

consists of the *Psalms to Jesus*,¹ the first group of the *Psalms of Heracleides*,² and some miscellaneous psalms following these two groups.³ All are apparently intended, like the Parthian hymns, for use at the funerals of the Elect; and by far the greater number are cast in the same dramatic form, being spoken by the soul of the dead monk or nun.⁴ In them too it is made plain that the soul has already left the body, 'the abode of Darkness that is full of fear'.⁵ The 'hour of going forth from the body'⁶ is almost invariably represented as one of terror and distress, the time 'of the great trouble',⁷ the 'hour of need'.⁸ The soul, struggling to bear up 'beneath the alarm of death',⁹ seeks help desperately from the foes around it—'a merciless crowd like vultures'.¹⁰ The seven demons are spoken of repeatedly;¹¹ and the soul appeals also from wild beasts,¹² traps,¹³ and the powers of heaven and earth, seeking to submerge it.¹⁴ These appeals are never in vain. The Saviour comes, bringing comfort and protection.¹⁵ 'The seven fearful demons' leave the soul, 'their foul hands also empty of (its) blood';¹⁶ it utters praises to its redeemer,¹⁷ and having received the symbols of victory ascends to Paradise, there to become 'divine again even as (it) was'.¹⁸

The resemblance is striking between these psalms and those represented in M 4; and since the two groups of texts are the products of communities so geographically remote as the Parthian and Coptic Churches, it is safe to assume that they represent a common pattern of funeral hymn, originating in the earliest days of Manichaeism. This assumption is supported by the fact that there are marked similarities between these hymns and those of Mandaicism, a religion which appears to have developed in the same area as Manichaeism, and to have shared with it some of the

¹ See C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, ii, pp. 49-97.

² *Ibid.* 97-108.

³ *Ibid.* 111-113.

⁴ There are exceptions. In Psalms cclviii and cclxxix the living address the soul; Psalm ccliv celebrates the triumphant virtue of Mani himself, and Psalm cclxv is largely hortatory. Psalm ccl may be meant for the dying rather than the dead. These constitute a handful of exceptions to the general type.

⁵ *Ps. Bk.*, 55²⁰.

⁶ *Ibid.* 66¹⁹⁻²⁰.

⁷ *Ibid.* 49⁸.

⁸ *Ibid.* 49⁶⁻⁷, 84⁹⁻¹⁰, 93¹⁻².

⁹ *Ibid.* 62⁹.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 61²³. (G. Widengren has quoted this passage, and others from funerary psalms, but without seeking to elucidate the context. See his *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism*, p. 55.)

¹¹ e.g. *ibid.* 84²¹⁻²², 108¹⁷⁻²⁹.

¹² *Ibid.* 66²¹.

¹³ *Ibid.* 69²⁴.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 51²⁴⁻²⁵.

¹⁵ e.g. *ibid.* 50¹⁸⁻²⁰, 53²¹⁻²⁶, 93²⁵.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 103³⁰.

¹⁷ e.g. *ibid.* 107²⁶⁻²⁷.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 58²⁸.

same formative influences.¹ Considerable collections of Mandaean funeral texts have survived,² some of which have already been considered by Reitzenstein in connexion with the Parthian material.³ The texts are more varied in character than the surviving Manichaean ones, and their use is not always restricted to the celebration of death alone.⁴ Those which most closely resemble the Manichaean begin when the soul has already left the body, and is waiting in loneliness and fear for a redeemer to lead it to Paradise.⁵ The majority share two important characteristics with the Manichaean hymns: they are dramatic in form, being attributed largely to the soul; and their dominant theme is the ascent of the soul to Paradise after it leaves the body.

The ascent of the soul after death held a place of paramount importance in the older gnostic religions,⁶ in which it was enacted ritually both for the preparation of the living and the furtherance of the dead. From what has survived of their liturgical writings it appears that in these religions the ascent was an ordeal to be surmounted only by the initiate dead; the seven malignant planets barred the soul's upward path, and could be rendered powerless only by a set form of words. If this trial by knowledge were surmounted, a test of virtue followed; but virtue without esoteric knowledge was useless.⁷ The ascent of the soul is similarly represented as an ordeal in a number of the Mandaean *masqātā*,⁸

¹ A brief reference to this similarity has been made recently by T. Sävö-Söderbergh in his *Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book*. This work is devoted almost entirely to the 'Psalms of Thomas', which are believed by Prof. Polotsky to be Mandaean writings incorporated in the *Psalm-Book*, and not therefore relevant to our consideration of Manichaean funeral literature. Of the *Psalms to Jesus* the author says that they 'were in all probability used at a cultic ceremony corresponding to the Mandaean death mass' (op cit., p. 86).

