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Catalogue of Japanese Manuscripts and Rare Books. Merete Pedersen. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark. Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, Xylographs, etc. in Danish Collections (COMDC), by Karine Marandjian

Abstract: The present paper consists of the first edition, translation and commentary of a Manichaean Sogdian bifolio, whose photos are preserved in the Nachlass of Academician Carl H. Salemann at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS (St. Petersburg). The present location of the bifolio is unknown. One joining fragment has been found in the Berlin Turfan collection during the preliminary work on this edition. Two relatively long portions of Manichaean didactic treatises are extant and do not correspond to any known text. The first (I) is a Lehrtext on the duties of Manichaean monks living in a monastery. The second (II) contains the fourth and part of a fifth question, followed by answers, of a catechetical text concerning the fate of the body and of the soul after death.

Key words: Manichaeism, Manichaean didactic literature, Sogdian language, Sogdian manuscripts, Carl H. Salemann, Turfan texts, text edition, Iranian philology.

The Serindian Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (IOM, the former Asiatic Museum),¹ Russian Academy of Sciences, keeps a folder named ‘Manichaica’ which holds 8 paper bags and envelopes, six of which contain materials from the archive of Academician Carl H. Salemann (1849–1916). Two packages signed (not in Salemann’s hand) as ‘Application’, apparently added later, store a working draft manuscript of N. Marr’s ‘The

¹ It is our pleasant duty to thank the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of St. Petersburg and the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften for allowing us to consult and publish their texts. We are greatly indebted to Nicholas Sims-Williams, who was kind enough to read a first draft of this article, providing many valuable suggestions and critical remarks which have been included in our text.
Armenian-Georgian lexical notes to the newfound Manichaean texts’ (98 pp.) and a photo of one side of the Syriac manuscript (Syr. 40) brought by S.E. Malov’s expedition from Turfan in 1914. The rest of the packets contains drafts, proofreadings and illustrations of the Manichaean manuscripts of the Asiatic Museum published by Salemann in his article named ‘Manichaica III’ and photos of three already published Manichaean manuscripts from the Serindian Collection (one in Sogdian, published by F. Rosenberg under the signature Kr. IV Soghd. 4, and under the signature SI Kr IV/823 by A. Ragoza, and two photos of the first page of the Uighur manuscript ‘Xwastvanift’).

The package No. 8 comprises 2 sheets, the first of which contains a rough transliteration of a Sogdian text in Hebrew letters, while the second contains the same text, partially re-written in Sogdian letters. This text is now published by A. Ragoza under the signature SI Kr IV/813.

In addition, the package No. 8 includes two negative photos — Recto and Verso — of a Sogdian bifolio, whose original has not been preserved in the collection. There are also 4 sheets of a rough transliteration of the photos’ text in Hebrew letters in pencil, made by Salemann himself. The transliteration is not complete however and upon some Hebrew letters there is a question mark. The contents of this package, including our text, were firstly briefly described by Yoshida Yutaka in his article on the Sogdian fragments of the St. Petersburg collection.

The location of the photographed Sogdian manuscript is unknown. None of the Serindian collections of the IOM, nor the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg branch, which holds the archives of Academicians C.H. Salemann and S.F. Oldenburg (1863–1934), have this manuscript. It is also unknown from whose collection and when this manuscript went to the Asiatic Museum, and especially where it originated. In the Asiatic Museum descriptions of new manuscripts were made rarely. In the same packet, as already mentioned, there is Salemann’s transliteration of the Sogdian text SI Kr IV/813 from the Krotkov collection, presented by the latter to the Academy of Sciences after 1909, and in the folder there is a

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2 Salemann 1912.
3 Rosenberg 1927.
7 Ragoza 1972, 244–261.
photo of the ‘Xwastvaniift’, received by the Asiatic Museum before 1909 from A.A. D’iakov.\footnote{RADLOFF 1909, I.} Judging from the fact that Salemann published two fragments from the Oldenburg collection,\footnote{SALEMANN 1912, 19–20.} one of which had been brought from his first expedition to Turfan, Karashahr and Kocho in 1909–1910, the manuscripts of the Oldenburg collection were also familiar to Salemann. It is known that from his second expedition in Dunhuang in 1914–1915 S.F. Oldenburg brought many manuscripts, among which there were two large Sogdian fragments, later published by F. Rosenberg.\footnote{ROSENBERG 1918, 817–842; ROSENBERG 1920, 399–429, 455–474.} Thus, the manuscripts which were known to Salemann and which he possibly intended to edit, could have been both from the Krotkov and the Oldenburg collections.

