

## INTRODUCTION

The Cologne Mani Codex (*CMC*) is a miniature parchment of the fifth century C.E. which provides new information on Mani's life in a baptist sect in southern Babylonia. In 1969, through the expert work of A. Fackelmann, the Codex was successfully opened and rendered readable. A. Henrichs and L. Koenen published in 1970 a preliminary overview of the Codex, along with a discussion of the salient issues arising from it, in the *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*. Since then, in the same journal, a critical edition, German translation, and critical notes of the first ninety-nine pages have been furnished by them in two installments (1975; 1978). The remaining material awaits future publication. It was at the suggestion of A. Henrichs that we took up the task of a first English translation.

On paleographical grounds the Codex can be assigned to the late fourth or early fifth century. Even in size the Codex is remarkable, for it appears to be the smallest book ever found. This parchment codex or "pocketbook" numbers 192 pages in length, featuring eight quires of 24 pages each. The parchment, when closed, measures 4.5 cm x 3.5 cm; the writing measures 3.5 cm x 2.5 cm. Each page has regularly 23 lines. The first twenty-four pages are fragmentary, with pages 116 to the end in even poorer condition.

The language of the Codex appears at first to be relatively simple. Yet translation difficulties arise for two reasons. First, the Greek text is translated from a Syriac original. Second, the particular baptist and Manichaeian terms have theological nuances which require attention.

The latter point can be seen even in the title of the Codex. Running along the top of the pages of the Codex (except for its omission on pp. 94-95) we find the words *περὶ τῆς γέννησιν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ* ("Concerning the Origin of his Body"). These words appear quite straightforward and would seem to refer to the life of Mani taken up in the Codex. However, the title may well have broader theological significance. For one soon realizes that these biographical accounts of Mani are redacted not along genuinely biographical lines but according to theological, or more specifically, ecclesiological principles. Thus, the title of the Codex may well refer to the origin of the Manichaeian Church. An interesting and pertinent parallel is the Pauline formulation of the Church as the Body of Christ.

The Codex seems to have undergone three stages of redaction in coming to its present state (cf. Henrichs, "Literary Criticism ..." below). The original layer may well yield Mani's own autobiographical quotations. These were taken up into a second stage under the names of Mani's disciples. In turn these sources were compiled by an unknown author, who, despite his anonymity, imposed a

particular format upon the material. By noting certain editorial transitions and breaks, along with the narrated progress of Mani's spiritual initiation, the Codex can be seen as divided into five thematic units, giving an account of the first twenty-four years of the life of Mani.

These units appear to be arranged in a concentric, "onionskin," fashion. Thus, the two outside layers, Parts I and V, parallel each other, while II and IV do likewise. Part III rests in the center of this arrangement. The first section (pp. 2-14), telling of Mani from years four to twelve, comes from three different sources and provides two full-fledged conversion accounts. The fifth section (pp. 116-92), meanwhile, contains a long but extremely fragmentary itinerary of Mani's first missionary journey. Most emphatically gnostic is the second section (pp. 14-72), featuring such narrative forms as epiphanies, catalogues of existential questions, rhetorical declarations of identity, and revelation discourses and dialogues. Accounts of Mani's separation from the baptists, his call to be a missionary, and instructions for the foundation of Manichaeism as a world religion, all in dialogue form, comprise the fourth section (pp. 99-116). Finally, the midsection (pp. 72-99), composed of five separate excerpts, features the dramatic break with the baptists. Here, in this most important part, we are given valuable information of this transition, wherein the latent differences between Mani

and the baptists erupted into theological debate.

The importance of the Cologne Mani Codex cannot be overestimated for the history of religions. For the Codex provides the only Greek primary source for Manichaeism. Now we have not only new reports and accounts of the early life of Mani, but even additional evidence for a Gospel of Mani. Indeed, many of the excerpts resemble a proto-gospel in a raw state, along with apocalypses and aretalogical material. Moreover, the origin of Manichaeism becomes quite complex, since we now possess convincing evidence of the connection of Mani's baptists with Elchasai, the alleged founder of a predominantly Jewish-Christian sect. And, most of all, we are privy to new and unparalleled information on the organization, ritual practices, and theology of the baptist sect in which Mani was reared.

