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

(Plates 13-16)

Enrico Morano

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'wbdgjyýgg b's'h “Crucifixion hymn” 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 im 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 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscripts</th>
<th>line</th>
<th>Reconstructed text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>104r 459r 734r</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>wygr'syd br'dr'n wjydg'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>pd 'ym rwc gy'nyn bwxtgyft</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>pd myhr m'h pd sxt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>cfrds o kd przynybr'd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104v</td>
<td>5.</td>
<td>yyśw bgpwhr oo ng'h kryd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>hrw bg 'mwst'n oo kw kd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>gd jm'n 'nj'myśn o pd mrd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>pwhr frwd'd 'smg'n o 'wd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>'syj'd hw bzg 'nwg xwd'y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>db pdmwxh h'm'r's bwd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>'hynd o 'ywśt 'c 'br</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>dw'dys g'h'n o 'w d'm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>'dryn hwr ryxt 'w z'dg'n o 'wd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>pd'r'y'd hw mrm t'st oo yhw'd'n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>891bv</td>
<td>15.</td>
<td>msyśt bg 'spsg'n db</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>'wmw's'd swnd'g qft</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>pdhcyr'h 'xzynd 'br mrd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>pwhr o bzgyft 'ndyśynd z'wr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>wyg'h 'mwtynd pd drw g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951v</td>
<td>20.</td>
<td>dwśfr s'r'n ky cyd 'ywśt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>459v</td>
<td>21.</td>
<td>'w frysţg'n o hw wxd 'śyśt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>'w crg cy mśy'h o kyrdwś</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>b'rg 'skrywt'h 'bztfg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>frystwn 'mwst'c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>'bjyrw'ng'n oo nm'dyś pd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
132v

65. (..................)′d pdmwen

66. ʿwṭ x′rt′g pt sr ʿwyst′d

67. ʿw nm′c ʿsynd sryyš fr′gwndyd o

68. pt nd jnynd pt znx

69. ʿwṭ rwmb o pt hw cšm pdyšt wfynd

70. ʿwṭ w′cynd kwm′n frwyn šhdr′r

71. mšy′h oo oo byd hry y′wr frwm′y

72. ʿgd ʿwṭ hry y′wr qft ʿhynd

73. ngws′r o cy wysp jm′n cyhrг

74. ʿwṭ wcn wxš pt wrc wzrg ʿwš′n

75. wrtyd oo oo jywndg

76. g (..........................)

390v

77. šynjyn nm′d br wš′d ʿw

78. hš′gyrd′n kw pd hw nyš′n

79. bwyn′d d′rwbdg w(...........)n

80. ʿwd wyxsynd šm′n ʿwd zmnyg

81. ʿst′ (..) hnjsp′h o ywd

82. ʿwyst′d rm pw′g′ c twxm

83. (..) sr′yl twhm s′yn

84. (..............) pwnwynd

85. ʿwjd ʿw

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 Parinivana 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
incited (?), the slanderer fell (= Satan fell to earth?)
and consequently they fight against
the Son of Man; evil is their plot,
witnesses they gather with falsehood,
the accursed Satan, who always disturbed
the Apostles, himself vexed
the Flock of Christ. He made
the *wretched Iscariot his steed, (he made him)
the dearest, most devout among
(his) disciples. He showed him
as a powerful watchman to the enemies,
handed over the Son of God, abjured
Righteousness for the bribe that
the Jews gave (him), sacrificed his own Lord
and Teacher. Jesus was taken
to the assembly of the Jews and
a gathering of demons sent off
oppression (...) And he came (...) [...] (...) King
you destroy. Beautifully Jesus answered
the Jews: “Ask my
disciples what the teaching that
I taught is like, and the acts that
I ordered them”. Malice and anger put on
Caiaphas, the High Priest, together with all
the Jews. And with deadly pain (and) torment
they tormentcd Jesus, (our) beloved, very much.
(And) again (he was) meek like the God Ohrmazd.
[...]
compassionate (...) Jesus. The Holy (one was) free from sin
when he was deceived and led before the Great
Governor. And Pilate (...) asked: “Are you truly a king
in the house of Jacob and the race
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: “Prophesy, 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. 'ṣyj'd 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, *wygn d wryšlyym ’b rgn cy ſmg’n “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. ‘bzfig, gives /labzaftag/ “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 ‘bzfig, 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 ‘bzfg / ‘wd / ‘r’m rynn cy / pd wdys (ps)x “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 ‘bzfig could perhaps be “destroyed”.


