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The Xiapu 霞浦 Manichaean text *Sijizan* 四寂讚 “Praise of the Four Entities of Calmness” and Its Parthian Original*

YUTAKA YOSHIDA, Kyoto

WERNER SUNDERMANN’S contribution to Manichaean studies is enormous. In particular his numerous works on Manichaean Middle Iranian texts, both philological and religious, have benefitted all those who are interested in the Iranian languages and Manichaeism. When the late Professor KOGI KUDARA and I decided to publish all the Iranian fragments belonging to the Otani collection in the late 1980s we asked him for help not only because of his unsurpassable experience and competence in editing similar texts of the German Turfan collection but also for his unique willingness to assist others by giving his own ideas so generously, with which everyone who knew him is well acquainted.¹

It is really a pity that due to his illness I was not able to benefit from his advice when during the last few years I discovered in Japan several well-preserved Manichaean paintings of Southern Chinese origin. I am pretty sure that his profound knowledge of Manichaeism could greatly contribute to the elucidation of the details of these paintings, in particular the one that meticulously depicts the Manichaean cosmology.² Yet another new discovery to which SUNDERMANN did not have access is a group of very late Chinese Manichaean texts discovered in Southern China.

Since October 2008 a considerable number of Chinese Manichaean texts originating from Xiapu 霞浦 district in Fujian 福建, China, have come to light and a number of articles discussing their contents have been published by Chinese scholars.³ These manuscripts have been kept by the descendants

* It is my pleasure to thank Professor N. SIMS-WILLIAMS, who, with his accustomed generosity, not only gave me valuable suggestions but also corrected my English. I am also grateful to Dr. MA XIAOHE for his assistance in getting access to the Xiapu texts.

1 The Iranian section of the collection, except for the Khotanese texts, was eventually made public in 1997 by the jointly authored KUDARA/SUNDERMANN/YOSHIDA 1997.

2 For general information on these paintings, see YOSHIDA 2007; GULÁCSI 2008–2009; KÓSA 2010.

3 KÓSA circulated an exhaustive list of the relevant publications during his presentation “Bibliography of the new findings from Xiapu (Fujian)” at the 8th International Conference of International Association of Manichaean Studies (IAMS), September 2013. For a brief overview of the manuscripts and their discovery, see YANG 2011, pp. 137–138.

of local priests and many of the manuscripts seem to date back to the Qing Dynasty (1616–1912). However, as far as I can see, no exhaustive description of the entire corpus has been made public and none of them has been edited as a whole.

1. *Sijizan* 四寂讚 and its previous studies

As I have shown in a forthcoming study,⁴ the Xiapu texts contain a considerable number of Middle Iranian terms phonetically transcribed into Chinese characters, such as *a sa man sha* 阿薩漫沙 for Western Middle Iranian [asmān šāh] “heavenly king, i. e. Rex Honoris” and *ye fu luo yi luo* 唵囉囉逸囉 standing for [gabrael(ā)] “(archangel) Gabriel”. The latter term clearly indicates that the basis of the transcription is Middle Chinese rather than a later form of Chinese such as Early Mandarin, because the character *ye* 唵, whose form is *ngjɛp in Middle Chinese and *jɛ in Early Mandarin,⁵ represents a syllable [gab].

In one of his articles on the Xiapu texts, MA XIAOHE refers to a phonetically transcribed hymn called *Sijizan* 四寂讚 “Praise of the four tranquillities” and discusses the Iranian counterpart of its first line: *ao he fu he lu shen cuo hu luo er li* 奧和訥賀盧訖嵯鶻囉⁶而哩.⁷ MA XIAOHE proposes to see Aramaic and Middle Persian words corresponding to the four aspects of the Father of Greatness: *ao he fu* 奧和訥 / 'yl'h' “god”, *he lu shen* 賀盧訖 / rwsn “light”, *cuo hu luo* 嵯鶻囉 / zwr “power”, and *er li* 而哩 / whyh “wisdom”.

Fortunately, a small photograph of two manuscript pages comprising the entire hymn was reproduced by CHEN JINGUO and LIN JUN in their studies of the Manichaean materials handed down in Xiapu and this enables one to investigate the whole hymn.⁸ As I show in my forthcoming paper, it is the Parthian forms that are represented in the transcription. According to my reconstruction, the first 13 characters of the *Sijizan* correspond to Parthian terms in the following way:

4 Cf. YOSHIDA (forthcoming), based on my paper read at the 8th International Conference (IAMS) held at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, September 2013.

5 In this article Middle Chinese forms are cited from KARLGREN 1957. For the Early Mandarin form, see PULLEYBLANK 1991.

6 A few characters provided with an additional radical *kou* 口 meaning “mouth” are not found in dictionaries. This practice of adding 口 is often observed among the characters employed to phonetically transcribe foreign sounds, cf. YOSHIDA 1983, p. 328, n. 17. They are in most cases homophones with those without the radical. In this study, I give the Middle Chinese forms reconstructed for the characters without the radical.

7 MA 2009. Incidentally, he translates *Siji(zan)* as “(Praises of) the Four Calmnesses”.

8 Cf. CHEN/LIN 2009, p. 378.

奧和 *âu γuâ : 'w-⁹ [ō-w-ā]
 匍賀 *b'ïuk γâ : bg-⁹ [bay-ā]⁹
 廬訖 *luo ʃiɛn : rwšn [rōšn-ā]
 嗟鶻囉 *dz'â γuət lâ : z'wr-⁹ [zāwar-ā]
 唵哩弗哪 *nízi lji pjuət nâ : jyryft-⁹ [žīrīft-ā]

In my opinion all except for *rwšn* are provided with what HENNING calls a Ruf-Alef.¹⁰ Possibly *rwšn* was also followed by a Ruf-Alef and was originally spelled *lu shen nuo* 廬訖哪, of which the last character was later omitted. Similarly, the last character of 唵哩弗哪 standing for *jyryft*⁹ is likely to be an error for *duo* (MC *tâ) 哆. In what follows I shall discuss the remaining part of the hymn.

