

MY KINGDOM IS NOT OF THIS WORLD:
REVISITING THE GREAT PARTHIAN CRUCIFIXION HYMN

(Plates 13-16)

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The two main parts of the text I am trying to reconstruct are preserved in two manuscripts from the Turfan collection, M 104 and M 132a, of which the former was published by Andreas and Henning in *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan* III, pp. 881-3 (text *k*); the latter was published by Müller in *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan* II, pp. 36-7, and was, with M 18, the first Iranian Manichaean fragment with Gospel quotations to be published. While the headline of M 104 *d'rwbdgyfyyg b's'h* "Crucifixion hymns" helps to determine the literary genre of this group of texts, opinions have varied on how to consider the contents of M 132, with definitions such as "Lehr- und Erbauungsschrift" (Lentz, in Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu in Manichäismus*, p. 23), part of Mani's *Living Gospel* (Alfaric, *Écritures* II, pp. 38-40), or a polemic writing (Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, p. 88), until finally M. Boyce, in her *Catalogue*, p. 11, defined the contents of M 132 as a "crucifixion hymn". Henning, who was, as we have seen, the first editor of M 104, found parts of the same text in other manuscripts from the Turfan collection (i.e. M 390, M 459e, M 734, M 891b), corrected his previous readings and extended the text on various occasions, as reported *ad loca* in the *Catalogue* by M. Boyce, who herself found another fragment with part of the same text in M 1951. Some years later, W. Sundermann in a section of his article "Christliche Evangelientexte in der Überlieferung der iranisch-manichäischen Literatur" ("Versuch einer Rekonstruktion der Passiongeschichte des Kreuzigungshymnus M 104", pp. 394-9) published a small fragment, M 5861b, which contains, in double columns, passages parallel to those in M 132 recto and verso and M 734 verso. The fact that the latter manuscript has, on its recto, text parallel to that in M 104 allowed Sundermann to propose that all these fragments together form a part of a great Crucifixion hymn, the reconstructible phases of which are: Judas' betrayal at the incitement of the Jews (M 104 + M 459e, M 734 r, M 891b v, M 1951 v and M 390 r); the hearing before Caiaphas (M 734 v, M 5861 r); and ill-treatment before Herod (M 132, M 5861 r ii and v). It is moreover possible, as I will suggest, that a concluding part of the hymn, in which the importance of the Crucifixion and of the mission of the Apostles is praised, may be seen in the verso of M 390 (so far unpublished, see below).

The need for a complete edition, together with the fact that those texts are far from being fully understood, and, last but not least, an old interest both in the Manichaean Jesus and in Jesus Cantabrigiensis, under whose wings I made my first steps in Iranian with the invaluable

guidance of Dr Ilya Gershevitch, brought home to me the desirability of treating the whole material afresh. Through the kindness of Professor Werner Sundermann, and by kind permission of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Preußischer Kulturbesitz), I had the opportunity to have at my disposal a complete set of new photographs of the manuscripts. To both institutions and to Professor Sundermann I would like to express my warmest thanks and my profound gratitude.

Beside the reconstructed text of the hymn that follows, I have endeavoured, for clarity's sake, to give a synoptic view of the manuscripts containing the various portions of the text. A complete transliteration of all the manuscripts is given at the end of the article. In the translation, underlined words or phrases show that a new reading, a new interpretation are proposed, or, in the case of M 390, that the text is here edited for the first time.

