

- 38 ps h'n 'z 'z hm'g h'n zhg 'y dyw'n, ky 'c 'sm'n 'w zmyg qpt hynd, h'n 'sryšt'r 'y nr 'wd 'sryšt'r 'y m'yg, *'y šgr-qyrbnd, 'xšwz 'wd xyšmyn, bzg 'wd 'pr 'n'nd, 'wyš'n pymwxt, 'wš xwyyš nyy'm 'wd pymwg qyrd hynd, 'wš'n 'ndr 'xšwzyhyt.
- 39 'wd 'wn c'wn 'c nxwst 'z xwd 'ndr h'n tm dwšwx, dw'ryyšn 'y xwyš, dyw'n 'wd pryg'n, xyšm'n, mzn'n 'wd 'sryšt'r'n, nr'n 'wd m'yg'n, 'wzm' 'wd mrzyyšn hmwxt hynd, 'wn ps'c dwdy nwyst 'z 'wyn mzn'n 'wd 'sryšt'r'n 'b'ryg'n, nr'n 'wd m'yg'n, ky 'z 'sm'n 'w zmyg qpt hynd, 'wyš'nz hmgwng 'wzm'h 'wd mrz'yyšn hmwvc'n, kw 'wzm'h'nd 'wd mrz'nd, 'wd 'gnyn h'mhn'm gwmyxs'nd, 'wd 'wzdh'g zhg 'zyš z'y'nd, 'wd 'z h'n zhg 'st'n'd 'wd xwr'd, 'wš d'm dw, yk myrd 'wd yk zn, 'cyyš dys'd.
- 40 ps 'wy mzn 'wd 'sryšt'r, nr 'wd m'yg, 'w hrwysp'n 'wzm' 'wd mrzyšn hmwxt; 'wd 'gnyn h'm-hn'm 'myxt hynd. 'wš'n zhg *z'd hynd, 'wd prwr'd hynd. 'wš'n xwyš zhg 'wyš'n dwn'n 'sryšt'r'n, nr 'wd m'yg, šgr-qyrbnd'n, 'yg 'zpymwg'n 'wd 'wrzwgyn'n, d'd hynd. 'wd 'z h'n zhg xwr'd, 'wd 'wyš'n dwn'n mzn'n, nr 'wd m'yg, 'wzm'hyd 'wd mrzynyd hynd, 'wd 'gnyn h'mhn'm gwmyxt hynd. 'wd h'n dyswys 'yš'n pymwxt 'n'd 'c h'n zhg 'y mzn'n 'wd 'sryšt'r'n 'yš xwr'd, h'n pd xwyš 'xšwzyh wymyhyd, 'wš kyrd tn 'yw nrdys, pd 'stg, pyy, pyt, rg 'wd crm.
- 41 'wd 'c h'n rwšnyy 'wd xwšn 'yg yzd'n, 'y 'c b'r 'wd 'yw'r h'n zhg 'y mzn'n 'myxt bwd, h'n pd 'wy tn gy'n 'ndr bst. 'wš xwyyš 'z 'wd 'wrzwwg, 'wzm' 'wd mrzyyšn, 'wd dwšmny'dyh 'wd dwšw'cyh, 'ryšk 'wd bzgyh, xyšm 'wd 'hyd, tyd'r 'wd 'bywšyh, 'wd dwžrw'nyy 'wd dwšqryy, t'yy 'wd drwznyy, 'pryy 'wd dwšwštyyh, 'stwrn'nyy 'wd cbwrgyy, myn 'wd cyybg, zryg 'wd tym'r, drd 'wd dn'h, 'škwwhyh 'wd ny'zxwndyy, ywbhr 'wd zrm'nyy, gngyy 'wd 'prgyy 'ndr ps'xt.

38 *hān āsrēštār ī nar* ...: the relative pronoun *ī* has been supplied for the adj. clause containing *anānd*. The *avēšan* resumes what precedes, and need not be translated. Transl.: "Then that Āz ... was clothed ... with that male Āsrēštār and female Āsrēštār (who) were lion-shaped ...; and by her they (the 2 Āsrēštārs) were made her sheath and garment".

40 *z'd hynd: A.-H.'s restoration. The ms. has z'y'nd.

u-šān xwēš zahag ...: "and by them their own progeny were given to those two Āsrēštārs ..., who (were) a garment for Āz and lustful".

ī-šān paymōxt anād ... *ī-š xward*: "which had been put on by them (i.e. the two Āsrēštārs) ... which had been eaten by her (i.e. by Āz, dwelling within the two Āsrēštārs)". Similarly, in *u-š kird tan*, the *-š* refers to Āz.

41 *ī az bār* ... *hān zahag* ... *āmixt būd*: "which through the fruits had been mixed (with) that progeny". One would expect a preposition before *hān zahag*.