In light of this importance and in order to make this document more widely available, we have decided to print the first three sections. The final two parts, along with an *Index Verborum*, will appear after the completion of the critical edition by Henrichs and Koenen. It is quite appropriate to extend our deepest gratitude to A. Henrichs for continued support, criticism, and encouragement. For the patient and meticulous assistance of J. Strugnell and the helpful suggestions of B. Pearson we are grateful. To G. MacRae, who encouraged us and helped in the editorial process, we express our thanks.

We also wish to thank G. Bisbee and J. Burnich for their careful and precise typing of a difficult manuscript. Lastly, these translation "twins" acknowledge their female σόζυγοι by dedicating this work to the ones who sustained the project with their sympathy and the necessary afternoon cocoa.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΓΕΝΝΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ

(2.2)<sup>1</sup> "... [κατ]ὰ βραχὺ β[ρα]χὺ | .....[.]ον· ἀσεβ[.....] |  
(4) σοι ἔδειξ[α ..... ..] | ἀπὸ πολλ[ῶν ..... ἔ]στα[ι] |  
δέ σοι μεγα[λοπ]ρεπῶς | καὶ ὀφθαλμοφανέστα | (8) τα θεωρῆσαι  
τὸ μυστήρι|ον ἐκεῖνο." καὶ τότε ὁ | ἄγγελος ἀπεκρύβη ἀ|[πὸ]

...

(3.2) . . . [διὰ σθ]ῆνους [τῶν] ἀγ|[γέ]λων ἐφυλάχθη καὶ |  
(4) τῶν δυνάμεων τῆς ὀ|σιότητος τῶν ἐγχειρι|σθεισῶν τὴν  
ἐμὴν πα|ραφυλακὴν, οἷ καὶ ἀνέ|(8)θρεψαν με δι' ὀπτασιῶν |  
καὶ σημεῖων ὧν ὑπέδει|κνυδὸν μοι μικρῶν καὶ | βραχυτάτων  
καθὼς ἐ|(12)δυνάμην ὑποφέρειν. |

Ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἀστραπῆς | δίκην ἐφ[έ]κε[ο] . . .

(4.3) . . . ἠσφαλίζετο φέ | με καὶ περὶ ταύτης τῆς |  
δυνάμεως τῆς ἐν θλίψει | ἐστάσης.

Πλεῖστοι δὲ εἰσιν ὀπτασί|(8)αι καὶ τὰ θεάματα  
μέγισ|τα ἃ ὑπέδειξέν μοι κα|τ' ἐκεῖνον πάντα τὸν | καιρὸν  
τῆς νεότητός | (12) μου. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν σιωπῇ | .[.....  
ἔμει]γα. ἐὰν μή | . . .

CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF HIS BODY

(2.2)<sup>1</sup> ". . . little by little [. . . I] (4) have shown  
you [unholy . . .] from many [. . .]. But you will be  
able to behold (8) that mystery magnificently and most  
lucidly." And then the angel was hidden [from] . . .

(3.2) . . . I (Mani) was protected [through] the might of  
[the] angels and (4) the powers of holiness who were  
entrusted with my safekeeping, and (8) they nourished me  
with visions and signs which they made known to me,  
slight and quite brief, as far as (12) I was able to bear.

For sometimes like a flash of lightning he [came] . . .

(4.3) . . . but he was reassuring (4) me also about this  
power which is steadfast in affliction.

Now very many are the visions (8) and exceedingly  
great are the sights which he showed to me during all  
that time of my youth. (12) But I [. . . remained] in  
silence. Except . . .

<sup>1</sup>Page 1 is too fragmentary for translation.

(5.3) . . . σὺν σοφίαι καὶ | (4) [εὐ]μηχανίαι περιερ|[χό]-  
μενος μεταξὺ αὐ|[τ]ῶν καὶ κατέχων τὴν | ἀνάπαυσιν<sup>2</sup> καὶ μὴ  
ἀδι|(8)κῶν μηδὲ ἀγίων μη|δὲν μηδὲ ἐξακολου|θῶν τῶι νόμῳ  
τῶν | βαπτιστῶν μηδὲ πα|(12)ραπλησίως αὐτοῖς δια|λεγόμενος.

Σαλμαῖ[ο]ς ὁ [ἀσκητής]

. . .

(6.2) ". . . αὐτῶι.<sup>3</sup> ἀλλ' οὐδὲ [λάχα]|γα λαμβάνεις ἀπὸ τ[οῦ]|  
(4) κήπου, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ξύλα | πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτοῦ | φέρεις."

