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NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS

The Christian Sogdian Manuscript C2

With 207 Facsimiles on 95 Plates

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DEDICATED
TO
ILYA GERSHEVITCH

Preface

The Christian Sogdian MS C2 originally consisted of not less than 120 folios, containing altogether well over 7,000 long lines of writing. Even in its present fragmentary state it is one of the most extensive of surviving Sogdian MSS, rivalling such well-preserved Buddhist texts as P2 and the *Vessantara Jātaka*. As a source of linguistic information it is unequalled by any, owing chiefly to the fact that most of the texts contained in it can be identified as faithful translations of known Syriac originals, whereby even small fragments may be interpreted with confidence. These texts are of diverse contents, including inter alia saints' lives, homilies, commentaries and at least one poem, and consequently of diverse vocabulary. As the work of a single scribe, however, the MS is in most respects consistent in its orthography and linguistically uniform, providing thus an ideal body of material for grammatical analysis.

Most of the larger fragments of C2 were published by O. Hansen in 1954. Apart from being incomplete, Hansen's edition is inaccurate and unsatisfactory in many ways, and there can be no doubt that now, after more than a quarter of a century, a new edition is required. Most of the work on the present edition was done in Cambridge during the years 1972–1976 while I was firstly a research student at Trinity Hall and latterly a Research Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. An earlier draft was presented as a thesis to the University of Cambridge and resulted in the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1978. The work has now been extensively revised and enlarged (in particular by the addition of the glossary and plates).

The surviving fragments of the MS C2 are at present in the custody of the Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR (Berlin) and of the Museum für Indische Kunst (Berlin/West). Because a number of the fragments were lost or damaged during the Second World War, the pre-war photographs in the possession of the Seminar für Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients (Abteilung Iranistik) of Hamburg University and of the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen have in some cases attained the status of primary sources. The Hamburg collection also contains Prof. W. Lentz's handwritten transcripts of certain fragments, which have proved useful on occasion. In my commentaries below I have been able to cite relevant passages from a number of unpublished Sogdian MSS (in addition to the previously unpublished fragments of C2). The sources of these are indicated in the index on p. 240 below. At an early stage in my work I found useful a computer-index to Hansen's edition made by Prof. MacKenzie. This was later superseded by a concordance, reverse-index, etc., based on my own text of C2, which were compiled with the expert assistance of the Literary and Linguistic Computing Centre in Cambridge and their programmer Dr. J. L. Dawson. For the present work I have made much use of unpublished Syriac material in the British Library, London, the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin/West, the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and the University Library, Cambridge. Thanks are due to all these institutions and individuals for making their resources available to me.

I have been fortunate in receiving valuable help and advice from many quarters, here inadequately but gratefully acknowledged. For useful comments on previous drafts of the following pages and for many invaluable references I am indebted to —amongst others—Prof. Sir Harold Bailey, Prof. R. E. Emmerick, Prof. D. N. MacKenzie, Dr. F. Salimi, my brother Patrick Sims-Williams and my wife Ursula. On Syriac matters I have been advised by Dr. S. Brock, Prof. R. Draguet and Prof. S. A. Hopkins, on Armenian by Dr. B. G. Hewitt and Dr. J. R. Russell. Finally I must try to express my deep sense of obligation to Dr. W. Sundermann, whose constant and patient helpfulness has made possible this re-edition of the fragments belonging to the Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR; to Prof. M. Schwartz, for magnanimously encouraging me to trespass on a field which he has made his own; and to my teacher, Dr. I. Gershevitch, without whose stimulating guidance this work could never have been undertaken.

London, October 1980

Nicholas Sims-Williams

Contents

Abbreviations

1. Abbreviated references

In the case of Sogdian texts, only the most recent editions are mentioned here.

For Syriac and other MSS cited below by place and signature see the appropriate catalogues (mostly listed by Baumstark GSL 2–3). For other abbreviations not listed here (such as Syr. MSS cited as **A**, **B**, **C** . . ., or text-editions cited by the editor's name alone) see the introduction to the relevant Sogd. text below.

1/1: in: Livšic JDP.

A14, A16: ibid.

AAWG = Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse (Dritte Folge, unless otherwise indicated).

AAWLM = Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz.

AB = Analecta Bollandiana.

Abaev IESOJ = V. I. Abaev, Istoriko-ètimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka I, Moscow-Leningrad 1958; II–III, Leningrad 1973–1979.

Abaev Festschrift = Voprosy iranskoj i obščej filologii, Tiflis 1977.

AMS: see Bedjan.

Anc. Lett. = Ancient Letter: in: Reichelt HR II.

Andreas-Henning, Mir. Man. III = F. C. Andreas-W. B. Henning, Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan III (SPAW 1933 Nr. 27).

Andreev-Peščereva JT = M. S. Andreev-E. M. Peščereva, Jagnobskie teksty, Moscow-Leningrad 1957.

AoF = Altorientalische Forschungen.

APAW = Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse.

Asadī = Asadī, Luγat-i furs, ed. P. Horn (Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse NF 1/8, Berlin 1897) and 'A. Iqbāl (Tehran 1940).

B3, B7–9, B14–18, Б15–16, Б27: in: Livšic JDP.

Б1: in M. N. Bogoljubov-O. I. Smirnova, Xozjajstvennye dokumenty, Moscow 1963 (Sogdijskie dokumenty s gory Mug III).

Bailey KT6 = H. W. Bailey, Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta, Cambridge 1967 (Khotanese Texts VI).

Bartholomae AiW = C. Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch, Straßburg 1904.

Baumstark GSL = A. Baumstark, Geschichte der syrischen Literatur . . ., Bonn 1922.

BBB: see Henning.

Bedjan AMS = P. Bedjan, Acta martyrum et sanctorum I–VII, Paris 1890–1897.

Benveniste 1964 = E. Benveniste, La racine *yat-* en indo-iranien, in: Indo-iranica, Mélanges . . . G. Morgenstierne, Wiesbaden 1964, 21–27.

Benveniste Etudes 1 = idem, Etudes sur quelques textes sogdiens chrétiens, in: JA 1955, 297–337.

Benveniste Etudes 2 = idem, Etudes sur quelques textes sogdiens chrétiens (deuxième article), in: JA 1959, 115–136.

Benveniste Etudes 3 = idem, Etudes sur la langue ossète, Paris 1959 (Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris LX).

Benveniste Notes 2 = idem, Notes sur le fragment sogdien du Buddhadhyānasamādhisāgarasūtra, in: JA 1933, 193–248.

Benveniste Notes 3 = idem, Notes parthes et sogdiennes, in: JA 1936, 193–239.

Benveniste Notes 4 = idem, Notes sogdiennes, in: BSOS 9/3 [1938], 495–519.

Benveniste TSP = idem, Textes sogdiens, Paris 1940 (Mission Pelliot III).

Benveniste VJ = idem, Vessantara Jātaka . . ., Paris 1946 (Mission Pelliot IV).

Boyce Catalogue = M. Boyce, A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichean Script in the German Turfan Collection, Berlin 1960 (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 45).

BSO(A)S = Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies.

BST ii: see Hansen.

Budge Paradise = E. A. W. Budge, The Book of Paradise . . . I–II, London 1904 (vol. and p. numbers in parentheses refer to the translation as reprinted in idem, The Paradise or Garden of the Holy Fathers . . . I–II, London 1907).

C1: in: Hansen BST i.

C5: in: Sundermann 1974a and 1975.

CSCO(/SS) = Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium (Scriptores syri).

Dhu. = Dhūta-sūtra: in: MacKenzie BSTBL.

Dhy. = Buddhadhyānasamādhisāgara-sūtra: ibid.

Doc. 10 = Document 10: in: Reichelt HR II.

DQ: see Sims-Williams.

Emmerick SGS = R. E. Emmerick, Saka grammatical studies, Oxford 1968 (London Oriental Series XX).

Frag. 2a = Fragment 2a: in: Reichelt HR II.

Frag. 4 – Frag. 34 = Fragment 4 – Fragment 34: in: Sims-Williams 1976.

Geiger-Kuhn GIP = W. Geiger-E. Kuhn (ed.), Grundriß der iranischen Philologie I, Straßburg 1895–1901.

Gershevitch 1942 = I. Gershevitch, On the Sogdian Vessantara Jātaka, in: JRAS 1942, 97–101.

Gershevitch 1945 = idem, Sogdian Compounds, in: TPS 1945, 137–149.

Gershevitch 1946 = idem, On the Sogdian St. George Passion, in: JRAS 1946, 179–184 (with addenda slip).

Gershevitch 1962 = idem, The Sogdian Word for 'Advice' . . ., in: Central Asiatic Journal 7/2 [1962], 77–95.

Gershevitch 1969a = idem, Amber at Persepolis, in: Studia . . . A. Pagliaro oblata II, Rome 1969, 167–251.

Gershevitch 1969b = idem, Iranian Nouns and Names in Elamite Garb, in: TPS 1969, 165–200.

Gershevitch 1970 = idem, review of MacKenzie SCE, in: Indogermanische Forschungen 75 [1970], 303–306.

Gershevitch 1971 = idem, Iranian Words Containing *-ān-*, in: C. E. Bosworth (ed.), Iran and Islam, In Memory of V. Minorsky, Edinburgh 1971, 267–291.
Gershevitch 1975 = idem, Sogdians on a Frogplain, in: Mélanges Benveniste 195–211.
Gershevitch AHM = idem, The Avestan Hymn to Mithra, Cambridge 1959 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications IV).
Gershevitch GMS = idem, A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian, Oxford 1954 (Publications of the Philological Society XVI) (the addenda on pp. 245ff. are referred to as A).
Gignoux-Tafazzoli, Mémorial J. de Menasce = P. Gignoux-A. Tafazzoli (ed.), Mémorial J. de Menasce, Louvain 1974 (Fondation culturelle iranienne 185).
GIP: see Geiger-Kuhn.
GMS: see Gershevitch.
Handbuch: see Spuler.
Hansen 1941 = O. Hansen, Ein Fragment der Georgspassion in soghdischer Sprache aus Turfan, in: Forschungen und Fortschritte 17/33–34 [1941], 360–361.
Hansen BST i = idem, Berliner soghdische Texte I, Bruchstücke einer soghdischen Version der Georgspassion (C1) (APAW 1941 Nr. 10).
Hansen BST ii = idem, Berliner sogdische Texte II, Bruchstücke der großen Sammelhandschrift C2 (AAWLM 1954 Nr. 15).
Hansen Literatur = idem, Die christliche Literatur der Sogdier, in: Spuler Handbuch I/4/2, 91–99.
Henning BBB = W. B. Henning, Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch (APAW 1936 Nr. 10).
Henning Bráhman = idem, Bráhman, in: TPS 1944, 108–118.
Henning Dictionary = idem, A Fragment of a Khwarezmian Dictionary (with a Supplement by D. N. MacKenzie), London 1971.
Henning Kawān = idem, The Book of the Giants, in: BSOAS 11/1 [1943], 52–74.
Henning Mitteliranisch = idem, Mitteliranisch, in: Spuler Handbuch I/4/1, 20–130.
Henning, Paris Texts = idem, The Sogdian Texts of Paris, in: BSOAS 11/4 [1946], 713–740.
Henning Sogdica = idem, Sogdica, London 1940 (James G. Forlong Fund XXI).
Henning Tales = idem, Sogdian Tales, in: BSOAS 11/3 [1945], 465–487.
HMV = I. Gershevitch-M. Boyce (ed.), W. B. Henning Memorial Volume, London 1970.
Hoffmann Auszüge = G. Hoffmann, Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 7/3, 1880).
IF = Indogermanische Forschungen.
IIJ = Indo-Iranian Journal.
Intox. = Sūtra of the Condemnation of Intoxicating Drink: in: MacKenzie BSTBL.
IzvIAN = Izvestija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk.
JA = Journal asiatique.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JT: see Andreev-Peščereva.
JTS = Journal of Theological Studies.
Justi Namenbuch = F. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, Marburg 1895.
Kawān: see Henning.
KG: see Sundermann.
L1–120: in: A. N. Ragoza, Sogdijskie fragmenty central'noaziatskogo sobranija Instituta vostokovedenija, Moscow 1980.
Livšic JDP = V. A. Livšic, Juridičeskie dokumenty i pis'ma, Moscow 1962 (Sogdijskie dokumenty s gory Mug II).
M1: in: F. W. K. Müller, Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnâmag) (APAW 1912).
M172i: in: F. W. K. Müller, Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift . . . II (Anhang zu den APAW 1904).
MacKenzie 1970; 1971a; 1971b; 1971c; 1972 = D. N. MacKenzie, The Khwarezmian Glossary – I; II; III; IV; V, in: BSOAS 33/3 [1970], 542–559; 34/1 [1971], 74–90; 34/2 [1971], 314–330; 34/3 [1971], 521–537; 35/1, [1972], 56–73.
MacKenzie BSTBL = idem, The Buddhist Sogdian Texts of the British Library, Tehran-Liège 1976 (Acta Iranica X).
MacKenzie CSN = idem, Christian Sogdian Notes, in: BSOAS 33/1 [1970], 116–124.
MacKenzie SCE = idem, The 'Sūtra of the Causes and Effects of Actions' in Sogdian, Oxford 1970 (London Oriental Series XXII).
MacKenzie Supplement: see Henning Dictionary.
Man. Letter 2: in: Sundermann 1984.
Mayrhofer EWA = M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen I–III, Heidelberg 1956–1976.
Mélanges Benveniste = Mélanges linguistiques offerts à E. Benveniste, Paris 1975 (Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris LXX).
Mémorial J. de Menasce: see Gignoux-Tafazzoli.
Migne PG = J.-P. Migne, Patrologia Graeco-Latina I–CLXI, Paris 1857–1866.
Mir. Man. III: see Andreas-Henning.
MMPS: see Utz.
Morgenstierne EVP = G. Morgenstierne, An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto (Skrifter utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1927 No. 3).
Morgenstierne EVŠG = idem, Etymological Vocabulary of the Shughni Group, Wiesbaden 1974 (Beiträge zur Iranistik VI).
Morgenstierne IIFL = idem, Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages I–III, Oslo ²1973 (Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Skrifter 11, 35, 40).
Müller ST i = F. W. K. Müller, Soghdische Texte I (APAW 1912 Nr. 2).
Müller-Lentz ST ii = F. W. K. Müller-W. Lentz, Soghdische Texte II (SPAW 1934 Nr. 21).
Nöldeke; Syr. Gramm. = T. Nöldeke, Kurzgefaßte syrische Grammatik, Leipzig ²1898 (reprinted with additional material ed. by A. Schall, Darmstadt 1966).
Nov. 3–4: in: Livšic JDP.
P2–12, P14–17: in: Benveniste TSP.
P13 = Fragment 13: in: Sims-Williams 1976.
Padm. = Padmacintāmaṇi-dhāraṇī-sūtra: in: MacKenzie BSTBL.
Payne Smith, Thes. Syr. = R. Payne Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus I–II, Oxford 1879–1901.
Payne Smith, Thes. Syr. Suppl. = J. P. Margoliouth, Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith, Oxford 1927.
PG: see Migne.

Pokorny 1EW = J. Pokorny, Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch I, Berne-Munich 1959.

Reichelt HR = H. Reichelt, Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums I–II, Heidelberg 1928–1931.

S40: in: C. Salemann, Manichaica III, in: IzvIAN 1912, 1–32.

SCE: see MacKenzie.

Schwartz 1966 = M. Schwartz, Iranian **draw-* 'to lead astray', in: JRAS 1966, 119–122.

Schwartz 1967 = idem, Some Sogdian Nouns, in: Phi Theta Papers 10 [1967], 1–3.

Schwartz 1969 = idem, review of Bailey KT6, in: Journal of the American Oriental Society 89/2 [1969], 444–447.

Schwartz 1970a = idem, Miscellanea iranica, in: HMV 385–394.

Schwartz 1970b = idem, On the Vocabulary of the Khwarezmian Muqaddimatu l-Adab . . ., in: ZDMG 120/2 [1970], 288–304.

Schwartz 1971 = idem, review of MacKenzie SCE, in: BSOAS 34/2 [1971], 411–415.

Schwartz 1974a = idem, Sogdian Fragments of the *Book of Psalms*, in: AoF I [1974], 257–261.

Schwartz 1974b = idem, Irano-Tocharica, in: Gignoux-Tafazzoli, Mémorial J. de Menasce 399–411.

Schwartz 1975 = idem, Proto-Indo-European *γ ĝem*, in: Monumentum H. S. Nyberg II, Tehran-Liège 1975, 195–211 (Acta Iranica V).

Schwartz STSC = idem, Studies in the Texts of the Sogdian Christians, unpublished Berkeley dissertation 1967 (STSC, revisions, refers to 12 additional pages dated 'Spring 1969' and 'July 1969').

Sims-Williams 1975 = N. J. Sims-Williams, Notes on Sogdian Palaeography, in: BSOAS 38/1 [1975], 132–139.

Sims-Williams 1976 = idem, The Sogdian Fragments of the British Library, in: IIJ 18 [1976], 43–82.

Sims-Williams 1979a = idem, A Parthian Sound-Change, in: BSOAS 42/1 [1979], 133–136.

Sims-Williams 1979b = idem, On the Plural and Dual in Sogdian, in: BSOAS 42/2 [1979], 337–346.

Sims-Williams 1981a = idem, The Sogdian Fragments of Leningrad, in: BSOAS 44/2 [1981], 231–240.

Sims-Williams 1981b = idem, Remarks on the Sogdian Letters γ and x (with Special Reference to the Orthography of the Sogdian Version of the Manichean Church-history), apud: Sundermann KG, 194–198.

Sims-Williams 1981c = idem, Some Sogdian Denominal Abstract Suffixes, in: Acta Orientalia 42 [1981], 11–19.

Sims-Williams 1983 = idem, Chotano-Sogdica, in: BSOAS 46/1 [1983], 40–51.

Sims-Williams 1984 = idem, The Sogdian "Rhythmic Law", in: W. Skalmowski–A. van Tongerloo (ed.), Middle Iranian Studies, Louvain 1984, 203–215 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta XVI).

Sims-Williams DQ = idem, A Sogdian Fragment of a Work of Dadišoʿ Qaṭraya, in: Asia Major NS 18/1 [1973], 88–105.

Sims-Williams forthcoming a = idem, Archaism and Innovation: the Middle Voice in Sogdian.

Sims-Williams forthcoming b = idem, Secondary Verbal Stems in Sogdian.

Sims-Williams forthcoming c = idem, The Sogdian Potentialis.

Sims-Williams forthcoming d = idem, Sogdian *kw* and Slavonic *kŭ*.

Sogdica: see Henning.

SPAW = Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse.

Spuler Handbuch = B. Spuler (ed.), Handbuch der Orientalistik I/4, 3 parts, Leiden 1958, 1968, 1955.

ST i: see Müller.

ST ii: see Müller-Lentz.

STSC: see Schwartz.

Sundermann 1974a = W. Sundermann, Nachlese zu F. W. K. Müllers „Soghdischen Texten I" 1. Teil, in: AoF I [1974], 217–255.

Sundermann 1974b = idem, Einige Bemerkungen zum syrisch-neupersischen Psalmenbruchstück aus Chinesisch-Turkistan, in: Gignoux-Tafazzoli, Mémorial J. de Menasce 441–452.

Sundermann 1974c = idem, review of MacKenzie SCE, in: Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 69/11–12 [1974], 581–585.

Sundermann 1975 = idem, Nachlese zu F. W. K. Müllers „Soghdischen Texten I" 2. Teil, in: AoF III [1975], 55–90.

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Sundermann 1984 = idem, Probleme der Interpretation manichäisch-soghdischer Briefe, in: Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 28/1–4 [1980; publ. 1984], 289–316.

Sundermann KG = idem, Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts, Berlin 1981 (Berliner Turfantexte XI).

Szemerényi 1970 = O. Szemerényi, Iranica IV, in: Orbis 19/2 [1970], 500–519.

Tale A–Tale K: in: Henning Tales.

Thes. Syr.: see Payne Smith.

TPS = Transactions of the Philological Society.

Utz MMPS = D. A. Utz, An Unpublished Sogdian Version of the *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* in the German Turfan Collection, unpublished Harvard dissertation 1976.

Vim. = *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra:* in: MacKenzie BSTBL.

VJ: see Benveniste.

Weber 1970 = D. Weber, Die Stellung der sog. Inchoativa im Mitteliranischen (Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophischen Fakultät der Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen), 1970.

Weber 1971 = idem, Also sprach Mandrī, in: IF 76 [1971], 77–83.

Wright Catalogue = W. Wright, Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum ... I–III, London 1870–1872.

WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlands.

ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

ZII = Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik.

2. Other abbreviations

Common abbreviations (found in: The Concise Oxford Dictionary, London [6]1976) and those which are explained or self-explanatory in the context in which they are used are not necessarily given here.

1:	first person.
2:	second person.
3:	third person.
abl.:	ablative.
acc.:	accusative.
act.:	active.
adj.:	adjective.
adv.:	adverb.
Arm.:	Armenian.
art. cit.:	article cited.
Av.:	Avestan.
B.:	Buddhist.
Bal.:	Balūčī.
C.:	Christian (Sogdian) in Syriac script.
caus.:	causative.
Chin.:	Chinese.
Chor.:	Choresmian.
comm.:	commentary.
comp.:	compounded.
compar.:	comparative.
conj.:	conjunction.
Copt.:	Coptic.
denom.:	denominative.
dir.:	direct.
dur.:	durative.
Eccl.:	Ecclesiastes.
encl.:	enclitic.
Ex.:	Exodus.
f.:	folio; feminine; and the following (page, line, etc.).
ff.:	folios; and the following (pages, lines, etc.).
fn.:	(unnumbered) footnote.
fut.:	future.
gen.:	genitive.
Gk.:	Greek.
IE:	(Proto-)Indo-European.
impf.:	imperfect.
impv.:	imperative.
indecl.:	indeclinable.
inf.:	infinitive.
inj.:	injunctive.
inter., interrog.:	interrogative.
intr., intrans.:	intransitive.
Ir.:	Iranian.
irr.:	irrealis.
Jn.:	John.
Khot.:	Khotanese.
Lat.:	Latin.
Lith.:	Lithuanian.
Lk.:	Luke.
loc.:	locative.
LW:	loanword.
M.:	Manichean (script).
Man.:	Manichean.
mid.:	middle.
Mk.:	Mark.
MMP:	Manichean Middle Persian.
MP:	Middle Persian.
Mt.:	Matthew.
n.:	note; neuter.
neg.:	negative.
nn.:	notes.
nom.:	nominative.
NP:	New Persian.
num.	numeral.
numv.:	numerative.
obl.:	oblique.
OCS:	Old Church Slavonic.
OE:	Old English.
OHG:	Old High German.
OIr., OIran.:	Old Iranian.
om.:	omit, omits.
OP:	Old Persian.
opt.:	optative.
Ōrm.:	Ōrmuṛī.
Oss.:	Ossetic.
Oss. Dig.:	Ossetic Digoron.
Pahl.:	Pahlavi.
part.:	participle.
Parth.:	Parthian.
pass.:	passive.
pers.:	person.
Pers.:	Persian.
pf.:	perfect.
postp.:	postposition.
pot.:	potential.
pp.:	pages; past participle.
predic.:	predicative.
prep.:	preposition.
pres.:	present.
pret.:	preterite.
pron.:	pronoun.
Pth.:	Parthian.
R:	Recto.
rel.:	relative.
S.:	Sogdian (script).
sg.:	singular.
Skt.:	Sanskrit.
So, Sogd.:	Sogdian.
subj.:	subjunctive.
superl.:	superlative.
Sy, Syr.:	Syriac.
them.:	thematic.
tr., trans.:	transitive.
Turk.:	Turkish.
V:	Verso.
vb.:	verb.
Ved.:	Vedic.
voc.:	vocative.
Yaγn.:	Yaγnōbī.
Yazγ.:	Yazγulāmī.

Introduction

1. The manuscript C2

The fragments of the MS C2 are a part of the MS-remains recovered by the second and third German Turfan expeditions (1904–1905 and 1905–1907 respectively) from the ruined Nestorian monastery at Bulayïq, north of Turfan, as is indicated by their signatures (mostly TiiB . . . or TiiiB . . .). The allocation of these fragments to a single MS is founded on the distinctive handwriting of their scribe and the identical format ($31^1/_4$–32 cm. high $\times 19^1/_2$–$20^1/_2$ cm. broad) of those folios which are sufficiently well preserved to be measured.[1]

The fate of the German Turfan collections at the end of the war has been graphically described by M. Boyce.[2] The fragments of C2 suffered loss and damage in common with the rest of the collections. Of the surviving fragments, some are now housed in the Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR (Berlin) and the others in the Museum für Indische Kunst (Berlin/West). The following fragments appear to have been lost[3]: BST ii/1(1) (two fragments), 1(5) (two fragments), 13, 16, 18 (four fragments), and parts of 5(3), 6(1) and 19. Other fragments show minor damage. These deficiencies are partly made good by two collections of photographs which show the fragments in their pre-war state. These are the photographs formerly used by F. W. K. Müller and W. Lentz, now in the Seminar für Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients (Abteilung Iranistik) of Hamburg University, and those of F. C. Andreas, in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen. The two collections include photographs of all the missing fragments listed above except those belonging to 1(5), 5(3), 6(1) and three small pieces of 18.

2. Previous work on C2

One page of C2 (BST ii/16V) was published in facsimile and transliteration by E. Sachau as early as 1905, thus becoming the first Christian Sogdian text to be made known. C. Salemann republished the same page in 1907.[4] This text has since been frequently cited (as 'B49'). Other early workers on these fragments were Andreas and Müller. Syriac parallel texts were found by Andreas for three fragments of the histories of the Persian martyrs under Šāpūr II (2(1), 2(2) and 7)[5] and by Müller for a fragment of the story of Pethion (3(1)) and part—it is not clear how large a part—of the Apostolic Canons (probably 17(1)V and 17(2)).[6]

During the nineteen-thirties a number of these texts were read by Lentz. From his handwritten transcriptions (on which see p. 20 below) it can be seen that they were recognized to belong to a single MS, which Lentz called 'Hs. B16' after the signature TiiB16 of several of the best-preserved pieces. The title C2 (where C = 'Christian Sogdian') was given to the MS by O. Hansen as part of a new classification of all the C. Sogd. MSS. To the same scholar, who occupied himself with these texts for many years, must be attributed the joining of most of the fragments which are presented in reconstituted form in his edition, as well as the allocation to this MS of many of the smaller fragments. Another important advance was his identification of Syriac texts corresponding to parts of the Sogd. version of the story of Pethion (6(1)R, 4(1), 5(2)–5(6)), of the martyrdom of Šāhdōst (8R), of the 'Paradise' of 'Nānišo' (20) and of the *Antirrheticus* of Evagrius (1(1)–1(7)R).[7]

I particularly wish to emphasize the fundamental importance of this part of Hansen's work, since I am unfortunately obliged to be severely critical of his edition BST ii. Criticism must be directed in particular at Hansen's decipherment of the text,

[1] Namely ff. 12, 23, 27, 48, 51, 60, 68, Fragment E (height), ff. 12, 54, 55, 60, 61, 68, 69, 102, 104 (breadth).

[2] Boyce Catalogue XXV.

[3] In this and the following section the texts will be referred to by the numbers 1–27 given them in Hansen's edition.

[4] For details of these publications see p. 69 below.

[5] This is stated on the authority of Hansen (BST ii, 821) so far as 2(2) and 7 are concerned and, in respect of 2(1), of an annotation on Lentz's copy. From the same two sources it appears that 2(1), perhaps also 2(2), were independently(.?) identified by Müller.

[6] See Hansen loc. cit.

[7] Probably parts of the Apostolic Canons (e.g. 17(3)R and the smaller fragment of 17(2)) should be added to this list, as it is not likely that Müller took any notice of such insignificant scraps.

which should be treated with extreme circumspection. Not only is there no consistent distinction between what is clearly legible and what is partially—or, not infrequently, wholly—conjectural, but also many readings proposed are incompatible with the traces visible. Hence writings such as those mentioned in the next paragraph, which rely on Hansen's edition for the text of C2, contain non-existent words and forms, upon the explanation of which much ingenuity has been expended in vain. Less serious faults are an excessive number of misprints and the occasional wrong identification of a fragment (5(1), 6(2), 6(3)). Hansen's translation was characterized by Benveniste (Etudes 1, 298) as « une première tentative, méritoire dans l'ensemble », but it is now outdated, and it must be said that Hansen does not always seem to have understood the Syriac texts which he used as a basis for the interpretation of the Sogdian. The lack of either a commentary or a glossary makes his edition inconvenient to use.

Nevertheless, the publication of BST ii in 1954 made it possible for the texts to be studied by a wider circle of scholars and soon led to substantial progress. Syriac parallels were identified by E. Benveniste for a second folio of *Apophthegmata Patrum* (15) and a further fragment of the Apostolic Canons (17(4)R),[8] by A. Guillaumont for the opening lines of Abbā Isaiah's homily 'On humility' (14V),[9] and by M. Schwartz for a number of texts, including parts of the stories of Eustathius (9, 14) and of the Sleepers of Ephesus (10), and an 'Explanation of the Mysteries of the Church' (18),[10] as well as additional fragments of the story of Pethion (4(3),[11] 11, 24)[12] and the prologue to the Apostolic Canons (17(1)V).[13] Further important contributions are to be found in the writings of these and other authors, notably the commentaries by Benveniste on the then unidentified text 1(1)R, on the *Antirrheticus* (1(1)–1(7)) and on the 'Paradise' (20),[14] and by Schwartz on a fragment of the martyrdom of Tarbo (7) and on the unidentified homily on Divine Mercy (18V).[15]

3. *The present edition*

a) Identification of fragments

One of the first aims of my own work on the MS C2 was to locate the Syriac sources of those fragments which remained unidentified. The first and most substantial discovery of this kind was of fragments of Dādišoʿ Qaṭrāyā's commentary on the fifteenth homily of Abbā Isaiah (ff. 39–40)[16] as announced in 1973 in my article DQ. More than fifty fragments of this and of other works have since been identified with their Syriac originals, cf. ff. 1, 3–7, 11–12, 14, 19, 24–26, 40, 48, 55–56, 64, 69, 83, 86–87, 94, 120. In several cases it has proved possible to join previously disconnected pieces. A notable example is f. 51, the four fragments of which make up an almost complete folio.

b) Reconstruction of the manuscript

In this edition, which includes sixty-four previously unpublished fragments in addition to those contained in Hansen's edition and is intended to be complete,[17] an attempt has been made to reconstruct the original sequence and numbering of the folios. Before the evidence for the reconstruction is presented in detail it will be convenient to consider certain general features of the MS C2 as compared with other Christian Sogdian and Syriac MSS.

In Syriac MSS 'the quires were generally numbered with Syriac letters . . . 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 . . . These devices were intended to aid the binder when he combined the quires to form a codex'.[18] In the Sogdian lectionary C5, however, as W. Sundermann has shown, a somewhat different system must have been used, since the consecutive pages 15/I/V and 15/II/R both bear the letter *y* (=10) on the bottom margin.[19] Sundermann con-

[8] Etudes 1, 304–316 and 332 respectively.

[9] Revue de l'histoire des religions 151 [1957], 114. This review of BST ii was not known to Schwartz, who identified the text independently (STSC 20–22).

[10] STSC 1–19, 23–41 and 82–114 respectively.

[11] See STSC revisions 11.

[12] Information from a letter to the present writer from Professor Schwartz.

[13] STSC 53–81, including commentary on the rest of the Canons.

[14] Etudes 2, 116–118; Etudes 1, 298–303, 316–319.

[15] Schwartz 1970a, 390–391; 1975 passim.

[16] = BST ii/19, 22 and 25. Henceforth the fragments will be referred to by their folio-numbers in anticipation of the argument set out below.

[17] Since the script of C2 is quite idiosyncratic, it is unlikely that any substantial pieces have been overlooked.

[18] W. H. P. Hatch, An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts, Boston 1946, 23.

[19] Sundermann 1975, 85–90.

siders three possibilities: (1) that quire 10 was misfolded, so that the numbers which should appear on the outer pages are on the facing inner pages, (2) that all the quires were folded in this way, presumably deliberately, and (3) that the first quire was numbered ' (=1) on its first page and *b* (=2) on its last, the second quire *b* on its first and *g* (=3) on its last page, and so on throughout. Rejecting (1) for reasons which appear convincing, he decides in favour of (2). However, this suggestion also is open to a serious objection, in that the procedure described would have been markedly less convenient for the binder than the usual system, over which it does not appear to possess any compensating advantage. For this reason alone one might favour a slight modification of (3) above, which would overcome Sundermann's objection to it,[20] whereby the first page of the MS was not numbered, the letter ' being placed on the last page of the first quire and the first page of the second, *b* on the last page of the second and the first of the third quire, etc. This arrangement is both logical and practical.[21]

For striking confirmation of the existence of such a system of numbering quires at the Bulayïq scriptorium I am extremely grateful to Dr. Sundermann, who, in response to the presentation of the above hypothesis in my dissertation, unfastened the secondary binding of the Syriac MS 'Psalter C' (TiiB24) described in Sundermann 1975, 86–87, and kindly informed me of the decisive discovery which resulted. The relevant folios (in their original sequence) are as follows: f. 1 (containing Ps. 143.12–144.1 according to the numbering of the *Peshitta*) with quire-number *p* (=80) on the Verso; f. 2 (Ps. 144.1–17) with quire-number *p* on the Recto; [f. 3 lacking;] ff. 4–5 (Ps. 145.9–148.7); ff. 6–7 (Ps. 148.7 sqq.), double-sheet *without* quire-numbers. Since the text runs consecutively throughout these last two folios, they must form the central double-sheet of a quire. Evidently the quire in question began with f. 2 and consisted of five double-sheets, the first page of the quire receiving the same number as the last page of the preceding quire. What cannot be determined on internal evidence alone is the question whether the quire which bears the number *p* (=80) on its first page is the eightieth or, as I would suppose, the eighty-first.

Four pages of C2 have quire-numbers on their bottom margins: ff. 31R (numbered *g*=3), 51R (*h*=5), 60V and 61R (both *w*=6). The numbers are enclosed by decorative punctuation points in red and black ink which extend right across the page. Fragment B also must originally have borne a quire-number on the Verso, but only the decorative punctuation remains. The existence of both Recto and Verso pages with quire-numbers (in one case with the same number) shows that both the first and the last pages of the quires were numbered. Hence, those folios of which a substantial part of the bottom margin is preserved but on which there is no sign of a quire-number or its characteristic punctuation are not likely to belong to the outer double-sheet of a quire.[22] Even this negative evidence is of use for the reconstruction of the MS, as will be seen below.

The normal length of a quire of a Syriac MS is five double-sheets (=ten folios or 20 pages) according to G. Wiessner.[23] Similarly Hatch, describing the making of a Syriac codex, writes: 'four or five . . . sheets were laid one upon another to make a quire'.[24] Like 'Psalter C', the Christian Sogdian MS C5 probably consisted of quires of five double-sheets.[25] However, since the Sogdian Christians were subject to the influence of their Central Asian environment,[26] as well as to that of their Syro-Persian co-religionists, the fact that the Manichean MSS from Turfan attest the use of quires of not less than eleven[27] or even fourteen[28] double-sheets

[20] The objection is based on the calculation that about 534 verses = 76.3 pages should have preceded the page (6R) which bears the quire-number *d* (=4). Since it appears probable from certain other calculations that the quires were of 5 double-sheets (20 pages) each, 6R is not likely to be the first page of the fourth quire. However, if it is the first page of the fifth quire, as I suggest, 80 pages will have preceded it, in almost exact agreement with the figure of 76.3 given above.

[21] To order the quires correctly the binder merely had to match pairs of identical symbols. Since the monks of Bulayïq may not all have been literate in Syriac, the system suggested might therefore have had a real advantage over the usual method, which required that the binder be acquainted with the order of the Syriac alphabet.

[22] See also below, p. 22 n. 59.

[23] Apud Sundermann 1975, 89.

[24] Hatch loc. cit., echoing Wright Catalogue III, xxvi. In the Graeco-Roman world, according to W. Schubart, Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern, 3rd ed. Heidelberg [1961?], 115, ‚finden wir gewöhnlich ziemlich kleine Lagen von zwei, drei, vier Blättern etwa bis zu der obersten Grenze von neun Blättern'.

[25] Sundermann art. cit. 85–90 and above, n. 20.

[26] Note the unexpected existence of a Christian Sogdian *Pothi* (C46, see Hansen Literatur 94 n. 2).

[27] M1223 = Tiα 1530–1540, see Boyce, The Manichaean Hymn-Cycles in Parthian, London 1954, 33–35.

[28] M801, see Henning BBB pp. 5–7.

might be taken to indicate that the possibility of longer quires in a Christian Sogdian MS is not to be rejected out of hand.[29]

My conclusions concerning the length of the quires of C2 and the system according to which they are numbered will be explained in detail below. That it is possible to reach any definite decisions on these matters is largely due to an unusual feature of the binding, namely, a narrow strip of paper which is glued along the central fold of each double-sheet. This 'binding-strip' is most clearly seen on a fragment (TiiB62) from the centre of a double-sheet[30] which, since its two folios (ff. 25–26) are consecutive, must have been the central sheet of a quire. The binding-strip is laid along the outside of the fold, so that it appears on the inner margin of ff. 25R and 26V. It is probable that every double-sheet bore a similar binding-strip, since almost every folio[31] of which a sufficient part of the inner margin survives has part of a binding-strip, or traces of discolouration where the binding-strip was formerly attached, on either the Recto or the Verso. If the binding-strip was always attached to the outside of the fold, as in the case of ff. 25–26, those folios which have the binding-strip on the Recto will have belonged to the first half of a quire and those which have it on the Verso to the second. This hypothesis is supported by the appearance of the binding-strip on the Recto of ff. 24 (which must belong to the same half-quire as f. 25), 31 and 51 (which have quire-numbers on the Recto, indicating each to be the first folio of a quire), and probably on the Verso of Fragment B (which belongs to the last folio of a quire, since it once bore a quire-number on its Verso) and on the Recto of f. 61 (first folio of a quire). I have therefore assumed that the presence of traces of a binding-strip on the Recto or Verso of any folio may be taken as an accurate indication of the half of the quire to which it should belong.[32]

After this general survey of some of the main types of evidence for the reconstruction of the MS C2, we may proceed to a particular consideration of the allocation of the individual folios, beginning with f. 1. The peculiar appearance of this, the first folio of the story of Pethion, suggest that it is also the first of the whole MS. Thus, it exhibits a certain decorative elaboration such as would befit a title-folio: the proper names of persons and places are mostly written in larger script and in paler ink than the rest of the text, while part of the written area of the Verso had its inner margin delimited by three ruled lines in two colours. In view of the scribe's habit of beginning each new text on the same page and even line as the last word of the preceding text, it may also be significant that the story of Pethion seems to have begun at least approximately—it is impossible to be definite on this point, since the first few lines of the folio are missing—at the top of the Recto page. No one of these indications is conclusive, but taken together they are of considerable weight.[33]

The order of the extant folios of the Pethion story is of course known from their contents, and the number of folios missing between them can be calculated by comparison with the Syriac text. As a result of this calculation the folios identified may be numbered 1, 3–7, 11–14, 17, 19 and 22–27. As already noticed, ff. 25–26 make up the central double-sheet of a quire. Since quires of 25 double-sheets are out of the question, this quire cannot have been the first. Nor can it have been the second, even if one is prepared to admit the possibility of quires of irregular (and still rather excessive) length—e.g. ff. 1–16 (8 double-sheets) and 17–34 (9 double-sheets)—since ff. 11 and 12 have binding-strips on their Recto pages and should therefore belong to the first half of a quire. Since ff. 25–26 cannot belong to the fourth or any subsequent quire, as will become clear from the discussion of f. 31 below, a process of elimination leads to the conclusion that they must form the central double-sheet of the third quire. If the quires are of equal length, which there is no reason to doubt, each will

[29] According to Hansen BST i, 6, pages 1–24 of C1 belong to a single quire, which, since its central double-sheet was that containing pp. 7–10, would have consisted of not less than eight double-sheets; but there is nothing to show that any page after p. 16 must have belonged to this quire.

[30] This is the only fragment of a double-sheet preserved as such.

[31] There are a few doubtful cases, see below, p. 22 n. 58.

[32] The function of the binding-strip is uncertain. At first I imagined that it was intended to strengthen the paper at its most vulnerable point, the central fold, cf. Schubart op. cit. 114: ‚Die Alten haben daher, namentlich in das Papyrusbuch, das empfindlicher war [als das Pergamentbuch], Pergament- oder Lederstreifen eingelegt, damit der Heftfaden das Blatt nicht einrisse.' However, I have found no mention of such a usage in connection with Syriac paper MSS. I would now prefer a suggestion of Dr. Sundermann's, that each double-sheet of C2 consists not of a single folded sheet but of two separate sheets joined together solely by the binding-strip, which would thus constitute an essential part of the binding. The fact that *every* double-sheet of C2 appears to have borne a binding-strip clearly favours this hypothesis, which is also consistent with the exceptionally large format of the MS.

[33] If the suggestion mooted below, p. 185, should happen to be correct, that the copy of the incipit of the story of Pethion in f. 120V is the beginning of an index to the contents of the MS, there could be no doubt that C2 began with this work; but it may rather be a probatio pennae or a scribal exercise.

consist of five double-sheets (ff. 1–10, 11–20, 21–30) in accordance with every expectation.[34]

Two considerations seem to conflict with these conclusions, firstly that f. 1R bears no quire-number, secondly, and more seriously, that f. 31R does have the quire-number $g=3$, indicating that, if the Syriac system of numbering was followed, it is the first page of the third quire. There are, I believe, only two ways of reconciling these facts with those from which the conclusions above proceed.

The first is to assume that f. 31 and the folios of the Pethion story do not in fact belong to the same MS. In view of the differences in language, orthography and punctuation between the story of Pethion and the other texts,[35] one might, for instance, postulate that this text—and this text alone, since all but the tiniest scraps[36] which agree with these folios in language and orthography have been identified as belonging to them—was contained in a slender codex of just three unnumbered quires.[37] However, the differences mentioned can be accounted for quite adequately without going to the length of dividing C2 into two or more MSS, which seems an artificial expedient in view of their identity in handwriting and format.

I therefore prefer the second possibility, which is that the first page of the MS was not numbered, the letter ' being placed on the last page of the first quire and the first page of the second (ff. 10V and 11R), *b* on the last page of the second and the first of the third quire (ff. 20V and 21R), *g* on the last page of the third quire and the first page of the fourth (ff. 30V and 31R), etc., just as has already been proposed above for C5.[38] Not only does this provide a solution to all the difficulties encountered above, but the consequent rearrangement of the two folios (ff. 60 and 61) which bear the quire-number $w=6$ is in itself highly desirable.[39] Accordingly, the folio which has the number *g* on its Recto has been numbered 31 as the first folio of the fourth quire. The three folios (six pages) missing between ff. 27 and 31 will have contained the end of the story of Pethion (about four pages) and the beginning of the unidentified homily of which f. 31 contains part.

The next folio whose place in the MS can be fixed precisely is f. 51, the Recto of which is numbered $h=5$. Its contents may be identified with some confidence, on considerations of subject-matter, phraseology, style and punctuation,[40] as belonging to a metrical homily 'On the final evil hour' by Bābay of Nisibis, the beginning of which is found in the folio tentatively numbered *48, where it immediately follows the end of Dādišoʿ Qaṭrāyā's commentary on the fifteenth homily of Abbā Isaiah. Further portions of Dādišoʿ's work have been recognized in ff. *39–40,[41] before which the beginning of the commentary must have occupied about $5^1/_2$ pages. This would leave about $8^1/_2$ pages for the end of the text to which f. 31 belongs and, perhaps, some other short work. However, it must be borne in mind that, since the Syriac text of Bābay's homily has not been discovered, there is no telling how many folios (if any) are lacking between ff. *48 and 51. The maximum number of pages between f. 31 and the beginning of Dādišoʿ's commentary is therefore $12^1/_2$ (if ff. *39–40 and *48 are really *41–42 and *50),[42] of which half a page at least must be allowed for the end of the homily begun in ff. 29–31, leaving not more than 12 pages for any other text. Since 12 pages would not be sufficient for any one of the three texts (Persian martyrs under Šāpūr II/Sleepers of Ephesus/Eustathius) whose position in the MS cannot otherwise be established, this calculation shows that they must all three belong in the only other substantial lacuna, that between f. 61 and the beginning of Evagrius's *Antirrheticus* (f. *94).

The two fragmentary folios tentatively numbered *52 and *53 need no more than a passing reference here, since the reasons for supposing them to belong to Bābay's poem and for giving them these particular folio-numbers are fully explained on pp. 87–88 below.

The next fixed point in the MS is f. 60, the Verso of which bears the quire-number *w* (=6). Between

[34] Other arrangements of the double-sheets into quires which would be compatible with the evidence of the binding-strips and quire-numbers are, in descending order of probability: 4–6–5 (i.e. ff. 1–8, 9–20, 21–30); 5–4–7 or 4–5–7; 3–6–7 or 3–7–5; and others too implausible to be worth listing.

[35] See below, pp. 65–67.

[36] Fragments a-e on pp. 49–50 below.

[37] There is something inherently improbable in the contrast between the small number of pages of this hypothetical codex and their unusually large size.

[38] Above, pp. 14–15.—Since no details are known concerning the numbering of the quires in any MSS from Bulayïq other than C2, C5 and 'Psalter C', the system described here may have been that generally adopted by the Sogdian Christians (presumably for the reason mentioned above, p. 15 n. 21).

[39] See below, p. 18.

[40] See in detail below, p. 87.

[41] The number of folios lacking between *40 and *48 is calculated from the extent of the Syriac text.

[42] There is, however, some slight reason for doubting whether f. *48 can really be the last page of its quire, cf. below, p. 22 n. 59.

ff. 51 and 60 must belong ff. *54–57, which contain a series of texts almost certainly beginning with the end of Bābay's homily.[43] The first of these four folios cannot be assigned a number lower than 53, since the placing of f. *52 between it and f. 51 is reasonably assured; the fourth cannot immediately precede f. 60 in view of its contents. For these reasons the four folios can only be ff. *53–56, *54–57 (as I have arbitrarily chosen to refer to them) or *55–58.

On f. *57V there begins an anonymous homily on the mercy of God, in which *Old Testament* history is briefly surveyed, beginning with Adam and Cain and later proceeding (according to the superscription) to the descendants of Noah and the people of Sodom. The quotation '. . . *your God, O* Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt', which begins f. 60R, is presumably the last line of the same homily, with whose theme it is quite consistent. The rest of f. 60 is taken up with three stories from the *Apophthegmata Patrum* under the heading *cn mmll' dsb̈'* 'From the *Verba Seniorum*'. Further *Apophthegmata Patrum* are translated in f. 61 (the position of which in the MS is indicated by the quire-number $w=6$ on its Recto), and it is therefore no surprise to find that the two folios are consecutive and belong to a single selection of passages from the *Apophthegmata* (although in ʿNānišoʿ's 'Paradise', the Syriac collection in which they are both found,[44] the two passages are widely separated). The satisfactoriness of this part of the reconstruction provides additional support for the conclusion reached above, p. 15, concerning the placing of the quire-numbers; for, if the usual Syriac arrangement of the numbers had been employed, whereby ff. 61 and 60 would be respectively the first and the last folios of the sixth quire, the first line of f. 60R would contain the last words, not of the homily on Divine Mercy (ff. *57 sqq.), but of some unidentified text, and the two passages from the *Apophthegmata Patrum* would be discontinuous.

The only other work whose position in the MS can be fixed with fair certainty is the *Antirrheticus* of Evagrius, of which parts of seven folios have been identified. On the Verso page of the last of these the text of Evagrius is abruptly broken off in the middle of a paragraph, the rest of the page being left blank (and subsequently inscribed with unrelated matter in a different hand). It is scarcely worth speculating as to why the three-quarters-completed text of the *Antirrheticus* was not finished. Various possibilities spring to mind, e.g. the death or removal of the scribe, or a lacuna in his exemplar. In any case, the fact that the rest of the page was left empty, contrary to the scribe's usual practice, which was to begin each new text on the same line as the last word of the preceding text,[45] suggests that this was the last page of the MS written by the original scribe. It does not follow that it must have been the last page of its quire, since it might have been succeeded by further blank folios, possibly inscribed secunda manu.[46]

The seven folios of the *Antirrheticus* may be provisionally numbered ff. 1a, 9a, 11a, 12a, 15a, 18a and 27a (or 28a, the exact extent of the lacuna after f. 18a being uncertain). The evidence of the binding-strips indicates that f. 27a (or 28a) belongs to the second half of a quire and ff. 9a and 11a to the first half of a quire; f. 9a, however, cannot be the first folio of a quire, as its bottom margin is blank. It will be found that these facts can be harmonized with the assumption that each quire consists of five double-sheets *only* if f. 1a is the fourth folio of the antepenultimate quire, ff. 9a, 11a, 12a and 15a belong to the penultimate quire, and ff. 18a and 27a—which cannot then be 28a—are the first and last sheets of the last quire.

Since f. 61 is the first folio of a quire, the lacuna between it and f. 1a must consist of 2, 12, 22, 32, 42 (etc.) folios. This lacuna must have contained at least the following works: histories of the Persian martyrs under Šāpūr II (about 13 pages),[47] of the Sleepers of Ephesus (about 16 pages) and of St. Eustathius (about 26 pages),[48] a total of some 55 pages ($27^1/_2$ folios), together with Fragment B (on which see below), the end of the selection of *Apophthegmata* begun in ff. 60–61 and various writings on humility (Abbā Isaiah's short homily, which immediately follows the story of Eustathius, and a letter of Macarius, which ends on the Recto of f. 1a). Thus the minimum length of the lacuna will be 64 pages (32 folios). On the arbitrary but not unlikely assumption that this minimum is in fact the exact length of the lacuna, ff. 1a–27a have been numbered *94–*120.

Most of f. *94R is taken up with a letter of Macarius concerning humility. It seems at least possible that this short text is the last of a series of excerpts on humility, and that the homily on the

[43] The reasons are similar to those which apply to the identification of f. 51, see below, p. 88.
[44] See below, p. 124.
[45] Cf. above, p. 16.
[46] No further fragments in the second hand have been found (see below, p. 185 with n. 1).
[47] Assuming that this series of martyrdoms consisted of no more than the four which have been identified.
[48] As pointed out above, p. 17, there is no lacuna of sufficient extent for any of these three texts elsewhere in the MS.

same subject by Abbā Isaiah, which, as already mentioned, follows the story of Eustathius, is the first item of the same collection. These two works have therefore been assigned a position towards the end of the lacuna, the extant folios of the story of Eustathius being tentatively numbered *83, *86, *87 and *91.[49] For the order of the two remaining texts there is no evidence. However, since numbers are required for convenience of reference, the folios containing the histories of Persian martyrs have been numbered *64–*69,[50] after which seven folios have been allowed for the end of the last of these, that of Barbaʿšmin (about 1½ pages),[51] and the beginning of the story of the Sleepers of Ephesus (about 12–12½ pages). The one surviving folio of this text thus receives the number *77, leaving five folios for the end of the story (about 1½ pages) and the beginning of that of Eustathius (about 8½ pages).

Although the folio-numbers thus assigned could not but be wholly hypothetical, they were intended to be consistent with the available evidence[52] and thus to represent a reconstruction of the MS which would at least be possible. This intention was frustrated when, at a late stage in the preparation of this edition, Fragment B was read for the first time.[53] Fragment B is part of the last folio of a quire (cf. above, p. 16) and contains an unidentified text or texts, possibly of the genre of *Apophthegmata Patrum* (cf. in particular the reference in V27 to 'one of the fathers'). In view of its contents one may exclude the possibility that this fragment is the last folio of any of the first six or the last three quires of the MS. Although Fragment B must therefore belong to the less surely reconstructed part of the MS between f. 61 and f. *94, together with the histories of the Persian martyrs, of the Sleepers of Ephesus and of Eustathius, it does not form part of any of these three texts either.

These facts show that the reconstruction of this part of C2 cannot be right in detail. Unfortunately they do not suffice to indicate which particular details of the reconstruction ought to be altered, since several substantially different solutions are available.[54] Therefore it has not seemed worth while to undertake the immense task of altering the folio-numbers previously assigned, especially as the text has already been cited in print according to this system of numbering. It should be borne in mind that the reconstruction was never intended to provide more than an approximation to the original form of the MS, and this it still does.

In conclusion it may be worth summarizing such evidence as there is for the allocation of the remaining unplaced fragments (a–e and A–W).

Firstly, the differences in orthography and punctuation between Text 1 and the rest of C2 provide numerous diagnostic features, on the basis of which it can be stated quite definitely that Fragments a–e belong to Text 1 (cf. p. 31 below) and that Fragments A–K do not (cf. p. 186 fn.).

Secondly, once the MS is partially reconstructed as described above, one discovers that there is a definable pattern to the remarkably wide variation in size of writing between the various folios. The writing is quite large in the first three quires (Text 1), gets smaller from f. 31 onwards and is at its smallest in quires 5 and 6. Thereafter it gradually becomes larger again and by quire *11 is as large as at the beginning of the MS. It is therefore probable that fragments with particularly large writing belong either to the beginning of the MS (Text 1) or to the end (Text 13). Cases in point are Fragments G, I, N–Q and T. Of these, G and I cannot belong to Text 1, for reasons already stated, and can therefore be assigned to Text 13 with some confidence.[55] On the other hand, the following fragments, whose writing is rather small, must belong to Texts 2–11: A, C, D, H, J, L and M. In the case of A and C one can go beyond this, since their writing is even smaller than that of the identified folios of quires 5–6. They are therefore unlikely to belong to any part of the MS other than these two quires. They do not, however, seem to contain any part of Texts 3, 5, or 6 (which are for the most part close translations of known Syriac originals), and are therefore almost certainly to be assigned either to Text 4 (Bābay 'On the final evil hour') or to Text 7 ('On the mercy of God'). It so happens that both these texts are rather unusual in their punc-

[49] Here as elsewhere the lengths of the lacunae have been calculated by reference to the Syriac text.

[50] F. *67 is lacking. Concerning this lacuna and the order of the four stories see below, p. 137.

[51] The story of Barbaʿšmin may, however, have been followed by others of the series.

[52] Namely: the dimensions of each text, as calculated above; the presence of binding-strips on *68V and *69V, possibly also on *77V and *87V; and the fact that the bottom margin of f. *69 appears not to have borne a quire-number.

[53] The fragment had previously been known to me only in a poor photograph from which it appeared that the text was almost totally illegible.

[54] For instance, if one were to reduce by one or two the numbers of ff. *64–*69 and to increase by one or two the numbers assigned to ff. *77–*91, Fragment B could be fitted into the scheme as f. *70.

[55] The glass within which Fragment G is preserved in fact bears a label stating 'C2 Evagrius', but it is not known why.

tuation (probably because they are both translations of Syriac poems, cf. below, pp. 87–88 and 121 respectively). There is hardly enough of C for one to draw any conclusions from its punctuation (though it seems to be not dissimilar to that of Text 4), but the punctuation of A is very like that of Text 7[56] and hardly reconcilable with that of Text 4. Therefore Fragment A is very probably f. 58 or 59.

c) Text

The text of the present edition is based chiefly on photographs of the surviving fragments in their present state, supplemented by my own copies made directly from the MSS. I have also made considerable use of the Hamburg and Göttingen photographs, both in those cases where the originals are lost and where the MS, as a result of recent damage, is less legible than the old photograph. Occasionally I have had recourse to the published transcriptions of Hansen and Sachau[57] and to unpublished handwritten copies made by Professor Lentz (now in the Hamburg collection). Like Hansen, Lentz did not always distinguish scrupulously between what is clearly legible and what is partly illegible (the copies were prepared for his own use and not for publication). Therefore those readings of either scholar which can reasonably be supposed to have been restored on the basis of the traces still visible, the context, the Syriac text (if this was then known) or a combination of these factors, have had to be discounted. The comparatively few readings which have been adopted from these sources have been distinguished from my own readings by underlining, the authority on which they are based and the traces (if any) now visible being indicated in the footnotes. (For other symbols used see p. 27 below.)

d) Translation

My English translation of C2 has no pretension to any literary qualities. It is chiefly intended as an aid to the understanding of the Sogdian text. Occasionally it has seemed that this purpose would best be achieved by a slight paraphrase, but on the whole the translation is very literal. If it therefore reads strangely, it is only fair to say that in this respect, too, the English is a faithful reproduction of the Sogdian text, whose style and syntax is marred by a slavish adherence to the wording of its Syriac originals.

So far as possible the Sogdian has been translated in the light of the underlying Syriac. Thus, for instance, *xypθ* is translated 'my own', 'his own', etc. when it represents Syr. *dyly*, *dylh*, etc., but merely as 'my', 'his', etc. when it corresponds to a Syr. pronominal suffix. Similarly, *w'nw w'b* will be translated 'said thus' if it stands for *hkn' 'mr*, but merely 'said' if it translates *'mr* (as it usually does). In the case of those texts (the majority) where the Sogdian agrees closely with an identified Syriac text, my translation of the Sogdian is meant to serve also as a translation of the Syriac, even minor differences in the latter being indicated in footnotes. Of course, since there is no one-to-one correspondence between items in the lexical and grammatical repertoires of the two languages, it is impossible to define the boundary between strict translation and paraphrase with mathematical exactitude. The English version and the footnotes to it must therefore be regarded as giving a somewhat subjective picture of the agreements and differences between the Sogdian and Syriac texts. Nevertheless, I believe that they provide a useful indication of the extent to which my interpretation of the Sogdian is supported by the Syriac.

e) Commentary

The principal purpose of the commentary is of course to explain the obscurities of the Sogdian text. At the same time the opportunity has been taken to discuss general Sogdian problems on which these texts shed light.

In general I have commented on features of interest, or have made reference to their treatment elsewhere, at their first occurrence. Where the whole, or a substantial part, of any text has previously been commented on by another scholar I have given details of his work in the introduction to my treatment of that text rather than refer to it constantly in the commentary. It has been my intention to make reference in the appropriate place to all earlier discussions of words and passages in C2, except those which are based on totally false premises (e.g. misreadings) or which contribute nothing new. Sometimes a mere reference has seemed sufficient; often my agreement or disagreement is adequately indicated by my text or translation.

[56] Typified by frequent and regular use of the full-stop, other points being rare. Admittedly, Texts 1, 8, 10 and 12 are punctuated rather similarly.

[57] Salemann's transcription of f. 31V is of no independent value, cf. below, p. 69.

f) Syriac sources and parallels

Many of the Syriac sources of the texts in C2 have not been satisfactorily edited. In most cases, therefore, I have had to collate the Syr. MSS and prepare a critical text or list of variants (according to the interest and quality of the material). So far as possible I have collated all MSS of the relevant works, including some additional to those listed by Baumstark GSL, except for those in the East. The present work contains only that part of the material collected which is relevant, or potentially relevant, to the understanding of the Sogdian versions.