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: [’wd p]d nmryt o bwj(d) šhr’dʾryft “and with gentleness he (i.e. the God Ohrmizd) saved the Kingdom”.


50. That the correct reading is here ’ndryw’d 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 ’ndryw’d ’wd w’st would be dyadic: “was made to run and led” = “was dragged”. Since I have restored ’byʾstʾr “sinless” in the line before, and since the main theme of the hymn is Jesus’ betrayal, I prefer deriving ’ndryw’d from the base draw- “to deceive”, on which see M. Schwartz, *JAOS* 1966, 119-22, and Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichaïsche 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. fr̆̃̇w̃̇d 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'nh, a Persian word, but one which is found again in Parthian, see Sundermann, Mitteliranische manchische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts, p. 161) that like him (pd hw nyś''n; on pd ... nyś'n meaning "in the manner of, like" see ibid., p. 167) they are crucified (...), and Heaven and Earth are wounded (wyxynd), (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 Iesus patibulis:

Augustine, Contra Faustum, 32, 7:

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

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

Audite inquitatem nefarium Manichaeorum publicam, quam confitentur. expedire dicunt homini feneratorem esse quam agricultam. quaeris causam, et reddunt rationem. uide, si ratio illa non dementia nominanda est. qui enim in usuram, inquint, dat pecuniam, non laedit crucem luminum—multi non intelligunt, sed exponam—: qui autem, inquint, agricola est, multum laedit crucem luminum. quaeris, quam crucem luminum? membroma, inquint, illa dei, quae capta sunt in illo proelio, mixta sunt uniuersa mundo, et sunt in arboribus, in herbis, in pomis, in fructibus. dei membroma uexat qui terram sulco discindit; dei membroma uexat qui herbam de terra uellit; dei membroma uexat qui pomum carpit de arbores. haec ne faciat in agro falsa homicida, facit in fenore uera homicida. 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? carmen non habitis? sed nos, inquint, quia fide Manichaeei illuminati sumus, orationibus et psalmis nostris, qui electi sumus, purgamus inde uitam, quae est in illo pane, et mittimus illam ad thesauros caeorum. 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, l. 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 (thwm s’t’n, cf. John, 8, 44: ἕμείς ὦ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διοβόλου ἐστέ).

**Manuscripts**

**M 104 r + M 459e r**

(See Sundermann, _Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts_, pl. 70.)

hdln. d’rwbdgytlyyg b’s’h

1 wjyd o wrm ’dwryn frsystn
2 q’m’d kw hmg (p)d ’dwr
3 h’w’h oo šrr’d’r ’rg’w
4 wxybyh pdinwcn ’zwšt
5 ’wd pd syzydf’t bwd ’gs ’w
6 sl’n o hmpd zmyn g ’sm’n
7 wrzd’d o ’wd smyl qft ’w
8 jfr’n oo trkwn’n r’št bwd
9 ’bxš’hyšn oo rwshn wsn’d
10 cy dwšmyn x’z’d o bwdyš
11 (s’n)d ’c jfr ’hr(y)[w]r o ’w
12 hw ’y’g ’bngyt’c kw
13 ’wsxt oo nm’tc ’w tw wzrgyt’
14 z’dg o ky ’bd’c’d wxybyh
15 ’rd’wyft o ’w’syc p’y
16 ’mwcg mryzkw p’nq wzrg
17 cy tw crg nys’gyn oo

[two lines blank]

18 wygr’syd br’d’n wjyd’g’n
19 pd ’ym rwc gy’nyn bwxtgyft
20 pd myhr m’h p(d s)x’t
21 ef’rds o kd p[rnyb][r]’d

**M 104 v + M 459e v**

(See Sundermann, _Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts_, pl. 71.)

1 yyšw’ bgpwhr oo ng’h kryd
M 132a r
(See Sundermann, *Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts*, pl. 73a.)

