

Some Parthian abecedarian hymns

By MARY BOYCE

(PLATE 4)

A CONVENTION existed among Manichæan copyists whereby most Parthian poetry was written as prose, the verses being separated only by some device of punctuation. The method saved a considerable amount of paper. Yet there are texts set out as poetry, in separate lines with a space between verses. The two great hymn-cycles, *Huwīdagmān* and *Angad Rōšnān*,¹ are invariably presented in this way.² These exist in the fragments of thirty-odd MSS. of very varied character; it is evident, therefore, that in their case the manner of presentation did not depend on individual taste or means, but was regarded as proper to the texts themselves.

A few other texts are written in the same fashion. They share the following characteristics with the hymn-cycles: each verse occupies two lines, and there are usually ten verses to a page; verses are separated from each other by a blank space; and a *p* stands by alternate verses at the copyist's discretion.³ Müller's explanation, that this *p* (for *padwāg* 'answer') marks the antiphon, has been generally accepted.

Among these texts are some abecedarian hymns. Each of them contained 25 verses (including an introductory verse and a final one beginning with *n*).⁴ One group only has been identified by a title: *Evangelionīg bāšāhān*. The best examples from it are M 92, M 898, and M 88 II, which together form a continuous text.⁵ This consists of two hymns composed in couplets, in a difficult and allusive style. The surviving verses contain a condemnation of the flesh and false religions, followed by an account of the redeeming gods. The other identifiable fragments of *Evangelionīg* hymns are very small. They are reproduced in F and G below. F (and possibly also G a) appears to be concerned with Šaklōn and his mate. Similar subject-matter is found in M 741,⁶ which has no title. There is no notable difference in metre between the two hymns in this fragment and those preserved in M 92 + M 898 + M 88 II. There is a possibility, therefore, that they also are *Evangelionīg* hymns.

The other surviving alphabetic hymns written strophically are in a variety of metres. Those reproduced in D and E below are in couplets, but have a

¹ See Henning, *BSOAS.*, xi, 216–17. An edition of these texts is now ready for the press. It is referred to here as *Hymn-cycles*.

² There is one exception, M 625 b; but even in this fragment the text is written not continuously but in interspaced groups of three lines.

³ In the hymn-cycles some fragments have the *p*, others containing the same verses do not.

⁴ The first hymn in C below is an exception, as is that in K.

⁵ These unpublished fragments will be included in a new edition of Parthian texts now in preparation.

⁶ See *BSOAS.*, xiii, 911–14. Prof. Henning has since found parts of vv. 2–4 and 11–13 of this text preserved also in T I D51 (5 p.) d. The only important variant is in 3b: *jd o prmydyd [sic] k(w b)[. prmydyd*, unless copyist's mistake for *prm'yd*, is possibly for **prmyryd*, cf. M.Pers. *prmwrd* (*ZII.*, ix, p. 193²⁶) which accordingly should be transcribed *parmwrd* (H.).

noticeably shorter verse-line than the *Evangelionīg* hymns. The first hymn in A is composed in verses of five lines each, the second in verses of three lines each. Verses of three lines are found also in B. Two hymns (the first in C, and that in K) are distinguished by having the line as their unit: each of the lines begins with a successive letter of the alphabet. To write such texts in couplets seems arbitrary; and this suggests that the manner of presentation may sometimes have depended on whim rather than tradition. Positive evidence for this is lacking, since no text has yet come to light written as prose in one manuscript and verse in another.

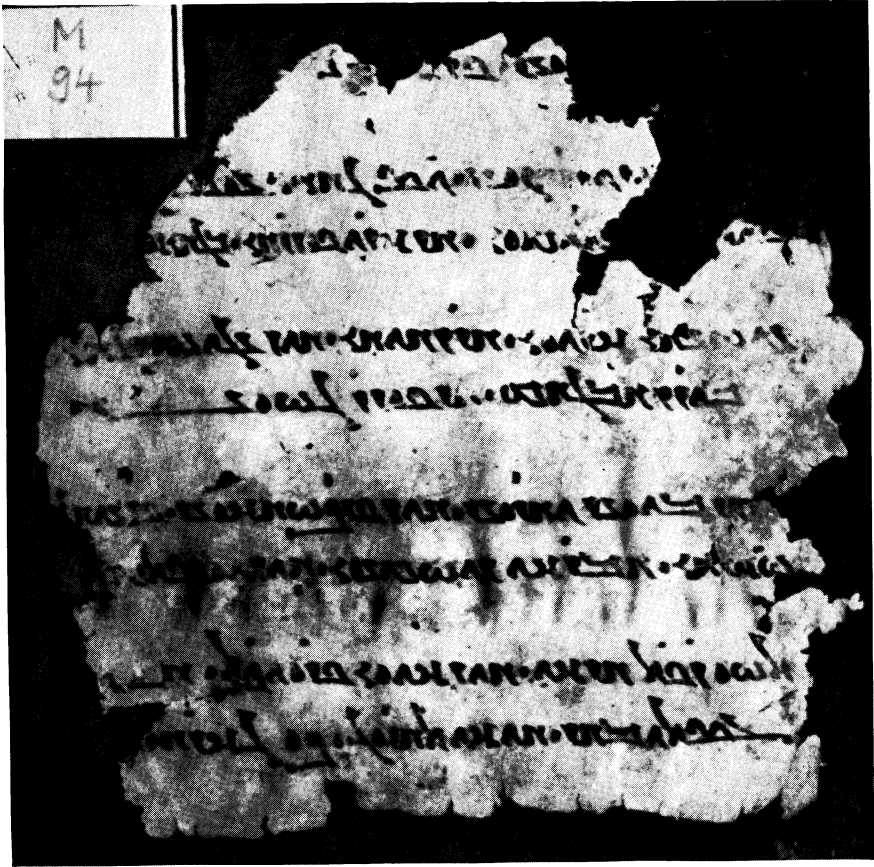
The hymns appear to have been grouped methodically. Where two survive on one fragment they are linked by content: the two hymns in A are both concerned with the final victory of the Light; in C the first is about the triumph of the Light, the second about the sweetness of Paradise; in M 741 both are about the activities of the Dark. M 741 is a homogeneous text, like the *Evangelionīg* hymns, whereas the hymns in A and C differ in structure. It is probable, therefore, that the latter are separate works, set together according to subject-matter for use in church-services. There is some evidence, however, that not only the *Evangelionīg* hymns, but also the miscellaneous alphabetic hymns were chanted in groups. This evidence is provided by the marginal *p*, which appears in some hymns by odd verses (introductory, b, d, etc.),¹ in others by even ones (², g, etc.).² Had the hymns been chanted separately, the antiphonal verses would always have been the even ones. That the position of the *p* alternated from one hymn to the next is shown by two texts both containing two hymns each, namely M 92 + M 898 + M 88 II and text A below. In each of them one hymn has *p* by the odd verses, the other by the even ones.

