

Sogdian Tales

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(PLATES I AND II)

THE rôle which the Manichæans played in the migration of tales and fables from East to West and West to East has received much attention in recent years,¹ but next to nothing has been published of the abundant Iranian material which was found in Chinese Turkestan. The present collection of Sogdian stories, taken (with the possible exception of text J) from Manichæan manuscripts, is meant to close this gap. These stories are also of some interest from the linguist's point of view. For while the Christian and Buddhist Sogdian texts are valuable merely as repositories of vocables, the Manichæan texts alone (apart from the few available Sogdian documents and letters) give us a clear idea of the true structure and syntax of the Sogdian language, and this quality is nowhere better apparent than in these stories, which are sometimes pleasingly vivid. Even the translated texts are written in good Sogdian, partly because the Manichæans were better translators than their Christian and Buddhist compatriots, partly because it was easier to translate from Middle Persian or Parthian, languages closely related to Sogdian, than from Syriac or Chinese. How different real Sogdian was from the miserable stammer of the Christian and Buddhist translators is shown at a glance by the Sogdian *Tale of Rustam*, of which we have a larger fragment now, thanks to the publication of the *Codices Sogdiani*, *Manuscripts de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (*Mission Pelliot*).²

A. The Pearl-borer³

Two manuscripts, one, T i T M 418, in Sogdian script (= S, printed in italics between the lines), the other, M 135, in Manichæan script (= M). The manuscripts represent slightly different recensions, but in the story itself the

¹ See especially W. Bang, *Le Muséon*, xliv, 1-36; cf. also *ZDMG.*, 90, 1 sqq., *BSOAS.*, XI, 52 sqq.

² Copenhagen, 1940. It is greatly to be regretted that M. Benveniste's edition of these MSS., which I understand was published in Paris in 1940, has not so far become available in this country. We have still to be content with the facsimile of the MSS. In his preface to the facsimile edition, p. xii, M. Benveniste said that *les deux morceaux* (of the *Tale of Rustam*) *ne se raccordent pas*. It seems to me that P 13 precedes the British Museum fragment without break, in this way: c'n'kw 'γw rustmy MN δ[w]r ZKw δyw 'sp'δ wyn ZKn ryšy m'yδ w'β "βr ZY βγ' ['PZY] kβw trs [w'n'kw] wn'ym ktγw dywt kw mry'. Half of the word "βr is on P 13, the other half on the Br. Mus. fragment. — Of great interest is P 3 and its continuation, Br. Mus. fragm. iii. It becomes clear now that this text deals with the "rain-stone", Sogd. čδ- (previously wrongly compared with Pers. *jadū* and Skt. *jala*, see *Sogdica*, 5) = Turk.-Mong.-Pers. چدم، چدم، čdy-kr'y = چدم (cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Mong. Perse*, 428 sqq.; Juwaini, i, 152 note). In γγγ'γh (cf. Benveniste, *JRAS.*, 1933, 50) we can now recognize Pers. *xargāh* "tent"; mn'tšyr, Frg. iii, 17, beside "sulphur", is Skt. *manahśilā* "realgar". — P 14 and P 15 contain a different version of the *Padmacintāmaṇidhāraṇī* (P 14, 1-15 = *Padm.* 40-52; P 15, 18 = *Padm.* 52 sqq.; P 15, 1-17, end of text on *mudrās* which begins in P 14, 16, but P 14 and P 15 did not belong to the same manuscript). No doubt these points have been made by M. Benveniste in his edition.

³ [restored], (damaged or uncertain) letters, see *BSOAS.*, XI, 56.

differences are on the whole purely orthographical, while in the allegorical explanation the divergence is greater; note that 'YKZY = *kδwtȳh* in M 21, but = *k̄t* in M 36. — The manuscript M 135 consists of two consecutive double folios, i.e. two sets of four consecutive pages each. One set contains the "Pearl-borer", the other a text in the style of the *Kephalaia* (given below as B). This shows that the "Pearl-borer", too, formed part of a *kephalaion*, or in other words that it was supposed that Mani had narrated the story to his disciples. This is presumably a fiction (it is mostly so with the *kephalaia* literature, Coptic or Turkestanian), but not necessarily so. For the story is known only from Burzōi's preface to *Kalīla wa Dimna*, hence is quite likely Persian and not Indian by origin. Cf. Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, i, 78; *Kalīla wa Dimna*, 28–9, ed. de Sacy, p. 91, ed. Beirut, 1896; Keith-Falconer, 258–9, 311; W. Bang, loc. cit., 4–5. Differently from Burzōi, the Sogdian narrator told the story in the form of a lawsuit. It is noteworthy that of the two Panchatantra-Kalīla wa Dimna stories that so far have been traced in Sogdian (texts A and C), the one occurs in K.-w.D. but not in the Pañchatantra, the other only in the Pañchatantra. — According to *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1923, 146, F. W. K. Müller had prepared the publication of this tale; it is a matter for regret that he did not proceed with his intention.

Captions: A i R swmby 'zynd Story of [the Pearl-]borer.

A i V cn mrȳ'rt

On the Pearl-borer.

B i R swmbyy

B i V "zyndyy

[The explanation] of the story.

(M 135, A i R) (1) ptjy'mc wβ' (2) 'rtyny^{sic} fršt'h (3) βwt oo 'rtȳ pts'r (4) δβtyk myδ kw xtw (5) s'r pr xty'k šw'nd (6) oo 'rtxw xypδ'wnd (7) w'nw w'β kt βγ (8) mwnw mrty i myδ pr (9) C δyn'r zyrn ptxryt (10) δ'rm o w'nw 'tymyy (11) mrȳ'rt swmbyy oo (12) 'rtȳ tȳm 'ydc mrȳ'rt (13) nyy swmbt o 'rtȳm (14) qδryy prxyy

(T i T M 418, R) (1) (*weak*

xwjtt (15) skwn oo 'rtȳxw mr'z (16) mrtyy kw ^a xtw s'r (A i V) (17) w'nw traces) (2) mr'z kw 'γtw s'r (w'n')[kw

ptyškwyy kt (18) βγ ywnyy fšy'ws (19) c'nw t'm' w'crn^b (20) ptyš](3)kw'y ktβγ ywn'k 'βšy'ws (4) c'n'kw t'm'k ZKwy w'rcn'y (5)

kwsyy wyn o 'tymyy (21) w'nw ps' kδwtȳh (22) cw 'rq γrβyy oo (23) kwsy wyn oo rtȳm w'n'kw ps' (6) 'YKZY cw 'rkħ γrβ(')[y^c oo] (7)

'rtšy 'zw w'nw (24) ptyškwyy kt βγ wyspw (25) 'rk cw 'tymy tȳw (26) rtšy 'zw w'n'kw ptyškw'y (8) [k](t) βγ wysph 'rkħ cw [ZY] (9) (m)y tȳw^d

^a MS. *xw*.

^b The S version seems preferable here: *ZKwy* (= *wy* or *wy'*) is indispensable. Note the metathesis in *wārčan-* from *wāčarn*. The first to connect this word with Pers. *bāzār* and to refer to the -r of Arm. *vačar* was Bartholomae, *ZAiR.Wb.*, 105. See further *BBB.*, 136, and Hansen, *MPers. Papyri* . . . Berlin, 41.

^c Before this a word has been struck out.

^d After *tȳw*, a malformed *p* (meant to be cancelled).

frm'y^eo 'rtys't (27) wyspw 'rk^f γrβ'm (28) 'tymy c'nw kw x'n' (29) s'r
 pr'm'y^e rty s't^g wys(p)[h ?] (10) γrβ'm oo rtmy c'n'kw kw γ'n'kh (11) s'r
 šykr oo 'rtmy (30) wyn' fr'm'y jtyy (31) oo 'rtys βy'ryy prm (32) prw
 šykr rty my wyn'kh^h (12) pr'm'y z-yt'y oo rty βy'r'k prm (13) prw
 xypδ'wndy^h (B i R) (33) frm'n wyn' jy^t(w) (34) δ'rm o 'rtšw xtw (35)
 γypδ'w'nty prm'nh wyn'k (14) z-ytw δ'r'm rtšw 'γtw
 w'nw pδk' nym'y (36) kt^t tγw wny mrty mr'z (37)
 w'n'[kw] (15) pδkh nym'y oo 'YKZY tγw ZKn (16) [m](r)ty mr'z
 ptxrytδ'ryy o 'rtšw (38) eqn'c pyδ'r (39) mrγ'rt ny fr'm'yⁱ (40)
 ptyr'yt δ'r'y rtβ (17) [ckn'](c)w pyδ'r mrγ'rt L' pr'(m) ['yy] (V) (18)
 swβty o p'rtysy (41) xww wyn' jnyy frm't (42) δ'ryy o 'rtys wny
 [swβt'k p'rZYšy ZK wyn'kh z-n'y] (19) [prm''t δ'r'y oo rty (ZKn) (20)
 mrty (43) xww prxyy 'spty^h (44) δβrtyy γwtk'm o 'rt (45) qδ' tym
 [mrty ZK] pryy 'spt'k δβ'rt'k (21) γwtk'm oo rtkδ tym
 'yδc mrγ'rt (46) swmbcyq γw't (47) oo 'rtys tym 'nyw o C (48)
 'ycw hⁱ (22) [mr]γ'rt swmpcyk γw't rty (23) tym 'nyw C
 dyn'r zyrn δβr'h (B i V) (49) 'rtfy p's'r (50) 'nyw myδ mrγ'rt (51)
 dyn'r z-yrn δβr' (24) [p](t)s'r 'nyw myδ
 swmbtk'm o 'rtys (52) xww mrγ'rt xypδ'wnd (53) m'yδ pwskfty ww
 swmpt k'm (25) [rt]y ZK mrγ'rt^h γypδ'w'nt (26) [ZK]h
 C (54) dyn'r zyrn twj o 'rtšw^k (55) mrγ'rt n' swβt kw (56)
 C dyn'r z-yrn tw'z r(t)[y] (27) (šy) ZK mrγ'rt n' swβt (kw) (28)
 'nyw myδ s'r yxnyy (57) p'rxs oo 'rtys xwttyy (58) kww šf'r 'ty
 'nyw myδ s'r y'γyn'k p'r[γs] (29) oo rty γwtty kw 'šβ'r ZY
 kww (59) nm'nyy pr'γ^t oo oo (60) 'rtys x' γrβ'kt w'nw (61) xwyq'wy
 kw (nm) ['n'k] (30) pr''γt oo
 δβr'nd kt (62) xwnyy mrtyy kyy wyspw (63) γnyy 'ty qrnw'ney' (64) γrβ'skwn
 ZK mrγ'rt swmp'(k)
 oo xwtty xcy

^e Mistake for *pr'm'y*.

^f There is a gap above *wysp* in S, where *'rikh* may have been written above the line. However, its presence makes the phrase a little awkward.

^g Written above the line.

^h A letter or two struck out after this.

ⁱ Mistake for *fr'm'y*.

^j To fill the line.

^k *'rtšw* = *rtysyZK*: possibly *-šw* is not merely the accusative of the pronoun (the statement in *BBB.*, 104, is certainly too sweeping), but also a contracted form, *-š- + 'w (ww)*? In this passage *-šw* clearly means "of him the", as the text of S suggests. Similarly, above in *M* 34 = *S* 14, *'rtšw* (*rtšw*) seems to mean: "for it the."

(31) (γw)ty¹ ZK tnp'r γcy oo ZY C δyn'r (32) [.]^m C srδ'k 'zw'nh
 (33) γcy oo ZY mrγ'rtyh γypδ'w'nt (34) ZK rw'n ZY ZKh mrγ'rt sw[. . . .]ⁿ
 (35)[Z]K šyr'krtyh γcy oo c.[

Translation¹

. . . . there was a quarrel, it could not be settled.² So on the next day they went before a judge for a trial.³ The owner (viz. of the pearls) spoke thus: my lord, I hired this man for one day, at a hundred gold dēnārs, that he should bore my pearls.⁴ He has not bored any pearls, but now demands his wages⁵ from me.

The workman,⁶ in rebuttal, addressed the judge thus: my lord, when this gentleman⁷ saw me at the side of the bazaar, he asked me: "Hey, what work can you do?" I replied: "Sir, whatever work you may order me (to do), I can do it all." When he had taken me to his house, he ordered me to play on the lute.⁸ Until nightfall I played on the lute at the owner's bidding.

The judge pronounced this verdict: You hired this man to do work⁹ (for you), so why did you not order him to bore the¹⁰ pearls? Why did you bid him play on the lute instead? The man's wages will have to be paid in full. If again there should be any pearls to be bored, give him another hundred gold dēnārs, and he shall then bore your pearls on another day.

¹ Very uncertain; possibly also (mr)ty.

^m Restore: [γwty ZKh]? Or [zyrn ZK]?

ⁿ Presumably an infinitive, sw[βt'k]?

