

COMPETING NARRATIVES BETWEEN NOMADIC PEOPLE AND THEIR
SEDENTARY NEIGHBOURS

Studia uralo-altaica 53

Redigunt

Katalin Sipőcz

András Róna-Tas

István Zimonyi

Competing Narratives between Nomadic People and their Sedentary Neighbours

Papers of the 7th International Conference on the Medieval History
of the Eurasian Steppe
Nov. 9–12, 2018
Shanghai University, China

Edited by Chen Hao

Szeged, 2019

This publication was financially supported by the MTA-ELTE-SZTE Silk Road Research Group

© University of Szeged,
Department of Altaic Studies,
Department of Finno-Ugrian Philology
Printed in 2019

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by other means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission in writing of the author or the publisher.

Printed by: Innovariant Ltd., H-6750 Algyó, Ipartelep 4.

ISBN: 978-963-306-708-6 (printed)

ISBN: 978-963-306-714-7 (pdf)

ISSN: 0133 4239

Contents

István Zimonyi Preface.....	7
Augustí Alemany A Prosopographical Approach to Medieval Eurasian Nomads (II).....	11
Tatiana A. Anikeeva Geography in the Epic Folklore of the Oghuz Turks.....	37
Ákos Bertalan Apatóczy Changes of Ethnonyms in the Sino-Mongol Bilingual Glossaries from the Yuan to the Qing Era.....	45
Chen Hao Competing Narratives: A Comparative Study of Chinese Sources with the Old Turkic Inscriptions.....	59
Edina Dallos A Possible Source of ‘Tengrism’	67
Andrei Denisov Scythia as the Image of a Nomadic Land on Medieval Maps.....	73
Szabolcs Felföldi Personal Hygiene and Bath Culture in the World of the Eurasian Nomads	85
Bruno Genito An Archaeology of the Nomadic Groups of the Eurasian Steppes between Europe and Asia. Traditional Viewpoint and New Research Perspectives.....	95
Zsolt Hunyadi Military-religious Orders and the Mongols around the Mid-13 th Century.....	111
Éva Kincses-Nagy The Islamization of the Legend of the Turks: The Case of <i>Oghuznāma</i>	125
Irina Konovalova Cumania in the System of Trade Routes of Eastern Europe in the 12 th Century...	137
Nikolay N. Kradin Some Aspects of Xiongnu History in Archaeological Perspective	149
Valéria Kulcsár – Eszter Istvánovits New Results in the Research on the Hun Age in the Great Hungarian Plain. Some Notes on the Social Stratification of Barbarian Society	167

Ma Xiaolin	
The Mongols' <i>tuq</i> 'standard' in Eurasia, 13 th –14 th Centuries	183
Enrico Morano	
Manichaean Sogdian Cosmogonical Texts in Manichaean Script	195
Maya Petrova	
On the Methodology of the Reconstruction of the Ways of Nomadic Peoples	217
Katalin Pintér-Nagy	
The Tether and the Sling in the Tactics of the Nomadic People	223
Alexander V. Podossinov	
Nomads of the Eurasian Steppe and Greeks of the Northern Black Sea Region: Encounter of Two Great Civilisations in Antiquity and Early Middle Ages.....	237
Szabolcs József Polgár	
The Character of the Trade between the Nomads and their Settled Neighbours in Eurasia in the Middle Ages.....	253
Mirko Sardelić	
Images of Eurasian Nomads in European Cultural Imaginary in the Middle Ages	265
Dan Shapira	
An Unknown Jewish Community of the Golden Horde	281
Jonathan Karam Skaff	
The Tomb of Pugu Yitu (635–678) in Mongolia: Tang-Turkic Diplomacy and Ritual	295
Richárd Szántó	
Central Asia in the Cosmography of Anonymous of Ravenna	309
Katalin Tolnai – Zsolt Szilágyi – András Harmath	
Khitan Landscapes from a New Perspective. Landscape Archaeology Research in Mongolia.....	317
Kürşat Yıldırım	
Some Opinions on the Role of the Mohe 靺鞨 People in the Cultural and Ethnical Relationships between Tungusic, Turkic and Mongolian Peoples....	327
Ákos Zimonyi	
Did Jordanes Read Hippocrates? The Impact of Climatic Factors on Nomads in the <i>Getica</i> of Jordanes	333
István Zimonyi	
The Eastern Magyars of the Muslim Sources in the 10 th Century.....	347

Manichaean Sogdian Cosmogonical Texts in Manichaean Script

Enrico Morano
Turin/Berlin

Sogdian was one of the most important Central Asian Iranian languages, with a vast body of literature to be put on a par with Middle Persian and Parthian. As it was once the commercial language throughout Central Asia (Transoxania), it soon became the lingua franca of Chinese and Iranian traders along the Silk Road. Therefore the spoken language of the Manichaeans in Central Asia, as far as they were Iranians, was Sogdian; the illiterate Elect, and of course the Hearers, generally understood only Sogdian; the majority of the Manichaeans in the Turfan region consisted of Sogdians. For that reason many important Manichaean works, including those written by Mani himself, were translated into Sogdian, from Parthian or from Middle Persian. The present paper gives a survey of the Sogdian fragments in Manichaean script¹ of the Berlin Turfan Collection² which deal with cosmogony.

Ms 1: M178 = MIK III 4990 (Pl. 1–2)

This Sogdian bifolio, written on fine leather in outstanding calligraphy in Manichaean script is not only the best preserved Manichaean text ever found, but it is also one of the most elaborate accounts of Manichaean cosmogony. Müller published some excerpts in his pioneering work of 1904, when Sogdian was still not recognised, and a proper edition of this important text had to wait some 44 years, until Henning fully published it. “Between the first folio (description of paradise) and the second (firmaments) three or even four double-folios, i.e. twelve or sixteen pages, may be missing (darkness, attack, first man, mixture, second creation, redemption of first man). The headlines do not give the contents of the pages, but are pieces of a continuous text which ran from the first page of the book to the last. Apparently this was the most elaborate account of all.”³

1 A working catalogue of these texts is found in Morano 2007 and a codicological survey of the same texts in Morano 2018.