Manuscripts		line	Reconstructed text
104r	459r	1.	wygr'syd br'dr'n wjydg'n
"	"	2.	pd 'ym rwc gy'nyn bwxtgyft
"	"	3.	pd myhr m'h pd sxt
"	"	4.	c'frds o kd pnybr'd
104v	"	5.	yyšw'c bgpwhr oo ng'h kryd
"	"	6.	hrw bg 'mwst'n oo kw kd
"	"	7.	gd jm'n 'nj'myšn o pd mrd
"	"	8.	pwhr frwd'd 'šmg'n o 'wd
"	"	9.	'šyj'd hw bzg 'mwg xwd'y
"	"	10.	db pdmwxt h'm'fr's bwd
"	"	11.	'hynd o 'ywwšt 'c 'br
"	"	12.	dw'dys g'h'n o 'w d'm
"	"	13.	'dryn jhr ryxt 'w z'dg'n o 'wd
"	"	14.	pdr'y'd hw mrm t'st oo yhwd'n
"	891bv	15.	msyšt bg 'spsg'n db
"	"	16.	'wmws'd swnd'g qft
"	"	17.	pdycyhr 'x'zynd 'br mrd
"	"	18.	pwhr o bzgyft 'ndyšynd z'wr
"	"	19.	wyg'h 'mwrtynd pd drwg
"	1951v	20.	dwšfr s't'n ky cyd 'ywwšt
"	459v	21.	'w fryšt'g'n o hw wxd 'šyft
"	"	22.	'w crg cy mšyh' o kyrdwš
"	"	23.	b'rg 'škrywt'h 'bzftg
"	"	24.	fryhstwm 'mwst'c
"	"	25.	'bjyrw'ng'n oo nm'dyš pd

104v	459v	390r	26.	dstbr ² dyšg ² w dwšmny
"	"	"	27.	² bysprd bgpwhr ² byst ² w ² d
"	"	"	28.	² c r ² štyft pd p ² db ² rg cy
"	"	"	29.	d ² d yhw ² d ² n wxybyy xwd ² y ² w ² t
"	"	"	30.	² mwcg prct o yyšw ² ² w ² st
"	"	"	31.	² w ² mwr ² dn yhw ² d ² n bwd ² w ² t
"	"	"	32.	šmg ² n ² njmn wsyd
"	"	"	33.	² wyšt ² byšn
"	"	"	34.	qy ² md
"	"	"	35.	[a number of lines missing]
"	734v	"	36.	(.)jm (.....)
"	"	"	37.	šhr ² r k (.....)
"	"	"	38.	wyg ² nyh o zbyn yyšw ² kyr ² d pswx ² w
"	"	"	39.	yhw ² d ² n o kw šm ² h pwr ² syd ² w mn
"	"	"	40.	² bjyrw ² ng ² n o kw cy ² st ² mwg cy
"	"	"	41.	mys ² n ² mwc ² d o ² wd qyrd ² n cym
"	"	"	42.	frm ² d ² w hwyn oo nbyn ² wd dybhr pdmw ² t
"	"	"	43.	qyf ² h o qhn ² n msyšt ² d hrw
"	"	5861ri	44.	yhw ² d ² n o ² wd pd mny ² n drd ² bj ² mys ² n o
"	"	"	45.	ws ² bj ² m ² d ² w yyšw ² fry ² ng oo
"	"	"	46.	byd nmr pd ² whrm ² yzd by r ² z o ky(..)
"	"	"	47.	[a number of lines missing]
"	"	"	48.	pwnwynd (.....)
132r	"	5861rii	49.	yyšw ² šwj ² by ² st ² r
"	"	"	50.	kd ² ndryw ² d ² wd w ² st pdyc wzrg
"	"	"	51.	hygmwn ² w ² t pyltys [...]
"	"	"	52.	pwr ² s ² d kw p ² t wyc ² r š ² h ² yy
"	"	"	53.	p ² t kd ² g y ² kwb ² w ² t p ² t ² wxm
"	"	"	54.	sr ² yl oo trkwm ² n rzwr qyrd
"	"	"	55.	pswx ² w pyltys o kwm šhr ² ryft
"	"	"	56.	ny ² c ² ym šhr ² st o hmpd p ² t
"	"	"	57.	² wyšt ² byšn cy yhw ² d ² n o bst
"	"	"	58.	² w ² t fršwd ² w hyrdws š ² h
"	"	"	59.	[a number of lines missing]
"	"	5861vi	60.	hw ² bgwš ² wyšt ² d
"	"	"	61.	² wd hyrdws š ² h pdmw ² c ² d
"	"	"	62.	[a number of lines missing]
132v	"	"	63.	(.....)c
"	"	"	64.	(.....) š ² h

