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LEAVES FROM A MANICHAEAN CODEX

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## LEAVES FROM A MANICHAEAN CODEX (Pl.s VIII–X)

The on-going archaeological excavations at Ismant el-Kharab<sup>1</sup> in the Egyptian Dakhleh Oasis, the ancient village of Kellis in the Mothite nome, have uncovered a remarkable wealth of textual material. These finds have been announced in various conference papers and excavation reports, and various pieces have been published in article or monograph form<sup>2</sup>.

In this article we focus on what we take to be the scant remains of a single papyrus codex of religious texts written in Greek, and produced by Manichaeans. These fragments were found in the residential *Area A*, amongst a great quantity of documentary material (in both Coptic and Greek) and also other devotional literature, much of which betrays a Manichaean origin. It is not our purpose here to discuss the general history of the site, or the archaeological context (for which cf. the contribution by Dr. C. A. Hope, following this article) or the social or religious context of the codex, since such can be found in the other publications. Rather, we concentrate on the fragments in themselves, the texts, and such commentary to those as seems relevant. Fragments of these leaves were referred to previously in the excavation reports appearing in *Mediterranean Archaeology* 1 (1988) 171 + ill. 15 and in *JSSEA* 17 (1987) 160, 172 sub A/1/107 + Pl. XIX.a. In particular, R. G. Jenkins has published part of the codex in a 1995 article<sup>3</sup> as ‘*Papyrus 1 from Kellis. A Greek Text with Affinities to the Acts of John*’. It should be noted that our own work on this codex has proceeded independently. Still, it is helpful to benefit from J.’s discussion.

The fragments that can be identified as from this codex are currently glassed in two frames: In **A** fragments have been joined to form two separate sections, one (**A.I**) from the upper and one (**A.II**) from the lower part of a leaf. The text in the first of these shows clear affinities with passages in the *Acts of John*; and it is this piece that has been published by J.

In **B** fragments have been joined and arranged to form one major section of an upper leaf (**B.I**); a minor section from a lower corner (**B.II**); and a stray scrap that may belong to the former (**B.III**). **B.I** at least contains the remaining text of (probably one) Manichaean psalm.

<sup>1</sup> Directed by Dr. C. A. Hope of Monash University (Melbourne, Australia), under the auspices of the Dakhleh Oasis Project (A. J. Mills). We are grateful to Dr. Hope for his kind permission to publish these fragments.

<sup>2</sup> For excavation reports especially see hereunder the contribution by Dr. Hope, p. 156, fn. 2. For general information on the excavations and a first publication of a Coptic biblical papyrus (Acts 23: 27-35) cf. also G. Horsley (ed.), *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, 3 (1983) 159-162.

Some bibliography on further publications of texts from ancient Kellis may be helpful:

I. Gardner, *A Manichaean Liturgical Codex Found at Kellis*, *Orientalia* 62.2 (1993) 30-59 (= T.Kell.Copt. 2 in P.Kell. II, for which cf. below);

T. de Jong & K.A. Worp, *A Greek Horoscope from 373 A.D.*, *ZPE* 106 (1995) 235-40 [now P.Kell. I 84];

P.Kell. I Gr. 1-90 = *Greek Papyri from Kellis*, I, ed. K. A. Worp in collaboration with J. E. G. Whitehorne and R. W. Daniel (Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph # 3, Oxford 1995);

P.Kell. II Gr. 91-94 and P.Kell.Copt. 1-9, P.Kell.Syr. 1, P.Kell.Syr./Gr. 1, T.Kell.Copt. 1-7, T.Kell.Syr./Copt. 1-2, = *Kellis Literary Texts*, I, ed. I. Gardner (Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph # 4, Oxford 1996);

P.Kell. III Gr. 95 = *The Isocrates codex from Kellis*, ed. K. A. Worp & A. Rijksbaron (Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph # -, Oxford 1997);

P.Kell. IV Gr. 96 = *The Kellis Agricultural Account Book*, ed. R. S. Bagnall (Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph # -, Oxford 1997);

P.Kell. V Copt. 10-52 = *Coptic Documentary Texts*, I, ed. A. Alcock, I. Gardner & W.-P. Funk (Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph # -, Oxford 199-);

See also R. G. Jenkins, *The Prayer of the Emanations in Greek from Kellis*, *Le Muséon* 108.3-4 (1995) 243-263, and below, fn. 3.

<sup>3</sup> in J. N. Bremmer (ed.), *The Apocryphal Acts of John*, Kampen 1995, 197-216. Hereafter we refer to the author of this article simply as ‘J’.

The association of all these pieces as coming from a single papyrus codex is made primarily on the basis of the hand, but also in conformity with general papyro-/codicological criteria such as dimensions, structure, etc. Of course, with such fragmentary remains other solutions may be possible. There are no page or quire numbers, nor any running header. However, we remain convinced that there is a single scribe at work, and that all the pieces belong to a codex (or possibly codices) of fine and probably substantial construction<sup>4</sup>, at least by Kellis standards. As the pieces are currently arranged it is natural to suppose that they are the remains of two separate codex leaves. However, this is by no means certain. As explained: the pieces are joined into four sections plus a scrap; and these sections can only be related according to content (or the relations excluded on codicological grounds). Since the *Acts of John* allusions occur only in **A.I**, it is safest to treat it separately from **A.II** and all of **B** (specifically one should be cautious about supposing any close association between the major pieces **A.I** and **B.I**: both the content and the find sites [see below] are different.). All the passages in **B**, in so far as this can be ascertained (**B.III** especially preserves no real sense in itself), relate to events early in the (Manichaean) history of conflict between the light and the darkness. We are inclined to identify **B.III** as a stray fragment from **B.I** (cf. the shared find site); and, if **B.II** indeed (conceptually) belongs to **B.I** (but cf. below on the different find sites), to suggest that it could well be from the lower part of the leaf represented by **B.I**, III or otherwise from an originally adjacent or at least near leaf. Thus, in terms of content, the sections fall into three groups: **A.I**, **A.II**, **B.I-III**.

However, the conjectural nature of all this must be noted. There is no secure way to order these groups in terms of the codex as a whole.

A further point of relevance is the scattered find sites for the fragments. They derive from ‘House 1’, ‘Structure 4’ and ‘House 3’ and were found over a number of excavation seasons. These separate buildings are all in the same locality at Ismant el-Kharab, Houses 1 and 3 being separated from each other by House 2 in between and Structure 4 being adjacent to the north of House 1. In this context it should be remembered that among the documentary papyri from the site now published in P.Kell. I there is at least one text [No. 3] which is also composed of fragments coming from both House 1 *and* House 3. We are especially grateful to Dr. Hope for providing us with precise archaeological information about the find sites for each inventory number (see his contribution below)<sup>5</sup>. Of course, this is particularly important and helpful for our determination of the relationships between different sections of the codex.

Some comments must also be made about the contents of the codex from which these fragments are presumed to derive. It appears that the section we refer to as **A.I** is not in itself a version of the *Acts of John*, but rather it draws upon a textual tradition also accessed (perhaps at a different stage of development) by the compiler of the known apocryphal work. There is no good reason to suppose that this source was of Manichaean authorship, although the exact form in which it is found here may have had some minor Manichaean editing. This essentially agrees with the conclusion of J. [fn. 3], pp. 214-215, who suggests that the source might be designated E1 (‘Eucharistic liturgy’). In contrast, the section **B.I** is certainly a Manichaean psalm, and cannot predate Mani himself at the earliest; it is most probably in origin a product of the early community in the latter third century C. E.

It is too extravagant to suppose that these sections had somehow been woven into a single literary work. Rather, we must be dealing with a compilation of material incorporated into the codex by the scribe. The Nag Hammadi codices each contain separate works from diverse sources. There are also examples from the extant Manichaean codices: the Medinet Madi *Psalm Book* is compiled from groups

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<sup>4</sup> Compare J. (fn. 3): 197-200.

<sup>5</sup> J. (fn. 3) 198 appears to dispute the original records of the finds as kept by the excavation (this is not our own experience of procedures at the site). Unfortunately, he provides no clear record of the history of each fragment. To be sure, neither of the present authors were involved in the original arrangement of the material, nor the moving of these pieces from one glass frame to another.

and individual psalms with a variety of textual histories<sup>6</sup>, the ‘Psalms of Thomas’ in particular having a quite different character to much of the remainder; the Homilies codex is similarly a constructed volume. Thus, we find no problem in supposing that these present sections could have been incorporated by the scribe into the same physical production, especially in view of the known association between the Manichaean community and the so-called Leucian Acts<sup>7</sup>.

As regards date: on palaeographical grounds the late 3rd to early 4th century C. E. would be appropriate. The archaeological data, including ceramics and coins, give a predominantly 4th century context to the find site. The dated Greek documents from Houses 1–3 and Structure 4 span the later part of the 3rd and the whole of the 4th century (273/4 or 279/280 [P.Kell. I 61] – approx. 389 C. E. [P.Kell. I 26]). In terms of internal evidence, the use of a textual tradition prior to (or at least independent of) the compilation of the *Acts of John* might drive one to an earlier date<sup>8</sup>; but this is problematic, especially as the Manichaeans could have continued to circulate such traditions separate from the wider Christian community. On the other hand, whilst Manichaeism may first have reached Egypt about 260 C. E., it is hard to imagine it becoming entrenched in Kellis much before the turn of the century. In fact, our current study of the community there inclines towards dating the production of the extant religious texts to about the mid fourth century C. E. In sum, we give the codex a notional date of early fourth century C. E.