The size of the two Sogdian photos is 23×17 cm. Each photograph shows two columns of text with the size of 20.5×6.5 cm. The photos illustrate a double folio with two texts, henceforth Sogd. I and Sogd. II, from pages which are not contiguous. On one side the folio is torn from the top corner to the 10th line. There are no ends to lines 1–10 on the Recto side, and no beginnings to lines 1–10 on the Verso side. On the margins Salemann wrote down in black ink the numbers of the lines of the text: on the one photo he marked 23 lines, on the other 22, as one line, between the 5th and the 6th, was missed. The photos show a clearly visible blank space between the first line and the poorly preserved headings. The margins of the sheets were possibly ruled, but this is not visible on the photos.

One can clearly see that the manuscript on the photos was in some parts restored. In the course of restoration, a tracing paper was glued on it. Perhaps in the process of restoration side and bottom margins were cut. Transparent tracing papers were glued on the manuscript irregularly. The two sheets are roughly reinforced by means of thin strips of paper unevenly glued on them. Traces of the restoration can be seen on both sides of the sheet. On one photo, with the text /I/R–/II/V/, there are eight such patches, on the other, with the text /II/R–/I/V/, there are four of them. The traces of the glued patches sometimes cover the text and make it difficult to read.

While working on the text, Federico Dragoni discovered that a small piece of the Berlin Turfan collection, So 10650(32),\footnote{See RECK 2006, 59, No. 58.} joins directly to the top corner of one folio (here f. /I/). The joining Berlin fragment has a Fundsigel handwritten in pencil, T I D, which indicates that the manuscript was found
in Kocho during the first German expedition. This does not prove, however, that the main manuscript was brought to Berlin and then lost, since there are several examples of joining fragments found during different expeditions and kept in different places. The present whereabouts of the bifolio remains unknown.

The first page /I/ contains part of a Lehrtext on the life and duties of monks (šmnt’) living in a monastery (βrxʾ, Skr. vihāra). Every 200 years some “mʾn wyty disciples” (wyty-minded)\textsuperscript{13} will be saved, after having performed all their religious duties. By that time, they will have departed, saving themselves, the gifts and the givers of the gifts. Every 200 years the soul of the disciples will be purified, as the fire purifies the five or six pieces of firewood that one puts into it. After having been purified, the śrmanas (= wyty-minded disciples?) will dwell in the vihāra in equanimity, holding the Commandment of the Law (cxšʾpt) completely. If a commandment-breaking monk enters the vihāra, he may contaminate the community causing torments. He has to be expelled just as a half-burnt log has to be removed from the fire. Only in this way will he not be able to cause any further damage. The text then breaks off after the usual formula “every 200 years they will be similar…”.

The second page /II/ contains the fourth and part of a fifth question, followed by answers, of a catechetical text concerning the fate of the body and of the soul after death and in the circle of rebirths.

**First folio:**
Sallemann.Sogd.+So10650(32)/I/

(Pl. I)
/I/R/H/ [Θ] sʾrst [5–6]

/I/R/1/ βwt rtξw [8–9]
/I/R/2/ ʾβɮt düz wβyw rwʾm yʾ(ε)[Z](Y) ZK
/I/R/3/ wy-spw rkw kwnty rt(x)[w kōʾ] [g]
/I/R/4/ prm ʾyʾyw xwʾt Lʾ wʾšt
/I/R/5/ mʾyō [ZY] ms mʾ(ʾn) wyty z-wxškth
/I/R/6/ pr wyspw ʾkrtyʾh ʾsptʾk
/I/R/7/ wβʾntw kʾm xw(t)y (β)wxʾnt

\textsuperscript{13} On this enigmatic expression see commentary below.
The magnificent [...]

is. He gives [gifts (?) both corporal (?)] and spiritual and he performs all (religious) works and he never allows himself (to become) weak, so [that] also the m(‘n) wyty disciples will be perfect in all actions, they will be saved themselves, and they will also save the gift and the giver. And from (2)00/10/ years to 200 years the m(‘n) wyty disciples will all have departed from the world. And at that time those pupils will be /15/ like the fire for the firewood. And like when one purifies (burns?) those five, six (pieces of) wood in one place in the fire, [...], again the power /20/ [...], and they burn brightly, they hold both brightness and wealth. They perform all (religious) works, so that from...

s’rst remains the only recognizable word, the rest of the headline being either scratched away or hidden beneath a thick layer of tape. The unpublished Manichaean Sogdian fragment M575/I/V/14 has the same word in its incomplete headline: s’rst f[v] [...]. Given the fragmentary state of the text, it is not possible to determine its context.

BOYCE 1960, 40. See also GMS § 825. Only three half lines of the text are almost complete. The context remains rather unclear.
For the restoration and interpretation of these 2 lines we are indebted to N. Sims-Williams: rwʾmyʾ(c) can be perhaps a reduced form of rwʾnmyc.

wʾšt could be either 3sg. impf. of the verb ‘wšt ‘to stay, stand’ or 3sg. pres. of wʾc ‘to release, let go’. An impf. would be very unlikely, since the first page consists in a succession of futures and presents.