132v		65.	(.....)'d pdmwēn
"		66.	ʔw̄t̄ xʔrt̄'g p̄t̄ sr ʔwyst'd
"	5861vii	67.	ʔw nm'c ʔsynd sryyš fr'gwndynd o
"		68.	p̄t̄ nd jnynd p̄t̄ znx
"		69.	ʔw̄t̄ rwm̄b o p̄t̄ hw csm̄ pdyšt wfynd
"		70.	ʔw̄t̄ w'cynd kw̄m̄'n frwyn šhrd'r
"		71.	mšyh' oo oo byd hry y'wr frwm'y
"		72.	ʔgd ʔw̄t̄ hry y'wr qft̄ ʔhynd
"		73.	ngws'r o cy wysp jm'n cyhr̄g
"		74.	ʔw̄t̄ wcn wxš p̄t̄ wr̄c wzrg ʔws̄'n
"		75.	wrtyd oo oo jywndg
"		76.	g (.....)
390v		77.	šynjyn nm'd br ws̄'d ʔw
"		78.	hš'gyrd'n kw pd hw nys̄'n
"		79.	bwynd d'rwb̄dg w(.....)n
"		80.	ʔwd wyx̄syřd̄ ʔsm̄'n ʔwd zmyg
"		81.	f̄st̄ (...) hn̄j̄sp̄'h̄ o ywd
"		82.	ʔwyst'd rm̄ pw'g ʔc twxm
"		83.	(..) sr'yl twhm̄ s't'n
"		84.	(.....) pwnwynd
"		85.	ʔwjd ʔw

Translation

1. Wake up Brothers, Elect,
2. on this day (came) salvation for Souls;
3. in the month of Mihr
4. the fourteenth, when into Parinirvana went
5. Jesus the Son of God. Pay attention
6. all Believers in God: when
7. the time of accomplishment came, about the
8. Son of Man the demons of wrath got to know
9. and the Lord of evil doctrine rose (?) and
10. (having become) an accomplice put on the garment of deception.
11. There were agitated from above
12. the twelve thrones; upon the creation
13. below poison was poured, upon the Sons, and
14. the Cup of Death was prepared. The Jews,
15. the servants of the Highest God, deception

16. incited (?), the slanderer fell (= Satan fell to earth?)
 17. and consequently they fight against
 18. the Son of Man; evil is their plot,
 19. witnesses they gather with falsehood,
 20. the accursed Satan, who always disturbed
 21. the Apostles, himself vexed
 22. the Flock of Christ. He made
 23. the *wretched Iscariot his steed, (he made him)
 24. the dearest, most devout among
 25. (his) disciples. He showed him
 26. as a powerful watchman to the enemies,
 27. handed over the Son of God, abjured
 28. Righteousness for the bribe that
 29. the Jews gave (him), sacrificed his own Lord
 30. and Teacher. Jesus was taken
 31. to the assembly of the Jews and
 32. a gathering of demons sent off
 33. oppression (...)
 34. And he came (...)
 35. [...]
 36. (...)
 37. King
 38. you destroy. Beautifully Jesus answered
 39. the Jews: "Ask my
 40. disciples what the teaching that
 41. I taught is like, and the acts that
 42. I ordered them". Malice and anger put on
 43. Caiaphas, the High Priest, together with all
 44. the Jews. And with deadly pain (and) torment
 45. they tormented Jesus, (our) beloved, very much.
 46. (And) again (he was) meek like the God Ohrmazd.
 47. [...]
 48. compassionate (...)
 49. Jesus. The Holy (one was) free from sin
 50. when he was deceived and led before the Great
 51. Governor. And Pilate (...)
 52. asked: "Are you truly a king
 53. in the house of Jacob and the race
 54. of Israel?" The right Interpreter answered