Where dates are given for Syr. MSS these are taken from the published catalogues, which are not always reliable.

All biblical references are to the *Peshitta*. The *New Testament*, *Pentateuch* and *Psalms* are cited from the editions published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, the other books from a nineteenth-century East Syrian printing (no place, no date) in my possession.

One caveat is necessary here. In the commentary I have generally phrased my remarks as if the Sogd. text was directly translated from an extant Syr. text. This manner of writing is adopted purely for convenience. A statement such as 'Sogd. X is a free translation of Syr. Y' should not be taken to exclude the possibility that the Sogdian is in fact a close translation of Syr. *Z.

General concordance

1. Tabular presentation of the reconstruction of C2

Quire	Folio	B.s.[58]	Qu.[59] no.	Recto	Verso[60]	Signature[61]	BST ii	Location MS	Location photo	of[62] copy	Margins[63] & joins
1	1	R	No	4–10	4–11	TiiB62	6(3)	A	–	–	– } join
				10–14	10–14	TiiB62[a] }	6(1)	A	G	–	i } join
				7–12	7–13	[TiiB13] }		–	–	–	–
				11–20	11–21	TiiB62[a]	–	A[64]	G*	–	o
				20–26	22–28	TiiB13(5) }	6(2)[65]	A	–	–	– } join
				21–26	22–28	TiiB62[a(3)] }		A	G*	–	–
				23–27	26–29	TiiB62[a]	–	A	G	–	ib
				26–27	28–29	TiiB66	–	A	–	–	b
	3	?	–	1– 6	1– 5	TiiB62[a(9)] }	5(1)	M	G	–	ti } join
				7–12	6–10	TiiB13[(2)] }		M	–	–	i
				11–15	10–14	[TiiiB61a13,3]	3(2)[66]	A	–	–	–
	4	–	–	?	?	TiiB13(3)	6(2)[65,66]	A	–	–	–
	5	–	No	27–30	29–30	TiiiB61	–	A	–	–	b
				28–30	28–30	TiiiB61	–	A	–	–	b
	6	–	–	1– 2	1– 2	Tiii100	–	A	–	–	t
				11–16	11–16	[TiiiB60(α)]	4(1)	M	–	–	–
	7	–	–	15–21	16–21	TiiB60	4(2)	M	–	–	–
				21–24	21–24	–	4(4)	M	–	–	– } join
				22–26	22–26	–	–	A	–	–	–
				23–28	24–28	TiiiB61	4(3)[66]	M	–	–	i
				22–28	23–29	[Tii]B66	–	A	–	–	o
				24–28	25–28	–	–	A	–	–	–
				26–30	27–30	TiiB62	–	A	–	–	b
2	11	R	–	16–22	16–23	TiiB62[(a)4] }	27	A	G	–	i } join
				20–27	22–27	TiiB13(7) }		A	–	–	i
				25–28	26–29	[TiiB66]	–	A	–	–	–
	12	R	–	1–20	1–21	TiiB66[e]	3(1)	M	GH*	–	tio } join
				25–29	26–30[67]	TiiB62	–	A	–	–	ob
				28–29	29–30	TiiB60	–	A	–	–	b
	13	–	No	14–30	15–30	TiiB33[b]	11	M	G	–	ob
	14	–	–	4–12	3–12	–	–	A	–	–	– } join
				9–13	10–13	[TiiB66]	–	A	–	–	–
				17–28	17–27	TiiB62	–	A	G*	–	o[68]
	17	–	–	1– 6	1– 5	TiiB62a	24	A	G	–	to
	19	–	–	1– 3	1– 3	TiiB60	–	A	–	–	t

[58] In this column is indicated whether there are traces of the 'B[inding-]s[trip]' (on the meaning of this term see above, p. 16) on the R[ecto] or V[erso]; the question-mark (?) indicates that, although a relevant part of the inner margin is preserved, no trace, or only quite unclear traces, are visible.

[59] Quire-numbers (see above, pp. 14–15) are indicated thus: g/R = '*g* on Recto'. 'No' indicates that a sufficient part of a blank bottom margin is preserved to exclude the possibility that the folio bore a quire-number, 'No?' that this is less certain because the bottom margin is not sufficiently well preserved (in the cases of ff. *48 and *57 no part of the bottom margin survives, but it is unlikely, in view of the number of lines of text above it, to have been wide enough to have borne a quire-number).

[60] Most of the line-numbers in these two columns are more or less approximate, being based (except where the top or bottom margin is preserved) on contextual evidence.

[61] Any part of the signature written on a photograph or on a label on the glass, or quoted by Lentz or Hansen, but not actually visible on the fragment itself, is enclosed in square brackets.

[62] Abbreviations: A = Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Berlin; M = Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin/West; G = Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen; H = Seminar für Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients (Abteilung Iranistik), Universität Hamburg.—In addition to plates showing all the surviving fragments in their present state, this edition includes reproductions of the old photographs indicated here by an asterisk (*).

[63] Abbreviations: t = top, i = inner, o = outer, s = side (either inner or outer), b = bottom [margin].

[64] The fragment, whose former state may be seen from the Göttingen photo, is now broken into two pieces which cannot be re-joined owing to the loss of part of the paper at the point where they should join.

[65] The two fragments of BST ii/6(2) belong to different folios.

[66] Hansen's ‚Rs.' is in fact the ‚Vs.' and vice versa.

[67] Also margin to R19ff., V19ff. [68] Possibly ob.

Quire	Folio	B.s.	Qu. no.	Recto	Verso	Signature	BST ii	Location of MS	photo	copy	Margins & joins
3	22	–	–	1–18	1–18	TiiB44[c]	5(2)	M	–	–	to
	23	–	No	2–11	2–11	TiiB62[b]		M	–	–	o
				3–13	3–12	TiiB13[.1]		M	–	–	–
				9–12	9–12	TiiB62	5(3)	A	G	–	–
				12–13	12–14?	–		–	–	–	o
				14–19	14–18	TiiB13		M	–	–	o
				19–30	19–29	TiiB62		M	G	–	ob
	24	R	–	5–14	5–13	TiiB66	–	A	–	–	i
				12–17	12–18	–	4(5)	M	–	–	–
	25	R	–	1–12	1–12	TiiB66[h]	5(4)	A	–	–	ti[69]
				1– 4	1– 4	TiiiB61	–	A	–	–	o
				15–27	16–26	TiiiB61	–	A	–	–	o
				18–25	17–24	TiiB62[69]	–	A	–	–	i
	26	V	–	17–24	16–24						
				1–11	1–11	TiiiB61[a10]	5(5)	A	–	–	ti[69]
	27	–	–	1– 8	1– 9	TiiiB61[a3]		A	–	–	to
				3–26	5–26	TiiB67[b]	5(6)	A	GH*	–	o
				20–29	21–30	TiiB66[g]		A	–	–	b
1–3	a	–	–	?	?	–	–	A	–	–	–
	b	–	–	?	?	–	–	A	–	–	–
	c	–	–	?	?	–	–	A	–	–	–
	d	–	–	?	?	[TiiB66]	–	A	–	–	–
	e	–	–	?	?	–	–	A	–	–	–
4	31	R	g/R	1–29	1–32	[TiiB49a]	16[70]	–	G*	H	tiob
*4	*39	–	–	1–16	1–15	TiiB16[b]	25[66]	A	GH	–	to
	*40	–	–	1–19	1–19	TiiiB61[a1]		M	–	H	to
				17–23	18–24	[TiiiB61a12]	19[66]	M	–	–	o
				9–23	9–24	TiiiB61[ab]		–	GH*	–	i
				4– 6	4– 7	TiiB60[(1)]	22	A	–	–	i
				6–11	7–11	–	–	A	–	–	i
5	*48	V	No?	1– 6	1– 6	Tiii100[d]	–	A	–	–	t
				3–32	2–32	TiiiNo.100[b]	12	M	G	–	io
6	51	R	h/R	1–29	1–29	TiiB3	13	–	GH*	H	to
				2–19	1–19	TiiB13(11)	–	A	–	–	i
				20–31	20–31	TiiB67[d]	21[66]	M	–	–	b
				26–31	25–31	TiiiB	–	A	–	–	ob
	*52	R	–	?	?	TiiB44[b]	26	A	GH	–	i
*6	*53	–	–	?	?	TiiB33[c]	23	M	–	–	–
6	*54	?	No	12–30	12–30	TiiB16[a]	17(1)	M	G	H	iob
	*55	?	No	4–10	3–10	TiiB44	17(2)	M	GH	–	o
				13–30	13–30	TiiB16[d]		M	GH	H	iob
				30	30	–	–	–	GH*	H	ob
	*56	?	No?	2– 5	2– 5	Tiii100	–	A	–	–	–
				4–12	3–12	Tiii99Bul.	17(3)b	M	–	–	–
				15–16	14–17	TiiB66	17(3)a	M	–	–	o
				17–22	17–22	–	–	A	–	–	–
				23–32	24–32	TiiB13[(1)a]	17(4)	A	–	–	ib
	*57	–	No?	1– 2	1– 2	[TiiB66]	–	A	–	–	to
				1–33	1–32	TiiB16[e]		–	GH*	H	tio
				(see		[TiiiB13(10)]	18	–	–	–	(see
				note		[TiiiB13(16)]		–	–	–	note
					71)	[TiiB66]		–	–	–	71)
	60	–	w/V	1– 4	1– 4	B33		M	–	–	t
				1–32	1–31	TiiB33[a]		M	GH	–	tob
				6– 7	5– 9	TiiiB	15	M	–	–	o
				16–32	16–31	B33		M	–	–	b
				20–32	20–31	TiiiB61		M	–	–	ib

join

[69] TiiB62 is a single fragment from the centre of a double-sheet. The two fragments TiiB66[h] and TiiiB61 [a10] can be joined to form the upper part of the centre of the same double-sheet.

[70] A transcription of the Verso was published in Sachau 1905.

[71] These three lost fragments must between them have contained parts of R20–29, V18–28 (+ inner margin) and the outer margin by R19–22, V19–22.

Quire	Folio	B.s.	Qu. no.	Recto	Verso	Signature	BST ii	Location of MS	photo	copy	Margins & joins
7	61	R?	w/R	16–30	15–30	TiiB16[c]		M	G*	H	iob
				26–29	26–29	TiiiB	20	M	–	–	o join
				27–30	27–30	TiiB13		M	–	–	b
*7	*64	–	–	18–30	19–30	Tiii99[Bul.]	–	A	–	–	ob
	*65	–	No?	20–23	20–23	TiiB13(9)	–	A	–	–	o join
				23–30	24–30	TiiB13(1)	8	A	–	–	ob
	*66	–	–	1–21	1–20	TiiB35a	7	M	G*	–	to
	*68	V	No	1–31	1–32	TiiB27[b]	2(1)	A	G	H	tiob
	*69	V	No?	9–30	9–30	TiiB44[a]	2(2)	M	GH	–	iob
				21?	–	–	–	–	GH*	–	– join
				29–30	29–30	TiiiB	–	A	–	–	b
*8	*77	V?	–	?	?	TiiiB61[ac]	10[66]	A	GH	–	i
*9	*83	–	–	?	?	TiiB66[m]	–	A	–	–	–
	*86	–	–	1– 4	1– 4	TiiiB61[a13]	–	A	–	–	to
	*87	V?	–	1–20	1–19	TiiiB61[aa]	9	M	GH	–	ti join
				16–18	15–18	–	–	A	–	–	–
*10	*91	–	–	1–11	1–11	TiiiŠipaṅ́ (B)100	14	M	G	–	to
	*94	–	No	1–30	1–30	TiiB66[d]	1(1)	–	GH*	–	tob join
				16–30	16–30	TiiB66[c]		–	GH*	–	ib
*11	*102	R	No	16–30	16–30	TiiB14[a]	1(2)	M	G	–	ib join
				16–26	16–25	TiiiB61[a7]		A	–	–	o
	*104	R	–	1–19	1–19	TiiiB61[a]	1(3)	M	GH	–	tio
	*105	–	–	?	?	TiiiB	1(4)	M	–	–	–
	*108	–	–	?	?	[TiiiB61a5]	1(5)	–	–	–	(see
				?	?	[TiiiB(1)]		–	–	–	n. 72)
*12	*111	–	–	?	?	TiiiB61[a11]	1(6)	A	–	–	–
	*120	V	–	?	?	Tiii98[.1]	1(7)	M	G	–	i
?	A	–	–	24–30	24–30	TiiiB61[a2]	–	A	–	–	sb
	B	V?	/V	20–30	21–30	Tiii99Bul.	–	A	–	–	ib
	C	–	–	1– 4	1– 4	TiiB60c	–	A	–	–	ts
	D	–	–	?	?	TiiB60	–	A	–	–	s
	E	–	–	1– 7	30[73]	TiiB66	–	A	–	–	tob
	F	–	–	1–13	1–14	TiiD147[sic!]	–	M	–	–	to
	G	–	No	28–30	28–30	TiiB66	–	A	–	–	b
	H	–	–	?	?	–	–	A	–	–	–
	I	–	–	?	?	–	–	A	–	–	s
	J	–	–	?	?	–	–	A	–	–	–
	K	–	–	?	?	TiiB	–	A	–	–	–
	L	–	–	?	?	–	–	A	–	–	–
	M	–	–	?	?	–	–	A	–	–	–
	N	–	–	1– 5	1– 5	B62	–	A	–	–	t
	O	–	–	?	?	–	–	A	–	–	–
	P	–	–	?	?	–	–	A	–	–	–
	Q	–	–	?	?	TiiB66	–	A	–	–	o
	R	–	–	?	?	[TiiB66]	–	A	–	–	–
	S	–	–	?	?	[TiiB66]	–	A	–	–	–
	T	–	–	?	?	–	–	A	–	–	–
	U	–	–	?	?	–	–	A	–	–	–
	V	–	–	1– 2	1– 2	TiiB66	–	A	–	–	t
	W	–	–	1– 3	1– 3	TiiB66	–	A	–	–	t

[72] One of the two fragments–it is not known which is which–included part of the outer margin.

[73] The fragment consists of a complete outer margin with only a few letters from the beginnings and ends of the lines.

2. *Index of signatures*

(Arranged according to the first Arabic numeral in the signature.)

TiiB	f. K
TiiiB	ff. 51, 60, 61, 69, 105
[TiiiB(1)]	f. 108
TiiB3	f. 51
TiiB13	ff. 23, 61
[TiiB13]	f. 1
TiiB13(1)	f. 65
TiiB13[.1]	f. 23
TiiB13[(1)a]	f. 56
TiiB13[(2)]	f. 3
TiiB13(3)	f. 4
TiiB13(5)	f. 1
TiiB13(7)	f. 11
TiiB13(9)	f. 65
[TiiiB13(10)]	f. 57
TiiB13(11)	f. 51
[TiiiB13(16)]	f. 57
TiiB14[a]	f. 102
TiiB16[a]	f. 54
TiiB16[b]	f. 39
TiiB16[c]	f. 61
TiiB16[d]	f. 55
TiiB16[e]	f. 57
TiiB27[b]	f. 68
B33	f. 60
TiiB33[a]	f. 60
TiiB33[b]	f. 13
TiiB33[c]	f. 53
TiiB35a	f. 66
TiiB44	f. 55
TiiB44[a]	f. 69
TiiB44[b]	f. 52
TiiB44[c]	f. 22
[TiiB49a]	f. 31
TiiB60	ff. 7, 12, 19, D
TiiB60[(1)]	f. 40
[TiiiB60(α)]	f. 6
TiiB60c	f. C
TiiiB61	ff. 5, 7, 25, 60
TiiiB61[a]	f. 104
TiiiB61[a1]	f. 40
TiiiB61[a2]	f. A
TiiiB61[a3]	f. 27
[TiiiB61a5]	f. 108
TiiiB61[a7]	f. 102
TiiiB61[a10]	f. 26
TiiiB61[a11]	f. 111
[TiiiB61a12]	f. 40
TiiiB61[a13]	f. 86
[TiiiB61a13,3]	f. 3
TiiiB61[aa]	f. 87
TiiiB61[ab]	f. 40
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TiiB62	ff. 1, 7, 12, 14, 23, 25–26
TiiB62a	f. 17
TiiB62[a]	f. 1
TiiB62[a(3)]	f. 1
TiiB62[(a)4]	f. 11
TiiB62[a(9)]	f. 3
TiiB62[b]	f. 23
TiiB66	ff. 1, 24, 56, E, G, Q, V, W
[Tii]B66	f. 7
[TiiB66]	ff. 11, 14, d, 57, R, S
TiiB66[c]	f. 94
TiiB66[d]	f. 94
TiiB66[e]	f. 12
TiiB66[g]	f. 27
TiiB66[h]	f. 25
TiiB66[m]	f. 83
TiiB67[b]	f. 27
TiiB67[d]	f. 51
Tiii98[.1]	f. 120
Tiii99Bul.	ff. 56, B
Tiii99[Bul.]	f. 64
Tiii100	ff. 6, 56
TiiiŠipaṅ(B)100	f. 91
TiiiNo. 100[b]	f. 48
Tiii100[d]	f. 48
TiiD147	f. F

3. *Index to BST ii*

(References are to the pages and lines of BST ii—which has two parallel series of page-numbers—and to the folios and lines of C2.)

BST ii	=	C2
8 = 826.1–30		94R. 1–30
31–41		94V. 1–11
9 = 827.42–60		12–30
11 = 829.16–30		102R. 16–30
12 = 830.16–21		102V. 16–21
13 = 831.22–30		22–30
14 = 832.1–19		104R. 1–19
15 = 833.1–19		104V. 1–19
17 = 835 (top)1–9		105R. 1–9
(bottom)2–9		105V. 1–8
18 = 836 (left)1–5		108R. 1–5
(right)3–10		2–9
19 = 837 (top)11–13		10–12
(bottom)1–4		108V. 1–4
20 = 838.5–13		5–13
21 = 839 (top)2–10		111R. 1–9
(bottom)1–7		111V. 1–7
22 = 840 (top)8–10		8–10
(bottom)1–12		120R. 1–12
23 = 841.1–5		120V. 1–5
6–11		7–12
24 = 842.1–17		68R. 1–17
25 = 843.18–31		18–31
32–59		68V. 1–28
26 = 844.60–63		29–32
28 = 846.11–32		69R. 9–30
29 = 847.43–49		69V. 9–15
30 = 848.50–64		16–30
31 = 849.1–18		12R. 1–18
32 = 850.19–20		19–20
1–2		12V. 1–2
33 = 851.3–21		3–21
34 = 852 (top left)1–5		3V. 10–14
(top right) 1–4		3R. 11–14
(bottom)1–4		6R. 11–14
35 = 853 (top)5–6		15–16
(middle)1–6		6V. 11–16
(bottom left)1–6		7R. 15–20
(bottom right)1–6		7V. 16–21

BST ii	=	C2
36 = 854	(top left)1–5	7V. 24–28
	(top right)1–6	7R. 23–28
	(middle left)1–4	21–24
	(middle right)1–4	7V. 21–24
	(bottom left)2–7	24R. 12–17
	(bottom right)1–7	24V. 12–18
37 = 855	(top left)1–8	3R. 1–8
	9–10(!)	9
	11–13	10–12
	(top right)1–10	3V. 1–10
	(bottom)1–7	22R. 1–7
38 = 856.8–18		8–18
39 = 857.1–18		22V. 1–18
40 = 858.2–26		23R. 2–26
41 = 859.27–30		27–30
42 = 860.32–49		23V. 2–19
	50–59	20–29
44 = 862	(left)1–12	25R. 1–12
	(right)1–12	25V. 1–12
47 = 865	(left)1–11	26R. 1–11
	(right)1–11	26V. 1–11
48 = 866.1–24		27R. 1–24
49 = 867.25–29		25–29
	30–59	27V. 1–30
53 = 871	(top)1–8	1R. 7–14
	(bottom)1–8	1V. 7–14
54 = 872	(top left)1–7	1R. 20–26
	(top right)3–7	4V. 1–5
	(middle left)3–7	4R. 1–5
	(middle right)1–7	1V. 22–28
	(bottom 'Vs.')1–7	1R. 4–10
	(bottom 'Rs.') 1–3	1V. 4–6
55 = 873	(top)4–8	7–11
	(bottom)1–21	66R. 1–21
57 = 875.1–19		66V. 1–19
58 = 876.1–5		65R. 23–27
59 = 877	(top)6–8	28–30
	(middle)1–7	65V. 24–30
	(bottom)1–3	87R. 1–3
60 = 878	(top)4–20	4–20
	(bottom)1–4	87V. 1–4
61 = 879	(top)5–19	5–19
	(bottom)1–9	77V. 1–9
62 = 880	(top)10–18	10–18
	(bottom)1–18	77R. 1–18
63 = 881.1–17		13R. 14–30
64 = 882	(top)1–16	13V. 15–30
	(bottom)1–2	48R. 3–4
65 = 883.3–30		5–32
66 = 884.1–29		48V. 4–32
67 = 885.1–22		51R. 1–22
68 = 886.23–28		23–28

BST ii	=	C2
68 = 88b.1–19		51V. 1–19
69 = 887	(top)20–29	20–29
	(middle)1–11	91R. 1–11
	(bottom)1–3	91V. 1–3
70 = 888	(top)4–11	4–11
	(bottom)1–12	60R. 1–12
71 = 889.13–32		13–32
72 = 890.33–61		60V. 1–29
73 = 891.62–63		30–31
74 = 892.1–24		31R. 1–24
75 = 893	(top)25–29	25–29
	(bottom)1–32	31V. 1–32
76 = 894.12–24		54R. 12–24
77 = 895.25–30		25–30
	42–57	54V. 12–27
78 = 896.58–60		28–30
79 = 897.64–90		55R. 4–30
80 = 898.93–120		55V. 3–30
83 = 901	(left)3–4	56R. 15–16
	(right)1–4	56V. 14–17
84 = 902	(top left)1–9	56R. 4–12
	(top right)1–10	56V. 3–12
	(bottom)22–23	56R. 24–25
	52–53	56V. 24–25
85 = 903.24–30		56R. 26–32
	54–60	56V. 26–32
	1–20	57R. 1–20
86 = 904.21–33		21–33
87 = 905.1–32		57V. 1–32
88 = 906.1–11		40V. 1–11
89 = 907.12–24		12–24
	1–6	40R. 1–6
90 = 908.7–23		7–23
91 = 909.16–30		61R. 16–30
92 = 910.46–52		61V. 16–22
93 = 911.53–60		23–30
94 = 912.19–30		51V.20–31
95 = 913.49–60		51R. 20–31
	(bottom left)1–3	40V. 4–6
	(bottom right)1–4	40R. 4–7
96 = 914	(top)1–9	53R. 1–9
	(middle)1–9	53V. 1–9
	(bottom)1–2	17R. 1–2
97 = 915	(top)3–6	3–6
	(middle)1–5	17V. 1–5
	(bottom)1–15	39V. 1–15
98 = 916	(top)1–16	39R. 1–16
	(bottom)1–3	52R. 1–3
99 = 917	(top)4–20	4–20
	(bottom)1–20	52V. 1–20
100 = 918	(top)1–12	11R. 16–27
	(bottom)1–12	11V. 16–27

Explanation of symbols and conventions employed in this edition

a) Chiefly in the Sogdian text

Transliteration (for C. Sogdian, including Syr. words and passages in the Sogd. text): *'bgdhwzḫtykl mnsγpcqršθ; fxž*. Punctuation and pointing are reproduced as nearly as possible as in the original, but in reverse (e.g. *prw*. for ·ܦܪܘ). Note that points over *r* or under *d* swallow up the diacritic points characterizing these letters (hence ̤ = *d*, but ̤ = *ḏ*) and that the sign *zqāpā* indicating *ā* (usually ̈) tends to be written at a slant over ' (ܙܩܦܐ) which has been transcribed ̈ (rather than * ̈) for practical reasons (since *syāme* ̈ is never written over ' in C2, no confusion need arise).

Certain ambiguities are inherent in the script. In particular it is sometimes or generally difficult to distinguish: *yy/ḫ*; *yḫ/ḫy*; *γ/k*; *ṭ/ẓ* (none of these cases are of real significance, given the rarity of the sequence *yy*, the letters *ḫ* and *k*, and the pointing ̣); *ẓ/ḏ*; *γ/n* (after *t*); *yš/š* and *yγ/γ* (initially or after letters which do not join to the left, namely ', *c*, *d*, *h*, *r*, *θ*, *z*, *ž* and sometimes *w*). Only where such an ambiguity causes genuine uncertainty (as in the case of a hapax legomenon or a word which can legitimately be spelt in two ways such as *w(y)šnty*) has the possibility of an alternative reading been indicated.

xyz = reading certain (unless otherwise indicated in a footnote, and subject to the proviso just mentioned)

(xyz) = reading uncertain

(*xyz*) = traces compatible with the reading proposed; note that ' is employed as the italic form of '

[xyz] = letters wholly restored

x[y]z = reading [restoration] by Hansen or Lentz (cf. above, p. 20)

*x(y)z = reading by Hansen or Lentz, emended in respect of the *y*

⟨xyz⟩ = letters added secondarily above, on, or below the line, or in the margin (if it is not clear from the placing of the letters or by an insertion-mark where the addition belongs, this is stated in a footnote)

= = = or (= = =) = approximate number of illegible letters

[= = =] = approximate number of missing letters

b) Chiefly in the translation

(5) = approximate point at which line 5 of the Sogd. text begins

and = word restored or mostly restored in the Sogd. text

and(?) = doubtful word (very sparingly used!)

*and = translation dependent on an emendation to the Sogd. text

(and) = word not in the Sogdian (nor in the Syriac unless otherwise stated) added to improve the English

Footnotes refer to the single word preceding the raised figure or to a group of words prefixed by the symbol ⌈. In the footnotes the word 'literally' should be taken to apply to both the Sogdian and the Syriac unless otherwise indicated.

c) Chiefly in the commentary

Most of the symbols used in the commentary are those commonly found in works on similar subjects. Attention need be drawn only to the following:

w(y)šnty = *wyšnty* or *wšnty* (also: *wyšnty* with *y* uncertain)

| = end of a line in the MS

~ = translates, translating, etc.

x = one syllable (also 'times')

d) Chiefly in the Syriac texts

Transliteration: as for C. Sogdian, but with *ḥṭʿṣt* instead of *ḫtγcθ*; *fxž* do not occur.

In editing Syr. texts from more than one MS I have in general not recorded spelling variants (e.g. *ryš'/rš'*, *b'm/bym*, *kl 'nš/klnš*, *mtṭpys/mttpys*). Variations in the pointing have only been noted where the pointing is both significant (this excludes cases such as *ẗryn/tryn*, *ʿlyḫ/ʿlyh*, *pwqdn̈why/pwqdnwhy*) and compulsory (this excludes cases such as *ḥẇ/ḥw*, *'ṁr/'ṃr*, where the pointing theoretically affects the reading, but the alternative pointed forms and the unpointed *hw*, *'mr*, etc. interchange between one MS and another too frequently for any reliance to be placed on the pointing), e.g. *lḫ* (f.)/*lh* (m.), *'lḫ'* (pl.)/*'lh'* (sg.), *r̈myn* (f. pl.)/*rmyn* (m. pl.). Similarly differences in punctuation are only recorded in the rare event that they affect the sense.

In the footnotes to the Syr. texts 'pl.' and 'sg.' refer to variants which differ only in the presence or absence of *syāme*. '[E]' indicates that MS **E** is defective or illegible and thus provides no support for any of the alternative readings (lacunae and uncertainties in the MSS have not been indicated where there is no evidence of a variant in any MS).

TEXTS

Text 1: The story of Pethion (ff. 1–27 and fragments a–e)

The chief events recounted in this text are the life of a certain Yazdīn; the conversion by his disciple Pethion of Anāhīd and of her father, the mōbed Ādurhormizd; and the martyrdoms of Ādurhormizd, Anāhīd and finally Pethion. It is convenient to name the series of stories after its central character, Pethion.

A Syriac text of the whole work was published by Bedjan AMS II, 559–631 (referred to below as **B**). Bedjan's edition is based on two MSS, one belonging to Mgr. Attar, former Chaldean Archbishop of Diyarbakır, which appears to have been lost, the other to Mgr. Abbeloos, Rector of the University of Louvain. This latter MS is preserved in Berlin as Ms. or. oct. 1256–1257; it was written in 1869 at Mosul and is a copy of Diyarbakır 96.[1] Since the variants given by Bedjan are comparatively few and trifling it seems likely that Mgr. Attar's MS was also a copy of Diyarb. 96.[2] A different recension of the last part of the text, that containing the martyrdom of Pethion himself, is found in London, Add. 12,174 (1197 A.D.). This was printed by J. Corluy, in: AB 7 [1888], 5–44 (= **C**), together with a Latin translation; a German resumé and a valuable commentary are given by Hoffmann Auszüge 61–68. Two further MSS are known to me only by name: Mosul 87 (1724 A.D.) and 89 (no date). Which recension they contain is of course impossible to say.

The two texts **B** and **C** differ substantially from one another. The Sogdian agrees now with one, now with the other, and often with neither.[3] Any attempted reconstruction of the Sogdian text, which is unfortunately very fragmentary, must therefore be more than usually hypothetical. In translating broken passages I have attempted to indicate how the Sogdian may be construed, keeping as close to the Syriac as the surviving words of the Sogdian allow. It has not seemed profitable to note all the differences between the Sogdian and Syriac texts in footnotes to the translation, as has been done elsewhere. Instead, major divergencies, in particular where some point of interest arises in the Sogdian, have been noticed in the commentary. Otherwise, the commentary concentrates less on the insoluble problems caused by the fragmentary state of the text than on the information which can nevertheless be extracted from it.

Fragments a–e, the texts of which are printed on pp. 49–50, are likely, in view of certain details of their language and orthography (*rty, yty, qθry, myd c'nw*, 1 sg. fut. in *-mq'*), to belong to Text 1 (cf. below, pp. 65–67). Because of the meagre amount of text to be read on them, however, it has not proved possible to place them more exactly. For the same reason it has not seemed appropriate to offer translation or commentary for these miserable scraps; what little can be interpreted is analysed in the glossary.

[1] See below, p. 137 with nn. 4 and 7.
[2] On the date of Diyarb. 96 see below, p. 137 n. 5.
[3] A concordance to the Sogdian and the two Syriac editions is given below, pp. 63–64.

1R

(a few lines missing)

4 y]ṇ [ ]= =[

5 [mr](c)[ ]pšγšd'rnt[a] (yz)d[y]n[b] [

6 [wy](x)špwr[c] p'rs '(w)t(')[q

7 [wy](c)'(wq)y' θ(b)rnt pr( )x(w)[tw mšyḫ']' nwmyq c[[d]

8 [w](x)wr'n[b] z'ty (q)[y xcy bt'st pn]c['s nw]myq [srd pr]

9 [yw](n')yq ptšm'r. pr (p')[rsyqty *xwšywn](q)y'[e] dwysty= [š]y[wystmyq][f]

10 (sr)d xw qy xšy' y(w)[wyst srd. 't pr]mzyx 'wr'm d'[r'z yzdqrt]

[a] sic [b] in paler ink [c] in paler ink; (x) quite uncertain [d] this fragment of lines 7–12 is lost; readings from Hansen [e] Hansen s r]dy' [f] sic? (see commentary)

1R

The witness of the triumphs of the holy martyrs of Walāšfarr, who (5) received *death for the name of Christ;* Yazdīn; *Pethion; Ādurhormazd, a mōbed from* Wehšābūr, a place in Pārs; *and Nāhīd, his daughter; who died that* they might bear witness to *the Lord Christ in the* ninth *year of Yazdgerd,* son of Wuhrān,—*which is the seven-hundred and fifty-ninth year by* Greek reckoning, in the two-hundred *and twenty-third* year *of the kingdom of the Persians*—(10) he who reigned *twenty*-one *years.*

And Yazdgerd held his *kingdom in* great tranquillity, *in friendship* withthe

11 (*x*)ypθ x[wšywnqy' pr fryt't qy dn tr]s'qty prw 't[pr m](z)x̱x
12 wys'q (d)n [frwmyqty prw. pr ršty]'q xwšp'n[y]wdn[b]
13 pswqpy ž[γnty' xwny qy fšm]tx̱ m't
14 cn ('r*qd*)[ys frwmyqty xwšywny cn frwmyqty wys'q] pyd'r
15 dybnw x]wšywny[g]
16 [myd'ny]n =[=]=ty y'
17 n'](m)'z. cn[h] yw dyxw m't qy p(r)
18]= = =[tynxw](r[b] n)'[m](')[z rty] 'yny nx̱
19 [xwdq'r [g]]= m't. wyny
20]=[ ](= =y)
21 t'd](q)wšsp[b] (*rty*) c[n
22 [= = =](r)t(*y xw*) ywtr cn wyšnty xw[ny qy n'm'z yzdyn
23 (mr)xyl[b] wynx̱ ptry mwγyšty nb(n)[ty
24 bx̱ pr mwγ'nc dyn yty nyx 't[brtpd by
25 't c'nw swq'z xw (yz)dyn[b] m[wγqty
26 m[yθ](*qry*)t. 't pr z'y[i] (p'*r*)c[j] 'w[mwγqtw
27 zynbrt s'. prywyd 't šy =[

[g] in the margin by lines 15–16: r.q. [h] deleted? [i] or (less likely) prz'y, pr z'w, prz'w [j] hardly (p'*r*)[y]c

Christians and *in* great peace with *the Romans, by the embassy of* the shepherd of truth, *Mār Mārutā* the bishop of *Mayperqaṭ* (?) . . . *who* was sent by Arcadius, *king of the Romans*, for the sake of *the peace of the Romans* (15) *and of the peace and truce which was between the two* kings.

Now there was in the days of Wuhrān, son of Yazdgerd, a magus who was very great and famous in the land of Walāšfarr who was called *Mirhayāl*. He was from a village in *the district which was called Dīnahwar. And* this (man) was not *only famous for his lineage but also for his learning*. He (20) *had two sons. The name of one was Yazdīn and the name of the other was* Dādgušasp. And *after the boys had been growing up for a while,* Mirhayāl his father *placed* that one of them *who was called Yazdīn* with the magi, *that he might learn and* be *instructed* in the magian religion and *become* knowledgeable and *learned in the mumbling of the magi*. (25) And while Yazdīn was *at the magian school* . . . days, and . . . he left the *magian school and ran away and came* to *his* foster-parents, because he *did not wish to learn the magian religion.*

1V

(a few lines missing)

4](= = = =)t(y m')t =[= =]
5]yzdyn[a] yty (p)'[ryž]
6 p](ryw)ydw 't šw nx̱ bx̱(r*w*)[]
7]= = = x̱d[=]= =[b] m]'t ptry x'nx̱ cn (cyw*y*)[d]
8 x]w yzdyn = =[ ]= nx̱ byrt b(')[ ]
9 [w]'pt pr [wy]šnt [mzyx wžp'](')t 'fšn'qc.[c] 't (*ywny*)[d]
10 ['γ'zn]t [p]rwx̱st yty pdyb['rcy' brt](p)rywyd qθt' q(y)
11 (p)[rywyd]pry'wr m'tnt. w'n[w qt šw qw wy](*n*y) m't ptrw s'[]
12 'ny(*n*)[t =]= c'nw 'x̱snt[m't p](tr)x̱ bx̱rnt
13 qt c(n)[ ]= = 't m['nyn]t qw wynx̱
14 ptrw [s' pr yz](d)yn[a] xypθ
15 z'ty (*b*)[y](*r*)['mnty
16 nyxrs. '[t
17 mwγqtw [s](' nx̱) = =t(r) =dt(r)'t [
18 (q)'. rty (cn)przr γdy' yty cn p[cwqyry
19 dn (x*wš*)[ty mwγ' p](rw) q(w)[
20 yty m(*s*)[
21 (myθ)t( )[
22](ṇ(y)[q](*'m*)t (*qt*)[

[a] in paler ink [b] cf. 1R, note d [c] or 'xšn'qc

1V

For a few days his parents did not realize this but thought that he was in the magian school at his studies. But the magus to whom he had been *entrusted* (5) *that he might teach him came and informed his parents:* 'Yazdīn has run away *and has been gone some days already; and* I have searched *for him very much* and have not found him.' *And when* these *words were heard* in *his* parents' house from that *magus who taught him, that* Yazdīn *their son had gone and* could not be found, . . . there fell upon them *great fear* and trepidation. And immediately (10) *they began* to search and *make* enquiry in those towns which were (in) that neighbourhood, so *that they might* fetch *him* to *his* parents. *And* when they came *to his foster-parents' house his* parents found that *he had already been there* for *several days. And when they brought him* to his father, *Mirhayāl his father rejoiced greatly at the finding* of Yazdīn his (15) son, *but afterwards he*

23 ywxs](y) m(*w*)γy'(q). rty š[y
24 q](t) ywxsẋ wy' mwγy'(q) (*y*)t[y] =[ ]
25 w]'st xw wyny ptry qt c'(*nw*)[ ]
26 dy]n yty mwnw ywq rty 'w wyny
27 w']cmq' yty x' mwγy'q ywxs't.
28 cywyd](*p*)š(y)s' (p)'rxs xw y(zd)[yn[a] w](y)'
29]=t qw mwγqtw s'. rty pr(y)wyd

reproached *him severely and chastised him sorely with wounds, threatening him greatly if he would* not *return immediately to* the magian house *with that magus to whom he had entrusted him*. And from the excessive beating and from *fear Yazdīn arose and went* with *the magian teacher* to *the place where he used to teach him* (20) and *the others* also. *And when he had been there a few* days *he ran away again and left that magus's charge, and did* not *want to be with him to learn* magianism. And *when his father knew that his son Yazdīn had truly decided and did not wish* that he should learn magianism and (25) . . . *he desisted from sending him back to the magi to learn. And* his father decided: 'Since *Yazdīn has not learnt this religion* and this doctrine I will send *Dādgušasp* his *brother instead of him to the magi* that he may learn magianism . . .' *And* afterwards Yazdīn was left in *his foster-parents' house and did not return* to the house of the magi. And at this *time, while Yazdīn remained with his foster-parents*, . . .

3R

1 yty =[
2 ṛry'[
3 bẋq [
4 p'rwt[y
5 yty m[
6 pr(y=)[
7 qy [
8 cn šy(r)qty py(θ)[ywn pyd'r
9 pyθywn 'ẋst (r)[ty
10 py'mtq'[
11 (n'm*t*)[ ]= py'[m'tyt[a]
12 =[fr'](m)'y xw(n)[y
13 pyθyw]n s'. (r)[ty
14 'γ](')z pžγẋ(r)[t
15 mrtx]m(y) p(t)[xwyny s'

(the lower half of the page missing)

[a] pyθ[ywn less likely

3R

There was at that time a mōbed in Walāšfarr from Wehšābūr in Pārs . . . and he had a daughter, an only child, whose name was Nāhīd, and she was very dear *to him because he had no other son or daughter* apart *from her. And one day she was sorely afflicted by an evil spirit,* for *that evil spirit did not cease from tormenting her a whole day and night. And there came Jews* (5) and *Manichees and magi, many sorcerers from many places, but they found nothing to help her and she was tormented even more. Then those* who *were standing before the magus spoke to him* concerning Saint Pethion *and said: 'If Saint* Pethion would come *and place his hand on her and pray* (10) he would cure *your daughter immediately'; and they related to him also the* names *of many men who had been* healed *by Saint Pethion through prayer. Then* that *mōbed* ordered *her to be sent* to *Saint Pethion. And when they approached the saint's cell the accursed spirit began to* cry out: '*I will not go* (15) *to that evil sorcerer and destroyer of men!*' . . .

3V

1]dyw.
2 py]('m)'c
3 w'nw] w'b.
4]pyθ(yw)n
5]rty
6]'
7](= = =)[br]tpd..
8 y]wnyd ẓyd xšp'
9]= w'nw qt
10]=w[=]t[ ](' t)cw
11 r']t nm'(c)[q'n
12 q]w z'q'[ncy ptrw s'
13 q](y) šqrty[
14 wnt](y)q'. yt[y
(the lower half of the page missing)

3V

When he arose from his prayer he laid his hand on her; and at once that devil *left her with a cry and she was* cured *and stood upon her feet. Immediately she made haste to honour Saint Pethion and kissed his feet and* said: '*You have given back to me my lost life*' . . . Pethion (5) . . . and . . . *And when they* informed *her father:* '*Your daughter is cured*', *he arose* immediately that (same) night *and went to the saint and said to him:* '*If you can* so *do* that (10) *this girl be delivered from this illness I will give you every honour, much gold and silver, and great and worthy gifts and* offerings.' *Then the saint said to* the girl's *father:* '*Gold and silver, which* leads *to perdition, is not fitting for me, nor transitory gains which* will *make me a stranger to Our Lord* and *to His kingdom* . . .' . . .

4R

(the top of the page missing)
*1]n. (r)t[y m]ẓ[y](*d*)[
*2]=[=q](')m cn nwšẓ[a] bγ' [
*3]q'. yw'r 'xwd('w*n*y)'[wn'
*4](t)q' yty ny (ms)[
*5](' w)r(' θ)[y]= =[
(the bottom of the page missing)

[a] the fragment has been torn in two and the š read by Hansen has been lost

4R

'. . . will . . . from the eternal God . . . will . . . But strive *to gain the heavenly wealth which* will *not waste away,* and also *will* not . . ., *which is a good* companion *in both worlds to those who love it*' . . .

4V

(the top of the page missing)
*1]=[ ]= =[
*2 c'n]w w[y](') ptry(*p*)t[ybyd
*3 ty]m z(*w*)[y]dm' wnt' rty [
*4]= xw mwγdynẓ =[
*5](y *z'q'n*c)y [
(the bottom of the page missing)

4V

And when her father realized *certainly that she was a Christian he rebuked and threatened her, and* again he threatened *her* and *said to her:* '. . . the . . . of the magian religion . . .' *And when he could not prevail over* the girl *he went to Saint Pethion* . . .

5R

(about 26 lines missing)
27]t[
28 [ ]= =. (*r*)[ty =]= xw(r)[m'x 'tr y]t(y) 'p [yw'r]
29 [yty](b)γy xy(*p*)[θ d]stwb'r[y yty]qty'wẓ. 't =[ ]
30 [](*q*)θry tγw (w)'xrẓ yt(y)[ms wyd](')dy qy t'f' sy(f)ryn [ ]

5R

'. . . *And there are not many gods as the heathen preach, but one, and not even* the sun, *moon, fire* and water *are gods, but* God's handiwork *and* creation. And now you have abandoned . . . and Him that created you *and established you* . . .' . . .

5V

(about 27 lines missing)
28 wyžpγw](nẓ)[ ](')ẓ(c)[

5V

'*What is this terrible* thing *which you have done to our people, the like of which*

29 qd'c n](x̱)[ ](w)x̱t rty (n)[y ptγwš](t.)[ ](r)ty p(r)[cw](ty) š(f'r)[ ]
30 [qty](wn)t(y) 'w m('x) 'w'ẓy r(t)[y nmy]'q wnty q(w) m'x s[']]

was *never* seen nor *heard?* And *why have you* shamed our assembly and insulted us

6R

1 w](')bnt qyw s' [
2]= = =y '[
(about 8 lines missing)
11]= =[ ]= = = = = = =[[a]
12 pynm](s)'. rty šw wprs p(s)['[b]
13 š](y) w'nw w'b ršt' yty yc(y)[
14 ptγwš]('z)w '(d)r(xwr)mzd.[c] qt p'ṛycy '[w
15]= =[ ](c)n bγx̱št yty γ[
16 yw](xn)q( )[ptz'nyt
(the lower half of the page missing)

[a] Hansen ']drxwr[mzd, but the traces are quite uncertain [b] Hansen ps'[, but there is no other evidence of recent damage to this fragment [c] sic

6R

by this evil thing which you have done?' And since they said *much* to him *and he did not listen to them* . . . (5) . . . (10) . . . *and they called Ādurhormazd to their assembly and made him stand before them;* and *the rad* questioned him . . . *and* said *to him:* 'Is it true, *as* I have *heard concerning you,* O Ādurhormazd, that you have abandoned *our great god* (15) *who is worshipped* by the gods and *by the king of kings our lord and by all* discerning *men* . . .? . . .

6V

1](p't)fr's. yty m(zyx)[
2](y)[ ](p)[
(about 8 lines missing)
11]=[= = =]c[=]= =[= =]t[=]='[
12]c(')nw ptx̱z(')nẇ xwšywṇ[yty xypθ'wnt
13 xš'w]n xcy pr dwy[a] (f)cmbdt. (t)['wnty
14 mš]t(')y qw t'ms' (w)[y]'[b] x[y]pθ [γwbty'
15](m)zyxs'(q)y' yty '[w]( )b(γ)y (z)['ty
16]pytc žw'(n. ')[t
(the lower half of the page missing)

[a] sic [b] or (w)'

6V

. . . *and I shall inflict upon you harsh* punishment and great *tortures* . . .' (5) . . . '. . . (10) . . . *But now,* since I have recognized *the Lord of* kings *and Lord of glory who* has *power* over the two worlds, *the mighty and strong God who* has shown me His *glory and* (15) *taught me His* greatness, and the *Son* of God, *Jesus Christ, who has spared my* lost life *and turned me from error* . . .' . . .

7R

(the upper half of the page missing)
15]=[ ]c[ ]=[
16]b yty šy wy' žw(')[n
17](ty) pr ptnwb wp(r)[s
18 xwn]ty mšyẖ' rty šw (w)[γšt
19](f)r'(m')y rty (mz)yx =[
20]= =t γ[
21 []('wn)'fc. (rt)[y]=[
22 [šy](r). rty šy m(= =t)[ ](θ)brc =[qw yw qy](r)'n
23 [s' p](rp) 'w 'drx(wrmzt)[rt](y) šy w(')[nw w'b]
24 =[= 'drx](w)r(m)zt. mn' (f)ry' '(yš) xš(n)qy (yt)[y](= =t)[nγw](š)
25 (qw) mn' (w')xšt s'. p(r)[ywyd](yt)y (ny)x w= =[ ] 'yš (yt)[y tw]'
26 ptγny' mn' 'dy [=]= =[wγ'mn'](f)c[wy](')qy (qy)[m'](x)
27 m(x̱ny)m sqwn. rt[y]=[ ](= m'x ')wt'q [š](f)'r(q)t[y yty](w)
28 [ ]= = = = = =[ ]= n'fn'yš' [cn tr](s)'(qt)[y w'xš](t)
29 [pšys']= n' wn'. =[
30]= pr x(y)pθ (γ)[ryw

7R

'. . . *and let his bonds be tied very tightly,* and let the life-*preserving bread of dogs be given* to him, *and every day let him be* interrogated with scourging(s), *and let Him come on whom* he *calls,* (namely) Christ, and *save* him *from my hands.' And they bound him as* he commanded and *tortured him before the* great *multitude.* (20) *And some of his friends stood round about and exhorted him very much; but one of them, whose name was Mihr-burzīn—who was his* compatriot, and *therefore he was honoured very much,* and to him *was* given *the primacy in that country*—took Ādurhormazd *to one* side *and said* to him . . .: '*O* Ādurhormazd, my dear (friend), you are excellent *and* . . .; *therefore listen* (25) to my words, *because* you are surely *aware* that *there is no*-one *honoured* by me like *you in this foreign place* which we inhabit.

Then *do not make* our country ashamed *and our religion accursed and rejected, and* do not err *after the words of* the Christians, *and* do not *destroy your life* . . .; *but have mercy* on your *soul* . . .' . . .

7V

(the upper half of the page missing)

16 q]t š(*w*)[yw](c*y* y)t(y = =)[
17 wyd]p't(y) nẏ nγw[š](*y*)[a] (rt)[y
18](*p*)twx'(y). w'n (q)t (p = =)[
19](=)bẏntt. rty c'nw (xw)[
20 fr](ʼm')[y]'(ny)t 'w '(d)r(*x*)[wrmzt
21 'y](ʼd)r(x)[wrmzt]= = c[
22]=t= = =[qt'](*mr*)c. ptš'dty'[ ]
23 (qt)[' p']](tx)š'wn b[ynt x'nt]pr'ḟ' qy t[γw]
24 (p')[txš'wn cw y]ty nẏ (w')[n](*w*) xwptr[b] m't (tw)' m'[t ns]t(y)
25 =[ ]= =[nw](r) pr mẓyx (*zp*)ry'q. rty (f)[ry](*š*)tc (*s*)t(*y*)
26 (qw)[t'f](s)' dwrt[' yty](')fr(*ywn*) (*cn*)[xwšywny](d)n γrḟ(y) r(')t yty nm'cq'n.
27 dn (x)[= =]ty frm(')[nt](y) prw( )[ ]x(n)t. yty pcẏc(y)qt.
28 r(t)[y](*q*)θry c(w)[ ](š)yṛy (y)t(y) c(w) z(*p*)[ry'q byrd'](*ry* cn trs'*q*)[ty]
29 =[ ]= =t ptcγšt[wd'ry
30 y](w)q yty x' t(*r*)[s'qt

[a] MS (=*γw*)[=](*y*); Hansen nγw[š]= [b] MS xw(*pt*)r; Hansen xw ptr

7V

Then the king sent a man famous in the kingdom, whose name was Ādurfrāzgerd . . . that he might teach him and *instruct him and turn him to their worship: 'And if this* time he does not listen, then *beat him for a whole month and then* kill *him,* so that *the others too may be terrified and not* be *misled by him!'* And when *Ādurfrāzgerd came to the place* (20) *he ordered them* to lead Ādurhormazd *before him and the great assembly, and said to him: 'O* Ādurhormazd, *tell me, do you desire honour or shame, life or* death, rest or *trouble, power or that they should* be in authority over you whom *you ruled?* Were it not better for you thus, that *you were sitting* (25) *today* in great honour and there were sent to *you* a greeting *and* blessing *from the king,* together with many gifts and offerings (and) with . . . orders *for those things which* are *necessary* and advantageous? Now, what good (thing) and what *honour have you obtained* from the Christians? *And what good things have you* received *from them that you should have renounced our own religion and* teaching; (in) that the *Christians are accursed . . .?'* . . .

11R

(the upper half of the page missing)

16 m(γ)wn [
17 qy 'ẋs(n)[tq](' *m*')t[
18 qt' qw wynẏ xš'(*w*)n [s'
19 n'm. rty ywnyd nyžẏ xw (*t*)[wxmyn
20 rty γrḟ n'ḟ mẓyž c(n)[
21 wy'[a] q'rp(θ)t qy tys[b] (*yt*)[y
22 (n)'(f)[cy'[c] rt](y) xw[
23 p(r)ẓyd[y](p)[r](qθ)t(') y(t)[y
24 (mr*γ*)t rty c'nw [
25 (qt)t(ysy)m r(ty) (*pr*)[wydym](t=)[=]=[
26 p[γw]š(t'[d] *c*)[ywyd pyd'r qt](d*y*b)nw[e] prw (x*w*)[šty
27 =[pyθyw]n bwn s'. rty (*wẋn*)[n](*t*)[
28 cn]( )m(ẋ)θt py(n)ms(tr =)[

(a line or two missing)

[a] or wn' [b] sic [c] or (n)' (f)[[d] not p(t*q*)š(t) as in Sims-Williams 1979a, 133 [e]](db)nw less likely

11R

'If you do not do this . . . I shall give your flesh to destruction and your whole *property to the king, and I shall make your name a byword to all generations* which *shall* come, *that all who curse him who is an enemy to the king* or to his power *may curse in yours and no other man's* name.' And immediately *Tohmīn* went out, *and the cavalry with him,* (20) and gathered a great multitude of *the men of the land, and closed fast the roads and* the paths which enter *and leave the* country. *And Tohmīn, with the cavalry accompanying him, began to enter in* search *of her* the towns and *houses and mountains and plains and* forests. And when *they arrived at Saint Pethion's cell they said:* (25) 'Let us enter and *enquire*

of him, for perhaps she has fled to him and hidden, *because he is the teacher of* both *of them.' And when they drew near and came* to *Saint Pethion's* cell *they saw that there was built in the vicinity of his cell another cell which* some days before *there had not been . . .*

11V

(the upper half of the page missing)

16]=[ ]
17]= 'yžn
18 pt](*b*ẏw) cn t[w]' stwry
19](' pš*yn*)c'zw (q)w ḏywt yty
20] bẏ pr sm'n yty bẏ
21 bžnq']rqy'. rty pr š'nwx
22]= b' cn tw'(š)[y](r'qt)[y](')
23](w) t[ ]t=
24](*q*)θry c('n)w nyx
25](*q*'rpθ)ywxsw
26](ẏ= =d = =)[ ](= =y) 'w(sc)
27 qy y]ty pr sm'n (s)t[y]= = = =
28 cy](*w*y)d r(')θy šw'mcy yty [
29]= =[= =]'[=]= = =[

(a line or two missing)

11V

'. . . *and by the Grace of the Spirit which comes from baptism Thou hast made them* worthy *of heavenly light and glory, and, Lord, Thou hast not even witheld* honour from (me) Thy sheep *who worshipped and* poured *libations* to the demons and (20) *to the element-spirits* both in heaven and *on earth, who was bred in all iniquities and who exulted in all* wickedness; and through the excellent, *watchful, true shepherd and teacher, Mār Pethion, who* was (brought into being) by Thy Grace *Thou hast brought me to the blessed sheepfold of Thy sheep. And, Lord,* now that (25) *I have become* versed *in the way of Thy lordship and* have learned the path *of life, to travel upon them up to Thy* laid-down *treasure which* is in heaven, *let me not cease, my Lord, from* (travelling in) the course and *the company of the old man Ādurhormazd, my father; but as with him I served and made offerings to the altars and idols of impiety, with him, my Lord, may I be found at Thy great wedding-feast and in the sheepfold of Thy sheep, and may I not miss the wine of his banquet.*

12R

1]ṯ= =[ ]t[ ](t)[ ]=. qθry xwtw bγ' (p)š'(y) (w)y'
2 (γ)[n]t'qṛyt (m)rtx(*m*)[yty m'ny qy] w'fyd xnt c'nw (x)' nẏšnẏt yqšy(š)t
3 wyrqẏšt. m't t'(m)[' f]c[m](rzn)t rty (*my*) tny'nt (q)w wy(šn)t xypθty
4 stw(r)ty wbnty (s'.)rty spty w(n*n*)t pr('m)' '(w x)[yp]θ šmnq'nny[a]
5 ryẏž. (mẏ)d c'nw yty (s*p*ty q)twd'rnt pr(*m*)[n']= (*p*)'rn(y) ptrw.
6 r(t)y c('n)w pr(*z*)'ry p(c)wq'n ṃ(y*d*)w'xšt w['b'z rty nm']c br'z. rty
7 pšp'ty tẏsnt pr t(rγ)w p(θ)f'r γrṛ =[=]= = = (*n*'ṛ) (*p*r mzy)x(*s*')q.
8 rty c(')nw x' z'q'ncy ẏynnt rty šwq w'štnt yty šyr (w)[y](d)['](s)'nt.
9 rty bn žmnw sfr'cy ny qtw wnnt ywtr cn wyšnty. rty (p*y*š)trw

[a] sic

12R

Now, Lord God, cast (it) *into the minds* of these wicked men *who* are like destructive fiends and wolves that they may snatch me and take me into the snare of their *fangs and fulfil on me their devilish (5) desire just as they fulfilled it on *my* father who . . . and nurtured (me).'

And as with sorrowful entreaty she was saying these words *and* praying there entered suddenly in swift haste many *cavalry* men in great number. And when they saw the girl they stood in silence and wondered greatly, and for a long time they could not speak, (not) one of them. And afterwards (10) the girl looked at them modestly and said: 'My lords, what do you want? If

10 tẋqwš x' z'q'nc qw wyšnt s' pr ¨ntqy' rty w'nw w'b. mn'
11 xypθ'wntt cw yty q'mt(*sq*).[b] (r)ty qd' t'm' q't'sq.[a] rty n'y zw
12 ¨m'c sw(q)'m(*γnt'*)qrc mẋš qw žwšy s'. rty dn (šm'x *prw*)
13 wytr'mq' rty n' (p)c(wq)[y]rtt. (rty) c'nw [x](') pr tny' yty (p)r nmry[']](q)
14 (nγ)'[d](')[ ](b)r('z)[y]ty (p)cwqy'z w'nw m't wytry dn[c] wyšnty prw. rty x'nt
15]= =[ ](= *z'q'nc*)wynnt. rty žγw 'ntw(x)cn'q bnt. rty
16](= *rty w*)'nw w'b'znt qt (p)r c'wnc[d]
17 [frγn']= =t= = yty w' (*s'rs*)t yty w'
18 p'rw]t(y) šw nẋ(š)ntq' yty (p)wtqy prẏyrntq'[e]
19](= = = = d)n dbt(y)q prw (w)'n (q)t šw[d]
20]= =[ ]=' = = = =['y']m s(')
(lines 21–24: only the margin preserved)
25](n)yẓy cn
26](xypθ'wnty (ny)žt'
27](p)rsym[f] (by)rtt
28]= = =t(=' = = = =)[ ]= f(ry)t br'trty.
29 p](*r*) mšyḫ' n'(m *rty* = =)[rty 'y](sn)t.

[b] not q'mt('sq) [c] corrected [d] +line-filler [e] or prẏyzntq'
[f] hardly](f)rsym

you want me, then behold, I am ready, a sinful sheep (to go) to sacrifice, and I will go with you, have no fear.' And as she was gently and sweetly entreating and asking that she might go with them, those (15) *men looked and* saw the girl and were sorely distressed, and *they looked at one another and* said: 'How *may such a glorious appearance* and such a beautiful and such *an exquisite face be delivered over in a little while to the magus and those with him? For* they will destroy her and annihilate (?) (her).' *For they were also planning* with one another that (20) *they might rescue* her; *and when they found no way to rescue her they came* to *the conclusion that they blamed one another* . . . (25) . . . *the pure one stood up and put on her cloak and* went out from *her cell before them and said to them:* '*My* lords, go out *and do not linger, for perhaps because of your delay on my account* you *may* receive punishment *together with damage. But come,* dear brothers, *let us go confidently in* the name of Christ!'

