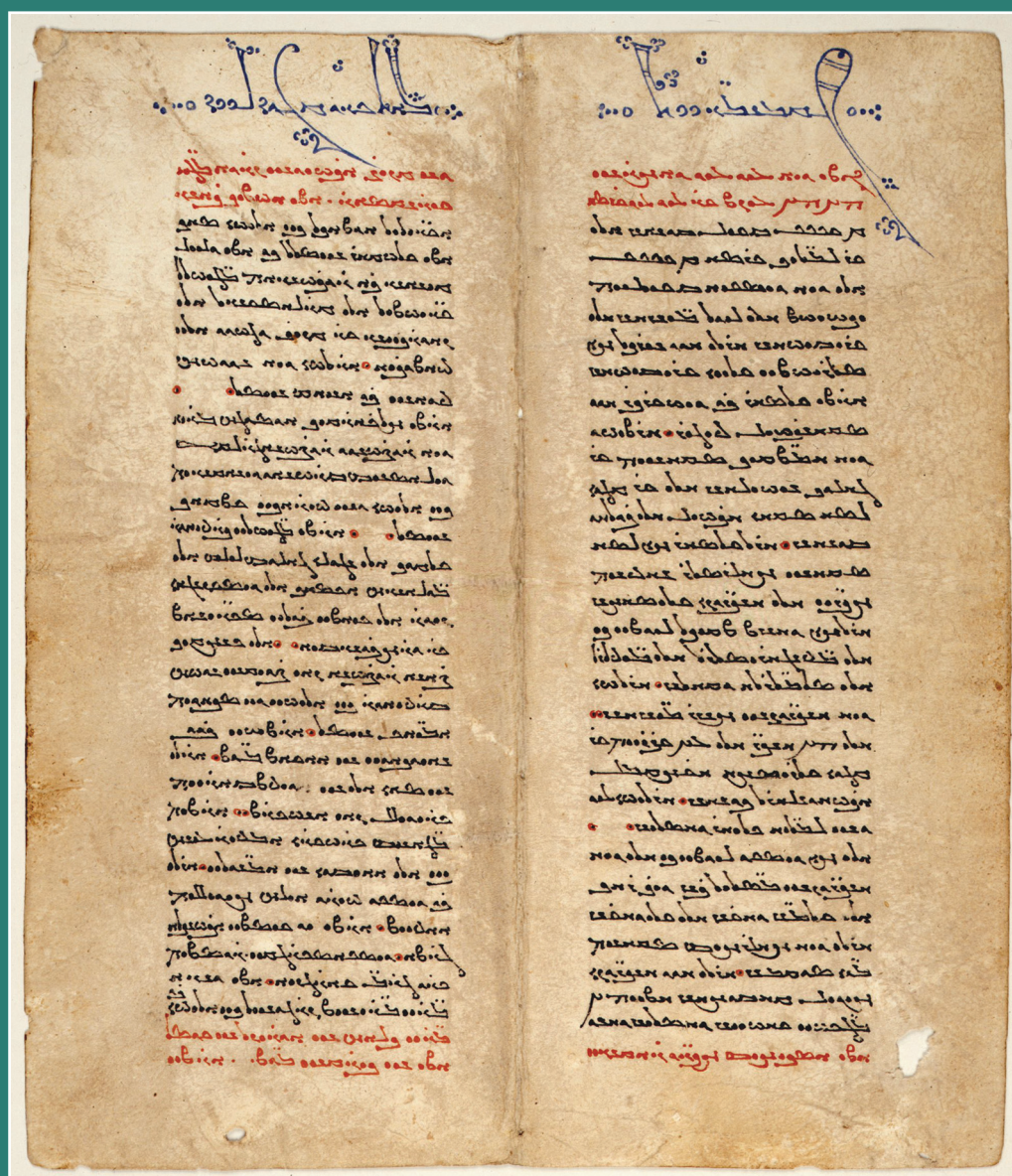


WRITTEN MONUMENTS OF THE ORIENT

2018
(2)

WRITTEN MONUMENTS OF THE ORIENT, 2018, № 2



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2018

WRITTEN MONUMENTS OF THE ORIENT

2018 (2)

Studies in Early Medieval Iranian
Religious Manuscript Traditions other than Islamic

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Chiara Barbati and Olga Chunakova

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On the cover:

Fragment MIK III 4990. Photo: courtesy of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin.

Chiara Barbati

Introduction

This publication has been made possible thanks to many people who have supported it in various ways. First of all, I thank the members of the Board of the *Societas Iranologica Europaea* for the period 2011–2015, Pierfrancesco Callieri, Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Almut Hintze, Pavel Borisovich Lurje, Florian Schwarz, Maria Szuppe and Gabrielle van den Berg for accepting my suggestion to organize a special panel at *ECIS8* in St. Petersburg on *Studies in Medieval Iranian Manuscript Traditions other than Islamic* and for their interest and encouragement.

The special panel held during the *ECIS8* was intended to be an opportunity for exchange among specialists in the field of Middle Iranian Studies — or “Mitteliranistik”, if I may use this term — which is well defined within philology and linguistics and in particular within historical-comparative linguistics. With the organization of a special conference panel and the subsequent publication of this volume we hoped to create a space for discussion and research which for the first time put also the material aspects of manuscripts as “objects bearing texts” at center stage. It encouraged interaction between diverse disciplines and methodological approaches — philology, linguistics, codicology, palaeography, history — while avoiding subordinating any one of them under another field or approach. Rather, from the outset it attributed equal merits and importance to each of them, while being fully aware that an entire field of inquiry, that of material analysis, is still largely absent from the discussion.

Put differently, I attempted to embrace the questions of the field of Manuscript Studies or Manuscriptology¹ and to bring them to the core of Middle Iranian Studies. Behind this stands my firm conviction that much can still be done to add significant pieces to our understanding of the intricate puzzle resulting from the historical existence of diverse religious traditions of and in the Iranian spheres of the early Middle Ages.

Between the organization of the panel and the publication of this thematic volume, another important step in the application of Manuscript Studies or Manuscriptology to Middle Iranian Studies was made: the publication in 2017 of the second volume of the *Handbuch Iranistik* edited by Ludwig Paul.² By devoting a whole section to “Manuskriptologie”, Paul invites several authors to discuss the “Manuskriptologie” of the Zoroastrian-Middle Persian, Buddhist-Sogdian, Buddhist-Khotanese, and Christian Middle Iranian traditions.³ These new contributions expand the section of the *Handbuch*’s first volume,⁴ which only focuses on the Iranian Manichaean manuscript fragments belonging to the Berlin Turfan Collection.⁵

Methodologically speaking, the definition of Manuscript Studies or Manuscriptology calls explicitly for a “cross disciplinary and cross-cultural field of study” where the manuscript “is not be read only as a vehicle for information conveyed mainly through text or images, but studied as a physical object or artefact”, where “the social and cultural context of the manuscript, as a material object, must be studied and reconstructed as completely as possible”, and where the context has to be regarded as “the particular manuscript culture to which a given manuscript belongs: the milieu in which it was and it is produced, used, and transmitted. It is, in turn, influenced by the artefacts it produces, and thus constitutes a highly complex whole changing in time”.⁶ This methodological consideration has matured in the

¹ I share this definition even if I am aware of the fact that since decades there have been attempts to link the text, the material aspects and the context of manuscripts. One can recall the new philology or material philology: NICHOLS 1990. On the other hand, only very recently this kind of research is becoming a growing field of research with the focus on the Asian and African manuscript traditions, or, generally, with the focus on manuscript traditions other than the Greek, the Latin, and the Medieval “western” manuscript traditions. Personally, I benefit a lot from this discourse and therefore I refer directly to this research network.

² PAUL 2017.

³ FERRER-LOSILLA 2017, RECK 2017, DRAGONI 2017, BARBATI 2017 respectively.

⁴ PAUL 2013.

⁵ COLDITZ 2013.

⁶ QUENZER 2014, 5, 1, 1-2 respectively.

past years, especially in the study of Asian, but also for example Ethiopian, manuscript traditions. A similar definition was developed by scholars interested in a comparative approach to Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Christian-Palestinian, Coptic, Ethiopian, Slavic, Armenian and Caucasian manuscript traditions. In this environment, Manuscript Studies has been defined as a “conglomeration of already existing disciplines spread among various field that were put in dialogue with each other”.⁷ “The existing disciplines spread among various field” intended here are the following: codicology, palaeography, textual criticism and textual editing, cataloguing, conservation and preservation.

With different words and a stronger focus on Asia, this is also how the journal that hosts this special issue presents itself. From its first volume, published in 2004, *Pismennye Pamjatniki Vostoka / Written Monuments of the Orient*, has offered and distinguished itself as a place of encounter for all who dedicate themselves to “book culture, collections and archives, restoration and storage” of those “thousands of manuscripts and written monuments...in the great and vast *ocean of scriptures* of the peoples of Asia”.⁸

For this reason, when Pavel Borisovich Lurje raised the possibility of publishing the papers of the special panel held during the *ECIS8* as a separate thematic issue in this journal, rather than in the general *Proceedings* of the conference, I enthusiastically accepted. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Irina Popova, editor-in-chief of *Pismennye Pamjatniki Vostoka-Written Monuments of the Orient*, for opening the journal to a thematic issue on Iranian manuscript traditions of the Early Medieval period other than Islamic. I also thank her for her admirable hospitality during a week of study in May 2018 in St. Petersburg, a week that served also as a moment of liaising and updating on the state of the publication before sending it to the printer.

As may be noted, the title of this thematic issue, *Studies in early Medieval Iranian Religious Manuscript Traditions other than Islamic*, takes up the title of the special panel at *ECIS8* with the specifications that concern the period and the type of manuscript traditions studied here.

Some valuable papers presented at the special panel at *ECIS8* are missing from the present volume. They concern a contribution on Buddhist manuscript production, which, however, is at least partially represented thanks to the article of Christiane Reck, “Short survey on Sogdian Manuscriptology”,

⁷ BAUSI and GIPPERT (eds.) 2015, 1.

⁸ See <http://www.orientalstudies.ru/eng/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=51>

while the Zoroastrian Middle Persian manuscript tradition is entirely absent.⁹ On the other hand, valuable articles have been added strengthening the focus on the Iranian Manichaean and on the Christian manuscript traditions. There is no pretense of completeness. I only express my hope that this effort will help to lay the foundations for further study in this direction, be it within individual manuscript traditions, Zoroastrian, Manichaean, Christian, and Buddhist on a comparative level. After all, none of the cited manuscript traditions ever existed independently and in isolation. Consequently, if one conceives of literary traditions in terms of circulation of knowledge, or in other words in terms of production, organization, transmission, circulation or even disappearance and destruction, the same is also true for the relevant material traditions and therefore ultimately for the manuscript traditions in their complexity.

The five contributions assembled in this volume offer multiple impulses for reflection on Manichaean, Buddhist and Christian manuscript traditions in the Iranian sphere between the eighth and eleventh centuries, including a remarkable foray into the world of Central Asian medical practices.

The volume opens with an article by Enrico Morano on the Manichaean manuscript tradition. His considerations are based on the 590 fragments in Manichaean script, and mostly in Sogdian language, from the Berlin Turfan Collection. This contribution offers a valuable and precise overview on “books, glossaries, letters, booklets, bilingual and trilingual texts, normal, bold and cursive script”. Morano touches on the codicology, on the formats (codices and scrolls) that exist in this manuscript tradition as evidenced by those fragments; on the singular example of a bound book, the *Manichäische Bet- und Beichtbuch*; on materials (paper, parchment and silk); on the mise-en-page and mise-en-texte, including also decorative elements. Morano contextualizes the use of different languages and scripts in those fragments and focuses on the palaeography, providing an overview of the diverse varieties of Manichaean script evidenced in the 590 fragments: normal script, elegant semi-cursive script, cursive bold, cursive script, ornamental script, used in headlines with a variety, script with calligraphically elaborated “rope” letters. The comprehensive clarity that emerges from this article is characteristic of a scholar who after years of study and research has achieved full command of his field. The article represents a skilful combination of established concepts with results of new research. Not least, the

⁹ I extend here my thanks to Ruixuan Chen, Almut Hintze, Juanjo Ferrer-Losilla, Jaime Martínez-Porro, and Kianoosh Rezania for the contributions to the special panel at ECIS8.

article stimulates further study. I have in mind Morano's reflections on the use of blank versos in codices. His argument, presented in a footnote (note 16), may open an avenue towards a comparative perspective, especially with the Christian manuscript tradition of Turfan, whose Sogdian and Syriac fragments are chronologically and spatially connected to the Manichaean.

Staying in the Manichaean environment of Turfan, we move from a survey to a case study, presented by Olga Chunakova. Chunakova offers a good example of how to combine the study of material and literary aspects of a manuscript tradition, in her case Manichaean. Specifically, she highlights how material aspects are tied to the content, and how palaeographic analysis can be critical for a study that combines two Parthian Manichaean fragments held in two different collections: SI 5576 in the Serindian Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, and M 4590 in the Berlin Turfan Collection. Despite all the complications involved — fragmentarity, decontextualization and preservation in different places — I am certain that this analysis as well as the parts of the article that focus more on the literary aspects will trigger interest and discussion.

With the article by Christiane Reck, the Buddhist and Christian manuscript traditions also enter into debate. Reck contours in few pages, and with great clarity, the results of years of study and research. With her three volumes of catalogues of manuscripts of Manichaean, Buddhist, Christian and various content in Sogdian script in the Berlin Turfan Collection,¹⁰ not to mention her numerous other publications, Reck is the person most qualified to indicate foundations, aims, challenges, limitations and future perspectives of Manuscript Studies or Manuscriptology applied to Sogdian manuscript fragments in Sogdian script. In her contribution, Reck lays solid foundations and multiple impulses of reflections for future research. She offers observations on the relationship between book format and religious affiliation; she establishes with the help of a comparative approach the absence of page numbers in Manichaean and Christian manuscripts in Sogdian script, as is the case in Manichaean manuscripts in Manichaean script, but in contrast to Christian Sogdian manuscripts in East-Syriac script which have quire numbers (see my contribution to this volume); and she describes the difficulties in identifying recto and verso when one is dealing with fragmentary manuscripts. It may be noted that while Olga Chunakova

¹⁰ RECK 2006, 2016, 2018.

in her article uses palaeographic analysis as criterion, Christiane Reck in her contribution points out that the use of script variety as single tool for identifying a fragment is not enough. This demonstrates once again the complexity presented by the material.

The fourth contribution is the brilliant result of a collaboration between Christiane Reck and Adam Benkato. Again we are dealing with fragments; to be able to demonstrate that fragments can be joined together means being able to gain valuable information from a literary perspective as well as from a material perspective, while always keeping an eye on the context. From a literary viewpoint, the article examines a Sogdian text of medical character. It introduces the reader to Central Asian medical prescriptions for regaining (obviously female) virginity, with forays into the Greco-Roman and Arab worlds. It advances the hypothesis of a Sanskrit origin of the Sogdian text, underscoring the “social importance of women’s purity” in the context in which the text must have been produced. From a material viewpoint the article provides an extremely interesting reflection on the relationship between medical and pharmacological texts in Sogdian language in Sogdian script, “both regular and formal variants”, and format. Reck and Benkato point out how most of those texts were written on scrolls or pustaka-leaves, with few exceptions. According to the authors, this might indicate that also the Manichaean and Christian communities, when producing medical texts, would not use the codex but “but rather more usable writing supports”.

The fifth and final article is my own contribution. It focuses on quire-numbering as evidenced in the circa 1000 Christian Sogdian and Syriac manuscript fragments in East Syriac script in the Berlin Turfan Collection and the circa 116 Syriac manuscript fragments in the Krotkov Collection in St. Petersburg. Even if the lion’s share obviously is represented by the holdings of the Berlin Turfan Collection, I strongly encourage the integration of data from smaller collections (smaller in the sense of the amount of material preserved there). Focusing on a specific aspect of codicological inquiry, namely the system of quire numbering, I intend in the first place to offer a panoramic overview, from which emerges a problem of interpretation. Considering quire numbering, what in the light of previous studies should be expected to be a more or less clear and homogenous picture (with the usual exceptions) turned out to be much more heterogeneous. This made it necessary to consider also other manuscript traditions than the standard manuscript tradition belonging to the Church of the East. I am convinced that Manuscript Studies or Manuscriptology applied to “Mitteliranistik” is

still a field that has been too little explored to draw definite conclusions, and that at the present stage it is much more useful to sound every single detail and then to propose explanations and point out problems of interpretation. The “conclusions” should be read in this sense.

Not a single article in this volume gets around listing and discussing the numerous methodological limitations of Manuscript Studies when applied to a material corpus that presents, in its fragmentary state and its near-total decontextualization, almost unsurmountable obstacles. Nevertheless, and perhaps precisely for this reason, each analysis focusing on an in-depth study of all aspects from literary, material and contextual perspectives is valuable and even critical for arriving at a broader and more comprehensive vision.

Finally, my deep gratitude to Adam Benkato for accepting the task of reviewing the English of all contributions. The volume has enormously benefited not only from his native English, but from his brilliant command of the topics and discussions, with the result of a careful and critical language editing.

A sincere word of thanks to Olga Chunakova, Tatiana Pang and Elena Tananova for so efficiently managing the last stage of this publication.

Vienna, June 2018

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Enrico Morano

**Some Codicological Remarks on the Corpus
of the Berlin Turfan Manichaean Sogdian Manuscripts
in Manichaean Script: among Books, Glossaries, Letters,
Booklets, Bilingual and Trilingual Texts, Normal, Bold
and Cursive Script**

Abstract: The paper gives a survey of the codicological variety of the Sogdian manuscripts in Manichaean script of the Berlin Turfan Collection. Book formats, paper/silk/leather type, re-used paper, scripts and plurilingualism will be examined and commented upon.

Key words: Codicology and palaeography, Middle Iranian languages, Sogdian language, Manichaean texts and literature, Manichaean script, Multilingualism, Writing materials on the Silk Road.

The Berlin Turfan Collection of manuscripts from Central Asia includes, amongst a great variety of texts and languages, about 590 fragments of Sogdian texts written in Manichaean script. They were first catalogued, together with the Middle Persian and Parthian fragments, in BOYCE 1960. An updated catalogue of all the manuscripts containing Sogdian texts in Manichaean script is found in MORANO 2007. After more than a century since their discovery, still more than one third remain unpublished. The aim of this paper is to give a survey of the codicological variety of these manuscripts.¹

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¹ I wish to thank the *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften* and the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz* for allowing me to study and publish these texts from their collection. I am deeply indebted also to all the staff of the *Akademien-vorhaben 'Turfanforschung'*, Berlin for help and for making me at home in the Institute. Last but not least, my warmest thanks to the curator of the *Museum für Asiatische Kunst*, Lilla Russel-Smith, for allowing me to print the photographs of the manuscripts kept in the museum.

A Formats

A.I. Book

A.I.1 Bound book

Manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch (MIK III 53), usually abbreviated BBB
[pl. 1]



Pl. 1.

The so called *Manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch* (MIK III 53)

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

Among the manuscripts brought back to Berlin from Central Asia by the German expeditions this manuscript is unique as it is the only bound book we have. This manuscript's technique of binding the individual bifolios one to another within the quire is fully described in GULÁCSI 2005, 64.² At some stage after its production and before its discovery it had been pulled apart and wrongly rebound.³ Müller published a small section of it in his pioneering book *Handschriften Reste*:⁴ although Middle Persian could be discerned in much of the writing, there was also a hitherto unknown language there, for which Andreas proposed to call Sogdian.⁵ The book comprises a liturgy in Middle Persian and Parthian, but its second part is a confessional text in Sogdian, the vernacular of the worshippers of the Turfan region. The entire book is glassed and only one double page is visible to the beholder (see pl. 1). The sheets were last removed when the book was photographed for publication in WEBER 2000. These photographs enlarge the original and provide a good reading of the single pages. The photographs number the pages in the order in which they were found, which was not the correct order established by Henning. It is unfortunate that the photos are not in colour, since the different inks used in the headlines of each page⁶ are important in determining the correct order of the sheets. Henning explains this and other evidence for his reconstruction of the book in the introduction to his edition. Henning's epoch-making edition⁷ was, and still is, a basic starting point for Sogdian studies. Each bifolio measures approximately 8.8×6.3 cm.

A.I.2 Single bifolio from a “monographic” book

M178 = MIK III 4990

Publ. HENNING 1948 [photo: WEBER 2000 pl. 149–150, here pl. 2 and 3]

² For some aspects of the organisation of Manichaean books in Central Asia see also DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2008.

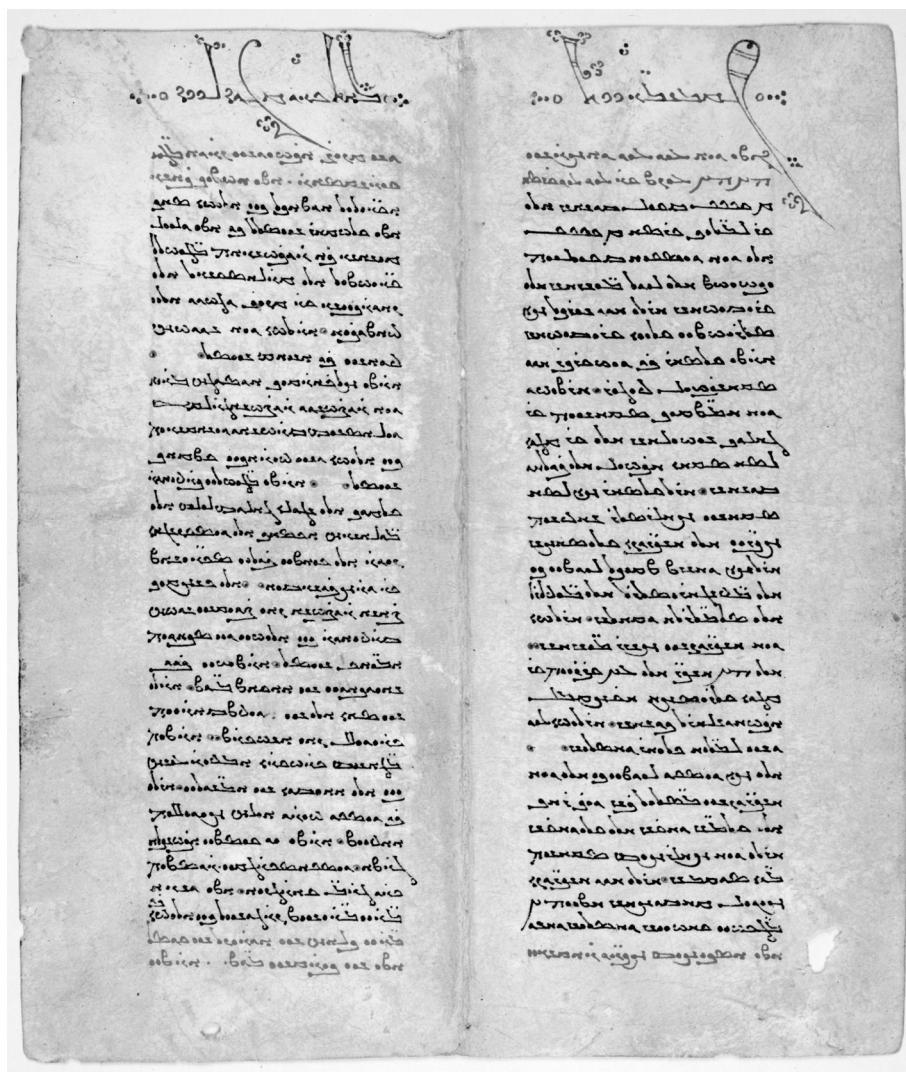
³ “The thread holding together the 12 surviving bifolia of the BBB [...] is not the thread used in the original codex. Although it is a historical thread discovered together with the manuscript, the bifolia that it held together were found stacked in a false sequence. Also, it appears too crude compared to the delicacy of the book”, GULÁCSI 2005, 64.

⁴ MÜLLER 1904, 99–100. It contains BBB 650–664.

⁵ *Apud* MÜLLER 1908: 3, note 3.

⁶ See HENNING 1936, 4–5, where all the colours of the inks used in writing the headlines are meticulously described. See below *ad* section E.

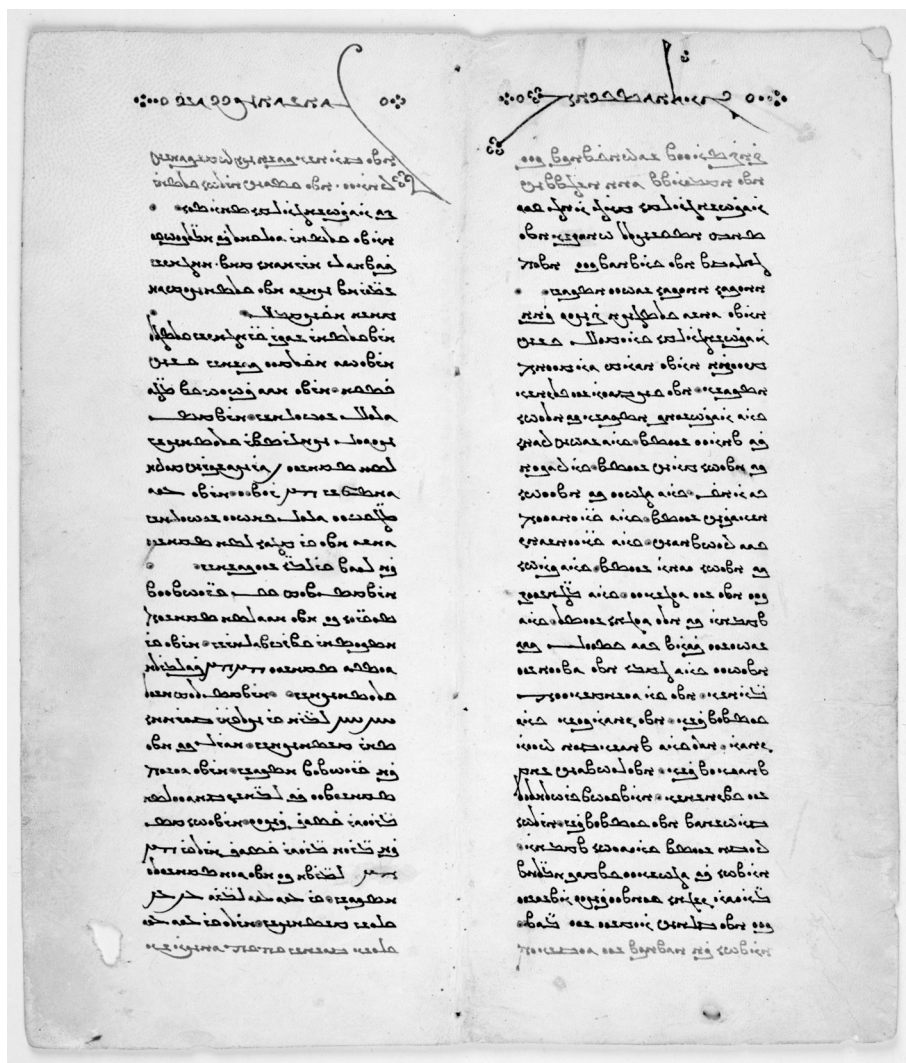
⁷ HENNING 1936.



Pl. 2.

M178=MIK III 4990

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



Pl. 3.

M178=MIK III 4990

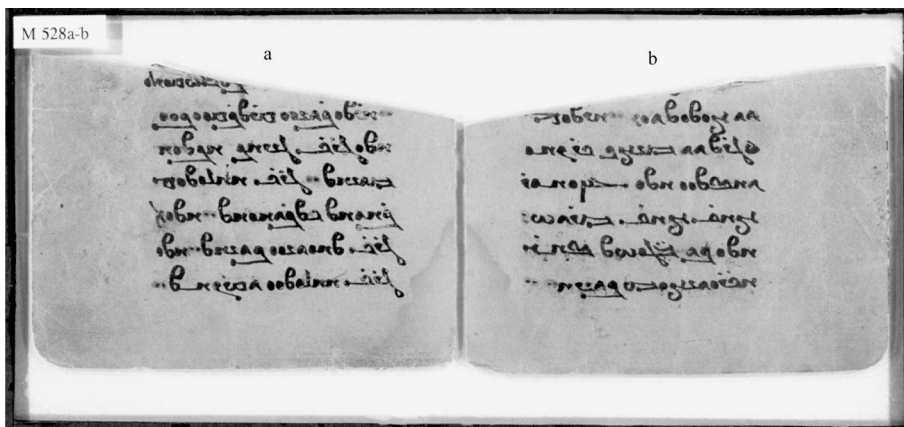
Photo: courtesy of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin.

This Sogdian bifolio, written in outstanding calligraphy in Manichaean script on leather⁸ is not only the best preserved Manichaean text ever found,⁹ but it is also one of the most elaborate accounts of the Manichaean cosmogony. Müller published some excerpts in his pioneering work of 1904,¹⁰ when Sogdian was still not recognized,¹¹ and a proper edition of this important text had to wait some 44 years, until Henning fully published it.¹² The bifolio measures 23.5×20.5 cm.

A.I.3 Single bifolio from a collective book (sometimes containing texts in different languages)

M528 a and b (one language) [pl. 4]

Two fragments (*a* and *b*) probably forming the lower part of a double sheet (BOYCE 1960, 37). *a*: confessional; *b*: from the story of the proto-plasts, publ. BBB e, 48 [photo: WEBER 2000, pl. 75]. Fr. *a*: 7.7×10.5 cm; fr. *b*: 7.5×10.5 cm.



Pl. 4.

M528 a and b

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

Photo: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

⁸ See BOYCE 1960, 143. Additional information in MORANO 2007, 244.

⁹ See MÜLLER 1904, 96: “Ein Doppelblatt aus weißem, dünnen Leder, ein kalligraphisches Meisterwerk...”.

¹⁰ MÜLLER 1904, 96–98.

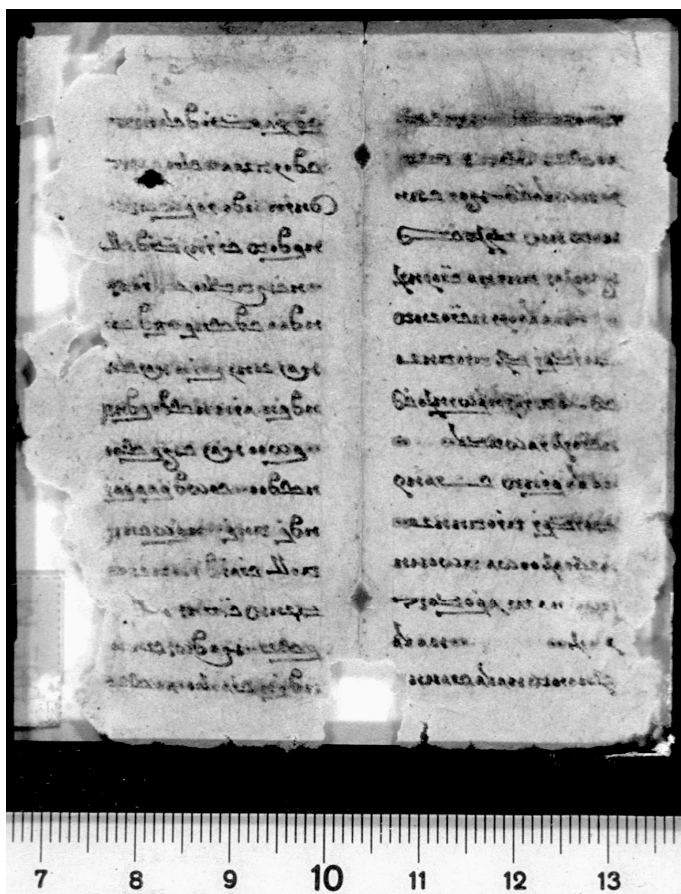
¹¹ MÜLLER called the language of this text simply “Dialekt”.

