

RUSSIAN ACADEMY  
OF SCIENCES

Institute of Oriental  
Manuscripts  
(Asiatic Museum)

Founded in 2014  
Issued biannually

Published with the support  
of St. Petersburg State  
University Alumni Association  
and  
Irina and Yuri Vasilyev  
Foundation



Nauka  
Vostochnaya Literatura  
2017

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# WRITTEN MONUMENTS OF THE ORIENT

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2017 (1)

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Olga Chunakova,  
Federico Dragoni,  
Enrico Morano

## **A forgotten Manichaean Sogdian bifolio in Sogdian script**

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> It is our pleasant duty to thank the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of St. Petersburg and the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften for allowing us to consult and publish their texts. We are greatly indebted to Nicholas Sims-Williams, who was kind enough to read a first draft of this article, providing many valuable suggestions and critical remarks which have been included in our text.

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Armenian-Georgian lexical notes to the newfound Manichaean texts' (98 pp.) and a photo of one side of the Syriac manuscript (Syr. 40) brought by S.E. Malov's expedition from Turfan in 1914. The rest of the packets contains drafts, proofreadings and illustrations of the Manichaean manuscripts of the Asiatic Museum published by Salemann in his article named 'Manichaica III'<sup>2</sup> and photos of three already published Manichaean manuscripts from the Serindian Collection (one in Sogdian, published by F. Rosenberg<sup>3</sup> under the signature Kr. IV Soghd. 4, and under the signature SI Kr IV/823 by A. Ragoza,<sup>4</sup> and two photos of the first page of the Uighur manuscript 'Xwastvanift').

The package No. 8 comprises 2 sheets, the first of which contains a rough transliteration of a Sogdian text in Hebrew letters, while the second contains the same text, partially re-written in Sogdian letters. This text is now published by A. Ragoza under the signature SI Kr IV/813.<sup>5</sup>

In addition, the package No. 8 includes two negative photos — Recto and Verso — of a Sogdian bifolio, whose original has not been preserved in the collection. There are also 4 sheets of a rough transliteration of the photos' text in Hebrew letters in pencil, made by Salemann himself. The transliteration is not complete however and upon some Hebrew letters there is a question mark. The contents of this package, including our text, were firstly briefly described by Yoshida Yutaka in his article on the Sogdian fragments of the St. Petersburg collection.<sup>6</sup>

The location of the photographed Sogdian manuscript is unknown. None of the Serindian collections of the IOM, nor the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg branch, which holds the archives of Academicians C.H. Salemann and S.F. Oldenburg (1863–1934), have this manuscript. It is also unknown from whose collection and when this manuscript went to the Asiatic Museum, and especially where it originated. In the Asiatic Museum descriptions of new manuscripts were made rarely.<sup>7</sup> In the same packet, as already mentioned, there is Salemann's transliteration of the Sogdian text SI Kr IV/813 from the Krotkov collection, presented by the latter to the Academy of Sciences after 1909,<sup>8</sup> and in the folder there is a

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<sup>2</sup> SALEMANN 1912.

<sup>3</sup> ROSENBERG 1927.

<sup>4</sup> RAGOZA 1980, 49–50.

<sup>5</sup> RAGOZA 1980, 47–49, republished in SIMS-WILLIAMS 1992, 283.

<sup>6</sup> YOSHIDA 2001, 108, see also LIVSHITS 2008, 87.

<sup>7</sup> RAGOZA 1972, 244–261.

<sup>8</sup> RAGOZA 1972, 255–257.

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photo of the 'Xwastvanift', received by the Asiatic Museum before 1909 from A.A. D'iakov.<sup>9</sup> Judging from the fact that Salemann published two fragments from the Oldenburg collection,<sup>10</sup> one of which had been brought from his first expedition to Turfan, Karashahr and Kocho in 1909–1910, the manuscripts of the Oldenburg collection were also familiar to Salemann. It is known that from his second expedition in Dunhuang in 1914–1915 S.F. Oldenburg brought many manuscripts, among which there were two large Sogdian fragments, later published by F. Rosenberg.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the manuscripts which were known to Salemann and which he possibly intended to edit, could have been both from the Krotkov and the Oldenburg collections.

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

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

While working on the text, Federico Dragoni discovered that a small piece of the Berlin Turfan collection, So 10650(32),<sup>12</sup> joins directly to the top corner of one folio (here f. /I/). The joining Berlin fragment has a *Fundsigel* handwritten in pencil, T I D, which indicates that the manuscript was found

<sup>9</sup> RADLOFF 1909, I.

<sup>10</sup> SALEMANN 1912, 19–20.

<sup>11</sup> ROSENBERG 1918, 817–842; ROSENBERG 1920, 399–429, 455–474.

<sup>12</sup> See RECK 2006, 59, No. 58.

in Kocho during the first German expedition. This does not prove, however, that the main manuscript was brought to Berlin and then lost, since there are several examples of joining fragments found during different expeditions and kept in different places. The present whereabouts of the bifolio remains unknown.

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

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

### First folio:

#### Salemann.Sogd.+So10650(32)/I/

(Pl. I)

/I/R/H/ [⊛] s'rst [5–6]

/I/R/1/ βwt rtxw [8–9]

/I/R/2/ δβrty wβyw rw'm'y(c)[Z](Y) ZK

/I/R/3/ wy-spw 'rkw kwnty rt(x)[w kδ'](c)

/I/R/4/ prm γr'yw xw't L' w'st

/I/R/5/ m'yδ [ZY] ms m(n) wyty z-wxškth

/I/R/6/ pr wyspw 'krty'h 'spt'k

/I/R/7/ wβ'ntw k'm xw(t)y (β) wxs'nt

<sup>13</sup> On this enigmatic expression see commentary below.