For the restored [ZY] cf. the same expression in /I/V/17–18/ below.

mʾn wyty z-wxškth is parallel to m n wyrʾkt z-wxškth of /I/R/11/. The same z-wxškth are also present in /I/R/14/, although they are no more qualified as m n wyrʾkt, but simply as wy-š nt ‘those’. No parallel in other texts was found for such a category of disciples. One could interpret the first two words as an ‘inverted bahuvrīhi’, with an -aka- past participle as second member referring to z-wxškth. If wyty were an –aka- participle from wyn ‘to see’, it could be interpreted as meaning ‘mind-seeing’, lit. ‘by whom the mind is seen’, cf. šyr qty ‘by whom good is done’. The second member wyrʾk could also be interpreted as an -aka- past participle of a root wʾy ‘to wrap up, surround’. This interpretation, though, does not produce a better comprehension to the entire phrase.

ʾsptʾk very often with pr in Budd. Sogd. ‘complete in...’.

The expression occurs twice in our text. An exact parallel is to be found in the Parthian fragment M 6020/I/, whose content seems to be very close to that of the Bactrian Manichaean fragment (M1224). The passage refers to the doctrine of salvation through the Hearers’ gifts. Deliverance will be obtained ‘not only for the light trapped in the food and for the Electi who eat it, but also for the Hearer who provides it’;

“...[he who] would take alms food as (much as) a big mountain and could redeem it, should eat it: he himself will be saved, he will also save him

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15 Cf. GERSHEVITCH 1946, 147 and GMS § 964. Curiously the -t of the plural is not present in the first occurrence of this compound. Compounds with m n as first member are not rare in Sogdian, cf. e.g. m n-prm ty ‘consideration, conscience’.
16 Cf. GMS § 570 and SUDELMANN 1997, 137.
18 SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009.
**who gave him the alms-food**, and it (i.e. the ‘Living Soul’ contained in the food) will reach the home of the gods unharmed. And he who would take alms-food as much as a single grain of mustard but could not redeem it, then […] better for him […] fire…*²⁰*

The Sogdian sentence appears as an almost word for word rendering of the Parthian text quoted above (except for plur. instead of sing. and future with -kʾm):

\[ rty \ (wβ)yw \ xwyty \ βwx(s)ʾntkʾm \ ZY \ w(β)yw) \ δβʾr \ ZY \ δ[βʾ](r)ʾynʾkw \ βwcʾntkʾm \ (/I/V/5–7) \]
\[ xw(t)y \ (β)wxsʾntkʾm \ kʾm \ ZY \ wβyw \ δβʾr \ ZY \ δβrʾy-nʾkw \ (β)wcʾntkʾm \ (/IV/7–9/) \]

Such an expression seems to be built syntactically upon the contrast between the active \( βwc \) and the inchoative-passive \( βwxs \). It could have represented a common formula to describe the Manichaean doctrine of salvation through the hearers’ gifts, and indeed one finds similar expressions e.g. in various hymns:

M30/V/i/7–10
\[ jʾmyd \ wyspwhr \ w \ pydr \ wxybyy \ kw \ wxd \ bwxsʾẖ \ w: \ ʾšmʾh \ bwjʾẖ \]
“Lead the prince to your father so that he be saved and he save you!”²¹

M7/II/V/ii/4–7
\[ ʾfryd \ kw \ bwxtg \ bwʾẖ \ ky \ mn \ gryw \ bwjʾẖ \ ʾc \ wdng \]
“Gesegnet sei, auf daß erlöst werde, wer meine Seele aus der Not erlöst”²²
“Blessed, i.e. may you be saved, who may save my soul from distress”²³

The expression \( δβʾr \ ZY \ δβrʾy-nʾkw \) occurs in Buddh. Sogd. texts without \( ZY \) (\( VJ \) 413²⁴ and \( Saṃghāṭasūtra \) 15²⁵) lit. meaning ‘gift-giving’, hence ‘benefactor’. Here the presence of \( ZY \) further specifies the Manichaean doctrine that lies behind our text, making clear that also the gifts will be saved. The same religious ideas are expressed also in M1224, though with a slightly different wording:

M1224/R/7–19 (Bactrian Manichaean Fragment)
\[ /7/ \ dyyd \ wwy(h)\f(β) \ lʾhywʾn \ /8/ \ ʾc(y)d \ (ʾβ) \ yβwʾg \ yyunlyrygʾn \ /9/ \ (β)ydrrw(m)\f(y)(n)d \ ʾdʾd \ ḥfyš(zn)ng \ pwwn \ /10/ \ dr(r)m \ (w)[d] \ lʾdršt \ ʾwd \]

²⁰ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009, 254.
²¹ DURKIN-MEISTERERNS 2014, 59
²² ANDREAS and HENNING 1934, 29.
²³ DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2006, 36 and 177 n. 136, “explanatory gloss”?
²⁴ BENVENISTE 1946, 25.
such (are) those... gifts which support (?) the pure Electi, so (that) manifold merits, dharma and lawful and good deeds all spring from the gift; thus, that layman who gives it—he becomes a sharer in all the merits, and obtains merit-fruit a thousandfold and escapes (?) all hells and receives merits eternally. [We know] (?) that the Buddhist monks (šmn) say this, [that the Buddha] gave even his own body (as) a gift, and of him they predict this, [that thereby he will save all living beings] (?)…”

After this passage, the text reports the sayings of some unknown šramaṇas, possibly about the Buddha giving away his own body. Our bifolio describes later the actions of some šramaṇas and, not unlike M1224, undoubtedly possesses a strong Buddhist flavour.