¹² “When one views the development of Sogdian studies, founded as they are on this first publication, one is surprised at finding that the fragment has remained in limbo these many years”, HENNING 1948, 307.

M280 (two languages) [pl. 5]

Double sheet. /I/ Pth., Hymns (publ. RECK 2004, 95), /II/ Sogd., Hymn. [same manuscript as M137 and M5264, containing the same kind of texts] (publ. MORANO 2017b: 176ff.); [photo: RECK 2004, Taf. I; MORANO 2017b: 183–184, figs 5–6, in colour]. 8×3.5 cm.

This double sheet contains, like M137 and M5264 (only the Sogdian page), from the same manuscript, opening verses of Parthian Monday hymns on one page and Sogdian hymns on the other.



Pl. 5.

M280

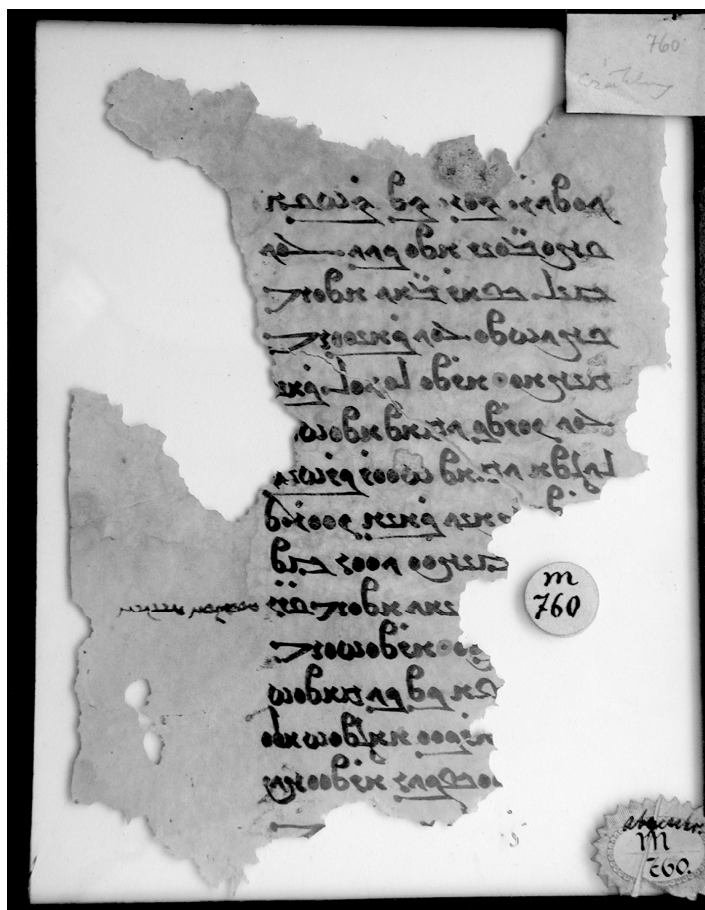
Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin — Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.

Photo: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

A.I.4 Single page from books (mostly fragmentary)

M760 [pl. 6]

Sogd., Uyg. Ruled margins.¹³ Tale. Publ. MORANO 2009, 185–187. 16.4×11.8 cm.



Pl. 6.

M760/R/

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin — Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.

Photo: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

¹³ Very often margins are ruled by vertical tiny red lines. In some cases they form, with horizontal red lines, a grid which encompasses the text.

This is an almost entire page from a book of tales, of which several other fragments are in the Berlin collection.¹⁴ In some places Uyğur glosses, or rather translations of Sogdian words of the text, either on margin or between lines, are present: a unique feature among the Sogdian Manichaean texts, as far as we know.¹⁵ See also below B.I.1.

A.II. Large folio (often re-used)

A.II.1 used for letters (verso blank¹⁶ or with Uyğur text)

M112+M146a+M336c [pl. 7]

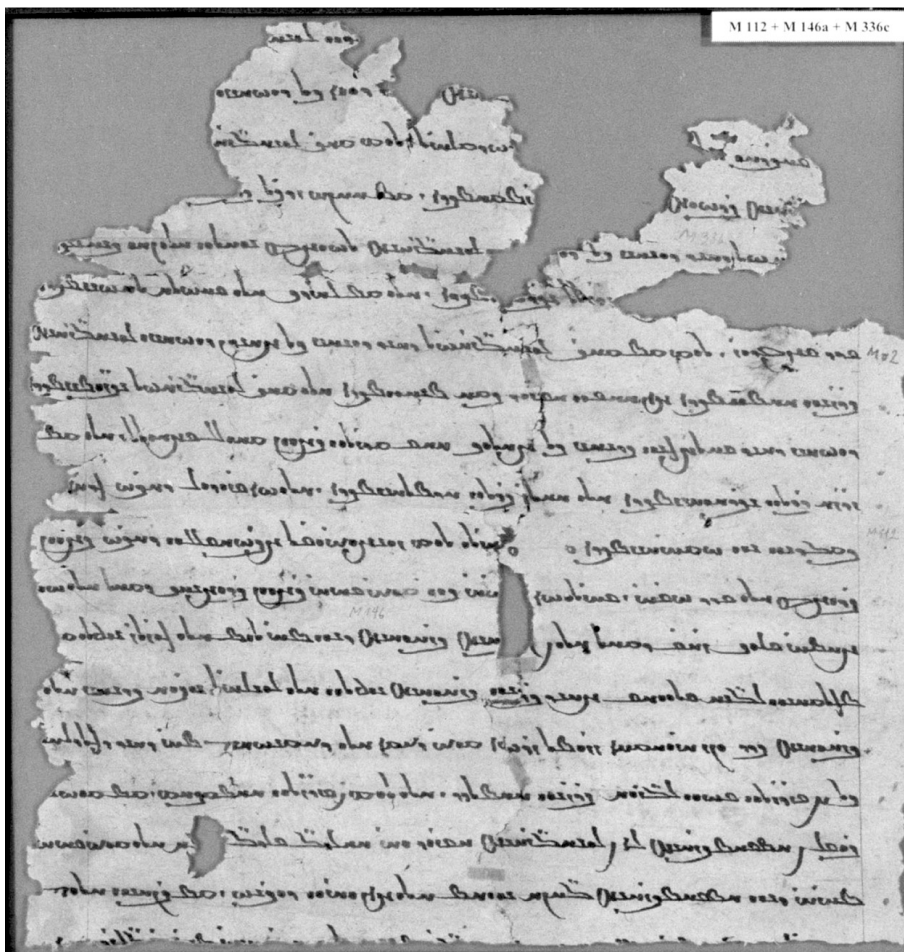
/R/ Sogd.; /V/ Uyğ. Joins M146a and M336c. Letter, publ. SUNDERMANN 1980, 305–06, I (14–42). [Photo: WEBER 2000, pl. 24]. Re-publ. SUNDERMANN 2008, 405ff. /V/ see WILKENS 2000, 66f., N. 41. 27×26 cm.

In the Berlin Collection there are at least three examples of large sheets of fine paper used for private letters. The verso side is in some cases left blank, in some others re-used by the Uyğurs.

¹⁴ See MORANO 2009, 181.

¹⁵ The book could have been belonged to a schoolboy, or perhaps to a learned man, who annotated some Sogdian words with the corresponding Uyğur words.

¹⁶ Some fragments have a blank verso. This could indicate, if found on pages from a codex, that a page was left blank on purpose, for instance at the end of a section, or to leave room for a painting or illumination, see GULÁCSI 2005, 96 and 195. In case of letters written on very large thin paper, like the one shown here, the text of the letter was written only on one side, and the blank side was re-used later by the Uyğurs. Of the three Manichaean letters (two published by SUNDERMANN 1980 and 2008) only the third one, published by BENKATO 2016, 200ff., has the verso still blank. For some reason all examples of letters in cursive script we have are written on one side only, the other side being left blank, or re-used by others, see the table in BENKATO 2016, 199.



Pl. 7.

M112+M146a+M336c

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in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin — Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.
Photo: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

A.III. Page cut vertically from a Chinese scroll

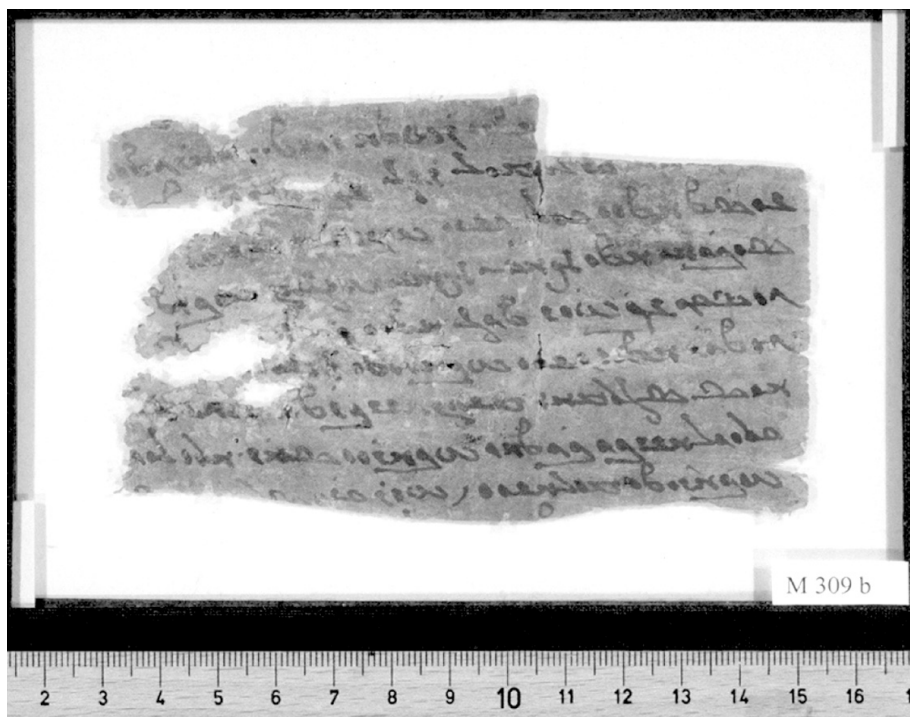
A.III.1 used for several texts, such as letters, tales, glossaries, etc.

M309b [pl. 8]

/R/ Sogd.; /V/ Chin. /R/: tale.

Chinese Buddhist texts (VI–X centuries AD) were written on a scroll measuring ca. 26 cm (in height). The fragment M309b measures ca. 12 cm and one may assume another ca. 14 cm for the gap. On the other hand, many Manichaean Sogdian texts were written on just half the Chinese scroll (that is, the scrolls were cut into half vertically in order to write Manichaean texts). In this case they used the blank side to write a tale. Published in MORANO 2017a.





Pl. 8.
M309b

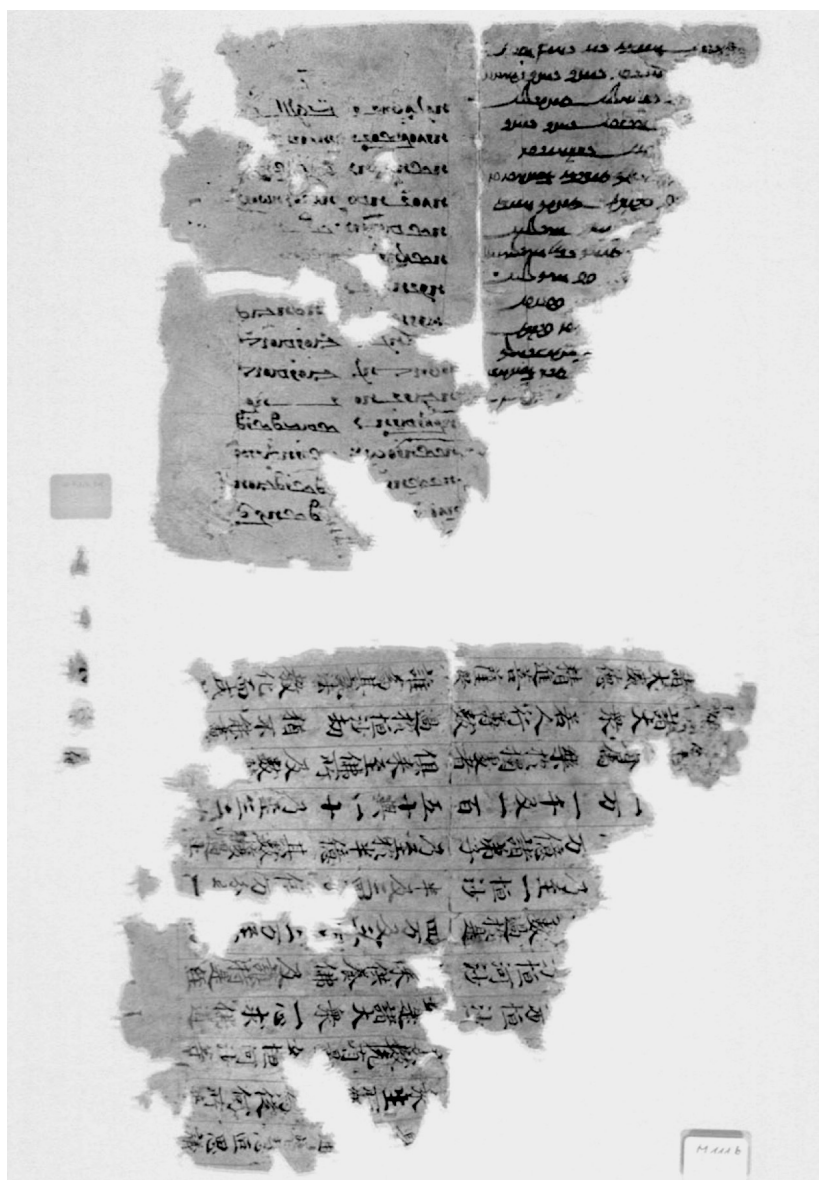
Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin — Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.
Photo: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

M111+M725/I/ [pl. 9]

/I/ Pe., Pth., MSogd.; /II/ Turk. Joins M725. Ruled margins. Pe./Pth. and Sogd. glossary. Publ. HENNING 1940, 21 [photo: WEBER 2000, pl. 22–23].

“The page was formed by gumming together the inscribed sides of two pieces of paper which had been cut from a Chinese roll. Slightly damaged. 12 by 18 cm. Medium-sized writing. — An affixed page contains an Uiyur text of unknown contents”.¹⁷ /II/ see WILKENS 2000, 303f., N. 339: “Lobpreis auf einem Herrscher, Erwähnung eines Gewissen M(a)r Šad Išū. Ab /V/13/ Beginn eines weiteren Hymnus”.

¹⁷ HENNING 1940: 15 frgm. b.



Pl. 9.

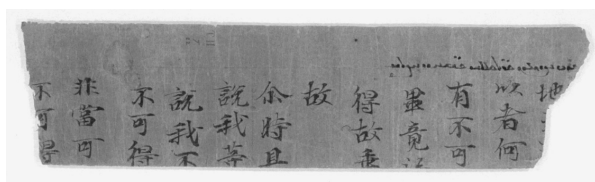
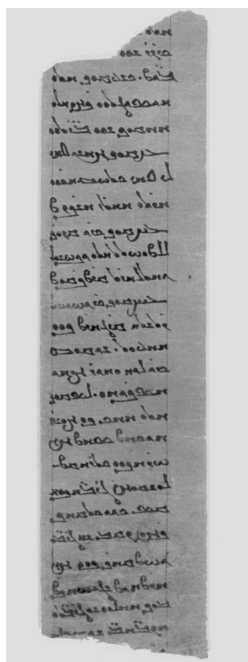
M111+M725/I/

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin — Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.
Photo: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

A.III.2 Almost all the Sogdian manuscripts in Manichaean script are pages, or fragments from pages, of codices. Only in one case (M7420) we have a small scroll, cut from a Chinese scroll, containing an abstract of the parable of the Religion and the Ocean written vertically on the verso.

M7420 [pl. 9bis]

/R/ MSogd., /V/ Chin., MSogd. (1 line written in margin). Abbreviated version of *Āzand-nāme*. Publ. SUNDERMANN 1985, 36 [ph. XXI], re-edited BENKATO 2017, 112–114. 22, × 5.6 cm.



Pl. 9bis.

M7420 [T II T 22]

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin — Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.

Photo: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

B Languages

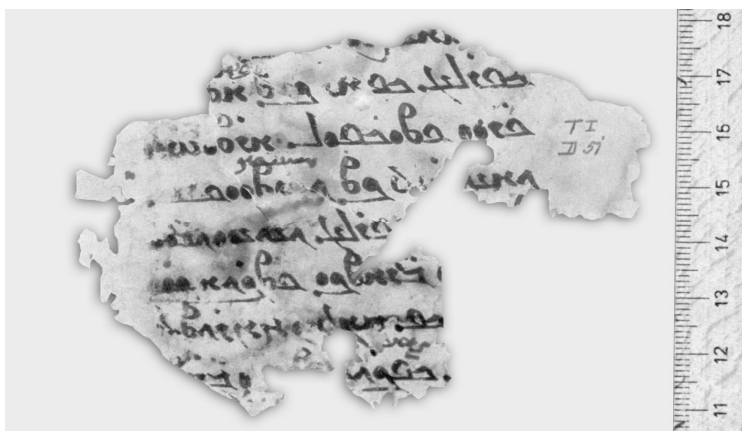
B.I. One language

Even if most of the Sogdian fragments written in Manichaean script containing Sogdian text are monolingual, we also find bilingual and trilingual texts. A valid explanation of these “polylingual” texts is given by (HENNING 1937, 14): Persian, the language in which Mani also wrote, is the holy language of the Manichaeans in Turkestan, beside it is the Parthian language, in which Mani’s Apostles had preached their religion East of Iran. The colloquial language of the Manichaeans in Turkestan, insofar as they were Iranians, was Sogdian. The uneducated Electi, and, of course, the Auditors generally only understood Sogdian; the majority of the Manichaeans in Turkestan consisted of Sogdians. In one case the Sogdian text has notes, or words written between lines or on margin. Among bilingual texts there are quite a few fragments of West Middle Iranian/Sogdian glossaries. In some cases we have examples of Sogdian/Uygur glossaries. Some texts are really bilingual, having verses of hymns in the original, interlined with their Sogdian translation. The Manichaean *Bet- und Beichtbuch* (BBB) has parts written in Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian.

B.I.1

M3611+M1134 [pl. 10]

Sogd., Uyg. Ruled margins. Tale. Publ. MORANO 2009, 187–188.
16.4×11.8 cm.



Pl. 10.

M3611+M1134/V/

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
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Photo: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

This text, and other fragments from the same manuscript (see above A.I.4 with pl. 6), has some Uygur glosses, or rather words translating the Sogdian written between the lines or on margin.

B.II. Two languages

B.II.1

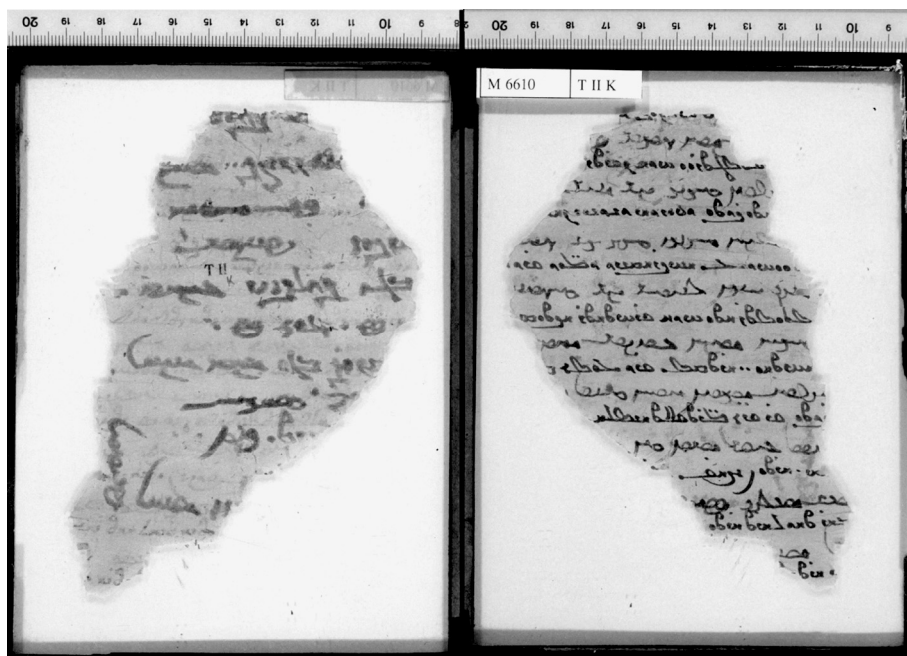
Two or more languages and scripts

M6610 [pl. 11]

/A/ Sogd. in Man. script and Uyg. in Uyg. script interlined; /B/ alternate Uyg. words in Uyg. script and Sogdian words in Manichaean script. Contents: /A/ Two texts unrelated to one another written interlined; /B/ Sogdian/Uygur glossary.

This fragment holds on its two sides three different texts in two different languages: side /A/ contains two texts interlined, one in Sogdian and one in Uygur, unrelated one to the other, while side /B/ contains a Sogdian/Uygur glossary.¹⁸

¹⁸ The Sogdian/Uygur glossary on side /A/ and the Uygur text on side /B/ are published in ZIEME 2011, 957–958, and the Sogdian text on side /B/ in MORANO forthcoming.



Pl. 11.
M6610

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Photo: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

M6610/B/

Sogdian/Uygur glossary:

- *rynč* 'boy/son' — *og[an]* 'son'
- [...] — *b(ä)k katig* 'tight and hard'
- *z'jwrkyn* 'powerful' — *küčlüg* 'powerful'
- *xwδk'r* 'alone' — *yalguz* 'alone'
- [...] — *bo* 'this'
- *yn* 'this' — *bo* 'this'
- *mzyx βyw* 'Great Lord' — *ulux elig* 'Great King'
- *jyh* — *tugmak* 'birth'
- *jrt* '?' — *pyt* '?'
- *[δxšt](')* 'desert' — *ön körtük* 'desert'

B.II.2

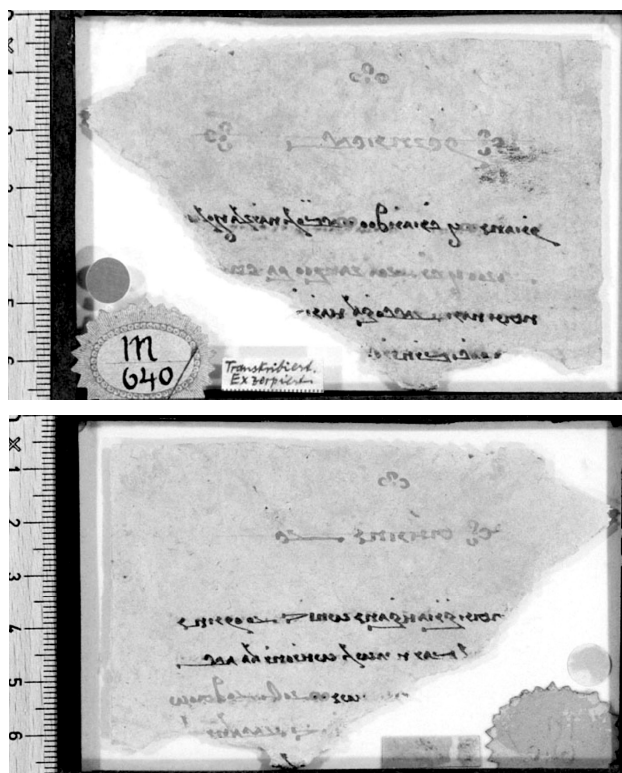
Three languages: Middle Persian, Sogdian and Uygur names and titles.

M640 [pl. 12]

Middle Persian, Sogd. caption, Uyg. names and titles.

Upper part of a sheet with headlines (red on the recto and blue on the verso) and rosettes. Middle Persian hymns to the Third Messenger (*mhr'n 'y zyn'rys*), Sogd. capt., Uyg. names and titles. 6.1×9.4 cm.¹⁹

The fragment contains quotations of the first lines of Middle Persian hymns with Sogdian captions indicating tune and dedication to Uygur dignitaries.



Pl. 12.

M640

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin — Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.

Photo: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

¹⁹ Publ. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2014, 32; re-published with emendations in MORANO forthcoming.

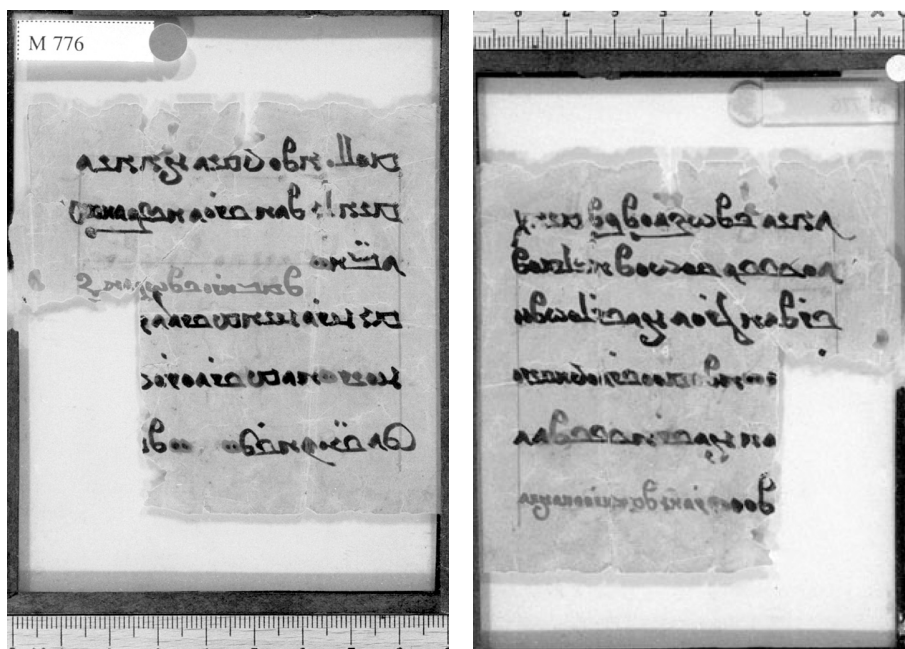
B.II.3

Bilingual texts: Middle Persian hymns with Sogdian translation strophe by strophe.

M776 [pl. 13]

Lines in Middle Persian followed by the Sogdian translation. Antiphonal Body-Soul hymn, same text as M114/II/ (Middle Persian). Ruled margins and horizontal grid-lines. Red captions. On /R/: “Body’s speech” (*tmb’ry pīškw’n*). 8.6×9.1 cm.

This interesting, almost complete page contains one of the few real bilingual texts, with verses of a Middle Persian Body-Soul antiphonal hymn followed by the Sogdian translation. Rubrics indicate the words of the Soul and the replies of the Body.²⁰



Pl. 13.

M776

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin — Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.
Photo: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

²⁰ The remnants of the Body-Soul hymn in Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian are reconstructed in MORANO 2017c.

C. Script

The Manichaean script, being by its nature a kind of “block script”, almost without ligatures, has only a few varieties. One can distinguish:

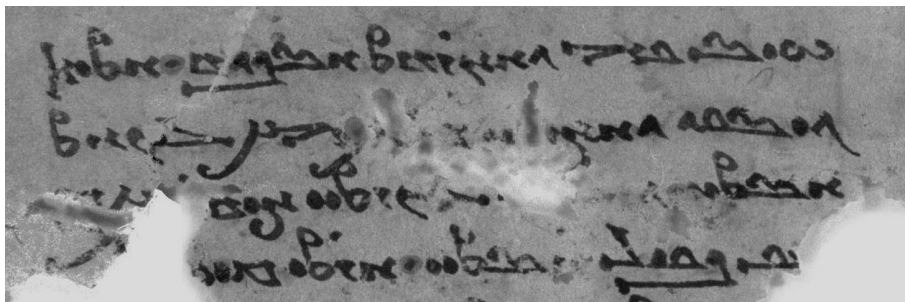
- normal script
- elegant semi-cursive script
- cursive bold
- cursive script
- ornamental script, used in headlines with a variety
- with calligraphically elaborated “rope” letters

C.I

Normal script

Each letter is written as if it were separated from one another, with no ligatures. The ductus is rather uniform and the upward and downward strokes are thick.

M548+M704

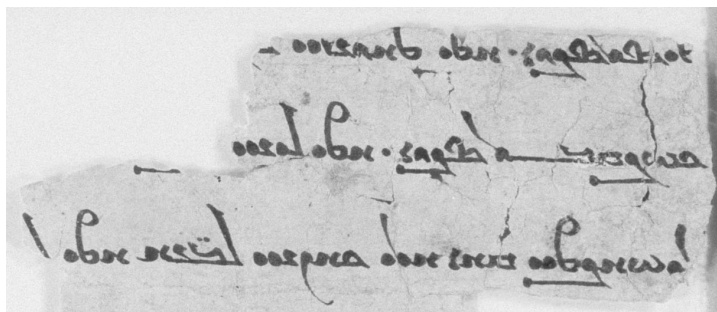


C.II

Elegant semi-cursive script

In some documents, mostly private letters, the script tends to be somehow more cursive. Some characters, such as *t* and *k* and *z*, have thinner upward or downward strokes and the letters tend to join, but without ligatures.

M1204

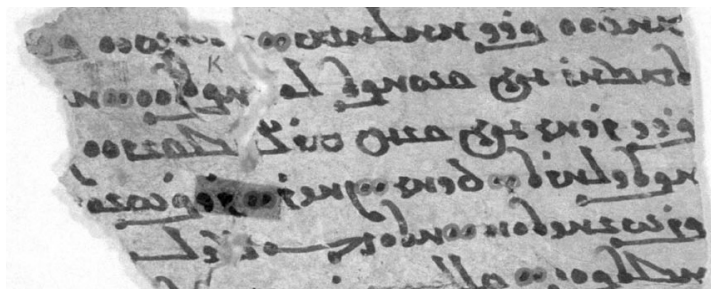


C.III

Cursive bold

A particular script style is found in a set of fragments from a manuscript containing a cosmogonical text, still unpublished.²¹ The characters are thick, i.e. bold, but the form of some letters, such as *t*, *'*, *s* and *w* are very similar to the proper cursive (see below) used in private letters.

M141+M6795



C.IV

Cursive script.²²

This script style, defined by Boyce as “fine spidery late hand”,²³ is used mostly in private letters. The characters are very thin and are frequently

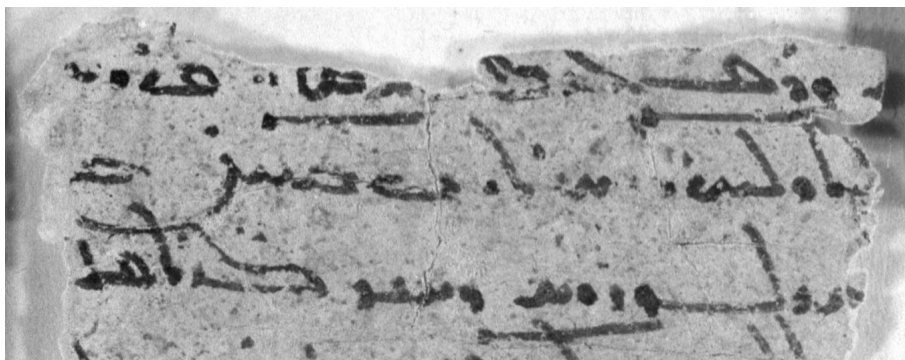
²¹ A publication of these very interesting texts is in preparation.

