

- ʼstbr pd dwʼzdḥ dr, ʼy hmbdyc ʼsmʼnʼn dr, ʼwd ʼbr hm zmyq pyrʼmwn chʼr prysp ʼwd sh pʼrgyn kyrd. ʼwd pd hʼn ʼy ʼndrwn pʼrgyn dywʼn ʼndr przyd. ʼwd ʼyrdwm ʼsmʼn ʼbr sr. ʼwd pd dst ʼyš, ʼcyš gyrd-ʼsmʼn wynʼrdn rʼy, tskyrb hpt ʼstwn ʼndr ʼystynʼd. ʼwd ʼwy wzrg zmyg, ʼbr ʼstwnʼn ʼwd tʼgʼn ʼwd prysp dw, ʼbr pryyg ʼy mʼnbyd yzd nyysʼd.
- 4 ʼwš xwrʼsʼnyhʼḥ, ʼyrgyhʼḥ ʼwd xwrprʼnyhʼḥ ʼbr prysp ʼy bydwm, ʼwd ʼbrgyhʼḥ pd zmyg ʼy rwn wynʼrd. ʼwd ʼbr ʼwy wzrq mʼzmn zmyg, ʼwd ʼwrwn ʼc pʼrgynʼn, ʼny dw zmyq ʼy gwmyxtg, ʼwš dr, wysp nʼy ʼwd *qhryc, ʼy ws wʼd ʼb *ʼwd ʼdwr pdyš* ʼwl ʼhrʼptn rʼy, kyrd. ʼwd pyrʼmwn zmyg prysp ʼyw pd chʼr dr wynʼrd. ʼwd ʼndr chʼr kyšwr prystg chʼr, ky ʼyrdwm ʼsmʼn dʼrynd, hmbdyc ʼwd hmpymwg ʼy ʼbrdrʼn, ʼbr ʼystynʼd.
- 5 ʼwd ʼbgwhg ʼy chʼr qyšwr tʼr ʼwyš wrwptn rʼy, dwʼzdḥ dwšwx, sh sh ʼndr ʼyw pʼygws, psʼxt. ʼwd ʼwrwn ʼcyš pyrʼmwn, zryḥ rʼy, ʼhrywr ʼyw. ʼwd pd hm ʼhrywr nʼpg, mzn ʼy *zrhyg rʼy, zyndʼn wyrʼst.
- 6 ʼwd dwdy ʼbr dym ʼy zmyg kw p ʼwd *rʼr shyn wycʼryšnyc ...

ud ʼrdom āsmān abar sar : i.e. upon the head of Atlas.

pad dast i-š : ... : "and in his hand, for the establishing therefrom (*aziš*) of the zodiac, were placed therein 7 square pillars." *andar* seems redundant with *pad*. *dst ʼyš* is a line-filling orthography for the usual *dstyš* (i.e. *dst* with suff. pro. 3 sg.) (H.).

ud awē wuzurg zamīg : the sixth earth was evidently placed on pillars, arches, walls, *and* on the shoulders of Atlas. The mention of *two* walls is perplexing; but in fact the reading of the word *ʼyw in the earlier sentence *prysp ʼyw try xwrʼsʼn ʼyrg ʼwd xwrnwʼr* is not clear.

4 paris p ī bēdom : presumably the containing wall around the fifth earth. The great *māzman* earth is the sixth, on which rest the seventh and the eighth (our own). The seventh seems ignored in what follows, the doors etc. being set in "it", i.e. in the eighth.

u-š dar, wisp nāy ud *kahriz ... : these are presumably connected with the Three Wheels. No verb is expressed for the relative clause. Probably, as often, the copula is to be understood. Lit. "and its doors, many pipes and channels, which (are) for raising up much air, water and fire thereby, ...". **qhryc* is restored by H.; the ms. has [ʼwd] (*qh*)*ryc*.

frēstag ʼchār : each of the 10 heavens was supported by four angels, one to each quarter. Our sky is here described as having its own four supporters, exactly like the upper heavens.

5 ud abgōhag ī ʼchār kišwar tār ... : "and for sweeping thereto (*awiš*) the dirt of the darkness of the four quarters, he prepared 12 hells, three to each region".

ahrewar nāfag : presumably the lowest point of the ocean, *under* the earth. The breathing of this sea-monster (on which see intro. p. 6) produces the tides.