² The chief collections are in the *Left Ginza* and the second section of the *Qolastā*.

³ See *Erl. Myst.*, ch. ii.

⁴ See, for example, the instructions to officiating priests, Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, p. 505; *Qolastā*, pp. 69, 110. For the varied use of the *masqātā* today see E. S. Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*, index s.v.

⁵ See, for example, Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, pp. 516-34, 538-47, 564-6.

⁶ It has been contended that this doctrine of the ascent was both the central point of Gnosticism and the common factor of its many sects; see W. Anz, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnostizismus*, pp. 1-58.

⁷ It is expressly said in the *Pistis Sophia* that a virtuous man cannot attain heaven without a knowledge of the mysteries (ch. 103; see C. Schmidt's translation, 2nd ed., p. 192, ll. 23-29); whereas a sinful man can be rescued from the damnation he deserves if a mystery be said for him after death (ch. 108; Schmidt, pp. 201-2).

⁸ e.g. Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, pp. 444-52, 479-82, 578-82.

whose recitation was likewise regarded as itself aiding the soul's passage.¹ The Manichaean funeral literature represents a different system of belief, according to which gnosis had to bear fruit within this life. Virtue, it was taught by Mani, depended on an understanding of the principles of Light and Darkness; but this understanding, although it saved the enlightened from sin, could not compensate, before or after death, for sin committed. Good actions, not words, secured a passage heavenwards for the soul:

They wait not for a defence, to teach how to answer, on this day,
but he that has a good deed, let him put his trust in his deeds.²

The ascent was not, therefore, an ordeal, but a triumph, which no living man could help or hinder. The Manichaean funeral hymns could not, accordingly, be regarded as potent in themselves to help the dead.

Doctrinal differences have not, however, affected the formal likeness of the Manichaean funeral literature to the Mandaean; nor have they abolished from it vestiges of what are still realities in the Mandaean liturgy—the enemies that flock round even the virtuous soul, and the watchposts of the hostile planets along its heavenward way.³

A dramatic form is found also in the two Parthian hymn-cycles. The similarities in form and content between them and the short funeral psalms are immediately evident. Dissimilarities exist also, some of which may be attributed merely to the difference in scale of the works. The most striking of them, however, is a divergence in attitude toward the soul. In the majority of the funeral psalms the souls are treated as ethical entities, conscious of the existence they have just left and of their moral achievements within it, and still attached to their 'brethren' and 'parents of the flesh' whom they exhort not to mourn.⁴ In the *handām* texts the soul is an innocent and passive member of the exiled Light, and humanity is overwhelmed by an impersonal grandeur. Youth and age, family and friends have no place there. The soul is 'out of humanity's reach, and must finish (its) journey alone' amid the falling of worlds and shattering of nature's laws.

The contrast is sufficiently marked to appear at first a counterpoise to the many resemblances between the two sets of texts. Yet

¹ See W. Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, p. 82; Anz, op. cit., p. 73, n. 1.

² *Ps. Bk.*, 81²⁸⁻³⁰.

³ See below, p. 97 v. 6 with n. 1.

⁴ See, for example, *Ps. Bk.* 88¹⁶⁻¹⁷; 58¹⁶⁻¹⁸.

there is one Coptic psalm in which a similar treatment of the soul is maintained throughout.¹ This psalm is so important for comparison with the hymn-cycles that it is quoted here in full:

Come to me, my kinsman, the Light, my guide.

... my soul, bear up: thou hast thy Saviour:

thy defence is Christ, for he will receive thee into his Kingdom.

Since I went forth into the darkness I was given a water to drink which

... me. I bear up beneath a burden which is not my own.

I am in the midst of my enemies, the beasts surrounding me;

the burden which I bear is of the powers and principalities.

They burned (?) in their wrath, they rose up against me, they ran

to ... me, like sheep that have no shepherd.

Matter and her sons divided me up amongst them, they

burnt (?) me in their fire, they gave me a bitter likeness.

