



Sogdian Sānak, a Manichaean Bishop of the 5th–Early 6th Centuries

V. A. L I V S H I T S

To Boris Litvinskij, dear friend and indefatigable laborer

In 1995 Yu. F. Burjakov and G. I. Bogomolov published a number of clay bullae—sealings with impression of gems—found in the late 1980s–early 1990s at the site of Kanka,¹ which covers over 150 hectares and is located 80 km to the southwest of modern Tashkent, 8 km from the Syr-darya bank. Archaeological work undertaken in 1934 by M. E. Masson and later excavations directed by Yu. F. Burjakov show that Kanka was the oldest urban settlement founded in Čač by Sogdians in the 3d or 2d century B.C.² It lay on the southern caravan route from Sogd to Čač and until the end of the 12th century was a prosperous city. For several hundred years it was the largest city in Čač, and in the first centuries A.D. was probably the capital of the entire oasis.³

According to a suggestion made by M. E. Masson, which is supported by later investigations, the city was known to Arabian geographers under the name of Kharashkat (*xrškø*).⁴ It is possible to read *xrškø* as *Xarškaø* and to interpret this Sogdian place-name as “the city of transit (of merchandise),” cf. Sogd. *xarš-* “draw, pull.”

The find of a large collection of bullae at the site of Kanka is one of the most important discoveries in the archaeology and pre-Islamic history of Central Asia. The publication by G. I. Bogomolov and Yu. F. Burjakov includes a catalogue of the bullae with detailed descriptions and photographs of each sealing.⁵ There are forty-four bullae (including fragments), some of them baked. The reverse sides of many bear impressions of crude and fine textiles, indicating that they were used to seal loads of merchandise. There are, however, several sealings from docu-

ments with pieces of leather (or parchment) still attached.

The sealings include the impressions of ten different gems (intaglios). Seven of them are anepigraphic, with images of different animals, similar to those that appear on many Sasanian gems: lion (type V of the catalogue, six impressions); ibex (type VIII, one impression); a type of feline, possibly a lynx (type VI, one impression); or bird (rooster, pheasant, or peacock, type VII, one impression). Parallels to the so-called “magic” Sasanian seals include sealing IX (one impression), which displays the palm of a hand, and sealing IV (one impression), representing a priest walking to the right. In this last sealing the authors of the catalogue recognize characteristic features of Sasanian style.⁶

The similarity of these gems to Sasanian gems does not exclude their Central Asian origin. Pieces of Iranian workmanship (Iran being “the last refuge of the art of gem-engraving”)⁷ could well have been imitated locally. However, one should be cautious in estimating the volume of Central Asian pre-Islamic gem production. To East Iranian and Central Asian groups of gems we can definitely attribute only those bearing inscriptions in local East Iranian languages. At present I know about twenty gems and seals with Sogdian inscriptions, most of them unpublished.⁸

The earliest gem with a Sogdian inscription that I know is an oval-shaped intaglio found in 1988 at Kundzhutli-tepa, 1.5 km to the east of Erkurgan in the Kashka-darya district of the Uzbek Republic, ancient South Sogd; it was published by K. Abdullaev and S. Raimkulov.⁹ The gem represents an elephant walking to the right.

Two drivers holding ankhs are seated on the animal's back, and to the left, behind the elephant, there is a winged figure (Nike or a winged genius?). Along the border by the elephant's head runs a Sogdian inscription which, on the grounds of palaeography (the archaic shape of γ), can be dated to a relatively early period (1st–2d centuries A.D.): $\beta\gamma'n$ BRY | $vayān zātak$ or $vayān puš$ "son of the Gods"—the name of the seal's owner, recalling Old Ind. *devaputra*, which has the same meaning. In the Oriental Department of the Hermitage Museum there is also a gem representing an elephant walking to the right with a driver holding an ankh seated on its back. In front of the elephant's head are the three letters $\beta\gamma\gamma$ in Sogdian cursive script of the 6–7th century, and on the left, behind the animal's body, by the edge of the surface of the sealing, the three letters prn . These two words can hardly be considered as components of the name *Farnvayn*; it is more probable that, as on many Sogdian coins, these are symbolic words: "master/lord" and "glory/fortune."¹⁰ A gold seal also in the Hermitage collection represents an elephant walking to the left with a driver holding an ankh seated on the animal's back. Behind the elephant there is a reversed inscription prn , in Sogdian cursive script of the 6th–7th century, and in front of the animal $b\gamma\gamma$.¹¹ Four clay bullae with sealings made from one seal come from the excavations of the Buddhist shrine at Ak-Beshim. The sealing shows an elephant walking to the right and a cursive Sogdian inscription prn .¹² The elephant probably was one of the most common symbols in Sogdian glyptics. A gem from the collection of the late H. Lushey, which was published by R. Gyselen, displays an elephant walking to the right and two drivers holding ankhs; it is likely that this also originates from Sogd.¹³