2 I am very grateful to the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften and to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz for allowing me to study and publish their texts. Thanks are also due to all the staff of the Akademienvorhaben Turfanforschung for their kind help and hospitality at their Institute. Nicholas Sims-Williams [NSW] has kindly accepted to read a first draft of the article and gave me invaluable remarks, saving me from some misreadings or misinterpretations. Needless to say, any shortcoming is mine.

3 Henning 1948: 306–307.

This text was published in Henning 1948, with an English translation and ample commentary [black and white photo in Weber 2000 pl. 149–150].

Ms 2: M548 + M704

M108 + M5928 [T II D 140] (Pl. 3)

Two joined fragments form the upper part of a page, completing the headline in the verso and the first three lines on both sides. The following lines are incomplete, and the rest of the page is lost, either torn off or worm-eaten. Henning (1948: 317) published the fragment M548 inverting the recto and verso sides, not considering that the margin of that fragment was in fact the outer, not the inner margin (present in the joining fragment M 704). The text deals with the construction of the Heavens and Gates by the Living Spirit and the Mother of Light from the demons' skin, bones, flesh, veins, sinews and tendons (recto) and the fashioning of thresholds, bazaars, rows, and 360 stalls in the firmament (verso), roughly corresponding to the lines 94–105 of the Cosmogonical Fragment (M178) mentioned above as published by Henning.

Two other unpublished fragments, evidently from the same manuscript as the joined fragments above, but from a different page, join together and give another portion of the text of this “different recension [...] of the story of the world.”⁴

M108 + M5928 [T II D 140]

Part of a sheet with an outer margin, but no complete lines. Same manuscript as M548+. The small fragment M5928 joins directly to the lower part of M108, adding and completing a few lines. Text similar to M178. In particular it is described how the earthly substance came down from the demons' blood, bones, sinews, skin and flesh, how the demons were bound in the firmaments, imprisoned in Bazaars, Rows, and Stalls, and the creation of the 8 earths, 3 moats and 40 angels who hold the skies (recto), and the purification of the light particles through ascension to the moon, where Jesus receives them (verso).

The fragments measure 6.3 x 5.6 cm (M108) and 4.6 x 4 (M5968), joined together 8.8 x 6.1 cm. Space between the lines 1 cm, outer margin 1.7 cm. Cf. Henning 1948: 316 on (99–100).

All these texts, with photographs of the edited fragments, are fully published in Morano forthcoming.

Ms 3: Fragments from a manuscript on cosmogony and rules for Elect and Hearers (Pl. 4)

M110+M120, M247.

Three fragments, one double folio and two other incomplete pages from the same manuscript bear parts of a miscellaneous book with a section on cosmogony

⁴ Henning 1948: 316.

followed by a section on rules for Elect and Hearers in the monasteries. What follows is a possible order of the pages dealing with cosmogony:

First section: Cosmogony. 1st page: M110/I/R/

Cosmogony: the battle and the work done by God Xurmezd with his 5 sons and the help of Call and Answer

M110/I/V/

Secondly: Call and Answer imprison and bind all the demons who were fed in Hell. Thirdly: Call and Answer ...

2nd page: M247/R/

Fourthly: Living Spirit makes a new creation in the midst of the fight against the demons. Fifthly ...

M247/V/

A lightning flashed, and a terrible thunder(?) broke out(?); as if a big mountainside and a rock (?) fell into the deep water. The demons were scared...

3rd page: M110/II/+M120/R/

Beautiful, pure Paradise versus the darkness of Hell. God Xurmezd and the Elements with Call and Answer descend to the earth.

Second section: first page: M110/II/+M120/V/

End of the cosmogonic section: colophon with name of the patron. Second [section]: explanation of the religion. Rules for the Elect and the Hearers: the Elect may dwell in the house of the hearers, while the Hearers cannot dwell in monasteries with all their worldly possessions and wives, sons and slaves.

This section resumes in another fragment from the same manuscript, **M144**.

All these texts will be published in a forthcoming article by F. Dragoni and E. Morano (Dragoni & Morano forthcoming).

Ms 4: Various fragments from a cosmogonical book

While I was preparing my 'Working Catalogue of the Berlin Sogdian fragments in Manichaean script'⁵ I came across several fragments of different shapes and measures, all unpublished, which are from a single manuscript, apparently a book on cosmogony. The manuscript is written in a clear, particular, cursive bold Manichaean script. Although no entire page has been preserved, by joining some fragments together, the greater part of three sheets can be reconstructed.

Each page had at least 17 lines, but possibly more: the most complete fragment, M5701+, has 17 incomplete lines as well as vertical red lines delimiting both

⁵ Morano 2007.

margins. The edges appear to have been cut off with a sharp tool, as there are regular, linear tear marks above and below. M264a on the other hand preserves the upper part of the sheet, with the first 8 lines, and both ruled margins, and again the edges are cut off regularly. A third almost complete page of the manuscript, M141+, has 17 incomplete lines, but no margins and the upper cut seems to be linear and regular like in the other two sheets. We know the original width of the inner margin from M 6291, an internal fragment of a double sheet, and from M5991: it was 1.75 cm. The outer margin is known from M485b: it was 2.5 cm. From the same manuscript there are in the Berlin collection several smaller fragments which I was not able to join, or to assign, to any other fragment.