... *andar passāxt*: these evil qualities together make up the *mēnōgih ī tan*, the "spirit of the body", see further below, text *ae*.

- 42 'wd h'n 'nd w'c 'wd ''w'g 'y 'wyš'n mzn ghwdg'n, ky h'n tn 'cyš dysyd, h'nš 'w 'wy d'm d'd, kw gwnggwng w'c br'd 'wd d'n'd.
- 43 'wd h'n nr cyhr 'yg yzd''n, 'yš 'c r_h dyd, h'ncyš pdyš phyqym'd 'wd dysyd. 'wš 'c 'brc, 'z 'sm'n, 'c mzn'n 'wd 'sryšt'r'n 'wd 'xtr'n 'wd 'b'xtr'n, nwnyšn 'wd pywn 'wyš pywst, kwš 'c mzn'n 'wd 'xtr'n xyšm, 'wrzwg 'wd bzgyh 'br w'r'd, 'wš mnwhmyd phykn'd, kw 'prdr 'wd mzndr, ''zygr 'wd 'wrzwgyn bw'd. 'wd k' h'n nr d'm z'd, 'ygyš nwxwyr n'm nyys'd, 'y xwd gyhmwrđ.
- 44 'wd ps h'n 'sryšt'r dw, nr 'wd m'yg, 'y šgr-qyrbnd, dwdy 'c h'n hm zhg 'yg hy'r'n xwrđ hynd 'wd 'wzm' 'wd mrzyšn phyqnd hynd. 'wd 'gnyn h'mhn'm gwmyyxt hynd.
- 45 'wd h'n ''z, 'yš'n phyqnd 'n'd 'c h'n zhg 'y mzn'n 'yš'n xwrđ, h'n dwdy hmgwng 'ny tn 'yw m'yg, pd 'stg, py, pyt, rg 'wd crm phykym'd 'wd dysyd. 'wd 'c h'n rwny 'wd xwšn 'yg yzd'n, 'y 'c b'r 'wd 'yw'r pd h'n zhg 'y mzn ghwdg'n 'myxt bwd, h'nš 'wyc tn gy''n 'ndr bst 'wš xwyš ''z 'wd 'wrzwg, 'wzm'h 'wd mrzyšn, 'wd dwšmny'dyy 'wd dwšw'cyy, 'ryšk 'wd bzgyy, xyšm 'wd 'hyd, tyd'r 'wd 'bywšyyh 'wd dwžrw'nyh 'wd dwškryy, t'yy 'wd drwny, 'prry 'wd dwšwštyh, 'stwrn'nyy 'wd cbwrgyyh, myn 'wd cyybg, zryg 'wd tym'r, drđ 'wd dn'h, 'škwyy 'wd ny'zxnwyy, ywbhr 'wd zrm'nyyh, gngyy 'wd 'prgyh, 'wd wyspznđ dwždyny 'wd bzgyy pr'y 'ndr ps'xt 'wd pwr phyqnd kw gyhmwrđ.
- 46 'wš h'n w'c 'wd ''w'g 'y *hrwysp 'wyš'n mzn ghwdg'n, ky 'zyš dysyd, h'nš 'w 'wyc 'y m'yg d'd, kw h'nz gwng-gwng w'c br'd 'wd d'n'd.
- 47 'wd h'n srygr-qyrb cyhr 'y yzd'n, 'yš 'c r_h dyd, h'ncyš phyqm'd 'wd dys'd, 'wš 'c 'sm'nc 'c 'xtr'n 'wd 'b'xtr'n nwnyšn 'wd pywn 'wyš pywst, kw 'wyc 'z mzn'n 'wd 'xtr'n xyšm 'wzm' 'wd bzgyy

42 *hān and wāz* ...: the many tongues of hell were thus given to man, as befitted his origin.

43 *ud hān nar cīhr* ...: "and that male form of the gods (i.e. the Third Messenger), which had been seen by her (i.e. *Āz*) (coming) from the chariot (of the sun), exactly (-z) according to it (-š *padiš*) was he (Adam) formed and made". The *nīwamišn* and *paywann* of the next sentence were conceived as linking man to the Archons in the sky, who exerted on him evil influences. See further H., *BSOAS* XII 2, 1948, 313.

44 *hān āsrēštār dō ... az hān ham zahag ... xward hēnd*: the grammar here is not satisfactory. One would expect instead *xward* (impersonal) i.e. "it was eaten by the two *Āsrēštārs* from that same progeny". The partitive *zahag*, governed by *az*, has been treated as the grammatical subject (collective as pl.).

45 *i-šān pahikand anād az hān zahag*: lit. "by which it had been filled to them from that progeny", i.e. "which had filled them ...". The impersonal construction with *pahikand* is found also in para. 51, cf. also para. 37.

47 *hān sṛigarkirb cīhr ī yazdān*: i.e. the Maiden of Light.

