

Identification of a small fragment of Mani's *Living Gospel* (Turfan Collection, Berlin, M5439)¹

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Abstract

Heretofore three fragments of Mani's *Living Gospel* – the most important work of Mani – have been recognized in Middle Persian and in Manichaean script: M17, M172/I/ and M644. This article, with a codicological and textological approach, shows that M17 and the new fragment M5439 are two separate pieces of a single manuscript page. The verso-side of M5439 has a new text. Now, after the identification and reading of this damaged fragment, we are able to correct the previous reconstructions and comment on a few Middle Persian words. The text contains a part of the *exordium* and of the chapter *Aleph* of the *Living Gospel*.

Keywords: Mani's *Gospel*, M5439, Turfan, Middle Persian, Manuscript fragment, Manichaeism

1. Introduction

Among the Turfan Manichaean manuscript fragments, of those belonging to the *Living Gospel*, three Middle Persian fragments have been known previously. The fragments M17, M172/I/ and M644, all present the same text: the opening lines of the first chapter of the *Living Gospel*, with an *exordium*.

2. Published fragments

2.1. M17

M17 (*Catalogue* 3; Ed.: *HR ii*, 25–7; *MSt*, 8: R a, b, c, d; V e, f, g, h; *Reader*, text c; '*I Mani*' 184. Trl.: *HG*, 184; *GSR*, 146. Repr.: '*I Mani*' 194–5. Photo: *Photo Ed. I*, pl. 26–7. For new edition, see Shokri-Foumeshi 2014: 100–6) is entitled: 'wnglywnyg 'rb ncyhyd "He teaches (the chapter) *Aleph* of the *Gospel*". The tip-size of the pen/stylus that wrote the text, which is partly red and partly black, must have been small. The lower part of the page is missing. Despite first appearances, the lines in the middle of the sheet have not been

1 I would like to thank Professors Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst and Nicholas Sims-Williams for their kind suggestions and constructive advice. Thanks also to the group "Digitales Turfan-Archiv I" from the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities (BBAW), group Turfan Studies, and Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage, Oriental Department, who provided me with the environment necessary for studying and publishing the fragment M5439.

obliterated. In fact, there were never any letters there: the space was originally left blank,² so as to provide room for the translation of the Middle Persian phrases into another language (Sogdian), just as was done in M172/I. This can be shown by a comparison of the first remaining common phrase in M172/I and M17, which ends with the word *wyhyh'n*: while in M17, the space after this word is left blank, in M172/I the Sogdian translation of the Middle Persian word follows. The succession of Middle Persian and Sogdian sections continues up to the end of M172/I, whereas a blank space follows the Middle Persian text in M17.

2.2. M172/I

M172 (= MIK III 196)/I (*Catalogue* 13. Ed.: *HR ii*, 100–1; *MSt*, 19; *Reader*, text c {MP only}; '*I Mani*' 185. Trl.: *HG* 184; *GSR* 146. Repr.: '*I Mani*' 196–7. Photo: *Photo Ed. I*, pl. 77. For new edition, see Shokri-Foumeshi 2014: 106–13) is written in two languages: Middle Persian, with Sogdian translation/paraphrase (both in Manichaean script), they follow each other alternately. The Sogdian version helps us to add some phrases to the remaining sections of the *Living Gospel*. The text of M172/I is no different from M17.

2.3. M644

M644 (*Catalogue* 44. Ed.: '*I Mani*' 190. Trl.: '*I Mani*', 189, 191, 193. Repr.: '*I Mani*', 198. Photo: *Photo Ed. II*, pl. 81–2. For a new edition, see Shokri-Foumeshi 2014: 113–5), 7 × 6.2 cm, is a small fragment, the surviving part of which is probably the bottom of a sheet, since there appears to be a blank space after the lines /r/5 and /v/5. Nonetheless, some sections of the remaining fragment are parts of the last section of the *exordium* and the first parts of the First Chapter of the *Gospel*, complementing M17 and M172/I, and the verso consists of some new phrases different from those in the two fragments above.

