

- 18 'w yzd'n wynd"m, kwm""n bwjynd 'c 'ym bzg jm'n 'stft, 'styyh'g
 'wd 'w'wryg.
 19 'wn fryštg"n 'wd ymg"n, bwjydm'n 'c hrw wdnng.
 20 'gd fr'c hw jm'n, cy bwj'gr nbyšt.

hnjft fršgyrdyy b's'h

nys'r'd mwqr'nyg b's'

- 21 'bjyrw'ng 'šnwhrg hym, cy 'c b'byl zmyg wyspryxt hym. wyspryxt
 hym 'c zmyg b'byl, 'wd pd r'styft br 'wyšt"d hym. sr'wg hym
 'bjyrw'ng, cy 'c b'byl zmyg frnft hym. frnft hym 'c zmyg b'byl, kw
 xrws'n xrws pd zmbwdyg.
 22 'w 'šm' yzd'n pdwh'm, hrwyn bg'n. hyrzydw 'w mn 'st'r pd
 'mwjdyft.

hnjft mwqr'nyg b's'h

nys'r'd 'ngd rwšn'ny *b's'h

- 23 'ngd rwšn'n fry'ng, pd 'xšd dhwm z'wr, 'wd hwfry'd pd hrwyn
 d'hw'n.

20 *āyad frāž hō žamān* ... : the Manichaeans adopted the beginning of the Seleucid era (311 B.C.) as the beginning of the 12th millennium, and therefore expected the end of the world in A.C. 690; see H., *Asia Major n.s.* III ii, 1952, 196.

21 *mwqr'nyg* : an otherwise unknown word, for which no satisfactory explanation has yet been offered. (For attempts see *MSt.* 95; *Zair. Wh.* 164 n.) M. Lidzbarski, *NGGW*, 1918, 501-05, showed that the first hymn in this section, with its rhythmic repetitions, is strongly Semitic in character. The original may well therefore have been composed by Mani himself.

až bābel zamīg wisprixt hēm ... *až bābel zamīg franaft hēm* : probably there is a play on ideas. Mani was born in Babylonia; but Babylon also symbolises materialism, which he rejected.

sr'wg : a word which occurs elsewhere (see glossary), but whose meaning is unknown. Hardly from Skt. *śrāvaka* 'disciple', since this would produce tautology (H.).

22 *hyrzydw* : possibly the *w* is simply a mistake; or possibly the Sogdian scribe began to write the 2 words *hyrzyd* and *'w* as one (it being a common practice in transcribing Parthian words in Sogdian passages to run them together) (H.).

23 *angad rōšnāni *bāsāh* : ms. *rwšn'nyb*. The words under this heading are the opening words of the 1st canto of the hymn-cycle *Angad Rōšnān*. This whole cycle appears concerned with the redemption of Light through death. Possibly therefore its 1st canto, or a part of it, was used in the present liturgy (see further the notes to **cw** and **cy**, below).

XV

VERSES FROM THE PARTHIAN HYMN-CYCLES

cw

Verses from the hymn-cycle *Huwidagmān*

[Parthian]

- 1 kym wyš'h̄'h̄ 'c hrwyn o *gryhcg 'wd zynd'n
cy 'nmbrnynd 'wrjwg o cy ny wxš 'hynd
- 2 kym hynw'r wyd'r' o cy zryh̄ 'ywštg
zwnws rzm'hyg o kw 'ngwn ny 'st̄
- 3 kym bwj'h̄ 'c rwmb o cy hrwyn d'md'd'n
cy 'yw byd'n wyg'nynd o 'wt̄ *'sp'wynd 'by 'xšd
- 4 kym *pryssp'n 'zw'y'h̄ o 'wt̄ p'rgyn wyd'r'h̄
cy pwr trs 'wt̄ lrz o cy dyw'n wyg'ng

