

pydr `wd `wystw`r`n gw`n `wd ncyh`n. `wš`n, k' `xšyd, wdimwšt  
*pīdar ud awestwārān gōwān ud nizēhān. ušān, ka āxšīd, \*widimušt*  
 bwd hynd. `wd `wn c`wn zyr myrd, ky drxt `yw nyw `wd b`rwr  
*būd hēnd. a`ōn čē`ōn zīr mird, kē draxt ēw nēw ud bārwar*  
 twhm `ndr zmyg `y `gyrd wyndyh `wd `m`xšyh, ... `wš bryh `w  
*tōhm andar zamīg ī agird windēh ud āmāxšēh, ... uš barēh ō*  
 hwqyrd `wd wyr`st zmyg .....  
 \*hukird ud wirāst zamīg .....

### c

#### The opening words of Mani's Evangel, with an exordium

`wnglywnyg `rb ncyhyd  
*ewangelyōnīg arab nizēhēd*

- 1 `stwd `wd `st`yhyd qnygrwšn, sr `y wysp`n wyhyh`n. `stwd `wd  
*istūd ud istāyihēd kanīgrōšn, sar ī wispān wihihān. istūd ud*

**ud ēn xīr ī narjamīg**...: lit. "and this thing which by Narjamīg to me was taught, then-by-me it was begun speaking and teaching (it)".

**u-sān ka āxšīd**: lit. "and when by them it was heard".

**draxt ēw nēw ud bārwar tōhm**: the three adjs. qualify *draxt*, which depends on *tōhm*: "the seed of a good and fruitful tree".

**windēh ... āmaxšēh ... barēh**: all three verbs are optative 3rd sg.: "were to find ... to plough ... to carry".

### c

**M 17 + M 172 I**: *HR. ii 25-27, 100-01; MSt. 8, 19*. On the order of the lines, see W.-L. *i*, 23. The two fragments contain the same text, supplementing each other. The title ("he teaches (the chapter) *arab* of the Evangel") is preserved in M 17. Mani's *Evangel* was divided into 22 chapters, each beginning with a letter of the *abgad* (for the first chapter the ' of 'n at the beginning of para. 2, above, which is the opening of the work itself). The form *arab*, close to Syriac *alaf*, has the characteristic MP rhotacism of *l > r*. A Greek version of the opening lines of the Evangel has been discovered, see A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, "Ein griechischer Mani-Codex", *ZPE* V, 1970, 192 ff.

**1 kanīgrōšn**: the first part of the exordium is missing. No doubt in the complete text other gods were named before the Maiden of Light. This divinity is sometimes identified with the gnostic goddess Sophia, and for this reason is hailed as the "chief of all wisdoms", sometimes it is the Mother of the Living who fills this part instead; cf. text **cb 3**, below.

ʿstʿyhyd dyn ywjdhr, pd zwr ʿy pydr, pd ʿpryn ʿy mʿdr, ʾwd pd *istāyihēd dēn yōždah̄r, pad zōr ī pidar, pad āfrīn ī mādar, ud pad* wyhyy ʿy pwsr. drwd ʾwd ʿpryn ʾbr przyndʿn ʿy drwdyy, ʾwd ʾbr *wihī ī pūsar. drōd ud āfrīn abar frazendān ī drōdī, ud abar* gwʿgʿn ʾwd ʿšnʷgʿn ʿy sxwn wʾbrygʿn. hyb bwyd ʿstʿyšn ʾwd *gōwāgān ud išnawāgān ī saxwan wābarīgān. hēb bawēd istāyīšn ud* pdxšr ʾw pydr ʾwd ʾw pwsr ʾwd ʾw wʿxš ywjdhr ʾwd ʾw mʿdyʿn *padixšar ō pidar ud ō pūsar ud ō wāxš yōždah̄r ud ō mādayān* ywjdhr. gwyšn ʿy ʾwnglywn zyndg ʿy cšm ʾwd gwš wcyhyd, ʾwd *yōždah̄r. gōwišn ī ewangelyōn zīndag ī cašm ud gōš wizēhēd, ud* bʿr ʿy rʿstyy ncyhyd :  
*bār ī rāstī nizēhēd :*