[a gap of unknown length]

- 7 `wd k' myhr yzd h'n ch'r *nyr'myšn, bn 'y *dyw'n, `wd zmyg ch'r, pd `stwn `wd wyn'ryšn `wd dr `wd prysp `wd p'rgyn `wd dwšwx `wd n'y 'y ndr gbr 'y zmyg, `wd qwp `wd r'r, `wd x'nyg rwd `wd dry'b, `wd `sm''n dh, pd qyšwr `wd g'h `wd p'dgws `wd m'n `wd wys `wd znd `wd dyh, `wd wymnd `wd p'hr `wd dr, 'st'ng r'stw''n `wd wcyhrg, `wd prysp, `wd gyrd-'sm'n 'yw, pd `xtr''n `wd `st'rg'n, `wd rh dw 'y xwr `wd m'h, pd m'n `wd g'h `wd dr `wd drb'n s'r'r, `wd bnbyd `wd p'hrbyd m'nbyd `wd *wysbyd zndbyd `wd dhybyd, `wd h'mqyšwr wyspznq xyr, qyrd `wd wyr'st, — 'yg 'wy myzdg't `c `wd 'zdygr yzd, 'y myhr yzd `wd srygrqyrb 'y 'whrmzydby m'd 'br xwyš tn ..., pyš *'wy yzd* ky 'c 'br h'n 'sm'n 'ystyd `wd 'wyš'n yzd'n sr d'ryd, 'nwh 'ystyn'd hynd.

**The Living Spirit, having made the world, goes
with the other gods of the Second Creation before
the Father of Greatness, to entreat him to evoke
the Third Messenger**

- 8 `wd myhryzd `wd srygrqyrb qyrdg'r `wl `w whyšt'w 'hr'pt hynd. `wd `b'g 'whrmzydby `wd rwšn'n xw'ryst `wd nwgšhr'pwr yzd hndym'n 'wy whyšt'w šhry'r dstkš 'yst'd hynd. 'wš''n ngweyd `wd zwwpr nm'c bwrđ. 'wš'n 'wh gwpt kw nmrwm tw, xwdy', ky pd xwyš wrz `wd hww'c 'm'h 'pwryd hwm, `wt 'z `wd 'hrmyn `wd dyw'n `wd pryg'n pd 'm' bst hynd.

7 **ud ka mihr yazd ... kird ud wirāst**: in this long temporal clause the creations of the Living Spirit are recapitulated. The main sentence begins with *ēg awē Miždagtāz ud Azdegar Yazd*. The identity of these gods is not known. Transl.: :then the Messenger-(God) and the Herald-God, who [had been ...] over themselves by the Living Spirit and the female-shaped one who is the mother of the First Man, were placed there, in front of that god who stands above the sky, and holds the heads of those gods (i.e. of the Five Light Elements)". The god "who stands above the sky" is the Keeper of Splendour. On these lines see H., *BSOAS* XII 2, 1948, 317; the relevant passage from St. Augustine (*Contra Faustum* 15.5) is quoted in English translation by Jackson, op. cit., p. 300: 'For you say that (the Splenditenens) holds the heads of the elements and suspends the world'.

banned ... dahibed: the last 4 titles in this series are taken from the standard Zoroastrian classification of the leading men of 4 social groups. The first 2 have been added to bring the number to 6, to match the "6 sons" of the First Man.

8 u-t āz ud ahrāmen ... pad amā bast hēnd: "and by you Āz and Ahriman have been bound through us".

- 9 'wš prm'y kw šw'd 'wd h'n bnyst'n 'y dyw'n nyyš'd, 'wd xwr 'wd m'h j'r 'wd phryzyšn bxš'd, 'wh h'n rwšnyy 'wd xwwšn 'yg yzd'n, 'y 'c nwx pd 'z 'wd 'hrmyn 'wd dyw'n 'wd pryg'n zd bwd, 'wš nwn c hpšyrd d'rynd, 'wd h'nz 'y 'ndr zmyg 'wd 'sm'n kyšwryh'n przyd 'ystyd, 'wd 'xš'dyy gwm'yd, 'wy wyš'h'g 'wd bwxt'r bw'd, 'wd w'd 'b 'wd 'dwr r'h 'wd pnd 'w b'ryst wyr'y'd.

prz'pt gwyšn 'br 'stwnd

The Third Messenger is evoked, with other gods of the Third Creation, and begins his work

nwyst gwyšn 'y nryšh yzd

- 10 ps h'n whyšt w šhry'r pd xwyyš wrc 'wd hww'c 'pwryd yzd sh, rwnšhr 'wd xrdyšhr, 'br 'hr'm, kw, 'wn c'wn xwdy' xwd whyšt w šhry'r 'st, 'wš hm'g rwn d'ryd, 'wn h'nc rwn-šhr yzd 'br zmyg 'wd 'sm'n xwd'wy 'wd p'dyxš'y bw'd, 'wd h'm-qyšwr rwn d'r'd, 'wd rwc 'wd šb pyd'g *qwn'd.
- 11 'wd xrdyšhr yzd h'n rwšnyy 'wd xwšn 'y ps 'c ...

[a gap of unknown length]

After the seduction of the male demons, plants begin to grow on earth

- 12 ... 'wrrw, 'sprhm, 'wd mrw, 'wd 'cyhr, 'wd gwnggwng 'rwy kyšt 'wd rwst. 'wš'n xwd 'z xwyš gryw 'ndr 'myxt.

