COMPETING NARRATIVES BETWEEN NOMADIC PEOPLE AND THEIR
SEDENTARY NEIGHBOURS
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Competing Narratives between Nomadic People and their Sedentary Neighbours

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Manichaean Sogdian Cosmogonical Texts  
in Manichaean Script  
Enrico Morano  
Turin/Berlin

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

Ms 1: M178 = MIK III 4990 (Pl. 1–2)
This Sogdian bifolio, written on fine leather in outstanding calligraphy in Manichaean script is not only the best preserved Manichaean text ever found, but it is also one of the most elaborate accounts of Manichaean cosmogony. Müller published some excerpts in his pioneering work of 1904, when Sogdian was still not recognised, and a proper edition of this important text had to wait some 44 years, until Henning fully published it. “Between the first folio (description of paradise) and the second (firmaments) three or even four double-folios, i.e. twelve or sixteen pages, may be missing (darkness, attack, first man, mixture, second creation, redemption of first man). The headlines do not give the contents of the pages, but are pieces of a continuous text which ran from the first page of the book to the last. Apparently this was the most elaborate account of all.”

1 A working catalogue of these texts is found in Morano 2007 and a codicological survey of the same texts in Morano 2018.  
2 I am very grateful to the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften and to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz for allowing me to study and publish their texts. Thanks are also due to all the staff of the Akademienvorhaben Turfanforschung for their kind help and hospitality at their Institute. Nicholas Sims-Williams [NSW] has kindly accepted to read a first draft of the article and gave me invaluable remarks, saving me from some misreadings or misinterpretations. Needless to say, any shortcoming is mine.  
This text was published in Henning 1948, with an English translation and ample commentary [black and white photo in Weber 2000 pl. 149–150].

Ms 2: M548 + M704
M108 + M5928 [T II D 140] (Pl. 3)
Two joined fragments form the upper part of a page, completing the headline in the verso and the first three lines on both sides. The following lines are incomplete, and the rest of the page is lost, either torn off or worm-eaten. Henning (1948: 317) published the fragment M548 inverting the recto and verso sides, not considering that the margin of that fragment was in fact the outer, not the inner margin (present in the joining fragment M704). The text deals with the construction of the Heavens and Gates by the Living Spirit and the Mother of Light from the demons’ skin, bones, flesh, veins, sinews and tendons (recto) and the fashioning of thresholds, bazaars, rows, and 360 stalls in the firmament (verso), roughly corresponding to the lines 94–105 of the Cosmogonical Fragment (M178) mentioned above as published by Henning.

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

M108 + M5928 [T II D 140]
Part of a sheet with an outer margin, but no complete lines. Same manuscript as M548+. The small fragment M5928 joins directly to the lower part of M108, adding and completing a few lines. Text similar to M178. In particular it is described how the earthly substance came down from the demons’ blood, bones, sinews, skin and flesh, how the demons were bound in the firmaments, imprisoned in Bazaars, Rows, and Stalls, and the creation of the 8 earths, 3 moats and 40 angels who hold the skies (recto), and the purification of the light particles through ascension to the moon, where Jesus receives them (verso).

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

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

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

M110+M120, M247.
Three fragments, one double folio and two other incomplete pages from the same manuscript bear parts of a miscellaneous book with a section on cosmogony.

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4 Henning 1948: 316.
followed by a section on rules for Elect and Hearers in the monasteries. What follows is a possible order of the pages dealing with cosmogony:

**First section: Cosmogony. 1st page: M110/I/R/**
Cosmogony: the battle and the work done by God Xurmezd with his 5 sons and the help of Call and Answer

**M110/I/V/**
Secondly: Call and Answer imprison and bind all the demons who were fed in Hell.

**M110/I/R/**
Thirdly: Call and Answer...

**2nd page: M247/R/**
Fourthly: Living Spirit makes a new creation in the midst of the fight against the demons. Fifthly...

**M247/V/**
A lightning flashed, and a terrible thunder (?) broke out(?); as if a big mountainside and a rock (?) fell into the deep water. The demons were scared...

**3rd page: M110/II/+M120/R/**
Beautiful, pure Paradise versus the darkness of Hell. God Xurmezd and the Elements with Call and Answer descend to the earth.