²² For a detailed description of this type of script, see BENKATO 2016, 212ff.

²³ BOYCE 1960, 32, on M483. There is no reason for accepting the definition “late” for this type of script. See BENKATO 2016, 199 and 216–217.

joined together. The shape, particularly of some letters such as *'*, *t*, *k*, *w*, *r* is definitely “cursive”, probably used by learned persons to write private letters. There are few other examples for the use of this script not in letters (e.g. M127, with short tales, not given here²⁴).

M513²⁵ (see also **M112+** [pl. 7])



C.V-VI, see below E.I-IV

D. Imprints

M406+M207 [pl. 14]

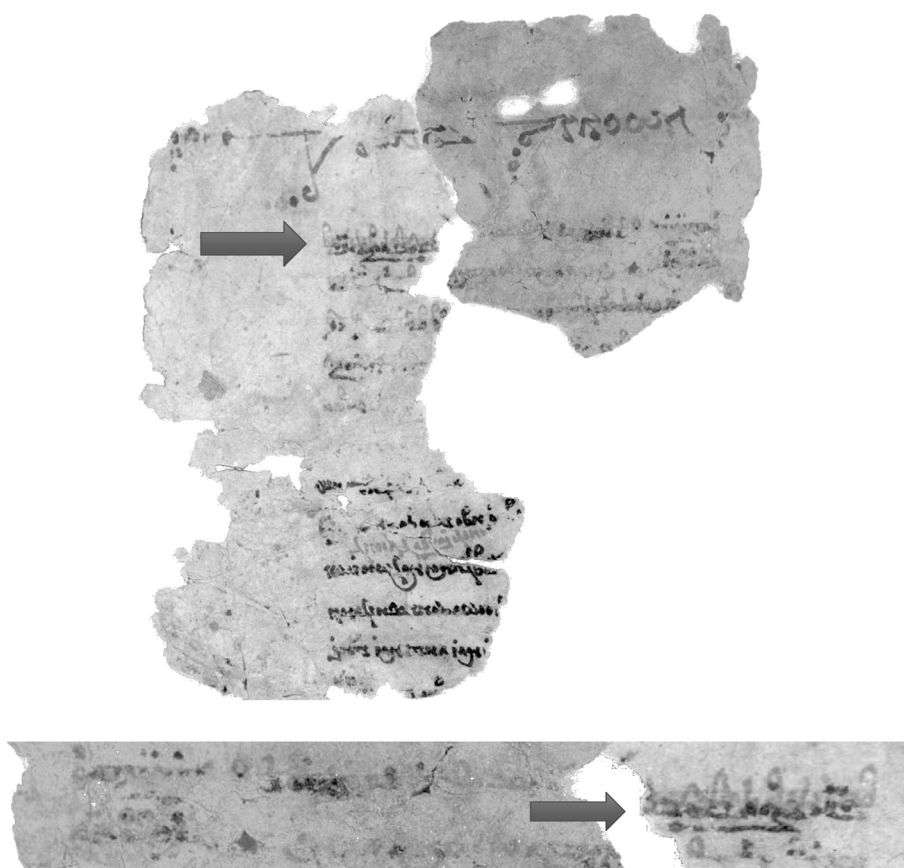
/R/ Sogd., Uyg. /V/ blank. Iranian and Uyg. names 10.4×12.5 cm.

Joining the two fragments together, it is possible to reconstruct the Sogdian headline *wšy'h n'm(y)h* “Book of memory” and to understand the list of names in the text as a list of dead persons, possibly high-ranking Uygur women.²⁶ Some lines have imprints from the previous page: at the end of the first line one can clearly see the word *frnxwnd* (*β*) [“glorious” mirrored from the preceding page.

²⁴ See MORANO 2013, 333–334, fig. 1 and 2.

²⁵ This fragment, together with the joining M483, is published by BENKATO 2016, 204ff.

²⁶ The text is published in MORANO forthcoming.



Pl. 14.

M406+M207

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
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Photo: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

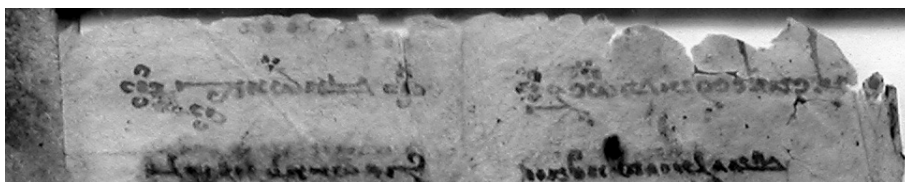
E. Captions and Headlines

The colour of the headlines varies. The most used colour for headlines is red, sometimes alternating with blue in the facing page. Red-blue rosettes encompass the headline and adorn the dots above the letters and upward and downward strokes. Captions and colophons are normally written in red ink. In the *Manichaean Bet- und Beichtbuch* (BBB)²⁷ headlines are written in four different colours, described in detail by Henning²⁸ as “mennige, kobaltblau, oliv” and “karmin”. This beautiful miniature book is now sealed in glass, and only one double page is visible.²⁹ The sheets were last removed from the glass when they were photographed for publication in WEBER 2000. Unfortunately all photographs are in black and white and the colours are thus not distinguishable. A new set of colour photographs of this masterpiece is badly needed.

E.I

Simple coloured Headline

M137



E.II

Elaborated coloured Headlines

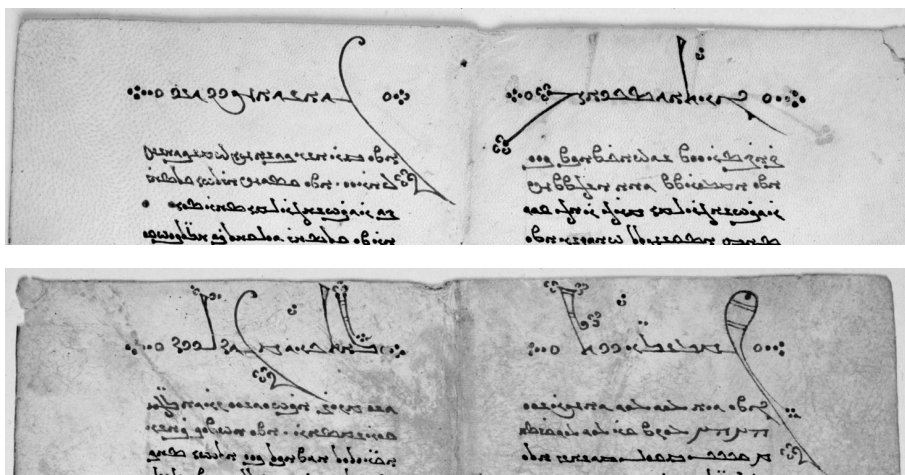
In this magnificent example of Manichaean calligraphy two colours, dark blue and green, are used for the very fine headlines, enriched by particularly developed initials and by monochrome rosettes. The first two lines of each page are written in red ink.

²⁷ See above A.I and pl. 1.

²⁸ HENNING 1936, 4–5.

²⁹ See here pl. 1.

M178 (on white leather, see above A.I.2)

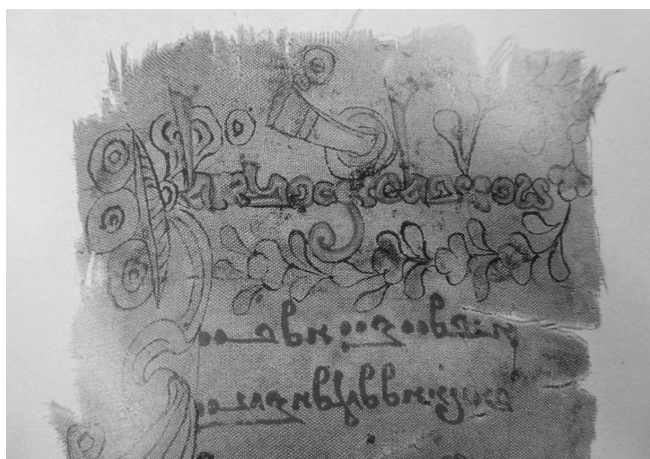


E.III

Headline with calligraphically elaborated “rope” letters

This kind of contour-defined lines, which create a three-dimensional effect like the rounded surface of a rope, is described in detail by GULÁCSI 2005, 99.

MIK III 4981 (on silk)³⁰

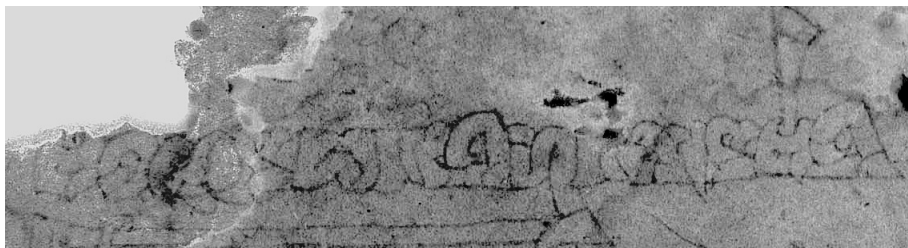


³⁰ A few codex fragments on silk were found in the Turfan area, see GULÁCSI 2005, 20 and 25 with footnote 31.

E.IV

Unfinished headline with calligraphically elaborated “rope” letters

(M548+M704)



In this case the elaborated headline looks like a kind of sinoper, waiting to be filled in with colours, like the one on **M171**.³¹ It is remarkable how the “overlapping components of certain letters introduce an additional way to create the impression that some parts of the letters are closer to the viewer than others”.³² These two fragments, still unpublished, were joined by me and will be edited in MORANO forthcoming 2.

Abbreviations

BBB = Henning 1936

Pl. = Plate

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³¹ See GULÁCSI 2005, 139, fig. b.

³² GULÁCSI 2005, 99.

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Olga Chunakova

**Middle Iranian Manichaean manuscripts.
Interpretation and identification***

Abstract: The present paper provides an interpretation of the Parthian fragment SI 5576 belonging to the Serindian Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences. The poorly preserved text is a hymn dedicated to Wisdom and, perhaps, is an adaptation of a Mandaean text. Its contents suggest that it was performed during the Bema, the main Manichaean holiday. The fragment's paper, ink, handwriting, and the Chinese text on the recto side show that it is part of the same manuscript as the fragment M 4590 belonging to the Berlin Turfan Collection, and that the manuscript seems to have been a list of hymns to be performed during the Bema holiday.

Key words: Manichaeism, Manichaean literature, Parthian language, Turfan texts

1. Introduction

The Middle Iranian Manichaean manuscripts belonging to the St. Petersburg Collection comprise about one hundred fifty manuscript fragments in the Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian languages in Manichaean and Sogdian script. While some of these writings consist of nearly intact leaves, most of them are very small fragments: the St. Petersburg Collection contains no complete codex or scroll. The fragmentary character of this material, together with the fact that some of the missing pieces are often kept in other collections, raises fundamental problems in understanding what we are dealing with. Besides having a solid knowledge of the collections which are taken into consideration as well as of the history of the phenomena that produced the material under investigation, a combination of codicological, palaeographical, philological and linguistic skills is required.

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* I am very grateful to Dr. Chiara Barbati for a careful reading of the article and making useful suggestions and comments.

From the point of view of material aspects, the present contribution is aimed at demonstrating that two fragments — one belonging to the St. Petersburg Collection, i.e. SI 5576, and the other one belonging to the Berlin Turfan Collection, i.e. M 4590, — are part of the same manuscript.

From the point of view of literary aspects, the kind of text which is preserved in these two fragments will be discussed. Particular attention will be devoted to the purposes of the use and to the user.

2. The fragments SI 5576 and M 4590

The fragment SI 5576 belongs to the St. Petersburg Collection. Its dimensions are 8.7×12.7 cm. It is part of a scroll: it is well known that many Manichaean texts were written on the *verso* side of re-used Chinese scroll.¹ The *recto* side contains 5 writing lines in Chinese language corresponding to Taishō Tripiṭaka, vol. 15, sutra 614, p. 274b, ll. 1–5.² The *verso* side contains 13 writing lines and, in turns, each writing line consists of about 45 letters. The size of the letters is circa 0.2 cm and the line spacing is 0.6 cm. Only the inner margin is partially preserved. The finding place of this fragment is unknown. The fragment is written on paper. The text is written in black iron gall ink that contains chemical elements leading to the oxidization and the consequent destruction of the paper.³ SI 5576 is written in cursive. Besides, the fragment was at some moment restored and glued onto tracing paper.⁴ In so doing, the tears have been badly aligned with the lines and some letters have overlapped making the reading more difficult.

The fragment M 4590 (T II D 31) belongs to the Berlin Turfan Collection and is available online at http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/m/images/m4590_recto.jpg. The dimensions of the fragment are: 10.8×12.7 cm. The fragment includes part of a margin. According to M. Boyce, the fragment was found in Khočo.⁵ It was part of a scroll. M 4590 (T II D 31) is written on paper. One side shows a Chinese text corresponding to Taishō Tripiṭaka, vol. 15, sutra 614,

¹ For more information on the Manichaean scrolls see GULÁCSI 2005, 88–91.

² Identified by Viacheslav Zaytsev, the researcher of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, whom I am deeply grateful.

³ I thank Liubov Kriakina, the leading artist-restorer of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, for this information.

⁴ According to Liubov Kriakina, restoration could have been done at the Institute in the late forties — early fifties.

⁵ See BOYCE 1960, XXXIII.

p. 274b, ll. 13–17,⁶ and the other side contains 13 writing lines in the Parthian language — including some Middle Persian words — in Manichaean script. The text is written in black ink. The height of letters is 0.2 cm, line spacing is 0.6 cm.

Due to paleographical reasons, it seems to me that the fragment SI 5576 and the fragment M 4590 have been written in the same handwriting, with the same shape and size of the letters, and that they belong to the same manuscript. If SI 5576 and M 4590 belong to the same manuscript, and, as we have seen, M 4590 was found in Khočo, we can assume that SI 5576 was also found in Khočo.

3. Devotion to Wisdom and Bema feast

The fragment SI 5576 belonging to the St. Petersburg collection contains about 45 legible words including prepositions *pd*, *'w*, *'c*, copula *'wd* and relative pronoun *cy* used to express attribution. The first sentence of the text (ll. 4–5) contains the name Mani, the founder of the Manichaean religion: *'z m'ry m'ny fryštg* “I, Lord Mani, the messenger (or: apostle)”. Further (l. 4), the name *'whrmyzdbg*, i.e. the First Man of the Iranian Manichaean Iranian texts is legible, then the verbal form *'gd hym* “I arrived” (1st person singular) and the expression *pd 'xšd'gyft 'c whyšt* “from the paradise with grace”. The next passage (ll. 5–6) shows a period represented with two double-dots contains about 10 illegible letters and ends with the words *pd jyryft cy w'xt fryštg rwšn* “the wisdom pronounced by the Messenger of light (i.e. Mani)”. The sixth and the seventh writing lines contain three subjunctive verbs (1st person plural): *'fryn'm* “let us praise”, *bwg wynd'm* “let us find salvation” and *'bxrws'm jyryft* “let us glorify the wisdom”. The imperative verbal form *'zgwlyd* “you, listen!” occurs in the tenth writing line. The eighth line shows about ten missing letters and a very legible verbal form, i.e. the participle *nbyštg* “written”. The ninth–eleventh lines show a clear Manichaean terminology: *qyrbg* “piety”, *rwšn* “light”, *r'z cy mrdwhm'n* “mystery of humans” — known to have been revealed to the people by Mani who declared that light was inside the matter — and the noun *šwb'n* “shepherd”.⁷

⁶ I thank Viacheslav Zaytsev for this identification.

⁷ I would like to thank Prof. D. Durkin-Meisterernst for helping in reading the Petersburg fragment SI 5576. For the publication of the fragment see CHUNAKOVA 2015, 59–64.

The word *jyryft* “wisdom” can be found twice (ll. 5 and 7) in the fragment SI 5576. The third line, i.e. the first preserved one contains a passive participle and the adjective *jyryftyg* formed by the noun *jyryft* and the most common suffix for forming adjectives from nouns — *yg*: *nys ’r’d jyryftyg*, i.e. “begun is the (hymn) (dedicated) to Wisdom”. This phrase was a standard formula preceding the text of a hymn in Manichaean manuscripts.

The text preserved in the fragment SI 5576 should be considered prosaic as it does not show any of the peculiarities belonging to poetry: no alphabetical order of the passages, no blank lines, the words are not broken into syllables and they are not provided with the final vowel ’ [ā] indicating that the word should be sung. Nevertheless, it was meant to be read during a liturgy. The proof can be found in the structure of the text. The phrase ascribed to Mani (ll. 4–5) is followed by the words that a priest uses to address to the audience: *’fryn’m* “let us praise”, *bwg wynd’m* “let us find salvation”, *’bxrws’m jyryft* “let us glorify the Wisdom”, *’zgwlyd* “listen!”.

The statement that Mani descended from the paradise (ll. 4–5) is a direct indication to the purpose of the text: it was evidently read during the main Manichaean feast commemorating Mani’s death.⁸ Celebrated extremely solemnly, that feast took place in March and was called “Bema” in Greek (literally “throne, altar”). That Greek word is common in Iranian Manichaean texts along with Middle Persian and Parthian *g’h*⁹ and Sogdian *c’yd’n*.¹⁰ The name was derived from a special seat, a throne, upon which Mani’s portrait was placed. During the feast, the congregation appealed to Mani begging for the remission of the sins they had committed, and addressed to the Gods, Mani, and other apostles with prayers and songs.

Peculiar is the topic itself: the hymn is devoted to Wisdom. In that respect, this Manichaean hymn seems to be unique because we do not have any other example of a hymn to Wisdom in the Turfan collections, though similar compositions are predominant among the Turfan finds, where many are dedicated to the Father of Greatness, to the Living Spirit, to Jesus, etc. These compositions have been transmitted in multiple copies. However, Wisdom was the basic notion of the Mandaean religion to which belonged Mani’s father and Mani himself before breaking with the movement at the age of twelve when he received his first revelation.¹¹ The parallels between the

⁸ See HENNING 1936, 9.

⁹ See DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, 161.

¹⁰ See SIMS-WILLIAMS and DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2012, 63.

¹¹ See WIDENGREN 2001, 45–47.

Manichaeans and the Mandaeans as expressed in their myths, ideology, terminology, and rituals are well known.¹² Moreover, at the end of the tenth line we can read the name *Šytyl* which is the Mandaean rendering of the name *Seth*,¹³ a righteous man known from the apocryphal Christian tradition and considered an apostle by the Manichaeans.

In all published Middle Iranian Manichaean Turfan fragments the name of this apostle is mentioned only three times: once, in the fragment M 1859, a Western Iranian cosmogonic hymn;¹⁴ the second time, in the Middle Persian version of the famous Manichaean canon “The Book of Giants” containing the list of the apostles–*šytyl*, *zdrwšt*, *bwt*, *mšyh*’ (*Štīl*, *Zarathustra*, *Buddha*, *Christ*)¹⁵ and, finally, in the Sogdian hymn M 5264.¹⁶ It is also mentioned in two unpublished texts: in the Sogdian M 1071 and in the Parthian M 32b (A).¹⁷ Besides, the mention of the Mandaean book *Qolasta* in the unreleased Sogdian colophon to the Parthian text in the manuscript M 481 confirms the existence of contacts between the Mandaeans and the Manichaeans.¹⁸ For all these reasons, it is quite possible that this Parthian hymn is a translation of a Mandaean original text.

Of course, there is another point of view suggesting that Mani had grown up among the Judaeo-Christian Elchasaites.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the influence caused by multiple religious movements existing in the Prophet’s native land, Southern Babylonia, over the Manichaeans is undeniable.

Deserving attention is the expression *’z m’ry m’ny* “I, Lord Mani”. The honorific *mar* (Parthian *m’r*, *m’ry* from Aramaic *m’ry*, literary “my Lord”) would not have been used by Mani himself:²⁰ this circumstance suggests a later dating for the composition.

In the second line of the fragment SI 5576, the letter *sade* [c] is legible and is followed by a few missing letters. The bottom part of the last letter

¹² See WIDENGREN 2001, 20–42.

¹³ See SMAGINA 2011, 370.

¹⁴ See SUNDERMANN 1973, 77.

¹⁵ See HENNING 1943, 58, 63 (A 153–154).

¹⁶ See MORANO 2017, 174–176.

¹⁷ I thank Dr. E. Morano for this information (e-mail 25.09.2015).

¹⁸ For this information (by e-mail 25.09.2015) I would also like to thank Dr. E. Morano. Besides, on the role that Aramaic and other languages have played by written down Iranian Manichaean psalms and hymns, see REITZENSTEIN 1921, 261; DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004a, 95–107; DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2007, 59–74.

¹⁹ See KHOSROYEV 2007, 109–112.

²⁰ See BOYCE 1975, 51, note 6. According to Dr. E. Morano (e-mail 25.09.2015), this phrase can be a quote from the initial lines of the Living Gospel.

could be that of the final *n*. It seems to me that *c* is placed aside, away from the beginning of the writing line and that it is written in a different handwriting, as letters are a little bigger and their slope is smaller. The position of the word precludes the idea that it is a title or the final word of a preceding text, so it is possible that here we see a note written by the copyst for his own use. A logical suggestion is that the word may be read as *c'yd'n* which was a Sogdian term denoting the feast of the Bema when the liturgy was to be served. As already demonstrated by Prof. N. Sims-Williams in analyzing a Sogdian manuscript fragment kept in the Petersburg Collection,²¹ we have texts that should have been read during the Bema fest. If my reading is correct, a Sogdian word is attested in the *verso* of the fragment SI 5576 which is written in Parthian language. It is well known that Middle Persian and Parthian manuscripts were usually copied at that time (8th–10th cc.) by the Sogdians inhabiting Eastern Turkestan. Therefore it is possible that we are dealing with a personal note which has been left by a Sogdian speaker who copied this Parthian text or by the owner of the manuscript.

The text preserved in the fragment M 4590 (T II D 31) belonging to the Berlin Turfan Collection preserves three paragraphs. Each paragraph consists of three writing lines starting with the participle *nys'r'd* “begun”²² which is followed by the titles of the hymns: *mhr 'y w'd jywndg* “hymn to The Living Spirit” (l. 3), hymn at the melody *pd bgr'stygr* (the Righteous God, i.e. The Father of Greatness, the supreme Manichaean deity, l. 6) and hymn *b'm'stwnyyg* “hymn to The Column of Glory” (l. 9). The title of the fourth hymn (l. 12) is missing; possibly, it was the *nwgm'h* “The New Moon”,²³ as its opening four letters are read as *nun – waw – gimmel – mim*, which might suggest a reference to the hymn addressed to Jesus. In any case, the epithet “The New Moon” can be found in hymn M 176 where it is applied to that Manichaean God or Prophet.²⁴ The lines with titles (ll. 3, 6, 9) are followed by two incomplete lines containing the initial words of those hymns. The second incomplete line of the fragment displays the letters *z'pt* which could be the end of the passive participle **frz'pt* (*/*hnz'pt*?) “finished”; the title of the hymn written on the previous non-saved missing

²¹ See SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981, 236.

²² For phrases beginning with a word meaning “begun” or “ended” see BENKATO 2017 (I am grateful to Dr. Chiara Barbati for this reference).

²³ The other reading — *nwg(s)[hr'fwryzdyg]* see SUNDERMANN 1979, 131, note 221.

²⁴ BOYCE 1975, 192–193.

lines is unknown, but it was dedicated to Ormizdbag (l. 2).²⁵ This list of the hymns shows no alphabetical order.

Both Collections, that of St. Petersburg and that of Berlin, have several fragments containing lists of Manichaean hymns which have been compiled according to different models. Among them, the best known is a two-folio fragment of the so-called *Mahrnāmag* “The Book of Hymns” kept in Berlin (with the inventory number M 1) and dated to the 9th c. It lists the opening lines of 55 various Middle-Persian hymns most of which are hymns devoted to the Living Soul and hymns for the souls of the dead. The principle according to which the hymns were collected remains obscure, as the alphabetic order is inconsistent;²⁶ it might be that the hymns were listed in accordance with a liturgical sequence.²⁷ Another list of Middle Persian compositions is kept in the Serindian Fund of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, with the inventory number SI 3160 (S 1). It was published by C. Salemann for the first time.²⁸ That list contains 10 Manichaean texts to be read during the *ymg’n* memorial days and the page opens with the statement that the list included 45 compositions. The preserved fragment lists the texts to be read during the first four memorial days:²⁹ the titles are written in the middle of the line and are inscribed in a rhombus of four dots. Therefore, that fragment lists the compositions to be read during the memorial days.

4. Conclusions

Through a paleographical study, it has been possible to identify a distinctive scribal hand and, in turn, the belonging of the fragment SI 5576 and of the fragment M 4590 to the same manuscript containing a list of the hymns to be performed during the Bema feast. As a rule, Manichaean

²⁵ It is worth mentioning that in the Coptic Bema psalm 219, the Firšt Man, i.e. Iranian Ormizdbag, also occurs together with the Living Spirit, the Righteous God, the Column of Glory and Jesus. See SMAGINA 2011, 439–441.

²⁶ See DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2006, XXXIX.

²⁷ See DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2006, 171, note 50.

²⁸ See SALEMANN 1904, 1–26.

²⁹ This is a good occasion to correct a mistake made by myself while translating this document for publishing: CHUNAKOVA 2011, 43. The four titles represented by denominative adjectives are certainly the names of these days, and by no means the titles of the compositions.

manuscripts intended for storage were written extremely carefully including ornamented opening lines. On the contrary, the fragment kept in St. Petersburg and the fragment kept in Berlin show a very simple *mise en texte*: only black ink, no ornament, and, above all, a cursive script that has not been written with particular care. All these elements suggest that the manuscript was produced for personal use.

Finally, if the first word of the Petersburg fragment was indeed a note mentioning the Bema ceremony during which the hymns were to be performed, this fragment must be considered the one preceding its Berlin counterpart. The Chinese text on the recto side confirms that. The circumstance that the first hymn dedicated to Wisdom is written in more detail than the others could be explained by the fact that it was a more rare (and possibly even unique) composition, while the subsequent hymns were common in Manichaean tradition, and therefore a single line was enough for their identification.

Abbreviations

Pl. = Plate

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Christiane Reck

Short Survey on Sogdian Manuscriptology

Abstract: The catalogue of the Middle Iranian fragments in Sogdian script in the Berlin Turfan collection in three volumes was completed in 2018. These fragments belong to the literature of the Manichaean, Buddhist and Christian communities in Turfan. Some specimens and peculiarities of these fragments referring to codicology, illustrations, headlines and numbering of folios will be presented.

Key words: Middle Iranian studies, Manuscriptology, Turfan fragments

Cataloguing any manuscript collection involves delving into codicology and its related fields, and hence the cataloguing¹ of the Sogdian texts in Sogdian script in the Berlin Turfan collection has required addressing various aspects of their codicology. Separate overviews of Manichaean, Christian, and Buddhist texts in Sogdian script have been published as a result of this cataloguing work.² This article intends to give a brief overview of some specimen of the texts in Sogdian script.

Among the Sogdian manuscript fragments from Turfan preserved today, there is an observable relationship between book formats and religious affiliation: in particular, Manichaean literature is mainly preserved in codices and scrolls, Buddhist literature in scrolls and pustaka books, and Christian literature in codices only. There are, of course, some exceptions, which means, that some few Manichaean and Christian pustaka books and leaves, in both Manichaean and Sogdian scripts, are to be found.³ The distinctive feature of pustaka leaves besides the binding hole and circle

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¹ Carried out as part of the Union Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in German Collections project, the results of which are now completely published: see RECK 2006, 2016 and 2018.

² See in particular RECK 2008, 2010, 2014a, 2014b and 2017.

³ For a more detailed discussion of this last group, see RECK 2014b, and especially Table 2 in RECK 2014a, 543.

around it is the fact that in the case of so-called long lined leaves the script stands on the top after turning the leave in horizontal direction. That's why these leaves could not have been bound into a codex and should have been part of a pustaka leave.

However, because of the texts' fragmentary state, several types of evidence — including decoration, headlines, incipit or explicit formulae, or script — must be considered in order to determine not only religious affiliation, but also often the type of manuscript they represent.

Most of the typical Manichaean codex book fragments in Sogdian script show no specific decorative elements other than headlines written in red or blue color and adorned with flowers at the top corners of the page (**pl. 1**).⁴ Sections or separate texts within a manuscript are often distinguished by means of incipit and explicit formulae (**pl. 2**), though these are not always preserved.⁵ The highest quality Manichaean manuscripts, those in Sogdian included, were sometimes adorned with both illuminations and/or line drawings, often unrelated to the content of the text.⁶ A typical example of such are the fragments So 18700+M 501e+III 6261 (**pl. 3**), a text which contains a passage known from the preface to Burzōy's *Kalila wa Dimna*.⁷ The small drawing of a musician playing on a flute on the margin has no relation to the text describing the tribulations of the human existence.

Many of the Manichaean texts are written on scrolls, in particular on the versos of re-used Chinese Buddhist scrolls. The best preserved example of such is the so-called *Āzandnāmē* 'Parable-Book' (**pl. 4**),⁸ in this and similar examples, there is also Sogdian writing on the Chinese side, typically short notices or scribbles. Manichaean texts are also sometimes written in columns containing lists also on the blank versos of Chinese scrolls. These columns are not a form of increasing the beauty and importance of a manuscript but executed in a negligent way with hand-ruled lines. Some of the scrolls were halved in height — this format was presumably popular because its smaller size made it more portable (**pl. 5**).⁹

⁴ For the Manuscriptology of the Middle Iranian Manichaean fragments from Turfan see COLDITZ 2013. For details of the colours see Durkin-Meisterernst et. al. 2016, 11–12.

⁵ See BENKATO 2017b for a recent study of these formulae.

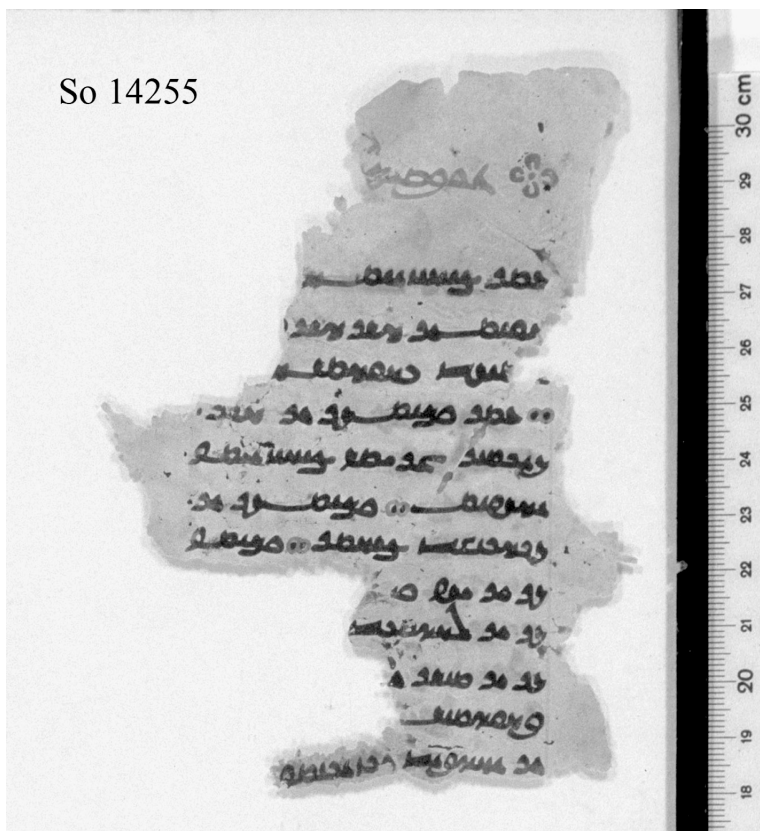
⁶ GULÁCSI 2005, 195–219.

