

of vegetables taken after nightfall; and might possess food only for a day, clothing only for a year.

The cult

The essentials of the Manichaean cult lay in prayers, the singing of hymns, subjugating the body by fasting, and the confession of sins with penitence. Seven daily prayers were enjoined on the Elect, and four on the Hearers, to be uttered facing toward the sun by day, the moon by night. In these prayers were invoked, as well as the individual gods, the fourfold Manichaean unity of God, Light, Power and Wisdom.

Five fasts of two days' duration were observed during the year. The fourth and fifth fell during the same month, on its 1st-2nd and 27th-28th days. During the intervening period the Hearers observed the rule continually obligatory on the Elect, of eating only one meal a day, at nightfall. This time of general abstinence is thought to commemorate the 26 days which Mani suffered in prison, the final two-day fast being in memory of his actual death. On the last (30th) day of this same month the feast of the Bema (or "Throne") was held. At this feast, which was the greatest occasion of the Manichaean year, an empty raised seat was set for Mani in the face of the congregation, and a portrait of the prophet was placed upon it (see text *cu* 32, below).

The Manichaean scriptures

The canon

The canon of the Manichaean scriptures was made up of seven works composed by Mani in his mother-tongue, an East Aramaic dialect. These were held, in part at least, to be inspired by the spirit he called his "Twin". Their names are as follows :

	<i>Middle Persian</i>
1. Living Gospel	ewangelyōn zīndag
2. Treasure of Life	niyān ī zīndagān
3. Treatise	_____
4. Secrets	rāzān
5. Giants	kawān
6. Epistles	*dibān
7. Psalms and Prayers	_____

In addition, there were the *Šābuhragān*, in which Mani summarised his teachings in Middle Persian for Šābuhr I; the *Ārdahang*, apparently his drawing of the cosmos, with a commentary, the *Ārdahang Wiḡrās*; and the *Kephalaia* ("Discourses"), the words of the prophet collected after his death, among which is some apocryphal matter.

Many fragments of these works survive in translation among the Iranian mss., but in most instances it is not possible to tell from which book each fragment comes. Not a line of the original Aramaic is preserved in the Turfan material.

General religious writings

The non-canonical works include a relatively small number of prose texts. Among these is a church-history, of which fragments are preserved in all the three main Iranian languages. There are also homilies and prose treatises, some containing parables.

The bulk of the secondary literature is however in verse. The Middle Persian and Parthian hymns appear to be composed in the same ancient tradition as the Avestan *yašts*, modified slightly by contact with Semitic verse. The metres are qualitative, not quantitative, and there is no rhyme. Each metre is chiefly distinguished, it seems, by the number of stresses to the line; and the number of syllables fluctuates freely within certain fixed limits. The subtleties of Western Middle Iranian metrics still however largely escape analysis. Most verse-texts are written in continuous paragraphs, like prose; but with one group of hymns it is particularly easy to establish the verse-pattern. These are abecedarian texts, which follow a Semitic pattern in that each verse (or sometimes even each line) begins with a successive letter of the *abgad*. Usually (though not always) the invented Iranian letter *j* (see below) appears in the alphabetic series; and by a curious and unexplained convention it is usual to finish such a text with one or even two verses beginning with the letter *n* (in addition to the *n* verse which appears in its proper place). Abecedarian hymns have therefore generally 23-25 verses; but few survive entire. Not infrequently anti-phonal verses, outside the alphabetic series, are inset, especially between the first and second verses.

The manuscripts

All the surviving Iranian Manichaean mss. were discovered this century among the sand-covered ruins of Manichaean monasteries in

Chinese Turkestan. Most were found in ancient Qočo (by modern Turfan). They are written in three Iranian languages, Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian, of which the two first were church-languages for the Sogdians of Central Asia. There is one fragment in Bactrian, which like Sogdian is an Eastern Iranian language. Both Middle Persian and Parthian belong to the Western Middle Iranian group.