**Second section: first page: M110/II/+M120/V/**
End of the cosmogonic section: *colophon with name of the patron*. Second [section]: explanation of the religion. Rules for the Elect and the Hearers: the Elect may dwell in the house of the hearers, while the Hearers cannot dwell in monasteries with all their worldly possessions and wives, sons and slaves.

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

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

**Ms 4: Various fragments from a cosmogonical book**

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

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

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5 Morano 2007.
margins. The edges appear to have been cut off with a sharp tool, as there are regular, linear tear marks above and below. M264a on the other hand preserves the upper part of the sheet, with the first 8 lines, and both ruled margins, and again the edges are cut off regularly. A third almost complete page of the manuscript, M141+, has 17 incomplete lines, but no margins and the upper cut seems to be linear and regular like in the other two sheets. We know the original width of the inner margin from M 6291, an internal fragment of a double sheet, and from M5991; it was 1.75 cm. The outer margin is known from M485b; it was 2.5 cm. From the same manuscript there are in the Berlin collection several smaller fragments which I was not able to join, or to assign, to any other fragment.

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

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

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

I. The Father of Greatness

M264a (pl. 5–6)

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

12.4 x 12.2 cm.

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

/1/ [rwx] (m) pyyy /6/ (c) (w) nytyty /7/ [w] (y) mnytyty /8/ (c) (m) /9/ mn fyyty /10/ (c) fyytyty /11/ (w) fyytyty /12/ (y) fyytyty /13/ (m) fyytyty /14/ (c) fyytyty /15/ (w) fyytyty /16/ (c) fyytyty /17/ \( \text{Translation} \)

/1/ [rwx] (m) pyyy /6/ (c) (w) nytyty /7/ [w] (y) mnytyty /8/ (c) (m) /9/ mn fyyty /10/ (c) fyytyty /11/ (w) fyytyty /12/ (y) fyytyty /13/ (m) fyytyty /14/ (c) fyytyty /15/ (w) fyytyty /16/ (c) fyytyty /17/ (w) fyytyty
II. How the Living Spirit Divided the World

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

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

/ R/
1/ xndt oo oo [ ... ] xww tf[y] 8–10 /2/ δ[t] pr pškwyy [XX] XX XX (β)[frw r s] βwt /3/ oo oo tyy xww j't " 11–12 /4/ XX XX XX frw r s(x)[ 12–13 /5/ cywyδyy frs[ 15–17 /6/ f]s[ x] (pr pškwyy [ 15–17 /7/ (pr)knYYY pškwyy C{ frw r s(x) ... /8/ oo oo tyy st[yk] 15–17 /9/ XX XX [XX] frw r fsn(x)[ 12–14 /10/ (pr) prkn pr pškwyy 14–16 /11/ frw r s(x) xcy oo [ 14–16 /12/ mzyx δ'[ )]kyy wṣwps(w)[ 14–16 /13/ δ'[ )] scwn oo oo tyy ( ...[ 13–14 /14/ XX XX XX XX frw r fsn(x) xcyy oo oo oo /15/ (oo pts[r w'd jwbdny(ty)] (III)[ xwk'k] /16/ mnjxš oo cn smw(t'r)[ cynd(p)r oo [ ...] /17/ xwrntsngk' fcmbō (tyh x)wrntx(y)k

/ N/
1/ [ cn p'shr'nс][yк tyy (n)[my][ö]cyk fcmbō /2/ [13–14 oo ] oo t[y] pr myδ'n smyr /3/ tyy 9–10 [cry III 'fcmbyy xw'k'k /4/ [15–16 ]smyr ty 'pšy n cn /5/ [16–18 ](c)tyys c oo oo /6/ [18–20 kyr'n oo 'w[n cl /7/ [18–20 ](c) oo oo t[ty][h] /8/ [18–20 ]rskwyy 'tyy pškwyy /9/ [15–16 f(s)[x] yd oo oo 'tyt/10/ [15–16 ] oo cn xwrntsng kww /11/ xwrntxys s'r[ (cn) smyr γr xww 'wrδp'r/12/ [14–15 ]III tyy cn s[m]yγ r' /13/ [8–10 ](c)ty 'fcmbyy wn'ndyγ pš'y /14/ [6–7 ](c)tyy oo c'nw 'skyy smγy /15/ [4–5 n] (p)[b]yhd'n oo oo 'tyt cδr x γ'yt/16/ [ ... ](s)[y]k δ'r'nd oo oo 'tyy xww oo myδ tyh/17/ [x] xš[p] yxwnng β[w](t) oo oo 'tyty x myδ

