A fragment concerning Ammō's mission to the east

[Parthian]

... dyn’n ‘mwg pd wxybyḥ bgz ‘ndrynj’d. ... hbz’ wrwc’n *ṣ’h w’xt kw ‘ym kd’m *wy’w’r ’st. ‘wd w’xtynd kw ...

šahr, draxt, ḥb, an was tīs: these words evidently explain the mirage (wīmēs). “In the desert a mirage—a city, trees, water, many other things”. The use of šahr for “city” is late, like the loss of y in any.

hān dēw: the demon who causes the mirage. The object of wībād is omitted. “That demon deceives (him) and kills him”.

dudī ...: this introduces a second parable for the “gate” of the eyes. “Secondly, (it is) like to a fortress which (i) they attack, whose entrance (kē ... adēn) has not been found by the enemy”. windid is a past, as are the other verbs which follow.

8 pas dō gēg ...: “Then two thieves stood at (his) ear. He was deceived by sweet speech (i.e. their words). He was led to a distant place and was killed by them (lit. him), and his treasure was taken away”.

ud mīrd ī wībāg ...: “and (there was) a deceiving man who ...”.

M 216 b V: H., “Waručān-Šāh”, J. Greater India Society XI 2, 1944, 85-6. A Sogdian version shows that this scrap concerns Ammō’s mission after he had left the presence of Bayāṛd, i.e. entered Kushān territory. Waruč probably lay to the south-west of Balkh, the region later known as Gharē or Gharēstān (possibly the name Gharē derives from Wrūc) (H.). Professor Henning abandoned even before his article was published the link which he had sought there (p. 89) with the Waručān-Šāh of Sābuhr I’s inscription on the Ka ‘ba-yi Zardušṭ, the Waruč which was his kingdom lying in the west (Georgia).

dēnān āmōg ...: lit. “the teaching of (other) religions was conquered through their own evil”.

wāxtēnd: “they said” is a late form (< wāxt hēnd) in a late construction (for u-šān wāxt).
A fragment concerning Mani’s last journey

[Parthian]

1  *ms ptyg* ʾwḥ wʾcyd kw pd ḫw jmʾn, kd qyrbkr ʾc *tyspw n šhrystʾn ṣgd, ʾwš ʾd bʾt šhrʾr ...

[ a number of lines missing ]

2  ... ṡdgd, ṣbʾw kd ṓndr gwʾy pd *bytdryy ...

Another fragment concerning Mani’s last journey

[Parthian]

1  ms ptyg ʾn nyšʾn dyd ʾwd wʾcʾd *kw wynʾm kw qyrbkr ʾbr pdrʾšt, ʾwd *cwnd rwc tygr ...

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**M 6033 I R (T II D 163):** H., “Mani’s Last Journey”, *BSO AS* X 4, 1942, 942-43. This scrap relates to Mani’s last journey in obedience to a summons from Vahrām I to his court. Mani appears to have followed the ancient highway from Ctesiphon to Khuzistān, which allowed him to pay a last visit to his community at Gaukhai (possibly the prophet’s own birthplace), in the district of Bēḥ-Darāyē. The king Bāt who accompanied him part of the way (a Babylonian or Armenian?) was evidently a vassal of Vahrām’s, and his adherence to Manichaeism appears to have been one cause of the king’s anger (H.).

**M 6031 R ii, V i (T II D 163):** H., art. cit. for k, pp. 948-49. Pattēg here appears to tell, as in a prediction, what happened to Mani at the royal city of Gundaišābuhr (< Wahi-Andiok-Sābuhr, later Jundaišābur; also known by the Semitic name of Bēḥ-Lāṭap, Bēlābād). 1 ʾcwand ʾrōz tigr...: “and for several days [travelled along beside (?)] the Tigris...”.
Mani’s last audience with King Vahram I

