

2    pydr, 'w tw xrws'm, csm 'w tw pdr'z'm, 'wm'n gy'n'n prw'n tw  
nyg'ynd, kw tw pt ws 'xsd 'br 'm' 'bxsh', kwm'n 'dy'wr frs'w'h ...

[*a number of verses missing*]

3    \*q'dwš q'dwš 'w dw'dys šhr'n rwšn wxybyh. q'dwš q'dwš 'w  
šhr'n rwšn'n, ky pt tw wzrgyft rdnyn pdm'dg 'hynd. q'dwš q'dwš  
'w 'ndrw'z jywndg, rwšn 'mb'rg cy šhr'n 'rg'w. q'dwš q'dwš q'dwš 'w  
zmyg 'st'w'dg. q'dwš k'dwš 'w dydn nys'g cy m'nyndg'n 'frydg'n ...

[*a gap of unknown length*]

4    q'dwš q'dwš 'w tw wzrgyft, wesp dydn 'brdwm, hwcyhryft nys'gyn  
cy 'n's'g. q'dwš q'dwš 'w tw, \*pydr. q'dwš q'dwš q'dwš 'w tw  
šhr'dryft 'st'w'dg. q'dwš q'dwš q'dwš 'w tw, pydr. q'dwš 'w tw  
n'm wjydg. q'dwš q'dwš q'dwš 'w tw, pyd. k'dwš k'dwš k'dwš ...

[*a number of verses missing*]

5    \*k'dwš k'dwš k'dwš 'w tw 'ndyšyšn wzrg, 'c kw hrwyn 'ndyšyšn  
kyrbg bwd 'hynd. q'dwš q'dwš q'dwš 'w tw pyd. q'dwš 'w tw  
prm'ng wzrg, 'c kw hrwyn prm'ng kyrbg 'wd wzyst bwd 'hynd.  
k'dwš k'dwš k'dwš 'w tw pyd. k'dwš 'w tw w'd wzrg 'wd 'st'w'dg,  
ky 'br hrwyn w'd cy pd šhr'n ...

**3 dwāðes sahrān:** the Father, himself four-faced, is surrounded by 12 Aeons, the 12 Great Ones (below, **ah 1**), who stand three by three before each of his faces.

**kē ... radnīn padmādag ahēnd:** “who are apportioned (?) (as) Jewels” (?). The meaning is not wholly clear.

**4 kāduš ð tō, \*pidar:** Dr. Sundermann states that the words 'w tw (omitted evidently by scribal error) are written in red above the line; instead of \*pydr, the reading \*pyd is also possible.

**5 tō wād ... kē abar harwīn wād cē pad sahrān:** “your air, above all airs within the worlds”. Probably both kē and cē are here relative particles.

## Verses from hymns in honour of the Father of Greatness

[Parthian]

ah

- 1 ... dw'dyys dydym rwšn d'ryd, 'wš 'yštyynd prw'n \*dw'ds wzrg'n, wxybyh pwhr'n, h'ws'r dw'dyys cyhrg b'myn cy pydr rwšn.  
 2 ws'n yzd'n bg'n 'wd rdbyn, cy whyšt šhrd'r pdw'z, 'fryd xrwšt 'wd 'wst'd. 'wd byh 'c hwyn dw'dyys wzrg'n nwzxz'd'n, qw'n 'wd šhrd'r'n ...

[a number of verses missing]

- 3 ... zwrmd, yzd'n 'brdwm, wzrg'n xwd'y, bg''n bgystwm. 'st'wyšn 'w bg, rwšn'n frh. bwrzw'r rwšn šhr 'fryydg, kw tw m'nyyh, pw'g 'wd b'myyn, xwj 'wd hw'rmyyn, hmg pwr s'dyyft, r'm 'wd wšyyd'x, jywhr, nwš 'wd xwwmbwyft.

aj

- 1 ... hrwyn šhr'n ... fryštg'n, ky 'c hw bwt 'hynd, hrwyn pt 'yw gy'n dhynd \*'st'wyšn 'w hw dydn nys'gyn 'wt p'dgyrb 'rg'w. 'm'hyc 'd hwyn 'wt nyrd \*hrwyn nysp'd z'nwg. nm'c br'm 'wd 'fry'n'm ...