/I/R/8/ k'm ZY wβyw δβ'r ZY δβr'y-n'kw  
 /I/R/9/ (β)wε'nt k'm ○ rtcnn ('δ)[wy C]  
 /I/R/10/ srδyh kw 'δwy C srδ prm  
 /I/R/11/ ZK m'n wyt'kt z-wxškh  
 /I/R/12/ s't MN 'βc'npδy xrt'yt  
 /I/R/13/ wβ'ntk'm ○ rty prywyδ 'z-mnwh  
 /I/R/14/ wy-š'nt z-wxškh m'yδ  
 /I/R/15/ m'nwkt wβ'ntk'm c'nkw ZY  
 /I/R/16/ ZK zmy ''tr ○ rty c'nkw ZK  
 /I/R/17/ pncw wxw(šw) δ'r'wk 'yw  
 /I/R/18/ wy-'kyh 'ws(w)[c]y pr ''tr  
 /I/R/19/ [.....]n/' δβtyw ZKw z-'wr  
 /I/R/20/ [....](.'/n Z)Y rxwšnw swxs'nt  
 /I/R/21/ [rty] wβyw (rx)w[š](n)y'kh ZY ZK  
 /I/R/22/ [γ](r)'m'kh δ('r'n)t? rty wyspw  
 /I/R/23/ ['](r)kw kwn'nt m'yδ ZY MN

/I/R/H/ The magnificent [...]

/I/R/1/ is. He gives [gifts (?) both corporal (?)] and spirit[ual and] he performs all (religious) works and he never allows himself (to become) weak, so [that] also the *m('n) wyty* disciples will be perfect in all actions, they will be saved themselves, and they will also save the gift and the giver. And from (2)[00] /10/ years to 200 years the *m('n) wyty* disciples will all have departed from the world. And at that time those pupils will be /15/ like the fire for the firewood. And like when one purifies (burns?) those five, six (pieces of) wood in one place in the fire, [...] again the power /20/ [...] and they burn brightly, they hold both brightness and wealth. They perform all (religious) works, so that from...

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

<sup>14</sup> BOYCE 1960, 40. See also *GMS* § 825. Only three half lines of the text are almost complete. The context remains rather unclear.

**/I/R/2–3/** For the restoration and interpretation of these 2 lines we are indebted to N. Sims-Williams: *rw'm'y(c)* can be perhaps a reduced form of *rw'nmyc*.

**/I/R/4/** *w'st* could be either 3sg. impf. of the verb *w'st* 'to stay, stand' or 3sg. pres. of *w'c* 'to release, let go'. An impf. would be very unlikely, since the first page consists in a succession of futures and presents.

**/I/R/5/** For the restored [ZY] cf. the same expression in /I/V/17–18/ below.

*m'(n) wyty z-wxškth* is parallel to *m'n wyt'kt z-wxškth* of /I/R/11/. The same *z-wxškth* are also present in /I/R/14/, although they are no more qualified as *m'n wyt'kt*, but simply as *wy-š'nt* 'those'. No parallel in other texts was found for such a category of disciples. One could interpret the first two words as an 'inverted *bahuvrīhi*', with an *-aka-* past participle as second member<sup>15</sup> referring to *z-wxškth*. If *wyty* were an *-aka-* participle from *wyn* 'to see', it could be interpreted as meaning 'mind-seeing', lit. 'by whom the mind is seen', cf. *šyr'qty* 'by whom good is done'. The second member *wyt'k* could also be interpreted as an *-aka-* past participle of a root *w'y* 'to wrap up, surround'.<sup>16</sup> This interpretation, though, does not produce a better comprehension to the entire phrase.

**/I/R/6/** *'spt'k* very often with *pr* in Buddh. Sogd. 'complete in...'

**/I/R/7–9/** The expression occurs twice in our text. An exact parallel is to be found in the Parthian fragment M 6020/I/,<sup>17</sup> whose content seems to be very close to that of the Bactrian Manichaean fragment (M1224).<sup>18</sup> The passage refers to the doctrine of salvation through the Hearers' gifts. Deliverance will be obtained 'not only for the light trapped in the food and for the Electi who eat it, but also for the Hearer who provides it':<sup>19</sup>

M6020/I/R/ii/1–14/

*pwnw'r 'st'nyndyh cw'gwn qwf 'yw wzrg 'wš bwj'd šhyndyh 'b'wš wxrd  
c'r o hm wxd bwxsyd 'wd 'w hwfyc] (b)wjyd kyš pwnw'r d'd . 'wd 'by  
wzynd y'dyd 'w (b)g'n 'r'm o o'wd ky pwnw'r 'st'ndy cwnd šyfšd'n 'yw  
š: bwj'd ny šhyn[dyyh] 'b'wš 'frdr k[...] 'wd nw [...]dwr  
"...[he who] would take alms food as (much as) a big mountain and could  
redeem it, should eat it: **he himself will be saved, he will also save him***

<sup>15</sup> Cf. GERSHEVITCH 1946, 147 and *GMS* § 964. Curiously the *-t* of the plural is not present in the first occurrence of this compound. Compounds with *m'n* as first member are not rare in Sogdian, cf. e.g. *m'n-prm'ty* 'consideration, conscience'.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *GMS* § 570 and SUNDERMANN 1997, 137.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. HENNING 1965, 29–33, retranslated in SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009, 254.

<sup>18</sup> SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009.

<sup>19</sup> SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009, 253.