1. *m'ny ... 'md, kš 'n nwhž’dg 'yg trkwm’n, 'wd kwštyh ..., 'wd 'bzxy' 'y p’rsyg, *'mwšt bwd hym. 'wd š’h n’n xwrdrn bzm bwd, 'wš dst 'hnwcn ny šwst. 'wd 'dyd hynd ps’nyg’n, 'wš’n gwpt kw m’ny 'md 'wd pd dr 'ystyd. 'wd š’h 'w xwd’wn pyg’m pryst’d kw 'yw zm’n p’y, d’ 'n xwr 'w tw 'y’n. 'wd xwd’wn b’c ’w ‘yw kwstg 'yg wyng nšt, d” š’h 1rstw; cy xwdyc ’w nhcyhr prnptn bwd.

2. pad *aryświft pad šahīgān bar frāx ...: “majestically he enters and leaves the wide gate of the palace” i.e. (probably) “he passes under and through the gate” (H). For *rg’wyft the ms. has *drg’wyft.

Kirdēr Maybed: the great Zoroastrian priest who lived through the reigns of six Sasanian kings, and has left four rock-inscriptions recording his dignities and deeds. The latter include the persecution of heretics and those of other faiths.

M 3: H., art. cit. for k, pp. 949-53. The text represents part of an account of Mani’s last audience with Vahram I, given by one of his companions, Nuhzādāg (Bar-Nūh), an interpreter. Of Mani’s two other companions, one appears in the Coptic texts as Koustais, a disciple to whom Mani addressed a letter that has survived. Abzaxyā has been identified as one of Mani’s missionaries to Karkuk (see above, intro. p. 2) (H.).

1 ka-š ... *amwašt būd bēm: “When by him ... we had been brought together”. *mwšt is almost wholly restored: ms. ‘[...].

u-š dast ahanūniz nē šust: lit. “and by him the hand(s) were not yet washed”, i.e. he had not yet finished his meal.

cē xwadiz Ṽ nahēhr franaftan būd: “for he himself was indeed to go hunting”. Possibly (in this succinct narrative) the cē explains why Mani was to await the king without, instead of being summoned in due course to audience; or possibly (see H.) the cē is a mistranslation of Syriac mā ḏ-.
yk 'br *kyrdyr 'y 'rdw'ng'n, 'wd pr'e 'w xwd'wn 'md. wš pd sr sxwn 'w xwd'wn 'wš gwpt kw m' dryst 'wr. *'wš xwd'wn* 'b'c gwft kw cym r'y tyswm wynst. 'wd š'h gwft kwm swnsg xwrd kw pd 'yn zmyg ny hyl'n *rsyd. wš pd xyšm 'w xwd'wn 'wš gwpt kw 'yy, pd cy 'b'yšn hyd. k' ny 'w k'ryc'r šwyd, 'wd ny nhcyr kwnd. b' 'wh'y 'yn bšyhkyh r'y 'wd *'yn drm'n bwrdrn r'y 'b'yšn hyd. 'wd 'ync ny kwnd.

3 wš xwd'wn pswx 'wš d'd kw mn pd 'šm'h tyswc ny wynst; cym myšg kyrbgvy kyrd pd 'šm'h 'wt'n pd twmhg'n. 'wd ws 'wd prhyd bng 'y 'šm'h, kym dyw 'wd drwš 'cyš b' *bwrdr. 'wd ws bwd hynd, *kym 'c wym'ryh 'xyzyn'd hynd. 'wd ws bwd hynd, kym tb 'wd rrz 'y cnd-s 'rg 'cyš 'n'pt. 'wd *ws bwd* hynd, ky 'w mrg md, 'wmyš'n ...

kirdēr i ardawānagān: this nobleman, to be distinguished from Kirdēr the priest, appears in the inscription of Vahram's father Šabuhr I on the Ka'ba-ye Zardusht (Persian l. 34, Parthian l. 28).

čim rāy tis-um winast: lit. “Why (čim rāy) was a thing done-injuriously by me?,” i.e. “what wrong have I done?”. rāy being virtually an enclitic, the agent pronoun is suffixed to the second word in the sentence.

kārezār ... nahēhhr: the occupations proper to an aristocrat, which Mani was by birth.