- 2 ʿn mʿny, prystg ʿyg yyšwʿ ʿryʿmʿn, pd qʿm ʿy pdr, by wʾbrygʿn, *an Māni, frēstag īg Yišō ʿ Aryāmān, pad kām ī pidar, bay wābarīgān,* hʿʿn \*ky ʿn ʿcyš bwd \*hym ...; wysp ʿst, ʾwd hrw cy bwd ʾwd bwʿd, *hān kē an aziš būd hēm ...; wisp ast, ud harw cē būd ud bawād,* pd ʾwy zwr ʿystyd. frwxʿn ʿyn myzdgʿcyh pdyrynd, zyrʿn ʿšnʿsynd, *pad awē zōr ēstēd. farroxān ēn mizdagʿtāzih padirēnd, zīrān ašnāsēnd,* ʿthmʿn pymwcynd, dʿnʿgʿn why ...  
*tahmān paymōzēnd, dānāgān wahy ...*

**pidar ... mādar ... pūsar** : it is not certain which gods are meant, but probably the Father of Greatness, the Mother of the Living, and the First Man (her "son"). The next series is modelled on the Christian Trinity. It probably represents the Father of Greatness, Jesus the Splendour, and the Holy or Great Spirit.

**hēb bawēd istāyīšn** : M 17 has instead *hyb hyh ʿstʿyšn*.

**gōwišn ī ewangelyōn zīndag** ... : "he (i.e. Mani) teaches the word of the Living Evangel of Eye and Ear, and preaches the fruit of righteousness". Mani's Evangel is probably called that of Eye and Ear because it contained exhortations for guarding the senses (cf. below, h 5ff.).

## d

## A fragment from Mani's own account of his life

[Parthian]

- 1 'gd hym prw'n š'h, \*'wm w'xt kw\* drwd \*'br tw\* 'c yzd'n.  
*āyad hēm parwān šāh, um wāxt ku drōd abar tō až yazdān.*  
 š'h w'xt kw 'c kw 'yy. mn w'xt kw bzyšk hym, 'c b'byl zmyg.  
*šāh wāxt ku až ku ay. man wāxt ku bizišk hēm, až Bābel zamīg.*

[a number of lines missing]

- 2 ... 'wd pd hm'g tnb'r hw qnycg drwšt bwd. pd wzrg š'dyft  
*... ud pad hamāg tanbār hō kanižag društ būd. pad wuzurg šādīft*  
 'w mn w'xt kw 'c kw 'yy tw, mn bg 'wd 'njywg?  
*ō man wāxt ku až ku ay tū, man bay ud anjīwag?*

## e

## From an account of Mani's conversion of the Tūrān-Šāh

[Parthian]

- 1 fryštg 'w 'rd'w pd 'ndrw'z w'st. w'xt, cy bwrzystr. 'rd'w w'xt,  
*frēštāg ō ardāw pad andarwāz wāst. wāxt, cē burzistar. ardāw wāxt,*

## d

**M 566**: *HR. ii 87, MSt. 30*, see further *Cat.* — There is no other source for identifying the king in this little fragment, or the girl healed by the prophet.

**1** \*um wāxt ku\* drōd \*abar tō\*: the words between asterisks are restored by A.-H.

**2** pad šādīft ... ō man wāxt: the grammatical instrument is to be understood from *kanižag* in the previous sentence (as not infrequently in straightforward prose narrative): i.e. "(by her) it was said to me".