The fragments reproduced below represent all the identifiable³ alphabetic hymns in strophes—the longer *Evangelionīg* fragments excepted—which are in Prof. Henning's collection of photographs and have not yet been published. Those in E–K are very badly preserved and are given largely for the sake of completeness. M 94 and M 173 are among the fragments whose photographs were recently acquired by Prof. Henning. I am greatly indebted to him both for immediate access to them and for permission to publish them with others whose photographs were already in his possession. Some of the latter bear his annotations, which I have reproduced together with suggestions made by him when he kindly read this article. These are marked by the initial H. It is not possible, however, to acknowledge with the same precision my general debt to Prof. Henning, accumulated over years as his pupil; nor adequately to express gratitude for all the light brilliantly and generously shed by him on these Manichaean texts. My thanks to him are here coupled with a tribute to Prof. Minorsky, for whom this article has been written.

¹ E.g. D and G b below.

² E.g. B below.

³ Some fragments written strophically lack initial words. It cannot then be seen whether they are from alphabetic texts or not.



M 94
(Recto page)

[8/9 nat. size

A

M 94 + M 173 + T I D 51 (14 p.) d + T II D 67 (2 p.) a + T II K (5 p.) d. T II K d is a badly-preserved fragment with inner margin only; written in a small clear hand with close-set lines and a wide space between verses. It contains verses **g-z** and **l-c** of a single hymn. Verses **m-t** of this same hymn are found on the recto pages of four other fragments, which have on their own verso pages the beginning of a second hymn, with introductory verse and verses **'-z**. Two of these fragments, T I D 51 d and T II D 67 a, are very small and have no margins. Both are badly faded. The former is written in a small clear hand, the latter in a medium one. The other two fragments, M 94 and M 173, are from the same sheet of the same MS., written in a handsome, largish script. Nothing is missing between them, and together they preserve nine out of the ten verses on a page.¹ Two verses from the verso page of M 173, namely **'** and **b**, were published by Müller (*H.R.*, ii, 78) and republished by Salemann (*Man. St.*, 20).

The verses of the first hymn are divided by punctuation-marks into five lines each, those of the second into three lines each.² Both hymns are concerned with the final triumph of the Light.

For convenience the five fragments have here been called: M 94³ = *a*, M 173 = *b*, T I D 51 (14 p.) d = *c*, T II D 67 (2 p.) a = *d*, and T II K (5 p.) d = *e*. In the margin of the text these letters (followed by R or V for recto or verso) indicate in which fragment each line—or any part of it—is preserved.

eR	1b	[pd](xš)'h'd (.)[
eR	2a	d'd nys'r'(d) o '(c)[	[p]
eR	b	fr'c o pd (n)mrw('g) *[
eR	3a	(h)w (z)myg rwšn o [
eR	b	[. . .]'n o 'c pnj[
eR	4a	[w']d 'frydg o p[y](d)[r](?n ^a rw)š(n)'n[	[p]
eR	b	[. . .]n o d'lwg (ny)s'g (?w)d p(.)[
eR	5a	[z]yd (o w)x(d pd) š(?)dy(ft)[
eR	b	[](?)w h(w p)d(b)[

(Five verses missing)

^a Reading suggested by H.

¹ It seems more likely that a verse has been torn from the top of the page (i.e. from the beginning of M 173) rather than from the bottom of the page (i.e. from the end of M 94). Müller described M 173 as the upper half of a sheet, presumably because the verso has a blank space at its head. It is now clear that this space only marks a division between hymns. It is not found on the recto.

² Salemann, to whom only two verses of the second hymn were available, took these verses to be symmetrical couplets, each with 4 + 8 syllables to the line. Such uniformity is foreign to Parthian verse, and would in fact be broken by the latter part of the second line of the **b** verse (25 b below) which has nine syllables. The division into couplets runs counter both to the sense and to the punctuation.