⁷ GULÁCSI 2001, # 9 and # 41; GULÁCSI 2005, 158. Edition by RECK 2005, 338–341 with facsimiles on 434–435, joining see RECK 2006, 215–217 # 293.

⁸ See SUNDERMANN 1985 and BENKATO 2017a for a new edition and textual commentary on the *Āzandnāmē*.

⁹ HENNING 1940, 5 (Fragments III = So 14700(13), and IV = So 14700(12)), facs.: WEBER 2000, pl. 169 and 170; YOSHIDA 2000, 71–74, facs.: 78; RECK 2009, 219–221, Taf. IX.

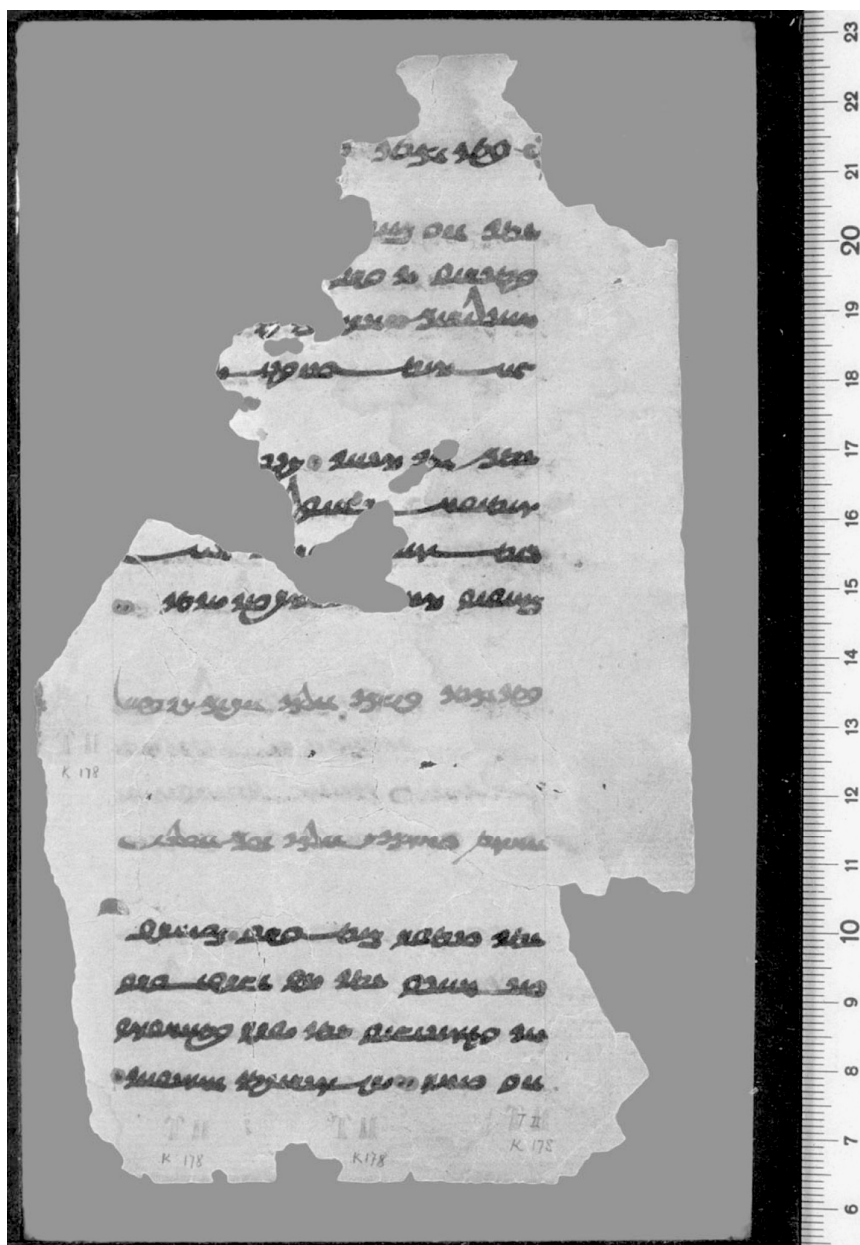
So 14255



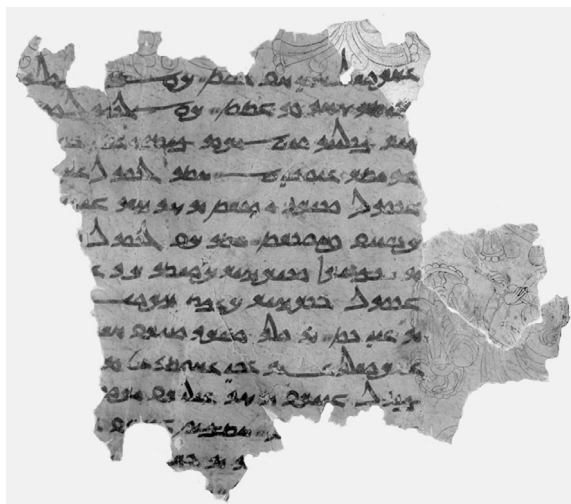
Pl. 1.

So 14255/recto

Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin



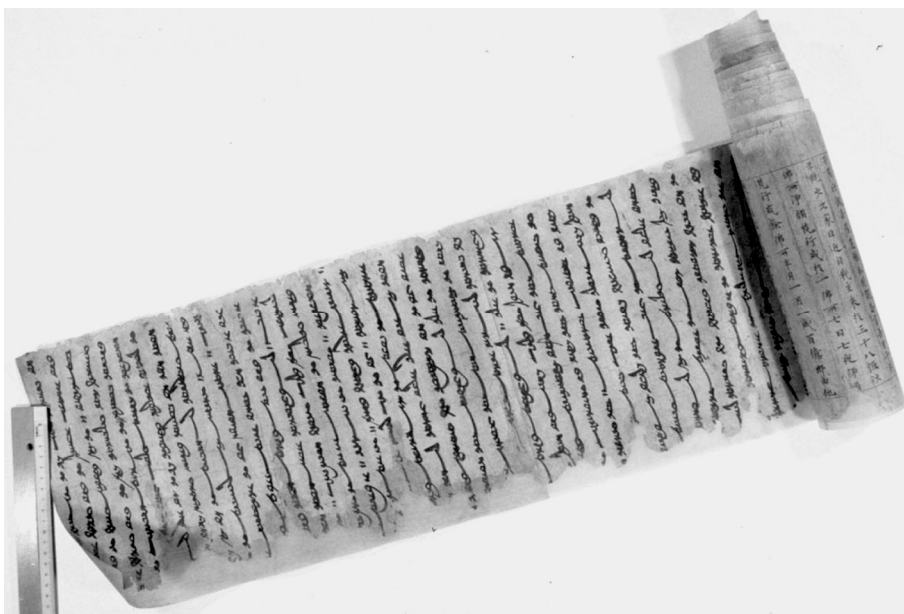
Pl. 2.
So 14615/verso
Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin



Pl. 3.

So 18700+M 501e+III 6261

Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin



Pl. 4.

Ch/So 20182

Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin



Pl. 5.

Ch/So 14760/verso and Ch/So 14761/verso

Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

There are some fifty Christian fragments in Sogdian script in the collection. The most well-known are the two types of the Book of Psalms: the first is characterized by Syriac rubrics at the beginning of each psalm (pl. 6), while the other has a Greek line on the upper margin which marks the beginning of the psalm in Sogdian (pl. 7).¹⁰ Another group of fragments, possibly containing a Sogdian version of the *Dormitio Virginis*, uses a unique brown ink (pl. 8).¹¹ The brown ink was analysed within a research project on pigments in the Turfan materials. It was interpreted in the result as faded colour exceptional among the other inks, because it “was composed with an organic dye not been identified yet”.¹² Interestingly, neither Manichaean nor Christian codices in Sogdian script have page numbers; no Manichaean codices in Manichaean script have page numbers either, while Christian Sogdian codices in Syriac script often bear quire numbers. Some of the Christian manuscripts in Sogdian script do bear a cross on the upper outer corner of the verso side.¹³

As mentioned above, many Buddhist Sogdian texts are written on scrolls. In contrast to the Manichaean scrolls, these are typically new scrolls produced especially for the writing of Buddhist texts. Later, the blank versos of these were often re-used for the writing of Buddhist texts in Old Turkic. A typical example is a fragment of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* (pl. 9).¹⁴ Sogdian Buddhist texts are often also written in the *pustaka*, or *poṭhi*, format. Two types can be distinguished: “long-lined” (pl. 10) and “short-lined” (pl. 11) *pustaka* leaves as called by YOSHIDA.¹⁵ Both types often have foliation headlines, above the main text in the former and at the beginning of the text in the latter. The foliation headlines contain usually a shortened title, the number of the book or chapter (given as an ordinal number) and the number of the leaf (given as a numeral) with the classifier *pttr* ‘leaf’. These headlines are usually written in a smaller script. Sometimes only a number is written. In one case this foliation number is written in Chinese.¹⁶ These foliation

¹⁰ For the first of these, see SCHWARTZ and SIMS-WILLIAMS 2014, pl. II, and for the second see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2004; SIMS-WILLIAMS 2011.

¹¹ RECK 2008, 193–194, and 200–202, pl. 2–5 and RECK 2018, 59–60.

¹² DURKIN-MEISTERERNST et. al. 2016, 11.

¹³ RECK 2008, 194, see also BARBATI 2016, 38. For the Manuscriptology of the Christian Sogdian fragments in East Syriac script see BARBATI 2017.

¹⁴ MÜLLER and LENTZ 1934, 38–43 [539–544], text 7 (T II Y[ār χōtō] 50a = So 14850), for the Old Turkic text, see ZIEME 2007, 115–121.

¹⁵ YOSHIDA 2015, 837.

¹⁶ BENVENISTE 1940a, 154–158 (P3).

headlines or numbers are situated more often on the recto, though they can also be written on the verso as is typical for Old Turkic texts.¹⁷ As already assumed by Henning¹⁸ in both scrolls and pustaka books the script runs vertically.

The title of a text is also sometimes mentioned in the colophon, though a colophon is preserved only in a handful of cases.¹⁹ The colophons often are separated from the main text by more elaborate punctuation, and the script is often in a different size (**pl. 12**). The scribes or other persons mentioned in the colophons bear Old Turkic names, and sometimes the colophon is even written in Old Turkic.²⁰ To aid in locating a scroll in an ancient library, a title was often written on the outside of the rolled-up scroll — such titles are preserved in only two cases, however, in the *Sūtra of Causes and Effects* (P4, Pelliot Chinois 3516) and So 16110(1)+So 16123.²¹ Some of the Buddhist manuscripts are illustrated as well. The most prominent example is the luxury pustaka volume of the Araṇemi-Jātaka, where in the opened volume on one side the story is told and on the other side the matching illustration is situated.²² There are also a few other fragments with illustrations, which one has not been able to identify as yet (**pl. 13**).²³

There are several kinds of script the use of which also aligns, to some extent, with book format and religious affiliation. Buddhist texts are typically written in the ‘formal’ variant of the Sogdian script, though it is not limited to texts that are Buddhist in content, but also appears in pharmacological fragments, for example. Such a text shall be edited by A. Benkato and Ch. Reck in this volume as well in connection with a short survey on the Sogdian medical fragments. Most of the Manichaean texts are written in various calligraphic forms of the regular Sogdian script, as are the Christian texts, and even some of the Buddhist texts. Script variety is hence not distinctive enough on its own to identify a fragment.

¹⁷ SUNDERMANN 2010, 77.

¹⁸ HENNING 1958, 56.

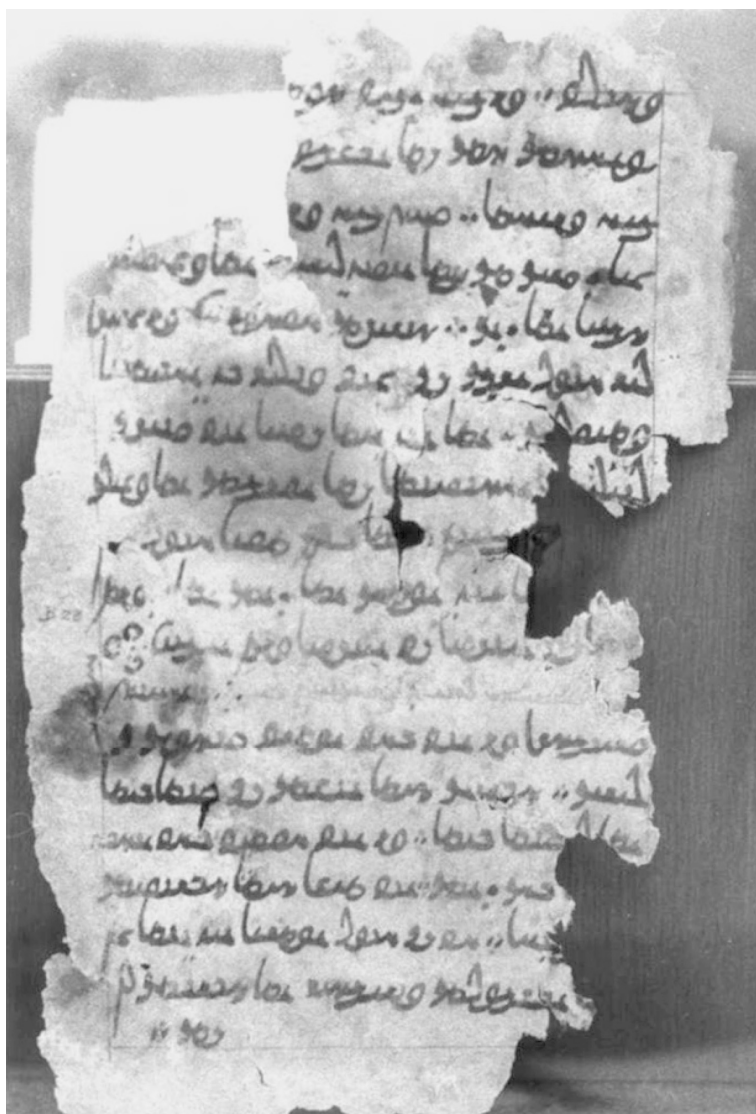
¹⁹ For more on these see RECK 2017, 388–389, and about colophons in Manichaean books, see YOSHIDA 2000, 83–85 and YOSHIDA 2008, 342–343.

²⁰ MÜLLER and LENTZ 1934, 43–47 (text 8, TM 391 = So 18242 = MIK III 32), YOSHIDA 2008, 342–343.

²¹ See MACKENZIE 1970, 2–3 and RECK 2013, respectively, for discussion of each of these texts and the titles on the verso.

²² EBERT 2001 and SUNDERMANN 2001. The direction of reading is under discussion, see RECK 2016, 57.

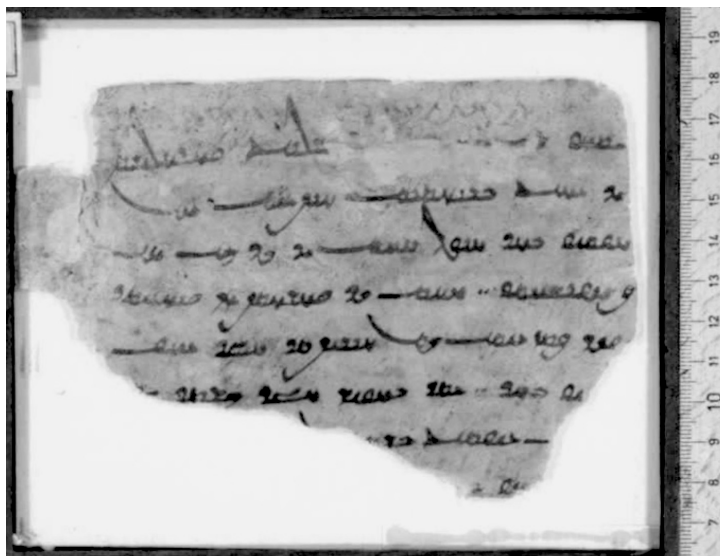
²³ RECK 2016, 449.



Pl. 6.

So 12601=III 59/recto

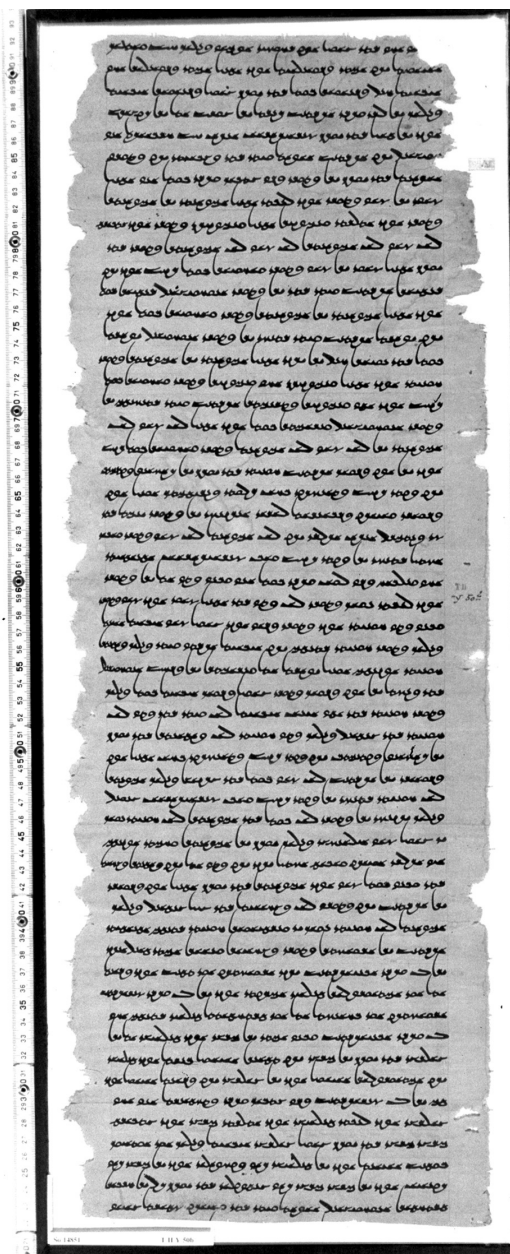
Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin



Pl. 7.
So 12950(2)/recto
Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin



Pl. 8.
So 12600 I/recto und II/verso
Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin



Pl. 9.

So 14851/recto

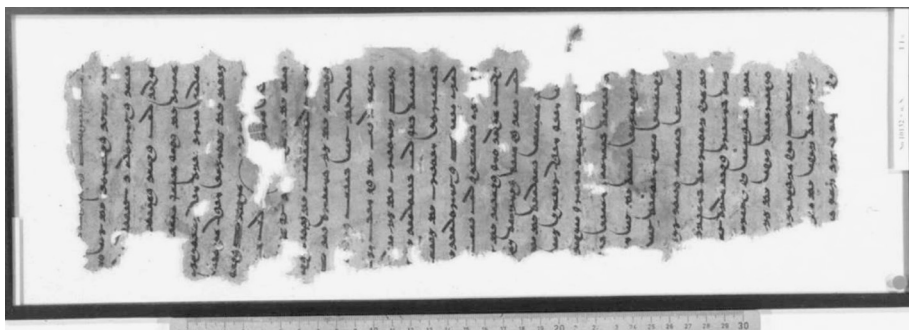
Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin



Pl. 10.

So 14736/verso

Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin



Pl. 11.

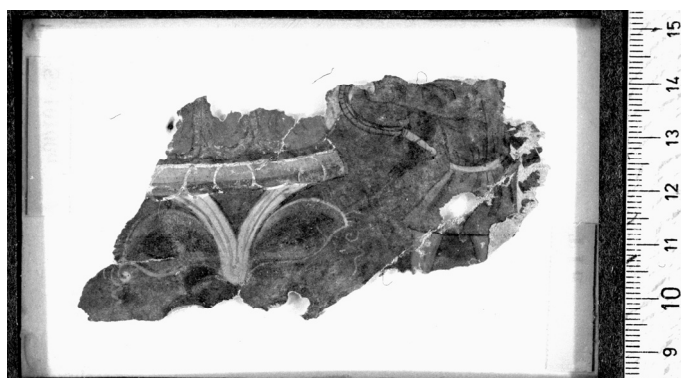
T I α+So 10132/recto

Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin



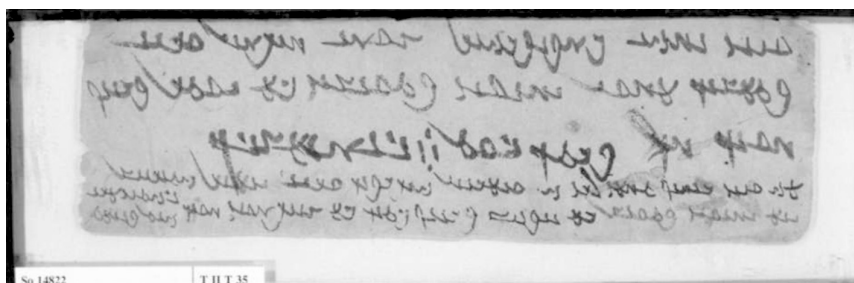
Pl. 12.

So 18274-So 18276, colophon on So 18276
Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin



Pl. 13.

So 10100q/2nd page
Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin



Pl. 14.

So 14822/recto
Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

Finally, the format of fragments containing letters, economic documents, pharmacological texts, or texts of uncertain religious affiliation is often difficult to discern. These can be parts of scrolls, pustaka leaves, or simply single sheets. Even worse, it is sometimes not possible to determine the recto or verso of smaller fragments. It also bears mentioning that many such previously medical fragments are written with a thin brush rather than a calligraphic pen or reed (Pl. 14).²⁴

Abbreviations

Pl. = Plate

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²⁴ RECK 2016, 447 and RECK 2018, 172.

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Christiane Reck, Adam Benkato*

**‘Like a Virgin’:
A Sogdian Recipe for Restoring Virginity
and the Sanskrit Background of Sogdian Medicine**

Abstract: Among the fragments of Sogdian medical texts is what seems to be a collection of gynaecological prescriptions, including a recipe for the restoration of virginity. In addition to providing an edition and translation of the text, we attempt to set it within a comparative context including recipes for virginal simulation occurring in Arabic, Chagatai, Greek, and Latin medieval works. Finally, we identify the text as, like much of Sogdian medicine, possible Sanskrit origin, and give an overview of the Sogdian medical fragments so far identified.

Key words: Sogdian, medical texts, Turfan, women’s medicine

§ 1. A Sogdian recipe for restoring virginity


Every fragment of a Sogdian manuscript alludes to a lost literary and historical world that may be but glimpsed through the surviving, partially-preserved words and phrases. When two or more fragments may be joined together to yield a longer passage, scholars may gain a clearer image of the text and the context in which it was produced.

One of the longer medical texts surviving in Sogdian is obtained in just this way, by joining together the fragments So 10100k, So 20249, So 20250,

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and So 20251 of the Berlin Turfan collection, along with So 20235, which belongs to the same manuscript but does not join the previous fragments directly.¹ The medical text, in fact, is written on the verso side of the paper; on the recto side is what seems to be a Manichaean narrative, still unpublished. The order of the sides was previously undetermined: in the catalogue of RECK (2006, 32–34 #23), it had not yet been fixed but in a review of the catalogue, YOSHIDA (2008, 57) suggested that the Manichaean text was written first and would thus be the recto side, one indication being that this side shows faint ruling lines and margins while the other does not. It is worth mentioning that the opposite situation is present in another group of fragments, So 10100b+So 10102(1), So 10102(2), So 15501 (RECK 2006, #16, #27, #228; RECK 2016, #463, #478, #762). There, the blank verso side of a Sogdian Buddhist scroll was re-used for a Sogdian Manichaean text. In the present group of fragments, the text of the verso is written in the ‘formal’ variety of the Sogdian script, in black ink, in a somewhat careless but legible hand. The name ‘formal’ was introduced by SIMS-WILLIAMS (1976, 44–5) to describe a type of Sogdian script characterized by the consistent distinction of the individual letters in contrast to the so-called ‘cursive’ script, where multiple letters have the same shape and can distinguished only by interpretation of the content. In fact the formal script is also cursive in the proper meaning of the word, since the letters are connected in most cases, but the main point of difference between the ‘formal’ and ‘cursive’ varieties is the distinction of the letters, most remarkably that of the aleph  which is marked by a significant stroke. Only a few punctuation marks are preserved in this text and they take the form of two black strokes with a red stroke above and below. Its dating is a difficult question as that of Sogdian texts in general is rather unclear. If we assume that the bulk of Manichean texts were written between the 8th and the 11th cc. CE, we can assign a plausible range for the recto with the verso of course having been written at some unclear point afterwards. In the Turfan area evidence for the use of Sogdian begins to fade at the beginning of the 11th c. CE, and there is thus far no evidence later than that.

The manuscript as a whole, or at least the section of it preserved in these fragments, seems to have contained medical treatments of a gynaecological nature. The preserved text begins with a prescription for restoring virginity

¹ A montage of the four fragments So 10100k, So 20249, So 20250, and So 20251 joined together is at the end of this article.

(*xyδ ms δβtyw pwrʹych βwtkʹm* ‘then (the woman) will become a virgin again’).² Although such recipes occur in several medical texts, this is the first occurrence of such, to our knowledge, in medicinal texts from Central Asia before Islam. The recipe instructs one to prepare a mixture of *smʹnk*, *krkrwʹyn* (‘ghee’), *ptʹnk-δʹrʹwk* (a kind of wood), *swrxyc* (‘red clay’?), *rwtr* (‘saffron’?), *srcrs* (‘sal-resin’), *cmprs* and *ʹhprs* (both resins), and *kʹwʹrty-ʹsprymʹy* (a type of flower), to boil and pound it, to mix it with water, and finally to clean the vagina (the Sogdian text employs the euphemism *cʹδrʹyrʹyw* ‘lower-body’; in other texts similar euphemisms for body parts are encountered, e.g. *cʹδʹrʹ pδyk* ‘lower-part’ and *pšyy δβry* ‘back door’ for ‘anus’, cf. SUNDERMANN 2007, 410 n. 42, 45) and insert the mixture. This apparently would lead, as the Sogdian text states matter-of-factly, to the woman becoming a virgin again. We will comment on this recipe in more detail in the following section. Given that we know little about pharmacological and medicinal terms in Sogdian, many of the ingredients contained in this recipe are unknown. However, as many of the ingredient names seem to have a Sanskrit origin, an adaption from an Indic (i.e. Sanskrit or Prakrit) medical tradition is quite plausible—we discuss this possibility in more detail following the text edition.³ The following part of the text seems to contain remedies for foul smells of the ‘lower body’ (again probably a euphemism for vagina). In it, the three kinds of myrobalans (Skt. *triphala*) well-known in Indian medicine are used. In Sogdian these are *ʹrʹyrʹy*, *βrʹyrʹy*, *ʹmδʹy* (*ārirē*, *virīrē*, and *āmādē*), corresponding to Sanskrit *harītakī*, *vibhītaka*, *āmalaka* respectively. Two of these three, *ʹrʹyrʹy* and *ʹmδʹy* were already attested in Sogdian fragments in Brāhmī script, while the third, *βrʹyrʹy*, is attested here for the first time.⁴ These three myrobalans are mentioned at least two times more in this text.

² The recipe was first recognized by YOSHIDA (2008, 57) who cited this phrase.

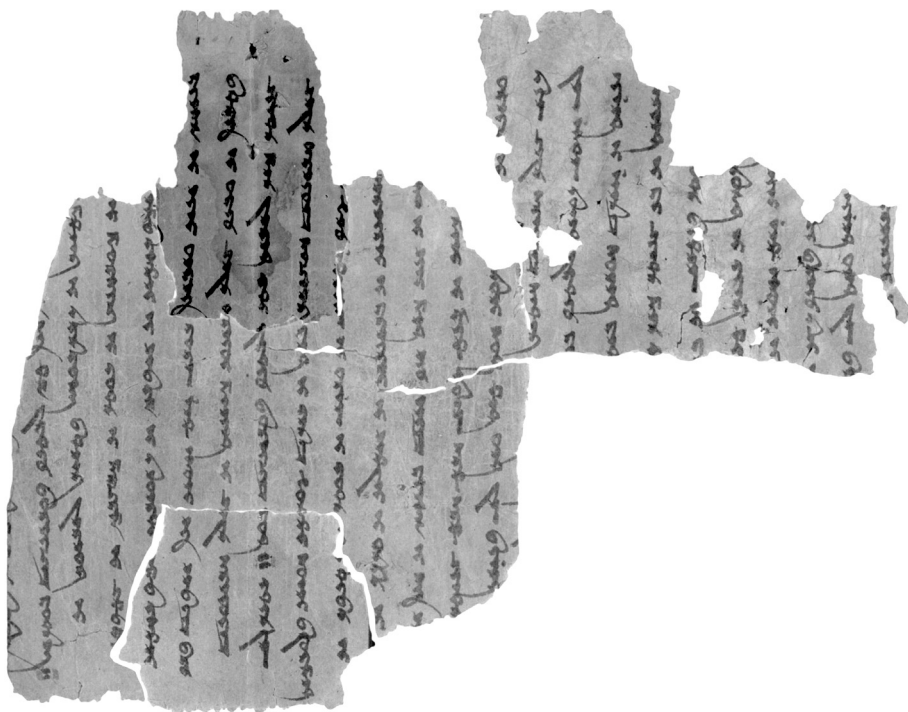
³ At least one example of a Sogdian translation of an Indian medical text has been identified so far, that of Vāgbhaṭa’s *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya-saṃhitā*, see RECK and WILKENS (2015). There also seem to be, as Gudrun Melzer informed us, some unpublished Sanskrit dhāraṇīs for gynaecological problems.

⁴ For discussion of *ʹmδʹy* see YOSHIDA (1984, 146), for *ʹrʹyrʹy* see MAUE and SIMS-WILLIAMS (1991, 493). The form of *βrʹyrʹy* in Sogdian had already been predicted in MAUE (2009, 300 with n. 64–67) though unattested until now.