Translation
/R/ 1/ are. [ ... ] he se [aled (?) ...] /2/ a wall with the width of 60 [myriad parasang]. [ ... ] 3/ And the poison [ ... ] /4/ 60 myriad parasang [ ... ] /5/ outside that [ ... ] /6/ parasang in width [ ... ] /7/ of the ditch the width 100 [myriad parasang(?)]. /8/ And the third ditch (?)... is /9/ 60 myriad parasang [ ... ] /10/ [ ... ] water is a ditch with the width of [ ... ] /11/ myriad parasang. [ ... ] /12/ great wall that all [ ... ] /13/ holds. And [ ... ] /14/ is 80 myriad parasang
... /15/ and moreover the Living Spirit divided 4[ parts.] /16/ Inside the Ocean [...] /17/ the eastern world and the western.

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

Commentary
/R/1, ff. cf. the Middle Persian cosmogonical fragments M98 and M99, in particular M99/IR/10–17 "wd zmyg 'yw wzrg 'wd 'stbr pd dw'zdh dr < 'y hmibdyk 'sm'n dr ?? ?? 'wd br hm zmyq pr 'mn ch'r prysp 'wd šh p'r'gyn kyrd < 'wd pd h'n 'y 'ndrw p'r'gyn dw'y'n 'ndr przyd "And he made one great and strong earth with twelve Gates which correspond to the gates of heaven. And above this same earth he built in circuit four walls and three moats, and in that (which is) the inner moat he imprisoned the demons." 8 Šābahragān, 272 (M535+/V/8): 8 [h']n šh p'(r)gyn 'y [zh]ryn ī'ryn "those three poisonous dark ditches".

III. Adam
M141+6795 (pl. 9–10)
The fragment contains 17 lines, none of them complete, of text, and, like M5701+, is cut regularly with a sharp tool above, below and through one margin. The margins are not preserved, but there are faint traces of the ruling red vertical line of one margin. The two fragments are joined and glassed together. 11.9 x 9.8 cm.

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

6 I.e. the sun and the moon?
/R/

/1/ mzy(x) yrkw(s)y 16–18 ] /2/ (.)yw’ncy c(x)[r? 16–18 ] /3/ (p)syy t’w’n(d)y 12–14 ] /4/ (w)ytwr tyšyy x’tmbr’[r 11–13 ] /5/ [\(c\)]\(o\) tyh pr [XX XX] XX XX [z’r pjwkt’y] /6/ m(’)yy xww ’\(\delta\)’m oo (ty)syy (xw)[ 4–5 ] /7/ tmb’r cn pš’kt δy[w](o)’ktyy oo ’(o)šyyy /8/ xww rw’n cn pnc m\(\rho\)’( spndyy (z)’wrry] /9/ ’ktwš’rt oo jw’n oo z’wr oo rwšn(y)’(k oo] /10/ krš’n wty’ oo tyh βšd [ oo 5–6 ] /11/ ’stkyy oo pšš(y)y’ oo r’k oo y’t(yh oo] /12/ crn oo xwrsny oo mzyyy oo ’6–7 ] /13/ ywn’y cyndr βštwš’rt (c)\(o\) .... kyn oo] /14/ yp’k oo ”brxšy’y oo t(\(\delta\))]13 ... (pp)\(c\) [ 6–8 ] /15/ mndrś’y’ δwn y(wr)s [ 12–14 ] /16/ cw pr\(t\)2 s’r pšy t’w’st 14–16 ] /17/ (x)”(z)” brxš(y)y tyh [ 12–14 ]