The following lists all the fragments from the same manuscript I found in the Berlin Turfan collection:

M141+M6795, M264a, M485b, M5701+6796+2308, M5991, M6067, M6099, M6099a (not described in Boyce 1960), M6100, M6291, M6790, M6800.

A full edition of all the fragments from this manuscript is in preparation, and it will be published soon, together with a philological and linguistic commentary. Here I propose a preliminary edition of the three most extensive fragments, dealing with the Father of Greatness, the supreme Manichaean deity, the creation of the world by the Living Spirit, and the birth of Adam with a description of his body.

I. The Father of Greatness

M264a (pl. 5–6)

Upper part of the sheet, with 8 lines fairly complete. Part of both margins preserved, delimited regularly by red lines. The lower part of the page is partly torn off, only the initial/final characters of the lines are preserved. At least one line at the end is missing.

12.4 x 12.2 cm.

In this page the Father of Greatness, called *rwxsñ'yrδmncyk'xšywnyy βγγγ* “the Lord God of the Paradise of Light”, is exalted above the other gods, and said to be different from the other gods in seven things. Of these, only the first (he is, and has always been, immortal and permanent, while the other gods were created and blessed by him), the fourth (he is the father of all the gods, and they are all his sons) and the fifth (he is brighter than all the gods) are complete, the second (he is more exalted than all gods ...) the third (... he knows past, present and future), the sixth and the seventh being only partly preserved.

/R/

/1/[...³](y)nyy (III) (°.)[.....] (.yk/x...°) /2/ s(fry)tyt °° °frytyt °° °ty
 nyjtyt /3/ xnd(t) (°)° {blank} °° °rtyy (x)w(n)[yy](h) /4/ rwxšn°yrđmncyk
 °xšywnyy βγγy pr /5/ VII zng°n °c °° cn s°t βγγštyh /6/ ny°zngstr wm°t °° I
 pr nwš°ky °tyh /7/ °s[tn](k)y° ° (w)°nw °tyy r°mndt n(w)[šy](yh) /8/
 (wm°)[t °tyy °]°stnyy °° cn °°δ°h /9/ sfrytyy °tyh °frytyy nyx cyh (°°)
 /10/ p°rwtyy p°(r)[ykt βγγš](t) cn wny(h) /11/ βyks°r s(f)[rytyt °tyy
 °fry](tyt)[wm°tnd] /12/ °° °° δβ[tyk 18–20] /13/ cn s°t β(y)[yšty 18–20]
 /14/ ptrštr x(c)[yh 18–20] /15/ xyδ [20–22] /16/ pt(r)[štr 20–22]

/V/

/1/ cyndr βyk c(w) °(st)yy °° c(w) βw(t)k°[m pr] /2/ bywn yrβt(y) °tyh
 (p)tz(°)nd °° °° /3/ IIII myk (x)[y](δ) °xšywnyy βγγy wnyy s°t /4/
 βγγštyy ptryy xcy °° °tyy xww wyš°nd /5/ s°t wnyy °°jwnd xndt °° s°t xyδ
 /6/ °xšywnyy βγγy s°r nm°c βrynyt γwβnyt /7/ (°)t[y](h) °frynyt xndt °°
 °° (p)ncmyk /8/ xyδ °xšywnyy βγγy rwxš[ny°]k (cn) s°t /9/ βγγštyy
 w°f[yy](δ rw)xšndry(y) xcy °° c°nw /10/ [my](š)yy βγ(y)[y rwxšndryy
](c)[n] s°t °st°rytyy /11/ [xcy °°] °° [VI]myk β](γγ)štyy w°fryδ /12/ [22–23
](m) rwy(n)[y]xs° /13/ [22–23](.) °° [VII]myk /14/ [22–23]p°ryztr °tyy /15/
 [23–25](p)tk°r°h /16/ [26–28](y) cn

Translation

/R/1/ [...]these 3 [...] /2/ are created, blessed and emanated. /3/ {blank} And he, /4/ the Lord God of the Light Paradise, in /5/ 7 sorts of things was /6/ different from all the Gods. Firstly in immortality and /7/ permanence. For he has always been immortal /8/ [and] permanent. By anyone /9/ he is not created and blessed, /10/ but the oth[er gods] out of him /11/ [were] creat[ed and bless]ed. /12/ Se[condly: ...] /13/ than all the God[s ...] /14/ is more exalted [...] /15/ this/these [...] /16/ exa[lted]

/V/1/ inside (and) outside what it is, what it will be, /2/ he foreseeingly knows and understands. /3/ Fourthly. The Lord God is the father /4/ of all the Gods. And they /5/ are all his sons. To that same /6/ Lord God they are all bringing honour, praise /7/ and blessing. Fifthly. /8/ The Lord God is as much brigh[ter] than all /9/ the Gods, as /10/ the [S]un God[is brighter] than all the stars. /11/ [Sixthly ... than all the]gods, so much /12/ [...]oil, musk(?) /13/ [...] Seventhly /14/ [...]more excellent and /15/ [...] appearance /16/ [...] than

II. How the Living Spirit Divided the World

M5701 [T II 116]+M6796 [T II K]+M2308 (pl. 7–8)

Almost an entire page in length, cut regularly with a sharp tool at the top and bottom and through the internal margin, where the red ruling line is preserved. Only half-lines are preserved. 12.5 x 8 cm.

The text in this page describes how the Living Spirit created the walls and ditches and divided the world into four parts with Mount Sumeru in the middle, and four mountains as frontier guards of the world. He then separated, accordingly, the sky upwards and day and night.