[a number of verses missing]

- 2 'd pnj prm'ng ... 'rd'w'n m'd, pydr 'whrmyzd bg 'd pnj rwšn, hwyc fryh rwšn, 'rg'w b'myzd, w'd jywndg 'd pnj pwhr'n ...

ah

**M 730:** *W.-L. ii* 553-54. The fragment contains hymns written in double columns. Only the 2 better-preserved columns (**R i** and **V ii**) are given here.

**1 dwāðes dīdēm:** 12 kingly diadems are worn by the Father of Greatness. It has been suggested that these may represent the 12 millennia of the world's existence.

**'yštyynd:** ms. 'yšy[yl]ynd (sic); 'št[y]ynd, *W.-L. ii*.

**3 burzwār rōšn, šahr āfridag ...:** "the height of light, the blessed realm, where you dwell, (is) pure and radiant ...". *burzwār* is more commonly a substantive than an adjective (see glossary).

aj

**M 5262 (T II D 66):** *W.-L. ii* 549. These few verses appear to be from a hymn honouring all the gods. The (unnamed) Father of Greatness is first revered.

## ak

## From a hymn to the Father of Greatness

[Parthian]

- 1 tw 'st'wyšn 'rj'n 'yy o pydr kyrbkr  
ny'g hsyng o 'fryd 'yy tw bg kyrbkr
- 2 "lyf nxwyn tw xwd'y o 'wd t' 'stwmyn  
pd tw 'ngd o 'wd bwd 'spwr tw k'm kyrbg
- 3 **bg**'n hrwyn 'wd šhršhr'n o yzd'n rwšn'n  
'wd 'rd'w'n o dhynd 'st'wyšn pd ws k'dwš
- 4 gy'n'n d'lwg 'wd hrw ... o ryst 'frynynd  
'wd dhynd nmstyg o pd h'm'xwnd
- 5 **dh'h** 'w 'm'h "g'dg qyrbg o ...  
... \*brynd cyhrg o cym'n 'ž dwr 'nd's'd
- 6 **hw**'xšd qr'h hw'mwjdyft o 'wm'n 'bdys  
wxybyh cyhrg o p'dgyrb 'rg'w cy pdbws'm
- 7 wyt'b'h pd 'm' frd'b wxybyy o x'ns"r  
'nwšyn 'wd w'd jywhryn o 'wd qr'h t'wg 'w 'm' z'dg'n
- 8 zwr ghr'y'd dwšmyn t'ryg o 'd hw nbrdg q'w  
wystmbg o 'wd gryft q'm'd 'w hw šhr"n

## ak

**M 94 V + M 173 V** with 2 small fragments : Boyce, “Some Parthian abecedarian hymns”, *BSOAS* XIV 3, 1952, 438-40. The text consists of the first part of an abecedarian hymn written in verses of 3 lines each (the lines are marked off by punctuation-points, reproduced here). The first verse is outside the alphabetic pattern; the others begin each with a letter of the *abgad*, from *alif* to *z*.

**2a ālif naxwēn ... ud tā istomēn** : “the first Alif and the last Tau”. F.W.K. Müller compared *Revelations* XXII 13 (*HR. ii* 8 n. 1).

**5b ... \*barēnd ēihrag ēē-mān až dūr \*andāsād** : “they bear (?) the form which we abandoned (?) afar”. Readings and translation are doubtful.

**8a dušmen ... kaw** : this pair appear to represent Āz and Ahriman.

## aka

### From a hymn concerning Paradise and the Father of Greatness

[Parthian]

1   w'd 'nwšg wxšbwy prwrzyd 'w bg'n 'd zmyg 'wl drxt'n, cšmg  
 rwšnyn, d'lwg'n 'frydg'n, kwf'n nys'g wy'wr'g 'wl bgeyhr. rdny  
 'r'm 'sprhm'wynd wy'g, šhr'n 'n's'g, m'n m'n 'wl g'ħ g'ħ. tw scyd  
 'rg'wyft, šhrd'r'n msyšt.  
 nm'c 'wd 'st'wyšn 'w mry m'nyy wxšn'm, 'fryd 'fryyt pt nw'g rwc  
 wzrg 'w mr zqw 'mwecg 'd hmg rm rwšnyn.