³ See Plate 4.

	eV	11b		]myd š[. . .]	
	eV	12a	[myhryzd ?	n](y)df'r[y]d 'ž xwr's'n	[p]
	dR + eV	b	[	]cy (zm)yg rwšn	
bR + dR + eV		13a	[n	]bwynd pdbst o hnd'm ^b	
bR + dR + eV		b	[	](.) šhr nw'g o pd zmyg wzrgyft	
bR + cR + eV		14a	(sxt) ^c bwynd pd hm o cw'gwn 'yw wym o u		P
bR + cR + eV		b	'yw ^d tnb'r ^e o xwj u 'škyft o y'wyd'ng		
bR + cR + eV		15a	'šmg t'ryg o 'd jfr wxybyy o ngnd bwynd ^f		
bR + cR + eV		b	'ndr o pd hw dysm'n o nw'g 'wd 'rg'w		
bR + cR		16a	pwr krynd ^g h'w(s')r o hw zmyg rwšn o u teynd		P
bR		b	'ndr o x'ns'r bg'ny(g) [o 'w](d w)'d 'nwšyn		
bR		17a	cyhrg (')rg'w (o) [. . . .]yng (o) g'h ps'cynd		
aR + bR		b	[	]ynd o pd [nw](?)g (š)hr''[n]	
aR		18a	[qrynd ? '](wd) wy(r')zynd o ws g'h nys['](g)[yn o]		[p]
aR		b	(q')[w ^h 's]twmyn o 'd hrw pydr'n o bg'n h[w'ngd]		
aR		19a	rwšn'n hrwyn o 'rd'w'n o 'wd ngwš(?)g'n (o)		
aR		b	(ky) bwrđ 'bg'm o 'd pydr gšynd		
aR		20a	[š](?)d bwynd w'rynd o 'wd pdxš'hynd o pd nw'g		[p]
aR		b	šhr'n o 'br hw dwšmnyn o 'wd wystm[bg'n]		
aR		21a	tšy rft 'd hw o 'wd hwyn prywxt o '(w)[d]		
aR		b	'stwb'd o 'w hw t'ryg o ky ghr'y'[d]		

(One verse missing)

bV + dV

(Space of a verse left blank)

bV + cV + dV	23a	tw 'st'w(y)šn 'rj'n (')[yy o p](yd)r kyrbkr ⁱ
bV + cV + dV	b	ny'g hsyng o 'fryd '[yy t]w bg kyrbkr ^j

^b Thus in b and d; in e *pdbst* is the last word of 13a.^c So in c, the only MS.^d So in c; 'yw is at the end of 14a in b.^e *tnb'r* b.^f So in b; *bwynd* is at the beginning of 15b in c.^g *qrynd* b.^h (?) fairly clear; the first letter might be (b) or (s).ⁱ *qyr* b.^j *qyrbkr* b.

bV + cV	24a	ʷlyf nxwyn tw xwd'y o 'wd t' 'stwmyn	p
bV + cV	b	pd tw 'ngd o 'wd bwd 'spwr tw k'm kyrbg ^k	
bV	25a	bg'n (h)rw[y]n 'wd šhr(šh)r'n ¹ o yzd'n rwšn'n	
bV	b	'wd 'rd'w'n o d(h)[ynd] ^m 'st'wyšn pd ws k'dwš	
bV	26a	g(y'n'n d'lwg u hr(w)[. . .](o) ryst 'frynynd	
aV + bV	b	'w[d] (d)hynd nmstyg [o] (p)d h(?)m'(x)[wnd] ⁿ	P
aV	27a	[dh'h] ('w) 'm'h 'g'dg qyrbg o (d')[]	
aV	b	[. . .](b)rynd cyhrg o cym'n 'ž dwr ['nd']s(d) ^o	
aV	28a	(h)w'x'šd ^p qr'h hw'mwjdyft o 'wm'n 'bdys	
aV	b	wxybyh cyhrg o p'dgyrb 'rg'w cy pdbws'm	[p]
aV	29a	(w)yt'b'h pd 'm' frd'b wxybyy o x'ns'r	
aV	b	['](n)wšyn u w'd jywhryn o u-qr'h t'wg 'w 'm' z'dg'n	
aV	30a	[zw]r ghr'y'd dšmyn t'ryg o 'd hw nbr(d)g q'w	
aV	b	[wys]tmbg o u gryft q'm'd 'w hw šhr'n	[p]

^k *qyrbg* b.

¹ *šhr(yy)r'n* Müller; *šhr(d)r'n* Salemann (conjecturally). The word is stained and distorted by a small tear.

^m Müller's restoration; *d(h)['nd]* Salemann (an inaccuracy).

ⁿ In b two dots together under the *ny* of *'frynynd* show a (*fr*) or (*xr*), etc., near the end of 26b.

^o Restoration suggested by H.

^p *sic*; a mistake for *hw'xšd*.

TRANSLATION

- (1) . . . reigned . . .
- (2) He began to give . . . from . . . forwards, through mild speaking¹. . .
- (3) The Land of Light . . . from the five . . .
- (4) The Blessed Air, the Fathers of Light, . . . the splendid trees and . . .
- (5) . . . itself through gladness . . . to him . . .

(Five verses missing)

- (11) (Traces only)
- (12) [The Sun-god ? . . .] hastens from the East . . . of the Land of Light.
- (13) . . . they will be joined together, the limbs . . . the New Æon, to the Land of Greatness.
- (14) They will be compressed together, like a single rock and a single body; pleasantly (?) and firmly, eternally.
- (15) The Demon of Darkness together with his abyss will be buried within, in that new and noble building.
- (16) They will fill that land evenly with Light,² and within it will flow divine springs and sweet winds.

¹ Cf. Av. *namravak*-, etc. (H.).

² This translation of the first lines in 16 was suggested by H.

- (17) For the noble Nature ¹ . . . they will prepare thrones [and] they will . . . in the New Æons.
- (18) [They will make ?] and prepare many splendid thrones—(for) the Last Giant ² (?) together with all the Fathers, the [prosperous] Gods.
- (19) All the beings of Light, the Just and the Hearers who had suffered torment will be joyful with the Father.³
- (20) They will be glad, they will rejoice and hold sway in the New Æons over those enemies and rebels.⁴
- (21) For (they) had fought with him, and they had defeated and vanquished the creature of Darkness who had exulted.
(One verse missing)

(Second Hymn)

- (23) Thou [art] worthy of praise, beneficent Father, first ancestor! Blessed [art thou], beneficent God!
- (24) Thou, Lord, (art) the first Alif, and the last Tau ⁵; through thee thy devout wish is fulfilled and complete.
- (25) All the divinities and the æons of æons,⁶ the gods of Light and the Just render praise with many a 'Holy, holy'.
- (26) The spirits, the trees and all . . . duly call down blessings and make supplication with one accord ⁷ . . .
- (27) ' [Grant] us (our) devout wish . . . they bear (?) the form (?) which we [abandoned] afar.
- (28) ' Have pity on us in compassion! Show to us thy form, the noble shape for which we yearn⁸!
- (29) ' Shine forth thy radiance on us, sweet fount and breath of life! Make us, (thy) children, strong!
- (30) ' In vain the dark Enemy exulted,⁹ together with that warlike, rebellious Giant ¹⁰; (in vain) he wished to seize the Æons.'