55. Pilate: "My kingdom
 56. is not of this world". Then under
 57. pressure of the Jews he was bound
 58. and sent to king Herod.
 59. [...]
 60. He stood silent
 61. and king Herod put on a garment
 62. [...]
 63. [...]
 64. the king
 65. (put on him) a garment
 66. and put a crown of thorns on his head.
 67. For obeisance they come, cover
 68. his head, smite him with a reed on his chin
 69. and on his mouth, spit on his face,
 70. and say: "Prop^hesy, our King,
 71. Christ". Then three times the Romans
 72. came, and three times they fell
 73. down. For every time (his) appearance
 74. and voice (were) beautiful by miraculous power and
 75. made them writhe (?). Living (...)
 76. [...]
 77. he showed salvation, (and) opened the door to
 78. the pupils that like him
 79. are crucified (...)
 80. and Heaven and Earth are wounded,
 81. may this Cup of (...) come to an end. Separate
 82. he placed (?) a pure flock from the race
 83. of Israel the race of Satan (...)
 84. (...) compassionate
 85. (...) he killed the (...)

Commentary

9. ʔsyʔd occurs again in M 4574, published by Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, line 1218, where the context, according to him, permits the translation "emporfahren, erregt sein".

10. At this point Henning (Andreas and Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica III*, p. 882: "er hüllte sich in Trug, gleiche lehrten sie (?)" was not in a position to give a meaningful trans-

lation. Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, p. 106, still translated “And the lord of that doctrine of sin ... put on trick, (and) they taught the same (?)”.

23-25. Though in *Mitteliranische Manichaica* III Henning could not translate this sentence meaningfully, some years later he made an important contribution to its interpretation. Whilst editing a Sogdian text (“The Murder of the Magi”, p. 142 n. 1) in which it is stated that “there were still other sinners whom Greed and Ahriman kept as their mounts”, he translated the first part of this sentence “Satan made Iscariot his mount”, comparing also M 42, line 71, *wygnđ wryšlyym ʾd bʾrgn cy ʾšmgʾn* “destroyed Jerusalem together with the mounts of the demons of wrath”. Unfortunately, the rest of the sentence was incomprehensible. Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, p. 106, does not translate it, and Boyce in her *Word-list*, s.v. *ʾbzftg*, gives /abzafatg/ “filthy” with a question mark. I think the sentence can be understood if we suppose that the two last adjectives, which are almost synonymous, refer to Iscariot, whom Satan has made his servant, his most faithful follower. As for *ʾbzftg*, it occurs a second time in the unpublished text M 5860 i v ii 12-15 (reference kindly given to me by Professor Sundermann): *hmg pwr dybhr / bwn ʾbzftg ʾwd / ʾrʾm rymn cy / pd wdys (ps)xt* “entirely full of wrath is the *wretched foundation and the filthy abode, which is built up shakily”. The translation “wretched” is based only on the contexts. According to Professor Sundermann the word may perhaps belong to the root **zamb-* “to cut, split”, cf. Skt. *jambh-*, Av. *zamb-*, Pth. *zmbg* “battle”, in which case the basic meaning of *ʾbzftg* could perhaps be “destroyed”.

27. On *ʾdyšg* “watchman”, see Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, p. 115; *id.*, *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous*, p. 81.

31-35. This part of the hymn is found only in M 390, so far unpublished. It links the first part of the hymn (Judas’ betrayal) to the second one (Jesus’ defence before Annas, in the missing lines, here 35-36). On this see also Sundermann, “Evangelientexte”, p. 398.

46. Cf. Boyce, “Some Parthian abecedarian hymns”, p. 445, verse 8b: [ʾwd p]đ nmryft 0 bwjʾ(d) šhrđryft “and with gentleness he (i.e. the God Ohrmizd) saved the Kingdom”.

49. Cf. Polotsky and Böhlig, *Kephalaia* I, p. 13, lines 1-3: “[Die Juden?] ... ergriffen den Sohn Gottes [, richteten] ihn in Gesetzlosigkeit in einer Versammlung und verurteilten ihn in Ungerechtigkeit, obwohl er keine Sünde getan hatte”.

