

PREFACE

THE originals of the texts published here, the property of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, were among the material brought back from Chinese Turkestan by German archaeological expeditions in the early years of this century. Some of these particular texts soon attracted attention, as representing a work or works of great interest for the general understanding of Manichaeism; but the fragmentary nature of the material delayed its comprehensive study. Notable progress in the reconstruction of the texts was made latterly by Professor W. B. Henning, who was unable, however, to find time to pursue this work. I have been privileged to incorporate, with acknowledgements, the material collected by him in the present edition of the texts, for the preparation of which he generously gave me free access to his collection of photographs of the Berlin manuscripts. This collection, although large, is not complete; but I have been able to compare its contents with the descriptive catalogue made by Dr. Lentz of the Akademie collection, and it seems unlikely that any important Parthian strophic material is missing. The present edition was ready for the printer before it proved possible to get in touch again with the Akademie, to whom I am grateful for raising no objection to its immediate publication. Nevertheless, I much regret that the manuscripts themselves were not accessible when this study was made, since photographs are in many cases a poor substitute for the originals. Care has been taken, however, to indicate all uncertain readings. When reference to the originals is possible, many of these will doubtless be clarified.

The basis of the present work was approved by the University of Cambridge for the degree of Ph.D. in 1952. Professor Henning acted as supervisor of my research, and I am deeply indebted to him for advice and help, unstintingly given. My thanks are also due to Dr. Arthur Waley for his kindness in sparing time to study the Chinese version of a part of these hymn-cycles; and to Dr. Wolfgang Lentz for helpful criticisms, offered with a characteristic magnanimity. Professor Henning very kindly read one set of proofs, and Dr. Gershevitch gave help with advice and with a part of the proofs. I am further very grateful to my friend Mrs. Maria

Henning for the kindness and skill with which she helped me prepare the texts for the press.

I should like to express my gratitude to my own college of Newnham for the award of a research studentship which enabled me to begin this study; and to the School of Oriental and African Studies for providing a full subvention for the publication of this work in the London Oriental Series. I should also like to express my appreciation of the skill and helpfulness of the Oxford University Press.

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INTRODUCTION

I. PREVIOUS WORK ON THE HYMN-CYCLES

THERE are in Parthian three long texts which are divided into sections known as *handāms* or 'limbs'. One of these, *Wazargān Āfriwān*, is written as prose. The other two, which take their titles from their opening words, are the hymn-cycles *Huwwidagmān* and *Angad Rōšnān*. These hymn-cycles are the subject of the present work, in which the term '*handām* text' is restricted to them alone.

The first scholar to publish any part of the hymn-cycles was F. W. K. Müller, who illustrated a point of orthography by a verse from the sixth canto of *Angad Rōšnān*, existing in three manuscripts.¹ Later he used a verse from the seventh canto of the same cycle to explain a phrase.² Both verses were reprinted by C. Salemann.³ Müller did not publish any account of the *handām* texts; but in 1918 he sent his notes on them to R. Reitzenstein, with permission to use them for his book *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*.⁴ He also sent Reitzenstein photographs of several of the *handām* fragments, which he studied with some help from F. C. Andreas.

Reitzenstein was then seeking to prove that there had existed among the Zoroastrians of Iran a salvation-mystery, inherited by the Manichaeans and transmitted to religious communities in the West.⁵ The Manichaean material which he examined for this purpose consisted of the fragments M 7 and M 4 and the following *handām* fragments: M 88 I, M 89, M 91, M 93, M 96, M 175, M 439, M 774, and T II D 178 I-IV. His interpretation of M 7, namely, that it contained a Zoroastrian hymn adapted by Mani for his own community, has not been accepted.⁶ His theories about M 4 and the *handām* fragments remain to be considered here.

¹ F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan*, ii (Abh. P.A.W., 1904, *Anh.*), p. 6.

² *Eine Hermas-Stelle in manichäischer Version* (Sb. P.A.W., 1905), p. 1083.

³ C. Salemann, *Manichäische Studien* (Zap. Imp. Ak. Nauk, 1908), pp. 21, 35.