## e

**M 48**: *HR. ii 86, MSt. 13-14*, see further *Cat.*, + M 1306 II, M 1307, M 5911 and M 8286, for which see W. Sundermann, "Zur frühen missionarischen Wirksamkeit Manis", *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXIV 1 and 3, 1971, 102-05, 371-76. — A badly preserved fragment of church-history, concerning Mani's mission to India (for which see above, intro., p. 1). The text establishes that the king of Tūrān was a Buddhist before he embraced Manichaeism.

**1** ō ardāw pad andarwāz wāst: this is evidently to be taken literally. Elsewhere

mn \**spyr*. fryštg w`xt, ms, `c `ym cy wzrgystr. w`xt kw zmyg,  
*man isper. frēštag wāxt, mas, až im čē wuzurgistar. wāxt ku zamīg,*  
 ky hrw cyš bryd. ms w`xt kw `c `ymyn cy wzrgystr. `rd`w w`xt  
*kē harw čiš barēd. mas wāxt ku až imin čē wuzurgistar. ardāw wāxt*  
 kw \**sm`n* ... \*w`xt kw `c `ym\* cy wzrgystr w`xt kw \**myhr* `wd  
*ku āsmān* ... *wāxt ku až im čē wuzurgistar. wāxt ku mihr ud*  
 m`h. ms cy \**rwšnystr*. w`xt kw ... jryft.  
*māh. mas čē rōšnistar. wāxt ku ... žirift.*

- 2 `dy`n twr`n š`h w`xt kw `c `ymyn hrwyn tw wzrgystr `wd rwšnystr  
*ađyān Tūrān Šāh wāxt ku až imin harwin tū wuzurgistar ud rōšnistar*  
 `yy, čy pd \**r`štyft* tw wxd bwt `yy. pš hw dyn`br `w \**twr`n* š`h  
*ay, čē pad rāštift tū wxad but ay. paš hō dēnāβar ō Tūrān Šāh*  
 w`xt kw\* `w`gwn qr`h \**cw`gwn* ...  
*wāxt ku awāyōn karāh čawāyōn ...*

[a number of lines missing]

- 3 ... šhr`n `gd, qyrbkr `wd bzqr, `wd qyrdg`n cy `rd`w  
 ... *šahrān āyad, kirbakkar ud bazakkar, ud kirdagān čē ardāw*  
 `wd \**ngwš`g*.  
*ud niyōšāg.*
- 4 pš, kd twr`n \**š`h* `wd `z`d`n `ym sxwn `šnwd, š`d bwd `hynd.  
*paš, kad Tūrān Šāh ud āzādān im saxwan išmūd, šād būd ahēnd.*  
 w`wryft pdgryft, `wd `w fryštg `wd dyn šyrg`mg bwd `hynd.  
*wāwarift padiyrift, ud ō frēštag ud dēn širgāmag būd ahēnd.*

it is said that Mani had the power of levitation, and here he is represented as raising a just man with him. Their conversation takes place above the ground — a miracle which seems to have strengthened the faith of the newly-converted Tūrān-Šāh. [Otherwise Sundermann, loc. cit., p. 374f., who understood the *ardāw* to be a soul from Paradise.]

**man \*isper**: the second word was restored by Müller from ms. *\*sp[.]r*. There are two words written *\*spyr* (see glossary), but the use of the personal pronoun shows that this must be the one meaning "army", not "sphere". [Sundermann, loc. cit., p. 375, interpreting *ardāw* as a soul, understood it, however, to speak of heaven as "my sphere". But earth would hardly then be greater.]