## aka

**M 6232 R (T II D 178):** H.H. Schaeder in R. Reitzenstein and H.H. Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland* (Leipzig-Berlin 1926), 290 (as text a), H., "A Pahlavi Poem", *BSOAS* XIII 3, 1950, 645 (transcription with scansion, and emendations to readings). The last verses ('ain to tau) of an abecedarian hymn describing Paradise and invoking the Father of Greatness. The final *n* verse and a tailpiece invoke blessings on Mani, Zaku, and the whole Man. community. For Zaku see notes to ch.

- 1 **radnīn ārām ... :** "The rest-house of the Jewels is a flowery place" (H.).
- 2 **pad nawāg rōz wuzurg ... :** "on the great New Year's Day" (H.).

## VI

## HYMNS ON COSMOGONY AND ESCHATOLOGY

**al****The Father of Greatness and Heaven**[*Parthian*]

- 1 \***hrwyn** bg'n 'wd yzd'n o pd hw xrwšt 'wd \*'wyst'd  
     hrwyn pd hw w'rynd o 'wd 'w hw 'stwyšn \*dhynd
- 2 ... zmyg rwšn o pd pnj prm'ng pw'g  
     pd w'd 'nwšyn bwyyd o t'byd pd hrw p'dgws
- 3 **z'wr'n** bg'n 'wd yzd'n o rdnyn šhr'n wšmn'g  
     d'lwg x'nyg 'wd 'brwd o pd hw w'rynd wysprwc

**am****The Prince of Darkness and Hell**[*Parthian*]

- 1 **dyw** dwrcyhr ...  
     'wd cyhrg ...
- 2 **h'wyd** wyg'nyd ...  
     'sp'wyd ...
- 3 **wzyd** pd b'zwr w'dyn 'bdyn o pd prg sn'cyd  
     cw'gwn 'byn o 'wd xzyd cw'gwn t'ryg'n

**al**

**M 533 V:** art. cit. for **ak**, pp. 443-44. The text consists of 3 verses (*h w z*) from an abecedarian hymn.

**1 harwin bayān ... pad hō xrōšt:** “all gods were evoked by him (i.e. the Father of Greatness)”. The *hō* in v. 3 evidently also refers to the Father.

- 4 **zyngyn** ‘styd pd cf'r hnd'm o cw'gwn kd hwyn  
‘dwr z'dg'n o tmyg'n 'bdyn pd hw c'mynd
- 5 **jhrym** x'ns'r 'zdmnynd 'c hw o 'wd dmynd 'c hw  
nyzm'n \*dwdyn o \*cndyd dnd'n \*cw'gwn cyl'n

[seven verses missing]

- 6 **sy'ryn** 'hynd pd nbdmn t'ryg o pd k'mjnyft  
‘wd 'wrjwg o z'ynd 'yw byd 'wd byd wyg'nynd
- 7 **'styh'g** 'xsynd t'ryg o nydrxt 'w hwyn  
pnj 'hrywr o pd wzrg 'm'n trs 'wd dybhr
- 8 **pwr** 'syxt jhr 'wd bzgyft o 'c hw jfr'n  
‘br ...

## an

### The First Battle

[Parthian]

- 1 'xšd wsn'd ...  
pdmwxt tnb'r ...
- 2 **brhm** hsyng o cy 'whrmyzd bg  
kd pnj z'dg o pdmwxt 'w dwšmn

## am

**M 507**: art. cit. for ak, pp. 441-42. Verses *d-j* and *s-p* of an abecedarian hymn.

4 **čawāyōn kad hawin ādur zādagān** ... : “as when those children of Fire run against him in the manner of the beings of Hell”(?). Doubtful.

5 **izdamēnd až hō** ... : here the *hō* evidently refers to the Prince of Darkness.

6 **siyārēn ahēnd** ... : the subject of this and the following verbs appears to be the inhabitants of Hell.

7 **panj ahrewar** : i.e. the 5 Hells (see intro. p. 4). Hell was divided against itself. The Prince ruled by fear and at times his subjects attacked him.

## an

**M 710 + M 5877 (T II D 138 e)**: art. cit. for ak, pp. 445-46. These badly-preserved verses celebrate the going of the First Man against the demons. Verses 4 and 5 foreshadow the ultimate victory. Some emendations to readings have been made by Dr. Sundermann.