/R/

/1/ xndt ○○ ○○ [...] xww tβ[tyy 8–10] /2/ δ't pr pδkwyy [XX] XX XX
 (β)[rywr fs'x βwt] /3/ ○○ ○○ 'tyy xww j'r 'r [11–12] /4/ XX XX XX βrywr
 fs'(x)[12–13] /5/ cywyδyy βystr [15–17] /6/ [f]s[x] (p)r pδkwyy [15–17]
 /7/ [pr](kn)yy pδkwyy C[βrywr fs'x ...] /8/ ○○ ○○ 'tyy štyk[15–17] /9/
 XX XX [XX] βrywr fns'(x)[12–14] /10/ '(p) prkn pr pδk[wyy 14–16] /11/
 βrywr fs'x xcyy ○○ [14–16] /12/ mzyx δ['](t) kyy wyspw(w)[14–16] /13/
 δ'rt skwn ○○ ○○ 'tyy (.)[13–14] /14/ XX XX XX XX βrywr fns'x xcyy [○○
 ○○] /15/ '[○○ pts'r w'δ jywndy(y) (III)[yxw'k] /16/ mnβxš ○○ cn smwt(r)
 cyndr(p)'r ○○ [...] /17/ xwrsncyk 'fcmδδ ('tyh x)wrtxyz[cyk]

/V/

/1/ [cn p'skyr'nc](y)k 'tyy (n)[ymy](δ)cyk fcmδδ /2/ [13–14 ○○] ○○ 't[yy]
 pr myδ'n smyr /3/ [γryy 9–10](c)y III 'fcmδδyy yxw'k /4/ [15–16](sm)yr
 γryy pδy'h cn /5/ [16–18](.) ptys'c ○○ ○○ /6/ [18–20]kyr'n ○○ 'wnw cw
 /7/ [18–20](.) ○○ ○○ 'rty[h] /8/ [18–20]βrzkwy 'tyy pδkwyy /9/ [15–16
 f](s)'xyt xnd ○○ ○○ 'rty /10/ [15–16]' ○○ cn xwrsnyy kww /11/ [xwrtxyz
 s'r](cn) smyr γr' xww 'wrδp'r /12/ [14–15] III γryy cn s(m)yr γr' /13/ [8–
 10](cy 'fcmδδyy wm'ndyy p's'y /14/ [6–7](.)'tyy ○○ c'nw 'skyy sm'nyy
 /15/ [4–5 'n](βy)nd'nd ○○ 'rtyy c'δr x' γrt' /16/ [...] (s)y'k δ'r'nd ○○ 'tyy
 xww ○○ myδ 'tyh /17/ [x' xš](p)' yxwng β[w](t) ○○ ○○ 'rtyy x' myδ

Translation

/R/1/ are. [...] he se[aled(?) ...] /2/ a wall with the width of 60 [myriad
 parasang]. /3/ And the poison [...] /4/ 60 myriad parasang [...] /5/ outside
 that [...] /6/ parasang in width [...] /7/ of the ditch the width 100 [myriad
 parasang(?)]. /8/ And the third[ditch (?)... is] /9/ 60 myriad parasang [...] /10/
 [...]water is a ditch with the wid[th ...of ...] /11/ myriad parasang. [...] /12/
 great wall that all [...] /13/ holds. And [...] /14/ is 80 myriad parasang

[...] /15/ and moreover the Living Spirit divided 4[parts.] /16/ Inside the Ocean [...] /17/ the eastern world and the west[ern]

/V/1/ [from the north]ern and the southern world 2/ A[nd] in the middle [...] (Mount) Sumeru /3/ [...] 4 parts of the world /4/ [...] at the foot of Mount Sumeru from /5/ [...]he fixed. /6/ [...] regions. This [is] what /7/ [...]. And [...] /8/ [...] length and width /9/ [...] are [...] para]sang(?). And /10/ [...]. From East to /11/ [West]from Mount Sumeru /12/ the 4 mountains of the farther side [...] from Mount Sumeru /13/ [...] he threw [...] of the frontier guard of the world. /14/ [...] While above in the sky /15/ they⁶ follow (one another) and below the mountains /16/ hold [them in] shadow. Thus the day and /17/ [the] night are separated. And the day. . .

Commentary

/R/1, ff./ cf. the Middle Persian cosmogonical fragments M98 and M99,⁷ in particular M99/I/R/10–17 ʾwd zmyg ʾyw wzrg ʾwd ʾstbr pd dwʾzdh dr o ʾy hmbdyc ʾsmʾnʾn dr oo ʾwd ʾbr hm zmyq pyrʾmwn chʾr prysp ʾwd sh pʾrgyn kyrd o ʾwd pd hʾn ʾy ʾndrwn pʾrgyn dywʾn ʾndr przyd “And he made one great and strong earth with twelve Gates which correspond to the gates of heaven. And above this same earth he built in circuit four walls and three moats, and in that (which is) the inner moat he imprisoned the demons.”⁸ *Šābuhragān*, 272 (M535+/V/8/):⁹ [hʾ]n sh pʾ(r)gyn ʾy [zh]ryn ʾryn “those three poisonous dark ditches”.

III. Adam

M141+6795 (pl. 9–10)

The fragment contains 17 lines, none of them complete, of text, and, like M5701+, is cut regularly with a sharp tool above, below and through one margin. The margins are not preserved, but there are faint traces of the ruling red vertical line of one margin. The two fragments are joined and glassed together. 11.9 x 9.8 cm.

The text consists of the description of the birth of Adam, born to the two archdemons Šaklun and Pēsus, after they had devoured 80 thousand abortions and copulated,¹⁰ followed by an explanation (*xwyckʾwyy*) of the body of Adam. This text is very difficult and, as far as I know, has no parallels in known Manichaean literature. Therefore, I am giving here a preliminary edition of the text with only a few notes for the understanding of difficult or unknown words.

