

wynyd, šhr, drxt, 'b, 'n ws tys. h'n dyw wyybyd, 'wš 'wzynyd. dwdy, m'n'g 'w dyz 'y pdrfynd, ky dwšmynwn 'dyn ny wyndyd. ps dwšmynwn 'spxr wyr'st, srwd 'wd nw'g 'y ws. 'wyn 'y 'ndr dyz 'w dydyšn rwzdyst. dwšmynwn 'c ps 'br sd 'wt dyz grypt.

- 8 m'n'g dr 'yg gws'n 'w 'wy myrd, ky pd r'h 'y bg rpt 'b'g ws gnz. ps dw gyyg nzd gwš 'yst'd, pd gwyšn 'y xwš wypt, 'w gy'g 'y dwr nyd, 'wš 'wzd, gnzyš 'pwr. dwdy, m'n'g 'w knyg 'y hwcyhr, ky pd dyz przyd, 'wd myrd 'y wyb'g, ky pd bwn 'y dyw'r nw'g 'y šyryn prsrwd, d' k' h'n qnyg 'c zryg b' mwr. d.
- 9 m'n'g dr 'y wynyg hwmbwy'g c'wn pyl, k' 'c qwp 'y sr bwyst'n 'y š'h 'w bwy 'y 'sprhmg'n rwzdyst. pd šb 'c kwp 'yr kft 'wd mwr. d.

j

A fragment concerning Ammō's mission to the east

[Parthian]

- 1 ... dyn'n 'mwig pd wxybyh bzg 'ndrynj'd. ... hbz' wrwc'n *š'h w'xt kw 'ym kd'm *wy'w'r 'st. 'wd w'xynd kw ...

šahr, draxt, āb, an was tis: these words evidently explain the mirage (*wimēs*). "In the desert a mirage—a city, trees, water, many other things". The use of *šahr* for "city" is late, like the loss of final *y* in *any*.

hān dēw: the demon who causes the mirage. The object of *wibēd* 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". *windīd* 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 mird ī wībāg ...: "and (there was) a deceiving man who ...".

j

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 Baγārd, i.e. entered Kushan territory. Waruč probably lay to the south-west of Balkh, the region later known as Gharč or Gharčistān (possibly the name Gharč derives from Wruč) (H.). Professor Henning abandoned even before his article was published the link which he had sought there (p. 89) with the Waručān-Šāh of Šābuhr I's inscription on the *Ka 'ba-yi Zardušt*, 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*).

k**A fragment concerning Mani's last journey**

[Parthian]

1 *ms ptyg* `wḥ w'cyd kw pd ḥw jm`n, kd qyrbkr `c *tyspwn šhryst`n
 `zgd, `wš `d b't šhrd`r ...

[a number of lines missing]

2 ... `dgd, `b`w kd `ndr gwx`y pd *bytdryy ...

m**Another fragment concerning Mani's last journey**

[Parthian]

1 ms ptyg `n nyš`n dyd `wd w`c`d *kw wyn`m kw qyrbkr `br pdr`št, `wd
 *cwnd rwc tygr ...

k

M 6033 I R (T II D 163): H., “Mani’s Last Journey”, *BSOAS* 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 Bēth-Dārāyē. 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

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-Šābuhr, later Jundaišābur; also known by the Semitic name of Bēth-Lāpat, Bēlābād).

I čwand rōž tigr ... : “and for several days [travelled along beside (?)] the Tigris...”.

[a number of lines missing]

- 2 ... kw pt *rg'wyft pd *š'h'yg'n br fr'x 'dyhyd 'wd 'zyhyd. 'dy'n *qyrdr mgbyd, 'd 'dy'wr'n ky *prx'št prw'n š'h, *ndyš'd, 'wd rsk 'wd *nbyn ...

n

Mani's last audience with King Vahrām I

- 1 *m'ny ... 'md, kš 'n nwhz'dg 'yg trkwm'n, 'wd kwštyh ..., 'wd 'bzxy' 'y p'rsyg, *mwšt bwd hym. 'wd š'h n'n xwrđn bzm bwd, 'wš dst 'hnwnc 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 xwd 'w 'tw 'y'n. 'wd xwd'wn 'b'c 'w 'yw kwstg 'yg wyng nšst, d' š'h dst šwst, cy xwdyc 'w nhecyhr prnptn bwd.
- 2 'wd 'c xwrn 'wl 'xyst. 'wš dst 'yw 'br sg'n b'nbyšn 'bgnd, 'wd

2 **pad *aryāwift pad sähigān 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.

n

M 3 : H., art. cit. for **k**, pp. 949-53. The text represents part of an account of Mani's last audience with Vahrām I, given by one of his companions, Nuhzādag (Bar-Nüh), an interpreter. Of Mani's two other companions, one appears in the Coptic texts as Koustaïos, 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 hēm** : "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.