2. Text of the *Sijizan* 四寂讚

First I give my reading of the entire hymn. As far as I can see from the photograph there is practically no problem in identifying the Chinese characters except for the second character in column 12, which looks like either *sha* 沙 or *yong* 泳. The published photograph is too reduced for me to read three small characters placed under the title of the hymn *si ji zan* 四寂讚 of column 1, which are not likely to be a part of the hymn itself but a kind of commentary or instruction for those who recite it.¹¹

1. 四寂讚 送佛用
2. 奧和 匍賀 廬訖 嗟鶻囉 唵哩
3. 弗哪 嗟里能 阿淡渾湛摩和夷
4. 数謹你門乎 弥特末羅摩尼弗
5. 里悉德健那代 醯潭摩阿訶
6. 特伽稽羅縛居陣那南無波耶
7. 特羅緩步唵代 醯潭摩阿訶特
8. 伽稽羅縛居陣那南無波耶馱
9. 羅緩步唵 戒月結
10. 阿佛哩特 菩和末羅摩尼里 [口+在]
11. 伽度師 伽度師 勿那阿羅緩那
12. 菩 *沙 遮伊但伽度師

The hymn contains two parts. The first section comprises lines 2–9 ending with a note in Chinese *jie yue jie* 戒月結 “Conclusion of the month of fasting(?)”. In

9 The postvocalic [g] was pronounced as a fricative [ɣ]. Transcriptions of Middle Persian and Parthian are cited from DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004.

10 Cf. HENNING 1937, p. 21, n. 1.

11 In a personal communication Dr. MA XIAOHE was kind enough to share with me his reading of this short comment: *songfo yong* 送佛用 “(used) for sending off the Buddhas”.

the second part *qie du shi* 伽度師 (MC *g'ia d'uo si) is repeated three times. MA XIAOHE correctly compares it with *qie lu shi* 伽路師 (MC *g'ia luo si) attested in the *Hymnscroll*, which transcribes *k'dwš* [kādūš].¹² While *lu* 路 (MC *luo) of the Dunhuang form corresponds to a post vocalic *d*, which was pronounced as a fricative sound, i. e. [ð], the Xiapu counterpart employs *du* 度 (MC *d'uo) instead. This difference seems to indicate that the two systems of transcription differ from each other, and that the Xiapu system is slightly earlier than that of the Dunhuang texts. Since the voiced obstruents of early Middle Chinese changed into voiceless counterparts,¹³ the Xiapu material showing the voiced pronunciation of the character is likely to be slightly older. However, in view of *qie* 伽 (MC *g'ia) representing [kā] in the both forms, what I call “system” is more like a tendency than a strict rule.

3. Columns 3–9

Two approaches to the task of reconstructing a phonetically transcribed hymn are possible. One is to consider the possible Middle Iranian, in this case Parthian, words or sounds represented by the Middle Chinese pronunciation of the characters employed in the hymn. The other is to search for the original text of the hymn among those found at Turfan.¹⁴ So far a considerable number of short Iranian hymns or *mahrs* have been published, some of which are known to have been translated into Uighur.

3.1. Plausible reconstructions

Before *jie yue jie* 戒月結, a sequence of twenty-three characters 訶特伽稽羅縛居陣那南無波耶特(馱)羅緩步唎 is repeated in columns 5–7 and 7–9. Therefore, the sequence can be seen to represent a semantic unit, most likely a verse. Before this verse one finds familiar transcriptions *yishu* 夷数 “Jesus” and *moni* 摩尼 “Mani”. Since there is no discernible indication of word boundary, for the sake of convenience I divide the characters of columns 2–5 into three sequences, the first before 夷数 and the third after 摩尼.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----|------|-----|------|----|------|------|-----|-----|-----|
| a. | 嗟 | 里 | 能 | 阿 | 淡 | 渾 | 湛 | 摩 | 和 |
| | cuo | lǐ | néng | a | dàn | hūn | dàn | mo | he |
| | dz'â | lji | nəng | ·â | d'âm | ɣuən | tâm | muâ | ɣuâ |

12 MA 2009, p. 93.

13 On this sound change, see PULLEYBLANK 1984, pp. 63–68.

14 I must confess that to begin with I neglected this procedure. It was Professor N. SIMS-WILLIAMS who advised me to search for the original hymn among the so far published texts.

This is what follows the naming of the four aspects of the Father of Greatness. Although it is difficult to discern Iranian forms here, the preposition $\text{'w-}^{\text{'}}$ [\bar{o} -w- \bar{a}] preceding $bg\text{-}^{\text{'}}$, etc. suggests that one should restore a verb governing that phrase. The first two characters *cuo li* 嗟里 (MC $*dz'\hat{a} lji$) can easily be reconstructed as $z'r\gamma h$ [$z\bar{a}r\bar{i}$] “sorrowfully”. In view of the Middle Chinese form of *neng a dan* 能阿淡 (MC $*n\bar{a}ng \cdot \hat{a} d'\hat{a}m$), a Parthian verb form ending with $-\bar{a}m$, 1st sg. present indicative or 1st pl. present indicative/subjunctive, readily comes to mind. However, the verb stem in question is difficult to restore. For the time being, by way of a mere guess, I suggest $*ng'd'm$ “I/we supplicate”, although one expects $ng'y'm$ instead.¹⁵