And immediately they rose up thence and came

12V

1 qywy(d w)[y](')q (s)' qwrθ yty xw m[wγyšty 'w'zy 'n]c(')ty (m't)[rty]
2 'symy qtẋ m't xw s't dywyd n'(f)[y žy'wr rty] x' wyšnty c(y)[m]t'[a]
3 pwrn c(wq). qt (pr)[b] pr c'wnc (fr)[γ](*n*)' (prb)[x](š)c (b)wtq' x' wẋšq
4 pwrẋc y' nyšnyt [wyr] (qy)š(ty)[d](s)ty'. rty p[n]m[c] m't pr(ys)'zntq'
5 qw 'dwr(*pr*)[zqrt mγwy](')w'zy s'. (rty *pn*)mstr 'ẋs xw
6 [d] rty b(r)[tpdy' wnt' q](*w*) mwγẋšt yty(qw ')dr= (przqr)t (s')
7 ('*w*)[z](')[q]('n)c[y]('ẋs)'m(n)tw. [r]ty c'nw ptyγwš xw 'dwrprzqrt yty
8 x' (*s*)[']t (θ)[e] srθngt. rty mzyx(w)γšw wγš'znt. rty γrf 'w'zy
9 mxwḇ(yn)t yty ryty nyžynt y' n'x(y)dy qt šw wẋnnt. rty wyd(')γty
10 c'nw wynnt rty swγtm'n 'γ'znt pžγẋrt yty w'nw wγty qt
11 pr ršty'q y'n' ycy n'xyd xwtyn. š[y]'t(r) (y)ty qšnwstr cn s't
12 '(y)šty(.) rt(y) x' šyrqtc n'xyd nẋ sw(x)'y'z 'w (x)[y](p)θ d(ẋ)m. yty 'w
13 cšmw nẋ zryš'z pr wyšnt. (y)[w']r (p)r (='w)rcyq[f] cšmw w[y](') (x)ypθ (m)'ny

[a] c(š)[m]t' less likely [b] ill-written, meant to be cancelled [c] non-final m [d] left blank; in the outer margin is a sign [e] to be deleted [f] (z'w)rcyq? (ž)[y](')w)rcyq?

12V

to that place where the *assembly of the magi* was residing. *And* all the *heart(s)* of the people had become shocked *and* their eyes tearful: 'How shall the noble maiden be delivered into the hands of destructive wolves?' And first, before they entered (5) the assembly of Ādurfrāzgerd the magus, *Tohmīn* came and *informed* the magi and Ādurfrāzgerd of the girl's arrival. And when Ādurfrāzgerd heard, and all the chiefs, they rejoiced with great joy, and the great crowd surged forward and went out before Nāhīd that they might see her. And then, (10) when they saw, they all began to shout and to say: 'Truly this is "Nāhīd the Lady", more excellent and more beautiful than all women!' And Saint Nāhīd did not lift up her face and did not raise her eyes to them, but with eye(s) averted she was saying in her mind: 'Lord, Lord, mighty king (and) God, Thou who hast fulfilled (15) the desire of those who fear Thee and the desire of all those who truly *invoke Thy* name, do Thou, Lord God, look

14 w'b'z. xwt'w xwt'w. z'wrqyn xwšywny bγ'. tγw qy s(p)ty w(n)[y](')[w xy](pθ)ty
15 pcwqx̱rnyty rx̱ž. yty s't w(y)šnty (ry)ž qy pr[ ]rš(t)=[y](')[q]= =[
16 n'm. tγw xwtw bγ' tqwš pr xy(pθ n)[y](z'wr)[
17 tw' bγy'qy'(w)yzr' r'θy šw'(m)c[y](')[
18 'ž'wnx̱ ptγ'd. 'wnw qy ptycxš (xwt)[w
19 yšwγmšyḫ' cn s(wγ)tm'n mrtxmx̱t wγšg (p)[yd'r
20 pw pt(š)[m'](r br)[y](wrt x)'(n)t qy (w)r(nn)[t pr'f'
21 '(st)[pnws
(lines 22–25: only the margin preserved)
26 t(= = = = = =) [
27 wyd'snt pr (m)[
28 w'rmsnt. rty =[zwydm' ny]
29 wnntn(t).g rty '[γ](')[z](= = = = =)[= =]=[ ]= t[pr]
30 xwsnty'[=]=[ ](=y) šym'r cw db't( )[

g sic

upon Thy weak *handmaid, and let me not cease from* straight(ly) travelling the road of Thy divinity; *Lord, let not* the life-giving cup *pass me by*, that which the Lord *and Saviour, Thy dear Son* Jesus Christ, received for the salvation of all men, *and after Him* (20) countless *myriads* (of) those who believe *in Thee, at whose head is* Stephen . . .'

. . . (25) . . . *and they made her enter before him. And when he and those with him looked upon her* they wondered at *the greatness of the maiden's beauty and at the sight of her face, and* they *all* became still, and *those who were against her were appeased and* did *not threaten.* And the *great magus began to speak to her* cheerfully *and sweetly, since* he thought how perhaps *she might rather be ensnared by blandishments* . . .

13R

(the upper half of the page missing)
14](=x̱ = =)[ ]=[=]=t=[=]=[=]=[ ]
15](c)n qrxny'tqy'. yw'r tw(' = =)[= = =]
16 q'](my)sq xrt (y)' trs'(q)t[y]
17 [pšys' c]n wyspn' 'dy. rty qd'mx̱
18](y)ty cn s't[a] s't srθngty
19](= m)zyx šyṛy wntyq' rtf
20 qw t'fs](') nγwšq'.[b] rty n' nγwš 'w
21](w)ynx̱ pšys'. rt(y) (n')[ ]'mpt
22]=. rty qd' zw qy (d)ymyd( )n'ḟy
23 p](t)syntyq' m't z(w) t(w)' wyṛy b'n.
24 [rtf wn'mq' t'](f') pr( )s't xypθ 'x̱šqtw yty pr( )s't[c]
25 s']t xyp(θ)xwšy(wn)qy'. rty qd' (p)s' zw tw' nx̱
26 n'](y) mn' fry z'ty 'dwrsrwš. rty nxwšywny[d] x̱zwt
27 [xcy r]t(y) š(y) (s)tw pn'c's[b] pdbṛy[e] swqwnt. rtf wynx̱ wdw θbr'm
28 [q'. r]ty wy' xypθ γryw nx̱st n' w(n)'q' pr šmnw 'ympn.
29 [rty ms zw] tw' zpry'q wn'mq' sq'tr cn s't mn' z'tx̱t
30 [yty dwγtrt]. rtf xwtyn (yty) (f)rm'ync wn'mq' t'(ḟ)' sq̱yp'r cn

a blotted, meant to be cancelled b sic c +line-filler d or yxwšywny? e altered from pθ-

13R

'. . . *And although Ādurhormazd your father . . . went out of his mind and abandoned the great doctrine of magianism and went after the sorceries of the Christians* (15) *so that he might be healed* from (his) numbness; yet *what has happened* to you, *beautiful maiden, that lo! I have heard that you too want* to go *after* the Christians' *sorceries—(they who are) downtrodden by* everyone? What *man is there, of all the magi* and of all the chief men, *to whom you shall desire to belong and* (who) will *not* do *you* great good and *hold* you (20) *in great honour and* obey *you*? Then do not heed the *folly of your wretched father, to go* after him, and do not fall *from the great and distinguished honour of your greatness.* And if I, who *am great* amongst this people, *should be pleasing to you and* you consent that I be your husband, *I will make you* above all my harem and above all (25) *the noblewomen who are in all* my (?) kingdom. But if I *should* not *be pleasing* to you, *behold!* my dear son Ādursrōš—*he is* the king's chaplain and he has a hundred and fifty infantrymen—I *will* give you to him (as) wife, and you shall not destroy yourself by the deception of Ahriman; *and I too* will honour you above all my sons *and daughters* and will make you mistress and ruler over *all who are in my house.'*

13V

(the upper half of the page missing)

15 [rty fr](m)'(y) qtẏ. (r)ty wy' γ(ryw)[
16 [pw](*w*r)ẏt w'x(š)t. . wyd'γty p'c(γ)[ny qtwd'rt
17 (*w*)['nw w](')b. qy yty xcy yx(w*n*)[q n' ptz'ncy
18 xcy yty ḏy wynẏ 'γtẏ nẏ [xcy
19 [a]qẇy ⟨yty⟩ t'wnty frm'n ptγwšy q(t)[wd'rt
20 rty xw tw' pγšy z'wr nyz'(*w*)[r xcy
21 w'nw (*w*')[by]sq qt 'ḏy wyn(*y*)['γty ny xcy
22 wy' fcm(*b*dy) m't qd'mẏ t('*w*)[n](*t*)[y
23 yty bsty cn wynẏ xwt'wy c'p'(*r*)[
24 rty w'nw w'(b) rty qt'[b] w'nw bẇty[c] [y]t(y) =[= =]=[
25 rty ẉyd w'xš qy tγw w'bẏsq rty ptγwš('*zsqw*)n [
26 pr( )sm'ny sty xw wynẏ myn'm(n)tẇ.[b] rty šy xw (z)['wr yty xš'wn]
27 pr( )sm'ny yty pr z'y xcy. rty cw qt' wntyq' x(w)[ ](*tw' xy*)= [pθ'wnt]
28 qt'( )x' s't z'ycyqt xwšywnẏt m't 'ẏc wnẏnt. qt' cn wy= (ny)[xypθ]
29 'ẏc 'ẏtw wnẏnnt.[b] rty c'nw w'fẏd žmnw c'nw cš(m)y nm= (zy')[[d] tqwšy]
30 pr wyšnt sp'd yty xwty pr wyšnt rty pr wšp'n žmn(*w*)[

[a] in the margin by line 19 is a mark + [b] sic [c] two points, one under t and one under y, are probably accidental [d] not nm(ž)-

13V

'. . . *But if you have any other word or deed to perform* (15) please do (it) and *do not exhaust* (your)self *with empty and* profit*less* words!'

Then *the magus made* answer *and* said *to her:* 'Who, (O) *un*discerning (one), is *your betrothed, who* is *so strong* that no-one *is* equal to him *in power and might? The king of kings,* heroic and mighty, *has* enslaved *sea and land,* (20) and the power of your betrothed *is* feeble. *(You are) ignorant of his identity* (if) you say that *no*-one *is equal* to him *in power! What hero who* there was in the world, what *mighty man, was not subjugated* and bound under his lordship?' *But the saint answered* and said: 'If it were so, *that my betrothed were on earth,* (25) then *he would have* heard *in part* this thing which you say; *but now, since* His dwelling is in heaven and His *power and authority* is in heaven and on earth, how shall *your lord* be able, or all the kings of the earth, that they may do anything or take anything of His? And when *He shall look*—(even) for so long as the twinkling of an eye—on their army and on them themselves, then *their destruction shall be* in a little while, *like ice before a fierce heat!'*

14R

(a few lines missing)

4] == =[
5 p]cq(s)[-[a]
6]t(w) brt[
7]('*n*t q)[
8](*p*')d(y=)[ ]= =[
9](*mn*t)γr(b)'q(y)' špẏ[š-
10](*w*)yd'(γty) p'cγny =[
11 xy]pθ zrw' [=](t)[
12](ty) pr m(z)[y]x (m=)[
13 mn](t)γrb'[q
(a few lines missing)
17]t[=]t[=]
18]= = = =[ ](='q)t
19]=[ ]= pw cn strẏc
20 d]ymyd '(b*n*)t šẏ z'(q.)[b]
21](š)ẏnẏ yt(y) pd'rnẏ mẏd c'nw
22 qθ](r)y nẏ qt' bwt yty cn (y)w 'ẏc
23]= xw xwr(mz)t' xw(d)[q]'r(p)r
24](*t*y) (m)'(nt) [rw]xšny'q [= = = =](t)
25]= = = =[ ]=

[a] or p]c[y]q(s)[[b] in the margin by lines 19–20:]=t=

14R

Then the magus was moved to anger and said to her: '. . . (5) . . . wait . . . *in your* folly serve . . . (10) . . .'

Then *Nāhīd made* answer *and said to him:* '. . . your old age . . . in great . . . foolish . . . (15) . . . without a female (20) . . . *to* this union three children *were born* . . . and nurturer like . . . *Now* it is not possible that from one thing *alone many should come forth, and if* Hormazd by himself, in *his belly, conceived and bore* these lights, (25) *like his father Zurwān he is a hermaphrodite* . . .

26]=
27](t=)
28](')
(possibly another line or two missing)

14V

(a few lines missing)
3]=[
4](=ty =)[
5](y)m. yty [
6](y)ty (n)y=[
7 x](w) (z)rw'[
8]=[
9](t) r(t)y (ms)[ ]==n [
10 r]ty w'nw f(rm)'ty s[ty
11 mr](tx*m*)[y](t)p(r)ywyd yty [n](ẓst)[
12]x(wtw) bγw. [
13]===[
(a few lines missing)
17 ===[
18 (y)ty ('===)t (r=)[
19 pr(*z*)'y x' s't[wy']d(*n*t)[yt
20 mwrstc b'. cn cywyd [ ]=[
21 rwš'z. w'(f)yd c'nw xwny mrt(*x*)[my
22 rty pr z'y(*rw*)šy. rty šw f[r'm'y bnt]
23 (qty p')š'ynt(.) (rt)y w'nw p'(š)[ty
24 c[šnt θ](*b*r)'t. w(yt)[wr qt
25 (xw)[
26 (f)[
27 (pr)[
(possibly a line or two missing)

14V

. . .(5) . . . and . . . Zurwān *his father and Xwašīzag(?) his mother prove that just as they ceased to live so* also *their children and grandchildren* (10) *will cease. And* thus *it is* said *in our scriptures: "Do not trust in men,* because *there is no trust in them, but in* the Lord God!".'

Then Ādurfrāzgerd was very angry . . . (15) . . . *and they struck her on her cheeks and on her mouth and on her head until a swelling arose and her eyes closed, and they made* all *her teeth fall* on the ground. *And her flesh* (20) was drenched by that *blood which* was streaming *from her mouth and her cheeks,* like that man *who is washed with water* and it flows upon the ground. And *he ordered* her *to be bound like a dog, and* they cast *her into prison securely,* and *he* instructed *them:* 'Let *no-one* give *her any food or drink* until *the god of the Christians come and save her* . . .' . . .

17R

1](= r)ty šw štf'r pdfnq bẓntnt. rty šw
2]= 'γ'c xšp'. rty š(w d)btyq mẓyθ( )b'm
3 pry](*w*)yd yty w'nw ẓyn qt pr(z)r mrtxmyt wrnnt
4 w'nw](*š*)ym('*r*)[ ](q)t tym pstn' θbr'n rty przr
5](*p*)r wy' wr(nw) rty šw( )[==]=[==]=[ ]
6](==''====)[
(about 24 lines missing)

17R

. . . *and he gave orders, and they inserted a stake under (each of) her two armpits,* and they bound her (by) the four joints (of her wrists and ankles) and *hung* her *on a stake behind her head in prison* all night. And the next day *at* dawn *he ordered* her *to be fetched,* because he saw that very many men believed *in her religion and he* thought: 'If I give (her) respite again, then very many (5) *and countless men will believe* in her faith.' And *when they fetched* her *they saw that all the bones of her shoulders were broken* . . .

17V

1 rxn'z. nẓ xwdq'r 'w mrtxm̤(y)t qt' (n)x[šy](*r*)[t
2 brwz'nẓ[a] nẓ rxn'z pntq ''(γ)t. rty x' =[

[a] sic

17V

. . . *and (the wasps) were so threatening* . . . *that nothing at all* dared *approach the vicinity of that mountain;* not only *would they not allow* men or *animals,*

3 tmp'r s(' pn)t (nẏ) šw'(zn)t. p'rwty wy'[
4 byqstr t(*w*)dy 'wštytẏt swqw'z(nt)[
5 (w)'n[a] [c'nw](w)y'(n)[b] prθncn 'wšty(t)[
(about 25 lines missing)

[b] not wy'(ny) with Schwartz 1974a, 260

19R

1 ptb]styt swqnt. rty [
2 '](y)nẏ mw(γy)[
3 ']r(qt rt)[y
(about 27 lines missing)

19V

1 p]rywyd yty d(b)'t[c]'[nw
2 q]'m wy' (m)['x xypθ žw'n
3](= xw z)[prt 'dy
(about 27 lines missing)

22R

1]s'. qt nẏ
2](*c*)[ywy]d pyštrw c'nw
3] (bγ'*ny*)q z'wr. m't[a]
4 qw wyny šyr'](*q*)ty' s'. rty xw wyspy
5](ʼws)tytẏt ṃḏ[b] c'nw
6 p]tyšqẏnt qw zprt
7](= = = *šy*rqt)[y bnt]' ẏd bntt ym'x[c]
8 ['dmy]t(nẏ) tγt' bnts[q]=. yw'r yty yw šyr[b]
9 [s]pnyqrẏ γwtsq m't 'w (*bn*)tt xwcqt wn't rtšn dbtyq
10 [p]r m'x '(d)myt tny't yt[y] byntyt[b] m'x. . rty c'nw xw b'msy'.[b]
11 [wytr xw xw](š)tr bntypy rty brtpd wnt' 'w nyxwrm[zt]rt. rty
12]= xw nyxwrmzt rty wẏn ẏyd 'ẏšt. rty fr'(m)['y 'ny](*t*)
13](s)p(n)yqrw: rty fr'm'y ḅsty dbtyq ẏyd m(r)t[xmyt]
14 xw](r)t rty brtpd wnt' 'w xwštr mwγw. s'[t]
15 q](t)yt bntt.[b] rty wyd'γty fr'm'y ¨nẏt xw[]
16 'w](š)[y]r(q)ty pyθywn mẏd xwcq. rty ¨(n)[y]
17 rty šw](m)γwy ryty p'dy w'sty. rty( )[ ]
18 ']t w('nw)[w](')[b]=[
(the bottom third of the page missing)

[a] +line-filler [b] sic [c] or nm'x

but not *even* a bird dared approach. And the *wasps* did not go near to *the pure one's* body but remained standing in a mass apart *from* the *martyr's body, and above her body* (5) *they were* assembled like the awning of a tent *so that the sun could not reach her body at all* . . .

19R

After a few days Ādurfrāzgerd gave orders to make a great assembly of all the notables and of all those who were *well known in their districts,* and *when they had assembled* this magus *called Nēhormazd the rad before him* . . . works and . . .

19V

. . . *and they waited fearful(ly) until he had finished his service:* 'Because perhaps, *whilst we are not noticing, he will escape from our hands and we* shall *destroy our lives!' And when* the *holy one had finished his service he came out to them* . . .

22R

The blessed Pethion said to *those prisoners: 'It is* not *right for you, O men,* after *you have seen the glory of Christ and* the power of God, that *you should be ungrateful* for *His Grace.* Then *let* every (5) *man take his fetters, and let them be* placed as *before on his limbs.' The prisoners* said to the holy *Pethion:* 'Righteous *servant of God,* these fetters cannot be inserted upon our *limbs without a craftsman,* but a good smith is necessary, that he may open the fetters and insert them again (10) upon our limbs and bind us.'

And when the dawn appeared the chief gaoler *went* and informed Nēhormazd the rad, and Nēhormazd *went* and saw those things and ordered *a good* smith *to be brought* and ordered those men to be bound again. *Then* the rad *went again* and informed the chief magus of all (15) *the things which* had happened *there.* Then the *chief magus* ordered Saint Pethion to be brought unbound, and *the chief gaoler* brought *and* stood *him* before the magus; and *the magus looked at him and* said: . . .

22V

1 yst' cywyd pt(*z*)['n
2 yp'qbry̱ b' x(w)[mwγw
3 bsty. my̱d c'nw ⟨yt(y)⟩ b(s)t[y s]t[y
4 w'b. qt y'twq ny y't q(t)[
5 qy mḏy pntq sty. rty[
6 pš't. ḏywyd wy'qy =[
7 rty wyd'γty syxw'ynt['w zprt 'dy r](t*y qw* rw)[t s' ¨nynt]
8 rty pry̱wydnt w'nw wy'[q] m't yty x' ¨(p) = = =[ ]
9 yty 'wrmc rty p'š'ynt '(*w zp*r)t 'ḏy ydy(w)yd[a] ¨py. rty x(')[nt]
10 pšy̱nyt šyr 'ntwxcn'qt yty nwryžq̱ynt m'tnt [ ]r(t*y* = = =) [=]'[= =]
11 xw zprt[ ](ʼd)y qw ¨p s' pry̱s. rty ywny̱d yw(xs)t(y)[b' xyd]
12 rw(t)[rty d](*w*)' pšy̱nty b'. rty x'n' ¨p qy cn sqy (q)[yr'n
13 r[ty '](γ)'z twdy qty w'fẏd c'nw xw qθ'm qw s(m')[ny pn]
14 [rt](*y*) (x)' c'p(')rcyq ¨p p'šwš yty mym[s
15 [z]prt 'dy ydywyd rẇty myd'n pr šqwpn' p[rγty
16 (m)s zγ'm[b] zγ'r ny wyt b'z. rty x' s'(t)[
17 ['wš]tyty̱t m'tnt rty md'snt yty š(yr)[
18 [rty w](')štynt. r(ty 'γ)'znt p[žγyrt
(the bottom third of the page missing)

[a] altered from ydymyd? [b] altered from zγ'r

22V

'. . . *though it was not I that did this, but the power of Jesus does all these things which are strange in your eyes, He* from the *understanding of whom* you are *far.' Then the magus* was *very* angry *at these things and gave orders* to bind *him like a dog*, as *he was* bound *before, and to be taken away from his presence, and* he said: 'If he is not a sorcerer *let him be tried in the water of this river* (5) which is near here.' And *he ordered them* to cast *him bound into the river near the town* in a place *where the water was deep and still.*

Then they lifted up *the saint* and *brought him to the river.* And they sought out such a place *where* it was . . . and the water *deep* and still, and cast the saint into the water; and those (10) who cast him in were very distressed and unwilling. And as soon *as* the saint reached the water *that* river *was* divided *and* became *two* parts, and that water which *was pouring* from above began to form a heap like a wall *up* to the sky *and* the water below dried up and was finished . . ., *and* (15) the saint *was left* in the middle of the river on dry land *where* not even (a trace of) moisture could be seen. And all the *men who* were standing *there* were amazed and *were* very much *afraid, and* they stood and began *to shout out* . . .

23R

(about one line missing)

2](t) qt (pr) c'(w)[n]c
3 [frγn']=[ ]=t[x](') ¨p qy cn sq̱y
4 w'fyd]c'nw xw rwdny q(θ)'m (cn z)y̱ qw sm'ny
5 γr]f[a] ¨dyt wrnnt pr nwšw (bγ)w cn cywyd
6 w]rcwny' qy ẏynnt. rty c'n(w)[ ](*x*)w xwštr
7 wrcwn]y' ẏyn. rty tym yp'qbrystr b' (*y*)t(*y*) 'br'(z)tr
8]nf̣rywn m't. rty ¨(γ)'z ny' qmp[b] yty ptst't
9](*p*')tf(r')s w(n)'t. rty w'nw w'b. qt x' ¨p
10 y'](t*q*)[wn],(y) my̱d ẏ(y)n'ncyq ny̱ wnty c'nw x' ¨t[r]rty
11 yw](n)y prpt 'w zprt ¨dy cn cywyd rwt. (r)[ty c'](nw)
12 cn cyw](y)d (r)[wt](*m*)s' (*sn*')[. r]ty ¨(γ)'(z)[nt]= = = = = θ[c]
13]=š(')[ ]t'wnty
14 pry](my)d (f̣r)γ[n]'

[a] Hansen]. rty γrf; this is probably a restoration rather than a reading, since nothing read by him is now lacking at the corresponding place on the Verso [b] or ny'qmp (as a single word) [c] this fragment of lines 12–13 is missing; Hansen's readings are given

23R

And when they went out and saw they were amazed (at) how *the* water which *used to come* from above *and be still was standing* like a brazen wall from the earth *up* to the sky (5) *without moving. And many* people believed in the eternal God on account of this . . . miracle which they saw. And when the chief *magus* saw *this miracle* he became still angrier and more enraged, *and he* was . . . cursing, and he began *to prepare* another stratagem and defence, *so that* he might punish *the saint*, and said: 'Water (10) does not reveal *sorcery* as (well as does) fire.' And *immediately he ordered them* to fetch the saint from the river. *And when the saint* ascended *from the river those waters* began *to be discharged down* . . . mighty . . . thus (15) . . . *so that those who heard the sound of*

15 pr m](z)yx wžp' yty pcwq̣yr
16]= mwγw m't yw
17] nymy̰θ w'(*dy qy*)r'n.
18]r
19]=[ ](θ)
20](q)yr'n[d]
21]= xypθ
22] w'nw w'b
23 w](y)twr qw̰ pn
24 y]'t(*q*)[wn](*y*). (*yw*)'r qθ(r)y sw̰(qn)t
25 yzdqr]t mzyx xwšy(w)ny fn yty pr
26](ʼw) t(w')y't(wq)y' nyšq'(w)mq' c'(f̣)'
27]= 'try db'n 'ymm(q)' yty nyšqwmq'.
28]= trs'q'nx̣ bγx̣ rty wγšt([e])t'(f)' cn
29 wyd]'γty ptybx̣nt xw zprt 'd̰y rty w'nw w'b
30]= znt yty qwr 'yš pr xypθ ptz'n yty dwr

[d] +line-filler [e] sic

the waters stood in great terror and fear.

In spite of all these things the magus *ordered immediately* that an *altar should be built on the summit of a rocky mountain to* the south *of the town . . . And the people of the town left their homes for fear and went into the desert* (20) *and were dispersed to every* side . . . own . . . he said *to the saint: 'Chief of sorcerers and doer of all evil deeds,* how long *will you deceive the multitude by your* sorcery? But now *I swear* an oath (25) *by Hormazd and his fortune and by* the fortune *of Yazdgerd* the great king and by *his great and mighty crown, that not only* will I cast out of you your sorcery, *but also* I shall end and cast out *your life in this* flame of fire; *and let Him in whom you trust,* the God of the Christians, *come* and deliver you from *the midst of the fire.'* Then the saint answered and said *to him*: 'You are blind and unseeing in your understanding and far

23V

(about one line missing)
2 [s']t[m'n]t[ ](*wy*)d('s)γw[nyt
3 rty xwcq ny b(w)t[q']t(*w'*) žy(')w(r) (q)y =[
4 'rqt yw'r( )q[θ](*r*)y m̰(y)d c'nw f'š'm '(*w*)[
5 wnt' 'w t'wnt(y)rwt rty wx̣γš[a] 'w mn'[
6 qθry fš'mtq' wx̣d fryšty rty (f)stxwm(p)t(q)['
7 wy' ¨try d(*b*)'n. rty pr qty' 'štytq(') nx̣ p(r) w'[xš
8 ms[b] yty xw't prwrtntq'm s't wyšnt (qy) p[ryw
9 rty wy[d'](γ)ty fr'm'y xw γnt'qry mwγy =[
10 '(br)[yžy]nt wy' ¨tr qw sm'ny pn. rty fr'm'y [
11 (m=)[ ](' = q)t sx̣(n)x̣nt 'w zprt '(d*y*) p(r)[y](w)yd (p)[w'dy
12 ¨t[r *](s)[w]c[y[c]](r)[t](y) yw(*n*)[yd]= =[
13]pw'dy. rt[y
14 rty wxr wnt' rty[d] [
15 xypθ db'n w'fx̣d c['nw
16 w'n ms zγ'm x(')[
17 (x*yd*)¨(tr)[=](ʼb)n'ync [
18 r(*t*)[y
19 = =[
20 qt c'(n)[w w']
21 nywq(s)t =[
22 γrbty yty [
23 'rqt cywy(d)[py](*d'*)[r q](t)[
24 s'nt n̰st bntq' rty š[
25 γrf̣ γwbtx̣t (p)rw(q)y q(*w*)[bγw s'
26 rty ms ynm'cy myd'ny w'(n)w w'(b)[qtw]

[a] sic [b] in larger script [c] cf. 23R, note c; for *](s)[w]c[y Hansen has]w=c[[d] photo rt[y](*wxr wn*)t(') (r)t(*y*) [

23V

from all discernment! After you have seen all these wonderful *things which God has performed through His might, will* not your heart which *is blind* be open *to understand His* works? But now, just as He sent *His angel and parted* (5) the mighty river and saved my *weak self, so even* now He will send that angel and repel *from my presence* the flame of fire, and He will show by deed, not by word, *that* all those who *trust in Him will not be harmed by anything* nor even become weak.'

And then the wicked magus ordered that they should (10) *cause* the fire *to burn more fiercely* up to the sky. And *the magus* ordered . . . that they should make the saint go up upon *the altar in the midst of* the fire. And *as* soon *as the saint began to go up and to enter the fire on* the altar *the fire rose up to a great height above the altar* and shouted aloud, and *at a great height it curved* (15) its flame like *a great vault and stood still above the saint's head* so (that) *not* even the *light of the sun reached his flesh. And* that fire *remained above his head for four hours.* And *the saint, singing with a loud voice and praising God, said in his prayer:* (20) 'How *mighty are Thy works,*

27 d'ry γrṭ wrcwnẏt yty wyd's γwṇyt '(*r*)[qt
28 rty 'št'td(')ry 'w xypθ z'wr pr xypθty (b)[ntyty wnwnqyt]
29 qw tw' 'žwyr(n)ẏt šf'r s' yty qw w[yšnty

Lord, and very deep *are Thy counsels!* . . . *And the idiot* does *not* know and *the fool does not understand these* things, because, *behold! Thy foes, Lord, behold! Thy* foes shall perish and *all their wicked deeds shall be scattered'*, (25) together with many praises which *he was singing* to *God*. And also in the middle of (his) prayer he said: '*Thou, Lord,* hast *performed* many miracles and wonderful *deeds in former times* and Thou hast shown Thy might in *the victories* of Thy *servants* to the shame of Thy ill-wishers and to *their perdition* . . .' . . .

24R

(a few lines missing)
5 (*my*d) c'nw '[
6 [d]b'ny qy pr (*wy*)[ny srw
7 rty cn cywy(d = =)[
8 (mwγ)ẏ(š)t[ ] = =[
9 x'nt (q)[y
10 yty x' y =[
11 (')t(r*y db*)'[ny
12 mw(γ =)[y](*ty xw* n*y*xwr)mzt (*rt*)[
13 (m = =)[mwγp]tw yty x' (n = = =)ty d't(b)[rt
14 =[ ]'(z) xw wyšnty xwštr rty[
15 ny](*xwr*mz)t nγwš yty '[w mn' w'xšt
16]'(yny̱)m(r)ty t(y)m [
17](= dyn) cn (s)'(t)[
(the bottom third of the page missing)

24R

. . . (5) just like . . ., *from* the flame which *was arched* over *his head there came out a mighty cry*, and from the *highest point it separated to the right and to the left* . . . the magi . . . those *who were assembled there* . . . (10) and the . . . *before* the flame of fire *which was in all directions. And as* the magus *was running, and those who were with him, and* Nēhormazd *the rad and the rest of the magi, and Burzīn the mōbed* and the . . . judges *who were standing before him, and* . . . *who was* their chief, *in great anger*, (15) *embittered in his heart, he said:* '*O* Nēhormazd, listen *to my words! For if* this man *be left alive* still, *know and see that* the religion *of magianism will have gone* from all *the kingdom* . . .' . . .

24V

(a few lines missing)
5](= = = y)ty xw
6](*q*y) f'[ny](š)nt
7](*n*)yst'ẇ s'
8 p](r mz)[y](*x*)
9 bw]tq'
10](γ'm =
11] = = = = =
12](*wy*n)y žw('*n*)[ ]q.
13] = '(d)yt (w)ẏnmsq [ ] = =
14](š)ẏt yty wyny (pšy)s'[
15](*m*)[wγ](y)št dyw prw n(y)r(x)[n'znt
16] = = = = = = = = = =[
17](dq)y'( )pr(w)'[
18] =[
(the bottom third of the page missing)

24V

'*It seems to me, O Nēhormazd,* (5) *that you too agree in your mind with his error, like Tohmīn the Āyīnbed . . . and the horsemen his companions,* who erred *after his words, and, behold! they are waiting* for the destruction *of their lives as they undergo torment in prison. But,* by the great *fortune of the king of kings, tomorrow at this hour there* will *be much* (10) *for you to wonder at concerning his death, and I shall make him* a mockery *to the sons of his error and an object of fear and trembling to all the fools who wish for* his life, *because, behold! both yesterday and today* I see *many* people *who are preparing to err* and *to go* after him.' *Nēhormazd and* (15) *many* magi with him did not dare *from fear to answer him anything* . . .

25R

1 nẏ ḇnt sqwn (x)[yd 'yšt]m(s)[ny]
2 wy' nẏt bstẏt[ ](by) cn (mz*yx*)
3 xwšywnẏ ydrqrt[a] [ ](*n*y) rxnty
4 sqwn 'ẏc rty xw =[cn](bγ)'
5 ycy ẏd w'xš yty y'(*m*)['ny
6 x' γrf ¨dyt yx=[
7 ycy ẏd w'xš yty c[n bγ'
8 z'wr wntysq mẏ(*d*)['yšt
9 cn w'f mẏθt m=[
10 rty cn ptnwb yt(y)[
11 mẏθ. rty xw pr(=)[ptw]
12 (p)'(z)ny' c'f (x)[cy
(a few lines missing)
15]šm('x)
16 db]t[y]' prw
17](r)ty w'nw
18 (*w*')[bnt]=. qt n'y
19 cn x[b 'wštyty s]ty rty x' ¨tr
20 q[yw s'](s)q (q)[w]s
21 qws[r]ty s(w)ct
22 sq(*wn*)[ ]=m(')c
23 bγ[n'](z)wrtt
24 m[yd c'nw]= =
25 =[ ]='.
26]w
27]=
(a few lines missing)

[a] sic [b] or f[

25R

'. . . *Furthermore, surely those things which he did in prison* were not *done by demons? And why did all those sorcerers not release themselves, nor* even the other prisoners? *But this magus, because* he has been *sent* by the great king Yazdgerd *to do this*, does not dare (to do) anything *for fear of the king*, and he *cannot say openly that* (5) this thing is *from* God, and in (his) *mind he knows that* . . . many people . . . *that* this thing is *from God* and *he has been sent from God and by divine* power he does these *things. Moreover*, for so many days *he has been without water and food*, (10) and from scourging and *from harsh beatings he did not rest even for one* day, and he *bore it all* with *joy. And who can tell* how great *is his* patience *in these pains?'*

And as they were talking together in these words Ādurfrāzgerd called to them in an angry voice (15) *and said to them:* '*Why have* you *kept away from me and why do you prefer to talk* with *one another?' Then they approached him* and *said* thus: '*We were saying to one another about this man* that, behold! since *yesterday he has been standing on the altar* and the fire (20) *does not want to approach him, but circles* to either side, *and those of us who approach* it burns up. *But if it seem good to you order him to descend from the* altar, *so that the fire also* may return *to its place as before.' Then the magus said to them:* (25) . . .

25V

1 [ ]. (p)[=m]'c bγnw swq'm.
2 ('*xw*)sydq('m)[ ](*p*)šys' wytrntq'
3 rty c'nw =[ ]=. rty ywnyd x'
4 ¨tr (*q*)[w fr']m'y xw γnt'qrẏ
5 bnt]qtẏ pš't. rty šy
6]frm'yn.[a] rty cn
7 x](w)šywnẏ qw γnt'qry
8 qw] qnz'γ qθ s'.
9 byn]ty rty šw ws'
10]= γnt'qry mwγw
11 r]ty šy pšt'wn
12 [wnt']= = = = = =m= =[]
(a few lines missing)
16 [b](s)ty[a] q[w pn
17 (y)wnẏd ẇ(*ytr*)[p](*w*)
18 xwrt yty pw c[šnt ptqš]tẏ[b]

[a] +insertion-mark ⋊ [b] in the outer margin by lines 16–18: ˇlz °q

25V

'. . . *Then let him be cast down thence and come down, lest his* staying *on the* altar shall encourage *fools still more and* they follow *his error.'* And when *the saint came down thence* immediately the fire *returned to its place as before.*

And immediately the wicked (5) *magus* ordered *them to bind him like a dog and* to cast *him into* prison: 'And *do not give* him *food and drink until* I order.' And *after a few days* the king *sent orders* to the wicked *magus that he should go to Ādurbāigān* to the city of Ganzag *and bind Tahmhormazd, the marzbān of that place*, and *dispatch* him thither (10) *to the palace with a hundred horsemen. And when* the wicked magus *set out he summoned the chief gaoler* and admonished

19 swq'z y' yw x'[ny]==ry
20 mγw rty '[ysy](x)w
21 šyrqty (p)[y](θ)[ywn nm']cy
22 [w]xr( )[=]=[ ]==
23 (===')[ ]=
24 (qt)[ ]=
25 (w)'(t)[
26 '==[
(a few lines missing)

him and said to him: 'Until I return from where I am going, see that you allow no-one to give any food or drink to that sorcerer and chief of the Nazareans, (15) *but let his life be tortured there in this punishment, while he shall remain* bound, *until I come.' And* immediately *the chief gaoler* went *and did as he had commanded him. And the saint was in prison without* food and without *drink, harshly afflicted by fetters, for two months and six days; and* he was *imprisoned* in one house *by himself until* (20) the magus *should return* and *come from where he had gone, while* Saint *Pethion did not cease from praying to God, but* the sound of *his prayer was heard both by night and by day . . .*

26R

1 žmny'[
2 rty yd(bt)[yq myθy
3 rt yty 'w [
4 yty xwštrt. rt(y)[qw xš'wn]
5 d'rt s'. qt (p)[
6 qywyd bžyq p=[
7 dywyd wy'q qw[rθ
8 'dwrxwrmzt d[wγt'
9 p'tfr's. w'nw y(t)[y
10 p'tfr's b't x(')[
11 s(')t mrtx(m)[yt
(several lines missing)
17 f'š'(m)[w
18 yty w==[
19 tw' s[rw
20 c'nw [
21 t'py[
22 mγ[w
23 pr[
24 x[
(several lines missing)

26R

The magus threatened him and said: 'Tomorrow at this hour *you shall see his face like a corpse cast out in the desert.'* And on the next *day he ordered them to fetch Nēhormazd* the rad *of that place* and the *magi and mōbeds* and chief men; and *he said to Nēhormazd and* to *the other* (5) rulers: *'Go . . .* to that wicked *criminal and make him ascend the desolate mountain where he dwelt, and* in that place where *the daughter* of Ādurhormazd *received her punishment he too shall receive* punishment, so *that . . .* (10) punishment may be *. . . so that* all men *who see shall be terrified' . . .* (15) *'. . . From that day when I* sent *you to fetch him I have known your apostasy from the religion of magianism. But your impiety will return on* your *head, in that your evil deeds also stand before you* (20) as *also before him.'*

And immediately he gave orders, and they took the seal *from him and deposed him from his authority. And* the magus *ordered Mihrburzīn, who had been made šahrdibīr* in *these days and had been sent to him from the palace, that he should go with him . . .*

26V

1 pr](χ)snt
2]( )dbtyq
3 r]t(y) '(γ)'znt
4 nys](t) n' wn' tγw
5 my]d yw sfr'cy
6 w]dy šw'. rty

26V

And when they reached *that place where he was to be crowned* again *they all approached him . . .* and began *to persuade him, saying:* 'Do not *destroy* (5) *your life in this torment, O man, but only say this* one word: *"I am not a Christian"*

7 qw w]yšnt s' pr[a]
8]= x' mntγrb'qt
9 s]'t x' šm'x xw'nt
10]= mẏd c'(nw)
11](*wyšn*)[t]
(several lines missing)
16]='(z)
17]t qt
18](q)'m.
19]( )wynẏ
20](b)r'.
21](ty)
22]s'.
23]=
24]θ
(several lines missing)

[a] +line-filler

and, wherever you wish (to go), go there and *live.' And the saint answered and said* to them with *courage: 'Do not act foolishly like* fools . . . all your . . . (10) . . . as . . .' . . . (15) . . . that . . . shall . . . his (20) . . . to . . .

27R

1 š]n pwš. rty w'(s)t(y) (y*xy*pθ d)[sty']
2 y](t)y (q)w t'(fs)' [bγ]' [ ](='=*c*)[y](q)[a]
3](nγw)š 'w m(n)'(n)γ'd'(*mn*' p)c(w*q*'n)[b]
4]=t 'dmyty nm'(cq)'n qy qw[][c]
5](x)š'wty b'( )cn[d] x(y)pθ'wnt cn xypθ
6 t](w)' xypθ(*nyz*)'wr bnty. rt(y) tw'
7](= =)cn tw' x(y*p*θ) γw'(nq)r(y) (rm')
8](= =)pc'y (s')[ ]= (tγ*w xyp*θ'*wn*)t[e]
9]. rty m[s p](r)pry(q)ty
10 n' q]'m. pryẏc [y]t[y 'w mr]t(*x*)m(y)ty yw(x)nw.
11]= tw' nm'cq'n x' rw'n zprty'[f]
12]= ydyw(yd)xw'cy p(')rycnt x' r(*w*)cp'n[g]
13](ty) cn myẏθ( )qw (my)θ (*s*)' w'ňw[c]
14]= = wrn'. r(t)[y](xw) (z)prt ('ḏy)
15 'w](š)tyty swq'(*z*. r)ty ydbt(y)q
16] qw rwcp'n s' m't šy dw'
17]= w(nt)'(*r*)[w]c(*p*')n (myẏ)d c'nw yty xw
18]=t p(w= =)[h] š[y](r *bž*)'xw(*q*)
19 w'nw w'b]'(*z*)[ ](nγ*w*š) (y)t(y) xwtw b(γ)'
20](q) (*c*)[n]tw' r(*my*)
21](= *s*)[']('*n*ty)d(s)ty'(. r)[ty][c]
22 šyr](*q*)t(y p)ynms' yd(*yw*)yd
23 š](w) ms wẏd(m)ẏ(θ p)'(*r*ẏ)[c](*n*)t(.)
24](γn)t('q)ry mwγy rty šy( )[ ]
25]=t. rty (š)n ''qwc(*n*)t pryw[n](*t* =)[ ]
26]=t m'tnt. rty (w*nnt*n)t([i] *x*' *rw*)c(*p*')[n](t)
27]rty 'γ'z xw z(p*r*)t ('*d*ẏ)m(ẏ)d
28 γ](*w*)bt(*y*)'(y)ty b't qw (t'f)[s']
29]=[ ]=[ ]ny(z)'wr γr(y)w[.] (m)'[t]

[a] not (z'rc)[nw](q) [b] (*q*) very small, like a w, the whole word being squeezed into insufficient space [c] the last letter extended to fill the line [d] to be deleted [e] (c)n in the margin [f] (l') (?) in the margin in cursive script [g] sic [h] possibly p(w*xq*) or p(w*xy*); there is hardly room for p(wxnq), p(wx'y) or p(wx'q) [i] not (wntn)t

27R

As soon as his ears and nose fell on the ground the saint picked them up and kissed *them* and placed (them) *on the palm of* his *hands and said: 'Thanks* (be) to Thee, O *merciful God, that my ears have heard Thee!* Listen to my prayer, *receive* my entreaty *and* the offering of *these* members which (5) *I offer* to *Thee, and* be reconciled, Lord, with Thy *sheep and also have mercy on* Thy weak servant; and Thy . . . by Thy sinful people . . . for the profit *of Thy flock. And Thou*, Lord, *who dost not eat the flesh of calves* and *also art not pleased with the blood* of other (10) *animals*, renounce *the* blood of men! *Lord, Thy sacrifice and* Thy offering (is) purity of soul *and cleanliness of mind.'* The executioners left *him* in this pain . . . from day to day so *that perchance he might abandon his* faith, and the saint (15) remained standing *all night in prayer.*

And on the next *day Mihrburzīn gave orders* to the executioners that *they should cut off* his two *hands; and* the executioners did as *Mihrburzīn commanded. And in that amputation the saint suffered* very painfully *and bitterly, saying:* 'Listen, Lord God, (20) *to my prayer and accept my request for the preservation* of Thy people . . . *out of* the hands of *their enemies.' And they hung those limbs which they had cut off* in front of *the saint* on that *crag which was above his head. And* that day also they left him *in this pain.*

And on the third day the wicked magus *ordered,* and (25) *they severed* his *arms from his shoulders* and hung them on those *trees which* were *on the crag above him;* and the executioners did *everything as he had commanded.* And the saint began *to say* these *words with joy:* 'Praise be to *Thee, my Lord Jesus Christ, who hast made worthy my* weak self that

27V

1 [ ]=[ ] 'w tw' yγw pr x(y)[pθ
2 [x](*w*)tw' y(γ)wy[a] xwc(*y* m')x bwcny yty [
3 prbnty[b] (xy)pθ'w(n)t b(γ')[z](ʼr)cnwq'[
4 ('yžn)b't yty pcγryṯ yty šw't =[
5 pr ršty'q nšydty xcy. (r)ty šw [ny mnc'y cn]
6 γwbty' ptẓyd. rty m(s) (*š*)tf'rm[yq myθ
7 (mγ)w (p)x(ws)t(y)wy' (s)'t ('dm)ṯ. (*rt*)[y
8 (*ywx'y*)nt wy'( )š(')[ny](t) cn z'(nw)qty = =[
9 r[w]c(*p*')[nt](')[ ](= ='= . r)t(*y* xw) =[
10 x' (m)n' (*p*)['dt pr ršt](*y*')q w'š(*t*)[ynt
11 ptwydmq' (qw *b*γw) s'. rty qyw[s'
12 z'(n)wq. yty (x)w wyspy zb'q 'z'n(t)[q'
13 xcy pr(m)γwn s(f)rywn. rty qyw [s' 'z'n]
14 prs(*q*y)'(q)w '(yq)wn pn '(*my*)n. . rt[y
15 rt(y *pn*)c(my)q(*m*ẏθ) fr'm'y(x)[w
16 (wy)' pryqt 'd(m)ṯ rty pnt 'ẏs[nt
17 [w](*y*)' pt(š)t'nt cn šwn sryṯ. rty (p)[r
18 (*p*')tfr's nẏ 'nc'(y)t x(w *w*)[y](*n*)y (zb)'[q
19 (*prym*y)d fr(γn)' '(w *wy*)spw '[dmy
20 (*fr*γ)n' pr( )wnt'(y)ty pr šq'[ft
21 ms ẓyd (my)θ (*p*')r[y]c(n)t( )[
22 pwxs(t)[y](*'w*[c] *wyn*)ẏ s(rw) [r]t(*y*)[
23 (sr*w*)p(*wx*)'(y.)rty 'γ'(z n)m(')[c brt
24 z(p)r t('ḏy)rty w'nw w'(b)'(z.)xy(*p*)[θ'wnt
25 (pr*t*)[w](' ds)tw(*y*)ty wyspy z'wr c'(*nw*)[
26 (pt*s'*c)y. ptγ(w*š* ')w γw'(n)qr(*y*)t(y) [wxr
27 [nγ'](*d*)'(.)rty qθ(r*y* tγ)w xwtw bγ' (p)[cγ'z
28 [ ]= =['y]('*m*)c[y](*q* ž)mny'. rty (qθ)[ry
29 [ ](*x*)[y](*pθ'wn*)t rty pc(q)wy'(ms)[q
30 [qt](*p*)cγ'(z w*y*)' s't w[y](*šnty*)[

[a] not ywγy [b] or prqnty; fr- less likely [c] not [b](')[t] as in Sundermann 1975, 67 n. 50

Fragment a

R?	*1	]=[	**V?**	*1	](*y*)t(y) (p)[
	*2	]t[=]( )xw (f=)[		*2	q](θ)ry zw š(wq)[']
	*3	]q 'ẏsnt =[		*3	](ʼw)x(r)mq'[

Fragment b

R?	*1	]'y q(θ)[	**V?**	*1	]= = =[
	*2	] pr= =[		*2	]t rty [
				*3	](')[ ]=[

27V

I might bear Thy yoke upon my *two shoulders, for sweet is* Thy sweet yoke, O our saviour, and *very light is Thy* burden, O merciful Lord God. *Blessed is he who* is worthy that he may bear (it) and go *to cultivate Thy vineyard which* (5) is planted upon truth!' And *they left* him *that day also in this pain, while he ceased not to* render praise.

And again *on the* fourth *day the wicked* magus *ordered them* to cut off all (his) limbs. *And the executioners approached that* they might sever the shins from the knees; *and the* executioners *struggled hard to cut his shins. And the saint said:* (10) 'My *feet* have stood *in rectitude, and in the church* I shall render *praise* to God, and to Him *every* knee *shall bow,* and every tongue *shall* confess *that Jesus Christ* is *Lord* over all creation. And to Him *be glory and honour and* thanksgiving for ever, Amen!' And *they left him again that day.*

(15) And on the fifth day *Mihrburzīn* ordered *the executioners to cut off his* remaining limbs, and *they* approached *and severed* the thighs from the haunches; and *in all this grievous* punishment *his* tongue did not cease *from praising the Lord. And* so *they hung* every *limb which they had cut off him* (20) thus on the trees and on the crags *and rocks which were there. And* they left *him* again that day.

And on the sixth day Mihrburzīn ordered them to cut off *his* head. *And when the executioner came that* he might cut off *his* head the saint began to pray . . . and said thus: 'Lord *God, Thou* (25) in *whose* hand *is held all creation* and all power since *Thou createdst and* orderest *everything,* listen to the *voice* of sinners *and receive the supplication of penitents,* and now, Lord God, do Thou *receive the*

Fragment c

R?	*1	]= =[ ]= =[	V?	*1	]=[ ]t[
	*2	]št qy (p)[		*2	]= dbtyq. [
	*3	]rny pty=[		*3	](m)s dym[yd
	*4	'](wt)'(q)[		*4	]= = rt(y)[

Fragment d

R?	*1	]= =[=](= =)c(y). (p)['](c)[γny	V?	*1	]t[ ]=[ ]=t[
	*2	](*y*d p)'tfr's yt[y		*2	] w'nw y't yty =[
	*3	](= *y*ty *p*r)[ ]= =[		*3	](' ''žwnt[a] nys)[t[b]
	*4	]= =[		*4	](=t)[

[a] almost certain [b] or (nyγw)[š?

Fragment e

R?	*1	]t=[	V?	*1	]= =[
	*2	](mr)t(x)myt. r(t)[y		*2	](y)' yty pr =[
	*3	]= my(d) c('*n*)[w		*3	]= =š=[

prayer of Thy servant in this *last* hour and . . . Lord, and I pray *and beseech Thee, Lord,* receive the *desire and petition* of all those *who call upon Thee in my name* . . .' . . .

Commentary

1R

1*ff*. Syriac: 'The witness of the triumphs of Mār Pethion, the holy martyr from the land of Balāšfarr, and of Mār Ādurhormizd, a mōbed from Behšābūr, and of Anāhīd the mōbed's daughter; they who in the ninth year of Yazdgerd, king of the Persians, received death for the name of Christ in the land of Balāšfarr, in the 759th year by (the reckoning) of the Greeks, which was the 223rd year of the kingdom of the Persians. And it was the ninth year of Yazdgerd (II), son of Warhrān king of the Persians—the Warhrān who ruled eighteen years after Yazdgerd (I) his father, even that Yazdgerd (I) who reigned twenty-one years—and he governed his kingdom in great tranquillity . . .'

The Sogdian as reconstructed differs from this Syriac version in the order of the phrases and other details, and also in a couple of matters of fact. The phrase *p'rs '(w)t(')[q]* (line 6) seems to translate Syr. *'tr' d-p̈rsy'* 'land of the Persians', transferred here from a later mention of Behšābūr in Bedjan's text, 565.9. The preceding word *[=] =špwr* is therefore more likely to be *[wy](x)špwr* than a corrupted form of Walāšfarr (Syr. *blšpr*). The mention of Wehšābūr in its turn implies that Ādurhormazd and/or his daughter Nāhīd were named in the missing part of line 5, since the only connection of Wehšābūr with the story is that it was their home town.

In the Syriac title quoted above Yazdīn is not mentioned because he was not a martyr. The translator or copyist who inserted his name appears to have overlooked this fact, since *(yz)d[y]n* (line 5) is probably a subject of one or both of the verbs in lines 5 and 7: *[mr](c)[ ]pšγšd'rnt*[4] (~*qblw mwt'* 'received death') and *[wy](c)'(wq)y' θ(b)rnt* 'bear witness' (i.e. 'be martyred', cf. Benveniste Etudes 2, 132). It does not seem likely that it is a genitive: 'Yazdīn's *disciple Pethion.*' Another error of fact is found in line 10 where the words 'he who reigned twenty-one years' are applied to Yazdgerd II instead of to Yazdgerd I; but the Syr. text is ambiguous, as will be seen if the additions in parentheses are removed from the translation above.

There is another copy of the title and incipit of the story of Pethion, in Syriac and Sogdian, on f. 120V. See below, p. 185.

7–12 Hansen's reading of the missing fragment is probably not to be relied upon. I cannot restore line 7 as read by him. In line 9 he reads and restores *[sr]dy'*, which is impossible since *srd* is a heavy stem. A restoration *[sγ]dy'*—this spelling is found at 68V.11—is excluded by the fact that *sγty'*, *sγt'*, etc. are not used for counting years. My emendation is based on the words *l-mlkwt' d-p̈rsy'* 'in respect of the kingdom of the Persians' in the Syriac, but is naturally quite uncertain. The word for '200', S. *(')δwy 100*, is *dwyst* in

[4] Past stem **pšγšt-* <*pcγšt-* (contrast *ptcγšt-*, 7V.29, on which see below, p. 54). For *č* becoming *š* before *γ* cf. perhaps *rwšγψnw*, 68R.7 (see below, p. 148). The change of *č* to *š* before *k* and *t* (GMS §§ 259–260) is more widespread in C. Sogd. than elsewhere (e.g. *štf'r* 'four', C2 passim; *pšq(w)ry* (obl.) 'fear', C1.226, for which see the facsimile in Hansen 1941, 361) and occurs also before *p* in C2 (e.g. *pšp'ty*, C2 passim).

ST ii/1.82. Here, too, one expects **dwystšywystmyq*, but it is possible that the old dual ending (cf. Av. *duye saite*) was preserved in compounds as Hansen's *dwysty°* suggests.

10 *xšy-*: first attestation in C. Sogdian of the verb corresponding to M. *'xšy-* (GMS § 1086) and B. *'xš'y-* (VJ 1094).

12 *wys'q ~ šyn'* 'peace' as in 54R.23. Formally *wys'q* could belong to either of the roots *sak-* (on which see Gershevitch AHM 256–258), but neither seems to be used with the preverb *wi-* and it would require some semantic juggling to produce the meaning 'peace' (< 'agreement', to [2]√*sak-*, or from 'submission', to [1]√*sak-*?). Semantically a derivation from **wys'y* = MP *wisāy-* 'rest' is less problematical; *wys'q* would then be an analogical formation based on *pš'q*: *pš'y* etc. (GMS § 980).

12–13 Syriac: 'by the embassy of the shepherd of truth, Mār Mārutā, bishop of Mayperqaṭ, who was sent . . .' The word ending *]wdn* is written in large script in pale ink and must therefore be a proper name (cf. above, p. 16), but it is impossible to deduce either from the context or from the Syr. text whether it is the name of the bishop, Mārutā, or of his bishopric. Both possibilities are considered below, p. 67.

24 *mwγ'nc dyn* = S. *mwγ'nch δynh* (Schwartz STSC 53).—For the tentative restoration *nyx 't[brtpd]* cf. *nyx brdpd*, ST ii/1.44 (on which see Henning BBB p. 104 on f56).

25–26 Syriac: 'And when Yazdīn had been at school with the magi for a few days he left the school of the magi.' The translator understood *kd hw'* not as 'when (Y.) had been' but as 'while (Y.) was' *(c'nw swq'z)*. This does not make sense in conjunction with *qlyl ywmt'* 'for a few days', but a different reading of these words is in fact implied by the Sogdian *m[yθ](qry)t*, since *myθqry* does not mean 'day' stricto sensu but 'period of days, time'. The Syriac text underlying the Sogd. may therefore have had some such wording as: 'And while Y. was at school with the magi in those days'.—Apparently *'t* (26) stands for *rty* introducing the main clause. Also *pr z'y* can hardly mean what it appears to mean ('on earth'). As a mere guess one might suppose that in the underlying Syr. text *šbq* 'he left' was preceded by the 'infinitive absolute' *mšbq* for emphasis (cf. Nöldeke, Syr. Gramm. § 295) and that *pr z'y* is the translator's attempt to reproduce this construction. In that case *z'y* will be a pres. inf. or verbal noun from the root *zā-* 'to leave' (Skt. *jáhāti* etc.), the unprefixed equivalent of *wz'y* discussed below (p. 96 on 51R.21).

27 *zynbrt ~ mrbyn'* 'foster-parents'. Cf. M. *zynyy*, B. *zynyh* '(in) trust', S. *zynβr'nch* 'female ward' (Gershevitch 1962, 90).—The following words ('because to him . . .') are not found in the Syriac text.

1V

5–6 Indirect speech in the Syriac.

7 The compound *m't-ptry* (M. *m't ptryy*, M894i, 6; B. *m'th 'BY'*, Dhy. 7 and passim) is shown to be an **-aka*—stem by the pl. *m't-ptryṭ* in C5, see Sundermann 1974a, 251 n. 116. Since this dvandva is undoubtedly ancient (cf. ibid.) it is an exception to the statement (Gershevitch 1945, 148): '*Dvandvas* only seem to occur as translations of foreign *dvandvas*.'—*x'nyṭ*: Syr. *byt* 'house', which is here redundant (*byt 'bhwhy* = *'bhwhy* 'his parents'), is translated literally.

9 *'fšn'qc* or *'xšn'qc ~ rhybwt'* 'trepidation'. Since the suffix *-'qc* forms abstracts from pres. stems (cf. GMS § 1002; similarly Chor. *fčwr'kc* < *'fčwr-*, cf. Henning Dictionary 17a, with MacKenzie's Supplement 38a), one may deduce from this form a verb **'fšn* or **'xšn*. The latter could be a variant (cf. GMS § 436) of S. *'nx(')š* 'withdraw(?)' (Sogdica 34; Dhu. 210), but the meaning does not seem to be very suitable. For **'fšn* (to which might belong M. *'fšnyḫ* of unknown meaning, BBB b84) it is tempting to compare the verb *fšn-* 'be terrified, cower' (see below, p. 99) < **fra-šan-* 'tremble', but the initial *aleph* presents a problem. Prothetic *aleph*, perhaps taken over from an original in Sogd. script (cf. below, p. 67)? Double prefixation (*ham-fra-*, cf. Skt. *sam-pra-*)? The root *fšan-*[5] seems semantically inappropriate.

10 *qθt'* = *qdt'*, ST ii/1.22, on which see GMS § 496.

11 *pry'wr*: the meaning is established from 64V.26 and 68R.8, where *pry'wr* translates *ḥdry* 'around' and *ḥdr'* 'surroundings, suburbs'. Here *(p)[rywyd]pry'wr* paraphrases *tmn* 'there'. Cf. also M. *pnc pry'wr tmy*, M118i, R11. In the Mug document B8, R11, *prywr* very likely means 'the surrounding area', in which case it may be a scribal error for *pry'wr*. Beside *pry'wr* < **pari-ā-wāra-* one finds **pari-wāra-* in Skt. *parivāra-*,

[5] Cf. Av. *vī-fšānaya-* 'wrench apart', Chor. **šfš'ny-* 'smooth with a file' (Henning, Z. V. Togan'a armağan, Istanbul 1956, 434, cf. MacKenzie 1970, 553), NP *šāna* 'comb', etc. Dr. Gershevitch, who first drew my attention to √*fšan-*, points out that Baškardī *šen-* 'separate, tear asunder' (quoted by Emmerick SGS 103 s.v. *beṇ'-*) may also belong to √*fšan-*. One should perhaps not even rule out a derivation from *fšan-* of Khot. *beṇ'-* 'split, tear', *patāṇ-* 'wrench(?)' (Emmerick BSOAS 30/1 [1967], 90; Bailey KT6, 155), Sogd. B. *ptš'nkh* 'instrument of torture' (= C. *ptšng* etc. 'cross'), M. *p'šyn* 'he trapped' (GMS § 616), M. C. *pšn-* 'a trap' (loc. *pšny'*, M5690, R headline; acc. *pšnw*, C3 = Tiii99[2], R19; not previously recognized).