čē xwadiz ō nahēihr franaftan būd : "for he himself was indeed to go hunting". Possibly (in this succinct narrative) the *čē* explains why Mani was to await the king without, instead of being summoned in due course to audience; or possibly (see H.) the *čē* is a mistranslation of Syriac *mā dP-*.

2 **sagān bānbišn** : the position of King of the Sakas (prince-governor of Sakistān/Seistān) was held by one of the king's own family. Under Vahrām it was given to his grandson, later Vahrām III; and it is probably his wife who appears here (H.).

yk 'br *kyrdyr 'y 'rdw'ng'n, 'wd pr'c 'w xwd'wn 'md. 'wš pd sr
 sxwn 'w xwd'wn 'wh gwpt kw m' dryst 'wr. *'wš xwd'wn* 'b'c gwft
 kw cym r'y tyswm wynst. 'wd š'h gwft kwm swgnd xwrd kwt pd
 'yn zmyg ny hyl''n *rsyd. 'wš pd xyšm 'w xwd'wn 'wh gwpt kw 'yy.
 pd cy 'b'yšn hyd. k' ny 'w k'ryc'r šwyd, 'wd ny nhcyhr kwnyd. b'
 'wh'y 'yn bšyhkyh r'y 'wd *'yn drm'n bwrdr r'y 'b'yšn hyd. 'wd
 'ync.ny kwnyd.

- 3 'wš xwd'wn pswx 'wh d'd kw mn pd 'šm'h tyswc ny wynst; cym
 myšg kyrbggy kyrd pd 'šm'h 'wt'n pd twhmg'n. 'wd ws 'wd prhyd bng
 'y 'šm'h, kym dyw 'wd drwxš '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, 'wmys'n ...

kirdēr ī ardawānagān : this nobleman, to be distinguished from Kirdēr the priest, appears in the inscription of Vahrām's father Šābuhr I on the *Ka 'ba-yi Zardušt* (Persian I. 34, Parthian I. 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 ... nahčihr : the occupations proper to an aristocrat, which Mani was by birth.

ēn bišekhīh ... : 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 aziš ba *burd : lit. "servant(s) ..., from whom (*kē* ... *aziš*) by me male and female demons were cast out (*ba*)".

***u-m-i-šān** ... : "and by me ... them ...". When two pronouns are suffixed, the agent regularly precedes. The ms. has only 'wmy{ .

O

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 ncyhyd. 'wd swst m' bwyd 'c rnj 'y xwd'wn
bwrđn, 'wn kwt'n myzd 'wd p'd'syn qyrbg 'wd zyhr 'y j'yd'n pd
b'ryst wynd'd.
- 2 ps frm'd frwrđg 'y mwyr 'y *'bdwm ...

[a number of lines missing]

- 3 ... 'fr'h ... pd dst 'yg mry 'mw hmwc'g 'w h'm'g dyn fryst'd. 'wš
hrwkyn frzynd'n, 'rd'w'n 'wd nywš'g'n, 'w xwd'wn qyrbkr nm'c
bwrđ. 'wš xwd'wn rwsn 'w hrwysp'n pd drwd kyrd. 'wd gryy'n 'c
pyšyh *'wzyd hynd. 'wd 'wz'y hmwc'g 'wd dw 'rd'w'n ... hynd.

O

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 *wihēbgārī ō 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 ī xwadāwan 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 mīzd*)." The use of the suffixed pro. referring to the subject (instead of *xwēš*) is unusual. *ranj* is Pth. in form (MP *ranz*).