ēn bišehkhīh ...: H. comments (art. cit., p. 951 n. 8), “The use of the ...... demonstrative pronoun gives the phrase a perceptibly contemptuous note. The king, who apparently was not very broadminded, does not seem to have been in sympathy with his father’s efforts at raising the medical standard in his lands. Under Shapur I Greek and Indian scientific books, especially medical treatises, were translated into Persian .... Like Mani and his adherents, medical science fell a victim to the reaction which under Bahram set in against Shapur’s liberal and enlightened government”.

One of the reasons Mani is said to have been in disfavour with the king is that he had failed to cure one of his relatives.

3 u-tān pad tōhmagān: “and to (pad) your family”.

bannag ... kē-m dēw ud druxš azīš ba *burd: lit. “servant(s) ..., from whom (kē ... azīš) by me male and female demons were cast out (ba)”.

*u-m-i-sān ...: “and by me ... them ...”. When two pronouns are suffixed, the agent regularly precedes. The ms. has only *wmyš*.
From an account of Mani’s last hours in prison

1 ... pd mhr’n ... xrwhwnd’n, wd *p’cyšn ’y grywzyndg ... ks ks *whybg’ryy ’w dyn hyb ncyyhyd. ’wd swst m’ bwyd ’c rnj ’y xwd’wn bwrbdn, ”wn kw’t’n myzd ’wd p’d’syn qyrbg ’wd zyhr ’y j’yd’n pd b’ryst wynd’d.

2 ps frm’d frwrdg ’y mwhr ’y *bdwm ...

[a number of lines missing]

3 ... ’fr’l ... pd dst ’yg mry ’mw hmwc’g ’w h’m’g dyn fryst’d. ’wš hrwkyn frzynd”n, ’rd’w’n ’wd nyws’g’n, ’w xwd’wn qyrbk’r nm’c bwrbd. ’wš xwd’wn rwšn ’w hrywsp’n pd drwd kyrd. ’wd gryy’n ’c pyšy’ *wzyd hynd. ’wd ’wz’y hmwc’g ’wd dw ’rd’w’n ... hynd.

M 454: Mir. Man. iii q. This fragment, from the same ms. as text a, contains part of an account of Mani’s last hours in prison at Gundaišābuhr. The opening sentences, down to pad bārist windād, are evidently the reported words of the prophet. Another account of his end is preserved in the Coptic Man. Homilien 50 ff.

1 pad mahrān ... kas kas *wibēbgārī ē dēn hēb nizēhēd: “through hymns ... let each one teach help (?) to the religion” i.e. aid the religion (?). For whybg’ryy the ms. has only why(bg)[....].

ud sust mā bawēd az ranj ū xwādāwan burdan ...: “and do not grow slack in enduring the labours of the Lord, so that (a’ōn ku) you shall find (windād 2nd pl. subj.) your reward (-tān mizd).” The use of the suffixed pro. referring to the subject (instead of xwēš) is unusual. ranj is Pth. in form (MP ranz).

2 frawaldag ū muhr: the “Letter of the Seal”, probably written by Mani at this hour, was read during the yearly Bema service (see text cu, below).

3 ū-sh harukēn frażēndān ...: “and by all his children ...”.

ū-sh xwādāwan rōšn ū hawispān pad drōd kird: lit. “and by him, the Light Lord, farewell (pad drōd) was made to all”.

uzzi hammāzqā: The name Uzzi is Jewish. Uzzi was allowed to remain with Mani till his death, see next text.
Mani’s death

[Parthian]

1 cw’gwn šhrd’r ky zyn ’wd pdmwcn fr’mwcyd ’wd ’ynec s’hwr pdmwcn pdmwc’d, ’w’gwn fryšgrwšn fr’mwxt tn’b’rg rzmg’hgy, ’wd níst pd n’w rwšn, ’wd pdgryft bg’nyg pdmwen, dydym rwšn, ’wd pwsg hwcyhr. ’wd pd wzrg s’dyft, ’d bg’n rwšn’n ky ’c dšn ’wd hwy šwynd, pd šnng ’wd srwd cy s’dyft frwšt pd wrc bg’nyg, cw’gwn wrwc tyrg ’wd dydn nys’g nydfwrdr, ’w b’mystwn šyb’h rwšn, ’wd m’h wrdywn, ’mwrdn bg’nyg. ’wd ’ngwd ’d pydr ’whrmyzdgb.