I have no idea for what stands before *yishu* 夷数 for [yīšō]: *hun dan mo he* 渾湛摩和 (MC $*\gamma u\bar{a}n t\bar{a}m mu\hat{a} \gamma u\hat{a}$). Is it another verb ending with $-\bar{a}m$, perhaps followed by a pleonastic vowel? The Middle Chinese form looks somewhat like $wynd'm$ [$wend\bar{a}m$] “I/we praise”. If this should be the case, the sequence of sounds $*m'w'$ suggested by *mo he* 摩和 (MC $*mu\hat{a} \gamma u\hat{a}$) may again contain $*\text{'w-}^{\text{'}}$ [\bar{o} -w- \bar{a}], i. e. the preposition 'w [\bar{o}] followed by a pleonastic vowel. This highly hypothetical reconstruction suggests that a new verse begins here with $wynd'm \text{'w-}^{\text{'}}$ “I/we praise ~”.

b. 夷 数 谨 你 门 乎 弥 特 末 罗 摩 尼
 yi shu jin ni men hu mi te mo luo mo ni
 i ʃju kʃjən nɪ muən ɣuo mjiɛ d'ək muât lâ muâ nɪ

Yishu 夷数 for [yīšō] is obvious and *mo luo* 末罗 (MC $*mu\hat{a}t lâ$) preceding *mo ni* 摩尼 (MC $*mu\hat{a} nɪ$) “Mani” is most likely to represent [mār] “my lord” followed by the vowel $-\bar{a}$. Thus *mo luo mo ni* 末羅摩尼 is to be reconstructed as [mār- \bar{a} mār̄nɪ]. We are left with the words in between: *jin ni men hu mi te* 谨你门乎弥特 (MC $*kʃjən nɪ mu\bar{a}n \gamma uo mji\bar{e} d'\bar{a}k$). Since the Middle Chinese form of *jin ni* 谨你, $*kʃjən nɪ$ sounds like Middle Persian *kanīg*, of which the contemporary pronunciation is known to have been *kanī* without final $-g$,¹⁶ one may certainly expect the triad Yīšō, Kanīg Rōšn, and Wahman here. The following *men hu mi te* 门乎弥特 (MC $*mu\bar{a}n \gamma uo mji\bar{e} d'\bar{a}k$), which only slightly resembles Wahman, is much closer to Manōhmēd, another designation of Wahman. In fact, a somewhat vulgar form of this name *mnywmyd* is encountered in a Manichaean Uighur text once edited by PETER ZIEME.¹⁷ Although I have no idea as to why *te* 特 (MC $*d'\bar{a}k$) with its ending $-k$ was employed for transcribing the final $-d$, the context and the phonetic resemblance are enough to persuade one that Parthian *mnywmyd* must lie behind this transcription.

15 Cf. the Parthian forms $ng'd$ “prayer” and $ng'y-$ “to pray, supplicate”.

16 For the late Central Asian pronunciation of Western Iranian $-g$ following long vowels, see WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1926, p. 83.

17 Cf. ZIEME 1975, p. 45 (375).

c. 弗 里 悉 德 健 那
 fu li xi de jian nuo
 p̄iʷət lji s̄iēt tək ḡ'ien nâ

MA XIAOHE compares *fu li xi de* 弗里悉德 (MC *p̄iʷət lji s̄iēt tək) with *fo yi se de* 佛夷瑟德 (MC *b̄'iuət i s̄iēt tək) for *fryštg*, which is found in the Compendium (cf. MIKKELSEN 2006, p. 103b). This is basically correct, but the Middle Chinese form *s̄iēt of *xi* 悉 instead of *se* 瑟 (MC *s̄iēt) points to the Middle Persian form *prystg* rather than Parthian *fryštg*. However, it is followed by *jian nuo* 健那 (MC *ḡ'ien nâ). *Jian* 健 (MC *ḡ'ien) is known to transcribe the Iranian syllable *gān* in the Dunhuang texts, cf. *e huan jian* 遏換健 (MC *âṭ γuân ḡ'ien) transcribing 'rw'ng'n "soul-work, i.e. gifts" (cf. MIKKELSEN 2006, p. 103a). Therefore, *fu li xi de jian nuo* 弗里悉德健那 represents a plural form *frēstagān* ending with a final vowel: *frēstagān-ā*. The occurrence of a Middle Persian word in the Parthian hymn looks strange, but such a mixture of the two Western Iranian languages is also not uncommon in Turfan texts.¹⁸

d. After this, a long sequence of characters is repeated twice, but I cannot restore the verse or verses entirely. Let us first see the Middle Chinese forms of the characters:

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|------|-----|-----|----|------|------|------|------|--------|------|
| 代 | 醯 | 潭 | 摩 | 阿 | 訶 | 特 | 伽 | 稽 | 羅 | 縛 | 居 |
| dai | xi | tan | mo | a | he | te | qie | ji | luo | fu | ju |
| d'âi | xiei | d'âm | muâ | â | xâ | d'ək | g'ia | kiei | lâ | b'iwak | kjwo |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 陣 | 那 | 南 | 無 | 波 | 耶 | 特 | 羅 | 緩 | 步 | 唎 | |
| zhen | nuo | nan | wu | bo | ye | te | luo | huan | bu | er | |
| d'jĕn | nâ | nâṃ | mju | puâ | ia | d'ək | lâ | γuân | b'uo | n̄zi | |

It is not at all obvious where each word begins and ends. Of these twenty-three characters the last four, *luo huan bu er* 羅緩步唎 (MC *lâ γuân b'uo n̄zi) sound like *rw'n bwj/bwjyd* [ruwān bōž/bōžēd] "save (my) soul", which is not out of place in this context. I wonder whether *jie lu fu (ju)* 稽羅縛(居) (MC *kiei lâ b'iwak (kjwo)) stands for the adjective *kyrbg* [kirbag] "pious". If this idea is correct, the preceding word is likely to be a noun modified by *kyrbg*. This noun ending with a character *qie* 伽 (MC *g'ia) seems to be followed by a Ruf-Alef. As shown by MA XIAOHE *qie* 伽 stands for [kâ] in the combination of *qie du shi* 伽度師 standing for [kādūš]. However, as is mentioned above, the Middle Chinese voiced initial *g'- can represent both *g(ā)* and *k(ā)*. As very few Parthian words end with *-k*, one is induced to reconstruct a noun with the suffix *-ag*. Nevertheless, one cannot still see where it begins. What precedes *qie* 伽

18 Cf. BOYCE 1974, p. 192.

comprises as many as seven characters and they are unlikely to stand for just one Parthian word.

