

be

gwyšn 'yg gryw zyndg

- 1 cwnwm bng'n xyryd 'c t'y'n
'wm c'wn 'w xwd'y'n tyrsyd 'wd nyz'yd
- 2 cwnwm hš'gyrd'n 'c šhr wzyd 'w 'rd'w'n
'wm c'wn 'w 'wyst'd'n pdyxšr kwnyd
- 3 cwnwm dwšmnwn znyd 'wm byšyd
'wm c'wn 'w dwst'n bwzyd 'wd zywynyd
- 4 'n'ywm pydr'n tw'n 'wd dstn
kwt'n yk pd cnd 'šnwhr 'zw'r'nd
- 5 'wt'n *p'd'šyn 'y 'yw rweg r'y
dyy'nd š'dyḥ 'y j'yd'n
- 6 'wd j'dg pryst'dn 'yt'n pd mn
b'n pyš 'šm'h pryst'nd
- 7 'wd j'dg rxtrnj 'wd *'bxwrmg
'y mn r'y bryd 'wd wyd'ryd

[some verses missing]

- 8 'n hym 'dwr 'y cyyd zrdwršt
'wš prm'dwm 'w 'hlw'n cyydn

be

M 95 with **M 1876** and **M 1877** + **M 564**: *Mir. Man.* ii 318-21, see further H., *BSOAS* XI, 1943, 217 n. 7. Verses 1-13 are preserved on M 95, the remainder on M 564. Both sets of verses (whose order in relation to one other is in fact not yet established) are from a hymn-cycle entitled "The utterance of the Living Self", in which the Living Self itself speaks. In the first set of verses here it describes to men its varied treatment by them; in the latter set it speaks of its ultimate salvation.

1 *ēon-um bannagān xirēd* ...: "You buy me as a slave from thieves, and you fear and honour me as a lord". Persian regularly uses the plural in such comparisons, where English idiomatically requires the singular.

4 *anāy-um pidarān* ...: "yet my Fathers (are) mighty and powerful, so that they shall show you manifold (*yek pad čand*) gratitude".

6-7 *ud jādag frēstādan* ...: "and to send you the portion which (is) yours through me, they (the Fathers) will send gods before you [i.e. to reward the good done by man to the Self]. And the portion of trouble and *sorrow which you bear and endure for my sake (they will send to you)".

8 *ādur ī čīd zardrušt* ...: in this and the following verses the Living Self, as the sum of scattered Light, is represented as the holy Fire and pure Water of Zoroastrian worship. The characteristically Zor. form *ahlaw* is evidently used deliberately, instead of the usual Man. *ardāw. čīdan* is also a technical Zor. term for tending the sacred fire (H.).

[one verse badly preserved]

- 9 ʿc hpt ʿdwr yštḡ ʿy hwbwdʿg
 ʿwm bryd ʿw ʿdwr wxšn ywjdhr
- 10 ʿymḡ ʿyg pʿq ʿwryd
 ʿwd bwy ʿyg nrm ʿwd bwyʿg
- 11 ʿbrwcydm pd dʿnyšn
 ʿwm dyyd zwhr ʿy pʿq
- 12 ʿn hym ʿb ʿyg pscq
 kwm ʿb-zwahr dyʿd kw zwrmnd bwʿn

[one verse badly preserved]

- 13 ʿn hym wrḡ ʿyg ...
 ʿw zrdrwšt xwnd ...

[a gap of unknown length]

- 14 ʿwm tnwʿr ʿc drd byšʿzynʿd
 ʿwm ʿc ʿprsʿgyḥ pdxšrʿwnd qwnʿd
- 15 ʿwm šwyʿd ʿc rym ʿwd bzyʿdwmmy
 ʿwm ʿsnʿyʿd ʿwm rwcynʿd
- 16 ʿwm hʿn ʿst ʿymydg ʿy wzrg
 ʿwm pwšt ʿwd pnʿh ʿy wʿbryḡn
- 17 *wydʿrʿg ʿym ʿc hrw *bzg
 ʿwd *bdʿcʿg ʿym ʿc ...
- 18 *bwzʿg ʿym ʿc *ptyʿr ...