2 ’wd wyzd’d sywg ’wd swgb’ryg hmng rm ’rd’wyft; cy qdyxwd’y *prnybr’d, ’wd ’ym qdg ...

[a number of lines missing]

3 ... ’wd p’dyxš’nyft cy ... ’xtr, pd cf’r sxt šhrıywr m’h, šhrıywr rwc, dwšmbt, ’wd ’ywnds jm’n, ’ndr ’wyst’m ’y hwjst’n, ’wd šhryst’n cy byl’b’d, kd ’hr’m’d hw pydr rwšn pd qyrdr’ryft ’w wxybyh pdyšt rwšn.

P

M 5569 (T II 79): Mir. Man. iii c. This Pth. fragment on Mani’s death is more poetically written than the preceding one, but evidently rests on the same primary authority, presumably the account given by Uzzi.

1 padmōzād: evidently a copyist’s error for padmōžēd.

tanbār bārag razmgāhīg: “the warlike garment of the body”.

nāw rōšn: “a ship of Light” rather than “the ship of Light” (i.e. the moon).

padmōžān ... didēm ... pusag: the symbols of salvation, given to the victorious soul, see above, intro. p. 7. Note the syntactical freedom in placing the adjectives.

2 didan nisāg nişfurdrag: “bright, swift apparition” i.e. a shooting star.

hamag ram ardāwift: “all the flock of the Just”, i.e. the Manichaean community. This is common Pth. construction, namely determining adj. + regent noun + dependent noun. An abstract noun is not infrequently used for a collective plural.

*parniḏrād: the use of this denominative verb, formed secondarily from parniḏrān, < Skt. parinirvāna, suggests a later date for the text than that of Mani’s martyrdom. The ms. has only [.](r) [.](r) [.](r’d).

3 ud pādixšānaift ē ... axtar: “and (under) the domination of the star ...”.

pad čafār saxt Šahrewar māh: Mani died on Monday, the 4th day of Addaru, according to the Babylonian calendar: and this date was mechanically rendered into the calendars of the various Man. communities. Šahrewar corresponded with Addaru in 274/77. The formula for dating, with saxt, corresponds to the OP formula with ṭaḥaṭṭa.

awestām i hujistān: the MP. i is evidently a copyist’s mistake.
4 až paš frēštag parnišrān ...: “after the death of the Apostle, was this testimony given by the Teacher Uzzi to the whole church”. The syntax is unusual.

cē-s did andar ispēr: “(about that) which was seen by him among the soldiery”. ispēr is probably a loanword from Greek (see glossary), and may be used here deliberately to echo the gospel account of Christ’s death (Mark XV 16, Matt. XXVII 27), where too the Greek word is used in the Peshitta (H.).

was framān kirbag cē až frēštag: “many pious injunctions from the Apostle”.

5 sisīn: On Sisinnius, Mani’s successor, see above, intro. p. 3. Possibly Mani’s books, and his clothes and revered hand, were brought to Sisinnius as relics (H.).
br’dr’n ‘wd wx’ryn pd kyrbg wynd’d ‘hynd. ‘wd ‘c zrw’nd’d br’d fry’ng nyw nyw bwrdsywrh hym, cy pd ‘ym kyrbg ‘w hrwyn br’dr’n prwrz’d. ‘wm ‘w’s ‘w zmb wsyyd kyrd, ‘wd fryh mry’mw ‘wd hwr’s’n nyrd frśwd; ‘wd k’w’n ‘wd ’rdhng nyrd bwrđ. ‘wd mn ‘ny kw’n ‘wd ”’rdhng ’ndr mrg kyrd.