Other gems and seals with Sogdian inscriptions should be mentioned here. One of the earliest Sogdian gems (3d–4th century[?]) judging from the palaeography of its inscription) was published by A. Cunningham, who identified it as Kushan.¹⁴ It bears a Sogdian inscription, presumably the name of the owner: on the right of a female figure $xšwōr$, on the left, $hβntk$: "slave of (the deity) Xšōōr (?)." For the last word cf. Avest. *xšnaoōra*— "gratitude, mercy, forgiveness," Middle Persian *šnōhr*, Manich. Parth. *išnōhr*, Arm. *šnorh*.¹⁵

Two gems possibly may be attributed to the 5th–6th centuries (one in the Indian Museum of Calcutta, another in the British Museum). Both depict two busts, of a man and a woman, and bear a two-line Sogdian inscription that runs in a semicircle above their heads:¹⁶ (1) $\gamma't$ *myōrh cwn* $\gamma'ntwmyc$ (2) $p'nβšn$ (on the Calcutta gem, erroneously $pnnβšn$) $n'ntyh$ "This gem is from (the property of) Nandi, Indian lady (queen?)." Nandi probably was the wife of a Sogdian nobleman.¹⁷

Of the several gems with Sogdian inscriptions that are preserved in the museums of Tashkent and Samarkand, some were published by G. A. Pugachenkova.¹⁸ One of the gems in Pugachenkova's article has an early (3d–4th century) inscription: $'št't$ | *Aštāt*, the name of the owner, cf. Avest. *Arštāt*-, the name of the goddess of righteousness. There are several unpublished Sogdian gems and metal seals in the Oriental Department of the Hermitage Museum, among them a bronze seal with a horse and a cursive inscription along the border: $sprn'k$ $\gamma'wy$ BRY | *Sparnak* (from Old Ir. **us-pyna*-) *Γāwē zātak* | "Sparnak, son of Gaw."

Among the bullae from Kanka there are impressions of three gems with Sogdian inscriptions. The first is represented by four sealings (type III of the catalogue, nos. 28–31); only one (no. 30) shows a completely preserved male bust. The authors of the catalogue describe the characteristic features of this portrait: to the right is a head with a cap or helmet surmounted with a crown, a beard, high forehead, straight thin nose, and long straight hair falling to the shoulders. The man wears a simple shirt with a collar, and over it an open surcoat (caftan).¹⁹ Near his face along the border of the seal runs a cursive Sogdian inscription of which on two bullae (nos. 29, 30) only four letters are visible: $]n'pc$; after the lacuna it is possible to trace three more badly preserved letters: $]xwt?$.²⁰ On two other impressions of the same seal (nos. 28, 31) the inscription is completely destroyed. I was able to verify the readings given here from the original bullae, which Yu. Burjakov kindly allowed me to see.

Comparison of the preserved fragments of the inscription on type III bullae with Sogdian inscriptions on several silver vessels suggests a reconstruction of the structure of the inscription (naturally, only a conventional one) on the seal from which the impressions have been made.