2 frawardag ī 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 u-š harukēn frazēndān ...: "and by all his children ...".

u-š xwadāwan rōšn ō harwispān pad drōd kird: lit. "and by him, the Light Lord, farewell (*pad drōd*) was made to all".

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

P

Mani's death

[Parthian]

- 1 cw'gwn šhrd'r ky zyn 'wd pdmwcen fr'mwcyd 'wd 'nyc š'hw'r
pdmwcen pdmwc'd, 'w'gwn fryštgrwšn fr'mwxt tnb'r b'rg rzmg'hyg,
'wd nšst pd n'w rwšn, 'wd pdgryft bg'nyg pdmwcen, dydym rwšn, 'wd
pwsq hwcyhr. 'wd pd wzrg š'dyft, 'd bg'n rwšn'n ky 'c dšn 'wd
hwy šwynd, pd šngg 'wd srwd cy š'dyft frwšt pd wrc bg'n yg, cw'gwn wrwc
tyrg 'wd dydn nys'g nydfwrdg, 'w b'mystwn šybh rwšn, 'wd m'h
wrdywn, 'mwrđn bg'n yg. 'wd 'ngwd 'd pydr 'whrmyzdbg.
- 2 'wd wyz'd sywg 'wd swgb'ryg hmg 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 šhrywyr m'h, šhrywr
rwc, dwšmbt, 'wd 'ywnds jm'n, 'ndr 'wyst'm 'y hwjyst'n, 'wd
šhryst'n cy byl'b'd, kd 'hr'm'd hw pydr rwšn pd qyrdg'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 padmōžād: evidently a copyist's error for *padmōžēd*.

tanbār bārag razmgāhig: "the warlike garment of the body".

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

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

dīdan nisāg niōfurdag: "bright, swift apparition" i.e. a shooting star.

2 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.

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

3 ud pādixšānift ēē ... axtar: "and (under) the domination of the star ...".

pad ʿafār saxt Šahrewar mäh: 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 *ōakata*.

awestām ī hujistān: the MP. *ī* is evidently a copyist's mistake.

- 4 ʾwd ʾc pš fryštg prnybrʾn, dʾd ʾym wygʾhyft ʾwzʾyy ʾmwcg ʾw hmg dyn, cyš dyd ʾndr ʾspyr; hw wsnʾd cy pd hw šb cy šmbt ʾwzʾyy ʾwwd nyrd fryštg wyzʾd. ʾwd ws frmʾn kyrbg cy ʾc fryštg rwšn pd ʾzbʾn ʾw hmg dʾyn ʾʾwd.
- 5 ʾwd ʾc pš fryštg rwšn prnybrʾn, ʾbʾw ʾwnglywn, ʾrdhng, ʾwd pdmwcn, ʾwd dst, ʾwystʾm ... *sysyn ...

q

A letter from a church dignitary (probably Sisinnius)

to Mar Ammō

[Parthian]

- 1 ... ʾbystn ny krʾh; byc cy ʾwʾs kyrbg šhʾh kyrdn, ny frgwšʾh, cy jmʾn rg nydfʾryyd.
- 2 ʾwd ʾwh zʾnʾh kw, kd tw wxd ʾyd ʾndr mrg ʾhyndyyh, ny prmʾyʾm kw ʾwʾgwn tw frhyft ʾwd ʾrgʾwyft pd mrg pydʾg bwd ʾhyndyy, cwʾgwn kd ʾwʾs. ʾwd ʾwh zʾnʾh kw, kd ʾwr ʾw mrg ʾgd hym, ʾbʾwm hrwyn

4 aš paš frēstag pamiβrān ... : "after the death of the Apostle, was this testimony given by the Teacher Uzzi to the whole church". The syntax is unusual.

čē-š 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 čē aš frēstag : "many pious injunctions from the Apostle".

5 sisin : On Sisinnius, Mani's successor, see above, intro. p. 3. Possibly Mani's books, and his clothes and severed hand, were brought to Sisinnius as relics (H.).

q

M 5815 H (T II D 134 II) : *Mir. Man. iii b* 112-223. There seems no reason to doubt that this letter is what it purports to be, namely a letter from a high church dignitary to Ammō. This dignitary is plainly not Mani, and may therefore be Sisinnius. The title is taken from M 5815 I 110.

