

STUDIES
IN THE COPTIC MANICHAEAN
PSALM-BOOK

PROSODY AND MANDAEAN PARALLELS

by

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To the memory of

C. R. C. A L L B E R R Y

P R E F A C E.

Nobody who has not seen the manuscript of the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-book can fully appreciate the achievement of the editor, C.R.C. Allberry, whose premature death we all deeply regret. To the memory of this outstanding scholar I dedicate my book as a token of admiration.

I am deeply indebted to Mr Chester Beatty, the owner of the manuscript, who has kindly permitted me to make a collation of the papyrus in the Baroda House in London, and to his librarian, Mr Wilkinson, for all his amiable assistance during my work there.

To all my English friends, especially to Sir Alan Gardiner, I tender my warmest thanks for their valuable help and overwhelming kindness during my stay in England.

I have had the great pleasure of reading many of the Psalms together with my friend Professor Geo Widengren in my seminars. I am much obliged to him for his great interest and his many valuable suggestions, especially with regard to the Mandaean texts.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Arabic numbers refer to pages and lines in Allberry's edition of the Manichaeen Psalm-book.

Roman numbers refer to the Psalms of Thomas (Th.)

≠ to be compared to, corresponding to.

∪ words thus connected to be read with one accent only.

... words thus connected may be read with one accent only.

Drashē dMalkē = Johannesbuch = Lidzbarski, Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer.

Keph. = Schmidt - Polotsky - Böhlig, Kephalaia I.

L.G. = The Left Ginza = Petermann, Thesaurus, Tomus I, Pars 2.

Mand. Lit. = Lidzbarski, Mandäische Liturgien.

R.G. = The Right Ginza = Petermann, Thesaurus, Tomus I, Pars 1.

Th. = The Psalms of Thomas (Psalm-book, pp. 203 - 227).

ZNW = Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N .

Among the extremely important Coptic Manichaeian texts discovered in 1930 by Professor C. Schmidt, the so-called Psalm-book is without doubt the most attractive one. Whereas the Kephalaia, edited by Schmidt, Polotsky and Böhlig, consist chiefly of a rather dry and dull systematization of the Manichaeian dogmas, and the Homilies, edited by Polotsky, are unfortunately very fragmentary, the rather well preserved Psalms not only have an interesting content, but are also composed in a most charming poetical form. As yet, only the second part has been published by Allberry⁽¹⁾, but the published part is quite enough to give a good impression of the richness and beauty of Manichaeian poetry. As stressed by Puech⁽²⁾, the recitation or singing of hymns was the principal manifestation of Manichaeian piety, and in these poems the emotional profundity of Manichaeian religiousness is revealed. When we read the Manichaeian Psalm-book, and consider also the fact that the performance of the hymns was certainly accompanied by beautiful music, which the Manichaeians loved so much and regarded as a gift sent from Heaven⁽³⁾, we can readily understand why persons like Augustine were attracted by Manichaeism.

All these Coptic texts, in all no less than 7 books of about 3.500 pages, are of course of the utmost importance for the study of Manichaeism. But the Psalms are also of great value for students of Coptic language and poetry. They are composed in a hitherto unknown Sub-Akhumimic dialect, and contain many new words and forms. Furthermore, the Psalm-book belongs to the oldest Coptic poetry, being about 600 years older than the mass of Coptic poems which was published and analysed by Junker in his work "Kop-

(1) Manichaeian Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection. Volume II. A Manichaeian Psalm-book, Part II. Stuttgart 1938.

(2) Hist. Gén. des Religions 3, p. 110.

(3) Augustine, De mor. Man., 46; cf. Alfaro, Les écritures manichéennes II, 133.

tische Poesie des 10. Jahrhunderts".⁽¹⁾ Thus they form a valuable link between these more recent Coptic poems and the Ancient Egyptian poetry.

An analysis of the prosody used in these Psalms may therefore be a useful contribution to the history of Coptic poetry, and thanks to the character of the metre these texts give us an insight into the accentuation of the Coptic sentence, not only the stress of each word separately. Thus we can more or less hear the intonation of the Coptic language. Since the Coptic translator seems to have preserved the metre of the Syriac originals, the Psalm-book may also contribute to our knowledge of early Syriac poetry. Except for some valuable notes by Baumstaerk,⁽²⁾ no such analysis has been made so far as I know.

Moreover the analysis of the greater part of the Psalm-book is a necessary background for judging a little group of special value, the Psalms of Thomas. I have found close Mandaean parallels to these psalms, and since the Mandaean versions can in all probability claim priority, this fact sheds new light on the Mandaean problem, one of the most important and much debated questions of the history of religion of the first centuries A.D. In view of their importance it is only natural that about half of my book should consist of an analysis of the Psalms of Thomas.

(1) Oriens Christianus 6, 1906, pp. 319 ff.; 8, 1911, pp. 2 ff.

(2) ibid. 36, 1941, pp. 117 ff., espec. pp. 123 - 126.

CHAPTER I. A C C E N T U A T I O N.

1. GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

As shown already by Erman⁽¹⁾ the general principle of Coptic as well as of Ancient Egyptian poetry is to count only the stressed syllables — the number of unaccented syllables between these beats is of no importance. In this way lines or verse-members which appear to the eye very unequal may yet from the rhythmical point of view be counted of equal value.

In practice, however, the difficulty to a modern reader with only theoretical knowledge of the language, is to know whether under certain circumstances a word should be stressed or not. The "grammatical" accent of the single word is known to us, but we cannot have the true feeling for the accent and intonation of the sentences. As is only natural, the "grammatical" accent is not always observed — in a living language it never is, especially not in poetry where the accentuation is also to some extent subordinated to the measure of the poem. And with regard to hymns, much latitude must be conceded to music. Consequently, it is difficult to lay down strict rules whether a word should be accented or not.

Nevertheless, Junker has shown the limitations of the poetic licence in the Coptic poems analysed by him, and he enumerates the commonest cases in which the "grammatical" accentuation is not observed. Junker could start his analysis from a large number of poems and strophes, marked in the manuscripts so as to show that they were sung to the same melody or composed in the same measure. All these strophes are almost certainly metrical parallels and composed in accordance to a "muster strophe", the initial words of which are noted at the beginning of the poem. This metri-

(1) Bruchstücke koptischer Volkslitteratur, pp. 44 ff.

cal parallelism of the strophes with the "muster strophe" can also be noted in Greek Byzantine hymns, as pointed out by Junker (p. 373).⁽¹⁾ But even if the number of stressed syllables can thus be established by means of numerous parallels, the exact reading of a line may often be a matter of taste.

In the Manichaean psalms there is no such marking of the melody or metre. It is true that there are some Greek rubrics, as Allberry calls them (p. XX), written to the right of the number that stands at the head of a new psalm in the group of the Psalms of the Bema. Some of them give the author's name, two are written by a second hand (30²¹, 36¹³), but the rubric at 41⁸ ὕμνοισ ἀναμελ[ψ]όμεν or οὔμεν may be such a marking of the melody or measure of the "muster strophe". According to Allberry, these words were perhaps "relics of the Greek version from which the Coptic translation was made". Since the Coptic version starts with the words Τη]ουαμ: τῆςως ἀρακ "We bless and sing to thee", Allberry is probably right. But even if the rubric were rather a marking of the melody or measure, it would not help us much, since it would be the only one — at least in the published part of the Psalm-book.

The different verses or strophes are often marked off by a refrain, and in the main part of the Psalm-book the beginnings of the strophes or verses are indicated by the use of capital letters. But in some psalms, especially in the Psalms of Thomas, the manuscript does not note the beginning of a new verse or strophe. The lines or stichoi are often separated by means of punctuation with a point or a double-point, but a closer analysis not seldom shows a certain negligence in the use of this punctuation. Sometimes a point or a double-point is left out by the scribe, sometimes it obviously stands in the wrong place.

However, since the end of the line may nearly always be supposed to coincide with a break in the sense (as is the case e.g. in the later Cop-

(1) Confer the ὕμνοια modelled on the προσόμοιον and having the same number of accented syllables in each paragraph as this; Julian, Dictionary of Hymnology, p. 462.

tic poems as well as in Ancient Egyptian, Hebrew and other Ancient Oriental poetry), it is as a rule comparatively easy to reconstruct the original metrical arrangement. Also the parallelism of stichoi, lines or verses helps to make the composition clear.

It can reasonably be assumed that the different verses or strophes of a poem are composed more or less as complete metrical parallels, as e.g. in the later Coptic poetry, even if we have of course no guarantee for the intention to carry through with perfect uniformity the measure which in general rules in a psalm. In Ancient Egyptian poems, a line with a beat more or less than is generally the rule is sometimes admitted,⁽¹⁾ and in Akkadian and Hebrew poetry, there is much freedom in this respect.⁽²⁾

As a rule it is possible to establish the measure of a psalm by comparing all the corresponding verse-members. Even if many of them can be read with a different number of beats owing to the freedom of the poet towards the "grammatical" accentuation, there are nearly always several lines or verses that can be accented in one way only and thus show the measure of the poem. The other verses or lines will then in most cases be easily adapted to this measure if read according to the general rules laid down by Junker in his analysis of later Coptic poetry. Most of these rules seem to have been in force already in Ancient Egyptian poetry⁽³⁾, and reflect, not an artificial poetical accentuation, but the intonation of the living language. This explains the lack of a strict regularity — the accentuation of a word depends upon the context in which it stands. In other words, the rhythm of the living language affects the stress, quite as in English the word 'unknown' is pronounced with equal stress on both syllables, when standing isolated, but in an expression as 'an unknown land' the first syllable is stressed, whereas in 'quite unknown' the stress falls on the

(1) cf. e.g. Max Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter*, p. 11.

(2) Driver, in *The Psalmists*, p. 117; Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. Poetry, p. 7.

(3) cf. Max Müller, *Liebespoesie*, p. 10, n. 3.

second syllable. Only seldom is an otherwise generally unaccented word, as e.g. a preposition, stressed only to fit the metre.

That this is so will be quite clear if we examine the most common deviations from the "grammatical" accentuation, selected with no claim as to completeness from a number of psalms that are composed in a regular measure.

2. WEAKENING OF STRESS.

I:1 (a) The compound: noun + indirect genitive has often one stressed syllable only (Junker, op. cit. I, p. 362; I:1). In this category we find many of the Manichaean terms, as e.g. those where the second component is οὐαῖνε "Light":

ΝΑΙΩΝ_ὑΠΟΥΑῖΝΕ

the Aeons of the Light (172¹¹)

ΠΚΑΖ_ὑΠΟΥΑῖΝΕ

the Land of the Light (116³⁰, 136^{35,38,51},
143²⁹, 144¹³, 168²⁵, 179¹³, 193⁵, 198²⁹,
199^{1,22}; cf. also 141⁶)

similarly also ΠΚΑΖ_ὑΠΚΕΚΕ

the Land of the Darkness (141^{6f.}, 201¹²?)

ΤΜΕΥ_ἸΝΟΥΑῖΝΕ

the Mother of the Lights (166²⁶)

ΠΝΟΥC_ἸΟΥΑῖΝΕ

the Mind of Light (139¹⁷, 145⁷, 153^{20f.}, 154^{5f.},
157²⁰, 166³⁵)

ὑΠΥΛΗ_ὑΠΟΥΑῖΝΕ

the gates of the Light (62^{25f.})

ΝΡῸΜΑΑῖ_ὑΠΟΥΑῖΝΕ

the Rich ones of the Light (210¹⁴)

ἸΩΗΡΕ_ὑΠΟΥΑῖΝΕ

the Sons of the Light (205²⁴, 206⁹)

similarly also ἸΩΗΡΕ_ἸΤΤΙΛΑΝΗ

the Sons of the Error (140²)

ΠΕΥΚΑΤ_ἸΖΟ_ἸΟΥΑῖΝΕ

his Light-faced wheel (138³²)

ΝΕΞΗΥ_ὑΠΟΥΑῖΝΕ

the Ships of the Light (177^{14f.})

ἸΒΑΜ_ὑΠΟΥΑῖΝΕ

the Powers of the Light (probably; 24²⁷).

Further many compositions with $\mu\eta\epsilon$ "truth" are treated in the same way:

$\pi\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\tau\mu\eta\epsilon$	the God of the Truth (133 ⁴ , 134 ^{15,26} , 136 ²⁶ , 138 ⁶⁴ , 177 ¹⁴)
$\pi\sigma\alpha\eta\ \bar{\mu}\mu\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\pi\chi\alpha\bar{\iota}\varsigma$	the true brother (of the Lord) (194 ¹⁴)
$\pi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\bar{\iota}\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\mu\eta\epsilon$	my true Physician (61 ²⁸)
$\pi\sigma\epsilon\chi\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\tau\mu\eta\epsilon$	the word of the Truth (63 ²¹ , 158 ^{19f.})
$\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon\beta\omicron\ \bar{\eta}\tau\mu\eta\epsilon$	the purity of the Truth (182 ²³)
$\pi\omicron\upsilon\alpha\bar{\iota}\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\mu\eta\epsilon$	the Light of Truth (62 ⁶ , sim. 152 ²⁰)

That this is not a rule without exceptions is seen e.g. from the following disticha in a 2:2 measure:

$\omicron\upsilon\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\bar{\iota}\psi\bar{\iota}\tau\ \mu\bar{\iota}\mu\eta\epsilon$	$\alpha\rho\bar{\iota}$	Thou hast thy true Father,	Be . .
$\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\bar{\iota}\gamma\ \bar{\mu}\mu\eta\epsilon$	$\alpha\rho\bar{\iota}$	thy true [Mother]	Be . .
$\omicron\upsilon\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\nu\epsilon\sigma\eta\eta\gamma\ \bar{\mu}\mu\eta\epsilon$	$\alpha\rho\bar{\iota}$	[Thou hast] thy true brethren;	Be . .
$\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\ \omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$	$\alpha\rho\bar{\iota}$	thou art a warrior	Be . .
$\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\ \tau\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\varsigma\alpha\gamma$	$\alpha\rho\bar{\iota}$	Thou art the sheep	Be . .
$\tau\bar{\iota}\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma\omega\rho\mu\epsilon\ \varsigma\bar{\iota}\pi\chi\alpha\bar{\iota}\bar{\iota}\epsilon$	$\alpha\rho\bar{\iota}$	that wandered in the desert	Be . .
		(181 ^{26ff.} ; cf. below p. 50.)	

Other such Manichaean terms consisting of a noun + a genitive that are to be read as one single word are also:

$\eta\alpha\bar{\iota}\omega\eta\ \bar{\eta}\eta\alpha\bar{\iota}\omega\eta$	the Aeons of the Aeons (168 ²⁷ , 199 ¹⁶ ; but $\eta\alpha\bar{\iota}\omega\eta\ \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\ \eta\alpha\bar{\iota}\omega\eta$ with two beats: 116 ²⁸ , 136 ³⁴)
$\pi\psi\eta\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\pi\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$	the Son of God (120 ²⁵)
$\pi\psi\eta\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\pi\pi\epsilon\theta\alpha\gamma$	the son of the Evil one (203 ²⁶ , 204 ^{11f., 13f.})
$\pi\psi\eta\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\iota}\eta\bar{\iota}\omega\tau\epsilon$	the son of the dew (167 ⁶⁴)
$\pi\eta\alpha\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\iota}\omega\tau$	the mercy of the Father (63 ¹⁶)
$\pi\varsigma\alpha\gamma\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\pi\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$	the knowledge of God (168 ⁴)
$\tau\beta\alpha\mu\ \bar{\mu}\pi\pi\eta\bar{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$	the power of God (134 ¹⁷)
$\pi\pi\epsilon\eta\ \bar{\mu}\pi\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$	the name of God (158 ^{22f.})
$\pi\pi\epsilon\eta\ \bar{\mu}\pi\chi\alpha\bar{\iota}\varsigma$	the name of the Lord (189 ⁶)
$\pi\epsilon\eta\ \bar{\eta}\eta\alpha\beta\bar{\iota}\epsilon$	the name of sin (207 ¹³)
$\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$	a divine turning (63 ¹⁸)
$\pi\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\delta}\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$	the King of the Crowns (87 ²⁰)
$\pi\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron\ \bar{\mu}\pi\tau\omega\eta\bar{\varsigma}$	the King of Life (168 ²⁴)

It is also easy to understand that such compounds as the following may be read with one stress only — in many languages the same notions are expressed with one word:

ΟΥΑΤΕ_ΝCZ ME	a woman's womb (122 ¹⁹ , 23)
ΟΥΑΤΟ_ΜME NE	many a sign (142 ³⁰)
ΝΑΙ_ΙΑΤΕ_ΝTCAPZ	my parents of the flesh (88 ¹⁶)
ΤΙ_ΩΤΕ_ΝTHY	the dew of the wind (157 ²¹)
Π K ΛAM_ΝΨΟΥΨΟΥ	the garland of renown (136 ³⁰)
ΝΚΡΨΟΥ_ΝΦΑΛACCA	the shores of the sea (194 ⁶)
ΠΜΑΙΤ_ΝΤMHT	the middle way (180 ¹⁵)
ΠCTA _ΜΠΨΩM	the scent of summer (157 ¹⁵)
ΝΕTCΗΘ_ΝΘWB	the weak and paralysed ones (206 ²)
TBW_ΝΕΛAΛE	vine (181 ³⁴ , 193 ²² , 225 ^{18f.})
Ψ HN _ΝΕΛAΛE	vine (145 ¹⁴)
ΤWΚ _ΝΖHT	encouragement (210 ^{1f.})
ΠTAΥ_ΝΝΧA T	the Mount of Olives (123 ³⁷ , 187 ^{27f.} , 190 ³¹)
ΟΥ THY_ΝMZ [T	[a] north wind (193 ⁴)
TOYOC_ΝΛOΓXH	spear-head (142 ²⁸)
ΠTAΨ_ΜΠTHPĒ	the bound of the Universe (139 ¹⁴)
ΝΦE_Ν-	like (39 ^{23f.} ; 218 ^{22f.})
ΝT OY ZE_ΝΨAPĒ	as they were at first (187 ^{15f.})

(Note that ΝΦE stands with a direct genitive at 143¹²!)

ΜΠPHTE_ΝΟΥΨΩC	like a shepherd (176 ¹⁷)
ΠTAXP_ΝΖHT	confirmation (61 ¹⁵)
ΝΟΥWNΨ_ΝΖHT	wild wolves (61 ²⁵)
ΠΟΥΨΩC_ΜΠ AM	the breadth of the sea (120 ¹⁵)
ΩNE_ΜMHE	jewel (146 ⁵⁰ , probably also 153 ^{11f.} , 194 ⁵ ; cf. below, p. 54, n. 1)
Ω ME_ΝKΛAM	crowning row (parapet as a technical term, 222 ²⁶)
ΠΩ XZĒ_ΜΠNOYN	the depth of the abyss (120 ¹³)
ΝΖΩC_ΝΖHKĒ	the poor wretches (204 ¹⁶ , 31)
ΠACΩMA_ΝΖHKĒ	my poor body (152 ¹⁴)
ΠOCM_ΝΠΩNE	the storm of stone (192 ⁹).

Consequently, we may even read a sentence such as

ΑΠΩΝ_ΖΩH X|+ΠE_ΜΠMŌY "but Life tasted death" (172^{8f.})

with two beats only, if so required by the metre and the context.

The shorter numerals in particular may lose their stress when followed by a genitive:

πεκϣαμτ.νζματ	thy three gifts (probably; 56 ³)
ϣταγ.μματα	four soldiers (142 ²⁸)
πϣταγ.νζοογε	the four days (134 ⁶)
σαπϣταγ.νσα	on four sides (142 ²⁹)
πϣογ.μπινά ντ+ε.μ[ντναδ	the five spirits of the five [great-] nesses (136 ⁵⁰)
πϣογ.νκlor	the five stars (59 ⁸)
πϣογ.νϣηρε	his five Sons (166 ³¹)
πεϣσαγ.νϣβηρ	his seven companions = ἑβδομάς (204 ²⁹ ; mentioned in the preceding text)
μντ.νδινδωρ	ten talents (224 ¹⁹)
μντεϣτε.νζοογ	fourteen days (142 ²⁴ , 143 ¹²)
Similarly also μπϣαπ.νϣωτ	at once (142 ²⁸)
πϣηρε.ννεγ νζεβεδαλloc	the two sons of Zebedee (142 ²²)

Longer numerals such as μντcnaγc "twelve" (unaccented at 133^{9,11,16?}) may keep the accent (e.g. 136^{29,32f.}); e.g. at 81¹², 139^{26ff.} the numerals three and five have also kept their stress.

In all these instances the stress as a rule falls on the genitive, since the Coptic language has a general tendency to stress the ultima of a word or a compound.⁽¹⁾ In Coptic this construction replaces the older direct genitive that is still used only in a restricted number of cases. It is the method of forming new compound nouns. Some nouns, as e.g. ϣωμε, are always in the construct form in such a genitive construction, which leaves no doubt about the accentuation. The accentuation of many other such compounds in poetry shows that this way of forming new compounds did

(1) Cf. Czernak, *Der Rhythmus der kopt. Sprache*, §§ 88 ff., 121, 123 ff., where also some other deviations from the "grammatical" accentuation are analysed in detail. — Cf. also Edgerton, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 6, 1947, p. 16; Flumley, *An Introductory Coptic Grammar*, §§ 59, 60.

not become obsolete, even if the vocalization of the first element was no longer affected and this element kept the absolute form.

I:1 (b) Two nouns connected with the prepositions $\mu\bar{\nu}$ and $\epsilon\iota$ "with", "and", can also be accented in this way as one word — a case not especially noted by Junker. Thus e.g. in the greeting formula $\chi\rho\omicron\mu\bar{\nu}\iota\lambda\kappa$ (210¹⁴) and $\chi\rho\omicron\mu\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ (210¹⁵) there seems to be one stress only falling on the second word. At 156¹⁷ $\tau\tau\bar{\rho}\mu\mu\bar{\nu}\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\epsilon$ "the sun and the moon", both mentioned in the preceding lines, form one notion with one accent. Similarly also at 134²⁴, and 168⁶:

$\text{N}\epsilon\chi\eta\gamma\mu\bar{\epsilon}\ \text{πρ}\mu\mu\bar{\nu}\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\epsilon$ The ships are the sun and moon.

Further examples are:

$\tau\tau\epsilon\tau\chi\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\ \alpha\tau\pi\epsilon\mu\bar{\nu}\iota\tau\kappa\alpha\epsilon$	[He that is higher] than heaven and earth (122 ¹⁹)
$\pi\rho\upsilon\omega\mu\mu\bar{\nu}\iota\tau\omega$	eating and drinking (55 ²⁸ ; of. 195 ⁶)
$\pi\epsilon\chi\gamma\mu\bar{\nu}\iota\tau\alpha\epsilon$	the profit and the loss (143 ²²)
$\pi\epsilon\chi\omicron\mu\bar{\nu}\iota\tau\iota\beta\epsilon$	hunger and thirst (probably; 195 ¹⁹)
$\nu\omicron\gamma\beta\epsilon\iota\epsilon\tau$	gold and silver = $\chi\rho\mu\alpha$ (157 ⁹)

Similarly, the words "father and mother", "brother and sister" are probably to be read with one accent in the following stichoi of two beats (167^{52f.}):

$\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\tau\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\gamma\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\omega\kappa$	Leave father and mother
$\kappa\alpha\varsigma\alpha\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota\omega\bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\omega\kappa$	Leave brother and sister.

This reading is supported by the variants at 169²³ (composed in the same measure) and at 175²⁵ (in a stichos of two or three beats):

$\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\tau\ \epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\gamma\ .$	I left father and mother,
$\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\ .$	my Spirit;
$\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\varsigma\alpha\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota\omega\bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\beta\eta\tau\kappa\ .$	I left brother and sister for thy sake,
$\pi\alpha\ .$	my pious one. (169 ²³)

Αἰκαῖωτ, 2|μεν 2|καν 2|κωνε I left father and mother, brother and sister
(175²⁵). (1)

In these latter stichoi at least "brother and sister" are in all probability treated as a compound.

To this we may compare 143^{15f}:

ρῦννοτε, 2 νιμ <ε> 2 ψωπτε	All the godly [that] there have been,
2 αυτ, 2 με 2 κε 2 τηροῦ	male and female — all have suffered,
2 α20υν 2 ππαπεαυ .	down to the Glorious One,
παποστολос πᾶνχс	the Apostle Mani .

The second distichon shows that the metre is 2:2, and, consequently, "male and female" must be read as one word. (To the other "irregularities" cf. I:4.)

That Simon Petre at 187²⁴ is read with one beat, is also a matter of course.

I:1 (c) Furthermore, if the same word is repeated, it is accented only the second time. Thus e.g. αμην, αμην in the "Hymns of Amen", 185^{28ff}. and 189^{30ff}. Similarly also:

2 αυ, 2 νναν 2 νναν 2 νναν	they said (?), 'No, no no'; (191 ²³)
2 αυτ, 2 ε 2 τηροῦ 2 τηροῦ	they were drunk, all of them (172 ²⁸)
εντωπ 2 ατε 2 ατε .	We snatch each moment,
εννοῦσε 2 οοῦε 2 οοῦε	we throw away each day. (157 ²²)
πῶν 2 μῆπιου 2 ποῦε 2 ποῦε	The life and death of each man
2 ανεφθι 2 α 2 αετι	is only in his hands. (158 ⁶ ; cf. 40 ²⁴ , 157 ³¹ and above 1 (b).)

At 49¹⁵, we expect the stichos εγωῖνε 2|αν2βηγε 2|α 2|ποῦε 2|ποῦε 2|εἶτοῦ

(1) Cf. e.g. 175²⁸: Αἰκαῖ 2|απσωμα 2|εβε 2|αππῖνα "I left those of the body for those of the spirit" hardly to be translated "the things of the body" etc.; cf. 1.25 and 87³⁰). Cf. below, p. 56.

"when he searches out the deeds that each has done" to have three beats only according to the metre of the psalm, and, perhaps, ποτε ποτε was unaccented.

I:2 (a) An adjective standing after a noun may make the noun lose its accent not only when there is no connecting particle (e.g. c+noyqe "good smell", passim, ορζαν ναυρε "a good end" 192¹⁹), but sometimes also when the noun and the adjective are connected with an \bar{N} . Quite as in the later Coptic poems (Junker, rule I:2) this case of non-accenting a noun is not very common, but we often find it with the adjective "new":

παλων_νβρρε	the new Aeon (137 ⁶² , 144 ²¹ , 179 ¹⁴)
οχη_νβρρε]	a new house (153 ^{18ff.})
πμρπ_νβρρε	the new wine (153 ²⁶ , 158 ²⁹)
πρρο_νβρρε	a new king (153 ^{18,20})
τσοφλα_νβρρε	the new Wisdom (194 ¹⁰)
νατωδε_νβρρε	my new plants (= שיח־אֵי; 218 ¹⁹)
(ο)γογα_νε_νβρρε	a new light (196 ¹⁸)

Compare also:

π[q]β̄ ncaβτ_νχωρε His 12 strong walls (136³¹, in parallelism to π[q]β̄ nαοργφορεc and π[q]μν̄β̄ nαλων; thus the numeral was not unaccented, as is sometimes the case; cf. above p. 9).

(b) Also when the adjective precedes the noun, the two words may be treated as a compound with one accent only. (This case is not adduced by Junker.)

νικογι_ναλογ	the little children (192 ²)
ογκογι_ννηε	a little oil (191 ²¹)
ουναδ_ναψηλ	great torture (143 ¹³)
πναδ_νεκωτ	the Great Builder (= bana rabba; 137 ⁶¹)
πναδ_μπρ̄ε	the Great Brightness (209 ¹⁵ , 219 ^{2?})
πναδ_νρωτμε	the Great Hearing (138 ¹⁸)
πναδ_ντωεε	the Great Call (138 ⁸)
πναδ_νψηλ	the Great Prayer (?) (138 ²⁵)

πωαρπ̄_ῥαθλον	the first struggle (117 ¹⁷)
Ττωαρπ̄_ῥμμε	the First-born (166 ²⁴)
πωαρπ̄_ῥρωμε	the First Man (88 ¹³ , 137 ¹⁷ , 138 ¹⁹ , 140 ²⁶ , 175 ³)

(c) In this connection we should like to call attention to another type that has not been especially pointed out by Junker: "The Holy Spirit", π̄π̄να_ετουαβε, is often to be read with one stress only (e.g. 24²⁴, 115^{5ff.}). Of the same type are also:

πιωην_ετανῑ	the good tree (as an epitheton; 134 ¹⁹ . With two stresses at 136 ²⁰ .)
παμρ_εταν̄	the Living Air (137 ³⁷ , 168 ²⁵)
πμαυ_εταν̄	the Living Water (137 ³²)
π̄π̄να_εταν̄	the Living Spirit (138 ^{22,25})
τσετε_εταν̄	the Living Fire (137 ²³ , 153 ³⁰)
πθυ_εταν̄	the Living Wind (137 ²⁹)
αυναχ̄_αυα[τε]_εελαμε	they cast him into a filthy womb (120 ^{25f.} ; cf. 175 ¹⁶)
πζλαδ_ετσαυε	the bitter sweetness (55 ²⁷)
π̄κωμα_ετουαβε	Thy holy body (probably; 121 ^{32f.}), as well as:
Τ̄τ̄ρωμα_ετζαυ_ῥπ̄χαχε	the evil body of the Enemy (55 ¹⁹)
τσοφια_ετ̄ιουαβε	the holy Wisdom (134 ⁹)
περωτε_ετζημ	the warm milk (23 ¹¹)
πιωτ_ετζηπ	the hidden Father (121 ¹⁷ , 133 ^{20f.})
πρωμε_ετχηκ	the Perfect Man (134 ²² , 139 ²⁰ , 144 ²⁹ , 177 ¹⁶)
(but note ταγαπ̄_ετχηκ_ῥτε_πιωτ	the perfect love of the Father; 24 ^{24f.})
πνουτε_ετχαε	God on high (121 ¹⁵)

But if a word is inserted between the noun and the relative clause, both components are of course stressed:

Τ̄π̄π̄να_γαρ_ετουαβε	For the Holy Spirit
ῥταυτ̄ῥτων̄_αυδραμπε̄	was likened to a dove.
[π̄]π̄να_ῥταυ_ετ[χα]ζ̄ῥ	But [the] unclean Spirit
ῥταυτ̄ῥτων̄_αυζαυ	was likened to a snake. (156 ^{27f.})

I:3 (a) The demonstratives $\pi\epsilon\dot{\iota}$, $\tau\epsilon\dot{\iota}$, $\nu\epsilon\dot{\iota}$ may be unaccented (Junker I:3). This is the case when they are repeated ($\nu\epsilon\dot{\iota}\nu\epsilon\dot{\iota}$ 143¹¹; cf. above I:1), or when followed by $\tau\eta\rho=$ ($\nu\epsilon\dot{\iota}\tau\eta\rho\upsilon$ 142¹⁶; cf. below I:4 b). Sometimes they are unaccented when functioning as the subject of a noun clause:

$\acute{\omega}\ \nu\alpha\psi\lambda\acute{\eta}\lambda\ \mu\eta\nu\nu\alpha\nu\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}$ O, my prayers and my fasts,
 $\tau\epsilon\dot{\iota}\tau\epsilon\ \alpha\tau\epsilon\ \mu\pi\alpha\mu\upsilon\gamma\ \epsilon\tau\psi\alpha\alpha\tau\ \mu\mu\omega\tau\eta$ this is the moment of my death: I have need of
 (50^{16f.}; 3:4 measure; cf. e.g. 50²⁸)^{you}

This is also sometimes the case when these demonstratives precede a relative clause (thus $\pi\epsilon\dot{\iota}\ \epsilon\tau- = \pi\epsilon\tau-$)

$\nu\epsilon\dot{\iota}\epsilon\tau\tau\acute{o}\gamma\omega\mu\ \bar{\nu}\eta\tau\tau\acute{o}\gamma$ the things of which it eats (196²³)

(Cf. the parallel stichos:

$\nu\epsilon\tau\tau\acute{o}\gamma\omega\gamma\omega\ \mu\mu\alpha\gamma\ \mu\mu\eta\eta\epsilon$ which it consumes daily; 196²⁴.)

$\nu\iota\mu\tau\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\dot{\iota}\epsilon\tau\tau\acute{o}\gamma\omega\mu$ Who is it that eats? (172^{16ff.})
 $\nu\epsilon\dot{\iota}\epsilon\tau\mu\eta\rho\ \bar{\nu}\chi\eta\gamma\ \nu\iota\mu$ those that are bound at all times (55^{25f.})

I:3 (b) The independent personal pronouns $\alpha\nu\alpha\kappa$, $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\kappa$, etc. may be read without a stress, especially when preceding a strongly emphasized word such as the negative $\epsilon\bar{\nu}$, the interrogative $\nu\iota\mu$, $\sigma\upsilon\alpha\epsilon\tau=$ "alone", or $\gamma\omega(\omega)=$ "self":

$\alpha\nu\alpha\kappa\ \acute{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\ \pi\kappa\eta\pi\upsilon\gamma\rho\sigma$ I am not the gardener (187⁹)
 $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\kappa\ \nu\iota\mu$ Who art thou? (198¹¹; cf. 82¹⁵)

[But the interrogative $\nu\iota\mu$ is perhaps itself unaccented at 171^{26f.}:

$\bar{\alpha}\tau\eta\bar{\nu}\mu\epsilon\ \chi\epsilon\ \nu\iota\mu\ [\pi\epsilon\dot{\iota}\ \pi\eta\sigma\acute{o}\gamma\tau\epsilon]$ "(let us) understand who God is" (the metre
 is built up with stichoi of two beats.)]

Αἰμερίτῃ ἡτάκ' οὐαετῃ	I loved thee alone (169 ²² ; but both components probably stressed at 25 ²² .)
ΑΝΑΝ_ΖΩΝΕ ΝΑCΗΥ	We also, my beloved (173 ⁸ , 172 ¹⁵)
ΑΝ]ΑΝ_ΖΩΝΕ ΝΑΜΕΡΕΤΕ	We also, my brethren (143 ²⁰ , 193 ⁶)

Also a verbal form may become unaccented when preceding an emphasized $\zeta\omega(\omega)$:

ΑΜΜΑΝΕ_ΖΩΝΕ Α+ΕΝΤΟΛΗ	We also have moored to this Commandment (177 ¹⁷)
ΜΑΡΕ_ΠΩΝ_ΖΩΝ ΡΩΨΕ_ΑΡΑΝ	our own does not suffice for us. (191 ^{24f.})

Cf.

Sometimes $\alpha\eta\alpha\kappa$ is unaccented in the ego eimi-formula;⁽¹⁾

Αἰακ_ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ἄπ ωτ	I am the Love of the Father (116 ²⁶ , hardly ΤΑΓΑΠΗ_ἄπ ωτ)
Αἰακ_ΠΕ_ΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ ἄπ κοσμoς	I am the Light of the world (121 ^{19f.})
ἡΤΕCΘΥΩΝΤ' ΧΕ_Αἰακ ΠΕCΑC	and know me that I am thy master (187 ^{4f.})

Further instances of unaccented personal pronouns are:

ἡΤο_οὐγῶμω ἀπ κοσμoς	Thou art a stranger to the world (181 ²² , but stressed at 181 ^{30,34} before an enclitic word).
ἡΤΑΥ_ΕΤCΩΚ ἄΠΑCΗΤ' ΑΜΠΗΥΕ	they that draw my heart to the skies (155 ⁶)

(ἡΤαυ = "but", cf. below I:7.)

I:4 (a) The word $\eta\mu$ "all" is often enclitic or forms one word with the preceding noun, and this word then has the usual Coptic stress on the ultima (Junker I:4; Czermak, op.cit., pp. 144 ff.):

ζωβ_ημ (ζωγ_ημ)	everything (137 ⁵⁹ , 169 ²² , 155 ⁷)
ρωμε_ημ	everyone (49 ¹⁸)
ἡΝΕΥ_ημ	always (40 ³⁰)
ἡCΗΥ_ημ	" (55 ²⁶ , 115 ^{25?})
ἡCΑΤΕ_ημ	" (149 ²²)
κα α_ημ	everywhere (207 ^{14f.})

(1) Cf. Schweizer, *Ego eimi*, Göttingen 1939.

ῤΤΕΧΝΗ ΖΙΒΩΝΙΜ	use skill and all advice (187 ²²)
ΦΩΝΗΝΙΜ ΑΙΣΑΤΜΕΩ	Every voice I heard (154 ³¹)
ΥΛΗΝΙΜ ΝΗΚΟΣΜΟΣ	All wordly matter (49 ²⁶)

(b) Similarly treated is also the other expression for "all", viz. ΤΗΡ^ς (not noted by Junker): Thus e.g. in the following expressions for "the whole world": πΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΡῆ (122²⁷, 154¹¹, 172²⁷), πΚΑΖ ΤΗΡῆ (207^{11f.}), ΠΤΟ ΤΗΡῆ (194²).

Further:

ΤΤΖΗΒῆ ΝΝΑΙΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ	Lamp of all the Aeons (166 ²⁵)
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ	God of all the Gods (136 ¹⁹)
ΠΩΤ ΝΤΝΡΕΙΕΤΕ ΤΗΡῆ	Father of all our race (136 ¹⁸)
ΕΥΤΟ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ	Where are all men? (157 ^{24, sim.26})
ΤΣΑΥΖῆ ΤΗΡῆ	the whole assembly (137 ⁴⁸)
ΝΤΟΥΙΕΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΑΒΕ	All the holy mountains (136 ⁴⁷)
ΚΣΑΥΝΕ ΑΠΑΖΗΤ ΤΗΡῆ	thou knowest all my heart (88 ⁵ ; cf. 187 ^{31, 35})
ΕΥΣΩΟΥΖ ΑΡΑΥ ΝΝΕΥΕΕ[ΑΥ] ΤΗΡΟΥ	gathering unto him all his sheep (176 ^{17f.})
ΑΥΧΑΚ ΝΟΥΜΕΙΝΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΒΑΛ	he fulfilled all their signs (143 ¹⁸)
	(cf. also 143 ¹⁵ , quoted above p. 11)

Sometimes, however, if such an expression is strongly emphasized, both components may be stressed:

ΝΤΑΚ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΤΟΦΡΑΓΙΣ ΝΘΑΥΜΑ ΝΙΜ	thou also art the seal of [every] wonder (60 ^{5f.} ; as the last words of the poem proper)
ΑΝΑΚ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΧΑΥΜΑΙΤ ΖΝΜΑ ΝΙΜ	I am thy guide in every place (50 ²⁰ , as the last words of "the cry of my Saviour").

I:5 (a) The accentuation of the compound: preposition + suffix, is quite analogous: it may be either enclitic or so strongly stressed as to make the preceding word unaccented (Junker I:5). This is the most common case of deviation from the "grammatical" accentuation, and if both elements are stressed, it is rather an exception (as e.g. 122⁷, 152¹³, 155⁵,

193²⁸, 198^{20f.}, 199⁷).

In many cases this construction corresponds e.g. to the Mandaean verb connected with an enclitic \square or \beth + suffix.⁽¹⁾ Thus e.g. in the Psalms of Thomas no. XIII $\omega\iota\eta\epsilon\bar{\omega}\kappa$ corresponds to a Mandaean $\gamma\alpha\bar{\iota}\gamma\alpha$ (cf. below, p. 119).

I:5 (b) The interrogative pronouns may be stressed or not according to the context. In a simple question of the type $\epsilon\gamma\tau\omega\ \mu\alpha\tau\eta\epsilon\varsigma$ "Where is peace?" (170⁴), the interrogative is emphasized, but if the subject is followed e.g. by a stressed adverbial expression as in the sentence $\epsilon\gamma\tau\omega\ \mu\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon\ \alpha\omega\tau\mu\epsilon\ \alpha\rho\alpha\varsigma$ "Where is an ear to hear it?" (153^{24f.}), the stress of the interrogative is weakened in Coptic as well as in English. Thus $\tau\omega$ is stressed e.g. at 170^{4,6,9}, but unaccented at 153^{24,28}, 154³. The stress is also weakened at 146^{41,43}, where an attribute and an apposition are added to the subject:

$\epsilon\gamma\tau\omega\ \mu\epsilon\omega\tau\eta\eta\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\eta}\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omega\varsigma$	Where are thy angelic garments,
$\bar{\eta}\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\alpha\tau\bar{\rho}\pi\lambda\delta\epsilon$	thy robes that grow not old?
$\epsilon\gamma\tau\omega\ \bar{\eta}\epsilon\kappa\lambda\omega\omega\mu\ \epsilon\tau\bar{\rho}\alpha\gamma\tau$	Where are thy gay garlands,
$\bar{\eta}\epsilon\delta\bar{\rho}\eta\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\alpha\tau\eta\alpha\lambda\omega\gamma$	thy crowns that fall not?

Similarly also at 188^{5f.}, where a $\chi\epsilon$ -clause continues the sentence after the attribute:

$\epsilon\gamma\tau\omega\ \mu\beta\bar{\rho}\bar{\beta}\bar{\rho}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha\epsilon$	Where is the boiling of thy mercies,
$\chi\epsilon\ \alpha\kappa\kappa\alpha\alpha\tau\ \alpha\omega\omega\kappa\ \bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\lambda\iota\tau\eta$	that thou hast suffered me to be long in my prayer?

Quite as $\omega\gamma\alpha\tau\omega\ \bar{\mu}\mu\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$ "many a sign" (142³⁰) may be read as one word with one accent (cf. I:1), $\omega\gamma\eta\bar{\rho}\ \bar{\eta}$ - + a noun can be treated in the same way:

(1) cf. Nöldeke, Mand. Gram., pp. 224 ff.

οὐκ ἔλαθεν ἀψάπτου	How many tortures did he suffer? (142 ¹⁹ , sim. 147 ⁶⁰)
οὐκ ἔμυστηριον ἀφείτο	How many mysteries did he perform? (142 ³⁰)

For the accentuation of *νῆ* "who?" cf. above p. 14.

Note also the unaccented *ἀρραγ* at 122^{27f.}.

ἀρραγ ἀφορωνε ἀ[ρ]μαγος	How should he have appeared to Magi?
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and the accentuation of 158²⁷ (2:2 + refrain):

Εἰς τὴν μετὰ τὴν	What honey is so sweet
τὴν μετὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν	as this name, Church?
〈ΧΙ + ΠΕ〉	〈Taste〉

At 169^{24ff.} *ἀρραῖ* is unaccented several times. The weakening of the stress is probably due to the fact, that several short questions introduced with the same interrogative follow one upon the other. In such a position *το* is also unaccented:

Ἀρραῖ μὴ νοῦν ἀρραῖ μὴ σὺν	What is gold to me? what is silver to me,
πατρί .	my Spirit?
ἀρραῖ μὴ ὄντι ἀρραῖ μὴ ὄντι	What is orchard to me? what is field to me,
παμῆντι	my pious one? (169 ^{24f.})
Εἴτε ἔσθι εἴτε εἶβε	Where is hunger? where is thirst,
πατρί .	my Spirit? (169 ³⁰).

I:6 A rule with few exceptions is Junker's no. I:6 that an adverb is (a) proclitic when emphasizing a preposition, but (b) is stressed and weakens the accent of the preceding word when used in verba composita.

To (a) belong e.g. the following compositions: ἀβαλ_εἰς, ἀπὸ_α-, ἀγορ_α-, ἀρρῆ_ν_εἰς, ἀπμ_α-, ἔρρῆ_ν_εἰς, ἀπμ_το_α_β_α_λ_μ-, ἔρρ_μ_ν_εἰς, ἔρρ_μ_ν_εἰς .

But when such an expression opens a verse or a psalm, the adverb is probably stressed (cf. e.g. 213^{29f.}, quoted below, p. 137).

The simplest and most obvious instances of (b) are those corresponding to English "go out, throw down, hang back" etc., thus verbs connected with such postpositive adverbs as ἀβαλ, ἀπιτῆ, ἀπαρον, ἀγορν, ἀερῆ, ἄταντε etc. Further such more special cases as e.g. τῶκ (τῆκ) ἀρετῇ "stand firm" (49²⁰, 225^{1,11}), κηκ ἀγν "naked" (23¹³, 143⁶), κακκ ἀγν "strip thyself" (167⁴⁹), ἡταρχπαῖ ἡβῶρε μνοορ "I have been born anew today" (147⁶⁶).

These adverbs in the restricted sense of the word are etymologically a compound of a preposition and a noun. Now, also other such compounds may be used in a similar position so as to make a preceding verb unaccented. The interest is more or less exclusively concentrated on the adverbial expression, and the verb is sometimes of a neutral character and functions merely as a copula in a clause of the same type as a noun clause with adverbial predicate. Thus e.g.:

ττοωγε ετωοοπ ζῆντιτε (=ττοωγε ετζῆντιτε)	The will that is in heaven (156 ²³)
τς[ε]τε ετογνε ζῆνπωμμ (=τςετε ετζῆνπωμμ)	The fire that dwells in the body (40 ²⁹ ; cf. below, p. 74.)
τπῶτ ετωοοπ ζῆνπωμρε πωμρε ετωοοπ ζῆνπῶτ	The Father who is in the Son, the Son who is in the Father (193 ^{15f.})
ττῆ ετωοοπ ζῆνπτηρῷ ετῆ πτηρῷ ἡζητῷ	He that is in everything, in whom everything is (120 ²⁷)

Here belongs the special case noted by Junker as no. I:8 — the non-accenting of ο (οἰ) in the composition ο (οἰ) ἦ — + a noun or an adjective = "be", e.g.:

ζῆντογνογ ετο ἡζῶρε	in the hour of dread (55 ²⁴)
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Frequent is ετο (ετοῖ) ἡεαγ = "glorious" (e.g. 81^{4,7}, 136¹⁵, 139¹⁹, 143²⁹; cf. 25²⁴). Further we find e.g.:

ἄρρωμε νετὸ ἄτῳ|π|ε the men that are shameless (157³⁰)
 εἶ|ο|ν|τ|σ|το|λ|η εἶ|δ|α|λ|ε|α|ρ|α|κ I am the robe clothing thee (116^{26f.})

And ο|ἵ|ε|ω|ν|ζε "how is - ?" has perhaps one stress only at 198²⁷, 219^{3f.}.