2.4. Some observations

The first column on the verso of M17 (i.e. /v/i/16–7/) closes with the sentence *h'n | (ky) 'n 'cyš bwd ...*. Taking the four blank lines of M17 into account ('*I Mani*' 184) MacKenzie, in his reconstruction of the recto of M644,³ also attempted to reconstruct the rest of the phrase (1994: 190–1). His reconstruction was based upon the Greek *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis* (CMC 66, 4–15; see Koenen and Römer 1988: 199–200), but, as he himself points out the reconstruction is “highly uncertain” (1994: 190), especially regarding the difference between the two versions in some phrases. MacKenzie’s reconstruction is as shown below in square brackets [] and in *italics*:

M644/A/5 – B/*1–*6/ ... pd q'm 'y pydr | by w'bryg'n ⊙ ⊙ h'n (ky) 'n | 'cyš bwd [*hym ⊙ 'wy zywyd 'wd | pt'yd 'w j'yd'n ⊙ 'hydr bwd | 'c hm'g 'wd*] 'c ps wysp 'st | 'wd hrw cy bwd 'wd bw'd pd | 'wy zwr 'ystyd.

- 2 Durkin-Meisterernst kindly wrote to me: “At the bottom of the page, that the blank space in M17 is not for an illustration, as Müller thought, was already recognized by MacKenzie”.
- 3 MacKenzie (1994: 184): “Ca. 14 lines missing, of which ca. 10 probably blank”.

“... by the will of the Father, the true God, he from whom I came to be,⁴ [*he lives and remains forever, he was before everything and*] is after all (things), and everything which has been and will be stands by his power”. (*I Mani* 190–1)

My study of this reconstruction proves that the new small fragment M5439 can shed new light on MacKenzie’s edition. In fact, the analysis, which will be discussed below, shows that M17 and M5439 are two separate pieces of a single manuscript page; that means neither is a copy of the other.

3. The newly identified M5439 [= T II D 67]

The unpublished fragment M5439 (*Catalogue* 109; the original is lost, but a black-and-white photo is in the archive of BBAW) has a triangular shape, two columns, and is without a headline. Only the last three lines of /r/ii/, the last two lines of /v/i/, and the last six lines of /v/ii/ have survived. The verso-side has a new text. For the blank lines, such as in M17, a Sogdian translation must have been intended. The size of the pen of the text, which seems to be partly red and partly black, is small.

3.1. Measurements

<i>L.sh.</i>	<i>W.sh.</i>	<i>L.l.</i>	<i>S.ll.</i>	<i>S.cls.</i>	<i>O.m.</i>	<i>I.m.</i>	<i>U.m.</i>	<i>L.m.</i>	<i>T.b.</i>
3.7 cm	8.8 cm	1.9 cm	0.3 cm	0.4 cm	3 cm	1.5 cm	lost	1.9–2 cm	1.9 × 4 cm

Comparable to M17

<i>L.sh.</i>	<i>W.sh.</i>	<i>L.l.</i>	<i>S.ll.</i>	<i>S.cls.</i>	<i>O.m.</i>	<i>I.m.</i>	<i>U.m.</i>	<i>L.m.</i>	<i>T.b.</i>
10.5 cm	9 cm	1.9 cm	0.3 cm	0.4 cm	3 cm	1.5 cm	3.3 cm	lost	6.9 × 4.3 cm

3.2. Analysis

The analysis shows that not only is there no problem concerning the text on the recto, where M5439/r/i/1–3/ and M5439/r/ii/1–3/ are totally in accordance with M172/I/v/2–3/ and M172/I/v/16–7/, but also that in the script and the height and width of the pages, the two sheets are almost the same. Fragment M5439 is arranged in two separate columns and so it seems that the fragment was indeed from the bottom of the sheet. If we take the fragment as a section for the first sheet of the bifolio, what I prefer to call /r/i/ and /r/ii/ may be placed at the bottom of M5439/I/r/i–ii/, and what I call /v/i/ and /v/ii/ may be placed at the very end of M5439/I/v/i–ii/. Taking the size of the script and the length of the line into consideration, the first column on recto (/r/i/) must have started with the sentence *štwd ’wd ’st’ yhyd qnygrwšn* (based on the text of M17 and M172/I/), and the second column (/r/ii/) must have started with *’wd ’br gw’g’n ’wd ’šnw’g’n ’y sxwn w’bryg’n* (based on the text of M17 and M172/I/). And accordingly, the

