

## A SOGDIAN FRAGMENT OF A WORK OF DADIŠO' QATRAYA

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Most of the Christian Sogdian texts published by Hansen in 1954<sup>1</sup> have now been identified with the Syriac versions from which they were translated. Some of these parallel texts were found by Hansen himself and reprinted in his edition; others have since been revealed through the researches of Benveniste<sup>2</sup> and Schwartz,<sup>3</sup> each identification adding a few words to the Sogdian lexicon or a few footnotes to the Sogdian grammar.

The identification of the original of the fragment presented below has made it possible to correct the frequent misreadings and misprints in Hansen's edition of it. Moreover, as the Sogdian translator followed the Syriac text closely, it has been possible to fill numerous lacunae with some confidence, so as to present a continuous and readable text. The Sogdian text consists of two consecutive sheets, each page originally having contained about 30 lines of writing, as in the other texts in *BST II*. The first sheet, of which only the upper part is preserved, is found as C2/25 in Hansen's edition, pages 915-6. The bulk of the second sheet, of which only the lower part is preserved, is Hansen's C2/19, pages 906-08. In the case of both fragments, Hansen has wrongly identified the recto as verso and the verso as recto. I have therefore renumbered the lines of the text from 1 to 120, allowing for the probable length of the lacunae. A third smaller fragment, Hansen's C2/22 on page 913, is also from the second sheet, and contains the beginnings of lines 71-3 and the ends of lines 100-03 according to my numeration.

The Sogdian text can be identified as part of Dadišo' Qatraya's "Commentary on the *memre* of Abba Isaiah", the surviving portion coming from near the beginning of the commentary on the 15th *memra*. The Syriac text of this work has now been edited by Professor Draguet<sup>4</sup> from a MS.

<sup>1</sup> O. Hansen, *Berliner sogdische Texte II* (= *BST II*), *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz*, 1954, No. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Benveniste, *JA*, 1955, 297-337 (= *Etudes I*); *JA*, 1959, 114-36 (= *Etudes II*).

<sup>3</sup> M. Schwartz, *Studies in the texts of the Sogdian Christians* (= *STSC*), Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1968.

<sup>4</sup> R. Draguet, *Commentaire du livre d'Abba Isaïe par Dadišo' Qatraya*, 2 vols., Louvain, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, 1972.

("A") dated 1885, with the variants of four MSS. derived from it. The MS. "A" is itself a copy of a MS. "S" (now lost) of about the fourteenth century, known only from a few excerpts in an article by Scher, *J.A.*, 1906, 103-18. The Sogdian is thus perhaps a millennium older than the extant Syriac MSS. In general it merely confirms the soundness of the text of "A"; nevertheless, in giving the Syriac below, I have not reproduced Draguet's text exactly, but have occasionally preferred the reading of "S", especially where the Sogdian seemed to support it.<sup>5</sup>

Apart from the text in Sogdian and Syriac and a translation of the Sogdian, what follows includes a linguistic commentary on the Sogdian version. I have to thank Dr. Gershevitch and Professor Schwartz for their valuable advice on Sogdian matters, and Dr. S. P. Brock and Professor Draguet for theirs on the Syriac.

### I Recto

1	bž]yq . 't b'w'z wyny sry qw sm'ny
2	[s' 't cn wyspn' qyr'n γrf rmy qyt w'nc'nw *pr *w'zt
3	[frwz'znt cn wyny *sqy]s' . 't fyr'z xw xypt dstw w'n qt
4	p]rywyd p't x'nt qy frwz'znt *pr *w'zt:
5	xyp]θ wrnw . 't xypθ šyryt qyty . 't
6	] w'nt qy wrnw ny pcyšd'rnt . 't cn
7	] 't wyn'z 'wnw bžyq mrty qt
8	[dnt' šq'f'z pr trxqy]q prywnt qy sn'znt qw nwšc
9	[žw'n s' . 't nyst'wy z'ty wyspw ]'dw q'm'z qt ny'sy . 't
10	[pšp'ty ptyγwš wxr qw šyryty 'nt]wn s' qy myd w'b . qt
11	't wyd'γ]ty *ptybyd qt 'yny
12	]pr myd'n šmnw
13	tym fy't]r wγrš
14	m'sy s]qwny . . .
15	]ny
16	](. .)

[17-30 missing.]

### I Verso

31	*wytw bwtq qt prpntq' m'x š[tf'rmyq qt pr cwty b'd yw]
32	dyw cxyt dn mrtxm' prw . 't b'd [γrf pncmyq qt qw mynnt]
33	qt'ny q'ryty, rw'nt cn ftyr'mnt'[ pšys' 't qt 'ntwxc]
34	xwrnt *qt' *ny xwšmyq qt qw [mynt 'rt'wty rw'nt cn]
35	nyž'mnt' pšys' . 't qt ptbyd[nt 't γwbty' ptwydnt qt' ny]
36	btmyq cwt wynnt 'rt'wty rw'nt[ qy ybwstny m'x xypθ'wnt pr]

<sup>5</sup> Other deviations from Draguet's text are mentioned in the footnotes; only obvious errors of the MSS. are silently corrected.

37 rwxšny'qy wyn'ncyqy' . 't[ ywbty' ptwydnt qw bꝥw s' cn]  
 38 r'zty pyd'r qy wyn'ncyq[ t qnt qw wyšnt s' qt' ny štmyq]  
 39 cwt pcwq'n wnt zprty[ rw'nt qy ybwstny 't qt z'wr]  
 40 θbrty w[š]nty nm'c[ qw wyšnt s' qy prywnt qwrc(?)]  
 41 w'dw pexšnt [qt' ny nwmyq qt cwt wyšnt 'rt'wty rw'nt]  
 42 qy bwst[ny qt' ny : :  
 43 'm'ty[  
 44 'znty[  
 45 ftm[cyq  
 [46-60 missing.]

## II Recto

[61-67 missing.]