- `br w`r`d, `wš mnwhmyd phykn`d, `wd `prdr `wd bzdgr, `wzm`hgyn
 `wd `wrzwgyn bw`d, `wd `wy nrwyyr pd `wrzgw wyb`d, `wd `c `wys`n
 dwn`n d`m`n `ndr šhr mrdwhm z`y`nd, `wd ``zygr `wd `wrzwgyn bw`nd,
 `wd xyšm`wnd `wd kynw`r `wd *`n`mwrzyg rw`nd, `wd `b `wd `dwr, drxt
 `wd `wrwr zn`nd, `wd ``z `wd `wrzgw pryst`nd, *`wd dyw`n q`m qwn`nd,
 `wd `w dwšwx šw`nd.
- 48 ps k` h`n m`yg d`m z`d, `ygyš`n prh`nsryygr n`m qyrd, `y xwd
 mwrdy`ng.
- 49 `wd k` h`n dw d`m, nr `wd m`yg, `ndr šhr z`d `wd prwrd `wd mhy
 bwd hynd, `yg ``z `wd dyw`n `sryšt`r`n wzrg š`ddy bwd. `wd `wy
 `sryšt`r`n s`r`r hnzmn `y mzn`n `wd `sryšt`r`n qyrd. `wš `w `wys`n
 dwn`n mrdwhm`n gwpt kwm zmyg `wd `sm`n, xwr `wd m`h, `b
 `wd `dwr, drxt `wd `wrwr. dd `wd d`m `šm` r`y `pwryd, kwš `ndr
 šhr pd`yš š`yh`d `wd prmynd `wd š`d bw`d, `wd k`m `y mn qwn`d.
- 50 `wš `zdh`g `yw, mzn `wd shmyn, `br `wys`n dwn`n zhg`n p`ng
 hyšt, kwš`n p`y`d `wd ks ny hyl`d `c `m`h b` nnydn. cy `wys`n
 mzn`n `wd `sršt`r`n `c yzd`n tyrsynd `wd shyk` hynd, kwm`n m` `br
 ``y`nd, `wm`n zn`nd, `y`bwm`n byn`nd. cy `wys`n dwn`n zhg`n pd cyhr
 `wd qyrb `yg yzd`n phykm`d `wd dys`d hynd.
- 51 ps k` h`n nwxwyr `wd prh``n-sryygr, myrd `wd zn `y prtwm`yn,
 nwyst hynd `br zmyg phryz`n, `ygyš`n ``z `ndr wygr`d. `wš``n xyšm
 phyqnd, `wd nwyst hynd x`nyg *hngn`n, `wd drxt `wd `wrwr zn`n,
 `wd *xyšmywryst `br zmyg phryz`n, `wd ``zygr bw`n. `wd `c yzd`n ny
 tyrsynd. `wd `ymyš`n pnz`n `mhr`spnd`n, ky šhr pdyš wnyrd `ystyd, ny
 `šn`synd, *`wš`n `nwd`n byšynd.

[a gap of unknown length]

49 āz ud dēwān āsrēštārān: "Āz and the āsrēštārs of the demons".

50 p`ng: H.'s later reading, instead of the printed *phng*.

51 *hngn`n: H.'s later reading, instead of the printed *hng*(`w`)n.

*xyšmywryst: doubtful. What is clear is *xyšmy...t*. The 1st 3 uncertain letters might also be read as *rdy* or *dry* (or even *r*); the 4th as *s* or *p* (H.). None of these readings yields a known form.

The narrative of the creation ends with para. 51, for on the next surviving sheet of ms. there is a general discourse on soul and body. There is therefore missing the account of the sending of Jesus to bring gnosis to the unconscious Adam, the seduction of Eve by the demon and her subsequent seduction of Adam, and the story of their children (see intro. p. 7).

Concerning the Soul and the Body

gwyšn 'yg gy'n 'wd ns'h

- 52 ... h'nš gy'n pd zyhr, zwr, rwšnyy, xwšyy 'wd 'gr'yy mhy bwyd, 'wd pd zm'n z'yyd.
- 53 'wd k' z'yyd, 'ygye pd tn 'wd gy'n 'c *h'n hm nhwn 'y dyw'n 'wd 'myzyšn 'y yzd'n prwryhyd 'wd zywyd 'wd 'w pym'n rsyd. 'wd ''z-pymwg 'wd 'wrzwg-nyy'm bwyyd. 'wd 'b 'wd 'dwr 'wd drxt 'wd d'm, xw'yš'n p, znyyd, 'wš byšyd, 'wš ''z 'wd 'wrzwg pdyš š'd bwynd, cyš'n k'm 'wd pyys qwnd. byc ny 'b 'wd ny 'dwr, ny drxt 'wd ny d'm pdyš š'd ny bwynd, cyš'n dwšmyn 'wd ''z'r'g bwyyd. 'wd ny 'xšnyyyd, cyš ''z 'bywš 'wd dwžrw'n d'ryd. 'wd d' 'wy zm'n 'wd 'xtr, ky h'n zhg pdyš z'd, h'nyš 'z hy'r'n ky 'cyš 'brdr hynd tys *'wyšt'b 'br ny rsyd. 'yg 'ndwm h'n zhg zywyd 'wd phryzyd. 'wd kw 'wyš'n xyn 'wd 'wyšt'b 'br rsyd, ghy zhg myryd. 'wd 'wl 'hxt bwyd, 'wd pd xwyš qwnyšn 'w t'wzyšn gwm'yyd. 'wd mrdwhm, nr 'wd m'yg, cy *'ndr h'm-šhr z'yyd, h'n hrw ''z dysyšn hynd.
- 54 'wd 'c 'b 'wd 'wrwr 'wd xw'r 'wd b'r 'y gwnggwg, cy pd mrdwhm'n 'w ''z rsyd 'wd xwryd, 'ygyš h'n ''z pd xwyš wdyb zhg 'zyš