4 Cf. the slight variant in Gardner and Lieu 2004: 156, as: “From whom I *also* came into being”.

phrase M5439/v/i/ 'c pyš [wy](s)p bwd w̄ just fills the gap, and reaches the point where the first column of the sheet M17 is destroyed. Also, taking M5439/v/i/1–2/ into account, I placed the last section of M5439/v/i/1–2/ into the missing space and marked this in *italics*:

M17/v/i/14–17/ and /v/ii/1–2/ ... pd q'm 'y pydr by w'bryg'n ⊙⊙ h'n ky
'n 'cyš bwd [hym⁵ ⊙⊙ ⊙⊙ h'n ky] 'c pyš wysp bwd w̄ 'c ps wysp 'st ...
“... by the will of the Father, the true God, he from whom I came to be, He
was he who was before all (things) and is after all (things)”

Regarding these considerations, therefore, M5439/*verso*/ii/ (i.e. which includes a new text of the chapter *Aleph* of the *Living Gospel*) must understandably come after the last sentence of M17, i.e. /v/ii/17/, but not directly.⁶

3.3. Order of the Lines of M17 + M5439

The order of the lines is shown in [Table 1](#).

Table 1. Order of codices

Fragments	Reconstructed page	No. of each column
<i>Hdl.</i>		
M17/v-r/hdl./	/v-r/hdl./	
<i>Recto</i>		
M17/r/i/1–17/	/r/i/1–17/ (including 8 ll. blank)	
M5439/r/i/1–3/	/r/i/18–27/: 9 ll. missing, of which 8 ll. blank	29 ll.
M17/r/ii/1–17/	/r/ii/28–9/	
M17/r/ii/1–17/	/r/ii/1–17/ (including 8 ll. blank)	
M5439/r/ii/1–3/	/r/ii/18–26/: 9 ll. missing, of which 8 ll. blank	29 ll.
M5439/r/ii/1–3/	/r/ii/27–9/	
<i>Verso</i>		
M17/v/i/1–17/	/v/i/1–17/ (including 8 ll. blank)	
M5439/v/i/1–2/	/v/i/18–27/: 10 ll. missing, of which 9 ll. blank	29 ll.
M17/v/ii/1–17/	/v/i/28–29/	
M17/v/ii/1–17/	/v/ii/1–17/ (including 7 ll. blank)	
M5439/v/ii/1–6/	/v/ii/18–23/: accordingly 6 ll. missing	29 ll.
M5439/v/ii/1–6/	/v/ii/24–9/	

4. Unified text

M17/v-r/hdl./ ⊗ {*violet*} 'wnglywnyg He teaches (the chapter)
'rb ncyhyd ⊗ *Aleph* of the *Gospel*
*['stwd 'wd 'st'yhyd]⁷ She was praised and is praised

5 Reconstructed by MacKenzie 1994: 191.

6 In between them (i.e. where the text */v/ii/18–23/ could occur) the *text* of M644/*verso*/ should come (here we are talking about the *text*, not the *sheet*).

7 On the previous page. Supplied by M172/I/r/6/.

<i>Recto/i/</i>		
M17/r/i/01/	qnygrwšn sr	the Maiden of Light, head
M17/r/i/02 ⁸	‘y (w)ysp’ n	of all
M17/r/i/03/	wyhyyh’ n ⁹	wisdoms.
M17/r/i/04–11/	blank	
M17/r/i/12 ¹⁰	‘stwd’ wd	It was praised and
M17/r/i/13/	‘st’ yhyyd ¹¹	is praised
M17/r/i/14/	dyn ywjdhr pd	the holy Church, by
M17/r/i/15/	zwr ‘y pdr ¹²	the power of the Father,
M17/r/i/16/	pd’ pryn ‘y ¹³	by the praise of
M17/r/i/17/	m’ dr (‘ wd pd)	the Mother, and by
*r/i/18/	[wyhy ‘y pwsr] ¹⁴	the wisdom of the Son.
M17/r/i/19–26/	blank	
M5439/r/i/01/[27]	[drwd] ¹⁵ w̄ ¹⁶ ‘pryn	Welfare and praise
M5439/r/i/02/[28]	[‘b](r) ¹⁷ prznd’ n	upon the children
M5439/r/i/03/[29]	‘y drwdyh ¹⁸	of well-being
<i>Recto/ii/</i>		
M17/r/ii/01/ ¹⁹	‘wd’ b(r g)w’(g)[’ n] ²⁰	and on the speakers
M17/r/ii/02/	‘wd’ šnw’ gn ²¹ ‘y	and the hearers of
M17/r/ii/03/	sxwn w’ bryg’ n	the true word.
M17/r/ii/04–11/	blank	
M17/r/ii/12 ²²	hyb byh	Let there be
M17/r/ii/13/	‘st’ y(š)n (w̄) ²³	praise and
M17/r/ii/14/	pd(x)šr ‘w pdr ²⁴	honour to the Father
M17/r/ii/15/	‘wd’ w (p)wsi ²⁵	and to the Son
M17/r/ii/16/	‘wd’ w w’(x)š	and to the Holy
M17/r/ii/17/	ywjdhr ‘(wd)	Ghost and
*r/ii/18/	[‘w m’ dy’ n ywjdhr ⊙⊙ ⊙⊙] ²⁶	the holy book.

