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. Packelmann, the Codex was successfully opened and rendered readable. A. Henrichs and L. Koene 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 baptism and Manichaean 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 γέννησις 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 Manichaean 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 baptized, his call to be a missionary, and instructions for the foundation of Manichaism as a world religion, all in dialogue form, comprise the fourth section (pp. 99-115). Finally, the midsection (pp. 72-99), composed of five separate excerpts, features the dramatic break with the baptized. 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 Koonen. 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 σύζυγοι by dedicating this work to the ones who sustained the project with their sympathy and the necessary afternoon cocos.
CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF HIS BODY

(2.2) "... 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 . . .

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1 Page 1 is too fragmentary for translation.
(5.3) ... with wisdom and (4) skill (I was) going about in their midst, keeping the rest, neither doing wrong, 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]. But neither do you take [vegetables] 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), 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?" ...

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(8.1) "... δ[τε δὲ ὁ σοφότερος εἶπεν] | πρὸς σὲ τοῦτο, πῶς κατὰ | εὐσεβὴς καὶ τὴν [χρον].(4) ἄν | μεθ' οὗ πάντα τι φ[ιλή] | λαλεῖτε ποσαλλόσεν. | κινηθῆσεται;" | (8) ἡλικία τοῦ θὸν | καταφύγετον ὁπε ὁμοιὸς | δι' ἐμέ. ἐλεγεν | μοι. "ὑψαζον τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θὸν | μὴ δὲν ἐξειπίησι, ἵνα μὴ τις φθοράς ἀπολέσῃ σε." ... 

(9.1) ... φθοράς | εἰς τὸ | [τῶν] ἀρχηγῶν | τὸν νόμο τῶν αὐτῶν | θεοφόρος | με λάμψα | ἀπὸ τὸν φῶς | ποιεῖς αὐτῶν | (8) ἐν λάμψι | εὐσεβεῖς | αὐτοὺς | (12) ἐν ἑαυτῷ | ἄλλοι | ἐν πάντα | (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. 4 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) ... [καὶ] ἔταξεν | ἑκατὸν | Ἐξακολουθοῦσας ἡμῖν | (4) καὶ ἀδελφός | φίλος | σα ὑπὲρ τοῦ καμάρι ἐκείνης | τοῦ τόπου | τοῦ κοινοτοῦ | διὰ τῆς ὁμολογίας | (8) τὰ ἱεράς | (12) πάντα | (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,

4 "Pious gift": Cf. Henrichs, "Mani and the
καὶ ἐλήθων | [πρὸ γ] ὧδε γνωρίσαν μου προσέπε[|[σεν. ὅπ]ηνίκα τοῖνυν

(11.1) ... μὲ | [χρ]ι] τετάρτου ἐτους | [τότε] εἰσῆλθα εἰς
tὸ ὀδόν | (4) γίγαντι τῶν τεπτιστών | ἐν δὲ καὶ ἀνετράφην | καὶ

tὸ νέον τοῦ σώματος | τοὺς φυλασσόμενους διὰ | (8) τοῦ σπέννους
tῶν σωτηρίων ἄγγελων καὶ ἰσχίων τῶν σημείων ἐντολῆν | (12) ἔσοχον πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν τῆς | εὐλογίας

(12.1) ... [ἐκ] | (1) τῶν ὁδών μ[ποδοῦ]ν | ἀνθρώπων

(13.2) ... ἄλλατε δὲ ἥν | [γ]υμνός ἐκ τοῦ ἁ ὁ ὁ ὁ ὁ ὁ ὁ ὁ ὁ ὁ ὁ ὁ

dιελέγετο πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγουσα: "ὅρον σου | τὴν δόξαν
cal καὶ τῶν ὁμοθέτων | ἰσχίων περιτριποῦ | [μενος ἔλα]θον ...
αύτό: "ἐξετο σύν γιναι καὶ υπόστα πάντα | τά ἐρχόμενα ἐπὶ σέ." ...  

(14.1) "... ὑπὸ μεγάλων [πατέρων] | προεβλήθησαν."

(4) "Ελεγεν ὁ άγ' ὁ μονον [οὐ[στ]] | "ὅτι ταῦτα σήμερον πῶς | λογος βασιλεύει χρήσιμος | διά τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν | ἐποικάρων γίνεται | βασιλεύς σχῆμα, ἵνα ἐν | τιμή καὶ | ἔβεβλε ἐπικα [θεσουρείς] αὐτῷ το ἐδών | (12) [α]δυτὸ κατα-πρέπει τι | πράγμα, το]ήτω τοι τρό [πω | τις ο νος ἔχει τ]δο | σώμα, | [Σνα ποιήτη το αγ]αθόν. | ...  