The first two characters *dai xi* 代醯 (MC **d'âi xiei*) suggest a pronunciation such as [dah(i/e)], [dāh(i/e)], [dax(i/e)], [dāx(i/e)], etc. Since not many Parthian words begin with *d'h-* (e.g. *d'hw'n* “gift”), *dh-* (e.g. the verb stem *dh-* “to give”) and *dyh-* (e.g. *dyh* “village”), it is tempting to reconstruct the first word as an inflected form of the present stem *dh-* “to give”. The initial sound *d'-* of the third character *tan* 潭 (MC **d'âm*) and *dai xi* 代醯 (MC **d'âi xiei*) may combine to give *dahēd* “give (2nd pl. imperative)”. If this is correct, one may suppose that the coda of the character 潭 (MC **d'âm*), i.e. *-âm*, should represent *-wm*, an enclitic pronoun of the 1st person sg. Thus 代醯潭摩 (MC **d'âi xiei d'âm muâ*) as a whole could stand for *dahēd-um-ā* “Please give (2nd pl.) me”, again with the final pleonastic vowel *-ā*. In that case, the noun modified by *kyrbg* is to be seen in *a he te qie* 阿訶特伽 (MC **â xâ d'âk g'ja*), and it should denote the object that one asks Jesus and the other apostles to grant. The most promising candidate for 阿訶特(伽) in this context seems to me to be *āyādag* “wish”. *He* 訶 (MC **xâ*) transcribing *γā* is not expected but one may consider a miscopying of *he* 何 or 啊 (MC **γâ*).

So far what I have reconstructed from the twenty-three characters yield the following sequence of words: *dhγdwm- 'gdg' kyrbg ... rw'n bwj/bwjyd*. It is almost impossible to restore the rest of the verse(s): *ju zhen nuo nan wu bo ye te* 居陣那南無波耶特 (MC **kjwo d'jēn nâ nâ mju puâ ia d'âk*).¹⁹ However, the combination *bo ye* 波耶 (MC **puâ ia*) does remind one of a verb *p'y-* “to guard, protect”, which could be paralleled by (*rw'n*) *bwj/bwjyd* “to deliver (one’s soul)”. In light of the above discussed *men hu mi te* 門乎弥特 transcribing *mnwhmyd*, the character *te* 特 (MC **d'âk*) could represent *-d*; accordingly one may identify *bo ye te* 波耶特 (MC **puâ ia d'âk*) with *p'y(y)d* [pāyēd]. It is to be noted that in the second occurrence the last character is not *te* 特 but *tuo* 馱 (MC **d'â*), which is more in accordance with the suggested reconstruction. This in turn suggests *bwjyd* rather than *bwj* for *bu er* 步唎 (MC **b'uo n'zi*). What is protected, the direct object of the 2nd pl. imperative verb *p'yd*, is to be seen in (*ju*) *zhen nuo nan wu* (居)陣那南無 (MC *(*kjwo*) *d'jēn nâ nâ mju*). As with the case with *tan* 潭 (MC **d'âm*), the coda of the syllable *nan* 南 (MC **nâ m*) may again transcribe the 1st sg. enclitic pronoun *-(w)m*. However, I still cannot propose a possible noun.²⁰

19 If *ju* 居 **kjwo* belongs to the preceding *jie lu fu* 稽羅縛 and combines with it to give *kyrbg*, the object noun is represented by *zhen nuo nan wu* 陣那南無. See note 32 below for this enigmatic transcription.

20 On an apparently unwanted *wu* 無, see n. 31 below.

3.2. The original hymn in Manichaean script and its Uighur translation

Since the words reconstructed by me are such common terms in the Western Middle Iranian hymnody, it raises the hope that one may really find the original hymn among the hitherto published texts. As it happens, the exact counterpart is attested on one side of M 1367 and was published by WALDSCHMIDT and LENTZ as long time ago as 1933.²¹ Here follows the text of M 1367.

M1367

recto²²

1. 'yn yk pd (x)[wy](š) nw'g (in red ink)²³
2. 'w bg rwšn z''wr
3. jyryft z'ry ng'y'm
4. oo wynd'm 'w yyšw'
5. qnyg mnwhmyd mry (m)'ny
6. 'd fryštg'n²⁴ oo dh(yd)wm
7. [''g](')dg qyrbg tnwm
8. [p'y](d')[wm] r(w)'n bwjyd
9. [oo dhydwm](')g'd(g) kyrbg²⁵
10. [tnwm p'yd]('w)m[rw'n]²⁶

21 WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1933, p. 551. In the meantime yet another manuscript M 361 has turned out to contain the same hymn, cf. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2014, pp. 284–285.

22 The verso side contains a Middle Persian hymn, which reads as follows: 0/ [... š'dyb] 1/ 'c w'xš ywjdhr 2/ ''y'd pd nwg nyw mwrw' 3/ oo wdyr'd 'br prh 'wd 4/ w'xš 'y 'yn šhr 'wd 5/ 'br šhry'r 'y frwx 6/ oo kw pdyr'd dyny(w)[j]dhr 7/ 'wš bw' p's[b'n] 8/ 'wd wyn'r'g [z]'[m'g 'w] 9/ zyhr 'y jf'yd'n], cf. WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1933, p. 551, and HENNING 1934, p. 9. It is obvious that the text of the verso side does not help us to reconstruct ll. 10–12 of the *Sijizan*.