**who gave him the alms-food**, and it (i.e. the ‘Living Soul’ contained in the food) will reach the home of the gods unharmed. And he who would take alms-food as much as a single grain of mustard but could not redeem it, then [...] better for him [...] fire...’’<sup>20</sup>

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

*rty (wβ)yw xwty βwx(s)'ntk'm ZY w(βyw) δβ'r ZY δ[β'](r)'yn'kw  
βwc'ntk'm (I/V/5-7)  
xw(t)y (β)wxs'nt k'm ZY wβyw δβ'r ZY δβr'y-n'kw (β)wc'nt k'm (I/R/7-9)*

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

M30/V/i/7-10

*j'myd wyspwhr 'w pydr wxybyy kw wxd bwxs'h w: 'šm'h bwj'h*

‘Lead the prince to your father so that he be saved and he save you!’<sup>21</sup>

M7/II/V/ii/4-7

*'fryd kw bwxtg bw'h ky mn gryw bwj'h 'c wdng*

‘Gesegnet sei, auf daß erlöst werde, wer meine Seele aus der Not erlöst’<sup>22</sup>

‘Blessed, i.e. may you be saved, who may save my soul from distress’<sup>23</sup>

The expression *δβ'r ZY δβr'y-n'kw* occurs in Buddh. Sogd. texts without *ZY* (*VJ* 413<sup>24</sup> and *Samghāṭasūtra* 15<sup>25</sup>) lit. meaning ‘gift-giving’, hence ‘benefactor’. Here the presence of *ZY* further specifies the Manichaean doctrine that lies behind our text, making clear that also the gifts will be saved. The same religious ideas are expressed also in M1224, though with a slightly different wording:

M1224/R/7-19 (Bactrian Manichaean Fragment)

*/7/ 'dyyl 'wwy(h)[.] (β) l(h)w'n /8/ 'c(y)d (β) yβw'g lyylyryg'n /9/  
p(yd)rw(m)[y](n)d ○ i'd hβyś(zn)ng pwwn /10/ d(r)m '(w)[d] l'dršt 'wd*

<sup>20</sup> SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009, 254.

<sup>21</sup> DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2014, 59

<sup>22</sup> ANDREAS and HENNING 1934, 29.

<sup>23</sup> DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2006, 36 and 177 n. 136, “explanatory gloss”?

<sup>24</sup> BENVENISTE 1946, 25.

<sup>25</sup> L 38, 4 in RAGOZA 1980, 31.

šy(j)g qyrdg'n /11/ wy(ś)p 's l'h(w)'n ('yy)žyd ○ t'd /12/ 'ww q[d](y)βryyg  
 'qydy(h) lhyyd /13/ [t]'(d pyd) wyśp pwwn b'gy(g)ynd 'wd /14/ ywg py(d)  
 hz'r pwnyng βrg 'βyryyd /15/ 'wd wy(ś)p nrh šwwhyyd 'wd pwwn /16/  
 pydrw(βy)d y'wyd nžyg ○ ○ /17/ [7–8](.)'cyyd šmn'n 'dhn (x)wynynd /18/  
 [6–7b]wt xwβyc žyn'g l(')hw'n /19/ [l'd ○ 'jwd'yyh 'dhn 'βy'gyrnd

“[...] such (are) those... gifts which support (?) the pure Electi, so (that) manifold merits, dharma and lawful and good deeds all spring from the gift; thus, that layman who gives it—he becomes a sharer in all the merits, and obtains merit-fruit a thousandfold and escapes (?) all hells and receives merits eternally. [We know] (?) that the Buddhist monks (šmn) say this, [that the B]uddha [gave] even his own body (as) a gift, and of him they predict this, [that thereby he will save all living beings] (?)...”<sup>26</sup>

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

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

M47/II/V/10/ ○ ○ pd zm'n zm'n 'c kyrdg'n swst w: /11/ fr'mwš bwynd ○ ○  
 pwršyšn bwyd /12/ ○ ps pyrwyzy pdy(r)ynd ○ rw'n bwxsyd ○

“Von Zeit zu Zeit werden sie in ihren Werken lässig und vergeblich. (Sie) werden zur Verantwortung gezogen, darauf erringen sie den Sieg, und ihre Seele wird gerettet.”<sup>27</sup>

/I/R/14-15/ The phrase *m'yδ m'nwkt wβ'ntk'm c'nkw ZY* occurs two more times in our text, /I/V/13–14/ and /I/V/22–23/.

/I/R/16/ For *zmy* ‘fuel, firewood’ see MacKenzie 1976, 40.<sup>28</sup> One could interpret *zmy* 'tr here as a tatpuruṣa compound meaning ‘the fire (that is born) from the firewood’, or just: ‘a fire (consisting) of firewood’. In MP the word *ymg* (NP *hīme*) is attested mainly with reference to a Zoroastrian fire, see *Gōwišn ī grīw zīndag*, 3.93–97:<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009, 252–253.

<sup>27</sup> SUNDERMANN 1973, 88 (ll. 1731–1733).

<sup>28</sup> Confirmed by YOSHIDA 1996, 168.

<sup>29</sup> SUNDERMANN 2012, 122; English translation at p. 184.

- 'n hym 'dwr 'y cyyd zrdrušt  
'wš prm 'd(w)m 'w 'hlw 'n cyydn
- cynydw m (' )wd (gšn)[g] (m) '  
qwnyd 'wd m' '(z)r(wbyd  
c)[ 'w]n mr ' 'n
- 'c hpt 'd(wr y)št 'y hwbwd 'g  
'wm bryd 'w 'dwr wxšn  
ywj d(hr)
- 'ymg 'yg p 'q ' '(wryd)  
'wd bwy 'yg nrm 'wd bwy y ('g)
- 'brwcydm pd d 'nyšn  
'wm dyyd zw hr 'y p 'q
- I am the fire that Zardrušt set and he ordered the righteous to set me.
- Set me and do not make (me) [... {?}] hungry and do not rob (me) completely like villains!
- From seven sacrificial (lit. sacrificed) good smelling fires (collect me) and bring me to the holy fire-place!
- Bring pure firewood and a fresh and scented smell!
- Light me with knowledge and give me a pure offering!

**/I/R/22/** Since [ɣ](r) 'm 'kh 'wealth' does not fit the context very well, it could perhaps simply be miscopied for \*ɣrmy 'kh or \*ɣrm 'kh 'heat' [NS-W].