The Middle Persian Manichaean parable of the king and the lamp could also belong to the same Manichaean doctrinal context. It mentions a cyclical period in which the Hearers become negligent regarding the alms giving. But after a period they become again capable of attaining salvation:

M47/II/V/10/ ○○ pd zmʾn zmʾn ʾc kyrdgʾn swst w: /I/ frʾmʾn bwynd ○○ pwrʾrʒy nd bwyd /I/ ○ ps pyrzwzyy pdy(r)ynd ○ rwʾn bwxsyd ○

“Von Zeit zu Zeit werden sie in ihren Werken lässig und vergeßlich. (Sie) werden zur Verantwortung gezogen, darauf erringen sie den Sieg, und ihre Seele wird gerettet.”

/I/R/14-15/ The phrase m źyʾ mʾnwkt wʾ ʾntk m ʾʾtr ZY occurs two more times in our text, /I/V/13–14/ and /I/V/22–23/.

/I/R/16/ For zmʾn ‘fuel, firewood’ see MacKenzie 1976, 40. One could interpret zmʾntk ʾʾtr here as a tatpuruṣa compound meaning ‘the fire (that is born) from the firewood’, or just: ‘a fire (consisting) of firewood’. In MP the word ʿymg (NP hīme) is attested mainly with reference to a Zoroastrian fire, see Gōwišn ī grīw zīndag, 3.93–97:

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29 Sundermann 2012, 122; English translation at p. 184.
— ʾn hym ʾdwʾr ʿy cyyd zrdrwšṯ
   ʾwš prm d(w)m ʾwʾ hwʾn cyyd n
— cynydwm (ʾ)wd (gšn)[g] (m)ʾ qwnyd ʾwd mʾ (z)r(wbyd c)ʾw ln nrʾn
—ʾc hpʾ td(wr y)šṯg ʾyw hwbwʾd g
   ʾwm bryd wʾdwr wxšn ywjdl(hr)
— yngʾyg pʾq ʾw(yr)yd
   ʾwd bwy ʾyg nrʾn ʾwd bwyyʾ(ʾg)
— ʾbrwcydm pd ʾn yššn
   ʾwm dydyd zwḥr ʿy pʾq

— I am the fire that Zardrušt set and he ordered the righteous to set me.
— Set me and do not make (me) […][?] hungry and do not rob (me) completely like villains!
— From seven sacrificial (lit. sacrificed) good smelling fires (collect me) and bring me to the holy fire-place!
— Bring pure firewood and a fresh and scented smell!
— Light me with knowledge and give me a pure offering!

/IR/22/ Since [ʾ]ʾ(r)mʾkh ‘wealth’ does not fit the context very well, it could perhaps simply be miscopied for *γrmyʾkh or *γrmʾkh ‘heat’ [NS-W].

(Pl. II)
/I/V/H/ [10–11] tyʾ
/I/V/1/ [ʾdwy C srʾy] kwʾdwy C
/I/V/2/ srʾh [……] prm ZKwyh βtxʾry
/I/V/3/ [pr syʾ](t)mʾ nwʾkʾskwʾnt
/I/V/4/ rtxw cxšʾ jpt nwʾm (p)škh
/I/V/5/ [spʾśʾk δʾrʾ] ndʾkʾ m rty (w)šywy
/I/V/6/ xwtʾβwṣ(s) ntkʾ m ZY wʾβywy
/I/V/7/ δʾʾr ZY δʾβ*[r]ʾy nʾk kwʾβqcʾntʾkʾm
/I/V/8/ rʾtcʾnkʾkʾm r ZKwyh
/I/V/9/ [βtxʾr]ʾy kʾ xʾnʾytyʾtst
/I/V/10/ [w]βy*[r]ʾy yʾt wʾcwprʾʾ wʾwʾm
/I/V/11/ [βy(r)tkʾ] m ʾršʾy MN ʾz-prt
/I/V/12/ ʾkrtyʾpʾtʾy nʾkwntʾ kʾm
/I/V/13/ rtyʾmʾyʾšʾmʾnwkwʾ wʾβʾnʾtkʾm
/I/V/14/ cʾnkʾm ZY ʾyw wyʾswʾtʾkʾkw
/I/V/15/ xwʾkʾr ᾱʾyʾsʾʾrʾʾpśʾyʾy rtxw
/I/V/16/ trʾkʾy pʾσʾtnʾ ʾnxʾywʾtʾʾkʾ ZY ZK
/I/V/17/ δʾkʾzʾwʾʾhrʾkʾ(lw)ʾβwtrʾʾkʾmʾyʾšʾ
/I/V/18/ ZY msʾywʾcʾʾnʾxwstʾcʾʾpt
/I/V/19/ šmny Lʾ ZKwyh γʾywzʾwrʾc(yk)
/I/V/1/ [200 years] to 200 years [...] in the vihāra they will dwell in equanimity and they will hold the commandment of the law /5/ completely. At the same time they will be saved themselves and they will save also the gift and the giver. If only a (single) monk [shall] enter the vihāra houses /10/ [...] poison thereupon will cause torment. Then he will separate it from pure actions. They will be like when one casts out (from the fire) /15/ a single half-burnt (log) and a pungent smoke arises, and it is not useful to anyone; so too a single commandment-breaking monk is not useful to himself /20/ nor to anyone else. [And from] 200 years to 200 years all monks thus will be similar, like when...