The texts are usually written in ink on paper, although a few are on leather. The Middle Persian and Parthian mss. are written in the characteristic “Manichaean” script, which is akin to Syriac Estrangelo, and was evidently the form of writing used in Mani’s homeland. The Sogdian mss. are written partly in this script, partly in a script that is known either as “Sogdian”, or as “Uigur” (from its adoption by the Uigur Turks); this, like the Pahlavi script, is an adaptation of the Achaemenian chancellery script, deriving from Aramaic.

Most of the mss. are beautifully written, and a number are illuminated. All, however, have been badly mutilated, either by the action of the elements, or deliberately, in the past, by Buddhists or Muslims. Very few single pages even survive intact, and most of the material is in small, damaged fragments. There is little evidence by which to date individual mss.; a few show consistent evidence of late pronunciations, but most maintain the orthography established in the 3rd century. The scribal tradition is almost uniformly excellent.

The bulk of the Iranian Manichaean material was found by German expeditions, and is preserved in Berlin.

The alphabet and orthography

The Manichaean alphabet, as used for writing Middle Persian and Parthian, consisted of the 22 letters of the Semitic *abjad*, with one new evolved letter, *j*. The order of the letters was:

’ *b g d h w z j h t y k l m n s* ‘ *p c q r š t* (In this transliteration the signs ’ and ‘ are used for Semitic *alif* and ‘*ain* respectively.)

In writing both languages the modification was used of *k* with a dot over it to represent *x* (a (voiceless guttural fricative). In addition, for Parthian (and irregularly, for MPersian) *p* with a dot over it was used for *f*; and *z* with two dots over it was used for Parthian *ž*. These modified letters were not counted as separate ones (as is shown by abecedarian texts), but they are transliterated separately in this Reader.

The Manichaean alphabet was able to render Iranian sounds with a fair degree of precision; but there were ambiguities, especially with the vowels and semi-vowels. Some of the clarity of the script was moreover obscured by the writing of superfluous letters, and, very occasionally, the suppressing of ones usually represented, in the interests of spacing. The mss. were, as has been noted, beautifully written. The scribes usually avoided dividing words, and instead made use of such orthographic devices to fill their lines evenly. It is mostly the already imprecisely represented vowels and semi-vowels which are affected.

The phonetic value of the letters (in the order of the Roman alphabet, preceded by ' and '):

' (the equivalent of Semitic *alif*) Initially, it shows that the word begins with one of the following vowels: a, ā, u, ū, o, ō. Initial a is represented simply by ' (although, rarely, in the interests of space-filling, it appears as '', e.g. ''wr instead of 'wr (*awar*) "here"). Initial ā is sometimes represented by '', but more generally also simply by '. Initial u, ū, o and ō are represented by 'w.

Internally, ' (and occasionally, as a space-filler, '') represents ā. Internal a is not ordinarily written. It is to be found only in the following words: k'w (*kaw* "giant", pl. kw'n, k'w'n) to distinguish it from kw (*ku* "that"); in the Zoroastrian term 'm'hrspnd'n (*amahraspandān*); facultatively in the Syriac loanword m'ry, beside mry, mr (*mar*); and in compounds where it is the first letter of the second element, e.g. h'm'xwnd (*hām-axwand*). Internal ' probably marks the hiatus (glottal stop?) in ''wn (*a'ōn*) and c'wn (*če'ōn*). Final ' always represents ā except in monosyllables, where it can also represent a, e.g. k' (*ka*), b' (*ba*). If such a monosyllable takes a suffix, the a is not written, e.g. kš (*ka-š*).

[Note: The word 'yg (*ēg*) "then" is regularly written with ' instead of ', to distinguish it from 'yg (*īg*) "which". There are also some facultative interchanges between ' and ', for which see under '.]

' (the equivalent of Semitic *ain*) Initially, it shows that the word begins with one of the following vowels: i, ī, e, ē. Initial ī and ē are represented by 'y, initial i and e either by 'y or, more regularly, by ' alone. An unetymological short initial vowel can be represented facultatively by either ' or ', e.g. 'šnw-, 'šnw-, 'šm'h, 'šm'h.