9 **ō-m barēd ō ādur** ...: "bring to me, to the fire, purified fuel".

10-11 **ēmāg ... bōy ig narm ... zōhr**: the 3 things which are to be offered to a sacred fire are clean, dry wood, fragrant incense and *zōhr*, i.e. an oblation of fat from a sacrificial animal; see with references Boyce, *JRAS*, 1966, 100-110.

12 **āb ig passazag**: the Self now speaks as Water, and in this context *zōhr* is the libation of milk mixed with herbs (sometimes the *haoma* and pomegranate) which is made to the water for its strengthening and purification, see Boyce, art. cit., pp. 111-118; transl. "I am the water which (is) fit that you should give me the *āb-zōhr*, so that I may become strong". The pun on *zōhr* and *zōrmand* is found also in Pahlavi books.

16 **emēdag**: this word occurs elsewhere as an epithet for Jesus, who is probably the Saviour of the present verses.

17 ***bdʿcʿg**: ms. (presumably by copyist's mistake) *ʿbdʿcʿh*.

bf

- 1 ... hrystg'n rwn'n 'ym r'y kwšt hynd, 'wd ''trwn'n 'ym r'y mwynd.
- 2 wysp'n šhr'n xwd syst d'ryd, 'wd pd xwr 'wd m'h xwd 'spyzyd 'br šhr. zyn 'st 'wd nyzg 'yg 'whrmyzd by, ky xst dwšmyn, 'wš knd 'z bwn.
- 3 hrwysp 'mh wygr'd 'yst'm, kw p'drwcg pd 'mh bwxs'd. thm 'st 'wd ...

bf

S 8: Salemann, *Manichaica iii* 6-7. Verses *hau to teth* of what is probably a *grīw zīndag* abecedarian hymn. The subject of the extant verses is certainly the Living Self.

2 *wispān šahrān xwad sist dārēd* ...: obscure, but apparently a typical *grīw zīndag* paradox. "It itself keeps all regions (?) broken" (?), perhaps because it has 'poisoned' the Dark Powers, who can never more be content lacking it. The next words mean "and it itself shines through sun and moon upon the world" (H., *Verbum*, 178⁹⁻¹⁰). The ms. has the abbreviated spelling *'spyzd*.

VIII

HYMNS TO THE THIRD MESSENGER

bg

[Parthian]

nrysfyzdyg b`š`h`n

- 1 `wn bg r`št `wd myhrb`n, frwyng yzd, `w mn hwfry`d`, `wm wxd dstd`r bw`h. — `fryd `yy, rwšn`gr myhr yzd, rwšn wzrg. — **b`m** `yy `wd nys`gyft cy hft qyšfr zmbwdyg, rwšnyft tw t`byd p̄t hrw šhr `w̄t p`dgws. **gy`nyn** cmg cy tw tyrgystr `c prm`ng, rgystr `c w`d wzyd, nydfwrdystr `c šb pd š`m. **dydyšn** tw nys`g, b`myn *`dy`n `spyd nyš`n, bwrzw`r tw drfš hwcyhr, ky hxsynd hrw bwxtg`n.
- 2 **hft** qyšfr hmg zmbwdyg wyr`št `w rzwr cmg, hwr`s`n, hwrnyfr`n `b`xtr `w̄t nymrwc. **wyš`d** dw`dys br`n `c `br p̄t `sm`n, cy dw dw

VIII

There are a number of surviving hymns of praise and invocation addressed to the chief gods of the Third Creation, who are active in helping man. In both Middle Persian and Parthian the first of these gods, the Third Messenger, was identified with the Zoroastrian messenger-god, Nairyōsaŋha (Pe. Narisah, Pth. Narisaf). In Parthian he was also identified with Mithra, and attracted some of the traits of this ancient Iranian god (see Boyce in *A Locust's Leg, Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, ed. W. B. Henning and E. Yarshater, London 1962, 44 ff.).

bg

M 67 R ii 12 to end: *Mir. Man. iii o. Verses alif to n* of an abecedarian hymn to the Third Messenger, with a short non-alphabetic verse inserted between *alif* and *b*.