/IV/2/ The parallel expressions in /I/R/9-10/ would require the post-position prm followed by the subject of the sentence. The gap though does not allow to be filled in with such a restoration. Perhaps one could restore [prm 'ð]prm ‘(...) to two hundred years altogether in the vihāra (...)’. N. Sims-Williams proposes restoring ['ny’m]: ‘till [the end of] 200 years’.

/IV/2/ ßrx’ry is here attested for the first time in published Manichaean texts, thus marking a Buddhist context. šmny occurs also in the list of the slanderers of the religion and is used also in Parthian to define a monk, not necessarily Buddhist.

/IV/8/ For the so far unattested rtc’nkw instead of rty c’nkw cf. rty pts’r ~ rtpts’r. Hardly to be read [w]tcn’k(w) ‘old’.

/IV/9/ The tentative restoration [ßrx’](r)’yk x’n’yt yst ‘he enters the vihāra houses’ is based on SCE § 484: rty ‘ky ZKw ßrx’r wn’nt ’t ßrx’r x’n’kh ‘he who makes a vihāra or a vihāra house’, although an -ik adjective from ßrx’r is not attested elsewhere. Alternatively, one could restore [βγ’](n)’yk x’n’yt. Such an expression to define a place of worship is however not yet attested either. SCE § 190 describes the different attitudes of those who may enter the monastery (samghārāma) with good or evil thoughts.

30 So 18248/R/30/, cf. HENNING 1944, 138, tr. 141.
It is hard to restore the words in the lacuna, perhaps \[\text{by} waZ\] ‘and so that’? For the expression (\(\text{by}\) w\(\text{by} r\)) cf. P6.161 prw w t\(\text{by} r\) ‘\(\text{by} r\) L \(\text{by} r\) ‘ne causent pas des tourments aux êtres’.\(^{33}\) Hardly \(z\) ’r… \(\text{by} m\) ‘one thousand… torments’, since the number does not precede directly the noun to which it refers.

Cf. the same expression in P21.1. l.8 cnn šyr’krtyh pt’yn k(w)\(\text{by} t\).

Cf. the same expression in P21.1. l.8 cnn šyr’krtyh pt’yn k(w)\(\text{by} t\).

\(^{33}\) Benveniste 1940, 90 and note on p. 206

\(^{34}\) Benveniste 1940, 153.

\(^{35}\) Sims-Williams 2015, 23. The word appears in E26/2/V18.

\(^{36}\) Sundermann 1985, 25.
Plate I

/I/R/ and /II/V/
Montage. Photo: Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, St. Petersburg. So10650(32);
Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.
Plate II

/II/R/ and /I/V/
Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.
Second folio: Salemann.Sogd./II/

(Pl. II)

/II/R/H/ tnp’(r)[......]

/II/R/1/ kβnw MN (γ)β’ky’yh ptynw
/II/R/2/ (w)β’y o rtxw cββ’ rmykw wprs
/II/R/3/ m’yō (’)pr(s) m ’YKZY mrtxm’kw
/II/R/4/ c’(nkw) ’krtw kwnty k’m m’yō
/II/R/5/ (ZY) MN cββ’ prw(nty) nyz-t’
/II/R/6/ (wβ’y) o rtxms ZKh wn(’h) δ’ wn
/II/R/7/ (βr) k rtxw mr(γ)[ δ’](wn)
/II/R/8/ (c)wz(’)kkxy rtxw (.)[(w/t)m’’/nt
/II/R/9/ cββ’ ky xwy(–…) […](y)h
/II/R/10/ prZY L’ MN w(ny’)(ny)škry’n
/II/R/11/ (β)’k k ’z-’yt βwt L’ ZY
/II/R/12/ ms MN pw βr’k ZK wn(h)
/II/R/13/ rwʾt rtxms ZKwyh mryy
/II/R/14/ wʾxš y-wz-nnkʾ xcy oo
/II/R/15/ pncmyk wprs m yō ’prs[m]
/II/R/16/ ZKh mrtxm’y t c’nkw ’z-y[nt]
/II/R/17/ rtxw rwʾnh ’M tnp’ry ’pr[yw]
/II/R/18/ srtm’n wn wyn ncyk wβ’ n(t)
/II/R/19/ rtxw ’yw(γr)’yw ’yt nmt
/II/R/20/ (kt’r) ’PZY L’ rpts’r MN
/II/R/21/ kn’c pyδ’r mry’nt rt[y]
/II/R/22/ c’nkw mry’nt rty ZK
/II/R/23/ (r)wʾnh pynnmstr wy(t)[nty]

