15. **Augustine**: (God made all things good; evil came afterward and is of two kinds: sin and punishment for sins.)

...

18. **Augustine** said: Remember that the apostle said that we are alienated from God through our behavior.

Fortunatus said: I tell you there were two substances: in the substance of Light there was God—as I said a while ago—incorruptible. Then there was the opposite nature of Darkness. I maintain that even today it is being overcome by the force (*virtus*) of God, and for my return Christ was sent as savior, as the apostle said just quoted.

19. ...

Fortunatus said: I say that the omnipotent God produces nothing evil from himself, and the things that are his remain uncorrupted, having sprung and arisen from a single, inviolate fountain. As for the other, opposite, things that are found in the world, they do not emanate from God, nor did they appear in this era through God as their first cause (*principe deo*), that is, they do not stem from him. This is what we accept in our faith: that evil is alien to God.

20. **Augustine** said: ... If God had not given us free will, there would be no justice in punishing nor merit in doing right, nor any divine commandment that one should repent for one’s sins, nor that indulgence for the sinners that God gave us through our Lord Jesus Christ. For he who does not sin by his will does not sin. ... If therefore there is clearly no sin where there is no free will, I would like to hear what evil was committed by the soul, which you call part or force (*virtus*) or word, or whatever, of God, for it to be punished by God and to do penitence for its sin so that it may deserve mercy, since itself it committed no sin?

³⁵ Psalms 148:5: Let them praise the name of the LORD: for he commanded, and they were created.

³⁶ Matthew 15:13: But he answered and said, Every plant, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up. —
Matthew 3:10: And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.

Fortunatus said: About the substances I said that God is the creator of only good things. However, he should be regarded as the punisher of evil things because they do not come from him, and I think rightly so. For the rest, if they had been from him or he had given permission to sin, which is what you say: God gave free will, then he would be an accomplice to my crime, because he was the cause of my crime or else he would do wrong by not knowing what I would be doing because he had not made me worthy of himself.

This is what I say. Now I ask you: did God make evils or not? and did he himself set a limit to evils?

Indeed, it is clear from these things, and the evangelical faith teaches it as well, that those things we said were made by God as artisan are to be considered as incorruptible, in as far as they have been created and produced by himself. I have said these things: those which belong to our faith and which you can confirm in this our profession, **even with the authority of the Christian faith!** And since I can show that I believe correctly in no other manner than by firmly securing this faith by the authority of the scriptures, this is what I have indicated, this is what I have said.

And if it was God who originally caused evils to come into this world, then pray say so yourself! Or if it is correct to believe that evils are not from God, then you yourself should bring it to the attention of these here present.

I have spoken about substances, not about the sin that is found in us. Indeed, if the thought of committing crimes did not have an origin, then we would not be forced to resort to sin or crime. For it is because we sin unwillingly and are forced by the substance which is opposite and hostile to us, that we seek **knowledge** about things. *When the soul has been alerted by this knowledge and returned to its pristine memory, then it recognizes from whom it has its origin*, in what evil it finds itself, by which good works it can make up for when it sinned unwillingly, and how it can accumulate (*collocare*) merit for itself to obtain reconciliation with God, by making emends for its crimes through its good works—as originally shown by our savior god, who teaches us both to perform good acts and flee evil ones.

Indeed, I have been told that it is by his own will, not by the agency of some opposite nature, that man serves justice or submits to sins. For if there were no opposite race, if the soul when made wanders about in the body alone, having, as you say, been given free will by God, it would be without sin and would not submit to sins.

21. ...

Augustine said: I say there is no sin without one's own will. ...

But those things which were made by him cannot be of the same quality as he who made them. It is unjust and stupid to believe that the works are equal (*par*) to the artisan and the creatures equal to the creator. Therefore, if it is pious faith to believe that God made all good things, although he himself is much better and superior than them, so the origin of evil is in the sin, as the apostle says: "*For cupidity is the root of all evil: which while some coveted after, they have suffered shipwreck away from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows.*"³⁷

So, if you seek the origin of all evils, then you have here the apostle saying that desire (*cupiditas*) is the root of all evils. ...

So, if the soul is forced to do evil but it is not it which does the evil, then isn't it stupid and full of insanity that the people of the Darkness sinned and I repent the sins? Isn't it stupid and full of insanity that the people of the Darkness sinned and I am given pardon for the sins? ...

Fortunatus said: We say that the soul is forced to sin by an opposed nature. You maintain that it has no other root than this evil which is found in us, although it is certain that evil is found in the whole world, not only in our bodies. The evil root is responsible not only for those evils we have in our bodies, but also for those that are found in the whole world, although they may call themselves good things.