### Text

(A.) The codex leaf is now broken into two sections, viz.:

Fr. I: H. 11.8 x W. 7.8 cm. On the ‘Recto’ (writing and fiber direction parallel) the top margin measures 2.3, the LH margin 1.1 cm. Likewise, on the ‘Verso’ (writing across the fiber direction) the top margin measures 2.3, the RH margin 1.1 cm. On the Verso the distance between l. 17 and l. 18 is 1.3 cm.<sup>9</sup> This section (A/3/31) consists of two fragments both coming from ‘Structure 4’, room 6, level 2.

Fr. II: H. 11 x W. 4.1 cm. Margins: on the front the RH margin is 0.7 cm., the bottom margin 3.6 cm. wide. On the verso the LH margin is 0.7, the bottom margin 2.9 cm. wide. This section consists of another two fragments: the upper (inv. A/3/25) comes from ‘Structure 4’, room 2, level 5; the lower (P. 92.12) comes from House 3, room 1, level 1.

For organizational purposes the papyrus was previously referred to as ‘P. Kellis 96’.

J. [cf. fn.3]<sup>10</sup> expresses himself in rather ambiguous phrasing (p. 197-198): “I publish ... two of these fragments which adjoin and derive from one particular codex, reserving for later publication the fragments relating to at least three other codices ---. I assume that only these two fragments derive from the codex in question, primarily on codicological grounds (in his footnote 4 he adds: “Such arguments can of course be problematic, especially when one is not certain which margin where preserved

<sup>6</sup> This is made particularly apparent by the discovery of parallels from Kellis, see I. Gardner, *Kellis Literary Texts*, I (Oxford 1996), DOP monograph series (above, fn. 2).

<sup>7</sup> See, e. g., P. Alfaric, *Les écritures manichéennes*, I/II, Paris 1918-1919; J.-D. Kaestli, *L’utilisation des actes apocryphes des apôtres dans le manichéisme*, in: M. Krause (ed.), *Gnosis and Gnosticism* (Leiden 1977) 107-116; P. Nagel, *Die apokryphen Apostelakten des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts in der manichäischen Literatur*, in: K.-W. Tröger (ed.), *Gnosis und Neues Testament*, Berlin 1973, 149-182. Euodius, *De fide contra Manichaeos*, presupposes Manichaean knowledge of the *Acts of John*; and this becomes apparent in texts such as the ‘Psalms of Herakleides’ (cf., e. g., *PsBk2*. 189.30 - 191.17).

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of the date of the compilation of the *Acta Johannis* cf. the edition by E. Junod & J.-D. Kaestli in the *Corpus Christianorum*, Ser. Apocryphorum (Turnhout 1983), vol. II, p. 694-700. They state that the basic version was composed between approx. 150 and 200 C. E., with later additions (Chapt. 94-102, 109) made some time before the end of the 3rd century.

<sup>9</sup> J. (fn. 3) 200-201 calculates that the original width of the fragment was at least ca. 15 cm. Assuming that this is correct, one can in view of the lack of data on the original height of the codex say only that the original codex may have belonged to Turner’s Groups 6 [c. 16 B x 28 H], 7 [c. 15B x 25H], 8 [B half H], or 9 [‘Square’] (cf. E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* [University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977] 18-22).

<sup>10</sup> Apparently he himself made the combination of fragments printed by us below under A I and A II; cf. also above, fn. 5.

belonged to the gutter side of the page. Palaeographical arguments, though making important contributions, cannot be expected to allow for the change of hand in a codex. A striking example of precisely this phenomenon is found in a codex sheet<sup>11</sup> from House Three in Area A at Kellis which displays distinctly different hands on either side of the gutter, both front and back, though this provisional conclusion may yet be subject to further discussion with the publication of other fragments”. To the latter he adds in his fn. 5: “It is conceivable that two other adjoining Greek Fragments from House 3 derive from the same codex, but if so then certainly not from the same leaf and probably not from the same sheet”. Although we ourselves do not argue that A.II belongs to A.I on the basis of content, we fail to see either what certainty there is that these adjoining fragments (all written by one scribe) are not from the same leaf, or what probability there is that they are not from the same sheet. In contrast, it seems to us that there can be no certainty on codicological grounds that these other fragments did not belong to the same leaf or sheet.

As shown already by J. [fn. 3] 209, *Fragm. Iverso* contains a concentration of allusions to Act. Joh. 84<sup>12</sup>, while in *Fragm. Irecto* one finds a similar concentration of allusions to Act. Joh. 85,9-10, 106.6-12 and 109.1-3. (cf., however, also below our notes to *Irecto* ll. 5 (Act. Joh. 114.9), 13 (Act. Joh. 75.6), 14-15 (Act. Joh. 106.13), 16 (Act. Joh. 112.16) and 21 (Act. Joh. 109.13). For that reason *Iverso* probably goes before *Irecto*, though one should be aware of the fact that the Kellis text is not so sufficiently close as to presume that it directly follows the sequence of the Act. Joh.

*Fragm. A.Iverso*:

1 ↓ ]ν αυτων το ξυλον ου τα φυλ[-  
 2 ]ητω απο των σωματων αυ[-  
 3 ? υλομα]νιαις συννοικος και απιθειας δια[  
 4 ].. [πρ]ος το μη δοξαζειν το φως [  
 5 ]αποστάτω απο ανα[-  
 6 [στ α]πο πολιτειας· απολ· [  
 7 ]ων· αίς κοινωνειν· [  
 8 απο ]ευχαριστειας· απο τρο[-  
 9 [φης σαρκος α]πο διακονιας αγιων· [  
 10 απ]ο επιμελειας αυτων· [  
 11 ]φροσυνης· περιφ[  
 12 ]ο δεσπότα και καταξιωσον· [  
 13 ]· είν και εν τη ση βασιλεια δι[  
 14 ]η αγια εκ'κλησια· και εν τω αγ[ι  
 15 ]οπως δωσωσιν δοξαν τω[  
 16 [θεω ημων, εις τ]ους συμπαντας αιωνας VACAT· [  
 17 ] VACAT Αμην: \_\_\_\_\_  
 ] VACAT  
 18 [ ευχαριστουμεν σ]ε κυριε ημω[ν ἸΗ] ΧΡ· [  
 ]

This side of fragment A.I contains the following lectional signs (cf. E. G. Turner - P. J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*<sup>2</sup>, London 1987 [= BICS Suppl. 46], palaeographical index [p. 171 ff.], under ‘diacresis’, ‘dicolon’, ‘diastole’, ‘nomina sacra’, ‘paragraphus’, ‘punctuation’): A dicolon occurs in l. 17, Αμην: and there are high stops in ll. 6 (πολιτειας·), 7 (]ων·), 8 (ευχαριστεας·), 11 (]φροσυνης) and 14 εκ'κλησια·; aspiration occurs in ll. 1 (ου) and 7 (αίς); accentuation is found in ll. 3 (σύννοικος), 5 (]αποστάτω), 12 (δεσπότα), 13 (] είν); Finally, there is a diastole in l. 14, εκ'κλησια, and in l. 18 one finds a *nomen sacrum*, ΧΡ· [  
 ]

<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, J. does not give any further clue as to what text he is thinking of.

<sup>12</sup> We have used the Acta Johannis-edition by E. Junod & J.-D. Kaestli (cf. above, fn. 8).

In general we think that, as part of the right hand margin (esp. after ll. 1-7) has been preserved and as the line endings seem to have been written almost strictly vertically below each other, at the end of each line only little text is lost; if anything at all, presumably not more than 1 letter. For that reason we do not think that J. is right in restoring φυλλ[η] at the end of line 1. If φυλλη is the word to be restored, then it should be printed over ll. 1-2, i. e. φυλλ[η].

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 1 ↓ ]ν αὐτῶν τὸ ξύλον οὐ τὰ φυλλ[-  
 2 ]ήτω ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων αυ[-  
 3 ? υλομα]νίας σύννοικος καὶ ἀπιθείας δια[  
 4 ] . [πρ]ὸς τὸ μὴ δοξάζειν τὸ φῶς [   
 5 ]αποστάτω ἀπὸ ἀνα[-  
 6 [στ ἀ]πὸ πολιτείας· ἀπολ[   
 7 ]ων· αἷς κοινωνεῖν [   
 8 ἀπὸ ] εὐχαριστίας· ἀπο τρο[-  
 9 [φῆς σαρκὸς ἀ]πὸ διακονίας ἀγίων [   
 10 ἀπ]ὸ ἐπιμελείας αὐτῶν [   
 11 ]φροσύνης· περιφ[   
 12 ]ο δεσπότη καὶ καταξίωσον [   
 13 ] εἶν καὶ ἐν τῇ σῆ βασιλείᾳ δι[   
 14 τ]ῆ ἀγία ἐκκλησία, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀγ[ι   
 15 ] ὅπως δώσωσιν δόξαν τῷ [   
 16 [θεῷ ἡμῶν, εἰς τ]ὸν σύμπαντα αἰῶνα VACAT [   
 17 ] VACAT Ἀμήν: \_\_\_\_\_  
 18 [ εὐχαριστοῦμεν σ]ε κυριε ημῶν [IḤ] X̄P̄ [   
 -----

## Notes:

1. We do not see any ink trace preceding the ν; J. [fn. 3] 201 reads ]ν, but in his restoration (p. 206) he prints ]ν. Moreover, we see no high stop following the ν (contra J.)

2-3. J. restores αυ[των.