(Pl. II)

/I/V/H/ [10–11 ]ty'

- /I/V/1/ [ 'δwy C srδy ]kw 'δwy C
- /I/V/2/ srδ [.....]prm ZKwyh βrx 'ry
- /I/V/3/ [pr sɣ](t)m 'n ' 'w 'k 'skw 'nt
- /I/V/4/ rtxw cx(š)pt nwm (p)δkh
- /I/V/5/ 'spt 'k δ ' [r] 'n(t)k 'm rty (wβ)yw
- /I/V/6/ xwty βwx(s) 'ntk 'm ZY w(βyw)
- /I/V/7/ δβ 'r ZY δ[β](r) 'yn 'kw βwc 'ntk 'm
- /I/V/8/ [r]tc 'nk(w) šmny xwδk 'r ZKwyh
- /I/V/9/ [βrx '(r) 'yk x 'n 'yty tyst
- /I/V/10/ [w](βy)[w? m '](y)δ ZY z 'r cwprs 'r 'wy 'm
- /I/V/11/ βy(r)tk 'm ○ rtšy MN 'z-prt
- /I/V/12/ 'krtyh pt 'yn kwnty k 'm
- /I/V/13/ rty m 'yδ m 'nwktw wβ 'ntk 'm
- /I/V/14/ c 'nkw ZY 'yw wy 'swɣ-t 'k 'kw
- /I/V/15/ xwδk 'r βyks 'r 'pš 'y 'y rtxw
- /I/V/16/ trxky pz-ty 'nx 'yz-t ZY ZK
- /I/V/17/ ' 'δ 'kw z- 'w(r)[cy](kw L) ' βwt m 'yδ
- /I/V/18/ ZY ms 'ywt 'c ('n)xwstcxš 'pt
- /I/V/19/ šmny L ' ZKwyh ɣr 'ywy z- 'wr(cyk)

/I/V/20/ βwt L' 'nyw ''δ'kw o [rtcnn]  
 /I/V/21/ 'δwy C srδ kw 'δwy C  
 /I/V/22/ srδ prm s't šmnt' m'yδ  
 /I/V/23/ (m)'n'wkt wβ'ntk'm c'nkW (ZY)

/I/V/1/ [200 years] to 200 years [...] in the vihāra they will dwell in equanimity and they will hold the commandment of the law /5/ completely. At the same time they will be saved themselves and they will save also the gift and the giver. If only a (single) monk [shall] enter the *vihāra* houses /10/ [... s]o poison thereupon will cause torment. Then he will separate it from pure actions. They will be like when one casts out (from the fire) /15/ a single half-burnt (log) and a pungent smoke arises, and it is not useful to anyone; so too a single commandment-breaking monk is not useful to himself /20/ nor to anyone else. [And from] 200 years to 200 years all monks thus will be similar, like when...

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

/I/V/2/ *brx'ry* is here attested for the first time in published Manichaean texts, thus marking a Buddhist context. *šmny* occurs also in the list of the slanderers<sup>30</sup> of the religion and is used also in Parthian<sup>31</sup> to define a monk, not necessarily Buddhist.

/I/V/8/ For the so far unattested *rtc'nkW* instead of *rty c'nkW* cf. *rty pts'r ~ rtpts'r*. Hardly to be read [*w]tcn'k(w)* 'old'.

/I/V/9/ The tentative restoration [*brx''](r)'yk x'n'yty tyst* 'he enters the *vihāra* houses' is based on *SCE* § 484: *rty 'ky ZKw brx'r wn'nt 't brx'r x'n'kh* 'he who makes a *vihāra* or a *vihāra* house',<sup>32</sup> although an *-ik* adjective from *brx'r* is not attested elsewhere. Alternatively, one could restore [*βγ''(n)'yk x'n'yty*. Such an expression to define a place of worship is however not yet attested either. *SCE* § 190 describes the different attitudes of those who may enter the monastery (*saṃghārāma*) with good or evil thoughts.

<sup>30</sup> So 18248/R/30/, cf. HENNING 1944, 138, tr. 141.

<sup>31</sup> E.g. in M572 *passim*, cf. SUNDERMANN 1973, 91–93. Cf. also ASMUSSEN 1965, 166 and the Bactrian fragment (M1224/R/17) quoted above.

<sup>32</sup> MACKENZIE 1970, 29.

**/I/V/10/** It is hard to restore the words in the lacuna, perhaps  $[w](\beta y)[w m'](\gamma)\delta ZY$  ‘and so that’?

For the expression  $(')wy'm \beta yr-$  cf. P6.161  $prw w't\delta'rt 'wy'm L' \beta yr'nt$  ‘ne causent pas des tourments aux êtres’.<sup>33</sup> Hardly  $z'r...$  ‘wy'm ‘one thousand... torments’, since the number does not precede directly the noun to which it refers.

**/I/V/11/** Cf. the same expression in P21.1. 1.8  $cnn \beta yr'krtyh pt'y n k(w)[nty]$ .<sup>34</sup>

**/I/V/14/** For  $wy'swy-t'k$ , clearly legible but otherwise not attested, cf. Chr. Sogd.  $pr(swy)t$ , which N. Sims-Williams<sup>35</sup> proposes to derive from  $*pari-suxta-$  ‘burnt up’. He tentatively translates it as a noun meaning ‘soot’ or ‘charcoal’. Here we have  $wy'swy-t'k < *ui-\bar{a}-suxta-ka-$  with different preverb and suffix  $-ka-$ . It could be therefore translated as ‘half-burnt (log)’, although it could simply mean any piece of material which underwent a process of combustion. We are grateful to N. Sims-Williams for helping us to understand the last part of the sentence.