The verb may also in itself have a more specific sense, but nevertheless be used in an analogous way. To the sentence πο|υ|ώ|ω|ε ε|τ|ω|ο|ο|π|
 ζ|ῆ|τ|π|ε we may compare such a phrase as:

ν|δ|ι|νο|υ|ε|λ ε|τ|σ|δ|η|ρ|ζ|ῆ|π|χ|ι|ε the ships that sail on high

standing as a parallel stichos to:

μ|φ|ω|σ|τ|η|ρ ε|τ|ζ|ῆ|μ|π|η|ε The φωστῆρες that are in heaven (139^{29f.})

It is of no importance, if the verb form is a qualitative or not, or if the verb is "transitive" or "intransitive", as appears from the following instances:

π|ῆ|τ|ω|ρ|τ̄ ε|τ|η|λ|α|π|ο|υ|α|ῖ|νε Our Stair that goes to the Light.
 τ|ῆ|δ|λ|ο|ο|δ|ε ε|τ|σ|η|κ|α|π|χ|ι|ε Our Ladder that leads to the height. (167^{10f.},
 sim. 177^{8f.})
 ε|ι|ς|π|α|χ|α|ῖ α|ἵ|ν|τ|ῆ|α|π|κ|ρ|ο Lo, my ship I have brought it to the shore
 (= moored it; 63¹³)
 α|γ|κ|α|α|α|α|π|β|ω|σ|τ̄ ε|γ|ρ|α|γ|τ̄ They gladly let it decay (195⁷).

In such constructions a suffix may, of course, be added to the verb; furthermore an ethic dative inserted between the verb and the ad-verb does not change the accentuation (e.g. κ|α|ω|ε|νε|κ|α|ρ|η|ῖ "thou shalt go up", 225¹⁵), but a nominal object does:

α|γ|κ|α| ἡ|ν|ο|υ|τε ὑ|π|ε|ρ|τ|ῆ|ε [They] set the Gods below (147²⁸).

The accentuation of these constructions is quite as natural as the use of a direct object after an unaccented construct form of the

verb. The two constructions may occur as parallels as e.g. in the following stichoi:

ΤΖΑΛΜΕ ΕΤΒΕΒΕ_ΜΝΤΝΑ[δ	Fountain that gushes greatness (136 ⁴⁴)
ΝΖΑΛΜΕ ΕΤΜΗΖ_ΝΩΝΖ	Fountains filled with life (136 ⁴⁶)
ΝΚΑΙΕ ΕΤΡΗΤ_ΝΩΝΖ	Fields that are green with life (136 ⁴⁸).

It is often difficult to know exactly when this type of accentuation may be supposed — of course, it is not a general rule to be used wherever such adverbial constructions occur —, but with due regard to the sense, the context, and the metre in general ruling in the poem, I think the following readings may be justified:

Ν]ΝΙΚΗ ΕΤΑΤΠ_ΝΚΛΑΜ	The garlanded Victories (133 ¹⁸)
ΠΓΑΙΩ ΜΠΕΤΑ_ΧΕΙ_Ζ]ΠΧ]ΙΕ	The fellow of that which came from on high (138 ²⁴)
Π(ΟΥ)ΕCΑΥ ΕΤΜΗΡ_ΑΠΩΗΝ	the (a) sheep bound to the tree (172 ^{13f.} , 19, 21, 172 ²⁴ ; cf. also 155 ²²)
ΑΙΝΑΥΖΤ_ΑΠΚΡΟ ΝΚΑΙCΑΠ	I turned to the shore again (87 ^{28f.})
ΠΖΟΥΡΙΤ ΕΤΡΑΙC_ΑΤΨΟΥΡΨΕ	the watcher that guards his tower (136 ²³)
Ν]ΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΗΡ_ΑΠΤΟ	[the] Gods are spread over the world (147 ²⁴)
ΑΙΕΙ ΑΙΤΕΕΤ_ΑΠΜΟΥ_ΖΑ[Ρ]ΑΥ	I went, I gave myself to death for them (117 ^{2f.})

Possibly also:

ΡΜΝΒΑΙ_ΛΕ_ΑΠΤΟ ΖΑΡΩΜΕ	a sojourner on earth for men (181 ²³)
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Βι_ζα- "bear" is usually also unaccented (e.g. 62¹⁸, 87²⁴, 134^{9, 17f.}; 138⁵⁵, 139²⁵), especially in such expressions as Βι_ζαπτηρῆ "that bears the whole". But Βί_ζα_ at 142^{10, 17}.

The adverb Ν_ψαρῖ "first" is probably unaccented when preceded by a verb:

Α_ψΙΝΕ_Ν_ψαρῖ ΜΠΕΤΡΟC	He found first Petre (194 ⁷)
Α_ψΤῆ_ζο_Ν_ψαρῖ Ν_Δ]ΚΑΙΟC	He revived first the Righteous (196 ³⁰)

But at 59¹⁹ it is stressed at the end of a stichos:

Ντάκ πετακτέετ απαγών νῡάρπ Thou art he that delivered me to fight first
(= in the beginning).

I:6 (c) An adverbial expression in a modern language may also correspond to a verbal form in Coptic in constructions with circumstantial such as ἀγοραζόμεν ἐχθός (B) "he said again", ἀγορῶ ἐμὸν (S) "he is already dead", where the first verb expresses cessation, sentient perception and the like.⁽¹⁾ In such a construction one of the two verbs that are intimately connected with one another can be supposed to lose its accent. Thus in the metrically not quite regular psalm no. 241, the following distichon is perhaps to be read in a 2:2 measure:

ΚΑΝΕ|ΚΩΝΒΙΩΠ ΝΕΜΕΝ . If thou shouldest make reckoning with us,
ΖΕ|ΑΝΟΥΩ|ΕΝΡ . . . [Α]ΠΜΟΥ then we are already . . . to (?) death. (45^{9f.})

But at 19³⁰ οὔω is probably to be stressed in the same construction, since the stichoi of this psalm (no. 226) as a rule have 3 or 4 beats: ("Lo, his body was brought forth in the city of those sinners")

ΝΤΑΡΟΥΟΥΩ ΕΥΒ| ΝΤΕΦΑΠΕ when they had cut off his head
ΕΥΕ|ΩΕ|ΜΜΑC ΟΥΤΕ|ΠΜΗΩΕ ΤΗΡΩ and hung it up amid the whole multitude.

The same construction is also used with other verbs. The first verb cannot then be rendered with an adverbial expression, but the interest may be concentrated on the second verb to such an extent that the first verb loses its stress:

ΑΦΕ|ΕΥΚΩΤΕ CΑΠῠΕCΑΥ he came seeking his sheep (172^{22f.})
ΑΥΘῠΤΚ|ΕΚΟΥΑΤΒΕ ΑΠΡΗ thou wast found excelling the sun (123³⁷)

(1) Cf. Plumley, An introductory Coptic Grammar, § 197 a; Till, Koptische Dialektgrammatik, § 34 c.

Two verbs that are intimately connected with one another may also be in the same form, the second verb not being constructed as a circumstantial clause to the first one.

Thus e.g. with both verbs in I Perfect:

ἀγεί_αὐβωκ_εὐψοῦ_ῖτ	they went to and fro in vanity (63 ²⁷ ; hardly
	αὐβωκ_εὐψοῦ_ῖτ)
ἀπλοῦ_αὐβωκ_α[υ]νεῖ_πε	Death cried out and lamented (= lamentingly)
	(123 ^{27f.})

or two connected imperatives:

τῶν_μάραν	Arise, let us go! (154 ¹⁵ , 187 ¹⁸).
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The usual accentuation of the construction τὰν_2_α- + a verb, = "be about to", with the stress on the infinitive, is due to a similar phenomenon.

(d) As will be noted below, a construct form of the verb is sometimes stressed. This shows a certain lack of feeling for the difference between the verb form followed by a direct object and that preceding an object with $\bar{\alpha}$. Consequently, it is only natural to assume such readings as:

τρώω_μ_ἡπεί_ητ	eat out thy heart (147 ³³)
ἑ[ρ]οῦ_εν_μ_πρῶ	open the door (191 ^{27f.})

Such cases are, however, far less common than instances of a stressed construct form with direct object.

I:7 The conjunction $\alpha\bar{\alpha}$ may be stressed or not (Junker I:7 a) (stressed e.g. 207¹⁶, unaccented 63¹², 117¹⁷). Similarly $\alpha\bar{\omega}$ is often unaccented (82²⁸; stressed e.g. 52¹⁰; Junker I:7 b), and $\epsilon\bar{\omega}\alpha\pi\epsilon_\alpha\bar{\omega}\alpha\pi\epsilon$

has one stress only e.g. at 225^{3f}. (Junker I:7 c). In this stichos the particle $\rho\omega$ is unaccented, as is also the case at 49¹⁷, 82²² etc. Other particles are of course as a rule also unaccented: $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (but probably stressed at 157¹, 197¹⁸), $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ (158⁵), $\bar{\alpha}\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota$ (156⁷), $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\upsilon$ "but" (156²⁸, 187⁸), $\tau\eta\varsigma$ (50¹⁵), $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\iota$ "all hail to them" (142²¹), $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ "yet" (143⁶), $\epsilon\omega(\omega)\eta$ ($\epsilon\omega\beta$) (157⁶, 172^{6,7,8,12}, 191³⁰), $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ (40³⁰) etc.

The negative $\epsilon\lambda$ is as a rule stressed, but seems to be unaccented in the following cases:

$\bar{\eta}\epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha\gamma\eta\epsilon$	$\bar{\alpha}\mu\iota\omega\epsilon$	$\epsilon\lambda$	I knew not how to fight (117 ⁵)
$\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\gamma\epsilon\lambda$	$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\epsilon\tau$	$\tau\epsilon$	It is not gold and silver,
$\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\mu\epsilon\lambda$	$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\omega$	$\tau\epsilon$	it is not eating and drinking. (158 ⁹)

3. ADDITIONAL STRESS.

The cases where an otherwise unaccented word or syllable is stressed are also about the same in the Manichaean psalms as in the later poetry.

II:1 (a) The construct form is sometimes stressed (Junker II:1 a). A very clear instance we find at 194²³ (2:2 measure):

$\lambda\eta\psi\acute{\alpha}\lambda$	$\tau\eta\epsilon\rho\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\eta\mu$	He despoiled Jerusalem,
$\lambda\eta\beta\acute{\iota}$	$\eta\varsigma\epsilon\mu\alpha\rho\gamma\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma$	he took her pearls.

And furthermore in the same psalm:

$\lambda\eta\psi\acute{\epsilon}\tau$	$\pi\eta\langle\beta\rangle\rho\epsilon$	He sowed his seed
$\lambda\eta\kappa\alpha\zeta$	$\eta\eta\epsilon\psi\mu\eta\bar{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\gamma\eta\epsilon$	in the soil of his men of knowledge.
		(194 ²⁸)

(This distichon stands as a parallel to 194²⁷:

ἀϥτωδε̅ ἡνεϥψαλ̅	He planted his shoots
ε̅ἡπιωζε̅ ἡνεϥωτ̅π̅	in the field of his Elect.)
ἀϥχατ̅ ὑπερ̅ηε̅	They pierced him with the spear
χε̅αϥτεκ̅ό̅ ποϥπ̅λα̅σμα̅	because he destroyed their πλάσμα̅
	(196 ⁷)
ἀϥτ̅οϥχα̅[α]μ̅υ̅ς̅ α̅χω̅ϥ	They put a cloak upon him,
χε̅αϥβ̅ά̅[ω]̅ ἡοϥε̅ξ̅οϥς̅[α]	because he stripped their authorities.
	(196 ³)

In no. 228 (3:3 measure) the following stichoi should be read with three beats:

α̅[ϥ]̅ τε̅β̅λ̅κε̅ α̅χ̅ἡ̅πε̅ϥω̅μα̅	He brought his wrath down upon his body.
	(23 ^{32f.})
α̅ϥ̅ ὡ̅χω̅κ̅ α̅βα̅λ̅ ἡ̅τ̅ἡ̅ς̅β̅ω̅	He brought perfection to our Thought. (23 ¹⁶)

(Since ὡ̅χω̅κ̅ α̅βα̅λ̅ is one notion = "perfection", the construct form is probably stressed.)

Compare further e.g. 154^{29f.} (quoted below, p. 61), 63³⁰, 172²⁶.

II:1 (b) The auxiliaries may be stressed so that the verb form has two accented syllables.

Thus e.g. in I Future:

ἀϥτ̅ ἀνεϥδ̅ί̅χ̅ ἡ̅τ̅πα̅ρε̅ ὑ̅π̅ώ̅ν̅	He gave into his hand the medicine of life
χε̅ε̅ϥ̅ά̅τ̅λ̅ό̅ ἡ̅νε̅τ̅ψ̅ά̅δε̅	that he might heal the wounded. (23 ^{6f.})

The II Future possibly at 62^{22f.} (the last two stichoi of a 3:3:3:2 metre):

χε̅ε̅ἰ̅νά̅ϥ̅χώ̅βε̅ ε̅ῖ̅ρε̅ί̅ε̅	that I may be able to cross rejoicing
ἀνε̅κ̅μα̅ῶ̅ν̅π̅ε̅ ε̅τ̅τα̅ἰ̅ά̅τ̅	to thy honoured habitations.

$\bar{\text{N}}\tau\alpha$ of the Conjunctive is probably stressed in the following stichos of 4 beats:

$\bar{\text{N}}\tau\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\pi\rho\pi\mu\epsilon\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\pi\pi\acute{\kappa}\lambda\epsilon$ and I will shine in the remembrance of the Paraclete (59¹⁰)

And the Past Temporal has two beats at 169²¹:

$\chi\bar{\iota}\bar{\text{N}}\tau\alpha\iota\kappa\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\omega\nu\kappa$	Since I knew thee,
$\pi\alpha\pi\alpha$	my Spirit;
$\acute{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\kappa\ \acute{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\omicron\gamma\alpha\acute{\epsilon}\tau\bar{\iota}\bar{\text{N}}\kappa\omega\kappa$	I have loved thee and followed thee,
$\pi\alpha$	my pious one.

which stands as a parallel to the ensuing distichon:

$\acute{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\rho\omega\chi\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\epsilon}\omega\beta\bar{\iota}\nu\mu$	I burnt everything,
$\pi\alpha\pi\alpha$	my Spirit;
$\acute{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\kappa\ \bar{\text{N}}\tau\alpha\kappa\bar{\iota}\omicron\gamma\alpha\acute{\epsilon}\tau\kappa$	I loved thee alone,
$\pi\alpha$	my pious one.

(cf. below, p. 52)

II:2 The particle prefixes of the nouns may be accented (Junker II:2). Thus e.g. in the second stichos of the distichon 23^{16f.}, the first stichos of which is quoted above:

$\omicron\gamma\bar{\mu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\text{N}}\tau\alpha\rho\omega\acute{\gamma}\epsilon\tau\ \bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\text{N}}\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\chi\bar{\nu}\epsilon$. long-suffering to our Counsel.

Similarly perhaps $\bar{\mu}\bar{\text{N}}\tau\rho\bar{\mu}\acute{\alpha}\acute{\omicron}$ at 203^{30,32}, $\bar{\mu}\bar{\text{N}}\tau\omega\alpha\bar{\nu}\eta\acute{\zeta}\epsilon$ at 203³¹, $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\acute{\epsilon}\bar{\mu}\epsilon$ at 207^{19,26}, 208^{10,15,28} in the Psalms of Thomas.

II:3 In some cases prepositions are perhaps accented:

$\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\text{N}}\tau\epsilon\gamma\bar{\iota}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\mu\epsilon\gamma$	They have no mercy
$\acute{\alpha}\chi\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\iota}\pi\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\chi\acute{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\tau$	upon the condemned (146 ^{29f.} ; 2:2 measure).
$\pi\acute{\omega}\rho\omega\ \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\kappa\bar{\text{N}}\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{\text{N}}\pi\alpha\pi\bar{\iota}\bar{\text{N}}\acute{\alpha}$	spread thy mercy upon my spirit. (59 ^{11f.} ; 4 beats in each stichos.)

Confer also the instance 55²², quoted below, p. 70.

$\bar{\text{N}}\text{c}\bar{\alpha}\beta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\ \text{z}\omega\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ The wise ones also that are among men
 $\alpha\gamma\bar{\rho}\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\rho}\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\bar{\beta}\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\chi\chi\iota\epsilon$ bore witness concerning his eminence.
 (24^{4f.}; 3:3 measure.)

$\alpha\bar{\iota}\tau\epsilon\epsilon\ \alpha\chi\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\alpha\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ [\alpha\bar{\iota}+]\tau\omega\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\ \underline{\omicron\gamma\beta\acute{\epsilon}}\ \bar{\eta}\alpha\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ I have put it upon limbs; I have fought against
 my enemies.
 (51¹⁰; stichos of 5 beats.)

$\bar{\alpha}\pi\gamma\lambda\eta\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\pi\eta\gamma\epsilon\ \alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma\epsilon\bar{\eta}\ \text{z}\eta\tau$ [The gates] of Heaven have opened before me
 $\text{z}\acute{\iota}\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\alpha\chi\tau\bar{\iota}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\mu}\pi\alpha\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$ through the rays of [my] Saviour
 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\alpha\bar{\iota}\bar{\eta}\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\bar{\iota}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\epsilon\alpha\gamma$ and his glorious likeness of Light.
 (81⁶ff.; 3:3:3 measure.)

III The Greek words as a rule keep their original accentuation, but long words may have two stresses (Junker III). This may be due to the Coptic tendency to stress the ultima. Thus e.g. in the word $\pi\alpha\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, the first stress would be the original Greek accent, and the second the new Coptic one. Other words, where the Greek accent falls on the ultima or penultima (e.g. $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$, 193²⁵), may analogously have received a second stress by an inversion of this rule.

Be this as it may, we can in any case notice in the Manichaean psalms that many lines which are otherwise not in accordance with the measure of the poem fall into the rhythm, if a Greek word is read with two stresses: $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma$ (156^{21f.}), $\pi\alpha\rho\text{-}\theta\epsilon\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\alpha$ (? 51²⁶), $\omega\mu\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (? 145³) $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (81²⁴), $\delta\iota\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (59⁷), $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (145¹⁶), $\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\beta\epsilon\gamma\tau\eta\varsigma$ (? 208^{11,12} 209²⁴).

CHAPTER II. THE DOXOLOGIES.

Most of the psalms, except those of Thomas, end with a formula containing a wish of "victory" (σπο) or something similar to the soul of Mary, Theona, or some other person. According to Allberry (p.xx), these persons are "Egyptian converts, martyred in the early days of the Egyptian mission", and the doxologies are "local in origin". Baumstark (Or. Christ. 36, 123) compares them with the *ἑλειτουργικά* or *Νεκρώσιμα* of the Christian hymns, and points out that they resemble the usual concluding formula of the Mandaean texts *וְחַיִּיךְ זַכְיִיךְ* "and the Life is victorious".⁽¹⁾ Those containing a wish of "peace" (οὐμταν, οὐματνες, e.g. 162^{18ff.}, 163^{31f.}, 191^{16f.}) or "salvation" (οὐωτε, e.g. 186^{30ff.}, 116^{22f.}) are, according to Baumstark, influenced by Christian terminology.

That this martyrological doxology does not belong to the hymn proper is quite obvious. At 177^{29f.} a psalm ends with the words

.....]Α] ὡΑΑΝΗΞΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ	... for ever. Amen.
αχχωκ	It (viz. the psalm) is finished.
ΟΥΕΛΥ (σπο) ΝΤΤΥ ΧΗ ΝΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ἡμΑΡΙΑ [Glory (or victory) to the] soul of the blessed Mary.	

And in the psalm ending at 193^{10ff.}, the addition of the words "the soul of the blessed Mary" in the phrase "we go within the bride-chamber and reign with him, all of us together — and the soul of the blessed Mary. Amen." is obviously secondary, and does not quite suit the context.⁽²⁾ This is also the case e.g. at 183¹⁸, where we can see how the formula does not fall into the measure of the poem (2+ refrain). This is more or less the rule. Sometimes the

(1) σπο, as well as βραβελον (e.g. 91¹⁴) and κλαμ (e.g. 170¹⁴, 197⁸), is the technical term corresponding to *zakūtā*; cf. Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements*, p. 42, n. 2.

(2) cf. also e.g. 136^{11f.}, 146^{9ff.}, 158¹⁷.

formula is adapted to the metre and has the same number of beats as the other lines or stichoi, but then adds a superfluous line to the strophe (e.g. Ps. 250)⁽¹⁾.

In this respect the Psalms of Thomas have kept the original form, in so far as the "Egyptian doxology" has not been added.

When analysing the metre of a psalm, this martyrological doxology should consequently not be taken into consideration.

As a rule this formula is preceded by another doxology, in which honour is ascribed to God, Jesus, Mani, the Elect etc.⁽²⁾ According to Baumstark (loc. cit.) this other doxology corresponds to the Christian Τριαδικά or Δοξαστικά. As well as the martyrological doxology it stands outside the hymn proper. Thus e.g. the psalm 141¹ - 143³⁴ ends: "Lo, this is the end (πρωκ_αβαλ) of the Psalm of Endurance.", and then follows the doxological formula: "Glory and honour to our Lord, our Light, Mani, who endured to the end, and his holy Elect, and the soul [of Mary]." (ΘΥΕΛΥ ΜΝΟΥΤΑΙΟ ΜΠΝΧΑΙΟ etc.).⁽³⁾ And at 186²⁸ a psalm ends thus:

ΕΙΣ ΠΡΎΜΝΟΣ ΜΠΡΑΜΗΝ	Lo, the hymn of Amen:
ΜΑΡΝΟΥΩΥΒΕ ΖΙΟΥΕΠ ΖΑΜΗΝ	let us answer together, Amen.
ΤΟΥΒΑΙ	Purify me (etc.; the refrain)
ΘΥΕΛΥ ΜΝΟΥΤΑΙΟ ΝΗΚ	Glory and honour to Jesus,
ΠΡΡΟ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΒΕ ⁽⁴⁾	the King of the holy ones.
[Ο]ΥΣΩΤΕ [Μ]ΝΟΥΤΑΝ ΕΦΩΩΠΕ	Salvation and rest be there to the soul of the
ΝΤΥΥΧΗ ΝΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΘΕΟΝΑ ΠΥΑΙ ΧΥΝΟΥΤΕ	blessed Mary, Theona, etc.

As is often the case, the first doxology does not here fall into the measure ruling in the rest of the poem.

- (1) The fact that the abbreviation for the refrain is sometimes (as e.g. in no. 228) repeated after this formula is, in my opinion, no argument against the view that it does not belong the hymn proper.
- (2) The martyrological formula stands alone on pp. 60, 76, 91, 136, 152, 158, 168, 177, 183, 193.
- (3) It is true that αρωκ stands after the doxology at 47²⁵, but this marks the end of the Psalms of the Bema.
- (4) The manuscript has ΝΝΕΤΟΥΒΑΙ, which is influenced by the refrain ΤΟΥΒΑΙ. I don't think that we should emend ΝΝΕΤΟΥ(ΑΒΕ ΤΟΥ)ΒΑΙ, with Allberry, since as a rule the refrain is not repeated after the doxology.

Further we may quote the last words of the psalm 168²⁰ - 169¹⁴:

ΤΤχωκ αβαλ πε πεϊ	This is the end
ἡπφ λμος λμν ἦ	of the Psalm (Refrain) Thou
ΤΤχωκ ετμης καλως πε	The Psalm of the Love of the Father is the end
πφ λμος ἡταγ λπη ἡπιωτ	which is filled well. (1)
Ου εαυ ἡνουταῖο ἡἡε	Glory and honour to Jesus,
πρρο ἡνετογαβ ε ἡτ	the King of the Holy ones; (refr.) Thou
ἡννεφωτπ ετογαβε	and his holy Elect
ἡντφγχη ἡτμακαρ λα ἡμαρλα	and the soul of the blessed Mary.

Here, too, the doxologies stand after the concluding formula of the psalm proper.

The simplest formulations of these doxologies are such as

Ουεαυ ἡνουδρο (ουταῖο) ἡπῆχα|ε πμἡν|χα|ε ἡννεφωτπ| ετογαβε ἡντφγχη (or ουδρο ἡτφγχη) ἡτμακαρλα ἡμαρλα (e.g. 81^{17f.}; 88^{20f.})

"Glory and victory (or honour) to our Lord Mani and his holy Elect and (or victory) to the soul of the blessed Mary."

To this we may compare the concluding doxologies of the Mandaean texts "And the Life is victorious" or "The Life be praised" (2) or both these formulae combined (e.g. Mand. Lit., pp. 14, 87, 110) or the second formula preceded by "blessed be —" (op. cit. pp. 104, 109, 177, 180). The Psalm of the Bema no. 222 ends: "Glory to thee, our Father Mani, etc. [Thou art the] entire remission of sins etc.", which resembles the Mandaean formula, : "Praise to thee, Mandā dHayyē, who doest not damn thy friends" (op. cit., p. 189). And the Manichaean doxologies containing a glorification of, or a wish for victory to the Elect, "to them that have shown zeal for God" (65^{25f.}), "to thy holy Elect that have sung unto thy greatness" (30^{18f.}) correspond to the Mandaean "The Life be praised, Mandā dHayyē is victorious and those who love his name" (L.G. 131^{17f.};

(1) Read <ἡπφ|λμος : "This is the end which is well filled of the Psalm etc."?

(2) Cf. Lidzbarski, Johannesbuch, p. 11, n. 3.

Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. 587) or the common formula "Thou wast victorious, Mandā dHayyē, and helped all thy friends to victory". The Manichaean "Give me also the victory, me (?), the soul of Mary" (168^{18f.}) recalls the Mandaean "Make victorious and strengthen my soul of NN, and the Life is victorious over everything" (Mand. Lit., pp. 133, 145).

Quite as the Manichaean doxologies, the Mandaean formulae in question stand at the end of the poem, and do not fall into the 3:3 measure that in general rules in Mandaean poetry.

CHAPTER III.

THE INTRODUCTION AND THE REFRAIN.

Most psalms with the exception for those of Thomas, start with an introduction which very often is composed in another measure than the rest of the poem and contains an invocation and the like. As a rule this introduction is either identical with the refrain, or contains its main theme. I have noticed only a few exceptions.

Psalm no. 272 starts with the introduction: "Jesus Christ in whom I have believed, show [thyself to me] quickly and save me." Then follows what seems to be the first strophe: "O merciful and good, full of mercy upon, O First-born, Jesus, whom I have loved, do not forsake me in my tribulations", and this phrase "Do not forsake me etc." is then taken up as a refrain after the other strophes.

At 182²⁰ a psalm begins with the question: "What shall I do that I may live? My Saviour, what shall I do that I may live?", and the main part of the psalm gives the answer: "Keep thy fasting, my soul, and thou shalt live". Here the phrase "My soul, and thou shalt live" is the refrain of each of the following stichoi of two beats.

In the psalm 197⁹ - 202²⁶, composed in a distichal measure, the introduction is as follows:

Οἱ υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπου ὡς ἄγγελος ἀπὸ οὐρανόθεν .	Gather and come, O sons of man,
ἡ τέτις [ε]στὶν ἡ ἀγγελία	and hear the Envoy
πεταυτὴν αὐτὴν ἡ ἀγγελία	that was sent with the news of Heaven.

But the refrain is first τελοῦ πῶς ἀπὸ οὐρανόθεν "Tell us the news of Heaven" with some variants, then τελοῦ πῶς ἀπὸ οὐρανόθεν with variants, then εἰς πῶς and then χὶ πῶς in accordance with the sense of the verses.

A similar variation of the refrain is also to be seen in the long martyrological psalm 141¹ - 143³⁴. Of the fragmentary introduction the

following phrases are preserved:

... μαρετ]πνευμα ντζυπομονη ει nen	[May] the Spirit of Endurance come to us,
[μα]ρε τζυπομονη υπομε νε	let Endurance endure
ντνβ αζρη	and let us bear up
κενα [. . .] ντζυπομονη	that we may . . . Endurance.

The refrain is ντα(or α)τζυπομονη ει neq "Endurance came to him" varying with μαρε "Let (Endurance come etc.)".

Similarly, in the psalm no. 237 the refrain is σε† νορεαυ απ|πετ-τρωνα|νε παβε πτκλς "They render glory unto the Giver of Light, the Sage, the Paraclete", with varying expressions between the words εαυ and παβε.

And in the rather fragmentary psalm no. 269, the last verses have the refrain των "arise", instead of απωρ ακαατ' νεωκ ζιπαλε απ|κοσμος "do not forsake me in the desert of this world" of the preceding verses (cf. below, p. 55).

In most cases the refrain is written in a very abbreviated form, and consequently it cannot always be reconstructed with certainty. Thus, for instance, we do not know anything definite about its formulation in the psalms pp. 127 - 131 (χαρε π...), p. 132 (πωκ), p. 118 (ν|υ) or 152¹⁰ - 153⁷ (c)⁽¹⁾.

As pointed out by Baumstark (Or. Christ. 36, 125) there are two different types of refrain:

- (a) The whole introduction is taken up as a refrain (e.g. no. 284:

+εωκ ακακ πχρς "I sing to thee, o Christ.")

- (b) The refrain takes up only the last part of the introduction (e.g.

no. 244: Introduction: Δμο|γ πασωτηρ |ης απωρκαατ νε|ωκ| "Come, my Saviour; Jesus, do not forsake me";

Refrain: |ης απωρκαατ νεωκ

(1) perhaps <ωογ2 μμα| ζωτ' αζογν αταμτε ννεκμερετε> in accordance with the introduction.

Type (a) Baumstark compares with the ^cŌnīthā and ^ūnāyā of the Syriac mādhrašā and sōghīthā⁽¹⁾ and with the Latin responsorium a capite.

Type (b) corresponds, according to Baumstark, to the Greek κοινάκιον (where the refrain takes up the last part of the prooimion, composed in another metre than that of the following ὁῶς:) and to the Gallic responsorium per latera.

But Baumstark stresses the fact that both types have a millennial tradition and are found already in Sumerian liturgies.

Since the whole refrain is only seldom written out by the scribe, it is often questionable whether the refrain does really take up the whole phrase in the introduction, the first word of which is written after the lines, verses or strophes to mark the refrain, the more so since we have seen that the refrain is not always quite stereotyped in its form, but may vary according to the sense of the main text.

With regard to type (a), it is fairly certain that introduction and refrain are identical in, e.g., the psalms no. 264 (introduction: ΠΤῳαμ|ce γαπ| ἄγοyn γαpακ; refrain: πῳαμ|ce), no. 284 (cited above) and 179^{7ff}. But where the introduction contains two or several phrases, or one long sentence, perhaps sometimes only the initial words were taken up as a refrain. The following instances may be cited:

Introduction:

ΠΤῳpε|ε| μμα|
παpε|ceωte μπωpρ|παωβω

Christ, guide me:
my Saviour, do not forsake me.

Refrain: πῳpε

(116^{24ff.})

Introduction:

μμα|pε|ε| Ντο τcoφ|α
μαpε|κατοote αβαλ ταγαπη

Thou dost not weary, O Wisdom:
thou dost not give in, O Love.

Refrain: μαpε|

(171^{25ff.})

(1) cf. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn 1922, p. 39 f.

Introduction:

ΝΤΚ ΟΥΠΗ<ΓΗ> ΙΗ<Θ>
ΕΚΝΗΥ ΖΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΡΡΟ

Thou art a spring, O Jesus,
coming from the Aeons, O King.

Refrain: ΝΤΚ

(185^{3ff.})

Introduction:

ΤΟΥΒΑΙ ΠΑΝΟΥΤΕ

Purify me, my God:

ΜΑ ΝΗΙ ΟΥΔΑΜ ΖΩΤ' ΝΤΑΜΟΥ give me also power that I may bless;

ΜΑ ΝΗΙΙ [Ο]ΥΔΑΜ ΖΩΤ' ΝΤΑΜΟΥ give me also power that I may bless

ΤΑΤΕΟΥΟ ΠΕΥΜΝ[Ο]C [ΑΠΖΑΜΗΝ] and utter the hymn [of Amen].

ΤΟΥΒΑΙ

Purify me.

Refrain: ΤΟΥΒΑΙ

(185^{28ff.})

Among the psalms adduced by Baumstark as typical instances of type (a) we find 168²⁰ - 169¹⁴. The introduction is

ΝΤΕ ΟΥΜΑΙΖΥΜΝΟC

Thou art a lover of hymns,

ΝΤΕ ΟΥΜΑΙΘΝΘΝ

thou art a lover of music,

ΝΤΕ ΟΥΜΕΡΙΤ ΕΡΕΚΙΘΑΡΑ

thou art a beloved, playing the lute.

ΝΤΟ

Thou.

The refrain is as a rule only marked with ΝΤΟ, and since this word may refer to any of the three members of the introduction, the refrain may in this case as well be of type (b). And, indeed, the last words of the fragmentary line 168²⁸ ΝΤΕ ΟΥΜΕΡΙ[Τ] may be another writing of the refrain. (1)

In some refrains of type (b) consisting of two elements, perhaps only the first of them was repeated. Thus e.g. the introduction of no. 228 ends

[ΜΑΡΝΤΩΒΕ Τ]ΗΡΝ ΜΑCΗΝΥ
ΧΕ ΕΥΑΚΑ ΝΗΝΑ[ΒΕ ΑΒΑΛ]

let us all pray, my brethren,
that he may forgive us our sins.

(1) Finally, I want to point out that no. 268 and p. 154^{22ff.} perhaps do not have a refrain of type (a), and should not have been adduced by Baumstark as typical instances. In no. 268 no refrain is marked at all, but may probably be reconstructed. Other instances of refrains belonging to type (a), not mentioned by him, are found in 116^{24ff.}, 158^{18ff.}.

and the refrain is marked as τωβζ ᾠμαγ (or τῆτωβζ ᾠμαγ) ; possibly the δε-clause was dropped in the refrain.

Similarly in the psalm 153^{8ff.} the last part of the introduction

τῆςωντ̄ ᾠου[κλ]αμ ᾠρρο and weave a royal garland
τῆτεεγ̄ ᾠνετογαβε τηρου and give it to all the holy ones.

was perhaps taken up as a refrain only in the form τῆςωντ̄ <ᾠουκλαμ ᾠρρο>.

ᾠπνευ as a refrain in the psalm 183^{19ff.} is possibly only to be read ᾠπνευ ᾠπουρατ̄ [ᾠ]ᾠαγγελος . "at the time of the joy of the Angels", leaving out what follows in the introduction παχαῖς εἰσαννουτε κογαυβετ "My Lord, when I call thou answerest me".

Since we have refrains of one or two words only (e.g. no. 240, pp. 120-4, 169^{15ff.}, 175^{2ff.}), and since most refrains are very short, it seems reasonable to assume such a shortening of the formulation as it stands in the introduction.

Sometimes there is no special introduction, or, at least, the introduction is composed in the same measure as the rest of the poem, though at times containing the usual invocation. In other words, such psalms seem to start directly with the first verse or strophe to which the refrain is appended. Thus e.g. in no. 269 (quoted below, p. 55).

Further no. 253:

2	ΤΙ Χρ̄ς παπατσελεετ	Christ, my bridegroom,
2	αψαα<π̄> απ̄μα[ν]ω[ε]λεετ	has taken me to his bridechamber;
2	αἰῆταν ᾠμαῖ νεμεγ	I have rested with him
2	εἰτ̄χωρα ᾠν ατμ ου	in the land of the immortal.
(Refr.)	να εν̄ηγ̄ αἰ χι ᾠπακλαμ	My brethren, I have received my garland.

(63³⁻⁵)

(The rest of the poem 2:2 + 2:2 + refrain.)

No. 270:

3	Ἦς τζελπ̄ς ᾠμηε	O Jesus, the true hope,
3	πετα χπαγ̄ νηῖ εἰνογ̄αγ̄νε	whom I got for myself in knowledge,
(Refr.)	+τοοτ̄ παχαῖς ᾠκ̄ναεμετ̄	aid me, my Lord, and save me.

(88^{23f.})

(The measure of the poem is 3:3 + refrain.)

Confer further 120^{1ff.}, 169^{15ff.}.

According to Allberry (p.XX), "it seems from 47,15 - 17 'He that sings a psalm is like them that weave a garland: they that answer after him are like them that put roses into his hands', that a cantor would sing a verse alone and at the end of it the congregation would repeat the opening words of the psalm or some phrase from the first verse. This response or refrain has in many cases been inserted at the end of verses by the scribe, often in a shortened form". Allberry is thus under the impression that what I call a refrain was used in most psalms, even if it is not always written out by the scribe of our text (similarly also Baumstark, op.cit., p. 125).

That the strophe was sung by a cantor and the refrain by the congregation, is obvious in those psalms where the refrain is of the type "Let us answer to the Amen" (189^{30ff.}), or "Come (ἀμὴν), sing to him, the Saviour of Spirits" (193^{13ff.}) but the strophes have forms of the 1st pers. sing. (in the first of these psalms e.g. 190²⁷ "When I utter the Amen the doors of Heaven open", and 191^{4ff.}; in the latter 197^{1ff.}).

Of a special interest in this connection is the psalm 185^{28ff.}. The introduction "Purify me, my God: give me also the power that I may bless etc. and utter the hymn [of Amen]" (quoted above, p. 35) was obviously sung by the cantor. Then the psalm continues:

Εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
μαρ[ῖ]νωμεθα εἰς ὅς γε ἀμὴν
τοῦ βα[ι]

I will utter the hymn of Amen:
let [us answer] together, Amen.
Purify me.

ἀμὴν πατὴρ ἀμὴν ἀμὴν υἱός
μαρ[ῖ]νωμεθα εἰς ὅς γε ἀμὴν
τοῦ βα[ι]

Amen, the Father; Amen, Amen, the Son;
let us answer together, Amen.
Purify me.

In the following verses the phrase "let us answer together, Amen" is not repeated, and the refrain is only marked with "Purify me" (τοῦ βα[ι]). Since, however, this phrase reappears at the end of the hymn (186²⁸), it

is possible that it should be reconstructed as a refrain after every line.⁽¹⁾ These lines were, I think, sung by the cantor, and "let us answer etc." by the congregation. Perhaps "Purify me etc." was then taken up again by the cantor, as an introduction to the following line. But this is far from certain, since the different refrains of the psalm 144^{1ff.} — presumably all sung by the congregation — are of the types "Let us sing etc.", and "O my Saviour". Moreover, refrains in the "I"-form are very common. Thus "Purify me etc." was perhaps also sung by the congregation.

Now, it is fairly obvious that other introductions of the type "let us" and the like in psalms where no refrain is marked (nos. 223, 224, 227, 230, 234, 164^{1ff.}) were repeated as a refrain, partly or in extenso (according to type a or b), and especially in those cases, where the main text has forms in the 1st sing.

Cf. e.g.

164^{1ff.}

Σωυτ ἀπαυγῆ [.
] τε

189^{30ff.}

Σαμην πλωτ ζαμην πυηρε

Refrain:

μα[ρν]ουωυβ[ε] ν[ε]χ ζ[ι]ουσαπ
 κε ν[ι] . γρημα

μαρ̄ουωυβε [ς]απζ[αμ]ην

Gather to the assembly

Amen, the Father, Amen, the Son:

Refrain:

let us answer him together:
 thou art merciful(?).

let us answer to the Amen.

No. 234 (end of the introduction) p. 144^{1ff.} (last refrain)

μαρ̄[ζως α]ραγ τηρ̄ etc.

μαρ̄ζως ζιουσαπ ασηνη

Let us sing to him, all of us etc.

Let us sing together to Sethel.

The introduction, or the second half of it, was also in all probability repeated as a refrain in those psalms where a similar short sentence occurs as a refrain in other psalms. Thus if we compare e.g. the intro-

(1) Note that about the same phrase is used as a refrain in the very similar psalm 189^{30ff.}!

ductions of psalms without any marked refrain with those of other psalms where a refrain has been written out by the scribe, we can reconstruct the missing refrains:

No. 252 (sim. no. 289):

ΙΙC ΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ ΝΑΠΙCΤΟC
†τωβ̄ε̄ ἡμακ
ἡπωρκα[ατ] ἡνωκ

Jesus, the Light of the faithful,
I beseech thee,
do not forsake me.

No. 267 (sim. nos. 255, 273):

ΔΟΥ] ΝΗ ΠΑΧΑΙC
ΙΙC ΤΩΚ ΑΡΕΤΚ ΝΕΜΗ
Ζ[ΝΤΟΥΝΟΥ] Ν[ΤΑ]ΑΝΑΓΚΗ

Come] to me, my Lord,
Jesus, stand with me
in [the hour] of [my] need

No. 277:

ΠΙΧΡC ΤΩΚ ΑΡΕΤΚ ΝΕΜΗ

O Christ,
stand with me.

No. 268:

ΙΙC ΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ ΕΤΑΙΜΕΡΙΤΩ
χι ἡμαῖ αζοϋν ψαράκ

No. 269 (cf. 272):

ΙΙC ΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ
ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΧ[ΑCΕ]
ἡπωρ ακαατ ἡνωκ
ΖΙΠΧΑΙΕ ἡπικ[οc]μoς

Refr. ἡπωρ ακαατ

Jesus, my Light,
the Son of them that [are on high],
do not forsake me
in the desert of this world.
Refr. Do not forsake me etc.

No. 244:

ΔΟΥ] ΠΑCΩΤΗΡ
ΙΙC ἡπωρκαατ ἡνωκ

Refr. ΙΙC ἡπωρκαατ ἡνωκ

Come, my Saviour,
Jesus, do not forsake me.
Refr. Jesus, do not forsake me.

No. 264:

ΠΨΑΜΙCΕ
ΨΑΠ̄ ΑΖΟΥΝ ΨΑΡΑΚ

Refr. πψαμισε

Jesus my Light, whom I have loved,
take me in unto thee.

O first-born,
take me in unto thee.
Refr. O first-born.

CHAPTER IV. THE METRE.

A metrical analysis of the Psalm-book shows an overwhelming richness of varying measures. In general the metre is fairly regular if we accept the principles of accentuation expounded above, but we sometimes find a line or a verse that does not seem to fall into the measure of the rest of the poem. Several psalms are difficult to analyse because they are too fragmentary, others that are well preserved I have tried in vain to bring into a regular metre (as e.g. no. 223), but I am not at all sure that other scholars will not be more successful. It is quite possible, however, that there are some metrically rather irregular psalms corresponding e.g. to the Mandaean עניאניא in a contrast to the regularly composed אשכנזי.⁽¹⁾

1. ONE SHORT STICHOS + REFRAIN.

The simplest metrical form consists of a very short line recited or sung by the cantor, each time followed by a refrain sung by the congregation. The psalms of this composition belong to the group styled by Baumstark (Or. Christ. 36, 124) as "geradezu litaneihafte Gebilde" with a very old tradition — this type is met with as early as in Sumerian liturgies.

A common metre is 2+ refrain, as e.g. in the psalm 182²⁰ - 183¹⁸.

(1) Cf. Lidzbarski, Mand. Lit., pp. XIV f.

182^{20ff.} This hymn is introduced with the question:

Εἴναρο τῶνδ' •	What shall I do that I may live?
παρεψωτε εἴναρο τῶνδ'	My Saviour, what shall I do that I may live?

The answer follows in the metre 2 + refrain:

ραῖς ἀτενηστία	Keep thy fasting,
ταψυχῇ αὐω τεραωνῇ	my soul, and thou shalt live.
† πῦταν ἡνεβίχ	Give rest to thy hands,
ταψυχῇ αὐω τε	my soul, and thou <shalt live.>
βάλει ἡπτοῦβοῦτμη	Clothe thyself in the purity of Truth,
ταψυχῇ αὐω τε	my soul, and thou <shalt live.>
† ταγαπῇ ἡπτοῦς	Give Love to thy (read ἡπε) Intelligence,
ταψυχῇ αὐω τε	my soul, and thou <shalt live.>

It should be noted that the refrain is repeated after each stichos, even if it interrupts a sentence consisting of a distichon (e.g. 182^{29ff.}; quoted below, p. 49).

Whereas in this psalm, the scribe has carefully written the refrain after each stichos, the marking of the refrain is very irregular 133^{1ff.} in the first one of the ψαλμοὶ σαράκωτων (133¹ - 136¹²). As 182^{20ff.}, this psalm starts with an introductory question:

Ερε νῆμ] νᾱσνῆμ	Who], my brethren,
πετῶπῶα ἡπεαυ τηρῶ	is worthy of all glory?

And the psalm, or rather the first part of it, gives the answer: the tetrad πνοῦτε, πογαῖνε, τσαμ, and τσοφῖα, i.e. ὁ τετραπρόσωπος πατὴρ τοῦ μεγέθους⁽¹⁾, with its attributes and epitheta. These four entities are likened to four days of twelve hours, and e.g. 12 aeons are said to be the twelve hours of the First day which is πνοῦτε⁽²⁾:

††† πῶτ ἡτε τῶντῶαδ	The] Father of Greatness
πετῶπῶα ἡπεαυ τηρῶ	is worthy of all glory.

(1) Cf. Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, p. 18 f.

(2) Cf. Keph., Chapter IV; Schmidt-Polotsky, *Ein Mani-Fund*, pp. 73 ff.

π]ρρο π]νοϋτε]ντ]μ]νε
 πετ]μ]ψα

The] King, the God of Truth
 is worthy <of all glory>.

etc. (133^{3f.})

Ε]ς] πε]πε π]ω]ρ]π]]ν]ρ]οϋ]ε . Lo,] this is the First day,
 <πετ]μ]ψα> <that is worthy etc.>

π]μ]ν]τ]σ]α]ϋ]ς]]ν]α]ω]]ν]]νε]νε]φ]ο]ϋ]ν]α]ο]ϋ]νε Its hours are his 12 Aeons,
 <πετ]μ]ψα> <worthy etc.>

(133^{11f.})

Now it is interesting to note that the hymn is composed in a form so as to suit this content. The first part (133³⁻¹²), pertaining to the First day ≠ π]νοϋτε, consists of twelve stichoi of two beats, and not everyone of these stichoi mentions a new entity or a new attribute. Thus it is a purely literary device, not ressorting from an enumeration of 12 "parts" of π]νοϋτε.

The refrain is repeated only after the 1st, 2nd, 6th and 10th stichos, but I have little doubt that it was sung after each stichos, according to the type of metre seen e.g. in the psalm 182^{20ff.}. The words of the refrain do not always suit the sense of the main text, but that is rather a common phenomenon. Neither is it surprising that the refrain may interrupt a sentence, as this is also often the case in other psalms.

At 133⁸ I propose the conjecture ετ]π]ρ]ε]νε]α]ω]ν]ν]α]ω]ν], since an unaccented word is expected here (cf. Chapter I, no. I:1).⁽¹⁾

In the second "strophe" (133¹³⁻²²), dealing with the Second day ≠ π]ρ]ο]α]νε, the refrain is written after the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 5th and 11th stichos, a fact which in my opinion supports the view that it should properly be repeated after each stichos — otherwise we would have expected a repetition after the same stichoi as in the first "strophe". However, in this part we find 13 stichoi instead of 12.