¹ Of M. Variants in S will be found in the annotations. At the end, both versions of the allegorical explanation are translated separately.

² Cf. BBB., p. 98. Probably *farāšt-* from *fra* + *raz-*.

³ *xy'k*, *'xy'y'k*, *'xy'y'q* (BBB., p. 104; *Sogdica*, p. 53 and *Errata*) "trial, judgment" is derived from *xtw* (*'γtw*) "judge". It would be tempting to connect this word with Av. *ratu-*², but it is difficult to account for the χ (*ratú* > *rtú* > *γtu* > *xtu*? For uvular *r* in the place of lingual *r* see Gershevitch, *Gramm. Man. Sogd.*, para. 469. Cf. also the ubiquitous *k'γδ* "paper", which some scholars [Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, p. 55] derive from χδρης). Av. *ratu*¹ is *rt(t)w* in Sogdian. Differentiation?

⁴ Other words for "pearl" in Sogdian are: *mwz'kk* Dhyāna 45 (cf. Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1933, i, 218) and *mwrbnt* (P 2, 981, *rtny* ZY *mwrbnt*). The latter, which also occurs in Uigur Turkish (e.g. Müller, *Uigurica*, iii, 15), may be a Western Iranian word, with *mūr-* from *muh-*. Hence, *mwz'kk* probably from *muδr-*. Cf. Parthian "*muhryōn*" (? = *muhrg'n*) Bang-Gabain, *Türk. Turfan-texte*, ii, 423 = *yinčülüg* "pearl". Also Persian *muhre* "glass-bead" (etc.) may belong here (Pahl. *muhrak*, Man. MPers. *muhrg*). So also Saka *mrāha* "pearl", which Bailey has explained differently (*BSOS.*, IX, 73).

⁵ = Arab. *uḡrah*. Cf. *S.T.*, ii, 592a, and Persian *barḡai* (not *barḡi*, cf. Bustan, ed. Graf, iii, 99), see Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, 515, n. 1.

⁶ Or "hireling". In Arabic *ṣāni'* and *aḡīr*. Cf. *Orientalia*, viii, 89, n. 2.

⁷ Cf. Gershevitch, loc. cit., paras. 311, 429. In the Arabic version the possessor of the pearls is a "merchant" (*tāfir*).

⁸ In Arabic *ṣanf*.

⁹ Lit. "you hired this man as a workman". The translation of this passage in BBB., p. 67, is incorrect; *mr'z* does not mean "work". Also Chr. *mr'z šw-* literally "to go as a labourer".

¹⁰ In S: "order to bore your."

Thus under constraint,¹ the owner of the pearls paid the hundred gold *dēnārs*, his pearls remained unbored,² left³ for another day, and he himself was filled with shame and contrition.

(M) The wise give this allegorical explanation: that man who understood all arts and crafts,⁴ represents [the body]. . . .

(S) The pearl-borer is the body. The hundred [gold] *dēnārs* represents a life of a hundred years. The owner of the pearls is the soul, and the boring (?) of the pearls represents piety.

B. The remainder of M 135

Captions: B ii R j[

B ii V [

A ii R myδδ iii pty'p βxšy

A ii V myy[δδ pr] 'δryy

(B ii R) (1) xwtyy [(2)]t[j''δyy prw (3) šyr'kty'[(4) oo 'rty xwnx xcyh
(5)^a '(r)t(')[w] δ[yn]δ'ryy kyy (6) γxβ '[y]δ[y]tyh cn (7) tm' zryncē o 'ty
kww (8) wštm'xs''r (9) r'δδt'k βwt oo 'rty (10) kδδryy šm'x nγwš'kt (11)
s'r frm'ym w'nw (12) 'tyfn cn t'w 'ty (13) z'wr β'tk'm r'mnd (14) 'ndwxsδ'
pr xypδδ (15) rw'nyy frtry' o 'ty (16) mn' frm'n o 'ty (B ii V) (17) pr [']šy'h
(18) δ'rδ' oo 't[y] mw[nw] (19) wyzryy r'δδ 'tyy (20) rštyy q'rpδ kyy (21)
šm'x ('n)š[t]('t)δ'rm ^b (22) cw 'ty xwtyh xey (23) 'zprt δyyn oo 'rtyy (24)
pr xyδ q'rpδδ (25) 'ndwxsδ' w'nw (26) 'ty mn' pryw kww (27) ''ykw[nc]yq ^c
jw'n (28) pryysδ' oo wydp'ty (29) sγtm'n nγwš'kt (30) šyr wyγwšnd o 'ty (31)
xwsnd 'kt'nd prw (32) βγ'nyk wy'βrttyy (A ii R) (33) 'ty pw 'rγ frm'n (34)
cw cn fryšty βγγ (35) mrym'ny ptγwštδ'rnd (36) 'rty j'm nm'c (37) βrtδ'rnd
o 'tyh (38) 'βznw ptycxšnd

(One line left blank)

(39) (*In red ink*) myyδδ pr iii pty'p βxšy (40) 'rty tym fryštyy (41) βγγ
m'rym''ny^{slc} (42) m'yδδ frm'tδ'rt (43) oo kt wnyy γxβ'k 'ty (44) fryyrw'n

¹ These words are omitted in S. The meaning of *puskfty* seems to approach that of Persian *nāčār*. Cf. *BBB.*, p. 83.

² In the Arabic version: *wa-baqiya jauharuhu ġaira maθqūḥin*.

³ *γxnyy* = Persian and Turkish *yaχnī*. The proper meaning of *yaχnī*, as the Sogdian passage clearly shows, is "left over and put aside" (cf. *Kanz ul-luġah* under *bī'rah*: *yaχnī ya'nī čīzī ke ānrā pas-afgan karde bāšī va-jā'ī nihāde*). In Persian (and Turkish) the word is then restricted to the meaning of "left-overs" of food, and finally to that of "boiled meat". — If *yaχnī* is originally Sogdian, it may provide an explanation for the name of the twelfth Old Persian month, *Viyazna-* (*v(i)ya-* may become *ya-* in Sogdian). By the way, Persian *gunjīdan*, with *gunj-* presumably from *winč-*, may belong to Skt. *vyac-* (although there is no nasal class present in Skt.). The meaning of *vyac-*, as given by Böhtlingk and Roth (*in sich fassen, aufnehmen*), is precisely that of *gunjīdan*.

⁴ Cf. *BBB.*, pp. 69 sq. On *Vim.* 123 see now Weller, *Soghd. Vim.*, 46 (*γn-* = Skt. *śilpa*; *krmw'nc-* = Skt. *kalā*).

^a Reading of this line rather uncertain.

^b Doubtful; apparently *j'yδ'rm*.

^c MS. ''*wkw*['.

"δyy myyδ (45) prw iii pty'p βxšy (46) γwt̄ oo i prw xwt̄wt̄ (47) 'xš'wnδ'rtyh̄ (A ii V) (48) 'sp's w'nw 'ty (49) 'xwšndyy skwynd (50) frn nyy "zyry o 'ty (51) zβnd 'nfr'sy nyy (52) qwnynd oo δβtyq (53) pty'p pr ktyβryk (54) 'rk 'ndwxsy prw (55) 'kštyy pr'qndyy (56) β'γ ptrk'n xryc (57) 'ty pr'δn w'nw 'ty (58) x'n' jyt' wβyy oo (59) 'tyh̄ wδw "jwnd (60) βj'wq nyy wβynd (61) oo 'ty ms pnd fryy (62) šyrxwzyy "δyh̄ (63) 'spxšt' wβyy oo

. . . (4) That one is a Righteous Dēndār who saves many people from Hell, and sets them on the way to Paradise. And now I command you, Hearers, that so long as there is strength in your bodies, you should strive for the salvation of your souls. Bear in mind my orders and [my words], that Straight Path and True Mould¹ which I have shown to you, viz. the Sacred Religion. Strive through that Mould so that you will join me in the eternal life.

Thereupon all the Hearers became very joyful and happy on account of the divine words and priceless orders which they had heard from the Apostle, the Lord Mār Mani. They paid exquisite homage, and received the . . .²

To divide the day into three parts

And again the Apostle, the Lord Mār Mani spoke thus: The wise and soul-loving³ person should divide the day into three parts. The first (part should be devoted) to the service of kings and lords so that they be well content,⁴ that their majesty be not infringed, and that they do not start quarrelling⁵ and scheming. The second to the pursuit of worldly affairs, to tilling and sowing, to allotments and hereditaments, to buying and selling,⁶ so that the house be maintained, that wife and children be not in distress, and that kinsmen, friends, and wellwishers can be well served. . . .⁷

¹ *kārpaδ*, the true Sogdian representative of *καλοπόδιον*, confused by Reichelt with Sogd. ('*kyδrpw(h)*, *SCE.*, 60; *Vim.*, 108, in both passages = 形 "contour, form, shape". Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, 506 sqq., while pointing out Reichelt's error, proposed another explanation which is still less likely to be correct: ('*kyδrp-* should equal Avestan *kəhrp-*. There are two obstacles to the suggested derivation. Firstly, Sogdian *-δr-* (when not = actual *θr* or *δr*) is historical (or inverse) spelling for spoken *š* (or *ž*); *kyδrp-*, therefore, was pronounced *kišp-* (or *kišb*, or *kižb*). Secondly, the Avestan *-hr-* groups with unetymological *h* appear in Sogdian *always* as *-r-* (see Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, paras. 139, 141); hence, Avestan *kəhrp-* should be *kīrp-* in Sogdian (cf. *BSOAS.*, XI, 68, n. 6). It would thus be better to derive *kyδrp-* = *kišp-* or *kišb-* from OIr. *kršv-* and compare Sogd. *-kišp-* from *kršvar/n-* (Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 147), and '*kyšpy* P 2, 636 = 種 = *sambhava* (Parth. *kišfān*). The assumed semantic development (line, circle > contour > form, shape) is supported by Sogd. *kršn* "form, beautiful form", which belongs to the same base (*karš* "to draw furrows, lines, circles").

² *'βzn-* is "garlic" (P 2, 600, 608, 665, 889; cf. Yidgha *wcznu*, Pashto *ūža*, Parachi *bīn*, from *brzn-*?). *βznuw* is "shame". But what is *'βznuw*? One would expect a word meaning something like *χεποροία*, cf. *Kephalaia*, 37 sqq. Possibly *əβzn-* < *βznu-* from the root of *'nβrz-* [see now *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, 117 sq.].

³ I.e. *auditor*. Cf. *BBB.*, p. 77, n. 3, and Turkish *üzütingā amraq* (*Türk. Man.*, iii, 41, 42).

⁴ Contrary to my suggestion in *BSOS.*, VIII, 585, n. 2, '*xwšndyy* may belong to the base *xšnū-* "to satisfy" (*xšnūtaka-* > *xšūnte* > *xšūnde* > *xšūnde*). It thus would be the past participle to '*xšn-w-*.

⁵ Differently *BBB.*, pp. 67 sq.

⁶ Cf. *BBB.*, p. 71; *BSOS.*, IX, p. 84.

⁷ The third part of the day, of course, was to be devoted to the care of the Manichaean monks!

C. The Three Fishes

From M 127, late and cursive Manichæan script. This Sogdian version is very concise. There were two such stories in the Panchatantra. In one of them the foolish fish is killed (1st book, 14th story; Benfey, i, 241 sqq.; ii, 91 sqq.), in the other the two intelligent fishes are caught but the fool is saved (5th book, 6th story; Benfey, i, 242; ii, 337 sq.). The first form of the story was included by the Pahlavi translator (cf. *Kaṭīla wa Dimna*, ed. Sacy, pp. 107 sq.; Keith-Falconer, 31; also *Mathnawī*, iv, 2205, ed. Nicholson, see commentary), but not the second, which Benfey judged to be “undoubtedly a late addition”. The Sogdian agrees with the second form. The names in Skt. are *sahasrabuddhi*, *śatabuddhi*, and *ekabuddhi* (the last is said to be a frog).

M 127 R 8-14

(8) oo i mzyx '[']wz[y]y wm't (9) '(t)yy wδyy c[y]ndr iii kp[yš]t wm't(ʼnd) i kpyyš¹ 'yw (10) šm'r'yy^{stc} oo δβtyk k(pyy) C šm'ryy^{stc} o 'ty štyq (11) kpyy z'r šm'rynyy^{stc} wm't oo 'rtyy wšp't kpny'sy (12) w'yw(k) [i ''] (γ)t 'ty δ'm' pš't δ'rt oo 'tyy xwnyy δw' (13) γrf šm'rynyt kpyštyy ny'tδ'rt o 'ty xwnyy 'yw (14) šm'ryy^{stc} kpyy nyy ny't δ'rt oo

There was a big pond,² and in it there were three fishes. The first fish was One-Thought, the second fish was Hundred-Thoughts, and the third fish was Thousand-Thoughts. At some time³ a fisherman⁴ came and cast his net. He caught those two fishes of many thoughts, but he did not catch the fish One-Thought.