8 Lines 12–14 red.
 9 In M172/I/r/8/: wyhyh’ n.
 10 Lines 12–14 red.
 11 In M172/I/r/12/: ‘st’ yhyd.
 12 In M172/I/r/13/: pydr.
 13 The reading can only be accepted by taking M172/I/r/13/ into consideration. This part of the fragment, as well as the end of the next line, is damaged.
 14 Supplied by M172/I/r/14/. This shows that every column of the manuscript page certainly contains 29 lines.
 15 Supplied by M172/I/v/2/.
 16 The two dots of <w̄> are too faded to be read.
 17 Of the letter <r> only a portion of its left part remains. Supplied by M172/I/v/2/.
 18 Of the initial letter <d>, except for the dot in the left portion, only a spot remains.
 19 Lines 1–3 red.
 20 Supplied by M172/I/v/3/.
 21 In M172/I/v/4/: ‘šnw’ g’ n.
 22 Lines 12–14 red.
 23 In M172/I/v/9/: ‘wd.
 24 In M172/I/v/10/: pydr.
 25 The centre of <p> is destroyed.
 26 Supplied by M172/I/v/11–12/.

M17/r/ii/19–26/	<i>blank</i>	
M5439/r/ii/01/[27]	gwyy(š)[n ²⁷ 'y] ²⁸	The speech of
M5439/r/ii/02/[28]	'wnglyw(n) ²⁹ [zyndg] ³⁰	the <i>Living Gospel</i> ,
M5439/r/ii/03/[29]	'y cšm ['wd] ³¹	which instructs
<i>Verso/i/</i>		
M17/v/i/01/ ³²	[g](wš ³³ wc)yyhyd ³⁴	eye and ear,
M17/v/i/02/	(')wd b 'r 'y	and teaches
M17/v/i/03/	(r) 'styy ncyhy(d)	the fruit of truth.
<i>M17/v/i/04–11/ blank</i>		
M17/v/i/12/ ³⁵	'n m 'ny prystg	I Mani, apostle
M17/v/i/13/	'yg yyšw'	of Jesus
M17/v/i/14/	'ry 'm 'n pd	the Friend, by
M17/v/i/15/	q (m 'y pdr by	the will of the Father, the true
M17/v/i/16/	w(')bryg 'n ⊙⊙ h ' 'n	God, he
M17/v/i/17/	(ky) ³⁶ 'n 'cyš bwd	from whom I [came]
*v/i/18/	[*hym ⊙⊙ ⊙⊙] ³⁷	to be.
<i>M17/v/i/*19–26/ blank</i>		
<i>M5439/v/i/*27/ blank</i>		
M5439/v/i/01/[28]	[*h 'n ky] ³⁸ '(c) pyš ³⁹	He was he who was
M5439/v/i/02/[29]	[wy](s)p ⁴⁰ bwd ⁴¹ w̄	before all (things) and
<i>Verso/ii/</i>		
M17/v/ii/01/ ⁴²	'c ps ⁴³ wysp	is after all
M17/v/ii/02/	'st 'w(d hrw)	(things), and everything
M17/v/ii/03/	cy bwd w̄ bw 'd	which has been and will be

27 Only the right part of the letter <š> remains.

28 Supplied by M172/I/v/16/.

29 The letter <y> is faded. Of the letter <n> only the lower part remains.

30 Supplied by M172/I/v/17/.

31 Supplied by M172/I/v/17/. And not <w̄>. Regarding the space between two lines, the length of the line and the outer margin, we expect here *c.* three letters. It is followed by M17/v/i/1–17/.

