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THE MIDDLE IRANIAN FRAGMENTS IN SOGDIAN SCRIPT FROM THE MANNERHEIM COLLECTION

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The Finno-Ugrian Society possesses a collection of ancient fragments from Chinese Turkestan, brought to Finland by Baron C. G. Mannerheim (1867-1951) from his two years journey on horseback through Asia, 1906-08. Since 1971 the material has been deposited in the Helsinki University Library. 2 Details of the finding places of the material are regrettably not given. In 1907 Mannerheim purchased 6 fragments, five found in the sand at Khadalyk (Domoko, West of Keria), and one at Hangi (Yangi). In 1908 he bought more at Turfan and Chiktyn, a small Chinese fort 3-4 day's journey eastward from Turfan (close to some old ruins), and at Yar-Khoto ("Jarho") and Idiqut-Shahri. At Turfan he acquired a long document roll, on a pin, found during the excavations at Yar-Khoto. The inhabitants were improving their fields with soft earth from the ruins; fragments dug up were sold. Mannerheim says that he would not have bought the fragments if he had not seen Mr. G. Macartney in Kashgar purchasing still smaller scraps for British collections. At the same place at Chiktyn, where Prof. A. Grünwedel had excavated, Mannerheim bought 3-4 fragments found later.

The collection was examined by Dr. Eric Grinstead (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen) in August, 1970, after the fragments had been pre-liminarily restored and attached to thin sheets of rice paper or between them. Xerocopies were made for the Institute.

¹ C. G. Mannerheim, Across Asia from West to East in 1906-1908, I-II. Société Finno-ougrienne, Travaux ethnographiques, VIII. Helsinki 1940. (Reprinted in the Netherlands, 1968); Pentti Aalto, Oriental Studies in Finland 1828-1918. The History of Learning and Science in Finland 1828-1918, 10 b. Helsinki 1971, pp. 113-118.

² Harry Halén, Handbook of Oriental Collections in Finland. Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, 31. Bangkok 1978. (N:os 213, 344, 461).

The main part of the collection consists of fragments of Chinese Buddhist texts. They are roughly assorted according to paper, colour, and calligraphy, totalling 204 large (more than 16 cm in width), 592 medium size (7-15 cm), and 1175 small (0-6 cm) pieces. There are also 37 envelopes with small loose pieces and a box with still smaller scraps. The 9 Sanskrit and 2 Khotanese fragments (one is bilingual) were interpreted and published by Prof. J. N. Reuter. From the approx. 70 Uigur fragments only 15 have so far been published. About 10 more are large enough for an interpretation, including samples from a text on magical medicine, a business document, etc., but all of them are written in a difficult running hand. The rest are very small pieces containing only incomplete words or odd letters. Some small Chinese fragments contain Tibetan and one of them has Brāhmī letters on the reverse. A few of the fragments originally assorted among the Uigur ones have turned out to be Sogdian (fragments A-D) or Middle Persian (fragment E). The aim of the present article is to give an interpretation of their contents.

All of these Middle Iranian fragments are written in cursive Sogdian script. The system of transcription in common use has been modified by the introduction of a consistent distinction between x and γ . For the notation of uncertain, illegible or missing letters see N. Sims-Williams, *The Sogdian fragments of the British Library*. Indo-Iranian Journal XVIII. Dordrecht 1976, p. 45.

The present authors are extremely grateful to Professor Kōgi Kudara (Ryū-koku University, Kyōto), who kindly examined the Chinese texts on the reverse of fragments A, B and C and identified all three as belonging to Kumārajīva's translation of the Saddharmapunḍarīka-sūtra, No. 262 in the

³ J. N. Reuter, Some Buddhist fragments from Chinese Turkestan in Sanskrit and "Khotanese". JSFOu XXX:37. Helsinki 1913-18. (Also published in Across Asia, II.) The large Khotanese fragment No. 11 on plates VIII and IX (which belongs to the Sanghāṭa-sūtra) and the small fragment No. 10 on plate I were both retranscribed by H. W. Bailey in Khotanese texts, V, Cambridge 1963, pp. 394-5. See also M. I. Dresden, Khotanese (Saka) manuscripts: a provisional handlist. In Varia 1976 (Acta Iranica, 12). Tehran-Liège, 1977, p. 77.

⁴ G. J. Ramstedt, Four Vigurian documents. In Across Asia, II, 12 p.; Harry Halén, Die uigurischen Mannerheim-Fragmente, I. Studia Orientalia, 51:4. Helsinki 1979.