D. The Merchant and the Spirit (Plate 1)

Very badly preserved fragment. The lines are incomplete and the writing is faded and often illegible. Nevertheless, the trend of the story is clear. Cf. *Judges*, 11 (Jephthah's daughter), and the story of Idomeneus (*Servius in*

¹ Mistake for *kpyy*.

² Or “lake”. See *Sogdica*, p. 51, and *Addenda* (with reference to Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 56, 195). Cf. also “w'zh “lake” P 9, 30.

³ The meaning of *wšp't* (clearly containing -p't “casus”) is not known. For an explanation from Av. *oiθra* see Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 299. Note that the Avestan word is spelt *oiθra* in the *Frahang-i Oīm* (and not *ōiθra*), and that the Pahlavi rendering is *yutākīhā apāk* (and not merely *yutākīhā*). — I take this opportunity to correct the reading of *Frahang-i Oīm*, iii, g, 5, where *čākaḡaḡatō* should be replaced by *čākaḡaḡatō* (cf. Reichelt's preface, p. 3, on the letters -z- and -δ-); this is a bad spelling of **čākaḡaḡatō* “of that which has an elbow, or forearm”. The Pahlavi translation gives 'lšnčnd (M 6) or čnd 'lšn (K 20) = “as much as an ell (elbow)” ; possibly the original spelling was *'lšnčwnd = *arašnčwand* (cf. B. Geiger, *WZKM.*, 42, 119). From Av. *čākaḡa-* we have Pashto *cangal* “elbow, forearm”, cf. also Saka *tcamgalai* (Bailey, *BSOAS.*, XI, 5) and Brahui *čangulī* “elbow”.

⁴ Lit. “a fish-catching hunter” (cf. *kpny's'k mrty* in O¹ and Frg. iia). *w'yw* = MPers. and Parth. *w'yg* “hunter” (cf. *BSOAS.*, XI, 68, n. 2). Cf. M 523a, 9 sqq. *'yw w'yg bw[d] ws mwrg'n '[d] d'm[g] [g]ryft 'hynd o 'wš ws zng [d]mg 'wd wbnđg dyrd o u xwj [n]xšdyg 'wd bzkr bw* “There was a hunter, he had caught many birds in his nets. He possessed many kinds of nets and snares (cf. Sogd. *wβ'ntk* ‘snare’ P 2, 273, ‘web’ DN., 24). He was very merciless and wicked”. M 572, 25 . . . *w'yg 'wš gwrg 'yw gryft* “. . . the hunter, he had caught a wolf”. Cf. also Saka *byaha*, etc. (Bailey, *BSOAS.*, X, 573), Yidgha *waina* (Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, 262), Osset. *vain* (Hübschmann, *Etym. Oss.*, p. 30), beside Av. *vā(y)-*.

Virgil. Aen., iii, 121: *Idomeneus . . . in tempestate devovit sacrificaturum se de re quae ei primum occurrisset. Contigit ut filius eius primus occurreret . . .*, *Beauty and the Beast*, etc.—Manichæan script.

T ii D 66

(*Recto*) (1–2 *orange ink*) (1) [. . .]δβ(z)ʔ^a nγʔδʔ βrʔ (2) [ʔty] wystʔw wystʔ[w] (3) x(yδ) zwrnyy ʔncʔyʔt ʔt[y] (4) (mʔx) zrxsym ooʔrtʔy] (5) kww ʔβtʔmyδpr[m] (6) (wy)δβz ʔty nwy[.] (7) wystʔw kwnʔ ʔt[y] (8)c nyy nmʔ) (9)t ooʔrty xwʔq(r) (10) [ktʔmyy pr (11)]r ʔty xʔnʔ) (12) (mzyx) (wyδʔ)β ʔty rytryʔ] (13)cyk ʔsty oʔ(r)[ty] (14)wʔt ooʔtyh (15) (xwʔ)[qr kw] wʔxʔyk ʔt[y] (16) (cyt)[yy sʔ]r wʔnw (17) (wystʔw) kwndʔ oo kt (18) (cʔnw) wβʔt ʔty cymyδ (19) smwtrʔ^b pww wyδʔ(β) (20–1 *orange ink*) (20) [.p]tsʔr [(21) . . . (*Verso*) (22) ʔtyš[w] ʔ[s]mkʔm [ʔty] (23) [δy]myδ s[m](w)[t](r)yk c(y)[ty] (24) [p]wšy kwnʔm ooʔrtyh (25) cʔnw viiimyky myδyy mwnw (26)[w]ystʔw kwnʔ oo pʔsʔr (27) xyδ ywnyδ zwrnyy ʔty (28) pcʔwʔ mncʔy oo (ʔrty) (29) xwʔqr δn zʔtyy (ʔtyh) (30) tʔwndyy yzyny γrʔ]m[yy] (31) ʔryw p[ww wyδʔβ] (kww) (32) [z]mb sʔr nyjyy oo (ʔrty) (33) mʔγʔz šmʔrʔk(y)n^c (xrtʔ) ? (34) [pʔ](δy) ʔndwxcnʔk (ʔwštʔt) (35) kt cʔnw wβʔtkʔm (prw) ? (36) wystʔw ky kδʔrm oo (37) δβʔt cʔnw (xʔnʔ) (sʔr) (38) [p](nd)^d βʔwn ʔrtymyy δ(wʔt)[ʔ] (39) pcʔt pyrm [pʔtycy] (40) ʔysʔt ooʔrty (cʔnw) (41) [. . . .]k sʔr pnd [βʔwn] (42) [pʔ]sʔr (γryw) ? (qncyk) ?^e

“ . . . pray and swear the oath, the very moment it will calm down and we shall be saved.” For a full week . . . [he pressed¹ him], “take the oath,” but . . . he did not lend himself [to it]. The merchant [thought], “great injury and decline is [threatening] my . . . house,” and [gave in]. Before the spirit and demon the merchant took this oath: “If it be that [we escape] without injury from this ocean, then I shall take it and offer² it to the spirit of the sea.” When on the eighth day he had taken this oath, at once that very moment the turmoil ceased, and the merchant with his son and huge treasure and wealth came out on the shore in safety. But he began to walk deep in thought, to stand still anxiously, (thinking) “How will it be with the oath I took ? Perhaps when I approach my house, this time my daughter will come as the first to meet me ? But if I approach the . . . , then the . . . girl(?) [will meet me first]. . . .

^a Possibly [wy]δβzʔt, cf. line 6. Meaning unknown. Possible connections: Sogd. *nyδβʔyz-*, *Sogdica*, p. 32; Sogd. *δβz* “hunger”; Av. *θwqz-* (?); Av. *dabqz-* (cf. Duchesne-Guillemin, *BSOS.*, IX, 864 sq.; the assumption that the *élément adventice qui figure notamment dans av. kkašša-* could occur in Sogdian and other later dialects, is strange).

^b Or *smwtrʔ(y)* ?

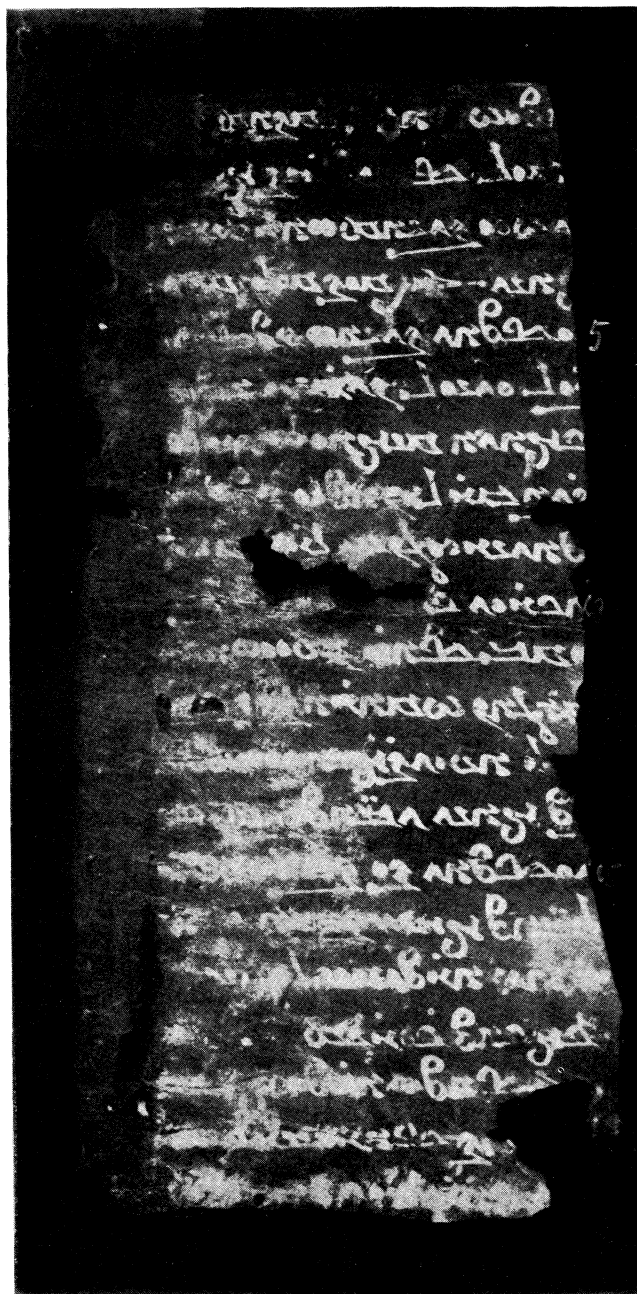
^c *šmʔrʔk-* is certain, but cf. *šmʔrykyn* below, E 24.

^d [p]nd (very faint) added at the margin.

^e The whole line is one long blur. *qncyk* is merely a guess (cf. *BBB.*, 101). What *γryw* (if that is the correct reading) could mean here is not clear.

¹ *nwy* [possibly from *nwyδ-*, and *wyδβz* from Av. *θwqz-* ?

² I have restored [wšy] to [p]wšy = Uyγur Turkish *pušī* “alms, offering”. However, this originally Chinese word has not been noticed in any Sogdian text so far.



E. *Βαγίστανος ὁρος*

Two pieces of a folio, respectively its upper and lower end. The central part is missing. Manichaean script.

T ii D 117

Captions: *Recto* *mrtxmyy* "2nd The Story of the [Magian ?] man.

Verso *cn* 'sp'syyh On Service

(*Recto*) (1) m'yδ wyyšn jwγty' myδ'nyyh (2) "wrt nwrtyy šwt o 'rty pyšt (3) r'mndyy xypδ šy'δ'rt o 'rty xw (4) rw'(nm)yc frtry' nyy "yfstt o (5) 'rty γyrtr wny βγγyšt't 'tyyh (6) mrδ'spnd 'ty pwyšttyy pyrnm (7) s'r m'yδ γwβ(t)[y] 'ty šym'my (8) βwt o c'nw xw(n)[yy] xwt'w wny (9) xypδ n'fyy m[yδ'nyy γw]βtyy 'ty (10) [. .]^a (w)yδ'β wy(n)[.](t)y oo mwγ' [. .]^b (*The following line was apparently left blank; after it a lacuna of undetermined extent*) (11) jw'n[w (12) trny(')] (13) fryyt't 't[y (14) βwrt'rmy(k)[y] (15) 'ty jyn' [. .]t. (16) 'rtšyms [t](y)m k[(17) m'nwq xwp 'ty .n. (18) o o c'nw 'ty " (19) qδwt'y pr ny'wr jm(n)[w (20) r'mnd y'βyy 'ty [. .]zt^c (21) βyyjyβr'n šw'zskwn [. . . .]. i (22) myδδ ms kw y'βy[y] (cn) δβr'h (23) jγw trytz'yy 'ty wx'(s)cn šyyr (24) 'ndwxen'k 'ty šm'rykyn šw' (25) zskwn o 'rty pcp'tyy cn bry'h (26) c'δrs'r wxr ptyγwš jyγyr 'tšyy (*Verso*) (27) w'nw w'β mrt'y przr 'tymyy (28) jγw^d z'ryysyyskwn o pyšt šwnyy tw' (29) wyncyk βjyy m't 'rtfyy xw n' (30) wyyt nyy pcy'yq'm 'rtkδ' kδryy (31) mn' w'xš nγwšyy 'rtfyy w'nw jn' (32) βyndmq'm 'ty i jw'nyy šyrβr'n (33) wβyk'm o 'rt[xw] mrt'y(h)^e 'skyy kw (34) kywyδ wnx[r s'r w']nw ps tγww (35) 'tyβγ' ky [yš 'ty t'm'h w'nw (36) [z](')ryysy(y)[skwn o 'rt](y)šyy cn '(s)[kyy] (37) [c'δr]s[r w'nw p'] (tc)γ(n)[yy kwn'] (*A lacuna of undetermined extent*) (38) '(s)k[y] qyr'ns'r (39)] i mzyyx γrw (40) jγryy pδ'mnyh (41)] βγγy[s]t'n 'styy (42) δ]ywyδ βγn'^{stc} cyndr (43)[γrf ? βγγyšt't] 'skwnd ky 'ty wy'βrnyy (44) [xnd pyšt ? cn]sp'syy kβny škwrδtrt (45) [xnd 'rtms ? pr] γryy "wzryy 'skyy (46) [. ty](m) 'nyw ii βγnyy 'sty i (47) zyr(ny)[nyy 'ty δ]βtyk n'ktynyy xeyy o (48) 'rty dywy[δ δ]yβnw βγny' cyndr cw (49) βγγyšt't 'skwnd s't wysprtnyny (50) xnd pyšt mrtxmytyy pryw nyy j'ynd (51) 'rty qt'm "dyy (')ww rdnyy βγγyšt (52) ky 'ty wy' βγny' 'skwnd 'xšwndyy

. . . so he goes to and fro amidst those cruel ones, but always keeps his consciousness so that his spiritual welfare is not perverted. And later on, before the gods, elements, and Buddhas (apostles),¹ he is honoured and cheered

^a Restore [pr] or [pw].