32 Lines 1–3 red.

33 Supplied by M644/r/2/.

34 In M172/I/v/18/: *wcyhyd*. MacKenzie ('*I Mani*' 191): [gws̄ w](c)yyhyd.

35 Lines 12–13 red.

36 Of the characters <ky> only the upper parts remain. As Boyce (1960: 33) presented her uncertainty with an asterisk on this word, and MacKenzie (1994: 191) by brackets, the reading is totally uncertain. What remains does not seem to be *ky*. But the above-mentioned reconstruction is acceptable for the context and its harmonization to the text.

37 Reconstructed by MacKenzie (1994: 191).

38 Cf. the previous sentence remained on M17/v/I/16–17/: *h 'n ky 'n 'cyš bwd [hym]*. The context and space here enable us to suggest also those restorations as *'wy ky, hw ky* and even *'wš*.

39 There seems to be a trace of a dot after the letter <š>. The dot is a black blot – it is unjustified and may have been written there just to fill the line.

40 The first ring of the <s> is faded.

41 The left portion of the letter is severely destroyed and is blackened. The reading is certain and can be no other letter than . Of the letter <w> only a spot remains. Of <d>, except for its dot, only a slight trace remains.

42 Lines 1–3 red.

43 In Boyce 1960: 33, text c2, two clear words of *'c ps* are missing.

M17/v/ii/04/	pd 'wy zwr 'ystyd	stands by his power.
M17/v/ii/05–11/	blank	
M17/v/ii/12/ ⁴⁴	prwx 'n ⁴⁵ 'yn	The fortunate
M17/v/ii/13/	myzdg't cyh	receive this
M17/v/ii/14/	(pd)yrynd zyr'n	(good) news, the wise
M17/v/ii/15/	'š(n)'synd	recognize (it),
M17/v/ii/16/	(t)hm'n py(mw)cynd	the strong don (it) ⁴⁶ ,
M17/v/ii/17/	d'n(')g'n (w)hy	the learned ... better ⁴⁷ ...
*/v/ii/18–23/	missing	
M5439/v/ii/01/[24]	[1–2](.w[0–1](.)[½]	...
M5439/v/ii/02/[25]	'wd ⁴⁸ zyh(r) ⁴⁹ ['yg] ⁵⁰	and they will attain
M5439/v/ii/03/[26]	j'yd''[n ⁵¹ 3–5]	eternal
M5439/v/ii/04/[27]	'y'b'(n)[d ⁵² ⊙⊙]	life ...
M5439/v/ii/05/[28]	xwnq ⁵³ 'š[m'ḥ] ⁵⁴	Hail, you
M5439/v/ii/06/[29]	fryhstw(m ⁵⁵ w̄) ⁵⁶	dearest and ... !
		<i>End of the sheet</i>

5. Some remarks

5.1. Verso/i/[28]–/ii/4/

[*h'n ky] 'c pyš wysp bwd w̄ 'c ps wysp 'st 'wd hrw cy bwd w̄ bw'd pd 'wy zwr 'ystyd.

“He was [he who was] before all (things) and is after all (things), and everything which has been and will be stands by his power.”

This is the second and, of course, the last passage of the *Gospel*, for which the Greek parallel in the *CMC* is entirely distinguishable (for a further survey, see Shokri-Foumeshi 2014: 175). Regarding both the context and the required letters, my restoration of <*h'n ky> seems most appropriate. The adverbs *pyš*

44 Lines 12–13 red.

45 In Boyce 1960: 33, text c2: *frwx'n*.

46 *Scil.* as their armour.

47 Cf. 'I Mani' 190: “The learned [*consider] (it to be) better”.

48 The upper part of the letter *aleph* <> is destroyed. The letter <d> looks like two spots (the second spot is a figurative dot in the left portion of the letter). The reading is certain, though.

49 The lower part of the letter <z> is faded and of the letter <r> only the right part remains.

50 The amount of space remaining up to the end of the line allows this reconstruction which makes the sentence meaningful.

51 Although it seems that the writer's pen had so much ink while writing the two letters *aleph* (') – repeated in order to fill the line – so that the strokes ran into each other, the reading is certain.

52 The lower portion of the second *aleph* (') is higher than in the normal form. But no other letter than *aleph* can be suggested. The reading is certain, though.