9 ud xwar ud māh ... : “and he (i.e. the Third Messenger) shall assign to sun and moon time and revolution.” i.e. shall set them in motion, whereby the passage of time shall be marked. The meaning “revolution” for *pahrēzišn* is assumed from this phrase *jār ud pahrēzišn*, which occurs a number of times (see glossary).

10 rōšnšahr yazd ... **xradēšahr yazd** : the first is a regular term, in Pth. and Pe., for the Third Messenger. The second represents either Jesus, or possibly the Great Nous (see below, note on z 2). The name of the third god evoked is not given in what survives of the text.

a'ōn hāniz rōšnšahr yazd ... : the text seems corrupt, for *xwd'wy* should mean “lordship”, *p'dyxš'y* “ruling, ruler”. H. accordingly conjectured that the ms. reading of the latter word must really have been *p'dyxš'ny*, see *BBB* pp. 95-96; but Sundermann, studying the original anew, is certain that the reading is in fact *p'dyxš'y*, see *KPT* p. 130 s.v. *p'dyxš'n*. Probably, therefore, the hapax *xwd'wy* is to be amended to *xwd'y* : “so also that Rōšnšahr God shall be lord and ruler over earth and heaven”. For the last word in the paragraph, **qwn'd*, the ms. has *qwn'nd*.

11 After this sentence a ms. sheet is evidently missing, containing the account of the seduction of the Archons (see intro. p. 6).

- 13 'wd h'n yk bhr 'y 'w d'ry'b 'wbyst, h'nyš mzn 'yw dwšcyhr 'pr 'wd šhmyyn 'cyš bwd. 'wd 'c dry'b b' 'škrwst, 'wš nwyst 'ndr šhr wyn'ḥ kwn'n.
- 14 ps myhryzd, 'c h'n pnz yzd 'y xwd 'pwr, h'n yzd 'yw tskyrb pryst'd, ky 'wy mzn 'ndr 'brg p'dgws, 'c xwr's'n d' 'w xwrnw'r, pd hm'g 'brg pr'r'st, p'y 'spwxt 'wd 'bgnd, 'wš 'br 'yst'd, kw 'ndr šhr wyn'ḥ ny qwn'd. 'wd 'wy yzd 'br hm'g zmyg 'wd 'sm'n h'mqyšwr, 'br 'brg 'wd xwr's'n, 'yrg 'wd xwrpr'n, wysbyd qyrd kw šhr p'y'd.
- 15 'wd c'wn ḥ'n 'wzm'hwr 'wd w'yrwr, 'z 'c 'sm'n 'br zmyg 'w hwšk 'wd xwyd qft. 'wš pd wyspznz z'z 'wd mzn 'y xwyš gryw hmbwd.

After the seduction of the female demons, animals appear on earth

- 16 ps 'wyš'n dyw'n 'wd pryg'n, xyšm'n, mzn'n 'wd 'sryšt'r'n, 'y m'yg n'nd, dwp'y 'wd tsb'y 'wd prwr 'wd zhryn 'wd prystrdys, hrw ky 'c 'hy 'c dwšwx 'bwws n'nd, 'wd ps 'ndr y'zdḥ 'sm'n bst bwd hynd, 'wš'n h'n b'm 'wd 'gr'y'y 'y rwsn-šhryzd dyd, 'wš'n 'wyš rwzdyst, 'wd 'by'wš bwd hynd — 'ygyš'n h'n xwyš zhg 'cyš nsyḥ bwd hynd. 'wd prwwd 'w zmyg 'md hynd, 'wd nwyst hynd 'br zmyg xyz'n. 'wš'n b'r 'wd myw 'c drxt'n xwrđ, 'wd mhy 'wd mzn 'wd 'sryšt'r bwd hynd. 'wd 'c b'r 'wd myw 'yg drxt'n h'nyš'n 'z 'br 'dyd, 'wd pd 'wrzgw 'ywwz bwd hynd, 'wd 'gnyn hngpt hynd.

13 **hān-iš ... aziš būd** : *hān* resumes *hān yek bahr*, and need not be translated. (This use of *hān* to resume a phrase or lengthy apodosis is frequent in Mani's writings.)
Transl. : "That one portion ..., from it (-š ... *aziš*) there came a monster".