Text 1 (pl. 1): So 10100k + So 18249 + So 18250 + So 18251 (verso)⁵

- /1/ [½ l.](.) [...](k/p)[.](m) (.). (k/p-k/p..δ)
 /2/ [.](.) xyδ ms δβtyw pwr'y ch βwt k'm ll
 /3/ [.](.) sm'nk ZY krkrw'yn pt'nk δ'r'wk ZY
 /4/ [.]ZY swrxyc ZY rwtr ZY srcrs ZY cmprs
 /5/ [.] 'sprym'y ZY 'nprs ZY k'w'rty (')sprym'y
 /6/ βy'xš ZY 'yny w'β'yδ rwr' z'm nxw'y 'yδ 'pyh prw
 /7/ ptryδ ZY wβyw c'δr γr'ywy sn'y't ZY c'δr γr'ywyh
 /8/ cyntr s'r δ'r't rty δβtyw pwr'y ch βwt ll rtykδ'
 /9/ c'δr γr'ywh γncn'k β't ZY r'kh šwšmy γwn'y pδwβs't
 /10/ [.](.) š'w zm'yx ZY wrz' ZY rwtr ZY ktypr ZY
 /11/ [.]'r'yry ZY βr'yry ZY 'mδ'y ZY tkkr ZY [. . .]
 /12/ [.]x ZY 'yny s't 'yw z'yh βy'x š ZY xyδ '(.)[. .]
 /13/ [.] sn'y ZY (l)ym kwn' γrm γrm cyntr[. . .]
 /14/ wr'y(δ) ZY [.]kw'y γwt m't w't L' pyz't [.]
 /15/ ky' c'δr γr'(y)[w]h γnt'k [½ l.]
 /16/ L' zyt' kwn't δβtyw β(.)[½ l.]
 /17/ nyz't ZY zn'kh xw''t β't [½ l.]
 /18/ [s]n'y't ZY βy cyntr s'r r [½ l.]
 /19/ [. r](w)tr prm'' ZY (β.)[½ l.]
 /20/ [.]kwšt ZY r(y)nk m(y)[½ l.]
 /21/ [.](.) 'yny z'm nxw'y ZY [½ l. ½ l.]
 /22/ [.](k/pry) pr'yw kcy (.)[½ l.]
 /23/ [.] nyz't w't L' p(y)[z't ½ l.]
 /24/ [.](β) r'yry (ZY)[½ l.]

⁵ Conventions used in the text edition include: (xyz) = uncertain letters, [xyz] = restored letters, (..) or [..] = two uncertain or missing letters (etc.), and [½ l.] means that about half a line is missing. The first letter of the joined fragment is printed in bold. Note that in the commentary, a hypothetical phonetic rendering of the Sogdian words is given between brackets.



Pl. 1.


So 10100k + So 18249 + So 18250 + So 18251 (verso)

/1/ ... /2/ ... and then she will become a virgin again. /3/ ... *samānak* and ghee and *patānak*-wood and /4/ ... red clay(?) and *rodhra* and *sal*-resin and *chamba*-resin /5/ ... flower and *amba*-resin and *kāwārti*-flower /6/ boil and this (with) so much herb pound finely. Mix this /7/ with water so that she would wash the vagina (lit. lower-body) (with it) and also let her hold (it) /8/ inside the vagina (lit. lower-body). She will become a virgin again. If /9/ the lower-body becomes odorous and (if) a *śwśmy*-colored vein sticks to [...] /10/ ... black clay and *waržā* and *rodhra* and *katīpar* and /11/ ... *harītakī* and *vibhūtaka* and *āmalaka* and *takkola* and ... /12/ ... and all this boil altogether and this ... /13/ ... wash *lim*, warm up slowly inside ... /14/ mix and ... is necessary so that wind should not strike (it) ... /15/ whose vagina (lit. lower-body) [would be] bad [-smelling(?)] ... /16/ would not be able to hold [...], again ... /17/ should go out and (if) the body becomes weak ... /18/ she would wash, and you inside ... /19/ ... *rodhra*, a measure, and ... /20/ ... *costus* and *rynk* ... /21/ ... pound this finely and ... /22/ ... together with [...] *key* ... /23/ ... should go out, wind should not s[trike] ... /24/ ... *vibhūtaka* and ...

Commentary

- /3/ *sm'nk* [samānak?] is unknown, and a connection with *sm'n* 'sky, heaven' seems doubtful. Perhaps related to New Persian *سمنک*, a sweet paste made from wheat (one of the 'haft sin' prepared for Nowruz celebration). — *krkrwɣn* [karkrōyan] 'ghee'. It is in a Sogdian version of the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, fragment So 15289/r/15/, the Sogdian translation of Chinese 醍醐 *tíhú* (T.T. 374, vol. 12, 394c23) rendering Sanskrit *sarpirmaṇḍa* (SUNDERMANN 2010, 79). The word was borrowed into Old Turkic as *kakruɣn* (in the fragments *U 9216 und *U 9224, see RACHMATI 1932, 408, text 1, l. 61 and 432, text 5, l. 3). — *pt'nk-δ'r'wk* [patānak?-dārūk] 'patānak-wood' is unknown but could possibly be connected with Sanskrit *paṭṭikā* 'species of *lodhra*' or *paṭṭeraka* 'Cyperus Hexastachyus Communis' (M-W, 579–580).
- /4/ *swrxyc* [surxēč] is a hitherto unattested word; it may be connected with New Persian *surx* 'red', MP *suxr*, since 'red' is usually *krm'yr* in Sogdian. With the suffix *-yc* that forms nouns and adjectives, perhaps *swrxyc* means 'the red (thing)' and could have been a name for red clay or another red-colored ingredient. — *rwtr* [rūtar] may represent one of two Sanskrit words: Skt. *rodhra* 'Symplocos Racemosa (a kind of tree)' (M-W, 889) or Skt. *rudhira* 'saffron' (M-W, 884, also appearing in Tocharian B as *rutir*). This latter occurs as Old Turkic *lutir* in fragment *U 9126 in Brāhmī script (MAUE 2015, 378–379; RACHMATI 1932, 406–407, text 1, l. 41) and has been partially reconstructed in Sogdian as [l]uttar in a Sogdian fragment in Brāhmī script (MAUE and SIMS-WILLIAMS 1991, 491–492). The present text makes no distinction between <r> and <l> (i.e. an <r> with a diacritic mark beneath), so it is difficult to know which possibility is more likely. — *srcrs* [sarčaras] is likely to represent Sanskrit *sarja-rasa-*, the name for resin (*rasa-*) from the Sal tree (*Shorea robusta*). J. Wilkens draws our attention to an Old Turkic passage from the *Altun Yaruk Sudur* (ed. CEVAL KAYA 1994, 266, § 476: 13–14) *satčarasi yig hobık* "Sarjarasa, (das heißt) frisches Harz" (MAUE and SERTKAYA 1986, 98, no. 31). — *cmprs* [čambaras] is another kind of resin, but the first part *cmp-* is unknown.
- /5/ At the beginning only the second part of a compound containing *šprymy* 'flowers' is preserved. Alternatively, *šprymy* 'flower' alone could be

interpreted as ‘fragrant herb’ (as in Middle Persian *sprahm*). — *ḥprs* [ambaras] seems to be yet another kind of resin, if *-rs* again represents Sanskrit *rasa-*. The word seems comparable with MP *ḥwrs* ‘juniper’, but the latter’s etymology is unknown; furthermore the *-n-* of *ḥprs* is clearly readable here. — At the end of the line *kʷṛty* (?) *sprymy* is another type of flower or herb, but the first part *kʷṛty* is unknown.

/8/ The punctuation in this line  (two vertical black strokes with a red stroke above and below) appears in both Sogdian Buddhist and Christian texts, though in the former it is not the most common form.

/9/ *šwšmy ḡwn ḡ* may be a compound with second element *ḡwn ḡ* ‘colored’.

/10/ *wrz*’ [waržā] seems to be an unknown word; *wrz* ‘miracle, magic’ (SIMS-WILLIAMS and DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2012, 205a) would make little sense in this context. — *ktypr* [katīpar?] is unknown. J. Wilkens draws our attention to Old Turkic *k(a)t(a)p(a)l* = Skt. *katphala* (RACHMATI 1932, 443b), which is a kind of nut, Lat. *Strychnos potatorum*, used in Ayurvedic medicine.

/11/ *tkkr* [takara?] may represent Skt. *tagara-* which refers to both ‘Tabernaemontana coronaria (i.e. East India rosebay or pinwheel-flower)’ and the powder produced from it (M-W, 432). A word *tkr* also occurs in a list in the fragment Ch/So 14842a+, line 5, on which see RECK 2018 #1045, and #3 in the list of medicinal texts appended. See also Old Turkic *tagar* (CEVAL KAYA 1994, 250 § 440c3) and the discussion in MAUE and SERTKAYA 1986, 91, Nr. 15.

/12/ If *z ḡh* is taken as ‘place’ and *ḡw z ḡh* as ‘(in) one place’, the context suggests the collocation is an adverb meaning something like ‘altogether, all at once’.

/13/ (*l*)*ym kwn*’ is difficult to understand in the context, and the reading of the first letter is uncertain. However, the diacritic below the first letter suggests the reading [l]; this diacritic, a subscript <ɿ>, is used sporadically in Sogdian. Yutaka Yoshida (personal communication) compares this *lym* to the Chinese word *lin* 淋 (Middle Chinese **lim*) ‘venereal disease, gonorrhea’, no doubt a relevant word in this text. However, the order of the words is still unusual, and the following *kwn*’ *ḡrm ḡrm* may mean something like ‘make warm slowly’.

/18/ *ZY ḡy* looks like the enclitic form of the 2sg. gen. pronoun ‘you’ but its function is unclear if so.

- /19/ *prm*” is unknown, but could represent Skt. *pramā*- ‘basis, measure’ (M-W, 685).
- /20/ *ḥkwšt* is only partially preserved; it may be part of a word such as *ḥkwšt* ‘finger’ or *ḥkwšt* ‘costus (plant)’ (RECK and WILKENS 2015, 436/r/5/), the latter without an initial ’ and final -y, but the context is unclear. — *r(y)nk* is unknown; a reading *rβnk* or even *r(δ)nk* may be possible.
- /22/ *kcy* is unknown. Comparable words in Sanskrit are *kaca*- ‘hair’, *kacu*- ‘Arum Colocasia’, *kaccha*- ‘riverbank’, *ka-ja*- ‘lotus flower’ (M-W, 242–43), but these are only guesses.

Text 2 (pl. 2): So 20235 (verso)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| /1/ p]tw’yš ’y(w). . .](y) (γr’yw . .)[|] char, one [...] body [|
| /2/ . . .]s’r γr’yw p’ty γwt rt(y)[|] to [...] the body must be
protected. And [|
| /3/]y ”r’yry ZY βr’yry[|] <i>harītakī</i> and <i>vibhūta</i> [|
| /4/ . . nx]w’y ZY ”pyh p(rw)[ptr’yδ | pr]ess and [mix] with water [|
| /5/ . . . c’]δr γr’ywy tyn m[|] insert (in the) vagina
(lit. lower-body) [|
| /6/ βw]δ’ntk xwrt xwr’y[|] should eat [fra]grant food [|
| /7/]yt k’n ZY k(.)[|] will be and [|



Pl. 2.
So 20235 (verso)

/1/ [p]twyš may be only the second occurrence of a verb with the meaning ‘to char, burn’, in the 2sg.impv/, otherwise attested only in a Manichaean cure for migraines (M568+M746c, line R1 *qpyy žyy ptwyš* ‘char fish-flesh’), possibly to be derived from an Old Iranian cognate of Sanskrit *oṣ* ‘to burn’. In Christian Sogdian *ptwyš*, attested once, translates a Syriac verb meaning ‘to kill off’ (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2016, 155).

/5/ *tyn* in this context might be a 2sg.impv. *tyn* of the verb *tny-/tyn* ‘to bring in, insert’.

/6/ [βw]δʾntk [vōdantē] ‘fragrant’ is a hypothetical restoration.

§ 2. Medieval recipes for restoring or simulating virginity

Though so far the only known example of a recipe for the restoration of virginity from the pre-Islamic Central Asia, this Sogdian text is far from being the only example thereof in medieval literature more generally. Recipes for simulation of virginity preserved in works from other medical traditions may be compared, namely: those in the Latin compendia of women’s medicine known collectively as the *Trotula* first compiled in Salerno in the 12th c.; those in the Arabic medical encyclopedia *Firdaws al-ḥikma* compiled by Abū Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Sahl Rabban aṭ-Ṭabarī in the 9th c. In addition, a Greek source attributed to the Greek physician Galen, is brought into discussion. Finally, a somewhat later Chagatai medical treatise, the *Ṭabīblik kitābī* (or *Khulāṣat al-ḥukamā’* in Uzbek publications) by Sayyid Subḥān Qulī Muḥammad Bahādur Khan in the 17th c., also contains several similar recipes. It is worth examining these recipes for virginal restoration or simulation in some detail.

The name *Trotula* refers to a group of three Latin treatises on gynaecology stemming from 12th c. Salerno, the most popular works on women’s medicine in Europe until the 15th c., and ones which drew heavily from not only the Greco-Roman medical tradition but also from the Arabic medical texts which had just begun to be widely translated.⁶ The texts contain a number of methods for “restoring” virginity: this is usually done by employing constrictives, while one recipe simply employs leeches in order to

⁶ See GREEN 2001, 17–58 for an overview of the *Trotula* texts, their Salernitan context, and the questions of their authorship.

draw blood, all in order to simulate rather than truly restore virginity. It is worth citing them in full here for the sake of comparison.

[190] Constrictorium ad uuluam ut quasi puelle inueniantur. Accipe albumina ouorum et distempera cum aqua in qua coctum sit pulegium et huiusmodi herbe calide et panno nouo lini intincto bis uel ter in die uulue impone. Et si nocte minxerit, iterum inpone. Et nota quod prius abluenda est bene cum eademi aqua calida cum qua fuerint ista distemperata.

[191] Accipe corticem ylicis renatum, et tritum distempera cum aqua pluuiali, et cum panno lineo uel bombace predicto modo uulue inpone, et hec omnia ante horam accessionis coitus remoue.

[192] Item. Accipe puluerem nitri uel mori et inpone; mirabiliter constringit.

[193] Item quedam sunt immunde et corrupte meretrices que plus quam uirgines cupiunt inueniri, et faciunt constrictorium ad idem, sed inconsulte, quoniam se ipsas reddunt sanguinolentas et uirgam uiri ulcerant. Accipiunt nitrum puluerizatum et uulue inponunt.

[194] Aliter. Accipe gallas, rosas, sumac, plantaginem, consolidam maiorem, bolum armenicum, alumen, chimoleam, ana unciam .i. In aqua pluuiali decoquantur hec, et cum aqua illa fomententur pudibunda.

[195] Quod ut melius fiat una nocte antequam nubat, ponat sanguissugas in uulua, sed tamen caute ne subintrent, ita ut sanguis exeat et in crustulam conuertatur, et ita uir decipitur propter sanguinis effusionem.

[190] A constrictive for the vagina so that they may appear as if they were virgins. Take the whites of eggs and mix them with water in which pennyroyal and hot herbs of this kind have been cooked, and with a new linen cloth dipped in it, place it in the vagina two or three times a day. And if she urinates at night, put it in again. And note that prior to this the vagina ought to be washed well with the same warm water with which these things were mixed.

[191] Take the newly grown bark of a holm oak. Having ground it, dissolve it with rainwater, and with a linen or cotton cloth place it in the

vagina in the above-mentioned manner. And remove all these things before the hour of the commencement of intercourse.

[192] Likewise take powder of natron or blackberry and put it in; it constricts [the vagina] marvelously.

[193] Likewise, there are some dirty and corrupt prostitutes who desire to seem to be more than virgins and they make a constrictive for this purpose, but they are ill counseled, for they render themselves bloody and they wound the penis of the man. They take powdered natron and place it in the vagina.

[194] In another fashion, take oak apples, roses, sumac, great plantain, comfrey, Armenian bole, alum, and fuller's earth, of each one ounce. Let them be cooked in rainwater and with this water let the genitals be fomented.

[195] What is better is if the following is done one night before she is married: let her place leeches in the vagina (but take care that they do not go in too far) so that blood comes out and is converted into a little clot. And thus the man will be deceived by the effusion of blood.⁷

The *Firdaws al-ḥikma fī at-ṭibb* “The Paradise of Wisdom concerning Medicine” was a voluminous encyclopedia of medicine compiled by Abū Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Sahl Rabban aṭ-Ṭabarī (c. 780–c. 860) in the year 850 AD at Sāmarrā'.⁸ Unique is the sketch of Indian medicine at the end of the text (Part 7, Discourse 4), drawing from the works of Suśruta, Caraka, the *Nidāna*, and the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* of Vāgbhaṭa.⁹ This encyclopedia preserves four recipes for simulating virginity. The first occurs in a section on treatments of the uterus (part 4, discourse 9, chapter 9). Another three occur in the above-mentioned sketch of Indian medicine, in a chapter entitled *min kutub imra'ah hindiyyah fī tanqīyat al-wajh wa 'ilāj famm ar-*

⁷ Edition of the Latin text and English translation from GREEN 2001, 144–147.

⁸ For information on Abū Ḥasan al-Ṭabarī, see D. Thomas, “al-Ṭabarī” in *Encyclopedia of Islam* (2nd edition), and MEYERHOF 1931, 7–12. The *Firdaws al-ḥikma* was edited by Siddiqi (1928), and is surveyed in MEYERHOF (1931, 12–14) as well as in the introduction to Siddiqi's edition (in Arabic, Siddiqi 1928).

⁹ On this part of the work see MEYERHOF (1931, 42–46) for more details. Both the major works of Suśruta and Charaka contain gynaecological treatments, though not, as far as we can tell, ones for the restoration of virginity, cf. Suśruta's *Saṃhitā*, ch. 38 “Yonivyāpat-pratiśedha” and Caraka's *Saṃhitā*, ch. 30 “Yonivyāpat-cikitsitaṃ”.

rahm ‘from the books of an Indian woman on the cleaning of the face and the treatment of the opening of the uterus’ — “probably from a book on midwifery” according to MEYERHOF (1931, 29). In a 1942 article, Siggel translated many of the sections concerning gynecological matters on the basis of Siddiqi’s edition, including the recipes for vaginal simulation just mentioned. These we give here in Arabic and English:

- 1) From Part 4, Discourse 9, Chapter 19 *fī ‘ilāj ar-rahm wa tashīl al-wilādah* ‘On treatment of the uterus and facilitation of childbirth’.

علاج يصير المسنة شبه بكرٍ تأخذ رامك و عفس و هليلج اصفر و قشور رمان حامض و صمغ السوس و دم الاخوين من كل واحد بالسوية تدق و تتخل و تعجن بماء الخرنوب او بماء الآس و تصير منها شيفافاً طوالياً فتمسكها المرأة معها و تصير الى فراش الزوج ليلاً ان احتملته نهراً او نهراً ان احتملته ليلاً فانه جيد بالغ ان شاء الله

“A treatment which makes an older woman like a virgin. One takes musk,¹⁰ oak apples, yellow myrobalan, peels of sour pomegranate, gum of licorice, dragon’s blood, equal quantities of each, pounds it, sieves it, and prepares it into a dough with carob syrup or myrtle syrup, and makes from that a collyrium. The woman then inserts with it and repairs to the marital chamber at night, if she has inserted the collyrium by day, or in the day, if she has inserted it by night. It is then entirely good, God-willing”.¹¹

- 2) From Part 7, Discourse 4 *min jawāmi‘ kutub al-hind* ‘From the compendia of Indian books’, chapter 35 *min kutub imra’ah hindiyyah fī tanqīyat al-wajh wa ‘ilāj famm ar-rahm* ‘From the books of an Indian woman on the cleaning of the face and the treatment of the opening of the uterus’.

علاج المكتهلات حتى تكن مثل الابكار، يوخذ من شحم الجرذان و دهن سمسم غير مقشر و من البادنجان اجزاء سواء يدق و يسحق و يرفع في قارورة يطللى منه على فم الرحم و يرفع منه في فرزجة صغيرة في كل وقت فانه يعيد العجوز بكرأ بأذن الله، او يوخذ من العفس و عظام محرق و من البادنجان اجزاء سواء يدق مثل الكحل و تذر على فم الرحم قبل الجماع، او تأخذ من فلفل و دار فلفل و زنجبيل و هليلج و زعفران و عفس و ورق الآس و الجلنار

¹⁰ The word *rāmik* was left untranslated by SIGGEL (1942).

¹¹ Ed. SIDDIQI 1928, 284–285, German tr. in SIGGEL 1942, 259, our English rendering.

و ورق الاترنج و ورق الزيتون و المسك اجزاء سواء اربعة مثاقيل، و من ماء عروق الرمان و ماء عروق الصفصاف المطبوخ مائة و عشرون استاراً يصب ذلك في قدر نحاس و يجعل فيه من دهن سمسم اربعين استاراً و من البان البقر الحليب ثمانين استاراً، يطبخ فيه الدوية و يساط يوقد تحته بنار لينة حتى يبقى الدهن به و يذهب الماء و يصفى بخرقه كتان و يرفع في جرة خضراء و يدهن به النافية داخلها و خارجها ليلاً و نهراً فانه ينفع من جميع ما فيها و يجففها إن شاء الله

“Treatment for older women, so that they become like virgins: one takes rat-fat, oil of unpeeled sesame seeds, and aubergine, equal quantities of each, pounds and pulverizes it, and preserves it in a bottle; one applies this to the vagina. Or, one applies this to a pessary which is inserted at any time. The old woman becomes a virgin again, God-willing. Or, one takes equal quantities of oak apples, charred bones, and aubergine, pounds it like eyebrow-powder, and spreads it on the vagina before intercourse. Or one takes pepper and pepper-husks, ginger, myrobalan, saffron, oak apples, myrtle leaves, pomegranate-blossom leaves, lemon leaves, olive leaves, and musk, four *mitqāls* each, 120 *istārs* each of the juice of pomegranate root and the juice of cooked willowroot, pours that into a copper vessel and adds 40 *istārs* of sesame-oil and 80 *istārs* of cow’s milk, cooks the medicament, stirs it, and lights a small flame, to the point that the oil remains and the water cooks away. One strains it through a linen cloth and preserves it in a green jar. One uses it to lubricate the useful inner and outer parts, at night and during the day. This helps against everything that is in her and makes her dry, God-willing”.¹²

It is notable that three of the recipes cited by aṭ-Ṭabarī are found in the section of his book drawing on “Indian” medicine. We assume that the Sogdian recipe has a similar origin on the basis of the many Sanskrit words written in Sogdian transcription. In fact, this is probably true of many Sogdian pharmacological texts thus far recognized, and the discovery of a Sogdian translation of part of Vāgbhaṭa’s *Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdayasamhitā* proves at least that some Sogdian medicinal works came directly from Sanskrit.

A pseudo-Galenic recipe preserved in Greek has also come to our attention. The recipe occurs in a section entitled Πρὸς τὸ μῆ

¹² Ed. SIDDIQI 1928, 591–592, German tr. in SIGGEL 1942, 263, our English rendering.

καθυγραίνεσθαι τὸ αἰδοῖον ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις τῶν γυναικῶν, recipes ‘against the drying of the vagina during copulation with women’. Although it likewise aims not at restoring, but at simulating, virginity, it seems to be prescribed for women who have been violated. It too calls for oak apples as an ingredient.

[ιβ'. Ὡς γυνή ἡ βεβιασμένη παραφαίνεται παρθένος.] Λαβὼν ὀμφακτιδίων, κύπρου, ξυλοκασσίας, ρόδων ξηρῶν, πεπέρεως λευκοῦ καὶ κόκκου γνιδίου ἀνὰ ἐξάγιον α'. προλελουμένη ὑστέρα προσθέτω ταῦτα· ὠφελεῖ δὲ καὶ σπέρμα ὀξυλαπάθου τετριμμένον καὶ πρόσθετον.¹³

“How a woman who has been violated appears like a virgin again: Take one [measure] of unripe oak apples, Cyprian (tree), wood-cinnamon(?), dried roses, white pepper, and cnidium seed (seed of the daphne laureola). Insert this mixture after having washed the uterus. The pulverized and inserted seed of the common sorrel (rumex acetosa) is also useful”.¹⁴

Last but not least, the much later Chagatai medical treatise *Ṭabīblik kitābī* (“Book of Medicine”, also known as *Khulāṣat al-ḥukamā* in Uzbek publications) by Sayyid Subḥān Qulī Muḥammad Bahādur Khan (1624/5–1702 CE) contains a chapter *ḥātūn-lar farjīnī tar etmāk-ni bayānīda* ‘on narrowing the vagina of women’ (chapter 25) which details five different methods for either restoring or simulating virginity.¹⁵ The aim of the procedures varies; sometimes the text states that the woman will “become a virgin”, sometimes “like a virgin”.

yigirmäbešinči bāb ḥātūn-lar farjīnī tar etmāk-ni bayānīda: ḥukamā aytīb tururlar kim ḥayz-dīn arīgandīn soṅ üç kün har kündä yigirmi diram angubīn-ni otuz diram boyanīḡ sūti birgä qoşub aşasa wa andīn sīgīr öti kim qurutḡan bolsa šafa qīlīb kōtārsä asr wa tar olḡay farj-ī<n> yaḥşī aq olḡay agar balīḡ öti <birlä> ni yāsmin yaḡīḡa šafa qīlīb kōtārsä

¹³ [Galen], *De remediis parabilibus* XIV, ed. KÜHN 1827, 478.

¹⁴ For the tentative translation of this passage from the Greek we are grateful to Roland Wittwer of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

¹⁵ See WILKENS 2016, 186, 188.

qiz olğay ... agar hātūn boya sūti ašab boya sūtudin kōtārsā qiz dāk bolğay agar qiz oğlan-niñ bakāratī zāyil bolğan bolsa bātingān-nī alīb suw bilā bišürüb eškü{niñ iç} yağī bilā qoşub šāfa qilīb kōtārsā qiz bolğay agar kōz ašmağan it balasini qaynatsa andaq kim yağī šiqsa ol yağini alīb hātūn kōtārsā bikt qiz dāk bolğay

“Chapter twenty-five on narrowing the vagina of women: Physicians say that if someone mixes twenty dirhams of honey with thirty dirhams of madder juice, eats it when becoming clean after menstruation for three days every day, and after that applies the dry gall-bladder of a cow with a tampon, her vagina will become firm, narrow and white. If someone [mixes] the gall-bladder of a fish with jasmine oil and applies it with a tampon, she will become a virgin. ... If a woman drinks madder juice and applies madder juice [with a tampon], she will become like a girl. When ther virginity of a girl has been violated: take aubergine, boil in water and mix with the tallow of a goat. If she applies it with a tampon, she will become a virgin. If a woman boils a puppy which has not yet opened its eyes until its fat comes out, takes that fat and applies [with a tampon], she will become like a virgin girl”.¹⁶

The recipes cited here all make use of different ingredients in these recipes with a common goal: the restoration or simulation of virginity. Some ingredients occur in multiple recipes: clay or special types of earth in the Sogdian and the Latin texts; saffron in the Sogdian and Arabic; aubergine in the Arabic and Chagatai; fat of animals in the Arabic and the Chagatai texts; some kinds of trees and flowers in the Sogdian and the Greek; and oak apples in the Greek, Arabic, and Latin. Though several ingredients in the Sogdian text are still unknown (*samānak*, *patānak*-wood, *amba*-resin, *chamba*-resin, *kāwārti*-flowers), the diversity of recipes means that a comparison cannot necessarily help identify those words — though perhaps the Sogdian word for oak apples (Sanskrit *māyāphala* or *vanamūrdhajā*) or aubergine (Sanskrit *raktapākī*) is to be found there. The desired outcome of these recipes seems to be achieved mostly through the use of ingredients, such as oak apples, which have an astringent effect.

Since the Sogdian text is fragmentary, we cannot tell whether a type of commentary or explanation may have accompanied the recipe. Did the

¹⁶ Ed. KÁROLY 2015, 94 (Chagatai text), 177 (English translation).

author of this text believe that restoring virginity was actually possible, or did the text acknowledge that the point was rather to have the woman appear to be a virgin? The matter-of-fact statement *xyδ ms δβtyw pwr'ych βwtk'm* 'indeed she will become a virgin again' seems to imply the former. Did the text approve of or condemn such methods? At the very least, the straightforward presentation of the ingredients and instructions seems to indicate that this text, or this part of the text, was just a listing of recipes without further commentary. The *Trotula*, for example, simply states that certain of the recipes are for "a constrictive for the vagina, so that women may be found to be as though they were virgins" (§ 190 in GREEN 2001). One recipe more clearly notes that the point was to deceive the man (§ 195). Likewise, the Arabic parallels which we have cited here give recipes for "women, so that they become like virgins" (*hattā takun miṭl al-abkār*).

The editor of the *Trotula* points out that the very transmission of this information, as well as its placement next to a disapproved method of 'virginity restoration' apparently used by women who had been violated and prostitutes, implicitly approves the other methods of "virginal simulation" (GREEN 2001, 42). Regarding the *Trotula*, Green points out that "the desire of women, 'honest' or 'dishonest,' to 'restore' their virginity suggests acknowledgment by at least some medical practitioners that women's honor ... to a degree that would never have been true for men, was bound up intimately with their sexual purity. If successful, these recipes may well have made the difference for some women between marriage and financial security, on the one hand, and social ostracization and poverty, on the other" (*ibid.*).

Unfortunately, little can be said about the context in which this Sogdian fragment was produced and it is therefore difficult to situate it within a specific social or religious community. The fact that this text is situated on the verso of a Manichaean scroll may indicate that the Manichaean text on the recto was no longer important and may point to a context postdating the Manichaean community in Turfan. But nothing more can be concluded about the society which produced the text and which may have used the medicinal direction within. Nevertheless, the mere existence of a recipe for "virginal simulation" in Sogdian strongly implies that what Green says about the *Trotula* is equally applicable: it attests to the social importance of women's purity in the social context in which it was produced.

§ 3. Medical Texts in Sogdian

The Turfan collections contain a number of medical or pharmacological text fragments, and it will be useful to present all such fragments so far identified in a numbered list in order to facilitate future research.¹⁷ These are nearly all written in Sogdian script (both regular and ‘formal’ variants) and on scrolls or pustaka-leaves. Indeed, only a few medicinal texts on codex pages have been found, one in Manichaean script (no. 12 below) and two in Syriac script (nos. 19–20 below). This may indicate that, even if the Manichaean or Christian communities were producing medicinal texts, these were not compiled in their books but rather on more usable writing supports.

The vast majority of these fragments are preserved in the Berlin Turfan collection, where they have recently been identified and catalogued. Otherwise, the Turfan collections of London, St. Petersburg, Paris, and Kyoto possess one or two fragments each.

<u>Manuscript Signature</u>	<u>Find Signature</u>	<u>Catalogue No.</u>
1. So 10100k+So 20249+So 20250+So 20251 (verso)		
	T I D/TM 394	1026
A text containing, among other things, a recipe for restoring virginity. Published here.		
1a. So 20235	K 35	1067
Another copy of part of the text of the above. Published here.		
2. Ch/So 14842a + So 14645	T II Y 17/T II S 21	1045
So 14480 + So 14841	T II D 201/T II Y 17	1043
So 14481	T II D 201	1035
Ch/So 14840(2) verso	T II Y 17T	1042
U 5735	T II Y 17	1109
Otani 9133 ¹⁸	—	—

¹⁷ We also give the catalogue numbers corresponding to each fragment in order to simplify looking them up in Reck’s catalogues of the fragments in Sogdian script; see RECK 2018, concordance 3.4.

¹⁸ This fragment was published in the catalogue of the Otani fragments, see KUDARA et al. 1997, 159–160.

Fragments of a bilingual group of pustaka leaves written with a brush. The fragments So 20167–So 20171 (note that So 20170 and So 20171 can be joined), contain several medical precepts and mention magic formulas (*ptsrwm*) as well, but do not preserve enough continuous text to clarify the content. The script is the same as that found in some Sanskrit fragments of apotropaic magic (*vidyā*) such as SHT 2058, where the page numbers and some comments are in Sogdian script and language. In So 20167 there are also parts of Brāhmī akṣaras visible on the blank verso side, meaning that the fragments should be read horizontally. This fact as well as their size (6.7×13 cm), which is shared with some Sanskrit pustaka leaves, suggests a Buddhist background.

A unique text, these are fragments from a Sogdian translation of Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*, a comprehensive and well-known book of Indian medicine which was translated into several languages as Tibetan, Old Turkic, and Arabic. The fragments may be part of a codex page or a short-lined pustaka leaf. The script is similar to the Sogdian script used in Manichaean texts. Publ: RECK and WILKENS (2015).