53 The letter <n> has faded and the lower portion cannot be seen. No other letter can be suggested but this one.

54 The amount of space remaining up to the end of the line and the meaning it gives to the sentence justify the reconstruction.

55 The letter <w> is assimilated into <y> and <m> is a little transformed.

56 This portion of the sheet is damaged, and the spot at the end of the line seems a smear only.

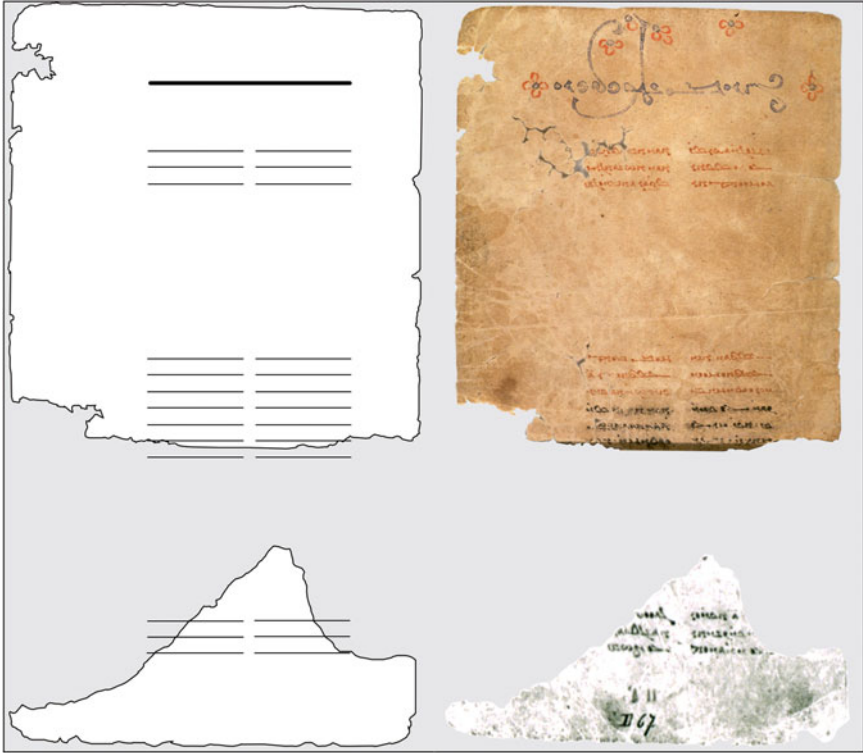


Figure 1. M17 + M5439 recto

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“before” and *ps* “after”, are fully discussed in Gershevitch (1964a: 179–89), as they come concurrently in the passage *az pēš wisp būd ud az pas wisp ast*. The passage also clearly shows that *az pēš* in this context simply means the same “before” (But cf. *DMMPP* 290b, s.v. *pyš*). *az pēš* and *az pas* are conversely developed to the (Classical) New Persian successively as *pēš az* “before” and *pas az* “after” (namely) with the same meanings. Could the phrase be comparable to *Col.* 1:17: “And he is before all things, and by him all things consist”? On the MP *cy /čē/ rel.*, see Boyce 1964: 37 f.

5.2. Verso/ii/12–17/

*prwx' n 'yn myzdgī cyhpydyrynd zyr' n 'šn' synd*⁵⁷ *ḥm' n pymwcynd d' n' g' n*
why ... {missing}

“The fortunate receive this (good) news, the wise recognize (it), the strong don (it), the learned ... better”

why “better” comes from Old Iranian **wahyah-*. Cf. Gershevitch 1964a: 188.