2 **kad panj zādag padmōxt ō dušman** : “when he (had) clothed the enemy with (his) 5 Sons”. See intro., p. 5.

- 3 gryw d'd 'w t'r o pdbnd gryw wxybyḥ  
   'wd wyš'd hnd'm o wsn'd hwyn z'dg
- 4 dwšmnyn 'ndyšt o z'dg'n 'njyw'd  
   'wd pd nmryft o bwj'd šhrd'ryft
- 5 ... 'gd o 'ym pydr qyrbkr  
   ... br'dr'n o 'wd \*bwxt wxybyy rwšn

**ao****Verses from a hymn on the Third Messenger and the Archons**

[Parthian]

- 1 'st'nyd rwšn 'c hw o pd ws gwng 'wd brhm  
   pd nmr 'wd pd 'stf̄t o 'c bnd wyš'hyd bstg'n
- 2 pw'cyd wxybyy jywhr o 'wd dhyd nmyzyšn 'w hwyn  
   kw wznyd pdyc hw dydn o 'wd hxsynd 'w hw p'dgyrb
- 3 cyhrg sdwys rwšn o nm'yd 'w hw 'šmg  
   pd wxybyy 'w hw dr'wyd o prm'yd kw bwn 'st
- 4 q'ryd ... 'bxrwsyd o kd ny wynyd p'dgyrb  
   pd \*'spry rwšn z'yd o 'wd dhyd 'w 'bryn z'wr'n

3 **pdbnd**: Dr. Sundermann's reading.

**wišād handām**: "he loosened (i.e. scattered) (his) limbs." This expression may be taken as the converse of *handām amwašt*, see above, notes to x 3.

**ao**

**M 741 R**: Boyce, "Sadwēs and Pēsūs", *BSOAS* XIII 4, 1951, 911-12. Verses from the latter part of an abecedarian hymn (*c-t*) concerning the beginning of the process of redemption by the Third Messenger.

- 1 **istānēd rōšn až hō**: "He (i.e. the Third Messenger) takes the Light from it (i.e. the world) ...". The 'captives' (*bastagān*) are the elements of light.
- 2 **dahēd nimēzišn ð hawin** ... : "he encourages them (i.e. the Archons fettered in the sky) so that they move after that apparition (i.e. the form of the Third Messenger himself) ....".
- 3 **parmāyēd ku bun ast**: "he (i.e. the Demon of Wrath, typifying all the Archons) thinks she is real". On this interpretation here of *bun* see E. Benveniste, *Rev. Ét. Arménienes*, n.s. I, 1964, 8.
- 4 **dahēd ð abarēn zāwarān**: the subject of *dahēd* appears to be Sadwēs i.e. the Maiden of Light. The groaning of the demons is heard on earth as thunder.

- 5 **r**ymg 'wd qrmbg o 'c hw tcyd pd zmbwdyg  
pdmwcyd hrwyn dydn o pd ws b'wg ''jyd
- 6 **s**frsyd hw 'šmg t'ryg o cy pdrwft 'wd bwd brhng  
'w 'bryn ny pry'b'd o 'wd 'c pdr'st bwd 'h'z \*prgwdg
- 7 **t**nb'r twsyg wz'd o 'dr 'wsxt pd šrmgyft  
'w zmyg'n gr'b pdmwxt o 'c kw sd pd mgwnyft

**ap****Verses from a hymn on the imprisoning of Light in the world**

[Parthian]

- 1 'c 'br wnwh \*prxyzyd o hw mwxš šhrd'ryft wzrg  
pdr'st 'w z'nynd'n o kw 'stym pd hw 'ngwynd
- 2 **b**zkr pysws t'ryg o pd mgwnyft hrw'gwc tcyd  
'w 'bryn 'wd 'dryn hnd'm o 'ngwn hmgyc ny dhyd
- 3 **g**yrywd bndyd rwšn o pd hwyn šwh tnb'r wzrg  
pd zmyg 'b 'wd 'dwr o w'd d'lwg 'wd d'md'd
- 4 **d**ysyd pd ws cyhrg o ng'ryd pd ws p'dgyrb  
prg'cyd pd bndyst'n o kw ny sn' 'w bwrzw'r
- 5 **hr**w'gwc wfyd 'wd ncynyd o phrgb'n hyrzyd ?ž 'br  
''z 'wd 'wrjwg 'd hw o kyrd 'hynd h'mbnd

**5 až hō**: again, the Demon of Wrath. It is the *rēmag ud karmbag* which flows from him that clothes itself in "all phenomena" (*harwīn didān*).

