



## Mani's "Sabuhrgan"

D. N. MacKenzie; Mani

*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (1979), 500-534.

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*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* is currently published by School of Oriental and African Studies.

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# MANI'S ŠĀBUHRAGĀN

By D. N. MACKENZIE

It is remarkable that, of the many more or less fragmentary Manichaean writings in Iranian languages discovered in Central Asia at the beginning of this century,<sup>1</sup> one of the few texts directly attributable to Mani himself has still, three-quarters of a century after its first partial publication, not appeared in a full and satisfactory edition, with translation. 'Mani's *Šābuhragān*, in which he summarized his teachings in Persian for the enlightenment of Šābuhr I,<sup>2</sup> is known from nine more or less fully preserved sheets (i.e. of at least two pages each) of one MS. and some eight or nine smaller pieces.<sup>3</sup> The larger fragments were first published in transcription in 1904, in F. W. K. Müller's pioneering 'Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan', II,<sup>4</sup> with an incomplete interlinear translation and partly out of order. The text alone was then republished in transliteration (in Hebrew letters) in C. Salemann's 'Manichäische Studien', I.<sup>5</sup> There the matter largely rested until 1930, when A. V. W. Jackson used the text extensively in his article 'A sketch of the Manichaean doctrine concerning the future life'.<sup>6</sup> In an article published posthumously in 1946,<sup>7</sup> A. Ghilain established, without seeing either photographs or the originals, that the two fragments of M 473 glassed together as *a* and *b*, and published by Müller as they so appeared, are to be fitted together in the reverse order, the lower piece *b* above the upper *a*. Most recently Mary Boyce has included the text of the fragments M 473, 475, 477, 482, 472 and 470, so ordered correctly but with the omission of a number of incomplete passages, as text *z* in her *Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*.<sup>8</sup>

It was consideration of one of the passages omitted by Boyce (the 'number of words after *ahrāmēd* . . . too badly preserved for the sense to be clear', *Reader*, *z* 15, note) that led to the present publication. The text, M 472 I R, lines 1-6, as published by Müller and Salemann reads thus:

*wpr wdcyd \* \* [     ]'n*  
*[     ] k' h'n rwšnyh [     ]'nd*  
*[     ] d'n 'hr'myd (š) w n'(p)*  
*'wd 'sm'n h'm(d) qwn'nd w*  
*5 'sm'n 'y 'brdwm k(y) pd h'n*  
*'y 'yrdwm hm'g šh(r)wny[     ]*

It was immediately obvious to me that something was wrong: this could not

<sup>1</sup> See Mary Boyce, *A catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichaean script in the German Turfan Collection*, Berlin, 1960; also 'The Manichaean literature in Middle Iranian', *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I, 4, *Iranistik*, 2, *Literatur*, Lfg. 1, Leiden, 1968.

<sup>2</sup> Boyce, 'Man. lit.', 70.

<sup>3</sup> Detailed description of all treatment to that date *sub* M 470 *et seq.*, Boyce, *Catalogue*, 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Anhang zu den Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften vom Jahre 1904*, II, Berlin, 1904, 1-117.

<sup>5</sup> *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, VIII<sup>e</sup> série, VIII, 10, 1908.

<sup>6</sup> *JAOS*, 50, 3, 1930, 177-98. He states (p. 183) that 'although I have made a complete translation of the six Apocalyptic Fragments, with critical notes and explanations, for publication later, I can here give only a rendering of the first, and then an outline of the contents of the other five Fragments, with short renderings incidentally inserted'.

<sup>7</sup> 'Un feuillet manichéen reconstitué', *Le Muséon*, LIX, 535-45, with reference to a partial translation by F. C. Andreas.

<sup>8</sup> *Acta Iranica*, 9, Troisième série, II, Teheran and Liège, 1975.

represent the true state of the manuscript, as the ends of the lines 3–6

/(š) w̄ n̄(p)  
/(d) qwn'nd w̄  
/k(y) pd h'n  
/(r)wny[ ]

do not fit the foregoing words by any stretch, however imaginative, of the Middle Persian language. It did not take long to note that they do, however, fit very well into the lacuna in the immediately preceding sheet, M 482 I,<sup>9</sup> thus (based on Salemann's version):

tr d[xmg]'n 'wd 'stw[d'n]/'n  
[b'] wdyr'nd 'ws'n wyn/'nd  
['w]š'n xwys' twhm / w̄ n̄(p)  
['y wd]rd h̄ynd 'y'/(d) qwn'nd w̄  
5 gw'nd kw w['y] 'wys'n / k(y) pd h'n  
'w'm ['y] b̄zg m̄wrd 'wd / wny [bwd]  
(h̄yn)[d].

This discovery sent me for the first time to the photographs of the fragments fortunately preserved in the Nachlass of F. C. Andreas in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek, Göttingen, and readily available to me. Although these sepia prints are all of 60 years old they are still admirably clear,<sup>10</sup> if a little lacking in contrast, and my suspicion that the puzzling section of text was indeed from a piece of M 482 I, still adhering to and concealing a part of M 472 I (and naturally its own verso) was soon strengthened. This notion I imparted to Dr. W. Sundermann of the Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Berlin, in the form of a provisional new transliteration of the whole text of the published fragments. He very kindly and with great despatch not only confirmed my theory, but also provided me with further details and readings from the original manuscripts. I quote from his letter of 3.1.1978: ' [Diese] Entdeckung leuchtete mir sofort ein. Im Institut konnte ich sie dann am Originaltext bestätigt finden. Die Stelle, an der ein Stück von M 482 auf M 472 klebte, war von grösserer Dicke als der Rest des Blattes. Wenn man das Fragment gegen das Licht hielt, konnte man es deutlich erkennen. Ich habe nun das Stück von M 482 so gut ich konnte abgelöst und an seine richtige Stelle gesetzt.' ' Wie ich jetzt sehe, sind noch in einigen anderen Fällen Textstücke zusammengeklebt, deren Trennung bisweilen Ergänzungen gestattet. So war ein winziges Stück von M 475 an M 477 angeklebt.' And later, ' die letzten sieben Zeilen von M 477 I V sind auf Ihrem Photo durch Text des Endes von M 482 überklebt '.

Accordingly Sundermann was able to provide me with complete new readings of the first lines of M 475 I V, M 477 I R, M 482 I R and V, and M 472 I R, and of the end of M 477 I V and M 482 I R (in the complete text below, that is, lines 73–6, 97–8, 138–44, 145–51, 162–8, 169–74, and 193–200). These I was in small part able to confirm and to a very slight extent ' improve ' on the basis of the Göttingen photographs, in the sense that some letters of ll. 146–7 marked by Sundermann as doubtful or illegible in the manuscripts appear more clearly in the photographs.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> W. B. Henning had essayed a reconstruction of ll. 5–9 in ' A farewell to the Khagan of the Aq-Aqatārān ', *BSOAS*, xiv, 3, 1952, 516.

<sup>10</sup> V. Boyce, *Catalogue*, p. XXIV.

<sup>11</sup> V. Boyce, *Reader*, 76: ' The ms. from which the fragments come is of very soft paper, and the surface is in many places rubbed, with the loss of letters or words '. In this connexion it

Sundermann also wrote: 'Nur einen wichtigen Punkt möchte ich noch berühren: die Reihenfolge der Texte. Auch ich habe mich mit diesem Problem befasst und bin zu Ergebnissen gekommen, die geringfügig . . . abweichen.<sup>12</sup> Ich glaube, dass sowohl die Zusammenfügungen der Überschriften auf V- und R-Seiten wie die zahlreichen spiegelschriftlichen Abbildungen aufeinander gelegen habender Blätter eine in den meisten Fällen sichere Bestimmung ihrer Folge gestatten. Sie ist m. A. n.:

- |                   |                   |                         |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. M 8256 (?),    | 2. M 519 + M 473, | 3. M 475,               |
| 4. M 477,         | 5. M 482,         | 6. M 472,               |
| 7. M 535 + M 536, | 8. M 470,         | 9. M 505 a + b + M 542. |

Für die rekonstruierten<sup>12</sup> Blattüberschriften ergibt sich daraus:

**A** v / **B** r \* 'br 'mdyšnyh \* . . . . (belegt M 519 V)

**E** v / **F** r . . . . \* 'y h'mqyšwr \* (belegt M 535 R)

**F** v / **G** r \* 'br 'stptyh \* . . . . (belegt M 535 V)

**G** v / **H** r \* 'br rw'n'n \* / [\* 'y dw]šqyrdg'n'n \* (belegt M 505 a R).'

Of the hitherto unpublished fragments mentioned, photographs of only M 505 a + b, M 535 and M 536 are preserved in Göttingen. To these I now went and made a second provisional transliteration to submit to Sundermann. The texts of M 519, M 542 (and M 8256 I) he then provided, and also made several revisions and improvements to my second provisional text. In particular the piecing together of **H** and **J**, lines 337–426, from the fragments M 470 c, M 475 c, M 505 a and b, and M 542 b, is all his work.

Only when the third text so constituted was (as we thought) ready for press did Sundermann find time to devote himself to the remaining fragments of the *Šābuhraḡān*, to provide the second part of this article. In the process he was able to separate further fragments stuck together and to fit some of these, and others, into the main text. Thus the two layers of M 487 b fit into **E** and **F**, M 497 b into **G**, and (previously unconnected) M 1745 into **H**, yielding new text (not available in Göttingen) for lines 208–15, 232–9, 256–63, 280–4, 303–10, 328–33, 351–5, and 375–9. All his readings, from the MSS., are indicated in the apparatus by the initial S.

Clearly it would have been more practical and proper for Sundermann himself to have taken over the publication of the complete text of the portions of the *Šābuhraḡān* preserved. Instead he has from the beginning encouraged me to go ahead with it, at the same time providing not only much new text and better readings but also invaluable notes to my translation. Mary Boyce also kindly read an early draft and suggested a number of improvements.

\* \* \* \*

To place this apocalyptic portion of the *Šābuhraḡān* in context one can do no better, besides referring to the works of Müller, Jackson and Ghilain, than quote Boyce's introductory notes (*Reader*, 77) to text z: 'The first fragment is concerned with the period just before the Second Coming of Jesus, the Great War being by then over. Much of the material in this and the following fragments derives from the apocalyptic prophecies in the Christian Gospels (*Matthew XXIV*, *Mark XIII*, *Luke XXI*).' Mani's vision of the End of the

must be said that Sundermann's use of round brackets for 'doubtful' letters is far more cautious than mine. I insert them only when there is real doubt as to the reading of a letter, whereas he appears to use them for letters to any extent, however little, incomplete.

<sup>12</sup> From / in my above-mentioned first provisional transliteration.

World, for him the Renovation (*Frašegird*),<sup>13</sup> and its part in his cosmology is admirably summarized in Boyce's 'Introduction' (*Reader*, 8):

The end of the world will be presaged by the Great War, a time of conflict and bitterness and waning faith, since by then most of the Light will have been drawn out of the world. There will follow the Second Coming of Jesus, who will establish his judgment-seat and separate the righteous from the sinners. Thereafter the gods supporting the cosmos will abandon their tasks, the heavens and earths will collapse, and the Great Fire will break out, in which the last particles of Light will be freed and will ascend to the New Paradise as the Last God.

Matter will be imprisoned, and the prison will be sealed with a great stone; and finally the New Paradise will be joined again to the Paradise of Light, and its inhabitants, gods and the redeemed, will behold once more the face of the Father of Greatness, hidden from them since the struggle began.

The following translation follows the text as closely as possible. The notes are mainly concerned with the establishment of the text and linguistic matters.

## TEXT

<b>A r</b> : H[eadings], 1-3	<b>A v</b> : H, 25- 27	M 519 I
+ 4- 24	+ 28- 48	M 473 I
<b>B r</b> : H, 49- 72	<b>B v</b> : H, 73- 96	M 475 a I
<b>C r</b> : H, 97-120	<b>C v</b> : H, 121-144	M 477 I
<b>D r</b> : H, 145-161	<b>D v</b> : H, 169-184	M 482 I
+ 161-168	+ 185-192	M 477 b
<b>E r</b> : H, 193-213	<b>E v</b> : H, 217-238	M 472 I
+ 208-216	+ 232-239	M 487 b (1)
<b>F r</b> : H, 241-244	<b>F v</b> : H, 264-268	M 535
+ 245-264	+ 269-288	M 536
+ 256-263	+ 280-284	M 487 b (2)
<b>G r</b> : H, 289-312	<b>G v</b> : H, 313-336	M 470 a
+ 303-310	+ 328-333	M 497 b
<b>H r</b> : H, 337-357	<b>H v</b> : H, 361-379	M 505 a
+ 340-347	+ 364-371	M 542 b I
+ 351-355	+ 375-379	M 1745
+ 352-360	+ 376-384	M 470 c
<b>J r</b> : H, 385-404	<b>J v</b> : H, 409-424	M 505 b
+ 386-395	+ 409-419	M 542 b II
+ 400-408	+ 424-426	M 475 c

<sup>13</sup> Middle Persian *prš(y)g/k/qyrd*, 'die Erneuerung des ursprünglichen Zustandes der Welt durch Auflösung des aus den Himmeln und Erden bestehenden Kosmos' (W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, I, Berlin, 1932, 222), is a term taken directly from Zoroastrianism, Pahlavi *plškr̥t*, Avestan *frašō.kərəti-*, literally 'making excellent'; see W. Brandenstein and M. Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, Wiesbaden, 1964, 119, *fraša-* 'hervorragend', etc', and M. Molé, *Culte, mythe, et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*, Paris, 1963, 34f. (on *fraša-*) and passim (*fraškart* 'Rénovation'). That 'in the Manichaean interpretation [*frašegird*] means that everything becomes "healthy, *integrum*" (= *fraša-*) in that the world perishes totally, and not as in Zoroastrianism where the world will only be renewed' (as J. P. Asmussen will have it, 'Manichaeism', 605, in *Historia religionum, Handbook for the history of religions*, I, ed. C. J. Bleeker and G. Widengren, Leiden, 1969) seems to be in conformity with S. Insler's recent reinterpretation of G. Avestan *fərəša-* < \**frarta-*, √*ar*, 'healed, repaired' (*The Gāthās of Zarathustra (Acta Iranica*, 8.), Teheran and Liège, 1975, 172). But there is no record of such a meaning in Zoroastrian tradition, where the only Pahlavi 'translations' of *fraša-*, besides the transcription in *plškr̥t*, are Vd. I, 20 *pwrsšnyk* (as if from √*fras*!) and otherwise *pl'c*, and NP *farāx*: that Mani could have reinterpreted *frašegird* etymologically is, of course, quite impossible.