52 *pad zīhr, zōr, rōšnī* ... : these 5 qualities together form the substance of the Light Soul in man (as opposed to the *mēnōgīh i tan*); see W.-L. ii 571-72, and cf. **cb** 2, below.

pad zamān zāyēd: "he is born at the (due) time". By "he" man in general is to be understood.

53 **hān ham nhwn ī dēwān* ... : the ms. has *h'm hm nhwn*. "The light and dark elements in the food (plants etc.) which man consumes from birth onwards nourish the light and dark elements in man i.e. his soul and his body" (A.-H.). The meaning of *nhwn* (which occurs only in this text) is unknown.

dā awē zamān ud axtar ... : "and until that hour and month" (lit. sign-of-the-zodiac, i.e. the sign of the month in which he is born). For *zahag* "child" in this paragraph one could as well substitute "man". The *hayyārān* are evidently the Archons in the sky (see above, **43**, **47**), "friends" to the dark elements in man, who eventually destroy him.

*ēē *andar hāmšahr zāyēd*: **andar*, missing in the ms., has been supplied. *zāyēnd* would give an easier reading, but *zāyēd* is possible, since *mardōhm* can be a singular (A.-H.).

54 *ud az āb ud urvar* ... : "It is primarily the consumption of water, plants and other nourishment which enables and misleads men to beget other men. If these sources of nourishment were not available to mankind, then the further begetting of men would be impossible. This thought is illustrated by similes in what follows: a composite thing made from diverse materials can only then come into being, when all the necessary parts are available and assembled" (A.-H.).

ō āz rasēd ud xwarēd: the meaning must be "reaches Āz and is consumed". Probably therefore *xwryd* is a copyist's mistake for *xwryhyd* (A.H.).

- wmyhyd `wd dysyd. `wd k' `hnwn h'n `b `wd `wrwr gy`gyh'n pd qwp
 `wd dšt `ystyd, `wd `w mrdwhm'n `wd `w `z ny md, `ygyš mrdwhm
 `cyš z'd ny bwyd. byc kw `w mrdwm'n md, `ygyš `z pd xwyš wmys zhg
 `cyš phykmyyd `wd dysyd. cy, `wn c'wn r'zmyrd, ky q'myd `ywn
 qyrdn, `wd pd xwyš d'nyšn `z `bc'r `y gwnggwng `y `ywn pd qdgdg
 `wd pd drdr hmbxšyd `wd dysyd. `y'b c'wn `bzyngy ky pd xwyš
 zyryy `c gwnggwng `bzyngy pymwcn qwnd. `wd c'wn ng'rgr ky pd
 xwyš nyzwm'nyh `c rng `y gwng-gwng phykr ng'ryd.
- 55 `wd k' `hnwn h'n `bc'r `y `ywn, `wd `bzyngy `y pymwcn, `wd rng
 `y phykr, `y `wyš'n qrwg'n pd xwyš qrwgyh `gnyn ps'cynd `wd dysynd,
 `wd `bzyngy, `wd ng'rynd, h'n gy`gyh'n `ystynd, `wd yk yk pd
 xwyš hn'm ny ps'xt hynd, `yg ny `ywn `wd ny pymwcn, `wd ny
 phykr ny hng'ryhynd. byc kw qrwg pd xwyš phryz h'n `bc'r `bcyn
 `wd rng `y gwnggwng yk yq `w xwyš kwnyšn `gnyn ps'cynd, `wd ghy
 `ywn `wd pymwcn `wd phykr dysynd `bzyngy `wd ng'rynd. `wd
 ps wyr'stg `wd pyd'g bwynd.
- 56 `wn h'nc zd-zhg `z, ky nr `wd srygr zhg wmyhyd `wd dysyd, h'n `c
 nhwnn `yg dyw'n `wd `z `myzšn `yg yzd'n, `y pd `b `wd `wrwr `gnyn
 `myxt

Z

From the Šābuhragān

Concerning the end of the world

čē, a'ōn čē'ōn rāzmird ... a'ōn hāniz zadzahag āz ... : "for, even as an architect ...
 so also that Āz of smitten offspring ...". The comparison begun in para. 54 is
 carried through 55 and completed in 56. The main verb is missing, at the end
 of 56.