Not that I like emendations metri causa, but in this case it is

(1) This reading suits the length of the lacuna. Of the preceding ετ]π]ρ]ε practically nothing is now visible.

very tempting to assume that the 8th and 9th stichoi do not belong to the original version, and that the 5th stichos should be divided into two:

τῦμῆντcναγc ἀπαρθε[n]oc	His twelve maidens	
ετκωτε ἀραγ	that surround him.	
πετᾶπψα	Worthy.	(133 ^{16f.})

With some hesitation I thus propose to read 133^{18ff.} with the following omission (in [] brackets):

Νῖνικη ετατῖνκλαμ .	[The] garlanded Victories,	
<πετᾶπψα> or <νετᾶπψα>	<Worthy.>	
ετ+ανηψ ἀπεγῖρο	that give bunches of flowers to their king,	
<π(ν)ετᾶπψα>	<Worthy.>	
[[NETE NOYBAINE NTOTOY .	their harps in their hands,]	
[[ΝΙΚΙΘΑΡΑ ΖῆNEYΘΙΧ	the lutes in their hands,]	
NETE NOYBAINE NTOTOY .	their harps in their hands,	
<π(ν)ετᾶπψα>	<Worthy.>	
ΕΥΖΩC ΑΖΟΥΝ ΑΠΩΤ ΕΤΖΗΠ	singing unto the hidden Father;	
πετᾶπψα	<Worthy.>	
ΝΟΥΚΙΘΑΡΑ ΖῆNEYΘΙΧ	their lutes in their hands,	
<π(ν)ετᾶπψα>	<Worthy.>	
ΕΥΘΝΘΝ ΑΡΑΓ ΠΙΠΑΠΕΑΥ	as they make music unto him, the glorious one.	
<πετᾶπψα>	<Worthy.>	

At 133¹⁴ I think we should read [ποναῖν]ε ετζηνεχην, since this day symbolizes the "Light" (cf. 134^{6ff.}) and ποναῖνε is not mentioned elsewhere in this "strophe".

The proposed division of the 5th stichos (133^{16f.}) may seem superfluous, but if we adopt the same method in the third "strophe", reading:

τδαν ἀπνουτε	the power of God	<Worthy.>
ετβι ζαπτηρῳ	that supports the Universe	<Worthy.>
		(133 ²⁴)

and

τῖμῆντcναγc ἡοῦνοῦ	Its 12 hours,	<Worthy.>
πῖμῆντcναγc ἡμελoc	his 12 members	<Worthy.>
ετκωτε ἀραγ	that surrounds him	<Worthy.>
		(133 ^{26f.})

we obtain 12 stichos here too. Possibly, instead of one of these, the 7th stichos should be divided into two:

ΤΤ]τοῦ ἡνωερον	the 5 νοερά	<Worthy.>
αζῆπτοῦ ἡωμοφορος	the 5 Omophori	<Worthy.>

(133²⁸).

These readings are quite possible, even if they are not the normal ones. However, at 11. 29 f., we again find some metrical irregularities — two verb forms must be read with a double accent to suit the metre:

Χ]εκας εὔναρμντ	that they may be 10,	<Worthy.>
πτωρμε μῆπρωτμε	the Call and the Hearing,	< " >
ἡσερμῆτσαγς	and they are 12.	< " >

In this third "strophe", the refrain is written twice only.

The fourth "strophe" (133³¹-134⁵) is rather fragmentary, but can hardly be reconstructed so as to obtain 12 stichoi. Thus the pattern of the preceding strophes is no longer observed, a fact which may of course throw some doubt upon my analysis of these strophes. However, as pointed out by Schmidt-Polotsky (Ein Mani-Fund, pp. 76, 78), the text relating to the Fourth day in Keph. Chapter IV is not to be found in the Turkish and Chinese versions and is "Sondergut des Kopten". The corresponding passage in our psalm may thus well be a later addition as seems to be the case in the Keph. The fact that it is composed in a different way to the "strophes" of the other days is in full agreement with the result gained from a comparative analysis of the contents. After a collation of the MS I hesitantly suggest the following reading:

ΤΤ]μαρταγ ἡροογε ετσηκ	πετῶπωα	The] Fourth perfect day,	Worthy.
ΤΤ]πκλς ἡπνα	πετῶπωα	the] Paraclete-Spirit,	"
ΤΤ]νογς ετσητεκκληκλα	πετῶπωα	the] Mind that is in the Church,	"
ΤΤ]χ[ρε] πνογ[ε]	< " >	Christ (?), the God,	< " >
πα]ων ἡβρε	< " >	the New Aeon (?),	< " >
ΤΤ]τοῦ ἡψυχικον	< " >	the 5 ψυχικά	< " >
αζῆπτοῦ ἡπνευμα[τικον]	< " >	and the 5 πνευματικά	< " >
σεκας εὔαρμντ	< " >	that they make 10;	< " >
π]σεξε τζικων[ἡνοαῖνε]	< " >	the Word (?), the Image [of Light],	< " >

[N]CERANTCNA[YC]

<ΠΕΤΛΠΥΑ>

that they make 12.

<Worthy.>

134⁶⁻¹⁰ concludes this part of the psalm with an enumeration and a short explanation of the four symbols of the days.

Then a new metaphor is introduced — "the good tree". Its root is God, its trunk (?) the Light, its branches the Power, and its fruits "Christ who is in the Church", i.e. **τσοφια**. The text referring to the second symbol (134^{15f.}) is fragmentary, but the word preceding **NE[Τ]ΣΗΝΕΣΗΥ** "that are in the ships (viz. of Light)" is probably **ΝΟΥΑΙΝΕ**, "the Lights", since **ΠΗ ΜΗΠΟΟΣ** "the sun and moon" (not to speak of **ΠΛΑΖΩΑΜΤ** **ΜΠΡΕΒΕΥΤΗΣ** "the third Envoy", cf. Keph. 25^{20f.}) is too lengthy for the lacuna. And **ΠΩ.Υ** can hardly be anything else than "the trunk" of the tree according to the context. That the last entity, **ΠΧΡC** etc., alludes to the symbol of the Fourth day, **τσοφια**, is apparent from the context (cf. also Keph. 25^{30f.}).

Now, the following lines again allude to these four entities, but in a reversed order. At 134²⁶ we find **ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΛΗΣ**, "the God of Truth", preceded in l. 24 by **Ν]ΕΣΗΥ**, "the Ships", viz. "of Light", and at 134²² **ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΑΗΚ**, "the Perfect Man", that at 133²⁵ is mentioned among the entities of the Power. Consequently, at 134²¹ one expects an allusion to the fourth entity, **τσοφια**. **ΠΧΡC** may in itself be enough (in Keph. 25^{30f.} "Jesus, the Brightness, that [dwells in] his Church" is the symbol of the Fourth day). But perhaps we should read **[τσοφια τε] ΠΧΡC**.

At 134^{26f.} there is an interesting coupling of stichoi according to the scheme AB BC:

A **ΠΤΕΣΟΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΛΗΣ** .

The treasure is the God of Truth:

B **ΜΝΒΑΜ ΜΜΑ] ΑΣΕΧΕ Α[**

I cannot speak . . .

B **ΛΛΝΒΑΜ ΜΜΑ] ΑΣΕΧΕ**

I cannot speak,

C **†ΡΕΑΤΕ ΑΤΕΟΥΟ****ΠΕΤΛΠ[ΥΑ**

I fear to utter.

Worthy.

This coupling, but without a refrain, is often used in the Psalms of Thomas (cf. below, p. 114), and there is no cause to assume a ditto-

graphy here, as at 133^{18ff}. Furthermore, this is a most striking example of the use of the refrain at a place where it does no longer fit the sense of the main text, and, furthermore, this sporadic repetition of the refrain (the only one on p. 134) supports my view that the metre is throughout 2 + refrain, even if the refrain does not always suit the sense of the main text and is very irregularly marked by the scribe.

The rest of the psalm after this doxological hymn deals with the "way" and the final arrival in Heaven. The last stichoi can only be read with two beats, and despite several metrical difficulties I think that the metre remains the same in the whole poem. It is possible, however, that a stichos or two has three beats instead of two.

The same ambiguity with regard to the metre is met with in the psalm 175² - 176¹⁰ — an excellent specimen of a self-predication.⁽¹⁾ 175^{2ff}. Theoretically, we may read all stichoi with three beats, but since this implies an accentuation of many verb forms preceding a direct object, and since this construction has been chosen again and again, I think that the psalm was composed to be read in the metre 2 + refrain. On p. 175 the refrain is carefully written out after each such short stichos. Typical lines are e.g.:

ΑΝΑΚ_ΤΩ[ε]ρ[ε] ἄπ[ω]αρ[τ] ἡρώμε πα[ς]ωρ	I am the daughter of the First Man. Refrain: My [Saviour] (175 ³)
Α]]τογβο_πανούτε_εἰπαλες [π]α	I have purified my God with my tongue. My (175 ¹³)
Αἰβαβε_ἡχρημα_εγαυτεκο πα	I scorned the treasures that perish. My (175 ¹⁷)

(1) Cf. Lidzbarski, *Johannesbuch*, pp. 43 f.; Schweizer, *Ego eimi*, pp. 9 ff., and the lit. quoted there.

Α|||ϣΛΗΛ Α|ΣΩC Α|+ μ|ΝΤΝΑ[ε]
πα

I prayed, I sang, I gave alms.
My

(175²⁰)

155^{16ff.}

A similar psalm is also 155¹⁶⁻⁴²:

Introduction:

Ε|ΝΑ|+ΕΑΥ ΝΕΚ
ΠΑΝΟΥΤΕ Ε|ΝΑ|+ΕΑΥ ΝΕΚ

I will] glorify thee.
My God, I will glorify thee.

Main text:

ΠΑΡ|ΕΥ+μ|ΑΤΝΕC ΝΟΥΑΝ Ν|μ
ΠΑΝΟΥΤΕ Ε|ΝΑ|+ΕΑΥ ΝΕΚ
Τ|ΩΝ|ε ΝΩΝΕ ΝΚΟΟC
ΠΑΝΟΥΤΕ Ε|ΝΑ|+ΕΑΥ ΝΕΚ

My [giver of] rest to every man,
my God, I will glorify thee.
[Stone?], corner-stone,
my God, I will glorify thee.

etc.

From 1. 21 and onwards no refrain is written out, but should of course be supplated. The metre does not seem to be quite regular. Most lines can be read with two beats, but others, such as 1. 20 have perhaps three beats:

ΤΤΑΝ|ΕΚΟΟC ΝΑΤΩ|Βε ΝΑΤΠΩΝΕ
ΠΑΝΟΥΤ

Corner-stone unchanging, unaltering,
my God.

In some psalms of this type the scribe has not marked any refrain, but there is little doubt that the introduction or part of it was used as such. Thus for instance 167^{23ff.} (stichoi of two beats):

Introduction:

ΑΟΥΕΝ ΝΗ| ΝΝΑ|ΩΝ
Ε|C ΑΜΕ|ΝΕ ΑΠΤΕC||Β C|ΩΩΤ

Open to me the Aeons:
lo, the signs of the lamb are upon me.

Main text:

Ε|C ΤΑΜΗ ΝΤΟΟΤ
+CΑΛΕ ΝΤΤΑΡΘΕΝ|Α

<ΑΟΥΕΝ>
< " >

Lo, my Truth is in my hand, <open etc.>
I am clothed in virginity, < " >

The view that the refrain was in all probability repeated after each stichos in this psalms, even though they are sometimes coupled into disticha, is supported by a comparison of 167⁵⁷⁻⁶⁰ with 182^{29f.} and 183^{1f.}:

†μα ἡδραμπρετ	<ΑΟΥΕΝ>	Give place to the dove,	<open etc.>
ταν τνζ ετογαβυ	< " >	her of the white wings.	< " >
ἡπωρκα χεφε αρα c	< " >	Set no snake to her,	< " >
χε νεcνοуππ αρωτ N	< " >	lest she be scared of you.	< " >

(167^{57ff.})

†μα ἡδραμπρετ	Refrain:	τα γχη	[αγω τε
να N τνζ ετογαβυ	"	τα γχη	[αγω τε

(182^{29f.})

ἡπωρ κα χεφε αρ[αγ]	"	τα γχη N αγω
χε_νοуN оууπ αρω TN	"	τα γ γχη αγω

(183^{1f.})

(However, at 158^{8ff.} a similar phrase occurs again, apparently in the metre 2:2 + refr. Should we perhaps repeat the refrain there too after each stichos, and not only after each distichon?)

Other instances of this metre are the following psalms:

136^{13ff.}

136^{13ff.}

††μταν ἡπτηρῶ	††εαγ νεκ	O rest of the universe, we glorify thee.
π ωτ ἡτε_†μἡτναδ	< " >	Father of Greatness, < " " " >
††ρρ ετο _ἡεαγ	< " >	Glorious King, < " " " >

etc.

Here, too, some stichoi are coupled into disticha.

166^{23ff.}:

166^{23ff.}

††κ_οуογα νε εγα	Thou art a mighty Light,
††c αρ ογα νε αρα	Jesus, enlighten me.
<††κ> ††γαρπ_μ ce ἡπ ωτ	<Thou art> the First-born of the Father,
<††c αρ ογα νε αρα >	<Jesus, enlighten me.>
<††κ> ††ζηβδ ἡνα ων_††ρρ	<Thou art> the Lamp of all the Aeons.
<††c>	<Jesus etc.>

<NTK> Τζρηρε Ντμεγ ΝΝογΑ νε	<Thou art> the Flower of the Mother of the Lights.
<IHC>	Jesus etc.
<NTK> Τδ'αρδς απ δερηδ	< " " > the Snare of the Snarer.
<IHC>	Jesus etc.

etc.

The doxology begins at 167¹⁸. NTK was perhaps repeated at the beginning of each line, as is also the case in some other psalms (cf. 169^{17,19,20}, 182²⁵⁻²⁸, 185⁶⁻⁹ with Allberry's note).

Simple lines of the type 2 (3) + refrain are thus sometimes coupled two and two. This composition is also clearly documented in the psalm 181^{19ff.} 181^{19ff.}. The metre is as a rule 2 + refr. + 2 + refr., even if some lines seem to have three beats. But in most cases, there is then some group of words that should be read with one stress only.

Introduction:

Τϣγχη τϣγχη αρ|πμεγε ΝΝεΑ|ων O soul, o soul, be mindful of thy Aeons.

Main text:

Τϣγχη Ντο_ογαβαλ_το αρ| O soul, whence art thou? Be. .
 Ντο ογαβαλ_2|πχιε αρ| Thou art from on high. Be. .

Note especially such lines as 182^{3ff.}:

Τϣγχη μ πωρ ωβω_αρ ο]	αρ πμ	O soul, do not forget thyself.	Be mindful
χε_σεδωρδ_αρο τηρου	αρ πμ	for they are all hunting for thee."	"
σεδωρδ_αρο τηρου	αρ πμ	They are all hunting for thee,	" "
Ν χι_Νδ ε ρεδε_μπμου	αρ πμ	even the hunters of death.	" "

Perhaps we may also assume the same coupling of stichoi according to the pattern AB BC — so characteristic of Mandaean poetry (cf. below, p. 114) — in the ensuing passage 182⁷⁻¹⁰, reading:

ω αγδωπε ΝΝεαλετε	αρ πμ	They catch the birds,	Be mindful
Νεε ογωδπ ΝΝεγ τνε]	αρ πμ	and they [break] their [wings.]	" "
ω αγογ ωδπ_Ν νεγτνε]	αρ πμ	They break their wings,	" "
χε_νε γωε ωλ_ανεγμαε ογε λ	αρ πμ	that they may not fly to their dovecots.	"

Furthermore, I should like to propose the following emendation at 181^{42f.}:

ܬܢܚܢ ܒܝܬܐ ܠܥܪܥܐ	[ap]	O soul, lift up thy head,	[Be] . .
ܥܢܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	ap	in this house which is full of [grieve] ⁽¹⁾	
			Be . .

and as an antithesis to this at 182^{11ff.}:

ܬܢܚܢ ܒܝܬܐ ܠܥܪܥܐ	ܐܪܥܐ	O soul, [lift] up thy head,	Be mindful
ܢܬܝܒ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	ܐܪܥܐ	and go to thy native land.	" "
ܢܬܝܒ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	ܐܪܥܐ	Thou art a stranger to thy kin;	" "
ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	ܐܪܥܐ	[go to this house] which is full of joy.	
			Be mindful

These passages recall such Mandaean disticha as e.g.:

ܩܘܡܠܐܢ ܩܘܡܠܐܢ ܩܘܡܠܐܢ	ܐܪܥܐ	Arise, arise, O soul,
ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	ܐܪܥܐ	to thy former land go up.
ܬܢܚܢ ܒܝܬܐ ܠܥܪܥܐ	ܐܪܥܐ	Go up to thy former land,
ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	ܐܪܥܐ	to the place from which thou wert planted.
ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	ܐܪܥܐ	To the place from which thou wert planted,
ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	ܐܪܥܐ	to thy good dwelling of the Uthras.
		(Mand. Lit., p. 160.)

ܢܝܫܬܐ ܥܝܠ ܒܐܬܪܐ	ܐܪܥܐ	O soul, go victorious
ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	ܐܪܥܐ	to the dwelling from which thou wert
		planted,
ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	ܐܪܥܐ	To the place of joy.
		(L.G. 81 ¹² ; Lidzbarski, <i>Ginzā</i> , p. 515.)

ܬܢܚܢ ܒܝܬܐ ܠܥܪܥܐ	ܐܪܥܐ	Go up, live in the škīnās,
ܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ	ܐܪܥܐ	among the Uthras, thy brethren.
		(Mand. Lit., p. 160; cf. also p. 158.)

Note however the difference that there is no refrain in these Mandaean poems!

Similarly composed is also the fragmentary psalm 169¹⁵ - 170¹⁵, 169^{15ff.} but here the stichoi are coupled into disticha by means of the refrain,

(1) This reading is also supported by the ensuing lines, 182^{1f.}, possibly:
 ܬܢܚܢ ܒܝܬܐ ܠܥܪܥܐ ܐܪܥܐ [The dwelling-place of] the demons, Be mindful
 ܬܢܚܢ ܒܝܬܐ ܠܥܪܥܐ ܐܪܥܐ [the dwelling] of the robbers. " "

the metre being 2 + refrain¹ + 2 + refrain²:

NECE ΠΕΚΟΥΑΙΝΕ	ΠΑΠΝΑ	†ΟΥΟΥ_ΩΥΤΜΕ ΑΤΕΚΛΑΛ[Α] ΠΑΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ
<NECE> ΝΕΚΕΝΤΟΛΑΥΕ	ΠΑΠΝΑ	ΑΥΡΟΥΑΙΝΕ_ΑΡΑΙ ΖΙΒΑΛ Π[Α]ΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ

Fair is thy Light, my Spirit; I would hear thy speech, my pious one.
 <Fair are>thy Commandments, my Spirit; they have enlightened me without, my pious one.
 (169¹⁵⁻¹⁸)

Χ[Α]ΝΤΑΙ_ΓΝΟΥΩΝΚ	ΠΑΠΝ	ΑΙΜΕΡΙΤΚ ΑΙΟΥΑΖΤ_ΝΩΚ .	ΠΑ
ΑΙΡΩΧΕ_ΖΩΒ_ΝΙΜ	ΠΑΠΝ .	ΑΙΜΕΡΙΤΚ ΝΤΑΚ_ΟΥΑΕΤΚ .	Π
ΑΙΚΑ_ΙΩΤ ΖΙΜΕΕΥ .	ΠΑΠΝ .	ΑΙΚΑ_ΑΝ_ΖΙΩΝΕ ΕΤΒΗΤΚ .	Π
ΑΙ_ΖΡΑΙ_ΜΝΝΟΥΒ ΑΖΡΑΙ_ΜΝΖΕΤ .	ΠΑΠΝ .	ΑΖΡΑΙ_ΜΝΩΜ ΑΖΡΑΙ_ΜΝΙΩΖΕ	ΠΑΜΑΙΝ
ΑΖΡΑΙ_ΜΝΩΜΕ ΑΖΡΑΙ_ΜΝΩΜΡΕ ΠΑΠΝΑ .		ΑΤΕΚΑΓΑΠΗ . . . ΤΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ	ΠΑΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ

Since I knew thee, my Spirit; I have loved thee and followed thee, my pious one.
 I burnt everything, my Spirit; I loved thee alone, my pious one.
 I left father and mother, my Spirit; I left brother and sister for thy sake, my pious one.
 What is gold to me? what is silver to me, my Spirit? What is orchard to me? what is field to me, my pious one?
 What is wife to me? what is son to me, my Spirit? Thy love has . . . them all, my pious one.
 (169²¹⁻²⁷)

These last strophes — containing in the main the theme of Matth. 19²⁹ etc. — we may compare to a Mandaean passage with the same motive, partly composed in a similar metre, in principle 2 + "refrain":

ומן יומא דליבאי כושטא רחים	מן יומא דריחמית חייא
רוחצאנא באלטא ליתלא	מן יומא דריחמית חייא
" " "	על אב ועל עמא
" " "	על אחיא ועל אחואתא
" " "	על זאוא ועל בניה
" " "	על שוטא ושולטאנא
" " "	על אקריא וביניאניא
" " "	על לבושיא רגיניא ועל כסוייא שאפיריא
" " "	על עביד ועל טיבאד
" " "	על אלטא כולח ועל עבדאתח

דשאויאליא דאריא ואלמיא
למאליא כולחון אלמיא

עלה אנא על נישמאת האדארנא
עזליה ונישמאת אשכית

From the day that I loved the Life,	from the day that I loved the <u>kustā</u> ,
From the day that I loved the Life,	I have no confidence in the world.
In father and mother	" " " " " " "
In brothers and sisters	" " " " " " "
In wife and children	" " " " " " "
In sceptre and power	" " " " " " "
In fortresses and constructions	" " " " " " "
In gaudy dresses and beautiful garments	" " " " " " "
In things made and created	" " " " " " "
In the whole world and its creations	" " " " " " "
For my soul only I go (searching)	that is worth more than generations and worlds.
I went and found my soul;	what are all the worlds to me?

(R.G. 367³⁻¹⁵; Lidzbarski,
Ginzā, p. 390)

2. DISTICHA.

This type 2 + refr. + 2 + refr. resembles the most common metrical form — the distichon, which we find in many variations: 2:2 + refr., 2:2, 2:3 + refr., 2:3, 3:3 + refr., 3:3 etc.

(a) The measure 2:2 + refr. we find e.g. in the psalm 153⁸ - 154²¹, a 153^{8ff.} poem which, with its very rich parallelisms between stichoi and strophes, is, indeed, to quote its introductory words, "a royal garland". The introduction is cited above (p. 36).

The first four strophes are perhaps to be read in a 4:2 metre, but I think it is possible to read $\epsilon\eta\alpha\kappa\omega\tau\text{ } \nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\beta$, $\gamma\tilde{\nu}\gamma\mu\eta\epsilon\text{ } \epsilon\upsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\tau'$, etc. with one stress only. These strophes are all composed as parallels:

$\epsilon\eta\alpha\kappa\omega\tau\text{ } \nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\beta$ $\epsilon\eta\alpha\kappa\omega\tau\text{ } \gamma\epsilon\tau'$.

May we build gold, may we build silver,

ΕΝΑΚΩΤΩΝΕ ΝΩΝΕ ΜΗΝΕ (1)	may we build stone upon (?) stone daily (?).
ΤΝΩΝΤ	We weave.
ΖΝΩΝΕ ΜΗΝΕ ΖΝΩΝΕ ΜΗΝΕ	Stones daily (?), words daily (?),
ΕΝΑΚ ΑΤ ΟΥ ΕΝΑ ΖΑΡ ΟΥ	may we garner them, may we array them.
ΤΝΩΝΤ	We weave.
ΖΝ ΖΡ Η ΡΕ ΕΥΡΑΥΤ ΖΝΟΥΡΤ ΕΥΡΑΥΤ	Gay lilies, gay roses,
ΕΝΑΤΕΕΥ ΜΝ Ν ΕΥΕΡΗΥ	may we set them with one another.
ΤΝΩΝΤ	We weave.
ΖΝ ΖΗΤ ΕΥΟΥΑΒΕ ΖΝΝΟΥC ΕΥΟΥΑΒΕ	Holy hearts, holy minds,
ΕΝΑΚΩ Τ Α ΥΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ	may we build into a Church.
ΤΝΩΝΤ	We weave.

Then the poem continues:

Ο ΥΡΡΟ_ΝΒΡΡΕ ΠΕΤΝΗΥ .	A new king it is that cometh,
ΕΝΑΚΩΤ_ΑΝ ΝΟΥΗ _ΝΒΡ[ΡΕ]	may we build also a new house.
ΤΝΩΝΤ	We weave.
ΤΤ Η _ΝΒΡΡΕ_ΠΕ ΠΡ_ΝΒΡΡΕ .	The new house is the New Man,
ΠΡΡΟ_ΝΒΡΡΕ_ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥC_ΝΟΥΑ ΝΕ	the new king is the Mind of Light.
ΤΝΩΝΤ	We weave.
Ν ΕΤΟΥΑΒΕ ΜΑΡΟΥΡΕΥΕ .	The holy ones — let them rejoice;
ΝΕΤΧΗΚ_ΑΝ ΜΑΡΟΥΡ_ΥΑ Ε	the perfect also — let them make festival.
ΤΝΩΝΤ	We weave.

157¹⁴ff.

The same metrical type is also met with in the psalm 157¹⁴ - 158¹⁷, a poem which is also rich in parallelisms.

Some typical lines may be quoted:

ΑΟΥΕΝ ΑΝΕΤΝΠΥΛΗ .	Open your gates,
ΧΕΡΟ ΝΝΕΤΝΛΑΜΠΑΣ	light your lamps.
Τ*	Refrain:
	T < he love of the Father, let it come first. >
ΕΝΤΩΡΠ ΖΑΤΕ_ΖΑΤΕ .	We snatch each moment,
ΕΝΝΟΥΧΕ ΖΟΥΥΕ_ΖΟΥΥΕ	we throw away each day. The etc.

(157¹⁸)

- (1) In this and the following stichos, as well as in the introduction l. 8: $\text{C}\omega\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\alpha\zeta\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta$ $\mu\pi[\omega]\eta\epsilon$ $\mu\mu\eta[\eta]\epsilon$, I propose to emend $\mu\mu\eta\eta\epsilon$ into $\mu\mu\eta\epsilon$ which suits the parallelism to the following stichoi, and gives a far better sense at l. 10 f.: "May we build stones, jewels. / We weave. / Jewels and true words, / may we garner them, may we array them". At 194⁵ Allberry is certainly right in assuming that $\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\mu\mu\eta\eta\epsilon$ stands for $\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\mu\mu\eta\epsilon$. The metrical analysis supports this emendation, since $\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\mu\mu\eta\epsilon$ "jewel" was in all probability pronounced with one stressed syllable only, whereas this was hardly the case in a composition with $\mu\mu\eta\eta\epsilon$.

Μῆνεν, γὰρ ἀτρεῖτε · For we know not the moment
εἴτε, τυχὼν ἡσυχώτε when it will be calm. <The etc.>

Εὐτο ἦρωμε, τήρου Where are all men?
ἀγχε, νεύ ἀχωβε They have departed, they have passed.
<The etc.>

(157^{22ff.})

No. 269 starts with an introduction:

No. 269.

Ἰς παύλας Jesus, my Light,
πῶρε ἦτε νετῆ[αε] the Son of them that [are on high],
ἄπωρα κατ' ἡσώκ do not forsake me
ἐπὶ χαλῆ ἄπικ[ος]μοῦς in the desert of this world.

The last distichon was repeated as a refrain after each distichon in the first part of the psalm which contains a self-predication. In the second half of the psalm there is a new refrain, τῶν "arise" (or, possibly, transitive: "raise <me>"). Since the metre is the same in both parts — 2:2 + refrain — and since the refrain is not regularly written out by the scribe, there is no certain indication to show where the new refrain was introduced. However, 88^{8f.} seems to mark the end of the self-predication, and these lines resemble the last disticha of the psalm proper. Thus, I propose to read 88^{8ff.} as follows (with some new readings and emendations):

ΤΤΑΓΩΝ ΕΤΑΪΠΩΤ, ἦζήτῃ	The race in which I ran
αἰχάκῃ, ἀβαλ εἰρεω[ε]	I finished rejoicing.
<ἄπωρ>	<Do not etc.>
†νοῦ, μα νή πακλαμ	Now give (?) me my garland
πετα[ε]σε ετβήτῃ	for which I have toiled.
<ἄπωρ>	<Do not etc.>
Ω παρ[ε]ψωτε πουά[νε]	O [my] saviour (?), the Light,
τ[ε]κῶν ἄπασαχ[νε]	the Image of my counsel.
<τῶν>	<Arise.>
Τ. Τ[α]κ[ρ]τ[η] ἦτε, τῆμε	[My] true [judge],
πετσαῦνε ἀταμῆτ[ω]ρε	that knowest my strength.
<τῶν>	<Arise.>

Τῖρωμε ἐτῆκ' ἀβαλ
τῖρω μῖπακ' ἀζηγ
των

O Perfect Man,
haven of my trust.
Arise.

And 88^{16ff.} (also with some new readings):

Ναονηγ' ἡλῖατε, ἡτσαρῖ
μῖπωρ ἀρῖμε νηῖ
<των>

My brothers, my parents of flesh,
do not weep for me,
<Arise.>

ξε, αὐτ' νηῖ ἡνῖκ' ἀοομ
νεταῖρ' ἐε ἐτβητοῦ
των

For I have been given the garlands
for which I have toiled.
Arise.

Ω, [ναο]ν[ηγ] μῖππνα
ἀρῖαῖε, νεμμηῖ τηρτῆ
<των>

O [my brothers] of the Spirit,
make festival with me all of you.
<Arise.>

+νοῦ, σ]ε [α]λ[α], ἡνακ' ἀοομ
νηατ' ὠδμε ἀνηζε
<των>

[For now I have received] my garlands,
these that never fade.
<Arise.> (1)

(In view of the fact that the connection between the refrain and the main text is often a very loose one, it is probable that ll. 16 f. should be thus divided in two disticha.)

The preceding distichon (88¹⁵) is perhaps corrupt.

I also think that a word has been forgotten by the scribe at 88⁶, which is possibly to be read:

Μυρρε νετ' ἀμαρου ἀραῖ
εἰς, ζητε <αῖναχορ> ἀβαλ
μ[π]ω[ρ]

[The bonds that were] bound unto me,
lo, <I have cast them> away.
Do not etc.

(cf. e.g. 55²⁵).

We may perhaps also restore the text of some other passages:

ἀῖρω μῖο ἀν[φ]ηρ[ι]ον
[α]καταφρονῃ μῖμαγ
μῖπωρ

[I became a strang]er to the [beasts?],
I have despised them.
Do not etc.

(87³²)

(1) The restoration of the last two strophes is very uncertain.

(88⁴; cf. e.g. 175²⁶.)

The psalm 176¹¹ - 177³⁰ is composed in the metre 2:2 + refrain as 176^{11ff.} is apparent e.g. from the following distichon:

(177⁵)

Δε[βα]ναττα[ς] ἡνενταυτ	It was resurrection for the dead,
αυτ[ων] {αβα}λ[η] μ[ε]τ[α]υτ	they arose from death,
αυ[ε]! α[π]ωνε	they came to life.
α[υ]τ[η]	The Commandment.

At 177¹⁸ there is a new metrical difficulty; this distichon can hardly be read in 2:2 measure:

The Commandment.

But this line functions as an introductory formula to the ensuing

disticha, all composed as parallels and forming a separate hymn:

Ε ΝΑΜΑΝΕ ΕΝΑΜΑΝΕ	ΑΤΑΓΑΠΗ [ἄπ]ωτ Α]Τ[
Ε ΝΑΜΑΝΕ ΕΝΑΜΑΝΕ	ΑΤΑΓΑΠΗ ἄπ]ωτ ΑΤ
Ε ΝΑΜΑΝΕ ΕΝΑΜΑΝΕ	ΑΤῦρω ἡτε ρηνη ΑΤ
ΕΝ]ΑΜΑΝΕ ΕΝΑΜΑΝΕ	ΑΤῦρω ἡτε ρηνη ΑΤ
ΕΝΑΜ]ΑΝΕ ΕΝΑΜΑΝΕ	Α+ἡΝΤΝΑΗΤ ΑΤ
ΕΝΑΜΑ]ΝΕ ΕΝΑΜΑΝΕ	Α+ἡΝΤΖΛΘΗΤ ΑΤ
ΕΝΑΜΑΝ]Ε ΕΝΑΜΑΝΕ	Α+ἡΝΤΜΑ]ΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΤ
ΕΝΑΜΑΝ]Ε ΕΝΑΜΑΝΕ	Α+ἡΝΤΜΑ]ΡΩΜΕ ΑΤ
..... ΕΝ]ΑΡΕΨΕ	ΕΝΑΡΕΨΕ ἡΖΗΤῶ ΑΤ

..... Α] ΨΑΛΗΖΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ

ΑΨΧΩΚ

May we moor, may we moor	to the Love [of the Father.	The etc.
" " " " " "	to the Love of the Father.	"
" " " " " "	to the harbour of peace.	"
" " " " " "	to the harbour of peace.	"
" " " " " "	to compassion.	"
" " " " " "	to kindness.	"
" " " " " "	to the love for God.	"
" " " " " "	to the love for men.	"
..... may we rejoice,	may we rejoice in it.	"
..... for ever, Amen.	It is finished.	"

The introductory distichon 177^{18f.} closely resembles some of the introductions to new psalms, quoted above p.38, and the first part of it is almost identical with the introductions to the psalms 164^{1ff.} and 189^{30ff.}, both belonging to the same group, presumably the *Ψαλμοὶ καρακώτων*. (1)

The composition of this hymn at 177^{20ff.}, where each distichon starts with the same word, is rather commonly used in the Psalm-book

(1) 176¹⁶ should probably be read:

Α]ε] ἡΠΡΗΤΕ]ΝΟΥΩΝΗΥ
ἡΠΤΑ]ΙΕ ΕΥΩΟΥΖ ΑΖΟΥΝ

It (i.e. the Commandment) came like a net (?)
of the height, gathering in (viz. the
souls).

Perhaps we should change ΩΝΗΥ into ΜΕΝΗΥ "shepherd", (as proposed by Allberry) in view of the parallelism to the ensuing stichos and of the verb form εϋωουζ.

(cf. 150^{20ff.}, 168^{22ff.}, 185^{4ff.}). We also find it at 174^{11ff.} consisting 174^{11ff.} of twelve disticha, all of the type *Nece* + a noun + an attribute (such as a relative clause) e.g.

Νεκε οὐ μακρε ἐφειλάατ̃	Fair is a blessed Intention
ἐφζωκρε ζῆτι σοφία	that has been flavoured with Wisdom.
NECE	Refr.: Fair etc.

(174¹⁷)

The psalm ends with two concluding disticha, the first of which is rather fragmentary. The second, immediately preceding the doxology, seems to be metrically irregular:

Εφαι ο γν_αβαλ ΝΕΜΕΝ	May he abide with <u>us</u> ,
ΝΤῆμογν_αβαλ ΝΕΜΕ[γ]	and we abide with <u>him</u>
ΞΝ[α]ΝΗΖΕ ΨΑΝ ΑΝΗΖΕ	from everlasting to everlasting.

(174^{29f.})

Since ΝΕΜΕΝ and ΝΕΜΕ[γ] are used antithetically, these words can hardly be enclitic. Hence ΞΝ[α]ΝΗΖΕ ΨΑΝ|ΑΝΗΖΕ stands outside the regular metre as a concluding addition.

The same irregularities are to be found in the psalm 183¹⁹ - 185². 183^{19ff.} It is composed in a fairly regular 2:2 metre with refrain, as appears e.g. from the first disticha after the introduction:

Ξ ΝΤΑ μεριτκ αἰμεριτ̃	Since I loved thee, I have been beloved;
αἰμεριτ̃_νζβηγε νῳογμεριτογ	I have loved the things that are lovable.
ᾠπNEY	Refr.: At the time etc.
Α μερι_ταγαπη ετε_μαςω βε	I] loved the Love that changes not,
τεκκλ_ηκλα ντε_παπ_να	the Church of my Spirit.
ᾠπNEY	Refr.: At the time etc.

(183^{21ff.})

At 184²⁰ the metrically irregular introduction of the psalm is repeated (with two graphical errors), and the ensuing lines are of a different type, again forming what we may call a new hymn composed with parallel stichoi:

ΔΙΚΑΖΤΗ ΑΝΑΚ ΑΤΕΚΖΕΛΠΙC .	I trusted in thy hope,	
ἄΠΙΚΑΖΤΗ ΑΝΟ[ΥΒ]ΖΙΖΕΤ	I trusted not in gold and silver.	
ΠΤΝΕΥ		The time.
ΔΙΜΟΥΖ_ΑΒΑΛ ΖΝΠΚΟCΜΟC_ΤΗΡῶ .	I looked forth in the whole world,	
ἄΠΙΒΝ_ῶΡΩ CΑΤΕΚῶΡΩ	I found no harbour save thy harbour.	
ΠΤΝΕΥ		The time.
ἌΠΙΒΝ_ΚΑΖΤΗC CΑΠΕΚΚΑΖΤΗC .	I found no trust save thy trust,	
ἄΠΙΒΝ_ΖΕΛΠΙC CΑΤΕΚΖΕΛΠΙC	I found no hope save thy hope.	
ΠΤΝΕΥ		The time.
ἌΠΙΒΝ_ΟΥΡΑΤ CΑΠΕΚΟΥΡΑΤ .	I found no joy save thy joy,	
ἄΠΙΒΝ_ῶΤΑΝ CΑΠΕΚῶΤΑΝ	I found no rest save thy rest.	
ΠΤΝΕΥ		The time.
ἌΠΙΒΝ_ΡΕΥΕ CΑΠΕΚΡΕΥΕ .	I found no gladness save thy gladness,	
ΕΦΑΜ[ΟΥ]Ν_ΑΒΑΛ ΝΕ[Ν] ⁽¹⁾	may it abide with us,	
ΩΑΑΝΗΖΕ ἸΤΕ ΝΙΑΝΗΖΕ	for ever and ever.	
ΠΤΝΕΥ		The time.

It is, however, not a general rule that such a concluding phrase as "for ever and ever" must always stand outside the regular metre. At 155¹², 159¹⁸, 173⁹, and 202^{22f}. it is a metrically necessary element of the last stichos preceding the doxology.

We may also note that there is a slight variation in the form of the refrain in this new section. From 184²³ and onwards it is written ΠΤΝΕΥ instead of ἄΠΤΝΕΥ.

Other instances of this metre 2:2 + refrain are 116^{24ff.}, 120^{1ff.}, 141^{1ff.}, 146^{14ff.}, 147^{44ff.}, 152^{10ff.}, 158^{18ff.}, 168²²⁻³¹, 170^{16ff.} (?), 173^{13ff.} (?), 189^{30ff.}, 193^{13ff.}, even if sometimes a line or two is not quite regular and the refrain has not always been written by the scribe.

154^{22ff.}

(b) The measure 2:3 + refr. rules in the psalm 154²² - 155¹⁵, perhaps with the exception for the last three or four disticha (155^{9ff.}). Curiously enough, these lines are preceded by the words ερε τακ|εαρα ρβρρε

(1) or should we read ΝΕΜΕΝ (cf. 174^{29f.}, quoted above)?

ἄμην|ε "My lute becomes new daily". What follows is a new section, describing the reception in Heaven, whereas the preceding strophes contain a prayer that the Paradises may be opened. The psalm starts with an introduction:

ΛΟΥΕΝ ΝΗ ΠΥΗΝ ἄΠΩΝΞ	Open to me, o Tree of Life;
ΠΥΗΝ ἄΠΩΤΑΝ ΑΘ Υ ΕΝ ΝΗ	O Tree of Rest, open to me.

Then the prayer of the first part of the hymn:

ΛΟΥΕΝ ΝΗ ἄΝΕΚΟΥCΙΑ	Open to me thy essences,
ἄΝΤΑΘΕΩΡΕ ἄΠΡΟ ἄΝΕΤΟΥΑΒΕ	that I may contemplate the face of the holy
ΛΟΥΕΝ	ones. Open.
ΛΟΥΕΝ ΝΗ ἄΝΕΚΑΥΛΗ	Open to me thy halls,
ΧΕ ΑΠΑΖΗΤ' ὥCΜΕ CΑΠ Ε ΚΟΥΝΑΥ	for my heart has been faint for thy joy.
ΛΟΥΕΝ	Open.
ΛΟΥΕΝ ΝΗ ἄΝΕΚΠΑΡΑΔΙCOC	Open to me thy Paradises,
ἄΝΤΕ ΠΑΤῚΝΑ Χ CΤΟΥΡΕ	that my Spirit may receive fragrance.
ΛΟΥΕΝ	Open.
ΠΑΕΝΔΥΜΑ CΒΤΑ Τ' .	My robe is ready,
ΧΕ ΝΑΚΤΑ ΑΠΑ ΩΤ Ε ΡΑΥΤ	that I may return to my Father rejoicing.
ΛΟΥΕΝ>	<Open.> etc.

At 155⁹ begins the conclusion — the prayer has been fulfilled:

ΝΕΤΟΥΑΒΕ ΡΕΥΕ ΝΕΜΗ	O holy ones, rejoice with me,
ΧΕ Α ΚΤΑ ΑΤΑΑΡΧΗ ΑΝ	for I have returned to my beginning again.
ΛΟΥΕΝ>?	<Open.> ?
Α Χ ΝΑΖΒCΑΥΕ ΕΤΡΑΞΕ .	I have received my washed clothes,
ΝΑ CΤ ΟΛΑΥΕ ΕΤΕ ΜΑΥΡΠΛ ΒΕ	my robes that grow not old.
ΛΟΥΕΝ>?	<Open.> ?
Α ΡΕΥΕ ΖῆΠΟΥΡΕΥΕ .	I have rejoiced in their joy,
Α ΟΥΡΑΤ ΖῆΠΟΥΟΥΡΑΤ	I have been glad in their gladness.
ΛΟΥΕΝ>?	<Open.> ?
Α ΜΤΑΝ ΖῆΠΟΥΜΤΑΝ	[I have rested] in their rest
ΧΝΑΝΗΞΕ ΨΑΝ ΑΝΗΞΕ	from everlasting to everlasting.
ΛΟΥΕΝ>?	<Open.> ?

A doxology follows.

(Re this change of metre in accordance to the sense of the text

cf. below, p. 64.)

188^{1ff.} The psalm 188¹⁻²⁴ is also composed in a 2:3 measure, but there is no indication of a refrain. Perhaps the first distichon was repeated as a refrain of type (a):

Αἰωκ εἶμΟΥΤΕ	I have long been calling thee,
παςωρ ψαντκρωω Ν[Η]	my Saviour, until thou shouldst answer [me].
Ν[τα]καμεληαραῖ εν	Thou hast disregarded me not,
ζε απιωβι ζατρε[σκε]	or I could not have borne thy delay (?).

ζε is stressed, since it means "or else", but has no accent in 1. 7 when followed by the emphasized πως:

Ευτοπβρβρ νεκναε .	Where is the boiling of thy mercies,
ξεακκαατ αιωκ ζνταλιτη	that thou hast suffered me to (?) be long in my
	prayer?
Ειωξεαταφωνη τεζακ .	If my voice has reached thee,
ζε πως απεκναε ωκ	then how has thy mercy tarried?
	etc.

(c) A similar type is the 3:3 measure with a refrain, e.g. the psalms nos. 228, 270, p. 179^{7ff.}, 188^{25ff.} (? — possibly 2:2 measure), and parts of 197^{9ff.}

179^{7ff.} Among these psalms, Baumstark (Or. Christ 36, 124) has regarded 179⁷ - 181¹⁸ as a "litaneihafte Gebilde" of "Kurzzeilen" with a refrain, if I understand him right. (His observations are very valuable, but his German is not always quite clear.) The composition is as follows:
Introduction:

Ζαμην τνωσ ακ	Amen, we sing to thee.
ζαμ[ην] ζαμην τνψαλε ακ	Amen, [amen, we make music to thee].

Main text:

Τ.Τεραυ νουπαρθενος εκμ[ουτε]	The cry of a Virgin calling:
-------------------------------	------------------------------

αρ[ΗΥ ΕΣΜΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ	perhaps she calls to God.
ΖΑΜΗΝ	Amen.
ΠΖΡΑΥ ΝΟΥΕΓΚΡ[ΑΤΗΣ ΕΣΜΟΥΤΕ	The cry of a Continent one [calling]:
ΑΡΗΥ ΕΣΜΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΒΕ ΝΑΓΓΕ[ΛΟΣ	perhaps she calls to the Angels.
[ΖΑΜΗΝ]	[Amen.]
ΠΖΡΑ Υ ΝΟΥΕΓΚΑΜΟΣ ΕΣΜΟΥΤΕ	The cry of a Married one calling:
ΑΡΗΥ ΕΣΜΟΥΤΕ Ο[ΥΒΕ Π Α[ΙΔΒΟΛΟC]	perhaps she calls to the devil (?)
ΖΑΜΗΝ ΤΗΖΩC ΑΡΑΚ	Amen, we sing to thee.
ΖΑΜΗΝ Ζ[Α]ΜΗΝ ΤΗΨΑΛΕ ΑΡ[Α]Κ	Amen, Amen, we make music to thee.

In the rest of the hymn the scribe has only written the words ΠΖΡΑΥ ΝΟΥΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ (ΝΟΥΕΓΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ΝΟΥΕΓΚΑΜΟΣ) ΟΥΒΕ + a new word (or a composition with one stressed syllable) and ΖΑΜΗΝ of the refrain. But obviously we should continue to read ΕΣΜΟΥΤΕ ΑΡΗΥ ΕΣΜΟΥΤΕ, thus preserving the 3:3 measure (or 3:2, if we prefer not to stress ΑΡΗΥ). This psalm should not a priori be compared to the psalms of the type 2 + refr., 2 + refr. + 2 + refr. etc., cited above, simply because the palaeographic impression is the same.

In no. 228 we may note a passage where the interpunctuation of the MS is obviously wrong: No. 228

ΑΥΤΩΥ ΜΜΑΥ ΑΥΑΥΤΕ ΝΘΑΥ	He appointed him to three powers:
ΑΥΘΛ Ψ C • ΑΥΟΥ Ν ΕΜ ΑΥΕΥΔΑ ΜΟΝ Α	to tribulation, to a right hand, to bliss.
ΤΩΒΞ ΜΜΑΥ	Refr.: Implore him

(23^{4f.})

The metrical analysis also settles the meaning of the following distichon:

ΑΥΩΥ ΝΤΕΥCΑΛΠ ΓΞ ΖΝΝΚΟCΜΟC	He sounded with his trumpet in the worlds:
ΝΕΤΟΥΗΥ ΝΕΤΤΖΝΑ Τ ΑΥΝΕΖCΕ ΜΜΑΥ	those that are far, and those that are
	near, he roused them.
ΤΩΒΞ ΜΜΑΥ	Refr.: Implore him.