/ **A r** [\* *dw bwn* 'y \*] / (\* š)['](b)whrg['n] \*

- [ ] pd dyw(')n 'wd [ ]  
 [ ]bw[ ](c)[ ]  
 [ ](p)tg (kw)[ ]  
 [ ](.d)'nd w gw'nd [kw 'm]h  
 5 [y]zd'n pyysgr hwm \*\* (. . m . . . )  
 pd 'yn pnd 'yg 'mh [ ]  
 mrdwhm pr'yst wyys['nd]  
 'wš'n pd dwsqyrdg'ny[h]  
 q'm rw'nd \* w dynwr ky x[wyš]  
 10 dyn ny wrw'd h'nc 'w 'wyš['n]  
 hnzps'd w 'wy zm'n k' 'nd[r]  
 šhr xyr 'yn'wn bw'd \* '[yg]  
 pc zmyg w 'sm'n 'wd (x)[wr]  
 'wd m'h w 'xtr'n ['wd]  
 15 ['st[']rg'n wzg nyš'n pyd['g]  
 b[w]'d \*\*  
 ps xrdyšhr yzd h'n ky  
 nxwst 'wy nr d'm nwxwyr ['y]  
 prtwmyn xrd 'wd d'nyš[n d'd]  
 20 'wš ps'c j'(r) j'r w (')[w'm]  
 'w'm xrd 'wd d'nyšn 'w (m)[rdñ ?]  
 pryst'd h'n p[d] 'wyc '[w'm]  
 'y 'bdwmyn nzd 'w prš(q)[yrd]  
 [h'](n xr)dyšhr (x)[wd'y 'c hm'g]

**A v / B r** [\* 'br 'mdušnyh \* / \* 'y myrd'n pwsr \*

**A v**

- (25) [y](zd'n 'wd) dynwr'n (h)mys  
 ['wz]dh [ ](. . y')[ ]  
 [ \* ] 'yg p(d '')[sm'](n 'n)drw(n) ['wl ?]  
 'yst[d] 'wd wzg xrw[h] ['yw ?]  
 5 xw'nyh('d) w h'mšhr 'zdy[h'd ?]  
 (30) [']wd ['y]mys'n yzd'n ky 'ndr  
 ['s]m'n'n w zmyg'n h'mkyšwr  
 [m](')nbyd wysbyd zndbyd 'wd  
 [dh]ybyd p'hrghbyd 'wd dyw'n  
 10 [ny]xrwst'r hynd h'n xrdyšhr  
 (35) 'pryn qwn'nd w mrdwhm'n  
 [k](y) 'ndr šhr šhry'r bw'nd  
 [dw](w) dww'n pdš 'wy šw'nd  
 ['wd] nm'c (b)r'nd 'wš prm'n  
 15 [p]dyr'nd w mrdwhm 'yg 'zygr  
 (40) ['wd] dwsqyrdg'n w mrdyhng'n  
 [h]'n pšym'n bw'd 'wd ps  
 [xrd]yšhryzd prystg'n 'w  
 [xwr]'s'n 'wd 'w xwrnw'r  
 20 [pryst]'d w šw'nd 'wd mrdwhm  
 (45) ['y d]lynwr 'b'g hy'r'n \* w h'n  
 [dws]qyrdg'[n] 'z h'mkw(ny)šn'n  
 [hmys pr'c 'w py]š xrdyšhr

## TRANSLATION

*[The two principles, of the] Šābuhragān*

... with demons and ... will ... and say, ' We are the agents of the gods. [You should go] in this path of ours '. Mankind will mostly be deceived and will proceed according to their (the false prophets') will to  
 10 do evil. And the ' religious ' who may not believe in his own religion will also join himself to them. And at that time, when things will be thus in the world, [then] also on earth and in heaven, and on the sun and moon, and in the constellations (of the zodiac) and the stars, a great sign will appear.

Then Xradešahr (the god of the world of wisdom)—he who first [gave]  
 20 that male creation, the original First Man, wisdom and knowledge, and (who) afterwards from time to time and from [age] to age sent wisdom and knowledge to mankind—in that last [age] also, close to the Renovation, that lord Xradešahr, together with

*On the coming / of the Son of Men*

all the gods and the religious [exiled ?] ... will then stand [up ?] in the [heavens], and a great call will resound and it will become known to the  
 30 whole universe. And these gods which in the cosmos of heavens and earths are lord of the house, of the village, of the tribe, and of the land, border-guard and demon-tormenter will praise that Xradešahr. And the men who will be rulers in the world will go running before him and pay homage  
 40 and accept his commands. And lustful [and] wicked and \*tyrannous men will repent. And then god Xradešahr will send messengers to east and west, and they will go and [bring] the religious with (their) helpers, and those wicked ones [together] with (their) accomplices, before Xradešahr,

*Apparatus*

1-3 S. 4 S. '](pr)'nd or ](s)d'nd ? ](nd)'nd, ](sn)'nd not possible. 24 (x)[wd'y 'c hm'g], S. 25-27 S. 37 [dw](w) dww'n pds, S.

[yzd n'ynd ? 'wš nm'c br'nd

**B r**

- 'wš dynwr gw'nd kw [yzd]  
 (50) ['w]m'n xwd'y 'grt pszg ty[s]  
 ['c] h'n (c)[y] dr(w)nd['n] (pd) 'm<sub>h</sub>  
 [qyrd] pyš tw gw(')m ['w]š'n  
 5 x[rd]yšhr yzd pswx 'w<sub>h</sub>  
 dyy'd kw mn wynyyd 'wd š'd  
 (55) bwydd \* 'n'y ky pd 'šm<sub>h</sub>  
 wn'st h'd h'nt'n d'dys(t)['n]  
 qwn'n w̄ 'ng'm xw'h'n b[yc]  
 10 hrw cy 'šm<sub>h</sub> q'myyd p[yš]  
 mn gwptn h'n 'n d'nym \*\* \*\*  
 (60) ghyš'n 'pryn qwnd 'wš'[n]  
 dyl wyw'synyd 'wš'n 'w  
 dšn 'rg 'ystynyd \*\* w̄ (')[b']g  
 15 yzd'n pd š'dy<sub>h</sub> phryzynd \*\*  
 'wd dwsqyrdg'n'n 'z dy(n)[wr'n]  
 (65) we'ryd 'wš'n 'w xwy 'rg  
 'ystynyd 'wš'n npryn qwnd '[wd]  
 'w<sub>h</sub> gwyd kw m' drw'xyz (w̄ m)[']  
 20 h'm'spyz bw'd (cy) [h'n ]  
 wn'h 'yg 'šm<sub>h</sub> kyrd (')wt(')[n]  
 (70) z'wryq 'xš'd qyr[d 'wd]  
 h'nt'n ('w) [myrd'n pwsr qyrd ?]  
 . . . . . [?'wd 'w hy'r'n]

**B v / C r** \* 'br d'dyst'n \* / \* 'wd we'ryšn \*

**B v**

- ('yg) dynwr'n ky 'c dšn  
 ['](')rg ['y]stynd 'w<sub>h</sub> gwy[d]  
 (75) [kw] dryst 'wry(d) 'šm(h) ky  
 ('prydg 'yg) zrw'n (pdyš) q[lyrd ?]  
 5 cy swyg w̄ tyšng bwd hym ['wd]  
 'šm<sub>h</sub> xw'r w̄ b'r d'd \* b[r]hng  
 bwd hym \* 'wt'n pymwxt hym  
 (80) xyndg bwd hym 'wt'n dryst  
 (q)lyrd hym \* bstg bwd hym  
 10 ['w]t'n wš'd hym \* wrdg bwd  
 hym 'wt'n bwwxt hym \* 'wd  
 [']wzd<sub>h</sub> w̄ q'rd(')g bwd hym  
 (85) 'wt'n 'w qdg hrwpt hym \*  
 (')[ygyš] 'wys'[n] 'y [dy]nwr'n hy'rñ  
 15 (zwpr) nm'c br'nd š gw'nd  
 kw xwd'wn tw yzd w̄ 'nwšg hy  
 'wt 'z 'wd 'wrzgw ny trwyd \*  
 (90) 'wd swyg w̄ tyšng ny bwy 'wt  
 [d]rd [w̄] dn'h 'br ny rsyd \* ky  
 20 [bwd k]' 'm<sub>h</sub> 'yd 'sp's  
 [p]d tw qyrd \* 'wš'n xrdyšhr  
 ['w<sub>h</sub>] (g)wy(d) kw h'n cy 'šm<sub>h</sub>

and they will pay him homage.

- 50 And the religious will say to him, ‘ [O god and] our lord ! if it please thee, we shall tell thee something of that which the sinners have [done] to us ’. And god Xradešahr will answer them so, ‘ Look on me and rejoice. Besides, whoever may have harmed you, him I shall bring to justice for you and seek \*account (from him). But everything which you wish to tell me, that I know ’.
- 60 Then he blesses them and calms their hearts and sets them on the right side, and with the gods they will be in bliss. And the evil-doers he separates from the religious and sets them on the left side and curses them and speaks thus, ‘ May you not arise whole and not be wholly bright, for
- 70 [that] sin which you have committed, and you caused unjust distress, [and] that you have [done to the Son of Men ?] . . . [And to the helpers]

*On the judgement / and the separation*

- of the religious who stand on the right side he speaks thus, ‘ Welcome, you who have been [made] blessed of the Father of Greatness thereby, for I was hungry and thirsty [and] you gave me food. I was naked and you
- 80 clothed me. I was ill and you cured me. I was bound and you loosed me. I was a captive and you set me free. And I was an exile and a wanderer and you gathered me to (your) house(s)’. [Then] those helpers of the religious will bow low [to him] and say to him, ‘ Lord, thou art god and
- 90 immortal, and greed and desire do not overcome thee, and thou dost not hunger or thirst, and pain and \*disease do not afflict thee. When [was it that] we did thee this service ? ’ And Xradešahr says to them [so], ‘ That

48 ’]wš nm’c br’nd, reverse imprint on **B** r, S. 49 f. [yzd ’w]m’n, S. 62 (’)[b’]g S. 67 (w̄ m)[’], S. 69 (’)wt(’)[n], S. 73–76 beginnings, S. 86 (’)[ygyš], S. 92 k’, reverse imprint on **C** r, S.

- (95) ['w d](ynwr'n) qyrd \* h'nt'n mn  
 ['sp'](s) [k](y)rd \* 'wt'n

**C r**

- whyšt'w p'd'syn dy(y)''[n]  
 ['w]yš'n wzrg š'dy<sub>h</sub>  
 [dyy']d \*\*
- (100) ['wd] dwdy 'w 'wys'n [dw]šky[rdg]'n'n  
 5 ky 'c xwy ''rg 'ystynd [']w<sub>h</sub>  
 gwyd kw 'šm<sub>h</sub> dwšqyrdg'n'n  
 tncyy w ''zq'm \* 'n'g kwnyšn  
 'wd gy<sub>h</sub> hš'r bwd hyyd (\*)
- (105) 'wt'n 'n 'cys' gylg'y hym  
 10 cy swyg w̄ tyšng bwd hym 'w[d]  
 'šm<sub>h</sub> xw'r 'wd b'r ny d'[d]  
 'wd brhng bwd hym 'wt'n n(y)  
 pymwwxt hym \*\* w̄ xyndg bwd hym
- (110) 'wt'n dryst ny qyrd hy(m) [\* w̄]  
 15 wrdg w̄ 'wzdy<sub>h</sub> bwd hym 'wt'n  
 pd qdg ny pdyrypt hym \*\* 'wš  
 dwšqyrdg'n'n 'w<sub>h</sub> gw'n(d)  
 kwm'n yzd w̄ xwd'y kyy bwd k'
- (115) t̄w 'yd'wn dwjbwrđ b[wd hy]  
 20 'wm'n ny bwwxt hy \* 'wš['n]  
 xrđyšhr gwy(d) kwt'n h'n e[y]  
 (dyn)wr'n 'nng'r (d')št hy[nd ?]  
 h'nt(')n pd mn w[n']st ['wt'n]
- (120) 'n 'cys' gylg['y b]w[d hym]

**C v / D r** \* *dw bwn wzrg* \* / \* ('y) š'bw<sub>h</sub>rg'n \*

**C v**

- 'wd wn'hg'r hyy(d) \* cy  
 d[y](n)wr'n (z')wryq dwšmyn b[wd]  
 hyyd \* 'w(t)'n 'xs'd kyrd [hynd]  
 'wt'n ny 'mwrzyd hynd \* 'w[d pd]
- (125) 5 (yz)d'n wn'hg'r [w̄] pwrđg hyyd  
 [gh]y prystg'n 'br 'wys'n  
 [dw]šqyrdg'n'n gwm'r(yd) 'wšñ  
 [g]yr'nd w̄ 'w dwšwx '(bg)[n'nd]
- (130) 10 [']wd k' xrđyšhr yz[d] 'w šhr  
 phryz'd \* 'yg rwe m'<sub>h</sub> 'wd  
 s'r hnds'nd \*\* w̄ ''z w̄ 'wrzwg  
 nz'r rs'd \*\* w̄ drđ 'wd dn'<sub>h</sub> (w̄)  
 [. . .] w̄ dwšy('ryy) 'wd nyxrwst
- (135) 15 cn'nd '[wd w]n'<sub>h</sub> ny qwn'nd w̄  
 w'd 'b w̄ 'dwr 'ndr šhr tz'[nd]  
 ('w)d w'r'n (nrm) w'r'd 'wd  
 [drx](t) w̄ gy'w (')wd b'r w̄ 'wrwr  
 [ ] rwy'nd \* 'wd [pd] šhr
- (140) 20 [ ] 'wd w(šy)d'xw bw'd \* 'wd  
 [m]rdwhm'n d(y)n nywš'nd \* w̄ hrw

which you did [to] the religious, that [service] you did for me. And I shall give you paradise as reward'. He will [give] them great joy.