⁵ As advocated by N. Sims-Williams in his Appendix to W. Sundermann, Mitteliranische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts der Manichäer (forthcoming in the series Berliner Turfantexte).

Taishō Tripitaka, Vol. IX, pp. 1-62. Thanks are owing also to Dr. I. Gershevitch (Cambridge University), Dr. W. Sundermann and Dr. P. Zieme (both of the Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie) for their valuable contributions to the elucidation of these texts, attributed in detail below.

Fragments A and B

Two fragments (11.4 x 11 cm and 7.8 x 9 cm respectively) from a single scroll. Thin whitish paper with light brown patches. No margins. Clear cursive script. The order of the two fragments and the approximate extent of the lacuna between them has been established by Professor Kudara from the Chinese passages on the Verso sides, Taishō Tripitaka, IX, p. 38c, cols. 15-20, and p. 39a, cols. 14-17, respectively.

```
](š'n)t[
A 1
                                           "... before ... the ..."
       ](p)[yr](n)m-str ZKw .[
  2
                                           "... did ... so that ..."
        ]. kwn' myô ZY c[
                                           "... like a dream ..."
        ].n x(w)βny m'n'wk'[
                                           "... may be .... And ..."
        ]. β't rty p.[
  5
                                           "... the ..."
             ].š'wmy¹ ZKn [
[about 21 lines missing]
                                           "... skill ..."
              ](y) xwpy' [
B 7
                                           "... and he from ..."
       ] ZY 'xw cnn zm' .[2
             ]\beta't^3 o rty nwk(r)[
                                           "... may be .... And then ..."
              ]( Z)Y prnx(w)[nty ].[ "... and fortunate ..."
 10
                 <sup>2</sup>zmn.[? nm'.[? <sup>3</sup>or ]βnt
or ]. šnwmy
```

Line 3. If myδ ZY here means "so that" cf. m'yδ ZY in P15.8.

Line 4. The expression xwβny m'n'wk' "like a dream" is not attested elsewhere, but the Khotanese equivalent hūnä māñanda— occurs frequently as one of the standard Buddhist comparisons for the non-existent (see R. E. Emmerick, The ten new folios of Khotanese. Asia Major, New Series XIII. London 1967, pp. 17-18).

Line 6. The first surviving word of this line appears to be otherwise unknown.

⁶ J. Takakusu and H. Watanabe (ed.), Taishō shinshū daizōkyō. The Tripitaka in Chinese. Tōkyō 1924 ff.

Fragment C

9 x 11.5 cm. Thin smooth paper, brownish with irregular whitish patches. Verso Chinese (Taishō Tripitaka, IX, p. 36c, col. 26, to p. 37a, col. 1). The Sogdian text is the formulaic address of a letter, in clumsy cursive script, apparently written as an exercise or model, with interlinear variants, doodles and probationes pennae. It is probably complete (except for a few letters missing at the ends of the lines), the scrap of paper having been torn from the discarded Chinese scroll before being re-inscribed in Sogdian.

1
$$\begin{bmatrix} geometrical \\ design \end{bmatrix}$$
 $\beta(r,y)$ δ MN twty m.[rosettes etc.]

2 ('t) kw (pry)w 'xšnky p'š(c'n)[1 p'š(c'n)[t¹

3 p(t)βywcnw (xypδ')w('n)t² several pen-strokes and a pair of illegible letters

1 or $\underline{p'\check{s}(cn)[}$? 2 or $\underline{(xyp\delta')w(n)t}$? 3 taking the place of the name(s) of the addressee(s)?

Translation: "(This letter) has been sent by Twty M... to the dear, excellent, reverend, honourable master(s)"

Since this fragment is so badly written, some of the readings proposed above may appear somewhat speculative. Most of them can be confirmed, however, by comparison with similar address-formulae such as the following:

T II Toyoq, R(?) 1:⁷ 't kw pryw 'xšnky⁸ p'šc'n ptβyw-cnw M 7392 + 7391, R 1:⁹ 't' kw 'xšnky p'šcn fry.[...] ... xwštr s'r c(n) βndy fryšty'

⁷ The present whereabouts of this manuscript is not known. It is cited here from a handwritten copy by Professor Lentz, which now belongs to the Seminar für Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients (Abteilung Iranistik), University of Hamburg.

⁸ Lentz transcribed the fourth letter of this word as aleph, but it is clear from his indecision in the case of the last word cited, which he transliterated as pt β yw-c'w, that this manuscript does not consistently distinguish aleph and n.