14 **hān yazd ēw taskirb** : i.e. the Adamas of Light (see intro. p. 5), though why he has the epithet "four-shaped" is obscure. A.-H. quote the following parallel passage from M 292 V II : *c'wn 'hwg 'w *nhcyhr'c'r, 'wš nb'st, sr pd xwr's'n, p'y pd xwrnw'r, my'n ch'r kw'p'n, my'ng pd 'brg, rwy 'w 'yrg rwn, c'wn šgr 'ndr q'ywd, hwy p'y pd wr 'wd grdn, dšn p'y pd ... (Mir. Man. i, p. 182 n. 2).*

15 **ud cē'ōn hān awezmāhwar ud wirwar ...** : *wirwar* is a hapax, apparently meaning "carrying the male". Transl. : "and like that lustful and phalloghoric (part) (i.e. the semen of the Archons), Āz fell from the sky ... And she was together with (?) all kinds of plants and monsters of her own Self" i.e. of her own substance of Darkness, since they were devil-begotten. The reading *hmbwd*, also a hapax, has been supplied by Dr. Sundermann.

**The Third Messenger orders the Great Builder to build an eternal prison
for the demons, and the New Paradise**

- 17 ps rwšn-šhryzd 'w nwgšhr-'pwryzd prm'd kw šw, 'wd prwn 'c zmyg
'wd 'sm'n h'mqyšwr, 'wd bydndr 'c h''n pnz dwšwx 'w 'yrg p'dgws-rwn,
'c 'nwḥ 'wrwntr 'br tm dwšwx, 'z xwr's'n d' 'w xwrnw'r p'dgws,
hs'r whyšt'w, 'yg dysm'n 'yg nwg dys. 'wd my'n 'wy dysm'n, ''z
'wd 'hrmyn 'wd dyw'n 'wd pryg''n r'y, bnyst'n 'yw hwstyg'n qwn.
'wd ps, k' h'n rwšnyy 'wd xwwšn 'yg yzd'n, 'yg 'hrmyn 'wd dyw'n
'wb'rd 'wd 'ndr hm'g qyšwr 'wd dyw'n pryg'n 'y'rdyd 'wd wrdyd — h'n,
ps k' p'k qryh'd, 'wd 'wl 'w b'ryst *'šynzyh'd, 'wd pršykyrd bw'd, 'yg
'z 'wd 'hrmyn 'wd dyw'n 'wd pryg'n 'ndr h'n bnyst''n j'yd'n 'nwd''n
bst *bw'nd.
- 18 'wd 'br h'n dysm'n 'y nwg, h'n whyšt 'y nwg kwn, kw 'whrmzd
'wd 'ymyš''n yzd'n ky pd xwyš wrc 'wd rwšnyy ''z 'wd 'hrmyn
'wd dyw'n 'wd pryg'n grypt 'wd bst, 'wd 'm'h g'h 'wd ...

[a gap of unknown length]

On the five Light Elements, and their physical redemption

- 19 ... pr'whr 'pwr, 'wd 'c ps pr'whr, w'd, 'wd 'c ps w'd, rwšn, 'wd
'c ps rwšn, 'b, 'wd 'c ps 'b, 'dwr 'pwwr. 'wš pymwxt hynd, 'wš
'dwr pd dst d'št. 'wd 'br 'hrmyn 'wd dyw'n prnpt, 'wš zd 'wd wtr
qyrd hynd.

17 *parrōn az zanīg ud āsmān hāmkišwar ...*: Transl.: “beyond the cosmos of earths and heavens, and outside those five hells in the south quarter, nearer (?) than there, upon the darkness of hell, from the east to the west region, corresponding to Paradise, build a new building”. The phrase “nearer than there” (*az ānōh ōrōntar*) seems to indicate that the new building is to be nearer to the earths than are the old hells, on which it rests; but its exact position with relation to the cosmos is hard to comprehend.

bast bawānd: the ms. has *b''nd* for *bw'nd*.

18 *imēšān yazdān kē pad xwēš warz ...*: “these gods (i.e. the Light Elements) who for their power and light ...”. The New Paradise is to be a place for the First Man, the Light Elements as these are redeemed, and the other gods, including the Third Messenger, who is speaking.

19 *frāwahr āfur ...*: here, in recapitulation, Mani speaks of the “creation” of the Light Elements by the First Man, to whom the pronoun *-š* refers in *u-š paymōxt*.