^b mwγ'[nc] or mwγ'[ny] "Magian" ? Apparently subscription to the text ending in line 10 to which the caption of the *Recto* page refers. It can thus be restored to mwγ'[ny ?] mrtxmyy "2nd. The caption of the *Verso* page (which was continued on the *Recto* page of the subsequent folio) gives the title of the story of lines 11-52, cf. line 44.

^c Restore [']zt[yy] "free", or [']zt[yw] "exiled" ?

^d Added above the line.

^e (*h*) written over (or under ?) (*kw*), i.e. "read mrt'yh instead of mrt'y kw" or vice versa.

¹ I.e. after his death.

in the same way as the . . . king is honoured amidst his people and . . . danger visible . . . Magian (?).

. . . submissiveness . . . charity, [faith, perfection], patience, [and wisdom] . . . body¹ . . . and also his . . . is good like . . . As at other times he always used to go roving² and . . . in an unhappy frame of mind, so one day, too, he went out of the door for a ramble, very depressed and troubled, in great anxiety and deep in thought.³ This time he heard a voice coming down from the air. It called him and spoke thus to him: "Man, I feel so very great pity for you. However, in your walk of life that which was visible to you, was evil, so might not the unseen help you?⁴ If you will listen to my words now, I shall imbue you with such knowledge that you shall be happy for your whole⁵ life." The man (looking) upwards to that voice asked thus: "You, my lord, who are you that you feel such pity for me?" From above the voice replied thus to him,

. . . northwards⁶ . . . a great mountain . . . on the skirts of the mountain there is a . . . place of the gods (*βαγιστάν*). In the temple there are many gods who are endowed with speech, but they are rather difficult to serve . . . on the flanks (?) of the mountain, upwards, . . . there are another two temples, one of gold, the other of silver. What gods there are in both those temples, they are set with all kinds of jewels, but they do not talk with men. Whoever satisfies the brazen gods who are in the temples⁷ . . .

F. The Monkey and the Fox

Slightly damaged folio, cursive Sogdian script. An Æsopian fable, Korais, 29, Chambry, 38. An Uyğur fragment of the *Yosipas* (Æsop) book was published by LeCoq, *Türk. Man.*, iii, 33. Beginning of the story in Greek (*recogn.* C. Halm, Lipsiæ, 1884, p. 22): 'Εν συνόδῳ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων πίθηκος ὀρχησάμενος καὶ εὐδοκίμησας βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐχειροτονήθη· ἀλώπηξ δὲ αὐτῷ φθονήσασα ὡς ἐθεάσατο ἔν τινι παγίδι κρέας κείμενον, ἀγαγοῦσα αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα ἔλεγεν, ὡς εὐροῦσα θησαυρὸν αὐτῇ μὲν οὐκ ἐχρήσατο, γέρας δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας τετήρηκε, καὶ παρήνει αὐτῷ λαβεῖν. Τοῦ δὲ ἀτημελήτως ἐπελθόντος κτλ.

T i

(R)(1) ky 'sty ky nwry m'γ[w cwpr] (2) γωβω pc'y-tk'm o rty [cnn] (3) c'β' prtr 'dy L' β(w)[t] (4) ZY kdry sytm'n nšyr[t] (5) ZKn tw' prny γωβω ryz-(k)[ry]^a (6) ptysynt'nt [o] [rt](β)y kdryh (7) γωβω kwncykw^b 'sk[w]nt [o] p'rZ-Y (8) ZKn tw' prny [ny]my CWRH (9) ZKn mrtym'kty^c s'r mynt

¹ Cf. below, p. 484, n. 3.

² Or "for a drive"? Cf. *BSOS.*, X, 102, n. 3.

³ See *BBB.*, p. 60 (on 510).

⁴ The translation is conjectural.

⁵ Lit. "one". Cf. MPers. *pd yk 'wx* M 731 V 9 (*HR.*, ii, 33).

⁶ Hardly = "upwards" here.

⁷ See *BSOS.*, VIII, 584 sq. On 'xšwndyy/'xwšndyy see above, p. 470, n. 4.

For notes ^a ^b ^c see p. 475.

(10) skwn ZY nymy ZKn nšyryh (11) mynt o ZY kōry 'z-γrt šwy-m (12) ZY prw γw'δk^d prš'y-δ o ZY pr (13) nš'y-rty cwpr γwβw myn o ZY (14) ZKh γyry mkr' m'γz ZY ZKn (15) rwpsy nβ'nt γyr o c'nk w'γw (V)(16) [...] s'r pnt β'w'nt o (17)[rwpsy] 'z-yw'rt ZY ZKn (18) [mkr]' s'r m'y-δ w'β kt (19) [...]n^e šyry ZY-mn ryty (20) [']γt ZY šyry pty-cyh ktyš (21) o 'mpty [.]'k^f ptšt'n (22) L' [.] .y^g skwn yw'r ZKn (23) tw'prny [s']t βγty ZY pep'n (24) sβry-t'kw γcy o 'YKZ-Y γwβwy' (25) šyr'kw γwry-k'm o cywyδ (26) pyδ'r kt tγw kšy šγy'k (27) kwn' 'yny ptšt'n pr (28) δst' ny's o rtyh γyry (29) mkr' mwnw w'γš pty-γwš (30) cpδ' šyr'γws'nt 'krty

" . . . Who will now be the right king for us ? There is none better than you ! All animals have approved Your Excellency¹ as absolute king and are at the point of declaring² you king. For Your Excellency's body is half like a man's, and half like an animal's. Let us now go quickly, and you shall seat yourself on the throne and be king over the animals."

The foolish monkey got up and went along with the fox. When they approached the [trap ?], the [fox] turned back and spoke thus to the [monkey] : " Good . . . has come before us and you have been placed before a good thing. Filled . . . you would not . . . the frame (?),³ but it is all presented and ready⁴ prepared for Your Excellency so that you shall eat well like a king.⁵ So if you will now take the trouble,⁶ take this frame (?) into your hands."

The foolish monkey heard these words, at once⁷ he became very glad. . . .

^a There is hardly enough space for the abstract noun (*ryžkry'kh* : P 6, 164). ZKn *tw' prny* can be accusative as well as genitive-dative. *rēžkare* (= Persian *kāmgār*) is probably appositional to *γwβw*, cf. P 2, 1144 sq. : 'PZY wntn 'γšywn'k 'krtyw ryžkr'k. Cf. also *ryžkr Vim.*, 191. — One can scarcely read *ryž-(y)l'n* (as in VJ. 1140).

^b MS. apparently *kwncyrw*, but several times in this manuscript one can hardly distinguish *-kw* from *-rw*.

^c MS. *mrlym'ky-t*.

^d = γ'δwk. Mistake or genuine form ?

^e Or [...]. Three or four letters missing. [ZYβ]n ?

^f Possibly [yw]n'k ? But the third letter looks rather like *-s-*. Hence, [p]s'k ? [β]s'k ?

^g [k](wn)y ? [w](β')y ? [γ](w')y ?

¹ *farn-* is freely used in Sogdian texts as a polite form of address, especially to dignitaries of the Manichaean church.

² Cf. Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 1018.

³ The meaning of *ptšt'n* is unfortunately not known. It is connected with *ptšty-* "to prop, lean" (*Dhyāna* 25, cf. Weller), cf. also *ptšt't-* "to withstand" (*BBB.*, p. 104 and P 8, 136). I am assuming that the trap itself is meant here, but the possibility that the word refers to the piece of meat in the trap cannot be excluded. In that case *ptšt'n* may have the same meaning as Av. *paitištāna-* ("leg").

⁴ Cf. *S.T.*, i, 50, 5 ; 87, 20 ; P 7, 66 ; Anc. Letters *pcp'y-* "to be ready for" (the preceding word in Reichelt's glossary, *peks-* is "to wait, expect", cf. *S.T.*, i, 39, 3 ; "if I shall lead you, then wait for me." The simple verb may occur in Anc. Lett., i, 12, *šyr'kk ks'n* "I shall have a good time", where Reichelt has *kwn'n* ; Av. *kasa-*, etc.).

⁵ *γwβwy* may be a "predicative instrumental", see Gershevitch, loc. cit., paras. 1182, 1223.

⁶ This sentence is not clear. Literally "on this account that you now make or shall make (imp. or subj. sg. 2) hardness". For *šγy'k* see *BBB.*, p. 103 ; *Sogdica*, p. 20, and particularly *šxy'q wn-* *S.T.*, ii, 6, 33 : "Through these great (? *xw'n*) efforts they earned the paradise. So we, too, when we hear of such great (*xw'n*) forbearance, should take much trouble, etc." See also below text I, line 5.

⁷ *cpδ'* possibly from *hačā paδā(t)*, Persian *az pai*.

G. The Daēnā

Fragment of a scroll, *recto* Chinese. Cursive Sogdian script, carelessly and irregularly written. This is not a story; it is given here as illustration to the next number (H). Better than any Manichæan text so far known, this fragment shows that the Manichæans shared the Zoroastrian idea of the “religion” (*daēnā*) of a man meeting him after death in the shape of a virgin, cf. Polotsky, *Le Muséon*, xlv, 268–271.

T ii Toyoq

(1) 'yw 'z-w'nh [(2) mrtγmy pwny'nyh [(3) m'δ ZY γwty pw r'yh^a βwt [(4) šyr'nk'ry pwny'nk'ry kwδ prnm^b 'z-wyt^c rt[y] (5) cyty^d 'tδrmkw'nh^e δ'm L' δβ'yšt [(6) MN wyspn'ch pw pckwyr m'δ ZY n[(7) pδyh pw 'y^f 'γš'nt (βy)'r'nt^g (ZKw)[(8) p'šy 'δy rty cw zmnyh myrty ptsrδ xxxx^h (9) δwγth βγšpšytⁱ pt'yey s'r 'ys'nt [(10) 'sprmy ZY zym'yny kwn'k'r rtšy myδ w(')[β'nt (11) L' pckwyr 'rt'w rw'nh p'rZY [(12) pty'p nyst p'rwty γr'm^j [(13) rty γr'm kw rwγšn'γrδmnwh s'r p(w)[(14) p(')δy^k γw wγšy pcγ'z p'rZY prm [(15) 'wz'ny p'ty wm'tyš m'δ ZY ZKn (w)[y]spw w'tδ'(rt)[y] (16) ZKw 'z-wnh^l z'ry sy'tδ'ry m'δ ZY šn L' ZY^{slc} (17) ptywstδ'ry L' MN y'ty^m γwrtδ'ry rty kδry (18) γr'm kw βwδ'nty p'rγz wštm'γw s'r kw ZY γw nwšy (19) wγšy rtšy γw γypδ 'krtyh p'rγz βγy-pt(y)[c] (20) [. . .] δwγthⁿ pwr'yew my^o ryty 'ystw nwšy mryty^p (21) [.] ZKwyh pr srw 'sprmy myn(ch) (22) Jrtšy γwty r'δt'kw βwt

... one life ... a man's *punya* ... so that he will be free of guilt (?) ... pious and meritorious as long as he lives ... does not hurt even the demonic creatures ... without fear of anything so that ... immediately after ... without

^a Or *rnyh* ? *ryzh* ? [Dr. Gershevitch suggests : mistake for *pw 'rnyh*].

^b Mistake : read *prm*.

^c Cf. Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 810.

^d Hardly = “demon” ? Possibly = *cyty* in the *Ancient Letters*, ii, 54 ?

^e Mistake : read 'tδrmnk- (the same misspelling also in P 6, 191).

^f Or 'ny, or 'zy. If 'y, one might think of Old Ir. *āyu-* and compare 'yw-'yh, *DN.* 76 ; *prw 'yw 'yh*, P 2, 165 ; 'yw'yh ... L', P 6, 19, 181. 'ny “other” is less likely here. “Re-birth” should be spelt 'zy. I do not understand this line.