3. For the word probably to be restored at the start cf. Act. Joh. 84.6, ὑλομανίας συνοικε; immediately thereafter, however, follows ἀπιστείας, while the papyrus has καὶ ἀπιθείας.

5. At the start of this line J. prints ] ποστάτω, on the assumption that the word to be restored is ἀν-/ἐν]υποστάτω; we see only a slightly diagonal stroke belonging to the bottom of a letter standing rather close to the first vertical hasta of the following π, hence we prefer reading the bottom part of a much damaged α instead of υ (the bottom part of which should be straightly vertical and which should be standing somewhat more apart from the π).

5-6. One may consider restoring words like ανα[στασεως or ανα[στροφης, cf. Act. Joh. 84.12, 13-14.

6. For the beginning of this line cf. Act. Joh. 84.13; at line end the papyrus text seems to read at first sight απολι[ or απολη[ (J.: απομ[ ), but one cannot exclude the possibility that the correct reading is απον[ (cf. Act. Joh. 84.15, ἀπὸ νηστεῶν).

7. At the start of the line J. restores ]μέλλεις, apparently from Act. Joh.84.14.

8-9. J. reads/restores ἀπὸ τρο-|φῆς σαρκός from Act. Joh. 84.16.

10. Contra J. we see no high stop after ἐπιμελείας.

11. J. reads ] . . . ιοσυνης and restores ἀπό δι]καιοσύνης; as, however, we see only traces of two vertical hastae coming down considerably below line level, followed by a much damaged omikron, we prefer reading σω]φροσυνης vel sim. (the high stop after the final sigma of -συνης is unmistakably there). At line end J. reads at p. 201 περι [ , but περιφ [ at p. 207.

12. At the beginning of this line J. reads ] ρ and restores πάτ]ερ; we think that only 1 letter has been preserved and that this is an omikron. At the same time this line raises a problem, as one may compare a passage much distanced from Act. Joh. 84.6-14, viz. Act. Joh. 113.22 f.: κύριε Ἰησοῦ --- καταξίωσόν με τῆς σῆς ἀναπαύσεως κτλ.

13. At the start J. restores in the lacuna [ἦμᾶς, followed by a lacuna of undetermined length, then by φιλοζ]ωεῖν. We see only a trace of a letter on the LH edge of the fragment as preserved; but we cannot tell whether this is an omega and for that reason we are doubtful whether the restoration φιλοζ]ωεῖν is correct.

13-15. J. restores δι[α-][νύειν (lacuna) καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγία ἐκκλησία καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀγ[ίῳ] | [π(νεύ)ματι, but he does not indicate precisely the basis for these restorations and a restoration of two letters in ἀγ[ίῳ] may be just too long (cf. above).

15. J. reads ] . . . οπως, but we fail to see an ink trace before the omikron.

15-16. J. restores τῷ [ | [θεῷ ἡμῶν, (lacuna) εἰς τ]οὺς συμπάντας αἰωνίας (sic! Probably a misprint for σύμπαντας αἰῶνας); of course, instead of θεῷ ἡμῶν one may also consider restoring, e. g., [δεσπότη ἡμῶν.

18. Contra J. we do not think that one should read ἡμῶν (fully preserved? But we see no trace of the final -ν). One may restore either ἸἩ], ἸΥ] or ἸἩΥ]<sup>13</sup> rather than [ ἸἩ] . . . ΧΡΕ], i. e. with traces of a letter still preserved before ΧΡ-; as the letter following ΧΡ is incompletely preserved and especially the papyrus surface containing its middle part is missing, we cannot tell with certainty whether the text reads ΧΡΣ] or ΧΡΕ]; the vocative form is expected, of course.

#### Fragm. A.I<sup>Recto</sup>:

- 1 → αἰρουντες ψυχας: ευχαρ[ιστουμεν σοι κε Ἰηυ οτι δι]  
 2 δως ημιν αναπαυεσθαι εν [σοι, ευχαριστουμεν σοι τω]  
 3 χωρίσαντι φουσιν φουσεως [την φθειρομενην της σωζο]  
 4 μενης: ευχαριστουμ[εν σοι τω τον την απαραιτητον]  
 5 οδον δεδωκοτι ημ[ιν, οτι συ μονος θεος και νυν και]  
 6 — εις αι: οί σοι δο[υλοι ευχαριστουμεν σοι, κε Ἰηυ]  
 7 χρε τω κεχαρισμ[ενω ημιν οσα τερατα, σημεια, οσας]  
 8 ἰασεις· διδασκας· κυβ[ερνησεις· αναπαυσεις· οσαν διακονι]  
 9 αν· δοξαν· γνωσιν· ο[σας πιστεις· ± 7· κοινωνιας·]  
 10 χαριτας· δωρεας· ἄς ε[ιδομεν κατα τους οφθαλμους]  
 11 διδομενας ὑπο σου [ημιν, μη φαινομενας οφθαλ]  
 12 μοις τουτοις· μηδ ἄκροαι[ς ταυταις ακουομενας:]  
 13 τελειουσθω οὖν και ἡ ψυχη[ ± 17 ]  
 14 νω· κουσα' το γεγονος σου μυ[στηριον της οικονο-]  
 15 μιας τίνος ενεκεν πεπρα[γματευται ο του ουρα-]  
 16 νοῦ φυλαξ'· τίνα αἶνον κε [ η τινα προσφοραν η]  
 17 τίνα ευχαριστείαν κλωντες [τον αρτον τουτον του]  
 18 κοινωνησαι του σου μυστη[ριου ± 13 ]

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the discussion of the vocative of the *nomen sacrum* ΙΗΣΟΥΣ by A. H. R. E. Paap, *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A. D.*, Pap. Lugd. Bat. VIII, p. 93; it is unclear to us why 'one certainly expects here the trilateral, not biliteral, *nomen sacrum*' [so J., (cf. fn. 3) 202]).

19 [τη] ἐπειγομενη ψυχη επον[ομασωμεν ± 7 ]  
 20 [ . . . ]υ· ἀλλ' ἢ σε μονον την αν[αστασιν ]  
 21 [ . . . . ] . . . · συ γαρ ει μονος β[

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16 The letter on the edge of the papyrus does not particularly look like an η (we are not sure what it looks like); if it is an η, it seems to have been preceded by a high stop. 19 επον: -o- ex -ω- corr. 20 The letters σε were erroneously omitted by J. from his diplomatic transcript (p. 204), but see his interpretation (p. 208).

Again, we find a number of lectional signs etc. on the recto of fragment A.I (cf. above, the verso):

Dicolon in ll. 1 ψυχας:, 4 μενης:, 6 αει:; punctuation (high stop) in ll. 8 ἰασεις· διδαχας· 9 αν· δοξαν· γνωσιν· 10 χαριτας· δωρεας· 12 τουτοις· 20 [ . . . ]υ:; there are two unusual signs (both apparently marking period end), in ll. 14 νωκουσα' and 16 φυλαξ''. Accentuation is found in ll. 3 χωρισαντι, 13 ουν, 15 τίνος, 15-16 ουρα]νου, 16 τίνα αίνον, 17 τίνα; for aspiration or spiritus lenis cf. ll. 6 οί, 10 άς, 11 ύπο, 13 ἦ, 20 ἦ. Between ll. 6 and 7 there is a paragraphus. Diaresis occurs in l. 8 ἰασεις, a diastole in l. 20 ἀλλ', while a *nomen sacrum* is written in l. 7 χρε. Finally, corrected letters are found in ll. 17 ευχαριστειαν, and 19 επειγομενη.

1 → αιροϋντες ψυχάς. εϋχαρ[ιστοϋμέν σοι κ(ύρι)ε Ἰη(σο)ϋ, ὅτι δί-]  
 2 δως ἡμῖν ἀναπαύεσθαι ἐν [σοί, εϋχαριστοϋμέν σοι τῷ]  
 3 χωρισαντι φύσιν φύσεως [τὴν φθειρομένην τῆς σωζο-]  
 4 μένης. εϋχαριστοϋμ[έν σοι τῷ τὴν ἀπαραιτήτον]  
 5 ὄδον δεδωκότι ἡμ[ῖν, ὅτι σὺ μόνος θεός καὶ νῦν καὶ]  
 6 εἰς αἰί. οἱ σοὶ δο[ϋλοι εϋχαριστοϋμέν σοι, κ(ύρι)ε Ἰη(σο)ϋ]  
 7 Χρ(ιστ)έ, τῷ κεχαρισμ[ένῳ ἡμῖν ὅσα τέρατα, σημεῖα, ὅσας]  
 8 ἰάσεις, διδαχάς, κυβ[ερνήσεις, ἀναπαύσεις, ὅσαν διακονί-]  
 9 αν, δόξαν, γνωσιν ὄ[σας πίστεις, ± 7, κοινωνίας,]  
 10 χάριτας, δωρέας, ἃς ε[ἶδομεν κατὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς]  
 11 διδομένας ὑπὸ σοῦ [ἡμῖν, μὴ φαινομένας ὀφθαλ-]  
 12 μοῖς τούτοις, μηδ' ἀκοαῖ[ς ταύταις ἀκουόμενας,]  
 13 τελειοϋσθω οὖν καὶ ἡ ψυχή [ ± 17 ]  
 14 νω· κουσα τὸ γεγονός σου μυ[στήριον τῆς οἰκονο-]  
 15 μίας τίνος ἔνεκεν πεπρα[γμάτευται ὁ τοῦ οὐρα-]  
 16 νοῦ φύλαξ. τίνα αἰνόν κ(ύρι)ε [ ἢ τίνα προσφορὰν ἦ]  
 17 τίνα εϋχαριστεῖαν, κλώντες [τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον τοῦ]  
 18 κοινωνῆσαι τοῦ σοῦ μυστη[ρίου ± 13 ]  
 19 [τῇ] ἐπειγομένη ψυχῇ ἐπον[ομάσωμεν ± 7 ]  
 20 [ . . . ]υ· ἀλλ' ἢ σὲ μόνον την αν[άστασιν ]  
 21 [ . . . . ] . . . · σὺ γὰρ εἶ μόνος β[