- 20 ... w'd ... wyn'r'd ... 'wd 'b 'dwr p'r'y'd. 'wd 'gnyn hmyw h'mwx 'wd h'mzwr bw'nd. 'wd h'n rwšnyy 'wd xwšn 'y xwyš 'y nxwstyn, 'ymyš'n mhr'spnd'n pd xwyš phryz. 'wd 'whrmyzdby q'm h'nyš'n 'cyš wyš'd.
- 21 ... ps k' rwšnšhr-yzd 'wy qyšwrr'yzyd my'n h'mkyšwr 'ystyn'd, 'wš 'wys'n yzd'n wyn'rd hynd, 'yg dwdy rwšnšhryzd, srygrqyrbyzd 'wd 'whrmyzdby pd xwyš cyhr ...
- 22 ... 'wys'n yzd'n *'wd h'n rhngwh *yzd *'ndr rh 'y xwr 'wd m'h *'ystyn'd hynd, kw h'n rwšny 'wd xwšn 'yg yzd'n, 'y 'c nwx 'z 'wd dyw'n 'wd pryg'n nr'n 'wd m'yg'n jwwd 'wd 'wb'rd, 'wš nwnc grypt d'rynd, 'wd h'nc 'y d' 'w pšygyrd 'c w'd, 'b 'wd 'dwr jwynd 'wd *'wb'rynd ...
- 23 ... 'ndr 'myxt, k' 'whrmyzd 'wd 'hrmyn 'gynyn 'rdyg bwd. 'wd ps h'n rwšnyy 'wd xwšn pd j'r 'wd phryzyšn 'y xwr 'wd m'h 'wd phryz 'wd drm'n 'yg yzd'n 'c zmyg 'wd 'sm'n h'mkyšwr 'wl 'hr'myd, 'wd 'w *whyšt'w wyd'ryd*...
- 24 'wd ... k' p'nzdḥ pd m'h'yg'n bwyd, pd nymm'h, 'wrmzd-by h'n rwšnyy 'wd 'bzwyšn 'y m'h yzd pd xwyš cyhr yzd 'pwryd 'wd wyr'yd. 'wd 'c nymm'h, š'zdḥ pd m'h'yg'n, d' 'w 'byd'q m'h, wyst 'wd *nw pd m'h'yg'n*... 'byd'g m'h 'gnyn bwynd, *'yg 'whrmyzdby ... 'c rh 'y m'h yzd 'xyzyd, 'wd 'w rh 'y xwršyd 'dyhyd. 'wd 'wys'n yzd'n, ky 'whrmyzdby 'c nymm'h d' 'w 'byd'g m'h rwc rwc 'c rh 'y m'h yzd 'w rh 'y xwršyyd *'wryd, ...
- 25 ... m'h pd syḥ rwc 'wd pd nwm'h 'wd nymm'h 'wd 'byd'g m'h 'šm'ryhyd 'wd pyd'g bwyd. 'wd h'n 'z 'wd 'hrmn, 'wd t'r 'wd tm,

20 **ud āb ādur pārāyād** ... : "... and Water will purify Fire. And they (i.e. Wind, Water and Fire) will ever be together in one place and with one strength. And that original Light and *Goodness of their own, those Elements (i.e. Wind, Water and Fire) (have) in their protection. And the wish of the First Man, that has been fulfilled by them (*-šān ... azīš*)" (H.). This passage refers presumably to the Three Wheels.

22 **rhngwh** : this word is a hapax, of doubtful pronunciation. The identity of the Rahniḡūh (?) God is not known.

24 **hān rošni ud abzawišn** : i.e. the redeemed Light which, according to Mani, causes the waxing of the Moon; this is the especial care of the First Man, the lord of the New Paradise, who has his throne also in the moon. Transl. : "Then the First Man creates that light and increase of the moon in his own essence god, and arrays it." Cf. z 18, below.

awēšān yazdān : i.e. the redeemed souls and particles of Light, by now "created god" by the First Man.

25 **tār ud tam** ... : four of the Dark Elements are listed here. The hendiadys *tār ud tam* is opposed to *rōšn, hōšāg* to *wād, zahr* to *āb, sōzīšn* to *ādur*.

26-34 These paragraphs (for which see also H. S. Nyberg, *Texte zum mazdayasnischen Kalender* (Uppsala 1934), 54-7, 76-79) are devoted to the year and changing seasons

'wd hwš'g 'y dwjgn, 'wd zhr 'y mrg, 'wd swcyšn 'y xyšmyn, 'wd zhr
'y dyw'n ...

[a gap of unknown length]

On the cycle of the days

gwyšn 'yg phryzšn rwc'n

26 ... rwc pd h'n syh r'stw'n 'y 'wy dwdyg 'st'ng hnz'pt, 'yg 'b'n m'h

as part of the process of physical redemption. H. has shown (*Henochbuch*, 32 f.) that the text was composed when the Persian New Year (on 1 Frawardīn) coincided with the autumn equinox, i.e. during the reign of Ardašīr I. It was therefore one of Mani's early works. The calendar of the original text is as follows :

| | | |
|----------------|-------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Frawardīn | Sept./Oct. | Scales (<i>tr'zwwg</i>) |
| 2. Ardwašīšt | Oct./Nov. | Scorpion (<i>gzdwm</i>) |
| 3. Hordād | Nov./Dec. | Archer (<i>nym'sp</i>) |
| 4. Tīr | Dec./Jan. | Goat (<i>whyg</i>) |
| 5. Amurdād | Jan./Feb. | Water-carrier (<i>dwl</i>) |
| 6. Šahrewar | Feb./March | Fishes (<i>m'hyg</i>) |
| 7. Mihr | March/April | Ram (<i>wrg</i>) |
| 8. Ābān | April/May | Bull (<i>g'w</i>) |
| 9. Ādur | May/June | Twins (<i>dw phykr</i>) |
| 10. Dai | June/July | Crab (<i>kyrzng</i>) |
| 11. Wahman | July/Aug. | Lion (<i>šgr</i>) |
| 12. Spendārmad | Aug./Sept. | Virgin (<i>hwšg</i>) |