"Ἐνάγκαζεν δὲ με ἐκεῖ|(8)νος ὁ βαπτιστής λέγων· |  
"ἀναστὰς ἐλθὲ σὺν ἐμοῖ | εἰς τὸν τόπον ἔνθα ἔστιν | ξύλα  
καὶ δεξάμενος | (12) φέρε." ἀπερχομένων | δὲ ἡμῶν εἰς  
τινα φοί|[νικα ἀ]γέβη ἐκεῖνος . . .

(7.2) . . . "ἐὰν τὸν μό|[χθο]ν εἴρηξαις ἐξ ἡμῶν, | (4)  
[οὐχ] ἅμα τῶι φονεῖ ἀ|[πο]λῆι." πρὸς ἐμὲ τότε ἐ|κεῖνος ὁ  
βαπτιστής φό|βῳ συσχεθεὶς σὺν θεο|(8)ρῶβῳ κατήλθεν  
ἐξ αὐ|τοῦ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοὺς | πόδας ἔπεσεν λέγων· |  
"οὐκ ἐγίνωσκον ὅτι τοῦ|(12)το τὸ ἀπόρρητον μυ|στήριον  
παρὰ σοί ἐστιν. | πόθεν δὲ σοι ἀπεκαλύ|φθη ἡ περὶ [ωδυνία  
φοί]|γι[κος];" . . .

(5.3) . . . with wisdom and (4) skill (I was) going about  
in their midst, keeping the Rest,<sup>2</sup> neither doing wrong,  
(8) nor inflicting pain, nor following the Law of the  
Baptists, nor (12) speaking in the way they did.

Salmaios the [Ascetic]

. . .

(6.2) ". . . to [him].<sup>3</sup> But neither do you take [vege-  
tables] from [the] (4) garden, nor do you carry wood for  
his use."

But that Baptist constrained me, (8) saying: "Get  
up and come with me to the place where there is wood;  
take it and (12) carry it." We went away to a certain  
[date-palm tree], and he climbed up . . .

(7.2) . . . "If you keep the [pain] away from us (trees),  
(4) you will [not perish] with the murderer." Then that  
Baptist, gripped by fear of me, (8) came down from it in  
confusion, and fell at my feet and said: "I did not know  
that this (12) secret mystery is with you. Whence was  
the [agony of the date-palm tree] revealed to you?" . . .

<sup>2</sup>"Rest": Cf. Henrichs, "Mani and the Babylonian  
Baptists," 48-50.

(8.1) ". . . ὃ[τε δὲ ἡ φοῖνιξ εἶπεν] | πρὸς σὲ τοῦτο, πῶ[ς  
κατ]|εφοβήθης καὶ τῆγ [χροὶ]|(4) ἂν μετέβαλες; ἐκ[εῖνος] |  
μεθ' οὗ πάντα τὰ φ[υτ]ᾶ | λαλεῖ ποσαπλασίονα | κινήθησε-  
ται;" | (8) ἐξεπέπληκτο τοίνυν | κατεχόμενος ὑπὸ θαύ[ματος  
δι' ἐμέ. ἔλεγεν | μοι· "φύλαξον τὸ μυστή|(12)ριον τοῦτο,  
μηδενὶ ἐ|ξεείπητις, ἵνα μὴ τις φθο|νέσας ἀπολέσει σε." . . .

(9.1) . . . ἀναπαύσ[εως ἔ]γε|[κεν], ἔλεγεν πρὸς ἐμέ εἰς |  
[τῶ]ν ἀρχηγῶν τοῦ νό|(4)μου αὐτῶν θεωρήσας | με λάχανα  
ἀπὸ τοῦ κή|που μὴ λαμβάνοντα | ἀλλ' ἀπαιτοῦντα αὐτοῦς |  
(8) ἐν λόγῳ εὐσεβεί[ας].<sup>4</sup> ἔλεγεν μοι· "οὐ τίνοσ | χάριν  
οὐκ ἔλαβες λά|χανα ἀπὸ τοῦ κήπου | (12) ἀλλ' ἐν μέρει  
εὐσεβείας | αἰτεῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ;" καὶ με|τὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν δὲ  
ἐκ[εῖ]νον τὸν βαπ[τιστὴν] | πρὸς [ἐμέ] . . .