50. That the correct reading is here *ʾndrywʾd* is clear from the MS M 5861 r ii 2. In Boyce, *Word-list*, p. 12 s.v., this hapax is given with a question mark. Professor Sundermann (private communication) derives it from **ham-drāwaya-*, to the base *draw-* “to run”, so that the phrase *ʾndrywʾd ʾwd wʾst* would be dyadic: “was made to run and led” = “was dragged”. Since I have restored *ʾbyʾstʾr* “sinless” in the line before, and since the main theme of the hymn is Jesus’ betrayal, I prefer deriving *ʾndrywʾd* from the base *draw-* “to deceive”, on which see M. Schwartz, *JAOS* 1966, 119-22, and Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, p. 158. Although the -y- is exceptional, it is sometimes found in Parthian, see Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe*, p. 93 (cf. *wygyn-* “to be destroyed” beside *wygʾn-* “to destroy”).

58. *fršwd* is almost wholly restored; it can be justified by the presence of two dots, clearly visible on the manuscript.

77ff. Although it is difficult to give a connected translation of so fragmentary a piece (found only in M 390 v), it may yet be worth-while examining the contents. While only one word (*nm'd* "he showed") is clearly legible in the first line of the MS (line 77 of the hymn), the following three lines permit us to understand the gist of the sentence: he (Jesus) showed his pupils (*hš'gyrd'n*, a Persian word, but one which is found again in Parthian, see Sundermann, *Mittliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, p. 161) that like him (*pd hw nys'n*; on *pd ... nys'n* meaning "in the manner of, like" see *ibid.*, p. 167) they are crucified (...), and Heaven and Earth are wounded (*wyxsynd*), (until) this Cup (of Death? Poison? see above, 14) comes to an end. This fairly clear situation reminds one of two well-known passages by Augustine on the *Jesus patibilis*:

Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 32, 7:

[...] crucis eius mysticam fixationem, qua nostrae animae passionis **monstrantur uulnera**.

Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmos*, 140, 12 (Migne, *SL* 37, col. 18-23):

Audite iniquitatem nefariam Manichaeorum publicam, quam confitentur. expedire dicunt homini feneratorum esse quam agricolam. quaeris causam, et reddunt rationem. uide, si ratio illa non dementia nominanda est. qui enim in usuram, inquirunt, dat pecuniam, **non laedit crucem luminis**—multi non intelligunt, sed exponam—: qui autem, inquirunt, agricola est, **multum laedit crucem luminis**. quaeris, quam crucem luminis? **membra**, inquirunt, **illa dei**, quae capta sunt in illo proelio, mixta sunt uniuersa mundo, et sunt in arboribus, in herbis, in pomis, in fructibus. **dei membra uexat** qui terram sulco discindit; **dei membra uexat** qui herbam de terra uellit; **dei membra uexat** qui pomum carpit de arbore. haec ne faciat in agro falsa homicidia, facit in fenore uera homicidia. panem mendicanti non porrigit. uidete, si potest esse maior iniquitas ista iustitia panem mendicanti non porrigit: quaeris, quare? ne uitam, quae est in pane, quam dicunt membrum dei, substantiam diuinam, mendicus ille accipiat et liget eam in carne. quid ergo uos? quid? quare manducatis? carnem non habetis? sed nos, inquirunt, quia fide Manichaei illuminati sumus, orationibus et psalmis nostris, qui electi sumus, purgamus inde uitam, quae est in illo pane, et mittimus illam ad thesauros caelorum. tales sunt electi, ut non sint saluandi a deo, sed saluatores dei. **et ipse est Christus**, dicunt, **crucifixus in toto mundo**.