68 dbtyq qt pr cwty xy]pθ rw'ny  
 69 [sn'mnty žmny' wyd'rt 'ntwnys ptry ꝥrf dywt qt ]šw pcwx'y'znt  
 70 [ 't ꝥrf rmy sn'mnty žmny' wyd'rt šmnw x]wdq'r qt pcwx'y'z : :  
 71 xyd qy šm[nw xwdq'r pcwx'y'z xyd wyspw ]ꝥrf rmw: 't ps'  
 72 'ntwnys ptry, [rw'ny ryty ꝥrf dywt] nyžnt dw' 'y,c \*štytqn . yw  
 73 'y[c] qt šmnw[ žwytry 't bžtry x]cy en s't dy, wty wyny 'mrθty:  
 74 [ 't w'nc'nw xwštr 't xwšywny ]xcy pr s't dy, wty xš'wn 't  
 75 [pr wšnty bžnq'rqy' 't dbtyq qt b]wšny xcy yw yw cn dy, wty 't  
 76 [tym fy'tr dyw]ty xwštr [pr 'xwnc qr]wn dn wyspn' prw . 't wyspw  
 77 [mrtxmw x]w qy xcy ynt'qy s[rθnq(?) ] pr pw wry,t tmp'r myšt  
 78 [n' p]tšty'nt šm'ryt bwšny xcy . qt [šw ]žwžy, c'nw bž'xwq wnty  
 79 't wyčšt 'ywyzt 't brty 't 'brt \*pr \*n' ptšty'nt šm'ry,ty .  
 80 [ 't] fcmdbcyqt rwžtyt pwn wnty mrtxmy,ty žy'wry štyq  
 81 [q]t pr cwty c'nw yw yw fryšty \*'b[sty] xcy qw wyspw yw yw  
 82 [s] ' cn m'x: [md]y 't ms cn m'x \*'[z]br'mnt' pšys' qy cn  
 83 fcmdbdy wytwr qw 'xz'mntw [pn:] cn by'nyq ptq'ry, zpry'qy  
 84 pyd'r . tym ꝥrf fryštyt w[yt]w ycy qt šqrntq' m'x : : : :  
 85 wyspy yw cn mrtxmyty yw \*[f]ryšty θbrty, bwt qyw s' cn \*šfrynn'  
 86 qw wyny p'y'mntw s' cn \*wyd'b[y] w'nc'nw šy wrq'ry, xcy . tym  
 87 fy'tr cn by'nyq ptq'r[y.] \*zpry'qy pyd'r: cn wyny sfryn'mnty  
 88 'y'z qy yz'ty brcy 'wnw n'x c'nw fθm'ty, by, sfryty, xw  
 89 rw'n pr tmp'r cn wyny pwx'y'nty, spwny'qy pšys': wytwr qw  
 90 'xz'mntw žmnw pn: 't mrtxmy, ftyr'mnty, žmny': \*prpt x[yd] fryšty

## II Verso

[91-96 missing.]

97 [pwn] mꝥy 'dn[ bwstny  
 98 [q]t sty dn rw'n prw [wytwr qw 'xz'mntw pn cn by'nyq ptq'ry]  
 99 [z]pry'qy pyd'r . c'nw ny[st wyny 'yc wyd'b qt' ptyθy' prymyd]

100 qt stysqn dn rw'n prw d[ywyd wy'q . w'nc'nw q]t ms[ ]†  
 101 \*wyd'bqyn 't ptyθy ny qty[ dyw pr]w qy yfcmdbdy  
 102 prywyd wntn pd'ty 't bžnq'r[qy' ] qy šy m't  
 103 dywty prw: \*pr \*y'tqwny 'rqc [ 't ptqryty \*sp]s \*m[sy][tr(?)]  
 104 w'nc'nw nyt fryštyt 'wpty'[pt qnt dywyd fryšt' prw qy dn]  
 105 šyrqty rw'n prw sty nyž'[mnty žmny' p]r[y]myd frꝥn' ms ꝥrf]  
 106 dywt 'byntnt qywyd dyw s'[ qy qθ'rt ]ynt'q pr qt[ 'nyqry]  
 107 rw'n nyž'mnty žmny' qy [cn tmp]r . cn wšnty xwsnty, [ pyd'r]  
 108 qy pr wyny nst'w . 't pr wšnty ryž qy spty, qty cyw : : wy,[d]  
 109 w'xš qy wyd'rt 'š'y' ptry . qt c'nw \*nyž't rw'n cym[yd]  
 110 fcmdbdy: šwntq' dyw prw fryštyt: 't wyd'yty nyžntq' wyn[y]  
 111 ryty sty t'ry, sp'dy'nt . 't q'mntq' ny't qt šw xwznt  
 112 qt sty cn wyšnty xypθ 'y,c pryw: ny s't dywt qy wšprd wy'q  
 113 w'btqn . yw'r w'nt dywt qy cx'd'nt dyw prw pr s't wyny  
 114 žw'ny žmnw . db't prywnt ds' dyw w'btqn qy cxnt dn  
 115 swqb'rtty prw[ . ]prymnt ds' ny[z]b'[n]' . pr[y]wyd p' ms fryštyt  
 116 qy šwntq' dn rw'n prw . ny pr s't fryštyt wyd'rt . yw'[r]  
 117 prywnt qy 'byntnt qw rw'n s' cn 'rtwy' zpry'qy pyd'r: qy  
 118 qθ'rt dywyd yw fryšt' prw qy \*'bstw xcy, 't cn wšnty xwsnty'  
 119 pyd'r \*qy pr wyny wxš'mntw: tym \*fy't[r] cn zprt r'zy zpry'qy pyd'r  
 120 qy 'wpty'p qty pr mšyh' tmp'r 't ywxnw 't 'yžn qty : : w'nc'nw

## Translation

(I Recto) . . . And he (= Antony) lifted up his eyes and saw the figure of a man (1) who was altogether foul, and his head reached to heaven, (2) and on every side a great multitude who were flying, as if on wings, (3) upwards above him. And he stretched out his hand so that (4) he might take one, but he could not because those who were flying on wings (5) were they that had kept their faith and their good works. But (6) the rest he took, namely those that had not received the faith and (7) were far from good works. And he saw that foul man, that (8) he was gnashing his teeth bitterly over those who were ascending to eternal (9) life: the son of perdition wanted to take them all. And (10) suddenly a voice spoke to the Blessed Antony which said: (11) "Know what has happened!" And then he understood that this (12) was the passing of souls and that he that stood in the middle was Satan, (13) the enemy of righteousness. This vision which appeared to him aroused him all the more (14) and stirred him up to become illustrious in his old age. (15) I have written these things here to explain what Father Isaiah had in mind in these words which he spoke, that when the soul leaves the world the demons go out to meet it, and to remove any ambiguity from them. . . .