23 The reading (x)[wy](š) is not certain, but a similar way of indicating a tune is known: 'yn pd xwyš nw'g sr'y'y "Sing this to its own tune", cf. SUNDERMANN 1993, p. 163. WALDSCHMIDT and LENTZ read *k[]ny*.

24 In the Chinese transcription the preposition 'd [ad] is not found and *fryštg'n* is replaced by its Middle Persian equivalent *frystg'n*. This may be due to corruption of the text transmission, but the exact reason is not clear to me.

25 The gap is restored by me according to the Chinese transcription.

26 What I read *J('wm)[]* is read by WALDSCHMIDT and LENTZ as *J(nwm)[]*, which suggests the restoration *[tj(nwm)[p'y'd ...]*. However, the size of the gap is big enough for more than five letters. Moreover, while *m* is absolutely certain, what they read (*n*) looks more like *d* or the left half of a letter ' (alif). My restoration is a sheer guess but may get some support from a slight variant of this verse attested in BBB 64–67: *tn p'yd 'wm rw'n bwjyd dhydwm 'g'dg qyrbg*.

As BOYCE states in her catalogue, the Uighur translation is also known.²⁷ It is encountered in MIK III 200 I (T II D 169, I), recto, ll. 11–16. Incidentally, this comes from the same double folio as So 14411. I here cite CLARK’s new text and translation.²⁸

11. py rwšn z-’wr z-yryβt nw’k p’št²⁹
12. tnkry yrwq kwyčlwk pylk’-k’ ylv’r’r pyz oo
tāṅri yaruk küčlük bilgākā yalvarar biz oo
13. ’wytwnr pyz kwyn ’y tnkry-k’ o y’šyn tnkry
ötnür biz kün ay tāṅrikā o yašin tāṅri
14. nwm qwty o mrm’ny pryšty-l’rq’ o qwt qwlwr
nom kuti o mar manī firīštilärkä o kut kolur <biz>
15. tnkrym’ o ’t’wyz-wmwz-ny kwyz-’dynk o ’wyz-wtwmwz-ny
tāṅrim-a o ätüzümüzni küzātiṅ o üzütümüzni
16. bwšwnk o qyv qwlwr pyz o yrwq tnkry-l’rk’ o
bošunṅ o kīv kolur biz o yaruk tāṅrilärkä o
17. ’d’swz-yn twr’lym o ’wykrynč-lykyn
adasuzin turalim o ögrinčlgin
18. ’r’lym o
ärälim

“Sing, you (pl.), to the melody of *bag rōšn zāwar žīrīft!*
We beseech and we pray to God, Light, Power, Wisdom.
<We> ask for the divine blessing of the Sun and Moon Gods,
of the God(dess) of Lightning, and of the Glory of the Doctrine
(i. e. Wahman), Lord Mani, and the Angels.
O! My God! Deign to protect our bodies, and deign to liberate our souls!
We ask for the divine blessing of the Gods of Light.
May we live safe from danger! May we be joyful!”³⁰

The discovery of the original text and its Uighur version indicates that my reconstruction of the phonetically transcribed hymn is correct, and that (居)陣那南無, the part which has remained unreconstructed, corresponds to *tnwmm* [tanum] “my body”. Out of four or five characters (*ju*) *zhen nuo nan wu* (居)

27 Cf. BOYCE 1960, p. 70.

28 CLARK 2013, pp. 194–200, Text B. One of the editors draws my attention to CLARK’s idiosyncratic transcription *küčlük*, which would be transcribed as *küčlüg* by the majority of scholars.

29 For this line, I cite RECK’s text and translation (2006, p. 122), which are different from CLARK’s. Cf. also DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2014, pp. 137b–138a, 127a, 133b. CLARK reads as *βay rōšn zāwar žīrīftnuṅ pāš tan* and translates “Sing, you, of God, Light, Power, Wisdom!”

30 The boldfaced part has no counterpart in the Parthian hymn.

陣那南無 (MC **(k̄iwo) d'j̄en nâ nâṃ m̄iṃ*) only *nan* 南 (MC **nâṃ*) appears to be correct, the others being either a miscopying or a corruption of the original. Nevertheless, I cannot see what the original transcription looked like, nor can I imagine what has happened in the process of transmission.³¹ Since the Xiapu texts seem to preserve numerous phonetically transcribed hymns, the recognition that such a radical and unexpected corruption could happen is discouraging for those who would like to reconstruct them.

4. Columns 10–12

As mentioned above, the second hymn begins in column 10. For the sake of convenience, I repeat columns 10–12 here:

10. 阿 呬 哩 特 菩 和 末 羅 摩 尼 里 [口+在]
 a fu li te pu he mo luo mo ni li zai
 ·â p̄iṃuət l̄ji d'ək b'uo ɣuâ muât lâ muâ ní l̄ji dz'âi
11. 伽 度 師 伽 度 師 勿 那 阿 羅 緩 那
 qie du shi qie du shi wu nuo a luo huan nuo
 g'ja d'uo ʃi g'ja d'uo ʃi m̄iṃuət nâ ·â lâ ɣuân nâ
12. 菩 *沙 遮 伊 但 伽 度 師
 pu sha zhe yi dan qie du shi
 b'uo ʃa tsja i d'ân g'ja d'uo ʃi

In the final section of the *Sijizan*, one finds a few combinations of characters with which we are already familiar: *mo luo mo ni* 末羅摩尼 for [mār-ā mānī], *qie du shi* 伽度師 (three times) for [kādūʃ], and *luo huan* 羅緩 for [ruwān]. The last term is preceded by *a* 阿 (MC **·â*) and followed by *nuo* 那 (MC **nâ*); this *nuo* 那 is likely to represent a Ruf-Alef following [ruwān]. The character *a* 阿 stands for [a/ā], which is not to be equated with a Ruf-Alef, because this is already represented by the preceding *nuo* 那. If one considers the fact that in the Dunhuang texts an Iranian initial *r-* is always preceded by a character beginning with a