The following sentence (81-85, ll. 5-9 of M 390 v) is also incomplete and not fully comprehensible. The context, however, seems rather clear: Jesus left behind a pure flock (for this

expression cf. the Chinese Hymnscroll, 121b, in Tsui Chi, "Mo Ni Chiao Hsia Pu Tsan 'The Lower (Second?) Section of the Manichaean Hymns'", p. 187, and Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Manichäische Dogmatik*, p. 494) separated from the race of Israel, the race of Satan (*twhm s't'n*, cf. John, 8, 44: ἡμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστέ).

Manuscripts

M 104 r + M 459e r

(See Sundermann, *Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts*, pl. 70.)

hdl. d'rwbdgyfyyg b's'h

- 1 wjyd o wrm 'dwryn frsystn
- 2 q'm'd kw hmg (p)d 'dwr
- 3 h'w'h oo šhrd'r 'rg'w
- 4 wxybyh pdmwcn 'zwšt
- 5 'wd pd syzdyft bwd 'gs 'w
- 6 s't'n o hmpd zmyg u 'sm'n
- 7 wlrz'd o 'wd smyl qft 'w
- 8 jfr'n oo trkwm'n r'st bwd
- 9 'bxš'hyšn oo rwšn wsn'd
- 10 cy dws'mnyn x'z'd o bwdyš
- 11 (s')n'd 'c jfr 'hr(y)[w]r o 'w
- 12 hw 'y'g 'brngyft 'c kw
- 13 'wsxt oo nm'c 'w tw wzrgyft
- 14 z'dg o ky 'bd'c'd wxybyh
- 15 'rd'wyft o 'w'syc p'y
- 16 'mwcg mryzkw p'ng wzrg
- 17 cy tw crg nys'gyn oo

[two lines blank]

- 18 wygr'syd br'dr'n wjydg'n
- 19 pd 'ym rwc gy'nyn bwxtgyft
- 20 pd myhr m'h p(d s)xt
- 21 cfrds o kd p[nyb](r)'d

M 104 v + M 459e v

(See Sundermann, *Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts*, pl. 71.)

- 1 yyšw'c bgpwhr oo ng'h kryd

- 2 hrw bg 'mwst'n oo kw kd
- 3 gd jm'n 'nj'myšn o pd mrd
- 4 pwhr (fr)wd'd 'šmg'n o 'wd
- 5 'šyj'd hw bzg 'mwg xwd'y
- 6 db pdmwxt h'm'fr's bwd
- 7 'hynd o 'yws't 'c 'br
- 8 dw'dys g'h'n o 'w d'm
- 9 'dryn jhr ryxt 'w z'dg'n o 'wd
- 10 pdr'y'd hw mrm t'st oo yhw'd'n
- 11 msyš[t] bg 'spsg'n d(b)
- 12 'wmws'd swnd'g qft
- 13 pdycyhr 'x'zynd 'br mrd
- 14 pwhr o bzgyft 'ndyšynd z'wr
- 15 wyg'h 'mwrtynd pd drwg
- 16 dwšfr s't'n ky cyd 'yws't
- 17 'w fryštg'n o hw wxd 'šyft
- 18 'w crg cy mšyh' o kyrdws
- 19 b'rg 'škrywt'h 'bzftg
- 20 fryhstwm 'mwst'c
- 21 'bjy(r)[w]'ng'n oo nm'dyš pd
- 22 dstb[r]'dyšg 'w dwšmnyn
- 23 'bysp(r)[d b](g)pwhr 'byst'w'd

M 132a r

(See Sundermann, *Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts*, pl. 73a.)

- 1 (.)b[
- 2 pwnw[
- 3 yyšw(°) [
- 4 kd 'ndr(y)w'd 'w[d w'st pdyc wzrg
- 5 hygmnw 'wt pyltys[
- 6 pwr's'd kw pt wyc'r [š'h 'yy
- 7 pt kdg y'kwb 'wt pt twx[m
- 8 sr'yl oo oo trkwm'n rzwr qy(r)[d
- 9 pswx 'w pyltys o kwm šhrd'ryft
- 10 ny 'c 'ym šhr 'st o hmpd pt
- 11 'wyšt'byšn cy yhw'd'n o bst
- 12 'w](t fr)[šwd]'w hyrdws š'h

M 132a v(See Sundermann, *Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts*, pl. 73b.)