cw

M 6221 (T II D 178 II): *MHC* 80-83, as *Huwidagmān IV a* 1-10. There are two long hymn-cycles in Parthian, both tentatively attributed to Mar Ammō (see above, notes to text **h**). The title of each is taken from its opening words, in the present case *Huwidagmān* from *huwidagmān čē pad tō frāwadād* “Fortunate for us, because through you (we) knew ...”. The cycles are divided into cantos (called *handām* “limb, section”), and verses survive from 8 cantos of each cycle. There is a slight difference metrically between the cycles, but in content, as in general structure, they are similar. In each a Soul is lost and distressed amid the assaults of evil. It longs for a Saviour. Finally (in the 6th canto of each cycle) a Saviour appears and promises redemption. The liturgical use of *Angad Rōšnān I* in **M 4a** (cv 23, above) suggested that the cycles might be composed to celebrate the deaths of Elect, the lost Soul being the spirit which has left the body; but this is perhaps too limited an interpretation. Probably the cycles should rather be taken as works on a grand scale, concerned with the general theme of the lost Light in this world (embodied in the individual Soul) and its final redemption.

In *Huwidagmān IV* the Soul is encompassed by metaphoric perils, and longs for a Saviour.

3 ud *ispāwēnd: this is an emendation for ms. 'st̄wynd, which would be a hapax, but is nevertheless possibly correct, with the meaning “overcome”. See Benveniste, *JA* 1936, 196, and *MHC*, glossary s.v.

- 5 kym ”jwn ‘zw’ȳh o ’wt̄ ’c hrwyn *’bd’c’
’wt̄ ’c hrwyn wrm o kw ’ngwn ny ’st̄
- 6 ’wt̄ ’br gryw brm’m o kw ’g bwxsn ’c hw
’wt̄ ’c d’md’d’n ’sp’w o ky ’yw byd’n x’zynd
- 7 mrdwhmg’n tnb’r o mwrg’n ’ndrw’zyq
zrhg m’sy’g’n o cwhrb’d’n ’wd wysp dywg
- 8 kym ’ymyn wyd’r’h o ’wt̄ ’c hrwyn bwj’h
kw ny wrt’n ’wt̄ kf’n o pt̄ hwyn nrh ’bn’s
- 9 ’wt̄ gst pt̄ hwyn ny wyd’r’n o pd ’jwn ny *’zwrt’n
cy wysp zng d’lwg o *’zgryftg pt̄ ...
- 10 ’wm ky bwj’h ’c hw o *’bš’mg’n bwrzynd
x’zyndg’n jfr’n o cy hmg nrh ’wt̄ tng

CX**More verses from Huwidagmān***[Parthian]*

šhwm hnd”m hwydgm’n

- 1 ’z pd zwš ’st’n’n o ’wd frwz’n pd b’zwr
’br ’z hrw z’wr’n o ’wd ’xsynd’n *wystmbg
- 2 ’wd ’ydw’y’n ’w hw šhr o *’ngwn hsyng
’wd nm’y’n pydr’n o wxybyh *sdf bg’nyg
- 3 ’wd wšmn’h pd š’dyft o pd *hwmy’g ’st’wšn
’wd bw’h ’by ’nd’g o ’wd ... fr’mwš’ dyjw’r

7 **mardōhmagān tanbār** ... : i.e. all the forms of life, from highest to lowest, in which the Soul may be reborn.

10 **abšāmagān burzend xāzendagān žafrān** : these words have been tentatively translated as “swallowing heights (and) devouring deeps”, but they could be construed in other ways.

CX

M 93 II + 298a + 4970 (T II D 57) : MHC 100-103, as *Huwidagmān VI c*. For corrections to readings see *MIO*, IV 2, 1956, 320. In these verses the Saviour promises salvation to the soul, and speaks of happiness in the New Paradise with the First Man and the Fathers (i.e. the redeeming gods).

2 **pidarān, wxēbeh sadf** ... : “the Fathers, (my?) own divine entity (?)”.

- 4 'spyxt pdmwg pdmj'h o 'wd 'zy'h' rwšn
 'wd 'wst'n pd tw sr o dydym šhrd'ryft

[six verses missing or badly preserved]

- 11 'pdn 'st šhrd'ryft o cy nwxz'd hsyng
 cy pd hw pdmwcyd š'dyft o 'wd šhrd'ryft dydym bndyd
- 12 'wd 'w hrwyn 'dy'wr'n o dydym 'w hwyn bndyd
 'wd š'dyft pdmwcn o 'w hwyn tn pdmwcyd
- 13 'wd 'w hrwyn dyn'br'n o 'wd wcydg'n kyrbkr'n
 pdmwcyd 'st'wyšn o 'wš'n dydym bndyd
- 14 'wd pdxš'hynd pd š'dyft o cw'gwn 'br n'm bwd pštg
 'wd 'njwgyst wd'r'd o 'ž dst dwšmnwn

cy

Verses from the hymn-cycle *Angad Rōšnān*

[Parthian]