The strangers with whom I mixed, me they know

not; they tasted my sweetness, they desired to keep me with them.

I was life to them, but they were death to

me; I bore up beneath them, they wore me as a garment upon them.

I am in everything, I bear the skies, I am the foundation, I support the

earths, I am the Light that shines forth, that gives joy to souls.

I am the life of the world: I am the milk that is in all

trees: I am the sweet water that is beneath the sons of Matter.

... I went forth to the ...

... the Aeons ... they sent me forth to the ...

I bore these things until I had fulfilled the will of my Father;

the First Man is my father whose will I have carried out.

Lo, the Darkness I have subdued; lo, the fire of the fountains I have

extinguished it, as the Sphere turns hurrying round, as the sun receives

the refined part of life.

O soul, raise thy eyes to the height and contemplate thy bond ...

... thou hast reached it; lo, thy Fathers are calling thee.

Now go aboard the Ships of Light and receive thy garland

of glory and return to thy kingdom and rejoice with all the Aeons.

Glory and honour to our Lord Mani and his

holy Elect and the soul of the blessed Mary.²

¹ Psalm ccxlv.

² *Ps. Bk.* 54-55.

The first few lines and the last of this psalm suggest that it was composed for the death of one of the Elect. It follows the pattern of the other funerary texts, beginning with an appeal to the Saviour, and ending with the soul's ascent in triumph. But the body of the psalm is not devoted to the dead man's life and virtues: his little existence is merged instead into that of Light as a whole. Since the world began, the Light which makes up his soul has been exiled from its home, suffering amid matter; at its release through death, it rejoices. The treatment is impressive. The psalm does not evoke the human sympathies touched by some of the others; but by dissolving the bonds of personal existence, it awakes a sense of awe and humility before the greatness of the divine struggle.

This short work gives a key to the understanding of the extensive hymn-cycles, in which the treatment of the soul appears to be the same. This treatment involves necessarily the conception of 'the saved Saviour'. The god addresses the soul both as his redeemer and the one he has come to redeem.¹ A few similar passages occur in the Coptic psalms.²

We know little as yet of Manichaean ritual, and to speculate about the liturgical use of the hymns is largely unprofitable. It is known from the *Hymnscroll* that the first canto of *Huwīdagmān* was sometimes detached from the rest of the cycle, and that its first verse was used in congregation as a response.³ This canto is complete in itself, however, and being unusually joyous must have lent itself to general and independent use. There is a possibility that the hymn-cycles, like the Mandaean *masqātā*, were used for other liturgical purposes as well as the celebration of death; but there is no evidence for this, or for Reitzenstein's attractive theory that they consisted of twelve cantos, one for each hour of the day of celebration. All that can be said with probability is that they were primarily intended for the funeral-services of the Elect, whose deaths were thereby celebrated in a manner which was partly symbolic, so that they typified also the final redemption of Light.

The relationship between the hymn-cycle *Angad Rōšnān* and the *angad rōšnānī* hymns of M 4 remains regrettably obscure. Further

¹ See, for example, *A.R.* VI 9, 21, 56 (the soul as redeemer); and *ibid.* 31-33, 43-45 (the god as redeemer). The alternation led both Reitzenstein and Lentz to suppose the words of the god a dialogue.

² e.g. *Ps. Bk.* 75⁵, 86²⁷, 87¹⁸⁻²⁴. (In the last passage, l. 20, Prof. Polotsky emends the translation to 'The Father, the King of the crowns—I left him, [I] being pure from . . .').

³ See *BSOAS.* xi, p. 209, vv. 351-2.

evidence seems necessary before this can be decided, or M 4 interpreted as a whole.