[a number of lines missing]

- 5 'dy'n br'dr'n prw'n qyrbkr ng'd bwrđ. 'wt fryštġ 'w twr'n š'h  
*ađyān brādarān parwān kirbakkar niyād burđ. ud frēštāg ō Tūrān Šāh*  
 'zynd w'xt. mrd 'yw 'h'z, 'wd hft pwhr bwd. kd \*mrn jm'n  
*āzend wāxt. mard ēw ahāz, ud haft puhr būđ. kad maran žamān*  
 'gd, pwhr'n xrwšt ...  
*āyad, puhrān xrōšt ...*

[a gap of unknown length]

- 6 ... 'rg'w kr'h. 'wd kd twr'n š'h dyd kw qyrbkr 'br 'x'st,  
*... argāw karāh. ud kad Tūrān Šāh dīđ ku kirbakkar abar āxāšt,*  
 'dy'n wxđ 'c dwr pt z'nwg 'wyšt'd. 'wd pdwhyđ 'wd 'w kyrbkr  
*ađyān wxad až dūr pad zānūg awištād. ud padwahēđ ud ō kirbakkar*  
 \*w'cyd 'wd nm'yd kw 'wr prw'n mn m' 'syd. 'dy'n qyrbkr  
*wāžēđ ud nimāyēđ ku awar parwān man mā āsēđ. ađyān kirbakkar*  
 'wwđ gd. 'wyšt'd 'wd wxđ fr'c šwd. 'wš 'mbwy'd. 'dy'n 'w qyrbkr  
*ōđ gad. awištād ud wxad frāž šud. uš ambōyād. ađyān ō kirbakkar*  
 w'cyd kw tw bw't 'yy, 'wd 'm'h mrdwhm 'st'rgr hym'd. ny ny'bg  
*wāžēđ ku tū but ay, ud amāh mardōhm 'āstārgar hēmād. nē niyābag*  
 kw tw pdyc 'm'h 's' ... cwnd p'd \*m'h prw'n tw \*sym, 'wynd  
*ku tū padiž amāh āsā ... čwand pād amāh parwān tō āsēm, awend*  
 pwn 'wd\* ...  
*pun ud ...*

[a number of lines missing]

- 7 ... bwxtgyft 'w 'm'h bwyd. 'wd cwnd p'd cy tw pdyc 'w 'm'h  
*... bōxtagift ō amāh bawēđ. ud čwand pād čē tū padiž ō amāh*  
 's'h, 'wynd 'pwn 'wd 'st'r 'w 'm'h bwyd. 'dy'nyš kyrbkr 'frywn  
*āsāh, awend apun ud āstār ō amāh bawēđ. ađyāniš kirbakkar āfriwan*  
 qyrd. 'wš w'cyd kw 'fryd bw'h, kw cw'gwn 'w's 'ndr šhr mdy'n  
*kird. uš wāžēđ ku āfrīđ bawāh, ku čawāyōn awās andar šahr madyān*  
 mrdwhm'n frwx 'wd pdyšfr'wynd 'yy, 'w'gwnc pd 'rw'n 'stym rwc  
*mardōhmān farrox ud padišfarāwend ay, awāyōniž pad arwān istem rōž*

yzd'n cšm frwx 'wd 'rg'w bw'h. 'wd mdy'n yzd'n 'wd 'rd'w'n  
*yazdān čašm farrox ud argāw bawāh. ud mađyān yazdān ud ardāwān*  
 kyrbkr'n y'wyd'n \*'nwšg bw'h. pš ... dst gryft ...  
*kirbakkarān yāwēdan anōšag bawāh. paš ... dast gryft ...*

## f

## Mani's conversion of the ruler of Mesene

[Parthian]