Z

The following passages from Mani's *Šābuhragān* are contained in six fragments from
 the same ms., in the following order: M 473, 475, 477, 482, 472, 470. These are
 published in *HR. ii* 11-24, *MSt.* 24-28. M 473 has been studied again in detail by
 A. Ghilain, "Un feuillet manichéen reconstitué", *Le Muséon* 59, 1946, 535 ff. For
 other work on the fragments see *Cat.* — A number of improved readings have since
 been supplied from a new study of the fragments by Dr. W. Sundermann.

The ms. from which the fragments come is of very soft paper, and the surface
 is in many places rubbed, with loss of letters or words. Not all the emended or
 conjectural readings which are given here are indicated in detail. The title *Šābuhragān*
 appears on the verso page of 482, and on the recto page of 472. 477 V has the

- 1 ... gw'nd kw 'm'h yzd'n pyysgr hwm ... pd 'yn pnd 'yg 'mh ... mrdwhm pr'yyst wyps'nd, 'wš'n pd dwšqyrdg'nyh q'm rw'nd. 'wd dynwr ky xwyš dyn ny wrw'd, h'nc 'w 'wyš'n hnzps'd. 'wd 'wy zm'n, k' 'ndr šhr xyr 'yn'wn bw'd, *'yg pc zmyg 'wd 'sm'n 'wd xwr 'wd m'h 'wd 'xtr'n 'wd 'st'rg'n wzrg nyš'n pyd'g bw'd.
- 2 ps xrdyšhr yzd, h'n ky *'c nxwst 'wy nr d'm nwxwyr 'wd *myrd prtwmyn xrd 'wd d'nyšn *d'd, 'wš ps'c j'r j'r 'wd *'w'm 'w'm xrd 'wd d'nyšn 'w ... pryst'd, h'n pd 'wyc 'w'm 'y 'bdwmyn, nzd 'w *pršyqyrd ... xrdyšhr ...

[a number of lines missing]

- 3 ... 'yst'd, 'wd wzrg xrwḥ xw'nyh'd, 'wd h'mšhr *'zdyh'd, 'wd 'ymyš'n yzd'n ky 'ndr 'sm'n'n 'wd zmyg'n h'mqyšwr m'nbyd, wysbyd, zndbyd 'wd dhybyd, p'hrgbyd 'wd dyw'n xrwst'r hynd, h'n xrdyšhr 'fryn qwn'nd. 'wd mrdwhm'n ky 'ndr šhr šhry'r bw'nd, 'wd hrw dyw'n, pyš 'wy šw'nd, 'wd nm'c br'nd, *'wš prm'n pdyr'nd. 'wd mrdwhm 'yg 'zygr 'wd dwšqyrdg'n 'wd mrdyhg'n ... pšym'n bw'd. 'wd ps xrdyšhr yzd prystg'n 'w xwr's'n 'wd 'w xwrnw'r pryst'd, 'wd šw'nd. 'wd mrdwhm 'y dynwr, 'b'g hy'r'n, 'wd h'n dwšqyrdg'n 'z h'mkwnyšn'n *hmys *pr'c 'w pyš xrdyšhr yzd ...

heading *dō bun wuzurg*, which suggests an alternative title to the work. 473 has no headline. The other fragments have sub-titles to sections of the narrative, which are given here.

The first fragment is concerned with the period just before the Second Coming of Jesus, the Great War being by then over (see intro. p. 8). Much of the material in this and the following fragments derives from the apocalyptic prophecies in the Christian Gospels (*Matthew XXIV, Mark XIII, Luke XXI*).

1 **gōwānd ku** ... : the speakers are the false prophets who will appear at this time. Ghilain, op. cit., reconstructs this broken sentence as follows: "We are the gods' teachers. [Act] according to this counsel which [has been given] by us".

2 **xradēšahr yazd** : the function of bringing enlightenment to Adam is usually assigned to Jesus, whereas the sending of gnosis to his descendants through the prophets is the work of the Great Nous. The identity of the God Xradēšahr is therefore uncertain.

3 **dēwān xrōstār** : *xrwst'r* is a hapax. Ghilain suggests taking it as agent noun from Av. *xraod-* "oppress, torment", the whole title thus meaning "Oppressor of Demons". The epithet is parallel to the *hannbed* of y 7 (see note), and the **nixrōstār* of z 15 (which latter word is restored by H.; Ghilain suggested restoring *ny[r'myšnbyd]* rather than *ny[xrwst'r]*).

marđōhmān kē andar šahr šahriyār bawānd : in *Man. Homilien* 8¹³ the kings in the "Last Time" are numbered among the forces of wickedness.

mrđyhg'n : Ghilain suggests reading *mrzyhg'n*, a hapax which he would take as a derivative adj. from *marz-* "have coition"; but *mrđyhn* occurs (meaning uncertain) in an unpublished MPersian text.