^g The first two letters are illegible ; hardly β-.

^h There may have been four symbols for “twenty”, followed by other numerals. Only the first two symbols for “twenty” are clearly visible, after them only a few traces. Perhaps one should restore : *xx xx [xx xx x iiii iiii NLPW]* (there is certainly not space for more) = 99,000, and compare the traditional number of Fravašis, 99,999 (as e.g. in *Yašt* 13, 59–62 ; *MX.*, 49, 15 ; *Ind. Bd.*, 32, 9).

ⁱ Or *βγspšyt*. Presumably mistake for *βγšpšyt*.

^j *m* over (or under ?) *nh* (= *γr'nh*).

^k *p(y)δy* ?

^l Mistake : read 'z-w'nh.

^m At first sight one would certainly read *βrty*, but *y'ty* was no doubt intended.

ⁿ Restore [*wys*]δwγth ? Cf. e.g. *wysδγwth*, P 6, 165.

^o = Buddhist Sogd. 'my (oblique case of 'mw).

^p Or *myty* ? “birds” ? “meadows” ? “even ones” ? “clouds” ? “nails” ? Cf. also *Sogdica*, p. 26.

interval . . . they obtain (?) . . . the watcher. And at whatever time he dies, 80— . . . girl angels will come to meet him, with flowers . . . and a golden litter,¹ and speak thus to him: “Fear not, righteous soul, for you have no part in . . . ; but come forward . . . step forward to the Light Paradise, without . . . , receive joy. For in this [world] you have abstained from slaughter, you felt compassion with the lives of all creatures so that you did not kill them nor eat of their flesh. Now step forward to the fragrant, wonderful Paradise where there is eternal joy.”

And his own action, as ² a wondrous, divine princess (?), a virgin, will come before his face, immortal . . . on her head a flowery . . . , she herself will set him on his way³ [to Paradise . . .

H. The Cæsar and the Thieves

Three pieces of a book, T i α, cursive Sogdian script, beautiful handwriting. One piece is a nearly complete folio, the second a large fragment of a double folio, the third is a smaller piece which helps to complete the text of the double folio. Thus there are three folios; one of them contains the story H, the two others are given below as I (admonitions and enigmas, cf. the Parthian text M 48, *HR.*, ii, 86). — A most peculiar story which despite prolonged study remains rather nebulous. A “Cæsar” is tricked into the belief that he is dead. A thief impersonates his *Farn*. Apparently this is not (as I had been thinking at first) his *daēnā* who should have the shape of a virgin according to text G, but the guardian spirit of a royal person or possibly of his country. Cf. *farrah ud wāxš* of a province, *BBB.*, p. 11, *farrah ud wāxš ī īn šahr*, *Man. Dogm.*, 551 (VX 3–4), *Qočo uluš . . . qutī wāxšiki*, *Türk. Man.*, iii, 40, *Khurāsān xvarrah*, Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, ix, 157. The *Farn* is male and wears royal garments; this agrees with the representation of *Φαρρο* on Kushan coins; see Bailey, *Zor. Probl.*, 64 sqq. — The narrator placed the story in the third century, as the reference to *Šanšai* (line 25) shows; he was a disciple of Mani, *BSOAS.*, XI, 69. A *kysr* “Cæsar” who was the brother-in-law of *Npš’/Nβš’* (see *OLZ.*, 1939, 242) figures in the Sogdian version of the Manichæan Missionary History. In Iran *kysr* designated the Roman emperor only (*BSOS.*, ix, 834, inscription of A.D. 262; further references: Schaeder, *Iranica*, 35), but the Manichæans may have followed the usage of the Roman empire, as indeed their brethren did in Egypt (cf. *Kephalaia*, 186²¹, 187¹³). Valerian was a prisoner in Persian

¹ *kwn’k’r*: the context of *VJ.*, 1258 sq., shows conclusively that a *kwn’k’r* is a seat that is movable (‘vy . . . *kwn’k’r nysty šw’y-skwn* “he went along sitting in his *kwn’k’r*”), cf. also *VJ.*, 1421. In *Dhyāna*, 285, *kwn’k’r* is, on the other hand, a fixed seat, or a “socle” (see Weller on the passage). I do not see why *kwn’k’r* should be translated as “pavilion” (Rosenberg, *Izv.*, 1927, 1385; Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1933, i, 235); neither its meaning nor its form agrees with Skt. *kūṭāgāra*. [Cf. also *Uigurica*, iii, 71 line 8, and E. Sieg, *Sb. P.A.W.* 1937, 137 n. 2.]

² Or “and his own action, a wondrous . . . virgin”.

³ *r’δt’k-* = *rāθtāk-* “setting on the way, sending along the road” (see above, text B, line 9) corresponds with Arabic (*al-ḥakīm*) *al-hādī* in the *k. al-Fihrist*, 335, 11.

hands, Cyriades (Mariades) was emperor by the grace of Shapur (cf. *BSOS.*, IX, 835; see now A. Alföldi, *Berytus*, iv, 1937, 58 sqq.). The Manichæans may have approached one or the other.

T i a

(*Recto*)(1)]. o ZY kysr wδyδδ[(2) [. . w]yδp't wyš'ntw t'yt [(3)[. . .](w)r¹ tyt'nt o rty γw w'nk[w].] (4) oo 'YKZY ZKwyh γzδ'ny cyntr cr'γ ZY δmt[yr]² (5) ptswγt'kw 'sty o rty pts'r MN wyš'nt['](y) (6) (t')yty 'yw prn δyδym prw (s)rw 'wstyδδ'rt (7) ZY MLK'mync³ nγwδn ptmwγtδ'rt Z(Y) (8) kw δywyδ tpn' kw ZY γw kysr np'sty (9) (w)m't pnt γyr 'tšy w'nk w'β 'yy (10) 'yy kysr wγr's wγr's 'PZY n'⁴ pckw(γr) (11) p'rZ-Y ('zw) tw' prn 'ym o rty kδry 'nγ(wn)⁵ (12) γw p'(š)['](y) prn⁶ 'ym γrβw t'yt ZY δ[ym]βynt⁷ (13) 'ktw 'p[ryw ?]⁸ (')tβy kδry 'z-w [(14) [βr]y' (šk)[rc]y⁹ sγw('ym)k'm w'nk(w)[(15) L' (wβ)['](t) o rty wyδ(p)[']t[y Z(K) [(*Verso*) (16)](š)y w'nk w'β 'nβγ¹⁰ (17)]y 'tmy γwty 'pstkr'y wβ['] o] (18)]y ZKn kysry w'nk w'β oo (19)]. prw βry' prβ'rcy 'škr'n o rty (20) [Z](K)[w]yh ryt(y) 'ys'ntk'm wyš'ntw dymβyntyt (?) (21) (p')rsykt t'[y](t)¹¹ ZY m'γw w'nk w'ps'nt (22) k'm mwnw cw tpn' γcy ky ZY 'šm'γw (23) (β)rδ'skwn o rty m'γw w'nk w'p'tc[γ]ny (24) kwnymk'm o ktγw kysr 'yw mwšk[y]ch¹² pr (25) '(s)γ'nt¹³ kw š'nš'y s'r βr'sy oo ZY "ph (26)y cyntr w'sty o 'tšy prw γypδ t'pw (27) t'ph o rty kδ' "δy δst' prw [t]pn' (28)]. . . oo rty tγw [γw](t)y prw (29) [mwškych] βryn' βyks'r wny[r] kwn' (30)] t'yt ZKw tpn['] prw

. . . and the Cæsar there . . . thereupon those thieves entered the . . . , and so he . . .

When the lights and lamps had been lit in the tomb, one of those thieves placed the diadem of majesty on his head and put on royal garments. He

¹ Or](t)r [= *cyntr* ?].

² Cf. *Sogdica*, p. 40.

³ *mδδk'mync*.

⁴ Some letters from the preceding page seem to have imprinted themselves on (n').

⁵ Or 'nγ(wn)[.] which could be 'nγwny or 'nγwnc, or 'nγ(t)[, or "γ(t)[(meaning respectively "such", "fight", "whole", "came").

⁶ Reading doubtful. One or two letters are lost between p'(š)[and]y. The y, however, is uncertain, and may be connected with the following word. The p- of prn was possibly connected to the right side. Thus one may have to read]tpn' instead of]y prn although the r seems to be fairly well marked.

⁷ The margin is cut off after about three-quarters of the letter -t. There hardly was left any space for the ending -yt which may be represented by 'ktw at the beginning of line 13.

⁸ This would fit the gap nicely, but it does not make sense. Perhaps 'p[ym], instead of "p'ym ? I feel dissatisfied with the restoration of the lines 11-13.

⁹ Cf. Reichelt, ii, 69, 11.

¹⁰ Or "βγ[, or "γγ[. Possibly a mode of address, ā (interjection ?) + enclitic -βγ ("my Lord").

¹¹ A piece of paper is folded over the last letters; they could be read on the original. At first I read t'[β]('), but this is not satisfactory.

¹² The damaged fifth letter looks rather like (r) or ('), but mwšk[y]ch can hardly be anything but mwšk[y]ch.

¹³ '(z)γ'nt ?

approached the coffin where the Cæsar was lying, and spoke thus to him: "Hey, hey, Cæsar, awake, awake! Fear not, I am your *Farn*! Now, besides I am the guardian *Farn* for (?) many thieves and jugglers (??).¹ I shall lift you now . . . to guide you [through the] air, so that there shall not be. . . ."

Thereupon the [Cæsar] . . . and spoke thus to him: "Ah, my lord . . . be you my helper!" [The thief] said to the Cæsar: ". . . as charioteer² I shall guide [you] through the air. But those jugglers (?), the Persian thieves, will come face to face with us and ask us: 'What coffin is that which you are carrying?' We shall then reply in this way: 'The Cæsar has sent a cat to Šanšai for a joke (?). He has put (her) in (a) water[-chest?],³ and sealed it with his seal.' If one of them [should lay] hands on the coffin, let your voice be heard in the manner [of a cat]."

The thieves [lifted] the coffin on [their shoulders. . . .

Notes on tpn', γzδ'n-, and δymβynty

The understanding of this story depends largely on the interpretation of three words of which, I think, I can explain two.

(A) *tpn'* (one could also read *tp'n*) is here translated as "coffin". It is evidently an Aramaic word, cf. Syriac *dapnā* "bier" and *dupnā* "coffin". The spelling rather points to the word for "bier", but the story clearly requires "coffin". The fact that *-p-* is preserved (*-fnā* would appear as *-βn'*), suggests that the word was borrowed from Eastern Syriac.

(B) *γzδ'n-* (line 4), translated as "tomb", furnishes an explanation of the mysterious Pahlavi word *hz'n* ('z'n), regarded by some as an ideogram, which is employed to render the Avestan *daxma-* in the Pahlavi commentaries. The relation of *γzδ'n-*, which may reflect Manich. Middle Persian **hzδ'n* or **xzδ'n*, to Pahl. *hz'n* is the same as that of Av. *pazdu-* to Pahl. *pazūk*, of Pers. *duzd* to Pahl. and Man. MPers. *duz*, etc. Assuming the initial aspirate to be secondary, one could derive *haz(d)ān* or *xaz(d)ān* from Old Iranian **azdāna* < **azzd'āna* < **ast-d'āna*; the word would thus be identical by etymology with *astodān* "ossuary". A slight difficulty is provided by the isolated and doubtful Av. *uždāna-* (or *uzdāna-*) "ossuary", *Vd.* 6, 50; while *haz(d)ān* could probably go back to such a form, one may prefer to emend it to **azdāna-*.

(C) *δymβynty-* (lines 12, 20), provisionally rendered as "juggler". In this manuscript the letters *y* and *β* are not distinguished, nor are *n* and *'*. This makes for a great number of possible readings, such as *δymy'y'ty-*, *δβmβynty-*, *δβmyβ'ty-*, etc. My reading is suggested by MPers. *dymbndyy* (abstract noun to **dymbnd*) which occurs once in a Manichæan fragment

¹ This sentence is not clear, owing to several gaps in the manuscript.

² *prβ'rcy* from *prβ'r* "chariot". But see *BSOAS.*, XI, 68, n. 3. Possibly there were two words *prβ'r*, (1) "chariot", (2) "explanation, pronouncement".

³ Implying: "This is not a coffin as you suggest, but merely a water-chest"? But conceivably the sentence could mean: he has put water [and food] inside (the coffin, namely for the cat).

(M 204):] *dymbndyy* 'wd *qrwygh* 'yg *gwng gwng xyr'n* "ywšt'g'n 'wd *trs* 'y *wyptgyy* 'wd *hmwy*'n 'zwšt'g'n *ky mrdwhm'n* *wybynd* 'ymym *hrwysp'n* *dr'yšn'n* *ws'n* u *kyrwgyh'n* [= "... the jugglery (?) and framing of various perplexing points, the fear of (= belief in) error and perverse creeds which mislead mankind, all these many clamours and artifices . . .".