Internally, ' appears, very rarely, as the first letter of the second element of a compound, when it has the same value as

initially, e.g. *h'm'spyz* (*hām-ispēz*). Otherwise it has no phonetic value when used internally in Iranian words. By an orthographic convention, it is written to distinguish MPers. *z'wr* (*zūr*) 'deceit' from *zwr* (*zōr*) 'strength'. Otherwise it occurs fairly frequently as a space-filler before *y*, e.g. *d'yn* (*dēn*), *g'h'yg* (*gāhig*), *s'y-* (*say-*). In the adjective *yyšw'yg*, derived from the Semitic proper name *yyšw*, it presumably has the force of a glottal hiatus consonant, i.e. *yišō'ig*. Final *'* occurs only in the name *yyšw'*; here it evidently has no phonetic value in Iranian, and is sometimes omitted.

- b** *b* in MPers. is transcribed in this Reader as *b* in all positions, although when post-vocalic it was probably increasingly pronounced as *β* (a voiced labial fricative). In Parth. it is rendered as *b* initially, but internally as *b* or *β* according to its origin as post-vocalic *p* or *b* respectively. In doubtful cases (indicated by an asterisk) it is transcribed as *b*.
- c** (the equivalent of Semitic *šāde*) *č*, but when post-vocalic facultatively *z* in MPers., *ž* in Parthian, and so transcribed here.
- d** *d* in MPers.; in Parth. *d* initially, *d* or *ḍ* (voiced dental fricative) internally, under the same conditions as *b* ~ *β* for *b*, *q.v.*
- g** in MPers.; in Parth. *g* initially, *g* or *ḡ* (voiced guttural fricative) internally, under the same conditions as *b* ~ *β* for *b*, *q.v.* In Parthian texts a modified sign (transliterated as *ḡ*) is occasionally used to distinguish the fricative from the stop.
- h** *h*
- h** *h* has the same phonetic value as *h*. It is used regularly for final *h*, and frequently, as a space-filler, for internal *h*, and even occasionally for initial *h*.
Rarely, *h* is used finally after *'* as a space-filler without phonetic value, e.g. *š'dyh'h* (*šādihā*).
- j** (the only invented letter, evolved either from *c* or *š*) In MPers. it is transcribed *j* in most positions, although it may have been pronounced *ž* when post-vocalic. In Parth. it represents *j* after *n*, but otherwise *ž*, that is, in Parth. it usually represents the same sound as *ž*, with which it alternates in all but initial position, where *j* alone is written.
- k** *k*
- l** *l*
- m** *m*
- n** *n*. Double *n*, occurring only, facultatively, before *g*, is thought to represent a guttural nasal, *ŋ*, e.g. *hnng'r-* (*haŋḡār-*), *'smg* (*asamḡ*).

- p** p, and in MPers. also f (although modified p=f is written in some MPers. texts).
- q** usually has the same phonetic value as k, for which it can be substituted, in any position, as a space-filler; more rarely, q is used for a final g after ʾ, e.g. *h'm'q* for *hāmāg*.
- r** r. Because of the tendency for etymological l to become r, r often represents l in an alphabetic series.
- s** s
- š** š
- t** t, and, rarely, d after r (an archaic spelling), e.g. *wrt-* beside *wrd-* (*ward-*).
- ṭ** has the same phonetic value as t. It may be used instead of t in all positions as a space-filler. Occasionally **ṭ** (and less commonly **t**) is written initially with following š to represent č phonetically in the word *tšy*, beside *cy* (*čē*). This is sometimes to fill space, sometimes to enable the word *cy* to represent **ṭ** or t in an abecedarian text. By a special convention **ṭ** may be used as a space-filler to represent final d in the word *ud* “and”.
- w** Initially, it represents the semi-vowel w.
Internally and finally it represents both the semi-vowel and the vowels u, ū o, ō. Internal and final ū and ō are always written; and internally they are even occasionally represented by ww, e.g. *prwwd* beside *prwd* (*frōd*). The semi-vowel is also doubled to fill space on occasion, e.g. *xwd'wwn* (*xwadāwan*). Internal u and o are often written, and when it is necessary to fill space, they too are on occasion represented by ww, e.g. *xwwmbwyft* (*xumbōyift*).
- x** x, a voiceless guttural fricative.
- y** Initially, it represents the semi-vowel y.
Internally and finally it represents both y and the vowels i, ī, e, ē. Internally ī and ē are almost always written, finally always. Internally they are sometimes represented by yy e.g. *hmyyw* beside *hmyw* (*hamēw*), *knyyg* beside *knyg* (*kanīg*). The semi-vowel is also occasionally doubled as a space-filler, e.g. *zyy'n* (*zyān*), *rzmyywwz* beside *rzmywwz* (*razmyōz*). Internal i and e are often written, and occasionally they too are represented by yy, e.g. *dw'ryyšn* beside *dw'ryyšn* (*dwārišn*), *dw'dyys* beside *dw'dys* and *dw'ds* (*dwādes*).
In the monosyllable *kyy* (*kay*) “when?”, final -ay is rendered by yy, presumably to distinguish this word from *ky* (*kē*) “who”. Probably by imitation final -ay is also facultatively rendered by yy in the monosyllables *myy* beside *my*, *pyy* beside *py*. The same usage appears in the compound *tnyy* (*tan-čay*).