57 See Humbach and Skjærvø 1983: 71, apud *DMMPP* 93b.

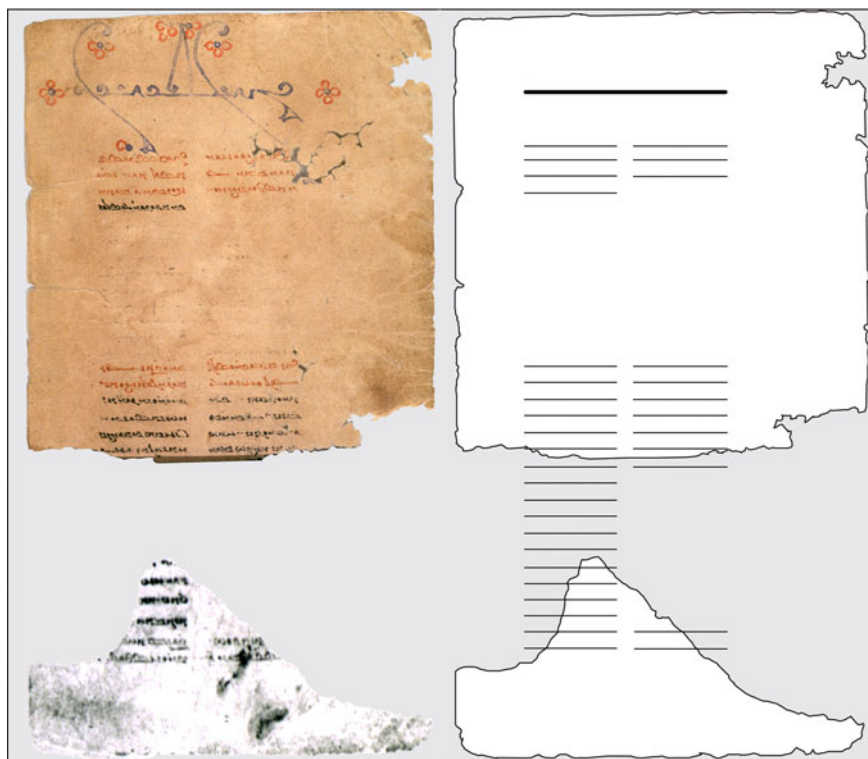


Figure 2. M17 + M5439 verso

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5.3. Verso/ii/[25–9]

{missing} 'wd zyhr 'yg j'yd'n [3–5] 'y'b'(n)[d] xwnq 'š[m'h] fryhstw(m
w) ... {missing}

“... and they will attain eternal life ... Hail you dearest and ... !”

The *zīhr īg jāydān*, cf. M454/l/r/6–11: 'w[d] swst m' bwyd 'c rnj 'y xwd'wn bwrđn ☉☉ 'wn kwt'n myzd 'wd p'd'šyn qyrbg 'wd zyhr 'y j['yd'n] pd b'ryst wynd'd (*Mir. Man.* iii, 46 [318]). “And do not tire to endure the toils of the Lord so that you may receive your pious retribution and reward and receive the eternal life in the supreme”.⁵⁸ MP *zyhr* is comparable to Pth. *jywhr* (see Gershevitch 1964b: 14 no. 1). *xōnak* (or: *xunak*; see *DMMPP* 368b) ‘lo! hail!’ (*ibid.*) is already attested three times in the Turfan collection (*ibid.*). Cf. also the Classical New Persian, Bal‘amī, *The (Persian) Translation of Ṭabarī’s History: Pas Xālid goft*: ... *yā Wahšī! xunok tu rā bād!* (Dehkhoda 1985, s.v. *xōnok*.) “Then Xālid said: ... O Wahšī! hail to Thee”.

58 *Mir. Man.* iii, 46 [318]: “Und ermattet nicht, die Mühen des Herrn zu ertragen, damit ihr Euren frommen Lohn und Belohnung und das ewige Leben im Höchsten erlangt”.

General abbreviations

hdl.	headline	Pth.	Parthian
i, ii	Indicate the columns on a page	R, r	recto
i.m.	inner margin	repr.	representation
ll.	lines	s.cls.	space between two cloumns
l.l.	length of the line	s.ll.	space between two lines
l.m.	lower margin	t.b.	text-block
l.sh.	length of the sheet	u.m.	upper margin
MP	Middle Persian	V, v	verso
o.m.	outer margin	w.sh.	width of the sheet

Abbreviated works

<i>Catalogue</i>	Boyce 1960
<i>DMMP</i>	Durkin-Meisterernst 2004
<i>GSR</i>	Klimkeit 1993
<i>HG</i>	Klimkeit 1989
<i>HR ii</i>	Müller 1904
<i>'I Mani'</i>	MacKenzie 1994
<i>Mir. Man. iii</i>	Andreas and Henning 1934
<i>MSt</i>	Salemann 1908
<i>Photo Ed. I</i>	Sundermann 1996
<i>Photo Ed. II</i>	Weber 2000
<i>Reader</i>	Boyce 1975

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