**6 ud až padrāst būd ahāz \*pargūdag**: the 1st letter of [p]argūdag is missing; rest. by H., who compares Pahl. *plgwt* (*GBd.* 43<sup>6</sup>) "free from, empty of" (with 'e); transl. "and he had been bereft (?) of what he had achieved".

**7 tanbār tusig wizād**: the demon, still the subject, represents in this verse the active spirit of Āz, which now abandons the fettered Archons to inhabit the earth.

**ō zamīgān grāb̄ padmōxt ...**: "he was clothed (i.e. covered) in the womb of the earths, whence he rose in brutishness".

**ap**

**M 741 V**: art. cit. for **ao**, pp. 913-14. Verses from the first part of an abecedarian hymn ('-z), on the capture of Light by the Dark Powers, and the creation of Man as its prison.

**2 abarēn ud aðarēn handām**: the exact significance is obscure.

**3 hawīn šoh tanbār wuzurg**: "the 6 great bodies" comprise the 4 elements of Greek philosophy (fire, air, water, earth) with the addition of plants and animals (H.).

**5 harwāgōz waṭēd ...**: the reference is clearly to the linking of Man to the demons and planets in the sky, cf. y 43, 47, above. For *pahragbān hirzēd* cf. y 50.

- 6 wyw wyg'ng 'myxt o pd hwyn šwh tnb'r wzrg  
dysyd wxybyy tnb'r o 'wd wyg'nyd 'w hwyn z'dg'n  
7 z'wr'n rwšn'n 'c 'br o pdrwbynd hrwyn 'šmg'n  
z'dg'n cy hw pysws o cy 'st pd 'brym wy'g

**aq****A cosmogonical hymn***[Persian with Parthian words]*

mhr'n 'gr'w'n 'y zyndkryy

- 1 'wy dyw'n šh ... ryšq pd rwšn ... q'myst kw h'n ... 'pr'd 'c 'wy  
thm ... rzmywz'n qswc ... yzd 'y yzd'n \*'brdwlm ... zrw'n ... ... pd  
rzm ''myxt ... pd t'r, zhr 'wd \*swcyšn.  
2 syryd 'n'd 'z, h'n \*drwynd m'd 'y wyp'sn dyw'n, 'wš gr'n ''šwb  
qyrd, hy'ryh r'y 'y xwyš gryw. 'wš 'c ns 'yg dyw'n, 'wd 'ž rym 'y  
drwxš'n, kyrd 'n'd 'yn ns'šh, 'wš xwd 'ndr 'wyrd. ps's 'c pnj 'mhr'spnd'n,  
zyn 'yg 'whrmyzd xwd'y, nhrysdy gy'n 'y xwb, 'wš bst 'ndr ns'šh.  
c'wnyš kwr 'wd qr qyrd, 'by'wš 'wd wyftg, kw frtwm ny d'n'd bwnyšt  
'wd n'f 'y xwyš. qyrdwš ns'šh 'wd zynd'n, 'wš bst gy'n wydr'y. 'wm,  
zynd'nyg, 'pr hynd dyw, drwxš, 'wd hrw pryg. r'stwš gy'n bst 'ndr ns'šh  
'y \*dwxwnd, 'wš qyrd \*zyšt 'wd drwnd, \*xyšmyn 'wd kynw'r.

7 zādagān cē hō pēsūs ... : phrases such as "Hyle (i.e. Āz) and her sons" occur frequently in the Coptic psalms (e.g. *Psalm-Book*, 2<sup>27-29</sup>). The meaning of the final words, cē ast pad aharēn wyāg, is obscure.