z z

ž ž. This letter is found in Parthian only, and has the same value as the letter j, q.v.

The Old Iranian sound x^w, represented in Avestan by a single character, is written in MPers. with two separate letters as **xw**, so transcribed here. In Parth. this sound has undergone a change, and is represented by the letters **wx**. The pronunciation is uncertain, and so the spelling wx is reproduced in transcription.

Double consonants and the union of semi-vowel with vowel

Double consonants are written as single ones, e.g. *pt'y-* (*pattāy-*), *hswd* (*hassūd*). The only exceptions are in compounds whose elements exist as separate words, e.g. *nymm'h* (*nēm-māh*), *wddyl* (*wad-dil*), *nyyq'mg* (*nēk-kāmag*). Even when a double letter arises from a suffix, only a single one is written, e.g. *cšm'n* for *cašm-mān*.

In a union of semi-vowel and vowel which are both represented by the same letter, often only a single letter is written, e.g. *'ynd* (*āyēnd*), where *y* represents both *y* and *ē*, *gw'g* (*gōwāg*) where *w* represents both *ō* and *w*. Accordingly the u/o which is used as a linking vowel, and is ordinarily written, is not represented after *w*, e.g. *'h'wm* (*abāw-u-m*). There are however some cases where both vowel and semi-vowel are regularly written, e.g. *hww'c* (*huwāz*), *pyys* (*payēs*); and many more where the double writing is facultative, e.g. *nyy'm* beside *ny'm* (*niyām*).

In general, the orthography of individual words was fixed in the 3rd century A.C., when the Manichaean alphabet was first applied to Iranian. In one or two instances, however, the spelling is variable.

Post-vocalic x: it seems that the sound-change whereby post-vocalic *č* > M.Pers. *z*, Parth. *ž*, was taking place during the course of the 3rd century, and that this prevented Man. orthography becoming fixed in this particular. Accordingly, old post-vocalic *č* may be represented facultatively by *c* or *z/ž*. The spelling often varies in the same text, the choice being dictated by considerations of space. In transcription post-vocalic *č* has been consistently rendered here by *z/ž*.

Final h: in late WMIr. final *h* was regularly lost. Thus, for example, the verbal endings *-yh* (*-ēh*) (2 sg. indic.) and *-'h* (*-āh*) (2 sg. subj.)

came to be pronounced as \bar{e} and \bar{a} , and to be spelt, facultatively, as $-yy$, $-y$ and $-ʾ$. The MPers. abstract ending $-ih > \bar{i}$ is similarly variously spelt as $-yh$, $-yy$, $-y$. The pronoun $ʾmʾh$ is also, rarely, spelt $ʾmʾ$, and such forms occur as *tyrmʾ* for *Tirmā(h)*.

Conversely, a purely orthographic h is occasionally used as a space-filler after final \bar{a} , see above under h . More rarely, words are enlarged by several superfluous letters in order to fill space, e.g. *kwmʾʾʾʾn* for *kwmʾn* (*ku-mān*), *mrzʾyyšn* for *mrzyšn* (*marzišn*).