I refer to the inscriptions on the silver plate from Kertchevo (Perm district),²¹ on the bowl from the site of Chilek I (Samarkand district),²² and on a silver plate found in South China not far from Quantong.²³ These inscriptions contain titles with the component *n'pc | nāfc*, literally “belonging to the people.” In the inscription on the outer side of the plate from Kertchevo: *MY'R š'w c'c'nn'pc 9 + 30 styrk* “Lord Šaw, head of the people of Čaç. Weight: 39 staters.” The inscription is accompanied by a tamga characteristic of the coins of the rulers of Čaç (the Tashkent oasis) of the 4th–6th centuries. Palaeographic features indicate that the inscription should be dated to the 6th century or the first half of the 7th century.²⁴ *MY'R* is a deformation of the ideogram *MR'Y* (Aram. “my lord”) and is characteristic of Sogdian inscriptions from Čaç. It is also attested on the coins of the vassal princes of Čaç of the 7th–8th centuries, and it corresponds to Sogd. *xwt'w | xutāw | and xwβ(w) | xuv(u)*. The inscription on the bowl from Chilek reads: *ZNH ZY y'mk ZKn n'pcβztycyk dyšcy xypδ 'yw knpy 20 s n'krtk* “This vessel (is) the property of Dišči, head of the Vazd community (people). Weight: 19 staters of silver.”²⁵ The place-name *βzt | Vazd* can be identified with *Wzd* mentioned by as-Sam'ani as the name of a village four farsakhs from Samarkand.²⁶ The inscription on the rim of the bowl can be dated to the 7th–8th century. The title on the plate from Kerchevo also appears on the plate from South China: [] . . . *sp c'c'nn'pc* (the tamga of Čaç) *42 styrk* “[this vessel is the property of] . . . asp, head of the people of Čaç. Weight: 42 staters.”²⁷

Comparison of the preserved parts of the inscription on type III bullae with the inscriptions from Kerchevo, Chilek, and South China permits a tentative reconstruction of the inscription on the seal from which the sealings on the bullae have been made: [*X. c'c'n*]*n'pc* (*xwt*)*[w]* “[X., head of the Čaç] people, the lord.”

The second inscribed Sogdian gem, whose impression appears on 7 bullae (type II of the catalogue), bears the image of a bearded man wearing a *kulah* (fig. 1).²⁸ The authors of the catalogue describe it in detail: the face in profile facing left, differing from the typical Sasanian style of representing male portraits,²⁹ a straight thin nose, thin arrow-shaped moustache, short wedge-shaped beard, and hair falling towards the neck in curly locks. The man wears a crown

or hat decorated in the lower portion with merlons, with something that resembles a palmette-shaped plaque in front. The man's shirt has a collar decorated with semicircles; another border of the same kind is visible below (representing chain-mail?).

Near the man's face, along the border of the gem, there is a Sogdian inscription. Bogomolov and Burjakov distinguish twelve letters.³⁰ Unfortunately the inscription is more or less clearly legible only on two sealings (nos. 21, 22); on bulla no. 21, where the whole inscription is visible, its reading is made difficult by the duplicate impression from the same gem on the same bulla. Only four letters of the inscription can be identified reliably: *[[t][k]r[.]*. These letters are most probably part of the name of the seal's owner. The shapes of *'* and *k* may point to a comparatively early date (5th–6th century), but I am not sure whether it is possible to use them as dating criteria.

The third Sogdian gem, which is represented by a considerable number of sealings (20, type I of the catalogue)³¹ appears to have a special significance for the history of Central Asia. It bears a portrait of a man facing left. On the basis of its Sogdian inscription, which, if we consider all sealings, is completely preserved, I can identify it as a portrait of a priest of high rank; its palaeography dates it to the 5th–6th century (fig. 2).

It should be noted that the comparison of the sealings from these three inscribed gems indicates that in the so-called “Upper Temple” of the first Kanka *shahristan*, where the bullae were found, they used to seal packs of merchandise and documents with gems produced at different times, between the 5th–6th and the 7th–8th centuries. Archaeological data prompts Bogomolov and Burjakov to date the “Upper Temple” to the end of the 6th–beginning of the 7th century; they admit however, that a wider dating is possible—between the 4th and the 7th century.³²

The third seal depicts a bare-headed beardless man, his head turned left and his chest and shoulders shown frontally. He has a thick straight nose, heavy chin, and narrow moustache. His long hair is combed back, falling to his neck in thin locks curving towards the end. He is dressed in a caftan.³³ A tight standing collar is shown by a double line; lines of patterned textile are visible on the shoulders; and a large oval pendant with

three pearls within triangles at its sides decorates the man's chest.³⁴

A Sogdian inscription of three words, seventeen letters in all, runs behind and over the man's head (from right to left). It starts around "5 o'clock" and ends by "9 o'clock":³⁵ 'spsk s"nk kw'tynk | *æspasak Sānak Kawātēnak* | "Bishop Sānak, son of Kawāt." In the first two words all the letters are separate, with no ligatures, while in the third word the final *-tynk* forms a ligature. This manner of writing is probably connected to the technique of gem engraving and cannot be treated as a dating feature. The shapes of the letters, especially of ' , s , p , however, point to a comparatively early date, not later than the 6th century.