This text was revised by means of clumsy interpolations at a time when 1 Frawardīn fell at the summer solstice, that is, sometime between about A.C. 590 and 660. Probably it was made after the schism of the Dēnāwars had separated the eastern church from the mother-church. The calendar at the time of the revision was the following :

| | | | |
|--------------|------------|----------------|-------------|
| 1. Frawardīn | June/July | 7. Mihr | Dec./Jan. |
| 2. Ardwašīšt | July/Aug. | 8. Ābān | Jan./Feb. |
| 3. Hordād | Aug./Sept. | 9. Ādur | Feb./March |
| 4. Tīr | Sept./Oct. | 10. Dai | March/April |
| 5. Amurdād | Oct./Nov. | 11. Wahman | April/May |
| 6. Šahrewar | Nov./Dec. | 12. Spendārmad | May/June |

In this Reader those data which belong to the revised text have been set as parentheses. **26 hān sīh rāstwān ī awē dudīg āstānag** : The *āstānag* or "thresholds" were evidently envisaged as 6 bands, dividing the space in the sky between the sun's greatest and smallest daily arc. The first "threshold" was the highest, the sixth the lowest. The sun was regarded as passing through one of these thresholds in each month of 30 days (*rāstwān*), and as going through each "threshold" twice in the year, ascending and descending. (For further details see H., *Mir. Man.* i, 188 n. 3). When the second "threshold" was being traversed by the ascending sun, it was April/May, i.e. Ābān month by the original calendar. The data that in Ābān month the day had 11 hours, the night 13, belong to the revised calendar, according to which Ābān corresponds to January/February.

- hngyšyhyd 'wd pyd'g bwyd. — 'wd m'h 'b'n rwc y'zdḥ zm'n bwyd 'wd šb syzdḥ. 'wd 'ygyc h'm-šhr xwrspyg 'wd wš'd-'pt'b 'ystyd.
- 27 'wd dwdyc xwršyd 'c h'n 'st'ng 'y dwdyg 'w h'n 'st'ng 'y nxwstyn, 'y 'brdr mhy 'wd wyhmdr 'c 'b'ryg'n, 'wl whyzyd. 'wd 'ny syḥ rwc 'y 'dwr m'h pd h'n hm syḥ r'stw'n 'wd tyrst 'wd šst wcyhrg, 'y pd 'wy hm 'st'ng 'y nxwstyn, ps'xt 'ystynd, ky m'h 'dwr ... pd'yš phryst. h'nš dwdy m'h 'dwr hmbdyc drwxš'n 'y hws'gyn, swc'gyn 'wd tmyn, 'wd dw-phykr 'xtr pdyš phryzyd. 'wš'n grm'g 'zyš prwd wys'hyd. 'wd nwnyd 'wrwr 'wd b'r pxš'n.
- 28 'wd pd h'n syḥ rwc 'yg 'dwr m'h, 'yg tyrst 'wd šst wys'ng, 'y bwynd 'yw zm'n 'spwr, rwc rwc dw'zdḥ wys'ng, dwdy 'c šb 'b'c 'st'nyhyd 'wd 'br rwc pd gy'g 'y xwyš 'bzyd. — 'wd rwc dw'zdḥ zm'n bwyd, 'wd šb dw'zdḥ zm'n. 'wd hrw dw 'gnyn ḥs'r 'ystynd. 'wd ghy h'mšhr dwdy h'myn bwyd, 'wd nymrwc rbyḥ, c'wn 'c nxwstc xwršyd phryst bwd. —
- 29 'wd ps 'yw s'r pd dw'zdḥ m'hyg'n hmpdc dw'zdḥ 'xtr pd wh'r 'wd h'myn, p'dz 'wd dmyst'n hmbxšyid 'wd pyd'g qwnd. 'wd drxt 'spyzynd, 'wd mrw 'wd gy'w 'wd b'r 'wd 'wrwr pxšynd, 'wd d'm'n przyyšn bwyd.