B

M 507. About half a single sheet, with both margins preserved; hand-writing of medium size, and clear but for some cramping. The punctuation-mark is two dots, by which the verses are divided into three lines each. The letter

¹ I.e. the redeemed Light.

² The word *kʷ* is freely used both of gods and of demons (see Henning, *BSOAS.*, xi, 53), but has not been recorded for the Last God (in Pa. *yzd* 'stwmyn). The reading here is doubtful.

³ I.e. the First Man, lord of the New Paradise.

⁴ Cf. *Mir. Man.*, iii, a 79–81; for *wystmbg* see Henning in *Hymn-cycles*, glossary *s.v.*

⁵ Cf. *Rev.*, 22, 13 (Müller, *H.R.*, ii, 8 n. 1).

⁶ See Henning, *NGGW.*, 1933, 310–11.

⁷ Cf. *Mir. Man.*, iii, a 110–17.

⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, a 139–143; and for *pʷdgyrb ʷrgʷ* in a similar connexion cf. T II D 66 R 4–5 (W.-L., ii, 549).

⁹ Cf. *Mir. Man.*, iii, a 124–5.

¹⁰ The pair *dwšmyn* . . . *qʷ* presumably represent the same conception as the more familiar *ʷz* . . . *ʷhrmyn*.

p stands by alternate verses. The text consists of verses **d–j** and **m–p** of a single hymn. The subject is the Prince of Darkness.

- R 1a dyw (d)w[r](c)yh[r] 2a h'wyd wyg'(n)[yd] [p]
 1b 'w(d) ^a cyhrg o [2b ['sp'wyd o[
- 3a wzyd pd b'zwr w'dyn 'bdyn o pd prg sn'cyd
 b cw'gwn 'byn o 'wd xzyd cw'gwn t'r(y)g'n
- 4a zyn(g)yn 'štyd pd cf'r hnd'm o cw'gwn kd hwyn P
 b 'dwr z'dg'n o tmyg'n 'bdyn (pd ^b h)w c'mynd
- 5a jhryn x'ns'r 'zdm[y](n)d 'c hw o u dmynd[d] 'c hw
 b nyzm[ⁿ dwdyn](o) c(n)[dyd ?] ^c dnd'n [cw'gwn] ^e cyl(?)[n]

(Five verses missing)

- V 11a]o pd (d).ng 12a]ynd o 'yw byd'n [p]
 11b](.) u dwrcyhryft ^d 12b ']bn's 'xš(ndft) ^e
- 13a sy'ryn 'hynd pd nbdm(n) ^f t'ryg o pd k'mjnyft
 b 'wd 'wrjwg o z'ynd 'yw byd 'wd byd wyg'nynd
- 14a 'styh'g 'xšynd t'ryg o nydrxt 'w hwyn P
 b pnj 'hrywr o pd wzrg 'm'n trs u dybhr
- 15a pwr '(š)yxt jhr 'wd b[z]gyft o '(c hw) jfr'n
 b [']br p(d)[. . .](t) u pd b[. .]r n[. . .]'wšt'd

^a (*d*) smudged so that it nearly looks like (*y*).

^b (*pd*) ? very cramped and doubtful.

^c Restoration suggested (tentatively) by H.

^d No dot over the *r* of *dwr*.

^e Reading suggested by H. A tear above the word has removed the tops of the last four letters, which are cramped together.

^f H.'s reading. The last stroke of the word is smudged ; it is just possible to take it as the end-stroke of final *m*, instead of as *n*, and thus to read *nbdm*.

TRANSLATION

- (1) The hideous demon ¹ . . . and the form . . .
- (2) He scorches, he destroys . . . he terrifies . . .
- (3) He flies upon wings,² as ³ a being of Air ; he swims ⁴ with fins ⁵ like one of the Water ; and he crawls ⁶ like those of the Darkness.

¹ For other descriptions of the demon see *Keph.*, vi, xxvii.

² H.'s annotation ; with *b'zur* 'wing' he compares Orm. *bazar*, Oss. *bazur*, Pashto *wazar*, cf. Morgenstierne, *Et. Voc. of Pashto*, 95.

³ *'bdyn* here means 'in the manner of, as' (H.) ; for other usages of the word see his article, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, 110–11.

⁴ *sn'cyd* 'swims' (H.) ; cf. his *Sogdica* 34, on f 18.

⁵ Cf. Pers. *parak-i māhī*.

⁶ Cf. M. Pers., Sogd. *xyz-* (see Henning, *BBB.*, 61, n. to 512). Parthian *xz-* (not previously recorded) accords with Pers. *xazīdan*.

- (4) He is with armour on (his) four limbs, as when the children of the Fire run against him in the manner of the beings of Hell.¹
- (5) Poisonous springs gush from him, and from him are breathed out [smoky] fogs²; he shakes (?) (his) teeth [like] daggers.³
(Five verses missing)
- (11) . . . through . . . and hideousness.
- (12) . . . they . . . one another . . . tyranny of perdition.
- (13) They are rotting upon a couch⁴ of darkness; in pursuit of desire and in lust they bear and again destroy one another.
- (14) The quarrelsome⁵ Prince of Darkness has subdued those five pits of destruction,⁶ through great . . . (?)⁷ terror and wrath.
- (15) He has flung much poison and wickedness from that deep⁸ upon . . . and it (?) stood . . . through . . .