**aq**

**S 13 + S 9 R ii 30:** Salemann, *Manichaica* iii 18-19, 9-13; H., "Ein manichäischer kosmogonischer Hymnus", *NGGW* 1932, 214-28. Part of an abecedarian hymn, from *heth* (partly preserved) to *tau*, with final verses outside the alphabetic scheme. 'ain is represented, as elsewhere, by *alif*. The hymn is linguistically mixed, being mainly in MPersian but with a number of Parthian forms. The headline (which refers also to **ar**) is preserved on **S 9** only.

1 awē dēwān sāh ... : these lines evidently refer to the initial assault on Paradise by the Devil. Presumably the lost verses *alif* to *z* contained descriptions of Heaven and Hell. The broken sentences of para. 1 are taken from several verses, and in places there are wide gaps between the words.

2 sīnd anād āz ... : cf y 37, above.

u-š az nas īg dēwān ... : this verse contains a highly condensed account of the creation of man (*ēn nasāh*) by Āz by means of the plants and abortions. Cf. y 38 ff., above.

če'ōn-iš kōr ud karr kird : "by her it was made as if (če'ōn) blind and deaf".

zēndānig : Adam, imprisoned as soul in the "corpse" made by Āz, here speaks in the 1st person.

- 3 \*ps 'whrmyzd 'y \*xwd'y 'bxš'ydwš 'br gy'n'n, 'wd pd \*dys 'y mrdwhm'n 'wxyst 'n'd frwd 'w zmyyg. šr'syn'dwš ''z 'y drwnd, 'wš kyrd 'st cšmg'h 'wš 'šq'rg b' nmwd hrw cy bwd 'wd bw'd. txtyh'ywš qyrd pyd'g kw 'yn ns'h 'y pdyn ny 'whrmyzd 'yg xwd'y qyrd, 'wš nyyc gy'n xwd bst 'n'd.
- 4 zyr gy'n 'yg nywbxt ryst'hyzys bwd 'n'd, wrwystwwš d'nyšn 'y 'whrmyzd 'y nyw xwd'y. hrw wyspyš 'ndrz, 'wd frm'n, 'wd mwhr 'y xw'styy, wzysth' pdyryft 'n'd, c'wn gwrd 'y qyrdg'r, ns'hyš 'y mrg fr'mwxt, 'wd bwd bwxtg 'w j'yd'n, 'wd 'wl 'hr'ft 'w whyšt, 'w h'n shr 'yg prwx'n.

## ar

## A hymn concerning the Second Coming of Jesus

[*Persian with Parthian words*]

- 1 'w mn gw, šhry'r, 'ry'm'n, 'wwm 'bhwm, pws 'y fryhstwm, 'br zm'n 'yt 'mdyšnyh, k' pd 'bdwmyh ''yy. bwzygr wzrg, wcyh'gwm, gw 'br h'n zm'n 'wš nyš'n'n.

**3 pas ohrmizd i xwadāy ...**: this verse is outside the alphabetic scheme. The First Man brings consciousness to the soul of Adam. This is usually the function of Jesus the Splendour (see intro. p. 7); H. (op. cit., p. 222) points out that its transference here to the First Man is to be regarded as peculiarly Iranian, since in MPersian the Iranian Manicheans called the First Man *Ohrmizd bay*, and the Father of Greatness *Zurwān*. In Zurvanism Ohrmazd is the son of Zurwān; and it is the "son of God" who brings gnosis to Adam, all the Manichaean gods being in fact the "sons" of the Father of Greatness. They are all also, as beings of Light, of the same substance as the imprisoned Soul; and the link between the First Man and the Soul is particularly close, so that he is as it were himself both Saviour and the Soul that is to be saved.

**4** The last verses, outside the alphabetic scheme, describe the ultimate salvation of Adam through gnosis.

**mehr i xwāšti** : *xwāšti* "the performing of good works, good works" (Av. *hu.varšta-*) evidently came through popular etymology to be interpreted as "good peacefulness, peace" (cf. *āšti* "peace"). The word is often used, as here, as a synonym for the Man. religion.

## ar

**S 9 R ii 33 f.** : Salemann, *Manichaica* iii 9-14. A number of emendations to readings were made by H. in *Verbum*. A soul, or perhaps the Living Spirit, asks Jesus about his Second Coming, and receives a prophecy about that epoch and its "signs". The hymn is in MPersian with a few Parthian words.