⁹ Cited by M. Boyce, A catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichaean script in the German Turfan collection. Berlin 1960, p. 131.

M 7440: 10 't' $\beta\gamma$ 'n 'nywn p'šcn xypô'wnd mzyx δ ynmyc sr δ ng. L 111, V 1-3: 11 'tkw [pry]w ('x)-šnky p'šc'n β r't δ (m γ)wn s'r ... All of these texts may be presumed to be Manichaean.

Line 1. <u>twty</u> (possibly obl. of *<u>twt</u>) appears to be a name. Cf. <u>twty</u> "parrot" (L 29, *passim*)?

Line 3. ptβywcnw is attested only here and in T II Toyoq cited above. It is evidently an adj. formed from the noun ptβy- "honour", compound-form ptβyw (probably an old nom. neuter) as in ptβyw-cyk. The suffixed element is clarified by comparison with the more archaic forms ptβ'yšcnw (thus to be read in L 44.3), ptβyw-'yšc'ny and ptβyw-'yšc'n'y (So. 10123), 12 ptβy-'šcy'n'k (Dhy. 14), cf. also nw-'šcy'n'k "unworthy" (VJ 1096). Since the usual comparison of 'šcy'n'k etc. with Man. 'yjn "worthy" involves phonological difficulties, one may propose instead a derivation from *sačyāna(ka)- (cf. MPers. sazāg "id." etc.) > *-sčyān- > -ščyan- > -čan-. Possibly p'šc'n likewise derives from *pāðra-sačyāna-, though the alternative theory that it contains a suffix equivalent to Parthian -cn (I. Gershevitch, A grammar of Manichean Sogdian. Oxford 1954, § 1020) is quite satisfactory.

The plural <u>ptbywcnwt</u>, written below the line, is apparently an artificial spelling (for *<u>ptbywcnt</u>) induced by the sg. form which stands above it. The fact that both sg. and pl. forms are given suggests that the addressformula may have been intended as a model, for use in addressing either one recipient or several.

Fragment D

 11×5.5 cm. Rather thick, absorbent brownish-grey paper. Verso blank. Part of the right-hand margin is preserved. Irregular cursive script.

```
1 ... p...[ "..."
2 tpn' n.[ "coffin ..."
3 cyty [ ].[ "spirit ..."
4 z'ry 's(y-)[' "take pity ..."
```

¹⁰ This is the complete text of the fragment, kindly transcribed for us by Dr. Sundermann.

¹¹ For texts with the prefix L (= Leningrad) see A. H. Рагоза, Согдийские фрагменты центральноазиатского собрания Института Востоковедения. Моscow 1980.

¹² This reference was kindly provided by Dr. Gershevitch.

```
5 z't' (s) [ "0 son ..."
6 (m) 'yδ'yty [ "days ..."
7 βs'nty<sup>2</sup> w(m) ['t "was a child ..."
8 (s)'t [ ].[ "all ..."
```

or tp'n 2the shape of s is unusual, but no other reading seems as likely

Line 2. On the word for "coffin" see W. B. Henning, Sogdian Tales. BSOAS XI:3. London 1945, p. 479. Idem, The Choresmian documents. Asia Major, New Series XI. London 1965, p. 177.

Fragment E

18.5 x 12.5 cm. The fragment is of similar paper as fragment C, but it has been put together of several pieces. Part of one side margin is preserved. Both sides contain Manichaean hymns in Middle Persian. One side additionally contains several irregularly-spaced columns of Chinese and a series of block-printed Buddha-figures in red ink; this side has been designated "Verso" on the assumption that the writer of the MPers. text would have used the blank side of the paper first, in preference to that which already bore the Chinese text. The MPers. hymns are written in an irregular cursive Sogdian script, the two sides being inscribed opposite ways up.

Although the existence of MPers. texts in Sogdian script has from time to time been mentioned by scholars with access to those in the German Turfan collection, this is the first such text to be published. Its decipherment is beset with difficulties, and many of the readings and restorations proposed below are quite tentative. An interlinear transcription into Manichaean orthography is offered as an aid to comprehension.