(I Verso) Chapter 3. Why, when a single angel accompanies each one of

† Though Hansen indicates that the line is broken off after *ms*, it is probable that nothing has in fact been lost.

us, here and also after our departure from the world until the resurrection, for the honour of the divine image, yet (31) it is said that many angels will conduct us.

**Chapter 4.** Why sometimes one (32) demon fights with a man, and sometimes many.

**Chapter 5.** Where (33) the souls of sinners dwell after their passing, and whether (34) they<sup>6</sup> grieve or not.

**Chapter 6.** Where the souls of the righteous dwell (35) after their departure, and whether they are conscious and give praise or not. (36)

**Chapter 7.** Whether the souls of the righteous who are in Paradise see Our Lord in (37) a manifestation of light, and praise God (38) for the mysteries which are revealed to them, or not.

**Chapter 8.** (39) Whether the souls of the saints who are in Paradise pray, and whether (40) their prayer gives assistance to those who (41) take refuge in them, or not.

**Chapter 9.** Whether the souls of the righteous (42) who are in Paradise rejoice or not.

Now, by the Grace of Our Saviour, I am (43) ready to speak of these nine matters, to complete this (44) story, and to increase the reader's understanding. (45)

**Chapter 1.** . . .

(II Recto and Verso) **Chapter 2.** Why Father Antony, at the time of his soul's (69) ascension, saw many demons holding it back, (70) but at the time of the ascension of a great multitude he saw Satan alone holding them back. (71) This (fact), that Satan alone was holding back that whole great multitude, but (72) many demons went out to meet the soul of Father Antony, shows two things. One (73) thing is that Satan is stronger and more evil than all his companion demons (74) and is like the master and king over all the empire of the demons and (75) over their evil-doing. And the other is that a single one of the demons is sufficient – (76) still more the chief of demons – to do battle with everyone,<sup>7</sup> and (77–8) he who is the lord of evil is able to sift (?) every man by means of vain, fleshly, inconstant thoughts,<sup>7</sup> causing distress (79) and arousing tempests, and bearing and fetching (them), (80) he fills the hearts of men with inconstant thoughts and worldly desires.

**Chapter 3.** (81) Why, when a single angel accompanies each one (82) of us, here and also after our \*passing from (83) the world until the resurrection, for the honour of the divine image, (84) yet it is said that many angels will conduct us. (85) One angel is given by the creator to each one among men (86) for his protection from harm as is expedient for him, and still (87) more for the honour of the divine image, from the beginning of his creation (88) in the womb – that is, when the soul is breathed in and created (89) in the body after the completion of its formation – until (90)

<sup>6</sup> Syriac adds: "are conscious and feel pain and".

<sup>7</sup> The Sogdian here omits a short passage of the Syriac text.

the time of resurrection. And at the time of a man's passing that angel conducts (91) the soul and takes it up to Paradise, according to God's commandment. And if the soul was righteous he enters Paradise with it and remains with it until the day of resurrection; for then the soul puts on its body, and with the body and the angel which accompanies it they are taken up to meet Our Lord and enter heaven with him. But if the soul was sinful the angel leaves it that it may go with the demons whom it served in sin, that they may take it to Sheol, which is a dark region (97) full of gloom in Eden outside Paradise. But some say (98) that he remains with the soul until the resurrection (99) for the honour of the divine image, although he suffers no harm nor disgrace from this fact (100) that he is with the soul in that place, as also (101) he was not harmed nor disgraced in being with it in the world (102) in that so great unrighteousness and wickedness which it worked by the intimacy which it had (103) with demons in works of sorcery and the service of idols. Furthermore(?), (104) as the other angels have fellowship with the angel which (105) is with the soul of the righteous man at the time of its departure from the body, so also many (106) demons accompany that demon which performed evil upon the sinner's (107) soul at the time of its departure from the body, because of their joy (108) in its perdition and in their desire which is brought to fulfilment by it. This is (109) the thing of which Father Isaiah spoke, that when the soul leaves this (110) world the angels will go with it, and then there will go out (111) to meet it all the soldiers of darkness, and they will want to take (it) that they may put it to the test, (112) whether there is in it anything of theirs. He does not speak of all demons everywhere (113) but of those demons that struggled with it all its (114) lifetime. Perhaps he is talking about those ten demons which struggle with (115) the monks through the ten passions, because also (in respect of) the angels (116) who will go with the soul he was not speaking of all the angels but (117) of those which accompany the soul,<sup>8</sup> for the honour of the righteousness which (118) it performed, †together with that one angel which is joined (to it), † and because of their joy (119) in its salvation – still more for the honour of the holy mystery (120) of which it became a partaker in the body and blood of Christ and (of which) it was worthy. As (121) the Blessed John Chrysostom says: . . .

### Commentary

2/4 \*pr \*w'zt: Hansen *prw'zt*. The word *w'z* "wing" has been quoted from an unpublished Man. text, T ii D 79a = M 5563, cf. *GMS* § 957.

3 \*sqyjs' (?): Hansen *jqy'*. – *xypt*. This spelling also occurs in the fragment from the "Apophtegmata Patrum", C2/15, (*BST II*, 890.34), a text which also contains the unique spelling *qt* "town" (889.30) beside the

<sup>8</sup> The phrase †† occurs here in the Syriac text.

usual *qθ*, and in the fragment C2/20 (*yxypty*, *BST II*, 909.25). As these texts are similar in all other details of spelling, grammar, and punctuation, there is little doubt that they all come from the same manuscript, in which case the Syriac numbers at the foot of the pages C2/20 recto and C2/15 verso indicate that they once formed a single sheet, being respectively the first and last pages of the sixth quire. The spellings *xypt* and *qt* have been discussed by Benveniste, *Etudes I*, 118-9, and by Schwartz, *STSC*, 57, who considers the alternation of *θ* and *t* to be merely orthographical. However, the forms with *t*, to which one may add *prymyt* (892.22) beside the usual *prymyd* (with [δ]), itself probably a sandhi-variant of *prymyθ*, may represent genuine phonetic variants, there being no other examples of the use of *t* for [θ], as opposed to the common use of *θ* for [t], which is due to the fact that in Syriac the letter *θ* has both values, [θ] and [t].<sup>9</sup> There would be no parallel in Syriac for the use of *t* for [θ].