For Your Worthiness said that this is the root of evils, namely the desire (*cupiditas*) which is found in our bodies, but, when the desire for evils is not from our bodies, it is from that original, opposed nature that it is found in the

³⁷ I Timothy 6:10: For the love of money is the root of all evil: which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows. —

whole world. Indeed, the Apostle called that— desire—the root of all evils which you (too) said is the root of all evils, (but he did) not (say) the only evil.

But desire is not to be understood in one way only, as if the one found in our hearts were the only one. For it is certain that the evil found in us comes down from an evil originator and that this desire which you say is the *root* is only a tiny bit of the evil, so it is not the root itself, but a tiny bit of the evil, this evil which is found everywhere. And this is the evil root and tree which our Lord called the one that will never bear good fruits, which his father did not plant, and that for its merit is eradicated and put on the fire.³⁸

Now, as for your statement that sin should be ascribed to the opposing nature—that nature is that of evil—and that there can only be any sin on the part of the soul if it has segregated itself from the race that is opposed and hostile to it and has adorned itself with purer things after having been instructed by our savior and his wholesome teaching. Otherwise it cannot be returned to its (own) substance. For it is said [John 15:22]: “*If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin: but now they have no pardon for their sin.*”

From this is clear that it was correct to give penitence after the coming of the savior and after this knowledge of things, by which the soul can present itself to the realm of God, whence it came, after having washed itself in a divine fountain, as it were, of all dirt and vices of both the whole world and the bodies in which that soul finds itself. For the Apostle said that [Romans 8:7]: “*Because the carnal mind is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be.*”³⁹

Thus, it is clear from these things that the good soul *appears* to sin by the action of that (nature) which is not subjected to the laws of God, not of its own will. Indeed, he continues [Gal. 5:17]: “*For the flesh lusts against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other: so that ye cannot do the things that ye would.*”

And again he says [Rom. 7:23-25]: “*But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members. – O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? – I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord. So then with the mind I myself serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin.*” — [Gal. 6:14]: But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.”

22. **Augustine** said: ... Free will (*liberum voluntatis arbitrium*) was, I say, in that man who was formed first. ...

How is it possible, if there is a nature opposed to God, to ascribe sin to us, who were sent into that nature by God himself, whom nothing could harm, not of our own will?

Fortunatus said: In the following manner, as the Lord himself said to his disciples [Mt. 10:16]: “*Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.*”

From this one should know that it was not out of hostility that our savior wished to send his lambs, that is, his disciples, in midst the wolves—unless there were some opposing reality (*contrarietas*) which had laid it(self?) down in the manner of wolves there where he had also sent his disciples, in order that the souls that perhaps might have been deceived in midst the wolves could be called back to their own substance.

So from this the antiquity of our times, which we keep recalling, and our years before the constitution of the world becomes clear: That the souls were sent against the opposing nature in order that they subject it by their own passion and victory be given to God.

For the Apostle himself said that there is battle not only against flesh and blood, but also against princes, powers, spirits of wickedness, and the rule of Darkness.⁴⁰ So, if evils are found in both places and wickedness exists, then

³⁸ Cf. Matthew 15:13: But he answered and said, Every plant, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up. — Matthew 3:10: And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.

³⁹ Romans 8:7] “Because the carnal mind is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be.

⁴⁰ Eph. 6:17: And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.

CLASSICAL TEXTS: AUGUSTINE: CONTRA FORTUNATUM

the evil is not only in our bodies but in the whole world, in which the souls are seen to be found which are found under that sky and are imprisoned.

23. **Augustine** said: Our Lord sent his lambs among the wolves, that is, just men among sinners to preach the gospel ...

Theodore bar Konai (ca. 790)

The heresy of the Manicheans.

Many stories about this godless person have been handed down. Some say his name was Qurqabios and that he had early on become acquainted with the heresy of the Baptists (*mnaqqedê*), as they had bought him. And his city was called Abramia, and his father was Patziq. And because the Baptists, who called themselves the white power, could not stand him, they excluded him from their community and called him “vessel of evil” (*mana d.bishta*), and that is why he was called Mani.

Others say that he was redeemed by the wife of Bados. This Bados was the pupil of a person called Skuntianos, who had adopted the teachings of certain Egyptian philosophers, as he had moved there and therefore frequented the wise men who were in Egypt at the time. He studied Egyptian and Greek teachings, notably the books of Pythagoras and *Empedocles. It is said that he had introduced pagan teachings into Christianity. He even taught two principles (*reshanuta*), one good (*tšabta*), one evil (*bishta*), just as Proclus. He assigned victory to the evil (principle), but concupiscence and desire to the good one.

This Skuntianos had Bados as a pupil, as we mentioned above. His former name was Trubantos, and from the consultations he had with Skuntianos he compiled four books: 1) *Book of secrets*, 2) *The gospel*, 3) *Book of treasures*, 4) *Book of the (two) principles*. After he had completed these books he went to Babel and seduced many. And just as he had finished learning the mysteries of the exorcists, he was mentally disturbed and died.