The name Sānak is etymologically Sogdian, meaning "ascending, raising above, elevated," from the verbal stem **sān-*, Old Ir. **sāna-* "elevate," cf. Sogd *san-* (*sn-*), Yaghnobi *san-*, Avest. *sana-* "raise," Sogd *sēn-* (*syn-*), Yaghnobi *sayn-/sey-*, *sen-* "elevate."³⁶ Considering its structure, the name Sānak can be defined as a hypocoristic, i.e., an abbreviated diminutive with the suffix *-ak* from a two-stem name, possibly *Sānvay*, literally "ascending (towards) the deity."³⁷

The patronymic *Kawātēnak* (*kw'tynk*) "son of Kawāt" is formed by his father's name *Kawāt* together with the patronymic suffix *-ēnak* (< **-aina-ka-*, or **-ayana-ka-*), which occurs in Sogdian (pro)patronyms in the 4th–6th centuries Sogdian inscriptions from the Upper Indus Valley.³⁸ Sogdian *Kawāt* from Avest. *Kavi-*, *Kavāta-*, the name of the founder of the legendary Kayanid dynasty, belongs to the little-known epic layer of Sogdian anthroponymy.³⁹

The most interesting part in the inscription is doubtless its first word, *æspasak* ('spsk). In Sogdian there are many words that derive from Old Ir. **spas-* "observe, look after, serve," **spasya-* "to serve"; however, all nouns that belong to this root derive from the variant **spāsa-* with an elongation of the root vowel. Thus in Buddhist, Manichaean, and Christian texts from East Turkestan: *æspāsē* ('sp'syh, 'sp'sy) "servant," Bud.; Manich. *æspāsīka* ('sp'sykh), *æspāsānč* ('sp's'nc), *æspāskarānč* ('sp'skr'nc) "maidservant,"⁴⁰ Bud. *æspāsak*, *æspāsē* ('sp's'k, 'sp's'kw) "assistant, servant"; Bud. *æspāsīk* ('sp's'yk, 'sp's'ykh) "assistant, servant, helper," Christ. *spās* (*sp's*) "service, worship, adoration, reverence" (cf. Mid. Pers.

spās, N. Pers. *sipās*); Christ. *spāsakyā* (*sp'sqy*) "worship." In the documents from Mt. Mug: *æspāsīka* ('sp'sykh) "maidservant, concubine," *æspās* ('sp's) "service, duty, reverence, respect."

For this reason 'spsk on the seal with a short root vowel cannot be a proper Sogdian word. The source from which it was borrowed is obvious: Parthian *ispasag* ('spsg), well known from Manichaean texts as a term for "bishop," the second-ranked in the hierarchy of the Manichaean church.⁴¹ The basic meaning of this word is "servant, man-in-service" (*ispasag* is attested in this meaning in Manich. Parthian; in Manich. Middle Pers., "servant" is *ispāsīg*), whence "servant of the faith, of the church," hence "bishop."

It should be taken into account that Middle Persian and Parthian were the official languages of the Eastern Manichaean church and that most of the Sogdian Manichaean texts from East Turkestan have been translated from these languages. The initial *aleph* in 'spsk reproduces a short prothetic vowel (conventionally transcribed as *æ-*) which corresponds also to prothetic *i-* (or *e-/ä-*) in West Iranian *ispasag*. The final *-k* in 'spsk transmits West Iranian *-g*, because there was no grapheme for <g> in the Sogdian alphabet.