100 [And] again to those evil-doers who stand on the left side he speaks thus, 'You evil-doers were \*materialistic and greedy, evil-doing and \*acquisitive, and I complain about you, for I was hungry and thirsty and you did not give (me) food, and I was naked and you did not clothe me,

110 and I was ill and you did not cure me, [and] I was a captive and an exile and you did not receive me in (your) house(s)'. And the evil-doers will say to him thus, 'Our god and lord, when was it that thou wast so distressed and we did not save thee?' And Xradešahr says to them, 'You, (by) those (things) which the religious have \*recounted—there(by) you have

120 harmed me [and] I had reason to complain of [you].

*The two great principles, / of the Śābuhraḡān*

And you are sinners, for you have been deceitful enemies of the religious, and you have distressed (them) and had no mercy on them. And [towards] the gods you are sinful and guilty'. Then he appoints angels over those evil-doers, and they will seize them and cast them into hell.

130 And when god Xradešahr will care for the world, then will day, month and year come to an end, and \*weakness will befall Greed and Lust, and Pain and \*Disease and . . . and Famine and Torment will tremble and will not (be able to) sin (any more). And wind, water and fire will run (free) in the world, and rain will fall softly [and the trees] and grass and

140 fruit and plants will grow . . . , and [in the] world will be . . . and confident, and mankind will listen to the Religion, and all . . . and benevolent

[ (r)st w̄ hwg'm w̄ rw'npry  
 [ ] dwš'rmyh̄  
 [ r](wē)nd \* w̄ k(')

**D r**

- (145) tr d(h)[m]y'n 'wd 'stwd('n)  
 (gy'g) wdyr'nd 'wš'n [w]yn['nd]  
 ['ygy]š'n xwys̄ twhm w̄ n'p  
 ['y wd]rd hynd 'y'd qwn'nd \* w̄  
 5 (gw)'nd (k)w w['y] (')wys̄('n ky) pd h'n  
 (150) 'w'm ('y) bzg mwrđ 'wd (w)ny (b)[wd]  
 (h)yn(d ky)bycwš'n sr 'z h'y['n]  
 ['w](l) [hn]'ryh̄ 'wš'n 'yn š'dy[h̄]  
 neyhyh̄ (ky) nwn 'mh̄ 'ndr phryzw(m)  
 10 *hnzpt 'mdyšnyy 'y zyndk[r]*  
 (155)

[155–158 blank]

- 15 ('')yd 'hr'myšn ('y x)[rdyšhr]  
 (160) [. . .] xrdyšhr yzd [ ]  
 (z)myg [ ]'d ky (.)[ ]  
 mr[dw](h)m'n 'wš[ ]  
 'wd xwd 'wl (')[w ]  
 20 xwys̄ g'h̄ 'hr'[m'd \* 'wd w'd]  
 (165) [']b w̄ 'dwr '[ ]'c  
 [z](m)yg (')wl ['hr'm'd ? 'wd]  
 (p)d š('d)yh̄ (p)[ ]  
 w'd 'b w̄ (')[dwr ]

**D v / E r** \* dw bwn 'y \* / \* š'bwhrq'n \***D v**

- tz'n \*\* 'yg zmyg 'wd 'sm'n  
 (170) (h'mqyš)wr pršqyrd zm'(n)  
 (b)[w'd] w̄ 'c hm'g šhr (m)[wrdg]  
 'bn'm'nd 'wd dynwr 'w [whyšt]  
 5 'hr'm'nd w̄ dd '[w]d drxt (')[wd]  
 mwrw ('y) prwr \* w̄ d'm 'yg 'byg w̄  
 (175) pr[y](st)r 'y zmyg 'c šhr zyh('nd)  
 [w̄ 'w dw]š[w x š]w'nd \*\*  
 'wd (p)[s w]d 'b 'wd 'dw(r)'c  
 10 [h]'n 'yrdwm zmyg ky h'n m'nbyd  
 'wd w'd'hr'm yzd 'br  
 (180) 'ystynd 'bysyh'd \* w̄ h'n š[h]r  
 'y nwg w̄ bnyst'n 'y dyw'n '[y]  
 [nwg]šhr'pwr yzd dysyd \* h'n(c)  
 15 ['w why]št'w hs'cyh'd w̄  
 [sxt] (q)yryh'd \* 'yg 'wr[myzd ?]  
 (185) [ ]m]'h̄ yzd [ ]  
 [ ](h')mqyš(wr) nyy['m]  
 [ ]rwšnyh̄ 'wd xwšn '[y]  
 20 [y]zd'n [ ]h'mqyšwr [ ]

and soul-loving ... love ... will \*shine. And when they will pass by a cemetery and a place of ossuaries and will see them, [then] they will remember their own family and relatives who have passed away, and  
 150 they will say, 'Alas (for) those who in that age of sin died and were lost. But who may raise up their heads from their resting-places and teach them this joy in which we now find ourselves?'

*Finished, the coming of the Life-giver.*

*There comes, the ascension of X[radešahr].*

160 ... god Xradešahr will ... earth, who ... mankind ... and will himself rise up to ... his own place. [And wind,] water and fire [will rise up ? from] the earth [and] in joy ... wind, water and [fire will cease ?]

*The two principles, of / the Šābuhraġān*

170 running. Then of the cosmos of earths and heavens [it will be] the time of Renovation and from the whole world they will cause [the dead] to go out, and raise the religious up to [Paradise], and animals and trees and winged birds and water creatures and reptiles of the earth will \*disappear from the world and go [to hell]. [Then] wind, water and fire will be removed from [that] lowest earth, on which that house-lord and the  
 180 wind-raising god are standing. And that New World and the prison of the demons, which the New-World-creating god forms, will be fixed [to] Paradise and made [\*fast] ... Then O(h)rmezd ... (moon) god ... sheath (?) of the cosmos ... Splendour of the [gods] ... cosmos...

145 'Auch 'stw[d]('n) möglich. Finales n ornamental sehr gross geschrieben', S. 161-168 S.  
 169 fz'n, reverse imprint on E r. 170-174 beginnings, S. 171 (m)[wrdg], S. 175 zyh('nd), S.



190 O(h)rmezd . . . [cosmos] . . . snow melts.

And when that Splendour [of the] gods rises up, then [darkness] will enclose the cosmos of earths and heavens from the highest heaven  
200 and to the lowest earth and it will come loose from (its) sheath and fastening.

Then again Mihryazd will \*go down from the chariot [of the] sun to the cosmos and a call will resound and the gods who in the different heavens and earths are lord of the house, of the village, of the tribe and of the land, border-guard and (demon-)tormentor, and (who) hold the world in order, [and] torment Az (Greed) and Ahramen and the demons  
210 [and] witches—to them [and] all (the universe) it will become known that Az [and] Ahramen and the demons and witches [and] demons of wrath, Mazan demons and arch-demons . . . with . . .

*On the collapse / of the cosmos*

Then that house-lord god, who stands on the lowest earth and holds  
220 the earths in order, [and] that wind-raising god who (is) with him, who raises up wind, water and fire, and that village-lord god who stands on this earth, and (who) keeps that gigantic dragon cast down in the northern clime, together with (their) helpers, (all) proceed to Paradise. Then the earths will all, one upon the other, collapse down onto those four (lower) layers, the prison of the demons.

231 [And] the female form of [the mother] of Ohrmezd will appear from the chariot of the sun and look upon the heavens. And that god, lord of the land, who stands above all heavens and holds the hands of those [five]

- 20 (')wyš'n p[n](z)[n] yzd'n dst d'ryd \*  
 [ ] w h'n [ny ?] (yz)[d] ('y my'n  
 [ ] (n ? 'yrg)  
 [ ](g) ('y)[ ]  
 [240 missing]

**F r**

- 'wyš('n) pnz'n yzd'n (hmys)  
 [ky] (n)xwst ps xwyš r(w)[šny](h w)  
 (x)[wšn] (')z 'wd 'hr(m)[yn w dyw'n]  
 ['wd] drwxš'n grypt [bwd hynd]  
 (245) 5 (h)[ ](w)h(yšt)'w[ ]  
 'wd 'wy pnz yzd ky (nx)[wst ? ]  
 [w]hyšt'w 'wd yzd'n 'c ('')[z w]  
 ['hr[myn] w dyw'n 'wd drwx(š)[n]  
 zd bwd hynd h'nz 'ndr whyšt['w]  
 (250) 10 dwdy ''wn dryst 'wd (h'ws'r)  
 bw'nd c'wnš'n nxwystyc  
 'whrmzdby '(p)wr k' 'hnwn  
 'c ''z 'wd dyw'n zd (ny) bw[d]  
 hynd \*\* w h'n(c q)yšw(rw'r)[yzd]  
 (255) 15 (k)[y] zmyg w 'sm('n) wy(n)yr[d d'](ry)[d]  
 ['wyš]('n) 'w [why]št'w '(hr)'m[yd]  
 ghy 'sm'n dh ('w)d gyrd'(s)[m'n]  
 yk ('y) grd'g pd (q)yšwr g'h  
 (260) 20 m'n 'wd wyys (zn)d (')wd dyh  
 p'dgws ['wd wy](mnd) [p](')hr w dr  
 'st'ng (r'stw'n) ['](wd wc)[yhr](g)  
 (')wd nyr'myšn e(h)[r] (b)n (')[y dyw'n]  
 ('w)d zmyg ch'(r p)[d ]

**F v / G r** \* 'br 'stptyh ['y \*] / \* 'dwr wzrg \*

**F v**

- (265) (G)[h ?] 'wd qyšwr (q)wp  
 ('wd r'r) 'wd n'y 'y qndg  
 ('wd dwšw)x 'b'g ''z ['wd]  
 ('wrzwg) ['](hr)myn w dyw'n w [drwxšn]  
 5 [xyšm'n m]zn'n [w] 'sryš(t)[r](')n  
 (270) [k' wys](p)'n 'ndr ps(')x(t w)  
 [hp]šy)rd hrw) prwd hmbh'nd \* (w)  
 [h'n]n sh p'(r)gyn 'y [zh]ryn t'ryn  
 ['w[d] swcyšn 'y pyr('mw)n h'm  
 10 qyšwr qyrd 'ystynd h'nš'n  
 (275) 'br prwd wšyh'nd 'wd h'n  
 swcyšn 'y xyšmyn 'y nwn  
 pyr'mwn h'mkyšwr 'wb'yyd  
 ['w](d pr)sp(yd) w p'd 'ystyd h'n  
 15 ['nd](r) [']brg w xwr's'n 'yrg w  
 (280) (x)[wr](nw'r) ['w](d) b'l'y (w) zwpryh  
 [phn'y ?] w (dr)'z'y (sw)e'n rw'd  
 [w z](my)g '(s)m'n h'mqyšwr

gods, . . . and that [other ?] god who [stands] between . . . south (?) . . .  
 241 together with those five gods who first, with their own Splendour had  
 been seized by Az and Ahramen [and the male and] female demons . . .  
 Paradise . . . and those five gods who [first ? far from ?] Paradise and the  
 gods had been struck down by Az and Ahramen and the male and female  
 250 demons—they too in Paradise will again become as whole and like (they  
 were at) their first creation (by) Ohrmezdby, when they had not yet been  
 struck down by Az and the demons,—and also that world-bearing [god]  
 who keeps the earths and heavens (well) ordered,—they will (all) ascend  
 to Paradise. Then the ten heavens and the one revolving circle of the  
 260 zodiac, with climes, thrones, houses and villages, tribes and lands, regions  
 [and borders], guards and gates, months, days and [double hours], and the  
 four (lower) layers, prison [of the demons], and the four (upper) earths,  
 with . . .

*On the fierceness [of] / the great fire*

thrones (?) and climes, mountains and valleys and excavated canals . . . and  
 hell, with Az and Lust, Ahramen and the male and [female] demons,  
 270 [demons of wrath,] Mazan demons and arch-fiends . . . (when they are all)  
 arranged and squeezed therein, they will all collapse. And those three  
 poisonous dark ditches and the conflagrations which have been made  
 around the cosmos will be let loose down upon them. And that raging fire  
 which now guards and \*walls and is stationed around the cosmos, that will  
 280 go burning in north and east, south and west, and (in the) height and  
 depth, [breadth ?] and length (of the cosmos). [And] the cosmos of earths

241 (*hmys*), S. 242 f. [*ky*], *r(w)[šny](h ÷ x)[wšn]*, S. 246 (*nx*)[*wst*], S. 249 *h'nz 'ndr*  
*whyšl[w]*, S. 250 (*h'ws'r*), S. 254 (*q)yšw(rw'r)[yzd]*, S. 255–263 ends, S. 266–268 beginnings,  
 reverse imprint on G r. 270 S. 280–287 beginnings, S.