šhwm hnd'm 'ngd rwšn'n

- 1 'wt kd 'ymyn w'xtwm o pt gryw wnwhg
 dydwm bwj'gr o cy prw'n mn t'b'd
- 2 'wm dyd dydn o cy hrwyn n'w'z'n
 ky 'd hw 'wsxt o kwm gryw wyn'rynd
- 3 'wm csm pdr'z'd o 'w hw kr'n p'dgws
 'wm dyd kw ngwst o hrwyn mrn fryštg

11 **noxād hasēnag**: i.e. the First Man.

14 **čawāyōn abar nām būd paštag**: obscure. The verse has been tentatively translated : “They reign (now) in gladness, even as (once they had) been fettered for (their mere) name [i.e. as Manichaeans], and (had) undergone anguish at the hands of (their foes)” (H.).

cy

M 96 + 175 with other small fragments : *MHC* 138-41, as *Angad Rōšnān VI*. The first words of this whole cycle are *angad rōšnān friyānag* “Rich Friend of the beings of Light”. This passage from the sixth canto is roughly parallel to that from *Huwidagnān VI* given as **ex**, above. The Soul tells of the coming of the Saviour with other redeeming gods, and the words of comfort spoken to it by the Saviour.

3 **nīyust harwīn maran frēštāg**: “all deaths were hidden by the Envoy (i.e. the Saviour)”. Normal syntactic order is not always observed in verse.

- 4 'wt hrwyn wyg'nyšn o dwr bwt 'hynd 'ž mn
'wt gr'n ywbhr o 'wd hwyn tng 'njwgyftt
- 5 'wt ngwst hwyn dydyn o 'ws'n t'r 'bnftt
'wt hrw cyhrg o 'wt ywd "wyndq
- 6 ... *rwšn o wystrg 'wt zbyn
'wt *pwr š'dyft o pt hrw mn m'nq
- 7 'wt 'd mn wy'wrd o pd *nwryd š'dyftt
'wm gryw pdz'd o 'ž *gmbyr *gr'nyft
- 8 'wt w'cyd 'w mn o 'wr gy'n m' tyrs'h
'z hym tw mnwhmyd o 'wd frmnywg mwjdg
- 9 'wt tw 'yy mn tn o pdmwcn ...
cy 'hr's'd z'wr'n o ...
- 10 'wt 'z hym tw rwšn o 'spyxt hsyng
mnwhmyd kl'n o 'wt frmnywg 'spwr

cz**More verses from Angad Rōšnān**[*Parthian*]

hftwm hnd'm 'ngd rwšn'n

- 1 's'h tw gy'n o 'wd ms m' tyrs'h
mrn kft 'h'z o 'wd ywbhr 'bnft
- 2 'wd 'bsyst pdm'n o cy rwc'n 'ywštg
'ws gd 'sp'w o pd myg'n "dwryyn
- 3 's'h tw gy'n o 'wd fr'c c'm'h
'wd m' bw'h 'wrjwg o 'br kdg dyjw'ryft
- 4 ky hmg 'bn's o 'wd 'njwgyft cy mwrt
'wd wxd wynw'd 'yy o 'c tw bwn 'r'm

5 **ud harw čihrag ud yud-āwendag** : “and all (was divine) nature, without peer (?)” (H.).**cz**

M 91 + 175 with other fragments: *MHC* 154-61, as *Angad Rōšnān VII*. This canto continues the words of the Saviour to the Soul.

2 **ud absist padmān ...** : this verse might seem to refer to the end of the world and the Great Fire. Yet in the following verses the implication is clearly that, though the Soul itself is free, the world still exists, in its anguish and fleeting beauty.