Concerning the Judgment by the Son of Man

ʾbr dʾdystʾn ʾy myrdʾn pwsr

- 4 ʾwš dynwr gwʾnd kw ... -mʾn xwdʾy, ʾgrt pszg *tys ʾc hʾn cy drwnd ʾn
pd* ʾmh ʾqyrd pyš tw gwʾm. ʾwšʾn xrdyšhr yzd pswx ʾwh dyyʾd, kw
mn wynnyd ʾwd šʾd bwyd. ʾnʾy ky pd ʾšmh wnʾst hʾd, hʾntʾn dʾdystʾn
qwnʾn, ʾwd ʾngʾm xwʾhʾn. *byc hrw cy ʾšmh qʾmyyd pyš mn gwftn, hʾn
ʾn dʾnym.
- 5 ghyšʾn ʾpryn qwnd, ʾwšʾn dyl wywʾsynyd, ʾwšʾn ʾw dšn ʾʾrg ʾystynyd.
ʾwd *hmg yzdʾn pd šʾdyh phryzynd.
- 6 ʾwd dšqyrdgʾnʾn ʾz dynwrʾn wcʾryd, ʾwšʾn ʾw xwy ʾʾrg ʾystynyd.
ʾwšʾn nfryn qwnd, ʾwd ʾwh gwyd kw mʾ drwʾxyz ... hʾmʾspyz bwʾd.
cy *hʾnc wnʾh ʾyg ʾšmh kyrd *wtʾn zʾwryq ʾxšʾd qyrd hʾntʾn *myrdʾn
pwsr* qyrd. ...
- 7 dynwrʾn ky ʾc dšn ʾʾrg ʾystynd ʾwh gwyd, *kw dryst ʾwryyd* ʾšmh ... :
cy ... swyg ʾwd tyšng bwd hym, ʾwd ʾšmh xwʾr ʾwd bʾr dʾd. brhng bwd
hym, ʾwtʾn pymwxt hym. xyndg bwd hym, ʾwtʾn dryst qyrd hym.
bstg bwd hym, ʾwtʾn wšʾd hym. wrdg bwd hym, ʾwtʾn bwwxt hym. ʾwd
ʾwzdḥ ʾwd qʾrdʾg bwd hym, ʾwtʾn ʾw qdg hrwpt hym.
- 8 *ghyš ʾwysʾn ʾy dynwrʾn hyʾrʾn *zwpr nmʾc brʾnd, ʾwš gwʾnd kw
xwdʾwn, tw yzd ʾwd ʾnwšg hy, ʾwt ʾʾz ʾwd ʾwrzwg ny trwyd. ʾwd swyg
ʾwd tyšng ny bwy, ʾwt drd ʾwd dnʾh ʾbr ny rsyd. kyy bwd kʾ ʾmh
ʾyd ʾspʾs pd tw qyrd? ʾwšʾn xrdyšhr ʾwh gwyd kw hʾn cy ʾšmh ʾw
dynwrʾn qyrd, hʾntʾn mn ... qyrd.
- 9 ... whyštʾw pʾdʾšyn dyyʾn. ʾwysʾn wrzg šʾdyh *dyyʾd. ... dwdy
ʾw ʾwysʾn dšqyrdgʾnʾn, ky ʾc xwy ʾʾrg ʾystynd, ʾwh gwyd kw ʾšmh
dšqyrdgʾnʾn tncy ʾwd ʾʾz-qʾm ʾnʾg-kwnyšn ʾwd gyh-hšʾr bwd hyd.
ʾwtʾn ʾn ʾcyš *gylgʾy hym, cy swyg ʾwd tyšng bwd hym, ʾwd ʾšmh

4 u-š dēnwar gōwānd ... : the sg. *dēnwar* here is strange. The words between asterisks (*tis az hān ...) are supplied, tentatively, by Dr. Sundermann.

ʾngʾm xwāhān : the reading ʾngʾm is clear. The word is a hapax, possibly a by-form of *hngʾm* = Sogd. *prwyō*, a juridical term; see Henning, *BSOAS* XI 3, 1945, 485.

6 *mirdān pūsar* : a wholly tentative restoration by Dr. Sundermann, which would fit the space and the faint traces.

7 ō kadag harruft hēm : cf. 9 *pad kadag ... padirift hēm*, with the same meaning.

8 awēšān ī dēnwarān hayyārān : "those devout friends".

u-t āz ud āwarzōg nē tarwēd : "and greed and desire do not overcome you (-t)".

hān cē ašmāh ... : "that which was done by you ..., that was done by you to me".