27 ud any sīh rōz ... kē māh ādur ... paḏiš pahrist: Transl. slightly doubtful. Perhaps: "And the further (lit. other) 30 days of the month Ādur are added (*passāxt ēstēnd*) through those same 30 *rāstwān* and 360 *wizihrag* which (are) in that same first "threshold" in which ... the month Ādur has existed (*pahrist*)." Nyberg (loc. cit., p. 55) renders differently, i.e. "And the further 30 days of the month Ādur are protected (*pahrist*) (by it i.e. the sun) in the same 30 *rāstwān* and 360 *wizihrag* which are prepared (*passāxt ēstēnd*) in the same first "threshold", in which (is) the month Ādur". The ambiguity of *pahrist*, and the gap in the final relative sentence after *dwr* (ignored by Nyberg), contribute to uncertainty.

tīrēst ud šast wizihrag: H. points out (*Henochbuch*, 33 n. 4) that the "double hour" (*wcyhrg*), dividing the day, like the year, into 12, is a Babylonian reckoning; and that it is curious to find it in the same text with *zamān*. The origin of the word *wcyhrg* is obscure, and its pronunciation doubtful.

hān-iš ... māh ādur ... pahrēzēd: H. now renders, tentatively: "In that (i.e. the first "threshold") are (*pahrēzēd*) then the month Ādur ... and the zodiacal sign Gemini". Nyberg again takes *pahrēzēd* in the sense "protects", with the sun understood as the subject (see his discussion, op. cit., p. 78; at the time when he wrote, the sense of "be, exist" had not been established for *pahrēz-*). The *-š* suffixed to *hān* remains unexplained.

u-šān ... aziš: A.-H. render tentatively "and by them" (i.e. by the she-devils of heat). Nyberg translates "from those (days) on", which forces the meaning of *aziš*.

28 tīrēst ud šast wisānag: the reckoning *wisānag* = 10 seconds does not appear to be Babylonian. It is used also in a Manichaean Sogdian text (H., *Henochbuch*, 33 n. 4).

rōz dwāzdah zamān bawēd ...: this statement belongs to the calendar of the revised text, with the spring equinox falling in the month Ādur.

29 hambaxšēd ud paydāg kund: the subject is the Third Messenger.

- 30 'wd k' xwršyd 'ndr 'wy wyhmyh 'y h'mqyšwr pd 'sm'n'n b'ryst m'h m'h hmbdyc wrg, g'w, dwphyqr, qyrzng 'wd šgr 'xtr 'c 'br phryzyd, 'yg hmpdz 'ymyš'n pnz'n 'xtr'n pd pnz m'h h'n pnz rwz 'bzwyd, *'xtr 'xtr 'wd m'h m'h yk rwc, h'n 'y nwn 'c 'yr'n pnz g'h hng'rynd. 'wd 'c 'nyr'nz hmbdyc 'ym pnz pnz 'xtr rwc dh 'bzwyd, 'xtr 'xtr dw rwc.
- 31 'wd hs'ryz hwšg 'xtr pd 'yw m'h yk rwc 'bzwyd, h'n 'y qš'n nwnyd srd'g 'zyš prwd wyš'h'n, 'wd drxt wrzn s'n'n, 'wd p'dyz 'šmyr'n, 'wd h'mqyšwr xwrwpr'n bw'n.
- 32 'wd hs'ryc m'hyg 'xtr pd 'yw m'h yk rwz 'bzwyd, h'n 'y k' nwnyyd grm'g 'cyš prwd *wyš'h'n, 'wd drxt 'spyz'n, 'wd wh'r 'šmyr'n, 'wd h'mšhr 'wšyb'm bw'n.
- 33 'yg h'n pnz rwc 'y nwn 'c 'yr'n pnzg'h hng'rynd, 'wd dw'zdh rwc 'y 'c 'nyr'n.
- 34 cy h'myn pd j'r 'wd phryzyšn 'y xwršyd 'c m'h myhr d' 'w m'h whmn pd pnz m'h 'ndr 'wy wyhmyh 'y h'mqyšwr ...

30 ud ka xwaršēd ... : "And when the sun is on high in that breadth of the cosmos, in the highest of the skies, month by month corresponding to the zodiacal signs the Ram etc., then corresponding to these 5 signs, those 5 days increase in the 5 months, for each sign and month one day".

***axtar axtar ud mäh mäh** : the ms. has only one 'xtr, probably by a copyist's mistake.

panz gäh : the Zoroastrian calendar had consisted of 12 months of 30 days each, but at the beginning of the Sasanian period this was modified by the addition of 5 extra days, set after the 12th month and called officially the *Gäh* (< *Gāthā*) days, on which see in more detail Boyce, 'On the calendar of Zoroastrian feasts', *BSOAS* XXXIII, 1970, 513-39. The explanation offered here for the existence of these 5 days is evidently prompted by the observation that the time of the sun's course across the sky is longer in spring and summer than in winter and autumn (see further H., *Mir. Man.* i, 190 n. 1).