/II/R/H/ Body […]

/II/R/1/ would be [little by ]little separate from knowledge. And the fourth question thus I ask: How is a man able /5/ to die 4 times? Also, the tree with fruit and the hen [wi](th) the chick and the […] every (?) four…(?) […] /10/ because a fruit cannot be born but from a tree, nor does the tree grow from a fruitless one, and also the matter of the hen is similar to this. /15/ The fifth question, thus I ask: when men are born, are the soul (rw nh) and the body
manifest together? Are they one single Self (ʾyw-(γr)ʾywʾyt) /20/ or not? Moreover, for what reason do they die and how do they die? Does the soul (rwʾnh) first depart

/II/R/3–4/ ʾYKZY mrtxmʾ kw ʾkrtw kwnty kʾm mʾyδ (ZY) MN ctβʾr prw(rty) nyz-tʾ (wβʾ)y cf. Chr. Sogd. qtʾwn ‘to be able’ + subordinate clause (here with a redundant second potentialis in the subordinate clause) [NS-W].

/II/R/5ff./ The translation is based on the assumption that the verb nyz- is here used with the meaning ‘to die’, that prw(rty) means ‘time (French fois)’, as is often the case when it follows a numeral, and that the latter is used in an adverbial phrase37 introduced by MN meaning ‘four times’. Alternatively, if the verb nyz- had here its original meaning ‘to go out’, the preposition MN would be perfectly explained as the usual preposition governed by nyz-, ‘to go out from’. But in this case the meaning ‘time’ for prwrty would not fit the context. The meanings ‘Fravashi’ which is highly unlikely to be met here,38 and ‘corpse’, which could theoretically fit, but it is attested only in Chr. Sogd.,39 both seem not to belong here. The easier solution would be again the -aka- substantive derived from the verb prwrt- ‘to turn, change, travel’, this time not meaning ‘fois’ but perhaps simply ‘turn’.40 If the passage bears really on the saṃsāra, then a translation ‘he shall be able to go out (i.e. to escape, be delivered) from the ‘four turns (cycles, circling-ons)’ would be not out of place, interpreting the number ‘four’ as a generic number meaning several times.

The exemplum of the tree with its fruit to explain the saṃsāra doctrine is known from Buddhist literature. A passage from the Milindapañha 41 curiously shows some interesting similarities with our text and will be quoted here in full:

(ix) The King said: “Reverend Nāgasena, as to that which you mentioned: ‘circling-on’ [saṃsāra] what is this circling-on?”

37 No parallels of that have been found, unfortunately. However, cf. with an ordinal numeral the Chr. Sogd. adverbial phrase cn (dhibyq prwrtw in Ti3.5 E6/5r ‘for the second time, again’ (SUNDERMANN 1981, 177, and SIMS-WILLIAMS 2016, 142 top).

38 For its only occurrence in Sogd. in the Sermon of the Soul, cf. Sundermann 1997, 138 etc.


40 With this meaning, prwrty is to be found elsewhere in conjunction with zwrt, cf. also below /II/V/21/.

41 Milindapañha 3.3.9, transl. in HORNER 1963–64, vol. 1, 105–106.
“Sire, what is born here dies here; having died here it uprises elsewhere; being born there, there it dies; having died there it uprises elsewhere. Such, sire, circling-on”.

“Make a simile”.

“Suppose, sire, some man, having eaten a ripe mango, should plant the stone and a large mango tree should grow from it and yield fruit; and that the man, having eaten a ripe mango from it too, should plant the stone and a large mango tree should grow from it too and yield fruit. In this way no end to those trees can be seen. Even so, sire, what is born here dies here; having died here it uprises elsewhere; being born there, there it dies; having died there, it uprises elsewhere. Such, sire, is circling-on”.

“You are dexterous, reverend Nāgasena”.

/II/R/7-8/ If Sogd. cwz kk is the chick, i.e. the ‘baby of a hen’, then Sogd. mṛgy- could be here translated as ‘hen’, parallel to the exemplum of the fruit of a tree and the tree itself on which the simile is based on. Cf. also P2.331 ἔωσ ἔωσ ZKZY cwz kk ZK mṛgy znty ‘That which the chicken-brings forth’.