31 I am grateful to Dr. MA XIAOHE for drawing my attention to the fact that 南無 is an ordinary Buddhist expression of everyday use transcribing Sanskrit *namo* “homage”. 無 is likely to have been introduced when the entire hymn became incomprehensible to the local Manichaeans. See a similar case with *qie du shi luo po suo* 伽度師囉婆娑 discussed below. Professor SIMS-WILLIAMS draws my attention to the possibility that the coda of *ju* 居 (MC **k̄iwo*) represents the preposition 'w. Meanwhile I came across in one Xiapu text entitled *xing fu zu qing dan ke* 興福祖慶誕科 another *zhen nuo* 陣那, which is followed by *yu er te he luo* 喻而特核囉 (MC **ju n̄zi d'ək yek lâ*). The combination no doubt represents *dyn ywjdhr* [dēn-(ā) yōždahr]. Accordingly, one may suspect that the original transcription such as *dan nuo nan* 鄴那南 (MC **tân nâ nâṃ*) was replaced by 陣那南 just by mistake.

glottal stop, e.g. *a luo suo di fu duo* 阿羅所底弗哆 (MC $*\cdot\hat{a} \text{ l}\hat{a} \text{ s}\hat{i}w\hat{o} \text{ t}\hat{e}i \text{ p}\hat{i}u\hat{a}t \text{ t}\hat{a}$) for $r^{\text{st}}yft$,³² it is plausible that 阿羅緩那 transcribes [ruwān-ā].³³

Of the remaining characters *a fu li te* 阿佛哩特 (MC $*\cdot\hat{a} \text{ p}\hat{i}u\hat{a}t \text{ l}\hat{j}i \text{ d}'\hat{a}k$) can easily be reconstructed as *āfrīdag*. The next word *pu he* 菩和 (MC $*b'u\hat{o} \text{ } \gamma\hat{u}\hat{a}$) is likely to represent *barwā* (2nd/3rd sg. subj. of *bw-* “to become”).

It is difficult to understand the remainder of column 10, *li zai* 里[口+在] (MC $*l\hat{j}i \text{ dz}'\hat{a}i$), which must be an independent word, because what follows is 伽度師 伽度師 *kādūš kādūš*. It may be a miscopying, but I am not certain. In another phonetically transcribed hymn in the Xiapu texts one comes across *fu li zai de jian* 弗哩[口+在]德健 (MC $*p\hat{i}u\hat{a}t \text{ l}\hat{j}i \text{ dz}'\hat{a}i \text{ t}\hat{a}k \text{ g}'\hat{i}en$, which most likely corresponds to *frēstagān*.³⁴ In my opinion *li zai* 里[口+在] is a corruption of $*fu \text{ li zai de}$ 弗里[口+在]德 representing *frēstag*, or even of $*fu \text{ li zai de lu shen}$ 弗里[口+在]德盧訖 for *frēstag rōšn*. It should be noted that this section of the *Sijizan* is not in Parthian but in Middle Persian. I think this hypothesis of mine gets some support from another Xiapu text reproduced by CHEN/LIN (2009, p. 382, fig. 34). There one reads as follows: *a fu li te pu he mo luo mo ni fu li xi de lu shen* 阿弗里特菩和末羅摩尼拂里悉德盧訖. The first half is identical with column 10 of the *Sijizan* and the latter half *fu li xi de lu shen* 拂里悉德盧訖 can easily be reconstructed as *frēstag rōšn*.³⁵

As I mentioned above, of the following six characters *wu nuo a luo huan nuo* 勿那阿羅緩那 (MC $*m\hat{i}u\hat{a}t \text{ n}\hat{a} \cdot \hat{a} \text{ l}\hat{a} \text{ } \gamma\hat{u}\hat{a}n \text{ n}\hat{a}$), the last four *a luo huan nuo* 阿羅緩那 transcribe *ruwān-ā*. The Middle Chinese pronunciation as reconstructed by KARLGRÉN may suggest that *wu nuo* 勿那 should stand for *man-ā* “my”, the two words combining to give *man-ā ruwān-ā* “my soul”. However, this assumption confronts us with a serious difficulty, because the initial consonant of *wu* 勿 (MC $*m\hat{i}u\hat{a}t$) is expected to have become a labiodental fricative *v-* by the time the original of the hymn was composed in the Tang period.³⁶ Nevertheless, the exact pronunciation of the Chinese characters employed for the phonetic transcriptions and accordingly the system of transcription of the Xiapu texts as a whole are still not entirely clear. For example, as we have seen, *fu he* 匐賀 (MC $*b'j\hat{u}k \text{ } \gamma\hat{a}$) of column 1 represents *bg'* [bayā] and in this case the character *fu* 匐 (MC $*b'j\hat{u}k$), of which the initial was to become a labiodental fricative, is employed for rendering the initial voiced stop [b]. Thus, it is not out of the question to reconstruct [man-ā] for *wu nuo* 勿那.

32 On this point see YOSHIDA 1986, p. 5.

33 One may also refer to $'rw'n$, a variant form of *rw'n* attested in Turfan texts.

34 Cf. LIN 2012a, p. 401, where he cites another phonetic hymn from one of the Xiapu texts. I must confess that the phonetic hymn cited by LIN WUSHU is largely incomprehensible to me.

35 Another attestation of this same phrase is encountered in the text reproduced by YANG FUXUE (2011, p. 143). It reads as follows: *a fu li de pu he mo luo mo ni fu li zai de lu shen* 阿佛哩特菩和末囉摩尼弗哩[口+在]特盧訖.

36 Cf. PULLEYBLANK 1984, pp. 68–69. In the Dunhuang texts the Middle Chinese labiodental initials transcribe either [f] or the postvocalic *b*, which was pronounced as a fricative sound [β], cf. *e wu* 阿勿 (MC $*\cdot\hat{a} \text{ m}\hat{i}u\hat{a}t$) for $'br$ [abar > aβar].