The woman who had lived with Bados was informed and received everything Bados had left behind, including a little servant boy, about seven years old, called Qurqabios. After this they set him free, taught him to read and write and let him be educated in Bados’s books. Then, when his mistress had died and he was grown up, he went to the docetes (*dukyata*) with whom Bados had completed his instruction. There he changed his name to Mani.

Of the four books of Bados, he said they were his own and ascribed their teachings to himself. He mastered the arts of medicine and exorcism. Although his mentality was completely pagan, still he wanted to make use of the name of Christ. After this he was found to have seduced many. He learnt how to worship both spirits and pray to gods, sun, moon, and stars. He was even well versed in predictions of destinies and horoscopes. He rejected the law of Moses and the prophets, however, as well as the god who had given the laws. As for our savior, he said he had been born and had suffered only seemingly, in reality he had never been a man.

As for the bodies, he says that they hail from evil, and he rejects the resurrection. Regarding the world he concludes that one part hails from god and another from matter (*hila = hulê*). All edibles contain a soul. All his followers are evil: they sacrifice humans in demoniac mysteries, have intercourse without being ashamed, and are merciless and hopeless.

Finally, King Shapur had Mani skinned and the skin stuffed with straw and nailed it to the city gate of Bet-Lapat, the city of the Elamites.

St. Ephrem (mid-4th cent.)

I, p. xxiii

for they say that “Evil collects and increases in us from Foods.”

I, p. xxix

For at the beginning he said that the Darkness has a longing Passion for the Light; which is not natural for this Darkness which is visible, inasmuch as even this Darkness which is visible to us is, as they say, of the same nature as that which is invisible to us.

I, p. xxv

how did evil, as they say, conceive a Passion for Good, and make an Assault on it and mingle with it? And how, too, did Good mingle with Evil and love it?

I, p. xxvi

if the Soul is a good thing from a good Nature, how does it bear the evil fruit of the 'deadly Body'?

"the Good is refined little by little' ... our Will is in us always, and is not 'refined at all, nor does it go out'

I, p. xxvii

And if there is a Refining of the Good by means of Good so that it goes up from the Depths to the Height ...

the 'Good Words' which they teach

For that Evil which exists independently, as they say

part of the poison which exists in fruits and roots is 'amassed and collected in us' ... is conquered by 'a Law and Commandment,' and part conquered (only) by mixtures and drugs

I, p. xxx

But if that Prison-house, the tormentor of Darkness, is built up from the Nature of the Domain of Darkness, a Nature cannot torture itself.

"For the Architect and Builder of that Grave," as their account says, "is one ... who in the days of his adversity became the fashioner of the Grave of the Darkness."

they who are not willing to break bread lest "they pain the Light which is mixed with it"

I, p. xxxi

if the Darkness contrived to frame that Body to be a Prison-house for the Soul that it might not go forth thence ...

if the nature was a fixed one from its beginning, the Sons of Darkness when they ate it ... would not be able to dissolve its Nature

I, p. xxxii

if they say that that Evil One fixed the Soul in the midst of the Body, in order that it might be imprisoned, how then did he not fix that Light, which is "refined and goes out,' so that it does not go out?

"When the Primal Man," he says, "hunted the Sons of Darkness he flayed them, and made this sky from their skins, and out of their excrement he compacted the Earth, and some of their bones, too, he melted, and raised and piled up the mountains" ... "since there is in them, a Mixture and a Mingling of the Light which was swallowed by them in the beginning."

"Moreover," (he says) "he (*i.e.*, Primal Man) made trees to be Furnaces."

I, p. xxxv

And if, as they teach, a Refining goes up from the offall of the Archons ...

I, p. xxxvi

"the Moon receives the Light which is refined, and during fifteen days draws it up and goes on emptying it out for another fifteen days"

if it [the Darkness] 'sucked in the Light' when it was far from it in the beginning

I, p. xli

“the Moon is a vessel into whose midst the Light is poured”

they call the Moon the Ship of Light

they say that because the Moon is very ‘pure and ethereal,’ therefore, it is not visible

it is the Sun that goes and comes every day on account of its purity to the House of Life, as they say.

I, p. xliii

that Light went in and was imprisoned in the belly of the dog, and thence it was sent forth by a Transmigration (?) when the dog produced young

“that pleasant taste which is in foods belongs to the light which is mixed in them”

I, p. xliv

the manner in which the Primitive Darkness, not merely ‘seized’ that Primitive Light, but also ‘felt, touched, ate, sucked, tasted, and swallowed it.’

I, p. lx

how ... did he smell and perceive as from a far mountain that “there was something pleasant there”?

I, p. lxi

that Virgin of Light about whom they say that she manifested her beauty to the Archons, so that they were ravished to run after her

I, p. lxiii

the theory ‘that sometimes Hyle acquired Thought’

I, p. lxviii

it says that it has a body, in that “it verily ate those brilliant Shining Ones (Ziwane) who were cast into its mouth.”