**/I/V/14–15/** An interesting parallel to this passage may be found in the Sogdian  $\bar{A}zand \bar{N}\bar{a}m\bar{e}$  85ff.,<sup>36</sup> where the commandment-breaking men ( $'nxwstcxš' p\delta mynct mrtxmyt$ ) are expelled ( $pš'y-$ ) from the religion:

/83/  $ZY xw RBkw sm'wtry pncmykw ZKw \beta r'yšty \delta ynh$  /84/  $pw ''m'ykw 'ws'yty ZY 'z-p'rt ps'wyty [xcy rty]$  /85/  $xw ''y-wštyt mnt'ndykt ZY 'nxwst-cxš' p\delta(m)[ynct]$  /86/  $mrtxmy-t ky-ZY ZKn mwrtly tnp'ry myn'nt (Z)[Y]$  /87/  $ZKn \beta'rapy ZY ZKn 'nyw 'nyw ''myk myn(')[nt'k]$  /88/  $xnt rtšn MN cn'yty cp\delta' L' nmyt (c)[ntr]$  /89/  $s'r zyty // p'rZ-Y-šy xy\delta ywny\delta c'wn xyp\delta 'sk'w'(k)$  /90/  $c'\delta r-s'r pš'yt ZY-šn \beta yks'r pškrty$

Fünftens: Die Religion des Apostels [ist] ohne Befleckung, lauter und rein, heilig, [und] die verwirrten, \*sittenlosen und schmutzige Geset[ze habenden] Menschen, die dem Leichnam ähneln (und) den Exkrementen und den verschiedenen Befleckungen ähn[lich] sind, sie weigert sich sogleich durchaus, diese [in sich(?)] zu behalten, denn sogleich wirft sie sie von ihrer \*Oberflä[che] hinab und treibt sie hinaus.

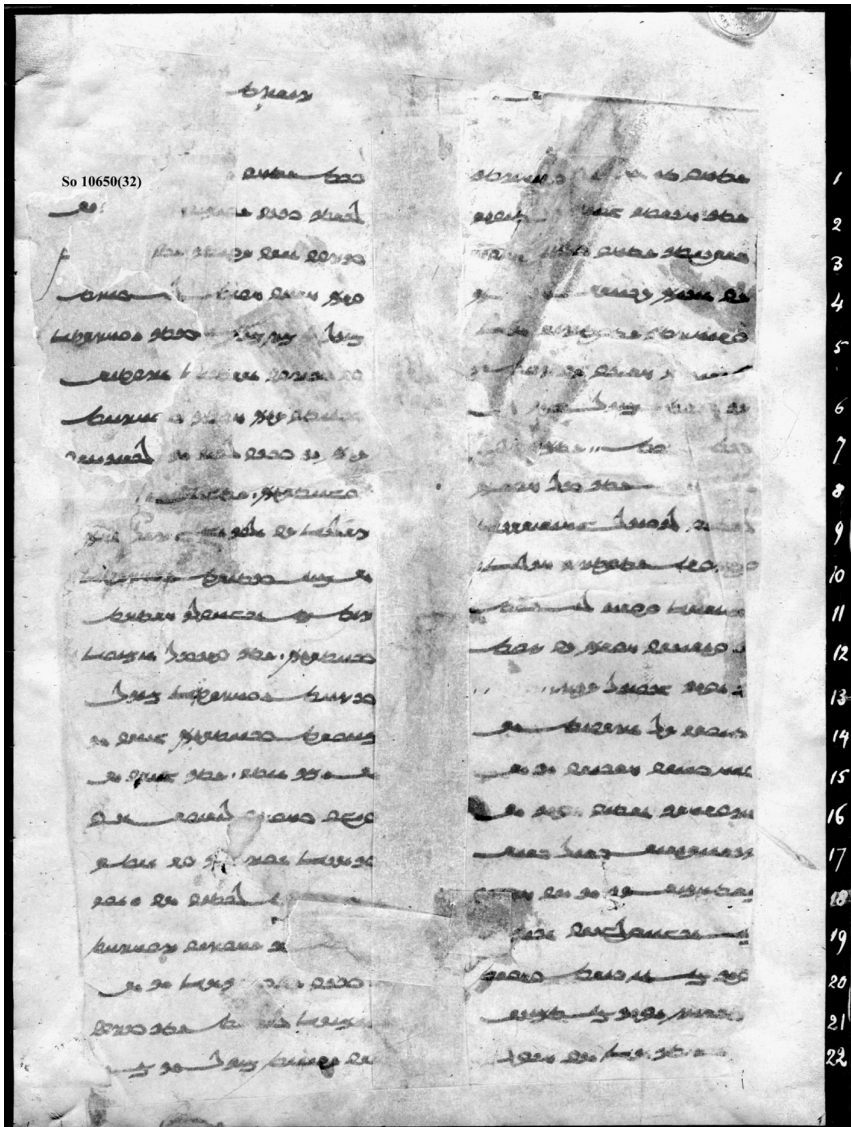
<sup>33</sup> BENVENISTE 1940, 90 and note on p. 206

<sup>34</sup> BENVENISTE 1940, 153.

<sup>35</sup> SIMS-WILLIAMS 2015, 23. The word appears in E26/2/V18.

<sup>36</sup> SUNDERMANN 1985, 25.