-----

In the case of this text, too, one may compare a number of parallel passages in the Act. Joh., and J. gives a listing (p. 209). We think that many of his proposed restorations are convincing enough (for his arguments cf. pp. 203 ff., 210 ff.). Therefore, we restrict ourselves to the following notes:

5. Cf. also Acta Joh. 114.9.

6. We fail to see why J. restores σε after εϋχαριστοϋμέν, rather than σοι.

13-14. It is interesting to note that the verb τελειόομαι does occur in the Act. Joh., though at quite some distance from the concentration of parallels found in Act. Joh. 85.9-10, 106.6-12 and 109.1-2, viz. in Act. Joh. 75.6, where we also find τελειοϋσθω. At the start of l. 14 J. reads ]νωεκουσα and restores ἐν οὐρα-] νῷ ἐκοῦσα. We are not certain that the epsilon is correct and reckon with the possibility that

we are dealing with a sigma, in which case one might consider restoring γι-] νόσκουσα, going with ἡ ψυχῆ in 13.

14-15. Cf. also Acta Joh. 106.13.

16. J. states that ‘the presence here of the word φύλαξ is intriguing as it does not seem to be used as a terminus technicus by Manichaeans, if the available indexes are any indication. It is however found in some Gnostic texts as a word borrowed into Coptic from Greek, suggesting that it did enjoy a technical usage in some circles’; he refers (p. 213 n. 26.) also to Act. Joh. 112.16, ὁ τῶν ἐπιγείων φύλαξ καὶ τῶν ὑπογείων φόβος. The wording ὁ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φύλαξ in the papyrus might be a variant phrasing of the latter, of course. Cf. the occurrence of φύλαξ in *Keph.* 142.7.

18. Cf. Acta Joh. 106.12.

19-20. J. restores -- ἐπον[ομάσωμεν καὶ δοξάζωμεν] | [διὰ ὀνόματος υἱο]ϛ, but the restoration at the start of line 20 (with space for 3 letters in the lacuna) is much too long; we see, however, no real solution in (a) keeping [υἱο]ϛ at the start of l. 20, and (b) removing καὶ δοξάζωμεν in l. 19 while transferring δι’ ὀνόματος (10 letters) from the start of l. 20 to the end of l. 19, as there is space for only ca. 7 letters.

20-21. J. reads τὴν | <sup>21</sup> [ὄδον, τὸ] ἄλλας, κτλ., but there is not enough space in the lacuna at the start of l. 21, and the preserved ink traces do not warrant a reading ἄλλας. For l. 21 cf. also Act. Joh. 109.12, σὺ γὰρ εἶ, κύριε, ἡ ρίζα τῆς ἀθανασίας, κτλ.

Fragm. A.II<sup>Verso</sup>:

1 ↓ σθειςαν ψυχη[  
2 ἄλλοτριους· τη [  
3 την πνιγειςαν [  
4 σθειςαν εν τοις η[  
5 την οδον αυτη[  
6 και ληθαργησας [  
7 σον θεε ημων [  
8 ηκοντα ημιν ο[  
9 ημας της ειρην[ης ?  
10 χουντα προς το [  
11 σον προσωπο[ν  
12 ται ε[ιδ]ωλα τ[  
13 κα[τα] π[α]ντας χα  
14 τας[ ] περιελε [  
15 πην[ ]ετου[ν]  
16 ακολασιαν δε[  
17 νιαν της επιθ[  
18 σον τους αρχον[τας

Fragm. A.II<sup>Recto</sup>:

1 → ]κατιον [ ]  
2 φ]αρμακον τουπο[  
3 ]κον και δεινον [  
4 π]ολεμιον νοημ[α]  
5 ]ων του σ .....  
6 ]ωσον μεσο  
7 ]αμωσον traces  
8 ]χαλεπω traces  
9 ]μειτον τρισμα  
10 ] σμου και ει  
11 ] traces  
12 ]φη· και [ ]  
13 ] φωτισον μου  
14 ]νησιν· αγια  
15 ]ενθυμησιν·  
16 ]ν σοι ημην ενε

A.II<sup>Verso</sup> 1 Read, e.g., ψυχη[ ], or restore ψυχη[ν]? 6 ληθαργησας: -γ- looks like -σ-. 9 Or ειρην[ικης vel sim.? 13 Or read κα[τα] π[α]ν τας χα[ ], or κα[τα] π[α]ν τα σχα[ ], or κα[τα] π[α]ντα σχα[ ]?

A.II<sup>Recto</sup> 1 Or read κατιων / κατων 2 Separate το from υπο[ ], or του from πο[ ]? 6 Or read αγαθος for μεσο? 9 Or read ]μειτον for μειτον? 9-10 Restore, e.g., τρισμα | ]καριον vel sim.? 16 Separate εν from ε-?  
(We refrain from producing an accentuated transcript.)

Despite interesting words like πνιγειςαν (V. 3), ληθαργησας (V. 6), ακολασια (V. 16), φ]αρμακον (R. 2), φωτισον (R. 13), ενθυμησιν (R. 15), we have not been able to identify the precise character of the text preserved on Fr. A.II, though its palaeographical relations with A.I (cf. the identical hands) are obvious. The dividing stroke (paragraphus) between ll. 6-7 on the Verso might suggest the start of a new

section, which it is tempting to suppose begins with some kind of invocation or expression of promise. In general a Gnostic or Manichaean context could be suggested for much of the available Greek terminology in A.II; and Coptic parallels can be supposed from, e. g., the Manichaean *Psalm Book*. Still, the nature of the text is unclear to us. Moreover, this fragment A.II is odd in that the upper part comes from Structure 4, Room 2, level 5, while the lower part comes from House 3, Room 1, level 1. A glance at the map of Kellis (cf. below, fig. 1) will show that these find sites are at quite some distance from each other.

## Notes:

Verso 3. πνίγεισαν < πνίγω = ‘to choke, to strangle, to stifle, to oppress, to drown’.

4. σθειςαν: probably part. aor. pass. of a verb on -ζω or -(σ)ω (τελέω, ἐτελέσθην > τελεσθεισαν), but cf. also forms like ἐκελεύσθην > κελουσθεισαν, ἐγνώσθην > γνωσθεισαν, etc.

7. θεε looks like a vocative.

8. ηκοντα: from a simplex ἦκω, or from a compositum like, e. g., προσήκω?

Recto 15. For the special meaning of the word ἐνθύμησις in a Manichaean context cf. below (pp. 154–155) ad text B.I<sup>Verso</sup>.

(B.) The codex leaf now consists of 3 fragments, viz.

Fr. I: H. 10.8 x B. 13.3 cm. Margins: at the top 2.8, at the LH side 1.8 and at the RH side 1.1 cm. This piece consists of two sections, an upper (A/1/107) and a lower (A/1/106), both from House 1, manger 3, level 4; there is an additional piece attached to the left margin, also from A/1/106.

Fr. II: H. 5.2 x B. 9.1 cm. Margins on recto: LH margin 1.1, bottom margin 2.2 cm. Margins on verso: RH margin 1.3, bottom margin 2.9 cm. This fragment (A/3/24) comes from ‘Structure 4’ room 2, level 2.

Fr. III: H. 1.8 x B. 4 cm. RH margin on recto 1.1 cm., LH margin on verso 1.1 cm. This is a scrap from A/1/106 (House 1, manger 3, level 4).

For organizational purposes this papyrus was previously referred to as ‘P.Kellis 97’.

Fragm. B.I<sup>Recto</sup>:

1 → [κ]οινῶς κατα του σκοτου και πανοπλια ..... κα  
 2 τα των εχθρων: ποτνια σε το αθανατον ενεδυ  
 3 σατο πυρ παρθενος η ὑμνητη ηνικα ωφθη κατα του  
 4 σκοτου και τειχος κατεστη των αιωνων του φω  
 5 τος και ὑσεν κατα του σκοτους του εναντιου [φωτ]ος  
 6 και ειρπυσεν εν αυτω· [πο]λυὑμνητε σε [ ] ..  
 7 θη το πνα· ηνικα εκταθεν [κα]τα του πυρος [ ] ..  
 8 σεν τε και ερρωσεν κα [ ± 6 ] μενους — [ποτνι]α  
 9 σε ενέδου το ὑδωρ ηνικα ενεμεν τω ην υ ο ..  
 10 ναμ .. εν [ ± 5 εν] τω πυρι και το πυρ εν τω εχθρω  
 11 [πολυὑμνητε σε] αμπισχετο το φως κατα των ὑδα  
 12 [των των σκοτεινων]: ποτνια σε ημφιεσατο ο ζωης αηρ  
 13 [και ± 10 ] ε πνα και το ὑδωρ και το φως και το  
 14 [πυρ και] ειρξε και κατεδησε τους αντι[ ] ..  
 15 [ ± 6 πο]λυὑμνητε σε ο αγαπητος των [φωτων] ..  
 16 [ ± 9 του]ς εαυτου αιωνας καθιδ [ ] ..  
 17 [και ± 4 δημιο]υργον προηγαγεν: πο[τνια σε].  
 18 [ ± 20 ] .. και τους [ ± 7 ] ..