6 I.e. the sun and the moon?

7 Hutter 1992: 8–26.

8 Cf. Jackson 1932: 34 ff.

9 MacKenzie 1979: 515.

10 On the Manichaean myth of the birth of Adam see Sundermann 1994, 45–46.

/R/

/1/ mzy(x) ʔrkw(s)[y 16–18] /2/ (.)yw'ncy c(x)[r? 16–18] /3/ (p)syy
 t'w'n(d)[yy ...](δ)'n (β)[12–14] /4/ (w)ytwr 'tyšyy x' tmb(?)[r 11–13] /5/
 [o]o oo 'tyh pr [XX XX] XX XX [z'r pjwky] /6/ m'(j)yy xww ''δ'm oo
 ('ty)šyy (xw)[4–5] /7/ tmb'r cn pš'kt δy[w](z)'ktyy oo '(t)[yšyy] /8/ xww
 rw'n cn pnc mrδ(')spndyy (z)['wryy] /9/ 'ktwδ'rt oo jw'n oo z'wr oo
 rwxšny(')[k oo] /10/ kršn'wty' oo 'tyh βwδ [oo 5–6] /11/ 'stkyy oo pδδ(y)
 oo r'k oo y't[yh oo] /12/ crm oo xwrnyy oo mzyy oo '[6–7] /13/ ʔwn'y
 cyndr βstwδ'rt (o)[o kyn oo] /14/ yp'k oo ''βrxsyy oo t[?](f)[11...] (pr)[6–
 8] /15/ mndyrβ'ky' δwn ʔ(wr)s [12–14] /16/ cw pr¹² s'r p'šyt w'[st 14–16]
 /17/ (x) ''(z) 'βrxs(y)y 'tyh [12–14]

/V/

/1/ [20]h w(β't) /2/ [20]n'm oo p(r) /3/ [11–12]('δ'm m')nwk βwt oo
 (o)[o]/4/ [8–10 xwyc]k'wyy w'nw βwt oo kt mn'nd(y) /5/ [6–7
](k)[..](.)'(ry.) [...]r myšyy βyy kršn oo (o)[o] /6/ ['ty]yh (wn)[y]
 wyδ'syywny ''δc p(r) /7/ [6–7] 'fcmβ[δ](y) oo cn m'tyy 'tyh /8/ [6–7]ptr'
 s(y)ʔtr oo oo 'tyy 'δ'myy /9/ [tmb']ryy ptr'z oo z'r II C wβ'z wm't o(o) /10/
 [6–7 't]y ryn(c)k 'nkwšt nw' fns'x /11/ [wm't oo '](r)tyšyy cn tmb'r βyks'r
 III /12/ [8–10]y rwxšny'k 'rδyf'skwn oo /13/ [12–14](r)tyh tym w'nw
 /14/ [10–12](t) (c'nw) šklwn 'ty pysws /15/ [7–8 pjwqt]xwrtδ'r'nd oo 'tyh
 II /16/ [12–14 ynd']kty(y) pckwryy prštyt /17/ [10–12 ''yw]štyt (wm't'nd)
 oo 'tyh

Translation

/R/1/ the big mountainside[...] /2/ demonish(?) whe[el? ...] /3/ strong
 sheep/enquiry(?) [...] /4/ until his body [...] /5/ And from the 80 [thousand
 abortions (?)] /6/ Adam was born. His [...] /7/ body from the offspring of the
 demons abortions, [and his] /8/ soul from the elements p[ower (?)] /9/
 (she=Āz) has made: life strength brightness /10/ beauty and perfume [...] /11/
 [as] bones nerves vein flesh[...] /12/ skin blood marrow [and] /13/ hair
 she bound inside¹³ [... hatred,] /14/ anger, lust, [... vehemence] /15/
 ignorance with around(?) [...] /16/ on top guardians she pl[aced(?)]... /17/
 the Āz dissoluteness and [...] {lines missing?}

11 Cf. *t'β-n'k* (in Sogdian script) 'angry', see DMT III.2: 189a. Here perhaps a substantive formed on the root *t'p-* meaning something like 'act of being inflamed with anger, vehemence, irascibility'? In SLN 42b there is a lacuna between *ryzh* and *mntyrb'kyh*. The corresponding list in the Chinese *Traité* (214) is 怨憎 "Hatred", 嗔恚 "Irascibility", 姪慾 "Lewdness", 忿怒 "Anger" and 愚癡 "Foolishness", see Lieu & Mikkelsen 2017: 55.

12 Sic, mistake for *cwpr*.

13 I.e. in the body.

/V/1/ [...] may be /2/ [...]name. In/to /3/ [...]Adam is similar. /4/ [...] explanation is thus: similar(?) /5/ [...] [...] the beauty of the Sun God. /6/ [An]d he [had] something wonderful in /7/ [...]world. From the mother and /8/ [...]father more beautiful. Adam's /9/ body's dimension was 200 thousand fathoms /10/ and his little finger nine parasang /11/ [...] and from his body outwards 4 /12/ [...] brightness shone. /13/ [...] and thus again /14/ [...]when Šaklūn and Pēsūs /15/ [...] ate [the abortions]. And in fear of the 2 /16/ [...] e]vil ones having run away¹⁴ /17/ [...] were exci]ted(?). And

Commentary

/R/1/ On *yrkwsy* “mountainside”, see Reck 2009: 388.

/R/2/ The word *(.)yw'ncy*, although clearly legible, is difficult to interpret. If the first letter is *δ*, then *δyw'ncy* could be the feminine adjective or noun derived from *δyw*, “demon”; *c(x)[* emend *cx[r* “wheel” or *cx't* “fighting, contenders”?