In this passage *dymbndyy* stands beside *kerrōgīh*¹ "art(ifice)s", while the Sogdian *šymβyntyt* are associated with *t'yt* "thieves"; hence, "impostors" or "jugglers". MPers. *dēm-band*, Sogd. *δēm-βende* may mean "sight-binding", i.e. preventing someone else from seeing what is being done to him. Compare Baluči *čam-band* "eye-fetters" = "deceit, illusion" (see Geiger, No. 52), and Pers. *čašm-band* "a spell put on the eyes".

I. The remainder of T i α

(*First fol., recto*) (1) [. . .]s'nty ymy wβy-k'm o ZY šyr(γ)[wzty] (2) ['ntw](γ)ch βwtk'm wβyw ms w'γwnc r'β (3) 'ystk'm ky 'β(zy)kw pty'r kwnty-k'm oo rty (4) m'nh r'm'n(t) [. . .]w^a δ'r o ZY CWRH kδ'[c] (5) γw't n' w'c oo (w')nkw šγy'-kw (kwn)[' ZKwy] (6) '[nt]wγcy ZY wγ'sy myδ'ny ZKw[(7) L' pryey oo p'rZ-Y 'βc'np[δy (8) βγ'nykw 'nwty msy-'tr 'nwt nys[t (9) kw mreprm MN CWRyh nw 'nwt n' (10) wβ' o ms MN γrβ'kw δy-nδ'r ky γwpw (11) wnγrš ptγwšy ky γwty ršt' δ'ty (ZY) (12) [p]rm'nty-' δ'r't tγw wyδ wnγrš pts[. . .]^b (13) [.] pr šyr'kw 'z-n'ptnym wβ't (14)]y ršt' δ'ty ZY prm'nty-' (15)](n)y's oo rt(y) [kδ'](c) ZKn (*verso*) (16) [γrβ'kw δy]nδ'r n' γryš oo rtms y'[. . .]^c (17) γz-ny ZY βry'w p't'γš'wn δ'r ZY Z[Kwh] (18) wδw pr ptβyw δ'r w'nkw ZY prw tw' (19) [. . .]t(y)pt γwr'nt [L' ? δβ]z wyn'nt (20) [.] (MN) mwrkt(r)y ZKwh tw' (21) [.] MN s'nty psγw'n^d L' (22)] rtms tw' 'spy [. . .](γ)w (23) [.]y wynt prw γwrt ZY nγwδn (24) [š]yr'kwδ'r oo ms prm'nw trn ZY nmrw (25) prm'y oo rty tw' prywyδδ RBkw šyr'kty-' (26) (β)wtk'm oo kδ' 'yδych δβγštc ZY βyry (27) (p)[t]y-'p(t)^e šyr 'ntwγs kwn' yw'(r) t(rp'r)[y]^f (28)^g n' wβ' kt γypδ rw'n[h kw tmw ?] (29) L' škry L' γwty RB[kw (30) rty pw p(r)[. . .]^h γ(yš)ypw [

¹ Or *kirrōgīh*, cf. *OLZ.*, 1934, 755; *BBB.*, 70; Messina, *Žāmāspīk*, 51, n. 8, 138. I still do not see why the word should be read sometimes as *kērōk* and sometimes as *karrōk* (Bailey, *BSOS.*, IX, 231; *Zor. Problems*, 84, n. 2). Old Persian *krnuwaka* would regularly result in MPers. *kirrōg* (or *kerrōg*), which could be spelt either *kyrwk/g* or *krwk/g*. Armenian *k'ogpet* (Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1934, 512 sqq.) disproves *karrōk* (= Arm. **karōk*-) as well as *kērōk* (= Arm. **kiōk*-). There is no need for assuming a case of special treatment. The Old Iranian form *karnya* postulated by Bailey does not seem very plausible to me; it should, however, result in **karr*- (not in **kēr*-), to judge by MPers. *zarr* from *zarnya*-. [Add Pers. *karōgar*, *Lexx. g*- and *k*-, "one of God's names," presumably = *artifex*, *Divān-i 'Unšurī*, Tehran 1298, fol. 29a; *Divān-i Nāšir-i Khusrāu*, 173, 4; *Divān-i Khāqānī*, 226, 1; *Garšāsp-nāme* Gl.]

^a Possibly (šγ)w ?

^b pts[ymt] ? pts[γty] ?

^c Or yn[or β' [or βn[or βz[.

^d Or psγwn' (less likely).

^e Or (p)[r]y-'p(t).

^f n ly tops of letters, hence could be t(rw'r)[c]. See below text J, line 8.

^g (š'n) ? ('z'n) ? (ršn') ? I cannot read this word. [Possibly "zcn].

^h Restore p(r)[m'n] ? Cf. *Sogdica*, p. 16 (a 6).

(Second fol., possibly continuing the text without break, but whole folios may be missing) (recto) (31) [L'] wβ't oo oo ms γw 'γsr(w-'γš)yδ^a (32) [MN] γntrwy m'yδ 'prs' oo kt (MN) (33) [']sm'ny cw 'sk'tr o ZY cw MN z'y-y (c)'str oo (34) ms MN γwry cw rwyšntry MN tm' (35) cw t'rtr oo MN (γ)[r]' cw γr'ntr oo ms (36) MN w'ty cw rynecwkstr oo ZY MN z-'ry (37) cw trykyst r oo rty ms ky 'δw y'wr "z-yt (38) ZY 'yw p't myrty o ky nysty msy-'tr 't[. .] (39) 'n(γš)[t]y rystr o ky' γw γwβny t'w'ntr (ky) ? (40) γyδ [wγ]r'ty βwt o rtkδ' γw ('z-)my ('ysy) (41) γw "my-n'y [. . .]^b o kδ' γw "myny 'ys(y) (42) γw 'z-my k(w)[^c] ms ky' γh 'γ(ryw) ? (43)]('t) c.wy cw (44)]ysty oo cw twγ (45)]t oo rty cw (verso) (46) γcy ky MN δwry wynty ZY MN pnt [L'] (47) wy-n(ty) oo ms ZKn mrtγmy cw pš'βr p[. . .]^d (48) oo ms cw δβ'r šyr'krty-' ptšmyrty ZY 'krt(h)^e (49) βwt oo ZY cw y' δ'my rytr ZY z-wy'ttry (50) pt(wr)t^f ZY cw ZKh mrtγmy-ty z-yšt s'št (51) z-yty o ZY MN 'γrywy δwr ZY γwty p'ty s'št (52) 'skw't oo rtpts'r γyδ 'nc(γw) . . (cykw) ^g (53) [r'β]y ZY pδ'nky z-'wr δβry ZY pe'y-y oo rty cw 'yw (54) ky prtr βwt oo rty cw γcy NLPW kyZ-Y rytr (55) (β)wt oo rty mrtγmy kn'c pyδ'r t(r)βty (56) (γ)wrt ? ZY ptβyw (mn) . . [.] ky' "m'ty (57) (γwr)t ? ZY ptβyw [.]ty ZKwy (58) knδδ ZY 'wt'ky [(59) rytr ZY z-wy'try w[(60) mrtγmy-ty pnt, (First fol.) . . [if] you are despicable¹ [even] to your enemies, [if] your friends have sorrow, even [if] ever so many illnesses come which may cause sore tribulation, always keep your mind firm (?), never let your body² grow weak. So make efforts,³ in grief and feebleness,⁴ do not leave. . . . For in the world there is no greater help than the help of God . . . until death do not be without help from the body² (?). Also, you should hear the good salvation from the wise δēnδār who possesses the Right Law and Forgiveness⁵ . . . through that salvation you should . . . shall be recognized⁶ for goodness . . . take . . .

^a The rotograph I am using is slightly blurred. It may be possible to read the name without difficulty on the original. The fifth letter is either a final -w, or a -p-, which is connected to the left side. There is little doubt about -'γ-, but -š- is uncertain (-s-?). "King Khusrau" ?

^b Restore : [kw βwt] ? ^c Restore : [βwt oo rty] ? ^d Restore : p[rtr] ?

^e The tail of the h is damaged, but no other reading seems possible. Surely this is a copyist's mistake for 'krt'nyh ?

^f The letters (wr) are plainly visible, but so badly executed that the reading is doubtful. One thus has to consider also ptwnt (?) and ptw't (cf. BBB., p. 56, patwāte "dry" from pati + wā "to blow", cf. now ptw's- P 6, 88, "to dry out"; note that w's- Frq. iii, 16, is not "to howl" as Reichelt, i, 62, n. 3, assumed, but "to start to blow").

^g Or "c(γw). (cykw).

¹ Reichelt, ii, 68, 10, wyspw w'tδ'rty sy'ntcyk 't γmy βwt "he becomes an object of ridicule and abhorrence (or disgust) to all living beings". In S.T., ii, 3, 14, Lentz translated "wealth". The corresponding Syriac word (ibid., p. 560, line 17) is only partially preserved; Polotsky read mwm[which could be completed to mwm['] = mūmā "macula, vitium", or mwm[y'] = mūmāyā "selestus".

² Or "soul", or "self".

³ See above, p. 475, note 6.

⁴ Or "trouble", cf. BBB., 82 sq.; P 6, 15, 144, 168; P 12, 59.

⁵ I cannot construe this sentence; the first ky seems superfluous.

⁶ The meaning of 'žn'ptnym is not clear to me. See P 2, 1155; P 12, 70; Man. jn'-ptnym, BBB., 64 (where the translation is wrong).

the Right Law and Forgiveness. Never irritate¹ the wise *dēndār*. Furthermore, keep control . . . of treasure and wealth, honour your wife so that by your . . . they shall eat, not experience hunger (?), . . . so that after your death . . . there [shall be] no defamation² from the side of your enemies. Keep also your horse well . . . in fodder and cover. Give your orders humbly and mildly, you will gain great merit by it. If gains and profits begin to reach you, double your efforts, but do not be too greedy (?) so that you will not lead your soul to Hell and that great . . . and merciless (?) injury to yourself (*Second fol.*) shall not be. — And again the 'ysrw king (??) asked the water sprite³: What is higher than the sky? What is lower than the earth? What is brighter than the sun, what darker than Hell? What is heavier than the mountain⁴, what lighter⁵ than the wind? What is bitterer than poison? Who is born twice and dies but once? Who is taller when sitting, and shorter when standing up⁶? Who is stronger in his sleep than waking?⁷ When winter comes, [where is] summer? When summer comes, where [is] winter? . . . What quickly . . . What is it that can be seen from afar, but cannot be seen from nearby? What provision is [best] for man? What gift is counted as a good deed, but is a sin? What are the worst⁸ and hardest (?) retributions (?) in this world, and what is it that man must hate and keep away from himself and guard himself against, but that later on, in . . . sickness and trouble, gives strength and is useful? What is one and superior, what is a thousand and inferior? And a man, for what reason . . . unseasonable⁹ food (?), and honour, . . . to whom ready food (?), and honour . . . in town and country . . . worse and harder . . . to men near. . .

J. The Kar Fish (Plate 2)

Large piece of a scroll, *recto* Chinese. Between the Chinese text some Sogdian scribbles, written in such a way that even a Sogdian might have had difficulty in deciphering them. Possibly: 'yny pwstk xiiii βγ (?) γypδ γcy ky L' pyr't pr'ys[t] (?) s'r pdsn (?) "This book has 14 bundles (?). He who does not believe it, can go to. . . ." Cf. a similar Sogdian note on another scroll-fragment (also T ii T): ZY "γtprn (? -kr') γypδ o xx z'm k'γδ' γypδ γcy "Belongs to Āyat-farn. Has 20 fine pieces of paper". — Cursive Sogdian

¹ Cf. γr'š, *SCE.*, 446, and Pers. *xarēšīdan*, cf. Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, 514 sq.

² *pyrw'n* from *apa.saxvan-*?

³ *γntrw-* = Av. *gandarwā-*, cf. *wp'p-γntrw*, P 3, 131 = Av. *upāpō gandaraṇwō*. This is the genuine Sogdian form; Skt. *gandharva-* is transliterated as *knt'rβ* (e.g. P 8, 55). Sogd. and Skt. show final *-va*, but Av. and *Siyni žindirv* (*Sköld*, *Pamirspr.*, 312) have final *-ba*.

⁴ Cf. the Pahlavi text *Yōšt-i Fryān*, iii, 22-29 ("lie and falsehood").