Plate I

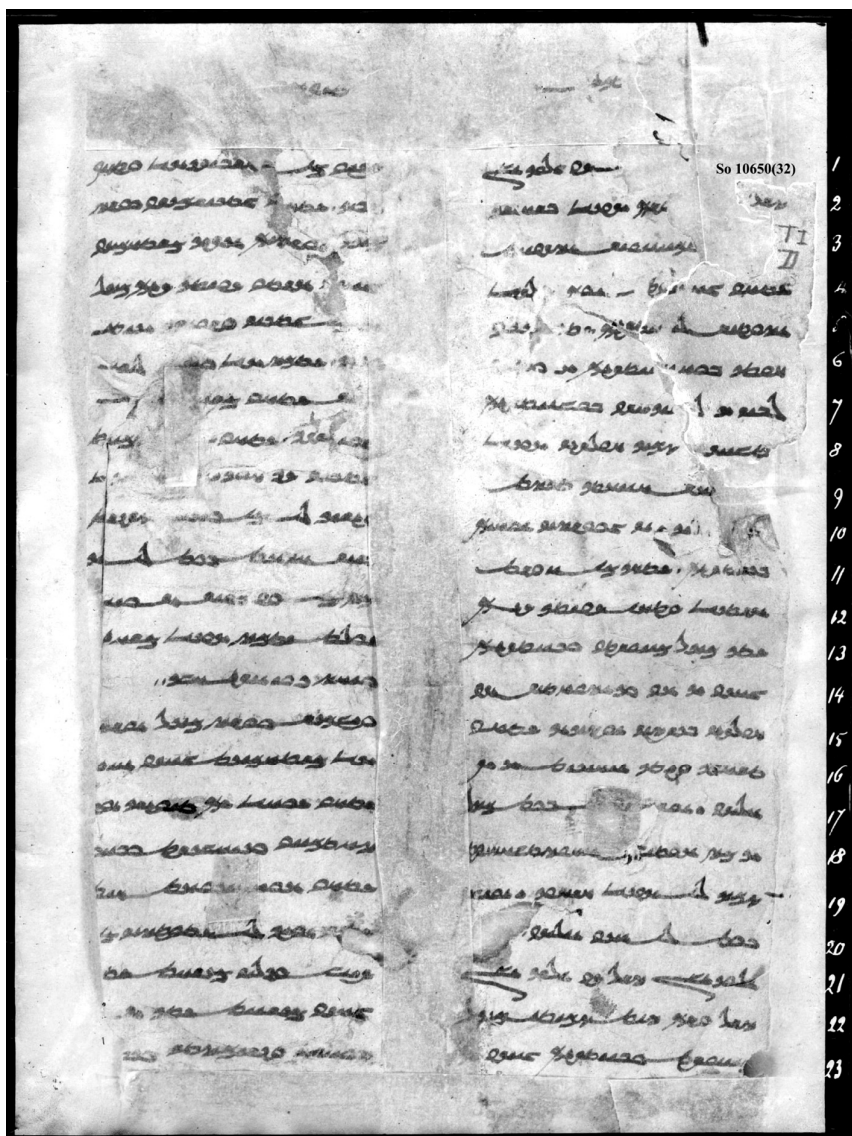


/I/R/ and /II/V/

Montage. Photo: Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,  
St. Petersburg. So10650(32):

Depositem der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften  
in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.

## Plate II



/II/R/ and /I/V/

Montage. Photo: Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,  
St. Petersburg. So10650(32):

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**Second folio:  
Salemann.Sogd./II/**

(Pl. II)

/II/R/H/ tnp'(r)[.....]

/II/R/1/ kβnw MN (γ)rβ'ky'yh ptynw  
 /II/R/2/ (w)β'y ○ rtxw ctβ'rmykw wprs  
 /II/R/3/ m'yδ (')pr(s)'m 'YKZY mrtxm'kw  
 /II/R/4/ c'(nkw)'krtw kwnty k'm m'yδ  
 /II/R/5/ (ZY) MN ctβ'r prw(rty) nyz-t'  
 /II/R/6/ (wβ'y) ○ rtms ZKh wn('h) δ'wn  
 /II/R/7/ (β'r)k rtxw mr(γ)[δ'](wn)  
 /II/R/8/ (c)wz-(')kky rtxw (.)[...] (w/t)m''/nt  
 /II/R/9/ ctβ'r ky xwy-(..)[...](.y)h  
 /II/R/10/ p'rZY L' MN w(ny') (ny)škyr'n  
 /II/R/11/ (β)r'k 'z-'yt βwt L' ZY  
 /II/R/12/ ms MN pw β'r'k ZK wn(h)  
 /II/R/13/ rwδt rtms ZKwyh mryy  
 /II/R/14/ w'xš y-wz-nnk' xcy ○○  
 /II/R/15/ pncmyk wprs m'yδ 'prs[']m]  
 /II/R/16/ ZKh mrtxm'yt c'nkw ''z-y[nt]  
 /II/R/17/ rtxw rw'nh 'M tnp'ry 'pr[yw]  
 /II/R/18/ sytm'nw wyn'ncykt wβ'n(t)  
 /II/R/19/ rtxw 'yw(γr)'yw'yt xnt  
 /II/R/20/ (kt'r)'PZY L' rtpts'r MN  
 /II/R/21/ kn'c pyδ'r myr'nt rt[y]  
 /II/R/22/ c'nkw myr'nt rty ZK  
 /II/R/23/ (r)w'nh pyrnmstr wy(t)[rty]

/II/R/H/ Body [...]

/II/R/1/ would be [little by ]little separate from knowledge. And the fourth question thus I ask: How is a man able /5/ to die 4 times? Also, the tree with fruit and the hen [wi](th) the chick and the [...] every (?) four...(?) [...] /10/ because a fruit cannot be born but from a tree, nor does the tree grow from a fruitless one, and also the matter of the hen is similar to this. /15/ The fifth question, thus I ask: when men are born, are the soul (*rw'nh*) and the body



manifest together? Are they one single Self ( 'yw-(yr)'yw'yt) /20/ or not? Moreover, for what reason do they die and how do they die? Does the soul (rw'nh) first depart

**/II/R/3–4/** 'YKZY mrtxm'kw c'(nkw) 'krtw kwnty k'm m'yδ (ZY) MN ctβ'r prw(rty) nyz-t' (wβ')y cf. Chr. Sogd. qt'wn 'to be able' + subordinate clause (here with a redundant second potentialis in the subordinate clause) [NS-W].