- (285) [']ndr (h')n (s)[w]c(yš)n ''wn [sw]c'nd  
 20 c'(w)n [m](wm) pd 'dwr ǃ ['](')z 'wd  
 ['wrzwg 'hrm]yn [ǃ dy](w)'n xyšm'n  
 m[ ] t'r'n 'wd  
 ( illegible traces )  
 [ hz'r 'wd]

**G r**

- (290) ch'r sd šst 'wd hšt s'[r]  
 ['y]'rd'nd 'wd wrd'nd 'wd 'xš'dy[y]  
 [gwm]'y'nd \* ǃ h'n zwr 'wd prdwz  
 'yg 'wy rǃšnyh 'wd xwšn 'y  
 5 yzd'n 'y pd zmyg 'wd 'sm'n  
 h'mqyšwr ǃ ''z 'wd dyw'n zd  
 (295) 'wd prdxt m'nd \* h'n pd 'wy  
 ''yb ('c)yš b' 'wzyh'[d 'wd]  
 p'q bw'd ǃ 'w xwr 'wd m'(h)  
 10 'hr'm'd \* 'wd pd cyhr ['y]  
 'whrmzdy yzd bw'd \* ǃ ('c)  
 (300) xwr ǃ m'h hmys 'w whyšt'[w]  
 'hr'm'nd \* ǃ 'whrmzdy 'c]  
 'brg p'dgws ǃ rǃšnšh[ryzd]  
 15 'c xwr's'n \* ǃ nwg(š)hr['p](wr)  
 yzd 'c 'yrg \* ǃ myhryzd ('c)  
 (305) xwrnw'r p'dgws \* 'ymyš'[n]  
 pdyšt'n 'c xwys'n (ǃ h)[y'r'n]  
 hmys 'br h'n dysm'n ['y]  
 20 whyšt'w 'y nwg (p)[y](r'm)wn 'w[y]  
 ''yb 'y[s](t')[nd ǃ ? 'w] (')'(yb)  
 (310) nyyš'nd \* ǃ ('wy)š'n[c dyn](wr'n)  
 ky 'ndr whyšt'[w hynd pd]  
 [g']hrwšn nšyy'n[d \* ]

**G v / H r** \* 'br rw'n'n \* / [\* 'y dw]šqyrdg'n'[n] \*  
**G v**

- (ps) hndmǃ 'y (yzd)'n ''y'nd 'wd  
 [pyr'mwn] 'wy ''yb 'yst'[nd]  
 (315) ['wd dwšqyrd]g'n'n 'ndr ''y[b]  
 ['y'rd'nd] 'wd wrd'nd 'wd  
 5 prbys'nd ǃ 'wys'n dynwr'n  
 h'n (')'yb ''wn ny wyz'y'd  
 [c]'wn nwn c 'yn 'dwr xwr 'wd  
 (320) [m']h (n)y wyz'yd \*  
 ['wd h'n 'y dwšqyrdg'n k' 'ndr  
 10 [']wy ''yb 'y['rd]'nd ǃ wrd'nd  
 'yg 'wl nyyš'nd 'wd dynwr'n  
 'šn's'nd 'wš'n pywh''n  
 (325) 'wh gw'nd kw't'n nyw dybg 'br  
 [']mh hyb byh \* 'wm'n  
 15 ['hyn](z)yš[n] 'wd z'yg 'w dst dyy[d]  
 'wm'n 'c 'yn swcyšn bwzy(d)  
 ['](w)m'n (ny) [p]rm'd kw 'yn''wn

and heavens will burn in the conflagration like wax in fire. And Az and [Lust], Ahramen and the demons, demons of wrath . . . dark and . . . (2 lines missing) . . . [one thousand] four hundred and sixth-eight years  
 290 they will be tormented and writhe and suffer distress. And the power and \*energy of that Splendour of the gods which has remained in the cosmos of earths and heavens and struck down and \*exhausted by Az and the demons will go out from it (the cosmos) in that conflagration [and] be purified and go up to the sun and moon and become a god in  
 300 the form of Ohrmezdbay, and together with sun and moon will go up to Paradise. And Ohrmezdbay from the northern region, and Rošnšahr[yazd] (the Light World god) from the east, and the New-World-[creating] god from the south, and Mihr[yazd] from the western region, their (respective) stations, together with their own (people) and [helpers], will stand on that structure of the New Paradise, around that conflagration, and will  
 310 look [into] the conflagration. And those [religious also] who [are] in Paradise will sit [on] thrones of light.

*On the souls / [of the] evil-doers*

Then, in the presence of the gods, they will come and stand [around] that conflagration. [And the evil-doers] in the conflagration [will be tormented] and writhe and suffer, and that conflagration does not harm those religious,  
 320 just as now too this fire, (namely) sun and moon, does not harm (people). And when those evil-doers are tormented and writhe in that conflagration, then they will look up and recognize the religious and will say to them beseechingly, ' May your good fortune befall us. Give us a life-line into our hands to pull us up, and save us from this burning. We did not think

- (330) [ ] w̄ 'st̄pt 'b[r] 'm̄h r(sy)  
 [b]ycwm'n 'g(r) d'nyst hy 'wm'n  
 20 (c)y gwpyh[s](t h)'nym('n w)'br  
 qyrd [hy \*\*] '[mh?]yc dyn 'wd  
 [ p](d)yryp(t hy) 'wm'n ''z  
 (335) [ ny]r'pt hy w̄ 'šm̄h  
 [ hy](')r bwd hyym (')[wd]

**H r**

- [ '(x)s'dy] [ ]  
 [ ](m) \*\* \*\*  
 ['wd dynwr'n ''jwh gw'nd kw  
 (340) 'šm̄h (dws)[q](yr)[d](g)'nh'n m'  
 5 dr'[y](y)d \* [cym]'n h'(n) 'y'd bwd  
 (qw) 'nd(r) [šhr ?] ''zg'm w̄ 'w[rz](w)g  
 pyys (b)[wd] hyyd \* 'wd 'st̄(m)[b](g)  
 'n'n[ ](s)t (hyy)d \* ['wt'n]  
 (345) rw'n [r'y ny] mynyd w̄ (')[w 'm̄h]  
 10 dws̄my[ny'd bwd hyd] \* 'wt'n '[c]  
 (š)hr (')w šhr xwyhyd w̄ mw[rzyd]  
 [h](w)m 'wt'n w'br ny qyr(d)[ kw]  
 [yz]d'(n q'm)yšng(r) hwm 'w(t)'[n]  
 (350) [xw](d)yc ny prm['d kw ? 'yn] (d)wjw(')[ryy]  
 15 [']br ('m')[h] rs'd [w̄ ? 'm̄h]  
 [ ](d)y(n)[-] d'r'd [b]yc 'gr  
 'šm̄h ['c] 'm̄h (x)[r]d w̄ (d')ny(š)[n]  
 ('y yzd'n (p)[dyry]p(t h)[y] \* 'wd (k)[']  
 (355) rw'n pryy (b)[w]d h(yd) \* (w̄) pd yzd'[n]  
 20 pnd r(pt) hy[d 'wd] (h)'mpn[d]  
 (')wd hy'r (b)[wd hyd 'ygyt'n]  
 tn ''z 'wd 'wr[zwg ny z'd ?]  
 (h)'(d) \* w̄ t'y 'prg '[wd ]  
 (360) [ny] (wrwwyd ?) \* 'yg rw['n j'y'd'n 'w]

**H v / J r** \* (dw bwn)[ 'y \*] / [\* š'](bwhr)g('n \*)

**H v**

- dwj(w')ryh ny md[ h'd \* nwn]  
 ny 'w 'm̄h pywh(yy)d[ 'wd m']  
 dr'yyd w̄ m' (ywbyd)[ ]  
 cy 'ync ('y nwn [']m̄h 'w 'yn  
 (365) 5 hndmn 'y yzd'n m[d h]yym \* h'n  
 ny (')šm̄h dws̄q[y]r[d]g'n'n r'y  
 [m]d hyym \* byc 'wys'n r'y  
 [hndym'n ? m](d) hyym ky [h']n šhr 'y  
 [qhwn ? 'ndrw]n 'w dynw(r'n) rwn xwb  
 (370) 10 [b](wd) hynd 'wd pdys'y 'šm̄h  
 [dw]šqyrdg'n'n h'nš'(n ny d)[yd ?]  
 [d]ly(n) w̄ qyrdg'n tw'n bwd (')dy(d)[n]  
 (')wd pdyryptn w̄ ''z 'wd 'wrzw(g)  
 [pr](')mwx(t)[n 'wd] dynwr'n h'm[pnd]  
 (375) 15 [w̄ ? pr](m)yn ('sp)w(r b)wdn \* 'wd '[yd]  
 r'y 'w gr'n (d)[wjw']r)yh (m)[d]

330 that it would befall us so . . . and harshly ; but if we had known, we would have believed that which was said to us, we would have accepted the religion and . . . and we would have cast down Az [and . . .] and to you we have been . . . helpers. And . . . suffering . . .’ [And the religious] will  
 340 speak thus. ‘Do not prate, you evil-doers, [for] we remember that in the [world] you were greedy and lustful, and you have [been] oppressive . . . [and you did not] consider the soul, and [to us you have been] inimical and have pursued and persecuted us from land to land, and you did not believe that we are the fulfillers of the wishes of the gods. And you  
 350 yourselves did not consider [that, “This] misfortune may befall us and hold [us ?] . . .”. But if you had accepted the wisdom and knowledge of the gods from us, and had been soul-loving, and had gone in the path of the gods and had been travelling-companions and helpers (to us), then [your] bodies [would not have borne ?] Az and Lust, and [you would  
 360 not have] \*adhered to robbers, thieves and . . . Then (your) souls

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would not have come [eternally to] misfortune. [Now] let you not beseech us, [and do not] prate and complain . . . For this, that now we have come to this, into the presence of the gods—we have not come for (the sake of) you evil-doers, but we have come . . . for those who [in that old ?] world  
 370 were well-disposed towards the religious, and because of you evil-doers they did not [see] that, (namely that) it was possible (for them) to enter the religion and to accept the (necessary) deeds, and to cast off Az and Lust and to be [travelling-]companions of the religious, and completely [? happy]. And [there]fore they have come to grave misfortune, and . . .

- (380) 20 [h](ynd \* w̄) [ ](g šy)[ ](h) 'ndr  
 ['wy] ('yb 'y) ['(r)d]y[nd] 'wd wrdynd  
 ('wd 'xš)'d(yh) wd[']rynd \* nwn ('mh)  
 [ ](yšn) [ ](h)m(b'ry)m  
 [ ]('z) w̄ 'wrzwwg (. . .)  
 [ ](e) 'wd dw[ ](.)[ ]  
 [ ] ('mh 'wy . . .)  
 [ ] ('b'g 'šm[h])

**J r**

- (385) [ ]n \* '(w)[d] ('b'g ('h)[r]m[y]n  
 ['wd] dyw('n p(d) bn 'y j'yd'n bst  
 (ny) bw'd b(y)c 'šmh 'yd  
 dwjw('r)[y]h w'ryyd \* cyt'n 'c  
 5 'z ('wd ['wr]zwwg w̄ xwyš kwnyšn  
 (390) '(b)r md \* ['](w)t'n 'z 'yd 'xš(')[dy](h)  
 c('wn bwz('m k' 'c ('ndr)[ yzd'n ?]  
 d'dys[t]('n) wer 'yd ('wd)[ ps]  
 wys(p r)w'n ky 'ndr (t)[n pd 'z w̄]  
 10 'wrzwwg) z'yh('d) w̄ 'z (w̄ 'w)[rzwg]  
 (395) [z'](yn'd) 'wš ny nyr'm'd w̄ tn(p)[rst]  
 'wd 'z'g'm bw'd 'wd 'hrmyn(k)[n ?]  
 d'r'd \* h'n 'b'g 'hrmyn ['wd]  
 [dy]w'n pd bn 'y [j'yd]('n) bs[t]  
 15 [b](w)'d \*\* (w̄ h'n) ky y(z)[d'](n) q(')[m]  
 (400) qwn'd ['wd dynwr'n h']mpnd '(w)[d]  
 hy'r b[w'](d)[ 'wd 'wy](e) ky [ ]  
 [p]dyš xwb [ ](. . . .)[ ]  
 [']b'g yzd['n pd] (w)hys(t)  
 20 [ ](b)w'(d) [ ](r)[ ]  
 (405) [dw](šq)yrđg'(n')[n 'wd pswx]  
 ['w] (d)wšqyr(d)[g'n'n 'ndr]  
 [sw](e)yšn gr'n ['wd pšym'n]  
 [bw'nd 'wd] ('x)š'd b(w)[nd \*\* \*\*]

**J v /** (\* d)w bwn [wzrg ? \*]/

**J v**

- (410) ('wd)[ h'n rw]n('n)[n 'b'ryg'n]  
 ky ('n)[d](r) tn \* '(')[z] ('w)[d] ('wr)[zwwg]  
 z'y'nd w̄ d' [z]myg ('w)d ['sm'n]  
 'ystyd x(r)d 'w[d] d'(nyšn 'y)  
 5 (r)w'nceynyh ny pd(yr)['nd '(w)d '(w)  
 [dyn](')wryh ny (')[dyh'nd \*\*]( 'wd nyc)  
 (415) [dwsqy](r)[d](g'n) bw(')[nd] byc pd  
 [hrg 'wd] (q)'ryz'r rw(')[nd] ('wd 'z  
 ['wd 'w](r)zwwg (q)'m q[w](n')[n]d ('wd)  
 10 ['w dwsqy](rdg'n')[n p]r(ys)t['nd w̄ pd  
 [dynwr'n](c) xwb w̄ xwš (bx)[š'nd]  
 (420) ['wd] (pdys'y 'y)'z 'w[d] ('wrz)wwg w̄  
 [.]'wy 'wd xrg w̄ m[w](s)[t](br)yh  
 [ ] ('b'g) nwr(')[n ?]  
 15 [ ](. . .)[ ](. w̄ . . .)[ ](ny) b(w')[nd]

in [that] conflagration they are tormented and writhe and suffer distress.  
 380 Now we fill . . . Az and Lust . . . and . . . we . . . with you . . . And he will  
 not be bound in the eternal prison with Ahramen [and] the demons. But  
 390 you, rejoice (at) this misfortune, for it has come upon you from Az and  
 Lust and your own actions! And how should we save you from this  
 torment, when this (is) a judgement from within the justice [of the gods ?].  
 And [then] every soul which shall be born in a body with Az and Lust,  
 and bear Az and Lust and not cast them off, and become self-indulgent  
 and greedy, and keep [the creatures of] Ahramen, he shall be bound with  
 Ahramen [and] the demons in the eternal prison. And he who shall do  
 400 the will of the gods [and] be a travelling-companion and helper [of the  
 religious, and he] too who [is] well-disposed to them . . . shall be . . . with  
 the gods in Paradise . . . evil-doers and (their) answer to the evil-doers in  
 the grievous burning, and they will repent and be distressed.