1 (.)b[
2 pwnw[1
3 yyšw(9) [ 4 k[ d 'ndr(y)w'd 'w[d w'st p[tyc wzrg 5 hygmwn 'wt plytyś[ 6 pws'd kw pt wyc'r [š'h 'yy 7 pt k[ y 'kw[ 'wt pt twx[m 8 sr'y[ oo oo trkwm'n rzwr qy[r[d 9 pswx 'w plytyś o kwm šhr'd ryft 10 ny 'c 'ym šhr 'st o hmpd pt 11 'wyš't byš'n cy yhw'd'n o bst 12 'w[(t fr)[šwd ]'w hyrdws š'h
M 132a v
(See Sundermann, *Iranian Manichaeans Turfan texts*, pl. 73b.)

1  c(.)
2  jh
3  pdmwcn
4  "w x'r't]g pt sr "wyst'd
5  "w nm']c 'synynd sryyš
6  fr'gwynyn]d o pt nd jnynd pt znx
7  "wrt w[n]b o pt hw csn pdyš wfn[d
8  "wlt w'cynd kwn'n frwnn shrd'r
9  mšyň'o oo byd hry y'wr frwnm'y
10  ngd "wlt hry y'wr qft 'hynd
11  ngws'r o cy wysp jm'n cyhrp
12  jw]t wcw wxš pt wrc [wz](rg) ]wš'n
13  wrot'd oo oo jywn(d)g
14  jg (..)

M 1951 r
(See pl. 14c.)

1  bw]d ]g[s 'w s't'n o hmpd
2  zmyg u 'ijs'm'n w[l]rz'd 'wd sml
3  qft 'w] (j)fr'n oo trk[w'm'n
4  ršt bw'd 'bxš]hysn o rw(.normalized)wsn'd
5  cy dwšmyn x'z'd o] bwdsy s[n]'d
6  'c jfr 'hrywr o 'w h]w wy'g 'brngyf'f
7  'c kw 'wstx o n'm']c 'w tw wzrqyf'
8  z'dg o ky 'bd'c')(d) wxybyy 'rd'wyf'
9  bits of letters

M 1951 v
(See pl. 14d.)

1  dwšfr s't'n ky cyd] )y[wšt
2  'w fryšg'ñ o] hw xwd ['šyft
3  'w crg cy mšyň'h]h o qv(r)dwš
4  b'rg ]skrywt'h ]bzt]g o (fr)yhs(ï)wm 'mwsř 'c
5  b[j]yrw'ng'ñ oo n(m)'dyš pd dstbr
6  dyš g 'w dwšmyn 'bysprd bgpwhr
7 'byst'w'd '(c) [ r’štyft pd p’db’rg
8 cy d’d yhwd’n o w{xbyy
9 bits of letters

M 390 r
(See pl. 16a.)

1 dstl(br) ḏdyšg ’w dwš[myny
2 ’bysprd bgpwhr ’byst'w’d)
3 ’c [r]’štyft pd p’db’rg cy
4 d'[d yh]wd’n wxybyy xwd’y ’w[t
5 ’mwcg prct o yyšw'( ) [w]’st
6 ’w 'mwrðn yhwd'(?)[n] (b)w[d
7 ’šmg’n ’njmn ws[yd
8 ’wyšt’by[šn
9 qy ’md (...[}

M 390 v
(See pl. 16b.)

1 ṣyn)(j)yn nm’d b(r wš’d)[ ’w
2 h(š)’gyrd’n kw pd hw nyš’t’n
3 bwynd d’rwbdg w(...)[...][n
4 ’j)(w)d wyxsynd ’sm’n ‘w(d) [zm]yg
5 t’st [.](...) hnjsp’h o ywd
6 ’w[yš?][t’d rm pw’g ’c twxm
7 cy s[rl’yl twhm s(?)t][n]
8 .....(.....) pwnwyn’d
9 ’]wjd ’w

M 5861 r
(See pl. 15a.)

i1 (ms)[yš[t] '(d h)[rw
2 yhwd’n u pd mnyyn
3 drd ’bj’mỳšn

ii1 š (red) šwj ’b(y)’[st’](r)
2 kd ’ndryw’d ’wd
3 w’st pdyc wzrg
M 5861 v
(See pl. 15b.)

1 h[w '](bgwš 'wyš't'd)
2 'wd hyrdws
3 š'h pdmwc'd

ii1 bits of letters
2 (red) 'w nm'c 'synd
3 sryš fr'gwnynd

M 734 r
(See pl. 13a.)