The three-level (or four-level, if we count the head of the church) hierarchy of Manichaean priests⁴² was founded, according to Augustine and Coptic Manichaean Psalms, by the prophet Mani himself.⁴³ In this structure,⁴⁴ doubtless created under Christian influence and founded upon the principle of sacred numbers, the first and the highest level was occupied by twelve "teachers": Lat. *magistri*, Middle Pers. *hammōzag* (*hmwc'g*, *hmwgcg*), Parth. *ammōžag* ('mwgcg, 'mwc'g), Sogd. *mōčak* (*mwck*), *mōžāk* (*mwj'k*, *mwz'kk*).⁴⁵ From Sogdian were borrowed Uighur. *možak* and Chinese *mušê*, Middle Chinese **muž'a*, as reconstructed by E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, or **muo-'t'sīa*, after B. Karlgren, *mbošīa* after G. Haloun.⁴⁶ Below the teachers stood 72 bishops (second rank), and then 352 presbyters (Middle Pers. *mahistag*, literally "greatest," and *mānsārār* "housekeeper," Parth. *masādar* "greatest, lord, master," Sogd *mhystk* | *mahistak* |, from Middle Pers., Uighur *maxistak*, *mayistak*, from Sogd., Chinese transcription *mosisite*.⁴⁷

In our case the greatest interest is the terms used for the Manichaean bishops. In Middle Persian and Parthian these are *ispasag* ('spsg), in

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Fig 1 Sealing from an inscribed Sogdian gem Kanka 5th-6th century



Fig 2 Sealing inscribed "Bishop Sānak, son of Kawāt" Kanka 5th-6th century



Fig 3 A variant form of the Sogdian term for "bishop"—*spasē* (*sps'y*) inscribed on the rim of a storage jar from excavations at Yakalyg, Chu Valley Dzhambul Museum, Republic of Khazakhstan Drawing S G Kljashtorny

Sogdian *aftādān* (ʔftʔδʔn), *avdādān* (ʔvtʔδʔn), from Manich. Middle Pers. *haftādān ud dōnān* (*is-pasagān ī rāstī*) “seventy and two (bishops of righteousness),”⁴⁸ Uighur (from Sogd.) *ävtadan*, *avtadan* (also *možak ävtadan*), in Chinese transcription *fu-to-tan*.⁴⁹

But we know one more Chinese transcription of the Sogdian term: *sa-po-sai*. In the Chinese Manichaean collection of hymns titled “The Exhortation of Bright Wisdom” the bishops are described as “72 *sa-po-sai*,” which means “serving the law,” and they are also called *fu-to-tan*.⁵⁰ Chinese *fu-to-tan* and *sa-po-se* also occur in the London fragment of “The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light.”⁵¹ Chinese *sa-po-sai* in Middle Chinese corresponds, according to Karlgren’s reconstruction, to **sa-puâ-sæg*, or to **sâ’puâ-sæg* after Haloun.

Thus the Chinese Manichaean texts demonstrate that in Sogdian, besides *aftādān*, *avdādān*, there was also another term for “bishop”—*is-pasag*, borrowed from Parthian, the one represented on the bullae from Kanka, where it is transcribed as *ʔspsk*. These bullae obviously testify to the spread of Manichaeism in the Čač oasis in the 5th–6th centuries, which is the most obscure period in the history of the Manichaean church in Iran and Central Asia. The scant evidence provided by written sources shows that in Central Asia, as well as in Sasanian Iran, Manichaeans were persecuted, and a considerable number of them moved to East Turkestan. Hsuan Tsang wrote about a very small number of the “shrines” belonging to the followers of the “*tin-ap* heresy” in Central Asia in the 630s, i.e., of the Manichaean *denavar*⁵² sect which came into being around 600 due to a schism among the Manichaeans described in detail by Ibn an-Nadīm in his “*Fihrist al-ʿulūm*.”⁵³

Manichaean communities in East Turkestan developed no earlier than the end of the 7th century; at the same time T’ang China made its first acquaintance with the teaching of Mani. In 694 a Manichaean preacher “from the kingdom of Persia” named *Fu-to-tan* visited the emperor.⁵⁴

A variant form of the Sogdian term for “bishop,” *spasē* or *špašē*, was inscribed on the rim of a storage jar preserved in the Dzhambul Museum (fig. 3). The rim comes from the excavations of the site of Yakalyg in the Chu Valley.

It contains the name and the title: *šyrpn sps’y* | *Širfan(n) spasē* | “Bishop Širfan.” This inscription probably should be dated to the 8th–9th century, judging by its palaeography and because of the name Širfan(n) “having a good farn, fortune,” with *-fan(n)* from *farn*, recalling the assimilation *rn > nn* in Yaghnohi.