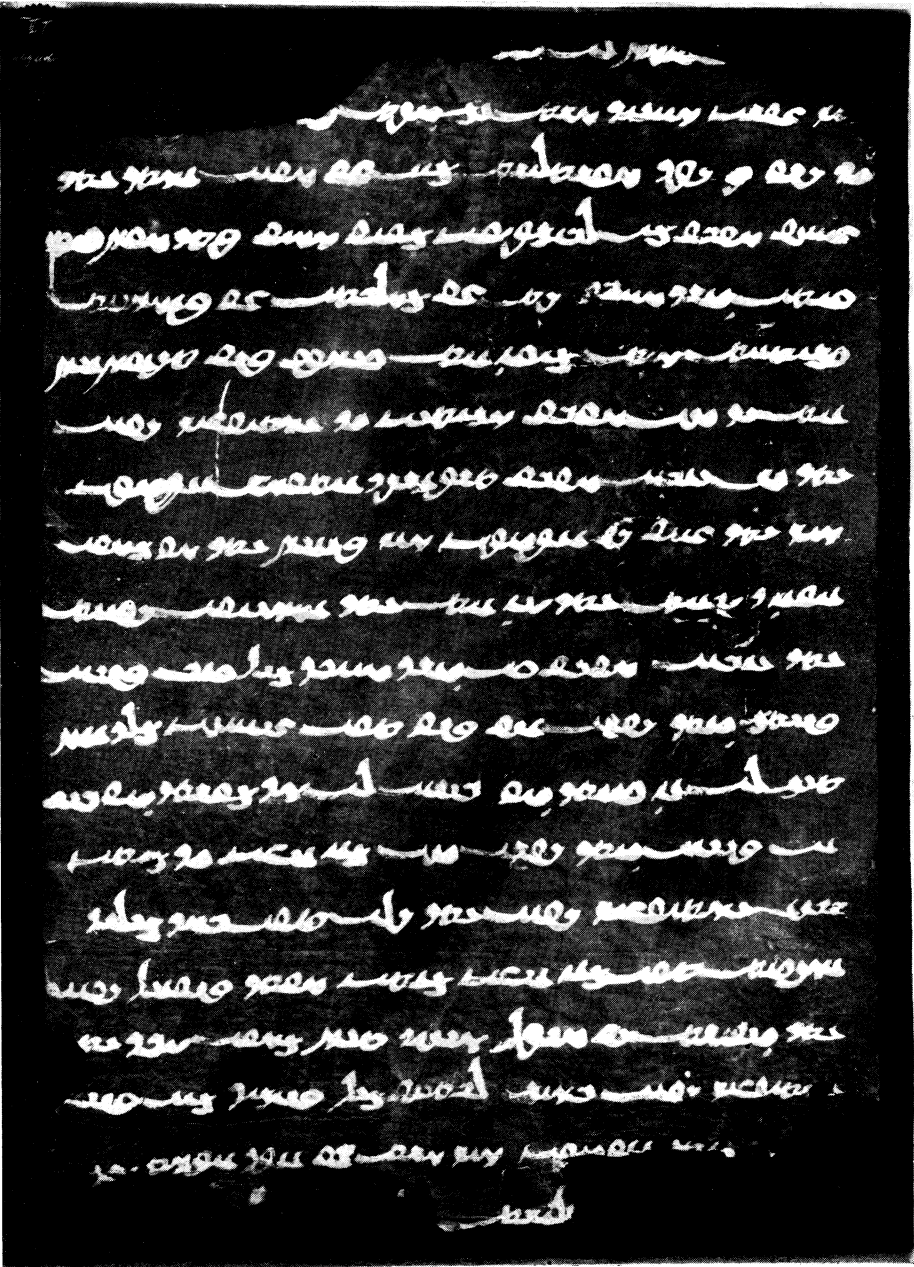
⁵ *rynckw-*, P 6, 185; P 12, 55; Wakhi *rānšk*. From *ranju*, cf. Av. *rayu-*, *ranj-*.

⁶ The answer is "a dog", cf. *Yōšt-i Fryān*, ii, 17-18.

⁷ The construction of this sentence is not clear, but there is no doubt about its meaning.

⁸ *rytr* is opposite to *prtr* (on which see Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 437), cf. below line 54. The abstract *rytry'* (*rytryh*) occurs in P 6, 192 (beside *prtry'kh*); P 12, 33; and above, text D, line 12. [On royal "*aporai*" see now W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria*, 427-36.]

⁹ *trβyt-* "untimely, too early, unseasonable, premature" from Av. *tarō.baxta-* "against (normal) fate", see P 2, 32, 450; P 6, 178, 183, 189, etc.



script. It is generally possible to say, with a fair degree of certainty, whether the scribe of a fragment written with this script (the worst script I know) was a Buddhist or a Christian or a Manichæan, even where the contents give no hint. In this case, I think it was a Manichæan, but there is no certainty. It is thus possible that this is a Buddhist story. — *R'β'n γwβw* can mean (1) the king of the country of *Rāβān*, or (2) the king of the *Rāβs*, or (3) King *Rāβān* (cf. Skt. *Rāvaṇa* ?); if (2), cf. *Rāv-šār*, Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 332 ? His son's name is *kwl'* (only as vocative, hence -' could be Sogdian ending), but one could read *kwl'n* instead. *Kwl'n* conceivably = *Kü-lang-na* (Middle Chin. *kiu-láng-nja*) as Hsüan-ts'ang writes for the name of Prince Kuṇāla (cf. Watters, i, 246). There is some faint resemblance to the story of *Kuṇāla*, who was (1) a prince, (2) hurt by his evil stepmother. According to Anquetil and Markwart (*Wehrot*, 188) the Kar Fish was the sturgeon, but Justi (*Bund.*, 203) correctly identified it with the wels (*Silurus glanis*). Av. *kara* is by etymology the same word as Germ. *wels* (cf. Walde-Pokorny, ii, 541).

T ii T

(1)].wys L' . . [(2) [s]'r CWRH sn'y'y γrt rm z'kt p[r'yw + about eight letters] (3) ZY krw kpy ^a γwrtδ'rt mn' cw γw'n 'sty rty (4) c'n'kw γwβw MN δβ'mpnwh mwnw synw^{slc} pty-γwš (wntn)^b (5) wntn z'ry γn'β(w)^c kt cw mγδβt' cw p'ysynt (6) wm'tnt s't mnwz'-nt wyspw prw tk'wš 'ys (7) 'nt ZY ZKn γwβw sm'tyh^d ZY ršt'wc'r kwn' (8) rty ZK r'β'n γwβw trp'rky 'ntwyc "pznph (9) s'r^e rty c'nw kw "pznph s'r pr'ys rty γw mγwn (10) 'nw'z-y nβ'nt rty nyz'-nt rty 'γšy'wn^f kwnnt (11) rty r'β'n γwβw w'-z'ry γn'βy myδ w'β pry'n (12) pryt m z'ty kwl' 'zw prw tw' cyn'kh mδy "γ (13) tym L' 'z-w'nty znw βyr'n L'-šy^{slc} mwrty znw βyr (14) 'n pry'n g z'ty kwl' ZKn m'z'-ych ZY m'th (15) (R)Bk'gš ršt'wc'r kwn' rty kδ' tw' βγγ myδry (16) 'skw't tw' m'z'-ych m'th γwty prw'yδ kwn'.^h (17) rty zyw'rt kw γypδ šykny tys mγwn n'βy rt[y ?] (18) (rš)t'wc'r kwn' βš'm δβtykw myδ pr'm'y mn' pry'[n] (19) [pryt m] (z'ty) "pznph s'r γrt kwⁱ "py 'npst ZY (20) [šy krw kpy γwrt] δ'rt [

" . . . he went to [the river-bank] to bathe, together with the children, . . . the Kar fish swallowed [him]. How can it be my fault ? " When the king had heard these words from the queen, he wept so very pitifully that all the ministers and all the councillors¹ ran together; all came to see, and to calm and comfort the king.

^a Before *kpy* a cancelled *k*.

^b Badly written, meant to be cancelled.

^c Or perhaps *γn'β(y)*.

^d = *sm'ytyh*, *syntyh*, *VJ.*, 379, 387, 1434. Probably connected with Skt. *śam* "to be calm", etc., which would be **śam* in Iranian. The ending, however, is somewhat unusual. Hence perhaps a loan from Middle Indian *samita* + Sogdian abstract suffix *-yā*.

^e A verb seems to have been omitted by the scribe (*γrt*).

^f Mistake for *γš'ywn*.

^g *pryt m* left out by the scribe.

^g On 'YK' = how ?

^h There is a smudge at the end of this word. It is difficult to say whether *kwn'* or *kwn'n* was intended. I think, one would rather have *kwn'n*, even in the preceding line (15) where the MS. has *kwn'* (which at a pinch could be read *kwnn*).

ⁱ Corrected *pr.m*.

¹ ? *p'ysyn*-. Chinese ? First part possibly the same as in *baχšī* (cf. Bailey, *BSOAS.*, XI, 48, n. 6).

And the king of (?) Rāṣān went to the bank of the river in boundless¹ grief. When he had reached the bank—the whole crowd came out with (him) and mourned —, the king of (?) Rāṣān very pitifully weeping spoke thus: “Oh, most beloved son Kul,² I have come here in the hope of seeing you. Shall I find neither his living nor his dead body?³ Oh, most beloved son Kul, I shall (?) greatly console your stepmother,⁴ but if your Lordship’s death⁵ should have taken place, I myself will call your stepmother to account.”

He returned and entered his palace. The whole people consoled him. On the next day he ordered a proclamation⁶ to be made (?) in these terms: “My most beloved son went to the bank of the river. He fell into the water. [The Kar fish] swallowed [him. . . .]”

Note on prw’yδ (line 16)

The verb *prw(‘)yδ*- “to demand, seek, ask for” is common enough in Sogdian, but the noun *prw’yδ* does not seem to occur in the hitherto published material. *prw’yδ* in P 3, 102, is merely a misspelling of *pr’ywyδ*. Beside *prw’yδ* = Yaghnobi *parvīd*- (“to demand, ask, let come”) there was also *βrw’yδ*- (= *frawēδ*-) which in Sogdian script may be spelt *prw’yδ*-, too. *frawēδ*- means “to reach, hit, attack” (as a misfortune a person). P 3, 117: who possesses such a stone, *rtȳ šȳ ’wyh γ’n’kyh nwš’kw βž’yk’ p’tβr’s βrw’yδt tns ZY wytyȳ ZY sryβt’m ZY ’ntwγc* “in his house tribulation will reach him continually, grief and trouble, suffering and sorrow”. P 3, 108: who keeps such a stone in his house, will be superior to all his competitors, *rtȳšȳ mz’yγw wyšȳ mz’yγ š’twγγ’kh prw’yδt* “and great joy and happiness shall reach him”. M 502 p 6: *ǰxw kyw’n jmny’ pr myδδ z’y šnyȳ[. . . .] xw’c r’f frwyδδt* “When there is an earthquake on a Saturday during daytime, illness and sickness will attack . . .”. Both *parwēδ*- and *frawēδ*- belong to the base *vaēd* “to find” (cf. Av. *fravaēda*-, etc.).

The noun *prw(‘)yδ* is met with in the Sogdian version of a Middle Persian poem. MPers. M 651 + Ti Hi = Sogd. T ii T 10, 3.

¹ *trp’rky* from **tarō.pāraka*-, cf. Av. *pārmtara*-.

² Or *Kula*, *Gul*, *Gula*, *Kūlā*, *Kōlā*, etc. Or *Kulan*, *Gulan*, etc.

³ *žnw* = *žyn’kh* (S.T., ii) ? Cf. above E 15.

⁴ The whole of this sentence is not clear to me. — *m’zych m’tħ* also in SCE., 242 (where the wrong reading *m’nych*). Not apparently connected with Pashto *maira mōr* (from **mātruiā*- = *μῆτρειά*, Arm. *mauru*).

⁵ Benveniste, BSOS., ix, 507, derives *mydry* from Av. *maša*, *-maša* = Old Iranian *mṛta*- or *marta*- (the spelling *‘mydry*, given by Benveniste, is not attested in the published texts; it is agreed that *‘mydry* in VJ., 1206, is not “death”; possibly “Mithra”). However, Old Iranian *mṛta*- becomes *murt*- in Sogdian, while OIr. *mart*- is Sogd. *mart*-. A further obstacle to the proposed derivation is the difference in meaning (“dead”: “death”). It seems that Sogd. *mydry* continues OIr. *mṛthyu*-, see Gershevitch, loc. cit., paras. 185, 507. — The equivalent of Av. *aməša*- in Sogdian is *mrd[‘spnd]*, *mrd[‘spnt]*-.

⁶ Perhaps rather: “He returned to his palace, the whole people entered, he dismissed them with words of comfort. On the next day he ordered.” Or: “the whole people with words of comfort accompanied him.” *βš’m* is not too clear here (cf. VJ., 356, 1343).