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410 And those other souls which shall bear Az and Lust in the body, and  
 so long as earth and heaven stand shall not accept the wisdom and know-  
 ledge of Soul-gathering and not enter into the religious community, and  
 shall not become wicked, but shall behave in (the exaction of) tribute  
 and in battle, and shall do the will of Az and Lust, and serve the evil-  
 doers, and shall also bestow on the religious good and pleasant (things),  
 420 and according to Az and Lust and . . . and tribute and tyranny . . . with  
 the . . . and shall not be . . . with . . . you . . . righteous (?) . . . (remainder  
 illegible).

(425) [ ](. . .) pd[ ] 'b'g  
 [ ]qy (. . .) [ ] ('wy) '(šm) ['h]  
 [ ](d . . .) [ ] ('rd') ['w'n ?]  
 [427-432 illegible]

## NOTES

4. 'The speakers are the false prophets who will appear at this time' (Boyce, *Reader*, z 1, note).

5. *pyysgr*. Ghilain (art. cit., 540) translates this *hapax* appropriately 'mandataire', i.e. 'exécuteur des préceptes', or rather 'one holding a mandate, carrying out instructions'. On *payēs*, v. Henning, 'Mitteliranisch', 64, n. 1: its use with *kun-* is exemplified in *Mir. Man.*, I, 202, l. 1 (= *Reader*, y 53, l. 5) *cyš'n k'm 'wd pyys qwnd* 'denn ihren Willen und (ihre) Weisung erfüllt er'. Boyce's translation (z 1, n., and *Word-list*,<sup>14</sup> 77) 'we are the gods' teachers' (unfortunately ambiguous) appears to rest on a misunderstanding.

5 f. For (. . . m . . .), Sundermann writes: 'Was ich lesen kann, sieht wie *y*(1-2m2-3) aus.' Initial *y-* in MP is almost only found in 'learned' words (the only known verb being *ywb-*, v. 363 below), and *\*wym<sup>o</sup>* has already passed to *gwm<sup>o</sup>* in the MP verbs known. An initial *z-* is, according to S., impossible, so *\*z'myhyd* 'be led', an otherwise unattested passive to *z'pt*, *z'm-* is excluded. S. then suggests: Vielleicht einfach (*w'*)[š](m)['h], und 6 Ende [*rwyd* \* *w'*].

9. *dynwr* 'religious, devout; a religious man' (*Word-list*, 38), lit. 'bearer of the religion', is outside this text only met in M 2 R II 24 f. (*Mir. Man.*, II, 303 = *Reader*, h 4) *dynwr hym hš'gyrd 'y m'ny prystg* 'Ein Gläubiger bin ich, ein Schüler Manis, des Gesandten'. Here too it seems to have the general meaning of '(relapsing) Manichaeism', but see note to 45.

17. See *Reader*, z 2, n. 'the function of bringing enlightenment to Adam is usually assigned to Jesus, whereas the sending of gnosis to his descendants through the prophets is the work of the Great Nous. The identity of the god Xradēsahr is therefore uncertain'. But to 21 Sundermann writes 'bei enger Schreibung könnte *'w* (m)[yrd'n] o.ä. dastehen, was man eigentlich erwarten sollte, da der Gott der Welt des Nous (Jesus der Glanz) alle Offenbarungen an die Menschheit inspiriert hat'.

18. There is no space for Boyce's reconstruction of *\*'c* before *nxwst*, nor for *'wd \*myrd* after *nwxwyr*.

**A v / B r**. This heading, correctly restored already by Müller, op. cit., 11, '[Das Kommen] des Menschensohns', is wrongly combined, *Reader*, 78, with that of **B v / C r** to give a non-existent title 'Concerning the Judgement by the Son of Man'. This unhappy juxtaposition occurs already in F. C. Burkitt's *Religion of the Manichees*, Cambridge, 1925, 89.

32 and 205. *m'nbyd wysbyd zndbyd 'wd dhybyd p'hrqbyd*, see Ghilain, art. cit., 542 f., for other occurrences. These are the five sons of the Living Spirit, Mihr Yazd, identified by A. V. W. Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, New York, 1932, 296 ff., esp. 308, as Atlas, Adamas of Light, King of Glory, King of Honour, and Keeper of Splendour, in that order. He also, 307, n. 35, gives

<sup>14</sup> Mary Boyce, *A word-list of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (with a reverse index by Ronald Zwanziger), *Acta Iranica*, 9a, Teheran and Liège, 1977.

the Avestan origin of the first four terms, from the titles *nmānō.paiti-*, *wīspaiti-*, *zantupaiti-*, *dai'ghupaiti-*: as Schaefer had already stated, however (R. Reitzenstein and H. H. Schaefer, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, Leipzig, 1926, 282 f.), the hierarchical nature of these offices was irrelevant to Mani's conception. E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, *Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten*, Berlin, 1933, 508 [where there is a confusing error: l. 31, for 'Landesherrn', read 'Stammesherrn']-511, demonstrate that the last two titles are to be reversed: the King of Honour is *p'hrqbyd* and the Splenditenens *dhybyd*. Sundermann, in his important contribution, 'The five sons of the Manichaean god Mithra', to the Seminario su 'Specificità storicoreligiosa dei Misteri di Mithra', Rome, 1978 (papers to be published by U. Bianchi), returned to Jackson's ordering, but see now n. 234 ff. below.

34. [*ny*] *xrwst'r* has been continuously reproduced as *xrwst'r* since Müller's original error, op. cit., 24, leading Boyce, *Reader*, z 3, n., to write of this form as a *hapax*. In fact there is plainly space for two letters before *x-* at the beginning of the line and the appearance of *ny*[ in 206 in precisely the same position in the series of 'offices' makes it practically certain that we have two occurrences of the same word *nyxrwst'r*. For the rest, Ghilain's etymological connexion (art. cit., 542) with Avestan *xraod-* 'ängstigen' (*AirWb.* 533) is convincing, although it involves the recognition of two partly homonymous verbs, *nrxrwhyd*, \**nrxrwh-* 'tadeln,<sup>15</sup> reproach' (*Word-list*, 64) < OP \**ni-xrauθ-*, Av. *xraos-*, and \**nyxrwst*, *nyxrw-* < \**ni-xraud-* 'torment'. While 209 *nyxrwwhynd* could, if somewhat weakly, be translated 'they reproach Az, etc.', the verbal noun 134 *nyxrwst*, denoting a personified evil, must be something stronger than mere 'Reproach, Rebuke', which hardly merits demonisation! The two verbs (brought together in *Word-list*, 64, 66) should thus be kept apart, and *xrwst'r* (*Word-list*, 99) be deleted. By the same token, the inscriptional Pahlavi form *nhlwsty* in Kartir's (Kirdēr) inscription at the 'Kaaba-i Zardusht' must, considering the context, also be 'torment', not merely 'reproach': KKZ 13 f. 'LHšnm *puhly* / MHYTN 'Pm *nhlwsty* HWHd 'Dm ŠPYL *kly* HWHd 'those [heretics] I punished (*puhl zad*), and I tormented them until I made them better'. Here too we find the primary participle, in contrast to the secondary *nixrōhīd* for 'reproach'.

Ghilain, art. cit., 543, assumes that *dyw'n* [*ny*] *xrwst'r* is the same as the *bnbyd* 'prison warden' mentioned in a fuller list of the creations of Mihr Yazd, M 7984 (*Mir. Man.*, I, e II R I 34 = *Reader*, y 7), and he in turn is identified by Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Man. Dogmatik*, 514 f., with the Call-God, sixth son of Mihr Yazd, called in Parthian Xrōštag. At first I had doubts about this identification as there is no obvious reason why especially Xrōštag should merit the title 'demon-tormentor', when all the sons are said to torment in 209. But I have to bow not only to the conviction of Boyce and Sundermann but also to the unavoidable 'wd / w̄ after *p'hrqbyd*.

37. In the Müller-Salemann reading [. . .] *dyw'n* *pyš* 'wy the demons seemed out of place. Boyce's reconstruction (*Reader*, z 3) \*'wd *hrw* would require too much space unless one assumed [*w̄ hr*] *w*, but the abbreviation is very seldom found at the beginning of a line. Moreover *hrw*, though it often precedes an -'n plural in Parthian, rarely does so in MP. Sundermann's new reading [*dw*] *dw*'n *pdš* 'wy is far more convincing, though *pdš* can hardly be anything other than a mistake for *pyš*.

<sup>15</sup> W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Berlin, 1973, 129 (where 'Präs.3.Sg.' is an error for 'Pt.', i.e. participle), and text line 1719.

40. *mrđyhng'n*. The form *mrđyhn* occurs in M 882 a, 1/4 and, very probably, M 4168, 2/2, published recently by Sundermann ('Überreste manichäischer Yimki-Homilien', *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg*, II (*Acta Iranica*, 5), 300-1). Ghilain's proposed interpretation (art. cit., 544) of \**mrđyh-*, or possibly \**mrzyh-*, is multiply impossible: (1) the Pahlavi present stem *marzīh-* is not (with Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, II, 147, repeated *Manual of Pahlavi*, II, 127) from Av. *marəz-* 'touch', but is a ghost-word needing a long footnote to lay it properly;<sup>16</sup> (2) the MP verb *marz-*, either a loan from Parthian or a 'learned' form, means only 'copulate', and is intransitive, allowing no 'passive' in *-īh-*; (3) an 'authentic Persian' form \**mardīh-* would long since have become \**mālīh-* in Manichaean MP, cf. *hyl-*: Parthian *hyrz-*. It seems better to consider the word as a nominal compound < \**martah/šana-* or \**mart.y.h/šana-*. Of OP roots containing a *θ*, a putative \**aθ*, Av. \**as*, Skr. *aś* 'eat', as in Av. *kahrkāsa-* 'vulture', lit. 'chicken-eater', offers an interpretation as \**marti-yāšana-* (formed like Av. *ātrə.wazana-*, *zaoθrō.barana-*, etc.). Although the reduction of *-iyā-* to \**-ē/ī-* would require explanation (but note NP *kargās*), such an old word for 'man-eater' could easily be generalized to mean 'monster, tyrant' or the like, from which an adjective in *-g'n* would give 'tyrannous, oppressive'.

45. Sundermann writes: 'Ich würde übersetzen "die Frommen mit (ihren) Helfern"', um es ganz deutlich zu machen, dass hier von den beiden Gemeinschaften der manichäischen Kirche, den Electi und den Auditores, die Rede ist. Erst in den Zeilen 73-96 wird m. A. n. ganz deutlich, dass beim jüngsten Gericht zwischen drei, nicht zwei Gruppen von Menschen zu unterscheiden ist: 1. den Electi (*dymwr'n*), die weder als Angeklagte noch als Ankläger vor dem Richtstuhl Christi erscheinen müssen, sondern sogleich zu den Göttern ins Neue Lichtparadies erhoben werden (Zeilen 49 ff.), 2. den Auditores (*hy'r'n* 'y *dymwr'n*), den 'Schafen' zur Rechten Christi, die um der Dienste willen, die sie den Electi geleistet haben, gerechtfertigt aus dem Gericht hervorgehen und unter der Herrschaft Christi auf dieser verklärten Welt bis zur Vernichtung der Welt leben werden, bzw. auch ins Paradies eingehen (aus Zeilen 97 ff. folgt zwar nur, dass sie das Paradies und "grosse Freude" zum Lohn erhalten; ausführlicher sind aber die koptischen Homilien: *Manichäische Homilien*, I, ed. H. J. Polotsky, Stuttgart, 1934, 39), 3. den übrigen, ungläubigen Weltkindern, den 'Böcken' zur Linken, die in die Hölle geworfen werden (Zeilen 100 ff.). Dies ist die aus den *Homilien* bereits bekannte Auffassung, vgl. S. 38, 12 ff.'

<sup>16</sup> Its only occurrence is in the *Kärnāmag* (ed. Antia, 12). Nyberg's interpretation of this astrological passage, pieced together, is 'faute de mieux' (*Manual*, II, 158, s.v. \**pat-kust*): \**dō-āpdān* *ōpast* u *stārak* *Ohurmazd apāc* (ō) *bālist* *āmāt apī-š hac Vahrām* u *Anāhīt* \**pat-kust*. *Haftōiring* u *Šagr axtar marzihēnd* u *ō Ohurmazd hayyārēh dahēnd*. 'The constellation Aquarius has set and the planet Jupiter returned to (its) culmination point, and it has joined side by side with Mars and Venus. The constellations Ursa Major and Leo are in conjunction and give assistance to Jupiter'. Ignoring the extravagant coinings \**dō-āpdān* ('Aquarius' is well attested as *dōl*) and \**pat-kust*, it need only be observed that constellations, fixed stars, cannot conceivably 'be in conjunction' to show the impossibility of this reading. Henning amended boldly and necessarily to make passable 'popular astrological' sense of the passage, thus: *gr[h]cyhr 'w pst[k] W st'lk <Y> 'whrmzd L'WHL <L> b'lst Y'TWNt [Pš MN] w'hl'm W 'n'hyt PWN kust <Y> hptwng <BYN> šgl 'hll mlc yhynd W 'L 'whrmzd hdyb'lyh YHBNd*, i.e. *Gōzihr* *ō past* u *stārag* *ī Ohurmazd abāz* (ō) *bālist* *āmād*. *Wahrām* u *Anāhīt*, *pad kust* (ī) *Haftōiring*, (andar) *Šagr axtar marz jahēnd* u *ō Ohurmazd ayārīh dahēnd*. 'The Dragon has come into (its) dejection and the planet Jupiter back to (its) exaltation [in Cancer]. Mars and Venus, in the direction of the Great Bear [i.e. in the northern hemisphere], are (*jahēnd*) within the term (*marz*) of the sign Leo and give support to Jupiter [in neighbouring Cancer]. For *andar* *fastan*, *jah-* as an astrological term, see my 'Zoroastrian astrology in the *Bundahišn*', *BSOAS*, xxvii, 3, 1964, 514-15, with n. 22.