1 rōšnift tō tābēd: "your light shines". Another ms., M 480, has the variant reading *r`b`h*, "may your light shine".

***ađyān**: the reading is uncertain, though the letters `dy`n seem to be there.

2 razwar čamag: it is the Iranian Mithra rather than the Manichaean Third Messenger who is a judge, and who at the same time as sun-god follows a fixed course.

wišād dwādes barān ...: the meaning of *by`syb* is unknown; possibly, H. suggests, "leaf (of a door)," corresponding to Arabic *mišrā`* (Flügel, *Mani* 57. 1), in which case the tentative translation would be: "the 12 doors are opened above in the sky, (each) of 2 *leaves, three by three corresponding to each quarter (*šahr*)".

- by'syb, hry hry pdyc 'yw 'yw šhr. zwnws ryst bxtg pt dw'dys kws 'wd zmyg, wxybyy mrz 'wd wymnd, 'nw'y rwn'gr cmg. jyr n'w'z 'c 'br cmyd pt hwyn šwh 'st'ng, t'byd rwn 'w zmyg pt hwyn dw'dys *br'n. hrysd 'wd šst m'nyst'n 'w 'yw 'rg 'd br, hrysd 'wł šst m'nyst'n 'w bdyg 'rg 'd br. tcr tcr ps'c'd pt hwyn hryst r'stwzn, dw'dys cmn 'wł pd'n r'st 'wd *qwhyg. ywd ywd bwd pyd'g qryšn, wymnd *mrz *zmyg 'st'ng br *r'stwzn cmn 'wł m'nyst'n.
- 3 kd nxwšt t'b'd rwn'gr, 'c 'b'xtr bwł hw cmg, cy hwyc mrdwhm hsyng 'c 'wwd 'gd 'w rzmgh. lwgšhr kw wxd 'štyd, šwh jm'n 'wwd bwyd, hry pš 'wł hry prw'n, kw rwc dwfrg 'wwd bw'h. **m** ... cyd cmyd 'ž 'b'xtr 'w hwr's'n, 'c hwr's'n 'w nymrwc, 'wł 'c nymrwc 'w hwrnyfr'n. nydfwrd pt 'brnng cmyd ...

bh

[Parthian]

- 1 lwg n'z, 'wd 'skym 'wrjwg, 'wd šhr 'yr'n, m'nh'g 'hynd 'w wxš wxrdyg, kw jhr 'myxt. nhynjyd gryw *'w hwyn cyng.
- 2 sdf'n prmwsynd, ky wdyfsynd pd dyn'n. 'zg'm ny wyndynd ..., 'wd jryft ny z'nynd. pd hnd 'bdyn nwynd frnštg. cyhrg hwyn 'zwšt, bnd 'wd 'bn's y'wyd'n. kfynd 'w nrh dwjx, 'c kw byd 'zg'm ny wyndynd. r'myšn 'wd drwd ny 'st 'c 'ndr.
- 3 š'dyft 'm'h *pdr'st, wjydg'n 'wd ngwš'g'n, t'w'r, g'h 'wd pwsq, yhm y'wyd y'wyd'n. ngwš'g'nyc bwynd 'nwšg.

kōs ud zamīg wxēbe marz ud wimand : "regions and lands (with) their own borders and boundaries".

nāwāz : i.e. the Third Messenger, as "steersman" of the ship of the sun.

pandān rāšt ud *kōhīg : the force of this is obscure. The reading **qwh(yg)*, in preference to **qwh(r)g*, is supplied by Dr. Sundermann.

3 **cē haw-iž mardōhm hasēnag až oš āgad** ... : the Light Paradise is in the north.

šōh žamān ... : H. suggests that *jm'n* may here be the double hour, in which case the meaning appears to be that through the culmination of the sun, the (light-) day is divided into 2 halves. A reading **do-parrag* "two-winged" would be comprehensible, but the *f* of *dwfrg* seems clear (H.).

bh

M 77 R 1-15 : *Mir. Man.* iii n 1-15. Verses 1 to final *n* of an abecedarian hymn, with a final verse outside the series.