/V/5/ *myšyy βγγy kršn*, cf. M7800/II/R/5ff.¹⁵ *'tyy myδ[ry β](γγy) qšn /6/ wšy' 'ktwδ'(r)n(d) (m)'γ'z(nd tkwš't)* “and they remembered the beauty of the Sun God; they began to look out for him”.

/V/14–15/ (*cw*) *šklwn 'ty pysws [...]xwrtδ'r'nd*: cf. M7800/II/V/12–19/¹⁶ *'rty III βrywr pjwwk ww šklwn xwrtδ'rt 'tyy III βrywr x' pysws 'rty I δβty' 'pryw pcywznd 'rty w'nw w'βnd kt m'ncyk šm'r' kw myšyyβyw s'r δ'ryym w'nw kt xwny ky cn m'x 'jy't kw βyyšt* “And Šaklūn devoured forty thousand abortions, and Pēsūs forty thousand. And they copulated with each other, and thus they said: “The intentional thought, we have it towards the Sun God, so that what will be born from us [will resemble] the gods”.

References

Boyce, M. 1960. *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichean Script in the German Turfan Collection*, Berlin.

DMT III.2 = Sims-Williams, N. & D. Durkin-Meisterernst 2012.

Dragoni, F. & Morano, E. forthcoming. A Sogdian manuscript in Manichaean Script on Cosmogony and Rules for the Elect and Hearers in Monasteries. Forthcoming in the Proceedings of the 9th International Symposium of the International Association of Manichaean Studies held in Torino September 11th-16th, 2017 (*Manichaica Taurinensia*, *Analecta Manichaica* 2, Turnhout).

¹⁴ *pršt-* is the expected past stem of Man. Sogd. **pryj*, Christian Sogd. *pryž* “to flee, escape, run away”. As an intr. verb, the pp. should mean “having run away, running away” [NSW].

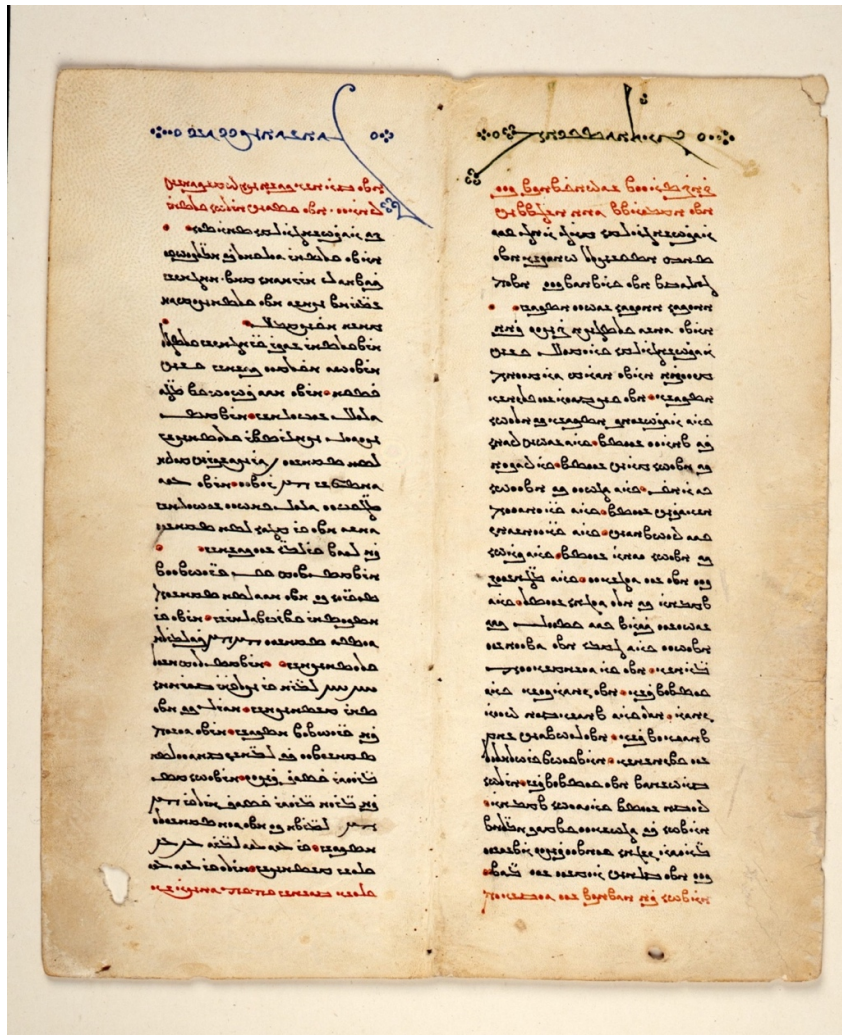
¹⁵ Sundermann 1994: 45.

¹⁶ Sundermann 1994: 45–46.