Av. *pairi.vāra-*, Aram. *parwārā* (Mayrhofer EWA II, 217). In MP *parwār* (~Inscriptional Parth. *prybr*) **pari-wāra-* and **pari-bāra-* may have fallen together: cf. M. Back, Die Sassanidischen Staatsinschriften, Tehran-Liège 1978, 246 (Acta Iranica XVIII).

13 *'t*: not wanted here, perhaps a misreading by Hansen.

18 *γd-* 'wound'. Like its Chor. cognate *(')γδ* (Henning Dictionary 20; MacKenzie BSTBL II, 102), the Sogd. word is feminine, nom.-acc. C. *γd'*, C4=TiiB27a, V12, 13 (Lentz), B. *γδ'kh*, P7.64. Ultimately this word may be related to both Skt. *gadā-* 'club' (Av. *gaδā-*) and Skt. *gada-* 'illness' (Av. *gaδa-*).

25 *[w]'st*: literal translation of Syr. *sm* 'placed' in the phrase *sm b-rʿynh* 'put (it) in his mind'='decided'.

25–27 Indirect speech in the Syriac.

3R

10 The pres. stem *py'm* can be either trans. 'heal' (e.g. KG 530, 535) or intrans. 'be healed' (e.g. P3.15, 88, P7.133, P19.4). Although the Syriac here uses the passive *mtḥlm'* '(your daughter) will be healed', I assume that *py'mtq'* in the Sogd. version is trans., because C2 has an intrans. pres. stem *pyms-* not found elsewhere. Other C. texts avoid the ambiguity of the pres. stem *py'm* by using the periphrases *py'm byr* 'receive healing' (ST i, C1) and *py'm θbr-* 'give healing' (C1).

3V

4–6 Syriac: 'And when she had asked and learned the cause of her illness and the cause of her recovery she said: "If it is so, I shall not go elsewhere." '

9 *w'nw qt*: the awkward syntax is due to literal translation from the Syriac: 'If you are able **to make** this girl **that** she be healed . . .'='If you are able to heal this girl . . .'

11 *nm'cq'n*: see Benveniste Etudes 2, 129–130.

12 'to the girl's father': the restoration is doubtful, as the Syr. has only 'to him'.

13 *šqrty*: sg. also in the Syr., the pl. subject being treated collectively as a sg.

4R

1–3 Syriac: 'Acknowledge Christ to be your protector from all evil; for how will you profit by these transitory gains which do not endure, which at the end of life prepare torment for their possessors?'

3 *yw'r 'xwd('wny)'[wn']~'l' 'tḥpṭy* 'but strive . . .' On *'xw-d'wny'* see Schwartz STSC 149, and below, p. 96.

5 C. *'wr'θy* 'companion'=S. *"wr'δk*, A14.8, *"wr'δ'k*, MMPS 44.

4V

3 *[ty]m*: not in the Syriac text, but it would be an appropriate addition between the two synonymous verbs 'threatened' (~Syr. *dḥl* and *gzm*).–*z(w)[y]dm' wnt'*~*gzm*. Since *zwydm'* 'threat'[6] is quite well attested, the point of importance here is the negative one that Hansen's reading of this word as *z[m]zm'* and his interpretation of it as the only Arabic loanword in Sogdian, which has been accepted by Benveniste Etudes 2, 116 and by Schwartz STSC 53, is quite unjustified.

4 Syriac: 'Where have you seen mōbeds' children who were Christians?'

5R

29 *[d]stwb'r[y yty]qty'wy*: cf. S. *δstβry kty'wy*, Schwartz 1974a, 260. On *dstwb'ry* see Benveniste Etudes 1, 315–316; Schwartz 1975, 197 n. 7. The abstract *qty'wy* is probably not formed from the pp. *qty* 'made', since the form to be expected would be **qt'wy* (cf. GMS § 1083), but rather from the noun *qty'*+redundant abstract suffix (cf. GMS § 1111 on C. *bγy'qy'* etc.). Similarly *sty'wy* 'being'<**sty'* 'id.' (Sundermann 1974a, 234–235), cf. B. *'sty* 'id.', P2.1056.

5V

29–30 The expression *šf'r qty wn-* is attested apud Sundermann 1981, Text 24, V3, 5–6.

6R

1–2 The identification of the small fragment containing R1–2, V1–2, which might seem unduly speculative, is based on the following considerations: (i) in view of *yty*, V1, the fragment must belong to this text

[6] On which see Gershevitch, Abaev Festschrift 63–64.

(cf. pp. 65ff. below); (ii) it must come from the top of a page, since part of the upper margin is preserved; (iii) the approximate point at which each page of the Sogdian will have begun may be calculated from the Syr. text, and thus it is possible to be almost certain that there is no other folio of this text which the words surviving on this fragment would suit.

13 *ršt'*: see Sundermann 1974a, 224.

6V

13 *pr dwy (f)cmbdt*: these words are not in the Syr. text here, but cf. *b-tryhwn 'lm'* at Bedjan 568.5–6. The f. (and n.) form *dwy* occurs nowhere else in C., M. or B. Sogd. (except in the fossilized compound *(')δwy 100 = dwyst*, cf. above, p. 50) but is common in the Mug texts (*'δwy* alternating with *'δw*).

15 *mzyxs'qy'*: see Schwartz STSC 120.

16 *]pytc ~ 'bijd'* 'perished, lost, wretched'. If *pytc* is a complete word, f. of **pyty*, Dr. Gershevitch suggests that it may be the same as Parth. *'pyd(g)*, Pahl. *apēdag* 'lost, stray' (for which see MacKenzie, Mémorial J. de Menasce 273–280).

7R

16 Syriac: 'and let uncleansed barley-bread be given to him, the bread of dogs preserving the soul (i.e. enough to preserve life).'

17 With the noun *ptnwb ~ ngd'* 'scourgings' (also at 25R.10) cf. the verb *ptnwb ~ √ngd* 'scourge', ST i, 6.12.

21 *('wn)'ſc ~ br 'tr'* 'compatriot'. Cf. Chor. *hm-n'fc* (MacKenzie 1972, 56). For the suffix *-c* one may compare that of Av. *hama.nāfaēni*.–The name of Ādurhormizd's compatriot is given in the Syr. MSS used by Bedjan as *byr-bwrzyn* or *qyr-bwrzyn*. A Mih-burzīn, who may or may not be the same, appears later in the tale (Hoffmann Auszüge 65–66).

23 *[p](rp)*: the existence in C2 of a verb *prp* was first pointed out by Schwartz STSC 30, who translated 'seize'. The meaning may be more accurately stated as 'lead, bring, fetch, draw, take': though 'seize' is implied in certain contexts it is not the meaning of the Syr. verbs used.[7] Thus redefined, *prp* can hardly be separated from a synonymous verb attested in all three scripts, C. and M. *pryp*, B. *pr'yp*.[8] (The identity of *prp* and *pryp* was in fact already taken for granted by Livšic JDP 26.) A similar variation in spelling is found with C. *ptbd-* = C. *ptbyd-*, M. and B. *ptβyδ-* 'feel, recognize, understand', which, however, is a light stem.[9] For the omission of a *-y-*, even where it represents a vowel which was originally long, there are a number of examples in C2: *wšnt(y)*, passim; *(p'r)c*, 1R.26, *p(')rcnt*, 94V.30; *nyxrs*, 1V.16; *ṇst*, 23V.24, 31R.10, *ṇst'wy*, x 3; *[p](t)zrtq*, 51R.29; *(p)tq(š)t*, 51V.4, *(p)t(q)šc*, 94R.16; *sptyt* 'white', 57R.6, *sptw* (~ *nhyrt'* 'bright'), 57R.8; *ḅs'*, 60R.24, *ḅqp'r*, 60V.30 (some further instances cited in DQ 95, are in fact misreadings in BST ii).

23–26 Syriac: '. . . and said to him: "O my brother, Ādurhormizd, (most) excellent in our religion and beloved of my soul! Listen to my word, because you know clearly that for me there is not (anyone) honoured like you . . ."' Apparently *xš(n)qy* corresponds to *ršy* 'chief, (most) excellent'. On *ptγny'* see Schwartz 1969, 446 and STSC 18, 151 and revisions 11.

28 *ſn'yš'*: in view of the light-stem inflexion *-'y-* must here stand for a short vowel (cf. below, p. 67). Hence *ſn'yš- = [fnĕš-]* 'be deceived, err' (3 pl. impf. *f'[ny](š)nt ~ ſ'w* 'they erred', 24V.6) < **fra-nasya-* (whence also Khot. *hanaśś-* 'go astray, fail', Emmerick SGS 146, Chor. *šnš-* 'go astray', MacKenzie 1970, 549–550) beside the transitive *[fnēš]* 'deceive, lead astray' (C. *fnyš*, S. *βn'yš*) < **fra-nāsaya-*, cf. intrans. *nyš-* beside trans. *nyš* (GMS § 549; Benveniste Etudes 1, 325). The translation here is not quite literal (Syriac: 'do (not) walk in the empty words of the Christians').

7V

17 *[wyd]p't(y)* 'this time' (cf. Henning BBB p. 102 on f7) is appropriate to the context here, but not expressed in the Syriac.

18–19 Syriac: 'so that the others also may be terrified and not imitate him.' If *byṇtt* is correct, the Sogd. may have had some such phrase as: '. . . and he may not bind them by his sorcery.' But it may be a

[7] Namely: *dabbar*, *ayti*, *ngad* and, in 94V.22, either *nsab* or *dbar*. Comparison of 39V.1 and 40R.23 shows that *prp* is synonymous with *šqr-* = B. *'šk'r-* 'lead, bring, take'. C. *šqr-* translates *dabbar*, *awbel* and *qarreb*.

[8] C. *pryp* generally corresponds to *dabbar*, *dbar*, once to *awbel*.

[9] It cannot therefore be derived from **pati-baudaya-* with GMS § 187, but rather from **pati-budya-* (> *patβĕδ-*, perhaps by way of **patβweδ-*, cf. GMS § 186). Cf. Av. *būiδya-*, Skt. *prati-budhyate*.

mistake for *by̥nt*, 3 pl. opt. of *b(w)-*, thus: '. . . *and* they may *not* be *like him*', in agreement with the Syriac. See further below, p. 67.

22 *ptš'dty'*: M. *ptš'δty'* has been translated 'joy' (GMS § 269). In C2, however, *ptš'dty'* always translates *nyḥ'* 'rest' (with the special sense 'gratification' in 61V.30). The pl. *pc'dty̥t* in C88 = Tiii100, R(?)3, will very likely correspond to the Syr. pl. *nÿḥ'*, which has the sense 'pleasures'. As Dr. Sundermann has suggested to me, C. *pc'ty'* in the phrase *pc'ty' byr* ~ *'ttnyḥ* 'be at rest', ST ii/2.23, is probably a late form of *ptš'dty'*, with reduction of *δt* to *t* (differently Benveniste Notes 3, 225). Beside this noun there exists an adj. *ptš'dy* (indecl.) 'at rest': *ptš'dy wn-* ~ *√nwḥ (ap'el)* 'give rest' (C2), S. (Christian) *'wrmty 't pc'δy* (12700 = TiiB28, R8), compar. *pc'dy̥-str* ~ *nyḥ*[10] '(more) restful' (ST i, 5.2 = C5/10i, R2, apud Sundermann 1974a, 246). In preference to the etymology offered in GMS (which involved a phonological irregularity, cf. below, p. 163), Dr. Gershevitch now proposes a derivation from **pati-šad-* (*√had-* 'sit').

24 *[cw y]ty ny̥ (w')[n](w) xwptr m't (tw)' m'[t]* ~ *l' hw' hkn p'' hw' lk kd* 'Would it not thus have been more becoming for you, if . . .' The pret. *m't* is an over literal translation of the Syr. pf. *hw'*, which is here used in a modal sense. Similarly *(f)[ry](š)tc (s)t(y)* in the next line does not convey the modal force of the pf. *'štdr*. For further similar instances see below, commentary to 13V.25, 39R.9 and 60R.20.

26 *dwrt[' yty](')[r(ywn)* ~ *šlm'* 'peace, kiss of peace, greeting'.

27 *pcy̥c(y)qt*: cf. Benveniste Etudes 1, 301 with n. 15.

29 *ptcγšt-*: either (i) = B. *pc'xšt-*, P6.25, secondary past stem of *pa(t)čaxš-*, with *γš* < *xš* as a result of the tendency discussed below, p. 67, or (ii) for *pcγšt-*, past stem of *pačγāz*, with intrusive pseudo-historical *t* as an over-reaction to 'demotic' *pšγšt-* (on which see above, p. 50 n. 4). A further possibility is that the two past stems *ptcγt-* and *pcγšt-* have been confused (presumably only in writing).

11R

16 *m(γ)wn* 'whole': not in the Syr. text.

18 *xš'(w)n* ~ Syr. 'crown'.

21 *q'rp(θ)t* ~ *šbÿl'* 'paths'. The correspondence *q'rpθ* ~ *šbyl'* is found again at 11V.25, probably also at 52V.10 (cf. pp. 99–100 below). The meaning 'way, path' also suits M. *q'rpδ(δ)*, Tale B, 20, 24, of which Henning's interpretation as 'mould, cobbler's last' < Gk. καλοπόδιον must therefore be abandoned. This is evidently the same word as the *krpty* which occurs in the two Aram. inscriptions of Laγmān as the name of a road *('rḥ')*, rightly explained by Humbach, Eine weitere aramäoiranische Inschrift der Periode des Aśoka aus Afghanistan, in: AAWLM 1974 Nr. 1, 15, as **kāra-paθi-* 'army road, caravan road' (differently Delaunay Kratylos 21 [1976], 86); cf. OE *herepæþ* 'highway' (pointed out to me by my brother Patrick Sims-Williams). The meaning in Sogdian, however, has degenerated to 'path, track', contrasted in both the M. and C. passages with *rāθ* 'road'.

OIr. **kāra-paθi-* may also be indirectly attested by the OP month name in Elamite 'Karbašiyaš' (= OP **Kāra-paš(i)ya-*?), with which Benveniste, Titres et noms propres en iranien ancien, Paris 1966, 86, has compared the personal name 'Karbattiya' (= **Kāra-paθ(i)ya-*?). I owe to Dr. Gershevitch the ingenious suggestion that MP *kārdāg* 'traveller' may be an abbreviation (of the type seen in Skt. *nápuṁsaka-*) for **kārbehdāg*, thus corresponding to Sogd. *rāθtāk* '*courier' (on which see Henning Tales 477 n. 3).[11]

tys: hardly 3 sg. impf., since the context (Syriac: 'the roads and paths which enter and leave the country') would demand rather a 3 pl. pres. Possibly *tys* is the noun 'entrance' known from B. Sogdian, thus: 'which *provide* entry *and exit* . . .'

23 *p(r)ẉyd[y]* = S. *prwyδ'k*, P13.24.

24 *(mrγ)t*: for the meaning 'forest' < 'meadow' Dr. Gershevitch refers me to Fränkel, Revue des études indo-européennes 1938, 405ff.

25 Indirect speech in the Syriac.

27 *bwn* 'cell': S. *βwn* 'hole, pore' as C. *bwn'* 'cave' (for which see Schwartz STSC 28): S. *βwn'kh* 'hole'.

28 *[cn]( )m(y̥)θt py(n)ms(tr)* ~ *mn qdm yÿmt'* 'some days before', literally ‚vor Tagen'. Cf. *cn žmnw pyrnmstr*, probably translating *(mn) qdm zbn'* 'aforetime, of old', C22 = TiiB15a, i, V4–5 (Lentz).

[10] I.e. *nīḥ* (participle), not *nyāḥ* as stated by Sundermann.

[11] Another compound in *°paθi-*, Dr. Gershevitch suggests, may be Parth. *šybḫ* (on which see Henning apud Boyce BSOAS 14/3 [1952], 446 n. 6).

11V

18–19 Syriac: 'And, my Lord, Thou hast even made worthy a worshipper (f.) of demons and a pourer (f.) of libations to the element creatures . . .' For the reference in the Sogdian to Nāhīd as a sheep cf. 'shepherd' and 'sheepfold' in the lines following.

20 Syriac: 'above and below'.

21 *š'nwx* 'excellent', see Benveniste Etudes 1, 311. There is no corresponding word in the Syriac here, unless it translates *šryr'* 'true'.

24–25 The Sogd. slightly expands the Syr. which has merely: 'And now, my Lord, that I have known the way of Thy lordship and the path of life . . .'

12R

2 *yqšy(š)t* ~ *ḥṭwp'* 'ravishers'.

3 On *fcmrz* 'to snatch', which here and elsewhere translates Syr. √ *ḥṭp*, see Schwartz STSC 16–17.

4 *stw(r)ty*: copyist's error for **'swrty* ~ *nyb'* 'teeth', see Schwartz 1969, 446. On B. *'ns'wr* 'tusk' see Bailey KT6, 407 and Gershevitch AHM 219.–*wbnty*: see MacKenzie CSN 123 with n. 24.

5 Syriac: 'my father and my nurturer'.

6 On the meaning 'prayer' of C. *pcwq'n* see Schwartz STSC 109, 153.

7 *pšp'ty*: see Benveniste Etudes 3, 50 n. 2 and Sundermann 1981, 201 n. 364.–*pr t(rγ)w p(θ)f'r* ~ *msrhb'yt* 'precipitately'. Cf. Sundermann 1981, 202 n. 371 and Sims-Williams 1981b, 195b.

9 *bn žmnw* ~ *'dm' l-'dn' sgy''* 'for a long time'. Another probable occurrence of *bn* 'long' is at 31V.27. According to Benveniste Etudes 1, 319, *bn* = *pn*, but the usage is different as well as the spelling. One should rather compare Yaγn. *van(n)*, Yidγa *väṇ*, Munǰī *vän'ᵊʸ* 'long'. Since Sogd. *bn* is a heavy stem its final *n* must derive from a cluster beginning with *r*. This is also indicated by the phonology of the Yidγa-Munǰī forms. However, **bar(V)na-* offers no OIr. connexions. For *väṇ* etc. Morgenstierne plausibly reconstructed **baržn-* (IIFL II, 258). As Dr. Gershevitch and Professor Schwartz have persuaded me, there is no sufficient reason to exclude the same etymology for the Sogdian word, though the details of the development are not clear; Prof. Schwartz suggests that *Vržn* became *Vrn* (> *Vn* according to GMS § 356) while *Vžn* remained.

sfr'cy 'speech' is etymologically identical with the better-attested *sfr'cq*, B. *(')sβr'ck'*, as pointed out by Schwartz (on the etymology and semantics see Schwartz 1974a, 261 and STSC 126 with revisions 8, 11). The form with *-k* usually means 'thing, matter', but probably also possesses the sense 'speech', e.g. in SCE 179, Vim. 42 (~Chin. 語 *yü* 'speak, speech, etc.' in both passages) and ST ii/4.19.

10 *pr ''ntqy'* ~ *nkp'yt* 'modestly', also *''ntqy'* ~ *nkpwt'* 'chastity, modesty', 102R.17. Professor Emmerick refers me to Khot. *ānata-* 'protected, secure', with which Bailey (e.g. Dictionary of Khotan Saka, Cambridge 1979, 18) has already linked B. *''n't* 'carefully, exactly'.

11 *q't'sq*: error for **q'mt'sq*, historical spelling for *q'mtsq* (= *kāmtăsk*, see Sims-Williams forthcoming a) as earlier in the line.

12 *''m'c sw(q)'m*: not in the Syriac, unless *nqy'* (*neqyā* 'ewe') has been translated twice, the first time as *naqyā* 'ready'.

16–17 *(p)r c'wnc [frγn']* 'how?'. For the restoration cf. 12V.3. Since *frγn-* is f., *c'wnc* may be the f. of an interrog. adj. **c'wny* or **c'wnty;* probably the latter, which would be an **-aka*–extension of Av. *čyāvant-*. In general initial *čy* became *šy* and ultimately *š* in Sogdian as in Avestan or Persian, but where the group *čy* came into being too late or was preserved too long to undergo the first part of this change it developed instead to *č*. This is proved by the prefix *c'-* 'how', correlative to *w'-* 'so', which must be compared with OP *ciyă-*: *avā-*.

16–18 Syriac: 'How may her glorious appearance and her beautiful face be delivered over in a short while to destruction and laceration at the hands of the magus and of those who are gathered with him?' Line 17 contains elatives, probably corresponding to 'glorious' and 'beautiful' in the Syr. If *šw ny(š)ntq'* paraphrases *ḥbl'* 'destruction', *(p)wtqy prwy(r)ntq'* may correspond to *bwsbs'* 'laceration, tearing to pieces'. C. *pwtqy* is also known from 69V.18, where *(p)r( )zyn qy xwrm xcy 't pwlqy bwtq'* translates Syr. *b-'pr' d-bl' w-b-hbb' d-ntr* 'with dust which wastes away and with flowers which wither'; hence, *pwlqy bw-* ~ *bl'* 'crumble, waste away' (hardly ~ *ntr* 'drop, wither', since the Sogd. version omits the image of the flower). Neither passage is a sufficiently literal translation to provide an exact definition of the meaning of *pwtqy*. Formally it may be compared with B. *mwrtky* 'death', a comparison which suggests a derivation from a past stem **pwt*, presumably, with Benveniste Etudes 1, 327, to √*pū-* 'rot, stink', cf. also Yaγn. *púta* etc.

Dr. Gershevitch suggests that the meaning may be 'disintegration' (from 'rotting'). The meaning of the verb *prwyr* (which also occurs in another difficult idiom, cf. p. 95 below) is unknown.

27 *(p)rsym ~ tb't'* 'demand; (legal) enquiry, judgement; punishment'. Either 'enquiry' or 'punishment' would suit the present context, but the latter meaning is required for *prs'ym*, P2.1149, listed between *'βzy* and *γnp'wnh*. MacKenzie's connexion with B. *prsm* 'to massage' (BSTBL II, 51) seems more attractive than a derivation from *√fras-* (as in *p'tfr's* etc.), which would leave *-ym* unaccounted for.

29 *[p](r) mšyḫ' n'(m)* ~ Syr. 'in the strength of Jesus the healer who gives life to all'; V30 *šym'r cw db't ~ kd mtrn' d-dm* 'thinking that perhaps . . .' The correspondence between Sogd. and Syr. is not exact in either case, but the identification of the tiny fragment which contains these two phrases is made almost certain by the preservation of part of its bottom margin.

12V

1 *['n]c(')ty (m't)* ~ *šr' hw'* 'resided'. For *'nc'ty* in this sense cf. C1.174 with Henning's comment (apud Gershevitch 1946, 182).

2 *'symy*: see Schwartz 1969, 447.

3 *pwrn c(wq)*: compound, as indicated by the fact that the light stem *cwq-* (=S. *'ckw-*, GMS § 385[1]) is not inflected. Whether *pwrn*, which occurs only here in C2, is a heavy stem like its equivalent *pwn* in Texts 2–13 or a light stem like B., M. and C. *pwrn-* in all other MSS cannot be distinguished.–*wyšq* 'noble', not in the Syriac. Cf. Gershevitch 1942, 99–100; 1969b, 175–177; Benveniste Etudes 1, 330; Szemerényi 1970, 505–506.

6 The scribe has left a blank for the name Tohmīn, presumably intending to fill it in later.

9 *mxwb(yn)t ~ gḫw* 'they poured forth, rushed out': see Schwartz 1970b, 293.–The phrase *ryty nyžynt y' n'x(y)dy* can only mean 'they went out to meet Nāhīd' (Syriac: '(they rushed out) from before him'), cf. C36 = TiiiB100, R(?)8–9: *c'nw xwt'w bγy žynt 'y(st)[ ](qw)t'fs'( )ryty*[12] *nyžy t(γw)p[r]( )xws(n)ty'* 'When the Lord God's messenger shall come, go out joyfully to meet (him)'. This adverbial use of *ryty* must be compared with its more frequent employment as a postposition (=Yaγn. *rīte*), e.g. ibid. R(?)11–12: *fwx'r(x)cy . . . pr xwsn(ty' ny)[žy] xwny žynty ryty* 'Blessed is [. . . who shall go out] joyfully to meet that messenger'.

11 *n'xyd xwtyn*: the people mistake St. Anāhīd for the goddess 'Anāhīd the Lady *(bānūg)*'.[13] The Sogd. translation shows clearly that *ḃnwg* (Bedjan 588 n. 1) is the correct reading of the Syriac rather than *ḃzwg* (accepted into Bedjan's text and into Thes. Syr. Suppl. 51b).

š[y]'t(r): the exact meaning cannot be established from this passage, since it is translated rather freely, but in 61R.26 *šy'tr* translates *mytr* 'better, more excellent' in agreement with Henning's etymology (apud GMS § 1294A) whereby *šy'tr* is comparative of *šyr-* 'good'.

12–13 Both *nyšw(x)'y'z 'w (x)[y](p)θ d(y)m* and *'w cšmw nyšz'z* seem to translate the single Syr. phrase *l' mrym' hwt 'ijnyḫ* 'did not lift up her eyes'. Hansen therefore translated *zryš'z* as ‚*richtete'. Benveniste Etudes 1, 330 proposed instead «blessait», comparing B. *zr'yš*,[14] but such a colourful metaphor is intrinsically improbable and receives no support from the Syriac. The assumption of a *zryš(-)* 'raise' is further supported by *(zryš'z)*, 94R.2, ~ *√rwm, ap'el* (as here). Ultimately this verb may belong to Germanic **rīsan*, caus. **raizjan* (Pokorny IEW 331), English 'rise, raise, rear', to which Bartholomae AiW 1530 related Av. *irišant-*. Other possible connexions would be with Av. *uz-aršta-* (suggested by Dr. Gershevitch) or with *√raz-* (+*s*–extension).

13 *(p)r (='w)rcyq cšmw* 'with averted (or downcast) eyes'? Not in the Syriac. Possibly to *√wart-*.

18 *pty'd*: see Schwartz 1970b, 292 n. 12.

19 *wγš*: see below, p. 67.

13R

Preliminary note to ff. 13 and 17: as stated above, p. 14 with n. 12, these two folios were identified by Professor Schwartz, many of whose as yet unpublished interpretations have been incorporated (in abbreviated form) in the commentary below.

15 *qrxny'tqy'* ~ Syr. *kwrhn'* 'illness'. Ādurhormazd's illness is described in the preceding passage, where

[12] +*ZY*, line-filler, as often in the MS of ST ii/6 (omitted in the edition). Cf. the fragment C41 = TiiB25(e) cited by Schwartz STSC revisions 8, where also *ZY* occurs at the end of a line.

[13] Cf. Henning BSOAS 13/3 [1948], 603 n. 1, and Boyce BSOAS 30/1 [1967], 36–37.

[14] On which see below, p. 99 n. 28.

it is stated that 'his brain dried up (*ybš*, also 'became stiff, numb')' (Bedjan 589.16); hence cf. NP *karax* 'numbness', Yaγn. *karáx*, B. Sogd. *kr'(n)x (ny'tk)* (Schwartz).

20–23 The phrases '*and* obey *you*', '*to go* after him' and 'who *am great* amongst this people' are not in the Syriac. These restorations are therefore quite hypothetical.

24–25 Syriac: 'I will make you above all the noblewomen who are in the kingdom.' Since it is a little awkward for the mage to refer to the kingdom as 'my kingdom', perhaps one should restore *[yzdqr]t xyp(θ)* 'Yazdgerd's', but this construction is not frequent in C2.

26 *y̰zwt* ~ Syr. *drwny'* (hapax legomenon). Schwartz emends to **drwn-yz* = Pahl. *drwnyz* 'priest who consecrates the *drōn* bread' and derives the Sogd. word also from √*yaz-*. Wrongly Thes. Syr. Suppl. 94b (on the Syr.), and Benveniste Etudes 2, 119 (on the Sogd.).

27 *pdbṛy* ~ *pyggh̄'* (read **pygh̄'*) 'infantry' (Schwartz).

13V

15 *[fr](m)'(y)* 'please' (+past inf.) = B. *prm'y*, M. *frm'y* (GMS §§ 1208[1], 1682). Not in the Syriac, but certain in view of the following inf. The restoration of the next clause is very doubtful (Syriac: 'and do not delay in empty, profitless words').

17 *yx(wn)[q-n'-ptz'ncy]* (voc. f., cf. Sims-Williams 1979b, 339) ~ *šṭyt'* 'fool'. Cf. *ywxnq-ptz'ny* 'discerning'.

18 *'γty̰* 'equal', used as a predicative adj. Cf. C67 = TiiiB61[1], V13 (in STSC 46) *'γty xc(y)* ~ Syr. 'is able' (wrongly Schwartz); C3 = TiiB8, R18, *ny qtnt 'γty pr( )by'p* 'were not able to grasp'. On B. *'nγty* (Vim. 44), *'nγtk* (VJ 1241) as predic. adj. 'equal, able' see MacKenzie BSTBL II, 16. The assumption that this is a special usage of the adj. *'γty* (usually 'whole, complete') seems to be contradicted by the pointing *-y̰*, which can hardly be reconciled with an **-aka*–stem, suggesting rather that *'γty* is the obl. of a noun (probably OIr. **ham-gati-*) functioning as a predicative adj. (cf. the similar usage of *'nc'ny*, *'s'qy*, etc.). Possibly then *'nγtk* in VJ is the scribe's error for *'nγty*, cf. *zy'm'k* for opt. *zy'm'y* in VJ 244.

20 *pγṣ̌y* 'betrothed': see Schwartz 1974a, 259 and STSC revisions 12.

21–23 Syriac: 'Which of the mighty men of power that (were) in the world was not subjugated and bound under his lordship?'

24 *qt'* 'if' (~ *'lw*). For a possible explanation of this unique form see below, p. 66, n. 20.

25 *ptγwš('zsqw)n*: the only example of the dur. āz-impf. in C2, but no other reading seems possible. As so often (see commentary to 7V.24) the Syr. construction (act. part. + pf. *hw'*) has been taken in its most common sense (imperfective past) rather than in that required by the particular context (irrealis, cf. Nöldeke, Syr. Gramm. p. 299).

27–28 Strictly speaking, *cw* (~ Syr. *mn* 'what?') agrees with *'y̰c* (~ *mdm* 'thing') in line 28, but I have not been able to reproduce this construction in English.

28–29 The clause 'or take anything of His' seems to be the translator's elaboration of *w-l-dylh* '(do anything to Him) and to His', perhaps influenced by St. Anāhīd's earlier statement (Bedjan 591.1–2): *l' 'nš mṣ' d-nsb mnh mdm* 'no-one is able to take anything from Him'.

29 *wny̰nnt*: hardly a genuine form, perhaps the result of a momentary hesitation between *wny̰nt* (opt.) and *wnnt* (subj.), cf. below, p. 66 n. 19, on *wnntnt.–w'fy̰d žmnw c'nw cš(m)y nm(zy')* ~ *qlyl* 'a little, merely'. For the phrase cf. Pahl. *čašm-mēzišn* 'twinkling of an eye, moment'. The ambiguous B. form *nymz'y*, Vim. 201, has been assumed to contain *ž* < *ǰ*, but the present instance clearly attests **mai-z-* beside the **mai-ǰ-*, **mai-č-*, **mai-š-* known from other Ir. languages (Schwartz).

30 *pr wšp'n žmn(w)* ~ *qlyl'yt* 'shortly, soon' (Schwartz). Cf. the adj. *wšp'n-žmncyq*, TiiB15c, R9 (Lentz).

14R

9 For *špy̰[š-]* 'to serve' beside the usual *spyš-* cf. S. *špyšδ'skwn* beside *'spyšynyt* in 13401, R5–6 (cited on p. 156 below), C. *špš'n* (1 sg. subj.), C28 = [Tiii]B, V23. Also Frag. 11.6 should probably be read *'š(pyš)[-*. For *s* becoming *š* in the vicinity of another *š* see GMS § 450; another instance in C2 is *w(y)šqyšty*, 31R.22.– Though the restoration *špy̰[š-]* is thus entirely plausible, it receives no support from the Syriac, the whole of the page being translated exceptionally freely.

11–13 Syriac: 'Woe unto old age when it becomes silly and infatuated with folly and ridiculous, as you too, with all your old age, are talking folly!' Thus *[xy]pθ zrw'* probably translates *sybwtk* 'your old age'; the preceding *[xy]pθ* makes it in any case unlikely that *zrw'* is here 'Zurwān'. On *zrw-* f. 'old age' see Sims-Williams 1984, 209 with n. 23.

19–24 Syriac (immediately following the passage translated in the preceding note): '(As for) the fire and the lights, which you have brought forward, O chief of the magi, how can you say that they are sons of Hormizd who were conceived and given birth by Hormizd (and) by no-one else?[15] For we see that all those (creatures) which beget and give birth bring about the birth by the union of two, male and female, and not by one of them alone. And if Hormizd by himself, that is in his belly, conceived them and gave birth, then he is a hermaphrodite like his father Zurwān, as the Manichees say . . .'

19 Sogd. 'without a female' ~ Syr. 'by no-one else' (cf. n. 15 below).

20 For *'bnt* 'union' cf. Sundermann 1975, 62–63.–The 'three children' are the sun and moon ('lights') and fire.

14V

20 *mwrstc b'* ~ *'ṣṭb'* 'was immersed, moistened, drenched'. A possible connexion might be with the words discussed by Burrow BSOAS 33/1 [1970], 47–48, which attest IE **mer-* (and extensions) and **mreu-* (only with further extensions) in a similar sense. Alternatively, Dr. Sundermann points to IE **meu-*, **meur-*, etc. 'to be moist' (Pokorny IEW 741ff.).

22 *rty pr z'y(rw)šy*: not in the Syriac.

17R

1 *(r)ty šw štf'r pdfnq by₍ntnt* ~ Syr. 'while her hands were tied like a dog'. The expression *sgdys* 'like a dog' occurs several times in this text with reference to a particular method of tying up criminals, but it is not clear exactly what is implied. In addition to the details given in the present passage, cf. Bedjan 595.7: 'bound like a dog, with her head between her knees.' It may be implied that the feet and hands were tied together, as one might hobble a dog by tying its four paws together, cf. perhaps also Bedjan 574.8–9 (where the word *sgdys* is not used): 'Bind . . . by his hands and by his feet and by his neck . . .' In that case *pdfnq* would probably mean 'limb' or some specific part of the four limbs, e.g. ankles and wrists. The syntax of the Sogd. is not clear. The phrase seems to combine *šw by₍ntnt* 'they bound her' and *štf'r pdfnq by₍ntnt* 'they bound (her) four *pdfnq*-s', whether by an ad hoc contamination or as a genuine double-acc. construction. Conceivably *pdfnq* is a compound of **pad-* 'foot' and **θanga-* 'tendon' (B. *δnk*, P2), with *f* < *θ* in contact with *δ*, cf. *θbr-* 'to give', where *θ* < *f* in contact with *β*. The meaning would be close to that of Paštō *lindaī* etc. (< **θankti-*(?), Morgenstierne EVP 37) 'bow; sinew at the back of the knee; ankle-bone, ankle; one of the bones of the lower part of the arm'.

4 Indirect speech in the Syriac.

17V

1–2 Syriac: '. . . they would not allow anything at all to approach . . ., not only men and animals, but not even the birds of the sky.'

2 *brwz'ny₍*: thus correctly read by Hansen. The proposal to read **frwz'ny₍* (Schwartz 1971, 412) is founded on the assumption (GMS § 1039) that B. *βrwz'n'k*, the only form of this word previously known, is a pres. part. of *frwz-* 'to fly'. The C. form indicates a different etymology: **abra-wazāna-ka-* 'sky-flying', with **abra-* 'sky' as in Khot. *ora-*, Oss. *arv*, M. Sogd. (with added abstract suffix) *βry*'.

4 *t(w)dy* 'heap, mass' = B. *twδ'k* (Benveniste Etudes 1, 329).

5 *(w)y'(n) prθncn* ~ *mškn'* 'tent'. On *wy'n* (LW from MP) see Hansen AO 30 [1966], 98–99, and Schwartz 1974a, 260.

f. 19

The identification of this small fragment is based on the following considerations: (i) the forms *rty* and *yty* show the fragment to belong to Text 1; (ii) the survival of part of the top margin shows it to belong to the top of a folio; (iii) 19V seems to be the only page in ff. 1–29 where the words *[p]rywyd yty d(b)'t* 'because perhaps' (~ Syr. 'because they were thinking: "Perhaps . . ."') would fit in the first line.

The chief point of interest in this fragment is the tentatively restored *[ptb]styt* (~ **B** *ydy'yn* '(well) known, notable') in R1. The verb *ptb(y)d-/ptb(y)st-* is always used intransitively in C. Sogd., the object (if any) being introduced by *pr*: one would therefore expect the pp. to mean 'knowing, learned, sensible', as indeed it often does (e.g. 31R.17 below). B. *ptβyδ-/ptβyst-*, on the other hand, is sometimes trans. (e.g. Dhu. 126; P2.1220). One is therefore entitled to suppose that the pp. could also have a passive sense '(well) known'.

[15] Bedjan *'w mn 'nš 'ḥryn* 'or by anyone else'. Nöldeke, who translated this passage in the Festgruß an R. von Roth . . ., Stuttgart 1893, 37, noted that the text is corrupt. My translation is based on the emendation **lw* for *'w*.

22R

8 *šyr*: cf. GMS § 1209.

10 *byntyt*: apparently opt. mid. ('precative', cf. Sims-Williams forthcoming a). Also *tny't* could be opt. mid. (if *y'* = *yē*), but in view of the co-ordinated subj. *wn't* in line 9 it is more likely that both *tny't* and *byntyt* are intended to be subjunctives. Error for *byntt*, therefore.–*b'msy'* = **b'm* **sy'* 'dawn appeared' (the Syr. here has merely 'it was dawn', but cf. the phrase *nhr ṣpr'* 'dawn lit up' a few lines before). A form of *b'msn* 'dawn' may have been in the scribe's mind when he ran the two words into one.

15 *bntt*: mistake for *bnt*, see below, p. 67.

16 *myḏ xwcq*: on this use of *myd* see Sims-Williams 1976, 57 n. 66.

22V

1 *yst'*: the only forms of the 2 pl. pres. indic. of *x-* 'to be' which have been noticed elsewhere in C. Sogd. are those derived from the 'stem' *iš-* (on which see Gershevitch IIJ 18/3–4 [1976], 38): *'yšt'* (C5, C14, C23), *'yšθ'* (C3 = TiiB35, V18). Corresponding to S. -(')*sδ*(*δ'*) < **sθa* (GMS § 763) one would expect **st'* in the language of C2 (-*θ'* having been replaced by -*t'*, cf. Sims-Williams forthcoming a). This form is actually attested in 104R.4, but as impv., therefore possibly deriving directly from OIr. **sta* = Vedic *sta*. The pres. indic. *yst'* may have been created by the addition of *st'* to the 'stem' *y-* of *ycy*.

8 *rty pryḏwydnt w'nw wy'[q . . .]* ~ Syr. 'and they looked and saw where the water was still and deep'. Although it is not quite impossible that *w'nw* is here, as usual, the adv. 'thus', it seems more likely to be the acc. of a demonstrative adj. qualifying *wy'[q]* (cf. *w'n'kw wy'(')ky(h)*, SCE 207, P2.468). The gender of *w'nw* presents a problem, since elsewhere in C2 one finds *w'n'* as acc. f. and *'wnw* as acc. m. Possibly *w'nw*, which combines characteristics of both forms, is to be regarded as a specifically neuter form, an explanation which would account well for its use as an adv.

11–12 Syriac: 'that river was divided from its place.' For *pšyṇty b'* Benveniste Etudes 1, 329 proposed the translation «fut retenu, immobilisé», without etymological support. A different interpretation is indicated by *p(šyn)tyṇty* translating *p̄lg'* 'parts', 66V.11, and by the phrase *cnn tnp'r 'pš'ynt 'pš'ynt wn'nt* «de son corps on fait des morceaux(?)», P2.1212, which may be compared with *rty šy ZKwh yxwnky yxwnky ZKh s't CWRH yxw'y'n βwt*, P2.300–301. If *'pš'ynt* = *yxwnky*, then *[d](w)' pšy nty b'* may be synonymous with *yw(xs)t(y)[b']*, the single phrase of the Syriac being translated by two in the Sogdian (cf. above on 12V.12 to 13), though the restoration *[d](w)'* cannot be regarded as certain (cf. perhaps *d(w')[p](šy)[n](t)[y]*, 66V.10; in C5/15i, R22 = ST i, 66.22, Syr. *plgwt'* is translated by a similar compound, possibly to be read *dw'(pwx') | (qy)'*, cf. Sundermann 1975, 65). Etymologically *pšyṇty* 'part, piece' may belong to a pres. stem **pšynt* < **apa-sčandaya-*, cf. M. *('nšynd')[mndy]* ~ MP *[ʿ](šqn)yšn* 'breaking', Sogdica f16. Cf. further S. *pšknt*, Frag. 6.8, which should perhaps be translated 'division' rather than 'havoc' as in Sims-Williams 1976, 50 n. 37, and NP (Syr. script) *pšyṣḥ'* 'pieces' (unconvincingly explained in Sundermann 1974b, 447 n. 42).

13 Sogd. 'began to form a heap' ~ Syr. **B** 'gathered and stood', **C** 'solidified one above the other'.– *qθ'm* (also in 23R.4) ~ *šwr'* '(city) wall'. This word is well attested in unpublished C. texts: C3 = TiiB13 + TiiB57[3], V30; C81 = TiiB46[a], V9; pl. *qθ'mt*, C28 = TiiB66, R(?)9. If *qθ'm* is a compound of *qθ*, its second element need not be **'m* but can as well be **θ'm* or **d'm* (cf. *knδβr* < **kanθ-δβar*). Dr. Gershevitch suggests **d'm* 'wall' < **dāma(n)-*, cf. B. *δ't* 'id.'.

14 *p'šwš* 'dried up' (~ Syr. **B** 'went down', **C** 'vanished, was dispersed'), see Benveniste Etudes 3, 99–100.

15 *šqwpn-*: see Benveniste Etudes 1, 329 and TSP 180.

16 *zγ'm*: the expression *zγ'm* + negative was studied by Benveniste Etudes 1, 329, who concluded that it means 'absolutely not, not at all', equivalent to B. *przγ'm . . . L'*. This is not quite correct. In C2, *zγ'm* is always accompanied by *ms* 'also' as well as by *ny* 'not', the whole expression translating Syr. *'p-l'* 'not even'. In addition to 31R.5, for which we have no Syriac, the following examples can be quoted:

(1) *(m)s zγ'm zγ'r ny wyt b'z* (here) ~ *'p-l' tlylwt' škyḥ hw' kl klh* 'not even (a trace of) moisture could be found at all';

(2) *ms zγ'm x(')[. . . ny . . .]* (23V.16) ~ *'p-l' nwhrh d-šmš' nbrṣ* 'not even the sunlight might reach . . .';

(3) *ms ny zγ'm yw nγ'm* (60V.5) ~ *'p-l' ḥd ʿdn'* 'not even for one moment'.

Since the Syr. to (2) and (3) contains no word directly corresponding to *zγ'm*, the latter must be considered an integral part of this Sogd. formula for 'not even'. However, in view of the meaning of B. *przγ'm* etc., one may suspect that it fulfils a double function in (1), translating also *kl klh* 'at all'. Etymologically, *zγ'm* must mean 'finally, at last' (a meaning which may survive in L68.8 and L69.3, cf. Sims-Williams 1981a,

238) and be the same as Chor. *'wzγ'm* 'end', Parth. *'zg'm* 'exit, departure, death'. For the semantic development cf. Khot. *tcaramu* 'even' (to Skt. *carama-* 'last'), Pāli *antamasō* 'even' (to Skt. *antama-* 'last'), Italian *perfino* 'even'.

zγ'r ~ tlylwt' 'dampness, moisture' = NP (Asadī) *zaγār* 'moist soil' (LW < Sogd.?), cf. also Chor. *'zγr-* 'leak, ooze' (MacKenzie 1971a, 85). The root of these words may be that of Skt. *galati* 'drips' (thus Schwartz 1970b, 292 n. 12) or that of Skt. *ghárati* 'sprinkles' (cf. Horn GIP I/2, 69). Benveniste's connexion (Etudes 1, 329) of *zγ'r* with Av. *žγar-* is problematic both formally and semantically.

17 *md'snt ~ tmhw* 'they wondered', indicating a pres. stem **'d's* with preverb '- < *ham-* rather than from *ā-* as assumed by MacKenzie CSN 124; verbs with preverb *ā-* have imperfects in *ā-* (not *mā-*, which is a later form, cf. GMS § 612[1]) throughout C2. Two different past stems are attested by *](')d'tyṭ* (~ *tmyhyn* 'wondering, amazed'), 65V.29, and S. *'nδ'st'k*, KG 463. The latter is evidently a secondary formation from the pres. stem, cf. MMP *'y'st* from the pres. stem *'y's-*, BBB p. 108, and Khot. *stāsta-* (beside *stāta-*) from the pres. stem *stās-*, SGS 129, 134–135. To the synonymous pres. stem *wyδ's* only the secondary past stem **wyδ'st* is attested (by Parth. *wyl'styft* and *wyl'styn*, less certainly by the tr. pret. *wyd'sd'rnt*, ST i, 30.2, which may be formed directly from the pres. stem). Benveniste's suggestion (VJ p. 96) that *wyδ's* is connected with Oss. Dig. *des*, Iron *dīs* 'amazement' has been generally accepted, but none of the etymologies offered for this group of words is free from semantic or formal problems (*√dais-* 'show', Abaev IESOJ I, 363–364; *√dars-* 'see', Szemerényi HMV 422–424; **√dās-* 'stiffen', Bailey, Abaev Festschrift 41). The newly attested pp. *'d'ty* suggests that the root may rather be **dā-* (possibly the weak grade of a *seṭ*-root **dam-* or **dan-*) with inchoative suffix. Cf. perhaps Gk. θαῦμα, θέα, θάμβος, ταφών, usually derived from IE **dhā-u-* but according to Szemerényi Glotta 33 [1954], 238–266, from **dhem-* or **dhen-*, whence also Germanic *dumbas* 'dumb'.

23R

7 The verb *'br'z/'br'zt* (= Chor. *'βr'z-* 'be lit, burst into flame', Henning Dictionary 10) is used in C2 both in a literal and in a metaphorical sense ('be enraged', cf. Sims-Williams 1976, 69 with n. 103, for semantic parallels).

7–9 Syriac: 'he did not cease from his tyranny (**B** + of mind) (**C** + and cruelty), but was (**B** + very) threatening and embittered. (**B** + And he began to prepare something else for the trial of the saint.)' The Sogd. agrees with **B** in the addition of the second sentence, though the translation is not close. Syr. *mdm 'ḥryn* 'something else' supports my reading *ny' qmp* (as two words) 'another (f.) *qmp*' rather than the palaeographically equally possible *ny'qmp* (thus Hansen; discussed by Schwartz STSC 147). C. *qmp*, S. *knph* first came to light in a fragment edited in STSC 146 (C30 = TiiB17a + C68 = TiiiB61[3], V(?)5, 9). As translation Schwartz offered two suggestions, of which he preferred the first: (1) 'attack', (2) 'stratagem'. Etymological support for 'attack' is given in STSC 147–148 and Schwartz 1969, 445–446. However, it is now clear that the second suggestion was correct, as indicated by the unambiguous contexts of S. *knph* 'ruse, stratagem, expedient', L69.6, 24, and *knph xwpyh* (hendiadys) 'id.', L68.4–5, 7 (see Sims-Williams 1981a, 238, and cf. 14000 = TiiD77 (A1), 1: *t'w'nt'k knph ZY xwpy'kh*). Dr. Gershevitch compares NP (Asadī) *kambūra* 'stratagem'.

12–14 Syr. **C**: 'those waters began to be discharged downwards, while the voice of the din of the waters was heard at a great distance.' The Sogdian probably agrees more closely with **C**, in view of the extent of the lacunae, than with the longer version in **B**. Hence *t'wnty* will not correspond to **B**'s *'šyn'* 'mighty', referring to the wall, but may qualify *rwt* 'river' as at 23V.5.

17 *nyṃyθ w'(dy qy)r'n* 'to the south' ~ *l-grbyy'* 'to the north'! For the redundant use of *-w'dy* 'place' cf. the similar use of *wy'q* in the expressions *wsprd wy'q*, 40V.16, B. *wysprδ wy''ky*, SCE 545; *wdy wy'q*, ST ii/1.55, C1.169, 173; S. *kwrδ wy'ky*, GMS § 1517.

23 *[w](y)twr qw pn ~ 'dm' l-'mty* 'how long?', literally 'until when?'. Cf. Sims-Williams forthcoming d.

24 On *y'tqwny* 'sorcery' see Sims-Williams 1981c, 19.

27 On *db'n* 'flame' see Benveniste Etudes 1, 323 and Gershevitch 1971, 290 n. 47a.—On the shortening in *'ym* < *'y'm* see STSC 59–60 and revisions 5; cf. also Schwartz 1974b, 407.

30 *znt yty qwr*: the Syr. has merely the one word *sm'* 'blind', which the Sogd. translates with a hendiadys (cf. Sundermann 1975, 64 n. 22, on C. *smynt* and B. *'ntkwr*). For *znt* < **uz-anda-* 'very blind' cf. the formation of Av. *us-aγa-* 'very bad', possibly also B. *'sk'rn'k* 'stupid', if this is a derivative of *krn* 'deaf'. Note too Paštō *ṛūnd* 'blind', from **ṛta-* (= Av. *aš-*) + *anda-* according to Morgenstierne EVP 66.

23V

6 *(f)stxwm(p)t(q)['] ~ √dḥq, p'al* 'thrust or cast out, reject'. On the etymology of *fstxwmp* see Sims-Williams 1983, 49.

7–8 Syriac: 'and by these deeds He will show that all those who trust in Him will not be harmed by fire or by anything else.' The Sogd. expands somewhat. For the phrasing of the Sogd. as here restored cf. the expression *ḥw' b-'bd' w-l' b-m̈l'* 'show by deed and not by words', Bedjan AMS II, 300.20.

10 *'(br)[yžy]nt ~ √dlq, ap'el* 'light, kindle, inflame'. The restoration is quite uncertain since **'bryž* (=Chor. *'βr'zy-*), caus. to *'br'z* (=Chor. *'βr'z-*), is not otherwise attested.

12 Hansen's reading *''t=[ ]w=c[* suggests a form of *''tr w'c* 'to set on fire',[16] but the fire is already alight at this point in the story. For the restoration here proposed cf. *''try swc'y δynh* as a designation of the Manichaean religion in the Karabalgasun inscription (Hansen, Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne 44/3 [1930], 31).

13 *pw'dy* 'altar': see Benveniste Etudes 1, 302; Schwartz 1971, 412; 1974a, 261; STSC 137 and revisions 8. Cf. also C3=TiiB13+TiiB57[3], R16, *[bγ](')nyq pw'dyt qy sqwnt pr frwm.*

16 *w'n*: error for *w'n qt.*

17 Syriac: 'And it (=the fire) remained (**B** stood) above him (**B** his head) about four hours.' Hence *[n](')b)n'ync* for **n'-bn'wync* 'immobile' (neg. pres. part. f. agreeing with *'tr*)?

20–21 *[w'] nywq(s)t ~ ṭb 'm̈yqn* 'very deep'.

29 *'žwyr(n)yṭ ~* **B** *sqwr̈'*, **C** *'ylyn d-sqryn* 'ill-wishers, malignant enemies; those who look askance, regard malignantly, envy, grudge, spite', pres. part. of **'žwyr*=M. **''jwyr*, indirectly attested by the abstract *''jwyr''(k)c* (Dr. Sundermann's reading), M127, V5. Apparently from **ā-√jǎr-*. Dr. Gershevitch compares Oss. *dzūrin* 'speak, call', *adzūrin* 'call to, shout at', assuming the same semantic development as in Skt. *ā-króśati* 'abuses, maligns, curses'. Here, too, may belong Khot. *śver-* 'to tell' (SGS 126–127), for which Professor Emmerick considers a derivation from **ǰwāraya-* to be not impossible.

24R

13 *[mwγp]tw* 'mōbed'. Progressive metathesis of *u* (*o*), both to a pre-consonantal position (passim; for C2 cf. Schwartz STSC 56 on *ptyswc'* and Sims-Williams 1981c, 19, on *y'tqwny*) and to a pre-vocalic position (examples in GMS §§ 420, 423; for C2 cf. p. 63 below on *yγw-*) is well established in Sogdian. For the extrusion of *u* (*o*) to absolute final position cf. S. *'yw'rδkw, 'yntk'w, m'nkw* (GMS § 423), C. *rync(qw)* (48V.5, see p. 95 below). Thus the forms *mwγptw* 'mōbed' and *s'ptw* 'left' (pointed *s'ptẇ*, 57V.8), which occur several times in C2, may be derived from earlier **moγpot* and **sāpot.* For *poD<paD*[17] cf. *p(<w>)n* (=*pn*), 69R.23; *ymp<w>nt*, 31V.7; B. *ynp'wn(h)*, GMS § 113; *škš'pwt*, P2.435 etc.; *sm'nt-pwtr* (=*sm'ntpttr* 'Samantabhadra'), P7.204; Mug *pwn* (=Arabic ابن), 1/1.2. In forms such as S. *mwγptw* (L68.10, 11), *βynptw* (SCE 255), *škš'ptw* (P6.24) and *δβ'npnwh* (P2.1115 etc.) it would be possible to see the same development as in C. *s'ptw* and *mwγptw*, but the final *-w(h)* need not have any phonetic significance in S. script.

14 These words are not found in the Syr. texts.

24V

7 *(n)yst'ẇ*: for *-'ẇ* as the acc. of stems in *-'wy* see Sims-Williams 1981c, 11–12.

10 If *γ'm=* translates *bzḥ'* 'mockery, disgrace', which is of course quite uncertain, cf. *γmy-* etc. discussed below, p. 167.

25R

4–7 The Sogd. is much longer than the Syr. text, which has perhaps suffered from homoioteleuton (cf. *ycy yṭd w'xš yty* twice in the Sogdian). For *w'xš* 'thing' see Sims-Williams 1976, 64 n. 93.

19 *cn x[* or *cn f[~* **C** *mn 'tml* 'from yesterday' (**B** *mn 'mty* 'from when?', probably a corruption of *mn 'tmly*). One cannot read *p[*, in spite of Mug *py''n'kh* (Livšic JDP 112–113), Yaγn. *piyδn* 'yesterday', B. *'py'rh* 'last night'.

20–21 *(q)[w]s qws ~* **B** *l-kl gbïyn* 'to all sides', cf. *kws kws*, VJ 19b.

22–23 *]=m(')c bγ[n']* '(from) the altar' ~ *mn tmn* 'from there'. This interpretation is dependent on that of 25V.1, where *=m]'c bγnw* may be taken as '(on) the altar' ~ *tmn* 'there'. The C. Sogd. equivalent of M. *βγn-* 'temple' has not previously been noticed. For its meaning here (which may have been modified by the

[16] See Henning BSOAS 12/3 [1948], 605 n. 5 (differently Skjærvø AO 37 [1976], 115 n. 14). Cf. Syr. *√rp', ap'el* 'leave; set light to (a fire)'.

[17] *D*=any dental.

preceding word—apparently the same in both passages, possibly a f. adj. agreeing with *βγn-* n., cf. Sims-Williams 1979b, 342 with n. 40) one may compare Arm. *bagin* 'altar'; for the coexistence of the two meanings in one language cf. B. *βγδ'n'k* 'altar' beside M. *[c](x)wδβγδ'nyy* 'synagogue' (or 'Jewish temple'?) (Henning BSOAS 18/2 [1956], 367 with n. 3).

25V

1–2 Syr. **B** 'that his remaining there be not a further incitement to fools to go after his error', **C** 'profitless is his remaining there, and it will incite fools still more to err after him'. In the context it is scarcely possible that *swq'm* is a 1 sg. form. The Syr. *qwm'* 'remaining' suggests that it is an abstract noun. This is supported by two unpublished C. passages: *cn qlyθ'y swq'my pyd'r*, C4 = TiiB27a, V19 (Lentz); *swq'm xcy. 't[*, C28 = TiiB62d + TiiB25, V23. The suffix *-ām* could safely be postulated as the basis of the extended abstract suffixes *-āmĕ̆*, *-āmč*, *-āmandĕ̆* (cf. GMS §§ 1099–1102) even were it not probably already attested in M. *βnd'm*, C. *bnd'm*.

6 The mark of insertion may indicate that the sentence 'And they carried out his command instantly' (thus **C**; **B** om.) was added in the margin.

9 *ws'* 'thither' ~ *l-qdmwhy* 'into his presence'. Cf. *ms'*, 54V.19, which may translate *lwthwn* 'into their presence'.

11–12 *pšt'wn [wnt']* ~ *√zhr, pa''el* 'warn, caution, admonish'. C. *pšt'wn* (see Sundermann 1981, 188 n. 200) = S. *(')pšt'w'n(h)* (KG 440, L69.6), M. *'pšṯ'w(n)* (KG 2382). The verb *(')pšty-* means both 'admonish' (e.g. P2.1206, cf. Henning, Paris Texts 725) and 'entrust' (VJ 301, cf. Benveniste's edition p. 93). Cf. the semantic range of Latin 'mandare', English 'command' and 'commend'.

17 The words 'immediately (he) went' are in neither **B** ('And he did as he commanded him') nor **C** ('And he carefully observed his order').

18 *pw c[šnt]*: alternatively, *pw c[n cšnt]* (cf. *pw cn*, 14R.19 etc.; S. *pw c'β'*, GMS § 1166; NP *bē az*).—On *ptqyš/ptq(y)št* see Sims-Williams 1979a, 133–134.

21–22 *[nm']cy [w]xr* ~ Syr. **B** *ql' d-ṣlwth* 'the sound (literally 'voice') of (his) prayer'.

26R

5–6 Syriac: 'Go, fetch that wicked criminal . . .'

9–10 B: 'by the amputation of his limbs shall be his destruction, and by this form of death shall be his destruction'; **C**: 'while by this form of death shall be his destruction, (namely) the amputation of all his limbs, each one separately'.