The letter preceding κα- is -ν or -η. 8 Read -] μενους + horizontal dash prolonged to the right, rather than -ε with prolonged middle bar. 9 Projecting into LH margin a horizontal dash above line level. 17 The last trace on this line may belong to the preceding epsilon of σε.

The recto side of fragment **B.I** contains the following lectional signs (cf. E. G. Turner - P. J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*<sup>2</sup>, London 1987 [= BICS Suppl. 46], palaeographical index [p. 171 ff.], under ‘dairesis’, ‘dicolon’, ‘nomina sacra’, ‘paragraphus’, ‘punctuation’): Diairesis: in ll. 3, 5, 9, 11, 13, 15 there are instances of  $\ddot{u}$ - or  $\ddot{u}$ -, in l. 16 one finds  $\ddot{i}$ -. Dicolon is written in ll. 2  $\epsilon\chi\theta\rho\omega\nu$ ·, 12  $\sigma\kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\omega\nu$ ]; 17  $\pi\rho\omicron\eta\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu$ : (i. e. all before  $\pi\omicron\tau\nu\iota\alpha$ ). A *nomen sacrum* occurs in ll. 7 and 13, both  $\pi\nu\alpha$ , while there is a paragraphos in the LH margin of l. 9 (but we do not know what its function is; neither do we know the meaning of the ink trace written in the margin ( $\sigma\epsilon$ )). The horizontal dash in l. 8 after ]  $\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  — may be only an extension of the horizontal bar of the sigma. It is not a paragraphus. More punctuation (high stop) occurs in ll. 3  $\ddot{u}\mu\eta\tau\eta$ ·, 6  $\alpha\nu\tau\omega$ ·, 7  $\pi\nu\alpha$ · (2x before  $\eta\nu\iota\kappa\alpha$  in ll. 3, 7). Accents are found in ll. 7  $\pi\rho\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , 9  $\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\delta\upsilon$ .

1 → [κ]οῖνῶς κατὰ τοῦ σκότου καὶ πανοπλία ..... κα-  
 2 τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν: ποτνία, σε τὸ ἀθάνατον ἐνέδου-  
 3 σατο πῦρ, παρθένος ἢ ὑμνήτη, ἡνίκα ὄφθη κατὰ τοῦ  
 4 σκότου καὶ τείχος κατέστη τῶν αἰώνων τοῦ φω-  
 5 τὸς καὶ ὕσεν κατὰ τοῦ σκότους τοῦ ἐναντίου [φωτ]ὸς  
 6 καὶ εἶρπυσεν ἐν αὐτῷ· [ πο]λυύμνητέ, σε [ . . . ] . . -  
 7 θη τὸ πν(εῦμα)· ἡνίκα ἐκταθὲν [κα]τὰ τοῦ πυρὸς [ . . . . . ] . . -  
 8 σέν τε καὶ ἔρρωσεν κα [ ± 6 ] μένους — [ποτνί]α,  
 9 — σε ἐνέδου τὸ ὕδωρ ἡνίκα ἔνεμεν τῷ ἡν ὑ ο . . . . -  
 10 ναμ . . . εν[ ± 5 ἐν] τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐν τῷ ἐχθρῷ·  
 11 [πολυύμνητέ, σε] ἀμπίσχετο τὸ φῶς κατὰ τῶν ὑδά-  
 12 [των τῶν σκοτεινῶν]: ποτνία, σε ἡμφιέσατο ὁ ζῶης ἀήρ  
 13 [καὶ ± 10 ]ε πν(εῦμα) καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ φῶς καὶ τὸ  
 14 [πῦρ καὶ] εἶρξε καὶ κατέδησε τοὺς ἀντι[ . . . . . ] . . .  
 15 [ ± 6 πο]λυύμνητέ, σε ὁ ἀγαπητὸς τῶν [φωτῶν] . .  
 16 [ ± 9 τοῦ]ς ἑαυτοῦ αἰῶνας καθιδ [ . . . . . ] . .  
 17 [καὶ ± 4 δημιο]υργὸν προήγαγεν: πο[τνία σε].  
 18 [ ± 20 ] . . . καὶ τοὺς [ ± 7 ] .

“---] jointly against the darkness and [---] (with?) armour against the enemies.

Lady: the deathless fire clothed you, the praised virgin; when it was seen against the darkness. And a wall for the aeons of light established itself; (5) and rained against the darkness that is the opposite of light and crawled in there!

Much praised: the wind [clothed] you; when spread against the fire it [---] and made strong [---].

Lady: the water clothed you; when it spread out to the [---] (10) [---] in the fire, and the fire in the enemy.

[Much praised]: the light covered you against the waters [of darkness].

Lady: the living air enveloped you; [---] wind and the water and the light and the [fire; and] it confined and fettered the opposite [---].

(15) Much praised: the Beloved of the [Lights ---] you; and he established his own aeons [and] brought forth [---] creator.

Lady: [--- you; ---] and the [---]”

The alternation (partly restored)  $\pi\omicron\tau\nu\iota\alpha$ , σε --- /  $\pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\upsilon\mu\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}$ , σε --- in ll. 2, 6, 8-9, 11, 12, 15 and 17 is remarkable and may be considered characteristic for a hymn (see also below, the situation on the verso of this fragment). For another case of the use of  $\pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\upsilon\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$  in a Manichaean song of praise see P. Kell. II 92.1-2, 4-5, 9-10, 11-12, 47-48, where the Father is so addressed. We have not made any attempt to distinguish a metrical pattern in this hymn.





Much praised: the most great thought clothed you, who dwells in the seventh darkness where was established his throne with truth (5) [---] the King of Honour restrains all the worlds, who prevails over all the worlds.

Lady: the great insight covered you; who in strength [---] astonishing [---] when it raised war against the dark matter [---] and (10) scattered her dark clouds that [---] and stopped the tyrannical spirits which, against him [---] and bound and utterly destroyed all the [---] demons and the Erinyes that she produced [---] and trampled with screams [---] (15) [---] and with heels treading on [---] stands.

Much praised: the great [counsel enveloped] you; who [---] the ordinances [---] and [---]"

Again, the alternation of ποτνία, σε ---/ πολυύμνητέ, σε ---/ ποτνία, σε --- on the Verso, ll. 2, 6-7 (? see note ad loc.) and 16 is remarkable and this should be compared with the text on Recto, ll. 2, 6, 8, 11, 12, 15, 17. In view of the more frequent number of alternations on the Recto one might expect another pair of πολυύμνητέ, σε ---/ ποτνία, σε --- to occur on the Verso already somewhere before l. 16, but there are not too many possibilities.

Notes:

2. We have no clear idea as to what the small ‘γ’ stands for; is it a numeral indicating, e. g., a 3rd strophe (cf. also l. 6 n.)? Likewise, we cannot tell what the meaning of the lectional sign at the end of this line (printed by us as ‘-c’) is; it looks like some kind of ‘forked paragraphus’ or ‘diple obelismene’ (on which see E. G. Turner - P. J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 14-15), though written in inverted form. If this identification is correct, the sign’s function may be identical, i.e. marking a section of verse or prose.

6. Here, too we have no better suggestion to offer for what the ‘ε’ could stand for than ‘a 5th strophe?’. But if this were correct, one wonders why there was no ‘δ’ indicating a 4th strophe (it is another matter that we actually fail to see where such a strophe should begin).

6-7. At the start of l. 7, a restoration of πο- | 7τ[νία σε ά]μπίσχεται would fit in the available space and may even be expected, but the word division is irregular and the first letter looks like λ rather than τ. On the other hand, there is no space for restoring πο | 7λ[υύμνητέ, σε], though one could expect that on the basis of the dicolon preceding πο (for the use of the dicolon cf. above, p. 142).

7-8. One might expect a noun like δυνά- | 8μ[ις, but the first letter looks like a ν rather than a μ.

8. Cf. LSJ for words beginning in καταπληκτ-; restore κ]αταπληκ[τικ- = ‘striking, astonishing’ ?

9. Read σκοτεινήν; restore in the middle: ύλην τ]ε καί κτλ.?

13. Maybe the supposed lacuna after Ἐρινύας is not really there.

Fragm. B.II<sup>Verso</sup>:

-----		
19 ↓	] Traces	
20	]ωτερω ταγμασι πα-	]ωτερω τάγμασι πα-
21	]ε τε και εξεωσε παντα	]έ τε καί ἐξέωσε πάντα
22	]ταις εφερον αι ανταρτικαι	]ταις ἔφερον αἰ ἀνταρτικαί
23	]τη δευτερω κατακλυ-	]τη δευτέρω κατακλυ-
24	άποσ]οβησας συνεστησατο	άποσ]όβησας συνεστήσατο

Note

22. The unusual word ἀνταρτικαί not otherwise attested in the Greek Manichaean sources, may well carry a double entendre. Perhaps one might understand the sense as ‘the rebellious (ἀνταρτικός) southern (ἀνταρκτικός) ones (fem.)’. Whilst the kingdom of light stretched eternally to the north, west and east; the kingdom of darkness was to the south (e. g. M 7981I vi 22 = Hutter, *op. cit.* p. 45 /

Klimkeit, *op. cit.* p. 229; here with reference to the construction of the new aeon). It was from this direction that Matter (ύλη) and her children (e. g. *PsBk* 2. 4.22, 54.17) attacked. They are indeed rebels (Copt. pl. *bezeue* e. g. *PsBk* 2. 1.25, 9.29) who pour forth (*PsBk* 2. 150.8) from their lairs; and against whom the First Man must descend in combat (e. g. *Keph.* 164.28 – 165.1). If this understanding of the context of the fragment is correct; then logically, in terms of the ‘history’ of the light and darkness, it must precede **B.I.**

Fragm. **B.III**<sup>Verso</sup>:

-----  
 25     σϭ [   
 26     τᾱ [   
 27     . [   
 -----

Commentary:

The text represented by **B.I** (and quite possibly also **B.II, III**) is from a Manichaean psalm. The structure on recto and verso is the same; and this, together with the sequence of events, persuades us that it is a single work. It is apparently written in couplets; first the ‘lady’ (ποτνία) is invoked, and then in a kind of refrain, probably for antiphonal singing, she is ‘much praised’ (πολύμνητε).