- Henning, W.B. 1948. A Sogdian Fragment of the Manichaean Cosmogony. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 12: 306-318 [= Henning, *Selected Papers* II: 301-13].
- Henning, W.B. 1977 *Selected Papers* I-II (Acta Iranica 15, 2ème série, Hommages et Opera Minora). Téhéran-Liège.
- Hutter, M. 1992. *Manis kosmogonische Šabuhrağan-Texte. Edition, Kommentar und literatur-geschichtliche Einordnung der manichäisch-mittelpersischen Handschriften M 98/99 I und M 7980-7984* (Studies in Oriental Religions 21), Wiesbaden.
- Jackson, A.V.W. 1932. *Researches in Manichaeism, with special reference to the Turfan fragments* (Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series), New York.
- Lieu, S.N.C. & Mikkelsen, G.B. 2017. *Tractatus Manichaicus Sinicus. Pars Prima. Text, Translation and Indices*, (Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum. Series Sinica I.1), Turnhout.
- MacKenzie, D.N. 1979. Mani's *Šābuhraḡān*. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 42 P.3.
- Morano, E. 2007. A Working Catalogue of the Berlin Sogdian Fragments. In: Manichaean Script, in Macuch, M., Maggi, M. and Sundermann, W. (eds). *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan: Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume*, Wiesbaden: 239-271.
- Morano, E. 2018. Some Codicological Remarks on the Corpus of the Berlin Manichaean Sogdian Texts in Manichaean Script: among Books, Glossaries, Letters, Booklets, Bilingual and Trilingual Texts, Normal, Bold and Cursive Script. In: Barbati, Ch. & Chunakova, O. (eds) *Studies in Early Medieval Iranian Religious Manuscript Traditions other than Islamic, Written Monuments of the Orient* 2018 (2): 11-38.
- Morano, E. forthcoming. "A Miserable Scrap", forthcoming in an Italian Festschrift, Naples (L'Orientale, Series Minor).
- Reck, Ch. 2009. The Ascension of the Light Elements and the Imprisonment of Ahriman. The Cosmogonical and Eschatological Part of a Sogdian 'Sammelhandschrift'. In: Sundermann, W., Hintze, A. and de Blois, F. (eds). *Exegisti monumenta. Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams*, Wiesbaden.
- Sims-Williams, N. & Durkin-Meisterernst, D. 2012. *Dictionary of Manichaean Sogdian and Bactrian* (Dictionary of Manichaean Texts, Vol. III/2). Turnhout.
- SLN = Sundermann 1992.
- Sundermann, W. 1992. *Der Sermon vom Licht Nous* (Berliner Turfantexte XXVII). Berlin.
- Sundermann, W. 1994. Mani's 'Book of the Giants' and the Jewish Books of Enoch: A Case of Terminological Difference and What It Implies. *Irano-Judaica* III: 40-48.

Weber, D. (ed.) 2000. *Iranian Manichaean Turfan Texts in Publications since 1934. Photo Edition, published on behalf of the Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum by the School of Oriental and African Studies* (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Supplementary Series, vol. 4). London.

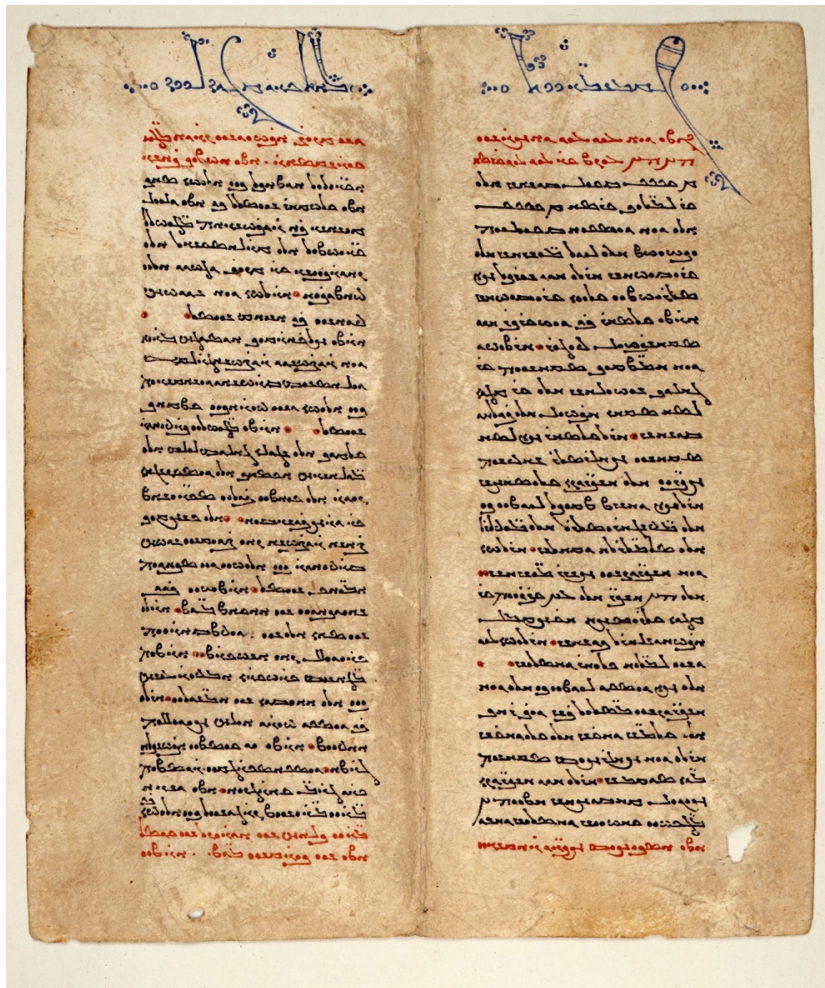
Plate 1



M178=MIK III 4990

Photo: courtesy of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin.

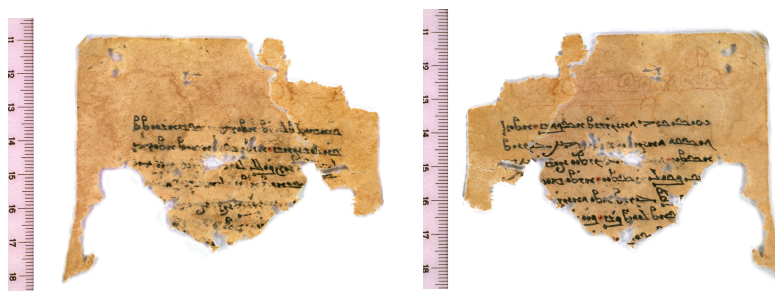
Plate 2



M178=MIK III 4990

Photo: Courtesy of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin.