2 **čihrag hawīn izwašt** ... : "their nature has been changed to eternal bondage and destruction", i.e. their divine element has been assimilated to matter, and they cease to be *hāmčihrag* with the gods; cf. **ac** 2, above.

- 4 'bxš'h, yzd nywgr, pd mn 'šnwhrg 'yw 'hy'n, z'dg'n qsyšt 'wd 'mwst, cy šb 'wd rwc prwnd'm. gy'nwm j'm 'w whyšt 'nwšg.

bj

[Parthian]

- 1 'w tw rwšn dh'm 'st'wyšn, bdyg wzrgyft, nrysf yzd. gwny'g dydn, b'm ..., d'dbr 'wd wyg'h cy hrw ... hz'r-cšm rwšn, wzrg ... wyz'ng, kw tw nšst 'yy ... 'wd rwšn ... *jywyd 'd tw m'd* 'rd'w'n, hm w'd jywndg nyrd tw 'štyd, t'wg'n pydr'n ky cynynd mwrgr'ryd, ymg'n rwšn'n dw cr'g wzrg'n. x'n 'st r'myšn, kw bg'n m'nynd. lwg 'n'wynd 'wd frd'b t'bynd. m'nyst'n bg'nyg hmg pwr š'dyft, n'w'n 'rg'w, pwwd'n w'c'fryd.
- 2 syzdyn z'wr'n, kw'n rzmywz'n, 'st'nynd rwšn 'c hrw d'md'd'n. pd dw cyhrg rwšn 'šmg'n dr'wynd. cw'gwn wyg's zyrd'n š'dyft, k'mg'r pd wrc šwynd 'wd 'synd. ryh rwšn 'hynd br 'w šhrd'ryft, š'dcn nw'g cy 'c hwyn zxsyd.
- 3 tw 'st'w'm, nrysf yzd. nm'c pd sr tw 'd hmg wzrgyft. bwj'h pd 'xšd 'w mnyc, z'dg.

bk

[Parthian]

- 1 'fryd bw'h p₁ ws 'frywn 'w rwc'nyg rwšnšhr yzd. — fryhwm tw 'yy, rwšnšhr yzd, hw'xšdyg bg, 'w mn bwj. — bw₁ pyd'g drfš 'wd nyš'n 'w₁ frd'b 'c dw'dys br. gwny'g 'st tw qryšn, 'w₁ wydby'g

bj

M 77 R-V: *Mir. Man. iii n* 16-36. A complete abecedarian hymn, with a final *n* verse.

1 dādβar ud wigāh ...: in these lines, with the god as "judge and witness", and with the epithet "1000-eyed", the concept of the Iranian Mithra overlays that of the Manichaeen Third Messenger.

xān: the word is ambiguous, either "spring" or "house".

2 čawāyōn wigās zirdān šādift ...: "as (in) open joy of heart ...".

bk

M 39 R i – R ii: *Mir. Man. iii m* 1-37. The remains of a complete abecedarian hymn, with a non-alphabetic verse inserted between *alif* and *b*, and a final *n* verse. Verses *k* to *c* are missing.

ʿym tw qyrdgʿn. dʿdbr ʿyy p̄t zmyg ʿwt ʿsmʿn, t̄w wygʿh ʿyy wxd. hrwyn frdʿb rwšn t̄ʿbyh p̄t hmg zmbwdyg. wyšʿʿd brʿn ʿc ʿsmʿn, ʿwd frdʿb rwšn dršyd. zʿd ʿyy p̄t wr̄c, ʿwt ʿzgd ʿyy hwfryʿd ʿw pydr mrdwhm. jfrʿn zmyg zʿdgʿn ʿc ʿsmʿn rwšn ʿstʿnynd. hrw twʿn qʿm qyrbg ʿspwr bw̄t, bwjʿd bwxtgʿn, ʿndrxtgʿn ʿndrynjʿd. t̄ʿr zʿdgʿn nydrxt p̄t zmyg, rwc zʿdgʿn wygrʿd, ʿw t̄w ʿstʿwynd. ywzyh zmyg ʿwt ʿsmʿn ...