**7 wyn'z:** Hansen *w.ʾd*. I owe the correct reading to Professor Schwartz to whom I am greatly indebted for a short list of corrections to Hansen's texts of C2/25 and C2/22 based on his own revision of the MSS.; these readings have been adopted into the text given above (without the asterisk used elsewhere to indicate conjectural emendations), namely: *yrf* (line 2); *wyn'z*; *wyrʿ* (line 13, on which see below); *dyw* (line 32); *q'ryty* (line 33); *pty* (line 72).

**8 dnt' šq'f'z**, restored after the noun *dnty šq'f'* "gnashing of teeth" (*BST II*, 843.35), which also suggests that *šyk'β'nt zwβ P13.23* (thus read by Henning, apud Gershevitch, *JRAS*, 1946, 180) may mean "they gnashed their teeth (lit. 'jaws')". - **pr trxqy]**q ~ Syr. *mryr'yt* "bitterly". Cf. *trxq' ~ mryr'* (*BST II*, 846.23), on which see Schwartz, apud MacKenzie, *BSOAS*, XXXIII/1, 1970, 123.

**11 \*ptybyd:** Hansen *ptbyd*.

**13 wyʿš** (Professor Schwartz's reading): Hansen *w.r.* . On this verb see the note on line 79 below. An imperfect, ideally *\*wyʿyr(y)š*, is required here as in line 11. The simplest explanation of *wyʿš* would be that it is a doubly defective spelling (due to lack of space at the end of the line ?), cf. note on 31 below. One would not lightly assume the existence of an unaugmented imperfect (*GMS*, §612) in this text.

**14 m'sy s]qwny = B m's'k skwn'y** "old age", *SCE* 31-2.

**31 \*wytw:** Hansen *šytw* . - **prpntq'**. The Syriac phrase which is here translated *\*wytw bwatq qt prpntq' m'x* occurs again in line 84 below where it becomes *w[yt]w ycy qt šqrntq' m'x*. The verb *šqr-*, B. *'šk'r-* is well attested in the sense "lead, bring, take". The existence of a verb *prp-*, on the other hand, was first pointed out by Schwartz, *STSC*, 30, who translated "seize",

<sup>9</sup> The only other example quoted by Benveniste which comes into consideration, the alternation *ptyt-*: *ptyθ-*, is more likely to be an example of this opposite phenomenon, though no other examples have been noticed in this particular MS.

quoting the present passage and three other examples, *BST II*, 827.54, 858.11, and 880 (bottom). 11. To these we can add *\*prpt*, line 90 below.<sup>10</sup> In all cases the meaning is "lead, bring, take, fetch": though "seize" is implied in certain contexts it is not the meaning of the Syriac verbs used.<sup>11</sup> Thus redefined, *prp-* can hardly be separated from a synonymous verb attested in all three scripts, Chr. Man. *pryp-*, B. *pr'yp-*.<sup>12</sup> As regards the spelling, a similar situation exists in the case of Chr. *pthd-* "understand" (*STi* 11.5; *STii* 1.39) which is clearly the same word as Chr. *pthyd-*, Man. B. *ptβyδ-* "feel, recognize, understand". There are, in fact, many examples in the texts published by Hansen of the omission of a *-y-*, even where it represents a vowel which was originally long.<sup>13</sup> Examples: *wšnty* (*passim*; the authenticity of this spelling is ensured by two occurrences in Hansen's facsimile facing p. 918, lines 54 and 63); *dnd'r* (904.22; spelling vouched for by Hansen, *Acta Orientalia*, XXX, 1966, 101); *p'rcnt* (827.60); *βs'*, *βqp'r* (889.24, 891.62); *sptyt* "white" (903.6); *sptw* (903.8, ~ Syr. *nhyr'* "bright"); *frštyty* (904.26); *wyršt* (below, line 79).

**32 cxyt.** The meaning of *cx-* "to fight" has been established by Benveniste, *Etudes I*, 299.

**33-4 'ntwxc] xwrnt.** Cf. Chor. *'ndx xr-* "grieve" (Henning, ed. MacKenzie, *A Fragment of a Khwarezmian Dictionary*, London, 1971, 49), NP *andūh x'ardan*. In Sogd. script *'ntwyc n' ywr'*, Doc. X, line 18.

**34 \*qt' \*ny:** Hansen *qt'ny*.

**39 pcwq'n.** On the meaning "prayer" in Chr. Sogd. see Schwartz, *STSC*, 109.

**39-40 z'wr] θbrty** ~ Syr. *m'd'n* "help", cf. *z'wr θbr't* ~ *m'dr'*, *STi* 37.1, also *z'wr θbrwtynt* = *hbryn hww* "ally oneself to", *BST II*, 846.18.

**40-1 qwrc(?) ] w'dw.** The *-aka-* stem *w'dy* "place", of which *w'dwo* is the accusative, is the compound form (cf. Gershevitch, *TPS*, 1945, 144) of *w'd* (pl. obl. *w'dty*, *BST II*, 903.30). We therefore have here a compound "refuge, place of safety" of which the missing first element must have meant "safety, assistance". The compound here tentatively restored at the suggestion of Dr. Gershevitch is known from two fragmentary Chr. passages, *BST II*, 884.3 [*y qwrc w'dy s' . . .*] and 885.6 [*qwrc w'dwo s' . . .*], neither of which gives any help in defining its meaning. The same word is

<sup>10</sup> And perhaps *prfw* 892.19, cf. on the passage Benveniste, *Etudes I*, 301, II, 121. But *prpw w[y]t* 884.25 is clearly the same phrase that occurs below, line 77.