(10.1) . . . [κ]αὶ ἐτάχ[η ὀλοφυρό] | μενον παραπλησ[ίως  
ἀν]|θρωπεύοις προσώ[ποις] | (4) καὶ ὡσεὶ παιδίοις. οὐαῖ  
ο[ὐ]αῖ δὲ τὸ αἷμα κατεκέχυτο | τοῦ τόπου τοῦ κοπέντος |  
διὰ τῆς δρεπάνης ἧς με|(8)τὰ χεῖρας εἶχεν. ἔκραζον | δὲ  
καὶ ἀνθρωπεύοι φωνῆι διὰ τὰς πλήξεις αὐ|τῶν. ὁ δὲ  
βαπτιστῆς | (12) πάνυ ἐκινήθη ἐφ' οἷς | ἐθεώρησεν

(8.1) (Mani is now speaking) ". . . [When the date-palm  
tree said] this to you, why did you become [greatly]  
frightened and (4) change your complexion? How much more  
will [that one], with whom all the [plants] speak, be  
disturbed?" (8) Thereupon he was dumbfounded, beside  
himself in amazement over me. He said to me: "Guard  
(12) this mystery, tell it to no one, lest someone become  
envious and destroy you." . . .

(9.1) . . . [for the sake of the] Rest, one of the  
leaders of their Law spoke to me, (4) having observed  
that I did not take vegetables from the garden, but  
instead asked them (for the vegetables) as (8) a pious  
gift.<sup>4</sup> He said to me: "Why did you not take vegetables  
from the garden, (12) but instead ask me (for them) as a  
pious gift?" After that Baptist had spoken to [me] . . .

(10.1) . . . [it] wasted away, [wailing] like human  
beings, (4) and, as it were, like children. Alas! Alas!  
The blood was streaming down from the place cut by the  
pruning hook which (8) he held in his hands. And they  
were crying out in a human voice on account of their  
blows. The Baptist (12) was greatly moved by what he saw,

<sup>4</sup>"Pious gift": Cf. Henrichs, "Mani and the

καὶ ἐλθὼν | [π]ρ[ό]σθεν μου προσέπε|[σεν. ὀπ]ηνίκα τοίνυν

. . .

(11.1) . . . μέ|[χρι] τετάρτου ἔτους· | [τότ]ε εἰσήλασα εἰς  
τὸ δό|(4)γμα τῶν βαπτιστῶν | ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀνετράφην | κατὰ  
τὸ νέον τοῦ σώμα|τος φυλασσόμενος διὰ | (8) τοῦ σθένους  
τῶν φωτει|νῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ δυνά|μεων τῶν ἰσχυροτά|των  
αἵτινες ἐντολήν | (12) ἔσχον πρὸς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τῆς | εἵλης  
παραφυλακῆς χά|ριν. αὐτῶν τότε παραχοῆμ[α]<sup>5</sup> . . .

(12.) . . . [ἐκ] | (1) τῶν ὑδάτων π[ρ]όσωπον | ἀνθρώπου  
ᾧφθη μοι ὑ[ποδ]ει|κνύον διὰ τῆς χειρ[ός] | (4) τὴν  
ἀνάπαυσιν ὡς ἂν | μὴ ἀμάρτω καὶ πόνον | ἐπάγω εἰς αὐτόν.  
τοῦ|τον τὸν τρόπον ἀπὸ τε|(8)τάρτου ἔτους καὶ μέ|χρις οὗ  
ἔφθασα εἰς τὸ ἀ|κμαῖον τοῦ σώματός | μου ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν  
τῶν | (12) ἀγνοτάτων ἀγγέλων | καὶ τῶν τῆς ὁσιότητος |  
δυνάμεων περιτηροῦ|[μενος ἔλα]θον . . .

(13.2) . . . ἄλλοτε δὲ ὡς σύ|ζυγος φωνῆ ἐκ τοῦ ἀέ|(4)ρος  
διελέγετο πρὸς ἐ|μέ λέγουσα· "ῥῶσόν σου | τὴν δύναμιν  
καὶ κρά|τυνον τὴν φρένα καὶ | (8) πρόσδεξαι πάντα τὰ  
ἀ|ποκαλυπτόμενά σοι." | καὶ πάλιν ἔλεγεν τὸ

and he came and fell down before me. When, then, . . .

(11.1) . . . until the fourth year. Then I (Mani) gained  
entrance to the (4) teaching of the Baptists in which I  
was reared, while my body was young, being guarded by  
(8) the might of the Light-angels and the exceedingly  
strong powers, who had a command (12) from Jesus, the  
Splendor, for (my) safekeeping. They, then, immediately<sup>5</sup>  
. . .