(23^{20f.})

ΝΕΤΟΥΗΥ and ΝΕΤΤΖΝΑ|Τ are not adjectival attributes to ΖΝΝΚΟCΜΟC, but are used as nouns and anticipated objects of the verb ΑΥΝΕΖCΕ.

197^{9ff.} With regard to the very long psalm 197⁹ - 202²⁶, I only want to draw attention to the relation of sense and metre. According to G. Widengren (Mesopotamian Elements, p. 75, note 1) "the original metre ... seems to be modelled after the pattern of the Mesopotamian liturgies".

After the metrically irregular introduction (quoted above p. 32) — an exhortation to the "sons of man" to listen to the Envoy — two parallel couplets contain an invocation to the Envoy:

Ν τακει αβαλ εκαυτ .	Thou camest forth, being gathered;
νητακει αβαλ ευκαυτ ακ	thou camest forth, they being gathered unto thee.
τεογο πω νε αραν νηπηγε	Refr.: Tell us the news of Heaven.
Ν τακει αβαλ ερεναλων καυτ	Thou camest forth, the Asons being gathered;
νητακει ευκαυτ ακ	thou camest forth, they being gathered unto thee.
τεογο πω νε	Refr.: Tell the news.

197^{16f.} is a new exhortation, also metrically irregular just as the first exhortation:

Ν εζε νετ νημ8	Awake, ye that slumber,
νετ κατε 2νηλανογτ	ye that sleep in the pit (?)
νηετε[ογ]ο πω νε αρωτν	(Refr.:) that you may be told the news.

197¹⁸⁻²² is a narrative section, telling us how the Envoy was sent down from the Land of Light to the First Man, knocked at his door and asked him to open. The metre is here more or less regularly 3:3 + refr. Then the dialogue starts with the speech of the Envoy. In the seven opening couplets the first stichos is always the same:

Βιτκ α2ρη ω_πωαρπ _νηρωμε	Rise up, O First Man.
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The first stichos of the eighth strophe is a slight variant:

Βιτκ α2ρη ω_πμενηγ_νογμε .	Rise up, O good shepherd.
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As a rule the second stichos has two beats — perhaps always if we may read αεν_ανεκπνλη "Open thy gates" (197^{24f.}) and 2νηρωγ_μη[ογ]ωνωγ "from the mouth of the wolf" (198^{9f.}). Thus the metre of this passage is probably 2:2 + refrain.

At 198^{11ff.} the First Man answers with two couplets:

ΝΤΑΚ ΝΙΜ ΧΕ ΝΑΡΩΟΥ ΨΑΤΕ	Who art thou, for my doors are shut?
† ΟΥΜΕΙΝΕ ΤΑΟΥΕΝ ΝΕΚ	Give a sign that I may open to thee,
ΝΚ ΤΕΟΥΟ ΠΥΙΝΗ	(Refr.:) and thou tell me the news.
ΝΤΑΚ ΝΙΜ ΤΑΟΥΕΝ ΝΕΚ	Who art thou, that I may open to thee?
ΧΕ ΤΡΑΙC ΑΤΟΥΡΩΕ ΕΤΡΒΗΤΚ	For I am guarding the tower [for thee (?)]
ΝΚ ΤΕΟΥΟ ΠΥΙΝΕ	(Refr.:) that thou mayest tell me the news.

(These couplets can be accentuated in different ways, but I think the anxiety of the First Man is best expressed, if the verses are stressed in the way I propose.)

After the answer of the Envoy 198¹⁵⁻¹⁸ — in a 3:3 measure — another narrative section in the same measure interrupts the dialogue. The last stichos should probably be read:

ΑΥΡΕΩΕ ΠΑΧΕΙ[Q] ΝΕΥ	He rejoiced and said to him.
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In the seven following couplets (as a rule 3:3 + refr.) the First Man asks about the state of affairs in Heaven. Then we read (199⁷⁻¹⁰):

Ε[Ρ]Ε ΠΥΑΡΠ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΡΑΥΤ	The First Man rejoices;
ΕΠΥΙΝΕ ΠΑΧΕΥ ΝΕΥ	asking he said to him,
ΧΕ ΤΕΟΥΟ ΠΥΙΝΗ	'Tell the news.'
ΑΠΤΩΣΜΕ ΖΩΗΑΝ ΟΥΩΥΒΕ	And the Call answered again:
ΝΤΑ[Ε] ΑΒΑΛ ΕΥCΑΥΞ	'I came forth, they being gathered.
ΝΤΑ[Ε] ΑΒΑΛ ΕΡΕ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΡΑΥΤ	I came forth, the Gods rejoicing.
ΕC ΠΥΙΝΕ ΠΕ ΠΕ[Ε] ΝΝ	Lo, this is the news of Heaven.'

This narrative section, marking the change of the reading person, breaks off the regular distichal metre — an interesting feature, since we also find it in Mandaean poetry and in a Syriac poetical fragment that can with some probability be ascribed to Mani himself.⁽¹⁾ Moreover the theme of this poem is the same as here — a dialogue between the Envoy and the First Man, and its metre is also 3:3!

The rest of the poem up to 202¹⁰ is the message of the Envoy (in

(1) Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements*, p. 95 with references.

the measure 3:3 + refr. with some irregularities).⁽¹⁾ A narrative section and a wish to share the happy lot of the First Man concludes the hymn proper. The metre of this passage is more irregular. The poem ends with the two conventional doxologies.

The 3:3 measure, but without a refrain, is the characteristic metre of the Psalms of Thomas (see below, p. 88).

No. 241. (d) A freer variation of this type we find in the long psalm no. 241, where most disticha seem to be of the type 2:2, but many stichoi can hardly be read with less than three beats. No refrain is marked by the scribe; perhaps the first distichon contains its main theme:

Μαρ ε_μ π υ λ η_μ πο υ α ῖ νε_ο υ εν_ ρ η τ ν :]	[May] the gates of Light open [before us] ⁽²⁾
τ η ν η υ_τ ῖ χ :] [μ π ι ρ η μ α τ	that we may come and receive this gift.
Δ_ο]γ εν_ῖ ῃ ρω ον_μ π ῖ ν α ε	Open the doors of mercy;
τ ω ν_τ ῖ χ :] μ π]α ω ρον	arise that we may receive the present.
π ῖ ν α δ_ῖ κ ρ ι τ ι ς_ρ η ε σ ε τ	The great Judge is seated:
ε ω ου ε_τ ῖ τ ε α υ_νε υ_τ ῖ τ]ε]α υ	let us gather and glorify him and glorify (?)
	[him].
Χ_ο ο ς_χ ε_χ α ρ ε_π ρ η_ῖ β ρ ρ ε	Say: Hail new Sun,
π ε τ α φ π ρ ῖ ε_μ ῃ π ρ ῖ ο υ α ῖ νε	that has come forth with his Light!
Χ α ρ ε_π π ῖ ν α_ε το υ α β ε	Hail Holy Spirit,
π ε τ α κ ε]_μ π ο ο υ ε_α ω τ ε_μ μ αν	that art come to-day to save us!
Τ τ ῖ χ α]c_π μ αν]χ α]ο ς	Our Lord Mani,
π ε τ κ α_ῖ ῃ ῃ ν α β ε_νε ν_α β α λ	that forgives our sins.

(42²-11)

(1) At 199¹⁶ read:

Δ_υ|τ|ῖ|ν|α|υ|τ_ε|ρε_ν|]α|]ω|ν_ῖ|ν|α|]ω|ν_<α|υ|ε> "I was sent, the Aeons of the Aeons <being gathered>,
ε|υ|δ|ῖ|δ|ῖ|ν_α|π|ω|τ_ῖ|ῃ|ο|υ|α|ῖ|νε playing music to the Father of the Lights."
(cf. l. 18 and l. 13).

(2) I propose this emendation in accordance with 81⁶; note also the parallelism with the following distichon.

An exceptional metre is that of the psalm 191¹⁸ - 193¹². Whereas 191^{18ff.} in the other psalms the metre may change if a new section begins, to mark a contrast e.g. between two speeches (cf. above, pp. 57f., 61, 64f.), we have here a free metre built up with stichoi as a rule of two beats. Most of these stichoi are coupled two and two, and a refrain was sung after each such distichon, even if the refrain is not quite regularly written out in the MS. But sometimes there are three stichoi in one strophe, sometimes even four. Thus we find the following typical strophes:

Distichon:

ΟΥΖΑΡΨΖΗΤ_ΠΕ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ
ΕΥΖΗΤΧΩΡΑ ΝΗΟΥΑΜΡΩΜΕ
ΝΕΟΥ¹

An enduring one is Philip,
he being in the land of the Anthropophagi.
Refr.: There were.

(192¹⁰)

Three stichoi:

ΔΑ_ΝΕΝ ΟΥΚΟΥΙ_ΝΗΖ
ΑΝΝΑΜΠΑΣ ΧΕ_ΑΥΧΕΝΕ
ΨΑΝΤΕ_ΠΝΧΑ_ΙC ΟΥΩΤΒΕ_ΑΖΟΥΝ
ΝΕΟΥΜΝ[•]

Give us a little oil
for our lamps, for they have gone out,
until our Lord passes in.
There were.

(191^{21f.})

ΔΑ_ΑΝ_ΖΩΝΕ ΝΑΟΝΗΥ
ΜΑΡΝ_Π_ΝΗΖ CΑΝΝΑΜΠΑΣ
ΨΑΝΤΕ_ΠΝΧΑ_ΙC ΟΥΩΤΒΕ_ΑΖΟΥΝ

Let us also, my brethren,
put oil in our lamps,
until the Lord passes in.

(193^{6f.})

Four stichoi:

ΟΥ|ΤΗΥ_Ν_Μ_Ζ|_Τ ΕΥ|Ν|Ι_Ε_ΑΧΩΝ_ΠΕ Α] north wind blowing upon us
ΠΝΧΑ_ΙC ΠΜΝΧC is our Lord Mani,
ΧΕΝΑ_ΩΟΥ_ΑΒΑΛ ΝΕΜΕΥ that we may put out with him
ΝΤΝ_Ρ_ΩΤ ΑΠΚΑ_Ζ_Μ_ΠΟΥΑ_ΙΝΕ and sail to the Land of Light.

(193^{4f.})

At 193⁸ begins a conclusion composed of seven such stichoi, the last of which is irregular and has three beats. Then the "Egyptian" doxology only is added.

3. STROPHES OF FOUR STICHOI.

(a) Disticha are sometimes coupled to strophes of four stichoi. In the no. 253 psalm no. 253 these strophes are marked off by a refrain. The first strophe is cited above p. 36. The metre is regular (2:2+2:2+refr.), and I will here only quote one strophe more, where the metrical analysis shows that Allberry's translation should be altered:

ΝΕΙΤΑΝΖ ΑΥΕΝΖΑCΙΕΠΕ	I was heading for shipwreck
ΕΜΠΑΘΟΝ ΠΧΑΙ ΝΤΩΜΕ	before I found the ship of Truth;
ΟΥΚΑΤΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΑCΩΠΠΕ	a divine turning happened:
ΙΗΣ ΠΕΤΑΥ+ΤΟΟΤ	It was Jesus who helped me.
	Refr.: <my brethren, I have received my gar-
	land.>

(63^{17f.})

Allberry translates the last distichon: "a divine tacking was Jesus who helped me" = "J. by aiding me enabled me to tack and so to avoid shipwreck". But since there is a caesura before the word ΙΗΣ the sense must be "Jesus was the one who helped me", even if we would then perhaps rather expect ΙΗΣ <ΠΕ> ΠΕΤΑΥ+ΤΟΟΤ. Cf. however 187¹⁸ ΠΕΤΝCΑΝ ΠΕΤΜΟΥΤΕ ΑΡΩΤΝ "it is your brother that calls you".

171^{25ff.}

The psalm 171²⁵ - 173¹² is composed in the same measure to judge e.g. from the following strophes:

ΑΠΚΕ[ΚΕ ΕΙΛΑ]ΡΗΗ	The Darkness [went] up,
ΑΠΟΥΑΙΝΕΖΩΩΥ ΕΙΛΑΠΙΤΝ .	but the Light went down.
ΑΠΖΗΚ[Ε ΡΡΩΜΑ]Ο	The poor man [became rich],
ΑΠΡΩΜΑΟΖΩΩΥ ΡΖΗΚΕ	but the rich man became poor.
ΜΑΡ	Refr.: Thou dost not <weary, O Wisdom etc.>
	(172 ^{6ff.})
ΝΕΤΡΕΥΕ ΕΥΝΑΡΛΥΤΗ .	They that rejoice shall mourn,
ΝΕΤΡΛΥΤΗ ΕΥΝΑΡΩΥΑΙΕ	they that mourn shall make festival,
ΝCΕΡΕΥΕ ΖΝΠΙΡΕΥΕ	and rejoice in this joy
ΧΝΑΝΗΖΕ ΨΑΝΑΝΗΖΕ	from everlasting to everlasting.
	<Refr.>

ΑΝ ΑΝ_ΖΩΝΕ ΝΑΜΕΡΕΤΕ	We also, my beloved,
ΕΝΑΡΕΨΕ ΖΗΠ ΡΕΨΕ	may we rejoice in this joy
Τ ΝΡΨΑ Ε ΖΗΠ ΨΑ Ε	and make festival in this festival
ΧΝ ΑΝΗΖΕ ΨΑΝ ΑΝΗΖΕ	from everlasting to everlasting.
	<Refr.> (173 ^{6ff.})

Hence I think we are justified in assuming e.g. the following readings:

Α ΑΡ ΝCΩΟΥΖ_ΑΖΟΥΝ ΝΑCΝΗΥ .	Let us gather together, my brethren,
ΝΤΝ ΜΕ ΧΕ_Ν Μ ΠΕ ΠΝ ΟΥΤΕ	and understand who God is,
ΠΕΤΖ Η Π ΕΤΘΑΠ_ΑΒΑΛ .	he that is hidden, that is revealed,
ΠΕΤΚΑΡ Α Τ ΕΤCΕΧΕ_ΑΝ	he that is silent, [that speaks also].
ΜΑΡΕΖΙ	Refr.: Thou dost not (171 ^{26ff.})
ΟΥΝ_ΟΥΕCΑΥ ΕΦΜΗΡ_ΑΠΨΗΝ	There is a sheep bound to the tree:
ΟΥΝ_ΚΑ ΟΥΕ ΑΦΟΥΩΜ_ΠΕCΑΥ .	there is another [that] ate the sheep.
ΟΥΝ_ΟΥΨΩC_ΝΒΑΛ ΕΦΜΑΝΕ .	There is a shepherd giving pasture:
ΑΦΕ ΕΦΚΩΤΕ CΑΠΨΕCΑΥ	he came seeking his sheep.
ΜΑΡ	Refr.: Thou dost not (172 ^{21ff.})

The metre of no. 247 is about the same, but no refrain is marked. no. 247
Without doubt, the introduction was repeated after each strophe. Every
line has four beats, and as a rule it is divided into two stichoi with
two stressed syllables. The well-preserved beginning may be quoted:
Introduction:

Α_ΜΟΥ ΝΗ ΠΧΡC ΕΤΑΝΞ	Come to me, O living Christ;
Α_ΜΟΥ ΝΗ ΠΟΥΑ Ν Ε ΜΠ ΖΟΥΕ	Come to me, O Light [of] day.

Main text:

Τ.ΤCΩΜΑ_ΕΤΖΑΥ ΜΠΧΑΧΕ	The evil body of the Enemy,
Α ΝΑΧΨ_ΑΒΑΛ Μ Α	I have cast it away from me,
ΠΜ ΑΝΨΩΠΕ ΜΠΚΕΚΕ	the abode of Darkness
ΕΤΜΗΖ ΝΖΡΤΕ	that is full of fear.
<Α_ΜΟΥ ΝΗ >	<Come to me etc.>
Ν ΨΜΑ ΕΤCΑΨΕ	These bitter strangers,
ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΖΡΗ _ΑΧΩ	they rose up against me

κατα [πρη]τε νομου ἀχνουμέε	in the manner of a lion upon an ox.
<αμου νηϊ>	<Come to me etc.>
Πωανστη ππαρακλητος †μουτε αρηϊα ρακ σεκαναυεξ ωραϊ ενητουνου ετο νηρτε	O compassionate, O Paraclete, I call up to thee, that thou mayest turn unto me in the hour of dread.
<αμου νηϊ>	<Come to me etc.>
Μυρε ετναυωου α ναχου αβαλ μιαϊ νη ετμηρ νηχυ νημ αρουα ατα γχη	The manifold bonds, I have cast them away from me, those that are bound at all times unto my soul.
<αμου νηϊ>	<Come to me etc.>
Θηδωνη μη ελαδ ετσαγε μη χι †πε μιας τε †τε †εττε μη πουωμ μη πσω μη καλυ α ρχα †ε αχωϊ	The lust of the bitter sweetness, I have not tasted it, that (?) is the fire of eating and drinking, I have not suffered them to [lord] over me.
<αμου νηϊ>	<Come to me etc.>

(55¹⁷⁻²⁹)187^{1ff.}

The first Psalm of Heracleides (187^{1ff.}) is also composed in the metre 2:2+2:2, and again no refrain is written out by the scribe. Presumably the introduction was used as a refrain of the type (a) or (b). All the strophes are metrically regular except one, 187^{30f.}:

Ραββι πασαε	Rabbi, my master,
†ναδ α κωνη νη κентολη	I will serve thy commandment
ενη πουρατ μη πασητ τηρῳ	in the joy of my whole heart.

Again, as e.g. at 184²⁰ (above, p. 59), this strophe marks a new section — the answer of Mariam to the speech of Jesus. Since such irregular introductory verses are met with in other psalms, too, we have a priori no reason to assume that a stichos of the type *μαρζαμμη δε αουωυβε* "Mariam answered" has been left out by the scribe, influenced by the fact that such phrases sometimes stand outside the regular metre and do not belong to the poem proper. However, this possibility is not excluded either in view of the perfect parallelism of the last two

stichoi to the first doxology:

ΟΥΕΛΥ ΜΑΡΙΑΜΗΝ	Glory to Mariam,
ΧΕΛΑССΩΤΗΕ ΣΑΠΕССΑΖ .	because she hearkened to her master,
ΑΣΑΔΙΑΚΟΝΗ ΝΤΕΝΤΟΛΗ	[she] served his commandment
ΣΗΠΟΥΡΑΤ ΜΠΕСЗΗΤ_ΤΗΡΩ	in the joy of her whole heart.

(187^{34f.})

The same metre is also used in the psalm 156¹ - 157¹³.

156^{1ff.}

(b) In nos. 246 and 230 we find variations of this metre. Both of them seem to be rather irregularly built: in no. 246 most stichoi apparently have two beats, but some of them have three, and in no. 230 each stichos has as a rule three stressed syllables, though there are exceptional lines with two accents only.

A few strophes of these psalms where I have some new readings to suggest, may be quoted here:

No. 246

Introduction:

Λ[ΜΟΥ ΝΗ] ΠΑΣΥΓΓΕΝΗΣ	Come to me, my kinsman,
ΠΟΥΔΙΝΕ ΠΑΡΕΦΧΙΜΑ[Τ	the light, my guide!

Strophe 1

[Ω_ΤΑ_Υ]ΥΧΗ ΒΙ_ΑΞΗ	[O my] soul, bear up:
ΟΥΝΤΕ_ΜΜΕΥ ΜΠΕΡΕΦ[Ω]ΤΕ	thou hast thy Saviour:
[ΤΕΝΑ]ΥΤΕ_ΠΕ ΠΕΧΡΟ	[thy] strength is Christ,
ΧΕ_ΦΝΑΧΙΤΕ ΑΤΕΦΜΝΤ[ΡΡΟ	for he will receive thee into his Kingdom.
<α_ΜΟΥ ΝΗ>	<Refr. Come to me etc.>

Strophe 2

Χ[N]ΤΑ[Ι]ΕΙ_ΑΒΑΛ ΑΠΚΕΚΕ	Since I went forth into the darkness,
ΑΥΤΩ_ΜΜΑΙ ΝΟΥΜΑΥ	I was given a water to drink
Ε[ΤΜΑΛ]Ζ ΑΡΑΙ	which [was bitter] to me.

+ΒΙΛΑΡΗΙΛΑΟΥΕΤΠΩ ΕΤΩΙΛΕΝΤΕ I bear up beneath a burden which is not mine.
 <ΑΜΟΥ ΝΗΙ> <Refr. Come to me etc.>

Strophe 3

+ΖΝΤΜΗΤΕ ΝΝΑΧΑΧΕ I am in the midst of my enemies,
 ΕΡΕΝΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΚΩΤΕΛΑΡΑΙ the beasts surrounding me; ⁽¹⁾
 ΤΕΤΠΩ ΕΒΙΛΑΡΑC the burden which I bear
 ΤΑΝΑΡΧΗΥΤΕ ΜΝΝΕΣΟΥCΙA is of the powers and principalities.
 <ΑΜΟΥ ΝΗΙ> <Refr. Come to me etc.>

Strophe 4

ΛΥΜΟΥΖ ΖΝΤΕΥΒΛΚΕ They burned (?) in their wrath,
 ΑΥΤΩΩΝ ΑΖΡΗΛΑΧΩΙ they rose up against me,
 ΑΥΠΩΤ ΑΤΩΡΠΙΛΑΡΑΙ ⁽²⁾ they run to [seize] me,
 ΝΘΕΝΝΙΕCΑΥ ΕΤΕΜΝΤΕΥΩΩC like the sheep that have no shepherd.
 <ΑΜΟΥ ΝΗΙ> <Refr. Come to me>
 (54⁸⁻¹⁶)

Strophe 13

ΤΥΧΗ ΒΙΛΕΤΕ ΑΠΧΙCΕ [O soul], raise thy eyes to the height
 ΝΤΕΙΩΡΖ ΝΤΕΜΡΕ and contemplate thy bond.
 ΕΙC ΤΕΡΕΙΤΕ] ΑΡΕΠΩΖΑΡΑC [Lo, thy race] ⁽³⁾ thou hast reached it;
 ΕΙC ΝΕΙΛΑΤΕ CΕΜΟΥΤΕΛΑΡΟ lo, thy Fathers are calling thee.
 <ΑΜΟΥ ΝΗΙ> <Refr. Come to me>
 (55^{9f.})

no. 230

No. 230 starts with some rather irregular introductory strophes,

(1) Cf. Theodore bar Kōnay, ed. Pognon, p. 128 (Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements*, p. 94):

"Peace unto thee, Good one among the Evil ones,
 Light one in the Darkness.
 God who dwelleth among the beasts of wrath
 who do not know their glory."

(2) possibly the MS has *μυα*.

(3) Cf. 3³⁰; [ΕΙC ΤΕΧΩΡΑ] is also possible.

and then we find the following regular strophes:

ΝΤΑΚ_ΠΕ ΤΝΟΥΝΕ ἡμακαριος .	Thou art the blessed Root.
ΝΤΑΚ_ΠΕ ΠΤΑΧΡΟ ἡμφωστηρ	Thou art the confirmation of the Luminaries.
ΝΤΑΚ_ΠΕ ΠΕΜΑΤ ἡπανρ	Thou art the gift of the air.
ΝΤΑΚ_Π[ε πογ]ωνε_αβαλ	Thou art the manifestation of the victory of
ἡπδρο_ἡπογαῖνε	the Light.

Τῆνευ_αρακ τνου πμακαριος	We see thee now, blessed one,
πσεχε ετρεππρωτ νεητ .	the word that is in singleness of heart;
τῆδαυτ νεωκ πετουαβε	we gaze after thee, the holy one,
π[α]ων] ναυμε νεβρε	the [aeon] ⁽¹⁾ that is new indeed.

(26⁹⁻¹¹)

(c) The psalm 148²¹ - 149³⁰ is composed in a similar metre. Each distichal line has as a rule four beats, and two such lines form a strophe. Sometimes such a line can theoretically also be read with three accents only, as e.g. 148^{25f.}: 148^{21ff.}

Ω_πα ωτ_πανουτε	παρεσωτε παρρο .
τναρσα ix]_αρακ .	ταρεβαλ_ρωτ ταυμε

O my Father, my God;	my Saviour, my King,
I will be a champion for thee,	I myself will go out and fight.

In one strophe there is a line that at first sight only seems possible to analyse as a line of three beats:

Ω_αρε_τμετοу_ἡφαγ	παρε_αβαλ [εἰς_πασωμα]
α τρουρεμμουτε	υαν+μετε νετ[ε]μμετο[γ]

The poison of the serpent	spreads out [in my body (?)].
I became an enchanter	until I had extracted (?) his poison.

(149^{12f.})

But the first word of the second line can also be read with two stresses (cf. Chapter I, 3(II a)).

(1) After the π there is a trace of an α or an η . There is only room enough for three or four letters.

Since many lines can only be read with four beats, and since, as a rule, there is a caesura after the second beat, this metre is a variation of the measure 2:2+2:2. There are only two irregular strophes with lines where no caesura is to be seen:

+NA[+] ΠΑΣΩΜΑ ΑΠΘΟΥ ΖΑΠΕΚΩΜΑ
 ΤΑ+ ΠΑCΑΙ[ε] Ν[20]ΥΤΕΝ ΖΑΠΕΚΑ[ε]

I will [give] my body to death for thy body
 and give my fair (?) beauty for thy beauty.

(148^{29f.})

ΛΕΝ|ΑΡΙΚΕ ΑΡΑΙ ΜΝΑΡΙΚΕ ΖΩΚ' ΑΡΑΚ .
 ΠΒΗΥ [ΓΑΡ] ΠΕ ΠΕΤΑΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΡΙΜΕ ΝΤΟΟΥ

I am not to blame, nor art thou to blame;
 for it is the outrage which the Gods have lamented.

(149^{10f.})

no. 239 (d) The metre of no. 239 and no. 265 is of a similar type. Each strophe
 no. 265 consists of two, as a rule distichal, lines and there are five beats in
 each line, sometimes (especially in no. 239) possibly rather four. No
 refrain is indicated. A few strophes may be quoted:

Τε[ετ]ε ΕΤΟΥΗ2 ΖΝΠCΩΜΑ ΠC2ΩΒ ΝΤΑC_ΠΕ ΟΥΩΜ Ζ[ic]ω .
 Τ†ΥΧΗ_ΖΩC ΕCΑΒΕ ΜΠCΕΧΕ ΜΠΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΕΥ_ΝΙΜ

The fire that dwells in the body — its affair is eating and drinking;
 but the soul thirsts for the Word of God always.

(140^{29f.})

(Read either ΤCετε ΕΤΟΥΗ2_ΖΝΠCΩΜΑ or ΟΥΩΜ_Ζ[ic]ω — or both?)

Π[ετ]π[ε] [1] ΝΕΤΖΑΥ ΜΝΝΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ
 ΖΝΟΨΩΩΩ_Ν[ΟΥ]ΩΤ ΕΥΠΩΡΩ ΜΠCΟΥΑΙΝΕ ΑΧΝΟΥ[ΑΝ_ΝΙΜ

He that shines (1) the evil and good,
 equally he spreads his light upon every man. (41^{1f.})

(1) possibly [ΝΨ2ΩΟΥ ΑΧΝ]; "and rains upon"; cf. Mt. 5⁴⁵.

(e) A line of 5 beats is also used in the short psalm no. 240. As a rule the metre seems to be 5:4 with a refrain, but in the last strophe the order is reversed, thus 4:5 + refrain:

Χαῖµδε τῆς ζῆντλ+λε νῖωτε ὑπκοῦνα
 ενταῶνε απωµωε ὑπβημα ετογαβε
 ω ππαπεαυ

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

O glorious one. (Strophe 5; 41^{20f.})

Τῆντηπ λουωῶτ ὑπμεῖνε ντκκαθεδρα
 εκωανπαρῶς ὑπρῶοε ὑπμαζαῖπε ετρηπ ὑπρῶ
 ω ππαπεαυ

We are wont to worship the sign of thy seat
 when thou spreadest it out on the day of the Filling of Measure which is hidden today.

O glorious one. (Last strophe; 41^{24ff.})

(f) Such a distichal line of 5 beats (2:3 or 3:2) seems to be the second element of the strophes in the psalm no. 244. The first half of these strophes is apparently a line of 7 beats of the type 3:4, 4:3, or 2:5.

Introduction: "Come, my Saviour, Jesus do not forsake me" (quoted above p. 39).

Ἰησὺ ντακ πεταῖμερτκ αἰτ τατρυχη [αζρηῖ ατγαλ]βωε.
 ὑππτεες νταυ αζρηῖ ανζηαοναυ[ε ετ]λα[με] ὑπκοσμοс
 Ἰησὺ ὑπωρκαат νσωκ

[Jesus,] thee have I loved,
 I have not given it rather

I have given my soul [into an] armour (?);
 to the foul(?) lusts of the world.

Jesus do not forsake me.

Εἰς τ[ε]αλβωε ετοῖ νεαυ
 αἰτεες αχνηαμελος

Ἰησὺ ὑπωρ

τετακρωκ ντκεντολη [εταῖ] ετογαβε νζρηῖ νζητς
 [αἰτ]των ουβέ ναχαχε

[Lo, the] glorious armour

wherein thou hast girded thy [great(?)] holy
 commandment,

Τῆς ἐκων παλῶτ ἐτνεσως	The beautiful image, my Father,
οὐρανῶς νηὶ ἀβαλ	reveal it to me.
[αμου] μῆπεκπῆρε νᾶτχωζε	[Come(?)] ⁽¹⁾ with thine unsullied brightness,
πταχρο νζητ νταψυχῆ	the confirmation of my soul.
ἄπωρκατ νωκ	<Do not forsake me.>

Μαρεσταῖλε νει ψαρά	Let it arise and come to me
νδλαμ νχι τματεδε νεκαγγελος	quickly — even the army of thine angels.
πκλαμ μῆπδρο ετουωψχιτου	The garland and the victory which I would receive.
μῆπβραβειον ἄπειν	and the prize of glory.
ἄπωρκατ νωκ	<Do not forsake me.>

(61¹⁴⁻¹⁸)

The metre is fairly regular, but the strophe 62^{16f.} seems to be in the measure 2:3(or 2):2:2.⁽²⁾

The measure 3:3:3:2 is also used in no. 242 (49¹⁻³¹).

no. 242

(1) The psalm no. 248 starts with an introduction that was probably taken up as a refrain of type (a) after each strophe. The measure, shown by the first strophe, is as a rule 4:4:4:4. There is often, but not always, a caesura after the second beat.

no. 248

Introduction:

Δ[μου] παχαῖς ἰης	Come, my Lord Jesus,
πρωτηρ νῦψχαγε	the Saviour of souls.
πετ[α]ψωτε μ[μα] ἀβαλ ἄπ[ζε]	who hast saved me from the drunkenness,
τπλανη ἄπκομος	the Error of the world.

(1) I propose this emendation, since the metrical analysis shows that this stichos should have one beat more, and no further stressed syllable is needed in the preceding stichos. Allberry translates: ". . . and thy etc." Compare also the following strophe.

(2) Possibly the first stichos of the strophe 62^{16f.} should be read:

Μ or Νιψχαγῆς ντακ πεγακτουβαγ. "[The souls,] thou art he that purifieth them." And the last stichos of the ensuing strophe (62^{8f.}) is perhaps:

ξε εἰναψερ[ακ] ζαπστῆρ ἄπμου "that I may be able to be [calm] beneath the alarm of death."

These readings suit the lengths of the lacunae and a few dubious traces.

Strophe 1:

Ν|τακ_πε| ππκλc
 πεκoy|a|ne πp̄|e_νζητ
 ακnoyωπ|αβαλ_μμα|
 ακτc|εβα| αcμoy

Thou art the Paraclete
 thy Light shines forth in me
 thou hast driven away from me
 thou hast taught me to bless

πετα|μεp|τq̄ xññταμντκoy|
 ñ-φε_ντλαμπας μποy|a|ne|
 ñτβye ñτπλανη
 απnoyτε μñνεoyα|ne

whom I have loved since my youth;
 like the lamp of light;
 the oblivion of the Error;
 God and his Lights.

(56¹⁵-20)

In the 4th strophe there is an obvious allusion to ὁ τετραπρόσωπος
 πατήρ τοῦ μεγέθους (cf. above, p. 42), and hence I hesitantly suggest
 the following reading:

Α]πnoyτε μπ|a|ων τωμ_απζητ' ññ|ατναzτε
 αqαμ|c|oy zñτεπλανη μñταπατη μπ|zε
 αqτοyχεoy[α απnoyτε ñτμη μñνεq|a|ων]
 [π]ε|qoyα|ne.....]N ñτεqδaμ μñτεqcoφ|a

The God of this Aeon has shut the heart of the unbelieving;
 he has sunk them in his Error and the deceit of drunkenness;
 he has made them blaspheme against the God of Truth and his [Aeons,]
 [his Light](1) his Power and his Wisdom

(56³¹ - 57²)

The ensuing strophe should probably be read as follows (I base my
 suggestion on a collation of the MS.):

Εy|χε_πnoyτε πεταqμ|ne ñμπετzaγ [μñ]μπετ|a|ñ|τ
 ayω_πxpc μñπcατaνac ñω|ηpe ñoy|ω]τ_ñoyωτ'_ne
 z|e_ñ|μ αqτñnay |ñc χεqαβω|k|
 ñ|q̄penepeñ zññ|oyα|oc ωανtoyεωτ|βε| μμαq

(1) [ñατzωτπ] is impossible, since the N before ñτεqδaμ is quite certain. —
 56²⁸ probably: τ[ναω]τe "the strength".

If it was God who created the evil and the good,
and Christ and Satan were the [children of a] single [Father],⁽¹⁾
who then sent Jesus, that he might go
and work among the Jews until they slew him.⁽²⁾

(57³⁻⁶)

The same measure, or possibly 3:3:3:3, rules in no. 226.

no. 226

(j) Finally a 3:4:3:4 measure seems to be the characteristic metrical form of the psalm no. 243 to judge from the following typical strophe: no. 243

Νῆταρ ρωτῦ ἀπ εργαυ ὑπ ασιωτηρ	When I heard the cry of my Saviour,
οὐδ αμ ἀσ ῤ φορε ἡ ναμ ε λος τη ρου .	a power seized ⁽³⁾ all my limbs;
νεϋ ςβ τεεϋ ε τ σαϋε αἵ ναρ σοϋ	their bitter walls I destroyed,
νεϋ ρωα ἀ ιοϋ αδ ποϋ αἵ πωτ ρα πακ ρι της	their doors I broke down, I ran to my judge.
	(50 ^{21ff.})

(1) Cf. Khuastuanift § 1: "if we have said: 'He (God) is the origin and root of Light and Darkness, of God and Devil', --- if we have said: 'The Good and the Evil, God has created it all', --- if we have said: 'Khormuzta and Shimmu (the Demon of Darkness) are a younger and an elder brother' --- we repent now, my God, and ask forgiveness of these sins" (Schader, *Der Manichäismus nach neuen Funden und Forschungen*, Morgenland 28, pp. 104 ff.; Bang, *Le Muséon* 36, 1923, p. 147; Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, p. 51; Müller, *Handschriften-Reste ... aus Turfan*, II (Abh. Preuss. Ak. Wiss. 1904), p. 28: "And they say that Ormuzd and Ahriman are brothers, and because of this word they are brought to annihilation (?)". — Cf. also H. Söderberg, *La Religion des Cathares*, Uppsala 1949, pp. 126 f.

(2) 57¹⁷ perhaps: ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΑΘ ΜΠ[κ]εκε "the son of the great one of the Darkness", which suits the traces.
57²⁴ ends with a hole in the MS.; possibly [αἰτονβαῖ ἀννῶ].

(3) Allberry translates "clothe", but the verb $\bar{\rho}\bar{\phi}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\epsilon}$ as a rule means "wear" in connection with clothes; cf. the other instances in the Psalm-book (Greek index). I think "seize" or "carry off" is the correct translation.

4. STROPHES OF EIGHT STICHOI.

no. 235 The metre of the rather fragmentary psalm no. 235 may perhaps be styled as a duplication of these types with four stichoi in each strophe. In this psalm each strophe seems to consist of eight stichoi of three, or possibly sometimes four beats. In each strophe every stichos starts with the same word. No refrain is written out by the scribe. Since the first words of the introduction resemble e.g. the last refrain of the psalm 144^{1ff.}, and in view of the monotonous parallelism of the stichoi, it is possible that this introduction was repeated as a refrain after each stichos. In that case, we would here have the same type of "litany" as the psalms first treated in this chapter. I quote the strophe 33³⁻⁹, one of the best preserved:

ΤΤρπ]μεεν_πε πεῖ [μππνα_ετανζ]	This is the memorial [of the Living Spirit;]
πρπμεεν_π]ε πεῖ ἡτιμῆςναυς_ἡπαρθενος.	" " " " of the 12 Maidens;
[πρπμεεν_πε] πεῖ ἡῖ[ρεμ]ῖρζμμε	" " " " of the Helmsmen;
πρπμεεν_πε πεῖ [μπεεγ_οκ]ατοχος	" " " " of the Splenditenens;
πρπμεεν_πε πεῖ ἡπρρο_ἡπ[τα]ο	" " " " of the King of Honour;
[πρπμ]εεν_πε πεῖ ἡπαδαμας_ἡπουα]νε	" " " " of the Adamas of Light;
π[ρπμεεν_]πε πεῖ ἡπρρο_ἡπεαυ	" " " " of the King of Glory;
πρπμεεν ἡπω[μοφορος πνα]δ_ἡζ[αρ]υζητ	" " " " of the great stout-hearted
	Omophorus.

Introduction (= refrain?):

λλαρν]ζως τηρνε νασνηυ ἡμακαριος	Let us all sing, my blessed brethren,
ἡωη[ρε μ]πουα]νε	the children of the Light,
ἡτῆ+εαυ ἡπ[.]	and glorify the etc.

The very fragmentary strophe 33^{24ff.} is perhaps a conclusion composed in a different style.

5. STROPHES OF AN UNEVEN NUMBER OF STICHOI.

(a) Of another character are the metres with strophes of three stichoi, as a rule with three beats in each of them.

In the psalm 144¹ - 146¹³ every stichos is marked off with a refrain. The poem starts with an introduction that is then used as a refrain after each third stichos: "Let us sing together to Sethel our Saviour". The first strophe is fragmentary and perhaps not quite regular. The second is as follows:

Νῆνοῦτε [τηρ]οῦ ρεγε_α_χωκ	All Gods rejoice in thee,
ω παρ	(Refrain 1) O my <Saviour>
ἄγγελος σμαμε ἡμακ	The angels bless thee,
ω	(Refrain 1) O < my Saviour >
ετβε_πιζωβ ετκερε ἡμαγ	Because of the things which thou doest.
μαρῆζωσ ε[ο]υσαπ δσθηνλ	(Refrain 2) Let us sing together to Sethel.

Three strophes, however, consist of four stichoi. The last one of these contains the doxology, here composed in the same metre as the rest of the poem. The "Egyptian" doxology adds one line to the formula (cf. above p. 29). The two other strophes are composed as parallels:

Ε[ι]ατῆτωνκ λευ παχα[ι]c	To what shall I compare thee, my Lord?
ω παρ	O my
ε[ι]ατῆτωνκ απρη ευ[α]π[ρ]ε	I will compare thee to the sun that shines forth,
ω παρ	O my
πεωαγε[ι] ἡμνηε μῆνεγακτιν	that comes daily with his rays
ω παρ	O my
ἡγ[ε]_πουναγ ἡῆσωντ τηρου	and gives joy to all created things.
μαρῆζωσ	Let us sing

Εἰνατῆτωνκ λευ παερίτ	To what shall I compare thee, O beloved?
ω παρ	O my

ΕΙΛΤΝΤΩΝΚ	ΑΥΝΑΘ	ΝΕΜΗΡΕ	I will compare thee to a great flood,
ω	ΠΑΡ		O my
ΕΥΑΓΓ	ΠΟΥΡΑΤ	ΝΗΚΟCΜΟC	that gives gladness to the worlds,
ω	ΠΑΡ		O my
ΝΕΤ	ΜΑΥ	ΝΗΛΑΖΟΥ	ΕΤΟ
		ΝΟΥΡΚΕ	(¹¹) [and gives water (?) to] the parched fields.
			Let us sing
			(145 ²¹⁻²⁸)

Emendations metri causa should of course be avoided, and the addition of one stichos may be simply be due to the introductory question (cf. 145²⁹!). However, it does not seem impossible to assume that the phrases "that comes daily with its rays" and "that gives gladness to the worlds" may be later additions. In the latter strophe this stichos interrupts the clear connection between "a great flood" and "and gives water(?) to the parched fields". And in the former strophe the stichos in question is superfluous.

According to Baumstark⁽²⁾, the Saviour Sethel is a stranger in the Manichaean system and properly belongs to the Mandaean mythologoumena, and this psalm would consequently contain a Mandaean element of an earlier date than Mani (cf. below, p. 158). This view may be correct despite the fact that Sethel is now known also from other Coptic Manichaean texts.⁽³⁾ Since Sethel plays an important role in the Mandaean religion, it may anyhow be of interest to note the fact that the strophes just quoted recall a passage in the Left Ginza:

- (1) The stroke over the first letters is clearly visible, and there is a faint trace of the γ . — At 145¹⁷ I suggest the reading ΝΚΑΤΗ[ΧΟ]ΥΜΕΝΟC ΜΝΝΕ[ΤΝΑΖΤ]Ε "the Catechumens and the Faithful ones", since e.g. Ε[ΤΟΥΑΒ]Ε is too short to fill the lacuna before the last Ε (not seen by Allberry).
- (2) Oriens Christ. 36, 1941, p. 122.
- (3) Allberry, p. 142, n. 4, and the literature quoted there.

עדאמיאך נישטא במאדו	To what shall I compare thee, O soul,
עדאמיאך בגאווה דהאזין אלמא	compare thee (to what) in this world?
עדאמיאך בשאמיש דעומאמא	I will compare thee to the sun of the day,
עדאמיאך בסירא דליליא	I will compare thee to the moon of the night.
עדאמיאך באיאר סהאנא	I will compare thee to the north-wind,
כד מיהיאירבה באלמא	when it moves in this world.
עדאמיאך בניליא מיא	I will compare thee to the waves of the water,
כד איאר סהאנא נאשים עלאזיהון	when the north-wind blows over it.

(L.G. 108⁵⁻⁹; Lidzbarski, Ginza, p. 552.)

(b) The psalm no. 264 is composed in the same measure, but the refrain no. 264 is repeated after each strophe only. (The first strophe is fragmentary, and the strophe 81^{6f}. perhaps irregular in the second stichos; cf. above, p. 27.)

(c) A curious instance of this metre 3:3:3 is the Psalm to the Trinity 115^{1ff}. (115¹ - 116²³). There is no refrain proper, but the first stichos of every strophe ends with "the Father", the second with "the Son", and the third with "the Holy Spirit". Most of the stichoi can be read both with three and four beats, but since some stichoi can only be read with three (115^{7,13,19f.,22}, 116¹⁰) the metre is probably 3:3:3. Moreover, the whole poem sounds very clumsy and heavy if read in a 4:4:4 measure. A typical strophe is e.g. 116⁷⁻⁹:

Ἰἢς πωμνῆ μπιωνῆ τε πῶτ .	Jesus, the Tree of Life, is the Father;
πκαρπος πνου[c] ἡνογαῖνε τε πωμρε	the fruit, the Mind of Light, is the Son;
ππαρθενος ππετγαλδ τε ππνα ετογαβε	the Maiden, this sweet one, is the holy Spirit.

no.250 (d) Finally, I should like to draw the attention to no. 250 where the metre is 4:4:4:4:4 with some irregularities. A regular strophe (59^{15ff.}) may be cited:

Ἰη̅ς_πε πωαρ̅π̅ ἡ̅ζματ̅ εταγ̅+̅μ̅μα̅	Jesus is the first gift that was given;
Ἰη̅ς_πε τ̅ρρη̅ ἡ̅πιω̅τ̅ ετογ̅α̅βε	Jesus is the holy flower of the Father;
Ἰη̅ς_πε πωαρ̅π̅ ἡ̅ζμε̅τ̅ α̅χ̅ν̅ῶ̅φω̅στη̅ρ	Jesus is the first to sit upon the luminaries;
Ἰη̅ς_πε π̅ρω̅με̅ ε̅τ̅χ̅η̅κ̅ ὀ̅ν̅π̅ε̅τ̅υ̅λ̅ο̅ς	Jesus is the Perfect Man in the Pillar;
Ἰη̅ς_πε π̅τ̅ω̅ων̅ ἡ̅μ̅πε̅τ̅μα̅γ̅τ̅ ὀ̅ν̅τε̅κ̅κ̅λ̅η̅ς̅ ̅α	Jesus is the resurrection of them that have died in the church. ⁽¹⁾

The "martyrological" doxology adds one line to the last strophe. It is possible that the strophe 59²⁴⁻²⁸, too, has 6 stichoi — or should we be allowed to read l. 25 f.:

ἡ̅ν̅τε̅_νε̅κ̅με̅λ̅ο̅ς_χω̅κ̅με̅_μ̅μα̅|̅ ἡ̅κ̅ί̅ω̅ε̅_μ̅μα̅|̅ ὀ̅ν̅νε̅κ̅μο̅υ̅ῖ̅ε̅ε̅_ε̅το̅γ̅α̅βε

"let thy members cleanse me, and do thou wash me in thy holy waters.

In that case this strophe is also regular.

(1) 59¹⁵ τ̅ρρη̅ε̅ is a misprint for τ̅ρρη̅ε̅.

CHAPTER V. THE PSALMS OF THOMAS. ANALYSIS.

1. GENERAL CHARACTER.

Allberry (p. XXII) and Baumstark⁽¹⁾ have both stressed the fact that the Psalms of Thomas⁽²⁾ are very different from the other compositions included in the published part of the Psalm-book. Allberry points out that in this collection we find no doxologies or refrains, nor, according to him, an "arrangement in verses". The latter statement is only true with regard to the palaeographical arrangement of the text. A metrical analysis discloses a regular distichal composition, and sometimes also strophes of three or more stichoi. A possible explanation of this purely palaeographical difference is that the scribe may have copied the Psalms of Thomas from another manuscript than that which he used for the rest of the book. (In passing, it may be noted that this way of arranging poetry as if it were prose is usual in Mandaean manuscripts.)