Even more difficult is *pu sha* 菩沙 (MC **b'uo ša*). The reading of *sha* 沙 is not absolutely certain, but the character is very common in phonetic transcriptions of not only Iranian but also Sanskrit terms. Not knowing how to reconstruct it, I again assume the two characters to be a corruption of a longer sequence, such as **pu he sha di* 菩和沙地 (MC **b'uo γuâ ša d'i*). This could be the transcription of *bw's'd(yh)* “May (my soul) be joyful!” or “May there be joy (for my soul)!”³⁷

The penultimate combination *zhe yi dan* 遮伊但 (MC **tšja i d'ân*) transcribes a pronunciation such as **čāidān/čaidan*. This would be spelled **c'yδ'n* in Sogdian script and in fact such a word is attested once. SIMS-WILLIAMS discovered the word in a manuscript belonging to the Russian collection and proposed to translate it as “Bema”.³⁸ He identified the word with Parthian *j'yδ'n* once discussed by HENNING, who derived the word from Chinese *zhai tan* 齋壇 (MC **tšai d'ân*) “altar”.³⁹ Since *jie yue jie* 戒月結 “conclusion of the fast month” in line 9 precedes the hymn in question, the word denoting Bema is not out of context; the Manichaean Bema festival in fact follows a month of fasting. However, a word of Chinese origin is not expected in a hymn which is otherwise wholly in Middle Persian; a Middle Persian word with a similar pronunciation is wanted here. One can easily think of *j'yδ'n* [jāidān] “eternal(ly)”, which is quite common in Middle Persian hymns. Possibly when this hymn was first transcribed in Tang times, the transcriber found it difficult to reproduce an affricate consonant [j], which was foreign to Middle Chinese. Having no exact fit, he was forced to select an approximation, in this case its voiceless counterpart [č]. Incidentally, the same word is transcribed as *re yi lan* 諾夷蘭 (MC **nžja i lân*) in the Dunhuang *Hymnscroll* at a time when the initial consonant of *re* 若 (MC **nžja*) was pronounced with a voiced fricative [ž]. On this point see *pu er* 步唎 above standing for *bwjyd* [bōžēd].

5. The system of transcription: Xiapu texts as compared with those from Dunhuang

In one of the Xiapu texts Mani's mother Maryam is named *mo yan* 末艷 (MC **muât jām*),⁴⁰ whereas she is called *man yan* 滿艷 (MC **muân jām*) in the Compendium. Obviously *mo yan* 末艷 is more accurate transcription and *man yan* 滿艷 seems to have been modified to make the name more attractive

37 While the assumption that 菩 is corrupted from *pu he* **菩和* seems to be supported by several occurrences of the combination in the various Xiapu texts cited above, the restoration of *sha di* **沙地* is a sheer guess. However, the sequence does appear twice in another phonetic hymn found in a Xiapu text cited by LIN (2012a, p. 401), though the contexts are not comprehensible to me.

38 Cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981, pp. 236–237.

39 Cf. HENNING 1945, p. 155.

40 Cf. YUAN 2011, p. 167.

in Chinese.⁴¹ As a whole the phonetic transcriptions found in the Xiapu texts are similar to what we find in the Dunhuang texts but not identical with them. Some peculiarities of the Xiapu forms may be mentioned briefly.

1. In the Dunhuang texts the Chinese initial nasal *n-*, which was de-nasalized to become *nd/d-*, is sometimes employed to transcribe the Iranian voiced stop *d*, e.g. *nuo hu he* 那呼和 (MC **nâ xuo yuâ*) for *d'hw'n* [dāhwān] “gift” (MIKKELSEN 2006, p. 106), while the instance of de-nasalization has not been met with in the Xiapu materials, e.g. 弗里悉德健那 for *frystg'n* [frēstagān-ā]. Cf. also my restoration of *dai xi tan mo* 代醯潭摩 (MC **d'âi xiei d'âm muâ*) as [dahēd-um-ā]. This peculiarity obviously indicates that the Xiapu texts are slightly earlier than the Dunhuang ones. It is also noteworthy that in a few cases like *fu he* 匍賀 representing [baγā], even labiodentalization does not occur.⁴²
2. The Iranian postvocalic *d*, which was pronounced as a fricative, is transcribed with characters beginning with *l-* in the Dunhuang texts, but with those with initial voiced stop *d'* (in KARLGRÉN's system) in the Xiapu manuscripts: *qie du shi* 伽度師 vs. *qie lu shi* 伽路師 for *k'dwš* [kādūš] “holy”. Cf. also *zhe yi dan* 遮伊但 (MC **tšja ·i d'ân*), which I proposed to reconstruct as [jäidān], as compared with *re yi lan* 喏夷闌 (MC **ńzia i lân*). A parallel phenomenon is observed in the case of the postvocalic *b*, on which see below my discussion of the Xiapu transcription of Aramaic *l'b'* “to the father”.
3. In the Xiapu texts one often finds Iranian forms followed by a pleonastic vowel *-ā*. Examples are numerous. This peculiarity may explain a curious designation of Jesus in the Xiapu texts, which is often spelled *yi shu he* 夷数和 (MC **i šju ywâ*) instead of simple *yi shu* 夷数. In my opinion the extra vowel of *yišō-w-ā* later came to be regarded as a part of his name.⁴³ One may also note that *yšw^c*, the form with a “Ruf-Alef”, is actually attested in the Turfan texts, cf. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 376a.
4. Iranian words beginning with *r-* are mostly not preceded by an extra character representing the prothetic vowel, while such spellings are attested without exception in the Dunhuang texts. One good example is *lu shen* 盧詵 (Xiapu) vs. *wu* (MC **uo*) *lu shen* 烏盧詵 (Dunhuang) for *rwšn* [rōšn].
5. Obviously, we are forced to suppose relatively numerous copying errors and corruptions due to the long period of handing down the phonetically transcribed hymns, which must have made no sense for the local Manichaeans.