A fragment of a pustaka leaf or codex, 11 lines. Contains prohibitions against different types of pain. The personal name Serguis (*srkys*) which occurs in the text may connect it to a Christian context. See RECK (forthcoming).

-
6. So 14822 T II T 35 724
 Completely preserved pustaka leaf, which contains treatments of diseases of the lower abdomen and of ten kinds of water illness (*ʾph rβ δs ʾznk ḥ*).
7. So 10006 MIK III 106 T II Toyoq 445
 Completely preserved pustaka leaf, with two different texts. The first, on the recto side, is written in the formal script and contains prohibitions of various foods and meals. The second text, on the verso side, is written with a brush and contains *dhāraṇīs* partly in Sanskrit.
8. Ch/U 7187 T III 1078
 Chinese Buddhist scroll with Sogdian text on the verso. The ten kinds of water illness (*ʾph rβ*) are mentioned here as well.
9. Ch/U 7211 T II T 1079
 Scroll fragment of 9 lines containing an unidentified medical text.
10. Ch/So 20207 T II T 1063
 Scroll fragment containing a medical text.
11. So 10339 T I α 1027
 Fragment of a pustaka leaf, containing fragmentary remedies. Noteworthy is the abbreviation *δr* for the measure ‘drachma’, suggested by N. Sims-Williams. Publ: RECK 2014, BENKATO (forthcoming).
12. M 568 + M 746c — —
 Page from a codex containing a remedy for migraines (*nymy s ʾrxwyc*). The only known example of a pharmacological text in Manichaean script. Publ: BENKATO (forthcoming).
13. So 14460+So 14427+So 14428+So 14462 / M 142
 T II D II 179 155 / —155 / —
 A medical calendar text about the Way of the Spirit of Life in the human body, known from Chinese folk calendars and preserved in Old Uighur as well. The fragment M 142 in Manichaean script is parallel to those in Sogdian script. Publ: MORANO and RECK (forthcoming).
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14. P19 — —

Paris collection, part of a scroll written in the formal script listing recipes for an emetic, purgative, and aphrodisiac. Publ: BENVENISTE 1940, 150 (without translation), HENNING 1946, 713 n. 5 (translation of one part).

15. L47+L48 — —

St. Petersburg collection, two joining fragments probably from a scroll, containing 9 lines of a remedy for piles (𑖦𑖳𑖱). Publ: RAGOZA 1980, joining and further comments SIMS-WILLIAMS (1981:235).

16. BL Fragment 34 (Or. 8212/1811) — —

London collection, three lines containing a fragment of an unidentified remedy. Publ: SIMS-WILLIAMS 1976, 73–4.

17. Otani 1159 — —

Kyoto collection, a medical fragment containing numerous Sanskrit terms. Publ: KUDARA ET AL. 1997: 55–56.

18. E38 (n303) [T II] B 62 + [T II] B 13 —

Pharmacological fragment in Syriac script, thus from a Christian context, 23 total lines. Publ: thus far unedited, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 187 for details.

19. E39 (SyrHT 343) 1876 —

Fragment in Syriac script containing only one damaged line, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 187 for details.

20. Mainz 639 — —

A bilingual Sanskrit-Sogdian pustaka-fragment in Brāhmī script containing parts of four remedies for diseases of the eye. Publ: MAUE and SIMS-WILLIAMS 1991.¹⁹

¹⁹ There are other medicinal texts in Sogdian in Brāhmī script, but are very fragmentary and remain unpublished, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996.

§ 4. Glossary to the edited Sogdian fragments

Abbreviations:

adj.	adjective	impv.	imperative
adv.	adverb	n.	noun
conj.	conjunction	obl.	oblique
dem.	Demonstrative	postp.	postposition
fthc.	forthcoming	pp.	past participle
gen.	genitive	subj.	subjunctive

”mδ’y n. ‘āmalaka, Emblic myrobalans’ 1.11

”pyh n. ‘water’ obl. 1.6, 1a.4

”r’yry n. ‘harītakī, Chebulic myrobalans’ 1.11, 1a.3

’]kwšt ? 1.20*

’nprs n. ‘*amba*(?)-resin’ 1.5

’sprym’y n. ‘flowers’ 1.5

’yδ dem. ‘this’ 1.6

’yny dem. ‘this’ 1.6, 1.12, 1.20

’yw number ‘one’ 1a.1

’yw z’yh adv. ‘altogether’ 1.12

βr’yry n. ‘vibhotaka, Belliric myrobalans’ 1.11, 1.24, 1a.3

βwδ’ntk adj. ‘fragrant’ 1a.6*

βw- ‘to be, become’. β’t 3sg.subj. 1.9, βwt 3sg.pres. 1.8, βwt k’m 3sg.fut. 1.2

βy ? 1.18

βy’xš ‘boil’ 2sg.impv. 1.6, 1.12

c’δr γr’ywy n. ‘lower-body, (euphemism for vagina?)’ 1.7, c’δr γr’ywyh 1.7, 1.9, 1.15*, 1a.5

cmprs n. ‘*chamba*(?)-resin’ 1.4

cyntr postp. ‘inside’ 1.13*

cyntr s’r postp. ‘in, inside’ 1.9, 1.18

δ’r ‘to have, hold’, δ’r’t 3sg.subj. 1.8, L’ z’yt’ kwn’t 3sg.subj.tr.pot. 1.16

δβtyw adv. ‘again, a second time’ 1.2, 1.8, 1.16

γncn’k adj. ‘bad-smelling’ 1.9

γnt’k adj. ‘evil, bad’ 1.15

γrm adj. ‘warm’ 1.13 (2)

γr’yw n. ‘body’ 1a.1, 1a.2

γw- ‘to be necessary’ γwt 3sg.pres. 1a.2, γwt m’t 1.14

k'n future suffix of lost verb 1a.7
k'w'rty 'sprym'y n. 'kāwārti-flowers' 1.5
kcy ? 1.22
krkrwŷn n. 'ghee' 1.3
ktypr ? 1.10
kwn' 'do' 2sg.impv. 1.13
ky' relative pronoun obl. 'whose' 1.15
lym n. 'venereal disease' 1.13
m't conj. 'that, so that'
ms adv. 'also' 1.2
nxw'y 'pound' 2sg.impv. 1.6, 1.20, 1a.4*
nyz't 'go out' 3sg.subj. 1.17, 1.23
p'ty pp. 'protected' 1a.2
pōwβs't 'to stick to, be fastened to' 3sg.subj. 1.9
prm" n. 'measure(?)' 1.19
prw postp. 'with' 1.6, 1.22 (pr'yw), 1a.4
pt'nk δ'r'wk n. 'patānak-wood' 1.3
ptr'yδ 'mix' 2sg.impv. 1.7
ptw'yš 'char, burn' 2sg.impv. 1a.1
pwr'ych n. 'virgin' 1.2, 1.8
L' pyz't 'strike' neg.3sg.subj. 1.14, 1.23*
r'kh n. 'vein' 1.9
rty conj. 'and, so' 1.8, 1a.2
rtykδ' conj. 'and if' 1.9
rwr' n. 'herb' 1.6
rwtr n. 'rodhra?' 1.4, 1.10, 1.19*
rynk ? 1.20
s'r postp. 'to' 1a.2
s't adj. 'all' 1.12
sm'nk n. 'samānak (unknown)' 1.3
sn'y 'wash', sn'y 2sg.impv. 1.13, sn'y't 3sg.subj. 1.7
srcrs n. 'sal-resin' 1.4
swrxyc n. 'red (clay?)' 1.4
š'w žm'yx n. 'black clay?' 1.10
šwšmy-γwn'y adj. 'šwšmy-colored' 1.9
tkkr n. 'tagara?' 1.11
tyn 'insert' 2sg.impv. 1a.5
w'β'yδ adv. 'so much' 1.6

w't n. 'wind' 1.14, 1.23
 wβyw adv. 'also' 1.7
 wr'yδ 'mix' 2sg.impv. 1.14
 wrz' ? 1.10
 xyδ adv. 'then' 1.2, 1.12
 xw''t adj. 'weak' 1.17
 xwrt n. 'food' 1a.6
 xwr'y 'eat' 3sg.opt. 1a.6
 z'm adv. 'finely' 1.6, 1.20
 zn'kh n. 'body' 1.17
 ZY conj. 'and' 1.3 (2), 1.4 (3), 1.5 (2), 1.6, 1.7 (2), 1.9, 1.10 (4), 1.11 (4),
 1.12 (2), 1.13, 1.14, 1.17, 1.18, 1.20, 1.21, 1.24, 1a.3, 1a.4, 1a.7

Abbreviations

Pl. = Plate

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On the Numbering of Quires in the Christian Sogdian and Syriac Manuscript Fragments in the Turfan Collection (Berlin) and the Krotkov Collection (St. Petersburg)¹

Abstract: The present contribution serves two purposes. First, it highlights the quire numbering system as reflected in the Christian Sogdian (in East Syriac script) and Syriac manuscript fragments from the Turfan Collection (Berlin) and the Krotkov Collection (St. Petersburg). The main aim of this part is to offer a tentative typology of the numbering of quires. It shows that not only the Syriac manuscript tradition of the Church of the East, but also the Christian Palestinian Aramaic manuscript tradition offers important clues for understanding this material. Second, this study inserts itself into a trajectory of Manuscript Studies that combines codicology and palaeography with history and cultural history in order to shed light on the social aspects of the production and consumption of manuscripts, and on the dissemination of particular technical aspects between Mesopotamia and Central Asia during late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

Key words: Manuscript Studies, Turfan manuscript fragments, eastern Christianity

1. The Syriac manuscript tradition: structuring and numbering of the quires

The more than 1000 Christian Sogdian and Syriac manuscript fragments preserved in the Berlin Turfan Collection constitute a chronologically and geographically coherent corpus. As I have argued elsewhere,² it does not make sense to look at the Christian Sogdian manuscript tradition in isolation: like Christian Sogdian literature, it mostly belongs to the cultural religious

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² BARBATI 2015; BARBATI 2017.

heritage of the Church of the East, and we cannot ignore this crucial point if we want to achieve a full comprehension of the material under investigation.

In 1946 Hatch wrote the following regarding the numbering of quires in Syriac manuscripts:³ “The quires were generally numbered with Syriac letters; but sometimes Syriac arithmetical figures or letters of the Greek, Coptic, or Arabic alphabets were employed for purpose (According to Wright, 1870–1872, p. xxvi, Syriac arithmetical figures were not in general use after the ninth century). The numeral was sometimes put at the end of the quire, and sometimes it was given both at the beginning and at the end. It was normally placed at the bottom of the page. Occasionally, however, Syriac letters were used at the bottom of the page and Greek letters at the top, and the running title was sometimes written at the top of the first and last pages of the quire. These advices were intended to aid the binder when he combined the quires to form a codex”.

In the last decades, the growth of Manuscript Studies or “Manuscriptology” as field of research has also helped to revitalize interest in the Syriac manuscript tradition. With particular regard to the Syriac manuscript tradition, the most recent surveys on the disciplines that are considered to be part of Manuscript Studies (codicology, palaeography, interplay of textual and material aspects as well as on historical context, cataloguing, conservation and preservation) have been published in 2015.⁴ In a chapter of a volume devoted to Syriac codicology, Borbone and Briquel-Chatonnet summarize the structuring and numbering of quires in the Syriac manuscript tradition as follows:⁵ “The structure of the quires in Syriac books is remarkably uniform and stable over time, for all geographical areas in which Syriac manuscripts were produced. They are mainly composed of quinions, both of parchment and of paper. The quires were made by stacking individual bifolia (usually five) and not by folding a sheet twice the size of a bifolium (or larger)”.⁶ Quinions is also the quire structure postulated by Sims-Williams for the Christian fragments from Turfan.⁷

On the numbering of the quires, Borbone and Briquel-Chatonnet wrote: “Numbering of quires is standard in Syriac books. The numbers are written

³ HATCH 1946, 23.

⁴ BAUSI and BORBONE et al. 2015, 57–59, 252–266, 316–320, 411–414, 435–439, 502–503 and BRIQUEL-CHATONNET and DEBIÉ 2015.

⁵ BORBONE and BRIQUEL-CHATONNET and BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA 2015.

⁶ BORBONE and BRIQUEL-CHATONNET and BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA 2015, 255.

⁷ SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, 15.

on the first and the last page of each quire, in the bottom margin. A quire number in the upper margin never occurs, nor do bifolium signatures. Very often, the first quire of a book bears no number at the beginning, because the recto of the first leaf is left blank; in Syriac manuscripts, the texts usually begins on the verso of the first leaf... numbering both the beginning and the end of a quire becomes standard practice, with placement of the number at the centre of the bottom margin...The script used for quire numbers very often changes, by alternating use of different Syriac scripts, *serṭā* and *'estranghēlā*. But exceptions do occur: for instance, London, BL, Add. 14548 (790), f. 33r, beginning of the fourth quire, shows the numeral d=4, in *'estranghēlā* script, written twice in the lower margin, once at the centre, and again to the right, the latter numeral being more prominently decorated (Tisserant 1914, xxiv and 28). Headings, or running titles, are seldom used, but they appear already in the oldest manuscripts, such as the Rabbula Gospel, where they are written in red in the top margin of the verso of the fifth leaf (i.e. at the central opening of a quinion). In other cases..., the rubricated headings are written in the top margin of all leaves on the recto. In this case they serve the needs of the reader, and were perhaps added after the copyist finished his work, either by him or by owners/users of the book”.⁸

Finally, from a theoretical point of view, this contribution shares the definition of a quire as given by Andrist, Canart, and Maniaci: “Nous proposons donc de définir le cahier comme “un ensemble de bifolios et/ou de folios emboîtés les uns dans les autres”.⁹ Or, taking up the English translation by Maniaci in a separate article: “The basic constitutive unit of the codex is the ‘quire’, or ‘gathering’, which may be defined as ‘a series of bifolia and/or folia [leaves] inserted one into the other”.¹⁰

2. Quire numbering as attested in the Christian Sogdian and Syriac manuscript fragments belonging to the Berlin Turfan Collection

The Christian Sogdian manuscript fragments in the Berlin Turfan Collection show that the quires are numbered with Syriac letters. According to Sims-Williams,¹¹ we find quire-numbers in the following manuscript frag-

⁸ BORBONE and BRIQUEL-CHATONNET and BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA 2015, 256.

⁹ ANDRIST and CANART and MANIACI 2013, 50.

¹⁰ MANIACI 2015, 8.

¹¹ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 237.

ments: E5/41, E5/51, E5/91, E5/100, E5/101, E26/3, E26/22(?), E26/28, E26/43(?), E27/31, E27/51, E27/60, E27/61, E27/127, E28/12, E28/19, E28/80, E28/90, E28/122, E29/5, E44.

In the first catalogue of the Syriac manuscript fragments in the Turfan Collection, Hunter and Dickens make a list of the “technical aspects of fragments” quoting quire-numbers, among other things. According Hunter and Dickens quire-numbers are attested in the following fragments: SyrHT 72, SyrHT 76, SyrHT 81 & 82, SyrHT 85, SyrHT 123, SyrHT 125, SyrHT 145, SyrHT 156, SyrHT 191, SyrHT 194, SyrHT 195, SyrHT 231, SyrHT 300, SyrHT 307, SyrHT 325, SyrHT 327?, SyrHT 348?, n416?¹²

Instead of discussing the evidence of the quires in the above-mentioned order, we will group them according to specific similarities in order to establish a typology.¹³ It goes without saying that there clearly are limits since we are dealing with a very fragmentary manuscript tradition: not a single complete codex has survived.¹⁴ Methodologically speaking, how can we classify manuscript fragments as type x or type y if we have only few fragments or even a single fragment? Dealing with a very fragmentary manuscript tradition means that we must accept many limitations¹⁵ and to avoid establishing a general theory or explanation. Nevertheless — as demonstrated by studies conducted on more well-established fragmentary

¹² HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 466. Evidence of the quire composition can be seen in the fragments SyrHT 71 and SyrHT 72 where the stitching thread are intact and in SyrHT 78, SyrHT 80, SyrHT 94, SyrHT 95 where the stitching holes are easily recognizable. See in particular: DICKENS 2013, 11–12.

¹³ For editorial reasons we will not include photo reproductions of all cited fragments. Anyway the Christian Sogdian and Syriac fragments are digitalized and available online: http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/n/dta_n_index.html and <http://idp.bl.uk/database/> respectively.

¹⁴ The codex is the book format with particular regard to the material under investigation. On a questionable example of a *poṭhī* fragment, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 62.

¹⁵ Therefore we will leave aside those cases that do not allow us to make any considerations other than that they may show traces of a quire-number. These traces have been already discussed in SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012 as well as in HUNTER and DICKENS 2014. We are referring to the fragments E28/80 (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 155); E28/90 (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 157); E28/122 (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 162); SyrHT 76 (HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 91); SyrHT 81&82 (HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 98); SyrHT 85a (HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 102); SyrHT 123 (HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 137); SyrHT 125 (HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 140); SyrHT 145 (HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 156); SyrHT 191a (HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 194–195); SyrHT 231 (HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 229); SyrHT 307 (HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 286); SyrHT 325 (HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 300); SyrHT 327 (HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 301); SyrHT 348 (HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 314); and n416 (HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 408).

manuscript traditions¹⁶ — we can provide new tools for the understanding of the material which has been preserved.

2.1. Manuscript fragments E5, E27, SyrHT 72 and the Christian Palestinian Aramaic¹⁷ Manuscripts: the “mirror”¹⁸ signature

The group of manuscript fragments known as E5¹⁹ (19.5–20×14.5–15 cm)²⁰ comes from a gospel lectionary in Sogdian language in East Syriac script with rubrics and the opening words of each new Gospel passage in the Syriac language in East Syriac script (followed by a Sogdian translation). The quire-numbers attested in the manuscript fragments E5 are placed in the middle of the bottom margin, even if in one case, E5/51/r/, this position can only be inferred because a small portion of the fragment is preserved. The quire-numbers are always enclosed by two ornamental rhombs of four dots. The quire-numbers are in black ink like the main text. The rhombs show the use of black ink and red ink. The two horizontally opposed dots are in black ink and those vertically opposed are in red ink. The quire-numbers we find are:

E5/41²¹/r/: d = 4, i.e. the first page of the fourth quire (**Pl. 1**)

E5/51²²/r/: h = 5, i.e. the first page of the fifth quire (**Pl. 2**)

E5/91²³/r/: t = 9, i.e. the first page of the ninth quire (**Pl. 3**)

E5/100²⁴/v/: y = 10, i.e. the last page of the ninth quire (**Pl. 4**)

E5/101²⁵/r/: y = 10, i.e. the first page of the tenth quire (**Pl. 5**)

¹⁶ In particular, I am referring to the studies carried out on the Coptic manuscript fragments as well as on the Dead Sea scrolls. See BARBATI 2015 [2014].

¹⁷ Christian Palestinian Aramaic is the Aramaic dialect spoken and written beside Greek in Palestine and Arabia in the Melkite communities not using regularly Greek during the Byzantine, the Umayyad and Abbasid periods. I am extremely grateful to Alain Desreumaux for suggesting this definition. Personal communication 18.05.2018.

¹⁸ DESREUMAUX 2015, 134.

¹⁹ BARBATI 2016.

²⁰ BARBATI 2016, 29.

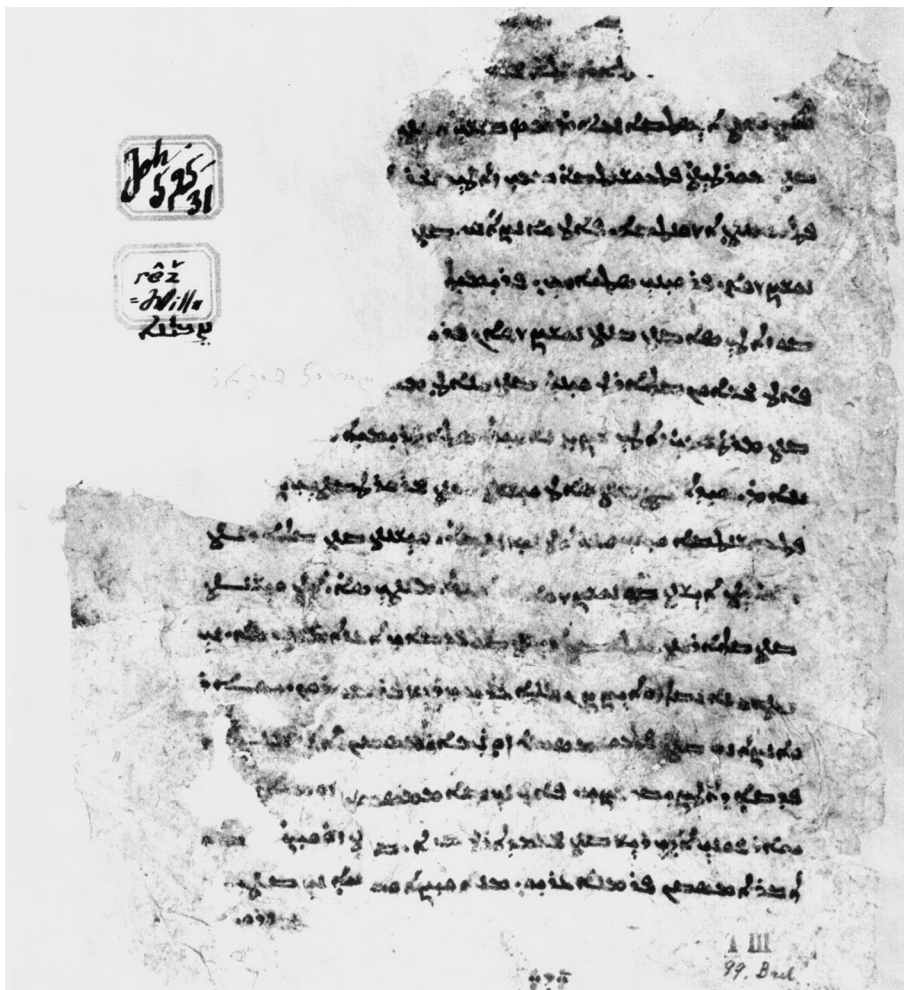
²¹ E5/41 = n500*. E5/41 recalls the new classification system introduced by Sims-Williams in his catalogue. See SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 11–16. n500* is the signature one can find at the Digital Turfan Archive, http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/n/dta_n_index.html. The same applies for all other cases. Finally, in n500*, the asterisk indicates that the fragment is lost and that we only have a photo reproduction preserved at the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, bequest of Carl Friedrich Andreas.

²² E5/51 = n154.

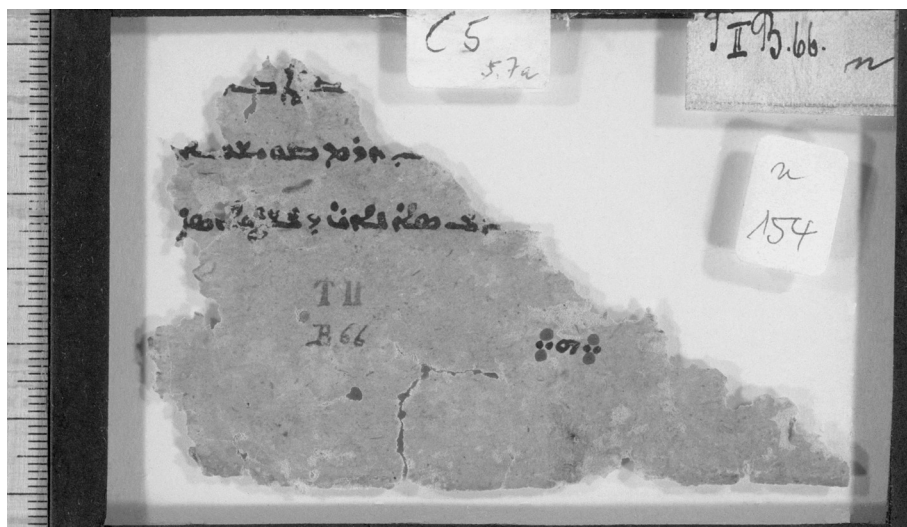
²³ E5/91 = n162.

²⁴ E5/100 = n 160.

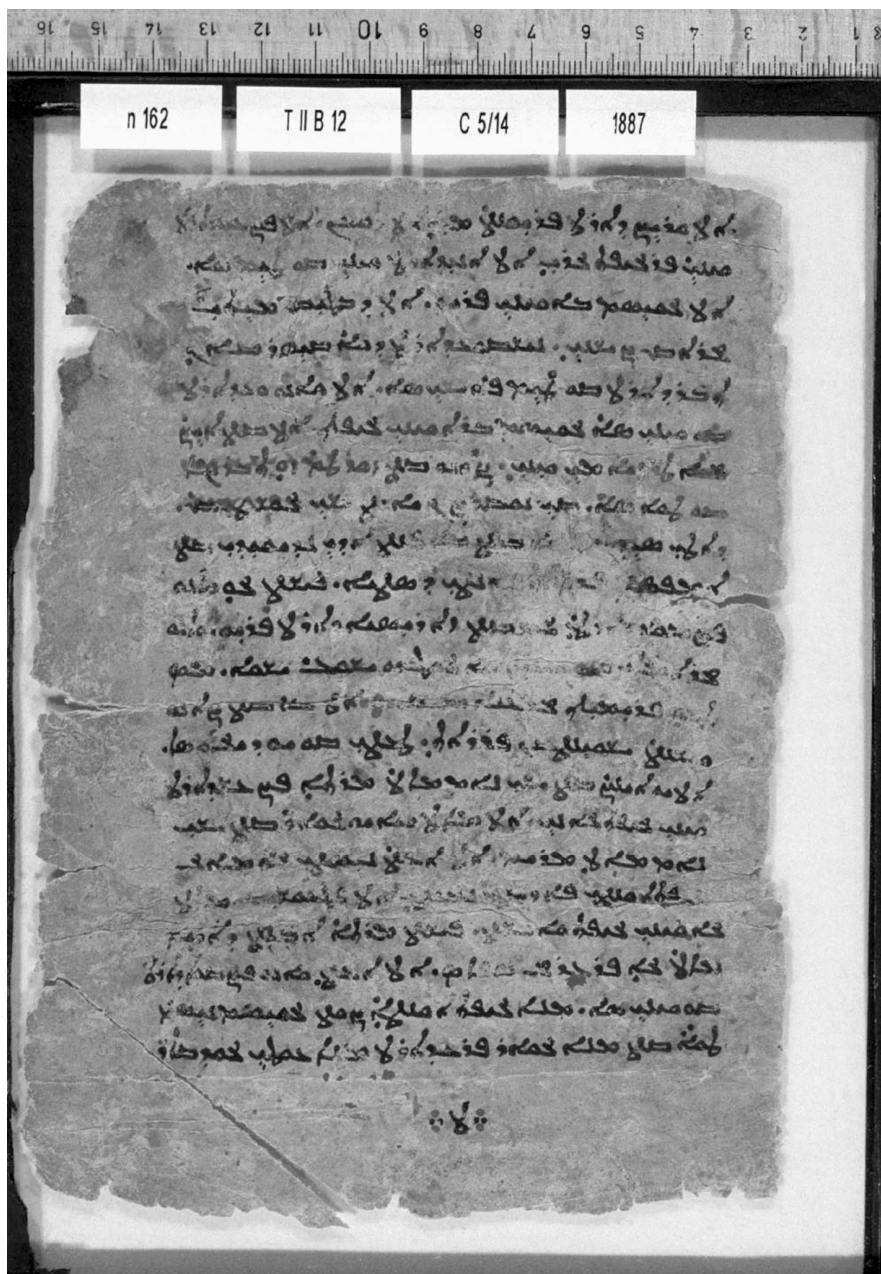
²⁵ E5/101 = n 161.



Pl. 1.
E5/41/r/ = n500* recto



Pl. 2.
E5/51/r/ = n154 recto



Pl. 3.

E5/91/r/ = n162 recto



Pl. 4.

E5/100/v/ = n 160 verso



Pl. 5.

E5/101/r/ = n 161 recto

Already Sundermann²⁶ and Sims-Williams²⁷ have emphasized that the last page of the ninth quire and the first page of the tenth quire of this manuscript bear the same number and that this system differs from the standard Syriac quire-numbering system, citing as an example the Syriac manuscript fragment SyrHT 72. The aim of the present contribution is to go further and propose a new working hypothesis.

Following Sims-Williams, the Christian Sogdian manuscript fragments known as E27 attest the same peculiarity. In the fragment E27/60/v/ and in the fragment E27/61/r/ Sims-Williams reads the quire number $w = 6$ (on my possible alternative reading see below).

The group of manuscript fragments E27 (31–32×19.5–20 cm)²⁸ is an example of a monastic miscellany or monastic multiple-text manuscript.²⁹ It represents several text genres: Sims-Williams counts at least thirteen distinct texts covering a range from metrical homilies to general Christian literature. All texts are written in the Sogdian language in East Syriac script. The occurrences of the quire-numbers are:

E27/31³⁰/r/: $g = 3$, i.e. the first page of the third quire (**Pl. 6**)

The quire-number is not exactly placed in the middle of the bottom margin but towards the inner margin. It is enclosed by decorative pointing: two internal horizontal points with four points, one above, one below, one to the right and one to the left of the two internal horizontal points. It seems to me that they form a cross. Two crosses enclose the quire number and the other are extended across the bottom margin. Because of the loss of the original fragment, we only have a photo reproduction. Therefore, it is particularly difficult to be more precise on the exact number of the points as well as on the colour of the ink. Nevertheless, I would cautiously suggest that the two internal horizontal points are in black ink and the other four in a different colour — maybe in red — because this is the colour we find for the same decorative points in other fragments belonging to the manuscript E27.

²⁶ SUNDERMANN 1975, 87–90.

²⁷ SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, 14–15.

²⁸ SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985; SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 99–126.

²⁹ On the use of the terms manuscript miscellany or multiple-text manuscript, see FRIEDRICH and SCHWARKE 2016. On the difficult one may have in defining and distinguishing a multiple text manuscript from a composite manuscript when we are dealing with manuscript traditions in a fragmentary status, one can recall the recent study of Buzi focused on the Coptic manuscript tradition. See BUZI 2016. With particular regard to the Syriac monastic miscellanies (or multiple-text manuscripts), see KESSEL 2014.

³⁰ E27/31 = n 520*, unidentified homily on the three periods of the solitary life.

E27/51c³¹/r/: h = 5, i.e. the first page of the fifth quire (**Pl. 7**)

Only a portion of the bottom margin has been preserved. Therefore we are not able to establish the precise position. Taking into account that the measures of E27 are 31–32×19.5–20.5 cm³² and that the measures of the fragments are 12×10.5 cm,³³ one can infer that the quire should be approximately in the middle of the bottom page as in the other and better preserved occurrences of the manuscript fragments E27. With particular regard to the decorative pointing, we have the same features discussed for the previous fragment: the difference is that in this case the alternation between the black ink in the two internal horizontal points and the red ink of the four point, one above, one below, one to the right and one to the left is visible. The two crosses that enclose the quire number are also visible, then only one to the outer margin is preserved.

E27/60³⁴/v/: w = 6, i.e. the last page of the fifth quire (**Pl. 8**)

The quire number is placed in the middle of the bottom margin and it shows the same decorative pointing that has been discussed in the previous two examples. In this case, the page is well preserved and one can clearly observe the position of the quire-number which is in the middle of the bottom margin and enclosed by two crosses formed by the decorative pointing already discussed, the decorative points across the margin by starting and finishing next to the written area, and, finally, the alternation of black and red ink.