/V/

/1/ [ 20 ]h w(b’t) /2/ [ 20 ]n’m oo p(r) /3/ [ 11–12 ](’\(\delta\)’m n)’wk βwt oo (c)\(c\)\(c\)\(c\)\(c\) [ 8–10 xwyc(k’wyy w’n w βyt oo kt mn’nd(y)] /5/ [ 6–7 ]\(k\)(\(k\))\(k\)(\(r\))\(r\) [6–7 ] tyh (y)\(r\)’(y) r myšyy βyy krš’n oo (c)\(c\)\(c\)\(c\)\(c\) /6/ [’ty]yh (wn(y) ywš’sywyw ny’c p(r) /7/ [ 6–7 ] fcm\(\delta\)(\(y\)) oo cn m’tyy ’tyh /8/ [ 6–7 ] ptr’ s(y)ytr oo oo ’tty ’\(\delta\)’my’ /9/ [tmbr’y]yy ptr’z oo z’r II C wβ’z wmt’ c(\(c\))\(c\) /10/ [ 6–7 ]’ty’ ryn(c)(k) ’nkws’t nw’ fns’x /11/ [wmt’ oo ](r)tyšyy cn tmb’y ąk’sr ś III 12/ /8–10 ] ty yrwšn(y)’ kš’y skwn oo /13/ [ 12–14 ](r)tyh tym w’n w /14/ [ 10–12 ](t)(c’w) škwn ’ty pysw /15/ [ 7–8 pjwq] xwrš’d’r oo tyh II \(16\) / 12–14 ynd’l]kty(y) pckwyyry pršyt/ /17/ [ 10–12 ”ywš(yt (wmt’nd) oo ’tyh

Translation

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

\[1\] Cf. t’p̩-r̩ (in Sogdian script) ’angry’, see DMT III.2: 189a. Here perhaps a substantive formed on the root t’p̩- meaning something like ’act of being inflamed with anger, vehement, irascibility’. In SLN 42b there is a lacuna between rysh and mndrś’k’y̩h. The corresponding list in the Chinese Traité (214) is 愤怒”Hatred”, 嗔恚”Irrascibility”, 塗懣”Lewdness”, 怒怒”Anger” and 怒懣”Foolishness”, see Lieu & Mikkelsen 2017: 55.

\[2\] Sic, mistake for cwp̩r.

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

Commentary

/R/1/ On the word "mountainside", see Reck 2009: 388.

/R/2/ The word .yyw'ncyy, although clearly legible, is difficult to interpret. If the first letter is δ, then δyw'ncyy could be the feminine adjective or noun derived from δyw, "demon"; cf.(x) emend cxfr "wheel" or cx't "fighting, contenders?"

/V/5/ myšy βγyy kršn. Cf. M7800/II/5ff.15 τyy myš[ry β]y(yy) qšn /6/ wšy' 'ktwδ(r)n(d) (m)γẓ(ṇ(tkws't)) "and they remembered the beauty of the Sun God; they began to look out for him".

/V/14–15/ (cw) sklw̄n 'ty pysws ...'xwrtš'r'nd: cf. M7800/II/V/12–19/16 'rtyy III βrywr pšwkw w̄ sklw̄n xwrtš'r t̄ty III βrywr x' pysws 'rty I δ'βty' pryw pcyw̄nd 'rty w̄n̄w w'ñnd k̄t m'ncyk šm'r k̄w myšyyβyw s't δ'ryym w'nw k̄t xwny ky c̄n m'x 'jy't k̄ww β̄ṣyšt "And Šaklūn devoured forty thousand abortions, and Pēṣūs forty thousand. And they copulated with each other, and thus they said: 'The intentional thought, we have it towards the Sun God, so that what will be born from us [will resemble] the gods".

References


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


14 prš- is the expected past stem of Man. Sogd. *prš̄, Christian Sogd. prš̄ "to flee, escape, run away". As an intr. verb, the pp. should mean "having run away, running away" [NSW].

15 Sündermann 1994: 45.

Enrico Morano


M178–MIK III 4990

Photo: courtesy of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin.
Plate 2

M178–MIK III 4990
Photo: Courtesy of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin.
Plate 3

M548 + M704 (montage)

M108 + M5928 [T II D 140] (montage)
Plate 4

M110

M120

M247

Plate 5

M264a recto
Plate 6

M264a verso
Plate 7

Plate 8

M141+6795 recto
Plate 10

M141+6795 verso