41 As it stands, *mo yan* 末艷 means “end-beautiful” while *man yuan* 滿艷 “full-beautiful”.

42 In most cases, however, the development to a labiodental fricative is observable, e.g. *lu fu yi luo* 盧縛逸羅 (MC **luo b'jwak jēt*) transcribing [rufaēl].

43 Differently, LIN 2012b, pp. 115–117.

In a personal communication, Dr. MA XIAOHE recently drew my attention to one Xiapu text entitled *xing fu zu qing dan ke* 興福祖慶誕科 and I noticed that the recto of folio 8 contains the same hymn as the second phonetic hymn of the Dunhuang *Hymnscroll* once studied by myself.⁴⁴ A detailed comparison of the two texts may be expected to reveal peculiarities of the phonetically transcribed hymns of the Xiapu texts. As an example we may take the first verse in Aramaic: *k' dws l' b'* “Holy to the Father”. In the Xiapu text it reads *qie du shi luo po suo* 伽度師囉婆婆 (MC *g'ia d'uo si la b'uâ sâ) while its Dunhuang counterpart is *qie lu shi luo wang* 伽路師羅[口+亡] (MC *g'ia luo si lâ mîwang). A miscopying or corruption of the original peculiar to the Xiapu texts is also to be noticed: an extra character *sa* 婆 was added to the last character 婆 by an inadvertent scribe who may have been thinking of the common Buddhist spell *suo po he* 娑婆訶 (MC *sâ b'uâ xâ) standing for *svāhā*.

6. Conclusion

I now summarize my study by giving the proposed reconstruction in Middle Iranian spelling verse by verse.⁴⁵

四寂讚 送佛用 “Praise of the Four Entities of Calmness. (Used) for sending of the Buddhas”

1. 奧和匐賀盧訖 嵯鵲囉唎哩弗哪 嵯里能阿淡
 ao he fu he lu shen cuo hu luo er li fu nuo cuo li neng a dan
 'w' bg' rwsn' z'wr' jyryft' z'ry *ng'y'm'
ō-w-ā bay-ā rōsn-ā zāwar-ā žīrīft-ā zārī niyāyām-ā

To God, Light, Power, (and) Wisdom, we pray humbly.

2. 渾湛摩和夷数謹你門乎弥特末羅摩尼弗里悉德健那
 hun dan mo he yi shu jin ni men hu mi te mo luo mo ni fu li xi de jian nuo
 wynd'm' 'w' yyšw knyng mnwhmyd mr' m'ny frystg'n'
wendām-ā ō-w-ā yišō kanī(g) manōhmēd mār-ā mānī frēstagān-ā

We give praise to Jesus, Maiden, (and) Light-Nous, Mar Mani (and) the apostles.

44 Cf. YOSHIDA 1983. Incidentally, the Middle Persian counterpart of the four aspects of the Father of Greatness is found in this hymn. It reads as follows: *yi zai lu shen su lu he xi* 夷[口+在]噓[口+先]蘇路和醯 (MC *i dz'āi luo šīen suo luo ywâ xiei), while the Dunhuang equivalent is *yi sa wu lu shen zuo lu yu yu xi* 夷薩烏盧訖祚鬱于四 (MC *i sāt 'uo luo šīen dz'uo luo 'juat jiu xji).

45 In the reconstructed text a form preceded by an asterisk (*) indicates that the form in question is not entirely based on the corresponding Chinese characters.

3. 代 醞 潭 摩 阿 訶 特 伽 稽 羅 縛 居
dai xi tan mo a he te qie ji luo fu ju
dhwdm' 'g'dg' kyrbg
dahēdum-ā āyādag-ā kirbag
Grant me (my) pious wish.
4. 陣 那 南 無 波 耶 特 羅 緩 步 哂
zhen nuo nan wu bo ye te luo huan bu er
*tnwm' p'yd rw'n bwjyd
tanum-ā pāyēd ruwān bōžēd
Guard my body (and) save (my) soul.
5. 代 醞 潭 摩 阿 訶 特 伽 稽 羅 縛 居
dai xi tan mo a he te qie ji luo fu ju
dhwdm' 'g'dg' kyrbg
dahēdum-ā āyādag-ā kirbag
Grant me (my) pious wish.
6. 陣 那 南 無 波 耶 馱 羅 緩 步 哂
zhen nuo nan wu bo ye tuo luo huan bu er
*tnwm' p'yd rw'n bwjyd
tanum-ā pāyēd ruwān bōžēd
Guard my body (and) save (my) soul.

戒月結 “Conclusion of the fast month”

7. 阿 佛 哩 特 菩 和 末 羅 摩 尼 里 [口+在]
a fu li te pu he mo luo mo ni li zai
”frydg bw' mr' m'ny *frystg *rwšn
āfrīdag bawā mār-ā mānī frēstag rōšn
Blessed be Mar Mani, Apostle of Light!
8. 伽 度 師 伽 度 師
qie du shi qie du shi
k'dwš k'dwš
kādūš kādūš
Holy! Holy!

9. 勿 那 阿 羅 緩 那 菩 *沙
 wu nuo a luo huan nuo pu sha

mn' rw'n' *bw' *š'd(yh)(?)
man-ā ruwān-ā barwā šād(ih)

May my soul be joyful!

10. 遮 伊 但 伽 度 師
 zhe yi dan qie du shi

j'yd'n k'dwš
ḵāydān kādūš

(Be) holy eternally!

As I mentioned above, our Chinese colleagues refer to a number of other phonetically transcribed hymns attested amongst the unpublished Xiapu texts. I hope this study of mine will contribute to the elucidation of these as yet unpublished hymns.

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