I, p. lxix

[...] “the Sons of the Light into the mouths of the Sons of the Darkness as bait, and that the Light was pleasant and agreeable and sweet to those Sons of the Darkness; and thus they were found to eat them greedily, and they were cast in and entered into their midst and were mixed with them.”

I, p. lxx

they say ... “that the Souls come to the Judge”

I, p. lxxi

“that the Body is a covering which is from the evil Nature”

the refined Soul which they say is the Daughter of the Light puts on that Darkness in its deeds and ... in its conduct

they say that some of these Souls who sin much and do much wickedness, and blaspheme much, and are guilty of great unbelief are found like dregs in the midst of one whom they call BOLOS. As they say that “when the fire

dissolves all his interior, there is collected every portion of the Light which was mixed and mingled among created things, and those Souls who have done much wickedness are assigned to the realm of the Darkness when he is tortured.”

I, p. lxxix

“But,” he says, “the Primal Man cast his five Bright Ones (Zivanê) into the mouth of the Sons of the Darkness, in order that, as a hunter, he might catch them with his [net].”

I, p. lxxxiii

“how is the Darkness like the Light, and sweet like bitter, and that which harms like that which is harmed,” when they bring comparisons of one thing with another ...

I, p. lxxxv

And the Primal Darkness from which they both [Satan and the body?] come, on account of its (greedy) hunger, harmed the Light which it ‘passionately desired and ate, and sucked in, and swallowed, and imprisoned in its midst, and mixed in its limbs.’

I, p. xc

And she (*i.e.*, Wisdom) showed an image of her own beauty to the Archons, and to the governors, and she deceived them thereby so that when they were stirred up to make (something) in imitation of what they saw, each of them should give from his treasure whatever he had; and that owing to this cause their treasures should be emptied of what they had snatched away.

I, p. xci

“By means of the image which he showed to the Sons of the Darkness he compelled them.”

Edict of the emperor Diocletian (ca. 300), letter to Julianus, proconsul in Africa⁴¹

(Gardner and Lieu, no. 25)

“We have heard that the Manichaeans ... have set up new and hitherto unheard of sects in opposition to older creeds so that they might cast out the doctrines vouchsafed to us in the past by divine favour—for the benefit of their own depraved doctrine. They have sprung forth very recently like new and unexpected monstrosities among the race of the Persians—a nation still hostile to us—and have made their way into our empire, where they are committing many outrages, disturbing the tranquility of the people and even inflicting grave damage to the civic communities: our fear is that with the passage of time, they will endeavour, as usually happens, to infect the modest and tranquil Roman people of an innocent nature with the damnable customs and the perverse laws of the Persians as with the poison of a malignant serpent.” ... “the leaders together with their abominable scriptures shall be punished most severely, namely to be burnt by fire.”

Edict of the Chinese emperor of 732⁴²

The doctrine of Mar Mani is basically a perverse belief and fraudulently assumes to be a school of Buddhism and will therefore mislead the masses. It deserves to be strictly prohibited. However, since it is the indigenous religion of the Western Barbarians (xi-hu) and other foreigners, its followers will not be punished if they practise it among themselves.

⁴¹ Lieu, 1985, pp. 91f.; text in Adam, pp. 82f.

⁴² Lieu, 1985, p. 190.

The Avestan *Hadoxt nask* 2.9-14

*In that wind there seems to him to be coming forth his own *daéna* in the body of a beautiful maiden, radiant, white-armed, strong, well-proportioned, straight, tall, high-breasted, able-bodied, noble, of splendid descent, 15 years of appearance, with a body as beautiful as the most beautiful among creatures.

Then the righteous man speaks to her, asking, Who are you, lady, whom I perceive to be the most beautiful of ladies that I have ever seen?

Then his *daéna* answers him, Well, I am, O youth of good thought, good speech, good deeds, and good *daéna*, your own *daéna* in your own body. Everybody has loved you for that greatness, goodness, beauty, sweet-scentedness, victoriousness, and your power to overcome enemies, just as you appear to me.

You loved me, O youth of good thought, good speech, good deeds, good *daéna*, (me) your own *daéna*, with that greatness, goodness, beauty, just as you appear to me.

When you saw another performing burning (of the dead) or ..., or *destroying plants, then you sat down and recited the Gathas, worshipping the good waters, propitiating the fire of Ahura Mazda and the righteous man, coming from near and from far.

Then you made me more beloved than I was, more beautiful than I was, more praiseworthy than I was, and seated on a more excellent seat than I was before.

Avestan texts with Pahlavi translation and commentary

Yasna 30. 3-5

And those first two spirits, the two twins who have been heard of *in a dream, in thought and in speech, in deed they are the better and the bad; among the two the beneficent (ones) choose right, not the maleficent.