/II/R/8/ The word could be perhaps restored as ἔωσ ἓ ‘was’, ἔωσ ἑnt ‘boundary’, or [sγ](t)m ἑnt (pl.) ‘all together’, but the sense of this line is unclear.

/II/R/9/ ky in cτβʾr ky could be a relative pronoun, or, alternatively, the distributive suffix -ky thus meaning here ‘every four’.

/II/R/10/ (ny)škyｒ’n is construed with MN (lit. ‘apart from’) as in Āzand Nāmē 57ff. It is usually written nyškʾn.

/II/R/11–13/ Lʾ ZY ms MN ἕρ k ZK ἑν(h) ἕντ: alternatively, N. Sims-Williams proposes translating ‘nor does the tree grow except from a fruit’, interpreting MN ἕν as a mistake for ἕν MN for which cf. Chr. Sogd. ἕν cn ‘except for’.

/II/R/19/ ἔντ ὑὐ(γρ)γκτ ὑὐγτ ἑντ. An adjectival compound ὑὐ(γρ)γκτ (< OIr. *ai̯ ṷa-grīṷa-ka-, meaning perhaps ‘having one γρκτ, having one single self’) is found here for the first time.

/II/R/20/ For ᾵τ PZY Lʾ at the end of a sentence in questions (with a disjunctive sense) cf. VJ 1398–1399 and YOSHIDA 2009, 317.

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42 Cf. NP ḡuge, defined in the Borhān-e qāṭe as ‘bačče-ye mākiyān’.

43 So Henning 1946, 719, correcting Benveniste 1940, 18 ‘le poussin dans l’œuf’. But Henning’s translation is also problematic, given that the paragraph in question prohibits the eating of the meat of any creature killed with violence (prāṇātipāta). Perhaps a better translation would be ‘that, i.e. the chick, which the hen brings forth’ (=‘egg’?).

44 See Gershevitch 1949, 63–64 and DMTIII.2, 55a s.v. ἕρ ἑν.

45 Sundermann 1985, 23.
and the body is left [orphaned]? And later, when the body is unresponsive, and the body there (?) is left till (its) end as a meagre remnant, /5/ then, where does the other Self (γρʾyw) go and who obtains (it), although it cannot be seen? Likewise, it [can] not […]. Moreover, this dust /10/ (is still in the) permanence of the wheel (of rebirths). Then that wheel is not completed. And the other dust, where does it go? What was diminished thereby? /15/ Now, if there should exist a wise man, a clever righteous man and a virtuous profitable man, who [might save] the soul (γρʾyw) /20/ from earthly concerns, from the punishment of going to and fro, from hellish distress, his own...
/II/V/1/  rtxw tn(pʾr)[.]prʾxst[y]: of the third word one sees only the aleph. As one would expect the word to mean something like ‘alone’, read perhaps \[sr\][k], cf. SCE § 27: rtyms sty ZKZK yxwʾkʾ rʾ yw stʾγ srʾk bʾwt ‘there is he who is alone and solitary, childless and orphaned’. 46 N. Sims-Williams suggests reading [βt][r] matching Chr. ʾfʾr *prxs-, ‘to be left over’, see Sims-Williams 2016, 81.

/II/V/3/  βrkyrty 3sg. pres. ind. < βrkyr-, here apparently taken as a light stem. The meaning ‘insensitive’, ‘unresponsive’, ‘numb’ is here referred to the body in a physical sense, while in BBB 60547 and in AN 18948 seems to be used rather in a moral sense. This form could also be a 3sg. pres. middle with passive sense ‘is neglected’ [NS-W].

/II/V/4–5/ For the restoration cf. TaleA, 56:49 possibly containing the same expression: kwʾnyw myd sʾr yxnyy pʾrxs ‘left for another day’. A compound kfḫyxn (‘meagre remnant’) is attested in the fragment of Rustam. 50

/II/V/6/ The restoration of the adjective (pʾrʾy)[k](w) is suggested by the parallel question in /II/V/13/ pʾrʾykʾ wʾrm kw šwt ‘Where does the other dust go?’, but it is not clear what ‘the other self’ could mean.

/II/V/7/ Or (δʾ)rt, instead of (βy)rt, but a verb in this position is problematic, although the syntax remains unclear.

/II/V/10/ If read with -x-, cxʾrʾkkʾh may be from OIr. *caxra-ka- (Pahl. caxrag) with a svarabhakti vowel simplifying the internal cluster -xr-, resulting in /caxrak/, as not infrequent in Sogdian (cf. the examples given in GMS § 482). The Iranian loanwords in Armenian caxr “Drehung” vs. caxrak “Rolle” might also be compared. 51 Pahl. caxrag occurs with an ambiguous orthography (could be either chʾlk or cʾhlk) in two passages of the astronomical chapter of the Iranian Bundahišn: 52

2.8 [TDI fol.11v]: uʾš spihr i awēšān axtarān caxrag-ēwēnag nihād kū andar gumēżšān ḏ rawišn estēnd “he settled the sphere of these stars in the manner of a wheel, so that they could start revolving during the mixture.”