<sup>11</sup> *dabbar*, *'ayti*, *nsab*. The verbs translated by *šqr-* are *dabbar*, *'awbel*, and *garreb*.

<sup>12</sup> Chr. *pryp-* corresponds generally to *dabbar*, *abar*, once to *'awbel*. Chr. *prp-* was assumed to be the same as *pryp-* by Livshitz, *Sogdijskie dokumenty s gory Mug*, II, Moscow, 1962, 26.

<sup>13</sup> That *ptβyδ-* ever had a long vowel (as stated in *GMS*, §187, on the basis of an etymology *\*pati-baudaya-*) is doubtful in view of the fact mentioned above that it is a light stem. That *\*pati-budya-* (cf. Av. *būdyā-*, Skt. *prati-budhyate*) became *ptved-* (perhaps by way of *\*ptwēd-*, cf. *GMS*, §186?) seems not impossible.

attested in three unpublished Man. texts as *qwrw*'δ(δ)yy (see Gershevitch, *BSOAS*, XXVIII/1, 1965, 159 on M4724, where the spelling with single -y is a misprint); these passages are likewise broken, but the contexts give some support to a translation "refuge". I owe these observations to Dr. Gershevitch, who also suggests an etymology which would support the proposed meaning: *qwrw* < Av. *karaduš-*, Y 29.3, usually translated, following Bartholomae, "Schutz, Hilfe, Beistand".

71 *xyd qy*. The relative pronoun *qy* is here employed as a conjunction "that" (usually *qt*), a sense peculiar to its use in the combination *xyd qy*, for which the following two passages from *BST II* (apart from the many in which *xyd qy* has the expected meaning "he who" or "that which") may be quoted:

(1) 't *pc[y'x]nyq yw xcy xyd qy šwt wyzrw pr fryt'ty r'θ* (911.55-6) "And one (kind of fast) is acceptable, namely that one should walk uprightly the way of love."

(2) [*xyd*] *qy w'btq dynd'r qt sn'm pcy'[z]tq[ t'nm'n] . . . 'štytq qt ny wyny xypθ xcy [ . . . ]'rq* (903.1-3) "The fact that the priest says: 'So-and-so receives baptism . . . ' shows that the . . . work is not his own."<sup>14</sup>

In both passages *xyd qy* introduces a noun clause; in the second, as in our passage, this clause is the subject of 'šty- "indicate". This furnishes the explanation of a third passage which has been misunderstood:

(3) 't *nwy't qy ny sn'ynt . 'štytqn pr ptywstw x'wr qy pcyšd'rnt xyd qy . . . ny'x'wt ny xcy pr \*sn'y* (903.14-16) "And (as for) the neophytes who do not wash - the fact that they do not need to wash indicates the hidden power which they have received." Thus construed, with the noun clause awkwardly following the sentence of which it is the subject, the statement does not differ materially from the Syriac text of George quoted by Schwartz, *STSC*, 91; there will be no need to assume a fault in grammar ('štytqn sg. for pl.) or a misunderstanding of the Syriac.<sup>15</sup>

't *ps* "but", cf. Schwartz, *STSC*, 107-8.

72 \*štytqn: Hansen 'štytqn (misprint).

75/78 *bwwny* "sufficient, able". As the pointing (-wane) indicates, this form belongs with the *nomina agentis* in *GMS*, §1086. It can now be seen that *b'wwny* (*BST II*, 893 bottom.29) is the same word, rather than a noun "perfection" as had been supposed.<sup>16</sup> The passage may be translated: "This hunger, more than all labours, is sufficient to give forgiveness of sins."

75/81 *yw yw* "a single" ~ Syr. *hd hd*. This use of *yw yw* (cf. *BST II*, 826.30 *yw yw w'xš* "a single verse") is a calque on Syriac, in which *hd hd*

<sup>14</sup> These interpretations closely follow the Syriac texts, which have *h̄y d-* corresponding to the *xyd qy* of the Sogdian texts.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Gershevitch apud *STSC*, 153.

<sup>16</sup> Henning, *BBB*, 68; Benveniste, *Notes IV*, 511; *GMS*, §1087.

may mean both "each" and "single". In Man. *yw yw* means "each" (*GMS*, §1676), but there is no example in Chr. where to obtain this meaning one must add *wyspw* (here, line 81, where *wyspw yw yw* translates merely *hd hd*) or the suffix *-tr* (*STI* 41.6 *yw ywtr cn ~ hd hd mn* "each of": not, as *GMS*, §1318, "one by one, singly").

76-80. The clumsy word order here, with the accusative *wyspw* [*mrtxmw*] left in the air until the governing verb appears in line 78, is copied by the Sogdian from the Syriac, which in turn takes it from the Greek text from which this passage is translated.<sup>17</sup> Again *x]w qy xcy γnt'qy* [*s[rθnq(?) - or s[p'dpt(?)*] - neither word appears long enough for the lacuna indicated by Hansen - is an awkward translation of the Syriac which has merely *h̄w 'rkwn' dbyšt'* "that Prince of Evil". The Sogdian text is only one-third the length of the Syriac and Greek texts, owing to the omission of several similes which are, in fact, hardly appropriate to the context.

78 ]žwžy, ~ Syr. *n'rb* "sift". Dr. Gershevitch suggests that žwž- might be assimilated from \*žwž- < \*uz-waija.<sup>18</sup> The expected base for "sift, winnow", he points out, is *waij-* (cf. Skt. *vinakti*. Av. *vaēca-*, Bal. *gēčag*), whereas *waij-* means "shake": however the fact that B.Sogd. *wyc-* (VJ) means "shake" suggests a contamination of the two bases, at least in Sogdian.<sup>19</sup> If this interpretation is correct, the preceding lacuna will probably have contained the pronoun [*šw*] resuming the object stated in lines 76-7. Professor Draguet has kindly informed me that there can be no doubt that *n'rb* is indeed the correct reading of the Syriac text, as the same word is found in the Syriac text of Macarius, translating Greek *σινάξεν* "to sift, to winnow". Nevertheless there is a faint possibility that the translator may have read *n'rq* "confuse" in error (see MacKenzie, *BSOAS*, XXXIII/1, 1970, 119 on the confusion of *b* and *q*), in which case °žwž- might be derived from °*drujya-*, OP *durujiya-*, according to *GMS*, §186.