Some other typical traits are also mentioned by Allberry: "The subject-matter is strange and unfamiliar. A characteristic is the repetition of a word or a phrase, and sometimes two consecutive psalms will end with the same formula". With regard to the subject-matter, Baumstark makes the remark that the typically Manichaean mythologoumena play a more important part in these psalms, whereas the "historical" figure of Jesus is dominating in the rest of the Psalm-book. Moreover, Baumstark thinks that these psalms are perhaps of a literary character, rather than sprung from the requirements of a living cult.

In the main part of the Psalm-book we found some traits with Mandaean parallels, e.g. the form of some doxologies, a few cases where a

(1) Or. Christ. 36, 1941, pp. 118 f., 122 f.

(2) In the following I quote them Th. with Roman numbers.

stichos is repeated according to the scheme AB BC, a hymn to Sethel, and some other details. But as a whole these psalms are of quite another character than the Mandaean poems. In the Psalms of Thomas, on the contrary, not only the distichal metre, the patterns for repeating of stichoi, some general motives and special notions that are not met with in the other psalms, show a close affinity to Mandaean poetry, but several passages are more or less identical with Mandaean poems.

The characteristic difference between the Psalms of Thomas and the other Manichaeian psalms is due to this Mandaean affinity, and not to a more literary aspect or to a more dominating part played by the Manichaeian mythologoumena, as was assumed by Baumstark. In fact, several of the Psalms of Thomas as well as e.g. the Psalms of Jesus were in all probability used at a cultic ceremony corresponding to the Mandaean death mass. Furthermore, if we compare e.g. Th. I, dealing with the war between the Light and the Darkness, with a psalm such as no. 223 treating the same motive, or if, with regard to the Manichaeian mythologoumena, we consider dogmatical compositions in the main part of the Psalm-book such as 133^{1ff.} (cf. above p. 42), Baumstark's characterization is rather difficult either to understand or to accept.

2. CONCLUDING FORMULAE.

Two characteristic elements of the other psalms — the doxology and the refrain — are thus lacking in the Psalms of Thomas. The fact that the "Egyptian doxology" (cf. above p. 28f) is not added at the end of the Psalms of Thomas is probably only a sign that they have conserved the original form to a higher degree than the other psalms. The lack of a refrain repeated after each stichos, verse or strophe — whether written out or not, and as a rule containing the theme of the introduction — is

a more significant difference.

As pointed out by Allberry, some psalms end with identical phrases, a sort of conventional conclusion alluding to the victory of Light and its faithful ones and the defeat of their opponents:

No. I (sim. no. II):

ΠΕΤΑΝΕΤΑΝΩ [ΩΕ] ΒΙΤΩ ΑΦΝΟΥΖΜΕ .	That which the Living ones took was saved;
CENANAYZOY AN CA[Π]ETE ΠΩΟΥ	they will return again to that which is theirs.

No. VIII (sim. no. VI):

ΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ ΝΑΩΕ ΑΠΕΦΜΑ .	The Light shall return to its place,
ΠΚΕΚΕ ΝΑΖΕΙΕ ΝΩΤΑΩΩΤ ΑΤΩΩΝ :	the Darkness shall fall and not rise again.

No. XII (sim. no. XIV):

ΥΑΒΙ ΖΑΝΕΤΕ ΝΚΩΩΦ ΒΙ ΖΑΡΑΥ :	It (var. He) shall suffer what the corpses
	suffer,
ΧΕ ΑΥ[ΜΟΥ]ΤΕ ΑΠΩΜΕΧΕ ΑΠΕΦΩΤΜΕ	for they called into his ear, he did not hear.

The content of these phrases in a way resembles e.g. the doxology "Victory to etc.", but they are nevertheless of a rather different character. Only those of Th. I and II are not intimately linked up with the preceding verses, whereas in the other psalms of Thomas they form a direct continuation of the preceding text. The doxologies of the rest of the Psalm-book are characterized by the fact that, as a rule, they are added without any direct connection with the psalm proper (cf. above pp.28ff.).

At first sight, these concluding disticha, especially the rather independent ones of Th. I and II, may seem to correspond to a type of conclusion found in Mandaean poetry. In the Third Book of the Left Ginza, the longer poems, ending with the usual doxology, are followed by small poems of a few stichoi. These concluding strophes are interpreted by Lidzbarski as responses.⁽¹⁾ Similarly, the עניאניא in the Mandaean liturgies were perhaps, according to the same scholar, originally also sung as responses by the lower priests or by the congregation after the דראשיא

(1) Lidzbarski, Ginza, p. 505.

had been recited.⁽¹⁾ We have no reason to assume that they were repeated after each stichos or distichon, as is the case with the refrain in the main part of the Manichaean Psalm-book. Possibly the last "conventional" lines of Th. I and II were used in the same way as these Mandaean ܡܢܝܢܝܐ, but this is very uncertain. To the content and form of the other concluding phrases in the Psalms of Thomas we have very close parallels in Mandaean (cf. below, pp. 136, 143), and these Mandaean counterparts stand towards the end of a poem, but always before the doxology and as a rule they are not even the very last stichos. Thus, at least the concluding phrases of Th. VI, VIII, XII and XIV are of a different character to the Mandaean responses.

3. THE DISTICHAL METRE.

The metre of the Psalms of Thomas is as a rule a fairly regular 3:3 measure. Sometimes a stichos or two may have two beats only, and we may style this metre as a "Doppeldreier" in the wider sense of the word. This is also the typical measure of the Mandaean hymns and prayers, where we find the same slight irregularity (some longer poems are composed in a freer form with a rather varying number of beats). Thus we may compare Th. VII 213^{2ff.} the metre e.g. of 213^{2ff.} with Mand. Lit., p. 159:

ܐܩܩܩܩܝܬ ܢܗܠܐ ܢܗܠܐܥܥܐ .
 ܐܩܥܡܢܢܝܬܝܬ ܐܩܢܐܝܬܝܬ ܐܪܥܐ :
 ܢܝܪܡܝܢܝܬ ܢܬܝܢܐܐ ܢܝܡܩܪܐܐ .
 ܢܝܪܡܝܢܝܬ ܢܬܝܢܐܐ ܢܝܡܩܪܐܐ :
 ܢܝܪܡܝܢܝܬ ܢܬܝܢܐܐ ܢܝܡܩܪܐܐ :
 ܢܝܪܡܝܢܝܬ ܢܬܝܢܐܐ ܢܝܡܩܪܐܐ :

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

(1) Mand. Lit., pp. XIV f.

טובאך טובאך נישמא	Hail, hail, thou soul,
דנפאקת מינה מן אלמא	that thou hast left the world.
נפאקתה לקלומא	Thou hast left decay,
ולפאגרא סאריא דהוייתבה	and the stinking body in which thou wast,
לדאורא דדור בישא	The dwelling, the dwelling of the Bad ones,
לאהרא דכולה האטיא	the place that consists wholly of sinners,
לאלמא דהשוכא	The world of the darkness,
דיסינא קינא ופלוגיא	of hatred, envy and discord.

Mand.
Lit. 159

Owing to the freedom of accentuation in Coptic (cf. Chapter I), it is sometimes difficult to see if there really is any irregularity in the Coptic metre. A few instances may be quoted to illustrate this problem:

Th. II
205^{13ff.}

[αΥΤ]ΩΝ ΑΥΒΙΖΑΛΒΨΕ ΟΥΒΗΙ .	They rose, they took arms against me,
ΕΥΡΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ ΝΕΜΗΙ :	making war with me;
ΕΥΡΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ ΝΕΜΗΙ .	Making war with me,
ΕΥΜΨΕ ΑΧΝΤΑΖΒΩ ΕΤΟΥΑΒΕ :	fighting for my holy robe.

(205¹³⁻¹⁵)

Here it is possible to read the second and the third stichos with three beats — the usual metre in this psalm (Th. II) — since the composite verb may have two accents, especially as it is composed with a Greek word, that in itself may have two beats.

Similarly the stichoi ρβονθει απλilov "succour the Youth" (repeated) and εϋρβονθει απλilov "he succoured the Youth" (repeated) at 209^{27f.} and 210^{5f.} together with the stichos εϋμoyτε εϋπ[pe]βεϋτωc "he called an Envoy" (209²⁴) are practically the only possible exceptions from the 3:3 measure of Th. IV, and hence presumably rather to be read with three beats according to rules laid down in Chapter I,3 (II:1(a); III). An additional reason for this reading is the fact that the latter stichos stands as a parallel to εϋμoyτε απαδαμαc απoγaίνε (209^{25f.}).

This distichal metre does not in itself connect the Psalms of Thomas especially with Mandaean poetry, since the same type of metre is also found in several other early Aramaic and Syriac poems: ⁽¹⁾ (a) the Car-

(1) Cf. Schaefer, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 1932, pp. 56 f. and the literature quoted there. For this and the following references I am indebted to Professor Widengren.

pentras stele from Egypt (CIS II 141), (b) Daniel 7, 9/10 and 13/14, (c) a cuneiform Aramaic incantation from Uruk⁽¹⁾, (d) the original Aramaic version of the prologue to the Fourth Gospel, (e) the original Aramaic version of Ignace's letter to the Ephesians Chapter 19, (f) a Syriac cosmogonic poem by Bardesanes, (g) a Syriac poetical fragment by Mani, quoted by Theodore bar Kōnay, and (h) the original, probably Syriac version of the Manichaean Persian poem reconstructed by Lidzbarski (cf. p. 113). (In early Syriac poetry, other measures, too, are found, e.g. in the Odes of Solomon, and some early fragments of Syriac poetry are perhaps composed in rhymed lines of seven syllables.)⁽²⁾ The later Syriac prosody with a fixed number of syllables (as a rule seven in each line) is possibly due to Greek influence.

Thus the so-called "Doppeldreier" is a common measure not only in Mandaean poetry but in many of the earlier Aramaic and Syriac poems. We know from other sources (cf. *supra* g, and h) that Mani adopted this form in his Syriac psalms, and have thus a priori good reason to assume that the Coptic Psalms of Thomas show the same metrical type as the original, presumably Syriac text. Theoretically, the Coptic translator might have changed the original metre into measures commonly used in Egypt. In fact, this metrical arrangement of a text in disticha with three beats in each stichos is also to be found in some hieroglyphic hymns in the Temple of Denderah.⁽³⁾ However, our analysis will show that at least in some psalms the translator has in all probability conserved the measure of the original text in all details.

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- (1) Cf. Gordon, *Orientalia* IX, nova series, 1940, 29 - 38; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Revue d'Assyriologie* 39, 1942 - 44, 35 - 62.
 (2) Baumstark, *OLZ* 1933, Sp. 345 ff.
 (3) Junker, *Zeitschrift für äg. Sprache* 43, 101 ff., nos. I c and IV.

4. SIMPLE PHRASES INTERRUPTING THE METRE.

Another metrical characteristic which is found once or twice in the Psalms of Thomas is equally such a common trait as the "Doppeldreier": The regular metre may be interrupted by some simple phrase of the type "said he". We already noticed this phenomenon in the psalm immediately preceding the Psalms of Thomas (cf. above p. 65) and stressed the fact that it often occurs not only in Mandaean poetry, but also in the Manichaean poem quoted by Theodore bar Kōnay and e.g. in the Aramaic verses in Daniel 7, 9 - 14. Thus this characteristic does not in itself suffice to connect the Psalms of Thomas especially with Mandaean poetry, but the similarity is nevertheless well worth noting. Neither in the Coptic psalms nor in the Mandaean poems is this an absolute and unexceptionable rule; sometimes such phrases fall into the measure, sometimes they interrupt it.

A clear instance of this type of metrical irregularity we find in Th. I, composed in a very regular 3:3 measure: Th. I 204^{7ff.}

ⲁⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲛⲛⲩⲙⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲛⲓⲉ One of the Sons of Light
ⲃⲱⲩⲧⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲛⲡⲁⲓⲉ ⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩⲁⲣⲁⲩ . looked from on high and saw him.

ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲩⲙⲣⲉ ⲛⲡⲁⲓⲉⲛⲩⲙⲁⲟ: He said to his rich brethren:

(Ⲙ) ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲛⲩⲙⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲛⲓⲉ "O my brethren, the Sons of Light,
ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲛⲩⲧⲁ ⲙⲛⲃⲱⲭⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲩⲟⲩ . in whom there is no waning or diminution."
(204⁷⁻⁹)

Perhaps 211^{17f.} in Th. V is another instance of this usage. The passage is fragmentary, but we can see that two stichoi are identical with the exception of the words ⲡⲁⲭⲉⲩ ⲭⲉ "he said", and these words cannot belong to the preceding stichos. (The metre of this psalm is 3:3 with some exceptional stichoi of two beats only.) Th. V 211^{14ff.}

ζ|ῃπκρο ὑπῆρο ἡρ. γα . On the bank of the river . . .
 οὐν_οὐλ|λοῦ_ὑμεν εἰςμαστ̄ εἰρ̄ψαλε . there is a Youth sitting, making music.
 πλ|λοῦ_ὑμεν εἰςμαστ̄ εἰρ̄ψαλε The Youth there sits and makes music
 ζῃπσταῖ ὑπῶνζ̄ εἰσφωσ_α_χωγ : in the scent of Life which dwelt upon him.

 πα_χεγ_χε He said:

 πα_χнт ρου_τα_γ_νη . "My heart be a mountain (?) for me,
 τ_α_σ_υ_ν_ε|_α_μ_ε|_τ̄_π_α_γ_ρ̄|_ε_νη̄ ἡ_ο_υ_ν_ο_υ_ς . my conscience grow (?) for me into a mind.
 πα_χнт ρου_τα_γ_νη . My heart be a mountain (?) for me.
 ὡ_π_τ̄_ε_ῃ . β ῃ⁽¹⁾ Be . . .
(211¹⁴⁻²⁰)

5. DIFFERENT SECTIONS COMPOSED IN DIFFERENT METRES.

Th. VIII In Th. VIII two speeches are also interrupted by a metrically irregular passage of a narrative character, a phenomenon closely related to 214^{11ff.} the one just mentioned:

ἀ_κεῖ [ζῃ]οὐ_εἰ_ρ_η_ν_η_ ω_π_ω_μ_ρ_ε_ῃ_ὑ_π_ρ̄|_ε . "Thou art come in peace, O son of the
Brightnesses,
 π_ω_μ_ρ_ε_ ἡ_ῃ_ο_υ_ᾱ|_ν_ε_ μ_ῃ_ὑ_ὑ_τ_ρ̄|_μ_α_ᾱ . son of the Lights and the Richnesses.
 ἀ_κεῖ ζῃ_οὐ_εἰ_ρ_η_ν_η_ ω_π_ω_μ_ρ_ε_ῃ_ὑ_π_ρ̄|_ε Thou art come in peace, O son of the
Brightnesses,
 π_ε_τ_α_ρ̄_φ_ω_σ_τ_η_ρ_ ἀ_ῃ_ῃ_κ_ο_σ_μ_ο_ς : that shalt be the illuminer of our worlds.
 [α]μ_οῦ ἡ_κ_ρ̄_ρ̄_ρ_ο_ ἀ_ῃ_ῃ_τ_ῃ_χ_ω_ρ_α Come and rule over our land,
 ἡ_κ_κ_α_τ_εἰ_ρ_η_ν_η_ ζῃ_τ_ῃ_πο_λ_ι_ς : and set peace in [our] city."

 ν_ε_ρ_ε_ ἡ_|_α_ᾱ|_μ_ω_ν_ τ_ε_ο_υ_ο_ ὑ_π_εῖ ζῃ_τ_ε_υ_τ_α_π_ρ_ο . The demons were saying this with their mouth,
 εὑ_σ_α_χ_ν_ε [ῃ_τ]α_γ_ζ_ω_ω_γ_ α_τ_β_ο_ο_ν_ε ζῃ_π_ε_υ_ζ_η_τ . yet planning evil nevertheless in their
heart:

 χ_ε_α_γ_εῖ_ς_ μ_α_ρ_ῃ_ῃ_ᾱ|_χ̄|_ῃ_ ἀ_π_τ_ε "Come, let us cast him into the stocks (?),
 μ_α_ρ_ῃ_†_ κ_ο_λ_λ_α_ρ_ι_ο_ν_ α_ζ_η_τ_ῃ_ : let us set a fetter on him.

(1) The lacuna is larger than indicated by Allberry.

The section ends with a parallel to the inserted narrative passage:

(1) My reading is rather uncertain, but seems to suit the faint traces visible in the MS. Allberry reads $\bar{\eta}\alpha\beta\omega$. $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha$. . . α . κ . $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$.

a section:

<p> $\kappa\epsilon\ \epsilon\ .\ .\ .\ .\ .$ $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\upsilon\gamma\alpha\psi\beta\epsilon\tau\ \text{IHC} :$ </p>	<p> $\dots\dots\dots(1)$ mayest thou answer me, Jesus. </p>
<p> $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\omega\tau\mu\epsilon\ \alpha\rho\alpha\text{I}$ $\kappa\epsilon\ \mu\bar{\eta}[\tau\eta\text{I}\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \text{CN}]\epsilon\gamma\bar{\eta}\gamma\eta\tau :$ </p>	<p> Mayest thou hear me, for [I] am not double-minded. </p>
<p> $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\gamma\eta\tau \cdot$ $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha[\mu\alpha\kappa]\mu\epsilon\kappa :$ </p>	<p> One is my heart, and one is my intention. </p>
<p> $\mu\bar{\eta}\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\ \gamma\bar{\eta}\pi\alpha\gamma\eta\tau$ $\epsilon\eta\pi\alpha\tau\bar{\epsilon}\ \epsilon\eta\pi\alpha\rho\bar{\chi}$ </p>	<p> There is no thought in my heart that is split or divided. </p>
<p> $[\psi]\omega\bar{\eta}\tau\ \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\text{I}\ \gamma\bar{\eta}\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\rho}\text{I}\epsilon :$ $\bar{\eta}\kappa\chi\text{I}\tau\ \alpha\gamma\rho\eta\text{I}\ \alpha\pi\text{I}\eta\text{I}\ \mu[\pi\epsilon]\delta\rho\alpha\gamma\tau :$ </p>	<p> Garland me with the Brightnesses, and take me up [to the] house of peace. </p>
<p> $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\pi\text{I}\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\epsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \alpha\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma \cdot$ $\alpha\bar{\eta}\epsilon\gamma[\beta]\epsilon\lambda\ \delta\omega\psi\tau\ \bar{\eta}\varsigma\omega\text{I} :$ </p>	<p> The governors and rulers, their eyes looked upon me. </p>
<p> $\alpha\gamma\bar{\rho}\psi\pi\eta\bar{\rho}\epsilon\ \alpha\gamma\bar{\rho}\mu\alpha\text{I}\gamma\epsilon \cdot$ $\kappa\epsilon\ \alpha\bar{\eta}\alpha\delta\text{I}\kappa\alpha\text{I}\omicron\varsigma\ \omega\pi\text{I}\ \alpha\gamma\chi\alpha\text{I}\varsigma\ \bar{\eta}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\tau :$ </p>	<p> They wondered and marvelled that the Righteous belonged to a single Lord. </p>

(222²⁹ - 223⁷)

Th. XVIII
224^{17ff.}

Th. XVIII can also be divided into two parts with the regard to the sense of the text, the first half being the call and the second the answer. These sections are composed in different metres.

There is first an introductory distichon:

<p> $\lambda\text{I}\chi\omega\beta\epsilon\ \gamma\text{I}\rho\bar{\mu}\pi\rho\omicron\ \mu\pi\kappa\omega\mu\alpha\rho\text{I}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta} \cdot$ $\alpha\pi\epsilon\text{I}\bar{\eta}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\psi\eta\bar{\eta}\ \psi\omega\psi\ \alpha\rho\alpha\text{I} :$ </p>	<p> I reached the door of the garden, the fragrant smell of the trees spread to me. </p>
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Then the call follows in the measure 3:3:3, and the strophes are composed as parallels:

<p> $\alpha\text{I}\beta\text{I}\ \gamma\rho\epsilon\text{I}\ \alpha\gamma\rho\eta\text{I}\ \epsilon\text{I}\chi\omega\ \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\varsigma \cdot$ $\kappa\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\text{I}\ \mu\ \pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\text{I}\ \bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\ \bar{\mu}\mu\eta\tau\ \bar{\eta}\delta\text{I}\bar{\eta}\delta\omega\rho$ $[\bar{\eta}\eta]\chi\text{I}\tau\ \alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma\bar{\eta}\ \alpha\pi\kappa\omega\mu\alpha\rho\text{I}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta} :$ </p>	<p> I lifted up my face, saying: Who will take from me ten talents and take me into the garden? </p>
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(1) Presumably $\epsilon[\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \omicron\gamma\beta\eta\kappa]$ or $[\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa]$ "I call unto thee" (cf. 50^{15ff.}, 114²⁵, 183²⁰), or $\epsilon[\text{I}\tau\omega\delta\gamma\ \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\kappa]$ "I beg thee" (cf. 1⁵, 61¹², 112²⁶).

ΧΟΥΟΥΩΤΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝCΤΑΤΕΕΡ_ΖΕΤ •	Twenty silver staters in all,
Ν μ ΠΕΤΝΑΧ ΤΟΥ ΝΤΟΟΤ	who will take them from me
Ν υ ϑ μ CΑ ΖΑΘΑ ΒC̄ μΠΚωμΑ Ν :	and make me sit beneath the shade of the garden?
μ ΑΑΒΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν C ΤΑΤΕΕΡ_ΖΕΤ •	Thirty silver staters [in all],
Ν μ ΠΕΤΑΧ ΤΟΥ ΝΤΟΟΤ	who will take them from me
Ν υ CΕΖΩ ΑΡΕΤ ΖΝΤΕCυΜΗΤΕ :	and make me stand in its midst?
ΤΑ ΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝCΑΥC •	Fifty-seven in all,
Ν μ ΠΕΤΑΧ ΤΟΥ ΝΤΟΟΤ •	who will take them from me
Ν υ C Τ ΑΖΟΥΝ ΑΤΟΥCΗΤΕ	and take me in to their midst?
O ΥΚΕΝΤΗΝΑΡΙΟΝ Τ ΗΡ C̄ ΕΥΧΗΚ •	[A] full hundred entire,
Ν μ ΠΕΤΑΧ ΤΟΥ ΝΤ O Τ •	who will take them from me
Ν ΤΑ P ΠΩΠΥΑ ΝΩΥΠΕ ΝΟΥΕ_ΝΖΗΤΟΥ :	that I may be counted worthy to be one of them?

The second section of the poem starts with an introduction:

ΑΥΕ] ΖΝΠΧ CΕ ΝΤΩΗC	[They came] from the height of Truth,
Α ΥCΕ ΧΕ_ΑΡΑ ΝΧ _ ΝCΩΤ Π ΕΤCΡΑ Τ •	they said to me, even the victorious Elect(?) :

Their words follow in the same measure, taking up the theme of the call. The first three verses are parallels, as well as the following seven disticha:

ΑΖΡΑΚ ΜΝ μ ΗΤ ΝCΤΑΤΕΕΡ_Ζ ΕΤ	What hast thou to do with ten silver staters?
... ΘΥΡ ΩΡΟC ΕΥ porter. ... (1)
ΑΖΡΑΚ ΜΝ ΧΟΥΩΤΕ [ΑΖΡΑΚ]_μΝΜΑΑΒΕ •	[What hast thou to do with] twenty, [what hast
ΕΚΤΗΚ_ΑΡΕΤΚ Ζ P ΠΡΟ Μ Π . . .] Ν CΤΗC :	thou to do with] thirty, (2)
ΕΚΤΗΚ_ΑΡΕΤΚ Ζ P ΠΡΟ Μ Π . . .] Ν CΤΗC :	standing at the door of the
ΑΖΡΑΚ ΜΝΠ ΚΕΝΤΗΝΑΡΙΟΝ ΤΗΡC̄	What hast thou to do with this whole hundred?
ΚΑ ΥΩΠ ΒΑCΑΝΟC Ζ ΤΝΕΚΧ ΧΕΥC :	Thou shalt be put to torture by thine enemies.
ΕΥΩ Π Ε_ΕΥΑΝΤΕ ΡΩ_ΚP̄ΝΗCΤΕΥC	But if thou fastest with fasting,
ΖΝΤΝΗCΤ Α •	
CΕ Ν ΑΧ _μΜΑΚ ΑΖΟΥΝ ΑΠΚωμΑ Ν :	thou shalt be taken in to the garden.

- (1) Possibly [ε|C ΠΘΥΡ|ΩΡΟC ΕΥ|ΥΝΤΚ] "Lo, the porter is searching thee", or
 ΕΥ|ΤΗΚ ΑΡΕΤC] "is standing (there)".
- (2) [ΠΖΑΓ]Ν|CΤΗC "the purifier"?

a section:

<p> $\kappa\epsilon\ \epsilon\ .\ .\ .\ .\ .$ $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\upsilon\beta\epsilon\tau\ \iota\eta\varsigma :$ </p>	<p> $\dots\dots\dots(1)$ mayest thou answer me, Jesus. </p>
<p> $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\omega\tau\mu\epsilon\ \alpha\rho\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\epsilon\ \mu\bar{\eta}[\tau\eta\iota\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \kappa\eta\epsilon\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\zeta\eta\tau :$ </p>	<p> Mayest thou hear me, for [I] am not double-minded. </p>
<p> $\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\zeta\eta\tau .$ $\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha[\mu\alpha\kappa]\mu\epsilon\kappa :$ </p>	<p> One is my heart, and one is my intention. </p>
<p> $\mu\bar{\eta}\ \mu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\ \zeta\bar{\eta}\pi\alpha\zeta\eta\tau$ $\epsilon\eta\pi\alpha\tau\bar{\omicron}\ \epsilon\eta\pi\alpha\rho\bar{\chi}$ </p>	<p> There is no thought in my heart that is split or divided. </p>
<p> $[\omega]\omega\bar{\eta}\tau\ \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\iota\ \zeta\bar{\eta}\mu\bar{\pi}\bar{\rho}\iota\epsilon :$ $\bar{\eta}\kappa\chi\iota\tau\ \alpha\zeta\rho\eta[\iota\ \alpha\pi]\eta[\mu]\pi\epsilon\ \delta\rho\alpha\zeta\tau :$ </p>	<p> Garland me with the Brightnesses, and take me up [to the] house of peace. </p>
<p> $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\rho\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\epsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \alpha\varsigma\tau\eta\varsigma .$ $\alpha\bar{\eta}\epsilon\gamma[\beta]\epsilon\lambda\ \delta\omega\omega\tau\ \bar{\eta}\kappa\omega\iota :$ </p>	<p> The governors and rulers, their eyes looked upon me. </p>
<p> $\alpha\gamma\bar{\rho}\omega\pi\tau\eta\epsilon\ \alpha\gamma\bar{\rho}\mu\alpha\iota\zeta\epsilon .$ $\kappa\epsilon\ \alpha\bar{\eta}\alpha\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \omega\pi\bar{\iota}\ \alpha\gamma\chi\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \bar{\eta}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\tau :$ </p>	<p> They wondered and marvelled that the Righteous belonged to a single Lord. </p>

(222²⁹ - 223⁷)

Th. XVIII
224^{17ff}.

Th. XVIII can also be divided into two parts with the regard to the sense of the text, the first half being the call and the second the answer. These sections are composed in different metres.

There is first an introductory distichon:

<p> $\delta\iota\chi\omega\beta\epsilon\ \zeta\iota\rho\bar{\mu}\pi\rho\ \bar{\mu}\pi\kappa\omega\mu\alpha\rho\iota\bar{\eta} .$ $\alpha\pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\omega\eta\bar{\eta}\ \omega\omega\omega\ \alpha\rho\alpha\iota :$ </p>	<p> I reached the door of the garden, the fragrant smell of the trees spread to me. </p>
---	---

Then the call follows in the measure 3:3:3, and the strophes are composed as parallels:

<p> $\alpha\iota\beta\iota\ \zeta\rho\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\zeta\rho\eta\iota\ \epsilon\iota\chi\omega\ \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\varsigma .$ $\kappa\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\mu\ \pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\iota\ \bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\ \bar{\mu}\mu\eta\tau\ \bar{\eta}\delta\iota\bar{\eta}\bar{\delta}\omega\rho$ $[\bar{\eta}\eta]\chi\iota\tau\ \alpha\zeta\omicron\upsilon\bar{\eta}\ \alpha\pi\kappa\omega\mu\alpha\rho\iota\bar{\eta} :$ </p>	<p> I lifted up my face, saying: Who will take from me ten talents and take me into the garden? </p>
--	--

(1) Presumably $\epsilon[\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\beta\eta\kappa]$ or $[\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa]$ "I call unto thee" (cf. 50^{15ff}, 147²⁵, 183²⁰), or $\epsilon[\iota\tau\omega\beta\zeta\ \bar{\mu}\mu\alpha\kappa]$ "I beg thee" (cf. 1⁵, 61¹², 112²⁶).

<p> ΧΟΥΟΥΤΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝCΤΑΤΕΕΡ_ΖΕΤ • Ν μ ΠΕΤΝΑΧ ΤΟΥ ΝΤΟΟΤ Ν μ Θ μ CΑ ΖΑΘΑ ΒC μΠΚωμΑΡΙΝ : </p>	<p> Twenty silver staters in all, who will take them from me and make me sit beneath the shade of the garden? </p>
<p> μ ΑΑΒΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν C ΤΑΤΕΕΡ_ΖΕΤ • Ν μ ΠΕΤΑΧ ΤΟΥ ΝΤΟΟΤ Ν μ CΕΖΩ ΑΡΕΤ ΖΝΤΕΜΗΤΕ : </p>	<p> Thirty silver staters [in all], who will take them from me and make me stand in its midst? </p>
<p> ΤΑ ΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝCΑΥΥ • Ν μ ΠΕΤΑΧ ΤΟΥ ΝΤΟΟΤ • Ν μ C Τ ΑΖΟΥΝ ΑΤΟΥΜΗΤΕ </p>	<p> Fifty-seven in all, who will take them from me and take me in to their midst? </p>
<p> Ο ΥΚΕΝΤΗΝΑΡΙΟΝ Τ ΗΡ C ΕΥΧΗΚ • Ν μ ΠΕΤΑΧ ΤΟΥ ΝΤ Ο ΟΤ • Ν ΤΑΡ Π μ Π μ Α ΝΩΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΕ_ΝΖΗΤΟΥ : </p>	<p> [A] full hundred entire, who will take them from me that I may be counted worthy to be one of them? </p>

The second section of the poem starts with an introduction:

<p> ΑΥΕ] ΖΝΠΧ CΕ ΝΤΜΗC Α ΥCΕ ΧΕ_ΑΡΑ ΝΧ _ ΝCΩΤ Π ΕΤCΡΑ Τ • </p>	<p> [They came] from the height of Truth, they said to me, even the victorious Elect(?): </p>
---	--

Their words follow in the same measure, taking up the theme of the call. The first three verses are parallels, as well as the following seven disticha:

<p> ΑΖΡΑΚ ΜΝ μ ΗΤ ΝCΤΑΤΕΕΡ_Ζ ΕΤ ΦΥΡ ωΡC ΕΥ </p>	<p> What hast thou to do with ten silver staters? . . . porter. (1) </p>
<p> ΑΖΡΑΚ ΜΝ ΧΟΥΤΕ [ΑΖΡΑΚ]_μΝΜΑΑΒΕ • ΕΚΤΗΚ_ΑΡΕΤΚ Ζ Ρ μ ΠΡΟ Μ Π Ν CΤΗC : </p>	<p> [What hast thou to do with] twenty, [what hast thou to do with] thirty, standing at the door of the (2) </p>
<p> ΑΖΡΑΚ ΜΝΠ ΚΕΝΤΗΝΑΡΙΟΝ ΤΗΡ C ΚΑ ΥΩΠ ΒΑCΑΝCC Ζ Τ ΝΕΚ C ΧΕΥΕ : </p>	<p> What hast thou to do with this whole hundred? Thou shalt be put to torture by thine enemies. </p>
<p> ΕΥΩ Π Ε_ΕΥΑΝΤΕ ΡΩ_ΚΡ ΝΗCΤΕΥΕ ΖΝΤΝΗCΤ Α • CΕ Ν ΑΧ _μ ΜΑΚ ΑΖΟΥΝ ΑΠΚωμΑΡΙΝ : </p>	<p> But if thou fastest with fasting, thou shalt be taken in to the garden. </p>

- (1) Possibly [ε|C ΠΟΥΡ]ωΡC ΕΥ[ΩΝΤΚ] "Lo, the porter is searching thee", or ΕΥ[ΤΗΚ ΑΡΕΤΥ] "is standing (there)".
- (2) [ΠΖΑΓ]Ν|CΤΗC "the purifier"?

- (1) The MS has τειβo , a fault for τειβo . — According to the Mandaean parallels (cf. below) one expects a word for "murder" (μντζωτβε ?). I cannot see Allberry's α.
- (2) Since the right margin is not straight, possibly nothing is lacking.
- (3) One expects something like [μπεκαζε] "during thy lifetime", but the traces |N, not seen by Allberry, forbid any such reading. Possibly [ζντ(ε)κσ]|N- [πωτ] "during thy run", or perhaps [ζντ(ε)κσ]|N[απo] "since thy birth". — I don't accept Allberry's emendation N[ce]ceζωκ since no stroke is visible over the very uncertain N
- (4) Possibly rather εκωανpνε| μ[εN_νκ|τύ[ν]κατε .
καψενε[κ_αζ]pη| νκney ατχωρα_μπογα|νε
- (5) e.g. Mand. Lit., pp. 11, 191, 194, 197, 257, 275.
- (6) cf. Reitzenstein-Schaeder, Studien zum antiken Synkretismus, p. 343

Of those five škinās
I will send none to battle,
since for peace they have been created by me.

No, I will go myself
and wage war against him.

Each stichos of the Syriac texts has three beats (if we accept Schæder's plausible emendation of the third stichos), and it seems possible to assume, that this poem may contain a fragment of a 3:3:3 metre, since the first three stichoi are more intimately connected with one another.

In any case these parallels show that, although the distichal metre is predominant in Syriac and Aramaic poetry, the form with an unequal number of stichoi also exists. Hence we have no reason to assume that the metre of the first half of Th. XVIII is an invention of the Coptic translator.

Presumably this change of metre reflects different melodies, perhaps sung by different persons. Thus it is possible that the introduction of Th. XVI was sung by a cantor, and the second section, Salome's prayer, by another (female?) voice. In Th. XVIII the call was perhaps performed by one cantor, and the answer by another person or even by the congregation. Or may we suppose that these hymns were sung by a choir divided into two halves, which would explain why there is no refrain in these psalms?

The composition with its strophes that are parallels both with regard to form and content recalls similar Mandaean "strophes" that will be analysed below (p.111 f.).

6. THE ENUMERATION OF THE SENSES AND LIMBS.

Th. XVIII The subject matter of the last six disticha is also of a certain interest from a comparative point of view.

"If thine eyes glance not evilly etc.
 " thy mouth speaks truly etc.
 " " hands are pure from murder (?) etc.
 " " heart is firm etc.
 " " feet walk in the path of Truth etc."

150^{22ff.} resembles the following passage in the main part of the Psalm-book:

Αριζουμε̐ ἡναμᾶν|ωρῶ
 Αριζουμε̐ ἡναμᾶν|ωρῶ
 Αριζουμε̐ ἡναμᾶν|ωρῶ
 Αριζουμε̐ ἡναμᾶν|ωρῶ
 Αριζουμε̐ ἡναμᾶν|ωρῶ
 Αριζουμε̐ ἡναμᾶν|ωρῶ
 Αριζουμε̐ ἡναμᾶν|ωρῶ
 Αριζουμε̐ ἡναμᾶν|ωρῶ
 Αριζουμε̐ ἡναμᾶν|ωρῶ
 Αριζουμε̐ ἡναμᾶν|ωρῶ

XE NOYXWPM̐ ZN̐XWPM̐ EYZA|Y
 XE NOYCWPM̐ ACEXE EY|OYIT
 XE NOYUWΛ̐ APCTA|I MPΛI|B|E
 XE NECTEOYO KATAΛAΛIA
 XE NOYUWPM̐ MPCTANAC
 XE NEYBP̐PE|TAY APTHP̐
 EYZN|TMT|E MP|AM ETB| ZAIM̐
 EYBP̐|OPE MP|OCE ETA|
 XE [NO]YMAZE ZNTZ|H NTPLAN|H
 XE [.] ΠNABE

Guide my eyes

" " ears

" " nostrils

" " mouth

" for me my hands

" " " " heart

" " " " Spirit

" my New Man

" " feet

" " soul

that they look no evil look.

" " hear not a vain (?) word.

" " smell not the stink of lust.

" it utter no slander.

" they serve not Satan.

" it do no evil at all.

in the midst of the stormy sea.

for it wears (?) [the] mighty image.

that they walk not in the way of Error

that sin.⁽¹⁾

(150^{22ff.})

(1) The poetical form of this passage, where each distichon starts with the same word, is also used in other psalms of the Psalm-book, and in Mandaean poetry (e.g. Mand. Lit., pp. 147 f., 181, 216, 240). But since we find it also in e.g. Henning, Bet- und Beichtbuch, pp. 27 f., it is of less comparative value.

There is a chapter in the Kephalaia explaining the dogmatical background of these enumerations.⁽¹⁾ But there are some characteristic differences. The Kephalaia deals exclusively with the five senses, whereas the passages quoted mention other limbs. Moreover the sins that are enumerated are not the same in the Kephalaia, and only those of the eyes and the ears are explicitly illustrated.

Keph.
Chapt. 56

In the non-Coptic Manichaean texts we find about the same motive in a Soghdian text⁽²⁾ and in the Turkish *Khuastuanift*. The former text is a confession not to have been perfect "with regard to shutting the five doors", i.e. the five senses, but to have left them open

Bet- und
Beichtbuch

the "eyes to seeing"

the "ears to hearing"

the "nose to smelling"

the "mouth to unseemly food and wretched speech"

the "hands to unseemly touching and feeling".

This enumeration corresponds to the beginning of the Coptic passage 150^{22ff.} with the difference, however, that the acts of the senses and

(1) Chapter 56 (pp. 137 ff.): The ἐνθύμησις of the eyes (ΝΒελ), of the ears (ἄμεγτε), of smell (πμαῖωλωμε), of taste (πμανζι+πε), and of touch (πσάμσμ νῆσιζ) receive impressions from the outer world, and store them in their ταμεία and ἀποθήκαι, which are entrusted to their chief guardian, the ἐνθύμησις of the heart (πζητ), that makes use of these stored remembrances and impressions. The senses are likened to five doors with guardians, who open to the συμπολίτης, but shut the doors to the strangers. Thus the body is like a fortified camp, and the doors and the guardians are like the doors and the ἀισθητήρια of the body (i.e. ἄμανιωρζ, ἄμανζωτμε μῆ μμαῖωλωμε μῆ ΝΕΤΤῆδγ δβαλ ΝΝCΕXΕ).

When the Mind (νοῦς) of Light comes, he defeats the guardians and gains a hold upon the bolts of the doors. The doors that had until then been open αμ-φανταζα ντεπιογμλδ in order to let in the images (θεωρία) of lust (ἡδονή) and to gather in the words of the cares and sorrows of this life, the taste of unclean food, and the sin therein, i.e. to all bad things, are now opened only to the good: The sight of the κόσμησις of royal garments, the golden and pearl-sewn cloths of the wives, made beautiful for lust, had been pleasant to the eyes, but now they detest such things, and are pleased with the images of piety, δικαιοσύνη, humility and its despised garments. The ears no longer want to open to the vain sounds and songs of lust, but only to the words of the psalms, to prayers, to the praise of hymns, the words of truth and the knowledge of alms. "In short all the doors of this kind were once open to the bad (κακία), but now they have been opened to the good."

(2) Henning, Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch, p. 38.

limbs are less qualified. In the Coptic text the eyes "look no evil look" (cf. below), the ears "hear not a vain (?) word", the nostrils "smell not the stink of lust" etc., whereas the Soghdian text just mentions "seeing", "hearing", and "smelling".⁽¹⁾

Khuas-
tuanift

This is also the case in the Khuastuanift § 15:

"For the insatiable, shameless Envy-Demon's sake,
by thought, by word, by deed, yea,
by eyes seeing,
by ears hearing,
by tongue speaking,
by hands touching,
by legs walking,

long, endlessly do we pain the Five-God's light, the dry-wet Earth, the Five kinds of living beings, the Five kinds tree plants,
yea, imperfect, sinful are we!"⁽²⁾

It is rather curious that the "legs" are mentioned instead of the "nose", since we would have expected a list of the five senses here, too, because of the great similarity to the Soghdian text, the more so since the general context is about the same in both cases. In the Coptic text in Th. XVIII there is no such obvious allusion to the five senses, and hence the mentioning of the "heart" and the "feet" does not disturb the context. Neither is this the case at 150^{22ff.}, where the enumeration includes much more than only the five senses.

These Asiatic Manichaean texts are thus not quite satisfactory as parallels, since they lack some of the elements characteristic of the Coptic passages — the qualification of the acts and the enumeration not being limited to the five senses or not at all directly alluding to them.

In Mandaean texts, however, we find these characteristics in passages with the same motive. There are several variations of the theme

(1) It is interesting to note that the Coptic translator has chosen the words μανλωρ, μανωτμε, and μανωωλμε, properly "the place of seeing" etc. instead of the usual terms βε "eye", μεωτε "ear", and ωε "nose".

(2) Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, p. 57 f., and the literature quoted there.

which plays a rather important part in the Mandaean literature. The fullest version is Drashē dMalkē, pp. 59 f.:

Drashē
dMalkē 59

אינאי ד־סאכיא לחיִיא	My <u>eyes</u> that look up towards the Life,
חאון דימִזא לאניִרִמִזא	this (evil) glance they do not glance.
עודנאי ד־צאיתא בותא ותושב־התא	My <u>ears</u> that listen to prayers and praise,
לאצאיתא זמארא באטלא	they do not listen to vain song.
פומאי ד־מליא בותא ותושב־התא	My <u>mouth</u> that is full of prayer and praise,
לאמאתיליא זמארא ד־עולא	does not bring me a depraved song.
עדאי ד־אחבא זידקא	My <u>hands</u> that give alms,
גטלא בחיביל לאנאטלא	do not commit murder in Tibil.
ליבאי ד־שריב־ה חייא רביא	My <u>heart</u> that resides in the great Life,
ביבלוריא זמארא לאמיתארשיא	by <u>bilura</u> (an instrument) and song was not
	induced to crime.
נישימתאי ועצמותאי ד־משאלתא בכושטא	My <u>soul</u> and my (bodily) <u>frame</u> that were made
	perfect by <u>kuštā</u> .
לאנאפיל בנורא ד־אקדא	do not fall into the burning fire.
פאגראי לאגאר גאורא	My <u>body</u> that has not committed adultery,
בעזלא ד־שובא לאנאפיל	does not fall into the meshes of the Seven
	ones.
בורכאי ד־מאדריכא וסאגרא לחיִיא	My <u>knees</u> that bend in adoration to the Life,
להאניפא ועל פרוכיא ועל פאתיכריא	to false gods, chapels and idols they do
לאסאגרא	not bend.
ליגראי ד־מאדריכא דירכיא ד־כושטא	My <u>feet</u> that walk on the path of <u>kuštā</u> ,
בניכלא זכאדבא לאמאטניא	in fraud and lie do not walk.
	(Johannesbuch, text, pp. 59 f., transl., pp. 63 f.)

This enumeration is more in line with the Coptic passage 150^{22ff.} than with the Asiatic Manichaean texts. As in Th. XVIII the "nostrils" are not mentioned, but the "knees" are introduced here and in the other Mandaean passages dealing with the motive. Some points of contact may be stressed. The Coptic word $\chi\omega\mu\epsilon$ and the Mandaic ܪܡܝܐ are quite synonymous. $\chi\omega\mu\epsilon$ properly means "make a sign, beckon" and in Va 5768 "eyes of them $\epsilon\tau\omega\mu\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\kappa\omega\varsigma$ " corresponds to Greek $\delta\iota\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$.⁽¹⁾ Both the meaning "beckon" and the derivative "glance" are to be found in the

(1) Crum, Coptic Dictionary, p. 785.

Psalm-book, but as a rule not in an evil sense.⁽¹⁾ Hence the Coptic texts quoted above add a word for "evilly". Syriac **ܙܡܪ** has the same meanings, "to make signs, beckon", i.a. **ܕܠܬܢܐ** "with the eyes", and Aphel is also = "to glance".⁽²⁾ In Talmudim and Midrashim we find **רָמַץ** and **רָמַץ** in the same sense, e.g. also **מְרַמֵּץ עֵינָיו** "blink, give signs with his eyes", and "the 'daughters of Zion' filled their eyes with kohl and gave signs to the youths" (**רָחֵזוּ מִלֵּאן כּוּחֵלָא לְעֵינֵיהּ וּמְרַמֵּזוּ**).⁽³⁾ In Mand. Lit., p. 162, Lidzbarski translates **רִימֻזָּא נִירִימֻזָּא** [(un-)keusche) Winke geben".⁽⁴⁾ Thus the Coptic and the Mandaic words convey exactly the same meaning. Furthermore, the Coptic construction **ⲭⲱⲣⲙⲉ ⲭⲁⲛⲱⲣⲙⲉ**, that is not a very common one, corresponds directly to the Mandaic **רִימֻזָּא רִימֻזָּא** which is the usual Mandaic construction in this connection (cf. the texts quoted below). The Coptic **ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲁⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲓⲭⲱⲣⲙⲉ** (150²³; any other restoration is hardly possible) is about the same as **לִיגְרָאִי דְּמַאֲדְרִיכָא דִּירְכִיָּא**, and **ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲣⲙⲉ ⲧⲉ [ⲛⲟ]ⲩⲙⲁⲗⲉ ⲕⲉⲧⲁⲧⲉⲓⲛ** is the negative correspondent to Mandaic **לִיגְרָאִי דְּמַאֲדְרִיכָא דִּירְכִיָּא**. The phrases alluding to the "heart" are also very similar in Coptic and Mandaic.