49 f. With *kw* \**yzd* 'wm'n *xwd'y*, cf. 114 *kwm'n yzd w xwd'y*.

57. 'ng'm, reading certain. See Henning, *BSOAS*, XI, 3, 1945, 485.

66. *npryn*, the expected MP spelling (as in Sundermann, *KPT*, 129, text l. 1434), is certain. The only dot present marks the *r*. Müller's misreading, with *-f*, has survived in the *Reader*, z 6, and *Word-list*, 61.

67. *drw'xyz* (omitted from the *Word-list*) < \**druwa-āhaiza-*, probably 'having a whole (healthy) arising', cf. MP *ryst'hyz* 'resurrection' (lit. 'arising of the dead') and *mwrd'h/xyz* 'raiser of the dead'. The positive *drw-* does not occur in MP (only superlative *dryst*), so the compound must be an old inherited Zoroastrian term for the blessed at the Resurrection.

67-71. The restored text differs necessarily from that given by Boyce, *Reader*, z 6. The lacuna in 71 has 'a wholly tentative restoration by Dr. Sundermann, which would fit the space and the faint traces'.

76. Restoration and translation doubtful. In such a passive formation one would expect an auxiliary in concord with 'šmh, i.e. *q[yrđ hyd]*, but Sundermann indicates only *q[3-5]*. The more natural interpretation of *pdyš*, as governing the relative *ky* 'by whom', founders on the reading ('*prydg* . . .). With \**q[wnym]*, i.e. 'through/by whom I make . . .', it gives no sense, and replacing it with a noun, e.g. 'pryn, makes matters no better. With *q[yrđ]* a noun would obviate the necessity of *pdyš*, and more likely appear simply as \**ky zrw'n 'pryn qyrd* 'who praised Z.', cf. 60 *ghyš'n 'pryn qwnd*.

85. *hrwpt* is transcribed, *Word-list*, 47, as \**hruft*, its present *hrwb-* as *hrub-*, following approximately Henning, 'Verbum', *ZII*, 9, 1933, 184, *hrōβ-*, *hruft* < \**uz + rup*. The meaning there given, 'öffnen', was later corrected by Henning to 'sammeln', *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, Berlin, 1937, 79, sub 649. The impossibility of deriving \**hr°* < \**uz-r°* is shown by the development of \**uz-raw-* to MP 'zrw-, see Henning, *BSOAS*, XXVIII, 2, 1965, 246, n. 29. This makes Gershevitch's suggestion (*TPS*, 1968, 9, n. 1) that *hrwpt* is < \**ham-rup-* practically certain. The transcription would then be *harruftan*, *harrōb-*.

88. Sundermann notes: 'Ich habe den Eindruck, dass die zum Richter gesprochenen Worte ("du bist Gott und unsterblich, leidest nicht Hunger und Durst", usw.) die doketische Christusauffassung der Manichäer unterstreichen sollen. Dies spricht m. A. n. für Identifizierung des *xrdyšhr* (*yzd*) mit Jesus dem Glanz' (see note to 17).

91. *dn'h*, occurring only in hendiadys with *drđ* 'pain', is no clearer etymologically than it was when Henning (*BSOAS*, XI, 4, 1946, 725, n. 1) offered the meaning 'tooth-ache'—'dann- from *dant-?* + Persian *āh*'. But OIr. *-nt-* does not normally become Man. MP *-nn-* (this development being restricted to OIr. *-nd-*), and there is no obvious reason why a word for tooth-ache should be generalized to mean all aches. One could as well think of a suitably alliterative word for 'sickness, disease' in general. Old Iranians could have described plagues and epidemics as \**zana-āsa-*, OP \**danāθa-* 'consuming the people (*γέφος*)'; cf. Sanskrit lexicon *janāśana-* 'man-eater, wolf', and note 40, *mrđyhng'n*, above.

96. [*'sp*](s), cf. *Man. Homilien*, 38.11, *ṅš<sup>e</sup>mšē nēi* '[damit habt ihr] mir gedient'.

103. *ṅcyy*. With the translation 'grieving for the body, concerned with material things (?)' (*Word-list*, 87), Boyce clearly posits a compound with the MP verbal stem *cy-* [čāy-] 'mourn, grieve, be troubled' (Henning, 'Verbum', 181, the meaning corrected *apud* Ghilain, 'Index de termes en moyen-iranien', *Le Muséon*, I, 1937, 375 'se plaindre, gémir'). The semantic development thus

suggested seems, however, unlikely: to 'mourn' the body is not to 'indulge' it. Sundermann writes on the other hand: 'tncyjy "grieving for the body" kann m. A. n. auch ganz wörtlich verstanden werden'. He refers to his *KPT*, text 26, where one finds, 1754 ff., 'wenn ich den leiblichen (*ns'hyn*—also gestorbenen) Sohn beweine (*gryym*), [ich] töte den seelischen'. The sin of lamenting the dead, however, seems far too specialized to merit so prominent a mention. It seems preferable to think again of an old inherited word \**tanu-čaya-* 'choosing the body/self', although the root of *čaya-*, Av. *¹kay*, *či*, is in MP only attested in the stem form *čīn-* (\**wizīn-*, etc.), as in *rw'ncyn* lit. 'soul-gathering, -selecting'. (This is similar to Henning's original view, 'Verbum', 182, although that was partly based on a misconception of the meaning of MP *čay-*.)

104. *gyh hš'r* is plainly a compound with an otherwise unknown element, probably a present stem *hš'r* < \**ham-šāra-*. *gyh* < Av. *gaēdā-* 'property, esp. flocks' requires, in this context, a word meaning 'to acquire, amass, hoard', or the like. Perhaps the otherwise unknown root \**šar* is to be found in Kurdish, Northern *va šārtin*, *šēr-*, Central *šārdin(awa)* 'to hide', and the noun *hašār* 'hiding-place, ambush'. In that case /*gēh-haššār*/ would be a 'property-hoarding', i.e. an acquisitive, miserly person.

115. *dujbratē* 'distressed' is connected with *brat* 'patient'; cf. also Av. *dužbratē* ' (übel zu tragen =) zu erleiden' (Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 758, *ZAirWb.* 172).

118. *'nng'r /angār/*. (A transcription \*/*anagār*/ is theoretically possible, but such a form would be inexplicable as a negative of *angār* if this was originally \**hankāra-*.) Boyce, *Reader*, z 10, n., follows Salemann (*MSt.* 54, s.v. *'ng'r*) in reading *ku-tān . . . angār dāšt \*hēnd*, but offers three equally impossible translations (ignoring *hēnd*). The *Word-list*, 13, gives 'reckoning (?)', in line with Pahlavi *hng'lk* 'reckoning', NP *angār kardan* 'suppose, imagine', *angāra kardan* 'estimate, reckon'.

*'n(n)g'r kyrd/kwn-* occurs twice elsewhere: (1) with *pd*, but doubtfully, in M 20 II R (= *Reader*, du 3) . . . *wynyd 'wd 'ng[r] qwnyd pd 'yn dym ywjdhr wywg 'y š'h* 'see ye . . . and \*think of this holy religion, the bride of the king', (2) without a preposition, in the unpublished M 8 R ii 6–11 (for which I have to thank Sundermann) *prystg 'y 'c wzrgy(y) wysp zm'n dwš'(r)m 'br 'm'h (x)w'hyd \* 'wš 'nng'r ny ky(rd) hwm pd p(r)hyn dwš'rm bycš . . .* ' . . . the apostle, who from (his) greatness (at) all times wishes love upon us, and he has not . . . us (*u-š angār nē kird hom*) with (*pad*) (his) \*loving love, but he . . .'. In this regrettably fragmentary context, if we translate 'has not thought of, considered us' there would seem to be a glaring contradiction, on account of the negative. The difficulty is perhaps to be circumvented by taking *angār kird* 'reckon' in the sense of 'judge'.

Neither of these passages helps with our text, however. A better clue seems to be the secondary meaning of NP *angāra* 'a narrative, especially a repeated and tedious one', cf. *Burhān-i qātib*: *sarguzašt bāšad, va yād-i guzaštā kardān-rā nāz gūyand*. Xradsāhr is referring to the catalogue of sufferings which the *dēnwarān* recalled (l. 51 ff.) but were actually dissuaded from (tediously) recounting.

121, 125. *wn'hg'r*. The *Reader*, z 10, following Salemann, has both times, wrongly, *wn'hg'r* (with 'final' *h*). The *Word-list*, 92, on the other hand has *wn'hgr* (and *-gryy*) [*wināhgar*, *-garī*], forms which do not occur.

**C v / D r, D v / E r.** There is some confusion in Boyce's note, *Reader*, 76 f., about this heading. *Šābuhragān* appears on M 482 recto, not verso. On *Dō bun*

*wuzurg* see Henning, 'The doctrines and styles of the teaching of Mani', *A.M.*, N.S. III, 1952, 2, 210, n. 10.

125. The [w] is concealed by 'y' in mirror-writing (from 149). The following word is apparently *pwrđg*, < Avestan *-pərətā-*, <sup>3</sup>*par*, rather than the \**pwrđg* previously read (see Henning, *ZII*, 9, 193, l. 16 f.), which then drops from the Manichaean MP vocabulary (*Word-list*, 14). Neither Henning's \**ā-prta-*, nor his later and more likely \**apa-prta-* (*NGGW*, 1932, 220, fn.) is needed: B. Sogdian *'prtk* /əpte/ is also from the simplex,<sup>17</sup> as also, now clearly, NP *purda*.<sup>18</sup>

134. *nyxrwst*, v. s.v. 34 *nyxrwst'r* above.

135. *cn'nd*. Boyce's translation, *Reader*, z 11, n., follows Henning's, 'Verbum', 171, l. 21. But there is no need to introduce a hypothetical subject 'surviving humanity' or to assume a unique exception from the total intransitiveness of *čann-* 'tremble, quake, shake'.

136. *tz'[nd]*. There is ample room for *-nd* at the end of the line, against the previous restoration with *-d* (Müller to Boyce, *Reader*, 79, where misprinted *tāzād* in z 11, n.).

137. (*nrm*). Sundermann writes: 'Bei gedehnterer Schreibung erscheint mir eine Lesung *w'r'n* (*nrm*) nicht ganz ausgeschlossen'. Though so uncertain, this seems better than Boyce's (unmarked) reconstruction *w'r'n pd zm'n w'r'd* (*Reader*, z 11), evidently taken as 'rain will fall in due time' (see *Word-list*, 104 s.v. *zm'n*): such an adverbial phrase has no clear purpose here.

142. *hwg'm* and *w'npry* are both 'new' words to Manichaean MP, though Inscriptional Pahlavi has *hwk'mky* /hugāmag/ (v. Gignoux, *Glossaire*, 24) and Manichaean Sogdian *fryrw'n* (see Henning, *BBB*, 77, n. 3). Both meaning and etymology are fairly obvious.

145. *d(h)[m]y'n*, Sundermann's reading, appears fully legible in M 825 I V 4 (*KPT*, 96, l. 1855). The confirmation of the next word as *'stwd('n)* largely justifies Henning's interpretation of the passage in 'A farewell to the Khagan of the Aq-Aqatāran', *BSOAS*, xiv, 3, 1952, 516 (and overrides Boyce's note to *Reader*, z 12). Sundermann's conjectural translation (*KPT*, 121) 'eine Folter oder Strafe' must also go by the board. In this context *dahmayān* can only be < \**daxma-dāna-*, i.e. a 'graveyard', lit. 'grave-container', an older word than Pahlavi *dhmks't'n*. 'Grave' occurs both as *dhmq* (*Hymn-cycles*) and *daxmg* (*Mir. Man.*, III), i.e. hitherto only in Parthian texts. K. Hoffmann offers a more convincing etymology than Bartholomae's (*AirWb*. 676, < √*dag* 'burn'): < \**dafma-* < IE \**dhǵmbh-mo-*, as Gk. τάφος etc. (*KZ*, 79, 1965, 238).

*'stwd'n*, only here in Manichaean texts, is known in Pahlavi as *'stwd'n'* or *'stwk'd'n'*. The *-k-* is an indication of its status as a 'learned word', preserving the *-ō-* of an Avestan \**astō.dāna-*, beside the more natural Pahlavi \**haz(z)ān* < \**azdāna-*, Sgd. *γzδ'n-* 'tomb' (see Henning, *BSOAS*, xi, 3, 1945, 479).

150 f. (*w)ny* (*b)[wđ]* (*h)yn(d)*) attests for the first time in isolation the word *wny*, otherwise well known in the combination *wnybwł*, *wnywđ(yh)*, see Henning, *BSOS*, ix, 1, 89. Originally < \**wanya-* 'defeated', the meaning was clearly generalized in MP to 'destroyed, lost', whence *wanēbūd*, *wanyūd(īh)* 'perdition'. The word survives in modern Central Kurdish *wun* 'lost' (Northern Kurdish has developed *windā* (*būn*) 'be lost, disappear' as antonym of *paidā* (*kirin*) 'discover, find').