21 On *t'py* 'seal' and the associated verb *t'p* see Benveniste Etudes 1, 329. On the etymology see Weber IF 80 [1975], 90–91.

26V

9 *xw'nt*: the Sogd. apparently abbreviates the Syr. text of **C** (**B** is even longer): 'and do not entice me with empty lures as (you would) a child, and do not expend useless time in your further words to me, but approach and begin the work which you have been commanded (to do)'. The phrase *[s]'t x' šm'x xw'nt* seems best to match the Syr. 'your further words', in which case *xw'nt* might mean 'appeals', cf. B. *wxw'nh* 'proclamation'. The meaning of C. *xw'n* in ST ii/6.24, 31, 32, and C30 = TiiB17b, R(?)9, is not clear to me.

27R

1 *pwš* 'kiss', cf. Benveniste Etudes 1, 326, who considers the Sogd. verb to be related to Ōrm. *pōč* 'id.', but not to NP *būs* nor to such «termes 'expressivs'» as Oss. *p'a, ba*, Waxī *bah*, Yidγa *boh*, NP *māč*. *All* these words are probably merely onomatopoeic, cf. E. Hellquist, Svensk etymologisk ordbok I, 541 (translated by A.S.C. Ross, Etymology . . ., London 1958, 47): 'Words of this meaning usually contain the vowel *u* but the initial varies—it is however usually a labial *b, p, m*.'

5 *](x)š'wty b' . . . cn* ~ *'tr'' l-* 'be reconciled to, agree with'. The difference in the construction between the Sogd. and the Syr. makes it impossible precisely to define the meaning of *](x)š'wty* or to restore the beginning of the word, which according to Dr. Gershevitch may contain a suffix *-'wty* (cf. GMS § 1079 on B. *cyn'(')wt(y)*).

6–8 Syriac: 'And, my Lord, let these limbs be for a reconciliation with Thy sinful people and for the assistance of the flock of Thy servants (**C** for the flock of Thy sheep).'

9–10 Syriac: 'Thou who dost not eat the flesh of calves and also art not pleased with the blood of animals.' Sogd. *pry(q)ty* 'other' will most naturally apply to 'animals'. For the tentative restoration *[n' q]'m*

cf. Benveniste's comment, Etudes 1, 310, on BST ii/15R.21 = C2/60R.21: «Le composé *n'q'm* est construit verbalement, litt. 'il (était) indésireux que . . .'» (see further below, p. 131). This construction may be at'tested in the Mug texts: *L' k'm*, B18.7, 13 (for 1 sg.); *k'm*, B17, V1 (for 2 sg.). Cf. also the Sogd. fut. in *-km* and the OP construction *yaθā mām kāma āha*.

10 *pry̥c* ~ *'rp'* 'let alone, much less', 2 sg. impv. of *√rp'*, *ap'el* 'leave'. Except in the unlikely circumstance that Sogd. possessed a similar idiom to the Syr., the translation is over literal.

12 *xw'cy*: C. *xw'c* (= M. *xw'c* 'pain, illness') is probably to be seen also in *xw'cy*, C42, R(?)3, and *](x)w'cyt*, C28 = [Tiii]B, V9, but the usual form is *xw(y)c*.—On *rwcp'n* 'executioner' see Benveniste Etudes 1, 327. In view of the plurals *p(')rycnt* and *x'*, *r(w)cp'n* here is probably a mistake for **rwcp'nt*. Throughout this passage the Syr. texts vacillate between 'executioner' and 'executioners'.

13 Syriac (**B**): 'until the next day.'

18 Syriac: 'And in this amputation the saint was suffering great (C + and bitter) pain.' For *p(w= =)* it seems impossible to read **pwxnq* ~ *psq'* 'amputation'. A pres. inf. *p(wxy)* (similarly Sundermann 1975, 67 n. 50, where the restoration *pwx['y]* for Hansen's *pwx= =* is suggested) would be awkward syntactically.

27V

1–2 For the metathesis seen in *yγw-* < **yuga-* 'yoke' (not previously attested in Sogd.) cf. M. *yṭqw-*, B. *ytkw-*, *cškw-* (GMS § 423).

2 *bwc* = S. *βwc* 'to deliver', not otherwise attested in C. Sogd.

3 The hapax legomenon *pr(b)nty* 'load' < **pari-banda-ka-* provides the source of Kuchean *perpente* 'id.' (mentioned to me by Prof. K. T. Schmidt).

4 *pcγry̥* ~ *√ṭ'n*, *p'al* 'bear'. Also attested in C16 = TiiB66 + TiiiB61, R2–3: *'t pcγry šqwrθyt 't zm'(q)= [ycqt]* (probably 3 sg. opt.). Since it is a heavy stem, this verb must be derived from an older **pač-γrāy-*.

8 *š(')[ny](t)* ~ *šq̈'* 'shins', cf. B. *š'n'kh* 'shank', on which see MacKenzie BSTBL II, 50, and Benveniste Notes 2, 217, who connects it with NP *šāna* 'shoulder'. Instead, Dr. Gershevitch compares Paštō *ṣānga* 'leg' and Pahl. *s'n*, *sl'n* (also, incorrectly, *sk'n*) translating Av. *asču-* 'shin, calf', which he derives from **srāuni-*, cf. *srauni-* 'hip'.

13–14 *['z'n] prs(qy)'* 'acknowledgement, confession, thanksgiving', see Schwartz STSC 111. The Syr. texts have no corresponding word here.

17 *pt(š)t'nt* ~ *'ṭmt'* 'thighs', cf. Benveniste Etudes 1, 326.—*šwn sry̥t* ~ *gs̈'* 'haunches'. Cf. B. *šwn* 'hips' (see Henning apud GMS § 371) and, for the compound, S. *z'nwk sr(y)* in a list of parts of the body (almost certainly that referred to by Henning Sogdica 2), 16201, col. 1, 13.

18 *'nc'(y)t*: probably impf. mid. Less likely 'historic pres.' or pret. from a secondary past stem **'nc'yt*.

19–20 The second 'thus' is not in the Syr. text.

20 *šq'[ft]* ~ *šqyp̈'* 'crags'. For the restoration see Gershevitch AHM 175, fn.; and cf. *šq'ft* in C28 = TiiB62d + TiiB25, V14.

24–26 **B** 'O God, all-holding and almighty, creator of all and ruler of all creatures . . .'; **C** 'O Lord God, all-holding and almighty, creator of all things visible and invisible . . .' The restoration of the Sogd. version implied by my translation is of course uncertain, since it would amount to a very free paraphrase, but note that the nom. *wyspy z'wr* implies that the epithets 'all-holding and almighty' have been replaced by a passive verbal construction. The reading *(pts'c)y* is very unclear, but here again a verbal construction is indicated by *c'(nw)*. If it is correct, *c'(nw)[. . .] (pts'c)y* 'since . . . Thou orderest' (to M. *pts'c*, cf. C. *pts'q*) will paraphrase *mdbrn'* 'leader, guide, ruler, governor'.

28–29 The sentence *rty (qθ)[ry . . .](x)[y](pθ'wn)t* is not found in the Syriac text.

Concordance

Sogdian	Syriac Bedjan	Sogdian	Syriac Bedjan
1R	559–561	6R	571–572
1V	561–562	6V	572–573
3R	565–566	7R	574–575
3V	566–567	7V	575–576
4R	568	11R	584–585
4V	569	11V	586
5R	570	12R	586–588
5V	571	12V	588–589

Sogdian	Syriac Bedjan	Corluy	Sogdian	Syriac Bedjan	Corluy
13R	589–590		23R	614–615	21–23
13V	591		23V	615–616	23–24
14R	591–592		24R	616–617	24–25
14V	592–593		24V	618	26–27
17R	598		25R	619	28–29
17V	599–600		25V	620–621	29–31
19R	604	8	26R	621–622	31–32
19V	605	9	26V	622–623	33–34
22R	611–612	18–19	27R	623–624	34–36
22V	613	19–20	27V	624–626	36–38

Excursus 1: The language and orthography of Text 1

The fragments which have been identified as belonging to the story of Pethion differ in many linguistic and orthographical respects from the rest of the fragments of C2.[1] The most detailed statement which has so far been offered on the subject of these peculiarities of Text 1 is that of Schwartz STSC 125: 'I shall elsewhere utilize the history of the two words written . . . in the texts in *Hansen* [BST ii] *yty* and *rty/'t* and *'r/'t* (and *'t*), together with other material (*p'rwty/p't*, *qθry/qšy*, *cšm-/cym-* etc.) toward a threefold chronological division of the dialectal continuum represented by the MS. C2.' The main outlines of Schwartz's theory are clear even from this brief comment. Fundamental is the assertion that the various texts which make up the MS C2 belong not to a number of different Sogdian dialects but to a single dialect in several stages of development. The first of these stages is represented by Text 1 (the *yty/rty* stratum).[2] The evidence which I have collected, which is no doubt almost identical with the 'other material' referred to by Schwartz, supports his conclusion that the language of Text 1 is an earlier form of the same dialect as that of Texts 2–13. For instance, Texts 1 and 2–13 have in common certain morphemes, such as the 2 pl. ending *-tt*,[3] which are either unknown from other MSS or at least very sparsely attested outside C2. Such cases indicate that all the texts are written in a single dialect, or at least in closely related dialects. Those differences which may be observed between one text and another can for the most part be explained as chronological.

Most of the linguistic and orthographical features which distinguish Text 1 from the rest belong to one or the other of two principal classes. The first, which includes all the examples cited by Schwartz, consists of cases in which Text 1 has a more archaic spelling of the same word or form as is used in Texts 2–13. Thus[4]: *rty* 'then, and' and *yty* 'and', passim[5] (: *'r* and *'t*); *p'rwty*, x 2 (: *p'* and *p't*); *qθry*, passim (: *qšy*); *cšm-*, x 3[6] (: *cym-*); *ptšm'r*, x 2 (: *pcm'r*); f. of (heavy) **-taka*-stems in *-tc*, x 4[7] (: *-c*); 3 sg. pres. indic. *s(w)ct*, 25R.21[8] (: **swšt*, cf. *s'št*, *pryšt*, etc.); dur. suffix *-sqwn*, x 5,[9] beside *-sq* (: *-sqn* beside *-sq*), both *-sqwn* and *-sq* being unchanged after 3 sg. and pl. forms ending in *-t/-nd*, x 4[10] (: *-qn* and *-q*);[11] 1 sg. fut. in *-(')mq'*, x 9[12] (: *-nq'*); *qt' wntyq'*, 13V.27 (: *qt'wntq'*);[13] *'w*, acc. of article, passim[14] (: *w-*); *wy'* and *y'*, loc. of article, passim[15] (: *y-*); tr. pret. *qtwd'r* (from the light stem *qt-*), 12R.5, 13V.19(?)[16] (: *qθ'r*), *'št'td(')r* (from a heavy stem), 23V.28 (: *'št'd'r*); fut. suffix *-q'm*, 19V.2(?), 23V.8, 25V.2(?)[17] (: *-q'*); *pwrn(-)*, 12V.3 (: *pwn*); *wprs*, x 2 (: *'wprs*); *pswqpy*, 1R.13 (: *psqpy*); *w'nw qt*, 3V.9[18] (: *w'n qt*). Note, too, that whereas Texts 2–13 use *wyšnt(y)* and *wšnt(y)* indiscriminately, Text 1 employs only the older form *wyšnt(y)*. The vacillation in the orthography and the fact that the same scribe wrote not only Text 1 but also the texts in less archaic orthography show that for him such writings as *qtwd'r* (for spoken *kθār*) were historical spellings, almost certainly taken over from his exemplar. Whether they were there employed as phonetic or

[1] Also in their punctuation, see below, p. 67.

[2] Concerning Schwartz's other two strata see below, pp. 183–184.

[3] Cf. Sims-Williams forthcoming a.

[4] In this and the following lists only the most certain attestations will be counted or listed (unless otherwise indicated).

[5] But also *'t* in f. 1 (passim), 3V.10(?), 5R.29, 6V.16(?), 22R.18(?).

[6] But probably *c(y)[m]-* in 12V.2; cf. the similar dissimilatory loss of *š* in *c(wq)*, 12V.3.

[7] *pytc*, 6V.16; *(l)[ry](š)tc*, 7V.25; *šyrqtc*, 12V.12; *mwrstc*, 14V.20—but *-c* < *-tc* also occurs at least four times in Text 1: *'w(sc)*, 11V.26; *'m'c*, 12R.12; *(prb)[x](š)c*, 12V.3; *'γ'c*, 17R.2. (No f. of a *light* **-taka*—stem happens to be attested in Text 1.)

[8] But *št* < *čt* is found in Text 1 in *'y.št*, 22R.12.

[9] 7R.27, 13V.25(?), 25R.1, 4, 22(?).

[10] *bnts[q*, 22R.8; *γwtsq*, 22R.9; *ḇnt sqwn*, 25R.1; *s(w)ct sq(wn)*, 25R.21–22.

[11] See Sims-Williams forthcoming a.

[12] 1V.27, 12R.13, 13R.29, 30, 23R.26, 27 (x 2), 27V.11, a V.3.

[13] See below, p. 76.

[14] Contrast *ws'* (< *'ws'*), 25V.9.

[15] But also *y-*, passim.

[16] But *pšγšd'r*, 1R.5. On *ptcγšt[wd'r]*, 7V.29, cf. p. 54 above.

[17] But also *-q'*, passim.

[18] But *w'n qt*, 7V.18, 12R.19 and (miswritten *w'n*!) 23V.16, so that *w'nw qt* may be merely a mistake.

historical spellings cannot be determined. Where later spellings occur in our MS, either side by side with the historical spelling (e.g. *-q'* beside *-q'm*) or exclusively (e.g. *s'*, always spelt thus in Text 1, older *s'r*), one cannot tell which spelling was used in the original.

The second class consists of words, forms, expressions and usages found in Text 1 but not in the rest of C2. In the following list the corresponding form used in Texts 2–13 (which in most cases occurs also in Text 1) is given in parentheses: *wytr-*, x 4 (: *tr-*); *pryq*, x 2 (: *p'ryq*); *qwrθ*, 12V.1 (: *qw*); 3 pl. impf. *wnnt*, 12R.9, and *wnntnt*, x 2 (: *wntnt*);[19] *bwn*, 11R.27 (: *bwn'*); *ywnyd*, x 5 (: *ywny*); *dbty-*, 25R.16(?) (: *dbtyq*); *sm'n*, x 2 (: *sm'ny*); *pntq*, x 2 (: *pnt*); *qd'* 'if', x 3, and *qt'* 'id.', 13V.24 (: *qt*);[20] *ptby̱nt*, 23R.29 (: *p'cγny wn-*); *my̱d c'nw*, x 8, and *w'fy̱d c'nw*, x 3 (: *w'nc'nw*); *yty*, as particle after the first word of a clause, passim (no corresponding usage in Texts 2–13);[21] *yty* 'that', e.g. 1V.27, 14V.11, 17R.3, 19V.1,[22] and *m't* 'id.', passim (: *qt*); potential in *-tw*, x 2[23] (: pot. in *-t(')*); pl. (of the heavy stem *fcmbd*) after a numeral, 6V.13 (: numv.); treatment of **-aka*–stems as indeclinable in the sg. and numv.[24] (: acc. sg. and nom. sg. n. in *-w*, abl. sg., voc. sg. and nom.-acc. numv. in -').[25] Cf. also the following forms of the article, which have no precise functional equivalents in Texts 2–13: *x'*, *wy'*, *y'*. (In general the article is much less frequently used in Texts 2–13 than in Text 1.)

In some of these instances the form peculiar to Text 1 may be considered more archaic than the alternative used in Texts 2–13. This is certainly true in the cases of *wytr-/tr-* (Ancient Letters, Mug, B. and M. texts only *wytr-*),[26] *wnnt/wntnt* (the latter not found outside C2), *ywnyd/ywny* (Mug and B. texts only *ywn(')yδ*) and *sm'n/sm'ny* (Mug and B. texts only *(')sm'n*). Both in its tendency not to inflect **-aka*–stems in the sg. and numv. and in its profuse and varied use of the article, Text 1 remains closer than Texts 2–13 to standard Sogdian usages. Similarly the fact that *pryq*, *qwrθ* 'where', *dbty-*, *qd'* 'if', *ptby̱nt*, *yty* (as emphatic particle and in the meaning 'that') and the potential in *-tw* are paralleled in non-Christian writings only[27] suggests that they were features of common Sogdian which were obsolescent by the period of the mostly late and 'demotic' Christian texts. As already mentioned, in most of the cases listed in the last paragraph the equivalent used in Texts 2–13 also occurs in Text 1.[28] This is consistent with the theory that the language of Text 1 is an earlier, less impoverished stage of the same dialect as that of Texts 2–13. It would also be possible to argue that some of the forms in question[29] were introduced into Text 1 by the scribe. If that is so, the language of his exemplar will have differed more substantially from that of Texts 2–13 than now appears, but the phenomena gathered together in the preceding paragraph would still be explicable in terms of chronological rather than dialectal differences.

Since the language of Text 1 exhibits so many archaic features which cannot be considered as merely orthographic, it is not necessary to account for such spellings as *rty* (= S. *rty*) and *p'rwty* (= S. *p'rwty*)– spellings which must be attributed to the original MS of the work–by assuming that its orthography was influenced by the conventions of Sogdian writing, still less that this MS was actually written in S. script. In any case, such an explanation would scarcely apply to *yty*, the word in question being usually written *('P)ZY* or *'t* in S. script, very rarely *'ty* (P2.1005; P5.75; Frag. 2a.4; GMS § 1246) and only once

[19] Cf. Sims-Williams forthcoming a. The extraordinary form *wnntnt* may be a quite artificial compromise between the scribe's own *wntnt* and his exemplar's *wnnt*.

[20] In 48V.20 *qd'* probably means 'when' (as in C5), cf. below, p. 96.–For *qt'* 'if' see above, p. 57; it may be a compromise between *qt* and *qd'*, cf. the preceding footnote.

[21] Contrast the inseparable *-t* of *qyt*, *c'nwt*, *yw'rt*, etc.

[22] There may be many more examples, but often the translation 'and' cannot definitely be ruled out. Note *'t* for *yty* 'that' in 1R.27.

[23] *qtw wn-*, 12R.9; *'y̱tw wn-*, 13V.29.

[24] Examples. Acc. sg.: passim. Nom. sg. m. for n. (cf. below, p. 83): *f(rm)'ty*, 14V.10. Abl. sg.: *šy(r)qty*, 3R.8; *nwšy̱*, 4R.2; *'ḏy*, 13R.17; *xwšywny̱*, 25R.3; *γw'(nq)r(y)*, 27R.7. Voc. sg.: *xwšywny*, 12V.14; *bwcny*, 27V.2. Nom. numv.: *pdbṛy*, 13R.27.

[25] This inflexion of **-aka*–stems is strictly adhered to in Texts 2–13. Hence words such as *sm'ny*, *ptš'dy* (above, p. 54) and the abstracts in *-wny* (Sims-Williams 1981c, 18), which are indeclinable, cannot be **-aka*–stems. Nor is *psqpy* treated as such as suggested in STSC 31.

[26] For *tr-* (only attested in C2) cf. Yaγn. *tīr-* and perhaps Bactrian να-τιρινδο (Gershevitch IF 72/1–2 [1967], 55).

[27] S. *pr'yk*, P3.151 (see Sims-Williams 1976, 70 n. 106); S. *kwrδ*, M. *kwrδδ* 'where' (as opposed to C. *qwc'*, C1.159, *qw qwrt s'r*, C1.218, 'whither'); S., M. *δβty-*; S., M. *kδ'* 'if' (as opposed to C. *qd'* 'when', cf. above, n. 20); B. *ptβ'ynt*, VJ; S. *('P)ZY*, M. *'ty(y)(h̲)*, etc.; S. potential in *-tw*.

[28] The exceptions are the first five listed, *tr-*, *p'ryq*, *qw* 'where', *wntnt* and *bwn'*.

[29] References for Text 1: *[yw](n)y*, 23R.11(?); *dbtyq*, x 6; *sm'ny*, x 4; *pnt*, 17V.3, 27V.16; *qt* 'if', 17R.4, 22V.4; *p'cγny wn-*, 13V.16(?), 14R.10(?); *(w)'n [c'nw]*, 17V.5; *qt* 'that', passim; pot. in *-t'*, x 3 (*qt' wntyq'*, 13V.27; *qt' bwt*, 14R.22; *tγt' bnts[q]*, 22R.8); numv. of heavy stems (e.g. *šy̱ z'(q)*, 14R.20; *štf'r pdfnq*, 17R.1); acc. sg. in *-w* of **-aka*–stems, passim, e.g. *mwγqtw*, 1V.17, 29, *nwšw*, 23R.5 (the nom. sg. n. in *-w* and the forms in -' do not occur, however).

'yty (Vim. 144). On the other hand, the influence of S. orthography is clearly to be seen in the occasional spellings with -'- as mater lectionis for *-ă-* (3 pl. ending *-'nt* for *[-and]*, 12R.3, 8; *'γ'c* for *[aγač]* < *[anγatč]*, 17R.2) and with *-'y-* for *-e-* (*[n'yš-* for *[fneš-]*, 7R.28, see above, p. 53).[30] A possible case of prothetic ' is *'(f)šn'qc*, 1V.9 (see above, p. 51). The hypothesis that the original of Text 1 was not merely influenced by, but actually written in, Sogd. script would help to account for a number of errors and anomalies in our copy. For instance, the spelling *bntt* (for *bnt*, 3 pl. pres. indic. of *b-*), 22R.15, though no doubt at least partly due to the proximity of *bntt* 'bonds' in the preceding passage, might be a misinterpretation of a S. spelling with *tt* for *t*. Another such case may be *by̥ntt* (if this is for *by̥nt*, 3 pl. opt. of *b-*, cf. pp. 53–54), 7V.19, though here again the scribe may have had in mind **by̥ntt*, 2 pl. impv. of *bynt* 'bind', a form which may have occurred about one page previously (~*'wsrw*, Bedjan 574.8). For hesitation between *θ* and *d* as transcription of S. *δ* one could cite *pdbṛy* (altered from *pθ-*), 13R.27. However, it is hardly satisfactory to regard *wγš* 'deliverance', 12V.19,[31] and *wγš* 'deliver', 23R.28, impf. *wy̥γš*, 23V.5 (contrasting with C. *wxš* in ST i, ST ii and C2, Texts 3, 5, 9 and 13), as a mere mistranscription of S. **wx'š*, etc., both because the spelling with C. *γ* occurs here three times and because there is some evidence in C2 for the voicing of *x* before *s* and *š*: *ptγwsd'rt* < *ptxwsd'rt*, 54R.29; *prbγšt* < *prbxšt*, 94V.24.[32] The contrast between *wγš* in Text 1 and *wxš* elsewhere in C2 might therefore be explained as follows: in transcribing Text 1 from an original in S. script the scribe felt free to render S. *x* by C. *x* or *γ*, and thus wrote *wγš* as representing his own pronunciation; elsewhere, copying from originals in C. script, he was constrained to reproduce (with only occasional lapses) the spellings of his exemplar (*wxš*, *prbxš*, etc.).

As indicated above, p. 51, the incomplete word *]wdn*, 1R.12, must represent the name either of Bishop Mārutā (Syr. *mrwt'*) or of his see (Syr. *myprqṭ* = Arabic *Mayyāfāriqīn*, Gk. Μαρτυροπολις, modern Silvan). In the latter case one might proceed by restoring *[srb]wdn* and deriving the name *Silvan* via **Sirδvān* and **Sirvδān* from **Sṛbwa-dāna-*,[33] but one would have to adopt not only a quite uncertain etymology but also the highly questionable assumptions (i) that this name is (comparatively) ancient and (ii) that the Sogdian translator was sufficiently familiar with the geography of the far west of Iran to identify *myprqṭ* as Silvan. On the other hand, if it is admitted that the original of Text 1 was in S. script, there is no difficulty in the way of restoring *[m'r]wdn* and explaining this as a mistranscription of S. *m'(')r(')wδ'*, since neither *[δ]* and *[θ]* nor final *n* and ' are distinguishable in the cursive S. script used by the Sogdian Christians.

Another distinctive feature of Text 1 which has so far only been referred to in passing is its punctuation. Instead of the great variety of collocations of points found in Texts 2–13—e.g. the single point (.), the colon (:), the double points (.. and ·.) and notably the quadruple point (.:.) in two different inks—only the single point is commonly used, less frequently the double point (. .) and only once (22R.13) the colon. This feature of Text 1 would also be consistent with its having been transcribed from an original in S. script.

The evidence collected in the foregoing paragraphs for the view that the original of Text 1 was written in Sogdian script is in my view suggestive but not conclusive. The alternative possibility must be left open that it was written in C. script though in an archaic or archaising orthography probably influenced by the conventions of S. writing.

[30] Instances in which -'- may be regarded as a historical writing for *-ă-* < *-ā-* (e.g. *q't'sq*, 12R.11, see above, p. 55) or, as commonly throughout C2, *-'y(-)* for *-ē(-)* < *-āy(-)* (*z'y/zy̥*, *'nc'y/'ncy*, *'št'y/'šty̥*, etc.) and *-'w(-)* for *-ō(-)* < *-āw(-)* (*xwt'w/xwtw*, *'rt'w/'rtw*, *b'ẇwny/bwẇny*, etc.) are not relevant here.

[31] S. *wx'nš* (P8.77, 107) and *wx'rš* (P8 bis.11; TM393i, 1, apud Henning JRAS 1944, 137).

[32] An example from outside C2 is *γwšy̥q* 'growing', ST i, 32 top.15. Cf. also the voicing of *f* before *s* in M. *ptβs'mnṭy* (GMS § 52), C. *bstry* (Gershevitch 1946, 181).

[33] I.e. 'lead-mine', cf. Av. *srva-*, Kurdish *sirb*, etc.

Excursus 2: The Persian names in Text 1

Text 1 contains a number of Persian names of people and places. The Sogd. spellings do not agree with those found in the Syr. text of the story of Pethion and may be regarded as—at least to some extent—independent transcriptions of the Persian forms.[1] They are therefore possibly of interest for the history of the pronunciation of Persian. However, some of the Sogd. transcriptions seem to be erroneous, whether the error is due to misinterpretation of the Syr. spelling or to transmission via Sogd. script. The corpus is as follows:

(1) Āδurfrāzgerd(?)[2]: *'d(w)rprzqrt*, x 3 (*'dwr-* x 2, *'dr-* x 1; *-prz-* clear only once); (2) Āδurhormazd: *'d(w)r-xwrmzt/d*, x 6 (*'dwr-* x 1, *'dr-* x 4; *-t* x 3, *-d* only in 6R.14); (3) Āδursrōš: *'dwrsrwš*, 13R.26; (4) Dāδgušasp[3]: *[t'd](q)wšsp*, 1R.21; (5) Ganzāγ: *qnz'γ*, 25V.8; (6) Mirhayāl(?): *(mr)xyl*, 1R.23; (7) Nāhīδ: *n'xyd*, x 3; (8) Nēhormazd: *nyxwrmzt*, x 4; (9) Pārs: *p'rs*, 1R.6; (10) Wehšābūr (or °šāpūr?): *[wy](x)špwr*, 1R.6; (11) Wuhrān ($W^uh^urān$?): *[w](x)wr'n*, 1R.8; (12) Yaz(a)δgerd: **yzdqrt* (mispointed *ydrqrt*), 25R.3; (13) Yaz(a)δīn: *yzdyn*, x 7.

Note the transcription *x* for Persian *[h]* (2, 6, 7, 8 and 11), *q* for Pers. *[g]* (1, 4, 5 and 12) and *t* for Pers. *[d]* (1, 2, 8 and 12). The employment for *[d]* of *t* (=*[t]* and *[d]* in Sogd. words) rather than *d* (=*[δ]*, scarcely ever *[d]*, at least in this MS) is not surprising, but since C. script has the letters *g* (distinct from both *γ* and *q*) and *h* (distinct from *x*) the use of *q* for Pers. *[g]* and of *x* for Pers. *[h]* might be taken to indicate that the names are transcribed from S. script, in which *[h, g, d]* cannot be distinguished from *[x, k, t]*. The argument should not be pushed too far, as the alternative explanation is available that the sounds *[h, g, d]*, which occur in Sogdian only in certain contexts, have been replaced (outside such contexts) by *[x, k, t]*.[4] At any rate, the use of *t* for Pers. *[d]* shows that *d* for post-vocalic /d/ <OIran. *t* is to be interpreted as *[δ]* (1, 2, 3 and 7),[5] paralleling post-vocalic *[γ]* <OIran. *k* (5). Of particular interest is the spelling *yzd-* (12 and 13). Since this spelling is invariable it can hardly represent *yazd*, in spite of *zd* for *[zd]* in the isolated *-xwrmzd*[6] (2) beside the normal *-xwrmzt* (2 and 8, altogether x 6). It should rather be interpreted as *yazaδ* (cf. NP *īzed* for the preservation of the second vowel) or, more likely, as *yazδ* (cf. Parth. in Sogd. script *nr'ysβ yz-δ*, KG 617, 620, 621–622, versus pl. *yzt'n*, TM 406b, V1 (Lentz), also S. *xzδ'n* <MP *hazδān* and *zδxh* <MP *azδahā* or Parth. *ažδahā*,[7] which seem to indicate that Middle Persian and Parthian could tolerate *δ* in secondary contact with a preceding sibilant), the second vowel of OIran. *yazata-* having survived until the completion of the development of post-vocalic *t* via *d* to *δ*.

In *qnz'γ* for Pers. *Ganzaγ* (5) we have another instance of ' as mater lectionis for *ă* (cf. above, p. 67), unless this really stands for Ganzāγ (as Professor Schwartz suggests, referring to گزنا in Hoffmann Auszüge 250). On the other hand *ā* is left unexpressed in writing in *[wy](x)špwr* 'Wehšāp/būr' (10), in *'d(w)rprzqrt* (1) (if this is correctly interpreted as Āδurfrāzgerd, n. 2 below) and in *(mr)xyl* (6) (which may transcribe Syr. **mrhyl*, i.e. Mirh(a)yāl <Mihr-h(a)yār, with *r–r* dissimilated to *r–l*[8] and dissimilatory loss of the first *h*; Bedjan's text has the standard *myhryr* 'Mihryār'). In these cases the error may have arisen by misinterpretation either of the Syr. spelling, in which *ā* would not be marked in unpointed writing, or of forms in S. script (e.g. *knz'γ*, *wyxš'p'wr*, *''δwrpr'zk'rt*) in which ' might be taken for either *ā* or *ă*. The same applies to the apparent use of *p* for *[f]* in *'d(w)rprzqrt* (1), since this usage is a feature of both the Syriac and the Sogdian writing systems. None of these names, therefore, provides clear evidence of transmission via S. script.

[1] On the Persian background of the Sogdian Nestorian communities see Hansen Literatur 91–93 and Acta Orientalia 30 [1966], 97ff. For C2, note also the Persian form of the name *tyspwn* 'Ctesiphon' (see below, p. 149).

[2] The second element of this name is not clear to me (nor, perhaps, was it to the scribes who transmitted it). See Bedjan 575 with n. 3; Hoffmann Auszüge 23–24 with nn. 172 and 174; Justi Namenbuch 3a. NP *farāz kardan* means 'to close'.

[3] For °*gušasp* (~Syr. °*gušnasp*) see Justi Namenbuch 354a.

[4] Cf. *x* in M. *n'xyδ*, *wnx'n*, *xwrmzt*, etc.

[5] The *t* of the title *rt* (x 3), i.e. *rat* or *rad*, seems to show that the MP word was a learned loanword (from Av. *ratu-*). Since it is uninflected, *rt* cannot be regarded as a native Sogd. form. (Differently Sundermann 1974c, 583.)

[6] Perhaps influenced by the Syr. spelling *-hwrm(y)zd*. Alternatively, cf. the equally isolated spelling *sydy'* (68V.11) for *syty'*, on which see below, p. 149.

[7] See Henning Tales 479 and Gershevitch apud Sims-Williams 1976, 61, respectively.

[8] Suggested by Professor Schwartz, who compares Copt. Καρδελ, Parth. *qyr(d)[y](l)*, KG 130.

Text 2: An unidentified homily on the solitary life (f. 31)

The single folio of this text is the only entirely complete folio of C2. The original MS has been lost, but the photograph preserved in Göttingen is of excellent quality, so that there is seldom any real doubt as to the reading. The Verso was the first piece of C. Sogdian to be published, by Sachau in SPAW 1905, 973–978. Sachau's transcript was based on a photograph sent to him from Bulayïq by Le Coq. In at least one case Sachau was able to read a word (*'r*, V20) which is not legible on my photograph; it is hardly possible that his knowledge of Sogdian (in 1905!) was sufficient for him to have restored the word. In dubious passages, therefore, it is worth taking note of his readings. The Verso was printed again by Salemann in his Manichaica II, IzvIAN 1907, 534–535. Salemann improved on some of Sachau's readings, but his edition of the text has no independent value since it was exclusively founded on Sachau's and the very poor facsimile which he had provided. The Recto was published for the first time, the Verso for the third, by Hansen in BST ii. Hansen notes (pp. 821–822) that he had read this text with Lentz shortly before the war. Several misreadings common to Hansen's edition and to Lentz's handwritten copy (now in Hamburg) show that these cannot be regarded as independent witnesses and suggest, moreover, that Lentz and Hansen had at their disposal only a comparatively poor photograph. In a couple of places where they seem to have been able to read more than is visible on my copy of the Göttingen photograph it is possible that their 'reading' is in fact a restoration (see notes i and j to the Verso).

The most distinctive feature of this homily on the principles and practice of the solitary life is its division of the hermit's life into three consecutive periods (*šy ʿʾy*, R28). The same division is found in a number of Syriac authors,[1] most of whom name the three periods 'corporeal' *(d-pgrnwt')*, 'psychical' *(d-npšnwt')* and 'spiritual' *(d-rwḥnwt')*. The terms 'corporeal' (*tmp'r myšt*, V18) and 'spiritual' (*w'tmyc*, R24; *w'tmynyṭ*, R22) are found in the present work, but not in reference to the three periods, the first two of which (the third is not named) are merely called 'first' (*ftmcyq*, R29), 'former' (*pyṭnmcyq*, V7) or 'initial' (*ʿʾγ'zcyq*, R28), and 'second' (*dbtyq*, V1, 8, 14, 32) or 'middle' (*myd'ncyq*, V24), as is the practice in the anonymous homily quoted below in the commentary to R2–3.

The following Syriac writings will be referred to by the names of their authors. For consistency I have given my own translations; the page numbers thus refer to the Syr. texts. However, for purposes of orientation, references have also been given in the footnotes to the translations specified:

ʿAbdišoʿ or Joseph Ḥazzāyā = A. Mingana, in: Woodbrooke Studies 7 [1934], 256–281 (translation = ibid. 145–184).

Isaac = P. Bedjan, Mar Isaacus Ninivita: De perfectione religiosa, Paris 1909 (translation = A. J. Wensinck, Mystic Treatises by Isaac of Nineveh, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks 23/1 [1923]).

John the Solitary = S. Dedering, Johannes von Lykopolis: Ein Dialog über die Seele und die Affekte des Menschen, Uppsala 1936 (translation = I. Hausherr, Jean le solitaire: Dialogue sur l'âme et les passions des hommes, in: Orientalia Christiana Analecta 120 [1939]).

Philoxenus[2] = G. Olinder, A Letter of Philoxenus of Mabbug Sent to a Friend, in: Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 56/1 [1950], 3–62 (translation = ibid. 1*–45*).

[1] Professor R. Draguet, to whom a draft of the translation below was sent, kindly drew my attention to some of these.

[2] This letter is really by Joseph Ḥazzāyā according to P. Harb, in: Melto 4/2 [1968], 13–36, followed by R. Beulay, in: Parole de l'Orient 3/1 [1972], 16 n. 27.

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1 ḫy 't yw myθ 'wr'mṭ. pr mγwn fcmbdy r'θ šwt xwnẏ qy nymtẏ

2 bẏ. 't fs'q 't ywq sty prymyd ʿxs. xwny qy bž'xwty' 't pw

3 pcywp[a] šqwrθẏt 'bstẏt xnt qyw sṭ.[b] xšnyrq xcy qt bγ'nyq

[a] hardly pcywf [b] corrected from s'r

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. . . *so that there* may be *a respite* and for one day peace, he who is captured goes the way of the whole world. And there is instruction and teaching in this conflict, that (instruction) which is ac-

4 'wxr'mnty̱ ycy [.] (n)y̱ wy̱d ¨xs qy cn xwcqy' bwt w'bmsq ⟨'t⟩ w'n'
5 bž'xwty' qy cn xw'ty' pṛyst yd 'y̱št ms ny (z)γ'm[c] ¨xst s'št
6 qt žγyrty̱t ḫynt. yw'r wyšnt[d] w'bmsq qy pr mzy̱x p'tqwny pr ¨xsy
7 pts'q 'wšttỵ̱t xnt·. 't pr mzy̱x 'wxd'wny' 'dṃyt dn šm'ry̱ty prw
8 p'ynt·. x'nt qy pr bγ'nyq 'brz bnt dn wyšnty prw ¨xst -·- swqnt
9 tym bž'xwty̱t qy cn mnt ptzny'[e] bnt pr m'n ⟨'t⟩ t'rqwny 't ptzm'ny' 't[f]
10 't 'wšc pr p'tqwny. ndymyd bž'xwty' 'y'm ṇst prywyd 'dw qy dwr xcy
11 cn ptwp'zny'. yw'r γrb'q šm'r'. pr nyznty' 't pr 'z'n prsqy'[g]
12 fstxwmpt ṃyd 'y̱št 't nγwštt qw¨ xs γrḫyt mrtxṃyty žny'
13 ptṇmy' s'. ms[h] c'f w'nw xcy qt mnt ptz'ny̱t[h] wynnt pr nyt ¨dty̱
14 'dyty[i] 'dysn pr dpyry' 't w'xšy fs'q -·- ny xcy ¨xsty ptz'n.
15 't ny xcy xwny ptz'n qy cn fs'q 't cn šm'ry̱ty trγ'w' bwt.
16 ¨xsty ptz'n pr prm'cyq[f] prm'qycq ny'z'wt xcy. xyd qy γrf
17 prtw γrb'qt 't pt(*bs*)ty̱t[j] ¨symy̱t bnt qyw s'. 't p[k] m⟨n⟩t= ptz'ṇyty[l]
18 bwt wšnty[m] cn qrwn'mnt' -·- w'nc'nw ny qt' bwt qt ywxt' ḫy p'θ
19 brxšqy' 'w'zy̱ty (m)[n] myd'ny 't 'yztty. (yw)'r qt prpw[o] brẇ
20 pw'zy wy'q: wḋy qw pcynyq xcy qw p'θy brxš'mntw 't qw
21 sp.y swd'mntw s' w'n qt xw[f] zwẓy xw p'θ xšnyrqy[p] ptryt qy
22 wyšqyšty[q] bwt prymyd frγn' ny ywxt' wnnt ¨dy w'tmyny̱t ¨xsty̱
23 qnw'ncy' 't swd'mntw bγ'nyq xšnyrqy ptryt šyrw 't pr ywxsw
24 šm'ṛyty qnw'ncy'. 't w'tmyc nẇbry' γrb'qy' qy dymyd wyžpγwny̱
25 sm⟨w⟩try' 't pr γrbw γrf qmpt.[r] qw pn ny swq't mrtxmy̱ pr
26 'bstw 'wr'm. 't pw'zwny cn wyspn' 'y̱c qy w'ry bwt m'n qt'
27 'ṇcyt cn 'bscy pcwq'ny. xwny qy prymyd frγn' ny wn't
28 'mptq' -·- pr šy ¨y xcy dymyd' wr'my šw'mc γmpn ¨γ'zcyq
29 ¨(y) 't qywyd ftmcyq s' 'bsty xcy pcwqyr. (cn = = = = = =)[s] 't

g

[c] the first letter blotted or corrected [d] or wšnt [e] sic [f] cancelled [g] +line-filler [h] the first letter corrected [i] to be cancelled [j] reading suggested by Dr. Gershevitch [k] unfinished letter, meant to be cancelled [l] hardly °ptz'ṇyt [m] or wyšnty [n] blotted, meant to be cancelled [o] or pr pw [p] corrected from xšnyqr- [q] sic; or wšqyšty [r] there is a mark above the line between q and m, but it does not resemble any letter [s] (cn = = = = = =) probably deliberately erased

companied by suffering and unremitting troubles—(this) is a sign that it is the divine(ly-inspired) renunciation. I do not speak of that conflict which results from illness and that (5) suffering which comes from weakness; it is not even appropriate that these things should be called 'conflicts'. Rather do I speak of those who with great vigilance are drawn up in order of battle and with great diligence keep guard over (their) limbs together with (their) thoughts, those who have conflicts by divine visitation. There are, again, sufferings which result from lack of understanding in the mind, and gloominess, and apathy and (10) wavering in vigilance; to this suffering there is no end for him who is far from patience, but a wise thought, by humility and by confession, repels these things. And listen to the advice of men who have known conflicts, although it is thus that fools look at the example of others in the learning of writing and rhetoric. (This) is not 'understanding of conflicts', (15) nor is that 'understanding' which results from instruction and from sharp-wittedness. What one needs is an understanding of conflicts (reached) by experience—that (experience) at which the wise and sensible have often been confounded and (which) comes to fools through action. Just as it is not possible that archery be taught amongst crowds and in the streets, but rather, that *it may bring forth fruit, (20) in a place apart, where it is suitable for archery and for horse-racing, so that the arrow may fly up to the target which is set up; in the same way they cannot teach anyone skill in spiritual conflicts, and (how) to race well towards the divine goal, and to learn skill in (controlling) the thoughts and the science of spiritual navigation on this terrible (25) ocean, and to understand many stratagems, until a man shall dwell in constant quietude and in retreat from everything (by means of) which the mind becomes empty of or ceases from constant prayer—he who does not do thus shall fall.

The course of this quietude is in three periods. Labour is the initial period, and to this first (period) belongs fear, and (that)

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1 ’(n)twxc qy bwt cn pynmcyqty ’xšty šy’ ’br’mnt’. ’t qywyd dbt(y)q
2 ¨y s’¨. ’xwsyd’mntx ’t znq znq’n xwm’r qy prymyd pnt šwt
3 qw y’n θb’rqxt s’ pr zprty dstw qy θfyžt cn xšywn ’t nm’n’
4 γrb’q nm’nx qry -·- ’r c’nw pr xypθ ’bstw ’wr’m ’t pr
5 γmpnqyn šwšn p’yqy’ ’t pr xypθ γw’nty šm’r’ (q)y šw bž’xwq
6 sty. xyd qy cywyd bys’ ’dyq xcy qy bwt brzy xšywn’. ’r c’nw
7 spc’ wn’t m’n’ pxnmcyq ¨y pr γrf znq’nt γmp⟨w⟩nt pr mšyh’
8 z’wr: ’r ¨γ’zt pšt’yt qywyd dbtyq ¨y s’. pcywfstyq’[a] wyny
9 nm’nx qrqy xšnyrq qw γwry’q s’ c’nw šy ny ryžt. prywyd
10 p’ pcwqyrt qt db’t fn’s xcy -·- ’t šy xšnyrq xyd xcy qt
11 ¨γ’zt ’wt tγty ym’ny ’t pr wyny nm’nxqrqx’ dstw ¨γ’zt qbnw
12 qbnw ptrysty xwm’r. ’r wycnt b’d b’d pryw šm’rxt qy šw
13 xwsnt wnnt. ’r wynt pr xypθ γryw qt xwy’r ’wysn’t wntq wm’n
14 cn y’b’qcy. xd ’xšt bnt c’nw tysy prymyd dbtyq ¨y pr s(p)ty’q. c’nw
15 pcy⟨w⟩fstx wyny šm’r’ pr šm’r’ pr ny’[b] qy ny mxnt qywyd s’. ’r ny xnt
16 n(yz)ny myšt xyd ’xšt qy ’mptnt pr šm’r’ ’r ¨γ’zt tqwšt pr r’zy’nt
17 w’xšt qy ptγwstxt xnt pr mzmwrt ’t pr qryn’. ’t pr p’ryqt tm[c]
18 tmp’r myšt ’rqt ’t pr xypθ sp’sy (γm)pny pt(z’n). p’ ¨γ’zt ptryst
19 n’mr’wy pr wyny sp’s’. bx pr w(yny p)’š ’t bx pr wyny (s)p’sy w’xšt
20 ’t pr p’ryqt wyny šw’mštx γmpntx.[d] ’r[e] ywny c’nw ¨γ’z wnx pr nm’c
21 ’brtxt (b)nt ’dmyt pw cn ryž: ’r ¨γ’znt wšt šm’rxt. p’ ptbydnt pr
22 ¨(d)c bry qy sqyp’r xcy cn ’xwncy’. ’t mrxw wynt[f] qt šwtq
23 wyny m’ny n’w’. pr xwš’mntw qw frtrwny s’ myθ[g] cn myθ. xd ’xšt
24 dn (ny)t mzy’trt ’xšty prw ’byntnt qymyd myd’ncyq ¨y s’¨. wytwr
25 qt snty mrtxmy pr mšyh’ y’n θbr’qy’¨.[d] qywyd šw’mc s’ qy
26 sqyp’r xcy cn nyzn’ -·- qwpn by tγw nwqr prywyd pnc= myq[d] ¨y.
27 sq’tr cn wyspn’ ’yc pr mzmwrty b(n)[h] sp’s γfs’ ’t pr pwsty
28 ptfsy. c’nw b’t dbzy qy zprt wnty tmp’r pr γrm’wy dstw ’yny
29 dbzy sq’tr ⟨cn s’t⟩ γmpnty b’wwny xcy pr θbrw γw’nty prm’nty’ pr xypθ

[a] corrected from pcywft- [b] or prny’ (as one word) [c] to be cancelled (non-final m) [d] sic [e] thus read by Sachau, Lentz and Hansen; only faint traces are visible on the photograph [f] corrected from wyntq [g] corrected from myd [h] almost certain (thus Lentz and Hansen)

31V

grief which results from the recollection of previous things. And to that second period (belong) encouragement and the manifold consolation whereby the wise penitent approaches (divine) favours by virtue of the purity which he receives from weeping and penitence. And when, in his constant quietude, and in (5) laborious discipline and in thinking upon his sins, which is distressing *to him, from which (thought) there derives a manner which turns to loud weeping; when he shall complete this former period with manifold labours by the help of Christ and shall begin to prepare for the second period, the sign of his repentance will be turned to exultation, although he does not wish it (to be so) because (10) he fears that it is perhaps an illusion. And the sign of this is that hope begins to enter his spirit and by virtue of his repentance consolation begins to increase little by little; then from time to time thoughts which make him joyful stir within him, and he sees within himself that he can easily cleanse the mind of wandering. These things come about when he enters completely into this second period, when (15) his thought is changed into another which does not resemble the former. Then those things which occur to (his) thought(s) are not of (his) nature and he begins to pay heed to the mystical words which are hidden in the Psalms, and in the (Scripture-)reading, and in the other works of the body and in the (true) understanding of the labour(s) of his service, for sweetness begins to be mingled with his service, both with his fasting, and with the words of his worship (20) and with the other labours of his way of life, and as soon as he begins to pray (his) limbs become composed without (his) willing (it) and his thoughts begin to be collected, for they (themselves) realize (how) to bring forth something which is above the struggle, and he sees aright that the ship of his mind is going day by day in growth towards improvement. These things, together with other (yet) greater things, belong to this middle period, until (25) by the Grace of Christ a man arises to that course of life which is above (his) nature.

30 žwγy'q mzẓx nm'nẓqrqy' z'wr xyd xcy. 't pynmcyqt 'd(y)[q]t[1] qy
31 tẏ qtnt pr frm'ny 'xẓr'mntẇ cn dbz' xw'tt bnt [·:·][1] 't c'nw pr
32 sm'ncyq z'wr pnt šẓy qymyd dbtyq ¨y s' w'nc'nw ptrty'

[1] Lentz and Hansen 'dyqt, but this may be partly restored; Sachau '(d = =)t [1] Lentz ·:·, omitted by Hansen, as is much of the punctuation; again this may be a restoration, as it was not read by Sachau

Now, so long as you are in this *former[3] period, above all things exert yourself in long service of the Psalms and in reading the Scriptures; (mean)-while there should be hunger, which purifies the body by means of punishment—this hunger, more than all (other) labours, is able to give forgiveness of sins by its (30) severity—that is (its) great power for repentance—and former habits, which were done by you through transgression of the commandment, will become weak from hunger. And when with heavenly help you approach this second period, according to the Fathers' . . .

[3] Reading *pynmcyq*, Benveniste's correction (Etudes 2, 131) for the manuscript's *pncmyq* 'fifth'.

Commentary

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1 The translation of this line cannot be more than a guess, as the beginning of the sentence is missing. My translation is based on the following interpretations: *yw mẓyθ* 'for one day' (as in VJ 866); *'wr'm* 'peace' (cf. *'wr'm* ~ *šyn'* 'id.', 1R.10) in contradistinction to *¨xs* in the following lines; *pr* governing *r'θ* (cf. *šwt . . . pr fryẗẓty r'θ*, 61V.26); *fcmbdy r'θ* = Syr. *'wrḥ' d-'lm'* 'way of the world' in the sense 'worldly life'; *xwnyₜ qy nymtyₜ byₜ* 'he who is captured (in battle)' as subject of *šwt*. Amongst the alternative possibilities the following are worthy of a mention: *yw mẓyθ* 'one day (in the past)' (as in VJ 17a) or 'one day (in the future)'; *'wr'm* 'quietude' (technical term, as elsewhere in this homily, cf. below, p. 75); *pr* governing the obl. *fcmbdy* (?) (cf. *pr . . . γmpntyₜ*, V20) and *r'θ šw-* 'travel' as in both M. (BBB 497; GMS § 695) and B. Sogdian (P8.92), also Yaγn. *rōt šaẓ-* (JT 315a); *xwnyₜ qy nymtyₜ byₜ* 'that (peace) which is prevailing' (referring back to *'wr'm*, which would then have to be the subject of *šwt*), with *nymtyₜ* an over-literal translation of Syr. *'ḥyd* (pass. participle of √*'ḥd* 'hold') in its active sense 'obtaining, ruling (of inanimate things such as custom, heresy, peace and war)'. Thus one might, for instance, translate this first line: '. . . may be . . . and one day peace—that (peace) which endures—will(?) take (its) way over the whole world.'

2–3 An unpublished anonymous homily on the three periods (Berlin, Sachau 203, ff. 130R–182R), from which A. J. Wensinck has given some excerpts in translation, describes the first period in very similar terms: 'Then there will be many temptations and troubles and frequent sufferings.'[4]—For *pcywp* cf. the verb *pcywp* 'change' (trans.), Weber 1970, 175.

3–4 *bγ'nyq 'wxr'mntyₜ* 'divine renunciation' (cf. B. *'wxr* 'abandon') may refer to the solitary's abandonment of worldly things. Schwartz STSC 49 translates 'abandonment to God'.

4–5 *xwcqy' . . . xw'tyₜ* 'illness' and 'weakness'. Cf. Isaac 138[5]: 'But if only his nature really exists, not conflict *(qrb')* but illness *(kwrhn')* or natural weakness *(mḥylwt')*, it is not profitable to struggle against it.' The noun *xwcqy'* is probably the abstract of an adj. **xwcy* 'ill' < *xwc* 'illness' (60R.28, = M. *xwyc*, B. *xw'yc*).

6–8 This passage is closely paralleled in Isaac 501[6]: 'But (these things are said) to those who with great vigilance *(zhyrwt' rbt')* guard their bodies *(pgr̈')* and their thoughts *(ḥẅšb')* in perfect solitude.' In the Sogd. text, 'limbs' *('dmẓyt)* stands by synedoche for 'bodies' contrasted with 'thoughts' *(šm'ryₜt)*, a usage characteristic of Isaac[7] and also of the present author, cf. V21 below.[8] Isaac's *zhyrwt'* confirms, for the present

[4] Wensinck, New Data Concerning Syriac Mystic Literature, in: Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Serie A 55/4 [1923], 17. According to A. Rücker, in: Morgenland 28 [1936], 41 with n. 5, this homily is by the eighth-century author John (Sābā) of Dalyātā.

[5] = translation 94–95.

[6] = translation 337.

[7] e.g. *ħdm'/ḥẅšb'*, 44 and passim.

[8] Cf. also *šm'ryₜt . . . 'dmy* (C30 = TiiB17a + C68 = TiiiB61.3, R(?)3), B. *'nδm'yt/m'n*, Intox. 23.

passage, lines 6 and 10, my translation of *p'tqwny* as 'vigilance' (DQ 99 on 103); at 57V.4, however, it means 'protection', cf. p. 116 below. The ambiguity of the abstract originates in that of the adj. *p'ty*, which, like English 'guarded', means both 'under guard' and 'on one's guard'. On the formation of *p'tqwny* see Sims-Williams 1981c, 18.

8 *by'nyq 'brz*: in C. Sogdian the phrase *'(m)brz br-* regularly translates Syr. *√sʿr* 'visit' (ST i, 23.11, 30.13, 31.11, cf. also below on 77R.7).[9] Thus *'brz*, not otherwise used without *br-* in C. Sogdian, should mean 'visit(ation)'. Here it is employed for the divine agency bestowing spiritual gifts, corresponding to ʿAbdišoʿ Ḥazzāyā's *sʿwrwt'*[10] (< *√sʿr*), which Mingana translates 'divine visitation'.

9 *t'rqwny*: Isaac of Nineveh uses the terms 'darkness' *(ʿmṭn', ḥšk', ḥšwk')* or 'darkness of the soul' of the spiritually unreceptive state of mind in which temptation, doubt and despair flourish.[11]—*ptzm'ny'* 'sloth, apathy, indifference, disgust', cf. Benveniste Etudes 1, 303.

10 *'wšc*: a hapax legomenon, for which a meaning such as 'failure, negligence' seems to be required. Phonologically *'wšc* is ambiguous. If it derives from **ā-wišti-* it may be connected with B. *"wyštk* ~ Chin. 亂 *luan* 'confusion' (Vim. 148), Khot. *āviṣṭaa-* 'distracted', Arm. *višt* and *všt-* 'distress, trouble', cf. Bailey JRAS 1953, 97–99. Alternatively, according to a suggestion of Dr. Gershevitch, one might reconstruct **awa-sčasti-* 'negligence', comparing Av. *avasčastō.fravaši-* 'who has neglected(?) the *fravaši*-s'. Yet another possibility is mentioned below, p. 149.

12–13 *žny' ptnmy'*: see Gershevitch 1962, 77–83. Here it corresponds to Syr. *mlk'* 'advice' in the passage of Isaac quoted below (on line 16).

13 *ms c'f*: the meaning is established from 48R.5 and 66R.4, where *ms c'f* translates *(w-)'p-n* 'even if, although'.

14 *'dysn* 'example', see Benveniste Etudes 2, 123–124.

16 *prm'qycq*: the meaning 'experience' is assured by the context, which is paralleled by Isaac 297[12]: 'Do not ask advice from one whose aim in life is different from yours, although he be very wise. An ignorant man *(hdywṭ')* who has experienced *(nsy)* things is more to be trusted than a wise man who speaks of such things as a result of consideration *(bwḥn')* without experience *(nsyn')* of them.' Similarly ʿAbdišoʿ Ḥazzāyā 268b[13]: 'No-one knows this from books and from hearsay, but only from his personal experience *(nsyn' d-b-qnwmh)*.' Formally, *prm'qycq* may be compared with *zm'qycq* 'temptation' (57V.4, 83R.3) beside B. *zm'y'yck'* (P9.82) < *zm'y*.[14] It is therefore an abstract belonging to an unattested verb **prm'y*, whose meaning must have been in the general area 'try out, experiment; find out, experience'. Cf. Skt. *pari-mimīte* 'measure around, determine, estimate', Arm. *parmayem* 'test', Chor. *prm'h-* 'try, test, probe' (~ NP *āzmūdan*).[15] In Parthian and Middle Persian, *prm'y-* has developed the meaning 'think', presumably by transference to the mental sphere of the sense 'try out, find out'. The meaning 'think' was assumed in GMS § 964 also for Sogd. **prm'y* on the basis of its only other derivative attested, M. *m'n prm'ṭyy* 'φρόνησις, thoughtfulness, prudence', C. *m'ny prm'ty* (C4 = TiiB27a, R4, R19–20 (Lentz)), S. *m'nprm't'k* (KG 363), *m'ny prm'tk* (P3.205, cf. Henning, Paris Texts 729), *m'nyprm't'y* (SCE 317) 'thought'.[16] However, the contribution of *m'n(y)* 'mind' to the meaning of the compound must be taken into account. An interpretation as 'making trial mentally' is supported by Kuchean *maim-palsko* 'consideration', literally 'measure-thought',[17] which might be regarded as a loan-translation from Sogdian.

17 *prtw* 'time, *fois*', see Schwartz STSC 153 and revisions 9; Sims-Williams 1983, 49.

17–18 *m⟨n⟩tptz'ṇyty bwt wšnty* '(as for) the ignorant, it comes to them' = 'it comes to the ignorant'. This 'resumptive' usage of the pronoun is common in Syriac. For Sogdian cf. for example 40R.18.

18 *ny qt' bwt qt ywxt' ḅy*: here two constructions seem to have been confused, (1) **ny ywxt' by* and (2) **ny qt' bwt qt ywxc' by*,[18] but the construction as it stands (literally 'it is not possible that it can be taught')

[9] M. *'nβrz βr-* is translated 'receive (guests)' in GMS § 655, hardly correctly.

[10] ʿAbdišoʿ Ḥazzāyā 263a ff. = translation 149ff.

[11] Isaac 52, 329, 339–341 = translation 37, 220, 227–228.

[12] = translation 198.

[13] = translation 157.

[14] Dr. Gershevitch proposes that *zm'qycq* and *prm'qycq* are derived from their respective verbal bases via nominal stems **zm'q* and **prm'q*, cf. GMS § 980.

[15] According to Burrow TPS 1980, 134–140, Iranian *ā-mā*, *uz-mā-*, etc. 'prove, test' do not belong to the root *mā-* 'measure' but to a distinct root *mā-* 'ascertain' (together with *ni-mā-* 'show' and *fra-mā-* 'order').

[16] Formally *prm'ṭyy* may be equated with Chor. *prm'dk* 'affliction' (< 'trial', cf. MacKenzie, Supplement to Henning's Dictionary 45).

[17] W. Krause, Tocharisch, in: Handbuch IV/3, 37.

[18] The latter construction is scarcely attested—cf. however 14R.22 and 61R.30—but may safely be assumed on the basis of the present passage alone in view of the parallel between the two passive constructions and their active equi-

was perhaps not unacceptable, cf. the similar tautology in 22–23 below: 'they cannot teach anyone . . . (how) to learn . . .'

19/20 *brxš-* 'shoot' = B. *βr(')xš(-)* cf. Benveniste Etudes 1, 299–300; MacKenzie SCE p. 38 on 226; Gershevitch 1970, 305; and below, p. 176.