[more than 20 lines missing]

- 2 qyrdwd ʿxšd p̄t ... ʿyy, ʿpydgʿn wxʿzg ʿyy ʿw mwš. rdnyn frgʿw cy t̄w ʿmwrdyh, wxybyh zʿdgʿn, cyd ʿbr sʿnyh. šhrdʿr ʿyy, ky dhyd dʿšn, dydym drš ʿwt nyšʿn ʿspyd. tw tw ʿyy rwdwr šhrdʿr, ʿbr mnyc rwd ʿwd ʿmwjd qr. nʿm twʿn cyd wfrʿsʿm, ʿw mnyc bwj, cy nyzʿwr hym.

bl

[Parthian]

- 1 ʿfryd ʿym rwc p̄t rwcʿn, kd bgpwhr ʿw zmyg ʿwsxt. p̄t ʿym rwc fryšt̄gʿn ʿnjmn — ʿfryd bwʿh yhm yʿwydʿn pydr wzrg, ky fršwd ʿw ʿmʿh — gyʿnyn ʿʿzʿd pwstg nwʿg dʿd ʿw ʿmʿh ...

[a little more than 20 lines missing]

1 **hufayād ō pidar mardōhm**: this does not fit the part of the Third Messenger in the myth, but rather Jesus. Either an error, or an identification of the two gods (H.). (For an instance of the transference of the function to the First Man see above, **aq** 3 with note.)

tār zādagān niḏraxt ...: "the sons of Darkness (i.e. the wicked, or demons) are subdued on earth, the sons of Day (i.e. the good) are awakened, they praise you".

bl

M 39 R ii – V i: *Mir. Man. iii m* 38-49. A few rather perplexing verses from the beginning and end of an abecedarian hymn. The verse *b* is represented by *pd*, which H. points out may mean that when the text was composed *pad* was already being pronounced *bad* (NP *ba*). The non-alphabetic verse between this and *g* appears, most unusually, to cut across the sense.

1 **pad im rōz** ...: apparently (ignoring the non-alphabetic verse): "on this day, the assembly of the apostles, a new book (?) spiritual, noble, was given to us".

- 2 *twxšyd, šm'h ngwš'g'n. nw'g nw'g qyrbg 'bg'wyd, t'c snyd 'w bg'n r'm, w't bwyd š'd pt nw'g šhr'n. qwlmγydn.

bm

[Parthian]

- 1 'fryd bwyndyh gyhb'n, d'dbr, hwfryxš, w'd'q, zwrmnd jwwhr. — 'fryd bwyndyh 'nwšg šhrd'ryft. — hwydg thm'n yzdygyrd xwd'wn, lwd'g r m'nynd nyw'n srhng'n. 'fryšt'g'n pw'g'n, cydyg'n qyrdg'r'n, r'stygr šhrd'r trnys nmwy'm. nyspy'm z'nwg tw frh, ng'y'm 'w yzd nrysf, šhrd'r rwšn.

bn

[Parthian]

... hwydg 'w hrw mrdwhm ky pt pw'gyft 'w't pt r'styft 'šn's'h tw, bg, hwnr, mrdyft 'w't wrc. ywdy'm 'w't 'škyb'm, 'brng d'r'm pt rwc 'w't pt šb, kw tw, bg, pnd 'w't frm'n 'spwr hnj'm'm. lwyg n'z 'wd šhr 'yr'n, cy 'z s'c'd pt prxyz 'w't pt ws db, mn pt tw'n pnd 'nd's'd. ngwš'h, bg, mn wyndyšn, 'wm rg nmstyg 'w't wynd'rwm pdgyrw'h. s'nmw 'c 'ym jfr'n jhryn. 'ym 'st r'h, 'ym 'st r'z, 'ym

2 **kulmayāyadn**: either the name of the composer, or of the man under whose patronage the hymn was composed? It cannot be that of the scribe, since other hymns are written in the same ms. by the same hand, without this 'signature'. In other mss., different names are appended to various hymns by the same hand (H.).

bm

M 39 V i: *Mir. Man. iii m* 50-62. A complete short abecedarian hymn, with each word corresponding to a letter of the alphabet. Such highly artificial compositions are difficult to translate. A non-alphabetic verse is inserted between *j* and *h*.