myšwn xwd'y myhrš'h  
*Mēšūn xwadāy Mihršāh*

- 1 byd š'bwhr š'h'n š'h br'd bwd myšwn xwd'y, 'wd myhrš'h n'm  
*bid Šābuhr šāhān šāh brād būd Mēšūn xwadāy, ud Mihršāh nām*  
 'h'z. 'wd 'w fryštḡ ... 'škyft dšmyn bwd. 'wš bwdyst'n wyr'št  
*ahāz. ud ō frēštḡ ... iškift dušmen būd. uš bōdistān wirāšt*  
 'yw, ky nyw 'rg'w 'wd 'škyft gwš'd, \*ky kyc h'ws'r ny 'st. 'dy'n  
*ēw, kē nēw argāw ud iškift gušād, kē kēž hāwsār nē ast. ađyān*  
 fryštḡ \*z'n'd kw bwg jm'n nzd gd. 'dy'n 'x'št 'wd prw'n myhrš'h  
*frēštḡ zānād ku bōy žamān nazd gad. ađyān āxāšt ud parwān Mihršāh*  
 šwd, ky pd bwdyst'n pd bzm 'h'z pd wzrg š'dyft.  
*šud, kē pad bōdistān pad bazm ahāz pad wuzurg šādīft.*
- 2 ... 'dy'n 'w fryštḡ w'xt kw 'ndr whyšt ky tw n'm bryh 'w'gwn  
*... ađyān ō frēštḡ wāxt ku andar wahišt kē tū nām barēh awāyōn*

## f

**M 47 I:** *HR.* ii 82-3, *MSt.* 12-13, see further *Cat.* — The fragment contains an account of Mani's conversion of Mihršāh, brother of Šābuhr I, and ruler of Mesene (Mēšūn/Mēšān), a little kingdom at the mouth of the Tigris. This event must have taken place before A.C. 262, because at that date one of Šābuhr's sons was ruling Mesene.

**1** *bōdistān ... ēw, kē nēw argāw ud iškift gušād ...*: lit. "a garden, very fine and wonderfully spacious, the like (*hāwsār*) of which (*kē*) there is not to any one", i.e. whose like no other man possesses. The first *kē* is a rel. particle, with the function of *idāfat*.

**2** *andar wahišt kē tū nām barēh*: "in the Paradise of which you speak".

bwdyst'n 'h'd cw'gwn 'ym mn bwdyšt'n. 'dy'n fryštḡ z'n'd hw  
*bōdīstān ahād čawāyōn im man bōdīstān. ađyān frēštḡ zānād hō*  
 'w'wryḡ prm'ng. 'dy'n pd wrc nm'd whyšt rwsn, 'd hrwyn bg'n  
*awāwarīg parmānag. ađyān pad warž nimād wahišt rōšn, ad harwīn bayān*  
 yzd'n 'wd w'd 'nwšḡ cy jywhr, 'wd bwdyst'n wysp zng, 'wd 'nyc  
*yazdān ud wād anōšag čē žiwahr, ud bōdīstān wisp zanag, ud anīž*  
 gw'nyḡ dydn cy 'wwd. hmpd 'by 'wš kft yd 'w hry jm'n. 'wd cy  
*gawānīg didan čē ōd. hampad abē uš kaft yad ō hrē žamān. ud čē*  
 dyd, pd zyrd 'by'dḡ'r dyrd. 'dy'n fryštḡ dst pd sr 'wyst'd. 'w 'wš  
*dīd, pad zird ašyādḡār dīrd. ađyān frēštḡ dast pad sar awīstād. ō uš*  
 'gd. kd 'br \*'x'št, pd fryštḡ p'd kft, dšn pdgryft. 'wd fryštḡ  
*āḡad. kađ abar āxāšt, pad frēštḡ pād kaft, dašn padīyriřt. ud frēštḡ*  
 w'xt ...  
 wāxt ...

## g

## An incident in Mani's travels

[Parthian]

- 1 ... 'w xyybr' 'wsyḡ w'xt kw \*z'n'h kw d'r'w pwhr bwg wynd'd  
 'h'd, cym ... nyš'n nxšḡ dyd.
- 2 'wd pd hwyn rwc'n qyrbqr 'wwd 'gd. 'wš'n rw'ng'n prw'n hw  
 qyrd. 'wd 'h'r jm'n, kd qyrbqr pd 'frywn wsn'd hw sr'wg pdwh'd,  
 'dy'nyš wxd hry y'wr nm'c bwrđ. 'wd z'dḡ'n pwrš'd kwm'n 'bdys'  
 kwt cy wsn'd nm'c bwrđ. 'wš wxd w'xt kwm 'w yyšw' wxybyh pydr  
 'wd xwd'y nm'c bwrđ, kwm 'g'dḡ cym 'c hw wx'št, 'wd pdwhn cy

**wād anōšag čē žiwahr**: "the immortal Air of life", i.e. the uncreated Air of Paradise.  
**anēž gawānīg didan čē ōd**: "other desirable sights there".