1
2 wygr'syd br'dr'n wjydg'j(n) o pd 'ym
3 rw'c g[y'nyn] bwx(t)gy[ft pd] myhr m't'h
4 pd sxt cfr'ds o kd pmybr'd yyšw
5 bgpwhr oo ng'h qryd hrw bg 'mwst'n
6 kw kd gd jm'n 'nj'myš'n o pd mrd pwhr
7 frwd'd 'šmg'n o 'wd šyj'd hw
8 (bgz) 'mwg xwd'y oo db pdmwx t h'm'fr's
9 (bdw) 'hy(nd) o 'ywš't 'c 'br dw'[dys
10 g'h'n 'w d'm 'dryn jhr ryx(t) 'w z['](dg'n
11 'wjd pdr'y'd hw mn t'st o yhw'd'(n)

M 734 v
(See pl. 13b.)

1 jm[
2 šhr'd r k[
3 wyg'n'j o zb[yn y]šw
4 yhw'd'n o kw 'sm'h pwrsyd 'w mn
5 'bjyrw'n o kw cy 'st 'mwg cy
6 myš'n 'mwc'd o 'wd qyrdg'n cym
7 frm'd 'w hwyn oo nbm'n 'wd dybhr pdmwx t
8 qyf'h o qhn'n msyšt 'd hrw
9 yhw'd'n o 'wd pd mrmn drd 'bj'myš'n o
10 w's 'bj'm'd 'w yyšw' fri'ng o
11 Jbyd nm'r pd 'whrm[y]zd by't(r)'z o ky[
M 891b r
(See pl. 14a.)

hdl. b[?(']?h]
1 yyśw) o wsnd' nw'g wjyd'g]n
2 wjyd] o wurm 'dwrn frsy(s)[n
3 q'md] kw hmg šhr pd 'dwr h'w[h
4 šrd'tr] ('?rg'w wxybyh pdm(w[cn)
5 'zwšt 'wd pd syzdyf) bwd] 'gs 'w s't'n
6 hmpt zmyg 'wd 'sm'n w][lr]z'd ('w][d
7 smyl qft 'w jfr'n tr][k]wmn
8 ršt bwd 'bxšhyšn rwšn w]sn][d

M 891b v
(See pl. 14b.)

1 m]syšt by 'spsg'(n) [db
2 'w)(m)ws'd swnd'g qft [pdyhh
3 ('x)ynd 'br mrd pwhr o b[zgyft
4 ('nd)šydnd zwr yyg'h 'mw[rynd pd drwg
5 dwšfr s't'n [ky cyd 'ywšt 'w
6 fšyšt'g'n [hw wxd 'šyft 'w crg cy
7 m]šyh] [kryrdwš b'rg 'škrywt'h
8 ('?)b(zf)t]g

REFERENCES

Andreas, F. C., and Henning, W. B., Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-
Turkestan III (SPAW 1934, No. 27) [= Henning, Selected Papers I, pp. 275-339].
Boyce, M., A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German
Turfan Collection (Berlin 1960).
Boyce, M., A Word-list of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian (Acta Iranica 9a,
Boyce, M., Some Parthian abecedarian hymns, BSOAS 14/iii (1952), 435-50.
Ghilain, A., Essai sur la langue parthe (Louvain 1939).
Henning, W. B., The Murder of the Magi, JRAS 1944, 133-44 [= Henning, Selected Papers II, pp. 139-50].

Müller, F. W. K., Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan II (Anhang zu den APAW 1904).

Polotsky, H. J., and Böähl, A., Kephalaia I (Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin 1, Stuttgart 1940).

Sundermann, W., Christliche Evangelientexte in der Überlieferung der iranisch-manichäischen Literatur, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung 14/iii (1968), 386-405.

Sundermann, W., Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous (Berliner Turfantexte 17, Berlin 1992).


Sundermann, W., Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts (Berliner Turfantexte 11, Berlin 1981).

Sundermann, W., Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabelfeste der Manichäer (Berliner Turfantexte 4, Berlin 1973).

Tsui Chi, Mo Ni Chiao Isia Pu Tsan "The Lower (Second?) Section of the Manichaean Hymns", BSOAS 11/6 (1943), 174-219.

Waldschmidt, E., and Lentz, W., Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus (APAW 1926, No. 4).

Waldschmidt, E., and Lentz, W., Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten (SPAW 1933, No. 13).