1 čē awās kirbag šahāh kirdan, nē fragōšāh : "what good you now can do, do not postpone".

2 kad tū wxad ēd andar marg ahēndēh ... : "(even) if you were yourself here in Marg, I do not believe that love and respect for you would appear so in Marg as now (it does)".

br'dr'n 'wd wx'ryn pd kyrbg wynd'd 'hynd. 'wd 'c zrw'nd'd br'd fry'ng nyw nyw bwrđyšnwyr 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 fršwd; 'wd k'w'n 'wd 'rdhng nyrd bwrđ. 'wd mn 'ny kw'n 'wd 'rdhng 'ndr mrg kyrd.

- 3 ms 'wh 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 krynd 'wd mry m'ny frh, kw 'wdyn 'z 'wd tw jyw'm, pd hrw šhr 'wd rwdyst'g cy 'br, phrbr 'spsg'n 'wd 'mwc'g'n hyrz'n, kw 'šm'hyc n'm ... bw'h, 'wd 'ym mry m'ny dyn 'c hrw 'gwc w'd'g 'wd prwrzg wynd'h.

- 5 *'wm wnw'h, xwsrw br'd *fry'ng 'w tw fršwd ...

[seventeen lines largely illegible or missing]

- 6 ... kw nyw nyw š'd bw'h. 'wd 'wh kr'h kw, cwnd dst 'yy, pd ngwš'g'n ywdy'h, kw kd br'dr'n frš'w'n, p'dgr'w wyndynd.

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

čē pad im kirbag ō harwīn brādarān parwarzād: lit. "because it was cared for (by him) in this goodness to all brethren".

u-m awās ō zamb wisēō 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 Karkhī 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, *Ērānšahr* (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. *rtv* ("and") introducing the main sentence. It was probably this Rāštēn to whom, together with Pērōz (prince-governor of Xwarāsān), a letter was addressed by Mani (see *Mir. Man.* iii 858 n. 5).

4 tāz yazd karēnd ud mar māni farrah: Obscure. Possibly "Swiftly (?) they make glory for God and Mar Mani" i.e. the many converts, swiftly made, do honour to God and Mani? *tāz* is a hapax.

pad harw šahr ud rōdestāg čē abar: "in all lands and provinces above (i.e. in the north)". See note above on h 3 (*abaršahr*).

- 7 ʾwd fryʾdr wsnʾd ʾwh zʾnʾh kw, ʾc hw jmʾn kd ʾgd, nyrd mn bwd; ʾwd *pd frhyft* ʾwd pd wʾwryft bwd. ʾwd ʾwʾs ʾwwd ʾw *tw ʾsyd. twyc ʾwh krʾh *kwš pd* šʾdyft pdgyrwʾh, *ʾwš ʾwh prwrzʾh cwʾgwn *wxybyh pwhr*, kw ʾzyc ʾc tw ʾšnwhren *bwʾn.
- 8 ʾwm wnwḥ mry mʾny pwhr fryʾng ʾw tw wsyd kyrd; ʾwd pd frhyft ʾw *tw ʾsyd. twyc ʾwh pdgyrwʾ cwʾgwn wxybyh pwhr, ʾwd nxšg frhynjʾh pd dbyryft ʾwd pd xrd.
- 9 ʾwd ʾc ʾymyn brʾdrʾn ky ʾw tw ʾsynd, cyš mʾ preʾrʾh. ʾwd kd cyš pd xrd prgʾwynd, ʾwʾgwn ʾmwcʾh cwʾgwn wxybyh zʾdgʾn. ʾwt mʾ prmʾyʾh ky ʾž tw *pd ʾfrsʾgyft pdkʾrynd, byc ʾwh zʾnʾh kw ʾywyž ʾbjyrwʾng ny ʾhʾd, ky ʾmwxtg ʾc kdgy ʾsyd, byc rwc rwž ʾmwxsyd. ʾst ky rwdwr ʾwd fryhʾmwcg bwyd, ʾwd ʾw hw hxsyd, ʾwd nʾm pd frhyft bryd, ʾwd cyd ʾw ʾmwcg ʾrgʾw kryd. ʾwd ʾst ʾny ʾbjyrwʾng ky ny ʾwʾgwn, byž pšgwnʾw ʾštyd. ... hngwn ʾw hrwyn bwrdr cʾr. byc tw ʾc kyc nhymʾng mʾ bwʾh, byc ʾw hrw ky ʾw tw dst yʾdyd, pd hmwdydyft ...