79 *wyršt* "waken" (a form of the same verb occurs in line 13 above): *wyr(y)š-*, causative of *wyr's-* "awake", is also attested by Yaγn. *yuriš-* (Geiger, *GIP*, I<sup>2</sup>, 342); it is also found in the Rustam fragment, P13.25, where *wyr'yš* is to be read for *wyr'yš*.<sup>20</sup>

'ywzyt pl. of \*ywzy "tempest", not attested previously, though a similar form is found in B. 'ywz "trouble" (SCE).

<sup>17</sup> H. Dörries, E. Klostermann, and M. Kroeger, *Die 50 Geistlichen Homilien des Makarios*, Berlin, 1964, 48-9. The Syriac text of Macarius has not been published; this passage is to be found in Vat. Syr. 121, fol. 24v. I owe these references to the kindness of Professor Draguet.

<sup>18</sup> For the assimilation cf. *GMS*, §451, also žwfy < \*žaudraka-, §299 Add. For the preverb cf. MMP 'zwxytn, a synonym of NP *bixtan* "sift" (Henning, *BSOAS*, XIII/3, 1950, 646, n. 1).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Schwartz, *ZDMG*, 120 (1970), 293, n. 15, on a possible contamination of *baug-* and *mauk-* in Sogdian.

<sup>20</sup> This correction to P13.25 has been made by Livshitz (in a private communication to Dr. Gershevitch).

**\*pr \*n'**: Hansen *prn'*. The expression *n' ptšty'nt* (also line 78 above) "fickle, inconstant" attests the present participle (cf. *GMS*, §1033) of an intransitive *\*ptšty-* (whose *-y-*, like that of *\*wšty-* "stand", cf. *GMS*, §558, is borrowed from the transitive form) identical in appearance to the trans. B. *ptšty-* "to prop, lean on" (*Dhyāna* 25).

**80 rwžtyt** pl. of *rwžty'* "desire" (*BST II*, 848.60, 889.22): on the plural of *-yā* stems in *-ēt* (dissimilated from the expected *-yēt*) see Schwartz, *STSC*, 143 and revisions. The following instances may be added to those mentioned by Schwartz: *qyt* "deeds" (line 5 above); *bž'xwtyt* "sufferings" (832.7, 892.9); *wyn'ncyqyt* "visions" (883.13) < *wyn'ncyqy'* (line 37 above); *y'n θb'rqyt* "kindnesses" (893.3). From the other Chr. texts: *qyt* (*STi* 14.20 – the Syriac has "deeds" not "done"); *šqwrθyt* (*STii* 6.28, "so that they suffered hardships"; also *BST II*, 892.3). It is possible, too, that the singular of *wyt* "generations, ages" (cf. Schwartz, *STSC*, 18–19) is not *\*wy* but *wy'* (*BST II*, 885.15, "Blessed be he who made our \*generation . . ."). See further below on line 107.

**81 \*b[sty]**: Hansen *'r. . .*. The restoration of this passage, where *\*b[sty] xcy qw . . .* corresponds to Syr. *lw'* "accompanies", is inspired by line 117 below, where *'byntnt qw . . .* translates *mlwlyn* "accompany". The same phrase in line 106 translates *mštwtpyn* "have fellowship with". See also below on line 118, where *\*bstw* corresponds to *nqyp* "united, joined". Literally, *'bynt-* is "be bound, attached", as recognized by Benveniste, *Etudes II*, 131; this form, whether passive or middle (as suggested to me by Dr. Gershevitch), differs from the passive of the simple form, if the strange-looking B. *βyδ'y-* is, as seems likely, correctly derived from *\*badya-* by MacKenzie, *The "Sūtra of the Causes and Effects of Actions" in Sogdian*, London, 1970, 51. Schwartz's recognition (*STSC* iii and revisions) that in Chr. the proverb *ham* is written *'-*, i.e. [*ā-*], makes possible a direct equation of Chr. *'bsty* with B. *'nβ'st'k* "lié" (P2.287).

**82 \*z[br'mnt]** ~ Syr. *mpqt* "departure": Hansen *'br'mnt'*. The Syr. word is of course a euphemism for "death": such euphemisms occur frequently in this and other texts in *BST II*. The words *mpqt* and *mpqn'* "departure" are generally translated *nyž'mnty* (below, lines 105, 107; *BST II*, 889.28), but the Sogdian sometimes prefers a more picturesque term than the Syriac: *žw'ny yux'y'mnty* "parting from life" ~ *mpqt'* (910.48); *fty'r'mnty* "passing" ~ *mpqn'* (890.43); *fty'r'mnty* ~ *wndn'* "departure" (above, line 33; below, line 90). On the basis of these last examples I have restored a synonym of *fty'r'mnty*: Hansen's reading *'br'mnt'* "bringing" does not suit the context. The existence of a verb *'zbr-* is known only from one passage, *STii* 1.21, where for Syr. *n'brwn* (< *√'br* "cross", the verb usually translated by *fty'r-*, *BST II*, 848.53 etc.) Lentz read *'zbdnt*, noting that *b* was a correction for *γ*. That *'zbr-* was intended was suggested by Henning apud *GMS*, §158<sup>1</sup>. The scribe apparently first

wrote *'zydnt* in error, and failed to alter the pointing of *d* to *r* when he corrected the *γ* to *b*.