III. THE GOAL OF THE DEPARTED SPIRIT AND THE IDENTITY OF THE SAVIOUR

As funeral texts the hymn-cycles are concerned with the fate of the righteous dead; and if they were wholly preserved, they would doubtless furnish a full exposition of Manichæan doctrine on it. Even as they are, they provide some useful evidence for an obscure point, namely the immediate goal of the departed spirit. This is a matter which has created some conflict of opinion among scholars. Jackson in his monograph on the fate of the soul¹ assumed—ignoring any other possibility—that the soul went straight to the Eternal Paradise; and to this Waldschmidt and Lentz gave their considered assent:

Das 'ewige Lichtreich' ist das Ziel der individuellen Erlösung. Im Gegensatz dazu steht das 'neue Lichtreich'. . . . Dies ist ein Wohnsitz der kosmogonischen Götter.²

Polotsky, however, stated that the soul went after death to the New Paradise.³ That the matter was one of some complexity even for Manichæans is shown by a question about it which survives in a Sogdian fragment.⁴ This runs as follows:

[The seventy-first] question thus: 'When a second time they will have been created afresh in perfection by the Great King, then in which land will their kingship secondly be? Will it be in the Real Paradise together with the Great King, or in the New Paradise?'

Unfortunately only the preliminaries of the answer survive; and the problem has therefore to be decided on other evidence.

The New Paradise, created by the Great Builder,⁵ was made

¹ A. V. W. Jackson, 'A Sketch of the Manichæan Doctrine concerning the Future Life', *J.AOS.*, vol. I, No. 3, pp. 177-98.

² W.-L. ii, p. 530 n. to 147 d.

³ *Abriss*, p. 261.

⁴ M 591. I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. Gershevitch. For the reading and translation given here I am indebted to Prof. Henning. The text is as follows:

R (1) oo (oo) [XX XX XX XI myq] (2) wprš w'nw kṭ c'nw (c)[n] (3) mzyx 'xšywnyy pṭnwyy (4) δβtyk prw 'spty'q (5) sfrytyṭ wβ'nd o pṭs'r (6) š(n) 'xš'wn δβtyq prw (7) kṭ'm z'y βwtk'm o (8) 'stnyy wštm'xy mzyx (9) 'xšywnyy o pry(w) βwtṭ k'(m) (10) qṭ'r nwyw wštm'xyy (11) oo oo.

⁵ See *Mir. Man.* i, pp. 184-5, and p. 184, n. 1 with references.

from the Eternal Paradise, to which it is to be restored at the end of the world.¹ It shares therefore the nature of the Eternal Paradise, with which it is consubstantial. In its separate existence only is it temporary; and its inhabitants, who will return with it at the end to the Paradise of Light, may be said already to enjoy in it the sweetness of eternal life.²

The function of the New Paradise most clearly stated is that of a resting-place for the redeeming gods, who are banished from the Eternal Paradise during their struggle to recover the lost Light. The purpose of this banishment is to secure the unbroken peace of the World of Light. At the end of the world the redeeming gods retire to the New Paradise together with its king, the First Man,³ and rest there with their attendant divinities and the last particles of rescued Light.⁴ Thereafter they return to the Eternal Paradise, and once more behold the Father of Greatness.⁵

In several places it is stated that the Light which remains imprisoned until the end of the world will ascend as the 'Last Man' to the New Paradise, and go thence by the side of the 'First Man' into the presence of the Father.⁶ The problem is whether this was the course travelled by all particles of redeemed Light, or whether the souls rescued before *frašēgird* returned directly to the Eternal Kingdom.

In Parthian and Middle Persian the New Paradise is called *whyšt rwšn*, *nwg (nw'g) šhr* and *nwg (nw'g) šhr'n*.⁷ There are a number of references to it as the goal of the dead, of which the following will suffice as examples:

I reverence you, O God; forgive my sins, save my soul, lead it up to the New Paradise!⁸

'The souls will go to the Light, they will put on the body of the Father. They will be in glory within the New Aeon for ever and ever.'⁹

¹ See *Mir. Man.* iii, a 85-90.

² See *Hymnscroll* 143a (W.-L. ii, p. 488).

³ See Polotsky, *Man. Homilien*, p. 41¹⁸⁻²⁰ and n. b.

⁴ See *Mir. Man.* iii, a 2-15; *Keph.* xxxix (p. 103²⁻¹⁰).

⁵ See *Mir. Man.* iii, p. 853 a 140-3 and n. 5 with references.

⁶ See *ibid.* p. 852 a 100-2 and n. 3 with references.

⁷ That the term *nwg šhr* sometimes embodies a conception of the New Paradise as the New Aeon, existing in time rather than space, is due to the dual meaning of the word (Syr. 'ālmā) rendered by *šhr*; see Polotsky, 'Manichäische Studien', *Le Muséon*, xlii, pp. 259-60. For the plural form *šhr'n* see *Mir. Man.* iii, p. 885, n. 2.