## g

**M 177 V**: *HR. ii 89-90, MSt. 22*, see further *Cat.* — In an MP fragment, M 45 (text **dm**, below), a woman \*Xēbrā is mentioned, a Hearer who had lost her only son, presumably the Dārāwpuhr of the present passage. There are awkwardnesses in syntax and construction in this passage which suggest a clumsy translation.

**1 zānāh**: 2nd sg. subj. (in Pth. this form is often preferred to the imp. sg.). *windād ahād* has the same meaning as the simple *windād*. Lit. "Know that by Dārāwpuhr salvation has been found, for by me an auspicious sign has been seen." The speaker is unidentified.

- šm`h pdwh`d, hwyc pdgryft. `wd wnwh, d`r`w gy`n fryyšt`g`n `w`st  
 `wd prw`n mn \*`wyyšt`n`d, kd wyr`št `štýd pd šhrd`r`n brhm `bdýyn.  
 3 `wd kd `bwrs`m `wd xybr` `wsyg `šnwđ, šwd `wd pd qyrbqr p`d  
 qft `hynd `wd w`cynd kw hmwd`m pd tw, xwd`y.

## h

## Concerning two missions sent out by Mani

`mđyšn `yg prystg pd šhr`n

- 1 šwd hynd `w hrwm. dyd ws hmwg phyk`r`r `b`g dyn`n. prhyd  
 wcydg`n `wd nywš`g`n wcyd. ptyg yk s`r`n `nwł bwd. `b`c `md pyš  
 prystg. ps xwd`wn šh dbyr, `wnglywn, `ny dw nbyg, `w `d` prystýd.  
 prm`d kw `wrwn m` `wr, `n`y `nwł pt`y, nyš`n `y w`c`rg`n ky gnz  
 hrwbyd.

2 **abdēsā**: also 2nd sg. subj., with final *h* omitted, as often (see above, intro. p. 18).  
 "Teach us why you bowed".

**ku-m āgādag** ...: "that (i.e. because) my wish, which-by-me (*čē-m*) was asked of  
 him, and the prayer which by you was prayed, by-him-indeed (*haw-iš*) was accepted".

**dārāw gyān** ...: "the soul of Dārāw(puhr?) was brought by angels and set before me,  
 when it was arrayed in the customary dress of kings". The syntax is unusual, with  
 the grammatical subject, *gyān*, preceding the agent. *wirāšt ištēd* has the same meaning as  
 the simple *wirāšt*.

3 **wāzēnd**: note the dramatic change to the present tense.

## h

**M 2 I**: *Mir. Man. ii* 301-6, see further *Cat.* — The text concerns early Manichaeism  
 missions to east and west. In para. 4 there is an awkward transition from the 3rd to  
 the 1st person, and from here onwards the narrative appears to have been adapted  
 to suggest that the sect of Dēnāwars (see above, intro. p. 3) was founded as early  
 as the 3rd century A.C. How much genuine old material there is in this second  
 part of the text is therefore doubtful. It contains some late linguistic features.

1 **šud hēnd ō hrōm**: "they went to Rome" i.e. the Eastern Roman Empire. "They"  
 evidently refers to the missionaries Addā and Pattēg, and their companions, see p. 2.

**was hammōg pahikār** ...: "much strife of doctrines between religions".

**wizīdagān** ... **wizīd**: the agent is not expressed. With *wizīd* the auxiliary *hēnd*  
 might be expected ("Elect ... were chosen"), but the 3rd pl. past is often, like the  
 3rd sg., expressed by the past participle alone.