**85 yw \*f[ryšty]**: Hansen *yw. . . ryty . . . \*sfrynn'*: [Hansen *sfrynn[y]'*.

**86 \*wyd'b[y]**, cf. Man. *wyδ'β* "harm": Hansen *wyδ'p[.]*.

**87 \*zpry'qy**: Hansen *zpryqy*.

**88 'wnw n'x**. The meaning of this phrase, which occurs also in one other passage, *BST II*, 909.20, has been correctly understood by Benveniste, *Etudes I*, 324, as "*c'est-à-dire*". For *n'x* he compares the pronoun *xw-nx* and the Yavn. adverbs *nah-āvākai* "there", *nah-idūkai* "here", *nav-čavākai* "thence". (The forms without the prefix *nah-* have the same meanings, see Geiger, *GIP*, I<sup>2</sup>, 342.) The B. form of this word is in fact already known: *n'γ*, VJ 142, apparently an emphatic particle, convincingly translated "*voici*" by Benveniste. The literal meaning of *'wnw n'x* is thus "*le voici*". – **fθm'ty**, cf. Schwartz, *STSC*, 57. – **by**: "and also" = Man. B. *wβyww*, rather than 3 sg. opt. of *b(w)-* "to be(come)".

**89 pwx'[y]mnty**: "formation" < *pwx'y-*, Man. *pwx'y-*, B. *pyw'y-* "cut off". For the semantics cf. Av. *frā.kəranaoiti*, *frā.θwərəsaiti* etc.

**90 \*prpt**: Hansen *pr pt*.

**97 my.γ ~ 'mīn** "thick darkness, blackness, gloom", < Av. *maēya-* "cloud". Not previously attested in Sogdian.

**101 \*wyd'bgyn** "harmed": Hansen *wyδ'sqyn*. Cf. note on 86 above.

**103 \*pr \*y'tqwny**: Hansen *fry'tqwny*.<sup>21</sup> Chr. *y'tqwny* "sorcery", confirming B. *y'twknnyh* P3.24, occurs also in *BST II*, 873 bottom. 4, 875.7. Although the formation would be obscured by metathesis in the B. form, the Chr. spelling suggests an abstract in *-ūne* from *y'twq*. Cf. the several abstracts in *-qwny* in these texts which are formed by the addition of *-ūne* to adjectives in *\*-aka-* (for the reappearance of *k* cf. *GMS*, §985, to which these examples might be added): *wyγr'tqwny* "vigil" 829.11; *'rqw[ny]* 839 bottom.1 ~ *šnywt'* "madness" < B. *'r'k* "mad"; *i'rqwny* "darkness" 892.9; *p'tqwny* "vigilance" 892. 6, 10, of which *ptqwny*, 905.4, is a misreading or defective spelling: "vigilance" gives a better sense than "perversity" as Schwartz, *STSC*, 100, translates. – **ptqryty \*sp]'s \*m[sy]'[tr]**: Hansen *]sm. ]'*. The restoration of *sp]'s* seems to impose itself, cf. S. *ptkryty 'sp'sy*, Henning, *Sogdica*, 5. Possibly *m* is the beginning of a redundant suffix *\*sp]'sq[y]'* – (cf. *sp'sy d'r'mnty* = *sp's*, *BST II*, 898.113), in which case *]'* is probably merely *]t'* "and" as the Syriac would lead one to expect. But *\*m[sy]'[tr]*, as I tentatively suggest, is appropriate to the context: for the meaning "moreover" cf. P2.515 *tym msy'tr*.

**104 'wpty'p** "sharer, participant", cf. Schwartz, *STSC*, 11.

**107 xwsnty'**. Of interest here is the pointing which according to Syriac usage should indicate *-yē*. Cf. optatives such as *'nc'y'* [*ančāyē*] and

<sup>21</sup> An identical misreading is found in *BST II*, 848.52, where *frzyn* should be *\*pr \*zyn*: "(Why) do you entice me by means of gold (cf. 847.48) which is dust . . ."

(without the points) 'st'y' [āstāyē] which have been elucidated by Schwartz, *STSC*, revisions. Many examples attest -yē as the oblique of -yā stems in our texts: *m'r'wty*, 843.25; *nyznty*, 888 top.10; *xwšywnqy*, 880 top.14; *bš'xwty*, 890.50; *šyr'qty*, 905.2; *y'n θb'rqy*, 905.9; *rwby*, 826.15, 910.47, 911.53; *qty*, 909.27; *šqwrθy*, 911.53. Also *wnwnqy*, 887.4 is oblique, cf. Syr. "in pomp of victory". No doubt one should assume the same pronunciation in the many cases where the points are omitted. It is also worth noting that, just as in the pl. of these stems -yēt > -ēt (cf. above, note on line 80), so, dialectally, the sg. obl. -yē was assimilated to -ē. There are two examples in *STi*: *pr xy.pθ rwby*, *γ'dwq* (~ Syr. "on the throne of his glory") 22.19; *pr d'tcy.qy*, *r'θ* (~ Syr. "in the way of justice") 18.11.

**108 nst'w** ~ Syr. 'bdn' "perdition", cf. *BST II*, 917 top.4 *ny.st'wy* *s'ty* in an unidentified text, surely corresponding to Syr. *br 'bdn'* "son of perdition". This new form may be assigned to the rare class of abstracts in -āu, *GMS*, §1075, together with *xwc'w* "sweetness" (see Benveniste, *Etudes I*, 315), *s'ry'w* 890.40, and *s'n'w* 903.17.

**109 \*nyž't**: Hansen *nyž't*.

**111 xwznt**. This passage was correctly interpreted without the aid of the Syriac version by Schwartz, *JAOs*, 89/2, 1969, 447, q.v. on the verb *xwz*- "examine, test".<sup>22</sup>

**112 wsprd wy'q** "everywhere". For the redundant use of *wy'q* "place" cf. *wdy wy'q* "there" *STii* 1.55. Similarly with -*w'dy*: *nymyθ w'dy qyr'n* "to the south" (~ Syr. *lgrbyyh* "to the north"! ) *BST II*, 858.17.