⁸ *BBB.*, p. 21, ll. 94-97.

⁹ *M* 285, ll. 88-92 (an unpublished Parthian text). The original is as follows:

Sometimes the destination itself is vaguely named, but mention of the First Man (Ōhrmizd) makes it clear which Paradise is intended:

'Then shall you receive, at the end, helm, garland and diadem from the god Ōhrmizd, the Father, within the Paradise of Light. There shall you rejoice and prosper for ever, (and) be happy in gladness.'¹

The Coptic texts contain a good deal of material about the fate of the soul, but not much explicitly concerning the New Paradise. In one of the 'Psalms of the Bema' the soul is promised salvation within 'its kingdom', where

Thy Father, the First Man, will give thee thy life (?) . . . who (?) . . . to give it since thy beginning; the divine envoy of Truth will give thee the diadem of Light; . . . will give thee thy garland of renown.²

The psalm comes to an end almost upon these words, the soul being left in bliss with the First Man. A fuller statement of the doctrine of redemption in the New Paradise is contained in one of the 'Psalms of Heracleides',³ whose subject is the return of the First Man to Paradise after the triumph of the Light. In it the psalmist creates what is evidently a conscious parallel between this return, constituting the ultimate victory of the First Man, and the original re-entry of the First Man into Paradise after his encounter with the powers of Darkness.⁴ On the earlier occasion the Spiritus Vivens had been sent as Envoy to summon the First Man back to consciousness, and had been asked by him:

Comment vont nos pères, les fils de la lumière, dans leur cité?⁵

and had answered 'Ils vont bien'. In the Coptic psalm an Envoy is sent in the same way to summon the First Man at the end of the world. He knocks at the gates of his dwelling-place and rouses him,

šwyynd gy'nn 'w rwsn oo tnb'r cy pydr pdmwcynd oo n'zynd 'ndr nw''g šhr 'w y'wyd y'wyd'n.

² Ps. Bk. 22¹⁶⁻¹⁹.

¹ *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 333⁴⁻⁸.

³ *Ibid.* 197-202.

⁴ The parallel is so closely worked out that Widengren has been deceived into thinking that the psalm refers in fact to the first scene in the battle of redemption, instead of the last. See his *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism*, pp. 74-76. That this is not the case is shown by the interchanges between the Envoy and the First Man; see, for example, p. 201, ll. 17-18:

'The Light is set over the king of the Darkness: his host is bound, it is fettered. Take the news.'

⁵ See Theodor bar Konai, *apud* Cumont, *Recherches*, i, p. 24.

to be greeted with the same questions that were asked in the beginning:

What does my Father do, the Father of the Lights? . . .
outside him. Tell me the news.

What do the twelve Aeons do, whom I left surrounding
the Father? Tell [me] the news.¹

The Envoy answers that all is well in Paradise, 'the Gods rejoicing'² at the victory gained; and summons the First Man to return there, accompanied by his 'garlanded host'.³ This host is evidently the assembly of victorious souls in the New Paradise, who are also spoken of as the 'merchandise' of the First Man, recovered by him from the powers of Darkness:

The Fathers of Light came that they might help their loved
one. Take the news.

They helped the First Man, he cried before him
in joy: 'Behold me, behold my merchandise'. Lo.

Great is the joy that there was, the First Man being
in their midst, laden with garlands and palms. Lo, this is the news.⁴

In the final verses the psalmist speaks in his own person, making clear the parable to his hearers:

May it happen to us together that we may be counted in his
merchandise and rejoice with all the Aeons. Lo, this is the news.

May we be counted among those of the right hand and inherit our
kingdom. Lo, this is the news.

And may we live with our kinsmen from everlasting to everlasting.
Lo, this is the news.⁵

The belief expressed here is that the First Man gathers the redeemed in the New Paradise during the centuries, until he has won back all, or almost all, that he had lost, and can bear them with him to the Eternal Paradise in a celestial triumph.

These texts, Coptic and Iranian, establish a Manichaean doctrine of immediate redemption in the New Paradise, followed by ultimate union with the Paradise of Light. Yet such texts, although clear in the evidence they yield, are few in number. By far the most references to the destination of the soul are in ambiguous, general terms such as 'the land of the gods', 'the city of the blessed'. This is the case, not only in hymns of a general character,

¹ *Ps. Bk.* 198²³⁻²⁶.