⁴ Bonn, 1921.

⁵ Reitzenstein had mentioned this theory briefly in a previous work. See *Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse* (Sb. Heidelberger A.W., 1919), p. 88.

⁶ See O. G. von Wesendonk, *Urmensch und Seele in der iranischen Ueberlieferung*, p. 122; H. H. Schaefer, *Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems*, p. 105 n. 3; W. B. Henning in Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, iii, p. 872 n. 1.

M 4 consists of two double sheets containing both Middle Persian and Parthian texts. It was published by Müller¹ and re-published by Salemann,² both times with the sheets in the wrong order. The mistake was corrected by Reitzenstein, who made a detailed study of the Parthian text.³ This is of an unusual character, being made up of the first line or lines of a series of hymns, grouped according to subject-matter. The number of lines in a group varies. Each group has its own heading, but some of the headings are themselves obscure.⁴ Two can, however, be readily interpreted: 'zg'myg b's'h'n ('death hymns') and fršygyrdyg b's'h ('end-of-the-world hymn(s)'). From these Reitzenstein inferred that the whole text was a death-mass for the World-Soul, whose deliverance from matter 'erst mit dem Ende der Welt vollständig wird'.⁵ He explained its unusual character by supposing it to be an abstract of a larger work, namely of the hymn-cycle *Angad Rōšnān*. The title of the sixth (and last) section of M 4 is nys'r'd 'ngd rwsn'ny b'[š']': 'Begun the hymn(s) connected with *Angad Rōšnān*.' Beneath this only one line is preserved, which is the opening line of the hymn-cycle. Nothing else survives to show the nature of the *angad rōšnānī* hymns or their relation with the cycle itself. It was on this evidence that Reitzenstein sought to establish a close connexion between the whole of M 4 and the *handām* text.

By chance two of the longest fragments of the hymn-cycle available to Reitzenstein bear the title 'Sixth Limb—*Angad Rōšnān*'.⁶ He assumed therefore that the title *Angad Rōšnān* was peculiar to the sixth section both of the hymn-cycle and of M 4;⁷ and thus that each section of M 4 corresponded with a canto of the hymn-cycle. The cantos he believed to be composed of sets of short hymns;⁸ and he therefore further supposed that each hymn was

¹ *H.-R.* ii, pp. 49 ff.

² *Man. Stud.*, pp. 4 ff.

³ In these pages M 4 is used with reference to the Parthian section of the fragment only.

⁴ Thus the title of *tngy'nyg b's'h'n* ('body-soul hymns') is recorded in only one other place (see Henning, *BBB.*, p. 47, text d); and those of *gy'nyg b's'h'n* ('soul hymns') and *mwqr'nyg b's'h* occur only here. The literal meaning even of the latter is unknown. The lines beneath it appear to have a Semitic original (see M. Lidzbarski, 'Ein manichäisches Gedicht', *N.G.G.W.*, 1918, pp. 501 ff.).

⁵ *Erl. Myst.*, p. 18.

⁶ These are M 96 and M 175.

⁷ This assumption was particularly rash in the case of M 4, which is a fragment without beginning or end. It is unlikely, therefore, that the numbering of the sections as they survive is significant. This was pointed out by Lentz; see *W.-L.* i, p. 67.

⁸ Reitzenstein was misled by the fact that on M 91 and M 175 there is a

represented by its opening line in the corresponding section of M 4. This was an attractive hypothesis, but one based on wrong assumptions. *Angad Rōšnān* is the title of the whole work;¹ and the cantos of which it is composed consist of unbroken runs of verses. There is thus no basis for a formal comparison between M 4 and the hymn-cycle.