- 5 'wd hrwyn tnng o cy tw wm'd pd nrh
 frh'ḥ hw wd'r'd o 'c hs 'wd 'c nwx
- 6 ms 'wr 's'ḥ o pd š'dyft 'by zryq
 'wd hw'r'm m' sy'ḥ o pd mrnyn 'r'm
- 7 m' 'zwrt' 'wd wyn'ḥ o tnb'ryn cyhrg
 cy synd pd dyjw'r o hwyn 'd šyrg'mg'n
- 8 'wd wnh' 'zwrtyn d o pd hrwyn "jwn
 'wd pd hrwyn hw'n o 'wd t'm'dg zynd'n
- 9 'wd wnh' "jynd o pd wysp d'md'd'n
 'wd 'xsyd hwyn wcn o pd bry'n swhyšn
- 10 ms 'wr 's'ḥ o 'wd m' bw'ḥ fryḥ
 'ym hwyhryft o cy pd hrw zng wygnyd
- 11 'wd kfyd 'wd wdcyd o cw'gwn wfr pd 'bd'b
 'wd 'w hrwyn kryšn o 'wyšt'dn ny 'st
- 12 'wd wyzmryd 'wd wzwyd o cw'gwn w'r systg
 ky pd 'bd'b hwšyd o 'wd hw brhm wygnyd
- 13 ms 's'ḥ tw gy'n o 'wd m' bw'ḥ fryḥ
 jmny 'sm'r o 'wd qmbyg rwc'n
- 14 'wd m' 'zwrt'ḥ o 'br hrwyn dydn
 mrn 'wrjwg o ky 'w 'bn's w'yd

[two verses badly preserved]

- 17 kr' gy'n 'by'd o 'wt wyn'ḥ *njwgyft
 cy bwrpd pd dybhr o cy hrwyn wyg'ng
- 18 'wt wyn'ḥ 'w šhr o 'wd zynd'n d'm'g
 cy hrw 'wrjwg o 'c tgnbnd wygnynd
- 19 'wt pry'byd 'sp'w o 'dwr 'wd 'bn's
 'w hwyn hrwyn o ky pd hw m"nynd
- 20 'wd 'bnsyd bwrzw'r o 'd hrwyn m'nyst'n
 'wd hrw 'sm'n o kfnd ngws'r 'w jfr
- 21 'wd 'strbyd tgnbnd o hw d'mg 'bn's
 'br hwyn dbgr o ky 'ndr ghr"yynd
- 22 'wd hmg šhrd'ryft o 'd hrw 'st'rg br'zyšn
 y'dyd hwyn 'bn's o 'wš'n tng 'nrgypt

22 u-sān tang anargift: “and the pang of their indignity”? Or “the indignity of their pang”?

23 'wd hrw 'xšynd'n o 'wd wymnd wstmbg'n
pd 'dwr *wxšyndg o 'wd pd dyjw'r y'wyd'n

[one verse badly preserved]

25 'wd hmg jywhr o cy wysp twxm 'wd *bwn
'c tgnbnd wygnynd o 'wd y'dynd 'w 'bn's

25 hamag zīwahr ...: “the whole of life, from every seed and *stem ...”, **bwn* is wholly restored, by H.

XVI

MISCELLANEOUS VERSE-TEXTS

da

Verses from a hymn-cycle, probably by Mani

- 1 dryst wys'y, bšn'ywm wzrg, dryst wys'y, cyhrwm b'myw, dryst wys'y, dyswm rwcg.
- 2 ... dryst wys'y, sxwnwm *bz'r, ky zyhr 'yg j'yd'n 'zyš c'xsynwm.
- 3 ... dryst wys'y, swr 'bz'r, ky dwst'n 'cyš phyp'rwrn. dryst wys'y, j'm 'y bwzyšn, ky pryy'n pdyš w'rynw. dryst wys'y, mgynndwm hwstyg'n 'wm šypsyr nyw 'y gwyšn 'wd 'šnwysn, 'wm zyn hwbdr'st 'yg hm'g wygr'syšn. dryst wys'y, h'mj'r 'wd h'mpnd 'y pd wysp rzm'h.

db

A rendering of some of the same verses in Parthian

- 1 drwd 'br tw, mn tn wzrg. drwd 'br tw, p'dgyrbwm nys'gyn. drwd 'br tw, cyrgwm rwšn.

da

M 842 R 1 – 4, 7 – 9, R 18 – V 13: H., “Mitteliranisch”, 103-04, with *Mir. Man. ii* 314 n. 4. These are probably verses from one of Mani’s *Psalms*, hence a MPersian translation from an Aramaic original. It is not certain which of the redeeming gods is invoked, but it seems probable that it is Jesus the Splendour.