² *Ibid.* 199¹⁰.

³ *Ibid.* 201⁷⁻⁸.

⁴ *Ibid.* 202¹²⁻¹⁷.

⁵ *Ibid.* 202¹⁸⁻²³.

but also in texts of some doctrinal precision, as for example the Middle Persian S 9, where the salvation of a believer is described in the following terms:

He put off the body of death and was for ever saved,
and he ascended into Paradise, into that land of the blessed.¹

What complicates matters still more is that some texts not only do not particularize the New Paradise as the destination of redeemed souls, but actually make it clear that the Eternal Paradise is meant. Thus the Chinese texts studied by Waldschmidt and Lentz distinguish in terminology between the two Paradises; and in more than one case the terms for the Eternal Paradise are there used to indicate the goal of the returning souls.² The following lines from an unpublished Parthian hymn have the same decisiveness:

Lay hold upon salvation and freedom from hurt. They prepare for you a tabernacle of the spirit. Enter into the kingdom before the Father of Greatness, and in his presence become endued with your own piety, stillness and purity.³

The mention of the Father of Greatness makes it clear that 'the kingdom' here means the Eternal Paradise. One of the Coptic funeral psalms yields a similar passage. In it the 'garlanded soul' having been ferried from moon to sun, enters into Paradise and is in the presence of the 'Father of the Lights'.⁴

There seems thus a contradiction in the Manichaean texts themselves. It is likely, however, that it is only apparent, not real. The existence of a doctrine of immediate redemption in the New Paradise is clearly attested, harmonizes admirably with other of Mani's teachings, and is unlikely to be a later development. It adds, however, a complexity to an already complex scheme; and postpones the moment of entry into the presence of the Father. Poetic licence seems to allow, therefore, that the distinction which it involves should in many texts be glossed over or ignored; and that occasionally the gulf of time and space should be surpassed,

¹ S 9, verse 12 (text given by Henning, *N.G.G.W.*, 1932, p. 228).

² e.g. *Hymnscroll* 147 d, 399.

³ T II D 138 37-46. The text is as follows:

[bw]xtgyft u 'n'z'ryft ['](w) dst 'st'nyd (o t)lw'r
w'c'fryyd 'w 'šm'h pdr'ynd 'dhyd (*sic*) 'w
šhrd'ryft prw'n pydr wzrgyft 'wš bw(yd) 'ndym'n
pd wxybyh [dy]ncyhryft 'ngwn [u pw](')gyft o

⁴ *Ps. Bk.* 85¹³⁻¹⁵.

the souls of the saved being imagined as standing now where they will ultimately be, in the presence of the Father himself. Presumably even in such cases it is not so much that the doctrine of redemption in the New Paradise is opposed to that of redemption in the Eternal Paradise as that it is swallowed up in the latter conception.

If we look beyond the Manichaean texts to the works of non-Manichaean writers, we find that the doctrine of the New Paradise is ignored by the polemicists, as a *minutia* of dogma containing no matter for mockery. It has a place, however, in the writings of the more detached Ibn an-Nadīm. There are two passages in the *Fihrist* in which Ibn an-Nadīm describes the soul's journey heavenward. The first occurs in his initial brief summary of Mani's teaching.¹ Here he states simply that the souls ascend by the Column of Glory to the moon, that the moon gives them to the sun, and that the sun transfers them to the 'World of Praise', where they go to 'the highest, pure Light'. The expression الى النور must refer to the heart of the Eternal Paradise itself; and it seems that in this epitome Ibn an-Nadīm was content to ignore the existence of the New Paradise. The second passage,² contained in the chapter upon the fates of men, is more detailed. According to it, the virtuous soul is approached upon death by a god with three supporting divinities who set upon it crown and diadem and garment,

وعرجوا به في عمود السَّيح الى فلك القمر والى الانسان القديم والى التَّهْنَةِ آم
الأحياء الى ما كان عليه أولاً في جنان النور

This passage runs as follows in Flügel's translation:

... und steigen mit ihm auf der Säule des Lobpreises zu der Sphäre des Mondes, zu dem Urmenschen und zu der Nahnaha der Mutter der Lebendigen bis zu dem Zustand, in dem er zuerst in den Paradiesen des Lichts war.³

This account is at variance with other descriptions of the soul's heavenward journey, as Flügel pointed out: 'Die Stationen der Seele sind hier theilweise auf noch unbekannte Art bezeichnet.'⁴ The anomaly lies in the mention of the First Man and the Mother of the Living as representing some station or stations on the path

¹ *Fihrist*, p. 330²²⁻²⁶; Flügel, *Mani*, text, p. 57, transl. p. 90.