Reitzenstein suggested that *Angad Rōšnān* had originally consisted of twelve cantos, corresponding with the twelve hours both of the day on which the cycle was chanted and of a symbolic Day of Light.² Having named M 4 'die abgekürzte Totenmesse', he called the hymn-cycle correspondingly 'das grosse Erlösungsmysterium'. He used the term 'mystery' in a restricted sense, however, pointing out that in Manichaeism 'von einer kultischen Handlung findet sich keine Spur, und dass wir es nicht mit dem *ἱερὸς λόγος* eines wirklichen Mysteriums zu tun haben, sollte schon die grosse Zahl der Exemplare beweisen'.³ He made, nevertheless, a close comparison between the hymn-cycles and the funeral liturgies of gnostic sects. The subject of the Iranian texts he held to be the 'death' and salvation of the First Man, symbolizing the death in matter and deliverance of Light and of individual souls. He supposed at first that the deities Friend of the Lights, Xrōštag, and Padwāxtag figured in the surviving verses.⁴ Later, in his book *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*,⁵ he abandoned the details

blank space marking the end of a canto. As he attributed all verses on these fragments to the sixth canto, he supposed this space to show a division within the canto itself. He was also influenced by M 88 II, containing short *Evangelionig* hymns, which have, however, no connexion with the *handām* texts on M 88 I, as he himself later recognized (see his *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 3. Aufl., p. 277).

¹ This is suggested even by some of the fragments available to Reitzenstein. M 89 bears clearly the title: 'Eighth Limb—*Angad Rōšnān*'; and M 91 and M 774 both have titles to be restored as 'Seventh Limb—*Angad Rōšnān*'.

² *Erl. Myst.*, pp. 95–96.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁴ The words *rwšn'n fry'ng*, from which he then argued the presence of Friend of the Lights, are used as a laudatory epithet for any god or angel. The deity himself is called in Parthian *fryhrwšn*. The presence of the god Padwāxtag was assumed from the letter *p* which appears sometimes in the margins (see below, p. 24); but this device (for *padwāg* 'answer') probably marks the antiphon, as suggested by Müller.

⁵ 3. Aufl. (1927), pp. 53–55. Reitzenstein's earlier theories were admirably summarized by H. Gressmann in *Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-römischen Zeitalter* (1930), pp. 172–5. This book, published posthumously, was completed in 1923. It therefore contains no reference to Reitzenstein's modification of his theories.

of this mythological interpretation, but maintained the essentials of his theory.

Reitzenstein had serious handicaps in his study of the *handām* texts. Knowledge of the Parthian and Middle Persian material was then still very limited, even among Iranists; and he himself was not a specialist in this field.¹ Nevertheless, his contributions to the subject were of great value. He was the first to emphasize the importance of the texts, justly remarking that the number of surviving fragments alone shows that 'es sich um einen Kernpunkt der manichäischen Religion handelt';² he realized that the surviving verses represent what must once have been an elaborate work on a grand scale;³ and he put forward a theory of the nature of that work which, however wrong in detail, is probably in the main not far from the truth.

Five years after *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* had appeared, E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz published in collaboration *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*,⁴ a study of the part played by the redeeming deity Jesus in Manichaeism. Lentz, who was responsible for the Iranian part of this work, supposed the Saviour of the *handām* hymns to be Jesus.⁵ He therefore discussed the hymn-cycles at some length, and also published the text, with translation, of several *handām* fragments. This was the first publication of any considerable amount of text.

The fragments published by Lentz were T II D 178 I-IV and M 855. The former group was known to Reitzenstein, and had been assigned tentatively by him to a second canto. Lentz was able to advance the study of the *handām* texts considerably by connecting T II D 178 I with a Sogdian colophon, and showing thereby that the fragment belongs in fact to a fifth canto. The colophon in question occurs in a manuscript represented by fragments with the signatures T II K 178, T II D II 170, T II D 185, and T II K. This manuscript appears to have been a hymn-book of considerable size, containing several lengthy works in Sogdian translation. The extant titles and colophons show that in addition to

¹ For Reitzenstein's own remarks on the limitations both of his technical equipment and of the Iranian material available to him, see his later work, *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe*, p. 98 and n. 2.

² *Erl. Myst.*, p. 19.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴ *Abh. P.A.W.*, 1926 (= W.-L. i.).