9 wahištāw pādāšin dayān : "I shall give you Paradise as reward".

- xw'r 'wd b'r ny d'd. 'wd brhng bwd hym, 'wt'n ny pymwwxt hym. 'wd xyndg bwd hym, 'wt'n dryst ny qyrd hym. wrdg 'wd 'wzdyh bwd hym, 'wt'n pd qdg ny pdyrypt hym.
- 10 'wš dšqyrdg'n'n 'wh gw'nd kwm'n yzd 'wd xwd'y, kyy bwd k' tw 'yd'wn dwjbwrd bwd hy, 'wm'n ny bwwxt hy? 'wš'n xrdyšhr gwyd kwt'n h'n cy dynwr'n 'nng'r d'st *hynd, h'nt'n pd mn *wynst. h'n 'n 'cyš *gylg'y bwd hym. 'wd wn'hg'r hyyd, cy dynwr'n z'wryq dwšmyn bwd hyyd, 'wt'n 'xš'd kyrd, 'wt'n ny 'mwrzyd hynd *'wd 'w* yzd'n wn'hg'r 'wd *'pwrđg hyyd ... ghy prystg'n 'br 'wyš'n dšqyrdg'n'n gwm'ryd, 'wš'n *gyr'nd, 'wd 'w dšwx 'bgn'nd.
- 11 'wd k' xrdyšhr yzd 'w šhr phryz'd, 'yg rwc m'h 'wd s'r hnds'nd. 'wd 'z 'wd 'wrzwg nz'r rs'd. 'wd drd 'wd dn'h ... 'wd dšy'ryy 'wd nyxrwst cn'nd, 'wd wn'h ny qwn'nd. 'wd w'd, 'b 'wd 'dwr 'ndr šhr tz'd, 'wd w'r'n pd zm'n w'r'd ...
- 12 ... tr *dhmy'n ... wdyr'nd, 'wš'n wyn'nd, 'wš'n xwyš twhmg'n gw'nd kw *w'y 'wyš'n *ky pd* 'w'm 'y bzg mwrđ 'wd *'wzyd hynd; kybycwš'n sr 'z h'y'n *'wl hn'ryh, 'wš'n 'yn š'dyh ncyhyh ky nwn 'mh 'ndr phryzwm?

hnzpt 'mdyšny 'y zyndkr

On the final redemption

*'yđ 'hr'myšn 'y *xrdyšhr

- 13 ... 'yg zmyg 'wd 'sm'n h'mkyšwr pršqyrd zm'n ... 'c hm'g šhr ... dynwr 'w ... *šw'nd; 'wd *dd 'wd drxt, 'wd d'm 'y prwr, 'wd d'm 'yg 'byg, 'wd *prystr 'y zmyg, 'c šhr *rh'nd 'wd šw'nd.

10 *ku-tān hān cē dēnwarān angār dāšt hēnd*: lit. "that which by the devout was had as *angār* by you", or "that which by the devout was had as your *angār*". *angār* is a hapax, possibly a by-form connected with *hangār-*, in which case one may translate: "that reckoning which you made against the devout ..."

11 *ud āz ud āwarzōg nz'r rasād ...*: "and feebleness (?) will come to greed and desire. And pain and aches [will cease (?)]; and they (i.e. surviving humanity) will shake-off famine (?) and reproaches, and will cease to sin".

wād ... andar šahr tāzād: presumably, that is, after the breaking of the Three Wheels.

12 *tar *dhmy'n ...*: Dr. Sundermann's reading, cf. *KPT* 1855. The ms. has only *dh[.]y'n*. The presence of *y* makes Salemann's restoration of *dh[mg]n* impossible, and throws doubt on the restoration of the following words, 'wd 'stw[, as 'wd 'stw[d'n'n]. This renders uncertain also H's interpretation of the passage, see *BSOAS* XIV 3, 1952, 516-17.