3 magind-um ... u-m šefsēr ... i gōwišn ud ašnawišn: an instance of the *īdāfat-i tašbihi*, or *i* used to express a simile; the simile is a twofold one, with chiastic placing of its parts, since active speech is compared with the aggressive sword, and passive hearing with the defensive shield (H.). Cf. **dj** 5, below.

zēn ... īg hamāg wigrāsišn: H. points out that there is word-play here between *zēn* “armour, arms” and the derivatives of Av. *zaēnah* “wakefulness”. *zēn* means the whole equipment of a warrior (arms, armour, horse, saddle etc.), and then is often specialised to mean the most important aggressive item of it, the sword. Here it might mean another weapon, such as a spear (cf. **bv**, above, *nyzg ... s/syr*), or armour in general.

db

M 215 R 11-15, V 3 – 15: H., “Mitteliranisch”, 103-04. A Parthian version of some of the same verses as in **da**. The differences in vocabulary and syntax are striking.

1 *cīrag: so, instead of the usual *čihrag*.

- 2 ... drwd 'br tw, wxrdygwm wzrg, 'c kw 'mb'r'm 'w šyrg'mg'n. drwd
 'br tw, t'stgwm *bwgmyg, pd cym 'w fry'ng'n *wyšmyd qyrd. drwd
 'br tw, 'sprwm 'mwstyg'n 'wd *sfsyrwm nyw cy w'c 'wd *gwš, 'wm
 zyn pdr'stg'n cy hmg wygr'dnyft. drwd 'br tw, mn h'm'xwnd 'wd
 *h'm'dywn ky pd wysp *rzmg'h.

dc**A dialogue between a god, probably Jesus, and the ‘Boy’, in the form of a hymn**

[Parthian]

- 1 ... wsn'd wyl'styft cf'r šhr'n ywzynd. twyyc, fry'n, 'yd drxs'h
 wsn'd gy'n'n, kw pd tw 'fryyd bwxtn.

- 2 *bōγ-mēγ : H.'s tentative restoration (on analogy with *drōγ-mēγ*) of what would be a hapax.

dc

M 42: *Mir. Man. iii, i* and see *Cat.* — This text contains verses from an abecedarian hymn, with the alphabet in reverse order. The opening lines are from the end of the *p* verse; the *'ain* verse is represented by *frhyft*, which in the original ms. must have been written *'frhyft*; the *teth* verse begins inexplicably with *pt̄*. There is a dot under the *p* of *pt̄*, which may be only a cramped variant of the usual punctuation-mark at the end of a verse, but which may have some particular significance (see *Mir. Man. iii*, 880, textual note).

The hymn, which was probably sung antiphonally, consists of a dialogue between a god, almost certainly Jesus, and the “Boy” (*kumār*). The verses are assigned to them alternately, the *p* verse being spoken by the god, the *'ain* verse by the Boy, and so on. From the Coptic texts (see Polotsky, *Man. Homilien*, 87. 17 with n.) it appears that the Boy was the third emanation of the god Jesus. H., *Mir. Man. iii* 878 n.4. writes to the following effect: From M 42 it appears that, as in the beginning the Light-Elements were abandoned in matter by their father, the First Man, so also in the dim past the Boy was left behind in the world by a god. He strives ever for salvation, in continuous contest with the powers of Darkness. In order to help him in his struggle the Apostles are sent into the world. He has it in his power to rescue the Living Self (the lost Light-Elements), with which he is so closely linked that it can be said that he is the *personified will to salvation of the Living Self*, that is to say, more or less the same as the enthumesis of Life (see Polotsky, *Mani-Fund*, 80). The god who left the Boy in the world can hardly be other than Jesus, whose emanation he is. It is possible, therefore, to think that the Boy is himself the boy-Jesus, conceived as an independent and deified being (on the boy-Jesus see *Kephalaia*, 12.24 ff.; and on the semi-divine “young Boy” of the Mandaeans see M. Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, Göttingen-Leipzig 1925, 234 f.). The god Jesus is in general distinguished in the Manichaean myth from the prophet, but in this hymn there seems an attempt to bring them into relationship; see in particular the *heth* verse.