3 ms ‘w’h z’n’h kw, kd ‘gd hym, ‘wd r’styn br’d ‘whwm wynd’d cw’gwn kd mn k’m; ‘wd ‘w’gwn bwd pd kyrbg ‘wd pd ‘brng, cw’gwn kd mrym’ny k’m.

[seventeen lines largely illegible or missing]

4 *’wm ‘ymyn sxwn* ‘w tw nbyšt, cy z’n’m kw tw pd mn kyrbg š’d ‘yy. t’c yzd kryn ‘wd mry m’ny frḥ, kw ‘wdyn ‘z ‘wd tw jyw’m, pd hrw šhr ‘wd rwdyst’g cy ‘br, prhr ‘spsg’n ‘wd ‘mwc’g’n hyrz”’n, kw ‘šm’hycc n’m ... bw’h. ‘wd ‘ym mry m’ny dyn ‘c hrw ‘gwc w’d’g ‘wd prwrzg wynd’h.

5 *’wm wenwḥ, xwsrw br’d *fry’ng ‘w tw frśwd ...

[seventeen lines largely illegible or missing]

6 ... kw nyw nyw š’d bw’h. ‘wd ‘w’h kr’h kw, cwnw dst ‘yy, pd ngwš’g’n ywdy’h, kw kd br’dr’n frś’w’n, p’dgr’w wyndyd.

zurwändād brād friyānāg: “dear Brother Zurwändād”. In this stereotyped phrase brād, properly nominative, is used for the oblique cases also. Zurwändād “created by Zurwān” is a well-attested name in Sasanian Persia (see F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg 1895), 383 f.).

će pad im kirbag ō harwīn brādārān parwarzād: lit. “because it was cared for (by him) in this goodness to all brethren”.

u-m avās ō zamb wiscō kird ...: lit. “and by me he has now been despatched to Zamb, and sent to dear Mar Ammō and to the East”. Zamb, later Zamm, is modern Karkhā on the left bank of the Oxus, about 100 miles above Āmul, which itself lies c. 120 miles to the north-east of Marv (see J. Marquart, *Erānsahr* (Berlin 1901), 81, Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 403, 404). The name Zamb means “shore”, Pers. *damb*, dam.

3 kad āgad hēm ...: “when I came, Brother Rāštēn was thus found by me as (was) my wish.” The ‘wd before r’styn is probably a Sogdianism, on the pattern of Sogd. *ry* (“and”) introducing the main sentence. It was probably this Rāštēn to whom, together with Pērōz (prince-governor of Xwarāsān), a letter was addressed by Manī (see *Mir. Man.*, iii 858 n. 5).

4 tāž yazd karēnd ud mar mānī farrah: Obscure. Possibly “Swiftly (?) they make glory for God and Mar Manī” i.e. the many converts, swiftly made, do honour to God and Manī? tāž is a hapax.

pad harw šahr ud rōdestāg cē abar: “in all lands and provinces above (i.e. in the north)”. See note above on h 3 (abarasahr).
A fictitious letter to Mar Ammō, of Dēnāwar origin

[Parthian]

n'g'n wyl'r's wxš

9 mā parmāyah kē až tō afrasāgīt padkārēnd: The sentence appears defective. Possibly pad should be supplied before afrasāgīt, in which case one can translate: “do not think them-those who contend with you arrogantly’. afrasāgīt is defectively written (being cramped at the end of a line) as frōgyft, with 2 dots under the g. See further in the glossary.

ēwīz abērēwānag nē ahād ... “there is no pupil who comes from home (already) taught; but day by day he is instructed”.

cid ō ammōzāg argāw kārēd: “he continually does what-is-pleasing to the teacher”.