And as for the fact that the two spirits come together, (that is when) one makes for oneself life and non-living and (that) in such a way that in the end the worst existence will be that of the evil-doers, but for the righteous there will be good thought.

Of those two spirits the evildoing one chooses to do the worst things, (but) the most prosperous spirit (chooses) truth, he who dons the hardest stones, as well as those who please the lord with real deeds professing the wise one.

Pahlavi translation of *Y.* 30.3-6.

Thus those two spirits [Ohrmezd and the Evil one], themselves first proclaimed the twins [i.e., they themselves spoke about sin and good deeds].

The thought, speech, and deed of them both, the good one and the worse one [one thought, spoke, and did what is good, and one what is worse]

Of the two the wise one [Ohrmezd] chose rightly, not the foolish one [the Evil Spirit].

And thus did the two spirits come together to the first creation [i.e., the two spirits came to Gayomard]

Whoever in life [Ohrmezd labors to make them keep life good], whoever in non-life [The Evil Spirit labors to make them kill the living], and whoever is such to the very end and the existences [i.e., it will befall the other people, too].

Bad descent of the evil-doers [For Ahriman and the evil-doers destruction is seen] and thus that of the righteous best thought [the eternal hope of Ohrmezd].

Of the two spirits the evil one chose the worst deeds [the worst deeds were the wish of Ahriman].

The prosperous spirit righteousness [Ohrmezd chose righteousness], also when he hid the hard stone [by this action he surrounded the world with the sky, too, in order that righteousness be propagated].

And whoever propitiated Ohrmezd [and his wish (was) that of Ohrmezd] and by visible deeds Ohrmezd (...) [i.e., through that wish it is possible to make the deeds over to Ohrmezd(?)]

Those do not chose rightly at all, who are demons [i.e., the demons do not do anything right], and whoever they deceive [those whom the demons have deceived, those too do not do right].

They came to question [i.e., they consult with the demons], those who chose the worse in spirit.

ZOROASTRIAN TEXTS

Thus they ran together with fury and they sickened the existence of mankind [i.e., through fury they made men sinful].

Commentary on Y. 30.3-6: *Denkard IX.30, Warshtmansr nask 7.*

From the utterance of Zarathustra about how the demon Arsh shouted to mankind:

“Ohrmezd and Ahriman are brothers from one womb. And of them the Amahraspand chose what is worse by uttering worship to the *... demons. Also that afterwards the cattle utters it to the northern demons.

And about the lying of the demon Arsh, that light and darkness are two separate principles and the goodness of the lightest one in discrimination and action, and the badness of the dark one.

And the screaming of the Evil Spirit that, “the bad thought, that is me, Good Spirit, and the bad speech and bad deed.”

“And the darkness is my garment, very coarse and the most *..., that is, the more they go the darker (it becomes).”

“And evil thought, evil speech, and evil deeds, that is my food. I love those that are in it in evil thought, evil speech, and evil deeds.”

And Ohrmezd saying that, “the good thought, that is me, Evil Spirit, and the good speech and good deed.”

The sky is my garment, which was first created of the material existence, in which stone is *piled on stone and which was created in order that it be adorned with every jewel.”

“And good thought, good speech, and good deeds, that is my food. I love those that are in it in good thought, good speech, and good deeds.”

Also, that they did not choose rightly, the ignorant demons, and they will never choose rightly whose desire is that of Akoman.

And about the sickening by the demons of the being of mankind by the deceiving by men of men on account of the demons’ deceit.

And the coming of men by that being to *lordship and *evil-soulness.”

Yasna 31.20

He who comes against the righteous, weeping will his final lot, a long age of darkness, bad food, and disappear in the voice. May (your) daéna, O liars, lead you on account of your acts to that existence!

Pahlavi translation of Y. 31.20.

Whoever comes to the righteous with deceit, after him comes crying [i.e., there will be crying over his soul].

And long will he come to darkness [i.e., for a long time he will have to stay there], and bad food [i.e., they will give him], and he will speak bad behavior [that evil has befallen him].

To the dark existence, you who are evil-doers, will your deeds, your own den, leads you [you should have done].

Commentary on Y. 31.20: *Denkard IX.31, Warshtmansr nask 8.*

And whoever deceives the righteous man will live in crying, and those that belong to the evil-doers one should lead to hell.

Commentary on Y. 32.7-8: *Denkard IX.32, Warshtmansr nask 9.*

And this too that I shall inform you about those vengeful demons: When they came to the world—that is, when they first rushed in—what was their judgment? For 30 centuries my creatures were immortal and unaging, O Zarathustra. When the 30 centuries had passed, O Spitama, then to my Gayomard there came the demon-made sleep with its harm, for as long a time as it takes a young man to say forth the *Ahunwar*, with its *ahu* and its *ratu*. And when he awoke from that sleep, then he cast no shadow, because darkness had come over (everything).