- 1 ēd draxsāh wasnād gyānān ... : “endure here (i.e. in the world) on account of the

- 2 frhyft 'wd 'sp's hnjs'm'n pyd'g, cy y'wr y'wr tw bg nm'd 'w mn. byc
pd 'ym 'yw ywb'm, qd tw 'br sd 'yy, 'wt 'z hyt hym syywg.
- 3 sr rzmywz'n, tw kwm'r, 'by'd d'r, pydr 'whrmyzd bg, ky 'c t'r
pdr'st. hmpdyš 'w z'dg'n, wsn'd wzrg whyywn, pd jfr'n 'nd's.d.
- 4 ng'dwm 'zgwl'h, tw fryhn'm s'str, kw 'g 'ym y'wr wsyd ny qryh,
frš'w'h ws bg'n, pd cy 'z wynd'm prwyj 'c wzynbg'r'n.
- 5 mn d'd 'bdys 'w mnwhmyd wzrg, kwt qd gd ... frš'w'h frytg'n.
twyc qr pyd'g wxybyh drgmnyft pd b'rwr'n rwšn'n r'z.
- 6 Iwg 'wd zhg'n pdrwf, mn wsn'd 'wsxt zrhwšt 'w p'rs šhrd'ryft, 'wš
nm'd r'styft, wjyd mn hnd'm 'c hft pdgs rwšn'n.
- 7 kd s't'n frwd'd, wsn'd hw 'wsnyndyft, fršwdyš 'šmg'n. hsystr 'c
pdy'b bwd wznd 'w tw, fry'n, 'c hwyn qyrdg'n, 'wd wxrydg jyryft.
- 8 ywbyšn 'ngwd pd hw jm'n 'c mn, kd š'qmn bwt ... 'hym. wyš'dyš
br mwxšyyg 'w frwx'n rw'n'n, cyš 'c hndwg'n bwj'd.

souls (i.e. the scattered elements of Light), so that through you salvation (*bōxtan*) will be created (lit. was created, i.e. has been and shall be created)”.

2 bez pad im ēw yōbām: “but I suffered at this one (time) ...”. The first word of this verse is spelt *pdhyft*, the dots over *pd* (for *fr*) having been omitted.

3 hampadiš ū zādagān ... pad žafrān andāsād: lit. “then by him to the children it was left in the depth”, i.e. “then he left the children in the depth”.

4 wiſeð nē karēh: lit. “you do not make dismissal/despatch”, i.e. “you do not release (me) (from the world)”.

5 man dād aþdēs ū manohmed wuzurg: since the Great Nous also is an emanation of Jesus, this verse makes the identity of the god who speaks almost certain (*Mir. Man. iii* 878 n. 4).

pad bārwarān rōšnān rāz: “like the burdened beings of Light”, i.e. like the Light-Elements suffering in the world.

6 lōg ud zahagān padruft: “the world and (its) children were disturbed (?)”.

wižid man handām až haft pdgs rōšnān: *pdgs* is perhaps a mistake for *p'dgws* (A.-H.). Transl. “(by him) were chosen my limbs from among the Light-Beings of the seven regions”.

7 kad sātān frawadād wasnād hō ōsanendift: lit. “when by Satan it was understood concerning his (Zoroaster’s) descent (to the world)”. Satan seeks to foil the apostles of God, see text by 2, above, and Polotsky, *Man. Homilien* 74.12, 76.13, 91.6-7 (A.-H.).

hasestar až padyāb: “sooner than a counter-thrust (was possible)”, i.e. before the gods could act.

ud waxridag žirift: “and distorted (was) wisdom”, i.e. Zoroaster’s teaching was corrupted.

8 yōbīš angūd pad hō žamān až man, kad šakman būt ... ahēm: “Suffering ceased for (lit. from) me at that time, when by the Buddha Śakyamuni I was ...”. For the form *s'qmn* cf. the title of a Turkish Manichaean fragment: *s'kymn burxan*, von Le Coq, *Türk. Man. I* 10-11 (A.-H.).

čē-š až hindūgān bōzād: “which (i.e. the souls) were freed by him from among the Hindus”.