C

M 533. Almost half a single sheet, written in a medium, slightly sloping hand. The cæsura is marked by a double dot. Both margins are preserved. There are four verses on each page, from two different hymns. The lettering of the second hymn (d-j) is normal. In the first each line, forming half a strophe, constitutes a unit in the alphabetic scheme. The opening words of two verses only are preserved, beginning with p + c and q + r. Probably the whole hymn was lettered as follows: introductory line + ʔ, b + g, d + h, etc., up to š + t. There was apparently no final verse beginning with n.

The first hymn is concerned with the Days and Nights. Different versions of this metaphorical account of the struggle of good and evil are given in *Traité*, *Keph.*, iv, and *Keph.*, xxxix.⁹ The second hymn contains a description of Paradise.

R 1b](w)x '(s)[

- 2a [s](.) jm'n dw'dys o hw bdyg r(wž)[. .](g)[.]
- b [ʔst'd] 'spwr u 'bn's'd o pd zyn wxybyy hw bzy(y)[ft]

¹ The last two lines of 4 are obscure, and the translation is doubtful.

² In the *Kephalaia* passage which corresponds with v. 3 the demon is described as moving like the creatures of all five dark Elements (*Keph.*, 78³⁻¹⁰). Here the first two Elements are omitted, but introduced in a more general way in vv. 4 and 5. *jhryn x'ns'r* would ordinarily suggest the dark element corresponding with *Water* (see Henning, *NGGW.*, 1932, 216 n. 5), but, linked with *nyzm'n*, it evidently represents *Smoke*, corresponding with *Ether*. Some allowance must be made for the demands of an alphabetic scheme.

³ For *cyl'n* see Henning, *Sogdica* 36 on g 1-3.

⁴ *nbdm(n)* 'couch' (as from *ni-pad-* 'lie down') (H.).

⁵ With *'styh'g* H. now compares Armenian *stahak* (from **sthak*) 'headstrong, insolent, petulant, insubordinate'.

⁶ For *'hryur* see Bailey, *BSOS.*, vii, 295-6; Henning, *Mir. Man.*, iii, glossary s.v. Here the reference is to the five regions of Hell. Hell was divided against itself (see, e.g. *Keph.*, 128⁴⁻⁸); the Prince ruled by fear (*ibid.*, 32²³⁻⁸, 78¹⁵⁻¹⁷) and at times his subjects attacked him (*ibid.*, 78¹⁸).

⁷ *m'n* has not been recorded elsewhere.

⁸ *jfr'n* is probably a singular; see Henning in *Hymn-cycles*, glossary s.v.

⁹ See Polotsky in *Mani-Fund*, 74-9.

3a pd hw ^a 'gnd u bst 'škyft̄ o hw šb nxwyn [.]

b c'gr prwyd bst u 'gwxt o 'w 'ym hrđyg šb 'y[wšt](g)

4a q'm hnj'm'd wysp rwž rwšn o pd 'ym wxybyy rwž hynz'wr ^b

b rwž z'dg'n 'w rwž y'dynd o 'w hw wxybyy bwn (hsy)ng ^c

5a [š b](st̄) bwynd pd t'r y'wyd'n

b [t m'ry m]'ny ^d ky 'ymyn wzynd

(Four ¹ verses missing)

V 10b](t)y(d) o[

11a [hrwyn bg'n ^d] (u) yzd'n o pd hw xr(w)[št ^d u 'wyst'd ^e]

b [h](r)wyn pd hw w'rynd o u 'w hw ('st)'w(y)[šn dhynd ^d]

12a [w](d) zmyg rwšn o pd pnj prm'ng pw'g

b (pd w)'d ^f 'nwšyn bwyd o t'(b)y d pd hrw p'dgws

13a z'wr'n bg'n u yzd'n o rdny šhr'n wšmn'g

b d'lwg x'nyg u 'brwd o pd hw w'rynd wysprw

14a jywndg zryh̄ 'n'(p)[dm'n ^d

b pd hw pdmwxt[

^a Written *hw*d with a line under the *d*. The line shows that the *d* is to be cancelled (H.).

^b *hynz'wr* written at the beginning of 4b and followed by a double dot.

^c Reading suggested by H. The first three letters are cramped together.

^d H.'s restoration.

^e Cf. M 730 R I 10 (*H.R.*, ii, 49; *W.-L.*, ii, 553); *Mir. Man.*, iii, a 6.

^f The base only of (*p*) visible; (*d w*) blurred.

TRANSLATION

(1) (Traces only)

(2) . . . twelve Hours, the Second Day ² . . . [became] complete and destroyed with its weapon that wickedness.

(3) Through it the First Night was filled and bound fast . . . ; it encompassed all around,³ bound, and suspended this troubled Third Night.⁴

¹ I.e. the first four verses of the second hymn. Verse 5 was presumably followed by a blank space marking the end of the first hymn.

² The Days and Nights represent both epochs (notably in *Keph.*, xxxix) and individual manifestations of good and evil which characterize those epochs. As the latter they can act and suffer.