⁵ Lentz based this suggestion partly on the evidence of M 88 II, which he believed to contain verses from a *handām* text; but see above, p. 2 n. 8.

two major Parthian works, *Huwidagmān* and *Wazargān Afriwan*, it included the extensive Middle-Persian hymn-cycle *Gōwišn īg Grīw Zindag*. Unfortunately the manuscript is now in a fragmentary state. It is written, moreover, in a cursive hand very difficult to decipher.

The Parthian fragment T II D 178 I contains verses from the end of one canto and the beginning of another. The opening words of the second canto are:

'g'm ky¹ bwj'_h 'w mn o 'c hw jfr 'bn's

Lentz found a page in the Sogdian MS. containing a colophon that read as follows:

pty'mty pncmy 'ndmy 'k'm ky¹ pwz'

i.e. 'Finished the fifth limb: *āgām kē bōžā*'. Evidently the opening words of a canto, *āgām kē bōžā*, had here been used to provide a title for the canto as a whole; and Lentz was able therefore to say that T II D 178 I contained the beginning of a fifth 'limb'.² On the verso of the Sogdian page bearing this colophon appears the word [γwy]δkm'n. This shows that the canto in question belongs to the cycle *Huwidagmān*. Lentz did not, however, pursue Reitzenstein's suggestion that there might be two recensions of the hymn-cycles,³ nor did he seek to distinguish between the different Western Iranian originals represented by the Sogdian translations; for at that time it was not unnaturally assumed that the significant word in the titles of these texts was 'handām' (Sogdian 'ndmy), a word which, in addition to its common meaning of 'limb', and hence, it seems, of 'part, section', has also a particular significance as a religious technical term for a 'limb' of the soul.⁴ The occurrence of this word in conjunction with various headings such as *Huwidagmān* and *Warzargān Afriwan* was therefore then held to unite what have since been identified as separate texts.

The other text published by Lentz, M 855, was not known to Reitzenstein. This fragment has on its verso page the title: *nys'r'd*

¹ *Sic*; see below, pp. 86 n. 1, 87 n. 1.

² Lentz also assigned T II D 178 II–IV to the fifth canto, naturally believing these fragments to form a continuous text with T II D 178 I. This is not, however, the case; see below, pp. 30–31, 35–36, 38–40.

³ See *Erl. Myst.*, p. 26. Reitzenstein made this suggestion because of the title on M 93 II: 'Sixth Limb—*Huwidagmān*.'

⁴ See W.–L. i, p. 42 ff.

'ngd rwšn'n, 'Begun (is) *Angad Rōšnān*'. The first words beneath this are those of M 4 a 18-19, namely, 'ngd rwšn'n fry'ng pṭ 'xšd. It was evident that this was the beginning of the whole cycle. The title on the recto page is damaged, but there too the words 'ngd rwšn'n appear. This misled Lentz into putting the pages into the wrong order. Thus in his publication the last verses of the cycle *Huwidagmān* (contained in M 855 R) appear as part of the first canto of *Angad Rōšnān*.

Lentz accepted Reitzenstein's theories about the structure of the *handām* texts; and also agreed that there was a connexion between them and M 4. In interpreting them, however, he differed entirely from his predecessor. The third edition of *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* had not then appeared, and he was therefore unaware of Reitzenstein's modification of his mythological interpretations. In any case he rejected these entirely. He dismissed the whole conception of a salvation-mystery as alien to Manichaeism;¹ and rejected also the idea that the hymns were connected with death. He maintained instead that they were liturgical texts for use in the confessional, supporting this theory by comparisons between them, the *Great Xwāstwānift*, and a text from the Chinese *Hymnscroll*. According to him, the Soul in the hymn-cycles was not the World-Soul but that of an individual believer. He interpreted M 4 also as a confessional text; and suggested that in it is to be found 'ein Teil einer Sammlung kurzer Schlussgebete von Beichthymnen . . . die jedesmal in Verbindung mit den zugehörigen grossen Hymnen, die vom Priester rezitiert wurden, von der ganzen Gemeinde gesungen wurden'.²

Die Stellung Jesu appeared while the early part of the third edition of *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* was in the press; and Reitzenstein took the opportunity to comment on Lentz's views in the later part of this work.³ He welcomed his discoveries of the Sogdian material, but refused to accept his new interpretation of the texts, maintaining firmly his own beliefs.