- 1 **huwidag tahmān yazdegird xwadāwan**: "fortunate, divine lord of the strong".
lōgdār mānend nēwān sarhangān: "the abiding King of brave chieftains".

bn

M 39 V ii: *Mir. Man. iii m* 68-89. Verses *heth* to *c* of an abecedarian hymn. The alphabetic arrangement is unusual, in that every other alphabetic section forms a strophe of 26-27 syllables and 3 lines (7 + 11 + 8, and similarly) (H.). These alternate with short strophes of a single line.

- 1 ***huwidag ō harw mardōhm** ...: "Fortunate (?) for every man who ... recognizes, O God, your skill ...". The ms. has only *lydg*.

'st cxš'byyd ql'n, 'wṭ br mwxsyg. pṭ mn qr'h 'spwr tw, bg, q'm.
frh tw'n 'w mn p'y'h, 'wm cyd bwrdyft, 'brng 'wṭ trs 'bg'w'h. cšmw
gwš ...

bo

nrysf yzd *b's'h

[*Parthian*]

- 1 ... 'st'wyd 'w wzrg rwsn, ''wryyd wnd'm pd 'yw wcn. dh'm
'st'wyšn 'w hw frh, bw'm h'm'xwnd, ryst 'st'w'm 'w hw šhrd'r, pydr
kyrbkr, gy'nyn 'g'dg, z'wr 'wd 'brng.
- 2 ... dh'm 'st'wyšn 'wd qr'm nmstyg 'w hw wzrgyft, pydr 'frydg,
hwcyhryft rwsn kw nng ny 'st, zbyn p'dgyrb ky pwr wšmn'g. wxd
'st šhrd'r cy hrwyn šhr'n ... 'wd t'byd 'br hrwyn b'myn jywhr.

bp

nrysfyzyg b's'h

[*Parthian*]

- 1 ... ṭ'r 'wṭ qrmby cy 'c hwyn wyz'wg wyš'nyh 'dr 'w zmbwdyg.
yxš'n dyw'n bwynd šrmjd, 'wṭ rwsn ''z'd bwt 'c bndgyft o
- 2 xwd'y 'yy, šhrd'r 'wṭ 'xšynd cy 'ym hft qyšfr šhr 'wd z'wr'n. lwg 'wṭ
hmg d'm, h'mtwxmg'n wsn'd, ywzyh kw bwxtg bwynd.

[*eight verses missing*]

bo

M 32 V: *HR. ii 63-4, MSt. 10*. A few verses from a fairly conventional hymn to the Third Messenger.

1 ''wryyd: so, in order to fill space, for *awarēd*.

bp

M 737: Boyce, 'Sadwēs and Pēsūs', *BSOAS* XIII 4, 1951, 915. Part of an abecedarian hymn, with verses *teth* to *m*, and *š* to final *n*.

1 aš hawin: i.e. the demons chained in the skies; a reference to the seduction of the Archontes.

- 3 šwynd `w grdm`n rwšnyn, kw yzd`n prxyzynd `wt `ngwynd. tlw`r
 b`myn nxwyn ptbg cyhrg `st`nynd, `wd wyšmnynd. nys`gyn pdmwig
 pdmwynd, `wd jywynd y`wyd`n `ndr whyšt. rwcš`d.

bq

- 1 `md wcyh` `wd b`md`d, rwšn `spyxt `c hwr`s`n. bwd pyd`g shynyh`h
 šhry`r, yzd nrysh`.

3 *talawār bāmēn naxwēn pattabag* ...: "they receive as their nature the original splendour of the radiant palace".

rōž-šād: a proper name, see note to **bl** 2, above.

bq

M 5260 V (T II D 66 V): *Mir. Man. i* 192 n. 6. The opening lines of a MPersian hymn, where too the Third Messenger is identified with the sun, although he is not in that language called Mihr Yazd.