² *Fihrist*, p. 335¹⁵⁻¹⁶; *Mani*, text, p. 70.

³ *Mani*, p. 100.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

of the soul's ascent. Both these gods have thrones in two distinct places. Firstly, they are enthroned in the moon and sun respectively; but the moon having already been mentioned by name, the gods can hardly represent these places here.¹ Secondly, they both have thrones, as redeeming gods, in the New Paradise. The First Man is the ruler of this realm, and therefore its natural representative. The Mother is closely associated in mythology with her 'son' (as is shown by her Middle Persian name 'Mother-of-the-god-Öhrmizd', 'whrmȳzdbȳ m'd'). She is regarded, moreover, as 'mother' of all the redeeming gods who inhabit the New Paradise.² It is fitting, therefore, that she should be beside the First Man in the New Paradise, as the Great Spirit is beside the Father in the Eternal Kingdom.³ It is thus probable that in this context the First Man and the Mother together represent the New Paradise.

Ibn an-Nadīm's second account is thus orthodox, except for the omission of any mention of the sun. This omission is found elsewhere,⁴ and is understandable: the sun only carried farther the process of purification begun in the moon, and the visible waxing and waning of the latter made it of more significance as a symbol to watchers upon earth. With this omission excepted, the progression given by him here, namely Column of Glory—moon—New Paradise—Eternal Paradise, accords exactly with what we have seen to be the Manichaean doctrine in its fullness.

Some details of the soul's ascent are given in the sixth cantos both of *Huwīdagmān* and *Angad Rōšnān*. The account in the former is slightly the fuller. In it the god promises to rescue the soul from its foes and to lead it up to 'the kingdom' (*hw šhr*)⁵ where he will show it its Fathers. After an unfortunate gap in the text this kingdom is further described as 'a vast and lofty fortress' raised by divine evocation,⁶ 'the palace of the primeval First-Born',⁷ wherein he puts on the garment of happiness,⁸ and bestows garlands upon all his comrades⁹ and upon the Elect.¹⁰ The only realm divinely created is the New Paradise (for the Eternal Paradise is

¹ Cf., e.g., *Ps. Bk.* 85⁴⁻¹², where the moon and sun are, it seems, referred to as the ships of the First Man and Third Messenger, but are not otherwise directly named.

² See *Ps. Bk.* 122-23.

³ These two female divinities, the Mother of the Living and the Great Spirit, are sometimes confounded; see Polotsky in *Mani-Fund*, p. 66; *Abriß*, p. 249.

⁴ See, e.g., Turbo's account of the soul's ascent, *Acta Archelai*, 13¹⁰⁻¹¹; cited by Flügel, *Mani*, p. 344.

⁵ *H. VIc* 2a.

⁶ *Ibid.* 10 (lit. 'by a spiritual mouth').

⁷ *Ibid.* 11a.

⁸ *Ibid.* 11b.

⁹ *Ibid.* 12a.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 13.

terra ingenita, coexistent with the Father of Light himself); and one may compare this description of it with that in the Coptic psalm quoted above, where it is pictured as a 'tower'¹ with defensive gates.² The 'primeval First-Born' (*nwxz'd hsyng*) is evidently the First Man (elsewhere *mrđwhm hsyng*) who rules the New Paradise, and is several times spoken of as there bestowing garlands upon victorious souls.³ A further gap of five verses follows this description, and the subsequent verses bring us to the defeat of the (Dark) Powers,⁴ and

... the day when He will reveal (His) form,
[the] beneficent [Father], the Lord of the Aeons of Light.⁵

The Father shows himself only when all Light is redeemed, and the gods are once more in his presence. Here again, therefore, the soul's return to the Eternal Kingdom follows after a sojourn with the First Man in the New Paradise.