E27/61³⁵/r/: w = 6, i.e. the first page of the sixth quire? (**Pl. 9**)

Because of the fragmentary preservation of the portion of the manuscript involved, I am not sure one is able to give a certain reading. The reading of w is possible but, if so, I would expect a roundish ductus with particular regard to the upper part of the letter like in the previous fragment E27/51c/r/. I would suggest t but if we look at the occurrences of this letter within the text one can observe that the ductus is inclined to the right and not to the left like seems to me in the quire-number. Therefore I would prefer to leave it as an open question and not taking the manuscript E27 as a sure example of the same number used for the last page of a quire and for the first page of the next quire as in E5. With particular regard the quire ornaments, we find the same system of all previous fragments.

E27/127³⁶/v/: former presence of a quire number (**Pl. 10**)

³¹ E27/51c = n 494, part of the homily of Bābay of Nisibis.

³² SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 99.

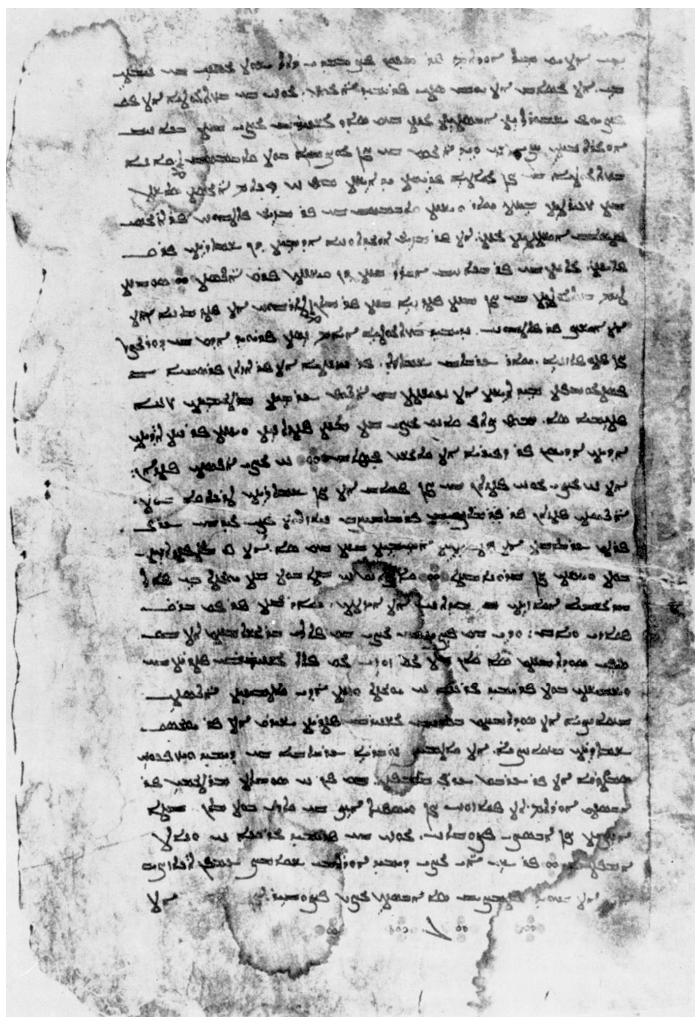
³³ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 110.

³⁴ E27/60 = n 489, excerpts from the *Apoththegmata Patrum*.

³⁵ E27/61 = n 493, questions and answers from the *Apoththegmata Patrum*.

³⁶ E27/127 = n 36, probably part of the *Apoththegmata Patrum*.

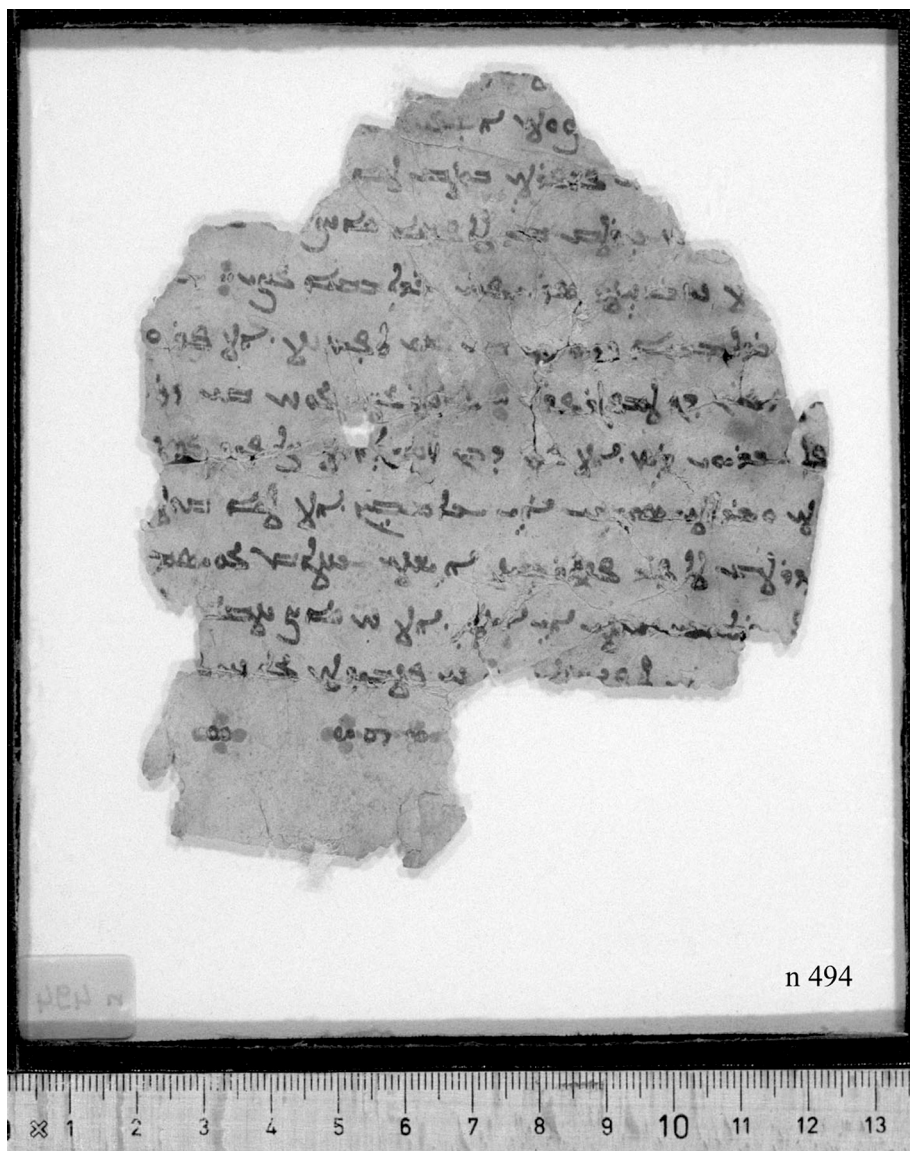
According to Sims-Williams, the decorative pointing on the bottom margin indicates the former presence of a quire-number.³⁷ The kind of decorative pointing seems to be the same of the decorative pointing of the previous fragments even if it is not clear, at least to me, whether the point in black is two or one points and if there was an upper point in red ink.



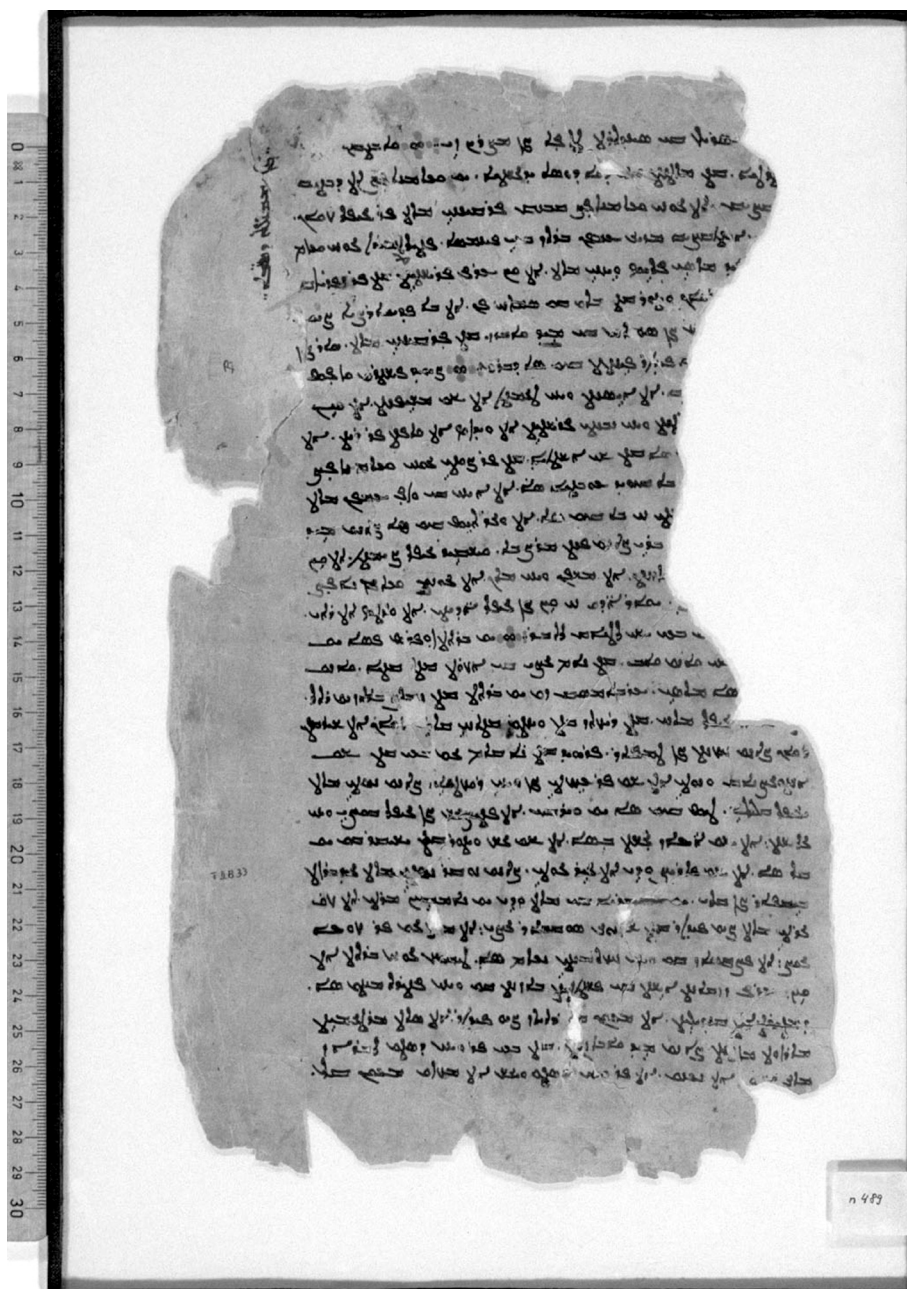
Pl. 6.

E27/31/r/ = n 520* recto

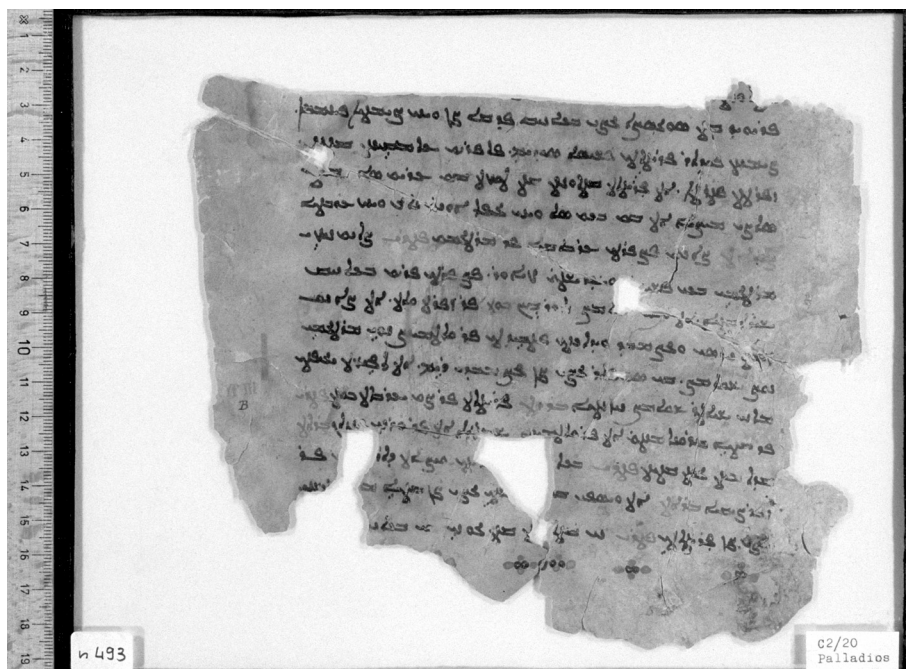
³⁷ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 123.



Pl. 7.
E27/51c/r/ = n 494 recto



Pl. 8.
E27/60/v/ = n 489 verso



Pl. 9.
E27/61/r/= n 493 recto



Pl. 10.
E27/127/v/ = n 36 verso

To sum up, I am more inclined to consider the “mirror” signature system as a peculiarity of the manuscript fragments E5. If this is so, it would be the only case attested in the Christian Sogdian manuscript fragments in the Berlin Turfan Collection. Of course, we have to keep in mind that we are dealing with fragments. Therefore, we always have to confront the possibility that the absence of a specific phenomenon among the fragments does not necessarily mean that it is an absence from the manuscript tradition.

If we look at the Syriac manuscript tradition in general, we find that both the position of the quire number in the middle of the bottom margin and the numbering of the last and first page of a quire with the same number is a standard practice. Numbering the last page of a quire and the first page of the following quire with the same number is a very uncommon feature. Nevertheless, it is a peculiarity we find within another manuscript tradition within eastern Christianity, namely the Christian Palestinian Aramaic manuscript tradition.

Desreumaux wrote on the manuscripts in Cambridge:³⁸ “...the quires are mirror-signed, a system that seems to be characteristic of Christian Palestinian manuscripts (in any case, this system is not found in Syriac manuscript): the verso of the last leaf of quire 1 and the recto of the first leaf of quire 2 are signed with *alaph*=1; the verso of the last leaf of quire 2 and the recto of the first leaf of quire 3 are signed *beth*=2, and so on in such manner that the position of a quire within the codex is known from the verso of the last leaf of the quire, the mirror-signature being there to ensure the correct succession of the quires. Moreover, in certain manuscripts such as the Cambridge lectionary of Westminster College (Lewis 1897), the letters do not really correspond to Semitic numbering system; indeed, after initial *kaf* form comes the final *kaf* form,... The remains of manuscript Sinai, New Finds M58–59N display and identical system”. Speaking of the manuscripts of the medieval period,³⁹ Desreumaux asserts that they are composed of quaternion and are mirror-signed. It seems that he is referring to the parchment manuscripts. In any case, concerning the paper manuscripts he asserted (COMSt 2012: 135): “it is difficult to draw a general rule, for there is only a very small number of them, and only two are complete books, nevertheless with particular regard

³⁸ DESREUMAUX 2015, 134.

³⁹ Medieval period means tenth to twelfth centuries, ancient period means fifth to tenth centuries. See DESREUMAUX 2015, 132.

to the numbering of the quires, it is important to stress that they are both “mirror-signed”.⁴⁰

The presence of the Melkite Church in Central Asia and in Turfan is well attested.⁴¹ With particular regard to the manuscript fragments E5, it is worth mentioning that the literary and the material aspects point in the same direction. From a literary perspective, the Christian texts found⁴² in Turfan mostly belong to the Church of the East, except for the lectionary E5 which cannot be counted as a standard lectionary of the Church of the East and appears to be closer to the Melkite Church (even with peculiarities), as I have discussed in my recent book.⁴³

At this point, I add another piece of evidence taking into account material aspects, i.e. quire-numbering. As already asserted in the previous pages, the fact that quire numbering as attested in E5 differs from the standard Syriac practice has been known since the 1970s, but it had not been observed that this peculiarity is shared with the Christian Palestinian Aramaic manuscript tradition. At this early stage⁴⁴ is extremely difficult to understand and to explain what this fact really means; on the other hand, it must be taken into account if we want to go further in our analysis. This approach also testifies to the importance of combining the study of literary aspects together with the study of material aspects in order to obtain the whole picture of a problem. In turn, it is also the main reason for publishing a volume focused on the

⁴⁰ DESREUMAUX 2015, 135. I would like to thank Alain Desreumaux and Sebastian Brock for the interesting discussion we have on the occasion of the Conference “New light on old manuscripts. Recent advances in palimpsest studies”, Vienna, 26 April 2018. Since the “mirror” signature system is quite unusual for the Syriac manuscripts, it is worth to continue to explore the link between the Christian manuscript tradition as attested in Turfan and the Christian Palestinian manuscript traditions.

⁴¹ One can briefly recall: 1) Barshabbā, legendary bishop of Marv, founder of the Christian Church in eastern Iran. The complete legend is preserved only in Arabic sources but we have some evidences in few Sogdian fragments coming from Xinjiang too (fragments E24/7–11: SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 75–77); 2) a unique fragment contains part of Psalm 33 (according to the numbering of Septuaginta) with Greek quotations as headlines and which agrees with the Septuaginta, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2004.

⁴² Which does not necessarily means that the whole material under investigation has been produced in Turfan. BARBATI 2015a, 92–97.

⁴³ BARBATI 2016, 41–57. See also the review of Pirtea with particular regard to the commemoration of Barshabbā, Sergius and Bacchus as attested in E5: PIRTEA 2018, 113–115.

⁴⁴ One has to keep in mind that that study of the Christian manuscript tradition as attested in the Syriac and Christian Sogdian manuscript fragments found in Turfan is far away from being deeply studied and understood. See BARBATI 2017.

Iranian manuscript traditions other than Islamic, as a way of trying to encourage and develop this approach as field of research within Middle Iranian Studies.

Concerning the Syriac manuscript fragments in the Turfan Collection, Sundermann⁴⁵ and Sims-Williams⁴⁶ both noted the “mirror” quire-numbering in the manuscript fragments SyrHT 72. SyrHt 72 (15.9×11.9 cm)⁴⁷ consists of nine pages stitched together and of four separate fragments, i.e. SyrHT 348, SyrHT 228, SyrHT 379, SyrHT 79.⁴⁸ The attested quire-numbers are to be found in the pages stitched together and the occurrences are the following:

SyrHT 72 2a⁴⁹: ḥ = 8, i.e. the first page of the eighth quire (**Pl. 12**)

The quire-number is in the bottom margin and it is repeated twice, in the lower right and lower left corners, with decorative punctuation points.

SyrHT 72 3a: nn = 50, i.e. the first page of the fiftieth quire (**Pl. 13**)

The quire-number is in the bottom margin and it is repeated twice, in the lower right and lower left corners, with decorative punctuation points.

SyrHT 72 4b⁵⁰: p = 80, i.e. the last page of the eightieth quire (**Pl. 14**)

The quire-number is in the bottom margin and it is repeated twice, in the lower right and lower left corners, with decorative punctuation points.

SyrHT 72 5a: p = 80, i.e. the first page of the eightieth quire (**Pl. 15**)

The quire-number is in the bottom margin and it is repeated twice, in the lower right and lower left corners, with decorative punctuation points.

The last two occurrences testify to the “mirror” signature system, i.e. the use of the same number for the last page of a quire as well as for the first page of the following quire.

To the extent they are still visible, the decorative punctuation points that enclose the quire-number in SyrHT 72 1a and in SyrHT 72 2a the five points — two before the quire-number and three after the quire-number — in

⁴⁵ SUNDERMANN 1975, 87–90.

⁴⁶ SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, 14–15.

⁴⁷ HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 85.

⁴⁸ DICKENS 2013a, 366.

⁴⁹ Meaning recto. With particular regard to the Syriac fragments, I follow the signatures of the catalogue (HUNTER and DICKENS 2014) which also correspond to the signature which are available online through the International Dunhuang Project. The occurrences discussed above are listed in the catalogue of HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 85 with the exception of SyrHT 72 1a (**Pl. 11**) where it is quite impossible to read the quire-number.

⁵⁰ Meaning verso. See the previous note.

the right lower corner are in black ink, whereas in the lower left corner two vertical point are in red ink and two horizontal point in black ink. In SyrHT 72 3a, in SyrHT 72 4b and in SyrHT 72 5a in both corner, the two horizontal point are in black, the two vertical points in red.⁵¹ In SyrHT 72 4a we have two vertical points in red ink twice on the lower left margin, once on the lower right margin. In SyrHT 72 5b two vertical point in red in the lower margin, two on the right side, two on the left side.

From a literary point of view, SyrHT 72 contains the psalter consisting of Peshitta psalms, psalm numbers, rubricated psalm heading and rubricated canons.⁵² The text is written in the Syriac language in East Syriac script. It is worth recalling what Dickens clearly pointed out: “The Turfan Psalter finds are important for two reasons. First, no other Christian text found at Turfan was rendered in more languages and scripts than the Psalter and second, the Syriac Psalter fragments from Turfan are amongst the earliest of the Syriac Peshitta text of the Psalms”.⁵³

Moreover, from the point of view of material aspects, SyrHT 72 shows another peculiarity that is rare among the Syriac and Christian Sogdian manuscript fragments from Turfan, namely, ruled margins,⁵⁴ which is in this case are very visible in SyrHT 72 1a (**Pl. 11**). Once again, we are dealing with a fragment that differs in many respects from Syriac standard practices as reflected in the Syriac and Christian Sogdian fragments from the Berlin Turfan Collection.

The repetition of the quire-number as attested in SyrHT 72 is also recognizable in the Christian Sogdian manuscript fragment E26 and, generally speaking, is listed as an exception within the Syriac manuscripts.⁵⁵

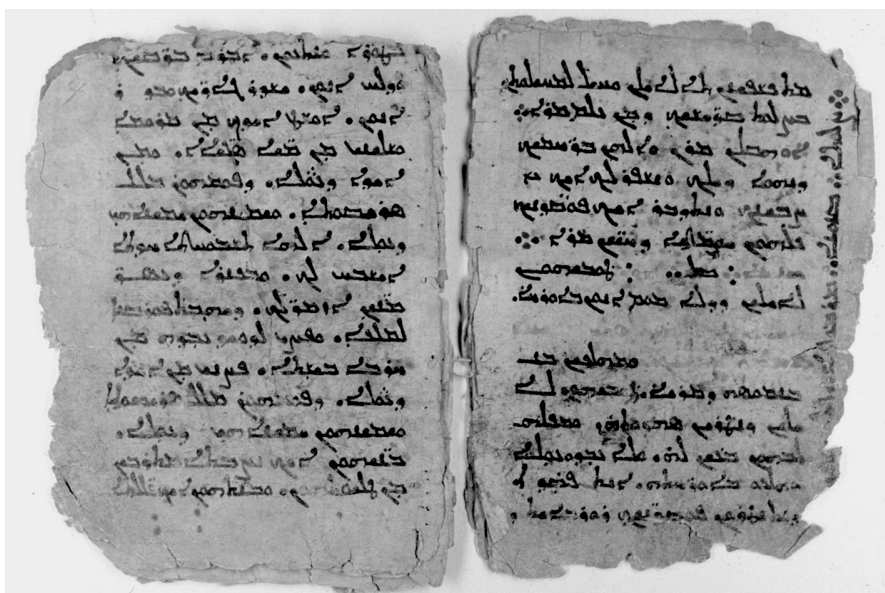
⁵¹ According to HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 85 red ink is visible in SyrHT 72 4a and SyrHT 72 5b as “ink transfer from quire marks on adjacent (lost) folios”.

⁵² HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 84–87.

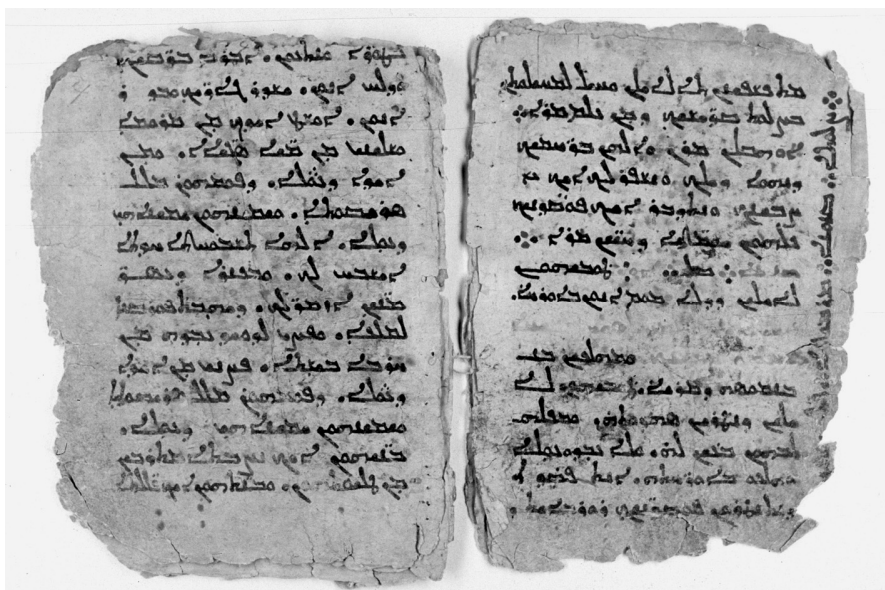
⁵³ DICKENS 2013, 358. On a deeply analysis of the attested psalms, see DICKENS 2013, 366–367; HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 84–85.

⁵⁴ DICKENS 2013, 366. The Christian Sogdian fragments shows few cases of the ruled margin. On an overview and a first work hypothesis on the ruled margin in the Christian Sogdian manuscript fragments from Turfan, see BARBATI 2017, 406–407.

⁵⁵ As we have seen in the first paragraph of this contribution, BORBONE and BRIQUEL-CHATONNET quoted as exception the manuscript London, BL, Add. 14548 (790), f. 33r. BORBONE and BRIQUEL-CHATONNET and BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA 2015, 256.



Pl. 11.
SyrHT 72 1a recto



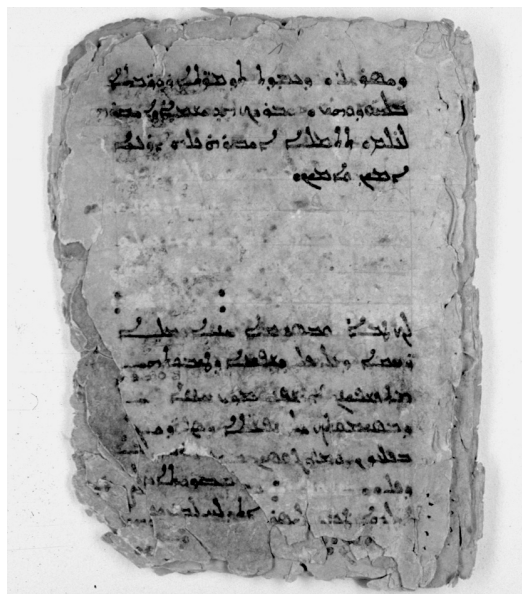
Pl. 12.
SyrHT 72 2a recto



Pl. 13.
SyrHT 72 3a recto



Pl. 14.
SyrHT 72 4b verso



Pl. 15.
SyrHT 72 5a recto

2.2. Manuscript fragments SyrHT 72 and E26: the “double” quire-number on the bottom margin

With “double” quire-number we mean a quire-number that is repeated twice, in the right corner and in the left corner of the bottom margin, as we have already seen in the manuscript fragments SyrHT 72.

The manuscript fragments E26 (20.5–21.5×11.5–12.75 cm)⁵⁶ include an anti-Manichaean polemic, a text on omens, and the lives of John of Dailam and St. Serapion with the addition of several unidentified fragments where very few words or few writing lines are attested. The text are in the Sogdian language in East Syriac script.

Sims-Williams assigned to the signature E26 all the fragments written “in a distinctive, very small handwriting”.⁵⁷ At the same time, he underlines — by quoting Sundermann in turn — that the fragments assigned to E26 probably belong to two different manuscripts because two pages show on the

⁵⁶ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 80; SIMS-WILLIAMS 2015.

⁵⁷ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 80.

verso side the same quire-number. Leaving aside two very small fragments E26/22 and E26/43⁵⁸ from the bottom margin where is quite impossible to determine whether there is a quire-number or an addition to the text,⁵⁹ the quire-numbers as attested in E26 are the following:

E26/3⁶⁰/v/: w = 6, i.e. the last page of the fifth quire (**Pl. 16**)

In his two recent studies on this fragment,⁶¹ Sims-Williams clearly asserts that the quire-number w = 6 is repeated twice in the bottom margin with decorative pointing. With particular regard to the decorative points, we can add that both quire numbers are enclosed by two horizontal points probably in red ink.

Regarding the quire-number, I have no doubt that the quire-number in the bottom margin on the right side — the one more close to the inner margin — is the Syriac letter w. On the other hand, I doubt that the other letter — the one more on the left side — is the same letter, i.e. w. In fact, it seems to me a very similar ductus to that of ž which is, together with f and x, one of the characters added by the Sogdian writing system in adopting the 22 letters of the Syriac alphabet.

Moreover, the ductus seems to me very similar to that of the letter ž as attested in the Sogdian word for “life” in the recto of the same fragment; we have žw’n “life” in /r/6/ and žw’ny “from a life” in /r/13/.⁶² (**Pl. 17**)

E26/28g⁶³/v/: w = 6, i.e. the last page of the fifth quire (**Pl. 18**)

Concerning the decorative pointing, two points probably in red ink are visible before the quire number; the same applies for the one after the quire-number whereas what follows is missing. Because a very small portion of the fragment has been preserved, it is not possible to determine the correct position of the quire-number on the bottom margin and it is not possible to be sure that the same quire-number was repeated twice.

Because of the fragmentary preservation, I would be careful even to assert that we are certainly dealing with the verso of this fragment. In any case, even if we follow the hypothesis that two manuscripts are involved because

⁵⁸ E26/22 = n104; E26/43 = n140 respectively. See: http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/n/dta_n_index.html

⁵⁹ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 87, 96.

⁶⁰ E26/3 = n145. The fragment contains a polemic against the Manichaeans.

⁶¹ See SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 81; SIMS-WILLIAMS 2015, 28.

⁶² For the text, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2015, 26–27.

⁶³ E26/28g = n114/1. From a literary point of view, the fragment is part of the life of Serapion.

two fragments show the same number on the verso side, the reason for having two different letters — if we accept the proposed reading, and if they are actual quire numbers — on the bottom margin as quire number is not clear. If they are not even quire numbers, it has to be explained what they actually mean. It seems to me that the hand is the same, same for both letters and same for the text, I would exclude that one letter is a later addition.