19 *qt prpw brẇ*: the verb *prp* translates inter alia Syr. *'yty (ayti)* as mentioned above, p. 53 n. 7. Hence *prp* + *brẇ* may translate Syr. *'yty p'r̈'* 'bring forth fruit'. Already Benveniste Etudes 1, 301, suggested from the context «pour en tirer fruit(?)», using the false form *prfw*. The ending *-w*, apparently 1 sg. inj., cannot be correct. In Etudes 2, 120–121, no explanation is offered.

20 *pw'zy wy'q* 'a place apart' and *pw'zwny* 'retreat, isolation', cf. Benveniste Etudes 1, 333 n. 14. Cf. Chor. *bwz-* 'disperse', caus. *bw'zy-*.[19] C. *pw'z* (C34 = Bul. 99, R(?)16) and S. *'pw'zy* (B14, b2) are unclear. – *p̣cynyq* 'appropriate' (Benveniste Etudes 1, 301).

21 *zwz-*: Benveniste ibid. interpreted this new verb as 'shoot' and *xw p'θ* (which would normally be nom., cf. below, p. 96) as its object. The fact–not noted by Hansen–that the *xw* before *zwzy* is deleted makes it possible to understand *xw p'θ* as the subject and *zwz-* as an intrans. verb 'fly up' < * *uz-waza-*.[20] B. *z-ywz-* 'id.' (Padm. 25) can now be seen to be an irregular spelling (representing *z̊waz-*, cf. Sims-Williams forthcoming b) of the same verbal stem. This is preferable to the explanation put forward by MacKenzie BSTBL II, 10 (*zewž-* < **zwež-* < **uz-wazya-*), which involves a unique type of metathesis and cannot be applied to the C. form.

xšnyrq 'sign, mark' here means 'target' as recognized by Benveniste loc. cit. Probably it here translates Syr. *nyš'*, which, like NP *nišān* (on which see Gershevitch 1971, 272–279), has both meanings.

22 *w(y)šqyšty*: the meaning of *wiškerδ* has been taken to be 'pierce', but the evidence from C2 rather suggests that the basic meaning is 'strike', since it translates *γqpḫ (pa''el)* 'beat, cuff' at 48R.17 and *γnqš* 'knock, strike, knock in, fix, etc.' in its particular connotations 'nail, knock in' (66V.18) and 'fix, set up, pitch (a tent)' (87R.11).[21] This last sense is also required in the present passage, as Benveniste saw (loc. cit.). Elsewhere we have the noun *wšk'rδ* (SCE 247) translating Chin. 'nail' or 'needle' and the phrase *ZKw xrwy wyškyrδ* (P3.199), compared by Henning, Paris Texts 728–729, with Pahl. *xwarg škastan* 'break up live coals'.[22]

24–25 The metaphor is a commonplace. For the image of the soul as a ship cf. *m'ny n'w*, V23. The 'terrible ocean' represents the ascetic life as for instance in Isaac of Nineveh: 'the unfathomable sea of the life of silence *(dwbr' d-šly')*';[23] 'the rough sea of quietude *(šlywt')*'.[24]

25 *qmpt*: unfortunately it is not quite clear whether it was intended to insert a letter between *q* and *m*, but on the whole *qmpt* seems the most probable reading. Hansen read *q'mpt*, for which Schwartz has suggested the translation 'restraints, controls, disciplines', with an etymology to *γkamp-* 'bend' (STSC 148). The meaning would be suitable, and the etymology is made more rather than less likely by the removal of the '. However, if the reading is in fact *qmpt*, it would be unreasonable not to identify this word with the *qmp* 'stratagem' discussed above, p. 60. In the present context 'stratagems' provides a close parallel with *qnw'ncy'* 'skill' and *γrb'qy'* 'knowledge' in the preceding lines.[25]

qw pn: the phrase *qw pn ny swq't mrtxmy̱* was translated by Benveniste Etudes 1, 322, as «jusqu'à ce qu'il n'y ait plus personne». This reveals a serious misunderstanding of the conjunction *qw pn*, which means not 'until' but 'so long as': *qwpn by̱ tγw* (V26) 'so long as you are . . .'; *c'f žmnw qw prm wyšpšy̱ ryncq [xc]y.* (Sundermann 1981, Text 20, R21–V1) 'so long as[26] the heir is a minor'; *'kw prm* (P2 passim)

valents (1) *ny ywxt' wnnt* (31R.22 and similarly passim) and (2) **ny qt' wnnt qt ywcynt* (cf. ST i, 41 bottom.3; ST ii/1. 61, 84; C2/60V.18–19, 61R.19, 61V.27–28, 94R.30–94V.1). In ST i one also finds in the active (3) **ny qt' wnnt pr ywc* (cf. 44.7–8, 9–10, 62.14, 66.21–22), but since in every case this translates the Syr. construction with inf., while Syr. *d-* + impf. is represented by *qt* + subj. (construction 2), there is no reason to suppose that it is a native Sogdian formula.

[19] MacKenzie 1971a, 76; 1971c, 523.

[20] Dr. Gershevitch tells me that *zwwz-* 'fly up' is also attested in the Man. Bactrian fragment (M1224) which he is editing. Av. *uz-vaz-* happens not to occur in this sense but only as a trans. verb 'draw up/out' like Skt. *ud-vah-*; cf. however the meaning of *avi-uz-vaz-* and other compounds.

[21] Cf. NP *zadan* 'to pitch (a tent)' and S. *'zytw δ'r*, B17, R14, as interpreted in Gershevitch 1962, 85.

[22] See also Henning TPS 1945, 152 n. 1.

[23] Isaac 125 = translation 85. [24] Isaac 467 = translation 313.

[25] Isaac of Nineveh uses the term 'stratagems' (Syr. *pwr̈s'* < Gk. πόρος) as a technical term for the 'contrivances' of human knowledge as opposed to faith in divine providence (cf. the introduction to Wensinck's translation, lv–lvi), but this cannot be intended here.

[26] Here *c'f žmnw* is a literal translation of the Syr. idiom *km' zbn'* 'as much time', followed by the idiomatic rendering *qw prm*.

'so long as'; *kw prm ZNH ctth . . . myn'tk'm* (Nov. 4, R9–10) 'so long as Čatta shall remain . . .'. Only with the negative does *qw pn ny*, literally 'so long as . . . not', mean 'until'[27]: *qw pn ny txyẓt xwr* (94V.18) 'until the sun sets'; *kw prm L' twy'z'n* (Nov. 4, R22) 'until I shall pay'; and the present passage 'until a man shall remain . . .'. The adverbial *qw pn* differs in this respect from the prepositional *qw . . . pn*,[28] which means both 'during' (e.g. *qw šẓy ṃyd pn* 'for three days', 87R.7; *wyt'wr 'kw 'yw ''yh prm* 'for an age', P5.76) and 'until, up to' (e.g. *'kw ''y'm prm* 'until the end', P5.9; *wytwr qw qšy prm* 'until now', ST i, 72.16–17) without any formal distinction.

26 *'bstw 'wr'm* (also in V4) 'constant quietude' ~ Syr. *šly' 'myn'* (John the Solitary 78).[29] Similarly *'bscy pcwq'ny* (R27) corresponds to *ṣlwt' 'mynt'* 'constant prayer', an expression used (in alternation with *'mynwt' d-ṣlwt'* 'constancy in prayer') by both Isaac of Nineveh and Joseph Ḥazzāyā.[30] The equation of *'bsty* with Syr. *'myn'* 'perpetual, constant, assiduous' confirms the meaning ('constant' < 'permanent' < 'fixed') conjectured for these contexts in DQ 101. Professor Emmerick refers me to Pahl. *paywastag*, Khot. *pabasto* etc. 'continually'. Elsewhere in C2 *'bynt/'bst* (usually construed with *qw . . . s'*) means 'be joined or attached (to), accompany' (~*nqyp* 'attached', 40V.22, 108R.7; ~*mtlwyn* 'accompany', 40V. 21; ~*mštwt-pyn* 'have fellowship with', 40V.10). On *'bynt* see Benveniste Etudes 2, 131, who defines it as «intransitif-passif». As Dr. Gershevitch pointed out to me, *'bynt* is middle rather than passive, the Sogd. pass. of √*band-* being B. *βyδ'y-* < **badya-* (see MacKenzie SCE p. 51). The preverb may be *ā-* (as in B. *''β'stk*, P2. 550) or more likely *ham-* (as in C. *'mbyst*, STSC 146 line 8; B. *'nβ'st*, VJ 342, P2.287, P5.24–25; *'nβ'nt*, passim; M. *'nβndcykṭ*, M6940, see Boyce Catalogue 129).

26–27 Both *w'ry bwt* and *'ṇcyt* govern *cn* (cf. *w'ryt xnt cn (γr)'m'*, 55V.28; *cnn 'xš'ywn mnc'y*, VJ 435–436). A slight difficulty is created by *qy*, which it seems necessary to translate '(by means of) which', though for this one would expect *qy (. . .) cyw/pryw*. A possible explanation is that in the Syriac source *mnh* (=**cyw*) immediately preceded the words *mn ṣlwt' 'mynt'* 'from constant prayer' and was mistaken by the translator for a redundant anticipation of the following *mn*+noun (a common Syriac idiom). On the other hand, it may be that the ellipsis assumed was less offensive to Sogdian ears than the constant repetition of the prep. *cn*. (Cf. Henning BBB p. 75 on 607.)

27–28 *xwny qy prymyd fryn' ny wn't 'mptq'* ~ *hw̌ . . . d-hkn' l' 'bd ṅpl* 'he who does not do thus will fall' (last line of the Syr. text on p. 135 below).

28 *''y*: see Benveniste Etudes 2, 131.—*'wr'my šw'mc* ~ *dwbr' d-šly'* in the passage from Isaac of Nineveh quoted above, p. 74 on lines 24–25.

31V

1 *pynmcyqty 'yẓšty šy' 'br'mnt'* 'the recollection of previous things (=sins, cf. *γw'nty šm'r'*, V5)'. Cf. ʿAbdišoʿ Ḥazzāyā 265b: *'whdn' d-mtqdmn̈wt' d-'t'br bhyn* 'the memory of previous things in which he has transgressed'. Like our author, ʿAbdišoʿ considers this to be a feature of the first ('corporeal') period.

2 *'xwṣyd*: this verb occurs several times with the meaning 'incite' (cf. Benveniste Etudes 1, 327; MacKenzie CSN 121). The present passage indicates a more general sense 'encourage', in full agreement with the etymology proposed by Benveniste and perfected by Schwartz STSC 149.

3 As Benveniste has pointed out, Etudes 2, 132, *y'n θb(')rqy'* is a technical term 'Grace'. Its pl. (only here) may therefore correspond to *ṭybẅt'* 'favours, blessings', pl. of *ṭybwt'* 'Grace'.—*pr . . . dstw* 'by means of' (an idiom also used by the Manicheans, cf. KG 393) is calqued on Syr. *b-yd*.

5 *šwšn p'yqy'*: abstract of a compound containing *šwšn*, perhaps 'obedience, discipline' < **sraušanā-*, and °*pāyē* 'keeping, observing' (cf. B. *p'š-p'y'k*, P2.1180–1181).

5–6 *šw bž'xwq sty*: contamination of *šw bž'xwq wnty* (cf. *šw xwsnt wnnt*, V12–13) and *šy bž'xwq sty*?

6 *'dyq*: the meaning 'custom, habit' has been established by Benveniste Etudes 2, 125, from *'dyq myc* ~ *ʿyd'* 'custom', 61V.22. This sense suits V30 below and M. *'nδyk* in the expression *fs'k 'ṯyy 'nδ(y)[k]* (Kawān, G28–29), *'nδyk (f)s'k* (Man. Letter 2.15). Some other passages seem to require a slightly different connotation, perhaps 'manner', cf. BBB f91; P3.155, 158; KG 525, 529.[31] The same two senses coexist in a group of words with which the Sogdian is probably etymologically connected (Professor Schwartz in-

[27] Cf. NP *tā* 'so long as' and 'until', which "in the sense of 'until' normally requires *na* in the *tā* clause" (A. K. S. Lambton, Persian Grammar, Cambridge 1953, 158). Similarly in Sanskrit *na* is often used with *yāvat* when it means 'until'. In Sogdian, unlike these languages, the negative *must* be used where 'until' is intended.

[28] Sometimes reinforced by *wytwr*.

[29] =translation 93.

[30] Isaac 259, 304, 544, 557; Joseph Ḥazzāyā 258a, 259a.

[31] Henning's suggestions for M. *'nδyk* ('nature, characteristic', BBB p. 105 on f91; 'skill, art, ability', BSOAS 11/1 [1943], 69 n. 7) seem largely founded on this last passage.

forms me that he has made the same comparison): NP *āīn*, MP *ēwēn(ag)* 'custom, manner', MMP *''yng* 'kind, manner', etc., cf. Henning Bráhman 110 and BSOS 9/1 [1937], 80. 'Manner' also seems to suit the present passage, but the syntax is ambiguous and no translation seems altogether satisfactory. Literally: 'that (thought) out of which is a manner which becomes loud weeping'? With this interpretation the *'r c'nw* in line 6 will have to be considered as resuming that in line 4 (cf. *rty c'n'kw . . . rty c'n'kw*, VJ 803–806), since the intervening words will not contain a main clause.

9 *γwry'q* 'exultation' < *γ(w)ry* 'exultant', 60V.24, lacking the pejorative connotation of B. *γwr'k* 'proud' (SCE 370; P5.51), cf. Benveniste Etudes 1, 315; Etudes 2, 132 n. 1.

12 *ptrysty*: Dr. Gershevitch suggests that this light-stem past infinitive, which cannot be equated with the heavy *ptryst* (< **ptryθ* 'mingle' = M. *ptryδ*, B. *ptr'yδ*) in V18, belongs to M. *pṯrwδ* 'grow', BBB 580. The past stem of this verb is spelt *ptrwst-* in S. script (KG 393), but cf. *ptbyst-* < **pati-busta-*.

ẇyc 'stir' (= B. *wyc* 'shake'), cf. Isaac 93[32]: 'the fresh and ardent thoughts which continually stir *(mttzy'yn)* in his soul' (and similarly passim). Cf. below, p. 96, on *(wyš)t*, 51R.14.

13 *'ẇysn't wntq*: in C2, Texts 2–13, *wn-* is inflected as a heavy stem in the trans. potential, cf. *qt'wnt*, 61R.16(?), 19; 94R.30. The fact that *qt'wn* is regularly written as one word in these texts makes it likely that the past stem and auxiliary have coalesced as one word-unit with a single stress, the whole being treated as a heavy stem.[33] A solitary example from outside C2 is *prβ'yrt wnt*, SCE 557.–In GMS § 547 four passages are cited as evidence for a verb *'nwysn* 'initiate': (1) S. *'nwysn't δ'rt*, KG 580; (2) the present passage; (3) M. *'nwysn[y]yṯ*, M134i, R4; (4) M. *m](')wysnw*, M765c, V3. For (3) Dr. Sundermann prefers to read *'nwysy[n]yṯ* or *'nwysy[ny]yṯ*, while (4) has no context and is in every way uncertain. The two remaining passages both attest the past stem, S. *'nwysn't*, C. *'ẇysn't*, from which one cannot determine whether the pres. stem was **'nwysn* or **'nwysn'y*. The latter naturally suggests a compound of *sn'y* 'wash'. However, the translation 'cleanse, purify' has been adopted here not on etymological grounds but solely because it appears to be the only sense applicable to both occurrences. For the context of KG 580 cf. ibid. 385, where the synonymous *w's'wc* is used instead. For the construction with *cn* in the present passage cf. *sn'y + cn* in 57R.14.

15 If the text is correct, *šm'r' prny'* may be 'a flight of thought', cf. S. *prn'(')y* 'fly' (on which see MacKenzie SCE pp. 35–36). However, it is more likely that the scribe has written *šm'r' pr* twice by mistake. The correct text will then be: *pcywfsty*ₜ *wyny šm'r' pr ny'* 'his thought is changed into another . . .'.

15–16 *ny . . . n(yz)ny myšt* 'not natural', i.e. 'superior to (one's) nature' (cf. below on V26), without pejorative implications.

16 *'mpt + pr* 'fall into' = 'occur to' according to a common Syriac idiom (*npl* or *nṭp b-*). This meaning was guessed from the context already by Benveniste Etudes 2, 130.–*tqwš + pr*: probably 'pay heed to' like Syr. *ḥwr b-*.–*r'zy'nt* 'mystical, symbolic' < *r'z* 'mystery, symbol', see Benveniste Etudes 2, 133. For the phrase cf. Isaac 329[34]: *m̈l' 'r̈znyt' d-b-ktb̈'* 'the mystical words which are in the Scriptures'.

18–20 Cf. *Isaac* 93[35]: 'and suddenly springs of tears (of pleasure)[36] will be given to you . . . mingling *(ḥlyṭn)* with all your works *(p̄wlḥn')*, that is, with your (Scripture-)reading *(qryn')*, and with your prayer *(ṣlwt')*, and with your service *(tšmšt')*, and with your meditation *(hrg')*, and with your food and drink and with all that you do'; ibid. 126[37]: 'weeping with which is mingled *(ḥlyṭ')* joy surpassing the sweetness *(ḥlywt')* of honey'. The play on words in the last example was probably found also in the original of the present text: *ptryst* 'to be mingled' (cf. above on 12) ~ *√ḥlṭ*; *n'mr'wy* 'sweetness' (rather than 'humility' as it was interpreted by Henning BBB p. 97 on b85) ~ *ḥlywt'*.

20 *šw'mšty*ₜ: the use of the pl. may be a calque on Syr. *dwb̈r'* (pl.) 'way of life'.–*γmpnty*ₜ: mistake for *γmpnt*, induced by *šw'mšty*ₜ?

21 *'br*: cf. S. *mnβr* 'gathered (his clothing)', P2.698; *'nβr'kw* 'continuously', Padm. 27, 45; *'nβrt'kw*, Intox. 31, *'nβ'rt'kw*, KG 488, C. *'brt(w)*, 57V.14, all meaning 'summar(il)y'.[38] The parallelism of *'brty*ₜ*t (b)nt 'dm̈yt* with *'γ'znt ẇšt šm'ry*ₜ*t* (cf. above, p. 72 on R6–8) indicates the synonymity of *'br* with *'wz* 'collect, gather'. For the phrase 'the limbs are collected' cf. Boyce, A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian, Tehran-Liège 1975, 59 (Acta Iranica IX), with references; the second phrase may be

[32] = translation 63.
[33] But Text 1 has *qt' wntyq'*, 13V.27, with *wn-* written separately and inflected as a light stem.
[34] = translation 220.
[35] = translation 63.
[36] = *hny'wt'* in the preceding sentence.
[37] = translation 85.
[38] See MacKenzie BSTBL II, 10, 80, and cf. Skt. *samāsatas* 'summarily' etc. < *sam-as-* 'put together'.

compared with Philoxenus 57a[39]: 'by the gathering of the thoughts *(knyšwt ḥẅšb')* the secrets of things to come are revealed in the soul'.

22 *ʾ(d)c* 'something' = *'c*, C1.151, B. *''δcw*. For the preservation of *δ* cf. C. *'ydc* 'id.' (C3 = TiiiB61cb, V5) beside the usual *'yc*.

23 *xwš'mntw* 'growth', not 'salvation' with Benveniste Etudes 2, 130, since the verb *wxš* 'save' never undergoes such a metathesis. For the context cf. John the Solitary 17–18[40]: 'if God grants it to him to approach spiritual increase *(trbyt')*, in as much as his mind grows *(rb')* in spirit he desists from weeping and is joyful.'

25 *y'n θbr'qy'*: this form, which is surely impossible, may be due to hesitation between *y'n θbrqy'* (as in ST ii/3.36) and *y'n θb'rqy'* (as elsewhere in C2).

25–26 *šw'mc . . . qy sqyp'r xcy cn nyzn'*: cf. Isaac 362[41]: 'Faith makes its course *(mrdyt')* above nature *(l'l mn kyn')*.' The distinction between 'natural', 'outside nature' and 'above nature' is common to all the Syriac authors listed above, p. 69. A fairly clear statement of the underlying theory is provided by Isaac of Nineveh (here quoted in Wensinck's translation 15–16): 'Natural to the soul is the understanding of all created things, sensible and intelligible. Above its nature is being moved by divine contemplation; external to its nature is being excited emotionally by the affections.'

27 *mzmwrty b(n) sp's* 'long service (= performance) of the Psalms': cf. Bedjan AMS VII, 479.17: *tšmšt' d-mzmwr̄'* 'service of the Psalms'.

28 *γrm'ẓy* 'punishment', see GMS § 1051 with n. 1 and Sims-Williams 1976, 69.

29 *b'ẇwny* = *bwṩny* ~ *ŝpq* 'sufficient, able', 40R.8, 11, which, as the pointing indicates, belongs with the nomina agentis in *-wanĕ* listed in GMS § 1086. Previously *b'ẇwny* was taken as an abstract noun 'perfection' (Henning BBB p. 68 on 546; Benveniste Notes 4, 511; GMS § 1087).

30–31 Cf. the passage of ʿAbdišoʿ Ḥazzāyā quoted above, p. 75 on V1, and Isaac 234[42]: 'by the abandonment of the world and what belongs to it a man easily forgets his former habits (*'ỉjd' qdm̈y'*).' For *frm'ny 'xyṛ'mntẇ* cf. TiiiB61, R(?)4: *[p](r frm)'nyṛ 'xyṛ'[mnty]* and 57V.21: *ʾdm pr xypθ ryž ʾxyṛ pr frm'n* 'Adam by his own will transgressed the commandment'.[43] The meaning 'transgress' is also exemplified by *ʾ(x)[yr]*, 51V.12, and *'(x)[yrd'rtt]* ~ *'brtwn*, 68V.25, if correctly restored. Otherwise C. *'xyr*, B. *''x'yr* means 'walk, go'. I would regard 'transgress' as a specialization of 'cross, pass', a meaning which may have coexisted with 'walk, go' as in the case of the unprefixed S. *x(')yr* 'go' (e.g. Tale F, 15; Tale H, 9) and 'cross, pass' (e.g. SCE 540; Dhy. 238, 243).[44]—The special value here attributed to fasting as a means of repairing the damage caused by the 'transgression of the commandment' (note the sg., which may indicate that the reference is to Adam's original disobedience) may derive from the thought expressed by Isaac of Nineveh, who writes, in a long passage on the benefits of fasting, that those who 'set out to observe the commandments' begin with the observance of 'the first commandment which was imposed on humanity in the beginning, concerning the tasting of food' (Isaac 239–240).[45]

31 *ty*: the Ancient Letters distinguish two case-forms of the 2 sg. enclitic pronoun, *-t* (gen.) < **tai* and *-β* (acc. and abl.) < **θwā* and **θwad*. The same situation probably still obtained at the time of the Mug documents, though the only forms attested are the gen. *-t* (in *rttβγ*, B15.7) and *-ty* (with secondary addition of the nominal obl. ending) and the fossilized abl. *-β* in *c'β(')k*. Since all known B. and M. MSS use *-β(y)*, *-f(y)* indiscriminately for both acc. and gen. it is remarkable that C2 has preserved the original distinction with acc. *-f* and gen. *ty*.

[39] = translation 42*.
[40] = translation 41.
[41] = translation 243.
[42] = translation 158.
[43] For the construction with *pr* cf. Syr. *'br 'l pwqdn'*. Schwartz has interpreted *ʾxyṛ pr* as 'went against' (Schwartz 1975, 197 n. 8), which can hardly be maintained in face of the occurrences of *'xyr* 'transgress' without *pr*.
[44] Cf. Chor. *²xr-* 'go, pass' (MacKenzie, Mélanges Benveniste 392).
[45] = translation 161.

Text 3: Dādišoʿ Qaṭrāyā's commentary on the fifteenth homily of Abbā Isaiah (ff. *39–*48R.24)

The identification of Sogdian fragments of Dādišoʿ Qaṭrāyā's commentary on the fifteenth homily of Abbā Isaiah was announced in 1973 in my article DQ. The substance of that article–text, translation and commentary–has been incorporated into the present work, which, however, differs from the former in several respects. Text: since the publication of DQ another small fragment of f. *40 (containing part of R6–11, V7–11) and the conclusion of the Sogd. text (*48R.1–24)[1] have been identified; the addenda in DQ 101–102 and many further improvements resulting from first-hand study of the original MSS and photographs have been incorporated. Translation: the differences between the Sogd. and Syr. texts have been indicated in foot-notes. Commentary: where points discussed in DQ are dealt with in the present work elsewhere than in the corresponding place in the commentary to Text 3, cross-references have been inserted to facilitate comparison; where I have altered my view the fact has been indicated by an explicit retraction unless it is in any case implicit in my text, translation or commentary. Thus, while it should not be necessary to refer from the present work to DQ, it should always be possible and simple to refer from DQ to this new edition.

The Syriac text included in DQ 102–105 has been omitted, since this differed only in insignificant details from that of R. Draguet, Commentaire du livre d'Abba Isaïe (logoi I–XV) par Dadišo Qaṭraya (VIIᵉ s.), Louvain 1972 (CSCO/SS CXLIV), 251–253 (=f. 39), 254–256 (=f. 40), 274 (=f. 48R), translated ibid. CXLV, 193–194 (=f. 39), 195–197 (=f. 40), 211 (=f. 48R). Draguet prints verbatim the text of the MS Alqoš 239 (c. 1885 A.D.) (=**A**), from which derive all other extant MSS (**BCHV**). MS **A** is itself a copy of Siirt 74 (c. 14th cent.), now lost and known only from a few excerpts published by A. Scher, in: JA 1906, 103–118 (=**S**). In establishing a Syr. text as a basis for my combined translation of the Syriac and the Sogdian I have inevitably relied chiefly on **A**, occasionally preferring a reading of **S** or of one of Dādišoʿ's sources (Isaiah, Macarius) where this is supported by the Sogdian.[2]

[1] This is not coterminous with the Syr. text, since the Sogd. breaks off in the midst of a paragraph and concludes with a formulaic petition.

[2] A few minor corrections and additional notes to Draguet's text may be noted here: 251.12 *dbp̈q'*] misprint for *d-b-g̈p'*; 252.25 and 253.1 *'n*] S *d-'n* (=Sogd. *cwt*, 39V.6, 9); 255.29 *npq'*] Isaiah (the source of the quotation) +*npš'* (=Sogd. *rw'n*, 40V.13).

***39R**

1 b]žyq. 't b'w'z wyny sry qw sm'ny
2 [pn 't cn wyny wyspn' qyr']n γrf rmy.. qẋt w'nc'nw pr( )w'zt[a]
3 [frwz'znt]q̣y'. 't fyr'z xw xypt[b] dstw w'n qt
4 [ny'sy 'dw 't ny qt'wnt p]rywyd p't x'nt qy frwz'znt pr( )w'zt.[a]
5 [y'nt m'tnt qy p'ynt](*xyp*)θ wrnw. 't xypθ šyṛyt qtẋt. 't
6 [nyt ny's'z. 'wnw n'x](.) w'nt qy wrnw ny pcγšd'rnt. 't cn
7 [šyryt qtyty dwr m'tnt](.) 't wyn'z 'wnw bžyq mrty qt
8 [dnt' šq'f'z pr trxqy](')q prywnt qy sn'znt qw nwšc
9 [žw'n s'. nyst'wy z'ty wyspw]'dw q'm'z qt ny'sy 't
10 [ywny b' wxr qw šyrqtw '](*n*t)wn s' qy myd w'b. qt
11 't wyd](γt)y ptybyd.. qt 'yny

[a] apparently prw'zt (as one word), but this may be due to a shortage of space at the end of the line [b] sic

***39R**

. . . *And he (=Antony) lifted up his eyes and saw a figure of a man which was infinitely* vile, and his head reached to heaven, *and on every side of him* (were) many people ⌜who, as if on wings, *were flying*[3] *and* . . .;[4] and he was stretching[5] out his hand[6] so that *he might take someone, and he could not* because those who were flying on wings (5) *were they that had kept* their faith and their good[7] works, and *the rest he was taking, namely* those who had not received the faith and *were far* from *good*[7] *works.* And he saw ⌜that vile man,[8] that *he was gnashing (his) teeth bitterly* over those who were ascending to eternal[7] *life; the*

[3] Sy 'as if they were flying on wings'. [4] Sy 'ascending from him'. [5] Sy 'putting'. [6] Sy pl. [7] Sy om. [8] Sy 'him'.

12]pr myd'n. šmnw
13 tym fy'](t)r wγ̣ṛyš
14 [d'rt m'sy s]qwny ·:·
15](n)y
16]('t)
(the lower half of the page missing)

son of perdition ⌜was desiring[9] that he might take *every* one.[10] And (10) *immediately there was a voice (speaking)* to *the Blessed* Antony, which said: '*Know the thing which has happened!'; and* then he understood that this *was the causeway of souls and (that) he who was standing* in the middle *is* Satan, *the enemy of righteousness. This vision which he had* aroused *him still* more *and stirred him up to distinguish himself in his old* age. (15) . . .

***39V**

1 wγtw bwtq qt prpntq' m'x š[tf'rmyq[a] qt pr cwty b'd yw]
2 ḏyw cxty dn mrtxm' prw'.[b] 't b'd (γ)[rf pncmyq qt qw swqnt]
3 qt'ny q'rytẏ rw'nt cn ftyr'mnt' [pšys' 't qt ptbydnt 't 'ntwxc]
4 xwrnt qt' nẏ xwšmyq[a] qt qẇ [mynnt 'rt'wty rw'nt cn xypθ]
5 nyž'mnt' pšys''. 't qt ptbyd(n)[t 't γwbty' ptwydnt qt' ny]
6 btmyq[a] cwt wynnt 'rt'wty rw'nt [qy ybwstny m'x xypθ-'wnt pr]
7 rwxšny'qy ẉyn'ncyqy''. 't (γ)[wbty' ptwydnt qw bγw s' cn]
8 r'zty pyd'r qy ẉyn'ncyq(t)[qtnt qw wyšnt s' qt' ny štmyq]
9 cwt pcwq'n wnnt zprt(t)['dyty rw'nt qy ybwstny 't z'wr]
10 θbrty wšnty nm'c[qw wyšnt s' qy prywnt qwrc]
11 w'dw pcxšnt (q)[t' ny nwmyq cwt wγšnt 'rt'wty rw'nt]
12 qy bwstny [qt' ny ·:·
13 ¨m'ty [
14 ¨znty [
15 ftm[cyq[a]
(the lower half of the page missing)

Syriac numerical letters, with decorative punctuation, are written in the margin by lines 1 (d), 2 (h), 4 (w), 6 (z), 9 (ḫ), 11 (t) and 15 (')
[a] in red ink [b] the point above the w is probably accidental

***39V**

Third.[11] *Why, although a single one of the angels alone accompanies each one of us here (and) also after our departure from the world until the resurrection, for the honour of the image (of God), yet* it is said that *many angels* will conduct us.

Fourth. *Why sometimes one* demon fights with a man and sometimes *many.*

Fifth. Where the souls of sinners *exist after* (their) passing *and whether they are conscious and* grieve[12] or not.

Sixth. Where *the souls of the righteous dwelt* (5) after *their* departure and whether they are conscious *and give praise or not.*

Seventh. Whether the souls of the righteous *in Paradise* see *Our Lord in* a manifestation of light and *praise God* for the mysteries which *are* revealed *to them or not.*

Eighth. Whether *the souls* of the saints *in Paradise* pray *and (whether)* (10) their prayer[6] assists[6] *those who* take refuge *in them or not.*

Ninth. Whether the souls of the righteous in Paradise *rejoice or not.*

On the subject of these nine headings, then, I am ready to speak, *by the Grace of Our Saviour, for the completion* of *this* account *and for the greater enlightenment of the reader.* (15)

First. . . .

***40R**

1 dbtyq qt pr cwty xy]pθ rw'ny
2 [sn'mnty žmny' wyn 'ntwnys ptry γrf dywt qt]šw pcwx'y'znt
3 ['t ps' γrf rmy sn'mnty žmny' wšmnw x]wdq'r qt pcwx'y'z·:·

***40R**

Second. Why, at the time of his soul's *ascension, Father Antony saw many demons, that* they were holding it back, *but at the time of the ascension of many*

[9] Sy 'was (=would have been) delighted'. [10] Sy + 'with him'. [11] Sy + 'chapter' (thus throughout 39V and 40R). [12] Sy 'suffer and grieve'.

4 xyd qy š(*m*)[nw xwdq'r pcwx'y'z wyd]γrḟ rmw: 't ps'
5 'ntwnys ptṛy (r)[w'ny ryty γrf dywt] nyžnt'. dw' 'ẏc 'štẏtqn. yw
6 '(y)c. qt šmn(*w*)[žwγtry 't bžtry x]c(y) cn s't dẏwty wyny ¨mrθty:
7 't w'nc'nw (*x*)[wštr 't xwšywny]xcy pr s't dẏwty xš'wn 't
8 wšnty γnt'q. (')[t dbtyq 'yc qt b]wẇny xcy yw yw cn dẏwty 't
9 tym ḟy'tr ḍywty xwštr (p)[r 'xwnc qr](w)n dn wyspn' prw. 't wyspw
10 ¨dw xw qy xcy γnt'qy s[ry'qyc] pr pw wrẏt tmp'rmyšt
11 n' ptšt[y]'nt šm'rẏt bwẇny xc(y) qt (*šw*)[ ]žẇžẏ. c'nw bž'xwq wnty
12 't wγryšt ¨ywzẏt: 't brty 't '(b)rt pr n' ptšty'nt šm'rẏt..
13 [']t fcm(*b*)dcyqt rwžtẏt pwn wnty mrtxṃyty ży'wry[a] štyq[b]
14 [q]t pr cwty c'nw yw yw fryštẏ '(ẇ r'θẏ) xcy qw wyspw yw yw
15 [s](') cn m'x: (md)y 't ms cn m'x[ny](ž)'mnt' pšys' qy cn
16 (f)cmbdy wytwr qw 'xz'mntw [pn] cn bγ'nyq ptq'rẏ zpry'qy
17 pyd'r. tym γrḟ fryštyt (wγt)w ycy qt šqrntq' m'x·:·-·:·
18 wyspy yw[a] cn mrtxmyty yw (f)ryšty θbrtẏ bwt qyw s' cn s(f)rynn'
19 qw w(yn)y p'y'mntw s' cn wyd'(b)[c] w'nc(')nw šy wr=(q)'(rẏ) xcy'. tym
20 ḟy'tr cn bγ'nyq ptq'ṛ(y) zpry'qy p(y)d'r. cn wyny s(fr)yn='mnty
21 ¨γ'z qy yz'tẏ brcy 'wnw n'x c'nw ḟθm'tẏ bẏ 't sḟrytẏ xw
22 rw'n pr tmp'r cn wyny pwx'[y']m(n)tẏ spwny'(q)y p(*š*)ys'.. wytwr qw
23 'xz'mnty žmnw pn. 't mrtxṃy ftyr'mntẏ žmny'. prpt x(yd) fryšty

(several lines missing)

[a] sic [b] in red ink [c] or wyd'(b*y*)

people Satan alone,[13] that he was holding (them) back.

That (fact), that Satan *alone was holding back* ⌜*those* many[14] people but (5) *many demons* went out *to meet the soul* of Father Antony, shows two things. One thing is that Satan is *fiercer and worse* than all the demons (who are) his companions and is like *a chief and king* over[15] all the might of the demons and[16] their wickedness, *and the other thing is that* a single one of the demons is sufficient, and[7] still more the chief of demons, ⌜to do[17] *battle* with everyone,[18] and every (10) body—⌜he who is[19] *lord* of wickedness is able to sift him[7] by means of worthless,[20] corporeal,[20] unstable thoughts,[18] whilst he vexes the heart(s) of men, and arouses tempests (in them), and bears and fetches (them) with unstable thoughts, and fills (them) with the desires of the world.

Third. Why, although a single angel[21] accompanies each one (15) of us here and[7] also after our departure from the world until the resurrection, for the honour of the image ⌜of God,[7] yet it is said that many angels will conduct us.

(As for) each one amongst men, one angel is given to him by the creator, for his protection from harm[6] as[22] is expedient ⌜for him[7] (and) still (20) more for the honour of the image of God, from the beginning of his creation in the womb—that is,[23] when the soul is breathed in and created[24] in the body after the completion of its formation—until the time of the resurrection. And at the time of a man's passing that[25] angel conducts *the soul and takes it up to Paradise according to God's commandment. And if the soul was righteous he enters Paradise with it and remains with it until the day of the resurrection; for then the soul puts on its body and with the body and the angel which accompanies it they are taken up to meet Our Lord and enter heaven with Him. But if the soul was sinful the angel leaves it that it may go with the demons whom it served in sin, that they may take it to Sheol, which is a dark region*

[13] Sy +'he saw'. [14] Sy 'all those'. [15] Sy 'of'. [16] Sy +'of'. [17] Sy 'for'. [18] Sy +... [19] Sy 'that'. [20] Sy +'and'. [21] Sy +'alone'. [22] Sy 'where'. [23] Sy +'from'. [24] Sy +'in it'. [25] Sy 'the'.

***40V**

1 [p](wn) myγ: γdn [
2 [q]t sty dn rw'n (prw) š[ywl[a] qw 'xz'mntw pn cn bγ'nyq ptq'ry]
3 [z]pry'qy pyd'r. c'nw ny [bwt wyny 'yc wyd'b qt' ptyθy' prymyd]
4 qt stysqn dn rw'n prw d[ywyd wy'qy]t ms[b]
5 wyd'b(qy)n 't ptyθy ny qty [pr wyny swq'm dyw pr]w qy yfcmbdy'[.]
6 prywyd wntn pd'ty 't bžnq'ry(')[qy wn'z prywyd 'bnt] qy šy m't
7 dywty prw: pr y'tqwny 'rqt ['t ptqry sp](')s(q)y' ·:· 'r
8 w'nc'nw nyt fryštyt 'wpty'[pt bnt qw fryš]tw s' qy dn
9 šyrqty rw'n prw sty nyž'[mnty žmny' p](r*ym*)[y](*d*)frγn' ms γrf
10 dywt 'byntnt qywyd dyw s' [qy wn'z]γnt'q p(r) (q)t'ny= q'rw
11 rw'n nyž'mnty žmny' q(y) (c)[n tmp]'r. cn wšnty xwsnty' pyd'r
12 qy pr wyny nst'ẇ. 't pr (wšn)ty ryž qy s(p)ty qty cyw ·:· y(y)[d]
13 w'xš qy ⟨w⟩γd'rt 'šγy' ptry. qt c'nw nyž't rw'n cym[yd]
14 fcmbdy: šwntq' dyw p(r)w fryštyt: 't wyd'γty nyžntq' wy(n)[y]
15 ryty s't t'ry sp'dy'nt(.) 't q'mntq' ny't qt šw xwznt
16 qt sty cn wyšnty xypθ '(y)c pryw. ny s't dywt qy wsprd wy'q[]
17 w'btqn. yw'r w'nt dywt qy cx'd'rn(*t*) dyw prw pr s't wyny
18 žw'ny žmnw. db't prywnt ds' dyw w'btqn qy cxnt dn·
19 swqb(')rty prw prymnt ds' ny(z)b(')[n](''). pr[y]wyd p' ms fryštyt
20 qy šwntq' dn rw'n prw. ny pr s't fryštyt wγd'rt. yw'[r]
21 prywnt qy 'byntnt qw rw'n s' cn 'rtwy zpry'qy pyd'r. qy
22 qθ'rt dywyd yw fryšt' prw qy '(b)s(t)ẇ[c] xcy'. 't cn wšnty xwsnty'
23 pyd'r qy pr (w)[yn](y) wxš'mntẇ: t(*y*)m (f)[y]'t[r[d]](*c*)n zprt r'zy zpry'(q)y pyd'r
24 qy 'wpty'p qty pr mšyh' tmp'r 't ywxnw 't 'yžn qty ·:· w'nc'nw

(several lines missing)

[a] or γ[dn] [b] +line-filler [c] sic [d] Hansen s't; photo (f)[

***40V**

full of gloom in Eden *outside Paradise. But there are those who say that* he is with ⌜the soul[26] ⌜*in Sheol*[27] *until the resurrection*, for the honour *of the image* ⌜*of God*,[7] although *he does* not *suffer any harm or disgrace through this*, that he is with ⌜the soul[26] *in that place, as* also (5) he did not become harmed[28] and [29] disgraced, *in his being with it* in the world, by ⌜that so great[30] unrighteousness and wickedness *which it used to perform by that intimacy* which it had with demons in works of sorcery *and* the worship *of idols*.

And, as the other angels *are* fellows to *the angel* which is with the soul of the righteous man *at the time of*[31] departure, so too many (10) demons are associated with that[32] demon *which was performing* evil[6] in the sinful soul at the time of[31] departing *from the* body, because of their joy in its perdition and in[33] their desire which has been fulfilled by it. That thing which Father Isaiah said, that when the soul departs from this world the angels will go with it, and then there will go out (15) to meet it all the soldiers of darkness, and they will desire to[34] take (it)[26] ⌜that they may[35] examine it, whether there is in it anything of theirs—he does not speak of all demons everywhere but of those[36] demons which fought with it in all its lifetime. Perhaps he is talking about those[37] ten demons which fight with the monks through these ten passions, because also (in respect of) the angels (20) who will go with the soul he was not talking about all ⌜the angels[38] but about those which accompany ⌜the soul,[26] ⌜for the honour of the righteousness which it performed together with that one angel which is attached (to it),[39] and because of their joy in its salvation, (and) still more for the honour of the ⌜holy mystery of which it became a partaker in the body and blood of Christ and (of which) it was worthy.[40] As (25) *the Blessed John Chrysostom says:* . . .

[26] Sy 'it'. [27] Sy 'there'. [28] Sy +'in any way'. [29] Sy 'or'. [30] Sy 'all that'. [31] Sy +'its'. [32] Sy 'the'. [33] Sy +'the fulfilment of'. [34] Sy 'that they may'. [35] Sy 'and'. [36] Sy 'all the'. [37] Sy 'these'. [38] Sy 'of them'. [39] Sy 'together with the angel which is attached to it, for the honour of the righteousness which it performed'. [40] Sy 'sharing of the holy mysteries of the body and blood of Christ of which it was worthy'.

***48R**

1 wγ](*d*)'rt (pw)lws. c'nwt ny [γrb'msq
2 xw]cy ṣydtq mn' nyž(')[mnty
3]=[ ](*p*r)w 'yžn bnq'. 't m(s)[
4 [ ]=[ ]=[p](r*yw*)[y](d) (q)t γrḟ cn wγ'ṃ[yty qw mšyḫ' wrnw]
5 [s](' pn)t šq(r)nq'. (nw)q(r) (m)s c'ḟ (*w*rq)'rx̣ xc[y mn' nyž'mnty qy]
6 [c]n fc(m)b(d)y: cn wy(ṛ*y*θ'm)nt' pyd'r qy mš(yḫ)'[prw. yw'r]
7 [x]cy ms '(yn)y qt prxsn cn šm'⟨x⟩ py(d')r ·:· (*s*)[wq'm qy mšyḫ' prw 't]
8 [w](*y*)ryθ'mntẇ (q)y mšy[ḫ](')prw w'btqn mp(š)q[n': ny wyd qy]
9 bwtq' npwlwsy sm'ncyq wšm[a] wštm'xy dn (*m*')[x xypθ'wnt prw]
10 (yw)'r ẓyd (qy) bwt(q)' wyny 't np'rx̣qty ptγ'm(b)rx̣t[y mšyḫ' prw]
11 ybwst(n)y'. (c')nw ['yžn](t) bntq' pr (w)yn wyny m'n(wq)=[y' pwn]
12 (nwš)c[žw']n pr wy(n)y γwbc rwxš(n)[y]'q qy[b] (w)yd'(s=*n*)[y](q)[wyn'ncyqy']
13 qy bwtq' pr wyšnt ·:· qt nwq(r) m(d)x̣ c'nw tympn p(r)[myrynw]
14 tmp'r m't: 't pr γw'ny (f)cmbd (p)rwrt'z: qy(m)nt[c] w' [γwbtyt]
15 ẓyn'ncyqx̣t s' 'yžn (b)'(:) w'n qt cn sq'm(')nq(y)' d(b)[ny' pyd'r]
16 prbγtx̣ b'z wyspy' mx̣θy qw xy(pθ)t(m)p'(r) wytrx(ty') s'(q)[y m't]
17 šmnw žγnt. w'n qt šw 'wšqyrḍy qt (*ny p*)trẓy (*w*')[nc'nw]
18 wγd'rt. p(s)' c'ḟ ḟ(y)'tr qw γwḅtrt 't f⟨(r)⟩t(r)t (wyn'*n*=*cy*q)[y](t)[]
19 cymnty 'yžn bwtq' ybwstny(''). (w)ḍy qw s't γw(ḅ)t(y)t 'w'(*zy*)[t]
20 mx̣nnt'. ptrt' w'bmsq zw 't xwštrt ptrt''. zprtt (b)[y](w=ny)t[]
21 '[t](*f*w)x(')rt ptγ'mbṛyt'. wyc'ẓyt 't 'zn'nx̣t.[d] γnq̣ynt p(d'*r*)[nyt]
22 ['t pšqr]tyt xwštyt'. ywt'št swqb'rt 't rštx̣t wrnq̣ynt ('*t*)[]
23 [šyrqtyt] ·:· qy mn bγy 'yžnt wn't wšnty pr(w) 'myn ·:· (w)š(nt*y*)
24 [pcwq'n] pr n(p)ys(n)ẇ 't ptfṣynw b't 'myn

[a] meant to be cancelled (non-final m) [b] to be cancelled [c] probably altered to qy(*w*)nt [d] sic

***48R**

'*I am cast into indecision*', *the Interpreter says that* Paul said, 'since *I do* not *know what I should choose for myself. For* departing *from this world* seems[41] agreeable to me, *because* ⌜I shall be worthy[42] *to be with Christ;* and also *remaining is agreeable to me,* because I shall bring many of the strangers *to the faith of Christ.* (5) Now, although *departing from* the[43] world is profitable *to me,* for the sake of intercourse *with* Christ, *yet* this too is *compelling,* that I should remain on your account.' The[44] Interpreter speaks *of being with Christ and* of intercourse with Christ—*not of that (intercourse) which* there will be for[44] Paul in the kingdom[45] of heaven with *Our Lord,* (10) but of that which there will be for him and for the other[46] apostles *with Christ*[47] in Paradise, when they will be *worthy* to see[48] His likeness *full of* eternal[7] *life* in the wonderful *vision* of His glorious light which will be upon them. Now[49], if here, while he was[50] still in a *mortal* body and was turning in the world of sin, he was worthy of ⌜those so[14] *glorious* (15) visions, so that, for fear of arrogance, he was delivered over every day to the constraint of his flesh, *which was* Satan's messenger, so that it might cuff him that he be not proud, *as* he said,[51] then[7] how much more will he be worthy of visions ⌜more glorious and better[52] than these in Paradise, there[7] where all the[53] glorious multitudes (20) dwell—I speak of the Fathers and patriarchs, of the holy prophets and blessed apostles, of the martyrs and confessors, of the victorious bishops *and persecuted* teachers, of the solitaries, monks[54], and true believers and *charitable people;* ⌜with whom may God make us worthy, Amen! May their *prayer(s)* be upon the writer and the reader, Amen![55]

[41] Sy 'is'. [42] Sy 'it will cause me'. [43] Sy 'this'. [44] Sy + 'blessed'. [45] Thus Sy; So 'heaven'. [46] Sy 'rest of the'. [47] Sy + 'Our Lord'. [48] Sy + 'that'. [49] Sy 'For'. [50] Sy + 'dwelling'. [51] Sy 'confessed'. [52] Sy 'better and more glorious'. [53] Sy 'those'. [54] See comm. [55] Sy continues differently.

Commentary

***39R**

1 . . . *b]žyq* ~ Syr. *mškr' d-l' sk'*. The phrase is interpreted by Draguet as «hideuse et immense», in which case one would expect a second adj. to follow *[b]žyq* in the Sogd. version, but by Budge Paradise I, 79 (I, 55), as 'immeasurably abominable', with which the Sogd. may agree.

2 *qy̥t w'nc'nw*: possibly the translator read **d-'yk* for *'yk d-*.

2/4 *pr( )w'zt* ~ *b-ḡp'* 'on wings'. Cf. M. *w'zt̲* 'wings' (GMS § 957), C. *w'zt* (C3 = TiiB35, R18). Although the MS seems to have (twice!) *prw'zt*, which could be pl. of a compound **prw'z* 'winged' (cf. *prdst*, GMS § 1141, and S. *prm'n* as interpreted in Gershevitch 1962, 93), it is more likely, in view of the Syriac, that *pr w'zt* was intended. In both cases there is some shortage of space at the end of the line.

3 *xypt*: this spelling is also found at 60V.2 *(xy(p)t)*, 61R.25 *(yxypty)* and perhaps 51R.13 *((xyp)t)*. The alternation of *t* and *θ* in C2 has been discussed several times (Benveniste Etudes 2, 118–119; Schwartz STSC 57; myself DQ 93–94). Of the forms which have been quoted at one time or another **qt* 'city' (BST ii/15R.30) and **prymyt* (BST ii/16R.22) are ghost-words (read *(qθ)*, C2/60R.30, and *prymyd*, C2/31R.22) while *ftyp* and *ftm't* (rightly explained by Schwartz as dissimilated from **fθyp* and *fθm't*) do not occur in C2. This leaves only the cases of *xypθ/xypt* and *ptyθ-* (60R.4)/*ptyt-* (60V.1) 'happen' to be considered. Schwartz considered both to be examples of merely orthographical variation. For *ptyθ-/ptyt-* this is acceptable if *ptyθ-* has *θ* (i.e. Syr. *t* = *[t]* and *[θ]*) for *[t]* as is commonly found in certain C. Sogd. MSS other than C2 (see further below, p. 184). But, since there would be no parallel in either C. Sogdian or Syriac for the use of the letter *t* (Syr. *ṭ*) for *[θ]*, *xypt* should be a genuine phonetic variant, i.e. *xēpt* assimilated from *xēpθ* (< **xwáipaθya-* with loss of the unstressed *-a-* and consequent contact between *p* and *θ*),[56] or less likely a sandhi-form.

6 *['wnw n'x]*: see below, p. 85.

8 *[dnt' šq'f'z]*: restored after the noun *dnty̥ šq'f'* 'gnashing of teeth', 51V.5, 68V.4. In DQ 94 I suggested that *šyk'β'nt zwβ*, P13.23, might mean 'they gnashed their teeth (literally 'jaws')'; differently now Sims-Williams 1976, 60.–*[pr trxqy](')q* ~ *mryr'yt* 'bitterly', cf. *trxq-* ~ *mryr'*, 69R.21; *trxq(y)'q* ~ *mryrwt'*, 68V.2.

9 *[wyspw]'dw q'm'z qt ny'ṣy* 'was desiring that he might take *every* one' (following the Syr. word-order) ~ *l-kl-nš d-n'ḥwd 'mh mnḥ hw'*. The Syriac appears to mean 'was delighted to take every one with him',[57] and was presumably so understood by the Sogdian translator; since, however, the context makes it clear that Satan failed to take every one, he tried to improve the sense by replacing 'was delighted' by 'was desiring'. In fact *mnḥ hw'* should probably be understood as 'would have been content' (thus Budge loc. cit.), but the translator has overlooked the modal force of the pf. *hw'* (cf. above, p. 54, and below, p. 131).

13 *[tym fy']](t)r* ~ *ytyr'yt* 'all the more, especially', cf. *tym fy'tr* ~ *ytyr* 'id.' (69V.11) and ~ *mlwn (dyn)* 'id.' (40R.9, 19–20; 40V. 23). The correspondence between C. *tym fy'tr* and M. *t̲ym fry't̲r* (M116, R9, quoted by J. P. Asmussen, X^{u}āstvānīft, Studies in Manichaeism, Copenhagen 1965, 238) makes it certain that M. *fry't̲r* (GMS §§ 321, 1291) is a 'side-form of *fy'tr*' and consequently that *all* the Sogd. comparatives in *-y'tr* (GMS §§ 1282, 1291–1294, 1294A) are derived from OIr. comparatives in *-yah-*.–The verb *wγryš* (Yaγn. *γurīš-*, Geiger GIP I/2, 342; *γuráyš-*, JT 259b), caus. of *wγr's* 'wake' (intrans.), is also attested in P13.25.

14 *[m'sy s]qwny* = B. *m's'k skwn'y* 'old age', SCE 31–32.

***39V**

1 *wγtw bwtq* 'it is said' exemplifies *-w* as the nom. n. ending of **-aka*–stems (cf. Schwartz STSC iii). In C2, Texts 2–13, this ending is generally used where the nom. of an **-aka*–stem participle or adj. is required to agree with either a n. noun (e.g. *'y̥c qy frm'tẇ[sty]*, 48V.25) or an unstated impersonal subject 'it'. In Text 1, however, the nom. sg. m. is used instead, cf. *f(rm)'ty s[ty]* 'it is said', 14V.10, and there is some variation between m. and n. forms even in Texts 2–13, e.g. *(s)pty̥ b' xyd qy npxštw sty*, 94R. 26–27.–On the verb *prp* see above, p. 53. The word-order 'many angels–it is said that they will conduct us' (also in 40R.17) is copied from the Syriac.

2 *cx-* 'fight': see Benveniste Etudes 1, 299, and cf. B. *cx''k* 'quarrel', L38 passim.

3–4 *['ntwxc] xwrnt*: cf. *'nt(w)xc( )xw(r')* (C69 = TiiB66, R(?)9), M. *'ndwxc (n') frm'yδδ xwrt̲* (M617i, V7), S. *'ntwxc n' xwr'* (Doc. 10.18), Chor. *'ndx xr-* (MacKenzie, Supplement to Henning's Dictionary 49a), NP *andūh x^{w}ardan* 'grieve'.

[56] Professor Schwartz refers me in this connection to the monosyllabic Yaγn. *wxap, xap, xep*.

[57] For «était content de quiconque il saisissait», as Draguet translates, one would expect *b-kl-nš*.

9–10 *[z'wr] θbr-~γ'dr (pa''el)* 'help', cf. *z'wr θbr-~γ'dr (pa''el)*, ST i, 37.1. The phrase is attested in MSS in all three scripts, C. (also 69R.16; C1.178; ST ii/3.39, 47–48), M. (M5690=TiiD115, V, apud Henning BSOS 8/2–3 [1936], 585) and S. (B7, V4; B18.18–19; P2.1179; P3.212; P12.21; Tale I, 53).

10–11 *[qwrc] w'dw*: the *-*aka*–stem *w'dy* 'place' is the compound form (Gershevitch 1945, 144) of *w'd* (which by itself always means 'seat, throne'). We therefore have here a compound 'refuge, place of safety', of which the missing first element will have meant 'safety, assistance'. The compound restored here at the suggestion of Dr. Gershevitch occurs at 48V.6 and 51R.6 (in the acc.) and in M108, V8, M674, V4, and M4724i, V2, as *qwrcw'δ(δ)yy* (see Gershevitch BSOAS 28/1 [1965], 159 on M4724, where the spelling with single *-y* is a misprint). Dr. Gershevitch's proposal was based on the M. passages, whose contexts, though broken, give some support to the translation 'refuge'. The reconstruction of f. 51 now provides an admirably clear context for the attestation in 51R.6, which goes a long way towards confirming this meaning. Dr. Gershevitch also suggests an etymology which would be compatible with it: *qwrc-*<**kṛduš-* (Av. *kərədušā*, Yasna 29.3, usually translated ‚Schutz, Hilfe, Beistand' after Bartholomae).[58]

***40R**

4 *qy*: the present passage, 57R.1 and 94R.13 are the only places in C2 where *qy* (otherwise the rel. pron. 'who, which') clearly stands for the conj. 'that' (otherwise *qt*), the ambiguous Syr. *d-* apparently being mistranslated 'which' rather than 'that' in a context where the latter was certainly intended by the author of the Syr. text.[59] Contrariwise, *qt* must stand for the rel. pron. in 94V.19, perhaps also in 57V.30 and 102R. 27 (see below, pp. 123 and 177 respectively), while Syr. *d-* is quite often translated by *qt* 'that' in contexts where *qy* 'who, which' would seem more natural (e.g. 39R.7; 40R.3; 60R.5, 19; 60V.4, 12, 20). Whereas the ambiguity of Syr. *d-* would account fairly adequately for these last instances, to explain thus passages such as 40R.4, 57R.1 and 94V.19 would be to attribute gross incompetence to the otherwise not unintelligent translator. It may therefore be suggested that in the exemplar or exemplars from which the texts in question were copied, as in the lectionary C5, *qt* served both as conj. and as rel. pron., and that the copyist attempted to replace it with *qy* wherever the rel. pron. seemed to be required. As one would expect, he most often erred where the text of his exemplar was genuinely ambiguous and by under-correction more often than by over-correction.

't ps' 'but', see Schwartz STSC 107–108.

8/11 *bwṇny*: see above, p. 77.

8/14 *yw yw* 'a single (one)'~*ḥd ḥd*. This use of *yw yw* (also in 94R.30) may be a loan-translation from Syriac, in which *ḥd ḥd* means both 'each' and 'single'. M. *'yw 'yw* means 'each' (GMS § 1676), but there is no example of this usage in C. Sogdian, where this meaning is obtained in various ways: *wysp- yw yw* (~*ḥd ḥd*), 40R.14; *wysp- yw* (~*kl ḥd ḥd* or merely *ḥd ḥd*), 40R.18, 54V.19, 20; *yw ywtr* (~*ḥd ḥd*), ST i, 41.6;[60] *wysp- yw ywtr* (~*kl ḥd ḥd*), ST i, 45.2.[61]

9–13 The clumsy word-order here, with the acc. *wyspw 'dw* left in the air until the governing verb appears in line 11, is copied by the Sogdian from the Syriac. Again, *xw qy xcy γnt'qy s[ry'qyc]* is an awkward translation of Syr. *hẇ 'rkwn' d-byšt'* 'that Prince of Evil'. The Sogd. text of this passage is only one-third the length of the Syr. text, owing to the omission of several similes which are, in fact, hardly appropriate to the context.

10 *s[ry'qyc]~'rkwn'*: cf. *sry'qyc ~rš'* 'head, chief', 68V.25, pl. *[sry']qy(š)t ~r̈š'*, 111V.6. The word appears to be formed from the abstract **sry'q*+suffix *-ič*.

11/12 *n' ptšty'nt* (pl.) 'inconstant, fickle', attesting the pres. participle (cf. GMS § 1033) of an intrans. **ptšty-* (whose *-y-*, like that of *'wšty* 'stand', cf. GMS § 558, is borrowed from the transitive form) identical in appearance to the trans. B. *ptšty-* 'prop, lean on' (Dhy. 25).