**115 ds' ny[z]b[n]**. The point of interest here is the ending -*ʔ*, for which one may compare *xwšrt[s wc'w* "sixteen martyrs" (*BST II*, 846.32), *xwšrts \*wyc'w' \*qy* (Hansen *wyc'w'qy*) *dyw prw* "the sixteen martyrs with him" (843.43), and perhaps *šy p'd' r'rbn* "a three-pronged (lit. 'three-footed?') fork" (890.35, 39). The same ending is to be found in two cases where the survival of the ancient dual has been suspected (cf. Schwartz, *STSC*, 51 and 151), *dw' z't'?* (878.3) and *dw' dus'?* (888.2). The origin of this form, which can be defined as a special nominative-accusative plural of \*-*aka*- stems used after numerals, is not clear. The rare plural ending -*ʔ* of light stems (*GMS*, §1185) is not particularly associated with numerals, though one may quote Man. 'nyt iw iw δbr' (*GMS*, §1676) and Muy 'δwy 'zyr' (beside 'yw 'zrrw and plural 'zrrt), *Et. I*, to which Professor Schwartz has kindly drawn my attention. It is in any case uncertain whether the Chr. -*ʔ* is in origin a plural ending at all, since Sogdian for preference uses the singular after numerals: possibly, therefore, this may be a special use of a case form.

**118 \*bstw** ~ Syr. *ngyp* "united, joined": Hansen 'wstw. At first sight this reading appears to be a misprint for \*wstw, cf. B. 'nw'š't'k

"united" (SCE). But the equation 'bsty ~ *ngyp*, *BST II*, 836.8, indicates the correct emendation. The semantic development of "bound" > "joined" > "united" is straightforward. The same word occurs in an apparently different sense in *BST II*, 893 top.26, 27 ('bscy, feminine oblique); 893 bottom.4; where "constant, steadfast" < "permanent" < "fixed" best fits the context. See also above on line 81.

**119 \*qy**: Hansen *qw*. - **tym \*fy't[r]** ~ Syr. *mlwn dyn* "especially": Hansen *tym s't*. The correction is indicated by *tym fy'tr* ~ *mlwn*, above, lines 86-7. Cf. also *tym fy'tr* ~ *ytyr*, *BST II*, 847.45.

### Addenda

It is now possible to make use of a detailed list of readings which has kindly been provided by Dr. W. Sundermann, of the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, to whom a draft of the present article was sent. His observations, marked below by the sign (S), are based on the MSS. of C2/25 and C2/22 and a photograph of the fragment T iii B 61 a b which contains the left-hand part of the recto and the right-hand part of the verso of the second sheet above. This information is supplemented in the happiest way by a photograph of the fragment T iii B 61 which has been received through the kindness of Dr. V. Moeller, of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, to whom, as to Dr. Sundermann, I owe a deep debt of gratitude. This photograph shows most of the rest of the second sheet. Part of the upper margin is preserved, indicating that it is the upper part of the sheet which has survived (and not as stated on page 88 above), and that consequently the numbers of lines 68-120 above should each be reduced by 7.

(i) The following conjectural readings and emendations are confirmed: 8 *trxqy*[(')q (S); 10 '](nt)wn (S); 11 *ptybyd*: (note punctuation) (S); 31 *wytw* (S); 32 (γ)[rf (not certain) (S); 34 *qt' ny*: (note pointing) (S); 38 *wyn'ncyq(t)*[(note pointing) (S); 40 *wšnty* (S); 72 *r[w'ny* (only point of *r* not visible) (S); 'štytqn; 73 (')y(c)· (note punctuation) (S); 76 *xwštr (p)[r* (S); 79 *pr n'*; 82 (*mdy*) (S); 85 [*f]ryšty* (S); *sfrynn'*; 87 *zpry'qy* (S); 90 *prpt*; *x(yd)*; 97 [*p](wn)*; 101 *wydbqyn* (note pointing); 103 *pr y'tqwny*; 106 *qt'()*[nyqry (S); 107 (c)[n; 109 *nyž't* (S); 118 \*bstw - Dr. Sundermann writes: "Lesung '(bs)[t](w) möglich, wenn *b* sehr kurz, '(wš)[t](w) nicht ganz auszuschliessen, aber doch weniger wahrscheinlich"; 119 *qy*; \*fy't[r] - only (f)[ can be read (S).

(ii) A long list of corrections to Hansen's punctuation and pointing could be drawn up; here only those of some interest are listed: 79 'ywyzyt (S) - thus certainly with preverb *ā*- and not *ham*-; 97 'dn [(complete word); 100 *ms* is followed by a line-filler, thus certainly the end of the line (S); 108 *nst'w*; 115 *prw prymnt*; 117 'rtwy' (S), cf. note to 107.

(iii) Some corrections of greater import: 3 read [(q)y', probably [(q,ly' (S), oblique of an abstract noun; 16 probably [(t) (S); 79 *šm'ryt.*; 81 \*b[sty] - Dr. Sundermann writes: "Ich halte \*b[sty] kaum für möglich,

<sup>22</sup> For a different view see MacKenzie, *BSoAs*, XXXIII/1, 1970, 120.



(Ad II Recto)

... ١٠٤ ...  
 ... ١٠٥ ...  
 ... ١٠٦ ...  
 ... ١٠٧ ...  
 ... ١٠٨ ...  
 ... ١٠٩ ...  
 ... ١١٠ ...  
 ... ١١١ ...  
 ... ١١٢ ...  
 ... ١١٣ ...  
 ... ١١٤ ...  
 ... ١١٥ ...  
 ... ١١٦ ...  
 ... ١١٧ ...  
 ... ١١٨ ...  
 ... ١١٩ ...  
 ... ١٢٠ ...

<sup>23</sup> The Sogdian text omits a short passage here.

<sup>24</sup> Thus in the source of the quotation (Macarius): MSS. **١٠٤**

<sup>25</sup> Thus in Macarius: MSS. *sg.*

<sup>26</sup> Read **١٠٤** (Sogd. *w'nc'nu*).

<sup>27</sup> Read **١٠٤** ?

(Ad II Verso)

... ١٠٤ ...  
 ... ١٠٥ ...  
 ... ١٠٦ ...  
 ... ١٠٧ ...  
 ... ١٠٨ ...  
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 ... ١١٣ ...  
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 ... ١١٥ ...  
 ... ١١٦ ...  
 ... ١١٧ ...  
 ... ١١٨ ...  
 ... ١١٩ ...  
 ... ١٢٠ ...

<sup>28</sup> The phrase †† occurs here in the Sogdian text.