Lentz in his discussion of the *handām* hymns mentioned the

¹ See W.-L. i, p. 69. Lentz was justified in this contention, but ignored the fact that Reitzenstein had himself been careful to limit the sense in which he used the word 'mystery' (see above, p. 3). Reitzenstein pointed this out when answering Lentz's criticisms (see *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 3. Aufl., pp. 276-7).

² W.-L. i, p. 67.

³ pp. 275-84.

existence of many small fragments of manuscript, apparently containing verses from them, which he himself had not examined. It was clear that the way to a fuller understanding of the hymn-cycles lay through a study of these fragments, a task undertaken by W. B. Henning. In the course of several years of intermittent study Henning succeeded in piecing together a considerable number of fragments, and in acquiring thereby a clearer understanding of the general character of the texts. In 1943 he published a brief account of his findings in a note to Tsui Chi's translation of the Chinese *Hymnscroll*.¹ In this he showed that there were four distinct hymn-cycles in Middle Persian and Parthian, all of which appear to have been divided into cantos. In distinguishing between the two Parthian cycles he corrected the mistake over the order of the pages in M 855, publishing in evidence a partially preserved colophon to *Huwidagmān* from M 256, a fragment which, like M 855, contains the last lines of *Huwidagmān* on the recto page and the first lines of *Angad Rōšnān* on the verso.

The discovery of the existence of two distinct hymn-cycles in Parthian put the study of the *handām* texts on a new basis. Henning made yet another illuminating discovery in identifying vv. 262–338 of the Chinese *Hymnscroll* with the first canto of *Huwidagmān*. He published with a translation the fragments he had identified, using a normalized orthography. They were M 93 I, M 233, and M 625 b.

The Chinese title given to the verses from *Huwidagmān* is as follows (in Tsui Chi's translation):

'In praise of the World of Light. Containing seventy-eight Odes, each of which is in four lines. By Wei Mo the Mu-shê.'²

Henning suggested tentatively that *wei* (未) might be a mistake for *mo* (末), in which case **Muāt-Māu* might represent Mār Ammō, the name of Mani's great apostle to the Parthians. If this is so, a comparatively precise date for the hymn-cycles can be established.³

Henning made two brief references to Mār Ammō's authorship of the hymn-cycles in subsequent articles entitled 'Brāhman'⁴ and 'Two Manichaeon Magical Texts'.⁵ In the former article he also published, to illustrate the meaning of a word, three verses

¹ *BSOAS*. xi, pp. 216–17.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

³ This matter is discussed again below; see p. 43.

⁴ *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 113.

⁵ *BSOAS*. xii, p. 50.

from the seventh canto of *Angad Rōšnān*. This completed his published work on the hymn-cycles. His textual reconstructions are fully described below.¹

II. THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE HYMN-CYCLES

[*Angad Rōšnān* begins with a soul in distress, for whom 'the hour of life is ended'.² Fire and fog daunt it,³ and hideous demons,⁴ and it beseeches its Saviour for redemption.⁵ Life ebbs from its body,⁶ and its distress deepens; it no longer invokes the Saviour confidently, but asks in despair 'Who shall save me?'⁷ For five cantos—as far as can be judged from the surviving fragments—the soul remains lonely, terrified, and weeping. In the sixth the Saviour comes with loving words. The demons slink away,⁸ and the soul is promised salvation,⁹ and adjured to be steadfast and happy on 'this day of death'.¹⁰ In the last extant verses from the eighth canto the soul tells how, rescued from all sins¹¹ and clothed in a garment of Light,¹² it has looked upon the dark prison of the body it has abandoned.¹³] *Huwwidagmān* follows the same pattern closely, the chief difference in its extant verses being that it opens with a canto describing Paradise, which is followed by a canto entitled 'The Punishment of Sinners'. The situation at the end of the fourth canto is that found at the beginning of *Angad Rōšnān*—namely a soul distressed by encircling horrors and yearning for a Saviour. Here too the Saviour appears in the sixth canto and brings the soul comfort and the promise of redemption.]