11 *žwẓ~γ'rbl* 'sift'. Dr. Gershevitch suggests that *žwēž* may be assimilated from **zwēž*<**uz-waiǰa-*.[62] The expected base for 'sift, winnow', he points out, is *waik-* (cf. Skt. *vinákti*, Av. *vaēča-*, Bal. *gēčag*),

[58] Differently on *qwrcw'dy*, Schwartz 1971, 412b.

[59] In two cases *qy* happens to follow *xyd*. In DQ 96 on 71 four instances of the expression *xyd qy* 'the fact that' were claimed, but of these nos. 1 (61V.26) and 3 (57R.15) must be withdrawn (see below, pp. 133 and 116 respectively).

[60] Not 'one by one, singly' with GMS § 1318.

[61] Cf. ST ii/6.16–17, *wyspw xwny* (probably to be omitted as an erroneous anticipation of the third following word) *yw ywtr xwny, γnt'qry,t*.

[62] For the assimilation cf. GMS § 451, also *žwšy*<**zauθraka-*, § 299A, for the preverb MMP *'zwyxtn*, a synonym of NP *bīxtan* 'sift' (Henning BSOAS 13/3 [1950], 646 n. 1).

whereas *waig-* means 'shake'; however, the fact that B. *wyc* means 'shake' suggests a contamination between the two bases, at least in Sogdian.[63]

12 *wγryš*: see above, p. 83.

''ywzy₍t: cf. *'ywzy₍t* (C28 = TiiB62d + TiiB25, V9). Pl. of **'ywzy*, **'ywz'* or **'ywzy'*, not otherwise attested. Mug *mnt''y-wzk* (A18, R4) may contain **''ywzk*, but possibly *-k* is a compound-suffix. B. *''ywzw* (SCE 244), *''ywẓ* (Dhu. 191) has *ẓ* if the pointing in the Dhu. passage is to be trusted.

13 *rwžty₍t*: on the pl. in *-ēt* of stems in *-yā* see Sims-Williams 1981c, 16. Whether the pl. *wy t* 'generations, ages' (cf. Schwartz 1967, 3; STSC 18–19 and revisions 3; 1975, 196 n. 5 and Appendix I) belongs to a stem **wy'*, as proposed in DQ 98, cannot be determined, since the supposed example of *wy'* in this sense (BST ii/13R.15) has proved to be a mistake by Hansen.

14 *'(ẇ r'θy₍)*: cf. above, p. 52. (On *'bsty*, which I proposed to restore here in DQ 98, see now above, p. 75.)

15 *[ny](ž)'mnt'*: on the verb *'zγd* mentioned at this point in DQ 98–99, see now below, p. 132.

19 *w'nc(')nw*: the Sogd. indicates a variant **'yk* 'as', which is surely to be preferred to the *'yk'* 'where' of the Syr. MSS.

21 *'wnw n'x*: the meaning of this phrase, which also occurs in 61R.20, has been correctly understood by Benveniste Etudes 1, 324, as «c'est-à-dire». For *n'x* he compares the pron. *xwnx*[64] and the Yaγn. adverbs *nah-áwākay* 'there', *nah-ídākay* 'here', *nax-čawākay* 'thence',[65] without mentioning B. *n'x*,[66] VJ 142, apparently an emphatic particle, convincingly translated «voici» by Benveniste in his edition. The literal meaning of *'wnw n'x* is thus «le voici». A variant formula is *xyd n'x* (TiiB69 Nr. 1, R(?)2, V(?)3; C20 = TiiB66, R(?)9).

fθm'ty₍: see Schwartz STSC 57.–The note on *by₍* in DQ 99 on 88 should be ignored; unfortunately I had overlooked Hansen's error in omitting the following *'t*.

22 *pwx'[y']m(n)ty₍* 'formation' < *pwx'y* 'cut off'. For the semantics cf. Av. *frā.kərənaoiti*, *frā.θwərəsaiti*, etc.

***40V**

1 *m̥yγ* ~ *'mṭn'* 'thick darkness, blackness, gloom'. Cf. *t'ry myγ* (C3 = Tiii99[2], V16), M. *myγtt 'ty pr[yβyt (?)]* (M8170, R(?)4), S. *myγny* 'consisting of fog' (L33, col. 2, 7, see Sims-Williams 1981a, 236). The outcome of **maiga-* 'cloud' in Sogdian was not previously attested.

6 *bžnq'ry(')[*: for the stem **bžnq'r* (without **-aka*–extension) Dr. Gershevitch draws my attention to M. *(βjn)nk'rtyy* (thus to be read), M900, R4, apud GMS § 48[1].

7 *y'tqwny*: see Sims-Williams 1981c, 19. On the other abstracts in *-qwny* in C2 (wrongly associated with *y'tqwny* in DQ 99) see ibid. 18.

[ptqry sp](')s(q)y' 'worship of idols', abstract of *ptqry-sp'sy* 'worshipper of idols', attested in the pl. *ptqry sp'syt*, C22 = TiiB15a, i, R5 (Lentz).

8 On *'wpty'p* 'sharer, participant' see Schwartz STSC 11.

11 *xwsnty₍'*: for the pointing see Sims-Williams 1981 c, 15 (where °*y* in the fifth line of the last paragraph is a misprint for °*y₍'*).

12 *n̥st'ẇ*: see ibid. 11–12.

15 *xwz* 'examine, test' occurs several times in C2. The two occurrences on f. 102R were read *xwž* by Hansen, which misled MacKenzie CSN 120 into assuming that this verb is merely a variant of *xwž* 'wish, ask for'; more correctly Schwartz 1969, 447a, where *xwz* is compared with Arm. *xoyz* 'search', *xowzem* 'I seek'.

16 *wsprd wy'q*: see above, p. 60.

19 *ds' ny(z)b(')[n](')*: on the 'numerative' ending *-'* see Sims-Williams 1979b, 339–342.

22 On the verb *'bynt/'bst* see above, p. 75.

23 On the expression *tym fy'tr* see above, p. 83.

***48R**

1 *c'nwt* < *c'nw yty* (12R.5, 27R.17), M. *c'nw 'ty*, S. *c'n'kw ZY*. This spelling has not been found elsewhere.

2 *sydtq* 'seems' occurs several times in C2, cf. also S. *syδt* 'id.', 14411 = TiiD169, i(?), R13. These forms

[63] Cf. Schwartz 1970b, 293 n. 15, on a possible contamination of *baug-* and *mauk-* in Sogd. *βwc-*, and J. Gonda, in: Acta Orientalia 14 [1936], 190, on the partial homonymy between forms of Skt. *vic-* and *vij-*.

[64] But *xwnx* is probably merely an assimilated variant of *xwny* < **xōnaki*.

[65] The forms without the prefix *nah-* have the same meanings (Geiger GIP I/2, 342).

[66] See Sims-Williams 1975, 133.

lend colour to Müller's reading *sy̱d[* in ST i, 35.9, on which doubt has been thrown (Sundermann 1975, 61). The form *sy̱nd'rt* in ST i, 28.14 (= Sundermann 1981, Text 27, V14, with n. 295) is unclear.[67] If, as seems likely, *syδt* is to be equated with Av. *saδayeiti*, the reason for its heavy-stem treatment is at present obscure.

4 *wγ'ṃ[yty]* 'strangers', cf. *(w)γ'ṃ[y](t)*, 51R.8. The **-aka*–stem is attested already by S. *γw'm'k* (see Gershevitch 1962, 93).

6/8 *wyryθ'mnty*, literally 'mixture', translates *'nyn'* 'society, intimacy' < *γ'n'* 'answer, converse'.

10 As dimly seen by Benveniste Etudes 1, 321–322, this line clearly indicates a relationship between *n-* and *wyny*.

12 *qy*: erroneous anticipation of *qy* three words later, cf. *'t qy*(!) *nbr'trty qy*, 94V.28.

13 *tympn* ~ *'dkyl* 'still, yet' (see Sims-Williams 1975, 136).

15 *d(b)[ny']* ~ *qnṭ'* 'fear, suspicion', cf. *(pw) dbn* (compound) 'without fear', 51R.27. M. and B. *δβn-* (f.) usually means 'doubt' but in P2.313 'suspicion', see Henning, Paris Texts 719.

16 *wytrx(ty')* ~ *špy'* 'thorn, stake'. Although the Sogd. word has not been found elsewhere, it is clear from its perspicuous etymology (cf. the forms quoted in BBB n. 510) that it means 'constraint' (thus already Benveniste Etudes 1, 319) and that the translator has mistaken *špy'* 'thorn' for the homograph *špy'* 'offence, hindrance'.

21 *'zn'ny̱t*: mistake for **'z'nny̱t*, see STSC revisions 4.

p(d'r)[nyt] ~ *mdb̄rn'* 'bishops', cf. *pd'[rny]* ~ *mdbrn'*, 55V.18, and *pd'rny̱t* 'bishops', 54R.24. Since the literal meaning of *mdbrn'* is 'leader, guide', while Sogd. *pd'r* means 'sustain' (e.g. *pd'rty bwt*, 57R.13; *pd'(r)ty'* 'provisions', ST i, 39.3), the use of *pd'rny* as translation of *mdbrn'* requires explanation. The abstract of the Syr. term, *mdbrnwt'*, is the technical term for 'Providence' (conceived of as Divine Governance), in which sense it is translated by *py̱d'rnqy'* in ST ii/3.20. This word, which awaits explanation, is the abstract of the pres. participle *pd'rny*, being merely a spelling-variant (cf. Sims-Williams forthcoming b) of *pd'rnqy'*, which actually occurs in an unpublished text, C22 = TiiB15b, V7 (Lentz). The choice of this term to render *mdbrnwt'* is readily explicable, Providence being conceived of as 'sustaining', 'providing' (in the English sense) for our daily needs. The translation of *mdbrn'* by *pd'rny* may therefore be secondary to that of *mdbrnwt'* by *pd'rnqy'*.

22 *ywt'št swqb'rt* ~ *yḫydy' mḫyd'*, which the translator has understood as 'solitaries (and) united ones (i.e. monks living in a community)', in my opinion rightly, since this is grammatically unexceptionable and makes better sense than Draguet's «les solitaires unis».

22–23 The order of words shows that the translator interpreted *mḫymn' šryr̄' w-mr̄ḥmn'* not as «les fidèles véritables et miséricordieux» (thus Draguet) but as «les fidèles véritables et les miséricordieux», as is equally permissible.

23–24 For these words (not in the Syriac) see Schwartz STSC 109.

[67] According to Dr. Gershevitch, the preceding word in both ST i passages may have been *d'ty̱* < **dātiya-*, hence *d'ty syd* 'seem right'. As for *xwšty̱q* in ST i, 35.8 (also discussed in Sundermann 1975, 61), this may be interpreted as a marginal gloss **xw *šty̱q* 'the third'—the correct answer to the question 'which of these three?'—which has crept into the text.

Text 4: A metrical homily 'On the final evil hour' by Mār Bābay the Less (Bābay bar Nṣibnāye) (ff. *48R.24–*54R)

The remainder of f. *48, after the conclusion of Text 3, contains the beginning of a work bearing the superscription in Sogdian: 'Furthermore, a discourse *(m'mr')* which *was composed* by Mār Bābay the Less „On the final evil hour"'. This heading may be literally re-translated into idiomatic Syriac: *twb m'mr' d-[ʿbyd]ll-mry bby zʿwr' ʿl zbn' byš' 'ḥry'*. By 'Bābay the Less' is meant Bābay of Nisibis (bar Nṣibnāye), cf. I. Guidi, Chronica minora, Paris 1903–1905 (CSCO/SS ser. 3, IV/1), p. 24 of the Syr. text: *mry bby nṣyby'. kd knyw lh šm' bby zʿwr'* 'Mār Bābay of Nisibis, the same whom they call Bābay the Less'. To this author, who flourished about the beginning of the seventh century, are attributed, apart from several hymns,[1] *m'mr̈' d-tybwt' d-ʿbydyn lh b-mšwḥt'* 'discourses *(mẹmre)* on penitence which were composed by him in metre'.[2] That the *mẹmrā* of which the Sogdian is a translation was likewise in verse is shown by the fact that where the text is reasonably well preserved (V13–27) it falls naturally into sense-units of 1 $^1/_4$–2 lines. The verses are consistently demarcated by the quadruple point (·:·) and the middle of the verse is generally indicated by a single or double point. The first verse is given in Syriac as well as Sogdian, both unfortunately damaged. The Syriac may be partially restored as follows:

[ettʿir(w) aḥ]ay[3] wa-[ʿ]mal(w) qallil ʿad lā nemṭe[4]
yawmā[5] (')ḥrāyā d-pāreš [x x x x x x][6]

The attribution of f. 51 to Bābay's homily is based chiefly on its style and phraseology. Amongst the details of wording common to ff. *48 and 51 one may mention the phrases *qw nwšc žw'ny qwrc-w'dw s'* (48V.6; 51R.6) and *'y, ywxnq ptz'n'* (48V.30; 51R.3–4, 21–22) and the use of *myn* in the weakened sense 'be' (48V.27; 51R.5, 20; 51V.21). The style of f. 51 is homiletic and hortatory, with constant recourse to rhetorical questions, imperatives and vocatives (cf. 48R.27, 30; 48V.25–27, 30). The exclamation *n'y* 'lo!', which is frequent in f. *48, also occurs at 51V.6 and 27. The biblical allusions and paraphrases of f. 51 are equally characteristic of f. *48. F. 51 displays a loose-limbed, elliptical, discursive train of thought, and the same seems to be true of *48V, though its poor state of preservation makes this less than certain. Almost conclusive is the fact that f. 51 clearly contains part of a translation of a poem, with verses of similar length and similarly punctuated to those of f. *48.[7] Although f. 51 does not contain any specific reference to the 'final evil hour', its subject-matter–exhortations to prepare for death and, by implication, judgement–is not inconsistent with Bābay's title.

The identification of the two fragmentary folios here tentatively numbered *52 and *53 as belonging to this text is similarly based on a consideration of their punctuation (·:· occurs five times in f. *52 and thrice in f. *53, considerably more often in proportion to the extent of the fragments than in any C2 text other than this one), style (characterized by constant scriptural paraphrase and exegesis) and–particularly in the case of f. *52–content. *52R contains several references to St. Paul's description of the 'Day of the Lord' (2 Thess. 2.1–12),[8] to Habakkuk's vision of the 'appointed time' and to the parable of the tares amongst the wheat (Mt. 13.24–30), specifically explained in the gospel itself (Mt. 13.37–43) as referring to the 'end of time' and quoted again at the conclusion of Bābay's poem (54R.25ff.). *52V alludes clearly to John the Baptist's prophecies of the coming Messiah (lines 9ff., 14ff.), perhaps in connexion with some reference to the Second Coming. Since this folio has the remains of a 'binding-strip' (cf. p. 16 above) on the

[1] The only extant hymn consistently ascribed to him (referred to below merely as 'Bābay's hymn') is that published by Budge, The Book of Governors . . . II, London 1893, 300, and translated by A. J. Maclean, East Syrian Daily Offices, London 1894, 157–158.

[2] Chronica minora loc. cit. Two of these *mẹmre* are extant in Siirt 109 (1609 A.D.), Alqoš 116 and Mosul 100. It is not impossible that the Sogd. text may turn out to be a translation of one of them. Unfortunately none of the relevant catalogues cite the incipits of either *mẹmrā*.

[3] For *fryt br'trty* translating *'ḥÿ* cf. 54V.12.

[4] MS apparently *m̥ṭ'* (pass. part.) altered to *m̥nṭ'* instead of **nmṭ'*.

[5] Sogd. *žmnw* for *ywm'* must be due to *ž(mnw)* (~ **zbn'*) in the title.

[6] Dodecasyllabic couplets (12 + 12), cf. below, p. 88.

[7] Once (R9) the end of the verse is not marked by the quadruple point, and once (R12) this seems to be employed in the middle of the verse.

[8] Recognized by Dr. Brock.

Recto, it must belong to the beginning of the sixth quire rather than the end of the fifth; its numbering as *52 (rather than 53 or 54) is, however, quite arbitrary. The other fragment contains no clearer allusion to the 'final evil hour' than the phrase 'from the tombs' (53R.8), and its ascription to this poem is consequently less than certain. However, *53*R may possess a contextual link with *52V in its references (lines 3ff.) to the gospel accounts of John the Baptist, on account of which I have tentatively assumed that the two fragments belong to consecutive folios.

The last identifiable fragment of this homily is f. *54R, which contains the end of the text but for the last few words of the doxology. That it should be ascribed to Bābay's work is made virtually certain by its references to 'the evil time' (lines 21, 22) and to 'the examination of our deeds' (line 17). The verses are punctuated as in ff. *48 and 51. The first verse of the final peroration is given both in Syriac and in Sogdian. As it stands, the Syr. verse contains 12 + 10 (or 8 + 8 + 6) syllables. Since *memre* are always written in isosyllabic couplets,[9] the text cannot be correct. The *mywn* of the Sogd. version, however, authorizes the insertion of *kullāh* in the second line, thus producing the expected 12 + 12 syllables with caesuras after the fourth and eighth syllables of each line as required in this metre[9]:

māran aʿbar zabnā bišā men ʿeḏātāk
w-amlek šaynā b-arʿā ⟨kullāh⟩ wa-b-ʿāmore(y)h

That this poem was indeed composed in dodecasyllabic couplets is confirmed by the comparative ease with which its first verse (above, p. 87) can be restored and further verses reconstructed as such. The following, for instance, is a retroversion from the Sogdian of the last five couplets:

barrek ʿeḏtāk barrek kāhne wa-mdabbrāne(y)h
w-netrabbe bāh b-kul zban hedrā d-qaddišutā[10]
gbi[11] zizāne biše da-zraʿ (h)wā sāṭānā[12]
w-ḥaṭṭeṭ mennāh x x x x x x x x
zarʿā dilāk ṭābā[13] d-ḥayye[14] netrabbe bāh
w-nettel peṛe ḥad ba-tlātin w-b-eštin w-ba-m(')ā[15]
brik da-b-qeṭleh amit l-mawtā w-aḥḥi l-mite
w-ṭayyeb ṭubā beh ba-šmayyā l-hānon d-šāwe(y)n
leh tešboḥtā l-abā w-la-brā wa-l-ruḥ qudšā
x x x x l-ʿālam ʿālmin amin w-amin[16]

[9] Information from Dr. Brock, whom I also have to thank for valuable criticisms of the first draft of my 'retroversion'.

[10] Cf. *hdr' d-qdyšwth*, 2 Chron. 20.21.

[11] *Pʿal*; the metre seems to exclude the disyllabic *paʿʿel* as in Mt. 13.30. Nor does the metre allow room for *mennāh*; Sogd. *cyw* may have been introduced from the next line.

[12] Cf. Mt. 13.24ff.

[13] Cf. *zrʿ' ṭb'*, Mt. 13.24.

[14] Sogd. *nwšc žw'n* normally translates merely *ḥy'*.

[15] Cf. Mt. 13.23 (where a different construction is used, however).

[16] Cf. the end of Bābay's hymn: *l-'b' w-l-br' w-l-rwḥ qwdš' / d-lh tšbwḥt' mn sgwdwhy / l-'lm 'lmyn 'myn w-'myn.*

***48R**

24 [a]tym m'mr' qy
25 [qty m't]nrystr[b] mry bby pr 'y'mcyq γnt'q ž(m*nw*)[a]
26 ['θθγyrw 'ḫ](y) w[γ]mlw ql(y)l (γ*d* l)'( )m̤nt'.[c] ywm' 'ḫry' dpr(š)
27]='··wγr'(s)tt fr(y)t (br)'trty 't γfst' qb(*nw*)
28 [qw pn ny p]rystq'. 'y'mcyq žmnw qy ywxṯ(q)' (r)[= =](')[ ]
29 ∴ my](m)s ž(m*nw* 't) n'y pr'γt sm'ncy(q)[
30]wntt'[d] 't žwtt frmṯ[q
31](=)n'y[e] zt(') wntysq (pr')[
32]q(w m)'(t =)[
(possibly one line missing)

[a–a] in red ink [b] or]šrystr [c] probably m̤(n)t' [d] altered from wnt' [e] or z'y

[17] Sy missing. [18] Sy 'my'. [19] So missing. [20] Sy 'day'.

***48R**

Furthermore, a discourse which (25) *was composed* by Mār Bābay the Less 'On the final evil hour'.
(Syriac and Sogdian:)
Awake,[17] dear[18] brothers,[17] and strive a little, until[19] there shall come
The last hour[20] which shall divide . . .
(Sogdian only:)
The time has been completed, and lo! the heavenly *judge* has arrived;
. . . (30) . . . 'Do . . . and live!', He says . . .
. . . lo! He announces . . .
. . . was . . .

***48V**

1]θbrd'rt m'(x) xypθ'[wnt
2 'w](š)ttx̱t swqnt ydbr(y)[' ·:·
3 fry]t't cn γrf̣ 'ḍ ty. '[t
4] dn γr'm' šy prw [·:·](= = = = =)[
5]ẇ mrtxmw. qt rync(qw) (bx̱ x = = r)'t[
6 qw nw](šc) (ž)w'(n)y qwrc w'd(w s)' ·:· ¨xwšt(t)[[a]
7]= γrb'q xcy'. 't (y)wxnq pt(z')n = [
8]= wnntq qt pr'γt 'y'm ·:· (bw)d xwrtx̱ (s)[= = =]
9 p]r( )nyšynx̱t 'x̱št. 't w'nc'nw yxw(b)ny' 'w(f)c[ ]
10]frqyny' ·:· pr nyšynx̱t 'x̱št n'(y) =] = = = = [ ]
11]t[y]sq. 't c'nw šn ny rx̱žt (t)[rn]t[q](' cyw)= [yd](w'n)c'nw
12 ·:·]s(m')nc(y)q mx̱n'mntẇ q y rw(ž)nx̱t xnt ms (γ)[= =](tx̱)t:
13 q](θ)'rnt[b] mrtxṃ(y)t 't (n)'y prwrt(n)tq drtyc s(p)nx̱ty
14 [myd'ny ·:·](f)rytr ṣydtq wyš(n)ty pr ṃ[y]n 't xw't pr= (wr)d'rnt sm'n
15 [cyq wš]tm'x qy nwystx̱t xnt ws' ·:· n'y pẇ wr' γmpn brntq
16 [pr] = w. 't (ny) šm'rntq qt wšp'n žmnw st(y)q' wšnty
17 ['y'm ·:·](nw)r (s)ty (yw)t(r)y[c] nbnty 't wc'q ny 'ḍy nbnty. w'nc'nw
18 [xry]c(q)[d] (qy) (n)y sty (yẇ)[e] mrty nbnty ·:· nwystx̱t swqnt 't žγyrt(yt)
19 (qw nw)šc ž(w)'n(y) šyrw s' xwrmnx̱t.[f] 't pcqstysq qw (wy)š(nt)
20 (s' γ)wbtx̱ bγ'n(yp)š qt qd' 'x̱sntq' ·:· nwydm' f(r)w(y)cy
21 (qθ)'(rn)t bγ'(ny)špqtx̱ nwystx̱t. 't n'y prwrtq[g] rm'nty[g] [= = =] =
22 [p](r p)c(b)wš γnt'q bwd ·:· sm'(n)y bž'xwq sty pr p⁻c = = [[h]]
23 (')t(w')r(.) 't z'y γf̣stysq pr θ(b)rw brw dn šyṛ(y)t '[yšty prw ·:·]
24 [](x̱d) ¨znt pwn ycy wr' ndyw(y)d q(y) šw ptγwšt'. 't qy s = [ ]
25 (š)yr' ps(')q byrtq' wštm'xy ·:· wn' 'x̱c qy f̣rm'tẇ[sty 't]
26 ¨(w)t[ ]ẉyd qy wystw'tx̱ sty 'x̱ (m)rtxm'. 't x(sr)t[i] = [
27 (')yšt 't 'xwd'wny(m)x̱n qyw(n)t s' (qy) w(y)cy't(=)[·:·
28](= r)yž(ys)q[j] xypθ (žw)'ny ṃy θt p(r p)w wṛ[y]t (')[yšt.
29 = = = y](s)q dbtyq ⟨'t⟩ pnt šwys(q)[ ] = = = [
30](sqx̱) 'x̱ (y)wx(n)q (p)tz'[n'.
31] = = = ' mrtxṃ(y)t[
32] = = = = = [
(possibly one line missing)

[a] perhaps ¨xwšt((r)t)[[b] or](d)'rnt [c] (fr)t(r)y? [d] restoration suggested by Dr. Gershevitch [e] almost certain [f] or xwrmnx̱t$^{w}/_{y}$ [g] sic [h] or pt-/ft-/fc- [i] hardly x(w')t [j] hardly](fr)yž-

***48V**

. . . Our Lord gave . . .
. . . are standing at the door.
. . . love from many people,
And . . . with the treasures, the three
. . . (5) . . . a man, [together.
If . . . gift be small, . . . to the refuge
of eternal life.
. . . is wise,
And the discerning . . . they do . . . that
the end has come.
Delicious . . . in perishable things,
And, as if asleep in sleep, (10) . . . neg-
ligence.
In perishable things, lo! . . .,
And, although they do not want (to),
they will depart from it like . . .
The heavenly dwelling, which even . . .
are desiring,
Men have *refused*, and lo! they revolve
amidst ordure and filth.
It seems preferable to them to remain,
and they have harmed
The heavenly (15) kingdom whither
they have been invited.
Lo! they take unavailing pains *over* . . .,
And do not think that in a little while
will be their *demise*.
Today it belongs to someone and tomor-
row to no-one,
Like a whore, who does not stay with
one man.
The creatures of dust are invited and
called to the blessing of eternal life,
And there waits for them, (20) when
they shall come, the blessed bridegroom.
The wedding-guests have forgotten the
invitation,
And lo! revolving constantly . . . *to*
smell an evil odour.
The sky is vexed to *provide sun* and *rain*,
And the earth labours to give fruit *to-*
gether with good *things*.
This account is full of profit for him
that hears it,
And (he) who . . . (25) will obtain an
excellent crown in heaven.
Do the thing which *is* commanded, *and*
hope for that which is promised, O man,
And . . . things, and be zealous for those
things which *are* sure.
. . . you do *not* prolong the days of your
life with worthless *things*,
. . . again, and you approach . . .
. . . (30) . . ., O discerning one,
. . . men . . .

51R

1 ·:· pr](cw)tẓ γmptq t'f'

2 [xyd qy p](r *xy*)pθ šm'(r')[. dwr wntysq](')t (*p*wyr)tq c'f' (x*w* bγ)w qy

3 [cyw x](cy w)[y](sp' š)'twxy' ·:· =[ ](*xyp*θ γr')mw pr dšt(w)'(n)t[a] 'ẓ

4 (y*wxn*)q ptz'n'(.) 't šw ṣ[y]n '(ẇ)st[b] pr sm'ny mzy(*x*) γzny' ·:· qt

5 (c)['](nw)trẓ c(*y*m)y(d) (f)c(*mbdy*) 'wr'θ(y) m(yn)t tw'. 't šw't d'f' prw

6 (q)w (nwš)c žw'ny qwrc(w)'dw (s)' ·:· pr cwtẓ ptrq'n θbrẓsq

7 xypθ bž(')xwt(*y*)['](*n*)xypθ ¨(mr)θty. 't š'šysq xypθ dsty' γmpn pr

8 (w)γ'ṃ[y](t)·:·(w*n*)'(*q*)t t(r)'(*t* d'*f*)' (p)rw s't pr trγz'ẓty[c] dstw. 't

9 (pw)rc θbr' nγ(r)'m(ẓ) xypθ'(w)nt[y]qt xw twẓ̊t tw'. wγ(š)' pr wyny

10 š'(š'm*ntẇ*)'(*t*)[šy] θ(br')m(*n*tw) šy ṛyr. qt zwrtyq' 't šw bẓryq'

11 pw '(y'm*y*)[[d] 'my](n ·:·)θ(*br*)' '[y]c qy ny tw' xyp(θ) xcy. 't ¨'s tw'

12 (xy)pθ cn [bγ'](·:·)θ(*br*)['](=t=nẇ ')[y]c 't ¨'s wycy't swqy(*n*)w 't θḟyš[e]

13 (x*yp*)t[e] [r](w)'n ·:· zp(r*t* w)'ty (m'rd)[n](y)t (w*y*)st(*w*)'d'rnt 't '(š)t'd'rnt tw'

14 qt (tc)n('=')m(w = =.) ṛyr ('t)[wrn'](')'t(qw wyš)t([f] *s' n*)γwš 't prywnt

15 [= = =] ='(n*wšc* ž)w'n ·:· pr 'frywn xcy qy qθ'rt m'x wy= '(br)y(n)ẓt

16 (p)t(*γ*)[wšny](t pr x*yp*θ) m(zyx) ḟryt't: 't 'ẇstd'rt xypθ 'z'n prsqy'

17 [pr m'x](q)wc' qw γwbtw xypθ wystẇ s' ·:· n' b't tw' zyn x[g]

18 (x)ypθ'wnt[h] 'y(:) wy'bṛyn'. m[s]ḟrm'n ptγwṣ̈c[i] n' wn't mwrtẓ n'(q)ty

19 tw' γ(r)ywy ¨'ztwny ·:· q(t)[wy]'brynẓ bntẓ bẓ nzynẓ[j] šyr bžyq

20 [xc](*y*.)'t qt ḟrm'n pt(*γwš*ẓ) ṃynẓ qw n' ẕynw 'ẓc s' mẕyx

21 [šq](w)rθy' xcy ·:· pr( )cwty '(ṣ̈*y*)py(s)q( )n'(*q*)t(w) pyš wz'y 'ẓ ywxnq

22 [ptz'n'.](')t p(r *z'y*) pšprtẓ bwtq t(w)'[ ](m'n) (m)s d(yw) prw ·:· mzyx

23 [ ](*p*)žγẓrtq (q*w*)t'(fs)' w'nc('n)w qw q't s'. qt (s)'t

24 [γnt'q]t ny(zb)'nẓty sry fry γr'mqy' (x)cy ·:· (γn)t'q ž'r xcy

25 [fry](γ)r(')m(qy)' (ndy)w(*nt*) (qy) (š)w θḟyžnt. 't pr w(=w)ycy m'nwqy'

[a] or dyšt(w)'(n)t [b] possibly ẇṡṫ (indicating deletion), but the points, even the more distinct point over (w), may be accidental [c] possibly °tẓ with the points deleted [d] not final m [e] sic [f] not wyšnt [g] +line-filler; to be deleted [h] Lentz]nt, Hansen]=nt; photo](*t*) [i] perhaps altered from ptγwṣ̈y [j] Lentz nzyny, Hansen nzyny; photo nz = =y

51R

Why are you troubled by *something*, the (mere) thought of *which*
Estranges and alienates from you God, *from* whom *comes* all happiness?
Bestow your wealth on the poor, O discerning one,
And raise it up, lay up a great treasury in heaven,
That, (5) when you depart from this world, it may accompany you,
And go with you to the refuge of eternal life!
Why do you bequeath your misery to your companions,
And squander the labour of your hands upon strangers?
Make it all go with you, by means of the oppressed,
And give a loan to the owner of (all) wealth, that He may repay you!
Rejoice in its (10) scattering, and trust *its* giving to Him,
(Trusting) that you will receive it again endlessly, *Amen*!
Give something which is not your own, and take your own from *God;*
Give something . . ., and take that which is sure, and gain your soul!
The Scriptures of the Holy Spirit have promised and shown you that . . .;
Believe and *have faith*, and listen to (its) promptings, and through them (15) *obtain* eternal life!
Blessed is (He) who made us able to speak (and) to hear, by His great love,
And put the acknowledgement of Him *in our* mouth to glorify His promise!
Let not gold be to you a master, O (you who are) endowed with speech,
Nor let inanimate silver enslave your soul's freedom!
That one endowed with speech should be a slave to gold *is* very wrong, (20)
And that he should be enslaved to a speechless thing is a great pity.
Why do you bury silver (as) an heirloom, O discerning one,
And (why) is your mind too trampled into the earth with it?
A great *voice* . . . shouts to you, as if to a deaf-mute,
That love of money is the chief of all *evil* passions.
Love of money is an evil poison (25) to those who acquire it,

26 [= = =](= t) (rw')n dn tmp'r( )pr(w) ·:· (f)[w](x̱')r[k] (x)c(y) xwny qy zr(γ)ty cyw pr

27 [xy]p(θ)γrywy ṛyž. 't (pw) dbn ž(w')d'(r)t c(')f̱(yd) pst(n)' byrd'(rt) ·:· p(r)

28 [c](w)ty wγr(')t(y) swq̱y 'x̱ γ'mq̱yn. 't tw' qwt(yy)[l] '(wb)= ṭ(y)t(.)[m] 't

29 [p](t)zrtq[e] t'(f') ft'r(m)x̱t[n] 'x̱šty γnt'q xwysm ·:· ny wxsyq'

30 [xyp](θ) (γr)'(m)y (*nbn*)ty 'x̱ '(y)ṭ. 't ny w'cntq' t'f'[o] qt d' (*r*y)

31](*q*y)θfx(št)'[ry] ·:·[p] ny ptbydty x(')ny (x) [y](p)θ'wnt pr( )tx̱] ·:· h ·:· ·:· [

[k] very unclear, perhaps owing to alteration (note the incompatibility of the pointing and vocalization); the first two letters apparently p'- [l] not qwtyšt, qwtt' or qwt' [m] or '(m)ṭ(y)t(.) [n] almost certain [o] perhaps altered from t'fs- [p] θfx(šd)'[ry] less likely

And, like . . ., *it destroys* the soul together with the body.
Happy is he who has been delivered from it by his own will,
And has lived without fear, in as much as he has found respite!
Why are you awake, O rich man, and your dogs asleep,
And (why) does an evil solicitude for superfluous things afflict you?
You will not be left (30) with *your* wealth, O possessor,
And they will not allow you to have *the possessions which you* have acquired.
The master of the house does not perceive the thief's coming,

51V

1 'x̱s'(*m*)[nt]ẇ. '(t ny) mrt[xmy]=[ ]= =[

2 'r(s)x[a] xc(y) (f)t('rm̱y)t 'ṛ(yš)ty = =[ ](γn)t'q xwc(= =)[ ]

3 prw[b] '(w)x(z)t(q)' (mwr)t(y) (d'*m* s)'(·:· *fwx*'r x)c[y] x(w)ny qy ny (')[y](*st*)

4 dyw prw (b)ẕ̌y(q) 'myq qw (m)[w](rt*y* d')m s'. p't (š)w xyḍ[c] (p)tq̱(š)t

5 q' yt'ṛy (')t pr dnt(x̱) š(q)'f' ·:· (*pr*)cwt(x̱) (= =t)x̱ (s*w*)q̱y (p)r( )xwrmyn(qy)'[.]

6 qt (n)'y ¨(m')c sty tw' š(')twxy' (y)bwst(*ny*)qt t(y r)yžt ·:· dštw'n

7 z'q (q)y qtyš pr š(y)r'qty' xw(šyw*n*y) (z')t(*y*. pṛy)c (x)[ypθ]xwtw 't

8 t(r)' w(γš)' pr xwšywnqy' mcx̱t ·:· p(r c*w*tx̱)x=ṛ=t[d] sx̱dtq tw'

9 (d)št(ẇ)c[e] 't tx̱ xwštr(y'[f] s)ydtq θ(b)'(r xwžqy)' pty θy' ·:· 'x̱ (m*y*ṛ)[y](n)'

10 (q)y žγyrt(x̱) (q)tyš pr f̱r(y)t't ḇγy z't(y)[.] f(*š*)t'( )c'(f') myṛ(yn)qy'

11 xw't'ẇ ·:· 'xz( )tr' tys qw bwstn s'[ ]t(w)'(*py*nmc*yq*)wy'q. qy

12 nyžty c(y)wyd t(w)' ptry '(d)m c'nw ¨(x)[yr](·:· *s*wbty s) t(y qy)rm̱y

13 sry qy p(yz) tw' ptrw 'dm(.) 't(= = =)[p](*š*)p(rd)'(rt)xw't pšn'( )mrym

14 'f̱ryṭ(*y*)str cn s('t 'y̱š)t(y) ·:· (b)wst[ny](g d)[brw](*q*y b)stx̱ (qt*y* *pr*)'(d)my

15 ptyn prywyd qt n(*y* *n*y)γwš. mšyẖ'(h p)r xypθ (qwš)x̱ n(qc*n*)[i = =](= *d*)'(rt)

16 ⟨tw'⟩[j] pynms' ·:· prx̱c γr'mw (q)y ⟨ny⟩ pt(s)pyntyq'(.) 't t(r)' (*š*'t*wx*)[b](')

[a] almost certain [b] pr[y]w less likely [c] sic [d] or $^{r}_{p}$=ṛ=t [e] or (d)yšt(ẇ)c [f] cf. the y' of ywx'y'mntx̱, 61V.18 [g] Lentz qw sty, Hansen bwstny; photo (*bws*)t[[h] Lentz and Hansen mšyẖ'; photo (*mšy*)[=]' [i] or n(bnc)-, less likely n($^{bn}_{q}$t)- [j] written from top to bottom in the margin at the beginning of the line with no mark to indicate where it should be inserted

51V

And no man . . .
Solicitude for superfluous things is *like* haemorrhoids . . .,
. . . vile disease . . . will go down with
. . . to the realm of the dead.
Happy is he with whom there comes no evil infection to the realm of the dead,
For that will imprison him (5) in darkness and in gnashing of teeth!
Why are you *intent* upon what is of dust,
(In) that lo! bliss in Paradise is ready-prepared for you, if you desire it?
(You) poor child, who have become by Grace a king's son,
Leave *your* master, and go, rejoice in the things of the kingdom!
Why does poverty seem *riches* to you,
And (why) does beggary seem to you (to be) mastery?
O mortal, (10) who have been called through love a son of God,
Thrust from you the weakness of mortality!
Arise, go, enter into Paradise, your former place,
From which your father Adam went out when *he* transgressed!
Pierced is the head of the serpent which struck down your father Adam,
And Mary, more blessed than all women, with weak heel has trampled *upon it*.
The gate of Paradise, *which* was closed on account of Adam, (15) because he disobeyed,

17 γḏny bw(s)tny nwšẋty wy'q ·:· ṗyr 't wrn' 't 'wm'ncn (n)' (b')
18 pr ẇystẇt. 'dysn ¨'s tγw r'θp'nty[x](w)štry wrnw ·:· (wrnw n)wšc
19 ž(w)'ny m't θẋfyž r'θp'n 't xyd šw[n' pr](t)w wnt' cn γ(w)'nt[y](*pr*)
20 w'xš qy m(z)'n ·:· m'(nw)q b'( )qywyd r'(θ*p*')n s'. 'ẋ nγwšn'(.). '[t]
21 'w(m'n)cn n' b' pr(zpr)t(w')t(y) (m'*r*dnẋ)t ·:· n(γ)wš(n)ẋ ṃyn qw (s)'(t)['yšt]
22 s' (q)y ḟrm'tẋt (swqwn)ṭ. 't dwr wn' xypθ γryw cn pt(n[k])[xwžqy']
23 qy pwn xcy γ(šy)p ·:· pr cwtẋ w(γšy)sq pr γrf γr'(*m*)[y qrw]
24 n'mntẇ. 't rwž(ys)q pr 'ẇyž 'ẋc qy ⟨ny⟩ xcy tw' xypθ ·:· =[= = =]
25 tystq 't ny(ž)tysq. 't c'nw ny ptbyd(y*q*)' 'w(š)t(y)t(q)' (m)[rc]
26 pr t(w)' pts'r ·:· tr' 'ms' w(n)' pr tmw ẓ(y) zṛyš ¨'s'. (q)t[]
27 n'(*y* ¨m)'ty sty (*qw*)t('f)s' c'n(w) tẋ nẋ ṛyžtq ·:· pc(*m*)rws '(*t*)[]
28 t(q*w*š *w*ẋ*d* t')rw qy ¨m'ty sty tw'. 't pṛyž c(yw) (p)r (*θb*'r)⟨y⟩ d(s)[tw]
29 [q]t q'm(ys)q ·:· ḟt(ẋ)r c'f' γr'mẋ rwžt(y)' qy (p)tzyrtq t'[f'.]
30 š(n') 't f(š*n*)' cy(w*y*)d γ(')mqynẋ z'ry'(w)' ·:· wyny (γ*r*')= ṃ(*y*)[= =](=')[ ]
31 z'tw ('= =w) γ'(mqẋ)n. (p)rywyd qṭ ny (n)m(')[z](')ry) sy'(t pr)[ ]

[k] perhaps pṭ(n)

Christ has *opened* before you by *the piercing* of His side.
Abandon (your) wealth, which will be of no avail,
And go, *be* happy in the garden of Eden, the place of the immortals!
Believe and have faith, and do not be doubtful concerning the promises;
Take (as) an example the faith of the chief of the robbers:
The robber acquired faith, the mother of eternal life,
And that made him *innocent* of (his) sins, by (20) the word which he confessed.
Be like that robber, O (you who are) endowed with hearing,
And do not be doubtful concerning the Scriptures of the Holy Spirit!
Be attentive to all *the things* which are commanded,
And make yourself far from *seeking* excuses, which is full of harm!
Why do you take delight in making much wealth,
And (why) do you desire to amass something which is not your own?
. . . (25) enters and departs,
And, whilst you do not observe (it), death will stand at your (bed's) head.
Go, pay heed to hell, O (you who are) about to perish,
(In) that lo! it is ready-prepared for you, although you do not desire it!
Feel and look at *that* darkness which is prepared for you,
And flee from it, *if* you wish, by means of giving!
Put away from you the greed for wealth which afflicts you, (30)
Tremble and cower from that rich man's misery!
His wealth *made his* son . . . rich,
Because he refused to have pity on . . .

***52R**

(the top of the page missing)
*1 m(')[
*2 ¨ym(p)t[q'[a]
*3 bγw žγyrtq'(.)[
*4 ṇst'ẇy z'ty c'nw[
*5 ny bwtq' dn xypθ[
*6 'ẋṣt 't wyžt' ny [wn't.
*7 pr'γtyt qw m'x (w)[

[a] not ¨ymst[(with Hansen), nor ¨ym(n)t[(with Weber 1970, 160 n. 147)

***52R**

. . .
. . . he *will* pervert . . .
. . . he will call *himself* a god,
. . .
. . . the Son of Perdition, as . . .
. . . (5) will not be with his . . .
. . . *that the end* will come and not tarry,
. . . arrived at our . . .
. . . upon men,
And in . . .

*8 pr mrtxmẓt. 't pr( )pc[		. . . if you sow accursed seed . . .
*9 qt qšy nf(r)ytw t(x)mw p[		. . . (10) amongst the wheat.
*10 γntmy myd'ny :· γšyp 't [		Harm and . . .,
*11 't xwny qy nymty wyny pryn(q)[[b]	zt']	And he whose . . . has been taken . . .
*12 wnẓ pr wyny γnt'q qt cntn [xcy.		. . . should make *known* concerning his
*13 γnt'q qw mrtxmẓty ṇst'ẇ s[' ·:·	zprt]	wickedness, how great *it is,*
*14 w't 't myd ršt' xcy. p't pr f(n')[s	qw]	. . . wickedness unto men's perdition.
*15 fn'sy 'žwnt s' ·:· bywnẓt 'š(*t'*)[d'rnt		. . . *Holy* Spirit, and it is true,
*16 ny žγm'ṣyt. qt 'ẓstq'[		For by deceit *they will be turned* (15)
*17 pd'ty r'z šw žγyrd'rt[		into Children of Deceit.
*18 'y'm 'št'd'rt (q)[		The prophets *have* shown . . ., not
*19 'ẓs'(m)[nty		liars,
*20 θb(r)[-		That . . . shall come . . .
(the bottom of the page missing)		*The Apostle* called it the 'secret of iniquity' . . .
[b] pryn(m)[? pryn(b)[?		. . . he revealed the end . . .
		. . . coming . . .
		. . . (20) give . . .

***52V**		***52V**
(the top of the page missing)		. . . and looks . . .
*1	](t) ·:··	. . . from his place (5) . . .
*2	] =d[= =]t[y]sq	. . . falsehood before . . .
*3	]=q 't tqwšt	. . .
*4	](c)n xypθ wy'q	. . . he shall name his . . .
*5	p]ynms' žγm'	. . . Scriptures, lack of zeal . . .
*6	](w) n'm wntyq' xypθ[a]	. . . is *come* that he may destroy,
*7	m'r](d)nẓt[b] n' 'xwd'wny'[c]	*But . . . is come* that he may make
*8	]= sty qt nẓst wnẓ.	known (the gospel).
*9	](') qt zt' wnẓ ·:· mrx'	*He will make* level (10) *the Lord's*
*10 [wntyq'	fršty]t wntyq' q'rpθt cn	*road . . .,*
*11 [m'x bγ' pyd'r	pcγ'](z)tq' wyny ywqy w'xš. 't	He will make *straight* the paths for *our*
*12	p]cp'ncyqt ṣšty xšnyrq.	*God . . .*
*13	]( )'t w'dm pr xypθ prdbn ·:··	. . . shall receive the word of his teach-
*14	wy]spw pṣyp. qt xwnẓ qẓt ¨γt	ing,
*15	xw](n)y ycy qy 'ẓstq' cn dwydy	And . . .
*16 [qwtry	fš]md'rt t'm' qt zt' wn'n	. . . a sign of things to come,
*17	]( )cw xcy ¨rnq qy	. . . and Adam, by his (=Satan's?) de-
*18	]=y qt qšy' pr	ceit.
*19	]=t(w) brysq.	. . . all slander,
*20	]=	That He who has come (15) . . .
(the bottom of the page missing)		. . . is *He* that shall come from David's
[a] +.. (insertion-mark) [b] or](d) nẓt [c] altered from 'w-		*lineage . . .*
		. . . *God* sent me that I might make
		known *His coming.*
		. . . what is . . . which . . .?
		. . . that sowing in . . .
		. . . you bear . . ., (20)
		. . .

***53*R**		***53*R**
(the top of the page missing)		. . .
*1	](= =)[	. . . because of His putting-to-death . . .
*2	]cn wyny (p)t(*xwnq*)y pyd'[r	. . . John *said* before witnesses that . . .
*3	y](w)ḫnn ẓynnẓty pynms' qt[	. . . from heaven God the Father heard
*4	]( )bγy ptry cn sm'ny ptγw[š'z	. . . (5)

*5	]= zprt w't pr( )qpwtyc(*y*)[ ](*m'n*)[wqy'	. . . the Holy Spirit in *the likeness of* a dove . . .
*6	](w) yrwdnn[a] ywrdnn rwt [	. . . River Jordan . . .
*7	](w)rt qy t'ry qt[	. . . which dark . . .
*8	](t) cn frwrtqtẓt[y	. . . from the tombs . . .
*9	qθ](ʾr)t ʾxw(n)c( )[	. . . did battle . . .
(the bottom of the page missing)		. . .

[a] altered from °rdn to °dnn (or vice versa) and then deleted

***53*V**

(the top of the page missing)

*1	](w mz)[yx	
*2	]qy s(p)tw qθ'rt ẓy(d t)[	
*3	pw]wṛyt ʾyšty ·:· nẓst qy y(w)[	
*4	]= wyspnẓ m'n pr z'ycyqt( )[	
*5	](=r= =)zprt ʾncmny γdty'[	
*6	]wšnty zb'qy žyb'm[nty	
*7	w]yspy dn xypθ pnt[a]	
*8	]= ·:· ṛm'tẓt[b] ʾ(yš)[t	
*9	](t')q ·:· [=]= =[	

(the bottom of the page missing)

[a] a small red line over the final upstroke of t [b] the points under y in red

***53*V**

. . . who perfected that . . .
. . . worth*less* things.
There is not (anyone) who . . .
. . . everyone's mind *is fixed* on earthly *things*. (5)
. . . the holy Church's wounds . . .
. . . the biting of their tongue(s).
. . . each with his close *friend*,
. . .
The things which are commanded . . .
. . .

***54R**

(about 11 lines missing)

12	]=	. . .
13	]=t ʾt ¨zc[a]	. . . and free . . .
14	](s)ty pstn' qw nm'ny	. . . there is a respite for penitence (15)
15	[qrqy' s']=t(r)t[ ](ʾt)[=]=ẓ c'nw xwcq sty	. . .
16	]= = p(y)nms' mnt pryštq' žmnw qt byt(y)q'	. . . while *the door* is open . . .,
17	]=[=](=y) ʾt ṃn ¨symẓt wntyq' m'x qtẓty xwz'mnty·:·	Before the time shall arrive, that . . . shall be . . .,
18	(*x*)[wn](y) qy γ'mq(y)n xcy (y)γrty'q wn't ny'z'ẇty ʾt xwny qy dštw'n[b]	And the examination of our deeds shall confound us.
19	xcy p'yt xypθ γryw cn γw'ny ·:· xwny qy ʾrtw xcy wrẓywy' n'	*He* who is rich should relieve the needy, And he who is poor should keep himself from sin.
20	wn't pr γw'n qrẓt. ʾt xwny ⟨qy⟩ γftẓ xcy p'yt xypθ γryw cn	He who is righteous should not assume hauteur (20) towards sinners,
21	sq'm'nqy'ṛ ·:· mrn ʾγbr zbn' byš' mn γd̈θk w'mlk šyn'	And he who has performed labours
22	b'rγ' wbγmwr̄yḥ ·:· m'x xypθ'wnt ftyr γnt'q žmnw xypθ	should keep himself from pride.
23	ʾncmnty ʾt p'txš'wn w(n)' wys'q pr mγwn z'y ʾt šy pr mynnyt ·:·	(Syriac and Sogdian:) Our Lord, make the evil time pass *from[21] Thy churches,
24	pr ʾfrywn wn' x(y)pθ ʾncmn pr ʾ(f)rywn wn' ḍynd'rt ʾt šy pd'rnẓt	And make peace rule over the whole[22]
25	ʾt γẇnnc[c] b't pr(y)w zprtyṛ b'mqynyṛ[d] r'mnty ·:· wycn' cyw bžyq	earth and over its inhabitants!
26	sqt' qy qšt'rt šmnw ʾt qn' cyw γnt'q qrẓ nymnw ·:· tw'	(Sogdian only:) Bless Thy church, bless (its) priests and
27	nwšc žw'ny šyṛy txmy x(w)š'tẓ b't pryw. ʾt θbr't brw yw pr	its bishops, (25) And let the splendour of holiness be always increasing in it!
28	šys ʾt pr xwš(š)ty[e] ¨ʾt[d] pr (s)tw ·:· pr ʾfrywn xcy qy pr xypθ	Choose out from it the evil tares which Satan has sown, And dig from it the sinner's . . .!

[a] hardly ¨ʾdc [b] or dyštw'n [c] or $\gamma w^{nn}_{yy}c$ [d] sic [e] not xwš(s)ty

[21] Thus Sy. [22] Sy om.

29 (*p*)txwnq ptγwsd'rt^{d} mrc 't 'ž'wd'rt mwrtyṭ 't pšt'd'rt šyrw	Let the good seed of Thy eternal life be full-grown in it,
30 (pr) sm'n(y) qy(wy)d^{d} s' q(y) 'yžnt xnt ·:· qyw s' b't γwbty' ptry	And let it give fruit, thirty-fold and sixty-fold and hundred-fold.
	Blessed is (He) who by His putting-to-death killed death, and made the dead live,
	And prepared bliss in heaven for those who are worthy!
	To Him be glory, Father, *Son and Holy Spirit,*
	. . ., for ever and ever, Amen and Amen!

Commentary

***48R**

25 *]nrystr* or *]šrystr* could be the compar./superl. of an adj. ending in °*nry* or °*šry*, but none such is known to me. More satisfactory is the interpretation adopted above, p. 87, as *rystr* 'less' (~**z'wr'*, by-name of Bābay bar Nṣibnāye) with prefixed *n-* 'to' (as literal translation of Syr. *l-* indicating the agent, a construction frequently used with the pass. participle, cf. Nöldeke, Syr. Gramm. § 279A).

26–29 On this first verse see above, p. 87 with nn. 3–5. The use of the verb *prš* in this context is sufficient to bring to mind Mt. 25.31ff.

30 Cf. Lk. 10.28: *hd' 'bd. w-tḥ'* 'Do this and you will live'.

***48V**

4 *dn γr'm' šy prw*: the word-order excludes the possibility that this means 'with three treasures' *(*dn šy γr'm' prw)*. It may be a simplification of **dn γr'm' prw šy prw* 'with (the) treasures, three together', one *prw* taking the place of two. The 'three treasures' referred to are perhaps the gold, frankincense and myrrh which the magi gave to Jesus (Mt. 2.11), cf. *r't* 'gift' in the next line.

5 *rync(qw)* <S. *ryncwk* 'light', cf. p. 61 above. On *ryncwk* see Henning Tales 482 n. 5 and Paris Texts 733. The meaning here may be 'small' rather than 'light', cf. the meanings of *ryncq* and the cognates cited by Mayrhofer EWA III, 31–32.

6 *''xwšt(t)[*: cf. M. *''xwškyy*, Sogdica b15? Or C. *''xwšyc* (C3=TiiB8, R13), S. id. (L69.19)?

8 *(bw)d xwrtyṭ*=S. *βwδxwrt'kw*, A16.6.

9/10 *nyšynyṭt* 'perishable', see Benveniste Etudes 1, 325.

10 *frqyny'* 'negligence', ibid. 307.

13 *drtyc s(p)nyṭty*: cf. B. *δrt'yc spn'k*, M. *δrtyc s[p]nyy*, on which see BBB p. 102 on f8. Henning's tentative connection with M. and S. *'spyn* receives some support from the pointing here.

14 *xw't pr(wr)d'rnt* '*they have weakened, harmed'. Cf. the impf. *(xw')t prywyr(n)t* '*id.' (C3=TiiB8, V12–13). The verb *prwyr/prwrt* is also fairly certainly attested in the phrase *(p)wtqy prwy(r)ntq'*, 12R.18, see pp. 55–56 above. In none of these passages is it possible to read a form of the verb *prwyrt/prwst-* 'cause to become, render', in spite of the occurrence of *prwrt* 'become' in the phrase *xw't prwrtntq'm* 'they will be weakened, harmed', 23V.8, where one would expect an intrans. counterpart to *xw't prwyr/prwrt*. Possibly there has been some confusion between the two very similar verbs.

17–18 Since C. *nbnt(y)* usually corresponds to Syr. *lwt* (e.g. 60R.10; 60V.11; ST i passim), *sty . . . nbnty* may translate *'yt lwt* 'belong to, stay with, etc.'.–*wc'q* 'tomorrow'='*wc'(q)[* (Sundermann 1981, Text 29, V3 with n. 389), which, in view of the order of words in the Syriac, almost certainly translates *mḥr* 'id.', a deduction confirmed by the contrast with *](nw)r* 'today' in the present passage. An earlier form of the word is attested as *wt'š'k'* in the Mug document 1/1.21: *L' nwr kw wt'š'k' s'r 'pstnh kwn' rty 'cw s'c't 'krty rty nwr kwn'* 'do not delay (from) today to tomorrow, do today what needs to be done!'.

19 *xwrmnyṭt* probably translates Syr. *'pr̈n'* 'earthly (creatures), mortals'.

19–21 Translated, mostly correctly, by Benveniste Etudes 1, 312. That the passage refers to the parable of the wedding-feast, Mt. 22.1–14, *bγ'(ny)špqtyṭ nwystyṭt* translating *mzm̈n' l-mštwt'*, Mt. 22.3, was recognized by Henning BSOAS 28/2 [1965], 242–243. Henning took *bγ'n(yp)š qt* as a variant of *bγ'(ny)špqtyṭ*, but the omission of the **-aka*–suffix presented a problem (ibid. 247 n. 35). Now that S. *[βγ']nyšp* 'bride-

groom' (Ps. 19.5) and *βγ''ny BRY* 'husband' (Anc. Lett. 3.1) have been recognized (see Schwartz 1974a, 259–260 and A. Dietz, Etudes mithriaques 112 (Acta Iranica XVII) respectively; cf. also Sundermann 1974a, 226 with n. 8), it is simpler to take *qt* as a separate word. Quite likely *qt qd'* translates Syr. *d-'mty* 'when' (rel.) (<*'mty* 'when?') as in C5/19, R4.

21 *prwrtq*: apparently 3 sg. pres. indic. (<**prwrttq*), perhaps by mistake for the 3 pl., or perhaps an adj. formed like *swdq*, 68R.19.–*rm'nty*: probably mistake for *r'mnty*.

26 *ʾ(w)t*: only occurrence of the verb *ʾwt* corresponding to the noun *ʾwt* 'hope, faith'.–*wystw'ty*, 'promised', see Schwartz STSC 139 with n. 1.

27 *'xwd'wny*: cf. *xwny qy *'wxd'wny* (Lentz *'wxd' wny*) *xcy pr γrft 'dyty ptš'dty'* 'he who is striving for the satisfaction of many' (C4=TiiB27a, V14–15 (Lentz)). These forms confirm Schwartz's view (STSC 149) that the abstract *'xwd'wny'* is formed from the pres. participle of a verb **'xwd'w*.

w(y)cy't: cf. 51R.12, *ʾs wycy't swqy(n)w* and 61R.28, *bγ'[nyqt frm]('n)ty wyc(y)'t d'r['mnt](y)* ~ *nṭwrwt pwqdnẅhy d-'lh'* 'the keeping of the commandments of God'. In the last example it seems that *wyc(y)'t d'r* should mean something like 'hold fast', in which case *wycy't swq-* may be translated 'be firm, be sure'.[23]

28 *](=r)yž(ys)q* may contain a cognate of *fryž* (with different preverb).

51R

1 *γmp*: the trans. counterpart to *γfs-* 'take trouble' is here attested for the first time (Benveniste Etudes 2, 126). In my translation I have put the sentence into the passive for clarity. The literal meaning–if the restorations proposed are correct–is: 'Why does *that (thing)* trouble you *which, by* its (mere) thought, *estranges* . . .?'

2 *(xw)*: the only instance in this MS where *xw* (usually nom. m./n.) is clearly acc. (cf. GMS § 1405). In *fyr'z xw xypt dstw*, 39R.3, *xw* may be the subject of the preceding verb, which is hardly possible here.

4 Cf. Mt. 6.20: *symw l-kwn sÿmt' b-šmy'* 'lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven'.–*γzny'* is presumably an abstract noun from *γzn-* (attested in C. Sogd. by *γzny*, C3=Tiii99[2], R9, 13), though one would rather have expected **γzny'q*. (On abstracts in *-yā* from light stems see Sims-Williams 1981c, 14–17.)

8 *trγz'y,ty*: the pointing indicates that *-āy-* had become *-ē-*, the spelling with ' being historical.–On *trγz'y* see Henning BBB p. 60 on 510. In ST i, 51.6, *trγz'y qθ'rnt* translates *'lṣw* 'they pressed, urged, compelled'. Here *trγz'y* may translate the pass. participle *'lyṣ* in its sense 'oppressed, poverty-stricken'. Another meaning of *'lyṣ* is 'anxious, depressed', which suits M. *trγṭz'yy* in Tale E, 23.