The surviving cantos of *Angad Rōšnān* contain much immediate solace for the soul, but less prophecy about its future. The god promises to open before it the gates in the heavens,⁶ and to lead it to its home, 'the blessed place'.⁷ There he will show it the 'noble Father'⁸ and the 'Mother of the Beings of Light',⁹ and also all the holy brethren,¹⁰ with whom the soul shall dwell in happiness for ever. With this the canto ends, and later fragments do not amplify its account. It is apparent, however, that it contains a promise of salvation in the New Paradise. The 'noble Father' to whom the soul is led could, as far as the words themselves go, be either the First Man or the Father of Greatness; but the supreme deity, being hidden in his own light until he chooses to reveal himself, cannot be shown to the redeemed by one of his own emanations. The 'noble Father' must, therefore, be here the First Man; and this identification is supported by the mention in the next verse of his 'Mother', the Mother of the Living (here *rwšn'n m'd*).¹¹ It is interesting to find the New Paradise here represented by the same pair of divinities as are named by Ibn an-Nadīm in his account. Both the hymn-cycles thus present the Manichaean doctrine in its rigour.

¹ *Ps. Bk.* 198¹³.

² *Ibid.* 197^{22, 24}, 198¹¹⁻¹².

³ See, e.g., *Mir. Man.* ii, 333⁴⁻⁸; *Ps. Bk.* 22¹⁶⁻¹⁹.

⁴ *H. VIc* 20b.

⁵ *Ibid.* 21.

⁶ *A.R. VI* 66a.

⁷ *Ibid.* 67b.

⁸ *Ibid.* 68a.

⁹ *Ibid.* 69a.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 70a.

¹¹ This deity appears under various names in Parthian: *m'd*, *m'd jyvndg*, and *rd'w'n m'd* are also recorded.

The leader to Paradise¹ is called in the *Fihrist* 'the guiding Sage',² and in the *Hymnscroll* 'the Master of Doctrine',³ both titles which may well indicate the Nous. This deity is so closely connected with the Manichaean Church that he can be identified with its personification (M. Pers. *farrah-ī dēn*, Turkish *nom qutī*),⁴ which in two other texts is said to bestow the Victory on the righteous soul.⁵ In *Kephalaia* VII the god is called 'the Figure of Light', and should be either Mani or his contemporary successor.⁶ In the Parthian M 4 it is Mani who is invoked with the three angels;⁷ and he meets the soul in one of the Coptic psalms.⁸ In most of these, however, the guide is Jesus.

There are thus three figures named in the role of Saviour—the Nous, Mani, and Jesus. In the *handām* texts the deity is not named, but is referred to only in general terms, such as 'friend', 'lord', 'sovereign', 'envoy', 'saviour'. The omission of a name may be deliberate, so that the Saviour can represent all redeeming gods; or it may be due to the chance of survival. Whatever the reason, the god remains anonymous.

IV. THE MANUSCRIPTS

The hymn-cycles exist in fragments from many manuscripts. Some of these were works of art, elegantly written upon large pages; some were small, their verses written in a cramped hand; and most were of average size, in clear and pleasant scripts. Varied as was their original character, all have been reduced to a uniformly fragmentary state. Of their hundreds of sheets, five only survive intact. The rest are represented by fragments containing from half a line to half a page of text.

The text of the hymn-cycles is invariably set out in verses, with a space between them. The verses are in two lines,⁹ each with a caesura in the middle, which is marked sometimes by one dot,

¹ Some accounts of death omit this deity. The soul instead goes by itself into the presence of a judge, and there receives the three trophies. Yet other accounts confuse the two versions. For an explanation of this see Polotsky in *Mani-Fund*, pp. 72-73.

² See above, p. 9.

³ *Hymnscroll* 141 (I am indebted to Prof. Henning for this interpretation of the verse).

⁴ For references see Henning, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 328 n. 2.

⁵ M 47 d 19 (*Man. St.*, p. 13); T II D 175 2 R 1 ff. (von Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* iii, p. 31; Bang, *Le Muséeon*, xxxvi, p. 236).

⁶ See Polotsky in *Mani-Fund*, p. 73.

⁷ M 4 c 12 (*Man. St.*, p. 5).

⁸ *Ps. Bk.* 84¹⁴⁻²⁰.

⁹ The only exception known is M 625 b, where the text is written in inter-spaced groups of three lines.