r

A fictitious letter to Mar Ammō, of Dēnāwar origin

[Parthian]

nʾgʾn wyfrʾs wxš

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

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

čīd ō ammōžag argāw karēd : “he continually does what-is-pleasing to the teacher”.

r

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 it to be from Skt. *an-āgas* “sinless”. Schaefer (*Morgenland* 28, Leipzig 1936, 96) suggested that it might rather be derived from Skt. *nāga* “elephant, great saint”.

- 1 ... *ʾwd ky* ʾw tw jnʾh, tw byd ʾw hw mʾ jn. ʾwd ky ʾd tw pd kyn ʾštʾh, tw byd ʾd hw pd kyn mʾ ʾštʾh. ʾwd ky rsk pd tw brʾh, tw byd pd hw rsk mʾ br. ʾwd ky ʾw tw dybhr ʾwʾyʾh, tw cyd pd wxšyft ʾd hw wyʾwr. ʾwd cy tw ʾw ʾny kyc ʾbwnʾh, wxd mʾ kr.
- 2 byc ptwd cʾr ʾž msʾdrʾn, ʾwd ptwd cʾr ʾc hʾwsʾrg, ptwd cʾr ʾž qsʾdr prxwdn ʾwd ʾnyc ʾspyst sxwn. ʾydrʾd cy hwptʾw dynʾbr kyc cyš myhgʾr kyrdn ny šhyd. ʾwd cwʾgwn kd ʾbr pyl ʾsprhmg ʾbgnyndy, ʾwd hwyn ʾsprhmg ʾw pyl ʾmštn ny šhynd; ʾwd cwʾgwn kd ʾbr ʾsng *wʾrʾn wʾryndy, ʾwd hwyn wʾrʾn ʾw ʾsng wdxtn ny šhynd, ʾwʾgwn prxwdn ʾwd ʾnyc ʾspyst sxwn ʾw hwptʾw dynʾbr cyš myhgʾr kyrdn ny šhyd.
- 3 ʾst jmʾn kd dynʾbr wxybyh gryw ʾwh bwrz cʾr dyrdn cwʾgwn smyr kwf. ʾst jmʾn kd dynʾbr *wxybyh gryw ʾwh* nmr cʾr *kyrdn cwʾgwn* ...

[a number of lines largely illegible]

- ... ʾst jmʾn kd dynʾbr wxybyy gryw ʾwh nmʾd cʾr cwʾgwn ʾbjrwʾng, ʾwd ʾst jmʾn cwʾgwn ʾmwcg, ʾst jmʾn cwʾgwn bndg, ʾwd ʾst jmʾn cwʾgwn xwdʾy.
- 4 ʾwhwb pd ʾym bzg jmʾn pwʾg dynʾbr nšst cʾr pd kyrbg ʾndyšyšn, ʾwd wrdyndyh wxybyy gryw ʾc bzg, ʾwd ʾw kyrbg *ʾbgʾw qryndyh.

[a number of lines largely illegible]

- 5 ... jfr ʾyrʾn ... *wʾxt ʾw dynʾbrʾn pwʾgʾn, cwʾgwn ʾz ʾw ʾšmʾh wʾcʾm.
- 6 ʾwd hw nʾg ky ʾydr nʾm ʾhʾz, ʾz hym, mry mʾny. ʾwd hw ky ʾbdr nʾm, tw ʾyy, mry ʾmw. ʾwd hw ky ʾkwndg nʾm, ʾhrmyyn ʾhʾz.

1 *mā zan ... mā ištāh*: note the characteristic Pth. interchange of imperative and subjunctive.

2 **wārān wārēndēh ... hawīn wārān ... widaxtan nē šahēnd*: The construction shows that here *-ēndēh* must be opt. 3rd plural. The first **wʾrʾn* is written by copyist's error as *dʾrʾn*.

6 *hō nāg kē ēdar nām ahāz ...*: Schaefer 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 Druj*; see H., *Mir. Man.* iii, p. 856 n. 3.

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