In MPers.: [*wd 'gr d'ywr*] *wynd'n 'y r'stwcr*¹
 [*kym 'c ? wystm*] *bg'n hng'm kwn'd*
 [*wm pd*] *zur ny 'w(d)rnz'd*

In Sogd.: *rty kt'r ZKw δ'tnm'n*² *'γtw*³ *βyr'n oo kyZYmy c'wn nz'mtty* (?) *zwβ'st'npyty*⁴ *prwyδ kwn't* *rtmy prw pδ'ty 'wz'tk L' kwn't* “And if I should find the justly deciding judge who would find for me against the tyrants and would not condemn⁵ me unlawfully”. It is unfortunate that in this passage the MPers. equivalent of *prwyδ*, i.e. *hng'm*, is merely another word of unknown signification; neither Pers. *hangām* nor Pers. *hangāme* appear to be of use. But so much is clear that *hng'm* = *prwyδ* is a term of the juridical language. It seems that *hangām* occurs in a line of the *Šābuhragān*, M 475 R 9, where Müller read *'ng'm*⁶: “but whoever sinned against you, *h'nt'n d'dyst[n]* *qwn'n u hng'm xw'h'n*, I shall institute a process against him on your behalf and call him to account.” Here Müller translated “assembly”, and Marr (*apud* Salemann, *Man.Stud.*, 54) referred to Arm. *angam*. One could rather compare Arm. *hangaman-k'* “finding, report, circumstance” (cf. Lagarde, *Arm.Stud.*, p. 83). We should take care not to confuse MPers. *hng'm* with Parthian *'ng'm*.⁷

Closely related to *prw(')yδ* is *prwyδy* in *Stellung Jesu*, 95, line 7: *MN βγ'nyšyδ 'zrwβγ' m'γ prwyδy* “who finds for us against (the wrath of) the King of Gods Azrua”, or “who defends us before the King of Gods”. The translation suggested by Lentz (*Mittler*) is approximately correct. Again there is an unknown word in the Parthian version of the passage (*ky 'ndrbyd*⁸ *'m'h 'wd pydr*).

K. A Job Story

Large piece of a scroll, *recto* Chinese. Some interlineary scribbles on both pages. Cursive Sogdian script. Written by a Manichæan, apparently a beginner in the art.

T ii D

(1) *z-mnw* "(w)γ'n(')yt^a 'skw'nt ZY ZKw 'nw'stk *rty pts'r yγw'y'nt* (2) (γ)w 'yw cnn δβtyk w'nkW 'PZY γwy'r ZK 'yw δn δβtyk L' wyn'nt (3) [rty] kδ

¹ I.e. *rāst-wičir*. ² Cf. Reichelt, i, 68, line 10 (see also Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, 498).

³ See above p. 468, n. 3.

⁴ Or *nwβ-*; this may be an older form of *zwstmbyy*, *-bky'h* (*Kawān*, E 8, I 2).

⁵ MPers. *'wdrnz-* “to condemn” also in M 28 i V i 8, previously wrongly separated (*'wd rnz-*), see *ZIL.*, ix, 199, line 8, *ōzate* from *ōzām-*.

⁶ It is not possible to control the reading now.

⁷ *Mahrnāmag*, 367. Also M 137, ii, 7: *'xšd'g 'ym rwc wz'stw'nyft yzd'n 'ng'm bg'n 'wt fryštg'n* (cf. *Mahrn.*, 343) “Full of mercy this day of confession, time of assembly (?) for deities and angels”. Cf. the meaning of Sogdian *āyām* “feast-time”. By the way, in Beruni's list of the Sogdian feasts *من عيد خواره* (*Chron.*, 235¹) should be corrected: read *مرغند خواره* = *mrγund-xwāre* “(the feast of) eating dumplings”.

⁸ *'ndrbyd* occurs also in M 678, 27 (no context). Cf. also *Sogdica*, p. 50.

^a At first sight I read *"cy'ntyt*; but *"wy'n'yt* (= Man. *"wx'nyy*, Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 351) was probably intended.

γβsty ZK mrtγmy (p)rw γrβ γnpnh rty δβ'yz-t pr γrβ (4) [?'rk]h
 ZKw γrβ γz-nw ZY γr'm'k rty βwt ZK γ'mkyn ZY pršt'yt (5) [γ'n']kh
 ZY RBkw kty'kh ZY prrypt ZK^{sic} γrβw wδ'ysth rtyšn (6) "z-yt'nt γrβ z't'y-t
 ZY δwγtrth rty δβrty ZKn z't'yt ^a (7) [w]δ'ysth ZY ZK^{sic} δwγtrty ZK
 z'mt'yty rty kwnty RBkw βγ'n'yšp (8) [']krty rty ZK γrβw n'β ZKn βrys'nt
 prw šyr'kw 'γš'wnh ZY (pr) (9) š'twγw 'z-w'nh ZY prw RBkw γ'n'kh ZY pr
 kty'kh ZY prw γrβw (10) (γz-)nw ZY pr γr'm'kw ZY pr γrβw z't'yt ZY pr
 γrβw δwγtrt ZY pr (11) [z']mt'yt ZY pr np'yšnt ZY pr γrβw δ'yh^{sic} ZY pr
 γrβw βnt'yt (12) [ZY] pr 'stwrpδ'k ZY pr γrβw 'rp'st'wyh ZY pr šyr'kk
 pršt'k rty (13) [pr] 'ny'δcykw ZY "βrywncykw^b 'z-γyr'nt ZKwy 'nytwh
 knδyh ZY prw (14) [. .]m'yt ^c oooo oo rtynwkr pts'r βwt ZK γyrtr (ZY)
 (15) [. .]r^d cnn z't'yty ZY cnn δwγtr(ty)[ZY] cnn z'mtyty (ZY) cnn np['](yšn)[ty]
 (16) [yγw'yt ? ZY ? tr] 'z-mnyh ZK (")γ'z-nt mwrty (rtγ)w nyw('nty)
 (mr)tγm'y^e (17) [. .]γs'nt ^f ky' ZY ZKh "z-(wnh) "(z)-'yt (ZY) L' ZK "z-wnh
 yw'r (18) [?'kr](t)δ'rt rtms 'sty w'nk w'z-mnw γwty 'kw δštwh ZY ('n)y'z-h
 (19) [pr'](y)s'nt^g ZY βwt trγ'z-yn^h ZY 'ny'z-kyn pr wyspw "δcw rtγw L'
 (20) [mr']z ZY L' pstk'r'k βyrt rtγw βwt γwδk'r ZY 'yw-t'(c) rtγw (21) [L']
 'sp'γšt ZY L' prm'nptγwš'k βyrt rtγw nγ(nw) (p'c)ⁱ prywyδ (22) ['z-]mnw
 nγnw γwty [. . .] .yt^j ZY cnn γ'wh ['γšyβt]y^k γwrtγ rtγw npδty (23) [ZKw](y)
 wnyh (s)y(')ky^l rtγw βryssty ZKw(y) [. . .]n [δ]štwny ZY δyw'nty δ'yh

... [at one] time they live together and under the same roof, but later they separate from each other so that they do not meet each other easily.

And if a man strives with much effort and amasses much treasure and wealth by much work and becomes rich and sets up house and a large household and takes to himself many wives and has by them many sons and daughters and gives wives to the sons and grooms to the daughters and makes a great marriage-feast,¹ many people congratulate² him on his handsome power and

^a Corrected *prima manu* from *z'mt-*.

^b *Prima manu* "βrynkykw, above a scrawl in a different hand *pš . . . w*, probably a teacher's correction = "put in a *Wāw*".

^c Possibly]sm'yt. Hardly [p']rm'yt = *pāramitā*.

^d Not apparently]w = [zmn]w.

^e Or *mrtymty*. ^f Hardly [βr]γs'nt ? ^g Apparently mistake for [pr']yst.

^h Or *trγ'z-y'*. One cannot, it seems, read *trytz-* and combine the word with Man. *trytz'yy*, Chr. *tryz'y* (BBB., p. 60). The word in *Frg.*, v, 5, cf. Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, 498, is presumably *tr'yyn* = Man. *tryyn* in M 765k: *c'nw tryyn yp'q*. Not clear is *tr'zγw* or *tr'nyw*, *SCE.*, 332.

ⁱ Reading very doubtful; in fact it is a restoration rather than a reading.

^j]snyt ? There may have been δ after *γwty*, hence *L'* ?

^k There is hardly enough space for this word.

^l Only tops of letters, suggesting *γy'ky*, *γynky*, *γyzky*, *šy'ky*, *syzky*, etc., but *sy'ky* is the most likely reading.

¹ *βγ'n'yšp-[']krty* = Chr. *by'npšqty*, *S.T.*, i, 39, 4 = Syriac *bēḥ mešūḇā*, Luke xii, 36. The Middle Persian verse: [*drwd*] 'br tw d'm'd oo qyt pwsryn [r'] [y] (wd)wdg[n] qyrd "Welcome, bridegroom who hast made a marriage-feast for the young men (sons)" (M 85, 8) is translated into Sogdian in this way: *zwkyh β't ZKn tw' p(y)š'k* (? *pyš'k* ?) o *ky ZY wsn MN* "z-wnty *pyδ'r ZKw βγ'ny pškt'kw 'krtwδ'ry* (T ii D, G). One cannot, apparently, read *wywdg[n]*, cf. *Kawān*, A 57, Pahl. Psalter *wydwky*, Gr.Bd. 51, 10, *wydwtk'n* = *wayōdagān* (cf. Pers. *bayōgāni*). The

joyous life, great house and household, much treasure and wealth, many sons, daughters, sons-in-law, grandchildren, maidservants, slaves, cattle, great prosperity³ and beautiful equipment, and name him with laudation and praise in the whole town and . . .

But afterwards, at a later time (?), [he becomes separated ?] from his sons, daughters, sons-in-law, and grandchildren: they begin to die [before their] time. People [think little ?] of such a man to whom children were born but whom no children mourn (?).⁴ And at some time he falls into poverty and want and becomes destitute (?) and needy in every way. He finds neither hireling nor helper, neither menial nor servant, and becomes lonely and solitary. At such time the baker (?) even [denies him] bread. His food is milk from the cow, he sleeps in the shadow of a tree, he defers to the . . . poor and to the slave-girls. . . .

Additional note.—Attention should be drawn here to the Sogdian liturgical text *BBB.*, 46–7, where the reading of a Parthian tale is prescribed for the “body-and-soul ceremony”; its title is given as *wyspwhr 'd cnd'l (?) z'dg* = the Prince with the Caṇḍāla's son. It is likely that this was a Manichaean text of “Barlaam and Yoasaf” (cf. *BBB.*, 99) the Hebrew version of which has the title *ben hammelekh wahannāzīr* = the Prince and the Ascetic. The Hebrew derives from an Arabic version which in its turn was translated from Syriac; for *يوانية* in the presumed Arabic text is evidently a misread *سريانية* (a common mistake!), not *هندية* as Kuhn boldly proposed (*Barlaam und Joasaph*, p. 42). Should the other Arabic versions, too, derive from Syriac texts (and not directly from an Iranian original), one would be tempted to explain the ascetic's name (*Βαρλαάμ*, Georg. *Balahvari*, Ar. *Balauhar*) as a misunderstood Syriac appellative, a compound with *bar-* “son”, corresponding to the Parthian compound *čandāl-zādag*; Kuhn took the name for *bhagavān*, Sachau for *purohita*. But I cannot say what word the Syrian translator may have thought suitable for rendering the Indian *caṇḍāla*. The gruesome tale of *Türkische Manichaica*, i, 5–7, which S. von Oldenburg discovered in Ibn Bābūye's version of “Barlaam and Yoasaf” (*Izv. Imp. Ak. Nauk*, 1912, 779–82), occurs also in al-Ghazālī's *Kīmīyā-yi Sa'adat*, lithogr. Lucknow a.h. 1279, pp. 51 sq.

Sogdian word does not seem to contain *-kate* “house”, in spite of the spelling *-kt'kw* in one case and the Syriac equivalent; probably *-kte* from *-krtaka-*. The centre part of the Sogd. compound, *-pš-*, *-šp-*, could be explained with the help of *p(y)š'k* = *dāmād* in the above passage, but the reading is very uncertain (from *puθraka*?).

² Or “honour”, or “praise”, see line 23 and *V.J.*, 1012 (cf. also *ZDMG.*, 90, 198 n.). Gauthiot, *Gramm.*, i, 148, recognized that *βrys-* belonged to Av. *barəg-* “to welcome” (Pahlavi *burzīdan* also “congratulate”, e.g. *Šnš.*, vi, 5, cf. also the passages given by Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch*, s.v.). In composition with the preposition *ā-* the meaning of *barəg* is “to like to possess, to desire”: Sogd. *āβraχse* “desire, lust” from **ā.brxsaka-*, Saka *orsa*, *aurisa* “desire” from **ā.brxsa-* (> *āβrxsa* > *āβrīsa* > *aurīsa* > *aurisa* cf. *-rīs-* from *-rxs-* in e.g. *hamgrīs-* and *-rs-* from *-rīs* after a vowel in e.g. *pars-*), Parthian *āwarzōg*, Middle Pers. *āwarzōg*, Persian *ārzu* “desire” from **ā.barfu-*.

³ Cf. *S.T.*, ii, 576b.

⁴ This passage is not very clear. On *yw'r* see *JRAS.*, 1944, p. 140, n. 2.