Three other Mandaean variants of the same theme may also be quoted here, since they show a literary form — the repetition of the second stichos as a sometimes slightly varying refrain — that is of comparative interest for another Coptic psalm:

- (1) cf. Allberry's index, espec. 39²¹, 98²⁹, and 104^{27ff}.
- (2) Payne Smith, Syriac Dictionary, p. 543.
- (3) Levy, Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim IV, 453, 456.
- (4) Pognon, Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khouabir, Paris 1898/9, p. 91, understands it otherwise: "il signifiait probablement au propre 'cligner de l'oeil', mais dans tous les passages où on le trouve, il paraît vouloir dire 'jeter un maléfice au moyen de l'oeil, avoir mauvais oeil'". As examples he adduces some of the passages quoted here, and some other non-committal instances.

L.G. 99

רישאן אל בארשא	בגאווה דחאזין אלמא
אינאן רמאן רימאן	" " "
עורנאן על באביא פאחאח	" " "
עדאן גטאל גיטלא	" " "
ליבאן קאם בפלוגחא	" " "
פאגראן גאר גאורא	" " "
בורכאן סגיד לשובא	" " "
ליגראן אסגיא בחיפא	" " "

Our head penetrated the earth	in this world.
Our <u>eyes</u> glanced an (evil) glance	" " "
Our <u>ears</u> listened at the doors	" " "
Our <u>hands</u> committed murder	" " "
Our <u>heart</u> was divided	" " "
Our <u>body</u> committed adultery	" " "
Our <u>knees</u> bent to the Seven ones	" " "
Our <u>feet</u> went bare-footed	" " "

(L.G. 99²²-100³; Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 540.)

R.G. 63

רישאן אל ביהטיתא	על דחטין	לאהאגאר עלאן
אינאן רמאן רימאן	" "	" "
עורנאן פאחאח בישותא	" "	" "
פומאן רטין כאדבא	" "	" "
עדאן גנאב גנובתא		
(ואבאר בישותא)		
ליבאן האשיב חישביא בשיא	פאראן	" "
פאגראן גאר גאורא	לדיחטין	" "
בורכאן ארביך לבישיא		
האשאיאן וחאובאן תישבוקלאן	" "	" "
ליגראן אסגיא בחיפא	" "	" "

Our head penetrated the sin.	Because we have sinned,	do not damn us!
Our <u>eyes</u> glanced an (evil) glance.	" " " "	" " " "
Our <u>ears</u> listened to evil.	" " " "	" " " "
Our <u>mouth</u> (m)uttered lies.		" " " "
Our <u>hand</u> committed theft (and did evil).	Our Lord,	" " " "
Our <u>heart</u> thought bad thoughts.	" " " "	" " " "

Our body committed adultery. Because we have sinned, Our Lord, do not damn us!
 Our knees bent to the Bad ones. Forgive us our sins and debt, " " " " " "
 Our feet went bare-footed. " " " " " "

(R.G. 63¹⁶-64¹; Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 57.)

Mand.
 Lit. 162

כול יום עלאי לביש מיתהאשביא
 ואמריא דניפילגה לעוצרה

שיבואהיא דדאיריבה
 מיתהאשביא עלאי בבשוותא

אמריא דמן דילאן נאכשלה
 אמריא דרימוזא נירימוזא(1)
 אמריא דכאדבא נימאר
 אמריא דגאטלא ניגוטלא
 אמריא לשובא ניסיגרא
 אמריא בהיפוא נאסניא

ליבאי דמליא כושטא
 אינאי דסאכיא לנהורא
 פומאי דבאריך להיין
 עדאי דיאחבא וידקא (ופאשטא כושטא)
 בורכאי דסאגרא להיין
 ליגראי דמאדריכא דירכיא דכושטא (והאימאנותא)

The planets living in it (the world), every day they are planning evil against me.
 They are planning evil against me and say: "We will make his mind divided!"
 Of my heart that is filled with kuštā they say: "We will let it stumble through us!"
 Of my eyes that look up towards the they say: "They shall glance an (evil) glance!"
 Light
 Of my mouth that praises the Life " " : "It shall tell lies!"
 Of my hands that give alms (and offer " " : "They shall commit murder!"
kuštā)
 Of my knees that bend to the Life " " : "They shall bend to the Seven ones!"
 Of my feet that wander on the path of " " : "They shall walk bare-footed!"
kuštā (and faith) " " : "They shall walk bare-footed!"
 (Mand. Lit. p. 162 = L.G. 77²²-78⁶; Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 510.) (1)

As will be apparent from this rather long digression, all these
 Mandaean passages are the best parallels to the Coptic texts in question,
 far more convincing than the Soghdian and Turkish versions of the theme.
 Further on we will find other Coptic passages in the Psalms of Thomas

(1) Similar enumerations of the senses and limbs occur in the Right Ginzā, 16¹³⁻²³
 (Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 18), in the Left Ginzā, 86 f. (Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 522 f.;
 cf. below, p. 111f.), and in Mand. Lit., p. 181.

with a more striking resemblance to Mandaean texts, but in the case examined the similitude is sufficient to show some kind of contact between the two groups of texts.

7. THE "MOCKERY LITANY" OF TH. XVII.

The literary form of the Mandaean passages last quoted, viz. the repetition of the second stichos as a kind of refrain⁽¹⁾ and the repeated words ... אִי־בִּי "of . . . they say" in Mand. Lit., p. 162, resembles the composition of part of Th. XVII. This psalm starts with a song of the Youth:

223^{9ff.}

ΔΠΛΙ|ΛΟΥ Ρ|ΑΛΕ ΝΩΡΩΞ . The Youth made music by night,⁽²⁾
 αϥκωμωϥ c[απκocμoc μῆπετοϥ]αϥϥκωϥ: he mocked at [the World and its follower (?)]⁽³⁾
 ω πκocμoc ετμα|κεμαϥτε μῆπωνζ ανηζε: "O World that wilt never [obtain (?)] the life.
 ω πκocμoc]τῆκ ζῆ αχῆν|μ: O World . . . upon what canst thou rely (?)⁽⁴⁾
 αχῆν|. . . |. . . Of
 [παχεϥ κε]cεναoυωcῆ ἡceoy|νε : [it has been said that] they shall perish and
 pass.
 αχῆπ . . . |. Of the
 πα]χεϥ κε cεναoυωcῆ ἡcepαναχω[pe]: it has been said that they shall perish and
 retire.
 αχῆπ[πκεke] μῆπceτε : [Of the Darkness] and the Fire
 παχεϥ κε cεναoυωcῆ[ce] ἡceoy|νε : it has been said that they shall perish and
 pass.
 αχῆῆc|.]παγpe ἡτεφα|p[α Of the the growth (?) of the sphere
 [παχεϥ] κε cεναoυωλ ἡceoy|νε : it has been said that they shall be destroyed
 and pass.

- (1) The same literary form is also used e.g. R.G. 367^{6ff.} (Lidzbarski, Ginza, p. 390), L.G. 105^{13ff.} (Lidzbarski, Ginza 548^{10ff.}).
- (2) Cf. Johannesbuch, passim (e.g. text, p. 77): "Jahjā is preaching in the nights, Jōhanā in the evenings of the nights". In both cases it means "in the Darkness", "in this world".
- (3) A very uncertain reading of mine; it is rather long for the lacuna. Allberry read . . . ϥαϥ which is equally uncertain.
- (4) Τῆκ ζῆ = τῆκ ἡζητ?

ΑΧΝ̄ΝΧΑ ΘΡΗΠ[ε ΝΤ]μ̄ΝΤ̄ΡΡΟ .	Of the crowned ones [of the] kingdom
ΠΑΧΕΥ ΧΕ_CENAΟΥWCΩ̄ ΝCEΟΥ ΝΕ :	it has been said that they shall perish and pass.
ΑΧΝ̄ΠCΩΝΤ̄ μ̄ΝΠΕΤΑQCΩΝΤ̄ .	Of the creation and the creator
ΠΑΧΕΥ ΧΕ_CENAΟΥWCΩ̄ ΝCEΟΥ ΝΕ :	it has been said that they shall perish and pass.

(223⁹-20)

With its introductory invocation and the composition of the ensuing disticha, this passage resembles the hymns of the type 2 + refrain in the main part of the Psalm-book treated above (p. 41), and we may style the song of the Youth as a "mockery litany". Possibly, we have also here the same metrical difference between the introduction and hymn proper that is so common in this literary form. The invocation seems to be composed in a 3:3 measure and the ensuing lines in the metre 2 + "refrain". The refrain in the main part of the Psalm-book does sometime vary within a psalm, but very seldom in the same way as here, where a word is sometimes replaced by a very similar word or synonym. This is rather a variation comparable to that in the Right Ginzā, pp. 63 f., quoted above.

Drashē
dMalkē 46

The motive of this passage, ⁽¹⁾ as well as the type of composition, occurs in what we may call an inverted form in Drashē dMalkē, p. 46:

ארקא ועשוטא באטלאן	Earth and Heaven will vanish,
וסאנדליא דיויא לאבאטליא	but the sandals of Brightness will not vanish.

- (1) A few notes on the rest of Th. XVII may be added, the results of a collation of the MS:
- 224^{4f}. possibly ἀπα[ι]⁵ων πα|ωτ "to the Aeon, my Father"
- 224^{5f}. cf. below, p. 130.
- 224^{8f}. ἀνακ τμμε ετη[π] ἀνατουνεμ] "I am the Truth, belonging to those on the right hand" exactly fills the lacuna. Then perhaps:
- +ΝΑΤΑ|ΛΕ +ΝΑΤΑ|ΛΕ I will ascend, I will ascend,
 ΨΑΝ+Π[ω2] ΑΠΚΑ2 ΝΝΕΤ|ΟΥΑΒΕ until I reach (?) the [land of the] Holy [ones].
- ΝΤΑΡΙΠΩ2 ΑΤΧΩΡΑ ΝΤΑ|ΜΕ] When I reached the Land of the Truth (?),
 [ΑΥCΑΩΤ ΑΒ|ΑΛ 2ΗΤ . they (viz. the Holy ones) were expecting me.
- 224¹³ one expects something like πΒαε or πΒραΒειον, but several traces, not indicated by Allberry, forbid any such reading: ~~αχνε.σε.απκλαα~~
 I have nothing to suggest.

שמיא וסירא באטלין וסאנדליא דזיוא לאבאטלין	Sun and Moon will vanish, but the sandals of Brightness will not va- nish.
ביכביא וסאנזאלאתא דעשוסיא באטליא	The stars and the signs of the Zodiac of Heaven will vanish,
וסאנדליא דזיוא לאבאטליא	but the sandals of Brightness will not va- nish.
זיקא ונורא ומיא באטליא etc. וסאנדליא	Wind, Fire and Water will vanish, but the sandals etc.
ארבא זיקא דבאיתא באטליא etc. וסאנדליא	The Four Winds of the House (= this world) will vanish, but the sandals etc.
פיריא וענביא ועלאניא באטליא etc. וסאנדליא	Fruits, grapes (?) and trees will vanish, but the sandals etc.
כול דעביר ומאבאר באטליא etc. וסאנדליא	All that was created and is brought into being will vanish, but the sandals etc.

(Johannesbuch, text, p. 46; transl., pp. 51 f.)

We may especially note the resemblance between the last lines in the Coptic psalm and in the Mandaean version. (Possibly, the Coptic $\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\omega\alpha\tau$ is a misinterpretation of the Syriac form corresponding to $\pi\alpha\beta\alpha\delta$ — thus a false rendering of a passive participle with an active expression; cf. below, p. 121, בהיר \neq $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\omega\alpha\tau$.)

8. LONGER STROPHES.

The normal metre of the Psalms of Thomas is distichal, and as a rule no further arrangement in longer regular strophes can be noticed. Sometimes, however, we find that the disticha are grouped together in slightly irregular strophes consisting of two or three disticha, and passages that are parallels with regard to their contents may be composed so as to be also metrical parallels. This type of strophe occurs e.g. in Th. IV.

Th. IV

If this poem is divided into sections according to the sense of the text, we find that it begins with four strophes of coupled disticha, dealing with the plight of the Little one in the pit:

<p> λ]πλ λoυ γτβo αφρ με 2απλε χ2 ετ μπι τνε νευν τε : απλ λoυ γτβo αφρ με απ[ε]φ2ραγ ν . . . πε . . . α2ρη : </p>	<p> The Youth groaned and wept in the pit which is at the bottom of Hades; the Youth groaned and wept his cry up: (1) </p>
<p> 2 ε_μπεκcω[τ]με ντακ πναδ_μπρ ε . 2 ε_μπε_λαγε [ταμο_σε] μμακ : ξε_αεμν τε τω2 αφβωδc αναπ νουν +_νεγ2ωκ αχωογ : </p>	<p> "Hast thou not heard, O Great Brightness? Has none [told (?)] thee (2) that Hades has been stirred up and rebelled and that they of the abyss have put their arms upon them? </p>
<p> αν νουτε ννογx εταγβωδc . αγβ νεγ2αλβ_γε ογβη : αν ν τωρε ν_γερε μπ_ω πε . αγce2o νεγ2αλβ_γε ογβη : </p>	<p> The false Gods that have rebelled have taken their armour against me; the goddesses, the daughters of shame, have set up their armour against me. </p>
<p> αν ν τωρε ν_γερε μπ_ω πε : αγce2o [ν]εγ2ερη2 α2ρη : αν αα μων ετ_ωαν_ω ετ_λα_μc . αγ[c]αβτε αρ_μ_λα2 νεμν </p>	<p> The goddesses, the daughters of shame, have set up their spears; the stinking and foul demons have prepared to make war with me." (209¹³⁻²²) </p>

It should be noted that the disticha in the two last strophes are repeated according to the pattern AB BC. Stichoi are often thus repeated to connect consecutive disticha (cf. below, p. 114). This may indicate that the disticha of these strophes of four stichoi have the same function as have the stichoi in the usual distichal strophes.

At 209²² a section of three disticha relates how the Father calls

- (1) Perhaps ν[νε2]πε [ε|] α2ρη| "of lamentation went up"? Widengren's suggestion (Mesopotamian Elements, p. 54) "[to the Great Brightness went]" is impossible in view of the word-order and the preserved letters.
- (2) This emendation suits the length of the lacuna.

the Envoy:

ΠΝΕΥ ΕΤΑΠΠΕΤΑ] ΣΩ[ΤΜΕ]	When the Mighty one heard,
ΠΝΕΥ ΕΤΑΥΤΕΟΥ[Ο,Π]ΣΕΧΕ ΝΕΥ :	when they told him the word,
ΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΠ[ΡΕ]ΣΒΕΥΤΗΣ	he called an Envoy
ΠΑΔΑΜΑΣ ΜΠΟΥΑ]ΝΕ ΠΩΜΡΕ, ΝΩΜΕΧΕ .	the Adamas of Light, the son of the ears(?);
ΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΑΠΑΔΑΜΑΣ ΜΠΟΥΑ]ΝΕ .	he called the Adamas of Light,
ΠΟΥΑΖ]ΗΤ ΠΡΕΦΘΒ]Ο ΝΩΒΕΣΥΕΥΕ :	the pitiless, the subduer of the rebels:

His order to the Envoy consists of (a) two coupled disticha — an exhortation to help the Youth, (b) three disticha — directions how to treat the Demons, and (c) two coupled disticha with the same theme as (a):

ΒωΚ, ΑΠΙΤΩ ΒωΚ ΠΑΔΑΜΑΣ .	"Go down, go, O Adamas;
ΡΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΑΠΛΙΛΟΥ :	succour the Youth;
ΡΒΟΗ[Θ]ΕΙ ΑΠΛΙΛΟΥ	succour the Youth
ΕΤΖΑΠΛΕΧΩ ΕΤΩΠΙΤΝΕ ΝΕΜΩΤΕ .	that is beneath the pit that is at the bottom of Hades! ⁽¹⁾

Ν]ΔΑΙΜΩΝ + ΠΕΔΗΣ ΑΡΕΤΟΥ .	[The] demons, — put fetters on their feet;
ΝΩΤΩΡΕ + ΒΑΝ]ΠΤΕ [Α]ΤΟΟΤΟΥ :	the goddesses, — put iron on their hands;
Ν]Σ ΕΥΑΝΩ ΕΤΛΑΜΕ .	the stinking and foul devils, —
ΜΑΡΕ, ΠΟΥΜΕΧΩ ΟΥΩΘΠ ΖΑΠΚΟΛΛΑΡΙΟΝ :	let their neck break beneath the collar;
ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΟΥΧ ΕΤΑΥΒΩΘ	the false Gods that have rebelled, —
ΜΑΡΟΥ ΖΑΠΤΑΥ ΝΚΩΜΜΕ	bind them beneath (or at) the Dark Mountain. ⁽²⁾

†[ΔΑΜ ΖΙΤΩΚ, ΝΩΖΗΤ ΜΠΛΙΛΟΥ	Strengthen and encourage the Youth
ΕΤΖΑΠΛΕΧΩ . ΕΤΕ, [ΕΜΩΤΕ ΠΕ Μ]ΠΙΤΩ	who is beneath the pit which [is Hades] below;
[†]ΔΑΜ ΝΚ + ΤΩΚ, ΝΩΖΗΤ ΜΠΛΙΛΟΥ .	Strengthen and encourage the Youth,
ΝΚ[ΒωΚ] ΝΚΕΙ, ΑΖΡΗΙ ΖΙΘΗ, ΜΠΕΚ]ΩΤ :	and [go] and come up before thy Father."
	(209 ²² -210 ⁴)

The ensuing passage — the battle of the Envoy — is composed exactly as the order of the Father, and repeats it word for word only with

(1) cf. below, p. 114, n. 1.

(2) A typical Mandaeen notion; ΖΔ = 𐌸 ; cf. below, p. 126ff.

other verb forms and smaller variations.

Finally, two disticha with the greetings addressed to the Envoy on his return to Heaven conclude the poem:

απεφ[ω]τ[ι] χο[ο]ς[ε] προμ[η]λακ .	His Father said, 'All hail to thee'.
ἀνρῆμαα[ι] ὑπογα[ι]νε χοο[ς]ε προμ[η]λακ :	The Rich ones of Light said, 'Greeting and
	praise (?) ,
ἐκ[α]χι προμ[η]λακ[ε] π[α]λ[ι]λ[ο]υ	do thou receive greeting and praise (?) , O Youth,
σε[α]κμα[τ]νε ἡ[ρ]η[τ] [μ]πε[τ]α[β]κ	for thou hast rested the heart of the
	Little One'.
	(210 ¹³⁻¹⁶)

To sum up, the composition is thus: 4 4 4 4 - 6 - 4 6 4

4 6 4 - 4.

Th. I-III

The three first Psalms of Thomas are composed in a similar way, but there is no such regularity in the coupling of the disticha into strophes. (1)

- (1) Thus in Th. III the order of the Father to the Envoy and the passage describing the battle of the latter are composed as parallels, but not to such a high degree as in Th. IV:

Tend its helmsmen, set up them that were entrusted with the treasure.	He tended its helmsmen, he aided its faithful ones.
Dig up their land with the spade and upturn the fragrant roots.	He dug up their land with the spade, he tore up the fragrant roots and took them.
Destroy and tumble down their firmament, and cast down the jewels and the beryls.	He destroyed their firmament, he cast the beryls and the jewels down.
Gather all the treasure of the Mighty one, and take it and put it aboard the ship.	
Dishonour them, the poor ones, and cast [the] diadem from their head.	He dishonoured them, the poor ones, he cast the diadem from their head.
Dishonour the poor ones, that glory in things that are not theirs.	
Aid the righteous, and plant thy trees in the world.	He aided his righteous he planted his plants in the world.
Set up thy righteous, that there may be sent up to them the distilled part.	He set up the righteous, that all the distilled part might be sent up to them on high.
(208 ¹⁵⁻²⁵)	(208 ²⁷ - 209 ⁵)

A similar division of a poem in strophes of varying length and with corresponding parts composed as parallels is also sometimes found in Mandaean poetry.⁽¹⁾ A clear instance is e.g. Mand. Lit., pp. 111 ff. (with the variant L.G. 108²⁰ - 109¹⁶; Lidzbarski, Ginzā, pp. 552 ff.). It is hardly necessary to quote the whole poem, since an analytic table suffices to show the composition. (The numbers indicate numbers of stichoi in each section or strophe, identical letters in parenthesis indicate passages with the same content.)

2	6 (A)	5 ⁽²⁾	4	4 (B)
	6 (A)		4 [=2(C) + 2]	4 (B)
	6 (A)		4 [=2(C ¹) + 2]	
			6 [=2(C ²) + 4]	
			6 [=2(C ³) + 4]	
			8	
			4 (conclusion)	
			doxology.	

More regular strophes are also found in Mandaean poetry, but then each strophe is practically identical with the preceding one, only one or two keywords being changed. The 12th Chapter in the 3rd Book of the Left Ginzā consists of six such monotonous strophes, and in Mand. Lit. (pp. 31 ff.) a long strophe of 18 stichoi is repeated four times with very slight variations, and *ibid.* pp. 46 ff. such a strophe occurs three times.⁽³⁾ This is in principle the rather tedious literary form of the middle part of Th. IV.

A typical Mandaean instance of such parallel, slightly varying strophes we find in the 10th Chapter in the 3rd Book of the Left Ginzā (L.G. 86¹⁰ - 87²¹; Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 522 f.; cf. above p. 104, n. 1): After 4 introductory disticha, there are eight strophes composed as pa-

(1) cf. Lidzbarski, Mand. Lit., p. XIII.

(2) This strophe does not occur in the Ginzā.

(3) cf. also e.g. 62nd Chapter of the 3rd Book, Left Ginzā (Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 595 f.).

rallels. Each strophe consists of (a) a speech of the demons (4 stichoi), and (b) the answer of the Man (2 or 4 stichoi). The first strophe runs as follows:

"Thou goest out, o Man,
 give us thy head and then go out!
 Man, give us thy head,
 perhaps thou wilt then come back to us!"
 "My head I will not give you,
 on my head the sign is erected."

The second strophe, composed according to the same pattern but instead mentioning the "eyes, that are full of light", is followed by two narrative disticha. The third and fourth strophes are again practically identical with no. 1, but speak of the "ears that listen to hymns" and the "mouth that is full of kuštā" respectively. The answer of the fifth strophe is as follows:

My hands I will not give you.
 My hands give alms.
 My hands give alms,
 and bring kuštā."

The sixth and seventh strophes, dealing with the "heart in which knowledge (mandā) resides" and the "knees that bend to the Life" are composed as no. 1, and the last strophe, mentioning the "feet that walk on the paths of kuštā / from the place of Darkness to the place of Light", again has the form of no. 5 with the pattern AB BC in the answer. Two disticha conclude the poem proper that is followed by a short concluding strophe.

To the beginning of Th. IV with its four regular strophes of two disticha each, we may compare the beautiful passage in Drashē dMalkē, pp. 55 f. (ed. Lidzbarski; translation, p. 60). There are four strophes composed according to the same pattern, of which the first three may be quoted here to show the composition:

עו זאוא באלמא לאהואת	If there was no wife in the world,
עשומיא וארקא לאהואת בהאזין אלמא	Heaven and Earth would there not have been in this world.
לאהוא עשומיא ולאהואת ארקא	Not would there have been Heaven, not would there have been Earth,
ולאעתמיסא מכותא וניכלאת במיא	no density would have condensed and fal- len into the water.
עו זאוא באלמא לאהואת	If there was no wife in the world,
שאמיש וסירא להאכא לאסגון	Sun and Moon would not have come hither.
«לאסגון» שאמיש וסירא להאכא	Not would have come hither Sun and Moon,
ולאנהור נוראיהון בהאזין אלמא	and not would have shone their light in this world.
עו זאוא באלמא לאהואת	If there was no wife in the world,
מיא הייא להאכא לאתון	Living water would not have come hither.
לאהואת מאזרותא בהאזין אלמא	Not would have come hither Living water, and not would there have been any seed in this world.

This type of strophe is also a characteristic of several short Man-
daean poems, (1) and we meet it in the Manichaean verses that Lidzbarski
has retranslated into Mandaean from the Persian version: (2)

A non-
Coptic
Manichaean
parallel

(1) Lidzbarski, Mand. Lit., p. XII.

(2) id., Ein manichäisches Gedicht (Göttingen Ges. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Kl. Nachr. 1918, pp. 501 ff.). As pointed out by Schaefer (Reitzenstein - Schaefer, Studien zum antiken Synkretismus, p. 264, n. 7) the reconstruction should rather be made in Syriac, since we know that Mani wrote in this language and not in Aramaic. Cf. also Burkitt, The Religion of the Manichees, Appendix III.

In view of the fact that this reconstructed passage only consists of two such strophes of the type AB BC (with three beats in each stichos) and a third strophe consisting of three stichoi (and ruled out by Lidzbarski), I admit that I do not understand Lidzbarski's statement (Mand. Lit., p. XIII) that this regular strophic arrangement is of another type than that found in Mandaean poems and that therefore this Manichaean composition must belong to another group of poetry. This "irregular" third strophe seems to indicate that we have the very typical parallel strophes, sometimes of varying length, that we find in Mandaean poetry as well as in the Coptic Psalms of Thomas (cf. also the strophes of three stichoi interrupting a sequence of strophes of four stichoi at 220^{ff.}, below, p. 115).

An obedient disciple I am,
 from the land of Babel originating.
 Originating I am from the land of Babel,
 and at the door (bāba) of Truth I am standing.

A preaching disciple I am,
 from the land of Babel gone out.
 Gone out I am from the land of Babel,
 that I may cry a cry to (or: among) those on earth.

Ye Gods, I will pray to you,
 Ye Gods, all of you, forgive me
 my sins by (your) forgiveness.

The pattern
 AB BC

In these poems the second stichos of the first distichon is repeated as the first stichos of the second distichon. There is a change of the word-order, but the type AB BC is nevertheless quite clear. This literary device is constitutive for the Mandaean poetry and we find it rather often in the Psalms of Thomas. In the other Coptic Manichaean psalms, on the contrary, it is very seldom to be found (cf. above pp. 35, 46, 50). In Th. IV it occurred twice, at 209^{27f.} in the order to the Envoy and in its counterpart at 210^{4f.} where the order is executed. (1)

- (1) To these strophes (quoted above, p. 109) and the ensuing verses confer e.g. the following passages in the Left Ginza:

"Arise, go to the House of the Seven!
 Arise, go to the House of the Seven,
 the idle Rebels of Darkness!
 Idle are the Rebels of Darkness,
 and there is no light among them."

(L.G. 56²²⁻²⁴; Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, p. 479; cf. Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements*, p. 46.)

Go, my pure Envoy,
 and show thyself to the Mānā, that he may shine.
 If thou show not thyself to the Mānā,
 the perishable ones will despise him.
 (L.G. 39^{13f.}; Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, p. 455.)

9. THE ADMONITIONS OF 220^{1ff.}.

This type of strophical composition as well as the pattern AB BC is characteristic of the Coptic passage 220^{1ff.} in the Psalm-book — as pointed out by Allberry (p. XXII) probably a new psalm where the scribe has forgotten to write the title and the number at the head of it, and then, consequently, takes no account of it in the numeration of the ensuing psalms.

The general composition is as follows: The introductory strophe (I), an exhortation to love the Master, consists of two disticha. After a strophe, also of two disticha, containing a parable (A), the first strophe (I) is repeated with a slight variation (I^a). The ensuing text is fragmentary, but probably contains two further parables (B, C), exposed in two strophes of three stichoi each. The strophe (I^a) is then repeated, followed by a new parable (D) in double distichon. After another repetition of the strophe (I^a) a parable (E) in two disticha concludes the poem. We may tabulate the composition as follows (numbers = number of stichoi in each strophe):

I (4)	A (4)	
I ^a (4)	B (3)	C (3)
I ^a (4)	D (4)	
I ^a (4)	E (4)	

The introduction (I) and the parables A and E are almost identical with a poem in the Mandaean liturgies (Lidzbarski, p. 218):

220¹⁻⁶
= Mand.
Lit.
218¹⁻³

ΝΑΣΝΗΥ ΜΕΡΙΤ' ΖΗΠΕΤΝΖΗΤ' .

אדאי כבושטא מאליל

ἄπ[ωρρενη] ΖΗΝΕΤΝΣΠΑΤΟΥ :

ולא ביספניא דשיקרא תישקרון

ἡωμρε ἡΤΣΠΑΤΟΥ ωαγβ[ω]τε_αβαλ

ἡωμρε ἄπζητ' ωαγμογν_αβαλ :

μ[πωρ]_χι_πτα[ν]τῆ ἄπλεζμεν .

לאחידאמון לרומאנא

ετερε_τεγκογκε ρα[γτ]_זיβαλ :

דמן לבאר אנפה ראוויה

τεγκογκε ραγτ_זיβαλ .

מן לבאר ראוויה אנפה

πῆσανζογν_αε_γμνζ_ἡκωρμ[ε] :

ומן נאוה קומאנא מליא

My brethren, love me with your heart. My brethren, speak the truth,
 Do [not please me] with your lips: and with lips of lie do not lie.
 The children of the lip are blotted out,
 the children of the heart abide.

Do not be like the pomegranate, Do not be like the pomegranate:
 whose rind is gay outside. outside its face is gay (gaudy).
 Its rind is gay outside, Outside is gay its face,
 but its inside is full of dust (?). but its inside of dust (?) is full.
 (220¹⁻⁶) (Mand. Lit. 218¹⁻³)

The word-play rumānā - kumānā⁽¹⁾ cannot be rendered in Coptic nor properly in Syriac, where only the forms kamhā and kumhā seem to be used and where the -h- would not disappear before the noun formative -ān. This may indicate that the poem was originally composed in Mandaic.

The parables B C D are lacking in the Mandaean version. Since there is an obvious parallelism between the parables A and E, both in the Coptic and in the Mandaean text, we would expect to find the pattern AB BC used in this final section, too, but neither the Coptic version, nor the Mandaean, makes use of it:

- (1) The Coptic κωμῆ is obviously the same word as κμῆ (A) κεμῆ (B) = "ashes", "dust" (Crum, Coptic Dict., p. 117 a). The Mandaic קומאנא is rendered "Schimmel" by Lidzbarski, which does not quite suit the context. √kmh is "crush", "grind"; cf. Accad. kimû = "crush", "grind", kēmu, kīmu = "flour", "flour-like substance" (Deimel, *Šumer. Lexikon* 3:2, p. 383), and Hebrew קמח = "flour", "meal". Professor Widengren points out to me that the common Syriac form is ܩܡܚܐ kamhā, "flour", the Babyl. Talmud has קמח kimhā, "flour", and, sometimes, "mould", but Dionysios of Tell Mahre uses the form ܩܡܚܐ kumhā (*Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahré*, ed. J.-B. Chabot, Paris 1895, p. 95,7). Thus we have a variation according to the pattern katl, kitl, kutl: kamhā, kimhā, kumhā. In Mandaic the last form is used with the common noun formative -ān: kumhāna > kumhāna > kumāna (cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.*, p. 64 § 59: mišhānā > mišānā).

The same parable is used of the Unrighteous also in the Right Ginza, p. 216.

ⲁⲓⲡⲧⲁⲛⲧⲏⲛⲏⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲣⲧ :

ⲉⲩⲙⲁⲛⲧ ⲉⲩⲕⲏ ⲁⲭⲛⲧⲉⲩⲩⲁⲃⲁⲛ :

ⲭⲉⲩⲡⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲗⲭⲉⲩⲡⲉ ⲛⲗⲁⲙⲭⲉⲧⲧⲓ :

ⲙⲓⲡⲓⲁⲛⲩⲟⲩⲛⲩⲁⲉ ⲟⲩⲏⲣⲧ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲓⲩⲉⲩⲡⲉ :

עֲדָמִין לִי־הַבִּיָּא הָאֲמִירָא

דְּמִלִּיא הָאֲמִירָא מִמִּין

מִן־לְבָאֵר הָאֲמִירָא וְקִירָא

וּמִן־גִּבְעָה הָאֲמִירָא מִמִּין

220²¹⁻²⁴
= Mand. 1^{4f}.
Lit. 218

Be like a jar of wine,

firmly set upon its stand:

Outside it is pottery and pitch

but inside it is fragrant wine.

Be like jars of wine

that are full of azmiuz-wine:

Outside pottery and pitch,

but its inside azmiuz-wine.

(220²¹⁻²⁴)

(Mand. Lit. 218⁴⁻⁵)

The preceding parable (D) is composed in accordance with the pattern AB BC:

220¹⁵⁻¹⁸

ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲉ ⲁⲓⲡⲧⲁⲛⲧⲏ ⲛⲏⲕⲟⲣⲁⲓⲕⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲟ .

ⲭⲉⲩⲃⲁⲗⲙⲉⲛ ⲩⲁⲃⲩⲱⲛⲓⲕⲟⲛ :

ⲉⲩⲁⲓⲃⲓⲃⲩⲱⲛⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲩⲃⲁⲗ

ⲩⲓⲩⲟⲩⲛⲩⲁⲉ ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲡⲉ :

Do not be like the saddles of horses,

for outside indeed it wears fine trappings.

They wear fine trappings outside,

but inside they are full of waste (1)

(220¹⁵⁻¹⁸)

Here we find the change of the word-order in the repeated stichos, which is more or less the rule in Mandaean poetry. The fact that such a variation is not used more in the Coptic translations is quite natural, since the Coptic language has more strict rules for the word-order than the Mandaic.

The two other parables (B, C) are composed in a rather irregular metrical form, and the fragmentary text may be corrupt, since the initial words make one expect a parallel to the other strophes:

220^{9f}.
≠ Matth.
23²⁷

ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲉ ⲁⲓⲡⲧⲁⲛⲧⲏ ⲛⲏⲧⲁⲩⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲕⲱⲱⲥ .

ⲉⲧⲭⲓⲛⲉⲩⲙⲉⲛ ⲩⲃⲁⲗⲓ .

ⲛⲓⲩⲁⲛⲩⲟⲩⲛⲩⲁⲉ ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲩ ⲛⲓⲡⲁⲩⲉ :

Do not be like the tombs of the corpses,

which are whited [indeed outside]

but its inside is full of carrion.

(220⁹⁻¹⁰)

(1) A word not previously known in Coptic. I think it is ⲛⲏⲧⲁⲩⲟⲥ = "remainder" = "waste", "refuse"; cf. also Syriac ܡܢܬܐ = "waste product".

As pointed out by Allberry (p. 47*) this parable is taken from Matth. 23²⁷, where we read in the Sahidic version: $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\ \eta\kappa\tau\eta\ \eta\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$
 $\mu\eta\eta\epsilon\phi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\eta}\zeta\gamma\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\iota\tau\eta\varsigma\cdot\ \chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\omicron\ \eta\theta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\phi\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\chi\eta\zeta\cdot\ \epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon\omega\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\epsilon\eta$
 $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\upsilon\beta\alpha\lambda\cdot\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\alpha\bar{\eta}\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta\ \mu\epsilon\zeta\ \bar{\eta}\kappa\alpha\varsigma\ \bar{\eta}\kappa\omega\varsigma\ \zeta\iota\ \alpha\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\ \eta\iota\mu\cdot$
 To judge from this text, it seems possible to assume that the Manichaean version may be corrupt, the scribe having forgotten to write the third stichos of the strophe that was then either $\langle\eta\epsilon\varsigma\omega\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\epsilon\eta\ \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\upsilon\beta\alpha\lambda\rangle$ "they are beautiful outside", or perhaps only a repetition of the second stichos: $\langle\epsilon\tau\chi\eta\zeta\ \mu\epsilon\eta\ \zeta\iota\beta\alpha\lambda\rangle$. In the latter case, the present form of the strophe may be explained as a simple haplography. I am, however, rather sceptical about such an extensive emendation of the text, the more so since we have seen that such "irregular" strophes are not seldom found in this kind of poetry. Moreover, the initial strophe (I) should then also be inserted before the next parable (C) to attain a quite regular form of the poem.

According to the parallelism of the strophes one expects this parable (C) to start with the same phrase as the other ones, and my collation of the MS supports the following reading:

220 11-13
 ≠ L.G.
 114²⁻⁵

$[\bar{\mu}\pi]\omega[\rho,\chi]\iota\pi\tau\alpha[\eta\tau]\bar{\eta}\ [n]\cdot\bar{\mu}\rho\eta\rho\cdot$	Do not be like
$\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \omega\lambda\gamma\omicron\upsilon\omega\mu\ \mu\pi\bar{\beta}[\iota]\omega\ \bar{\eta}\varsigma\epsilon\lambda\chi\eta\epsilon\upsilon\cdot$	which eat the honey (?) and use it up
$\bar{\eta}\varsigma\epsilon\zeta\iota\eta\eta\beta\cdot\ \bar{\eta}\varsigma\epsilon\bar{\eta}\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \zeta\alpha\rho\iota\cdot\zeta\alpha\rho\alpha\upsilon$	and sleep and slumber themselves.

(220¹¹⁻¹³)

If Allberry's suggestion to read $\pi\bar{\beta}\bar{\iota}\omega$ is accepted, — and there is hardly any other possibility (in fact half of the ω is also preserved) — the fragmentary word $\bar{\mu}\rho\eta\rho$ ($\bar{\mu}$ is rather uncertain) should probably mean "bees" or "drones".⁽¹⁾ It may seem curious to liken the bad ones to bees, but such a symbolism is used in the Left Ginza:

$\bar{\lambda}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\chi\bar{\omega}\ \bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\beta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\ \bar{\delta}\bar{\beta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\alpha}$	What are the bad ones like,
$\bar{\kappa}\bar{\delta}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\phi}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\phi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\chi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$	when they leave their bodies?

(1) In Efros, English-Hebrew Dictionary, Tel-Aviv 1929, p. 76, I find the word $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\delta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\beta}\bar{\iota}$ = "bee".

דאסין לויסבריא	They are like the bees,
כר נאפקיא מן קינאיון	when they leave their nest.
שאלטווא לרובשאיון	They have delivered their honey,
ואזאל סמאך על טור גלאלא	and then they went away and lay down on the stony mountain.

(L.G. 114²⁻⁵; Lidzbarski, Ginza, p. 560.)

10. MANDAEAN PARALLELS TO TH. XIII.

In the preceding psalm, no. XIII, to which the analysed passage at 220^{1ff.} stands as a sort of appendix, we again find the pattern AB BC, and here, too, there is a section that is practically identical with a Mandaean poem (Lidzbarski, Mand. Lit., p. 194 and the variant at 190 f.):

218¹⁰⁻²¹
= Mand.
Lit. 194,
190.

NTAKB[ωk ato] tpeycwti n̄n̄alcaloc
epe_n[ek]w̄mpe t̄m[po]y w̄[n]e[n̄]cwk :
nekw̄mpe t̄m[po]y w̄[n]e[n̄]cwk
[nek]w̄mpe t̄m[po]y w̄[n]e[n̄]cwk :
ap̄z̄m[̄t̄ n̄]nekw̄mpe w̄[n]e[n̄]cwk :
nekw̄mpe t̄m[po]y w̄[n]e[n̄]cwk :
nekw̄mpe t̄m[po]y w̄[n]e[n̄]cwk :
nekw̄mpe t̄m[po]y w̄[n]e[n̄]cwk :
[e]γkw̄te c̄atekw̄mpe z̄n̄teȳmte :

ליא אזליה בחיר זידקא
דבאיילאך כולהון ראהמאך
כולהון ראהמאך באיילאך

ובאיין דמותאך בינאתון

n̄talbwk abal at̄ab̄oyw̄n
z̄lbal m̄p̄b̄l̄ m̄[̄m̄]kocmoc :

אנא עוליה למיכאן בינתא
להיל בנאוו דאלטא
באנתא ובאננתא

ēlcwti ēl̄tw̄de n̄z̄m̄t̄c̄ .
n̄ntw̄de et̄aȳt̄oyw̄ z̄n̄net̄an̄z̄ :

ותירצית בריש באנאנא
שתאליכא שיתליא הייא
גובריא כשיטיא ומהאימניא
(אנא לבאנאי מפאקדאנאלה
לנאברא דנאטאר בינתא)

(left out in the variant, p. 190)

+nat̄ at̄ot̄q̄ m̄pk̄m̄p̄oyoc :
ze_t̄z̄thk̄ an̄aȳm̄n̄ nat̄w̄de n̄b̄p̄pe :

אנא לבאנאי מפאקדאנאלה
דאינאך על שיתליא חרוץ

†ϷTHK ANATWDE NB̄p̄pe

XE NOY2INH8 OYTE NOYŃKATE :

NOY2INH8 OYTE NOYŃKATE :

NOYp̄πω[B]y μ̄ππεττο̄ε ᾱτο̄ο̄το̄υ :

אינאך תרוץ על שיתלאי

עדילמא נאימא ושאכביא

ומינישיון טאביא דמפאקדיא

(the variant, p. 191, adds:)

אלמא נינימון ואלמא נישכבון

ואלמא נינישיון טאביא דמפאקדיא

[Where] hast thou gone (?), O chooser

of the Righteous,

all [thy] sons seeking after thee?

All thy sons are seeking after thee,

[thy] beloved ones expecting thee.

The heart of thy [sons has been seek-
ing after] thee,

thy beloved ones expect thee daily.

Thy disciples seek after thee,

looking for thy form in their midst.

Where hast thou gone, O chosen one of righteous-
ness,

whom all thy friends are seeking?

All thy friends are seeking after thee,

seeking thy form in their midst.

I have gone forth to plant a garden
beyond the outside of this world.

I chose and planted in it
the plants that grew in the Liv-
ing ones.

I will give orders to the gardener:
"Attend to my trees, my new plants.

Attend to my new plants,
that they sleep not nor slumber,

that they sleep not nor slumber,
that they forget not the order
that has been given them."

(218¹⁰⁻²¹)

I have gone to build a building
beyond in the world.

I built it, I had it built,
and erected it on the top, on the cloud.

I planted in it (the) plants of Life,
men, true and faithful.

(To my builder I give orders,
to the man who is guarding the building.)

To my builder I give orders:

"Thy eyes to my plants turn.

Thy eyes turn to my plants,
that they may not be sleeping and lying,
(and the Good ones forgetting what they have
been ordered)

that they do not sleep, and that they do not lie,
and that they do not forget, the Good ones,
what they have been ordered."

(Mand. Lit. 194³⁻¹¹; 190⁸ - 191⁴)

(My reading of the first stichos is based on a collation of the MS.)

Some of the differences between the Coptic and the Mandaean version are easy to explain. The Coptic $\eta\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma\omega\delta\tau\eta$ "the chooser" is an active expression, whereas Mandaic בהיר is, undoubtedly, a passive participle. בהיריא is the technical term corresponding to $\eta\kappa\omega\delta\tau\eta \neq \epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\omicron\iota$, and Mand. Lit., p. 193¹⁰, we read: $\text{בהירא דעהבהירת מינה מן אלמא}$ (יא) "(0) chosen one, who wast chosen out of this world". As pointed out to me by Professor Widengren, the original Syriac reading was probably حسز , which can be understood both as an active and a passive form and may hence have induced the Coptic translator to use an active expression.

Similarly, according to Lidzbarski,⁽¹⁾ the Mandaic זידקא can mean either "die Gesamtheit der Gerechten" or "Gerechtigkeit". The latter sense is, without doubt, the more appropriate in the Mandaean text, but the double meaning of the word explains the Coptic $\eta\lambda\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$.

The Coptic version leaves out the verse "I built it, I had it built etc.", and, perhaps, this is due to the impossibility of rendering in Coptic the pun in the Mandaean text באנאנהא "I had it built" and "on the cloud", באנאנא .

The question of priority will be discussed below (pp. 155 ff.), but one point may be stressed here. The symbolism "plants" \neq "the faithful and good ones" is inherent in Mandaean texts, but is less often met with in Manichaeian literature. And whereas this simile is used in Mandaean texts almost exclusively in the sense in which we find it here, "plants" and "plantings" occur in other parables, too, in Manichaeian compositions. E.g. at 152¹⁶ in the Psalm-book the "plantings" ($\tau\omega\sigma\epsilon$) and uprootings" of the body that "stir up trouble for me" are mentioned. Already this fact seems rather to favour the assumption of Mandaean priority. Another fact is worth noticing. The Mandaean version speaks of "planting plants in a building" and the order is hence given to a "builder". In the Coptic text, on the contrary, "the plants" are planted in a "garden" and entrusted to a

(1) Johannesbuch, p. 50, n. 3.

"gardener". A Mandaean, to whom the equivalence "plants" ≠ "the faithful ones" was a matter of course, may well speak of a "building" in this connection — a dwelling where these faithful men may live. To the Manichaean the symbolism was perhaps not quite so unambiguous, and the expression "to plant plants in a building" may have sounded strange to him, and he therefore changed "building" and "builder" into "garden" and "gardener". I think this is at least a plausible hypothesis, and in any case it seems rather reasonable to claim priority for the *lectio difficilior* of the Mandaean version, since an original version "to plant plants in a building" may well be changed into "plant plants in a garden" whereas it is difficult to see why a change should ever have been made, if the Coptic - Manichaean version was the original one.

218²¹⁻²³
= L.G.
76^{16f.}

Immediately after this passage, which is also metrically a parallel to the Mandaean text,⁽¹⁾ the text of Th. XIII continues according to Allberry:

ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁⲙⲓⲣⲁⲙⲓⲧⲉ ⲭⲱⲃⲓⲛ ⲛⲧⲧⲉⲛⲛⲓⲛⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ For the years pass like [months],
ⲛⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲙⲓⲣⲁⲙⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲧⲉⲛⲛⲓⲛⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ : [the] months fly away like moments (?).
(218²¹⁻²³)

However, in the Left Ginza we read a distichon, also composed in a 3:3 measure (כָּרֶ , as well as ⲛⲧⲧⲉⲛⲛⲓⲛⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉ—, should of course be unstressed):

שְׁנֵי הַצִּבְרִיָּה כְּטוֹלָאִיָּה Years pass like shadows,
וְיָחֳדָיָה כְּנֹאֲרֵיָּה and months like dawns are flying.
(L.G. 76^{16f.}; Lidzbarski, Ginza, p. 508^{24f.}.)

After a collation of the MS, I therefore propose the following

- (1) Note e.g. that the first stichos of both versions can be read with four beats instead of the normal three, that ⲙⲓⲛⲉⲛⲱⲕ corresponds to בְּאִי־לֹא , etc.

reading in accordance with the Mandaean text:

ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΝΡΑΜΠΕ ΧΩΒ[Ε] ΝΤΖΕ ΝΝΙ[ΖΑΙΒΩ.] For the years pass like [shadows],
 ΝΙΕΒΕΤΕ ΖΗΛ ΑΒΑΛ ΝΦΕ ΝΝ[ΖΤ]ΑΥΕ: the months fly away like dawns (?).

Now, in the Left Ginzā this phrase occurs in a passage directly alluding to the fall of this world (Tibil), i.e. as an illustration to the notion that a fixed term has been given to the rule of the Darkness — a motive possibly of Iranian origin.⁽¹⁾ Similar (but not identical!) phrases are not seldom used in the apocalypses with regard to the reign of Antichrist. Thus e.g. in the Apocalypse of Elias, where Antichrist says: "Woe is me that my time has come to an end . . .