(16.1) ... ἐν ο[ἵματι] | τοὺς ἄνθρωπο[θέν] | τὰς ἄντι | τῶν ὄντων | (4) καὶ λυτρώφιτο καὶ ἐλευθερώθη τὰ | σφέτο, ἐν τῆς ὑποτα | τῆς τῶν στασιαστῶν | (8) καὶ | τῆς τῶν ἐπιτροπῶν ἀντιτου | ἔξουσιας

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 δὲ αὐτῷ μὲν φάνη τῇ δὲ λοιπῇ γνώσεις τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ἀναπτύσσει τὴν θάρσον τοῦτο καθελομένου; [καὶ δὲ αὐτῷ] δὲ μὲν ὑπέκειται [τὴν εὐεξίαν ἐξερεύνας . . .

(17.1) . . . καὶ πάντων νόμων, ἐλευθερώθη δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς τῆς ἁγιοί (4)ας γινόμενος παρὰ κλάτος καὶ κοροφάτος τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐν γενεάν ἀποστολής καὶ (8)τὰ τὸν καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον καθαύς δὲ συνεπεράνθη, μοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἐν τέλει, παραχρήμα κατατάς (12) ἤρθη ἐμπιστευόμενος μου ὧν ἤκουν τὸ εὐδόκητα τὸν καὶ μέγιστὸν κάθετον τῷ προσώπῳ (16)που μοι . . .

(18.) . . . (ἐν) τὸς τεσσάρων καὶ εἰ; (1)κοσμί ἐτῶν οὐράρια [ἐν] τῷ ἔτει δὲ ὑπήρξεν Ἀθροι τὴν πόλιν Δαριάρ; (4)δαράρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Πέρσας, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ γενὸς αὐτὸς, ἐλάσσων μέγιστον ἀνείπος, κατὰ τὸν ἰουνια τὴν ποιμανθὴ ἐν τῇ ἡ δὲ μέρα τῆς ἐποίηθη; ὁ ἔμπρε τὸν ἡμέραν διακρίνεται κόσμος ἑστι[αγ] (12)χυ̂σθαι ὡς ἐπὶ ἐμὲ καὶ μὲ ἐμὲ (4)ληθεύσει ὑκρὺν καὶ ἀπεπιπελέν μοι; ἤκουσαν εὐφόρους ἀναγίνοντα (16)μοῦ τὸν ἐν ὧν ἀκολούθησε ἀγάλημα [φαινόμενον] . . .

(19.2) . . . (ὁ) μνήσται καὶ μη[ν]νυτῆς; παρόν δολοτον συμβολο[ν] (4)λιθὺς τὸν ἐν τῷ πατρὶ τοῦ ἀνετέρατος τῶν . . .

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 Saporees, 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
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 Sectarians, he took consideration of me through his very many (16) revelations, (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)⁶ ... 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 ...

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⁶The main verb of an extended indirect discourse is
(22.1) ... καὶ πῶς [...] ἡμας γεγένηται | καὶ ὅ | παθός μου ὃ εἶν ὠθεὶ τῆς τίνι | (4) χάνει ἢ ποιεῖ τρόπου | οἴ | αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπεσταλὴν | κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην καὶ | πολλὰ ἐντολὴν | (8) τε καὶ ὑποδήπην δεδομένη μοι πρὶν ἐνδοῦν | καὶ τὸ ὅργανον τὸ δέ καὶ | πρὶν πλανηθῶ ἐν τῷ | (12) οὐκ ἔστη τῇ βδελοῦ ἔδει καὶ πρὶν ἐνδοῦν | με | τὴν τε μέθυν αὐτῆς | καὶ τὸν τρόπον, καὶ δοτὶς | (16) [ἐκεῖνὸς ἐστιν] αὐτὸς σὺ | Ζυγὸς μοι ἄγνω]πυρὸς ὄν | ... | (23.1) ... τὸ ἀνθρώπητα καὶ τὰ | (Θεό)[]ματα καὶ τὰς | ὑπερβο[]λὰς τοῦμον πατρός, καὶ περὶ | (4) ἐμοῦ τῆς | τοιχάνω δῶν, | καὶ ὃ σῶζως μοι ὁ ἀρχι[ patrols τῆς ποτ.] | ἐστίν. | Εἰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς | (8) μου, ἂν τις | πάντων τῶν | κώμων ὑπάρχει ψυχῇ, ἢ τῆς καὶ αὐτῆς ἐστίν | ἢ γέγονε πάς. ἔφηνε | (12) οὗτοι ἐμοὶ πρὸς τούτοις | τὰ | τὰ ἀπειρα ὄν | καὶ τὰ | βάσιν τὰ ἀνεξιχνιαστὰ, | ὑπεδιεξε[ν | μοι] ἄντ[α] | ... | (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 | ...
(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