Y. 44.3-6

This I ask you, tell me truly, Ahura. Who is by birth the first father of truth? Who made the road of the sun and the stars? Who is it through whom the moon waxes and wanes, then? in order to know these things and others, O wise one.

(...) Who holds the earth from below and the clouds from falling down? Who (holds) the waters and the plants? Who yokes the two fleet ones to the wind and the clouds? Who, O wise one, is the *founder of good thought?

(...) Which artisan made the lights and darkness? Which artisan made sleep and wakefulness? Who was it through whom morning, noon, and nights (are those) who remind the *desirous of his object?

Pahlavi translation of Y. 44.3-5.

What I ask you, tell me rightly, Ohrmezd. Who is the offspring [who is the offspring of Ashwahišt, and who is] the foremost father of righteousness? [i.e., who was the first to foster it?]. Who gave a road to the sun and the stars [i.e., who gave their road?]. From whom is it that the moon waxes and wanes? [i.e., from whom is its increase and decrease?]. That, too, is my wish, Ohrmezd, and other information [i.e., let me know].

Who upholds the earth in the absence of upholding [i.e. there is no one who holds up the world], non-falling-down [i.e., I know that it does not fall down], who [created] water and plants, from whom is it when he harnesses the wind to the swift clouds [for duty's sake], what, Ohrmezd, is Wahman's creation?

Who created light to lack deception and who darkness? Who created sleep to lack deception and wakefulness [diligence]? Who dawn, noon, night [who created the night gah, the afternoon gah, and the time of night]? Who the pact of he who separates the ... by law [i.e., who created the time when Soshyans comes]?

Commentary on Y. 44.3-5: *Denkard IX.38, Warshtmansr nask 15.*

And this too that "Zardusht is my son, and I am his father, nourisher of the good righteousness. I created, Zardusht, the road of the sun and the stars, and I am aware how it (the moon) waxes and wanes.

I guard earth and heaven, the unheld ones, which have no upholder in the material world and which do not fall down. I created water and plants, I the two fleet ones, then quickly they join me, Wahman and the wind, whoever make the best reward on earth, that is, the best reward they give is rain.

I created the creatures, Zardusht, through Wahman in the world. When I had created them for a full 30 centuries my creatures were unaging and undying. Zardusht, for 30 centuries there was no hunger, thirst and no bodily sleep, and no wakefulness. And there was no aging, no dying. And there was no cold wind, no warm. Deathless was my creation, all light and the existence of the righteous. Then defilement came unto the osseous world of righteousness.

Then I created sleep and wakefulness. And then I created day and night, dawn and noon.

From an inscription by Kerdir

And whoever sees and reads this document, let him be generous and straight with respects to the gods, the lords, and his own soul. And let him also be more confident about these sacrifices and services and the Mazdayasnian religion which are now performed (here) in life. And let him not be unthinking of things beyond, for let him truly know that paradise exists, and hell exists; and whoever does good, he will go to paradise; and whoever does evil, he is thrown into hell.

And whoever does good and behaves well in good deeds, renown and wealth will befall this bony body of his, and blessedness will befall that bony soul of his, as they did me, Kerdir.

And (but) I wrote this document for that (this) reason too that whoever in future time sees the deeds ... or other documents he will know that I am that Kerdir whom Shapur, King of Kings, called (who under Shapur ... was called) Kerdir the mowbed and ehrbed, and whom Ohrmezd, King of Kings, and Wahram, King of Kings, son of Shapur, called (who under Ohrmezd ... was called) Kerdir the mowbed of Ohrmezd, and under Wahram, King of Kings, son of Wahram, was called Kerdir, whose soul was saved by Wahram, mowbed of Ohrmezd.

From an inscription by Kerdir: KKZ 7-15 (ed., tr. MacKenzie §§9-17)

And then when King of Kings Wahram son of Shapur went to the place of the lords (= the past kings *or* the gods), and King of Kings Wahram, son of Wahram, who was generous and straight and friendly and well-doing and beneficent in the land, came to power, then he, for the love of Ohrmezd and the gods and his own soul, made my rank and honor in the land higher, and he gave me the rank and honor of the Grandees. And at court and from land to land (province to province), place to place, in the entire land he made me more in charge and authoritative in regard of the divine services than I had been at first.

And in the whole land he made me Mowbed and judge. And he made me master of the rites of Anahid the Lady and in charge at the Anahid-Ardasher fire at Staxr.

And he called me Kerdir, “whose soul was saved by Wahram,” Mowbed of Ohrmezd.

And from land to land, place to place, in the whole land the services of Ohrmezd and the gods increased, and the Mazdayasnian religion and the magians received great honor in the land, and great praise was allotted the gods, the water, the fire, and the cattle in the land.