Abbreviations, punctuation and transliteration

When internal long vowels are omitted to save space (which most often happens with the last word in a line), the omission is regularly marked by two dots set by the preceding consonant. The plural ending $-ʾn$, and the Parthian abstract ending $-yft$, are so often abbreviated, however, that in these cases the omission of $ʾ$ or y is frequently not noted by the scribe.

The word *ud*, ordinarily written as $ʾwd$, is facultatively represented by the letter *w* with two dots over it. This *w* is the Semitic word for “and”, used conventionally as an abbreviation. Less frequently the word $ʾwš$, compounded of the word $ʾwd$ (*ud*) “and” with the suffixed pronoun sg. 3 $š$, is represented by the letter $š$ with two dots above it.

In this Reader the abbreviation for “and” is consistently rendered in transliteration by $ʾwd$ in full, and $š$ with two dots is written out as $ʾwš$; and where the omission of a long vowel is marked, that vowel is restored in transliteration. This has also been done in the instances of unmarked $-n$ and $-ft$ for $-ʾn$ and $-yft$. Otherwise the spelling of the mss. has been retained in the texts. In the glossary, to avoid a useless proliferation of forms, the distinctions between h and h , t and t have in general been ignored.

The mss. are ordinarily punctuated by coloured dots, according to the logical or formal divisions of the text; but sometimes such dots are inserted without significance, as line-fillers, and sometimes, because of lack of space, there are no dots although the sense requires them. The punctuation in this Reader is therefore inserted by the editor, although with regard to full stops it often coincides with that of the mss. Words which in the texts of the Reader appear as hyphenated are written in the mss. as two separate words.

The paragraphing is also in the main the editor's, and only in verse-texts which are set out in couplets or triplets has the exact lay-out of the mss. been followed.

Although the Man. alphabet renders the Iranian sounds fairly precisely, the number of ambiguities in the script makes it desirable to reproduce the texts in transliteration (i.e. letter for letter), rather than in transcription (i.e. written out as they are presumed to have been spoken). A transcription is, however, offered for all words in the glossary, speculative renderings being marked with an asterisk; and a transcription as well as transliteration is provided for the first few texts.

Restorations in the texts

In these mutilated fragments there are many missing letters and doubtful readings. The principle adopted here with regard to these is as follows: certain restorations, and almost certain restorations, of common words are not marked. Doubtful restorations, and all restorations of unusual words, are marked with an asterisk in the texts and have the letters "rest." for "restored" after them if they appear in the glossary, where the exact ms.-reading is given. Where several consecutive words are restored in a text, these are set between asterisks. No texts appear in the Reader which have not already been published, and full references to publications are given in the notes.

Many of the texts reproduced here were among the first Manichaean fragments published by F.W.K. Müller. These were reprinted in Hebrew transliteration by C. Salemann, who, having no access to the mss. themselves, inevitably reproduced or made errors. A number of emendations to Müller's pioneer readings were made verbally by F.C. Andreas, and these emendations were in due course passed on by W.B. Henning, who studied with Andreas, to his students, with further emendations of his own. The present editor, not being always able to attribute such emendations correctly, has marked them, when in doubt, with the initials A.-H.

Order of texts and arrangement of the notes

The texts are arranged according to subject-matter, with Middle Persian and Parthian intermixed. They are lettered consecutively according to the Roman alphabet, **a-z**, **aa-az** etc. The letters *i* and *l* are omitted in the first series, and the letter *i* in the subsequent ones, to avoid possible confusion. Parthian fragments are so described, Middle Persian ones are left undistinguished.

In the notes, under the alphabetic signature given to each fragment

here, is given its proper signature in the Turfan collection, e.g. text **ac** in this Reader has the signature **M 2 II** in the Turfan collection. There follows in each case a reference to the place where the fragment has been previously published, and such notes as seem necessary to explain its subject-matter. Where it is needed, an earlier signature, by which the fragment was first known, is set in brackets after the one currently in use (e.g. text **a**, which now has the signature **M 5794**, was originally published as **T II D 126**). The few fragments which have the letter **S** (for Salemann) are in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, and the one lettered **IB** is in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. The fragment first published as **P2** also comes from this museum.