(12.1) . . . [from] the waters [a face] of a man appeared  
to me, showing with his hand (4) the Rest, so that I  
might not sin and bring trouble to him. In this way,  
from my (8) fourth year until I attained my bodily  
maturity, by the hands of the (12) most pure angels and  
the powers of holiness I was protected [without anyone's  
notice] . . .

(13.2) . . . at another time a voice, like that of the  
Twin, (4) spoke to me out of the air, saying: "Strengthen  
your power, make your mind firm, and (8) receive all that  
is about to be revealed to you." And again, he said the

<sup>5</sup>After χάριν, translators read, with the critical

αύ|τό· "ῥῶσον τὴν δύναμιν | (12) καὶ στησόν σου τὴν φρέ|να  
καὶ ὑπόστα πάντα | τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἐπὶ σέ." . . .

(14.1) ". . . ὑπὸ μεγάλων [πατέρων] | προεβλήθημεν." |  
Βαρ<α>ίης ὁ διδάσκαλος. |

(4) "Ἐλεγεν ὁ κύριός μου οὕτως· | "ὄν τρόπον σήμερον  
πῶ|λος βασιλεῖ χρήσιμος | διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν | (8)  
ἵπποφόρων γίνεται | βασιλέως ὄχημα, ἔν' ἐν | τιμῇ καὶ  
δόξῃ ἐπικα|θεσθεῖς αὐτῷ τὸ ἴδιον | (12) [α]ύτου κατα-  
πράξεται | [πράγμα, το]ύτωι τῷ τρό| [πῶι ὁ νοῦς ἔχει τ]ὸ  
σῶμα, | [ἵνα ποιήσῃ τὸ ἀγ]αθόν. | . . .

(15.1) . . . τόπου ν[.....]. | [..π]ρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν τοῦ |  
βασιλέως καὶ κατεκο| (4) σμήθη τι ἔνδυμα τῷ | ἐνδουσαμένῳ·  
κατε|σκευάσθη μὲν ἡ ναῦς | τῷ ἀρίστῳ κυβερνή| (8) τῇ ἵνα  
ἀγρεύσῃ τὰ κει|μήλια ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης· | ἐκτίσθη δὲ τὸ  
ἱερὸν πρὸς | εὐκλειαν τοῦ νοῦ καὶ | (12) ὁ ἀγιώτατος μὲν  
νεῶς | πρὸς ἀποκάλυψιν τῆς | αὐτοῦ σοφίας· πεπλή|ρωται δ'  
ὁ [.....] | (16) τόκο[ς] . . .

(16.1) . . . ἐν σ[ώματι] | τοὺς ἀνδραποδισ[θέν]|τας ἀπὸ  
τῶν δυναστῶν | (4) καὶ λυτρώσαιτο καὶ ἐ|λευθερώσῃ τὰ  
σφέτε|ρα μέλη ἐκ τῆς ὑποτα|γῆς τῶν στασιαστῶν | (8) καὶ  
τῆς τῶν ἐπιτροπευ|όντων ἐξουσίας

same: "Strengthen your power, (12) make your mind strong,  
and submit to all that is about to come upon you." . . .

(14.1) ". . . we have been sent out by the great  
[fathers]."

Baraies the Teacher

(4) My lord (Mani) said thus: "Just as nowadays a  
young horse, used by a king, (8) becomes the king's mount  
through the capability of the horse trainers, so that he  
might sit upon it in honor and glory and (12) carry out  
his particular [task], in this same way [the mind  
possesses the] body, [in order to do the] good. . . .

(15.1) . . . of [. . .] place [. . .] for the king's  
rest; and (4) a certain garment was fitted for the one  
who put it on; the ship was equipped for the best skipper  
(8) so that he might catch valued treasures from the sea;  
the holy place was set up for glory of the mind; and  
(12) the most holy shrine, for revelation of its wisdom;  
the [. . .] interest [. . .] has been paid fully . . .

(16.1) . . . in (the) [body], (that) he might ransom  
those enslaved from the powers (of the other world)  
(4) and set free their members from the subjection of the  
whole (8) and from the authority of those who keep

καὶ | δι' αὐτοῦ μὲν φάνηι τῆς | ἰδέας γνώσεως τὴν  
 ἀ| (12) λήθειαν, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ἀ|ναπετάσῃ τὴν θύραν | τοῖς  
 καθειρωγμένοις | [καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ] μὲν ὄρέξῃ | (16) [τὴν  
 εὐζωίαν ἐ]κφε[ί]νοισ . . .