- 14 ... w'd, 'b 'wd 'dwr 'c h'n 'yrdwm zmyg, ky h'n m'nbyd 'wd w'd'hr'm yzd 'br 'ystynd, 'bysyh'd. 'wd h'n šhr 'y nwg 'wd bnyst'n 'y dyw'n, 'y nwgšhr'pwr yzd dysyd, h'nc ... whyšt'w hs'cyh'd 'wd *pdyryh'd.
- 15 ... wpr wdeyd. 'wd k' h'n rwšnyh 'y 'ndr *šhr'n 'hr'myd, ... ghy dwdy myhryzd 'c rhy 'y xwršyd 'w h'mqyšwr *'y'd 'wd xrwḥ xw'nyh'd. 'wd yzd'n ky pd 'sm'n 'sm'n 'wd zmyg zmyg m'nbyd, wysbyd, zndbyd 'wd dhybyd, p'hrḡbyd 'wd *nyxrwst'r hynd, 'wd šhr wyn'rd d'rynd, 'z 'wd 'hrmyn 'wd dyw'n 'wd pryg'n nyxrwwhynd. 'wd wysp'n *'zd bw'd ... *'z 'wd 'hrmyn 'wd dyw'n 'wd pryg'n* ..., xyšm'n mzn'n 'wd ...
- 16 ... ps h'n m'nbyd yzd, ky 'br h'n 'yrdwm zmyg 'ystyd, 'wd zmyg'n wyn'rd d'ryd, 'wd h'n w'd'hr'm yzd 'yš 'b'g, ky w'd, 'b 'wd 'dwr 'wl 'hr'myd, 'wd h'n wysbyd yzd, 'yg 'br 'yn zmyg 'ystyd 'wd h'n 'zd'h'g 'y mzn 'ndr 'brg kyšwr nyr'pt d'ryd, 'c hyy'r'n hmys 'w whyšt'w prnm'nd. ghy zmyg hrw 'br h'n ch'r nyr'myšn, bn 'y dyw'n, yk 'br yk prwd hmbhynd.

On the Great Fire

'dwr wzrg

- 17 *hz'r 'wd ch'r sd šst 'wd hšt s'r *'y'rd'nd 'wd wrd'nd 'wd 'xš'dy *gwm'y'nd.
- 18 'wd h'n zwr 'wd prdwz 'yg 'wy rwšnyh 'wd xwšn 'y yzd'n, 'y pd zmyg 'wd 'sm'n h'mqyšwr 'z 'wd dyw'n zd 'wd prdxt m'nd, h'n pd 'wy 'yb 'cyš b' 'wzyh'd, 'wd p'q bw'd, 'wd 'w xwr 'wd m'h 'hr'm'd, 'wd pd cyhr 'y 'whrmzdbdy yzd bw'd. 'wd 'c xwr 'wd m'h hmys 'w whyšt'w 'hr'm'nd.

14 hān-iz ... wahištāw hassāzēhād: i.e. the New Paradise will be prepared for rejoining the Eternal Paradise. The gap in the text makes interpretation doubtful.

15 ahrāmēd ...: a number of words after *ahrāmēd* have been omitted here, since they are too badly preserved for the sense to be clear.

17 *hazār ud čahār sad ...: *hz'r 'wd is restored by A.-H. 1478 years is the period given by Ibn an-Nadīm in the *Fihrist* for the duration of the Great Fire (see intro. p. 8). The number is possibly an error for 1462, which represents a full cycle of the Old Egyptian calendar (H.).

ayārdānd ...: the subject is the sinners remaining in the world.

18 pad čīhr ī ohrmizdbay ...: "it will become divine in the nature of the First Man; and together with the sun and moon they will ascend to the (New) Paradise". Cf y 24, above.

- 19 'wd 'whrmzdb'y 'c 'brg p'dgws, 'wd rwšnšhr yzd 'c xwr's'n, 'wd nwg-šhr'pwr yzd 'c 'yrg, 'wd myhr yzd 'c xwrnw'r p'dgws ... pdyšt'n, 'cxwyš ... hmys, 'br h'n *dysm'n 'y whyšt'w 'y nwg 'w 'wy 'y'yb 'y *t'b'g nyyš'nd.
- 20 'wd 'wyš'n *dynwr'n, ky 'ndr whyšt'w hynd, ... nšyy'nd. ... *ps hndmn 'y *y'zd'n 'y'nd, 'wd *pyr'mwn 'wy 'y'yb 'yst'nd. 'wd dwšqyrdg'n'n 'ndr 'y'yb *y'rd'nd 'wd wrd'nd 'wd *prbys'nd.
- 21 'wd 'wyš'n dynwr'n h'n 'y'yb 'wn ny wz'y'd, c'wn nwnc 'yn 'dwr xwr 'wd m'h ny wyz'yd.
- 22 'wd h'n 'y dwšqyrdg'n'n, k' 'ndr 'wy 'y'yb ... 'y'rd'nd 'wd wrd'nd, 'yg 'wl nyyš'nd, 'wd dynwr'n 'šn's'nd. 'wš'n pywh'n 'wh gw'nd kwt'n nyw dybg 'br 'mh hyb byh. 'wm'n ... z'yg 'w dst dyyd, 'c 'yn swcyšn bwzyd ...

19 *ohrmizdbay az abarag pādḡōs* ... : these four great gods, each with his supporters, stand in the four quarters of the heavens, one before each of the faces of the Father of Greatness.

... *padištān, az xwēš ... hammiš*: "[will leave their] places, together with their [companions]. (Standing) upon that building of the New Paradise, they will look on that blazing conflagration".

21 *awēšān dēnwarān hān āyab a'ōn nē wizāyād* ... : "that fire will thus not harm those devout ones, as even now the fire of sun and moon does not harm (people)".