Returning to the portrait of Bishop Sānak on the bullae from Kanka, clearly his costume, hairstyle, and bare head present a sharp contrast to the representations of Manichaean hierarchs painted on the walls of the temples and monasteries of the Turfan oasis in the 8th–9th centuries or in the miniatures in Manichaean manuscripts. As far as I can judge, most of these representations show Uighurs in white garments and high white hats of intricate forms (tiaras) or in cone-shaped hats.⁵⁵

Notes

1. G. I. Bogomolov and Yu. F. Burjakov, “Sealings from Kanka,” in *In the Land of the Gryphons: Papers on Central Asian Archaeology in Antiquity*, ed. A. Invernizzi (Florence, 1995), pp. 217–38.
2. Yu. F. Burjakov, *Istoricheskaya topografiya Tashkentskogo oazisa* (Tashkent, 1975), pp. 31–39, 178, 187, 189–91; idem, *Genezis i etapy razvitiya gorodskoj kultury Tashkentskogo oazisa* (Tashkent, 1982), pp. 40–41, 116–17].
3. Burjakov, *Istoricheskaya topografiya Tashkentskogo oazisa*, pp. 31–37.
4. M. E. Masson, *Ahangeran: Arxeologo-topograficheskij ocherk* (Tashkent, 1953), pp. 105–14.
5. Bogomolov and Burjakov, “Sealings from Kanka,” pp. 220–34.
6. Ibid., p. 230.
7. W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranisch*, HdO, 1 Abt, 4 Bd., Iranistik, 1 Absn., Linguistik (Leiden, 1958), p. 45.
8. Among the recent publications the most important is N. Sims-Williams *apud* P. Callieri, *Seals and Sealings from the North-West of the Indian Subcontinent and Afghanistan (4th Century B.C.–11th Century A.D): Local, Indian, Sasanian, Graeco-Persian, Sogdian, Roman*, vol. 4, *The Sogdian Inscriptions* (Naples, 1997), pp. 130–31.
9. K. Abdullaev and S. Raimkulov, “Stsena triumfal’nogo shestvija na gemme iz Kundzhutli-tepa,” *VDI* (1994.2), pp. 50–58.
10. O. I. Smirnova, *Svodnyj katalog sogdijiskikh monet: Bronza* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 314, 482, pl. XXXIV.
11. A. Belenickij, *Zentralasien* (Ghent, 1968), p. 244, pl. 75.