The Manichaean community, beginning with Mani himself, composed an extensive psalmic literature<sup>15</sup> that represents one of their most characteristic liturgical practices. Many hymn-cycles and individual pieces are known from their ‘eastern’ literature, surviving in languages such as Parthian and even Chinese. From Egypt the largest known codex of this period is the massive Medinet Madi *Psalm Book* in Coptic; the second part of which was edited by Allberry, the earlier sections at present only being available in facsimile. Unfortunately, there are no clear parallels between the ‘eastern’ and ‘western’ traditions; which seem to have diverged in their development<sup>16</sup>. Nor do true examples survive of the presumed primary productions in Aramaic; although there may be allusions and quotes in writers such as Ephraem and Theodore bar Konai. There are also various ‘scraps’ of so-called Manichaean Syriac, and some bilingual (with Coptic) exercises, found from Ismant el-Kharab (= ancient Kellis); these may preserve elements of the earliest tradition.

The Coptic psalms are generally supposed, in large part, to be derived from Aramaic / Syriac originals; whether or not through the medium of Greek. There may well have also been independent productions in these later languages<sup>17</sup>. The study of these questions can now be advanced by the finds from Ismant el-Kharab. Not only have Coptic Manichaean psalms been discovered, some parallel to Medinet Madi pieces but evidencing an earlier period in the textual history of the *Psalm Book*; there are also, for the first time, Greek examples such as the present piece and P.Kell. II Gr. 92. Interestingly, P.Kell. V Copt. 19 is a personal letter from Makarios to his son Matheos, wherein he exhorts the boy to practice (μελετώ) his psalms ‘whether in Greek or Egyptian’.

<sup>15</sup> See, e. g., C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, II, Manichaean Mss in the Chester Beatty Collection, II, Stuttgart 1938 (= *PsBk* 2); M. Boyce, *The Manichaean hymn-cycles in Parthian*, Oxford 1954; I. Gardner, *Kellis Literary Texts*, I (above, fn. 2); S. Giversen, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library*, vols. III/IV, Geneva 1988; H.-J. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, San Francisco 1993; M. Krause, *Zum Aufbau des koptisch-manichäischen Psalmenbuches*, in A. van Tongerloo – S. Giversen (edd.), *Manichaica Selecta*, Louvain 1991, pp. 177-190; M. Lattke, *Hymnus. Materialien zu einer Geschichte der antiken Hymnologie*, Göttingen 1991; G. Wurst, *Das Bema-Fest der ägyptischen Manichäer*, Altenberge 1995.

<sup>16</sup> This point demands further study, especially in view of the discoveries coming from Ismant el-Kharab. P.Kell. 92 (in I. Gardner, *Kellis Literary Texts* [above, fn. 2]) shows some affinity with Parthian tradition.

<sup>17</sup> For a discussion of these points see Wurst, *op. cit.* [fn. 14], 61 ff.

The example found here has no direct parallel in the published literature, although it contains many familiar themes. It is possible that a Coptic version may be found in the as yet not edited portion of the *Psalm Book*. In any case, it is a poetic recounting of well-known events from Manichaean cosmology. Such themes must have had a catechetical as well as liturgical function.

The pre-history of the universe begins when the darkness (the enemy, matter and her powers) first spies the light, lusts for it, and attacks. To defend the kingdom of light the Father of Greatness evokes a first series of gods:

Father > Mother of life > First Man and his 'five sons'.

The First Man is portrayed as a youthful warrior who descends into the abysses girded with his 'armour'<sup>18</sup> which is his soul or five light elements = five sons. Thus, Augustine recounts how the First Man descended to war with the race of darkness, armed with his waters against the waters of the enemy, and so on<sup>19</sup>; for the five light elements parallel five dark counterparts, the essence of the five kingdoms of darkness and their warring rulers<sup>20</sup>:

light	darkness
air	smoke
wind	wind
water	water
fire	fire

These light elements are 'garments' and equate to the living soul. In this present Greek psalm it is the collective and personified soul that is being invoked and praised as 'lady'; and thus it belongs to an extensive category of psalms to the living soul, of which there are numerous examples. Of particular interest is the depiction of the soul as the virgin. This is not the same as the Manichaean god, the Virgin of Light. There are some good parallels to this; note especially the virgin equipped with the five light elements against the five dark abysses at *PsBk 2. 10.6-19*<sup>21</sup>. She 'rains' down upon them and thrusts herself within them like 'piercing lightning'.

Thus, the virgin soul puts on the living elemental garments<sup>22</sup>; and these (l. 3 πῦρ, l. 7 πνεῦμα, l. 9 ὕδωρ, l. 11 φῶς, l. 12 ζῶης ἀήρ; mentioned again, though in slightly different order, in ll. 13-14) are spread out over and defend her against their dark counterparts. This is the context for the first 14 lines preserved from the psalm. One further point is of interest: this Greek text preserves πνεῦμα<sup>23</sup> in the list of elements where one would expect wind (ll. 7, 13); we have accordingly translated it as such. Whilst πνεῦμα does of course originally mean «wind» or «breath» one would certainly expect the attested word ἄνεμος<sup>24</sup>; in this place and form one would translate πνεῦμα as 'spirit'. The implications are of interest to consider. Perhaps this Greek psalm preserves a very early tradition, which was quickly eradicated due to confusions with the god known as the Living Spirit. Or perhaps it evidences an independent tradition of translation from the Syriac (where the same duality of meaning is also found). Certainly the living wind is widely attested and even found in a Kellis Coptic Manichaean psalm<sup>25</sup>.

In l. 15 the psalm proceeds without break to the second series of emanated gods:

The Beloved of the Lights > the Great Builder > the Living Spirit and his 'five sons'.

<sup>18</sup> This could be the πανοπλία of l. 1 (e. g. *Keph.* 4, 7+9); or alternatively see *PsBk 2. 144.13*.

<sup>19</sup> Augustine, *c. Faust.* V, 3.

<sup>20</sup> E. g. *kephalaion 6*.

<sup>21</sup> See also *Keph.* 58.12; and *kephalaion 31*.

<sup>22</sup> For this terminology, see e. g. *kephalaion 51*; and the references in I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher. The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary* (Leiden 1995) 296.

<sup>23</sup> In this place and form one would translate it *prima facie* as 'spirit'.

<sup>24</sup> See, e.g., the references in S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East* (Leiden 1994) 276.

<sup>25</sup> P.Kell. Copt. 1,25.

These are the gods of creation. The role of the Beloved is somewhat obscure; he is a kind of custodian of the kingdom, and as the head of the second emanation ‘the ordainer of everything’<sup>26</sup> and worthy of every honour<sup>27</sup>. He evokes the Great Builder, who is responsible for the construction of the ‘new aeon’; and who in turn calls out the actual demiurge<sup>28</sup> or constructor of the cosmos, the Living Spirit. It is in these terms that the fragmentary section at the end of **B.I<sup>recto</sup>** must be understood.

**B.I<sup>verso</sup>** takes up the narrative at what must be a fairly short distance from the above. Here we can clearly identify an established tradition concerning the five sons of the Living Spirit; gods who are responsible from their thrones for actually holding the multi-layered universe of heavens and earths in place, and for controlling demonic uprisings that occur in their respective spheres of activity. They are identified with the five intellectual(s) or noetic qualities, both in the macro- and in the micro-cosmos<sup>29</sup>:

φεγγοκάτοχος <sup>30</sup>	νοῦς	top/3 highest heavens
(great) King of Honour	ἔννοια	throne in 7th firmament
Adamas (of light)	φρόνησις	this earth and sphere
(great) King of Glory	ἐνθύμησις	3 wheels of wind/fire/water
Omophoros (= Atlas)	λογισμός	supports whole structure

It appears that each half couplet preserved on the verso deals with one of the noetic qualities, together with the relevant son of the Living Spirit; and in the appropriate descending order. However, there are a couple of problems or points of interest:

- The first two lines should preserve the end of a strophe dealing with the Custodian of Splendour (φεγγοκάτοχος). In fact, the context appears to be that of the archetypal ‘right hand’ that the Living Spirit stretched out, to raise the First Man from the abyss<sup>31</sup>. Still, since the clause is preceded by a lengthy lacuna, there is little point in speculation.
- Of more interest, the great thought (μεγίστη ἔννοια) and King of Honour are placed in the seventh ‘darkness’ (ἐρέμνιον). This must be a textual error, for the placing of their throne in the seventh heaven or firmament is well attested<sup>32</sup>.
- The first part of the next couplet concerns the insight (μεγίστη φρόνησις, l. 7) and the Light Adamas. It is difficult to know in which lacuna the god is introduced. Still, his characteristic is strength, and his role is the hunting down and destruction of various demonic figures<sup>33</sup>.