M 5815 (T II D 134 I): Mir. Man. iii b 1-111. The text appears to be a pious fabrication of Dēnāwar origin. It is written as a letter from Mani to Ammō, and there is a suspicious insistence in it on those names; but the number of Buddhist-Indian loanwords points to a date later than the 3rd century for its composition. There is, moreover, a striking lack of substance in its contents. The title is restored from l. 109 of the text.

— nāgān wifrās wxaš: “the sweet teaching of the nāgān”. The meaning of the last word is doubtful. The editors took at to be from Skt. an-āgus “sinless”. Schaedler (Morgenland 28, Leipzig 1936, 96) suggested that it might rather be derived from Skt. nāga “elephant, great saint”.

r
1. ... *'wd ky* `w tw jn`h, tw byd `w hw m' jn. `wd ky `d tw pd kyn `st`h, tw byd `d hw pd kyn m` `st`h. `wd ky rsk pd tw br`h, tw byd pd hw rsk m` br. `wd ky `w tw dybhr `w`y`h, tw cyd pd wxşyft `d hw wy`wr. `wd cy tw `w `ny kyc `bwyn`h, wxd m` kr.

2. byc ptwd c`r `ž ms`dr`n. `wd ptwd c`r `c h`ws`rg, ptwd c`r `ž qs`dr prxwdn `wd `nye `spyst sxwn. ydr`d cy hwpt`w dyn`br kyc cyş myhg`r kyrd ny şhyd. `wd cw`gwn kd `br pyl `sprhmg `bgnyndy, `wd hwyn `sprhmg `w pyl `mştn ny şhyd; `wd cw`gwn kd `br `şnng *w`r`n w`ryndy, `wd hwyn w`r`n `w `şng wdxtn ny şhyd, `w`gwn prxwdn `wd `nye `spyst sxwn `w hwpt`w dyn`br cyş myhg`r kyrdn ny şhyd.

3. `st jm`n kd dyn`br wxybyh gryw `wh `bwrz c`r dyrdn cw`gwn smyr kwf. `st jm`n kd dyn`br *wxybyh gryw `wh* nmr c`r *kyrdn cw`gwn* ... 

[a number of lines largely illegible]

... `st jm`n kd dyn`br wxybyy gryw `wh nm`d c`r cw`gwn `bjyrw`ng, `wd `st jm`n cw`gwn `mwcg, `st jm`n cw`gwn bndg, `wd `st jm`n cw`gwn xwd`y.

4. `whwb pd `ym bzg jm`n pw`g dyn`br nşst c`r pd kyrbg `ndyşyşn, `wd wrdyndyh wxybyy gryw `c bzg, `wd `w kyrbg *bg`w qryndyh.

[a number of lines largely illegible]

5. ... jfr `yr`n ...*w`xt `w dyn`br`n pw`g`n, cw`gwn `z `w `şm`h w`c`m.

6. `wd hw n`g ky `ydr n`m `h`z, `z hym, mry m`ny. `wd hw ky `br n`m, tw `yy, mry `mw. `wd hw ky `kwng n`m, `hrmyyn `h`z.

1 mā żan ...

1 mā żan ... mā įštāh: note the characteristic Pth. interchange of imperative and subjunctive.

2 *wārān wārēndēh ...

2 *wārān wārēndēh ... hawin wārān ... wīdāxtañ nē šāhēnd : The construction shows that here -ēndēh must be opt. 3rd plural. The first *w`r`n is written by copyist's error as d`r`n.

6 hō nāg kē ēdar nām abāz ...

6 hō nāg kē ēdar nām abāz ... : Schaeder has seen in the naming here of these three persons an adaptation of a typical Buddhist Jātaka formula, in which are juxtaposed the Buddha, a pious disciple and the tempter Māra. — The demon Akundag appears in Pahlavi as Kund Dēw, Kundag Draj; see H., Mir. Man. iii, p. 836 n. 3.

mar mānī : note the artificiality with which Mani is made to apply to himself the honorific Mar.