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12. L. R. Kyzlasov, "Arxeologicheskie issledovaniya na gorodische Ak-Beshim v 1953–1954 gg.," in *Trudy Kirgizskoj Arxeologo-etnograficheskoy ekspeditsii*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1959), pp. 175, 179, fig. 22.
13. R. Gyselen, "Notes de glyptique sassanide. 4. Elephant et cornac," *StIr* 25.2 (1996), pp. 247–49.
14. A. Cunningham, "Coins of the Kushāns, or Great Yue-ti," *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1892), pl. XII, no. 13, p. 115.
15. V. A. Livshits, "K otkrytiyu baktrijskikh nadpisei na Kara-tepe," in *Buddijskie peschery Kara-tepe v Starom Termeze* (Moscow, 1969), pp. 57–58, n. 52.
16. R. Ghirshman, "Quelques intailles du Musée de Calcutta, à légendes en Tokharien, Pehlevi Arsacide et Pehlevi Sassanide," in *Archaeologia Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* (New York, 1952), pp. 107–13, fig. 6, pl. XXI, 5a; Henning, *Mitteliranisch*, p. 53; A. D. H. Bivar, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Stamped Seals*, vol. 2, *The Sassanian Dynasty* (London, 1969), p. 55, pl. 4, inv. no. 119999-BB2.
17. Livshits, "K otkrytiyu baktrijskikh nadpisei na Kara-tepe," p. 58, n. 52, where my translation is not exact: "This seal is of Jandi . . . the lady," and Bivar, *The Sassanian Dynasty*, p. 55: "This seal is of Indamič, queen of Začanta." An improved version of the translation is in V. A. Livshits, "Indijskaya gosudarynya v Sogde" (in press).
18. G. A. Pugachenkova, "Materialy po vostochnoj gliptike," *TSAGU*, n.s., 111, *Archaeology of Central Asia*, vol. 4 (Tashkent, 1957), pp. 139–54.
19. Bogomolov and Burjakov, "Sealings from Kan-ka," p. 229.
20. Parentheses indicate partly damaged letters, brackets completely erased and restored characters. Consequently], [indicate missing fragments of clay before and after the surviving parts of the text.
21. Ya. I. Smirnov, *Vostochnoe srebro: Atlas drevnej serebryanoj i zolotoj posudy vostochnogo proishozhdeniya, najdennoj preimustchestvenno v predelah Rossijskoj Imperii* (St. Petersburg, 1909), pl. XXV, 53.
22. B. I. Marshak and Ya. K. Krikis, "Chilekskie chashy," *TGE* 10 (Leningrad, 1969), pp. 55–80.
23. Y. Yoshida, *Sogdian Miscellany IV* (in Japanese), *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages*, 10 (Kobe, 1995), pp. 79–83; idem, "Additional Notes on Sims-Williams' Article on the Sogdian Merchants in China and India," in *Cina e Iran da Alessandro Magno alla dinastia Tang* (Florence, 1996), p. 74.
24. V. A. Livshits and V. G. Lukonin, "Srednepersidskie i sogdijskie nadpisi na serebryanykh sosudakh," *VDI* (1964.3), pp. 170–71 (the reading given in the present article has been corrected).
25. Livshits and Lukonin, "Srednepersidskie i sogdijskie nadpisi na serebryanykh sosudakh," p. 173; improved reading: V. A. Livshits, "Sozdannyj Ognem i Blagoj Mysl'yu' v sogdijskoj nadpisi iz Pendzhikenta," in *Otchet o raskopkakh gorodischa drevnego Pendzhikenta v 1998 godu* (St. Petersburg, 1999), pp. 49–50, n. 5.
26. *The Kitāb al-Ansāb of 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muhammad al Sa'mānī. . . with an introduction by D. S. Margoliouth* (Leiden, 1912), s.v. *al-Wazdī*.
27. Yoshida, "Additional Notes on Sims-Williams' Article on the Sogdian Merchants in China and India," p. 74.
28. Bogomolov and Burjakov, "Sealings from Kan-ka," pp. 225–27.
29. Male portraits facing left seldom occur on Sasanian gems: see Ph. Gignoux and R. Gyselen, *Sceaux sasanides de divers collections privées* (Leuven, 1982), pp. 41–42, no. 10. 21.
30. Bogomolov and Burjakov, "Sealings from Kan-ka," p. 225.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 220–25, figs. 4, 5, 6.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 234.
33. The authors of the catalogue suggest that it could be a cloak: *ibid.*, p. 221.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 221–25.
35. Yu. F. Burjakov kindly allowed me to study the original bullae to read the inscription: 'spsk s'nk | æspasak Sānak].
36. I. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian* (Oxford, 1954), p. 85, § 543; B. Gharib, *Sogdian Dictionary (Sogdian-Parthian-English)* (Tehran, 1995), p. 356, no. 8840; p. 368, no. 9127; M. S. Andreev and E. M. Peschereva, *Yaghnobskie teksty. S prilozheniem Yaghnobsko-russkogo slovary, sostavlennogo M. S. Andreevym, V. A. Livshitsem, i A. K. Pisarchik* (Moscow, 1957), pp. 318, 320.
37. On Sogdian hypocoristics see N. Sims-Williams, *Sogdian and Other Iranian Inscriptions of the Upper Indus*, vol. 2 (London, 1992), CIIR, pt. 2, vol. 3, pp. 34–35.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 81. For Old. Ir. patronymic suffixes see M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana: Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen* (Vienna, 1973), pp. 282–83.
39. Cf. *Kawifarn* (k'wyprn) on an ostrakon from ancient Penjikent, *Kawifarnič* (k'wyprnc) in one of the documents from Mt. Mug, Čawyus (cw'yws) from Kā(w)ūs in a document on wood from the castle of Chil-Khudzra (Old Ustrushana), *Kawa* (kw'), *Kawi* (kw'y), *Wankawi* (wnkw'y) in the Upper Indus Valley inscriptions. See V. A. Livshits, "A Sogdian Alphabet from Panjikant," in *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume* (London, 1970), p. 263; idem, *Sogdijskie dokumenty s gory Mug*, fasc. 2, *Yuridicheskie dokumenty i pis'ma*.