Recto

```
1 [ ]..[]
... ...
2 [ ny](w) mwrw' 'mδ
... *nyw mwrw' h 'md
3 [xy]pδ š'δy šxry'r 'y
*hy pd š'dyh šhry'r 'y
4 ['stw]δ[-n](')m' ''y rwc'
*'stwdn'm' oo 'yy rwc'
5 [ ]. 'm'
... *'m'h
```

```
6 [ ']st('yš)n 'wδ '(')βryn
   ... *'st'yšn 'wd 'pryn oo
  ['wr xwr](x)šyô rwšnykr 'wr
   *'wr xwrxšyd rwšnygr o 'wr
8 [](p)wrm' pr'z-' 'wr (p)[r](y-x)^{1}
   *pwrm'h br'z'g o 'wr pryh-
9 [r](w)δ xwδ'y txm 'wδ[ nyw]
   *rwd xwd'y thm 'wd nyw
10 [r'y]-mst pδ[yr nw nw ''βryn]
   *r'ymst oo pdyr nwg nwg 'pryn
11 ['z ]wxmn (šx)[ry'r š'δ p'š]
   *'c whmn šhry'r oo š'd b'š
         Verso
                               1
                  ].[
1 [
                 . . .
          . . .
 2 [wyn]yryδ 'βr (p.)[
    *wynyryd 'br ...
 3 [ ]mwrw' sxykrwm '['y]
    ... *mwrw'h shykrwm 'y
 4 [ ](t)nkry8' xwtpwlmyš ['](1)p
   *tngry6' äwtbwlmy8 'lp
 5 [ ] 'wy-γwr x'n ky nšst
    ... *'wyywr x'n ky nšst
 6 [p8 š](xry)-'r [k]y' p8yn kyšwr
    *pd šhry'r gy'g pd 'yn kyšwr
 7 [ ]. [ ]. xrw pwšt
    ... *hrw pwšt
```

[].[](k)šy..n x'm' tyn

]..y nw-nyt xy'r'n
... *nwnyt hy'r'n

. . .

10

. . .

¹the last letter appears to be s, but must rather be an x (with part of the preceding y visible beneath it)

1.[]

*h'm'g dyn

Translation: "... with good omens you have come in joy, lord whose name is praised! Oh, day ... us ... praise and blessing! (R 7) Hither, light-giving sun! Hither, shining full moon! Hither, compassionate lord, strong and very wise! Receive ever new blessings from Wahman the king! Be happy ... (V 2) is prepared for ... omen ... Ay Tänridä Qut-bulmiš Alp ... Uyyur Xan, who has sat upon the royal throne in this region (V 7) ... all support ... the whole religion Now your friends"

Recto, line 2. Instead of [ny](w) "good" one might equally well restore [n](w) = Man. MPers. nwg "new".

Lines 3-4. Cf. s'r'r 'yg 'stwdn'm', BBB 418-19.

Line 4. \underline{rwc} represents either Man. MPers. \underline{rwc} , \underline{rwz} "day" with the exclamatory particle $-\overline{a}$ or (less likely) \underline{rwc} 'g "shining". The archaising spelling with c rather than z may be due to the existence in Sogdian of \underline{rwc} [roc] as a loanword from Western Middle Iranian.

Lines 7-11 contain part of a hymn already known from two copies in Man. script (BBB 428-35 and M 7421 = T II T 22, the variants of which are noted in the footnotes to Henning's edition of BBB). Both of these have $pwrm^3h$ ' $y br^3z^3g$ instead of the * $pwrm^3h$ br^3z^3g implied by the present fragment.

Verso, line 2. The restoration is very doubtful.

Line 3. $\underline{\text{sxykrwm}}$ could represent $\underline{\text{sah}\overline{\text{l}kkar}}$ (+ first person sg. enclitic pronoun), cf. shykl, n in the Pahlavi Psalter, Psalm 122.4, "vainglorious, boasters", literally "(self-)glorifiers", from $sah\overline{\imath}g$ "conspicuous, magnificent, etc." + -kar. It is not easy to see what the word would mean in the present context, but neither is it easy to find a more acceptable reading or interpretation.

Lines 3-5 contain the titulature of an 'wy-ywr x'n "Uyyur Xan". The word 'wy-ywr was recognized here by Dr. Sundermann, who also points out the possibility of restoring the title on the basis of M 1.9-12: ''y tngryy6' xwt bwlmys 'lp bylg'h 'wyywr xny'n, with the proviso: "mit der Bestimmung des Namens ist aber noch nichts über die Identität der Person gesagt". Instead of *pylk' = bilgä one could restore *xwtlwy = qutluy in line 5, as Dr. Zieme suggests, referring to the unpublished text M 2707:

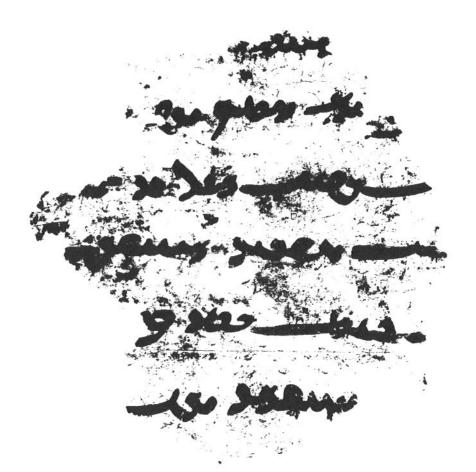
[...? tng]ridäh qut[bulmïš ...? al]p qutluy ... xan. Dr. Zieme remarks further: "In welche Zeit dieser Xan wie auch der neue von Helsinki gehören, ist völlig unklar, doch scheint es mir sicher zu sein, dass es sich um einen König von Qočo handelt".

Line 6. Readings very uncertain. Dr. Sundermann suggests that the letters preceding $p\delta yn$ might rather be read $\underline{(p)[r]yn}$.

Line 7. The reading $\underline{\mathbf{xrw}}$ is very doubtful, the last letter resembling y more than w.

Line 9. The reading xy'r'n was suggested by Dr. Sundermann.

* * ;



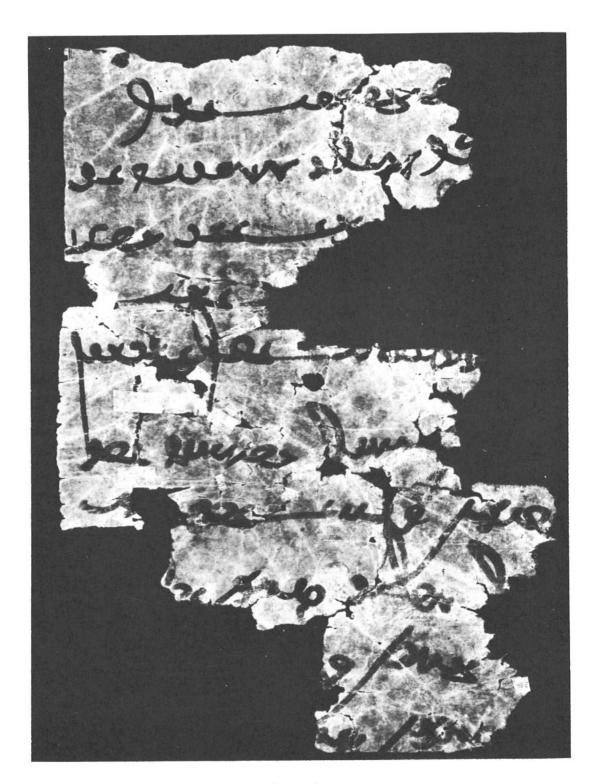
we see seeks

В

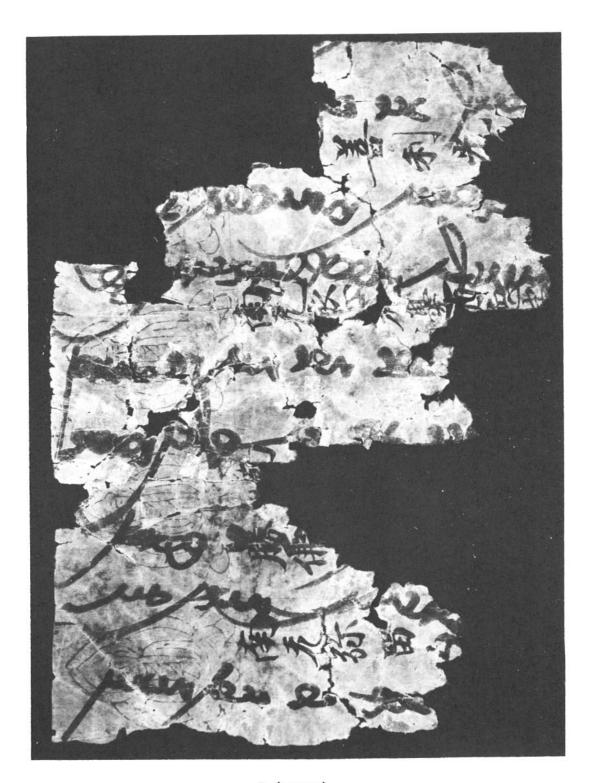


C (retouched)





E (recto)



E (verso)