Plate 3



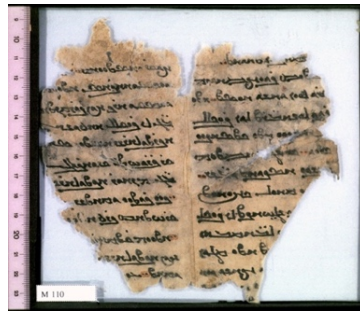
M548 + M704 (montage)



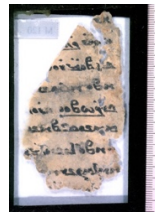
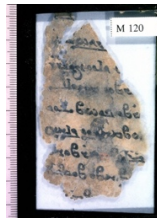
M108 + M5928 [T II D 140] (montage)

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. Photos: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

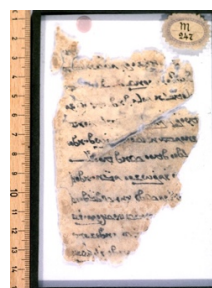
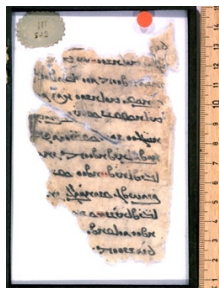
Plate 4



M110



M120



M247

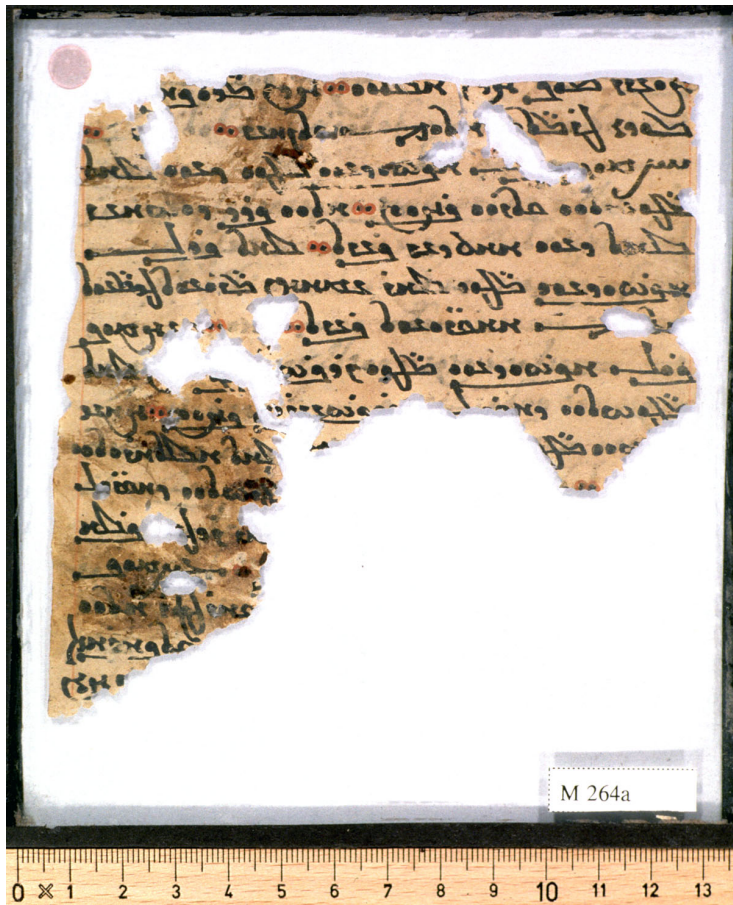
Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. Photos: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

Plate 5

**M264a recto**

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der
 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. Photos:
 Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

Plate 6



M264a verso

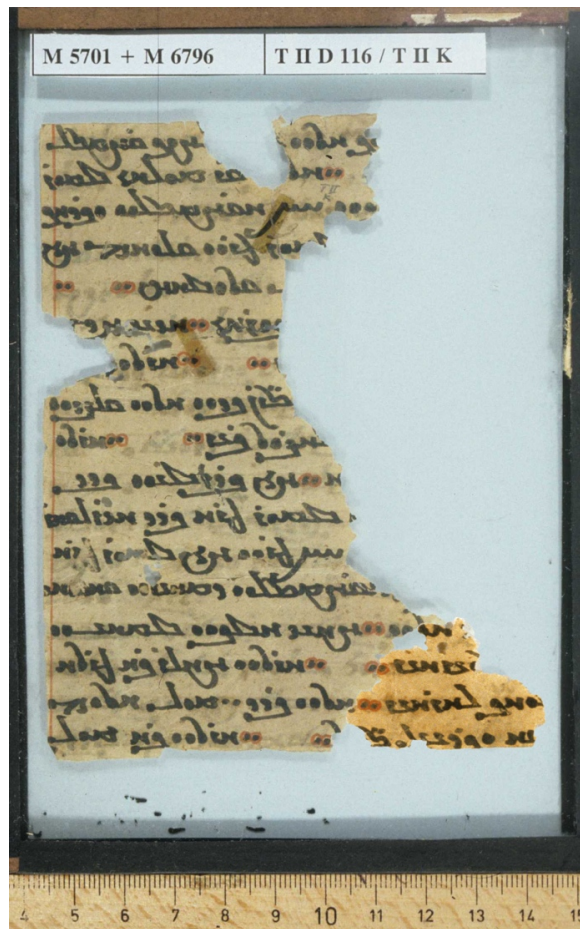
Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. Photos:
Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

Plate 7

**M5701 [T II 116]+M6796 [T II K]+M2308 recto (montage)**

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. Photos:
Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

Plate 8



M5701 [T II 116]+M6796 [T II K]+M2308 verso (montage)

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der
 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. Photos:
 Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

Plate 9

**M141+6795 recto**

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. Photos:
Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

Plate 10



M141+6795 verso

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. Photos:
Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