**pēš frēstag**: in a Pth. version it is recorded that when Mani sent Addā and  
 his companions to Rome, he himself was in Wēh-Ardaxšīr, a part of Al-Madaīn  
 on the western shore of the river Tigris. — Note that MP *pēš* does not take the  
 idāfat.



- 2 'd' pd 'wyn šhr'n ws rnz bwrđ. nš'st ws m'nyst'n'n, wcyđ prhyd wcydg'n 'wd nywš'g'n. kyrđ nbyg'n 'wd whyy hs'xt zyn. pdyrg qyš'n rpt, 'b'g 'wys'n pd hrwtys bwxt. sr'xšynyđ 'wd 'ndrxt 'w qyš'n. d' 'w 'lxsyngryrd md. npš' 'w dyn wcyđ. prhyd wđymwštyh 'wd wrđ pd 'wyn šhr'n qyrd. wpr'yhyst dyn 'y prystg pd hrwm.
- 3 dwdy, k' prystgrwšn 'ndr hlwn šhryst'n bwd, xwnd 'w mry 'mw hmwc'g, ky phlw'nyg dbyryy 'wd \*'zw'n d'nyst\*.... 'w 'bršhr pryst'd, 'b'g 'rdβ'n wyspwhr 'wd br'dr'n dbyr'n, nbyg'n-ng'r 'b'g. gwpt kw 'pryđ 'yn dyn, 'nwĥ pd \*wzrgyh wypr'yh'd, pd ... hmwc'g'n, nywš'g'n 'wd rw'ng'n. 'wt...n'm bw'd dyl... whmn 'y wzrg \* d'r'd dyb 'wd drwdg... pyšyng'n.
- 4 'wd k' md hynd 'w phrg 'y kwš'n, 'yg pyđ'g bwd w'xš 'y hwr's'n wymnd, pd dys 'y qnycg. 'wš pwrsyđ 'w mn 'mw, kw cy-k'rg hy. 'c kw 'md hy. mn gwpt kw dynwr hym, hš'gyrd 'y m'ny prystg. h'n w'xš gwpt kwt 'n ny pdyrym. 'b'c wrđ, kw 'md hy. 'wd nhwpt 'c pyš mn.

2 **kird nibēgān**: "writings were made (by him)". On Addā's literary activity see P. Alfarc, *Les écritures manichéennes* II (Paris 1918), 96 ff.

**wihī hassāxt zēn**: "(by him) wisdom was made a weapon (?)". In the Pth. version Addā appears to be compared with a man who takes "a mighty weapon" (*zēn henzāwar*); see *Mir. Man. ii*, 302 n. 3.

3 **holwān**: a city lying on the great highway from al-Madaīn to Hamadān, and the capital of the ancient province of the same name. See G. LeStrange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1930), 191.

**Mar Ammō**: Ammō was another of Mani's chief apostles. His main missionary-work was in the north-east of the Sasanian Empire, in the old homelands of the Parthians. He was therefore the founder of the Eastern Manichaean church by which all the surviving Iranian material has been transmitted.

\***pahlawānīg dibēri**: The Parthians had a traditional script which differed from that of the Persians, although both systems originated in Achaemenian chancery writing.

**abaršahr**: "the upper lands" i.e. the northern provinces of the Persian Empire; in Pth. *šahr* ... *čē abar* (see q 4, below, and H., *Mitteliranisch* 95).

**ardaβān wispuhr**: evidently a member of the fallen house of the Arsacids, and as such a kinsman of Mani's, and a man who spoke Parthian.

**nām bawād dil** ...: The broken sentences are probably to be translated more or less as follows: "And may your name be Heart-..., may the Great Nous preserve fortune and health for you [more than for] the ancients".