³ *prwyd* is considered by Henning to be the past participle of a verb *prwy-* 'encompass', which he connects with the following Sogdian forms: Chr. *prwyd'rt*, pt. (*S.T.*, i, 19¹⁵) 'surround', Buddh. *prw*(²)*y*- pr.st. (*SCE.*, 324) 'roll up'; (*Frg.*, iii, 19) 'wrap up', etc.; and further Sogd. *ptwy-*, Wakhi *zwāy-*; see Gershevitch, § 570. The meaning of *c'gr* he has established from M 468 a (unpub.) in which the word occurs several times with *'štūd* in a phrase parallel with *prwyd* 'encompasses'. The following lines are an example: [r]wšn nys'gyn pydr 'whrmwyd bg m'nyyd pd (h)w m'nyst'n ql'ṽn, prysp w'dyyn c'gr 'štyyd; šhrd'r'n dwxt wxd qnygrwšn pd hrđyg m'nyst'n m'nyyd, pry(s)[p] rwšn 'w hw prwyd.

⁴ In *Traité* and *Keph.*, xxxix, there are only Three Days and Two Nights, and this seems to agree with a version of Mani's own (see Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*, 543, n. 1); but in *Keph.*, iv, there are Four Days and Four Nights.

- (4) The wish was fulfilled of every Day of Light through its own mighty Day ; the children of Day attain the ' Day ', that primitive root of their own.¹
 (5) . . . they will be [bound] in eternal darkness . . . [Mar] Mani who chooses these.

(Four verses missing)

- (10) (Traces only)
 (11) [All divinities] and gods were evoked [and established] by him² ; all rejoice in him and to him [give] praise.
 (12) The Land of Light . . . through its five pure Thoughts³ ; it is fragrant with sweet winds,⁴ it shines in every region.⁵
 (13) Powers, divinities and gods, jewels and joyous æons, trees, fountains and plants⁶ rejoice in him day by day.
 (14) The [measureless ?] living sea⁷ . . . clothed through him . . .

¹ In (4) ' Day ' represents : (i) light divinities, (ii) the (four ?) Days, (iii) the Light, (iv) Paradise.

² I.e. the Father of Light.

³ Cf. T II D 66 V 2 (W.-L., ii, 549) and note, *ibid.*, 583.

⁴ Cf. *Hymnscroll*, 305 a, b, 330 b.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 300.

⁶ See Henning, *BBB.*, glossary *s.v.*

⁷ Cf. *Hymnscroll*, 290 a, b.

D

M 710 + T II D 138 (3 p.) c. The latter is a narrow fragment from the centre of a single sheet, written in a clear, medium hand ; the cæsura usually marked by two pairs of dots with a space between them. The recto page bears words from the last two verses of a hymn and, instead of a blank space, part of a title written in larger, more decorative letters. This is followed directly by the introductory verse of a second hymn, and verses 2-b. On the verso are verses z-k. Verses b-h and k-n of this second hymn appear also on M 710, a fragment from the bottom of a single sheet, written in a small hand which has faded to illegibility in many places, and been affected by small cracks in the paper. In this fragment also the cæsura is indicated by one or two pairs of dots. The letter *p* appears in the margins. Here M 710 = a, T II D 138 c = b.

One or two words only survive from the first hymn. The second hymn describes the attack of the Dark, the swallowing of the Light, and its redemption by successive gods. The introductory verse is addressed to Mani (' Maitreya ').

bR	1b	]mnd o y'dyn[d
bR	2a	]n wyndynd o pd hw bg'[n
bR	b	w](x)'št 'hy[nd o] (dh)yd (bg)[
bR	3a	](D)N ^a XXIII ^b
bR	b	] S X W N [

^a Or](R)N ; the N is written in an unusual way, being neither a final, nor properly connected.

^b Or possibly XXIII. The first character (namely *p*) alone is clearly legible. The others are faded ; and it is difficult to be sure, if they are indeed numerals, of the exact number of strokes they contain. The suggestion that they should be read as numerals was made (tentatively) by H.

bR	4a		]o	(o 'w pydr[
bR	b		](o)	o (m)ytgr h(w)[
bR	5a	[ʔ](x)š[d w]sn'd o		[
bR	b	[p]dmwxt tnb'r o [
aR + bR	6a	brhm hsyng o		o cy 'wh(rmyzd) [bg]	
aR + bR	b	kd pnj z'dg o		o p(dm)wxt 'w dw(šmn)[yn]	[p]
aR	7a	gryw d'd 'w t'r o fr(bwr)d ^c gr[yw w]xybyh			
aR	b	[ʔw]d wyš'd hnd'm o wsn'(d h)[w]yn z'(dg)[ʔn]			
aR	8a	[dws](m)nyn 'ndyšt o z'dg'n 'njyw[ʔd]			
aR	b	[ʔwd p]d nmryft o bwj'(d) šhrd'ryft			p
aR	9a	[h	] 'gd o 'ym py(dr) [qyr]bkr		
aR	b	[	] br'dr[ʔn] o 'wd (b)[wxt w](xy)by(y) [r]wšn		
			(One verse missing)		
bV	11b		]dyn ^d o 'w b[
bV	12a	[j	ʔ](x)[š]dyft ^e o 'bg'm 'w[
bV	b		]n(d)[g] o o hrwyn p(d)[		[p]
bV	13a	[h	](.) o o hw(yn g)[
bV	b		] o o 'by'[d](g)[r		
bV	14a	[t	](')bdyš[t o](m)nwhm[yd		
bV	b		ʔ]bgwst o (ng)wstg ʔ[		[p]
bV	15a	[y	g](h)r[ʔy]d ^e 'wt (š)[. .]h'(.)		
bV	b		]d 'wd 'bdyšt		
aV + bV	16a	(k)[y] f ('zw)'r'd s o		o(b)wd hrw 'by[ʔd]	
aV + bV	b	(nwx)mdy'ng o		o[ʔwd] 'stwṃyn ^h 'yr'n	p
aV	17a	[l]b 'wd 'zb'n o (pd w)zrg '(st)[ʔw](yšn)			
aV	b	(wy)'wrđ 'wd (w')xt o pd rwmb [.]			
aV	18a	[m](w)x(š)yg šybḥ o 'wd r'h pw'g 'b[dyšt] ^e			
aV	b	('w hr)[wyn] g(y)'n'n o ky (bw)d h'm'xw(n)[d] ⁱ			p
aV	19a	(ny) ms (šh)r'n (o 'škybyd 'wd) [
aV	b	[hw] (w)x(ʔ)št q(yr)bg (o) 'wd) [hw]yn pw'g[]

^c Reading suggested by H.^d Not a complete word.^e Restoration suggested by H.^f Or (k)[d] ?; in a only.^g Reading suggested by H; in a only.^h <]stwmyn b.ⁱ There is space for 2-3 letters after (n), but it was probably filled by a line and [d].