And great blows and hurt befell Ahriman and the devils, and the false belief in Ahriman and the devils departed from the land and was *removed from the land.

And Jews, Shamans (Buddhists), Bramans (Hindus), Nazarenes, Christians, *Baptists, and *Manicheans were struck down in the land.

And the idols were destroyed and the dens of the devils were demolished and made into a seat and dwelling for the gods.

(...)

And also in the non-Iranian lands—the fires and Magians who were in the non-Iranian lands, (as far) as the horses and men of the king of kings went—there also at the command of the king of kings I organized those Magians and fires that were in those lands, and I did not allow them to experience any harm or to be taken as booty. And whatever anybody had taken as booty, those too I took and sent back to their own lands.

And I made the Mazdayasnian religion and the good magians in the land noble and honored.

And the heretics and destructive persons in the magian *community who did not abide within the Mazdayasnian religion and the services of the gods according to the (correct) explanation (of the scriptures), those I punished and tormented until I had improved them.

And I made contracts and deeds for many fires and magians, and with the assistance of the gods and the king of kings through me many Wahram fires were established in the land of the Iranians, many kin-marriages were made, and many people that did not have the faith, those took the faith.

And there were many a one who believed in the devils, and through me he relinquished that belief in the devils and took to believing in the gods.

MANICHEAN PARABLES

BT IV, no. 24 M46, M652+526

Middle Persian

... when you bring that boy here to ... my wife.”

The king sent horses and men three times (saying): “Go and bring that boy here!”

They went and stood around the tree. They said: “The king calls (for you).”

The [boy] did not [come down] three [times] ... *torture, he *destroyed and killed the people.

The king said: “What shall I do now? (all) the horses and men are destroyed. (My) daughter is (close) to death.”

Then there was an old woman. She said: “Bring (her) to me!”

The king said: “How do you ...?”

Then she took *wine and a lamb (and) went and sat under a tree. She bound the feet of the lamb (and) tried to kill it at the tail.

The boy said: “Kill it at the neck!”

She killed it at the neck. Then she said to the boy: “Come here, show me!”

Then that boy came down from the tree (thinking): “I will show her.”

The woman (gave him) the wine. (So), first he drank this wine (and) lost consciousness. Then she loaded him onto a donkey (and) brought him to the king, (who) gave (him) to the girl. In the ..., he made three doors, [two] of them of copper, [one] of For the *harem he made one door from lead and iron together.

When the boy came, he was playing the flute. The bull heard (it and) came. He broke the (first) two doors and came to the third door. He broke them with strength. But he broke one horn. He went and stole the boy and brought him out. He said to the boy: “On account of ...

... The prince is Ahrimen ... The old woman [is ...] ... The three flutes ... the [five] commandments for the Righteous. The three doors (are) the fire, desire, [and lust ...].

Next, he said:

There was a prince. He sent his commander to the Indians. Then he sent an order to India (saying): ...

... my Find a new, *reliable friend! Let go of the The commander *forgot (it) and bought *useless words.

A ... herald came to the land. The *king ... a peacock. ... (there ?) was not ...

He said [to] the commander: “The peacock (is) [too?] *heavy/expensive for me. Now you take care of it! (I) trust you.”

The commander took the peacock, brought it home, and left instructions about it.

After a long time, the commander [returned ...

Colditz 1.1 M332 + M724

Parthian

The word [about the unbelievers].

... They are [like] a land that came into the hand of a farmer, who sowed much seed there. He gathered much barley from that land, which he filled in jars. And (then) weed and thistles (begin to) grow on that land and fill it.

Then a second person comes and scatters poison on them, and they again grow and carry [grain]. But from far to far, the [barley and] the thistles are devoured by that [poisonous] grain and when it had grown inside ... each and every one ... his own *share.

MANICHEAN PARABLES

But that land lies above an *unsown ... and both seeing and blind people constantly go back and forth along that road. And the rumor is heard that such and such a farmer has sown that land.

And when seeing people pass along that road, then they pick some of that grain and eat it. But when some of the blind people pass along that road and hear that a farmer has sown that land, they take some of the poisonous fruit and eat it. And when the seeing people see them, they tell them not to eat there among the thistles and not to eat [from the poisonous] fruit. Then, [when] the blind people *insist that such and such a farmer has *irrigated and sown this land well, and you (come and) tell us it is not possible to eat from that fruit!

Also, on the ... of that land there is a lot of deep wells and *irrigation canals. And when those people ... from that land, then there is ... for their eyes. ...

Colditz 1.2 M0499 + M0334b + M0706

Parthian

The word about the unbelievers.

... [at first?] hidden, then openly and clearly.

Now, the beneficent Father himself, in love and joy, spoke thus to that disciple and to all the believers:

You too ... all ... in the way that I have ... the ... -s who ... to people ... about the two Principles and *two [seeds] one by one ... *descends into the depths, *there [where there are] *many destroyers and enemies.