- 1]c(.)
- 2]'h
- 3]'d pdmwcn
- 4 'wt x'rt'g pt sr 'wyst'd
- 5 'w nm'c 'synd sryš
- 6 fr'gwndyn]d o pt nd jnynd pt znx
- 7 'wt rw](m)b o pt hw cšm pdyšt wfynd
- 8 'wt w'cynd kwm'n frwyn šhrd'r
- 9 mšyh' oo oo byd hry y'wr frwm'y
- 10 'gd 'wt hry y'wr qft 'hynd
- 11 ngws'r o cy wysp jm'n cyhrg
- 12 '](w)t wcn wxš pt wrc [wz](rg) ['wš'n
- 13 wrtyd oo_{oo} jywn(dg)]
- 14]g (..)]

M 1951 r

(See pl. 14c.)

- 1 bw]d 'g[s 'w s't'n o hmpd
- 2 zmyg u 'j]sm'n w(l)[rz'd 'wd smyl
- 3 qft 'w] (j)fr'n oo trk[wm'n
- 4 r'št bwd 'bxš]'hyšn o rw(š)[n wsn'd
- 5 cy dwšmyn x'z'd o] bwdyš s'[n]d
- 6 'c jfr 'hrywr o 'w h]w wy'g 'brngyft
- 7 'c kw 'wsxt o nm'c 'w tw wzrqyft
- 8 z'dg o ky 'bd'c'](d) wxybyy 'rd'wyft
- 9 *bits of letters*

M 1951 v

(See pl. 14d.)

- 1 dwšfr s't'n ky cyd] '(y)[wšt
- 2 'w fryšt'g'n o] hw wxd ['šyft
- 3 'w crg cy mšyh']h o qy(t)[dwš
- 4 b'rg 'škrywt'h 'bzft]g o (fr)yhs(t)wm 'mwst'c
- 5 'b[j]yrw'ng'n oo n(m)['dyš pd dstbr
- 6 ''dyšg 'w dwšm[nyn 'bysprd bgpwhr

- 7 ʔbystʷd ʔ(c)[rʂtyft̪ pd pʔdbʔrg
- 8 cy dʔd yhwɔn o w[xbyy
- 9 *bits of letters*

M 390 r

(See pl. 16a.)

- 1 dst](br) ʔdyʂg ʔw dws̪[mnyn
- 2 ʔbysprɔ bgpwhr ʔbystʔ(wʔd)
- 3 ʔc [r](ʔ)ʂtyft̪ pd pʔdbʔrg cy
- 4 dʔ[d yh]wdʔn wxybyy xwdʔy ʔwt̪
- 5 ʔmwcg prct o yyʂw(ʔ) [ʔw](ʔ)st̪
- 6 ʔw ʔmwrɔn yhwɔ(ʔ)[n] (b)w[d
- 7 ʂmgʔn ʔnjmn ws[yd
- 8 ʔwyʂtʔby[ʂn
- 9 qy ʔmd (...) [

M 390 v

(See pl. 16b.)

- 1 ʂyn](j)yn nmʔd b(r wʂʔd)[ʔw
- 2 h(ʂ)ʔgyrdʔn kw pd hw nyʂʔn
- 3 bwynd dʔrwbɔg w(....)[...]n
- 4 ʔ](w)d wyxsynɔ ʔsmʔn ʔw(d) [zm]yg
- 5 tʂst [.] (...) hnjspʔh o ywd
- 6 ʔw[ysʔ]tʔd rm pwʔg ʔc twxm
- 7 cy s]rʔyl twhm s(ʔ)tʔ](n)
- 8](.....) pwnwynd
- 9 ʔ]wjd ʔw

M 5861 r

(See pl. 15a.)