**/II/R/5ff./** The translation is based on the assumption that the verb *nyz-* is here used with the meaning 'to die', that *prw(rty)* means 'time (French *fois*)', as is often the case when it follows a numeral, and that the latter is used in an adverbial phrase<sup>37</sup> introduced by *MN* meaning 'four times'. Alternatively, if the verb *nyz-* had here its original meaning 'to go out', the preposition *MN* would be perfectly explained as the usual preposition governed by *nyz-*, 'to go out from'. But in this case the meaning 'time' for *prwrty* would not fit the context. The meanings 'Fravashi' which is highly unlikely to be met here,<sup>38</sup> and 'corpse', which could theoretically fit, but it is attested only in Chr. Sogd.,<sup>39</sup> both seem not to belong here. The easier solution would be again the *-aka-* substantive derived from the verb *prwr-* 'to turn, change, travel', this time not meaning '*fois*' but perhaps simply 'turn'.<sup>40</sup> If the passage bears really on the *samsāra*, then a translation 'he shall be able to go out (*i.e.* to escape, be delivered) from the 'four turns (cycles, circling-ons)' would be not out of place, interpreting the number 'four' as a generic number meaning several times.

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

(ix) The King said: "Reverend Nāgasena, as to that which you mentioned: 'circling-on' [*samsāra*] what is this circling-on?"

<sup>37</sup> No parallels of that have been found, unfortunately. However, cf. with an ordinal numeral the Chr. Sogd. adverbial phrase *cn (d)btq prwrtw* in Tit3.5 E6/5r 'for the second time, again' (SUNDERMANN 1981, 177, and SIMS-WILLIAMS 2016, 142 top).

<sup>38</sup> For its only occurrence in Sogd. in the Sermon of the Soul, cf. SUNDERMANN 1997, 138 etc.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2016, 78.

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

<sup>41</sup> *Milindapañha* 3.3.9, transl. in HORNER 1963–64, vol. 1, 105–106.

“Sire, what is born here dies here; having died here it uprises elsewhere; being born there, there it dies; having died there it uprises elsewhere. Such, sire, circling-on”.

“Make a simile”.

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

“You are dexterous, reverend Nāgasena”.

**/II/R/7-8/** If Sogd. *cwz'kk* is the chick, *i.e.* the ‘baby of a hen’,<sup>42</sup> then Sogd. *mrγ-* could be here translated as ‘hen’, parallel to the *exemplum* of the fruit of a tree and the tree itself on which the simile is based on. Cf. also P2.331 *xwnxw ZKZY cwz'kk ZK mrγy znty* ‘That which the chicken-bird brings forth’.<sup>43</sup>

**/II/R/8/** The word could be perhaps restored as *wm't* ‘was’, *wm'nt* ‘boundary’, or *[sy](t)m'nt* (pl.) ‘all together’, but the sense of this line is unclear.

**/II/R/9/** *ky* in *ctβ'r ky* could be a relative pronoun, or, alternatively, the distributive suffix *-ky*<sup>44</sup> thus meaning here ‘every four’.

**/II/R/10/** *(ny)škyr'n* is construed with *MN* (lit. ‘apart from’) as in *Āzand Nāmē* 57ff.<sup>45</sup> It is usually written *nyškr'n*.

**/II/R/11–13/** *L' ZY ms MN pw βr'k ZK wn(h) rwδt*: alternatively, N. Sims-Williams proposes translating ‘nor does the tree grow except from a fruit’, interpreting *MN pw* as a mistake for *pw MN* for which cf. Chr. Sogd. *pw cn* ‘except for’.

**/II/R/19/** *rtxw 'yw(γr)'yw'yt xnt*. An adjectival compound *'yw(γr)'yw'k* (< OIr. *\*aiūa-grīua-ka-*, meaning perhaps ‘having one *γr'yw*, having one single self’) is found here for the first time.

**/II/R/20/** For *kt'r 'PZY L'* at the end of a sentence in questions (with a disjunctive sense) cf. *VJ* 1398–1399 and YOSHIDA 2009, 317.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. NP *ǰuǰe*, defined in the *Borhān-e qāte* as ‘*bačče-ye mākiyān*’.

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

<sup>44</sup> See GERSHEVITCH 1949, 63–64 and *DMTIII.2*, 55a s.v. *βr'tky*.

<sup>45</sup> SUNDERMANN 1985, 23.

(Pl. I)

/II/V/H/ [15–16 ]k

/II/V/1/ rtxw tn(p'r)[..](')[.] pr'xsty  
 /II/V/2/ rty γyrtr c'nk(w) (ZK) tnp'r  
 /II/V/3/ βrkyrty rtxw w(δ)yh (tn)p(r)  
 /II/V/4/ kw 'y'm kβn'kk (y)x(n)[ pr]m  
 /II/V/5/ pr'xsty rtpts'r ZKh  
 /II/V/6/ (p'r'y)[k](w) γr'yw kw šwt ZY  
 /II/V/7/ ky β(y)rt m'y-δ (yw'r L')  
 /II/V/8/ (w)yt βwt ○○ rtm(s L')  
 /II/V/9/ [...] rty wyδ xwrm  
 /II/V/10/ (δβty)w δyw'yδ cx'r'kkyh  
 /II/V/11/ p(t)šprm rtpts'r xyδh (ZK)  
 /II/V/12/ [c]x'r'kh pwrny L' βwt  
 /II/V/13/ [Z](Y) p'r'ykw xwrm kw šwt  
 /II/V/14/ (k)y'PZY cyw'yδ kyš ○○ ○○  
 /II/V/15/ rtnwkr kδ 'skw't ZK  
 /II/V/16/ w'γwn'kw γrβ'kw ZY ZK  
 /II/V/17/ 'sprky 'rt'w'PZY ZK  
 /II/V/18/ šyr'nk'r'k βr'δ βr'k  
 /II/V/19/ (m)rtxm'k ky ZY ZKw γ(r)'(y)w  
 /II/V/20/ MN 'βc'npδcykw 'βn(t)[y]  
 /II/V/21/ [']PZY MN 'z-w'rt prwrt[y]  
 /II/V/22/ [p']tβr's'PZY MN tm'yk  
 /II/V/23/ ['βz](')[w](x)ty'h ZKw xypδ

/II/V/H/ [...]