And those who [are] able to descend into the depths, they are Ahrimen's slaves and ... And that Ahrimen is a merciless *prince and a harsh lord. And to those souls that belong to him he does harm and *tortures, and [through] ... he deceives the Beauty and throws it into the harsh *Rebirth and hell.

And these two seeds are now mixed with one another in the cycle of birth and death like [grain] and chaff that are mixed with one another. But, by the power of the wind and the threshing stick, the farmers separate one from the other and place (them) ... and carry

In that manner, this *person, too, [is] like that grain [and] my children resemble those ... farmers. My knowledge [and my] true word resemble the wind, [and] my straight commandments are like the threshing stick. And when the bearers of my Religion explain my word, then there those become apparent and distinct who shall come to paradise and to ...

Colditz 1.3-4 M333, 334a

Parthian

... Then he seizes them [and] says: "First repay the debt [that] you owe to many in this land. After that, may you go to wherever you wish!"

But those who are free and have no debts in that land then go confident and without fear out through that guard gate. And that evildoer can do nothing to them [in] that land to which they have gone, where that evildoer has no authority. [There] they rest. And those ... too ... And they go ... serve ... as long as their helpers are there. And they too go and are saved.

But those who are his slaves then serve their lord willy nilly.

And, again, when that evil ruler realizes that those slaves of his have escaped, then they bind them more tightly with arm and foot-fetters and chains and lead them into a dark prison, from which eternally [there will be no] door or exit.

Now, know thus: ... this cycle of birth and death ... the evil ruler ...

... old age, harm, and sickness ... and other various evil ... *then the *prison and guard station *where they *seize [them], this is the human body.

MANICHEAN PARABLES

Those free ones are those who hear and believe my word and receive the Religion and hold it in truth. And until that day when they come out of that body they do not relinquish my command.

The land they go to and [where] Ahrimen has no authority, [this] is the nirvana of Paradise.

And the rest ... and there is not a single evildoer [there].

Those slaves ... and they do not ... my ...

... they torture and harm (them).

[The debtors] are those who hear and *believe the true word of the beneficent one, but are unable to *completely *control and dispel their *debt. Nevertheless, they enjoy true speech and straight deeds and lend help.

And there are some among the debtors who have much debt and some who have little. Those who have much debt, this is ... that is, when the true words ... but they have not heard it quickly because he who ... has donned thought ... those with good souls ...

Colditz 2 M44

Parthian

... And the *'bsxwn* is the wisdom of the gods. All the people who went together with that merchant are the souls that were saved by the apostle. And those who went after them are those who now carry out the command of the gods and later rise up to the light.

And those who did not go with him or after him are the deceived religions and the deceptions [Sogd.: that is (MPers.) deception and betrayal].

[Sogd.: to be explained on Mondays.]

Next, it is said that there was a poor man who loved the king a lot. He made a [...]. Then he went and learnt from the wise how to bless and praise the king. And when the king left the palace in his splendor, that man went and stood near the stairs and, in loud voice, *began to praise the king with his noblemen.

And when the king saw that man, who was blessing and praising the king with a happy face and nice speech, then the king approached the stairs in joy, and he turned to the [...]. As he stands ... and ..., then the king [asked] the ...

M97 Müller, "Hermas-Stelle," pp. 1077-1081 with photo; Boyce, Reader, dh

R/i/

... -s a ... *tower. Therefore they ...

... those women ...

... they take ...

... / TO THE DARK MOUNTAIN.

And he ... six ... overseers ... another gathering of many men who were building the *tower.

And all the ... which went in through the door were relegated to the *tower.

And those that did not go in through the door were discarded and taken back to that place from which they had been brought.

And he shows its explanation to be as follows:

... even, all ...

...

R/ii/

... is ... on the mountain there was no ...

MANICHEAN PARABLES

And the second, empty, mountain are those hypocrites and teachers of deception, who in whom there was no burden/fruit of righteousness, since they had nothing on the mountain. But those (who) are *teachers, and if in this way where they *ascend, then their sin is forgiven.

The third mountain, which was full of thorns and *thistles, are the completed ones, who ... in the matters and desire ...

...

V/i/

... but they have no ... And their speech is alive and in actions they are dead, and they are in two minds.

The fifth, tall, mountain, in which there is much moist healing herbs, are those who do not receive knowledge and wisdom and are troublesome and heavy-minded in their souls. They wish to know and explain everything ...

...

V/ii/

... *dead, are those who spoke sinfulness and crooked speech and rumormongered among each other.

The seventh mountain, where there grew many healing herbs and green plants and many animals and quadrupeds graze, then those are the ones who are always god and well-intended and soul-collecting. And they never harbor any lustfulness. And they were happy and optimistic with regard to the children of the gods.

The [eighth] mountain ...

MANICHEAN PARABLES