(17.1) . . . καὶ πάντων νό|μων, ἐλευθερώσῃ δὲ | τὰς  
 ψυχὰς τῆς ἀγνοί| (4) ας γινόμενος παρά|κλητος καὶ κορυ-  
 φαῖος | τῆς κατὰ τήνδε τὴν | γενεάν ἀποστολῆς. κα| (8) τὰ  
 τὸν καιρὸν τοίνυν | καθ' ὃν συνεπεράνθη | μου τὸ σῶμα ἐν  
 τέλει, | παραχοῆμα καταπτὰς | (12) ὤφθη ἔμπροσθέν μου |  
 ἐκεῖνο τὸ εὐειδέστα|τον καὶ μέγιστον κά|τοπτρον τ[οῦ  
 προσώ]| (16) που μ[ου] . . .

(18.) . . . [ὅτε τεσσάρων καὶ εἴ]| (1) κοσι ἐτῶν ὑπῆρξα [ἐν] |  
 τῷ ἔτει δι' ὑπέταξεν Ἄ|τραν τὴν πόλιν Δαριάρ| (4) δαῶα  
 ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Περ|σίδος, ἐν δὲ καὶ Σαπόρης | ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ | διάδημα μέγιστον ἀγε| (8) δῆσατο, κατὰ τὸν  
 μῆνα | τὸν Φαρμουθι ἐν τῇ ἡ' ἡ|μέραι τῆς σελήνης ὁ  
 μα|καριώτατος κύριος ἐσπλ[αγ]| (12) χυλίσθη ἐπ' ἐμὲ καὶ με  
 ἐκ[ά]|λεσεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ χά|ριν καὶ ἀπέστειλέν μοι |  
 [ἐκεῖθεν ἐ]ὐφθὺς σύζυγόν | (16) [μου τὸν ἐν δόξῃ  
 μ]εγάληι | [φαινόμενον] . . .

(19.2) . . . [ὁ] μνήστῳ καὶ μη[νυτῆς] | πασῶν ἀρίστων  
 συμβο[υ]| (4) λιῶν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ | ἀμετέρου καὶ τῆ

guard, and through it (i.e., the body) he might disclose  
 the truth of its own knowledge, (12) and in it open wide  
 the door to those confined within, [and through it] he  
 might hold out (16) [well-being] to those . . .

(17.1) . . . and from all laws, and (that) he might free  
 the souls from ignorance (4) by becoming paraclete and  
 leader of the apostleship in this generation. (8) Then,  
 at the time when my body reached its full growth,  
 immediately there flew down and (12) appeared before me  
 that most beautiful and greatest mirror-image of [my  
 self] . . .

(18.1) . . . [When] I was twenty[-four] years old, [in]  
 the year in which Dariardaxar, (4) the King of Persia,  
 subdued the city Atra, also in which his son Sapore, the  
 King, crowned himself with the grand diadem, (8) in the  
 month of Pharmouthi, on the eighth day of the lunar month,  
 the most blessed Lord was greatly moved with compassion  
 (12) for me, called me into his grace, and immediately  
 sent to me [from there my] Twin, (16) [appearing in]  
 great [glory] . . .

(19.2) . . . [he] (is) mindful of and informer of all the  
 best counsels (4) from our Father and from the good first

ἀπο|πρὸ πρῶτης δεξιᾶς ἀγα|θής."

καὶ πάλιν εἶπεν οὗ| (8) τως ὡς "ὄπην|κα ἠὲ δό|κησεν ὁ  
πατήρ μου καὶ πε|ποιήται ἐπ' ἐμέ ἔλεόν | τε καὶ οἴκτον εἰς  
τὸ λυ|(12) τρώσασθαι ἐκ τῆς τῶν | δογματιστῶν πλάνης, |  
ποιήσας ἐπ' ἐμέ τὴν φει|δῶ διὰ τῶν πλείστων | (16) αὐτοῦ  
φα|νερώσεων ἀπ[έ]|στειλέ[ν μοι τὸν σύζυ]| γό[ν μου] . . .