/II/V/1/ and the body is left [orphaned]? And later, when the body is unresponsive, and the body there (?) is left till (its) end as a meagre remnant, /5/ then, where does the other Self (γr'yw) go and who obtains (it), although it cannot be seen? Likewise, it [can] not [...]. Moreover, this dust /10/ (is still in the) permanence of the wheel (of rebirths). Then that wheel is not completed. And the other dust, where does it go? What was diminished thereby? /15/ Now, if there should exist a wise man, a clever righteous man and a virtuous profitable man, who [might save] the soul (γr'yw) /20/ from earthly concerns, from the punishment of going to and fro, from hellish distress, his own...

/II/V/1/ *rtxw tn(p'r)[..](')[.] pr'xsty*: of the third word one sees only the aleph. As one would expect the word to mean something like ‘alone’, read perhaps *[sr]'[k]*, cf. SCE § 27: *rtyms 'sty ZKZY xwðk'r 't 'yw st''y sr'k βwt* ‘there is he who is alone and solitary, childless and orphaned’.<sup>46</sup> N. Sims-Williams suggests reading *[βt]'[r]* matching Chr. *ft'r \*prxs-*, ‘to be left over’, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2016, 81.

/II/V/3/ *βrkyrty* 3sg. pres. ind. < *βrkyr-*, here apparently taken as a light stem. The meaning ‘insensitive’, ‘unresponsive’, ‘numb’ is here referred to the body in a physical sense, while in *BBB* 605<sup>47</sup>, and in *AN* 189<sup>48</sup> seems to be used rather in a moral sense. This form could also be a 3sg. pres. middle with passive sense ‘is neglected’ [NS-W].

/II/V/4–5/ For the restoration cf. *TaleA*, 56:<sup>49</sup> possibly containing the same expression: *kw 'nyw myð s'r yxnny p'rxs* ‘left for another day’. A compound *kβnyxn* (‘meagre remnant’) is attested in the fragment of *Rustam*.<sup>50</sup>

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

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

/II/V/10/ If read with *-x-*, *cx'r'kkh* may be from OIr. \**caxra-ka-* (> Pahl. *caxrag*) with a *svarabhakti* vowel simplifying the internal cluster *-xr-*, resulting in /*čaxarak*/, as not infrequent in Sogdian (cf. the examples given in *GMS* § 482). The Iranian loanwords in Armenian *čaxr* ‘Drehung’ vs. *čaxarak* ‘Rolle’ might also be compared.<sup>51</sup> Pahl. *čaxrag* occurs with an ambiguous orthography (could be either *ch'lk* or *c'hlk*) in two passages of the astronomical chapter of the Iranian *Bundahišn*.<sup>52</sup>

2.8 [TD1 fol.11v]: *u-š spihr ī awēšān axtarān čaxrag-ēwēnag nihād kū andar gumēzišn ō rawišn estēnd*

‘he settled the sphere of these stars in the manner of a wheel, so that they could start revolving during the mixture.’

<sup>46</sup> MACKENZIE 1970, 3.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. HENNING 1937, 74.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. SUNDERMANN 1985, 32.

<sup>49</sup> HENNING 1945, 467.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. the discussion of the compound in SIMS-WILLIAMS 1977, 59.

<sup>51</sup> HÜBSCHMANN 1897, 186.

<sup>52</sup> Number of the chapter according to ANKLESARIA 1956 = PÄKZĀD 2005 2.10–2.18. For the translation see HENNING 1942, 232 and 233–234.

2.16 [TD1 fol.12v]: *az awēšān stārān ān ī meh čand sang-ēw ī kadag-masā ān ī mayān čand čaxrag* < 𐭪𐭮𐭬𐭮𐭩𐭮 > (?) *ān ī keh čand sar ī gāw ī kadagīg*

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

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

M5860/II/R/i/13–19/ *ṭwnd wrtyd cw'hs zwnws cy cxr / z'dmwrđ cy jm'n / 'wjm'n ny p'yd* ○ */yd bwd 'wd frd'd / 'ym d'm ny / bwd 'h'z*

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

In Buddhist Sogdian *snks'ʿr cxrw* occurs for the same concept, e.g. in L93.17.<sup>53</sup>

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

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

<sup>53</sup> RAGOZA 1980, 64–65.

<sup>54</sup> EBRĀHIMI 1365, 567, glossed as Ar. *maṭmūrat*.

/II/V/11/ *ptšprn* ‘permanence’ appears to be a verbal noun from the verbal root *ptšpr-*, Chr. *pcpr-* ‘to settle, alight, rest’.<sup>55</sup>

/II/V/14/ *kyš* is an otherwise unattested 3sg. impf. of the verb *kyš* ‘to decrease’.<sup>56</sup>

/II/V/15/ *ʾskwʾt* 3sg. subjunctive, hardly past infinitive.

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

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

/II/V/18/ *βrʾδ βrʾk* is a not yet attested compound meaning literally ‘bringer of profit’. For *βrʾδ* ‘increase, improvement’ cf. Man. *frʾδ*, *DMTH.2*, 79.

/II/V/20/ *ʾβn(t)* ‘concern’ cf. Chr. *ʾbnt/ʾbynt*.<sup>57</sup>

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

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<sup>55</sup> SIMS-WILLIAMS 2016, 132.

<sup>56</sup> Another possible occurrence is in a Sogdian document from Khotan, cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS and BI 2015, 262, No. 5, Line 25.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2016, 21.

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