ΑΝΝΑΡΟΜΠΕ ΩΩΠΕ ΝΝΙΕΒΟΤ my years have become months,
 ΑΝΔΖΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΒ ΝΦΕ ΝΝΙΩΟΕΩ ΕΩΑΦΟΥΤΒ: my days have passed (?) like passing dust."
 (Steindorff, Die Apokalypse des Elias, p. 142)

This eschatological aspect, which logically seems to be the original one, is not immediately apparent in Th. XIII, where the context rather seems to indicate an allusion to the life of the faithful one and to the approaching triumph when death comes — thus an aspect that is quite natural in a poem presumably used as a kind of massiqta-hymn and one that is, in fact, also alluded to in the Left Ginzā:

ΖΝΗ[ΝΕ]ΝΕΙ ΕΤΤΟ[Ε] ΑΠΩΒΑΡ : These are houses which are given on lease; 218²³⁻²⁷
 ΖΝΡΩΠΠΗΥΕ ΝΕ ΕΥΧΙ ΑΠΟΥΨΕΠ years they are, taken on loan.
 ΕΪΩΩΝΕ [Α]ΠΑΖΗΤ[ΕΝ] ΖΑΝΩΜΑ : I am not sick at heart for the bodies
 ΑΛΛΑ ΖΑΠ[ΧΡ]ΗΜΑ ΝΝΕ[Τ]ΑΝΩ ΕΤΒΕΛ[Τ] but for the treasure of the Living ones
 ΑΡΑΥ : that is lodged in them.
 ΤΒΑΥΤ [ΑΒΑΛ_Ζ]ΗΤΟΥ ΝΝΕ[Τ]ΑΝΩ I am expecting the Living ones
 ΧΕ[ΥΑΤΝ]ΝΑΥ ΟΥΒΟΗΘ[ΕΙΑ] ΝΩΩ : to send aid after me.
 (218²³⁻²⁷)

Thus the motive is here combined with the symbolism : the bodies ≠ "houses given on lease". But the inherent eschatological aspect of

(1) Cf. e.g. *Mythology of all Races*, VI, pp. 275 ff.

this simile, too, is made clear by a comparison with the Mandaean symbolism בֵּיתָא "house" = "(this) world"⁽¹⁾ and with a passage in Th. IX, where the motives in question have kept what I presume to have been their original meaning:

215¹⁸⁻²⁴

ταχρακ τωκ α[20]υν ω παικαλος . Strengthen thyself, stand fast, O Righteous one;
 ταχρακ τωκ α20υν ητκαλο[υν]ορ : strengthen thyself, stand fast yet this hour.
 παχα[ς] γαρ ητε πηνη For the Lord of this house, [the seducer of the whole world,
 πορμε ητε πηκοςμο[ς] τηρη a number of months have been given (to him),
 ουηπε ηεβατ τεταφχ[ι]τδ . a number of years are in his hand.
 ουηπε ηραμπε τετνητοτ[υ] : [His number (?) shall be ended now,
 [τενηη]ς ναχωκ +νορ and thine Aeons all be fulfilled.
 ητε ηεκαλων τηρογ χ[ωκ] αβαλ His number shall [be ended now (?)],
 τενη[η]ς να[χωκ] +νορ and the world shall fall and not rise again.
 ητε ηκοςμος σε[ε] ηητω[νε] αν : (215¹⁸⁻²⁴)

11. THE MANDAEAN FORMULA "I AM A MANA" AND TH. V.

The coupling of stichoi according to the scheme AB BC, so characteristic of Mandaean poetry, is used no less than four times in the comparatively short psalm Th. V. Moreover, there are good Mandaean parallels to several passages, and the composition as a whole recalls especially the poems of the Second Book of the Left Ginza.

- (1) Lidzbarski, Johannesbuch, transl., p. 7, n. 4; of. id., Ein Mand. Amulett (Florilegium de Vogüe), p. 369 (ll. 245 f.): "Pta-ēl who has built the house", p. 371 (ll. 258 ff.): "the four corners of the house".
- (2) A few other emendations of Th. XIII may be proposed here:
 219⁹ perhaps $\text{ζερε ναιζ εν ατχωρα μ[ποβρα2]τ}$ "their faces are not turned to the land of peace". Since the stroke above the last very fragmentary letters is quite clear, μ[πογα]νε is impossible.
 219^{10f.} possibly $\text{c[ε]ο[η]ραγω εν] ηνετανζ απτηρη}$: "they do not care for the living ones at all".
 219²⁹ $\text{εμμουτε α[νεηπετνα2]τε}$ "calling to [his believers]" suits the length of the lacuna.

(L.G. 61⁵⁻¹⁵; Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 486.)

The first three stichoi of the Mandaean passage ("I am a Mānā etc.") are used as an invariable introduction to all the poems in the Second Book of the Left Ginza, but there are several variants of the ensuing lines. In the 21st Chapter we read: "I am a Mānā etc."

(L.G. 42¹⁸⁻²¹; Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 459.)

L.G.
71²¹⁻²³

(L.G. 71²¹⁻²³; Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 501.)

Without doubt טוריא is equivalent to the common Mandaean notion
טורא דהשוכא "the Dark Mountain", which we also find in the Coptic

version as $\pi\tau\alpha\gamma \bar{\eta}\kappa\mu\eta\mu\epsilon$.⁽¹⁾ The "mountains" as a place to which the powers of Darkness are banished, and, consequently, also as a designation of the dwelling of the Demons, is a notion met with both in Manichaean and Mandaean texts.

In an Iranian Manichaean text⁽²⁾ the Adamas is said to hunt the evil monster and to cast it down with its head in the East and its feet in the West, "between the four mountains", and the trunk in the North and the face turned towards the South. Kephalaia 118²⁹ also mentions the four mountains that surround the world, and in Kephalaia 116^{18ff.}, the Adamas casts Hylē down "between mountains on the place that he had established for her" as a prison.

However, the special designation "the Dark Mountain" is rather seldom used in Manichaean texts. Kephalaia 112^{5ff.} explains "the Dark Mountain ($\pi\tau\alpha\gamma \bar{\eta}\kappa\mu\eta\mu\epsilon$) that is in the East" as "the rest that is left of Darkness" (cf. also *ibid.* 114). In the other published psalms of the Psalm-book it is never mentioned, but we find it three times in the Psalms of Thomas, which is, I think, rather significant.

The other instances are in Th. IV (210¹ and 210¹⁰), where "the false gods" are said to be "bound beneath (or at) the Dark Mountain" (cf. above p. 109).

In the Mandaean texts, on the contrary, this notion occurs quite often,⁽³⁾ and e.g. criminals (thieves etc.) are threatened with the punishment of being "bound on ($\bar{\eta}$) the Dark Mountain",⁽⁴⁾ a direct parallel to Th. IV.

-
- (1) Lidzbarski's note to his translation of this passage in the *Ginzā* ("mit ihren unebenen, schwierigen Wegen") is, I think, off the point. — To the "two mountains" connected both with the good (the Kingdom of Light) and the bad (Tibil) cf. Lidzbarski, *Johannesbuch*, p. 189, n. 4.
- (2) Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica I* (SPAW 1932), p. 182, n. 2.
- (3) Vide s.v. "Finsterberg" in Lidzbarski's indices to *Mand. Lit.*, *Ginzā*, and *Johannesbuch*.
- (4) Cf. Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. 21, n. 3. Quite as the Coptic version, the Mandaic expressions are often ambiguous, meaning either "to bind on the Dark Mountain" or "to enclose in the Dark Mountain".

It seems justifiable to assume, that this is a Mandaean term used by the Manichaeans rather than vice versa, since it plays a more dominant rôle in the Mandaean texts. The fact that it occurs in Th. V, where we find Mandaean parallels to the composition as a whole, and to several passages in detail, seems to support this view. Another fact, too, should be noted in this connection. To my knowledge, the Mandaean טורא דהשוכא is never explained in the way it is done in the Coptic text. In a Mandaean context it was a well known notion that needed no explanation. In the Coptic version, "the Dark Mountain" is explained as $\pi\alpha\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma\omega\varsigma$ $\bar{\eta}\eta\alpha\tau[\zeta\epsilon]\beta\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\varsigma$ "the dwelling of them of the $\epsilon\beta\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\varsigma$ ", followed by the enigmatic $\pi.. \omega. \eta$ (or, possibly, $\eta. \omega. \eta$; only the π is quite certain). This apposition breaks off the regular distichal metre, and I am tempted to regard it as a gloss, added to clarify a notion not very familiar to Manichaean readers.

Moreover, every notion in this introduction is very often met with in Mandaean literature, and with the aid of the Mandaean parallels just quoted, we can without difficulty give a Mandaic rendering of the Coptic text:

Retrover-
sion into
Mandaic.

יא גינא דהיא רביא
מארגאניתא⁽¹⁾ דהיא רורביא
יא גינא רבא דהיא
מן ביה גינא מאן אפקאך (or אחיאך)
מאן אפקאך (אחיאך) מן בית גינא
(ה) בטורא דהשוכא (מאן) שראך (or רמאך)

This reconstruction shows that some word-plays, so characteristic of Semitic poetry, were lost when translated into another language. The same

(1) "Jewels" is היליא (Lidzbarski, Johannesbuch, p. 85, n. 8; cf. Widengren, Mesopotamian Elements, p. 147, n. 1), but in a metaphorical context like this, "pearl" is rather used in Mandaean literature (cf. e.g. Mand. Lit., p. 102⁹: עייל בשלאם מארגאניתא דאכיתא דמן גינאיהון דהיא עתניככא "Go in peace, pure pearl, brought from the treasure of Life" (sim. Lidzbarski, Ginza, pp. 514^{16f.}, 515^{24f.}, 590^{21f.}). — To the other expressions for "treasure of Life", עוצאר הא, סימאה הייא, cf. Lidzbarski, Johannesbuch, pp. 201 f.

phenomenon was used by Lidzbarski to prove that a Persian Manichaean poem was originally composed in a Semitic language, where bāb ēl = "Babylon" and "the door of God" could be used as a pun with bāb kūšṭā "the door of truth" (cf. above p. 113f.). In Th. V we find the same play on words in גִּינוֹא and בֵּית גִּינוֹא, both technical terms, so to speak, in Mandaean literature, and, similarly, the variation between מִסֻּמ and מִסֻּמ in the Coptic text is a pale reflection of an alliteration רִבִּיָא, רִבִּיָא. (1) The plurals in the Coptic version are explained by Semitic writings that can be understood both as a singular and a plural form. Widengren quotes several instances of such mistranslations. (2)

Perhaps we may go one step further, and ask whether this Coptic passage is not, in reality, a Manichaean adaptation of this very Mandaean formula "I am a Mānā etc.", which it resembles so much. Irenaeus (c. 190 A.D.) mentions that in the death sacrament of the Valentinians, the soul of the dying is said to utter σκευός εἰμι ἑνταῦθα "I am a precious vessel (= Mānā)", which directly corresponds to the Mandaean formula in question. Reitzenstein and others have, no doubt correctly, explained this similarity as a proof that the Mandaean formula dates back at least to the 2nd century A.D. and was taken over from the Mandaeans by the Valentinians. (3) Hence it seems justifiable to assume that this old Mandaean formula, which plays such an important rôle in the death mass, is the true background of the introduction to Th. V.

-
- (1) In fact, the first word-play could have been rendered in Coptic by using the word εἶσο = (1) "treasure", (2) "treasury". But in the Psalm-book εἶσο is only used in the sense of "treasure", and for "treasury" the Greek technical term ταμῖον is chosen. Χρημα is also more common in contexts such as the one we find here.
- (2) op. cit. pp. 17, 20, 75, 106, 125.
- (3) cf. Schlier, Theol. Rundschau NF 5, 1933, p. 10 and the literature quoted there.

12. FURTHER PARALLELS TO TH. V.

Th. V then describes how "they of the ἑβδομάς" set snares and traps to the soul, smearing madness on the snares and putting fire in the traps in order to prevent his return, but how the soul escapes them. This motive, too, is often met with in the Left Ginzā, especially in the Second Book. E.g. in the Left Ginzā, p. 70 (Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 499) it follows directly upon the introduction treated above, and the Mandaean versions also speak of snares and nets, or of "lusts" let loose against the Mānā (cf. e.g. Lidzbarski, Ginzā, pp. 393, 459, 482). (In Th. VIII this theme is met with in a more elaborate form; cf. below p. 139.)

211^{1ff.}225^{5ff.}

≠ L.G.

119¹¹⁻¹³

When the soul escapes from the snares, the demons run after him:

ⲧⲏⲏⲧⲏⲧ ⲥⲉⲡⲏⲧ ⲛⲥⲱⲓⲓ

.] . 4! [ⲉⲛ]ⲧⲱⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏⲏ :

ⲧⲏⲏⲧⲏⲧ ⲥⲉⲡⲏⲧⲧⲏⲧ ⲛⲥⲱⲓⲓ

ⲭⲉ . [. . .]

(cf. 224^{5f.} :

ⲧⲏⲏⲧⲏⲧ ⲥⲉⲡⲏⲧⲧⲏⲧ ⲛⲥⲱⲓⲓ

ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲏⲱⲭⲉ ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉ

I run, they run after me,

[and persecute (?)] me (?) in the world.

I run, they run after me

.

(211^{1ff.}.)

I run, they run after me,

until I reach the land of the Living.)

This motive also occurs in the Left Ginzā (119¹¹⁻¹³; Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 569):

ⲃⲓⲧⲓⲁ ⲧⲱⲱⲓⲁ

ⲱⲣⲁⲛ ⲱⲁⲃⲣⲁⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣ ⲛⲧⲱⲣ

When the looser comes,

he looses me, and conducts me to the place of
Light.

ⲧⲱⲱⲓⲁⲛ ⲁⲱⲁⲕ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲱⲓ

ⲱⲣⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲧⲁⲣⲱⲓ ⲣⲁⲧⲱⲧ

ⲣⲓⲧⲱⲧⲓⲧ ⲧⲱⲱⲓⲁⲛ ⲱⲕⲓⲕⲱⲧⲓⲧ

ⲧⲉⲥⲣⲱⲛ ⲕⲁⲃⲱⲧⲱⲧⲱⲛ

He who looses me goes before me,

he who bound me runs after me.

I ran and kept to him who looses me,

those who bound me did not reach me.

211⁶⁻¹³

≠ L.G.

41²⁻⁴

Then the soul turns in triumph to the demons and addresses them:

Βωκ Ν[Η]Τῆ Βωκ ΝΑΤΖΕΒΔΟΜΑΣ	"Go away, go, ye of the ἑβδομάς,
Βωκ ΧΙΖΡΗΤῆ ΑΝΕΤῆΠΑΥῆ .	go, attend to your snares.
Βωκ ΧΙΖΡΗΤῆ ΑΝΕΤῆΠΑΥῆ .	Go, attend to your snares,
ἩΤΕ ΝΕΤῆΠΑΥῆ ΧΙΖΡΕΥ ΑΡΩΤῆ :	and let your snares attend to you.
Βωκ ΩΜΕΝΗΤῆ ΖῆΠ[ΛΙ]ΒΕ :	Go, sink down in the madness,
ἩΤΕΤῆΖΕΙΕ ΑΠΚΩΖΤ ΕΤΧΕΡΟ :	and fall into the fire that is kindled.
ΕἩΠῆ ΕΝ ΑΝΩΜΗΕ ΝΤΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ	I am not of the sons of the world,
ΧΕ[ΤΑ]ΖΕΙΕ ΑΥΠΑΥῆ [Ν]ΕΒΑΠῆ :	that I should fall into the snares and be caught.
ΑΝΑΚ ΟΥΕ[ΕΙ]ΝΕ ΝΤ[Ε]ΝΕΤΑΝΖ .	I am a Physician (?) ⁽¹⁾ of the Living ones,
ΟΥΛΑΜ[Π]ΑC ἩΤΕ ΠΟΥΑ[ΝΕ] ΤΗΡC .	a lamp of Light entire."

(211⁶⁻¹³),

To the first part of this speech we may compare the following Mandaean passage, also from the Second Book of the Left Ginza and alluding to the same situation:

עזיל עזיל שיבאחיא	"Go, go, ye planets;
עזיל סנא באתאכון חון	go, become a part of your houses,
עזיל חון סנא באתאכון	Go, become a part of your houses,
ובאתאכון ניהווא בטנאחכון	and your houses may become a part of you.
אנא ושירשא דאב סאליקנא	I and the root of my father ascend."

(L.G. 41²⁻⁴; Lidzbarski, Ginza, p. 457.)

Here the motive is the same as in the Coptic version; we find the same repetition of the second stichos, the variation "go, go" in the first stichos but "go" in the second and third stichoi, and the same reversion of the logical subject and object in the fourth stichos. Both texts continue with a contrasting description of the soul and its fate.

Th. V ends with a motive also very common in the Left Ginza:

ΝΑΝΟΥ[ΓΕ ΠΤΩ]Ζ[ΜΕ] ΥΑΟΥΗΡ	How good is the Call (?) ⁽²⁾ ,
ΧΕ ΑΥΒ[ΟΥΠΡΕC]ΒΕΥΤΗC ΑΥΤΗΝΑΥΥ ΝCΩ :	for they took an Envoy and sent him after me.

211²¹⁻²⁴
a common
Mandaean
motive.

- (1) There are a few traces which favour this reading. To the common epitheton "the Physician" cf. Allberry's index and e.g. Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements*, pp. 161 ff. — The ensuing stichos (211^{13f.}) I suggest should read Α[Μ]Α[Ζ]Ε C[Ε] Α[ΒΩΚ.] Α[ΜΑ]ΖΕ which suits the context and a faint trace towards the end of the lacuna. Of the curious name (?) of the river at 211¹⁵ practically nothing is visible in the MS.
- (2) This reading suits the context and exactly fills the lacuna.

αγεμαζτε θε[ωζμ]ε ντοοτ

αγ[ν]τ λζρηι ατχωρα ντεμζρακ

He grasped the palm⁽¹⁾ of my hand,
and brought me up to the Land of Peace.

(211²¹⁻²⁴.)

This corresponds to such common Mandaean phrases as e.g.:

ליגטה ביאמינא
ולגאנויברה דנאפשא אשלמה

He grasped his right hand,
and entrusted him to his own treasurers.

(L.G. 62^{4f.}; Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 487.)

ליגטה ביאמינא לאדאם
וסליק תירצה בשכינתה

She grasped the right hand of Adam,
ascended and erected him in her škinās.

(L.G. 70^{2f.}; Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 498.)

ליגטויא בפראס יאמינה לנישמה

They grasped the palm of the right hand of the
soul,

ואסיק תירצויא בית הושלמה

lifted him up and erected him in the House of
Perfection.

(L.G. 103^{23f.}; Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 546.)⁽²⁾

13. TH. VI = MAND. LIT. 96 f.

This motive that concludes Th. V is the main theme of the short psalm Th. VI. It is a very fragmentary text, but thanks to a Mandaean version in the Qolastā⁽³⁾ and in the Left Ginzā,⁽⁴⁾ some at least of the problems can be solved.

The first two disticha are well preserved in the Coptic text and

- (1) Allberry read $\bar{N}\bar{c}$ [. . .]ε etc., but the last letter before the lacuna can only be ϑ, or, possibly, ε which gives no sense. The lacuna is not so long as indicated by Allberry.
- (2) Cf. also Lidzbarski, Ginzā, pp. 468, 479, 510, 527, 553, 563; Mand. Lit. pp. 83 f. 113.
- (3) Mand. Lit., pp. 96 f.
- (4) 120¹¹⁻¹⁸; Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 571. The two texts are practically identical.

ΝΕΙΒΑΛΕ ΠΕ ΕΙΤΗΚΑΡΕΤ
 2 ΝΟΥΣΤΟΛΗ ΕΜΝΑΒΕ ΜΜΑΣ :
 ΟΥΣΤΟΛΗ ΕΜΝΑΒΕ ΜΜΑΣ
 ΕΜΝΩΤΑ ΜΝΩΜΑΒΕ ΝΖΗΤΩ ΑΝΗΖΕ :

מכאלאלנא ושאיכבנא
בעוצטלא דמומא ליתבה
בעוצטלא דליתבה מומא
ולאית בגאונה האסיר ובאיר

I am lying (there), wrapped up
in a robe without fault.
In a robe without fault,
wherein there is no waning or diminution.

(Mand. Lit. 96⁶⁻⁷)

ἸΝΤΑ, ΝΕΤΑΝΖ ΧΩΒΕ ἸΠΑΖΡΑΥ, <ΕΝ>
 Δ[ΥΕΜ]ΔΖΤΕ ΤΑΜΕΡ|ΜΝΕ Δ|ΝΕΖΣΕ :

הייא עדון עלאי
אדאם דשאכיב עתאר

Adam who was lying asleep arose.

(Mand. Lit. 96⁸)

- (1) The curious notion that he stands but is nevertheless asleep also occurs e.g. L.G., p. 46 f.; cf. below, p. 158, n. 1.
- (2) There is only a short lacuna at the right end of l. 28, so we cannot read [ΕΝ ΑΥΤ] ²⁹ ΜΑΤΡΕ. The scribe must have forgotten ΕΝ as is also the case at 165¹⁵.

Allberry's emendation ἀ[ρεμ]αζτε ταμεριμνε "they seized, restrained my care" sounds curious, but I cannot see any other possibility.

The ensuing stichos of the Coptic text can be reconstructed in accordance with the Mandaean text, and, in fact, the MS shows more traces than indicated by Allberry. Thus I read:

αρεμαζτε ἡ[εωμε] ἡταογν[ε]μ

לינטאן כפרדם יאמינא

They grasped the palm of my right hand. He grasped me at the palm of my right hand.
(211^{29f.}) (Mand. Lit. 97¹)

This reading is also supported by the last words of Th. V quoted above (p. 132).

Here a typical Mandaean expression has presumably been preserved in the Coptic version. To "grasp the palm of the right hand" is almost a technical term in Mandaean texts in this connection,⁽¹⁾ but it does not seem to occur in Coptic — at least, Crum quotes no instance in his Dictionary.⁽²⁾

The second stichos of this distichon is unfortunately not quite intelligible in any of the versions:

... ῥ[. . . .] ἡμα[] ἀπετε . . . οὐτεεμ
NM[] .

ולאעמאבליא באיין כחא

. . . me to that which they [did not] give and did not give me . . . with (in) the
me. hand.
(211^{30f.}) (Mand. Lit. 97¹)

באיין is left untranslated by Lidzbarski. The verb באי (Aramaic בעא, בעי) "to seek, ask, desire, etc." occurs e.g. in Mand. Lit., p. 194^{3f.}, the parallel to Th. XIII quoted above, where "the friends seek after the Chosen one". In the present case it is possibly a noun form, and very hesitantly I suggest the rendering "he did not give me (any) seeking with the hand" in the sense of "it was not necessary for me any

(1) Cf. e.g. Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, pp. 479, 510, 527, 546, 553, 563; Mand. Lit., pp. 83 f., 113.

(2) In Coptic we find either εωμε ἡτοοτ= (cf. the end of Th. V), εωμε ἡσ[χ], or simply ογνεμ (cf. e.g. Odes of Solomon xxv, 9 = Pistis Sophia, p. 150⁷: τεκογναμ τε ἡταοχ[ε] μμο[] "For thy right hand lifted me up").

longer to grope my way (after he had grasped my hand)".

The last words of the Coptic stichos could perhaps be read $\alpha\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ [μ]πoγtεεq κη̄ "to that which they did not give me", the more so since the relative $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ as a rule stands before a negative form of the verb. This resembles the Mandaean לאַעחאבליא "he did not give me", but I have no plausible restoration to suggest for the first part of the line. Very often the sentence "he grasped the palm of the right hand" is in Mandaean texts followed by "and conducted (me)" (אבראן) or sim., but [·α]γ(οτ[·ε]γ)[ε]νε $\mu\mu\alpha$ $\alpha\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ etc. "they brought me to etc." gives no satisfactory sense.

The Mandaean text continues:

נהורא רמאן בהשוכא	The Light threw me into the Darkness,
והשוכא כאנהורא עתמליא	and the Darkness was filled with Light.
	(Mand. Lit. 97 ²)

Lidzbarski proposes to change the first stichos as being in its present state senseless into נהורא רמאן בהשוכא "Light they threw into the Darkness". But since the verb רמא is often used in connection with the sending down of the Man from Heaven to this world, I think that no such emendation is absolutely necessary. The second stichos probably corresponds to the Coptic words . . . $\mu\sigma\gamma\zeta \bar{\eta}[\sigma\gamma]\alpha\bar{\eta}\epsilon$: " . . . filled with Light", which stand after a long lacuna preceded by some phrases without any parallel in the Mandaean text. Hesitantly I suggest the following uncertain restoration of the Coptic text, based on my collation of the MS:

$\alpha\pi\sigma\gamma\alpha\bar{\eta}\epsilon \sigma\gamma\omega\epsilon\gamma\zeta[\bar{\eta}\sigma\epsilon \zeta\bar{\eta}\pi\kappa\epsilon\kappa\bar{\eta}] :$	The Light ceased [suffering in the Darkness].
$\pi\alpha\chi\epsilon\gamma\text{---}\eta\eta\bar{\eta}\chi\epsilon \kappa\alpha\bar{\eta}\mu\pi\sigma\gamma\alpha\bar{\eta}\epsilon$	They (had) said to me: "Thou wilt bring (?)
$[\alpha\pi\kappa\epsilon\kappa\bar{\eta}]$	the Light [to the Darkness.]
$\kappa[\alpha]\beta! [\mu\pi\sigma\gamma\alpha\bar{\eta}\epsilon \alpha\pi\kappa\epsilon\kappa\bar{\eta}]$	Thou [wilt] take (?) [the Light to the Darkness,]
$[\pi\kappa\epsilon\kappa\bar{\eta}(\sigma\epsilon) \mu\alpha]\mu\sigma\gamma\zeta \bar{\eta}[\sigma\gamma]\alpha\bar{\eta}\epsilon :$	[and the Darkness will be] filled with Light."

I am perfectly aware of the grammatical irregularity of $\kappa\alpha\bar{\eta}$ $\mu\pi\sigma\gamma\alpha\bar{\eta}\epsilon$ instead of $\kappa\alpha\bar{\eta} \pi\sigma\gamma\alpha\bar{\eta}\epsilon$ (as at 218²⁸), but it is very diffi-

cult to find any other solution. $k[a]β!$ is very uncertain, and since there is little space for the a , we should perhaps rather read $[ε]kβ!$. My restoration postulates that the speech contains the order and the promise of rescue, when the Man was once sent down to this world. The literary form AB B¹C is that used in a similar context e.g. in Th. IV, and such an order combined with a promise to rescue the Man if he obeys is a common theme e.g. in the Left Ginza. But I am not at all sure that my restoration, which is more or less a free invention, really hits the mark.

With the last distichon in the Coptic text we are on firm ground again:

εργα ποτα[ε]θε βακ αη[η]μα
πρερε ναζε[ε]ρε νητ[ε]ρωτ[ε]ρων
α[ε]μ[ε]π[ε]νε[ε]

יוםא דנהורא סאליק
ניתכאמאר השוכא לאתרה
ניתקארבא נישמאתא דהאזא מאסיקתא
לואת אנאנא דנהורא
ולאתרא דהייא מיולין
ומשאכין הייא ס-----
דראשא דמאסיקתא הע ס-----

"But when the Light goes to its place, On the day when the Light ascends,
the Darkness shall fall and not the Darkness will go back to its place.
rise again henceforth."

(212^{4f.})

The souls of this ascension will draw near the
cloud of Light,
to the place of the Light they will go.
And the Life be praised.
(This is a hymn of ascension.)

(Mand. Lit. 97³⁻⁶)

If my restoration of the previous lines is correct, this distichon would also belong to the speech and contain the promise of rescue and victory. The only difficulty in the Coptic text is the metre, which is spoilt by the rather superfluous $\alpha[ε]μ[ε]π[ε]νε[ε]$ "henceforth", and here the Mandaean text is quite regular. Hence it is possible that this word

should be left out, the more so since this phrase occurs in a metrically regular form in Th. VIII and IX.

14. MANDAEAN MOTIVES IN TH. VIII.

Th. VIII is of a special interest, since there are Mandaean parallels to practically all the motives of the psalm and, moreover, the general composition is one often met with in Mandaean literature. We may summarize the contents as follows:

- (1) An εἰκὼν descends to this world.
- (2) The demons gather to see him, worship him and ask him to rule over them.
- (3) They decide to capture him and prevent him from returning to Heaven.
- (4) They are themselves captured in their own nets.

A speech follows, explaining that

- (6) the Light shall return to the Light,
- (7) the fragrance to the fragrance,
- (8) the Light shall return to its place, and the Darkness shall fall.

To the very common descensus motive (1) it seems superfluous to quote any Mandaean parallels, but since Allberry's translation is not quite correct, the Coptic text may be cited here, arranged according to the metre:

213¹⁹ -
214⁴

ΑΒΛΛ ΖΝΝΤΑΙΙC ΝΤΜΝΤΡΡΟ .	Out from the ranks of the kingdom
ΑΒΛΛ Ζ[ΝΝΤΑΙΙC] ΜΠ[ΠΕΤΑ]ΑCΕ	out from [the ranks] of the Exalted (?) one,
ΛΟΥ[Ε.ΖΝ]ΝΟΥΡΕ ΜΠΟΥΑ[ΙΝΕ ΕΙΔΠΚ]ΑΖ	one of the sons of Light [came] to the earth (?).
...]ΝΕ.Ν ΜΠΟΥΚΟΥ . Ε . [.]
ΖΝΤΝ . [. . . .] ΝΤΕ ΠΚΕΚΕ .	In the of the Darkness ⁽¹⁾
ΑΥΖΙΚΩΝ ΝΟΥΑ[ΙΝΕ ΘΩΛΠ]ΑΒΑΛ	an image of Light was revealed.
[ΖΝ]ΠΜΑΝΟΥΩΖ ΝΝΘΗΡΙΟΝ .	[In] the dwelling of the beasts,
ΑΥΖΙΚΩΝ ΝΟ[ΥΑ]ΙΝΕ ΘΩΛΠ]ΑΒΑΛ :	an image of Light was revealed.

(1) Cf. 214²⁹ ΤΧΩΡΑ ΝΤΕ ΝΔΑΛΩΩΝ ΜΠΚΕΚΕ "the land of the demons of the Darkness". One expects a similar expression here, too, because of the obvious parallelism with this passage (cf. below, p. 140).

2NTXωpa μπc+βωων ε[τ]λαμc : In the land of the foul stink,
 ἡ[τε οὐ]αποβαλαμον ψαψε : a balsam spread. (213²⁹ - 214⁴)

214⁴ff. The second motive starts with two disticha, composed according to the pattern AB BC:

(1)
 ANKOCMOOC μῆΝΑΠ[. . .] cωoyz The worlds and they of the gathered
 'AYEI ANEY ATEYzIKΩN : and came to see his image.
 'AYEI ANEY AT[eq]zIKΩN . They came to see his image,
 AYCKapkp AYΛIβE ZATTEYTPē : they grovelled, they became mad of his
 brightness.
 AYTPΩN XEYATZTHY ATEYēINE . They arose that they might mark his likeness,
 AYZEIE AYΛIβE ETBE[pe]q[ca]IE : they fell, they became mad by reason of his
 beauty.
 (214⁴⁻⁸)

The theme of the last stichos is enlarged upon in a parallel distichon and then the text continues:

AYKALXNEYPET . [AY]oyωy[τ] NEY : They bent their knees, [they] worshipped him,
 AYCEZO_NEYZHΛIKIA AYZωC apay they set up their ἡλικία, they sang to him:

Their speech, containing a salutation and then the phrase "Come and rule over our country", has already been quoted above (p. 92).

R.G. To this section we may compare e.g. the Right Ginzā 117¹³⁻¹⁸ (Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 131):

117¹³ff.

ברמו פאגריא עדאמית The form of body I assumed,
 ועולית סלאקילה לכנישתון went (there) and ascended to their congregation. (2)
 כולהון מיהמא דהזיוון All of them, when they saw me,
 עסתאהאך על אנפאיון נפאל fell down, and threw themselves on their
 faces.
 עסתאהאך נפאל על אנפאיון They fell down and threw themselves on their
 faces.
 וקאימא לדיליא מירנא stood up (again) and subjected themselves to
 me.

(1) [keke], [τhpq̄], [ka2], or the like; end of a line and length of lacuna unknown.

(2) on the Mount Carmel; hence "ascended".

מִירְנָא וּמְבֹרְכִילִיא וְאַמְרִיא	They subjected themselves, blessed (me) and said:
אַנְתָּ הוּע רִישָׁאן וְרִישָׁא דְכּוּלָּהּ אֲלִמָּאן	"Be thou our head and the head of all our world.
אַנְתָּ הוּלָאן רִישָׁא	Be thou our head,
וְאַנְוְהִין נִהוּיָא מִן אֲבֹתָרָךְ	and we will be thy followers."

The description of how the demons plan to fetter him, shut him up in a cage etc., has also been quoted above (p. 92f.). The ensuing lines are rather fragmentary, but three well-preserved stichoi show that we have here the theme no. 4 (cf. above):

214^{25f.}

ἀπβανίτε βωκ ἀνεύθει :	the iron went to their hands.
ἀγαλλογ ἀγογν ἀτκαλληατρα :	They were shut up in the cage,
ἐπελαμῶ πογμερ τμηε ν̄τ[πε].	because they loved not the Truth of [Heaven (?)].
	(214 ^{25f.})

This motive occurs also e.g. in the Left Ginza 57¹⁶⁻²³ (Lidzbarski, L.G. 57^{16ff.} Ginza, p. 480 f.):

שׁוּבָא כְבֹאשׁ רִישָׁאִיהוֹן	The Seven ones bowed their heads,
וּמִן הֶרְדִּיא מִדְּרֹמִיא	and tattled with one another:
חָאב נִלְיִגְטִיא לְמֵאנָא	"Let us seize the Mānā,
נִפְכָּאָר בְּלִיחָאן לִישִׁרִיא	we will fetter him and throw him into our net.
נִהַרְזֻקָּה בְּסִלִּיחָאן	We will shut him up in our throwing net,
וּבִאֲבֹרָאן וְהַשׁוּכָאן נִשְׁכָּאבָה	and put him into our lead and our darkness."
מֵאנָא לְפֻמָּא פִּיחָהָא	Then the Mānā opened his mouth,
לְשִׁבְיָאִיָּה דְנִמְאָרְלוֹן	and said to the Planets:
עֲבִידְלֹכוֹן שִׁבְיָאִיָּהָא	"I will bring you, ye Planets, to the point,
דְּעֶרְאִיכוֹן לֵאנָאפְלָא עֲלֵאִי	that your hand does not fall upon me.
לֵאעֲנֻפֹלְכוֹן בְּלִיחָאִיכוֹן	I will not fall into your net,
וּבְסִלִּיחָאִיכוֹן לֵאחִילְגוּשׁ	and not be caught in your throwing net.
לֵאנִיבִילָאן הַשׁוּכָאִיכוֹן	Your darkness will not swallow me,
וּבִאֲבֹרָאִיכוֹן לֵאנָאשְׁכָּבָא	and your lead not cause me to fall.
כּוּלָּאִיכוֹן כְּמָא דְהַאֲוִיתוֹן	Ye all, as many as you are,
בְּעוּלָאִיכוֹן תִּתְפִּיכְרוֹן	will be entangled in your (own) meshes and nets."

The background to this theme may well be such OT passages as Ps. 141¹⁰: "Let the witched fall into their own toils" (cf. Ps. 7^{16f.}, 9^{16f.}).

and 140¹⁰), the usual imprecation of exact retribution.

214²⁸ -
215⁶

A speech by "the great Light" concludes Th. VIII:

μῆδ' αὖ αὖτε ποταῖνε ἐτοῖ' ἡ[ε]αυ	It is not possible that the [glorious] Light
βωκ[α] τ[χ]ωρα ἡτε ἡδαλμων ἡπ[κ]εκε	should [go to] the Land of the demons of the
	Darkness.
[μ]η[δ]αμ[α]ν ατ[ε] π[τ]νογ[ε]	It is not [possible again] that the fragrance
σ[ω]ρ[η]τ[χ]ωρα ἡτε π[τ]βωων :	should remain (?) in the Land of the [stink].
μῆδ' αὖ αὖτε τ[χ]ικων [μ]πρωμ[ε]ταν[ε]	It is not possible that the image of the [liv-
	ing] man
εἰ] ἀν..μαῖωσ[ι]τε ἡντ[β]ναγε :	should [come] to the (?) dwelling-places of
	the beasts.
ποταῖνε [ναβ]ωκ ἀποταῖνε .	The Light [shall] go to the Light,
π[τ]νογ[ε] [ε] ναβωκ[α] α[τ]π[τ]νογ[ε]	the fragrance [shall] go to the fragrance.
τ[χ]ικων ἡπρωμ[ε]ταν[ε] ναβ[ωκ]	The image of the Living man shall [go]
ατ[χ]ω[ρ]α[ε]ταν[ε] ετασεἰ ἡζητ[ε] :	to the living Land from which it came.

ποταῖνε ναγε ἀπεμα .	The Light shall return to its place,
π[κ]εκε ναζεἰ ἡγ[τ]μωτ[ε] ατ[ω]ων :	the Darkness shall fall and not rise again.

(214²⁸ - 215⁶)

The last distichon is about the same as the conclusion of Th. VI, to which we have a Mandaean parallel in Mand. Lit., p. 97 (quoted above, Mand. Lit. p. 136). The same phrase occurs again in Mand. Lit., pp. 53 f., in combination with some expressions corresponding to the preceding stichoi of the Coptic text:

ויום לאתרה סאליק	The Brightness to its place ascends,
ונהורא לדאורא תאקנא	and the Light to the brilliant dwelling.
יומא דנהורא ניסאק	On the day, when the Light ascends,
ניתכאמאר השוכא לדוכתה	the Darkness will go back to its place.

ריחא דהייה לבית הייה ניסאק	The fragrance of Life will ascend to the House
	of Life,
ואנן לבית הייה ניסאק	(and we will also ascend to the House of
	Life.)

And at p. 90⁶ we read:

רִיחָא בְּאַסְמָא לְאַתְרָהּ נִסְמָק וְאַנְתָּוִן חַיָּא בּוֹאֲכַנְיָא הֻן	The sweet fragrance will ascend to its place, and thou, O Life, may be victorious.
---	---

The motive that the fragrance descends to this world is also met with in e.g. Mand. Lit., pp. 199 f., and in a similar general context in the Left Ginza 53²² (Lidzbarski, p. 475¹⁷) we find the phrase לֹא־נִחְדָּרָא טִיתְמַנְיָא בְּהַשׁוּכָא "the Light is not counted to (does not belong to) the Darkness", i.e. the same thought as that expressed in the first part of the speech in the Coptic text.

15. GENERAL RESEMBLANCE OF TH. IX AND II TO MANDAEAN PASSAGES.

The last distichon of Th. VI and VIII also occurs in Th. IX, though in a slightly different form and not as a concluding formula: 215^{24ff.}

ΤΟΤΕ ΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ ΝΑΒΩΚ ΑΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΤΕΚΕ Β[ω]ΤΕ ΑΒΑΛ [ᾱ]ΠΕΜΑ :	Then the Light shall go to the Light, and the Darkness be blotted out from its <div style="text-align: right;">place. (215²⁴⁻²⁶)</div>
--	---

The leading motive of this psalm is the Man who weeps in the Darkness and cries up to Heaven (cf. Th. IV, above p. 108), and is consoled by "the Holy one". The whole composition very much resembles some of the poems in the Second Book of the Left Ginza.

Such a rather general parallelism between one of the Psalms of Thomas and a Mandaean passage may also be noticed in Th. II, again with an instance of the pattern AB BC:

206¹⁰⁻¹⁸
 ≠ L.G.
 94^{23ff.}

ΑΠΑΪΩΤ_ΒΕ ΤῆΝΝΑΥ_ΤΒΟΗΘΕΙΑ ΝΗΪ •	My Father therefore sent the aid to me,
ΑΝΑΚΝΗΥ ΤΑΪΛΕ ΑΥΡΟΥΕ_ΝΕ[ΜΗΪ]	my brethren arose, they became one with [me.]
ΖῆΝΟΥΘΗΛ_ΜΜΕΤΕ ΕΑΝΑΚΝΗΥ ΝΑΧῆ :	Through a cry only which my brethren uttered,
ΑΠΕΥC[ΑΒΤ] ΟΥΩΛC ΑΥΖΕΪΕ :	their wall tottered and fell.
ΑΠΕΥCΑΒΤ ΟΥΩΛC ΑΥΖΕΪΕ	Their wall tottered and fell,
Μ[ΠΕ]ΝΕΥΟΥΡΩΕ ΔΝΔΑΜ ΑΥΡΚΩΛΥ_ΜΜΑΥ :	their watch-towers were unable to (?) stop them.
ΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΤΚΩΤΕ ΜῆΠΩΔΑΔΙΛ •	Nor was he that goes round with the bell
ΠΕΤΩΥ ΝΤΑΥΝΟΥΥΕ ΜΠΟΥΔΝΤῆ :	and cries good fortune (?) found.
ΟΥΒΕ_ΠΔΗΛ ΕΤΑΝΑΚΝΗΥ ΝΑΧῆ :	At the cry which my brethren uttered,
ΑΝΔΑΛΙΜΩΝ ΠΩΤ' ΑΠΚΕΚΕ :	the demons ran to the Darkness.
ΑΝΔΑΛΙΜΩΝ ΠΩΤ' ΑΠΚΕΚΕ •	The demons ran to the Darkness,
ΑΥCΤΩΤ ΔΑΠ_ΠΟΥΑΡΧΩΝ ΤΗΡῆ :	trembling seized their Archon entirely.
	(206 ¹⁰⁻¹⁸)

To these strophes we may compare the following passage in the Left Ginza:

עלאי עשתלא עוהרא סאניא	To me a great Uthra was sent,
גאברא דהאויא באהידעדא	a man who shall be a helper to me.
באהידעדא האויא לגובריא	A helper he shall be to the men
מקאימא שורכתא	that make strong the stem.
תיכרא למאטאראתון	He broke down their watch-houses,
ופראט באקרין פורטתא	he breached a breach in their fortress.
פורטתא באקרין פראטכא	A breach in their fortress he breached,
ושובא דהון מן עוהרה	and the Seven ones hurried off trembling
	from his way. ⁽¹⁾
	(L.G. 94 ²³ - 95 ³ ; Lidzbarski, Ginza, p. 533.)

Such resemblances of a more general character are, however, less convincing, since they are in part due simply to the close affinity of Mandaean and Manichaeian religious notions, and, furthermore, these motives are by no means characteristic exclusively of the Psalms of Thomas in the Manichaeian literature. But some passages other than those already quoted have a rather special content and wording, to which there are close parallels in Mandaean poetry.

(1) reading דהון ; perhaps rather דהון "they were pushed away" ; cf. Lidzbarski, Ginza, ad loc.

16. "THE EMPTY ONE" and "THE LADEN ONE" IN TH. XII.

In Th. VI and VIII we found a concluding formula with a Mandaean counterpart. Similarly, Th. XII and XIV end with a stichos that is identical with a Mandaean expression. In fact, a large section of Th. XII corresponds very closely to a passage in Drashē dMalkē:⁽¹⁾

218²⁻⁸ =
Drashē
dMalkē 177

παρατῆ τηρῇ γαυπωρ .

πρω[ογῆτ] δε] γαυπωρῆ απαρορ :

ογα]νεγ πρωγογῆτ [εγ]ε]

εγωγογῆτ απμα νῆτελωνη[c:]

cenawh[tq] emnteq at :

ογα]νεγ γε μῆ λαιε zlowq :

cen[a]kallpq kakhn kakwc

ncenayzq apmetar[ri]cmδc :

qabī zante nkwawc Bī zaray :

ge ay[mon]te apqmece mpeqcwme

אמינטול דכול מן דטין סאליק

דריקאן האכא מיתאכזאר

ואילא לריקאנא דריקין

קאיים בית מאכסיא

כד הוא בעדה ולאעהאב

האהאם באחיש בכאנפה ולאמאשכא

מיטאריבה בישיא וכאדאביא בהשוכא

שאדילה בנורא דיאקרא

בנורא דיאקרא שאדילה

דקרולה בעורנה ולאשמא

That which is all laden, it arrives;
that which is empty is left behind.

Woe to the empty one that comes

empty to the place of the customs.

It shall be asked, (or: They will search

it, it) having nothing to give;

woe to it, for it has nothing upon
it.

It shall be despoiled evilly,

and sent back to the μεταγγισμός.

It shall suffer what the corpses suffer,

for they called into his ear, he did
not hear.

For everyone who is laden is ascending,

he who is empty is sentenced there.

Woe to the empty one who is empty,

standing in the house of the Customers.

Because he had in his hand and did not give,

he is searching there in his bag and does
not find.⁽²⁾

The bad ones and the liars will be precipi-
tated into the darkness,

he will be thrown into the glowing fire.

Into the glowing fire he will be thrown,

into whose ear they called, but who did
not hear.

(218²⁻⁸)

(Johannesbuch, text, p. 177, transl., p. 175)

(1) Cf. Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements*, pp. 82, 84.

(2) This strophe also Mand. Lit., p. 189, preceded by:

He seeks and does not find,
and he asks but it is not given unto him.

Some of the differences between the two versions can be explained by the fact that the Coptic text is used in connection with the metaphor the soul \neq a ship, whereas the Mandaean text alludes directly to the soul of the dead ascending to Heaven. Thus the Coptic $\psi\alpha\psi\omega\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \alpha\pi\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\tau$ "is left behind" replaces מיתאגואר "is sentenced", since the latter notion does not quite suit the Coptic context. Further, Mandaean קאיים "standing" that cannot be used of a ship corresponds to Coptic $[\epsilon\psi]\epsilon$ "that comes". This fact also explains why the Coptic text could not contain exactly the same motive as the Mandaean variants (a ship does not have "a hand" or "a bag"). But both texts refer to seeking (באהיש, שאלש , באייא) and not having anything to give. Thus the Coptic version seems to be an adaptation of the Mandaean version in order to suit the context when used in a (probably secondary) combination with a different theme.