4 **pahrag ī kušān**: The western part of the lands of the Kushans was at this time (c. A.C. 265-270) a dependency of the Sasanian state (see H. H. Schaeder, *Iranica* 75, H., *J. Greater India Society* XI 2, 1944, 88).

- 5 ps ʾn ʾmw pd dw rwcg pd ʾpryn ʾystʾd hym pyš xwršyd. ps prystg pydʾg bwd. gwpt kw wddyl mʾ bʾš. nyʾn ʾy zyndgʾn, hrwbyšn ʾy drʾn, pyšy pypwrs.
- 6 ps dwdyg rwc hʾn wʾxš pydʾg bwd. ʾw mn gwpt, \*cy rʾy ny šwd hy ʾw \*xwyš šhr. mn gwpt, ʾc dwr gyʾg ʾmd hym, dyn rʾy. hʾn wʾxš gwpt, cy ʾst dyn ʾy \*ʾwryy. mn gwpt, pyt ʾwd \*my ny xwrʾm, ʾc \*zn dwr phryzym. \*hʾn gwpt kw pd pʾdyxšʾyy ʾy mn \*myrd cʾwn tw ws ʾst. ps mn nyʾn ʾy zyndgʾn, hrwbyšn ʾy drʾn, pyšyh pypwrsyd. ʾyg nmʾc bwrđ, gwpt kw tw hy ʾrdʾw ʾy pʾk. ʾc nwn prwn xwyš gryw dyndʾr mʾ xwʾn, bʾ dynʾwr ʾy rʾst, kyt hʾwynd ny ʾst. ps mn pwrsyd, cy-nʾm hy. gwpt kw bʾrd nʾm hwm, wymndbʾn ʾy hwrʾsʾn. kʾ ʾny tw pdyrʾm, ʾyg dr ʾy hʾmʾg hwrʾsʾn pyšy tw wšyhyd.
- 7 ps bʾrd wʾxš hrwbyšn ʾy pnzʾn drʾn pd ʾzynd ʾw mn wcyst: mʾnʾg dr ʾy cšmʾn, ky pd dydyšn ʾyg twhyg wypsyt, cʾwn myrd, ky pd dšt wymys

5 **pēs xwarxšēd**: the Manichaeans turned by day in prayer towards the sun, as do the Zoroastrians.

**niyān ī zīndagān**...: the title of one of Mani's works. *Harrōbišn ī darān* is presumably one of its chapters. "Recite aloud (the chapter) 'the Collecting of the Gates' from 'the Treasure of the Living'" (see H., *Asia Major n.s.* III ii, 1952, 205 n. 4). The "gates" are the senses, and to "collect" them is evidently to close them against temptation.

6 **dēnāwar ī rāst**: the point of the adapted story lies in this sentence, with its "historical" explanation of the name of the Dēnāwars.

**bagārd-nām hum**: *hum* is a late form for *hēm*. On the name *Bagārd/Bagard* see H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the ninth-century books* (Oxford, 1943), 67 ff., H., *J. Greater India Society* XI 2, 87 n. 14.

**pēsē tō**: the adv. *pēsē* is here evidently used in error for the preposition *pēs*, which probably at this late date was beginning to be construed with the *iḡāfat*, as in New Persian.

**ka any tō padīrām**: the use of *any* "other" for *an* "I" shows the influence of a late stage of the language, when *any* had come to be pronounced *an*; cf. the confusion in Pahlavi between *ʾXRN* (*any*) and *ZK* (*hān*); and see H., "Mitteliranisch", 90 n. 2.

**dar ī hāmāg hwarāsān ... wišhēd**: Evidently *Hwarāsān* is used here in its general meaning of "east" rather than as a particular territorial designation.

7 **harrōbišn ī panzān darān**: the parables which follow are told in condensed form, like notes for preaching.

**mānāg dar ī čašmān kē**...: "like (is) the gate of the eyes, which is deceived by empty appearances, as (*ēeʾōn*) a man who ...",