47  Cf. HENNING 1937, 74.
48  Cf. Sundermann 1985, 32.
49  HENNING 1945, 467.
50  Cf. the discussion of the compound in Sims-Williams 1977, 59.
51  HEIDESCHMANN 1897, 186.
52  Number of the chapter according to ANKLESARIA 1956 = PĀKZĀD 2005 2.10–2.18. For the translation see HENNING 1942, 232 and 233–234.
2.16 [TD1 fol.12v]: az awēšān stārān ān ī meh čand sang-ēw ī kadag-
masā ān ī mayān čand čāxrag < (?) ān ī keh čand sar ī ġāw ī
kadāgīg

“Among these stars the large ones are like a piece of rock the size of a
room, the medium-sized ones are like a revolving (?) wheel, the small
ones like the head of the domestic ox.”

The expected form cxr without suffix is to be found often in Sogdian,
Parthian and Middle Persian Manichaean texts with reference to the rolling
wheel of the samsāra and the rebirth cycle. Cf. e.g. the unpublished Parthian
text:

M5860/II/R/i/13–19/ twnd wuity cy ʾez zwnw s cy cxr / zʾdmwr ʾd cy jmʾn /
ʾw jmʾn ny pʾyd ṣr / yd bwd ṣʾfr ṭlʾd / ṭʾm ṭʾnym / bwd ṣʾhr ṣʾhz

“Impatiently turns, since such a long time, the zone of the wheel of
rebirths, which time after time never waits; as long as it was and
progressed (?), this creation had not been […]”

In Buddhist Sogdian snksʾʾr cxrw occurs for the same concept, e.g. in
L93.17.53

If this interpretation is correct, then the dust (xwrm) could stand
metaphorically for the soul’s filth, which has to be washed away in order to
escape samsāra.

Yusef Saadat, Freie Universität Berlin, during a talk delivered by us
at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften in May 2016,
suggested a possible connection, if the word is read with -γ-, with NP čayāra
‘deposit for food, underground granary’, attested in the ancient lexicogra-
phical work Ṭāǰu-l-ʾAsāmī (7th c. H. [13th c. A.D.]).54 Upon this interpre-
tation N. Sims-Williams comments: “If this is a variant of Sogd. tyʾrʾ ‘khum’
(of which cognates are cited by LIVSHITS 2015, 276), it could refer to the
kind of storage jars sunk in the earth and used for keeping grain or wine. In
that case the passage might have a parallel in a Parthian text discussed by
SUNDERMANN 2005, 97, where the separation of the draff from wine seems
to be a simile for the separation of the soul from the body. Here xwrm ‘dust’
might refer to the draff, more technically defined as ptšprn ‘sediment’. I
would then suggest: ‘And again, (as for) that dust (which is) in the
*sediment of the *wine-jar, and yet that *wine-jar does not become full,
[and] the other dust—where does it go? What was diminished thereby?’”

54 EBRĀHIMI 1365, 567, glossed as Ar. maṭmūrat.
/II/V/11/ ptšprn ‘permanence’ appears to be a verbal noun from the verbal root ptšpr-, Chr. pepr- ‘to settle, alight, rest’.\(^5\)

/II/V/14/ kyš is an otherwise unattested 3sg. impf. of the verb kyš ‘to decrease’.\(^5\)

/II/V/15/ škw’t 3sg. subjunctive, hardly past infinitive.

/II/V/15-19/ The succession of γrβʾkw - ʾrtʾw - (m)rtxmʾk could perhaps allude to the hierarchy of the Manichaean Church (Bishops, Elects and Hearers).

/II/V/16-17/ For γrβʾk—sprγky in Buddhist Sogdian cf. the discussion in Kudara and Sundermann 1998, 118 N. 15.

/II/V/18/ brʾδ brʾk is a not yet attested compound meaning literally ‘bringer of profit’. For brʾδ ‘increase, improvement’ cf. Man. frʾδ, DMTIII.2, 79.

/II/V/20/ bnt(t) ‘concern’ cf. Chr. ’bnt/’bynt.\(^5\)

/II/V/23/ For [ʾβz](ʾ)[w](x)tyʾh cf. Man. bjʾxwtyʾ ‘distress’, DMTIII.2, 53.

References


BBB = Henning 1937.


\(^5\) SIMS-WILLIAMS 2016, 132.

\(^5\) Another possible occurrence is in a Sogdian document from Khotan, cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS and BI 2015, 262, No. 5, Line 25.

\(^5\) Cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2016, 21.


GERSHEVITCH, Ilya 1946: “Sogdian compounds”. Transactions of the Philological Society 1945, 137–149 [= GERSHEVITCH 1985, 6–18].


SCF = Mackenzie 1970


VJ = *Benveniste 1946.*