(20.1) . . . [ἀ]ρ[ί]στ[ῆ]ν ἐλπίδα | [καὶ] ἀπολύτρωσιν  
τλ[η]| [τ]ιμῶν καὶ τὰς ἀληθεστά|(4) τας ὑποθήκας τε καὶ  
γνώ|μας καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἡμε|τέρου πατρὸς χειροθεσίαν. |  
ὄπην|κα τοίνυν ἀφίεται, | (8) διελύσατό με καὶ διώρι|σε  
καὶ ἀπεσπάσατο ἐκ μέ|σου τοῦ νόμου ἐκεῖνου | καθ' ὃν  
ἀνετράφη. κατὰ | (12) τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐ|κάλεσέν με  
καὶ ἐπελέξα|το καὶ εἴλκυσεν καὶ διέ|στησεν ἐκ μέσου  
τοῦ|(16) τ[ων] . . . ]ε[λ]κύσας δέ | [με εἰς θεῖαν π]λευράν |  
. . .

(21.2) <sup>6</sup> . . . καὶ τίς εἰμι καὶ | τοῦμὸν σῶμα καὶ ποίωι |  
(4) τρόπωι ἐλήλυθα καὶ ὡς | γέγονεν ἡ ἀφιξίς μου | εἰς  
τόνδε τὸν κόσμον | καὶ τίς γίγνομαι τῶν ὁ|(8) παρχόντων  
κατὰ τὴν | ὑπεροχὴν ἐπισημοτά|των καὶ ὡς ἐγεννήθην |  
εἰς τὸ σαρκῶδες τοῦτο | (12) σῶμα ἢ διὰ ποίαν και|ευθεῖς  
ἐλοχεύθην κατὰ | τὴν σάρκα ταύτην καὶ | ἀπὸ τίνος  
ἐρ[ω]τι|κατε|(16) σπάρην . . .

right hand far away."

And again, he (Mani) spoke thus: (8) "When my  
Father was pleased and had mercy and compassion on me, to  
(12) ransom (me) from the error of the Sectarrians, he  
took consideration of me through his very many (16) [reve-  
lations], (and) he sent [to me] my [Twin] . . .

(20.1) . . . [best hope and] redemption for (those who)  
suffer patiently, the truest (4) instructions and  
counsels, and the laying on of hands from our Father.  
When, then, he (the Twin) came, (8) he delivered,  
separated, and pulled me away from the midst of that Law  
in which I was reared. In (12) this way he called, chose,  
drew, and severed me from their midst [. . .], (16)  
drawing [me to the divine] side. . . .

(21.2) (the Twin is instructing Mani concerning)<sup>6</sup> . . .  
who I am, what my body is, in what (4) way I have come,  
how my arrival into this world took place, who I am of the  
(8) ones most renowned for their eminence, how I was  
begotten into this fleshly (12) body, by what woman I was  
delivered and born according to the flesh, and by whose  
[passion] (16) I was engendered . . .

<sup>6</sup>The main verb of an extended indirect discourse is

(22.1) . . . καὶ πῶς [.....] | γμα γεγένηται.<sup>7</sup> κα[ὶ ὁ] |  
 πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν ὕψει τῆς τ[ου] | (4) χάνει ἢ ποίωι τρόπωι  
 δι|αστάς αὐτοῦ ἀπεστάλην | κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώ|μην καὶ  
 ποίαν ἐντολήν | (8) τε καὶ ὑποθήκην δεδώ|ρηταί μοι πρὶν  
 ἐνδύσω|μαι τὸ ὄργανον τότε καὶ | πρὶν πλανηθῶ ἐν τῇ |  
 (12) σαρκί ταύτῃ τῇ βδελυ|ρώδει καὶ πρὶν ἐνδύναί | με  
 τὴν τε μέθην αὐτῆς | καὶ τὸν τρόπον, καὶ ὅστις |  
 (16) [ἐκεῖνός ἐστι] γ αὐτός σύ|[ζυγός μου ἀγρυ]πνός ὦν . . .

(23.1) . . . [τ]ὰ ἀπόρητα καὶ τὰ | [θεά]ματα καὶ τὰς  
 ὑπερβο|λάς τοῦμοῦ πατρός, καὶ περὶ | (4) ἐμοῦ τίς  
 τυγχάνω ὦν, | καὶ ὁ σύζυγός μου ὁ ἀρα|ρὸς τίς ποτ'  
 ἐστίν. | ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς | (8) μου, ἥτις  
 πάντων τῶν | κόσμων ὑπάρχει ψυ|χή, ἢ τίς καὶ αὐτὴ ἐστίν |  
 ἢ γέγονε πῶς. ἔφηνε | (12) δ' αὖ ἐμοὶ πρὸς τούτοις | τὰ  
 τε ἀπειρα ὕψη καὶ τὰ | βάθη τὰ ἀνεξιχνίαστα, | ὑπέδειξε[ν  
 μοι] πάντ[α] | . . .