Reitzenstein, influenced by the recurrence of a theme of dissolution, interpreted the hymn-cycles as a death-mass;¹⁴ and his theory receives support from the subsequent discovery of passages in which death is explicitly mentioned. A comparison is therefore

¹ See pp. 25–33.

² *A.R.* I 12.

³ *Ibid.* 14.

⁴ *Ibid.* 16–18.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1–2.

⁶ *A.R.* Ia 11–14.

⁷ *A.R.* III 1 ff.

⁸ *A.R.* VI 3–5.

⁹ *Ibid.* 31–33, 42–45, 49, 64–73.

¹⁰ *A.R.* VIIa 11.

¹¹ *A.R.* VIII 2.

¹² *Ibid.* 4.

¹³ *Ibid.* 12.

¹⁴ He also used as evidence for this two of the sections in M 4 (see above, p. 2). In rejecting his interpretation, Lentz pointed out that it was natural for the Manichaeans to be concerned with death and the end of the world, both events representing the salvation of Light (see W.-L. i, p. 69). Yet although Mani's teachings made holy dying the goal of his followers, holy living was an essential preliminary; and many Manichaean texts contain precepts for conducting life well. The hymn-cycles are characterized, however, as Reitzenstein saw, by indifference to life and a sustained preoccupation with death.

necessary between the hymn-cycles and Manichaean funerary literature.

Elegiac poetry, in memory of Mani and other religious leaders, is well attested in Parthian, where it takes the form of an account of the saint's death, or an invocation of him by surviving members of his flock;¹ but funerary hymns, for use at the time of death itself, are barely represented. There is, however, a useful collection in M 4 of the opening lines of such hymns, entitled 'Death-Hymns' ('*zḡ'myg b'š'h'n*). These hymns were presumably intended for the funerals of the Elect, for it is assumed in them that the dead man is perfect in virtue, and will ascend to heaven.² Two characteristics are common to them all: each is dramatic in form, being in direct speech; and in each the speaker is the soul, which has just left the body,³ and is sometimes joyful, sometimes in distress.

The key to the interpretation of these hymns is given by Ibn an-Nadim in the *Fihrist*, in a passage translated by Flügel as follows:

Wenn der Tod . . . einem Wahrhaftigen naht, sendet der Urmensch einen Lichtgott in der Gestalt des leitenden Weisen und mit ihm drei Götter und zugleich mit diesen das Wassergefäß,⁴ das Kleid, die Kopfbinde, die Krone und den Lichtkranz. . . Auch erscheint ihm der Teufel der Habgier und der Sinnenlust mit andern Teufeln. Sobald der Wahrhaftige diese erblickt, ruft er die Göttin, welche die Gestalt des Weisen angenommen hat und die andern drei Götter zu Hilfe, und diese nähern sich ihm. Sobald die Teufel sie gewahr werden, wenden sie sich fliehend um.⁵

The hymns in M 4 show the virtuous soul either fearful or hailing with joy the approach of the Saviour. In each the same moment has been chosen, the moment when the soul, freed from the body, awaits its fate after death.

Some of the sections in M 4 are peculiar to that fragment; and one might think these dramatic funerary hymns unusual compositions, had not a similar collection of texts, preserved in their entirety, been found in the Coptic *Psalm-Book*. This collection

¹ See *Mir. Man.* iii, d-f.

² Thus the dead man confidently invokes the Saviour with his three angels (M 4 c 10-13) and expects his help (*ibid.* 16-18). The Saviour is gracious to him (*ibid.* 1-3).

³ This is stated explicitly in M 4 b 22-c 1 and c 7-10. In the other lines it is implied.

⁴ For 'Wassergefäß' read 'Sieg' (see Polotsky in *Mani-Fund*, p. 72).

⁵ Flügel, *Mani*, p. 100; *Fihrist*, text, p. 335, ll. 10-14; see W.-L. i, p. 62.