With the introduction of the Great Counsel (cf. ὁ μέγας in l. 17; perhaps read σ[υμβουλ]ῆς vel sim. at the start of this line?) the text breaks off; somewhere one would expect the word ἐνθύμησις, of course.

<sup>26</sup> *PsBk* 2. 137.59.

<sup>27</sup> *Keph.* 43.33.

<sup>28</sup> δημιουργός; see Lieu, *op. cit.* [fn. 23], 277.

<sup>29</sup> E. g. *Keph.* 91.19-33; and *kephalaion* 38 generally.

<sup>30</sup> Remarkably enough, the Greek word φεγγοκάτοχος is not listed in LSJ, the new LSJ Supplement or in G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Dictionary*. It is also not to be found in the electronic TLG (or, for that matter, in the old printed TLG). It is, however, uniformly used (i. e. as a loan word) in the Coptic Manichaica (cf. I. Gardner, *op. cit.* [fn. 21], p. 298 sub ‘Keeper of Splendour’) and also found in Greek abjuration formulae; see, e. g., the text and discussion in S. N. C. Lieu, *An Early Byzantine Formula for the Renunciation of Manichaeism*, *Jahrb. f. Antike u. Christentum* 26 (1983) 178, 201-2; the Latin equivalent is ‘splenditenens’.

<sup>31</sup> E. g. *Keph.* 39.19-24; *PsBk* 2. 2.5 (and note the sequence of gods through this psalm).

<sup>32</sup> E. g. *Keph.* 80.5; *PsBk* 2. 2.9-10.

<sup>33</sup> E. g. *Keph.* 136.27-137.4 (note that here he ‘tramples underfoot’ the sea-giant). Note also in this couplet: ‘dark matter’ as at *Keph.* 180.23; the erinys occurs at *PsBk* 2. 84.21 (the plural found here is probably the equivalent to the ‘demons and fiends’ found in the *Kephaliaia*, as at 78.22-23).

The rest of text **B**, i. e. parts II and III, is too fragmentary for translation or to be securely placed. It is possible that **B.II** and III may belong to the same leaf as **B.I** (there are no clear divergences in handwriting to be noticed; both **B.I** and **B.III** come from House 1; **B.II**, however, comes from Structure 4), but the dimensions of the codex are unknown.

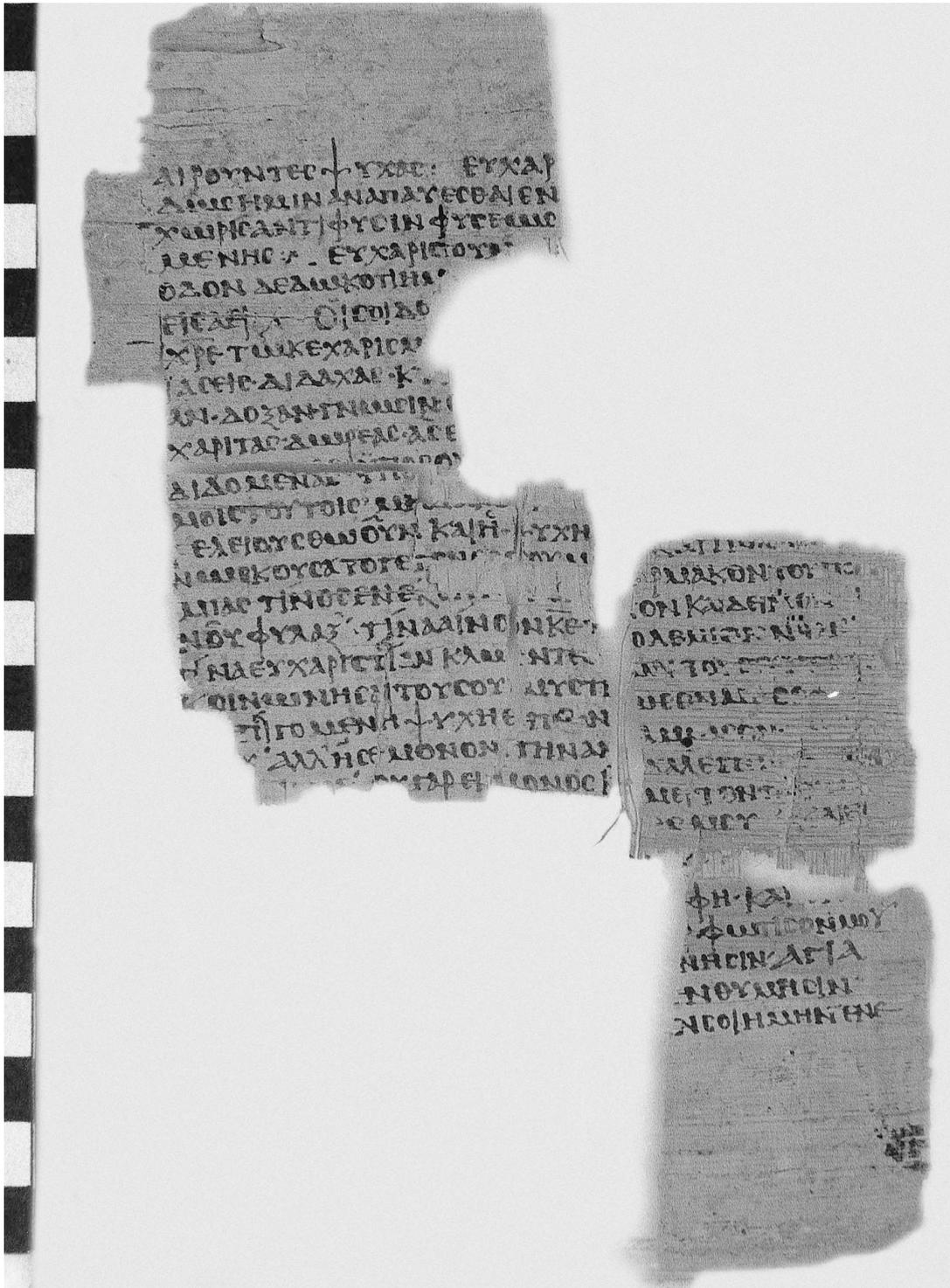
In sum, this provisional publication of these ‘Leaves from a Manichaean Codex’ is of value for a number of discrete paths of research. As regards the Manichaean community at Kellis we note here the first secure evidence for that religion unearthed in House One. At the same time, the scattered find sites for the fragments are puzzling, and perhaps such suggest that the leaves had been torn up and scattered by the wind.

Secondly, the overall purpose of the codex, with its ‘mix’ of texts, can not be provided with a clear context. The contents suggest some liturgical utility. The Manichaean usage of traditions also accessed by the redactor of the *Acts of John* illustrates again the importance of such non-canonical material for the community (note similarly their partiality to the *Gospel of Thomas* and so forth); whilst at the same time the discovery of these prior traditions aids an understanding of the textual history of the apocryphal work.

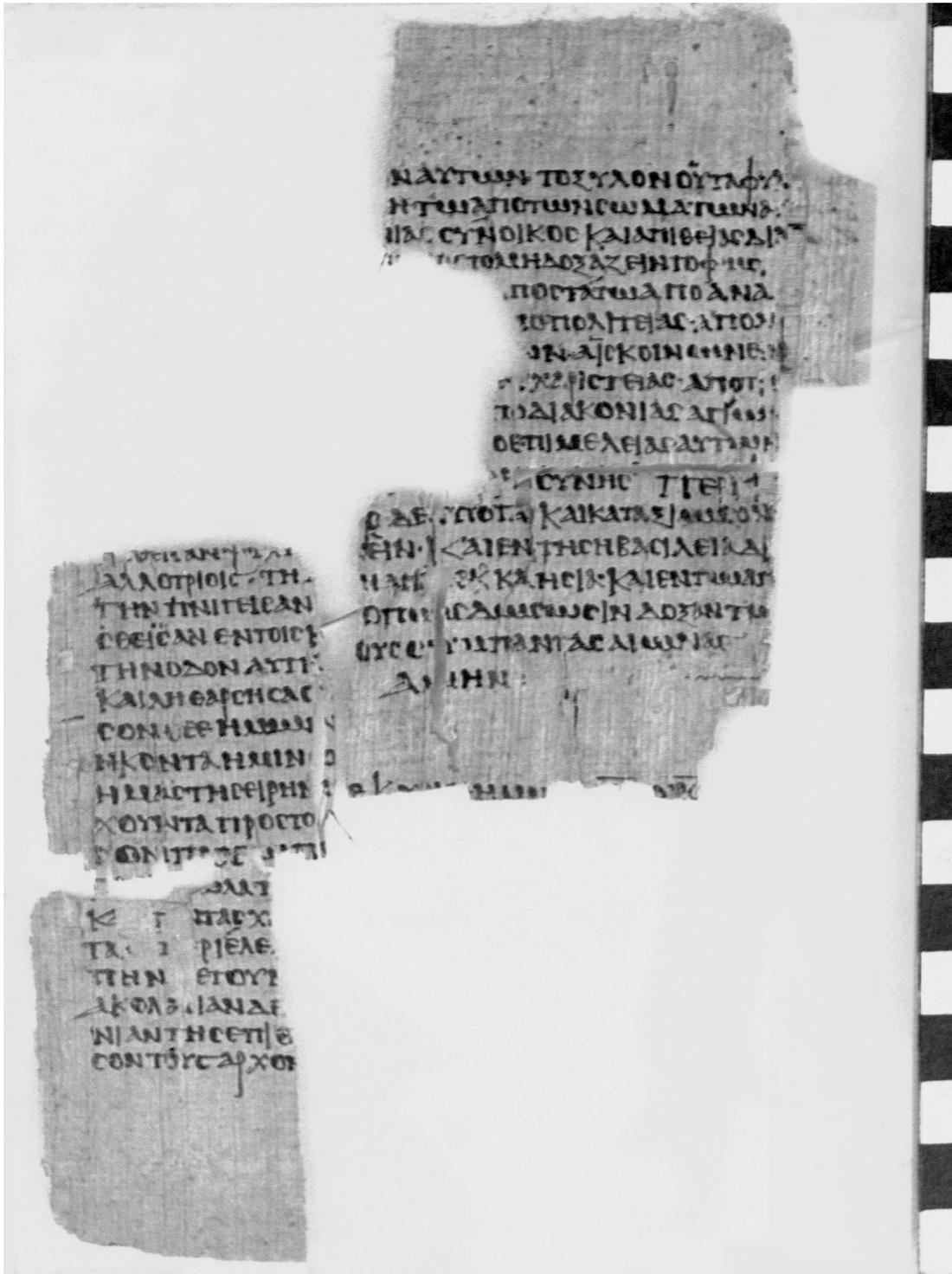
Finally, we find here only the second example of a Manichaean psalm in Greek (the other being P.Kell. II 92). This is important for knowledge of such literature and terminology (especially in regard to the Coptic and Syriac sources), as well as for the history of the *Psalm Book* itself. The authors hope that all such topics of research can be advanced by this publication.