(22.1) . . . and how [. . .] came into being;<sup>7</sup> and who my  
 Father on high is; (4) or in what way, severed from him,  
 I was sent out according to his purpose; and what sort of  
 commission (8) and counsel he has given to me before I  
 clothed myself in this instrument, and before I was led  
 astray in (12) this detestable flesh, and before I  
 clothed myself with its drunkenness and habits; and who  
 (16) [that one is, who] is himself [my ever-vigilant  
 Twin] . . .

(23.1) (the Twin showed Mani) . . . the secrets and  
 [visions] and the perfections of my Father; and concerning  
 (4) me, who I am, and who my inseparable Twin is; more-  
 over, concerning my soul, (8) which exists as the soul of  
 all the worlds, both what it itself is and how it came to  
 be. (12) Beside these, he revealed to me the boundless  
 heights and the unfathomable depths; he showed [me] all  
 . . .

<sup>7</sup>Translators read, with the critical text: καὶ πῶς

(24.3) εὐσεβῶς [ὡς . . . . .] | (4) τε αὐτὸν  
καὶ ἐκτησάμην ὡς ἴδιον κτῆμα. |  
ἐπίστευσα δ' αὐτὸν  
ἐμὸν | ὑπάρχοντά τε καὶ ὄν(8)τα  
καὶ σύμβουλον ἀγαθὸν καὶ χρηστὸν ὄντα. |  
ἐπέγνω μὲν αὐτὸν  
καὶ | συνῆκα ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἐ(12)γὼ εἰμι  
ἐξ οὗ διεκρίθην. |  
ἐπεμαρτύρησα δὲ  
ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς εἰμι |  
ἀκλόνητος ὑπάρχων. | . . ."

(25.1) . . . ἔλεγεν δ' αὖ | [πάλιν] οὕτως ὡς "σὺν πλείσῃ  
μηχανῇ καὶ ἐπιστῇ(4)μη περιῆλθον ἐν ἐκείνῳ | τῷ  
νόμῳ διαφυλάττων | τῆνδε τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐν | φρονήσει τῆ  
ἐμαυτοῦ | (8) μηδεὶς αἰσθομένου | τίς ποτ' ἐστὶν τὸ  
παρ' ἐμ(οἱ) | ὄν· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἀπεκάλυψα οὐδενὶ οὐδέν  
κ(α) | (12)τὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον | πλεῖστον ὑπάρχοντα. |  
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοις π(αρα) | πλήσια τῷ ἔθιμον [ἔσχον] |  
(16) τὸ σαρκῶ(δε)ς . . .

(26.) . . . [οὐδὲν ἀπεκάλυψα] | (1)ψα τῶν γενομένων οὐδὲ  
τῶν γενησομένων | οὐδ' ὅτι ἐστὶν ὃ ἔγνω | (4) ἢ τί  
τυγχάνει ὃ προσεδεξάμην." |  
οἱ διδάσκαλοι λέγουσιν |  
Ὅπηνίκα τοίνυν τὰ ἀπόρ(8)ρητα ταῦτα καὶ μέγιστα |

(24.3) . . . reverently [. . .] (4)  
and I acquired him as my own possession.  
I believed  
that he belongs to me and (8) is (mine)  
and is a good and excellent counselor.  
I recognized him  
and understood that (12) I am that one  
from whom I was separated.  
I testified  
that I myself am that one  
who is unshakable. . . ."

(25.1) . . . And [again] he (Mani) said thus: "With the  
greatest possible ingenuity and skill (4) I went about in  
that Law, preserving this hope in my heart; (8) no one  
perceived who it was that was with me, and I myself  
revealed nothing to anyone during (12) that great period  
of time. But neither [did I], like them, [keep] the  
fleshly custom . . .

(26.1) I [revealed nothing] of what happened, or of what  
will happen, nor what it is that I knew, (4) or what it  
is that I had received."

#### The Teachers Say

When, then, (8) that all-glorious and all-blessed  
one (the Twin) disclosed to me these exceedingly great