- i1 (ms)[y]ʂ[t] (ʔd h)[rw
 - 2 yhwɔn u pd mnyn
 - 3 drɔ ʔbjʔmyʂn
- ii1 ʂ (*red*) ʂwj ʔb(y)[ʔstʔ](r)
 - 2 kd ʔndrywʔd ʔwd
 - 3 wʂst pɔyc wzrg

M 586I v

(See pl. 15b.)

i1 h[w ʔ](bgwš ʔwystʔd)

2 ʔwd hyrdws

3 šʔh pdmwcʔd

ii1 *bits of letters*

2 ʔ (red) ʔw nmʔc ʔsynd

3 sryš frʔgwndynd

M 734 r

(See pl. 13a.)

1

2 wygrʔsyd brʔdrʔn wjydgʔ(n) o pd ʔym

3 rʔw]c g[yʔnyn] bwx(t)gy[ft pd] myhr mʔh

4 pd sxt cʔrds o kd pmybrʔd yyšwʔ

5 bgpwʔr oo ngʔh qryd hrw bg ʔmwstʔn

6 kw kd gd jmʔn ʔnjʔmyšn o pd mrd pwʔr

7 frwdʔd ʔsmgʔn o ʔwd ʔšyʔd hw

8 (bzg) ʔmwig xwdʔy oo db pdmwxt hʔmʔfrʔs

9 (bwd) ʔhy(nd) o ʔywšt ʔc ʔbr dwʔ[dys

10 gʔhʔn ʔw dʔm ʔdryn jhr ryx(t) ʔw zʔ)[dgʔn

11 ʔw]d pdrʔyʔd hw mʔn ʔst o yhwʔdʔ(n)[

M 734 v

(See pl. 13b.)

1]jm[

2 šhrʔr k[

3 wygʔnyh o zb[yn y]yšw

4 yhwʔdʔn o kw ʔsmʔh pwrʔsyd ʔw mn

5 ʔbjrwʔn o kw cy ʔst ʔmwig cy

6 myšʔn ʔmwcʔd o ʔwd qyrdgʔn cym

7 frmʔd ʔw hwyn oo nbyn ʔwd dybhr pdmwxt

8 qyʔh o qhnʔn msyšt ʔd hrw

9 yhwʔdʔn o ʔwd pd mʔryn drd ʔbjʔmyšn o

10 w]s ʔbjʔmʔd ʔw yyšwʔ fryʔng oo

11]byd nmr pd ʔwhrm[y]zd by (r)ʔz o ky[

M 891b r

(See pl. 14a.)

hdl. **b[š'h]**

- 1 yyšw]ʿ o wsnʹd nwʹg wjydg[ʹn
- 2 wjyd] o wrm ʹdwryn frsy(s)[tn
- 3 qʹmʹd] kw hmg šhr pd ʹdwr hʹwʹ[ḥ
- 4 šhrdʹr] (?)rgʹw wxybyḥ pdmw(cn)
- 5 ʹzwšt ʹwd pd syzdyft bwd] ʹgs ʹw sʹtʹn
- 6 hmpd zmyg ʹwd ʹsmʹn w](lr)zʹd (ʹw)[d
- 7 smyl qft ʹw jfrʹn tr](k)wmʹn
- 8 rʹšt bwd ʹbxšʹhyšn rwšn w]snʹ[d

M 891b v

(See pl. 14b.)

- 1 m]syšt by ʹspsgʹ(n)[db
- 2 ʹw](m)wsʹd swndʹg qft [pdycyhr
- 3 (ʹx)ʹzynd ʹbr mrd pwhr o b[zgyft
- 4 (ʹndy)šynd zwr wygʹḥ ʹmw[rtynd pd drwg
- 5 dwšfr sʹtʹn [ky cyd ʹywšt ʹw
- 6 fr]yštḡn [hw wxd ʹšyft ʹw crg cy
- 7 m]šyhʹ [kyrdwš bʹrg ʹškrywtḥ
- 8 (ʹ)b(zft)[g

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