Perth  
Amsterdam

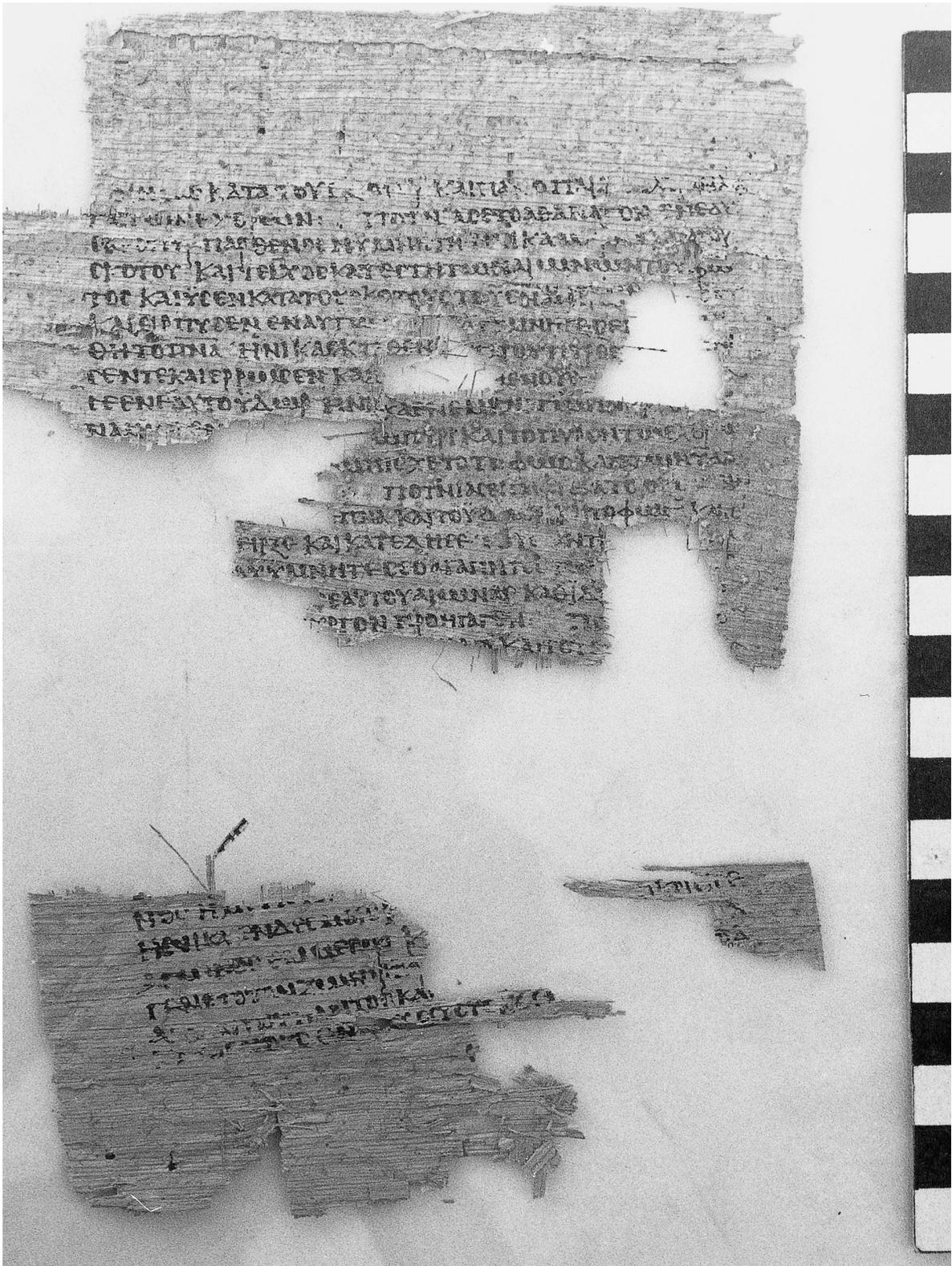
I. Gardner  
Klaas A. Worp



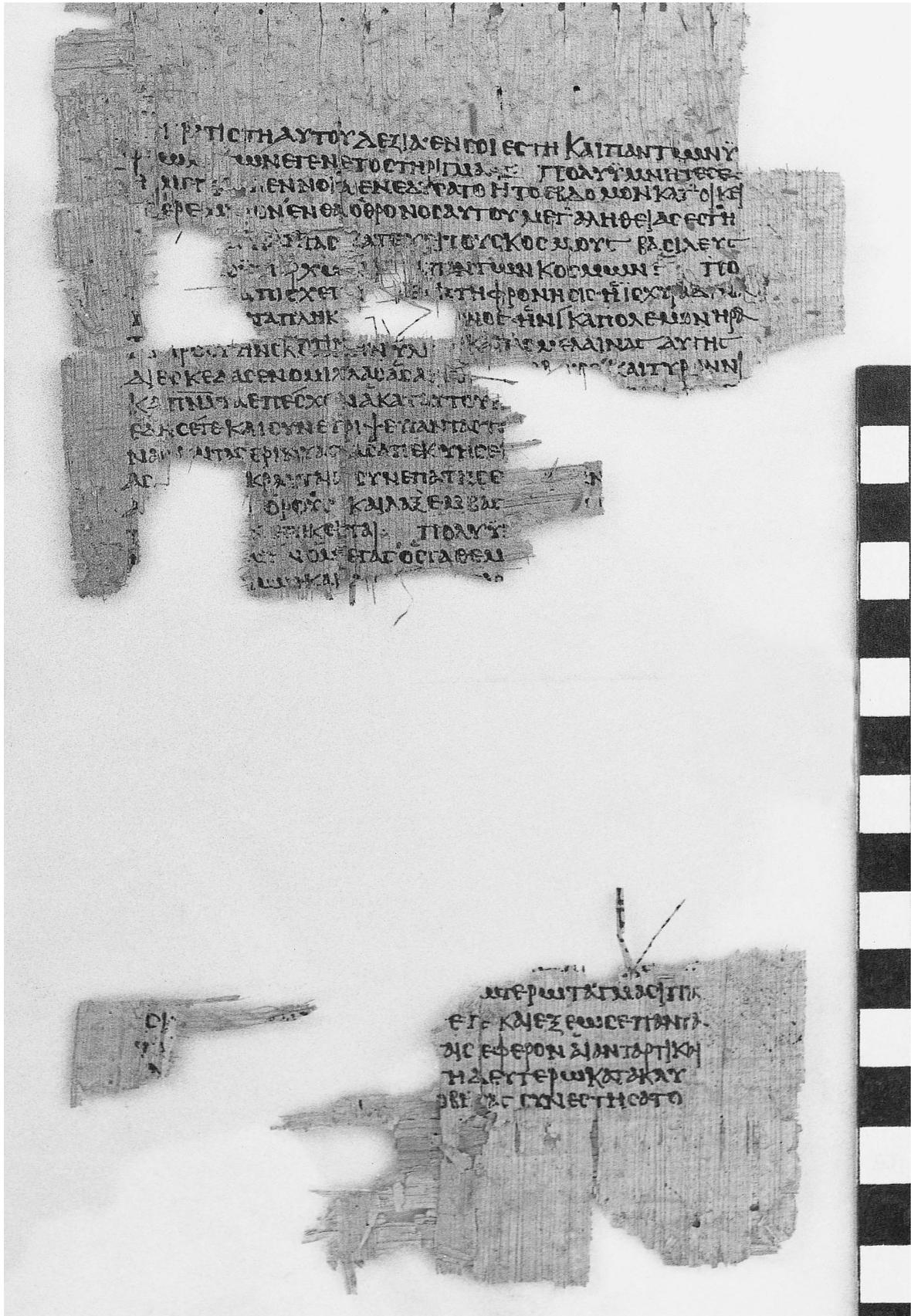
Leaves from a Manichaean Codex, Fragment A recto



Leaves from a Manichaean Codex, Fragment A verso



Leaves from a Manichaean Codex, Fragment B recto



Leaves from a Manichaean Codex., Fragment B verso