TRANSLATION

- (1) . . . they attain . . .
- (2) . . . they obtain, through the [beneficence] of the gods, [that which] they have desired ; God will give . . .
- (3) (Caption :) The Discourse [about] . . . twenty four . . .
- (4) . . . to the Father . . . Maitreya . . .
- (5) For pity . . . he ¹ put on the body . . .
- (6) The first garb of the [god] Ohrmizd ; when (he) had clothed the enemies in (his) five Sons,
- (7) he gave (his) Soul to the Darkness, he surrendered his own Soul ; he loosened (his) limbs ² for the sake of the Sons.
- (8) He tied up ³ the enemies, he revived (his) Sons, and with gentleness saved the Kingdom.
- (9) . . . there came this beneficent Father ⁴ [with his] brethren, and [saved] his own Light.

(One verse missing)

- (11) (Traces only)
- (12) . . . toil, torment and . . . all . . .
- (13) . . . those . . . reminding . . .
- (14) . . . the Nous revealed . . . disclosed the hidden . . .
- (15) . . . was proud (?) and . . . and revealed . . .
- (16) [He that] understood, (and) recalled all : the first, the middle and the last things,⁵
- (17) (his) lips and tongue responded and spoke with great praises, with . . . mouth.
- (18) He revealed the path ⁶ of salvation and the pure road [to all] souls who were in harmony.
- (19) No more the worlds wait (in vain) and . . . for the wished-for Good, and those pure . . .

E

M 722. A badly preserved fragment from the bottom of a single sheet. The outer margin only remains. The writing, in a small neat hand, is blotched and faded. The lines are short, with no punctuation marks. The recto page contains four verses of a hymn whose opening words are not preserved ; the

¹ I.e. the First Man.

² *hndʾm wyšʾd*, which could be freely rendered as 'scattered (his) limbs', may be taken as the converse of *hndʾm ʾmwšt* (on which see Henning, *BSOAS.*, xi, 216, n. 10).

³ *ʾndyšt* is here to be taken as 'tie' < **handršta-*; cf. Av. *handarəzaya-* (H.). It is therefore to be distinguished from (1) *ʾndyšt* 'think' (Ghilain, 90), (2) *ʾndyšt* 'heap up' (Henning, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, 113).

⁴ Probably the *Spiritus Vivens*.

⁵ With Pa. *ʿyr* H. now compares Arm. *ir*, and points out that the readings *ēr* and in M. Pers. *xēr*, *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, 30, n. 1, are wrong.

⁶ *šybh* occurs also in the hymn-cycles, where it was translated as 'path' by Henning ; he points out that this is probably the correct reading in *Mir. Man.*, iii, c 15 in place of *šubh* ; hence 'to the Column of Glory, the path of the Light'.

verso has verses w-j of a second hymn. The text is too much damaged to be intelligible as a whole.

- R 1b]d
- 2a](h)w[y](n)yc ngwš'g'n
 b [tnb]'(r) fr'(mw)cynd u hmg rymn
- 3a](š'n) '(c) [hw]yn bwj'yd
 b]'[]'c hmg bzgyft
- 4a]'[c ds]t (y)xš'n
 b](bz)kr mrdwhm
- 5a](w)yn nm'ynd
 b](š)'n br n(m)'y(n)d

(Six verses missing)¹

- V 12a wy(')[d]rwmb^a syz[d]yn 'hyn[d]
 b 'wt̄ (wx)šynd cw'gwn ''(dw)[r]
- 13a zyn(j)y(h)r pdy[n]^b (b)[n](d)yst'[n]^b
 b wy(š'nynd pd)^{a c} 'm(zy)^d [. . .]s(t)ft wyg'(n)y[nd]
- 14a jy(wndg)[]t[]

^a H.'s reading.

^b H.'s restoration.

^c Reading very doubtful.

^d (zy) rather doubtful; H. suspects *'m(zy)[nyft] from *'mzyn = Sogd. *mzyn*.

TRANSLATION

- (1) (Traces only)
- (2) . . . these Hearers, too, put off the [body] and all filthiness.
- (3) . . . he saves them from those . . . [and] from all wickedness.
- (4) . . . from the hands of the Yakšas . . . [and] evil men.
- (5) . . . they show . . . they show them the gate.
- (Six verses missing)
- (12) They are . . . -mouthed, overwhelming . . . and they flame like fire.
- (13) They shake off the chains² of the prison of flesh, in their full armour?
 they harshly destroy (?).
- (14) Living . . .

¹ Apparently there was no space left blank between the two hymns. This may have been due to the last verse of the first hymn (v. 5 here) coming at the bottom of a page.

² *zynjyhr* = *zyncyhr*, for which see Henning, *BSOS.*, ix, 90; *BSOAS.*, xi, 724; *JRAS.*, 1942, 240, n. 1; Bailey, *BSOS.*, x, 596; according to H. from **zynčarī-*, cf. Skt. *śrīkkhala-* (with *k-k* against *ḡ-k* in Iranian).

F

M 888 a. A small fragment, with title, from the centre of the upper part of a single sheet; written in a rather small hand with the words not clearly separated. The cæsura marked by one or two dots. Parts of two verses of an *Evangelionig* hymn are preserved on each page.