The fourth strophe and the first stichos of the fifth strophe are rather different in the two versions, even if the motives of the stichoi correspond to each other. It is interesting to note that בישיא וכאראביא "the bad ones and liars" corresponds to the adverbial $\text{kak\textbf{h}h kak\textbf{w}}$ "evil-ly". The Mandaean text is here metrically irregular, and it is perhaps the abrupt introduction of a plural as the subject of the phrase that has induced the Coptic translator to render it as an adverb and then to change the meaning of the verb, too. But it is equally possible that the Mandaean text is not correct, and that the Coptic version renders the original meaning.⁽¹⁾

Then the Coptic version omits to repeat a stichos according to the pattern AB BC, a literary device that is in fact used to a larger extent in Mandaean poetry than in the Psalms of Thomas. The last stichos is again identical in the two versions.⁽²⁾

-
- (1) שארילֵה "he will thrown down" corresponds to $\text{\textbf{N}CENAYZ\textbf{Q}}$ "he will sent back, turned (down)", instead of an expected $\text{\textbf{N}CENAZ\textbf{Q}}$ "he will be thrown down". Allberry's reading is, however, quite correct.
- (2) The motive of "the empty one" and "the laden one" occurs several times in Mandaean literature: Lidzbarski, Johannesbuch, transl., pp. 59, 204, Ginzā, p. 528.

17. THE DIALOGUE WITH HYLĒ AND OTHER MANDAEAN MOTIVES IN TH. XIV.

The text of Drashē dMalkē (p. 177) continues:

221²⁶⁻³⁰
≠ Drashē
dMalkē
177, Mand.
Lit. 222

האוינתה באינה ולאחזא	I showed him into the eye, but he would not see,
האוינתה ולאחזא באינה	I showed him, but he would not see with the

eye.

And in Mand. Lit. (p. 222^{5ff.}) we find a similar passage:

בסאופה דאלמא ערימיה	I will throw him into the end of the world,
דקרילה בעודנה ולאשמא	because I called into his ear, but he would
	not hear.
דקרילה ולאשמא בעודנה	For I called unto him, but he would not hear
	with his ear;
האוינתה באינה ולאחזא	I showed him into his eye, but he would not
	see.
האוינתה ולאחזא באינה	I showed him, but he would not see with his eye,
מיסאף סאיף ליומא רבא דסוף	therefore he will be exterminated on the great
	final day.

The Right Ginza, p. 23¹⁻³ (= Lidzbarski, Ginza, p. 24) has about the same wording but adds the words: "He will fall into the pains into which the Bad ones fall without ever rising."⁽¹⁾

This corresponds to the last disticha of Th. XIV:

ΠΕΤΑΠΩ.Ε ΝΕΥΒΕΛ ΝΝΕΥΤΗΒΕ .	He who covers (?) ⁽²⁾ his eyes with (?) his
	fingers,
Ν Μ ΠΕΤ[ΑΟΥΩΝΣ] ΝΕΥ :	who shall [reveal (?)] unto him?
ΠΕΤΟΥΝΑΜΟΥΤΕ ΑΝΕΜΕΥΤΕ ΕΥΤΩΩΤΜΕ .	He into whose ears they shall call, and he hears
	not,
ΣΕΝΑ[Π]ΩΥΕ.ΜΜΑΥ ΖΝΝΚΟCΜΟC ΤΗΡ[Ο]Υ :	shall be divided (?) in all the worlds.
ΥΑΒΙ ΖΑ[Ν]ΕΤ[Ε.Ν]ΚΩΩC ΒΙ.ΖΑΡΑΥ	He shall suffer what the corpses suffer,
ΧΕ.ΛΥΜΟ[ΥΤΕ ΑΝΕ]ΥΜΕ[ΥΤΕ ΜΠΕΥ]CΩΤΜΕ	for they called into his ears, [and he did
	(221 ²⁶⁻³⁰) not] hear.

(1) Cf. also Johannesbuch, p. 237 (translation, p. 218).

(2) reading ΖΩ[B]Σ which is however very doubtful. But the π and the ε of Allberry's reading are equally uncertain. — The preceding distichon (221^{24f.}) may perhaps be restored:

Π|ΜΕCΕ ΕΤΑΥ[ΟΥΩCΤΗ] . ΜΠ[ΕΥ]ΟΥΑΝΕΥ The ox that [destroys (or sim.)] his stall with
 ΖΝΝΕΥΤΗΠ . his horns,
 Ν|Μ ΠΕΤΑΠΩΠ ΜΜΑΥ who shall buy him ?
 The ω in Allberry's ΕΤΑΥ[. . .] is absolutely invisible; [ΥΥΩΥ] or [τεκο] are also possible.

It seems to me rather significant that this motive, which is rather common in Mandaean literature, occurs in the Psalm-book only in the Psalms of Thomas, but there twice.

"The Mother
of this
world"

Thus we have good reasons to look for other Mandaean parallels also to the rest of Th. XIV. In fact, the general theme of it, a dialogue between the Saviour and "the Mother of this world", is often met with in Mandaean texts (e.g. Mand. Lit., pp. 197 f., 184; Johannesbuch, text, p. 165, transl., p. 166, Ginza, p. 342). The epitheton "the Physician" is typical for both literatures,⁽¹⁾ and Hylē, here also called $\tau\mu\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ $\mathfrak{N}[\tau\epsilon]$ $\mathfrak{N}[\mathfrak{K}]oc\mu oc = "$? , the Mother of this world" (221^{5f.}) corresponds to Mandaean $\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{S}$ or $\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{S}$ (cf. the Manichaean Namraēl and $\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{d}$) or the Mandaean Rūhā who, quite as Nāmṛūs, has sometimes the epitheton "mother of the world" ($\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{a}$ $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{A}$; cf. Johannesbuch, p. 62, n. 3). In Mand. Lit., p. 184, her weapon is a bow, just as in Th. XIV where she wants "to take her arrows and shoot them" (221^{13ff.}). Could the untranslatable $\tau\mu\sigma\iota\varsigma$ even be a very corrupt form of Nāmṛūs, Nāmṛīs ($>\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}>$ $\tau\mu\sigma\iota\varsigma$?)?

221^{6f.}
≠ Mand.
Lit. 198⁴

The form of a phrase in the dialogue also recalls a Mandaean distichon in a similar context. The antithesis in the words of the Physician

$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{E}$ $\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{E}$ $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{O}$

I am the Physician that heals

$\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{E}$ $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{E}$ $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E}$ $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E}$:

but thou art the wounder that wounds.

(221^{6f.})

is the same as in the answer to Rūhā in Mand. Lit., p. 198⁴

$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{H}$ $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{A}$ $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{Q}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{A}$
 $\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}$ $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{A}$ $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{A}$

Thy eyes are eyes of lie,

my eyes are eyes of truth.

To a passage in Hylē's answer there are also some Mandaean paral-

(1) Cf. Widengren, Mesopotamian Elements, p. 158 ff.

ΝΤΑ[ΥΑΒΕ] ΝΨΗΡΕ ΝΨΡΩΜΕ : "that I may [wound] the sons of men,
 Ν[ΣΕΕΛ]ΠΙΖΕ_ΕΝ ΑΠΕΤ[ΤΕΟΥ]_ΑΜΑΥ and they not trust (?) him who [told (?)]
 ΑΡΑΥ : them:
 ΣΕ[Υ]Υ[ΟΟ]Π ΝΞΙ_ΠΜΟΥ_ΥΨΟΟΠ ΝΞΙ[Π]ΩΝΞ_ 'There is death, there is life,
 ΥΨΟΟΠ_ΑΝ ΝΞΙ_ΤΧΩΡΑ ΝΤΜΕ : there is also the Land of Truth.' "

221¹⁵⁻¹⁸

(221¹⁵⁻¹⁸)

R.G.
29^{12ff.}

R.G.
53¹⁰ff.

In the 2nd Book the order is reversed: "There is life and there is death; and there is light and there is darkness, etc.".

The date of this apocalypse has been much disputed. Whereas Peter-

- (1) Read
221^{llf.}. NaI
[μαρ(ε)]κ[τ]ημῆ ἡμερὰς ἑνὴς [Give me] a single day,
[νεκτ]μα ημῆ ὥρας μιᾶς [allow me an hour] only.
Cf. the parallel in the answer at 221^{l8ff.}:
+Na[τ]ημῆ εν ἡμερὰς ἑνὴς : I will not [give] a single day,
+Na[τ]μα ημῆ εν ὥρας μιᾶς : I will not allow thee an hour only.
- (2) Cf. Reitzenstein, Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse; Reitzenstein-Schaeder, Studien zum antiken Synkretismus, pp. 332 ff.
- (3) Steindorff, Die Apokalypse des Elias, p. 89.

son⁽¹⁾ ascribed it to early Mohammedan times, the whole text was dated back to the time of Titus by Reitzenstein (op.cit.). Schaefer⁽²⁾ has regarded the preceding theme and the passage in question as an older part of the apocalypse. According to him, this Anōsh episode, the source Q of Matth. 11⁵ etc., and the Apocalypse of Elias have, independently of one another, made use of the same late-Jewish tradition, and the three antithetical phrases form the background of e.g. the First Epistle of John. In view of the great importance of this theme, it is most interesting to find it in the well-dated Psalms of Thomas, which have so many points of contact with the Mandaean literature. This shows in any case that the Mandaean phrases in question need by no means be of a late date, as was assumed by Peterson and later also by Schweizer (Ego eimi, p. 72). They may well be older than the Manichaean text — in fact, their occurrence in the Psalms of Thomas makes this view very plausible.

The same antithetical formula is found in a still more elaborate form in the 6th Book of the Right Ginzā, which has the Iranian title Dīnanūkht Dīnanūkht and contains many an old trait (Lidzbarski, Ginzā, p. 205). Three times we read:

"There is life that was from the beginning,	
and there is <u>kuštā</u> that was still earlier in the beginning.	
There is brightness,	there is light.
<u>There is death,</u>	<u>there is life</u> (אכא מותא אכא חייא).
There is darkness,	there is light.
There is wrong,	there is right.
There is destruction,	there is construction.
There is striking,	there is healing."

(R.G. 205^{8ff.}, 206^{3ff.}, 207^{1ff.}; Lidzbarski,
Ginzā, pp. 206, 207.)

Moreover, there are the variants "Where is death, where is life?" etc. (206^{10ff.}, 207^{8ff.}), "I am death, etc." (207^{17ff.}), and "I saw death, etc." (211^{2ff.}). At 205⁹ the sentences "There is death, there is

(1) Theol. Blätter 7, 1928, p. 320.

(2) Studien zum antike Synkretismus, pp. 332 ff.

life. There is darkness, there is light" have been left out in the Ms. A, and in the corresponding passage at 205¹⁵ ("Where is etc.") they are missing in all the Mss. Lidzbarski has drawn the conclusion that the shorter version of A at 205⁹ must be of an old date, and Schweizer (Ego eimi, pp. 71 f.) is of the opinion that these and the ensuing sentences are a late interpolation from R.G. 29¹²⁻¹⁵, because they are introduced by the phrase "and he said to him" at 211² and start with אכא (1) in a contrast to the preceding sentences where אכא is sometimes used. (As an additional reason he mentions that "there is striking, there is healing" should be missing at 206⁶, which is true in Lidzbarski's translation, but not in Petermann's edition of the text.) In view of the many cases in which these phrases are found in all the Mss., and since a Ms. sometimes by mistake repeats a sentence, I am not quite convinced that Schweizer is right, but even if he were, this would by no means prove that these antithetical sentences belonged to the latest strata of the Mandaean literature.⁽²⁾ It may be noted that the theme is combined with the phrase "There is striking, there is healing" which again recalls the speech of the Physician in Th. XIV.⁽³⁾

(1) = אכא < אכא-הא; cf. Levy, Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim, I, 63.

(2) Professor Widengren calls my attention to the following Iranian passage in Herzfeld, Paikuli, p. 91: yahištē hast u dōšaxē hast, "there is Paradise and there is Hell". Despite the fact that the resemblance is rather vague, this parallel may be of importance in view of the Iranian title of the 6th Book.

(3) A few other suggestions to the emendation of Th. XIV may be added here:

221¹ possibly Βαλνα[μῖρρ ε ω] πβαλζικ "loose my [bonds, O] charm-looser" (cf. Widengren, Mesopotamian Elements, p. 158. His arrangement of this passage is not quite correct. It should be:

"O] physician (?) heal me!
Loose my [bonds, O] charm-looser!
For thy healing is not [of the earth,
thy cures are not of this world.
Thy healing is of the land of the living ones,
thy good cures are of the princes.")

18. LITERARY DEVICES COMMON TO THE PSALMS OF THOMAS
AND MANDAEAN POETRY.

In the preceding comparative analysis of the Psalms of Thomas, we have repeatedly stressed the fact that the literary device to repeat the second stichos of the first distichon as the first stichos of the second distichon (AB BC) is very much used in these psalms in a contrast to the other compositions of the published part of the Psalm-book, and that it is a constitutive characteristic of Mandaean poetry. In Mandaean poems this pattern is often repeated in several consecutive disticha, and we thus obtain the scheme AB BC CD etc. This type occurs in the Psalms of Thomas, too, — in Th. XIII (218^{18ff.}, quoted above, p. 120), in Th. II (205^{12ff.}), and in Th. XIX (226^{5ff.}). The relevant passage of Th. XIX may be quoted here as an instance of this elaborate coupling of stichoi, so characteristic of Mandaean poetry:

AB BC CD

Th. XIX
226⁵⁻⁹

אִסְעֵסֶּה וְאִפְּאִי־וְיָ	I spoke unto my father:
שֶׁ־וְיָוֹנֵתְּ נִקְוָלִים אֲשֶׁנְּתָאֵלֵּי .	Weave a garland (?) and encircle (prop. embrace) my head.
וְיָוֹנֵתְּ נִקְוָלִים אֲתָאֵלֵּי .	Weave a garland (?) and encircle my head.
מֵאֲרֹוֹסְרָאֲרֵעַ אֲקֹוֹנֵתְּ נִשְׁ[י] .	Let them fall into my lap, even thy
נֶקְמָאֲרֵנְבֹנוּת :	wreaths (?).
מֵאֲרֹוֹסְרָאֲרֵעַ אֲקֹוֹנֵתְּ נִשְׁ[י] .	Let them fall into my lap, even thy wreaths (?),
[נ]ֶקְ[מָאֲרֵנְבֹנוּת :	that I may see who it is that thou hast
נִתְאֵנֵי שֶׁ־נִּימֵּי פֶּתָאֲקֵרְשָׁ	strengthened (? = made victorious).
	(226 ⁵⁻⁹)

The rather dubious emendation of the last stichos is to some extent supported by a comparison with 209^{6ff.}:

אֲקִי־רֶשֶׁתְּ גִּזְאִי אֲקִי־בִשְׁמִי אֲבָל .	He strengthened the ship and set a bulwark upon it,
אֲקִי־רֶשֶׁתְּ נִדְּאֹוֹרֵן [אֲרִי]־נִי־אֲפֶּתָאִי :	and took it up as gift to the Mighty one.
אֲקִי־רֶשֶׁתְּ נִדְּאֹוֹרֵן אֲרִי־נִי־אֲפֶּתָאִי .	He took it up as gift to the Mighty one,
... שְׁנוֹרֹוֹיִי נִי־טֹוֹ the Land of Light.
נִי־חֹוֹרָא אֲפֹוֹרָאִינֵי :	

The ensuing lines of Th. XIX are partly a parallel to this passage 226¹⁰⁻¹⁴ in Th. III, and I propose the following reading:

ḤCEE A2]ϣYN ḤX ḤA KAlOC :	[That they may come] within, even the righteous,
ḤCETE TOY ḤAω PON ḤΠΠET]A	and be given as a gift [to the Mighty one.]
Ḥ[2AYT EY]XωPE 2ḤTOYΘAM .	The [men who are] strong in their power,
Ḥ2 A ME ETE_ΠOY2HT' THK_APAY .	(and) the women whose hearts are firm,
ωAYωANTOY Ḥ2ḤΠETAL ON ḤOYPT]	They are garlanded with petals of [roses (?)]
ḤCEXAYCOY A2P[H] AT]XωPA ḤΠOYA INE	and sent up to the Land of Light.

(226¹⁰⁻¹⁴)

In Th. XIX we also find some other patterns for coupling of stichoi. A rather rare type is AA BB¹ at 225^{25ff.} (since the preceding disticha are well preserved, it is quite certain that a new distichon begins here):

AA BB¹
225^{25ff.}

[TEYCBω] CMAH 2ḤΠEY2HT .	[His thought] is firm in his heart,
TEYCBω [CMAH 2]ḤΠEY2H[T] :	his thought [is firm] in his heart.
A4P[PM]EY ḤTNA6 ḤTβω ḤEΛAΛE]	He remembered the great [vine],
A4PTME[EY ḤΠΩ]HN ḤTβω [ḤEΛAΛE:]	he remembered the vine-tree. (1)

Such an identity between two stichoi within a distichon we find e.g. in Mand. Lit., p. 247:

Mand. Lit.
247

האין בינתא דיאואר	This is the building of Jawar,
האין דיאואר בינתא	the building of Jawar is this.
האין בינתא דיאואר	This is the building of Jawar,
דהאין ריהא כסמס	the fragrance of which is so sweet.

The only difference is the change of the word-order, a characteristic of Mandaean poetry often not rendered in the Coptic version (cf. above p. 117), and the repetition of the stichos a third time as the first stichos of a second distichon.

- (1) The latter distichon is left more or less unemended by Allberry, but I think that my reading, that suits the lacunae, is rather obvious. In ll. 29, 30, which according to Allberry is destroyed, I saw the following signs, that may be of value for other scholars who have an emendation to suggest:

28. [ḤEΛAΛE:] AYXAY N2N[. . . .]YKΛA[. . .]

29. 1 AΣNT . . .

30. T4 Y

The other type, where there is a slight variation between the two stichoi, we find in the opening lines of all the poems of the Second Book of the Left Ginzā (quoted above, p.125f.), a type that is also used in other Mandaean compositions.⁽¹⁾

AB AC AB
AB¹ AB
A¹B¹

A very common type is also AB AC, with the variants AB AB¹ and AB A¹B¹, a pattern much used also in Mandaean poetry. AB AC we find e.g. in Th. IV (above, pp.108f.), V (above, p. 130), AB AB¹ e.g. in Th. IV (above, p. 108), and AB A¹B¹ e.g. in the concluding speech of Th. VIII (above, p. 140). A good instance of this type of coupling of stichoi is the first part of Th. I, preceded by a chain-wise arrangement of the text.

Th. I
203³-12

ΠΑΙΩΤ ΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ ΕΤΤΑΛΗΛ .	My Father, the glad Light.
ΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ ΕΤΤΑΛΗΛ [ΠΠΑ]ΠΕΑΥ .	" " " , the glorious.
ΠΑΙΩΤ ΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ ΕΤΤΑΛΗΛ .	My Father, " " "
ΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ [ΕΤ]ΤΑΛΗΛ ΕΤΣΑΜΑΑΤ .	" " " , the blessed.
ΠΑΙΩΤ ΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ ΕΤΤΑΛΗΛ	My Father, " " "
ΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ ΕΤΤΑΛΗΛ ΕΤΤΑΙΑΙΤ .	" " " , the honoured.
ΑΥΤΩΣΜΕ ΝΝΑΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ	He evoked the Aeons of Light.
ΑΥΤΩΣΟΥ ΑΠΟΥΡΑΤ ΝΤΕΜΝ[Τ]ΝΑΒ .	he appointed them to the joy of his greatness.
ΑΥΤΩΣΜΕ ΝΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΤΕΙΡΗΝΗ	He evoked the Aeons of Peace
ΝΕΤΕ ΜΝΩΤΑ ΜΝΩΒΩΧΒΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ .	in whom there is no waning or diminution.
ΑΥΤΩΣΜΕ ΝΝΑΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΥΑΙΝΕ .	He evoked the Aeons of Light,
ΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΑΝΕΦΩΡΕ ΑΥΣΕΣΩΟΥ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ .	he summoned his sons and set them up in them.
ΑΥΤΩΣΜΕ ΝΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΤΕΙΡΗΝΗ .	He evoked the Aeons of Peace,
ΑΥ[Μ]ΟΥΤΕ ΑΝΕΦΜΝΤΡΕΜΑ ΑΥΣΕΣΩΟΥ	he summoned his Richnesses and set them up
[ΝΖΗ]ΤΟΥ	in them.

(203³-12)

The chain-wise arrangement of the first disticha, where the last words are the first of the next stichos, is also used in Mandaean poems, though the repetition as a rule is restricted to one word only. As an instance we may quote Mand. Lit., p. 151^{8ff.}:

(1) e.g. Mand. Lit., pp. 191^{6ff.}, 217^{5f.}. Cf. also the opening lines of Th. VIII (above, p. 137). — An antithetic parallelism between two stichoi is quoted above with a Coptic instance and a Mandaean one (p. 146).

לא תיפכו ו לא תישאנו	Do not distort, do not change me
לא תישאנו לאי ביאד	" " " " with the hand.
לא תיפכו ו לא תישאנו	Do not distort, " " " " ,
גובריא דקאלא דהייא שומא	ye men, who the cry of the Life have heard,
דשאמא קאלא דהייא	He who has heard the cry of the Life,
מיתבאנוניא מיתבאנאן	will be built up.
מיתבאנאן ומיזדאראן	He will be built up and armed,
והאילוה האויא להאר חרין	and his force will be doubled. ⁽¹⁾

(This type of composition is by no means restricted to Mandaean poetry only, and is of value for the comparative analysis only in connection with the other points of contact.)

To the other type, where the first stichoi of several disticha are identical or practically so, there are many Mandaean parallels, and it may suffice to quote two short passages:

Mand. Lit.
245, 154 f.

יאתאלאי זיוא	O thou, that hapest up Splendour,
שראניא דיווא תליבה	hang upon it lamps of Splendour.
יאתאלאי זיוא	O thou that hapest up Splendour,
שאמוכטיא דנהורא תליבה	hang upon it candles of Light.
	(Mand. Lit., p. 245)
עכא דויכנא לויכנאי	Many a one bought my goods,
ועכא דעתכאלאל ושכיב	many a one wrapped himself and lay down.
עכא דויכנא לויכנאי	Many a one bought my goods,
אינא באנהורא עתימליא	and his eyes with Light were filled.
	(Mand. Lit., p. 154 f.) ⁽²⁾

We may also here recall the fact that both in the Psalms of Thomas and in Mandaean poems we find the inverted type of this pattern, where the second stichos instead is repeated with a slight variation (above, p. 105f.).

(1) Cf. also e.g. *ibid.* p. 240.

(2) In the Right Ginza, p. 308 (Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, p. 309) we find AB A¹C A¹C, and *ibid.*, p. 32 AB AB² etc. ("The Angels of Brightness praise the King of Light// in the brightness and light which he has given them // — // The Angels of Brightness praise etc. // in the robes of brightness which he has given them // — // The Angels etc. // in the turbans of brightness which etc. // etc.").

AB B¹C

A variant of less value in this connection is the pattern AB B¹C (e.g. 204²⁵⁻²⁸, 206²⁻⁴), where the first stichos is parallel to the last stichos of the preceding distichon. It is found in Mandaean poetry, but also in the Manichaean Syriac poem quoted by Theodore bar Kōnay⁽¹⁾ and e.g. in the prologue of the Fourth Gospel.⁽²⁾ Thus it is a more widespread type,⁽³⁾ and not especially characteristic either of the Psalms of Thomas or of Mandaean poetry.

(1) cf. Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements*, p. 94, and the literature quoted there.

(2) cf. Reitzenstein - Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, p. 340.

(3) In fact, it is also used in Egyptian liturgical hymns, e.g. Chassinat, *Edfou VI*, 79^{5f.}; Drioton, *Le texte dramatique d'Edfou*, Le Caire 1948, p. 123.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE PSALMS OF THOMAS AND THE MANDAEAN PROBLEM.

1. THE COPTIC TEXTS AS A MEANS OF DATING MANDAEAN POEMS.

There are more types of such literary devices that are characteristic of the Psalms of Thomas as well as of the Mandaean poetry, but I think enough has been said to show that not only do we find Mandaean parallels or identical counterparts to different passages or notions characteristic of the Psalms of Thomas, but that also the whole literary type of these psalms belongs to the same group of poetry as the Mandaean poems. May it be stressed once more that these characteristics are very seldom met with in the other psalms of the published part of the Psalm-book, and that, on the other hand, we do not find them in this form in e.g. the Syriac Odes of Solomon. Thus it seems quite obvious to me that the Psalms of Thomas and the Mandaean poetry are very intimately linked up with one another. Either they both go back on an earlier source — but in that case a source containing the central part of the Mandaean notions and as such to be styled Mandaean or Pre-Mandaean — or one of the two groups is more or less directly derived from the other. Can the Mandaean poems claim the priority, and if so, how should we explain that it is practically only the Psalms of Thomas that have made use of these prototypes?

Let us first recall some chief data with regard to the Coptic and Mandaean texts.

The Coptic Manichaean papyri were dated by Schmidt to the second half of the 4th century, but they are perhaps of a slightly later date. The MS of the Psalm-book is probably the oldest one, since a second scribe, who is responsible for some pages and a few additions and correc-

Date of
the Coptic
text

tions, has an idiom which is to be found in the Homilies and the Kephalaia. Allberry thinks "that the Psalm-book was written about 340" (pp. xix f.) — a date that applies only to the whole collection as such, not to its different elements.

As pointed out by Allberry (pp. xix f., 203, n. 1), the Thomas to whom the Psalms of Thomas are ascribed is certainly Mani's disciple of that name. We have no reason whatsoever to assume a secondary tradition of the same kind as when Cyrillus Hierosolymites and Petrus Siculus credit the Manichaeian Thomas with the Evangile of Thomas.⁽¹⁾

Since Mani died c. 276 A.D., and Thomas was one of his first disciples, there is perhaps not even a century between the death of Thomas and the date of our MS. The Psalm-book was presumably translated into Coptic from a Syriac version with the aid of a Greek version⁽²⁾ already in the 4th century. Among Christians a false tradition with regard to the Manichaeian Thomas is easy to understand, but that the Manichaeians themselves after so short a time should ascribe a group of psalms to the wrong author is hardly probable. If they had credited Mani himself with these texts, we should, of course, be more cautious, but Thomas does not seem to have played a sufficient rôle in the history of Manichaeism for the psalms to have gained much more esteem by being wrongly ascribed to him. Hence I am convinced that the original version of the Psalms of Thomas was composed by Mani's disciple and should consequently be dated to the last quarter of the 3rd century.

Date of
the Man-
daean
texts

The Mandaean books in their present form were compiled in the 8th century, but this date only applies to the last compiler who assembled different Mandaean texts of a very heterogeneous character into these

(1) Migne, PG 33, 593 f. with note 2. Cf. Alfaro, *Écritures Manich.* II, pp. 184 f.

(2) cf. my article in *Bull. Byz. Inst.* 1948. To the arguments adduced there may be added the fact that whereas the Coptic version retains the original metre of the Syriac original, e.g. the prosody of the OT poetry, translated from the LXX without recurrence to the Hebrew text, is as a rule very spoilt in the Coptic translation.

books, Ginzā, Drashē dMalkē, etc. This compilation was probably made in Southern Babylonia, where we still find the Mandaean sect. There can be no doubt that the Mandaean texts are of a far older date, at least large sections of them. Some of the chief indications may be mentioned here.⁽¹⁾

Lidzbarski has published a Mandaean amulet containing the chief traits of the Mandaean myth, and these lead tablets date at the latest from about 400 A.D.⁽²⁾ If the specific Mandaean myth was used for magical purposes at that time, we are justified in assuming that it existed, probably in written form, already in the 4th century.

Reitzenstein⁽³⁾ has stressed another fact that with certainty indicates an early date of Mandaean tradition, viz. the expression in the death mass of the Valentinians *σκευός εἰμι ἔντιμον* which is derived from the Mandaean "I am a Mānā (= vessel)", the initial words of all the poems of the Second Book of the Left Ginzā (cf. above p. 129). Since this is mentioned by Ireneus (I 21,5: *vas ego sum pretiosum*) who died c. 190 A.D., it brings the nucleus of Mandaean religion — the *massiqtā* — back to the 2nd century, even if we cannot for that reason assign the whole of the Second Book of the Left Ginzā to that date.

Already Pognon⁽⁴⁾ had shown the close resemblance between the Left Ginzā, pp. 46 f., and Fihrist's and Theodore bar Kōnay's Manichaean myth of Adam who awakes and curses his creator. Whereas Pognon interpreted this as a proof of a Mandaean loan from Manichaeism, Reitzenstein⁽⁵⁾ has claimed that both versions independently make use of an Iranian text, which would indicate a dating to the first half of the 3rd century.

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- (1) Cf. the excellent exposé of the Mandaean problem by Schlier in *Theol. Rundschau* NF 5, 1933, pp. 1 - 34, 69 - 92, with references to the relevant literature up to that date; Schweizer, *Ego eimi*, pp. 46 ff.
 - (2) *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé*, p. 350; *ZNW* 27, 1928, p. 325; cf. Schlier, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 f.
 - (3) *Das mand. Buch des Herrn der Grösse*, pp. 85 ff.
 - (4) *Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khouabir*, Paris 1898/9, pp. 253 f.
 - (5) *op. cit.* pp. 90 ff. — In Theodore bar Kōnay's version, Jesus is said to have raised Adam on his feet (cf. Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements*, p. 123). Then Adam

These data are more or less generally accepted as indicating an early date of Mandaean or Pre-Mandaean tradition. But Reitzenstein went still further and tried to show i.a. that the Mandaean texts were intimately connected with, and in some cases served as prototypes to, the oldest Christian texts, espec. the Fourth Gospel, and that Christian baptism was dependent on a Mandaean prototype. This, in combination with Lidzbarski's thesis that the Mandaeans had migrated into Babylonia from the Valley of Jordan, where they should be connected somehow with John the Baptist, made the Mandaean problem of essential interest to all students of early Christianity, and resulted in what Goguel⁽¹⁾ has called "une sorte de fièvre mandéenne".

There has been a strong reaction against this over-estimation of the Mandaean texts,⁽²⁾ but nobody will deny that they may serve as what Windisch⁽³⁾ has called a kind of Oriental commentary to the New Testament and that the Mandaean — or let us call it Pre-mandaean — tradition goes back at least to an earlier date than Mani. This is perhaps also demonstrated by the fact that the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-book contains a hymn

awakes and curses his creator. This corresponds to Ginza's version:

"... Until they threw me into the body
and Adam was standing on his feet
Adam was standing on his feet
and sleep was overpowering him.
When Adam was standing on his feet
he cursed the man, his creator."

Both Reitzenstein and Lidzbarski regard the distichon

"Adam was standing on his feet
and sleep was overpowering him"

as a later interpolation, but in Th. VI we also find the notion that the man is standing already before he awakes (cf. above, p. 133).

- (1) cf. Schlier, op. cit., p. 4.
- (2) Cf. e.g. Puech, *Hist. Gén. des Religions* 3, p. 82 who summarizes the criticism with the following conclusion: "Ces objections ont fortement ébranlé le prestige mandéen. Dépouillé de son antiquité, le mandéisme n'apparaissait plus que comme une gnose postérieure non seulement à la naissance du christianisme, mais encore aux autres gnosticismes des hérésiologues anciens." He adds, however, that this is by no means the final solution of the problem (cf. below). — Cf. also Puech, *Le Prince des Ténèbres en son Royaume* (Études Carmélitaines 27:2, "Satan", Paris 1948), p. 141, n. 1.
- (3) *Der Hebräerbrief*, 1931, preface.

to the Saviour Sethel (cf. above, p. 82).

Consequently, the late date of the Mandaean books in their present form in no way indicates that priority should for that reason be claimed for the Manichaean version, whenever we find the same text used by Mandaans and Manichaeans.

Apart from the Mandaean parallel to the Adam-text, Brandt⁽¹⁾ had stressed the close resemblance between the Mandaean description of the Ruler of the Dark in the Right Ginza, p. 280, and Fihrist's description of the Manichaean Evil Power, but this word-for-word parallelism is rather due to an identity of the religious notion in question than to the use of the same literary form. The numerous other points of contact between Manichaean and Mandaean texts that have so far been pointed out by different scholars⁽²⁾ are more or less all of the same character. A theme or a special motive is identical in both groups, but nobody to my knowledge has been able to show a parallelism of the kind we have found in the Psalms of Thomas, i.e. a word-for-word correspondence in passages where the contents do not forcibly induce the poet to arrange the different elements in the way in which it is done.

Affinity
of Mani-
chaeans and
Mandaean
motives.

If we compare the other psalms of the Coptic Psalm-book with the Mandaean texts, we may often find a general resemblance with regard to certain motives and religious notions,⁽³⁾ but hardly ever such a parallelism also with regard to the literary form as we find in the Psalms of Thomas.

Whereas the other psalms deal with many different motives and show a rich variety of literary forms, the twenty Psalms of Thomas are a very homogeneous group, with regard both to the literary form and to the contents. Practically all of them show a type of poetry characteristic of

Priority
of the
Mandaean
versions.

(1) Mand. Schriften, p. 226; cf. Widengren, Mesopotamian Elements, pp. 31 f., and Fuech, Le Prince des Ténèbres en son Royaume.

(2) cf. e.g. Schweizer, Ego eimi, 1939, p. 57, nn. 101 ff. and the literature quoted there; Widengren, op. cit., passim.

(3) cf. e.g. those adduced by Widengren, op. cit.

the Mandaean compositions, and are connected with the battle between the Light and the Darkness, which serves as a background to the chief motive — the ascension of the soul, the massiqtā of the Mandaeans. That motive is, of course, of central importance both to Manichaeans and Mandaeans, but the whole literary form is of another character in the other psalms. Moreover, the more special notions connected with it in the Psalms of Thomas have closer parallels in the Mandaean texts than have the other psalms.

Thus, the Psalms of Thomas stand apart from the other Manichaean psalms, ⁽¹⁾ but they closely fit in with the central part of the Mandaean poetry, that dealing with the massiqtā. It would seem very strange if this little group of texts (25 pages in all out of 227 published pages) should to such an extent — especially from a formal point of view — have influenced Mandaean poetry, whereas it is quite plausible that a separate group of Manichaean psalms may very well have been composed in Mandaean style.

Some traits may be recapitulated here which for other reasons seem to favour the view that priority is due to the Mandaean versions.

The enumeration of the limbs or senses in Th. XVIII and at 150^{20ff.}, to which there are some parallels in other Manichaean texts, shows a closer affinity to the Mandaean versions of that theme than to these Manichaean parallels. Here we have a comparative material from other Manichaean sources that seems to demonstrate that the purely Manichaean form differs from that used in our psalms. ⁽²⁾ Th. XIII (above p. 119ff.) shows some secondary alterations of the version found in Mand. Lit., pp. 190, 194. Similarly the latter part of Th. XII is apparently a secondary adaptation of the Mandaean version in order to suit the context when it was used in combination with another theme. We sometimes find rather typical

(1) What little I have seen of the unpublished part of the Psalm-book, seems to corroborate this view.

(2) It is true that one such passage occurs in the 1st chapter of the Right Ginza, the dogma of the King of the Light, more or less unanimously assigned to a late date. But, as stressed by Schou Pedersen (cf. below, p. 162, n. 2), this moral codex may well be of an earlier date and may only secondarily have been combined with the later stratum.

Mandaean notions such as "the Dark Mountain", or motives such as the dialogue with $\tau\mu\omicron\varsigma$, "the Mother of this world" (= Namrūs?), and several typical passages occurring many times in Mandaean literature but in Manichaean texts only in the Psalms of Thomas. Other passages are fully comprehensible only when combined with Mandaean parallels.

For these reasons, I think we must claim priority for the Mandaean version in practically all the cases adduced above in which we find a close resemblance between Mandaean text and a passage in the Psalms of Thomas — and I have little doubt that other students of these texts will be able to find several other parallels in the numerous Mandaean texts.

Whether we want to call that poetry which furnished the prototypes to the Psalms of Thomas "Mandaean" or "Pre-Mandaean", is less important. It is rather a matter of taste whether we want to reserve the term "Mandaean" exclusively for the very latest phase with all its additional details, without taking into consideration if the later additions do at all change the essential character of the religion. But of the utmost importance for the "Mandaean" problem, as it is defined e.g. by Puech,⁽¹⁾ is the fact that an analysis of the Psalms of Thomas demonstrates the existence of a poetry which could furnish such prototypes, and that this poetry had all the decisive characteristics of the Mandaean poetical literature such as we find it in the most important parts of the preserved Mandaean books. And in view of the rather complicated poetical form, we may

(1) op. cit., pp. 82 f.: "Il se pourrait fort bien que le mandéisme proprement dit soit une secte bâtarde et d'apparition récente et qu'on ait eu tort de le projeter tel quel ou sous ce nom aux premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne. Mais la naissance du mandéisme comme religion définie, groupe distinct, doit moins importer au savant que l'analyse et la chronologie des sources dont les influences combinées ont, par la suite, provoqué cette naissance. C'est ce prémandéisme, ou, plus exactement, ce sont les éléments prémandéens qui donnent toute leur importance aux documents conservés. - - - Il est, notamment, permis d'admettre que les Mandéens sont, pour une large part, les héritiers de ces vieux groupements baptistes des bords de l'Euphrate dont, avant eux et de son côté, Jean a bien pu, directement ou indirectement, procéder et qu'ont connus sous des noms divers Mani dans sa jeunesse et, plus tard, les auteurs syriens et arabes - - - De toute façon, par sa préhistoire, le mandéisme peut et doit connaître un renouveau de faveur dans l'histoire des religions. Il reste, au sens plein du mot, un 'problème ouvert'". — Cf. also Schlier, op. cit., p. 71.

even be justified in assuming that these parts to which we find counterparts in the Psalms of Thomas, already existed in a written form in the 3rd century.

One of the chief difficulties when it comes to an analysis and a comparative study of the Mandaean texts — and hence to a solution of the Mandaean problem — is to separate the older and the younger strata in this very heterogeneous literature.⁽¹⁾ In this connection the new possibilities of dating passages with the aid of the Manichaean Psalms of Thomas are of no little value. For if we find a parallel between a Mandaean text and a Psalm of Thomas, and the characteristics of that passage are to be found in these two groups exclusively, we have strong reason to assert — despite the comparatively scanty amount of early Syrian poetry from other religions — that the text in question is of "Mandaean" origin and belongs to a stratum in the Mandaean books to be dated before the last quarter of the 3rd century.⁽²⁾

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- (1) Cf. Schlier, *op. cit.*, p. 18: "Denn solange die verschiedenen Schichten der m. Ueberlieferung nicht geschieden sind, wird man immer im Ungewissen darüber bleiben, ob eventuelle Parallelen zu urchristlichen Schriften für deren Aufhellung verwendbar sind." p. 19: "So wird ein anderer Weg, der das Alter und die religionsgeschichtliche Umgebung der m. Tradition festzustellen versucht, um so dringender zu empfehlen sein: der religionsgeschichtliche Vergleich mit solchen Schriften, deren Alter und Abfassungsort ungefähr bekannt ist, und die von sich aus Berührungen mit m. Vorstellungen und m. Sprechweise aufweisen." — p. 92: "Damit ist die Hauptaufgabe in bezug auf die Mandäerfrage schon ausgesprochen: 'die literarische (und ich füge hinzu: die religions-, traditions-, und formgeschichtliche) Analyse' (Bultmann) der m. Schriften." Cf. also Schou Pedersen, *Bidrag til en Analyse af de Mand. Skrifter*, Aarhus 1940, preface.
- (2) Schou Pedersen, *Bidrag til en Analyse af de mandaiske Skrifter*, has tried to distinguish and date the different strata in the Mandaean literature through a literary analysis of the texts without recurrence to comparative evidence, and without correlating the oldest strata found by that method with other data of history of religion — thus quite the opposite method to that recommended by Schlier. It is certainly a very difficult method to use, and one the results of which will hardly ever be generally accepted as established facts. Since he chiefly deals in detail with other texts than those to which we have found direct parallels in the Psalms of Thomas, I have no cause to censure his method or results. Our comparative analysis seems, however, to support his view that the moral codex should not be assigned to a late stratum (cf. above, pp. 100 ff.), and that the *massiqtas* of the left Ginza II and III belong to the older parts of the texts. With regard to Sethel, Schou Pedersen has rightly deduced that he must be regarded as one of the older *mythologoumena* (p. 197 f.), but he is probably wrong in believing that Sethel as a more independent Saviour, not directly subordinated to Mandā dHayyē, should only appear at a comparatively late date (p. 220; cf. the Coptic hymn to "our Saviour Sethel", above, pp. 81f.).

It is interesting to note that this comparative analysis not only demonstrates the pre-Manichaeian date of nearly all the motives connected with the massiqṭā, especially in the form in which we find them in the Left Ginza II and III — books which have already been supposed to belong to the older strata of Mandaean literature — but also of many other passages, as e.g. the parables used in a parenese (220^{1ff.}) which would otherwise be very difficult to date from their contents only.

Of course, nothing more of the Mandaean text than just the passage to which the parallel in the Psalms of Thomas applies can be dated in this way. Our analysis has shown that the same text may be used in quite different contexts, and an older phrase may hence very well be used in combination with younger elements. This, of course, makes an analysis based on internal evidence still more difficult and uncertain.

2. A CRITERION OF THE WESTERN ORIGIN OF MANDAEISM.

The Psalms of Thomas may perhaps also contribute to the solution of the other much disputed question connected with the Mandaean problem, viz. the alleged western origin of Mandaism. This question may be associated with the problem of why of all the Coptic Manichaeian psalms practically only the Psalms of Thomas show a Mandaean affinity.

As stated above, there can be little doubt that the author of these psalms is identical with Mani's disciple Thomas. What then do we know about this Thomas?

Thomas and
the Syrian
mission.

According to Acta Archelai, Mani had three disciples, Thomas, Addas and Hermas or Hermias. Even before he had given his religion its final form, Mani sent Thomas to Egypt and Addas to Scythia to make converts there, whereas he kept Hermias with him. When the two disciples returned and reported their lack of success, especially among the Christians, they

were sent out again (according to Epiphanius, Panarion Haeres. 66, 5, 1ff. to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem) in order to buy the Christian scriptures, which were then inserted in a changed form into Mani's holy books. ⁽¹⁾

In Acta Archelai we furthermore learn that Mani entrusted all his teaching, omnis doctrina (πᾶσαν τὴν διδασκαλίαν), to his three disciples, and sent them out as missionaries, Addas to the East, Thomas to Syria, and Hermeias to Egypt, "and until this day they are dwelling there in order to preach this dogma". ⁽²⁾

These statements are sometimes regarded as being contradictory, since Thomas is once said to have gone to Egypt, and once to Syria, but the text obviously refers to different voyages, and Thomas's final destination as missionary was, according to this text, Syria.

Epiphanius (Panarion Haeres. 66, 5 and 31) quotes Acta Archelai, but adds (66, 12) the statement that Thomas preached Manichaeism in Judaea (ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν) and Addas ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη (= Syria?, or should we read ἀνατολικά = "Eastern"?).

Theodoretos ⁽³⁾ gives about the same version: τὸν μὲν Ἀλδᾶν Σύροις ἀπέστειλε κήρυκα, Ἰνδοῖς δὲ τὸν Θωμᾶν — the latter presumably a mistake for Judaea, easy to understand because the Christian Apostle Thomas went to India according to a tradition preserved i.a. in the Manichaean Psalm-book.

However, Alexander Lycopolitanus ⁽⁴⁾ tells us that Papos, Thomas and others after them were the men who became the "exegets" of Manichaeism in Egypt. Since the Psalms of Thomas have been found in Egypt, this version may seem plausible, but it could just as well allude to the first voyage mentioned in the Acta Archelai. ⁽⁵⁾

(1) Acta Archelai, ed. Beeson, p. 93.

(2) Ibid., p. 22, 3 ff.

(3) Haeret. Fab. I, 26; Migne PG 83, 380 f.

(4) Ed. Brinkmann 4, 19.

(5) Puech, Hist. Gén. des Rel. 3, 113 only mentions Thomas as the Manichaean apostle of Egypt together with Addā(s) and Pâtegh who were in Egypt and Alexandria between 244 and 261.

It must be admitted that these traditions are somewhat contradictory, but it seems quite certain that Thomas preached Manichaeism in Syria and possibly also in Palestine.

Now, Schaeder and others⁽¹⁾ have stressed the fact that Mani's religion was adapted to local conditions, especially with regard to its literary and symbolical language. Thus if Thomas was preaching Manichaeism in Syria and Palestine, we may assume that, if this method was adopted there too, he preached in a form and with a special local colouring which was more comprehensible and sounded more familiar to the westerners of the Orient. This would be quite in line with the adaptability of Manichaeism which did not rigidly impose an unchangeable literary, symbolical or dogmatic form. Now, we find that the characteristics of the Psalms of Thomas are those typical of Mandaean poetry. It is therefore tempting to assume that these psalms were written in a milieu of Mandaean affinity and were composed in a form familiar to proselytes from such a sect.

There is a tradition among the Mandaeans that their original home is not Babylonia, and that once a sect in Jerusalem was of the same creed.⁽²⁾ Lidzbarski has adduced many other facts that point to a western origin:⁽³⁾ their alphabet is intimately connected with the Nabataean one, many religious terms and geographical names (e.g. the gods Haurān - Hauraran, the river Jordan as the place of baptism) are derived from Syria and Palestine, and their own denomination of their adherents, נצוראייא, may be connected with an Aramaic sect with a similar name in Palestine, etc. Lagrange⁽⁴⁾ has then assumed that the Mandaeans emigrated to Babylonia when the Emperor Theodosius expelled the Manichaeans and the heretical sects from the Roman empire, in 425 A.D.

Internal evidence of a western origin.

(1) Cf. Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements*, pp. 11 f.

(2) E.S. Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*, Oxford 1937, pp. 5 ff.; cf. Lidzbarski, *Johannesbuch*, p. xviii; *Ginzā*, pp. viii ff.; *ZNW* 26, 1927, p. 74.

(3) cf. Schlier, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 ff.

(4) cf. *ibid.*, p. 24.

Most scholars agree that the Mandaeans are strangers in Babylonia, but the hypothesis of their western origin is no longer generally accepted.⁽¹⁾ It is of course a priori not quite excluded that Thomas may have been under the influence of some Mandaean or Pre-Mandaean sect of baptizers already in Babylonia. But it seems to be much easier to explain the Mandaean character of his psalms (which were probably written after he had left Babylonia and had started his preaching in Syria and Palestine, towards the end of Mani's life and also after the death of his master), if we return to the view of Lidzbarski and many other scholars that the Mandaeans lived in those western tracts before they migrated into Babylonia.

Despite the hypothetical character of some of my deductions, I think the Psalms of Thomas shed some new light on the intrinsic Mandaean problem. I leave it to more competent scholars to judge my results, and, if they accept them, to follow up this line.

(1) cf. Puech, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

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