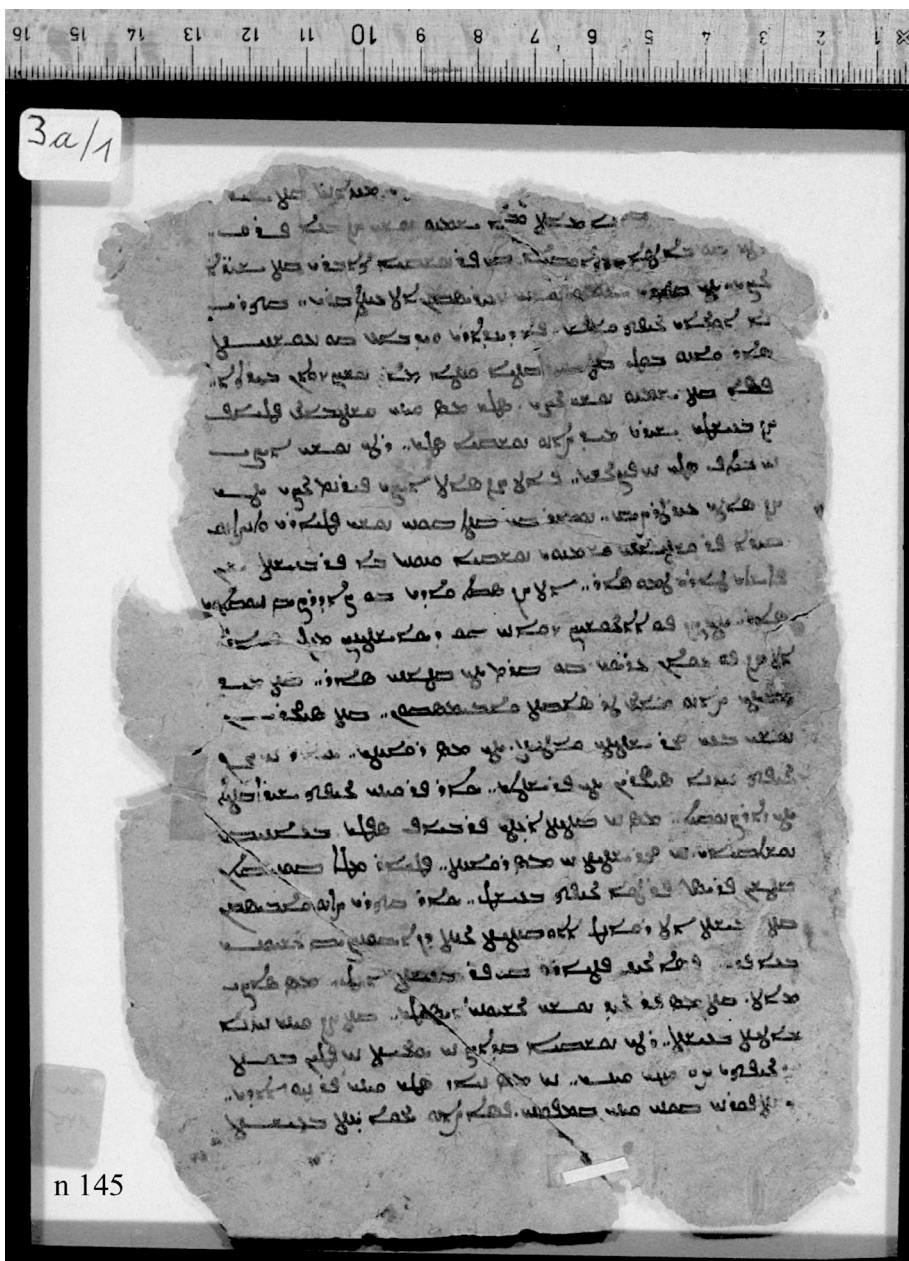
The preserved fragments do not constitute a bifolium. Therefore, it cannot be a bifolium signature, which seem to be unattested in the Syriac manuscripts anyways.⁶⁴ Could it count as a foliation system at all? Even if so, where would it come from? We have not found any other example in the Christian Sogdian and Syriac manuscript fragments in the Berlin Turfan Collection. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, we do not have similar system in the Syriac manuscript tradition.

⁶⁴ BORBONE and BRIQUEL-CHATONNET and BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA 2015, 256.



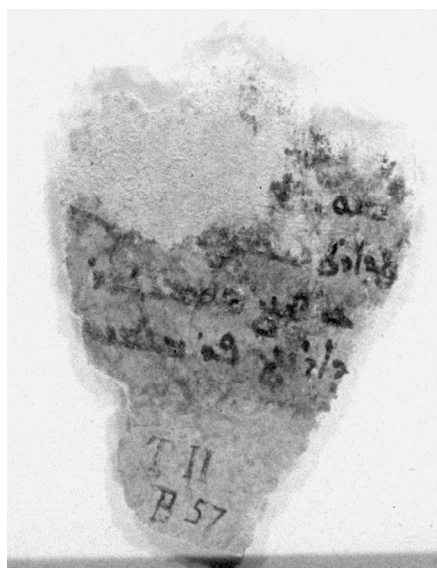
Pl. 16.

E26/3 /v/ = n145 verso



Pl. 17.

E26/3/r/ = n145 recto



Pl. 18.
E26/28g /v/ = n114/1 verso

2.3. The “double” quire-number as attested in the Syriac manuscript fragments from the Krotkov Collection

In 1996 Meshcherskaya⁶⁵ published an article focused on the literary and material aspects of the Syriac manuscript fragments from the Krotkov Collection and housed at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. Leaving aside a Syriac fragment found in Astana and already published,⁶⁶ Meshcherskaya takes into account ninety-seven fragments mostly unpublished and not yet studied. The scholar claims that these fragments are from eighteen pages of a manuscript showing “a more or less connected text”.⁶⁷ The finding place of the fragments is unknown: that of the Turfan area is assumed because all material belonging to the Krotkov Collection comes from Turfan. Regarding the provenance, Meshcherskaya suggests that the manuscript was composed

⁶⁵ MESHCHERSKAYA 1996. A special thank to Pavel Lurje and Anton Pirtula for giving me the Russian version of this publication. See MESHCHERSKAYA 1994.

⁶⁶ PIGULEVSKAJA 1938; 1940.

⁶⁷ MESHCHERSKAYA 1996, 222.

in Mosul and later brought to Turfan.⁶⁸ Concerning the date, the scholar is inclined to consider the middle of the thirteenth century, the *terminus ante quem*.⁶⁹

This material is included in the present study as part of an ongoing project that aims at expanding knowledge on the production and the use of the manuscripts — which survive as manuscript fragments — among the Christian communities in early Medieval Turfan. On this occasion, the numbering of the quires as reflected in the Syriac fragments discussed by Meshcherskaya will be discussed. I have recently had the opportunity to look at this material.⁷⁰ Nowadays 116 fragments are preserved in 5 folders (40×40 cm). The first folder⁷¹ contains the fragments listed as 1–4, the second folder⁷² the fragments 5–11, the third folder⁷³ includes the fragments 12–19, the fourth folder⁷⁴ contains the fragments 20–65 and the last folder⁷⁵ includes the fragments 66–116 which are very small.

Among the material aspects highlighted by Meshcherskaya, there is the numbering of the quire: “On one of the folios there is a letter ܬܬ̈ܝ in the lower field, accompanied by an ornamental cross. This letter marks a quire of the manuscript”.⁷⁶

The quire-number (**Pl. 19**) is attested on the bottom margin in the fragment 10 which is preserved in the second folder SI 5844 Inv. 5900 L. 2. The quire-number is repeated twice and it is enclosed by decorative pointing: two internal horizontal points in black ink and four points in red ink, one above, one below, one to the right and one to the left of the two internal horizontal points. They form a cross as in the manuscript fragments E27: same decorative pointing, same use of the ink, same position on the bottom margin but different system to mark the quire-number.

⁶⁸ MESHCHERSKAYA 1996, 225.

⁶⁹ MESHCHERSKAYA 1996, 226.

⁷⁰ I would like to express my gratitude to Irina Popova for giving me the permission to check the Syriac fragments from the Krotkov Collection.

⁷¹ SI 5844 Inv. 5900 L. 1.

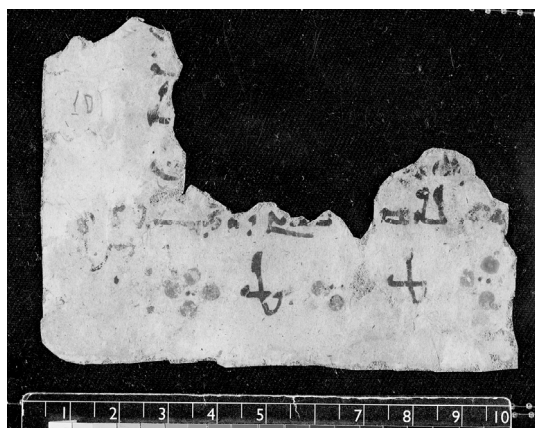
⁷² SI 5844 Inv. 5900 L. 2.

⁷³ SI 5844 Inv. 5900 L. 3.

⁷⁴ SI 5844 Inv. 5900 L. 4.

⁷⁵ SI 5844 Inv. 5900 L. 5.

⁷⁶ MESHCHERSKAYA 1996, 223.



Pl. 19.
Fr. 10 SI 5844 Inv. 5900 L. 2

Concerning fragment 10 from the Krotkov Collection, I would suggest that it is a “double” quire-number excluding the hypothesis of a quire-number extended across the bottom margin. Only the lower part of the fragment has survived. According to me, the width of the fragment is 9.6 cm, the width of the written area is 7.3 cm and the outer margin is 2.3 cm. Where it is possible to measure the width of the manuscript⁷⁷ it is circa 11 cm and the inner margin is circa 0.5 cm. Considering that usually the quire-number is attested within the written area, I think that only the inner margin is missing. Therefore, I would suggest it to be a “double” quire-number.

2.4. Manuscript fragments E28, E29, SyrHT 194-SyrHT 195: quire-number on the bottom margin in central position

While listing a group of fragments as the manuscript fragments E28, Sims-Williams pointed out on the one hand that they may belong to different manuscripts because some pages have different sizes, and on the other hand that they share many formal features such as the hand, verso-mark, quire-numbers, titles, headings, punctuation and pointing.⁷⁸ Of course, this issue needs to be clarified by further studies. For the moment — as a first overview — we will follow the classification adopted by Sims-Williams in his catalogue.

⁷⁷ For instance fragment 8, SI 5844 Inv. 5900 L. 2. With particular regard to the dimension of the manuscript, Meshcherskaya speaks of circa 10×7 cm. See MESHCHERSKAYA 1996, 222.

⁷⁸ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 127.

From a literary point of view, E28 is an example of a monastic miscellany or monastic multiple-text manuscript as the manuscript fragments E27. It is written in the Sogdian language in East Syriac script and it includes lives of saints, commentaries, homilies, and general ascetical literature as well as unidentified texts.

The attested quire-numbers are:⁷⁹

E28/12⁸⁰/r/: yt = 19, i.e. the first page of the nineteenth quire (**PI. 20**)

The fragment is lost and we only have a photo reproduction. It seems that the quire-number on the bottom margin is not exactly in the middle but towards the inner margin. It seems that the quire-number has no decorative punctuation point.

E28/19b⁸¹/v/: y[.] = 10[.], i.e. the last page of the tenth(?) quire (**PI. 21**)

Only a portion of the fragment is preserved. Therefore, with particular regard to the quire-numbers and its decoration, only the letter y in black ink and two decorative horizontal points in black ink are recognizable.

The manuscript fragments known as E29⁸² show the same problems as the previous text. We thus need further studies to establish if the eight pages grouped by Sims-Williams as E29 are all part of the same manuscript or not.⁸³ For the moment, we follow the classification adopted by Sims-Williams in his catalogue.

Concerning literary aspects, E29 is a monastic miscellany or monastic multiple-text manuscript as the manuscript fragments E27 and E28. It contains the stories of Moses, David, Daniel, the martyrdom of Cyriacus and Juditta, a homily on fasting and a text on the encounter between Simon Peter and on Simon Magus. The text is written in the Sogdian language in East Syriac script.

Only one quire-number is attested:

E29/5⁸⁴/r/: w = 6, i.e. the first page of the sixth quire (**PI. 22**)

The quire-number is placed in the middle of the bottom margin. We would need physical analysis for establishing the ink used the quire-number. The quire-number is enclosed by two decorative rhombs of four dots. The two horizontally opposed dots are in red ink and those vertically opposed are in black ink.

⁷⁹ Concerning the small fragments E28/80, E28/90 and E28/122 see note 15.

⁸⁰ E28/12 = n 529*. See: http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/n/Konkordanz_n_verloren.pdf. The fragment measures 28.5×20.5 cm and its content is about the ascetic life. See SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 134–135.

⁸¹ E28/19b = n367. The dimensions of the fragment are 15×8.5 cm and the text is focused on the ascetic life. See SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 138.

⁸² SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 168.

⁸³ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 165.

⁸⁴ E29/5 = n196. The fragment measures 22×15.5 cm and the text consists of a homily on fasting. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 167.

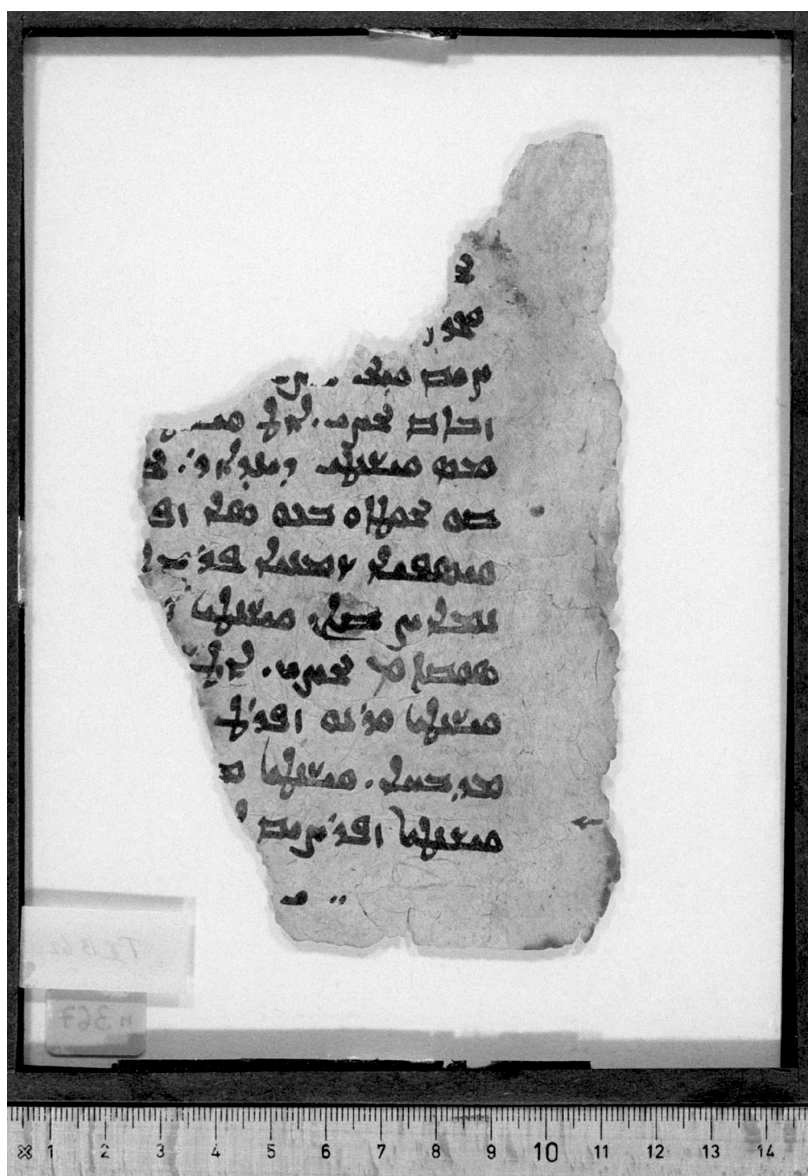
n 529*

11
B 6
a

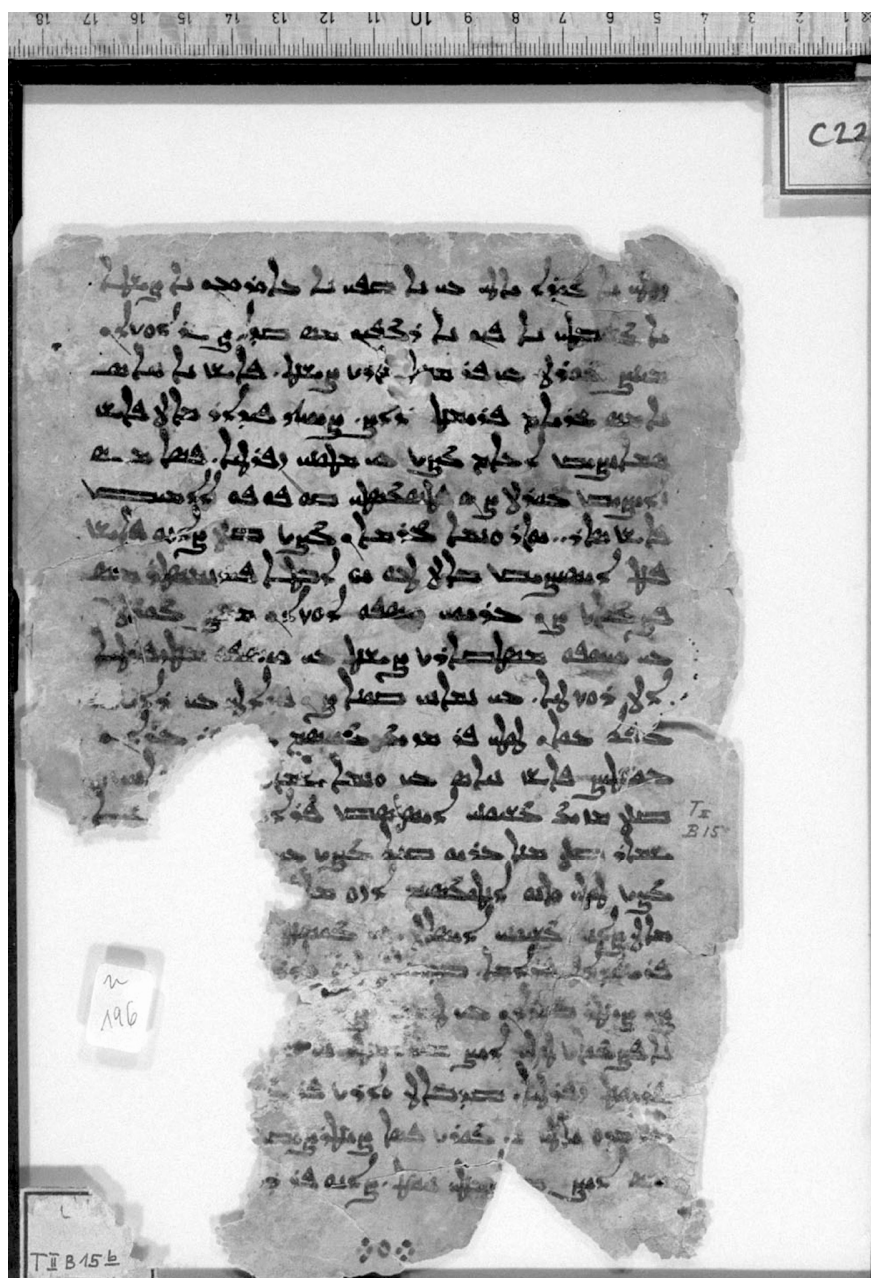
1. ...
 2. ...
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 12. ...
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 27. ...
 28. ...
 29. ...

Pl. 20.

E28/12/r/ = n529* recto



Pl. 21.
E28/19b /v/ = n367 verso



Pl. 22.

E29/5 /r/ = n196 recto

The fragments SyrHT 194-SyrHT 195 together with the fragments SyrHT 109 and SyrHT 110 belong to the same manuscript. Concerning textual genre, they are grouped as Taksa A within the liturgical texts by Hunter-Dickens.⁸⁵ The text is written in the Syriac language in East Syriac script. The quire-numbers attested are:

SyrHT 194b:⁸⁶ d = 4, i.e. the last page of the fourth quire (**PI. 23**).

The fragment measures 15.1×13.7 cm.⁸⁷ Even if a portion of the inner margin and circa the half of the bottom margin is missing, we can see that the quire-number is in the middle of the bottom margin. As for all other cases discussed in this article, the quire-number and the main text have been written by the same hand. Without physical analysis is not possible to establish if the ink used for the quire-number as well as for the text is brown or faded black. The quire-number is enclosed by decorative pointing: two internal horizontal point in brown or faded black ink with three points in red ink, one above, one below and one to the outer side of the two internal horizontal points.⁸⁸

SyrHT 195b:⁸⁹ h = 5, i.e. the last page of the fifth quire (**PI. 24**).

The dimensions of the fragment are 11.5×13.6 cm. The bottom margin is entirely preserved and the central position of the quire-number is clearly visible. Concerning the hand, the ink and the decorative pointing, it is the same as for the fragment SyrHT 194.

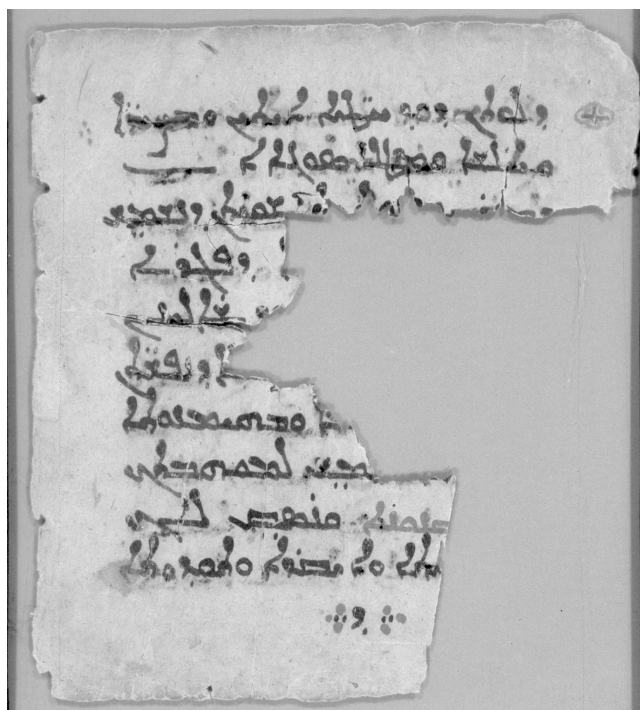
⁸⁵ HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 123–125; 197–198; 452.

⁸⁶ b meaning verso. See HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 197.

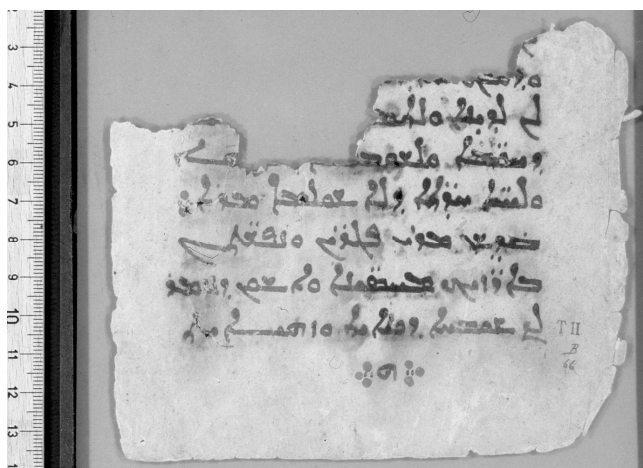
⁸⁷ HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 197.

⁸⁸ In the manuscript fragments E27 we have four point in red ink instead of three, as we have already seen.

⁸⁹ b meaning verso. See HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 198.



Pl. 23.
SyrHT 194b verso



Pl. 24.
SyrHT 195b verso

2.5 SyrHT300 and E44/MIK III 45: two cases per se⁹⁰

According to Hunter and Dickens,⁹¹ the fragment SyrHT 300 together with the fragments SyrHT 241, SyrHT 277 and n327 forms an almost entire page. From a literary point of view, we are dealing with a Syriac lectionary⁹² in East Syriac script.

The quire-number in the fragment SyrHT 300 (5.6×7.2 cm)⁹³ would be:

SyrHT 300b:⁹⁴ g or ʔ = 3 or 9, i.e. the first page of the third or of the ninth quire.

So far we can see, it is very difficult to give a sure reading of the quire-number. Part of the decorative pointing of the quire-number is clearly visible. It consists of two horizontal points in black ink with four points in red ink, one above, one below, one to the right and one to the left of the two internal horizontal points.

The position of the quire-number is very unusual. If we follow Hunter and Dickens⁹⁵ we have a quire-number on the upper margin. Following this hypothesis, this would be the only evidence of a quire-number on the upper margin as attested in the Syriac and Christian Sogdian fragments from the Berlin Collection. To the best of my knowledge, this would be a rare, if not unique, feature even if we consider the entire Syriac manuscript tradition not only that from Turfan. One might recall once again the most update survey on Syriac manuscripts where we do not find any example of a quire-number on the upper margin.⁹⁶ The other possibility is that g or ʔ is not a quire-number.

I am more inclined to consider g or ʔ as a marginalia indicating a new section in the text. This kind of marginalia is attested in the Christian manuscript fragments from Turfan. Recently, Dickens discusses the marginalia in the Syriac fragment SyrHT 123.⁹⁷ He explains the presence of g as a typical marginalia “used to alert the reader to new sections in the text,

⁹⁰ Both manuscript fragments are available online at <http://idp.bl.uk/>.

⁹¹ HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 235; 262–263; 391–392.

⁹² It is listed as lectionary B by HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 448.

⁹³ HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 282.

⁹⁴ b meaning recto. See HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 282.

⁹⁵ HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 282.

⁹⁶ BORBONE and BRIQUEL-CHATONNET and BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA 2015, 256.

⁹⁷ DICKENS 2013, 11.

particularly in the biblical or liturgical texts” clarifying that “these biblical sections do not correspond to the chapter divisions familiar to most Western readers”.⁹⁸ The decorative pointing is the same of SyrHT 300. The position differs: outer margin for g in SyrHT 123 and upper margin for SyrHT 300. The almost entire page including SyrHT 300 is still unpublished. According to Hunter and Dickens,⁹⁹ the publication is in preparation, and, surely, it will help in settling the matter.

The Syriac manuscript MIK III 45 consists of 61 pages and measures 22.5×14 cm.¹⁰⁰ It is also included in the catalogue of the Christian Sogdian manuscript fragments and listed under the heading E44 because it contains few lines in Sogdian in East Syriac script as well as in Sogdian script.¹⁰¹ Concerning the text genre, the manuscript MIK III 45 is a service-book. A very accurate and comprehensive study on MIK III 45 has been published in 2017.¹⁰² Among the material aspects, the structuring and the numbering of the quires have been discussed and we remind to this important publication for any detail. For our purposes, worth highlighting is the presence of the quire-numbers (‘, p, s, q) in the middle of a black page with no decoration; the different hand between the main text and the quire-number; and, finally, the upside-down writing for the quire-numbers ‘ in MIK III 45 23 verso and for the quire-number p in MIK III 45 37 verso.¹⁰³

The manuscript MIK III 45 shows a completely different scenario. Interesting enough, by combining literary and material aspects, Hunter and Coakley propose Merv and not Turfan as the place of provenance of the manuscript MIK III 45.¹⁰⁴

Conclusions

Our impression is that if we look at the quire numbering system as attested in the manuscript fragments found in Turfan, instead of representing a standard Syriac system, they show the existence of different systems which in turn also imply different proveniences. Almost every single less-fragmen-

⁹⁸ DICKENS 2013, 11.

⁹⁹ HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 282.

¹⁰⁰ HUNTER and DICKENS 2014, 346–351.

¹⁰¹ SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012, 190.

¹⁰² HUNTER and COAKLEY 2017.

¹⁰³ See <http://idp.bl.uk/>.

¹⁰⁴ HUNTER and DICKENS 2017, 1–60; 273–280.

tary manuscript shows a different way of indicating the numeration of pages. An alternative scenario in which those differences could be related to multiple actors in a place of manuscript production (scribe, book binder etc.) is difficult to imagine in the specific context of Turfan. In contrast with other religions attested at Turfan – Manicheism, Buddhism –, Christianity never had an official status, and this seems to be reflected in manuscript production. The alleged monastery and the hypothetical remains of a church (which, like Bulayīq, have not yet been archaeologically studied) are the only known material witnesses of Christianity in the oasis of Turfan, besides of course the manuscript fragments. One must also keep in mind in all examples analysed here (with the exception of MIK III 45) that the main text and the quire numbers were written by the same hand (though we are still at the initial stages of paleographical studies of these fragments). This supports the hypothesis of Dickens¹⁰⁵ of a small community, or small communities, which arrive at the oasis of Turfan during a period of affirmation of other religions in the East and in the West. He links the origins of the Christian communities in Turfan with religious persecution in Tang China to the East, and the Islamic conquest of Central Asia in the West. Under these circumstances, the most plausible explanation for the extreme differentiation of the system of numbering of quires would be the diversity of provenience of manuscripts rather than a purely local production.

Abbreviations

Pl. = Plate

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¹⁰⁵ DICKENS 2013, 3–4.

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List of the above mentioned manuscript fragments:

- Pl. 1: E5/41/r/ = n500* recto
Pl. 2: E5/51/r/ = n154 recto
Pl. 3: E5/91/r/ = n162 recto
Pl. 4: E5/100/v/ = n 160 verso
Pl. 5: E5/101/r/ = n 161 recto
Pl. 6: E27/31/r/ = n 520* recto
Pl. 7: E27/51c/r/ = n 494 recto
Pl. 8: E27/60/v/ = n 489 verso
Pl. 9: E27/61/r/ = n 493 recto
Pl. 10: E27/127/v/ = n 36 verso
Pl. 11: SyrHT 72 1a recto
Pl. 12: SyrHT 72 2a recto
Pl. 13: SyrHT 72 3a recto
Pl. 14: SyrHT 72 4b verso
Pl. 15: SyrHT 72 5a recto
Pl. 16: E26/3 /v/ = n145 verso
Pl. 17: E26/3/r/ = n145 recto
Pl. 18: E26/28g /v/ = n114/1 verso
Pl. 19: Fr. 10 SI 5844 Inv. 5900 L. 2
Pl. 20: E28/12/r/ = n529* recto
Pl. 21: E28/19b /v/ = n367 verso
Pl. 22: E29/5 /r/ = n196 recto
Pl. 23: SyrHT 194b verso
Pl. 24: SyrHT 195b verso
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MASPERO, Henry 1953: *Les Documents chinois de la troisième expédition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie Centrale*. Ed. by H. Maspero. London: The Trustees of the British Museum.

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The references to Oriental publications should be as follows: title in italics in transliteration, original title, English translation in square brackets:

NIE Xiaohong 乜小紅 2009: *E cang Dunhuang qiyue wenshu yanjiu* 俄藏敦煌契約文書研究 [A study of the Dunhuang texts of contracts from the Russian Collection]. Shanghai: Guji chubanshe.

Dunhuang yanjiu lunzhu mulu 2006: 敦煌研究論著目錄 [A bibliography of works in Dunhuang studies]. 1998–2005. Ed. by Cheng A-tsai 鄭阿財 and Chu Feng-yu 朱鳳玉. Comp. by Tsai Chung-Lin 蔡忠霖, Chou Hsi-po 周西波. Taipei: Lexue shuju.

References to articles:

MALOV S.E. 1932: “Uigurskie rukopisnye dokumenty ekspeditsii S.F. Oldenburga” [Uighur manuscript documents from S.F. Oldenburg’s expedition]. *Zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR*

[*Proceedings of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR*], vol. 1. Moscow-Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 129–149.

LAUT, Jens Peter 2009: “Neues aus der Katalogisierung der *Maitrisimit*”. In *Studies in Turkic Philology. Festschrift in Honour of the 80th Birthday of Professor Geng Shimin*. Ed. by Zhang Dingjing and Abdurishid Yakup. Beijing: China Minzu University Press, 332–338.

ZIEME, Peter 2000: “Fragments of the Old Turkic *Maitrisimit nom bitig* in the Otani Collection”. *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* [*Studies on the Inner Asian Languages*], 15 (2000), 123–134.

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