<sup>17</sup> V. Gershevitch, *Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*, §§ 170 and 148 (where wrongly 'from *prt-* "to condemn"'); read '*prt-* < √*par* "to condemn"'.  
<sup>18</sup> My 'Vocabulary of the Lahore *Tafsīr*', *Iran and Islam*, a volume in memory of Vladimir Minorsky, Edinburgh, 1971, 416, where 'guilty' suits all contexts better than 'accused'.

151. (*ky*)*bycws'n sr.* Henning ('Farewell', 517) 'but who . . . their heads'. *byc* 'but' occurs quite often enclitically: *m'byc* M 9 I V 8 (= *Reader*, ad 7), '*ynbyc* S 10 a 8, *cybyc* M 835 (Henning, *Sogdica*, 36 f., g 20) and unpublished M 210 R 9, *h'nbyc* M 6452 II V i 6 (all references I owe to Sundermann): *kybyc* [kēbiz] 'however, but' of the *Word-list*, 54, appears to rest on Henning's translation 'who, however, with a denarius' of the 'Book of the Giants' fragment M 101 d (*BSOAS*, xi, 1, 1943, 59) 245 *cybyc pd dyn'r*, i.e. 'who' has dropped out. Here the 'but' introduces a note of despair for those who died unenlightened.

On *h'y'n*, see Henning, 'Farewell', 516-17.

172. *'bn'm'nd* is the first occurrence of the stem *'bn'm-* 'cause to depart' < *\*apa-nāmaya-*, to (Parthian) *'bnft* 'withdrew, fled'<sup>19</sup> as (Parthian) *frn'm-* 'send forth' to *prnm-*, *prnpt* 'go forth'. The same combination yields the noun *'bn'm* 'excrement' (*KPT*, 114).

[*whyšt*]. There is insufficient space for [*whyšt'w*] as elsewhere in this text (except 403).

173 ff. *dd'wd drxt*, beside the common MP, NP hendiadys *dad u(d) dām* for the animal kingdom, seems to be a wider term for 'fauna and flora'. *drxt* nevertheless seems out of place in what is otherwise an enumeration of the five kinds of *animalia serpentina, natantia, volantia, quadrupedia, bipedia*, v. *Mir. Man.*, I, 183, n. 1. The MP text there (= *Reader*, y 16) has *dwp'y'wd tsb'y'wd prwr'wd zhryn'wd prystrdys* 'biped and quadruped and winged and poisonous and reptile-formed'.

*mwrw'y prwr* replaces Boyce's restoration (not so marked, *Reader*, z 13) *\*d'm'y prwr*.

*prystr* is Henning's restoration (*BSOAS*, xii, 1, 1947, 41, n. 1; v. also Gershevitch, *GMS*, 246, Add. to 621): the word otherwise only occurs in the compound *prystrdys* (but the only other known MP word with *-str* is *'dwryst* 'ashes').

175. *zyh('nd)*. *zyh* (is certain; Müller also originally *zih/////*. *\*rh'nd* (*Reader*, z 13) rests on Salemann's presentation (*MSt.*, 27, fn.) of Müller's unfortunate second thoughts. Sundermann 'auch M 537 a II R 11 belegt: (*h*)'n rzm'h *zyh'nd* . . . ('b'c) *m'n'nd*', i.e. 'they will \*disappear (from) that battle . . . will remain behind'. Although similar in appearance and meaning to *'wzyh-* 'go out' (e.g. in 296), the stem *zyh-* can hardly be a reduced form of it. A more likely etymology is *zih-* < *\*jya-*, Av. *jyā*, found also in Khot. *jīy-* 'to disappear, be removed' (Emmerick, *SGS*, 35).

178. *Mānbed yazd = Parmānagēn yazd = Atlas*. See *Reader*, y 3 (with notes) *'wš'ny wzrg zmyg 'yw qyrd'wd 'br nyr'myšün nyys'd*. *'wd'wy prm'ngyn yzd 'br m'nbyd qyrd*. 'And he (the Great Builder) made another (fifth) great earth and set it on the (four lower) layers and made the Thoughtful god house-lord over it'; *'wd'wy wzrg zmyg 'br 'stwn'n 'wd l'g'n 'wd prysp dw 'br pryyg 'y m'nbyd yzd nyys'd* 'and that (sixth) great earth he set on the columns and arches and the two walls, on the shoulders of the house-lord god'. The 'two walls' are the great 'sheath' wall, v. 186 below, and the *'ny prysp 'yw try xur's'n 'yrg 'wd xwrnw'r* 'one other wall across east, south and west' which was built on the fifth earth. (Boyce, *Reader*, 62, last note to y 3, seems to imply that a reading *'ny prysp \*dw* is possible, i.e. that the 'two walls' may both be on

<sup>19</sup> Boyce mentions that Benveniste's dismissal (*BSOAS*, xxx, 3, 1967, 510) of a second Parthian *'bnft* /aβnaft/ 'draw near, approach' cannot be maintained in view of the unpublished text M 44 V 10 *pd š'dyft nzd'w pylg 'bnft* 'approached the altar in happiness'. The same meaning suits M 18 R 12 (= *Reader*, bw 2).

the fifth earth, but \**dw* is in fact impossible and, although the initial letter is imperfect, 'yw certain.)

179. *Wādahrām yazd* 'Wind-raising god' (elliptically for 'wind-water-fire-raising god', v. 221 below) = the 'King of Glory', see Henning, *Mir. Man.*, I, 180, n. 2, = *zndbyd* 'lord of the tribe', see n. 32.

183. *hs'cyh'd* is translated doubtfully (*Reader*, z. 14, n.; *Word-list*, 47) 'be made ready', as if *whyšt'w* were its subject. But *hassāz* < \**han-sak*- is the same as M, B. Sogdian 'ns'c-, 'ns'yt 'to fix, dispose', and there is space for two to three letters before [*why*]št'w.

184. [*sxt*] (*qyryh'd* (replacing *Reader*, z 14, \**pdryrh'd*) is supported by the Parthian M 3703 (= *Reader*, as 2) (*sxt*) *bwynd pd hm* where, as Boyce notes, 'the subject is shown by the previous verse to be the New Paradise and the Eternal Paradise, now rejoined'. This *saxt* is not otherwise attested in Manichaean MP or Parthian, but is the common Pahlavi, NP word for 'hard, strong, firm': NP *saxt kardan* is both 'harden' and 'make fast, firm'. On its etymology, < OIr. (not merely OP) \**ḡaxta*-, as Xwar. *ḡyd*, see Gershevitch, *TPS*, 1964, 13 f., n. 2. In the Parthian text it appears to be a loan from MP, unless the extremely rare initial ḡ- before a vowel developed into s- in Parthian, just as in MP. If so, this would deal a telling blow to Gershevitch's extraordinary theory (ibid.) of 'chance developments'.

186. *h'mqyšwr nyy[']m*, or *nyy[š'd]* 'will look'? cf. 196-9 *h'mqyšwr . . . 'c nyy'(m) ō wyn'r(yš)n sw(st b)w'd*. This 'sheath' of the cosmos is presumably another name for the great wall, evidently cylindrical in form, described in M 98 I V 12 ff. = *Reader*, γ 3: 'And he (the Great Builder) caused a wall (*parisp*) to secure (*ōbāyēnād*) (the four lower earths, or 'layers'), from the Light Earth east-, south- and westwards, and brought it back (north-, i.e. upwards) to the Light Earth'. It helps to understand Mani's complicated cosmogony if one appreciates that he, at least partly, reduced the three dimensions to two, regarding 'up' equally as 'northwards'. A. V. W. Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, 72-4, made an excellent sketch of Mani's universe and wrote of a 'great securing "wall" (one of the two most important walls) [which] extends far below and around the deposits [lower earths], running upwards to "the Light Earth", which is far above. This rampart serves to protect these four lowest earths against further invasion from the Realm of Darkness beneath, with which they are in such immediate proximity'. Even Mani was probably not aware of the contradiction between 'far below' and 'immediate proximity'.

187. *rwšnyh'wd xwšn'y[yzd'n*, also at 194, 242, 292. These two attributes of the gods are almost always mentioned together and, assuming that they form a hendiadys, are here translated conventionally as 'Splendour'. The meaning of *xwšn* is uncertain, and Henning's reasons for translating variously 'taste' and 'beauty' (see Sundermann, *KPT*, 22, n. 32) are not made public. The *Word-list*, 101, with 'goodness, beauty', perhaps follows Schaefer, *Ung. Jahrb.*, 15, 1935, 582, n. 3, who quotes the corresponding Arabic *nūru 'llāh wa tayyibuhu* (for *ṭibuhu* 'goodness'?) and Syriac (from Greek) *nuhreh wtaibūteh* ('goodness, grace'). In M 1014 R 7 f. (*KPT*, loc. cit.) *xwšn* is qualified by the adjectives *prq'mgyn* 'desirable' and, almost certainly, *br'z'g* 'radiant' (probably written *br[']z](g)* for want of space).

194. The new reading replaces *Reader*, z 15, *rwšnyh'y'ndr \*šhr'n*.

198. [. . .](*m*). After the final freeing of the 'light and \*lustre, splendour' of the gods the cosmos will be wholly dark Matter, and naturally plunged in 'darkness'. A possible restoration here is thus *nyš'm* (written *nyšm*, or the

like, for reasons of space?). Although occurring only once elsewhere, in Parthian M 6 R II (*Mir. Man.*, III, e 59 = *Reader*, ch 2) its meaning is hardly in doubt, v. Benveniste, *JA*, CCXXX, 1936, 230 f. Sundermann offers a quite different interpretation, based on the restoration [*nšy*](*m*), with Ohrmezd as subject of 199 *gyr'd*: 'Darauf wird er [wohl der Urmensch, wegen Zeilen 184 f.] den Kosmos von Erde und Himmel vom höchsten Himmel bis zur untersten Erde, (und) [den Sitzplatz] der ganzen Welt ergreifen . . . Sollte "und" nicht zu ergänzen sein, so wäre die unterste Erde selbst der "Sitzplatz" der ganzen Welt'.

199. *nyy'm*, v. 186 above.

The *wyn'ryšn* of the cosmos are mentioned separately among the columns, gates, walls, ditches, etc., which go to support Mani's wedding-cake structure of eight earths, M 7984 R I (*Mir. Man.*, I, e II R I 11 = *Reader*, y 11). In the detailed description in M 98 I and 99 I (*Reader*, y 1-6), however, there is no corresponding item. *wyn'ryšn* was evidently a general term for the whole complicated 'arrangement' holding the structure together.

202. Sundermann (*ny2-3*)*d*, for which he suggests an otherwise unattested (*nyw*)[*z*](*'*)*d* ' \*fährt hernieder ' (cf. Avestan *niwazaiti*). Equally possible, it would seem, would be (*nyr*)[*w*](*'*)*d*, with the stem met in *nyrwyšn* ' \*Hinabbewegung ' (*KPT*, 129).

222 ff. The third redeeming god *Wisbed yazd* ' village-lord ', also called *tskyrb* ' four-formed, square ' = the ' Adamas of Light '. His conquest of the *Mazan* or ' gigantic ' dragon is described in M 7981 (*Mir. Man.*, I, b I R I 22 ff. = *Reader*, y 14) and M 292 V II (*KPT*, 3.3, ll. 902-13); see Henning, *Mir. Man.*, I, 182, nn. 1-3; Sundermann, *KPT*, 46 ff.

227. *zmyg hrw* ' the earths all ', in this case the four upper earths. The four lower *nyr'myšn* ' layers ' are by implication also ' earths ' ; cf. 197 f., where the lowest is called *zmyg 'y' yrdwm*.

231. *\*srygr qyrb 'y' whrmyzd m'd*, see Henning, *Mir. Man.*, I, 178, n. 5.

234 ff. The new reading provided by Sundermann permits the certain restoration of *hrw* in M 7984 (*Mir. Man.*, I, e II R II 13 f. = *Reader*, y 7, end) also: *pyš'w[y ? yzd] ky'c'br (h)[rw]'sm'n 'ystyd'wd' wys'n yzd'n sr d'ryd* ' before that [god] who stands above all the heavens and holds the heads of those gods ', ' Those gods ', in 236, 241 ' those five gods ', are the Light Elements, the ' sons ' of Ohrmezdab, see Jackson, *Researches*, 225 f., nn. 11, 16. Their supporter, as has been shown by Henning, ' A Sogdian fragment of the Manichaean cosmogony ', *BSOAS*, XII, 2, 1948, 312 (translation) and 317, must be the Splenditenens, who is thus said by St. Augustine and M 7984 to hold their heads, by Theodor bar Konai (see Jackson, *Researches*, 298 f.) their waists, and now by the *Šābuhraqān* their hands. That the Splenditenens is thus confirmed as the *dhybyd* was, of course, first noticed by Sundermann (cf. n. 32, end). 237 ' that [other ?] god ' can only be the King of Honour = *p'hrqbyd* = Sogdian *sm'nxšyδ* ' lord of the heavens ', who is enthroned in the seventh heaven (see Henning, art. cit., 313, n. 6).

252 f. *'hnwn . . . (ny)* ' not yet ', without the -c which it must normally have carried (as in M 3 R 6, Henning, *BSOS*, x, 3, 1942, 949) to give NP *hanūz*.

254. *Kišwarwāryazd* is ' probably the Column of Glory ' (*Word-list*, 55; *Reader*, 6, 10, and y 21 = M 7980 I V I, see Henning, *Mir. Man.*, I, 186, n. 3).