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Chtenie, perevod i kommentarii V. A. Livshitsa (Moscow, 1962), p. 186 (document Nov. 6, line 4), 217; idem, "Dokumenty iz zamka Chil-Khudzhra" (in press); Sims-Williams, *Sogdian and Other Iranian Inscriptions of the Upper Indus*, vol. 2, pp. 54, 75.

40. P. Zieme, *Ein uigurischer Text über die Wirtschaft manichäischer Klöster im Uigurischen Reich*, *Researches in Altaic Languages* (Budapest, 1975), p. 334.

41. Cf. H. H. Schaeder, *Iranica* (Berlin, 1934), *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., 10, pp. 6–7.

42. "The chosen" (Middle Pers. *wizīdag*, Parth. *wizīdag*) or "righteous" (Middle Pers., Parth. *ardāw*, Sogd. *δēnδār*, literally "having faith," later, *δēnāwar* "bringing faith," Uighur. *dintar*, from Sogd.), supported by common Manichaeans, "auditors" (Middle Pers. *niyōšang*, Parth. *nigōšag*, *niyōšag*, Sogd. *niyōšāk*—possibly a loan-word from Parth., Uighur *n(i)yošak*—from Sogd.).

43. St. Augustine, *De Haeresibus*, 4, chap. 46; C. R. C. Allberry, ed., *A Manichaean Psalm-Book: Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1938), p. 24.

44. A. van Tongerloo, "La structure de la communauté manichéenne dans le Turkestan Chinois à la lumière des emprunts moyen-iraniens en ouïgour," *Central Asiatic Journal* 26 (1982), pp. 262–88.

45. The Sogdian variant form *mōžāk* developed under the influence of Parthian *ammōžag* (in Sogdian Old Ir. *č* was not voiced into *ž*, as in Parthian).

46. See Ed. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine," *JA*, sér. 10 (1912, t. 18), p. 569; P. Pelliot, "Les traditions manichéennes au Foukien," *T'oung Pao* 22 (1923), pp. 199, 203; B. Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* (Paris, 1932), p. 200, no. 638; p. 336, no. 1187; W. B. Henning and G. Haloun, "The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of the Light," *Asia Major* 3.2 (1952), p. 195, n. 65.

47. Van Tongerloo, "La structure de la communauté manichéenne dans le Turkestan Chinois," pp.

282–84; E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, *Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten*, SPAW, philosoph.-hist. Kl., 13 (Berlin, 1933), pp. 521–22; Tsui Chi, "Mo Ni Chiao Pu Tsau, The Lower (Second?) Section of the Manichaean Hymns," *BSOAS* 11.1 (1943), p. 188.

48. F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, vol. 2, SPAW, philosoph.-hist. Kl., 7 (Berlin, 1933), p. 32 (text M36, Recto, lines 14–15); W. B. Henning, "Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus," *ZDMG* 90 (1936), pp. 13–14.

49. E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine," *JA*, sér. 11 (1913, t. 1), p. 150. R. Gauthiot erroneously interpreted *fu-to-tan* as a transmission from Middle Pers. **fur(a)štadān* "knowing the doctrine" (apud Chavannes and Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine," *JA*, sér. 10 [1912, t. 18], p. 571).

50. Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Manichäische Dogmatik*, p. 521; Tsui Chi, "Mo Ni Chiao Pu Tsau," p. 188.

51. Henning and Haloun, "The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of the Light."

52. Chavannes and Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine," *JA*, sér. 11, p. 174.

53. G. Flügel, *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1862), pp. 66–69.

54. Chavannes and Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine," *JA*, sér. 11, pp. 150–51; Henning, "Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus," p. 11; H. H. Schaeder, "Der Manichäismus und sein Weg nach Osten: Glaube und Geschichte," in *Festschrift für Friedrich Gogarten* (Göttingen, 1948), pp. 249–50.

55. A. von Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, vol. 2, *Die manichäischen Miniaturen*, 2d ed. (Graz, 1974), pp. 36–37, pl. 1b, 2, pp. 46–48, pls. 7b, 8b; H.-J. Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy* (Leiden, 1982), pl. VII, 10a–10b, pp. 44–45.