By An-Ērān Mani probably meant Babylon and its neighbours. According to the present account, there were 12 more days in the An-Ērān year than in the Ērānian one, i.e. 10 extra days corresponding to the 5 *Gāthā* days, and 2 more for the zodiacal signs Virgo and Pisces. In fact there were only 354 days in the Babylonian lunar year, a difference of 11 days from the Ērānian year. 5 and 12 were however holy numbers for the Manichaeans; and Mani appears to have increased the difference between the two reckonings from 11 to 12, in order to have a true Manichaean correlation of 5 extra days in Ērān to 12 abroad (H., *Henochobuch*, 34-35).

31 ud hassār-iz hōšag axtar ... : "And likewise, (with) the sign Virgo there is increase of one day in one month, that which (is) when thereby (? -šān ... *aziš*) cold begins spreading (lit. opening) downwards ...". The plural -šān is perplexing, and in the light of the parallel passage in **32** (*ka* ... *garmāg aziš* "when thereby heat ...") should probably be deleted as a scribal error.

33 ēg hān panz rōz ... : the main verb is not expressed, nor the second subsidiary verb. "Then those (are) the 5 days which are now reckoned in Ērān the *Gäh*, and the 12 days which (are) intercalated in other countries". The force of *nūn* "now" is that the 5 days had been added to the Iranian calendar during Mani's own lifetime.

[a gap of unknown length]

The creation of the first man and woman

gwyšn 'yg 'br gyhmwrđ mwrđy'ng

- 35 ... 'hrmyn 'wd dyw'n 'c h'm-kyšwr 'hy 'wl 'hynz'd, 'wd 'w xwr 'wd m'h 'hr'm'd, 'wd 'w whyšt'w, xwyyš *n'p, wyd'r'd 'wd *ghy h'mkyšwr pršyqyrd bw'd. 'wd 'z 'wd dyw'n prg'r rs'd, 'wd xwrxšyd 'wd m'h 'wd yzd'n hsp'n 'wd *wys'n bw'd.
- 36 'wd nxwstyc, k' 'ymyš'n yzd'n pd xwr 'wd m'h j'r 'wd phryzyšn 'wd 'bzwyšn 'wd k'hyšn kyšwryh'n g'hyyh'n 'wd wymndyh'n hmbxt, 'wš'n rwc 'wd šb 'wd m'h 'wd s'r pyd'g qyrd, 'wš'n 'c h'mkyšwr rwšny 'wl p'rwd, 'yg h'n zdzhg 'z, 'y 'c 'sm'n prwd qpt, 'wd pd drxt 'wd 'wrwr pymwxt, 'wd 'c drxt 'wd 'wrwr 'wys'n mzn'n 'wd 'sryšt'r'n 'bg'ng'n, ky 'c 'sm'n *prwwd 'wbyst hynd, pymwxt, 'wš'n h'n b'm 'wd 'gr'yy 'y nrysh yzd ... 'wš dwdy xwr 'wd m'h phryz'n nyyšyd, 'wš hngwn dyd kw h'nc xwšn 'wd rwšnyy 'yg yzd'n, 'y grypt d'ryd, h'n hmyw yzd 'wd xwr 'wd m'h 'c 'z 'wd h'mkyšwr p'k qwnynd, 'wš 'w rh'n phryzynd 'wd 'w whyšt'w wd'rynd ...
- 37 ghy h'n wyptwb 'z gr'n xyšm phyqnd. 'wš nwyst g'm xw'h'n, 'wš prm'd kw pd h'n dw dys 'y srygr 'wd nr 'y nrysh yzd, 'ym dyd, h'n dw d'm nr 'wd m'yg dys'n, kwm pymwg 'wd ny'm bw'nd. *wš'n 'br wnyr'n, ... *'wm 'yn dw d'm 'cyš ny 'st'nyh'd, 'wd ny'z 'wd 'xš'dyḥ ny wyd'r'n.

35 ... *ahramen ud dēwān* : because of the missing words, the meaning of this sentence is not wholly clear. The whole paragraph is prophetic.

36 *ud naxust-iz* ... : "and in the beginning also, when regions, places and boundaries had been allotted by these gods (i.e. by the Living Spirit and his helpers), according to the time and revolution and increase and diminution of sun and moon ...".

ēg hān ... āz ... : "then that Āz with smitten offspring, which fell down from the sky, and was clothed in trees and plants, and through the trees and plants was clothed in these abortions of the mazans and āsrēštārs which fell down from the sky ...". (Āz was both in the abortions themselves, and also passed into them from the trees and plants which they ate.) The main sentence to which this forms the protasis is lost.

u-š dudī ... nišid : the *š* refers to Āz.

u-š ō rahān pahrežend : "and they protect it (on the way) to the chariots".

37 *āz grān xēšm pahikand* : Āz is presumably the indirect obj., *pahikand* impersonal. Lit. "To Āz it was filled with great anger".

hān dō dēs ... ī narisah yazd : i.e. of the Third Messenger himself and his evocation, the Maiden of Light.