258. The following lengthy catalogue is similar to that in M 7984 (*Mir. Man.*, I, e II R = *Reader*, y 7) describing the creations of Mihryazd. There the *gyrd'sm'n* ' circle of the zodiac ' is *pd'xtr'n'wd'st'rq'n* ' with constellations and stars '. It is elsewhere described as a ' wheel which causes to revolve ', *chr'yg grdn'g*

(Sundermann, *KPT*, ll. 275–6), cf. M 149 I R i 4–10 'wš dwdy (c)[hr 'yg] / grdyn'g pt dw'(z)[dh] / bhr ps'xt hm(b)[dyc] / dw'zdh'n dr'n 'y / 'sm'n'n \* \* / m'hvg wrg 'wt g'w / hmbdyc dr 'y / ' And again he arranged the zodiac in twelve parts, corresponding to the twelve gates of the heavens—the Fish, the Lamb and the Ox corresponding to the . . . door(s) . . .'. The significance of this causative form *grdyn'g* escapes me, though it is to some extent paralleled by Pahl. *gl'n'k'* /gardānāg/ ' a die ' (*Pahlavi texts*, 118, 7). The \**wltyn'y* ' wheel ' (*Pahl. Riv.*, 67, 3) quoted by Henning, *BSOS*, ix, 1, 1937, 82, however, is more likely to be *wltywn'* HD /wardyūn-ēw/ ' a wagon '.

262. 'st'ng (r'stw'n) ['](*wd wc*)[yhr](g), see Henning, *Mir. Man.*, I, 178, n. 1.

265–8. It is not absolutely certain whether other words follow 265 *qwp* and 266 *qndg*, but it seems likely that they are stretched to fill the line. 268 [*drwxs'n*] must be greatly compressed. The beginnings of ll. 266–8, missing from the MS., can be clearly seen as mirror-writing between the lines on G r (M 470 I).

271. [*hp*]šy(*rd*) ' (com)pressed ', as NP *afšurdan*, see Henning, *AION-L*, vi, 1965, 36, n. 2 (revising *ZII*, 9, 181 \*'fesseln': *Word-list*, 47, to be amended accordingly).

272. *h'n sh p'rgyn*, cf. M 99 I R 13 (= *Reader*, y 3) 'wd 'br hm zmyg pyr'mwn ch'r prysp'wd sh p'rgyn kyrd. 'wd pd h'n 'y 'ndrun p'rgyn dyw'n 'ndr przyd ' and on the same (sixth) earth he made four walls around and three ditches, and in the innermost ditch he imprisoned the demons '.

277 f. 'wb'ygd [*w*](*d pr*)sp(*yd*), see Henning, *BSOAS*, xii, 1, 45, and my 'The vanguard, lying down', *Sir J. J. Zarthoshti Madressa centenary volume*, Bombay, 1967, 131 f. I prefer now to read *ōbāyēd*, \**parispēd*, present tense forms.

280. *b'l'y* ' height ', known from Pahlavi *b'l'd*, appears for the first time in a Manichaean text here, though it also occurs in the unpublished M 2883, 2 (S.); see Henning, 'Mitteliranisch', 103, n. 3.

284. Sundermann [1–2](*um*). The only fitting word seems to be *mwm*, Arm. loanword (fifth century) *mom*, NP (> Ar.) *mūm* ' wax ', providing the earliest direct occurrence in an Ir. language: OIr. \**mauma-* < IE \**meu(ə)-* ' unreine Flüssigkeit ', etc. (Pokorny, 741) ?

288. \**hazār ud čahār sad šast ud hašt sār*, see *Reader*, z 17, n. (where ' 1478 ' is a misprint for ' 1468 ').

291. *zur 'wd prdwz*. Despite Boyce's disclaimer, *Word-list*, 72, ' misprint for *pdwz*, q.v.', the reading is absolutely certain. It is \**pdwz* (Müller's *pad(v)az*, also Andreas, *apud Müller*, 111) which has to disappear from the MP vocabulary for good.

*prdwz* is seemingly isolated. It can hardly be connected with the *prdwz* ' \*Abkömmling, Spross ' discussed by Sundermann, *KPT*, 48, n. 22, and 131 (although, taking up an earlier suggestion of mine, he asks ' ob die Bedeutungen " \*effect " und " \*Abkömmling " wirklich so weit voneinander entfernt sind, dass zwei verschiedene Wörter vorliegen müssen '). If it is < \**pari-tauja-*, as seems likely, its nearest cognate is Pahlavi *handōxtan*, *handōz-* ' amass, acquire ', to the root of Skr. *tujati* ' urge, thrust ', IE \*(*s*)*teu-g* (Pokorny, 1032). A meaning such as ' impulse ', thrust, energy ' seems to follow.

295. *prdx*, translated *Word-list*, 72, ' overpowered, defeated ', is properly ' disposed of, dealt with, executed ', see Henning, ' Verbum ', 169.

298 f. *pd cyhr 'y 'whrmzdby yzd bw'd*. Boyce, *Reader*, z 18, n., cites the similar passage in M 7980 (*Mir. Man.*, I, a II R II 9 = *Reader*, y 24), where throughout time, it is said, Ohrmezd collects the redeemed Light in the waxing moon,

*pd xwyš cyhr yzd 'pwryd*, and then despatches it up to Paradise, causing the moon to wane again. Boyce translates (y 24, n.) 'creates that light . . . in his own essence god' and (z 18, n.) 'it will become divine in the nature of the First Man'; cf. further the Parthian verse in M 737 (Boyce, *BSOAS*, XIII, 4, 915 = *Reader*, bp 3) *šwynd 'w grdm'n rwšnyn kw yzd'n prxyzynd 'wt 'ngwynd. tlv'r b'myn nzwyn ptbg cyhrg 'st'nynd ü wysmnynd* 'They go to the Heaven of Light where the Gods dwell and are at peace. They receive as their Nature the original splendour of the radiant Palace and are joyful' (my italics). This concept I find difficult, even after further discussion with Boyce. It seems to me more likely that the newly-liberated light first acquired a 'form, appearance' (meaning of *cyhr*, Parth. *cyhrg*, < Av. <sup>1</sup>*ēiθra-*), which was then clothed, as the last text quoted continues, 'They put on the resplendent Garment'.

301 ff. Müller already quoted the corresponding passage of al-Nadīm's *Fihrist al-'ulūm* in the translation of K. Kessler (*Mani*, Berlin, 1889, 400 f.). Following Flügel (*Mani*, Leipzig, 1862, 102), the four gods 'nehmen den grossen Bau wahr', Kessler has them 'betrachten den grossen Neubau, der das neue Paradies ist': both translate *fa-yaqifūna 'alā l-bunyāni l-'azīm*, which can as well mean 'and they stand on the great edifice', as now in the translation of Bayard Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, New York and London, 1970, II, 797, 'they will stop on the great structure'. This seems to be confirmed by 'y[s](t')[nd in 309.

312. [ ]*hrwšn* is clear, where Müller read [m(r)y(w)[.]. *g'hrwšn* occurs only once elsewhere (*BBB*, 389 = *Reader*, cu 35), as a name for the Bema (see Boyce, *Reader*, 12). This detail is not in al-Nadīm's account, where (Kessler, 102) 'Hierauf kommen die Wahrhaftigen aus den Paradiesen zu diesem Licht, um sich in ihm niederzusetzen'.

316. \**y'rd'nd*, cf. 290, 322.

317. *prbys'nd* (Müller [ ]*n(r) bys'nd*) is quite clear.

327 f. [*hyn*](z)*yš[n]*, 'a pull up', seems best to fit the context, of the many verbs with stem-final -z-. *Reader*, z 22, 'w *dst dyyd*, 'c 'yn *swcyšn bwzyd*, ignores the lacuna in 328.

334. (*hy*). Sundermann writes: 'Die Schriftzeichen sehen eher wie (*hw*) aus: statt (*hw*) ist aber wohl (*hy*) zu lesen und anzunehmen, dass der scheinbar linke Teil des Buchstabens nur Papierverschmutzung ist'.

335. *ny[r]pt*, cf. 394 f. 'z . . . *ny nyr'm'd*. Incidentally, there seems to be no reason to separate MP *nyr'm*<sup>-1</sup> and Parthian *nyr'm*<sup>-2</sup>, as in the *Word-list*, 64 f.: the one Parthian example in context, M 7 II R II (*Mir. Man.*, III, g 163 = *Reader*, az 2) could equally well be 'cause to go down, out' and so 'remove'.

340. \**dwšgyrdg'nh'n*. So, with 'intrusive' -h-, Sundermann.

342 f. 'w[*rz*](w)*g / pyys*. The second element of the compound could be like /payēs/ 'order, instruction' (see n. 5), so 'instructing to lust', but is more likely to be /pēs/ < Avestan *paēsa(h-*, known as a loan-word in Armenian *pēs* 'Art und Weise' ('alt und sehr häufig als 2. Glied von adverbialen Compositis', Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 230, no. 541), so 'of the lust kind, lustful'. As present stem (to Pahlavi *pysytn*<sup>1</sup> 'adorn') *pēs-* is also, probably, spelled *pyys-*, Henning, *Sogdica*, 25, no. 20.

344. 'n'n[ 'allerdings deutlich genug — letzte n nicht final', Sundermann. No satisfactory restoration suggests itself. The only known word with this beginning, 'n'nd 'they are, were', does not fit. Even a 'double plural' genitive \**stmbg/n'n[c]* leaves insufficient space for the necessary governing noun and a past intransitive verb, such as \**[phry](s)t hyyd*.

347. *xwyhyd* is a new word to Manichaean MP, but is evidently a secondary past participle to the Pahlavi verb *hwystn*, *hwyh-* 'chase, pursue', identified for the first time by G. Klingenschmitt, *ZDMG, Supplementa* I, 3, 1969, 993–7,<sup>20</sup> as probably a causative < \**hwaidaya-* of the verb *xwistan* 'to sweat'. In Pahlavi both intransitive and transitive past stems are written *hwyst* (*xwist*: \**xwēst* ?), so the differentiation in Manichaean MP is understandable.

350, 361. *dwjw'ryy* is here attested for the first time, cf. Parth. *dyjw'ryft*. The \**dwšw'ryy* suggested by Henning, *ZII*, 9, 171.24, is properly *dwšy'ryy* (l. 134 above): the entry *dušwār* in my *Concise Pahlavi dictionary*, 29, should thus be corrected to [*dwšw'l* | (M *dwjw'r-*), N ~].

352. For the indistinct traces [..](*d*)*y*(*n*)[.], at first read by Sundermann as [..](*pdys*)[, neither a present participle in *-ynd* nor a past in *-yst*, from a verb with stem in *-r/d*, offers itself with an appropriate adverbial meaning.

355. *rw'n pryy*, cf. 142 *rw'npryy*.

355 f. Rather than a mixture of subjunctives (\**h'd*) and optatives (\**hy*), it seems necessary to restore 2 pl. indicative *hyd* in 355, 356 and 357.

358. [*z'd*], cf. 394, 411.

363. (*ywbyd*). The present stem is also found in MP in *ywbynd* M 840 l ii 6 (S.), so *Word-list*, 102, can read [yōb-] c.

371. The weakness of this restoration is that there is no space for the expected *kw* after (*d*)[*yd*]. For *dyd*, *wyn-* 'see' in the sense of 'understand', cf. M 9 I R 18 f. (*Mir. Man.*, II, 298 = *Reader*, ad 5) 'wd k' gy'n d'nyšn 'yš pd bywr z'yšn pdyš ny wy[nyd] 'and if the soul does not see (understand) the knowledge which it has (z-š . . . padiš) through a myriad births, . . .'. Both Henning and Boyce separate *pdyš* wrongly from the relative clause.

375. As an alternative to [*w pr*](*m*)*yn*, Sundermann suggests [*w hnz*](*m*)*yn* 'spwr' and a perfect community'. *hnzmyn* (for the common *hnzmn*) is attested in M 5670 heading.

379. For *w(y)d'r-* in the sense of 'suffer, endure' cf. M 95 R 7 (*Mir. Man.*, II, 319 = *Reader*, be) 'wd j'dg rxtrnz . . . 'y . . . bryd 'wd wd'ryd' and the portion of trouble . . . which you bear and endure', and in Parthian M 6020 (Henning, 'A grain of mustard', *AION-L*, VI, 1965, 30, ll. 62 f. *tung w dyjw'ryft cy wyd'ryd* 'distress and suffering which he undergoes'.

393. *wcr*, occurring again in M 472 II and M 475 II, seems to be the reflex of Avestan *wičira-* 'deciding' (or of a similar noun form \**wičira/i-*), which appears in Pahlavi as *wcyl* 'decision, judgement'.

405 ff. Sundermann writes: 'Für die Zeilen 405–419 lassen sich ganz sichere Ergänzungen geben, da ihr Text identisch ist mit Text der Fragmente M 805 a + M 2070 + M 270 b (im Druck)'.

406. [*sw*](*c*)*yšn* ?, Sundermann.

416. [*hrg*], 421 *xrg*, variant spellings of the same word, see Henning, 'Mitteliranisch', 41.

421. [..]*wy*. The spelling with ' suggests that there was another similar word \*[ ]*wy* (as with *z'wr*: *zwr*), but no appropriate word suggests itself.

422. *nwr*(*'*)[*n*]. In another context (M 8256 = fm 4, see part 2) Sundermann thinks of the Syriac *n'ur* 'machina irrigatoria' (Brockelmann), on whose use as a name for the light-liberating wheel, see Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, 83, n. 348.

[The remaining texts and fragments belonging to the *Šābuhragān* will be

<sup>20</sup> Besides the passages he cites, the word appears in *Pahl. Vend.* V, 4 (VIII, 34) in a gloss of Avestan *xraodāt.urwan-*: *xrōhišn-dād-ō-ruwān, kū-šān ruwān az garōdmān xrōstag xwēstāg būd hē* 'that their souls would have been pursued (driven) with hue and cry from paradise'.

treated in the second part of this article, which will also contain a full glossary. When this part was in print and part 2 ready for the press I was at last able, thanks to the hospitality of the Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Berlin, to examine the original fragments and make a very few final minor corrections.]