	(R) (title) b'š'(?)[h]		(V) (title) ['wng](l)ywnyg
1a	]wšt pd dw y'wr o (w)[	11a	f]rhyft (u) 'xšd wz['d ?
1b	](d) nkwš'd [síc] u ghr'[y'd o	11b	]ky rwd u 'mwjd k[d'c ?
2a	]d hw ywxt wyg'(ng)[	12a	](t) o cy hw rwšn'[n
2b	](h)xt hwyn š'(r)[	12b	](t. o) pd hw z'w[r

TRANSLATION

Title: Hymn of the Evangel.

(1) . . . at two occasions (?)¹ and was proud . . .

(2) . . . that destructive pair² . . . followed those . . .

(Eight verses missing)

(11) . . . ab[andoned ?] charity and pity . . . never (?) [showed] mercy and compassion . . .

(12) . . . of those beings of Light . . . through that power (?) . . .

G

X2. Three small fragments of the same character from a single MS. ; *a* and *b* both have the title *'wnglywnyg b'š'h*. The handwriting is small, and the cæsura is marked by a double dot. Fragment *b* (the only one with a margin) has on its verso page two verses beginning with *r* and [š], with a marginal *p* by the second verse.

aR	(title) [b]'š'h	aV	(title) ['w](n)glywn[yg]
1a	py](s)ws ³ o k(š')[	11a	]kyrbg o[
1b	]prg'c'd ⁴ [	11b	]d 'hynj(y)[d
2a	b]stg pd[	12a	](.) bgr['](š)[tygr
2b	](h)wy(n)[	12b	]m[
bR	(title) [b'š'h]	bV	(title) 'w[n](g)[lywnyg]
1a	w](z)rg hnd'm	11a	rwšn d'[
1b	]r jfr'[n]	11b	pd 'rj'n [

¹ *nkwš'd* has not been recorded elsewhere.

² I.e. Šaklon and his mate (H.).

³ For *pysws* see *BSOAS.*, xiii, 910–14. Here the restoration is merely a guess.

⁴ See Henning, cited *ibid.*, 913, n. 5.

2a	]g rhg ¹ [. . .]	[p]	12a	[šhr]d'r (.)[	p
2b	]t'ryg		12b	b'(wg)[
cR (?) 1b	]n y[		cV (?) 10b	]k(.)[
	(Space of a verse blank)		11a	](h) 'gd o t' [
			11b	](?)h o 'wjn(?) [
2a	]g o wyš[		12a	](t)'r o nyrd[
2b	]st' [		12b	](h) wrdg o[
3a	](f)t' [		13a	h](s)yng[
3b	](cy l)[		13b	](y)g[
4a	]n o (?) [		14a	](x)t' [
	(Five verses missing)				

H

T I D 51 α (2 p.) a. A small, badly preserved fragment from the inner part of a double sheet. Traces of words only survive on the second sheet. Written in a very small, neat hand. The recto page has the opening words of the two final verses of a hymn (the second beginning with n), a blank space, and the introductory verse and verse ² of a second hymn. The verso page has the final words of four verses of the second hymn.

R	1b	]pd] (z)myg'n (g)[	V	10b	(weak traces).
	2a	nys'gyn m'd qnyg[²		11a	](b)rhng u twsyg (q)rynd
	2b	pd 'ymyc 'rd'wyf(t)[		11b	]c hwyn 'zgrfyt
		(Space of a verse blank)		12a	](ry)d (rh)g ^a
				12b	]r (?)bg(w)[nd] ^a
	3a	(.)[		13a	]r'n
	3b	(pd rw)[		13b	](. .)[.(w)nd
	4a	'c[		14a	](q)'n ^a
				14b	]b(w)[. . .]

(Five verses missing)

^a Reading very doubtful.

¹ *rhg* 'vein' (H., as = Sogd. *r'k*, Pers. *rag*).

² Cf. *Ps. Bk.*, 84³¹⁻² ' . . . my Mother, the holy Maiden . . . '

I

M 352. A small fragment of a single sheet with one margin only preserved (probably the outer one); written in a medium, very clear hand. The verso page has the opening words of verses k–m, the recto the final words of three other verses.

R	1a	]g rwšn	V	11a	(x)rwsy(n)[d
	1b	]wyndynd		11b	pydr bwn[
	2a	w](x)[y](b)yy rwšn		12a	[l]’lmyn[
	2b	pdyš]t hsyng		12b	’ndr hw z[
	3a	]’wr		13a	mr(dw)[hm

J

T II K 2 (3 p.) c. A small fragment from the inner margin of a single sheet, written in a clear, medium hand. The recto page has verses r and š of one hymn, the verso the final words of two verses of a second hymn.

R	1a	rwš(n)[	V	10a	](wx)[y]byh
	1b	d’šyn[		10b	n]xwyn
	2a	š’d(c)[n		11a	]’d
	2b	h(rwyn)[		11b	]m(.r)

K

T I D20 (7 p.) d. A small fragment with outer margin only; written in a medium hand, clear, but with the words not distinctly separated. Each line begins with a letter of the alphabet. The verso page has words from verses p + c and q + r, the recto words from three other verses.

R	1a	pdy](x)š’(h)[V	11a	[p]št ’(w)[
	b	]’(st bwd ’h(ynd) [. . .]		b	[cy pd] (nw’)g šhr’n o pd g’[h
	2a	]o cy (w)nšt pd tw zhg		12a	q’mg’r’n bwynd pd (.)[
	b	]’(šn)w(d)n ^a		b	rwc w’r(y)[šn
	3a	] (dx)[m](g) ^b			

^a There is space for 1–2 letters between (*d* ?) and *n*, but this was probably left deliberately.

^b A very doubtful reading; the tops only of the letters are visible.