10 The usual meaning of *pyr* is 'believe', but 'entrust' is attested at ST i, 43.5.–*zwrtyq' 't . . . by,ryq'* 'you will return and find'='you will find again'. The idiom is common in Syriac (a form of one of the roots *pn'*, *hpk* or *'ṭp* 'return' co-ordinated, with or without *w-*, with the equivalent form of another verb).

11 In C2 the preposition *pw* (cf. GMS § 1166) takes the oblique: *pw šm'ryty*, 111R.4; *pw x(w)c[y 't pw] bž'xwty'*, 60V.17–18 (rather than *pw x(w)c['t pw cn] bž'xwty'* with a change of construction in the middle of the phrase).

12 *θf,yš*: sandhi-form for *θf,yž*? If the reading of the next word as *(xyp)t* is correct, it would appear that at this point the scribe was not allowing himself to be unduly influenced by the standard orthography.

13 *zp(rt w)'ty (m'rd)[n](y)t*: the phrase recurs at V21.

14 For the restoration *p,yr ('t)[wrn']* cf. V17.–*(wyš)t*: plural of B. *wyc* 'tremor' (VJ 1006; P9.51). Here it may translate *zwʿ* 'id.', which often refers to mental or spiritual 'impulses' or 'promptings'. Cf. above, p. 76, on a similar use of the verb *ẇyc* (~**√zwʿ*) in 31V.12.

17 *qw γwbtw xypθ wystẇ s'* 'for His glorious promise'? Neither the order of words (for which, however, one may compare *cn przr šm'x y(p)'q*, 66R.3) nor the sense are satisfactory. The context seems to require: 'to glorify His promise' or 'for the glory of His promise'.

18 *mwrty,* 'lifeless' (of something which, since it was never alive, cannot be said to have died) as in C1.284 (~*myt'* 'dead; lifeless').

21 On *'šyp* 'bury' see Benveniste Etudes 1, 308, 334 n. 27.–*pyš wz'y* '(as) an heirloom' (cf. *ptrq'n* '(as) a bequest', line 6 above)<*pyš* (Dhy. 383, cf. also *(')pyšm*)+verbal noun **wz'y* (cf. p. 51 above on a possible instance of the unprefixed *z'y*) from **wz'y* 'to leave', cf. Parth. *wzyh-* 'abandon', Oss. Dig. *izayun*, Iron *zayin* 'remain', Av. *ivīzayaθā*, Yasna 53.7. Note that Lat. *hērēs* is usually taken to belong to this root. For the formation German ‚Nachlaß' and ‚Hinterlassenschaft' are to be compared. I owe this explanation to Dr. Gershevitch.

[23] For the correspondence *wyc(y)'t d'r*: *wycy't swq-* cf. S. *p'ty δ'r* (Ps. 5.9, STSC 131, line 11): C. *p'ty swq-* (94V.8; ST i, 6.10).

23 *q't* 'dumb'. One would expect **qn* 'deaf'. Possibly *q't* is an over-literal translation of Syr. *ḥrš'*, which means basically 'dumb' but also 'deaf' and, as a noun, 'a deaf-mute'.

27–29 For this verse cf. Ephraem, De Nativitate I, 67–68[24]:

67. *šhr hw 'p 'tyr'* d-rdph l-šnth mmwn'
klbwhy dmkyn w-hw ṅṭr symth mn gnb'
68. *šhr hw 'p yswp'* d-šnth b-spth 'tbl'ṭ
d-qsh q'm l-'šdwhy w-šhr ysyp d-šny'

‚67. Es wacht auch der Reiche; * denn der Mammon verjagte seinen Schlaf. – Seine Hunde ruhen, doch er bewacht * seine Schätze vor den Diében. 68. Es wacht auch der (immer) Besorgte; * seinen Schlaf hat die Sorge verschlungen. – Der Tod steht am Bett zu seinen Häupten, * und er wacht in Sorgen um noch viele Jahre.'

29 *[p](t)zr*: defective spelling (cf. p. 53 above) for *ptzyr* as in 51V.29, 69R.25 and C54 = TiiB66, R(?)3: *(pt)zyry.n(t)[*. Cf. M. *"zyr*, B. *"z(')yr*. The associated noun is M. *ptzrn*, BBB b18.

ft'r(m)y.t 'y.šty = (f)t('rmy)t .(yš)ty, V2. The reading with *-m-* is put beyond doubt by a further occurrence of the phrase in TiiB6a, V29 (Lentz): *γrf ft'rmyt 'y.ct*. The suffix by which *ft'rmy* 'superfluous' is derived from the adv. *ft'r* is not clear.

xwysm 'care, solicitude, trouble'. The literal meaning is probably 'sweat' (> 'effort, trouble' as in English), whether the noun is formed directly from the pres. stem *xwys* (on which see Henning, Paris Texts 718) or from the underlying root *xwaid-* (as Av. *aēsma-* from the root *aid-*).

30 Instead of *(nbn)ty* one might restore a noun in the obl. pl., thus: 'You will not be left to the . . .' This would supply a subject for *w'cntq'* in the second hemistich.–*'(y)t'* may translate the Syr. passive participle *'ḥyd* 'taken', which also has the active sense 'taking, holding, powerful, ruler'.

31 *θfx(št)'[r]*: cf. *qšt'r*, 54R.26, as against *pcγšd'r*, *ptγwsd'r*, etc. In the MS C14 (ST ii, Texts 1–3) the initial *δ* of the auxiliary *δār* regularly appears as /t/ (spelt *t* or *θ*) after sibilants, e.g. *ptγwšt/θ'r*, *'wsθ'r*, *pst'r*. After the other fricatives there seems to be some hesitation between /δ/ and /t/ *(pryfd'r*, *nšyd'r* < **nšydd'r*, versus *pryfθ'r*, *nšydt'r*, *pcγθ'r)*.[25]

31*f*. Cf. Mt. 24.43, Lk. 12.39: *'lw yd' hw' mr' byt' b-'yd' mṭrt' 't' gnb'* 'if the master of the house knew at which hour of the night the thief would come'. The construction of *ptbyd-* with *pr* is probably in imitation of Syr. *yd' b-* or a similar idiom.

51V

2 *'r(s)x*: the assumption that this is the same word as B. *'rs('n)x* 'piles, haemorrhoids' (Sims-Williams 1975, 133) is now supported by the occurrence of *xwc* 'illness' in the same line on the adjoining fragment.

3/4 The expression *mwrty d'm* is known from 60V.3 (~*šywl* 'Sheol'), ST i, 56.18 (~*byt mjt'* 'house of the dead') and ST ii/4.17. Cf. S. *mwrty δ'mh*, P12.20, with its opposite *'zw'ntk δ'mh*, P2.565, *'(zw)'nty δ'm*, L27.6–7 (cf. Sims-Williams 1981a, 235). According to Sundermann 1975, 60, *mwrty* is here collective ('the dead', as in C1.83), but it is also possible that *mwrty d'm* is a compound.

4 *'myq* 'infection, impurity', cf. C. *pw "myq* (Weber 1970, 196), B. *pw "m'yk* 'untainted' (~Chin. 'fresh'), P5.10, M. *'(')myk* 'impurity' (GMS § 5). There is no justification for the translation 'mixture' or for the comparison with Parth. *"myγ* (sic), whose *γ* is not compatible with the *k* of Sogd. *"myk* even on the assumption that the latter is a loanword (as suggested by Weber op. cit. 89 n. 24). The word should rather be connected with M. *"my* (meaning something like 'dirt', Sogdica y28 and p. 58) and *(')'myṭy* (following *mnd xwpyy* and *rymnyḫ*, BBB b30). This last was derived by Henning from the root *may-* (Skt. *minā́ti* 'diminishes' etc.).

5 Cf. Mt. 25.30: *'pqwhy l-ḥšwk' bry'. tmn nhw' bky' w-ḥwrq šn'* 'Cast him out into the darkness without; there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth'. Note that *dnty šq'f'* is clearly an **-ākā*–stem, not an abl. as stated by Weber IF 80 [1975], 95.

8 *xwšywnqy' mcy.t*: pl. of **xwšywnqy'-m(y)cy'*, abstract of **xwšwnqy'-myc* 'pertaining to the kingdom'. For the formation and the spelling cf. *[s](')cy mcy.*, 102V.30 (beside *s'cy mycy'*, 61R.20).

9 *θ(b)'(r xwžqy)' ptyθy'* 'beggary' (hendiadys) or 'beggary and shame'.

[24] E. Beck, Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Nativitate (Epiphania), Louvain 1959, 9 (text)(CSCO/SS LXXXII); 8 (translation) (LXXXIII).

[25] The rather confusing picture which emerges from GMS § 457[1] is due to the inclusion in the same list as the trans. pret. forms from C14 of (i) *xsd'r*, which is not a pret. at all, and (ii) forms from ST ii, Texts 4–5 (=C22) and 6, in which, as in C5 (and in C1, with the solitary exception of *šnt't*, 225), *d* is written in all trans. preterites except the ubiquitous *qθ'r*.

10 The reading *f(š)t'* is very uncertain, but since the number of possible restorations for a light stem *f=t-* is very small it may not be entirely idle to propose an etymology on the basis of this reading, namely: **fešt- <*fástaya-* (for the palatalization of *st* to *št* see Gershevitch apud Sims-Williams 1976, 80) = Khot. *phaśt-* 'cause to flutter' and, with preverbs, *naṣphaśt-* 'remove', *vaphaśt-* 'cause to tremble', cf. **fasta-* in Khot. *phast-* 'flutter', *haphast-* 'id.'. See further Sims-Williams 1983, 49.

11–12 Cf. 'The Mysteries of Baptism by Moses bar Kepha', translated by R. A. Aytoun,[26] 353: 'our first home from whence came out our father Adam, when he transgressed the commandment of the Lord.'

12–14 Cf. Gen. 3.15: 'I shall put enmity between you (i.e. *ḥwy'*, the serpent) and the woman *('ntt')*, and between your brood and her brood; they shall trample your head *(ndwš ryš-k)* and you shall wound their heel *('qb')*.' In the present passage the images have been freely rearranged, so that it is Mary, as representative of womankind—rather than her 'brood' Jesus, the ultimate vanquisher of the 'serpent' or devil—who is symbolically described as trampling the serpent's head with her heel. C. *pšn'* 'heel' = M. *pšn'* (GMS § 121), both hapax legomena.

14–16 This verse makes use of a common symbol in Syr. literature whereby the piercing of Christ's side represents the re-opening of the gates of Paradise, which were shut after Adam's fall, as Dr. Brock has pointed out to me, referring to R. Murray, The lance which re-opened Paradise . . ., in: Orientalia Christiana Periodica 39/1 [1973], 224–234 and 39/2 [1973], 491. In view of lines 18–20 it is noteworthy that according to Syr. tradition the first to enter the re-opened Paradise was the 'good thief' (cf. for instance R. Murray, Symbols of Church and Kingdom . . ., Cambridge 1975, 258).

15 *ptyn* 'cause' = *pt(yrn)* (C5/3, R8, apud Sundermann 1975, 84), M. *ptyrn* (Sogdica g9, 15), obl. *pṭyrnyy* (BBB 525), discussed by Sundermann loc. cit. n. 139, to which C. *ptyr(ny)* (obl.) 'trial, causa' (on which see Schwartz 1970a, 393–394; 1974b, 410 n. 37) should be added.[27] The context as now reconstructed refutes the suggestion (Sundermann 1974c, 584) that *ptyn* here could be the C. equivalent of B. *pt'yn* 'separate'. Less certain is the phrase *yp'qy ptyn* 'on account of anger'(?) in a broken context (C30 = TiiB17a + C68 = TiiiB61.3, V(?)17). See also below on line 22.

(qwš)y 'side'. On the attested forms and etymology of this word see Sims-Williams 1979a, 134. If the stem is set up as *qwšy-* (m.) (<*kuši-, secondarily thematicized) rather than *qwš-*, one may dispense with the assumption that the gender of this word was variable.—The following word is likely to mean 'wounding' or 'piercing', cf. Jn. 19.34: 'But one of the soldiers wounded (√*mḥ'* 'wound, strike' ~ Gk. ἔνυξεν 'pierced') His side *(dpnh)* with a spear.'

16 *pt(s)pyntyq'*: Henning apud Schwartz STSC 12–13 interpreted the clause as 'which will not benefit you', referring to the root *span-* 'benefit'. This is to take *pt(s)pyntyq'* as 3 sg. fut. of a light stem *patspen-* (<*pati-spanya-?), here at least intrans. 'be beneficial'.

17/21 *'wm'ncn* 'doubtful', cf. NP and MP *gumān* 'opinion, suspicion, doubt', in view of which *'wm'ncn* is probably a late form for **wm'ncn*, cf. *'wšqyrḏy*, 48R.17 (beside *wyšq(y)sc*, 87R.11; *wyšqyšty* or *wšqyšty*, 31R.22; impf. *wy(š)qyrdnt*, 66V.18) and *'wprs*, 60R.17 (probably altered from *wprs* as in 6R.12, 7R.17). On this development in general see GMS § 214, where note B. *'wp'rs*. According to Benveniste TSP 178 on P2.670, the Sogdian equivalent of NP *gumān* is B. *ym'(')n(h)* 'fault'. If this etymology is correct, which is far from certain, either *'wm'ncn* contains **awa-* rather than **wi-*, or *ym'(')n(h)* and **wm'n* belong to different dialects.

18 *'dysn 'i's*: probably ~ Syr. *ḥwr' nsb* 'take (as) an example' or a similar expression.—On *r'θp'n* 'robber' see Sundermann 1975, 61–62. The reference here is to the story of the two robbers (*lsṭy'*, Mt. 27.38, Mk. 15.27) crucified with Jesus, Lk. 23.39–43, cf. Isaiah of Scete PG XL, 1146A: *boni latronis fidem atque humilitatem imitemur* (not found in the Syr. version), echoed again in line 20. (Cf. above on lines 14–16.)

19 *θyfyž*: this seems to be the only attested impf. of any pres. stem beginning with *θ* + consonant (apart from the special case of *θāvar* to *θvar-* <*fra-bara-, cf. Gershevitch 1946, 181 n. 3). However, one can hardly assume that such stems regularly formed their impf. by the insertion of *-y-*, since in that case one would surely expect the combined authority of *θyfyž* : *θfyž* and of *tyqwš* : *tqwš* (etc.) to have ensured an impf. **tyfyž* (rather than *tfyž* as in ST ii/6.31) for the variant pres. stem *tfyž*. On the other hand, if *θyfyž* is therefore taken to be a late and analogical formation, the question presents itself, why the analogy was not based on the case of *θ'br* : *θbr-* but on that of some verb or verbs with a different initial consonant. The answer may be that *θyfyž* is secondary to **tyfyž*, the impf. **tyfyž* being quite simply explained as analogical to *tyqwš* etc.

[26] For the full reference see below, p. 110.

[27] But *ptyrnc* 'transitory' is not connected, cf. below, p. 179.

[n' pr](t)w wn-, cf. *[n' p](r)tw wn-* ~ √*zk' (pa''el)* 'acquit', 56R.5.

22 *pt(n)[xwžqy']*: abstract to the adj. attested by M. *ptyrnxwjyyt*, Sogdica g15, which corresponds perfectly to Syr. *'ylyn d-b'yn 'lt'* 'those who desire a cause (i.e. seek pretexts)', Gk. τῶν θελόντων ἀφορμήν, 2 Cor. 11.12. The meaning here would be 'seeking excuses (for not carrying out the commandments)'. But the restoration is of course quite hypothetical, especially since *pt(n)* might correspond not to C. *ptyn*, M. and C. *ptyrn* (on which see above, p. 98) but to B. *pt'yn* 'separate, apart'.

23–24 *[qrw]-n'mntẇ*: Schwartz STSC 105 interpreted *n'mntẇ* as a complete word (to *n'm* 'name'). Admittedly, only compounds are normally divided between two lines in this MS, but cf. *d'r'* | *znt*, 55R.20–21.

25–26 Cf. the passage from Ephraem quoted above, p. 97: *qṣh q'm l-'s̈dwhy* 'his death is standing at his pillow'. Syr. *'s̈d'* is translated by *pts'r* also at 57R.7. The Syr. word means not 'head' in the literal sense but 'place where the head is laid, bed's head, pillow', and *pts'r* should be similarly interpreted as '(that which is) at the head'. See further Schwartz STSC 107 and revisions 6.

26 *zṛyš 'is'*: voc. of **zryš-'sy* from **zryš* = B. *ẓr'yš* 'cessation',[28] P9.104, 131, + suffix **-āsē* 'taking' (possibly attested also in *žγm'sy* 'liar', differently explained in GMS § 1112A). For the idiom cf. Syr. *šwlm'* 'end' + √*nsb* 'take' = 'come to an end' and similar expressions.

29 *[q]t q'm(ys)q*: cf. *qt t(y r)yžt*, line 6.

30 *š(n')'t f(šn)'*: the verb *fšn-* < **fra-šan-* is more certainly attested by *f(š)ntyq'* ~ *nstrd* 'will be made to quake, will be terror-struck', 69R.21. On *'(f)šn'qc* 'trepidation', 1V.9, see above, p. 51.

***52R**

3 Cf. 2 Thess. 2.4: *w-mšt'l' 'l kl mn d-mtqr' 'lh . . . 'ykn' d- . . . nḥw' 'l npšh 'yk d-'lh' hw* 'and he (= the 'Son of Perdition') will exalt himself over everyone that is called a god . . . pretending to be a god himself'.

4 *ṇst'ẉy z'ty* ~ *brh d-'bdn'* 'Son of Perdition' (2 Thess. 2.3); for *nyst'wy* ~ *'bdn'* cf. 24V.7 and 40V.12.

6 Cf. Habakkuk 2.3: *w-'t' qṣ' w-l' mkdb. w-'n mwḥr l' ttqṭ' lkwn. mṭl d-b-'gl 't' w-l' mwḥr* 'The end will come and fail not; if it tarries, do not be disheartened, because suddenly it will come and tarry not'. Hence *wyžt' . . . [wn-]* here probably translates a form of √*'ḥr*, as also in 77R.7 *(w)[yž]t'[w](n)t(')* ~ *'štwḥr* 'delayed, lingered, was late'. Elsewhere *wyžt' wn-* translates √*ktr*, *pa''el* 'wait, delay, tarry, remain, stay' (60V.11, 13; 87R.16). The etymologies suggested by Benveniste (Etudes 1, 314) and Gershevitch (apud STSC 151) depend on the assumption that the Sogd. expression means 'stay (with)', but the present context and 77R.7 indicate that it rather means 'tarry'.

9–10 Cf. Mt. 13.25: *'t' b'ldbbh w-zr' zÿzn' bynt ḥṭ'* 'his enemy came and sowed tares amongst the wheat'. – The pres. stem *qš(-)* 'sow' occurs here for the first time. Previously it had seemed reasonable to assume that the pres. stem corresponding to the well-attested past stem C. *qšt-*, M. *kšṯ-*, S. *kšt-*, should be the hapax legomenon B. *kyr* (Vim. 30), cf. the suppletive systems based on **kāraya-/*kṛšta-* in other Ir. languages (see Emmerick BSOAS 29/3 [1966], 612). It now appears that Sogdian, like Avestan, possessed two pres. stems, *qš-* (Av. *karša-*) and *kyr* (Av. *kāraya-*), possibly differentiated in meaning ('sow' versus 'plant').[29]

11 *pryn(q)[*: neither 'gums' (cf. Benveniste TSP p. 211 on 55) nor 'damask' (cf. Henning TPS 1945, 150 ff.) is plausible in the present context.

14 *ṃyd ršt' xcy*: literally 'thus it is true', cf. Vim. 42–43, *m'yδ rtšth* (sic!) *'xw 'YKZY w'β'y* 'it is just as you say'. Similarly in Avestan: *yezī tā aθā haiθyā* (Yasna 44.6), *iθā ī haiθyā* (Yasna 53.6), etc.

15 *fn'sy 'žwnt* ~ Syr. *b̈ny ṭw'yy* 'Children of Deceit', a phrase used by Ephraem.[30] The reference here will be to those to whom 'God will send a delusion *(m'bdnwt' d-ṭw'yy)* that they may believe falsehood' (2 Thess. 2.11).

17 *pd'ty r'z* ~ *'rz' . . . d-'wl'* 'secret of iniquity' (2 Thess. 2.7).

19 *'y̧s'(m)[nty]*: the reference may be to the coming *(m'tyt')* either of Christ (ibid. vv. 1 and 8) or of the 'Son of Perdition' (v. 9).

***52V**

9–11 Cf. Is. 40.3: *pnw 'wrḥ' l-mry': w-trwṣw b-pq't' šb̈yl' l-'lhn* 'Make way for the Lord, and make straight in the plain paths for our God!'. This proclamation is quoted in connection with John the Baptist in all

[28] The literal meaning of the verb *zryš* (B. *zr'yš*) seems to be 'cut off' (see Sundermann 1981, 184 n. 176), whence 'bring to an end, destroy' (~ 𐼀𐼣 *tuan* 'cut off, stop', P2.745, Vim. 6, etc.; note *(')zw'n zr'yš*, P2 passim, P5. 22, 117, *jw'n zryš*, BBB 514). Cf. MacKenzie BSTBL II, 54.

[29] It is hardly likely that *qš(-)* is a secondary formation to the past stem *qšt-*, as C. *spxš-* is to the past stem *spxšt-* (GMS § 599); in the latter case only a slight adaptation of the old pres. stem *spš-* was involved.

[30] Hymnus de Fide LVI, 7, in: E. Beck, Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Fide, Louvain 1955, 175 (CSCO/SS LXXIII).

four gospels (Mt. 3.3; Mk. 1.3; Lk. 3.4; Jn. 1.23), but the wording is not constant. For the first clause the present text seems to be closest to the version in Jn. 1.23: *'šww 'wrḥh d-mry'* 'Make level the Lord's road!', of which a Sogd. translation happens to be partially preserved in ST i, 57.10: *mrxy wnt[' . . .]*. For the (very tentative) restoration of *[frišty]t wn-* (~*√trṣ* 'make straight' in the versions of Isaiah and Luke) cf. p. 132 below.

12 Cf. Col. 2.17: *ṭlnyt' d-'ylyn d-'tydn* 'types (literally 'shadows') of things to come'?

13 Dr. Brock points out that Adam may be cited here as a foreshadower of Christ, cf. for instance Rom. 5.14: '. . . Adam, who is a likeness of Him who was to come.'—Note that *xypθ* must refer back to the subject of the sentence, which cannot be 'Adam' (*w-'dm* is acc.) but is most probably 'Satan'.—On *prdbn* 'deception' see Schwartz STSC revisions 12.

17 *'rnq*: possibly = NP *ārang* 'colour, form, etc.'.

18 *qšy'*: probably 'sowing', cf. above, p. 99, on the verb *qš*.

***53*R**

5 Cf. Lk. 3.22: *rwḥ' d-qwdš' . . . b-dmwt gwšm' d-ywn'* 'the Holy Spirit . . . in the likeness of the body of a dove' (similarly, but with slightly different wording, Mt. 3.16, Mk. 1.10, Jn. 1.32).

***54R**

14–15 Cf. Bābay's hymn, verse 3: *'d 'yt 'tr' l-tybwt'* 'while there is time (literally 'place') for repentance'.

16 *p(y)nms' mnt*: cf. *[pyn]m(s)' mnt* ~ *qdm d-* 'before', 94R.19. On the conjunction *mnt* see Benveniste Etudes 1, 323.—*byt(y)q'*: a unique C. Sogd. example of the fut. opt. mid., cf. M. *myr(y)tyq'm* (GMS § 809). C. *byty*, 3 sg. opt. mid., is probably to be read for *bnty* in C1.267, see Gershevitch 1946, 183.

17 See Schwartz 1969, 447.

18 On *yγrty'q* see Schwartz STSC 64 (but note that the by-form *γrty'q*, twice in BST ii, is to be read *(y)γrty'q* on both occasions).

19 On *wrzyw* see Schwartz STSC 60–61. A very uncertain etymology apud Schwartz 1970b, 304, may now be replaced by a direct equation with Vedic *ūrjavyà-* (discovered by Dr. Gershevitch and Prof. Schwartz independently).

20 *xwny ⟨qy⟩ γfty, xcy* 'he who has laboured (perfect)' = 'the ascetic', cf. the use of *γfs-* and *γmp(w)n* in Text 2.

21–22 On the Syr. verse see above, p. 88.

22–23 The obl. ending of *'ncmnty* makes it more likely that *cn* (~ *mn)* has been omitted by mistake than that *ftyr* here governs a double acc.

24–30 On these verses see above, p. 88.

25 *γw(nn)c*: if correctly read, f. pres. participle of *γwn* 'increase' = Av. *gūnaoiti*, not otherwise attested in Sogdian.—*zprty' b'mqyny'*: the points under the second word are incorrect.—*wycn'* 'choose': the rather unexpected verb (not recognized by Benveniste Etudes 1, 328) will translate a form of the root *gb'* 'id.' as in Mt. 13.30.

26 *sqt'* 'tares' (~ *zyzn'*, Mt. 13.25ff.). See Henning Mitteliranisch 94; Gershevitch 1970, 304; Szemerényi 1970, 503–505.

nymnw: Hansen translated 'contempt', probably thinking of B. *nym'ntyh* (or Skt. *nimnaya-*?). Unfortunately the meaning is not at all clear from the context, in which *nymnw* might equally well be an abstract denoting some moral failing or a concrete noun paralleling *sqt'* in the first hemistich. If it is to be connected with Skt. *nimna-*, Dr. Gershevitch suggests that it might mean 'base, foundation'.

28 *xwš(š)ty*: see Benveniste Etudes 1, 321.

29 *ptγwsd'rt*: in spite of the *γ* (on which see above, p. 67) it is clear that this form must belong to *ptxw'y/ptxwst-* 'kill' (hardly to *ptγwd/ptγwst-* 'conceal'). The passage is probably loosely based on 2 Tim. 1.10: 'who has brought death to nought *(bṭl l-mwt')* and revealed life and immortality through the gospel.'

Text 5: The Apostolic Canons (ff. *54V–*56V.15)

The Sogdian text of this work falls naturally into three parts: prologue (*54V.12–24), twenty-seven numbered canons (*54V.24–*56R.22) and epilogue (*56R.24–*56V.15).

The Syriac text is known in various forms, both as an independent text and incorporated (in whole or in part) into works such as the *Doctrine of Addai*, the *Didascalia Apostolorum* and other collections of legislative sources. A good and complete text is that of London, Add. 14,644, ff. 10 sqq. (=**a**), which was published by W. Cureton, Ancient Syriac Documents . . ., London 1864, kd-lh (text), 24–35 (translation), 166–173 (commentary), xi–xii (addenda). The canons, without prologue and epilogue, have recently been republished by A. Vööbus, The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac I, Louvain 1979 (CSCO/SS CLXXV), 41–49 (text), (CLXXVI), 36–41 (translation), who chooses the same MS as the basis of his edition, adding an apparatus consisting of the variant readings of some 20 MSS.[1] Of these MSS I have myself collated (for the prologue and epilogue, as well as for the canons themselves): **a** (as printed by Cureton), **b**, **B** (as printed by A. P. de Lagarde, Reliquiae juris ecclesiastici antiquissimae, syriace . . ., Vienna 1856, lb-md (text), vii (corrigenda)), **C**, **O** (as printed by A. Vööbus, The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition I, Louvain 1975 (CSCO/SS CLXI), 200–211 (text), (CLXII), 187–197 (translation)), and two MSS not used by Vööbus, namely **y** (=London, Add. 17,193, f. 37, dated 874 A.D., containing canons 1–4 and 14 only) and **z** (=Berlin, Sachau 335, ff. 79 sqq., eighteenth cent.(?), partly illegible and with one folio, containing most of canons 18–24, lacking between ff. 85 and 86).

The variants which this wide range of sources reveals are numerous but mostly trivial. The Sogdian shows no evidence of a close relationship with any particular MS or group of MSS. In establishing a Syriac text for my combined translation of the Sogdian and Syriac, I have therefore taken **a** as a base, adopting variant readings from other MSS only where they appear to agree more closely than **a** with the Sogdian. Most of the apparent correspondences between the Sogdian version and individual Syriac MSS are likely to be coincidental or illusory, but it would be arbitrary to exclude them from consideration without well-defined grounds. The variants in question are listed below, pp. 108–109.

There exists also an Armenian version of the Apostolic Canons, including the prologue. It is cited from the critical edition by Y. V. Tašean, Vardapetowt'iwn Aṙak'eloc: Anvawerakan kanonac mateanc, Vienna 1896, 289–385. A few instances in which the Sogdian appears to agree with the Armenian more closely than with any Syriac MS have been collected on p. 109.

The very brief account of the preaching and deaths of the apostles in f. *56V corresponds only in the most general way with the version in the Syriac and Armenian texts (including that in another Syriac recension, of this section only, published by Ignatius Ephraim II Rahmani, Studia syriaca [I], Šarfah 1904). This part of the text was partially reconstructed by Schwartz STSC 65–68, who made use of the study by T. Schermann, Propheten- und Apostellegenden, in: Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 31/3 [1907], 133–292. This work, in which is collected information on the histories of the apostles and on the various orders in which they are listed, is a useful substitute for a parallel Syriac text to this section. However, the Sogdian text does not agree with any single one of the sources (including Syriac sources) used by Schermann.

Schwartz STSC 53–68 and revisions 5–6 has offered translation and commentary for both the prologue and the epilogue to the Apostolic Canons, together with a few remarks on the canons themselves. This part of STSC is referred to in the commentary below merely as 'Schwartz'.

[1] For these MSS I have retained Vööbus's sigla.

***54V**

(about 11 lines missing)

12 f̣(ry)t[br'trty

13 mwžtybrqy(')[

***54V**[2]

. . . *Simon Peter stood and said to them: 'My* dear[3] *brothers, it is not for us to decide how we should proclaim His*

An asterisk (*) in the footnotes to the translation draws attention to a variant in the list on p. 109 below.

Sy om.

14 qy qθ'rt qt n'y (c)['nw
15 w'bẇ zprt w't. 't =[= = =]=t(q')[
16 šmγwn snq m'nt w'xšt w'b'z qw (*p*)t[γ'mbryt xypθ 'mrθt]
17 s'. pšp'ty ptγswc'[a] wxr ptyγwš qw wyšnt s'. 't[xwc' bwd qy]
18 ny mynt qw fcmbdcyq bẇd s' ptyšq'f pr wyšnt 't (*p*)[r 'try]
19 m'nwqy' zb'qt cn sm'ny ms' ptyšprnt pr wyspw yw cn
20 wšnty. 'r wyspw zb'q qy pcyγ'z wyspy yw cn wyšnty: pryšt'y
21 xypθ γryw qt tṛy qywyd 'wt'q s'. 'r xyd prywyd zprt w'tx
22 y'n θb'rqy' qy θbrc b' qw wyšnt s'. xyd prywyd myθ w'(s)tnt
23 nẇmt 't pts'qt qy 's'qy m'tnt qw wyšnty zt'qrqy' s'
24 't qw wrnqynty ywq s' (f)tmcyq[b] qnwn'. ·:· w'stnt (p)t γ'mbṛyt
25 qt qw xwrsn s' nm'c brxnt. p't w'nc'nw wydymp' (q)y frθ(y)pt
26 cn xwrsny 't wxntx qw xwrtxxzy pn prymyd frγn' bwt(q)'
27 mrtxmx (z')tx 'xs'mnty w'n qt prymyd 'pyym 't γrbxm.
28 qt cn xwrsny wyn'ncyq bwtq' m'x xypθ'wnt pšp'cyq dbt(y)q[b]
29 qnwn' ·:· w'stnt ptγ'mbrxt qt yw šmbd mxθy bx nm'c
30 't pws(*t*)[y][c] ptfs'mntx 't qwrbn'. prywyd p' wyd myθ m(*xz*)[d]

The Syriac numbers of the Canons, with decorative punctuation, are written in the outer margin by lines 24–26 (qnwn' qdmy'), 28–29 (dθ(ry)n) [a] sic [b] in red ink [c] there is hardly room for pws(*t*)[yty] [d] or m('*x*)

gospel *in the world, but we trust in His* ⌜*promise* which He made[4]: "Behold![3] *when I have ascended to my Father I shall send to you* ⌜*the* (15) Advocate, the Holy Spirit,[5] and it will *teach you everything which you should know and make known.*"' *And as* Simon Peter was saying these things to *the apostles his companions*, suddenly[6] a hidden voice became audible to them, and *a sweet fragrance, which* ⌜did not resemble an earthly fragrance,[7] spread[8] over them, and, ⌜*in* the likeness *of fire*, tongues from heaven[9] rested[10] upon each one of (20) them. And according to each[11] tongue that each one of them received[12] he prepared himself that he might go to ⌜that place.[13] And by that same Grace[14] of the Holy[3] Spirit which was given to them, on that very day they laid down ⌜laws and ordinances[15] which were suitable for[16] their proclamation and for the ⌜teaching of the faithful.[17]

First Canon. The apostles laid down (25) that they should pray towards the east; for like the lightning which flashes from the east and is seen as far as the west, so shall be the advent of the Son of Man, so that by this we may ⌜consider and know[18] that Our Lord[19] will appear from the east suddenly.

Second Canon. The apostles laid down[20] that on Sunday there should be worship, and reading of the[21] Scriptures and the Eucharist; because (on) ⌜that day[22] *Our Lord rose from the dead* . . .

***55R**

(a few lines missing)

4]=
5]=
6]r

(lines 7–9: only the margin preserved)

10]=

(lines 11–12: only the margin preserved)

The Syriac numbers of the Canons, with decorative punctuation, are written in the outer margin by lines 3–4 (d]θlθ'), 6–8 (d'rbγ'), 10–12 (dḫ[mš']), 15–16 (dšθ'), 17–18 (dšbγ'), 22–23 (dθmny'), 25–26 (dθšγ'), 27–28 (dγsr'), 29–30 (dḫ(*dγ*)[sr)

***55R**

Fifth Canon. The apostles laid down[20] *that there should be* . . . an overseer, *who is the bishop of the whole people, like Aaron,* ⌜*who was*[3] *the head and chief* over[23] all the priests (15) *and Levites and of the whole town.*

Sixth Canon. The apostles laid down[20] *that they should celebrate* the day of *Our Saviour's* Epiphany, ⌜which is (called) Denḥā,[24] ⌜*on the sixth* day from . . . in the month of Latter Kānon.[25]

[4] Sy 'care for us which He promised us, and said'. [5] Sy 'the Spirit, the Paraclete'. [6] Sy om.* [7] Sy 'was foreign to the world'. [8] Sy 'breathed'. [9] Sy 'tongues of fire, between the voice and the fragrance, came down from heaven to them and'.* [10] Sy + 'and settled'. [11] Sy 'the'. [12] Sy + 'thus'. [13] Sy 'the place where that tongue was spoken and understood'. [14] Sy 'gift'. [15] Sy 'ordinances and laws, those'. [16] Sy + 'the gospel of'. [17] Sy 'true and faithful teaching of their doctrine'. [18] Sy 'know and understand'. [19] Sy (**dghk**) + 'Christ'. [20] Sy + 'again'.* [21] Sy + 'Holy'. [22] Sy 'Sunday'. [23] Sy 'of'. [24] Sy 'which

13 dwq' qy x]cy[a]
14 [pd'rny m](')t pr s't dynd'rt
15 ['t xwšmyq qnw](n)' ·:· w'stnt ptγ'm(b)ṛyt
16 [qt wnynt m'x bwcny wy]t(')p'(mn)tẓ ['](γ)m qy xcy dnḫ' cn
17 xwš](m)[y]q sγty' knwn 'ḫry m'xy btmyq[b] qnwn' ·:·
18 [w's]t[n]t pt[γ'mbryt q]t štṛs mẓθ p(')š p(')ynt 't pyštrw wṇynt
19 bž'xwty' pcγ['z'mnt](ẓ) '(γ)m 't 'xz'(mn)t(y)[ ]'γm. p't ms 'γmy
20 xypθ'wnt štṛr(*s*)[ ](*m*ẓ)θ p'š p'y. 't ms mwš' 't 'ly' qy d'r'
21 znt m'n' r'(z). štṛs štṛs mẓθ p'š p'ẓnt 't wyd'γty 'br'zc
22 b' mwš' ryt štmyq[b] qnwn' ·:· w'stnt ptγ'mbṛyt qt cn s't
23 pwstẓty pšys' 'wnglywn ptṛs'ty ḅy. w'nc'nw t'pẓ 'wstẓ=nẓ. 't
24 c'nw p'ḍy sqwynt rmy šw ptγwšṇynt p't wxš'mntẓ mwžtẓ brqy'
25 xcy ns't mrtxṃyt(y) nwmyq[b] w'stnt ptγ'm(b)ryt qt cn (q)ymθ'
26 pš(y)s' pr yw pnc's'[c] spyšẓnt zprt w'ty 'wxz'mntẓ '(γ)m. qy
27 f'š(')m m'x xypθ'wnt cn ds' ṃyθ pšys' cn xypθ sn'(m)nt' dsmyq[b]
28 w('s)[tn]t (ptγ)'mbṛyt qt wcync nwm 't bywṇyty pwstẓt 't 'wngl(yw)n
29 p[t](*f*)[s](*yn*)t p(r)[w'd pr]'ncmn 't nyw 'ẓc nẓ ywnts=m(y)q[b] [w]'stnt
30 (p)[tγ']](m)bṛyt[qt xwn]ẓ qy n(*y*)[ ](γ)rḅy 'ncmny nwmt 't (p)ts'qt

[a] in the outer margin by lines 13–14: ·:qṣy. [b] in red ink [c] sic

Seventh Canon. The apostles laid down[26] that for forty days[27] they should fast and afterwards celebrate the day of the Passion and the day of the Resurrection; for[28] the lord of the festival also (20) fasted for forty days, and also Moses and Elijah, who were clothed with this mystery, fasted for forty days each, and then ⌜Moses' face was[29] lit up.

Eighth Canon. The apostles laid down[26] that after all the Scriptures the Gospel should be read, as setting the seal,[30] and the people should hear it while standing on the[31] feet, because it is the gospel of salvation (25) for all men.

Ninth.[32] The apostles laid down[26] that ⌜on the fifty-first (day)[33] after the Resurrection they should celebrate the day[34] of ⌜the coming down of the Holy Spirit which Our Lord sent after ten days from[3] His Ascension.[35]

Tenth. The apostles laid down that ⌜they should read[36] the Old Testament, and ⌜the books of[3] the Prophets and the Gospel[37] on *the pulpit in* the church, ⌜and nothing else.[6]

Eleventh. The apostles laid down[26] *that he* who does not know the ⌜laws and ordinances of the Church . . .[38]

***55V**

(a few lines missing)

3 =[
4 (q)w [
5 xcy[
6 bγ'[
7 ¨(w)[
8 s=[
9 pt[
10 x=[

(lines 11–12: only the margin preserved)

The Syriac numbers of the Canons, with decorative punctuation, are written in the outer margin by lines 2–4 (dθ](*r*)γsr), 6–8 (dθlθγsr), 9–10 (a'rbγθγsr), 11–13 (d(ḫ*m*š)θγsr), 14–16 (dšθθγsr), 17–19 (dšbθ=γsr[*sic*]), 20–22 (dθmnθγsr), 22–24 (dθšγsr[*sic*]), 27–28 (d(γ)sryn), 29–30 (dγsryn (w)[ḫ](d) [)

***55V**

Fifteenth. The apostles laid down[26] *that he who loves the Jews . . . or the pagans . . . should not enter amongst them and serve, and if he is among them* ⌜the Christians *should not give licence* to *him,*[39] *but he should be separated from amongst them and not serve* with them *again.*

Sixteenth. *The apostles laid down*[26] *that if a man from the Jews* (15) or from the pagans *should come and join with them, and if, when he has joined with them, he return and go again* to ⌜*his former* place,[40] if he should come again,[41] ⌜*they should not receive* him,[42] *but* they[43]

is the chief of the Church's festivals'. [25] Sy 'on (the) six(th day) in Latter Kānon according to the long number of the Greeks'. [26] Sy +'again'.* [27] Sy +'before the day of Our Saviour's Passion'. [28] Sy +'Our Lord'. [29] Sy 'they were'. [30] Sy +'on all the Scriptures'. [31] Sy 'their'. [32] Sy (**b**) +'Canon' (so throughout the remaining canons). [33] Sy 'at the end of fifty (**BCFGIJKRdghklosuvwz** forty) days'. [34] Sy 'memorial'. [35] Sy +'to His glorious Father'. [36] Sy 'there should be read'. [37] Sy +'and the Acts of their triumphs'. [38] Sy 'faith of the Church and the laws and ordinances which are laid down in it . . .' [39] Sy 'they should not suffer him'. [40] Sy 'the side on which he had been standing'. [41] Sy +'to them'. [42] Sy 'he should not be received again'. [43] Sy 'those who knew him'.

13 s' trs('*q*t)[
14 wšnty prw xwš(r)ts(m)[yq[a]
15 (q)t' cn rmq'ṇyty pcγ('c)[[b]]= =[
16 wy'q s'. qt dbtyq (p)[r]tw 'ẏsẏ šw =[
17 pynmcyq wy'q d'rẏnt bbts(m)yq[c] w's[tnt ptγ'mbryt qt]
18 ¨prsny' ny xcy npd'[rny]qt pw cn xypθ['mrθty]wnẏ 'nc(*m*)[ny]
19 'rqt yw'r pr wyšnty ž(ny') ptnẏmy' qt 'ntw(*x*)[cn'q]t ny ḇynt . .[d]
20 šttsmyq[a] w'stnt ptγ'mbrẏt qt x'nt q(y n)yžnt cymyd
21 fcmbdy pr mšyḫ' wrnẏ wyc'wqy' qtẏ bẏ wš(n)ty ptfr'ẇy wšnty
22 ptxwnqy ṃyθy nwtsmyq[a] w'stnt ptγ'mbṛyt qt pr 'ncmny
23 (*sp*)'sy d'r(')mntw dwydy γwbtẏt w'ḇynt ⟨r'(m)nty⟩ wyspy' (*ṃyθ*)y c(y)w(y)d
24 w'xšy pyd'r qy wγtw sty qt 'frywn (p)tẇyd(nq)' qw x(w)tw bγw
25 s' wy(sp)y' žmny'. 't wyspy' žmny' wyny γwbtẏt mn' qwcy. w'n
26 c'n(w) ms nyšy (w)'(*xš*). (q)t ṃyθ xšp' šm'rnq' 't (w)'bnq' '(t)
27 ptγwš w(nnq') x[y](*pθ*) wxr tw' pẏnms' w[y]stmyq[a] w'st(n)t (p)t(γ'm)[e]
28 (p)tγ'mbṛ(y)t (q)t x'nt (q)y w'ṛyt xnt cn (*γ*r)'m' '(t) [ny]( )s[w](*d*)n[t p](c)y
29 pšys'[wy](š)nt wyctyt bẏnt qw mdbḫ' sp's [s'](*y*)w[a] (wy)st(m*yq*)[a]
30 w'stnt(*ptγ'm*)bṛyt[q]t wyspy (d)[ynd]'r qy =[= = = =]t pr [yt](*y'*)

[a] in red ink [b] not pcγ('z)[[c] sic; in red ink [d] the extended t and the unusual punctuation are used merely to fill the line [e] to be cancelled (non-final m)

***56R**

(about one line missing)

2 dw'wys](*tmyq*)[a]
3 pd]q' wnnt [
4](=')t pt[ ]'ẇz'm[nt
5 n' p]rtw[b] wnnt. (x)['nt](=t). c'[nw
6] nm'nẏ yxs'[mntw[c]
7](*t*) 't wrẓywt 't š[
8]cywyd w'xšy pyd'r (q)[y wγtw sty
9 mr]txmẏty m⟨y⟩d'ny b(γẏ)[pynms'
10 wγtw s]ty xyd w'xš qt [
11 štf](')rwyst(my*q*)[a] w's[tnt ptγ'mbryt
12](ẇ)t'qy '[t
(about 2 lines missing)

The Syriac numbers of the Canons, with decorative punctuation, are written in the outer margin by lines (10)–13 (dγsryn w'rbγ]'), 14–(17) (dγsryn (w*ḫ*)[mš') [a] in red ink [b] or]ztw [c] hardly nxs'[

should hold[44] *him according to* ⌜*his* former place.[45]

Seventeenth. *The apostles* laid down[26] *that* it is not permitted for the bishop that without ⌜his *colleagues*[46] he should perform ⌜the works of the Church,[47] but according to ⌜their advice,[48] so that they[49] be not aggrieved. (20)

Eighteenth. The apostles laid down that[50] those who depart from this world in witness of the faith of Christ—⌜their commemoration should be performed[51] on the day of their putting-to-death.[52]

Nineteenth. The apostles laid down[26] that in the Church's service they should say David's songs of praise constantly[3] every day, because of that ⌜verse which is said[3]: 'I will bless the Lord God[3] (25) at all times, and at all times His praises are in my mouth', ⌜as also the following verse[53]: 'By day (and) by night I will think of, and speak of and make my voice heard before Thee.'

Twentieth. The apostles laid down[26] that those who are devoid of wealth and *do not* run after profit[54]—they should be chosen[55] for the service of the altar.

Twenty-first. The apostles *laid down*[26] *that* every[56] priest who *accidentally binds (someone)*

***56R**

improperly should receive the appropriate punishment, but he who is bound should receive the binding as if he had been bound correctly.

Twenty-second. The apostles laid down[26] *that those who* ⌜*customarily* perform *judgement,*[57] *if it appear that they are biased, and* condemn *the innocent and* (5) acquit *the guilty (party), they should not hear again another trial,* whilst *receiving moreover* the reprimand of *their* ⌜*unjust* judgement[58] *as is right.*

Twenty-third. The apostles laid down[26] *that those who are proud in their minds,* and haughty ⌜and *puffed up with boasting,*[59] *should not approach the ministry,* on account of that ⌜verse *which is*

[44] Sy 'look upon'. [45] Sy 'the side on which he was formerly'. [46] Sy 'those who minister with him'. [47] Sy 'those things which belong to the Church'. [48] Sy 'the advice of all he should order and that thing should be done'. [49] Sy + 'all be satisfied and'. [50] Sy + 'all'.* [51] Sy 'they should perform a commemoration for them'. [52] Sy pl.* [53] Sy 'and'. [54] Sy + 'of money'. [55] Sy + 'and brought'.* [56] Sy 'that'. [57] Sy 'are accustomed to hear trial(s)'.* [58] Sy 'favouritism'. [59] Sy 'in pride of boasting'.

15]y[d]
16]=
17 p]rw'. [
18]t mdbḫ(')[pynms'
19 'dy n]' rxn't q(t)[
20 p](r)d'c(y)[qy'
21]qw[ ]==[
22]c[
23 =[ ]=[
24 γrywy (w)'stnt pt(γ)['mbryt
25 (p)cwq̣yr'zṇt qt pc(p)['']n [
26 (d)'rntq' w(r)'nty nγwdn. =[
27 šqr[w]tẏ prymnt nwmt. (p)['](t)[
28 z'wr 't xš'wn (ny)'z'wtt ny[m'tnt
29 pr wyš[n]t ··· ms p(wlw)s '[t tymθ'ws
30 't nwmt pr dstw wn(')[znt
31 wycyr'mntyᵃ qθwlyq['
32 w'dty d'rny ·:· mytrpwly(t)['

[d] in the margin by lines (12)–15: 'ylyʼ]n (dmθ)g('yn) [(in red ink, photo very indistinct; Hansen]n dmθglyn [)

said[3]: '*The thing which is exalted* among men *is abominable before* God'; *and against* (10) *them* is *said* ⌜this verse[3]: '*I shall return retribution upon those who are proud.*'

Twenty-fourth. *The apostles* laid down[26] *that there should be a ruler over the priests who are* in the district,[60] and *that he should be recognized (as) the chief of them all, to whom they should all be responsible, for Samuel too thus made visits from place to place and gave orders.* (15)

Twenty-fifth. The apostles laid down[26] *that it shall be right for those kings who shall believe in Christ to go up and stand before the altar* together *with the bishops of the Church, because David too and those who were like him went up and stood before* the altar.

Twenty-sixth. The apostles laid down[26] *that no-one* should dare *to*[53] *do anything by the authority of the priesthood wrongly and improperly,* (20) *but* justly *and without the reproach of favouritism.*

Twenty-seventh . . .

But all these things the apostles did *not* lay down for *them*selves, *but for those who were to come after them, for* (25) they feared that *wolves were* about to come *who* would wear lambs' clothing, *because for themselves the Spirit, the Paraclete which was in them, was sufficient that* it might lead *them* ⌜according to these laws.[61] *For they, who had received from Our Lord* power and authority, *were* not requiring *that laws should be imposed by others* upon them. Also Paul *and Timothy*[62] (30) committed *these commands* and laws *of the apostles and elders to those who were under the jurisdiction of the apostles.*

⌜Explanation. The Catholicus *is* . . . the holder of *all* the sees. The Metropolitan *is* . . .

***56V**

(about one line missing)

2]= sp('s)[
3](ẏ) b'. 't =[ ]=[
4]cn ṇ'(r)[wn pr ptšnq swxsty](b)' ·:· 't m(s)[
5](= == ·:·)[pr ptšn](q) swxstẏ b' [·:·
6 'y]s qw 'wršlm [s'
7](q) ·:· pylypws prwg[y'yqt

***56V**

service . . .

Peter was . . . *and* . . . *was crucified at Rome* by Nero. And also . . . (5) . . . *Andrew* was crucified *at Patras* . . . *James* came to Jerusalem . . . Philip *evangelized* the Phrygians . . . *and* was crucified. Bartholomew . . . -lion, *a city* of

[60] Sy pl. [61] Sy 'lawfully, as it had laid down these laws by their hand(s)'. [62] Sy + 'when they were journeying in the land of Syria and of Cilicia'.

8	pr ptšn](q) swxsty̱ b' ·:· br [θwlmy	the Indians . . . (10) . . . *Matthew* . . .
9	] =blyẇn[a] yntwq'nyty̱ [qθ	*died at* Hierapolis, *a city* of the Parthi-
10	]'r' prθw'yqty[b] (q)[θ	ans . . . son of . . . him . . . grave . . . (15)
11	](w)y[c] z'ty̱ šw pt[	was . . .[63]
12	z](y) q̈nt'[d] =[	

(about one line missing)

14 (q)[

15 b(')[

[a] or perhaps] = mlyẇn (hardly 'w](n)glyẇn) [b] the point under the first y is probably accidental [c] not ḫl](p)y [d] or q̈$^{tt'}_{nn}$

[63] Sy continues differently.

Commentary

***54V**

14–15 . . .*]-w'bẇ*: acc. of a compound in **-w'by* 'speaking' (cf. Gershevitch 1945, 145, on M. *psypw'βky'*) ~ Syr. *prqlṭ'* 'Paraclete, Advocate'.

17 The intrans. *ptγwš* in this and a few other passages[64] has been discussed by Benveniste Etudes 3, 50–51, where it is translated «retentir». Although Benveniste's comparison with Oss. Dig. *iγusun* 'sound' beside *iγosun* 'hear', Ind. *ghoṣ-* beside Ir. *gauš-*,[65] is probably correct from a historical point of view, the fact that *ptγwš* here translates Syr. *'štmʿ* 'was heard' suggests that the Sogdians themselves may have interpreted *ptγwš* in such contexts as passive.

18 *ptyšq'f* ~ Syr. **BC0bq** *p'ḥ hw'* 'was breathing',[66] Arm. *bowrēr* 'was smelling'. As appears from Schwartz's inconclusive discussion, it is difficult to reconcile this apparently intransitive attestation of C. **ptšq'f* with the trans. M. *pṯšk'f* meaning something like 'wound, tear or pierce by striking' (BBB 491 and 509 in hendiadys with *pyz*; M549ii, 22, published by Henning JRAS 1944, 143). A possible way out of this difficulty is to assume that *ptyšq'f* is an over-literal translation of a hypothetical variant reading **mḥ' hw'*. Syr. *√mḥ' (pʿal)* in general means 'strike, wound' (cf. M. *pṯšk'f*), but when its subject is *r'ḥ'* 'odour' (as would be the case here) it has the special sense 'spread, be diffused'.

25 On C. *frθyp, ftyp* < **fra-daip-* (thus Schwartz) see also Sundermann 1974a, 235; MacKenzie BSTBL II, 147 s.v. *'βδ'yp(')*; and Sims-Williams 1983, 50. I take this opportunity to suggest that MMP *''yb* 'conflagration' may be derived from **ā-daip-* or **abi-daip-*.

26 *qw xwr txy̱zy pn*: this is the only instance in C2 of *qw . . . pn* governing the obl. Probably *xwr txy̱zy* is merely a mistake, perhaps induced by the preceding *xwrsny*.

29 *yw šmbd*: cf. NP *yak šamba*, MMP *yk šmbt*, Parth. *ʿyw šmbt*.

***55R**

19 *bž'xwty̱ pcγ['z'mnt](y̱)* 'Passion', cf. Benveniste Etudes 2, 132.

20–21 *d'r'znt* ~ *lbyšyn hww* 'were clothed with'. This is not merely a loose translation but a special use of *d'r*, which again renders a form of *√lbš* at 56R.26. Similarly S. *δ'r* could be translated 'wear' in passages such as VJ 1128, P17.28, and the following hemistich from the Sogd. version of the Parth. hymn-cycle Huwīdagmān: *rty *'xšywn'y* (Lentz *'xšyw'ny) mynch δyδ'mh prw xypδ srw δ'r'nt* 'And they wear a royal diadem on their head' (14435 = TiiDii170, V11–12 (Lentz)). As Prof. Emmerick informs me, *dhārayati* 'wears' is not uncommon in Buddhist Skt. Dr. Gershevitch points out the same usage in Oss. *darin* 'wear', *daräs* 'clothing', comparing Lat. *habitus* for the semantics.

25–27 In this ninth canon there is a material discrepancy between the various Syr. texts. According to **Oab** the Ascension is to be celebrated fifty days after Easter; all other MSS give the figure as forty in line with later practice. Materially the Sogdian agrees with the latter group, but this is probably due to independent correction, since the figure fifty is retained, but associated with the feast of Pentecost instead of

[64] To which may be added TiiTn, 5, in Gershevitch 1975, 209.

[65] Benveniste also interprets Chor. *(')byws-* 'be silent' (to which add Parth. *'bgwš* 'silent', Henning Mitteliranisch 110 n. 4) as evidence of Ir. *gauš-* 'sound', thus with *apa-* 'cease to make a sound' (similarly R. Schmitt, in: WZKM 65–66 [1973–1974], 353), but it seems simpler to postulate a semantic shift from 'listen' to 'be silent'.

[66] MS **a** has *pny hw'* 'returned', which cannot be correct.

the Ascension, while at the same time the mention of the Ascension is retained, but with the correct date of ten days before Pentecost (=forty days after Easter).[67]–*pr yw pnc's'* 'on the fifty-first (day)': the unique *yw-pnc's'* is apparently neither a cardinal (**yw-pnc's*) nor an ordinal *(*yw-pnc'smyq)* but perhaps a special nominal form indicating 'the fifty-first (day)'. If *yw-pnc's'* is inherited from Old Iranian–and there seems to be no possibility of interpreting it as secondarily formed within Sogdian–its formation can only have been based on an ordinal of the 'abbreviated' type (Skt. *viṁśá-*, *triṁśá-*, *catvāriṁśā-*, *pañcāśá-*, etc.) in which the final *-(n)t-* of the stem of the cardinal does not appear. This series has not been found in Iranian (nor at all outside Indian), but the ordinals above '20th' are unattested in Old Iranian, while in the later Iranian languages they have been replaced by demonstrably analogical formations; moreover, as Dr. Gershevitch points out, ordinals of the series '11th–19th', Skt. *ekādaśá-* etc., which seem to be formed in fundamentally the same way (see Wackernagel-Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik III, Göttingen 1930, 409), are found in Avestan (*aēvandasa-* etc.). Thus there is nothing inherently incredible in a derivation of Sogd. *yw-pnc's'* from OIr. **aiwa-pančāsa-* (plus a substantivizing suffix, possibly **-ākă-* as in Av. *aēvākəm*).

29 *ywntsm(y)q*: see O. Szemerényi, Studies in the Indo-European System of Numerals, Heidelberg 1960, 52 n. 51 (similarly Schwartz).

***55V**

18 *] ¨'prsny' ny xcy ~ l' hw' šlyṭ* 'it is not permitted'. According to Schwartz *¨'prsny'* 'was probably preceded . . . by a preposition', but this does not appear to be the case at a probable recurrence of the phrase in 104R.14: *(d)[b't](¨'prsny)' ny xcy ~ l' kbr šlyṭ* 'perhaps (it is) not permitted'.

20 *šttsmyq*: see Sundermann 1974a, 231.

23–24 *c(y)w(y)d w'xšy pyd'r qy wγtw sty ~ mṭl hỷ* 'because of that'. In view of the Syriac one might interpret *w'xš* here merely as 'thing' (cf. Sims-Williams 1976, 64 n. 93), but it could equally well have been intended for 'word, verse, biblical passage' (cf. Schwartz 1975, 199 n. 14) and the addition of *qy wγtw sty* have been an attempt to specify this sense.

26 *nyšy*: translated 'following' from the context. From the point of view of the meaning, 'present', as suggested by Benveniste Etudes 1, 332, implying a comparison with B. *nyš* '(just) now', C. *nyš* (C3 = TiiB35, R8), is preferable to 'elsewhere' as Schwartz STSC 48 translates, comparing B. *'nyš* (and also C. *nyšy prm* 'forever', which is differently explained by Gershevitch apud STSC 151). Another possibility would be 'below', that is, *nyšy*: Skt. *nīcă* as Av. *paitiša*: Skt. *pratīcă* (cf. Gershevitch 1969b, 179), perhaps also Khot. *haṃtsa* (< **haṃčyā*): Av. *hamča*.

27 *ptγwš w(n)- ~ √šmˁ (apˁel)* 'make (someone) hear; make (something) heard'. Presumably *ptγwš* is the noun 'hearing' known from Sundermann 1981, Text 26, V2, 3 (=B. *ptγ(')wš*, P9.41, 117; P10.20). Benveniste's remarks (Etudes 3, 50–51) on this passage and Dhu. 76 are unconvincing.

30 On *yty'* 'chance' see Benveniste 1964, 24.

***56R**

3 For the restoration *[pd]q' wn-* cf. *pdq' wn-*, ST i, 4.8.

4 On the verb *'wz'm* see Schwartz 1970b, 304; 1975 passim; and below, pp. 122–123.

6 *] nm'ny̰ yxs'[mnty*: the pointing of *nm'ny̰* indicates the obl. of a stem in *-yā*, probably an abstract noun. If the Sogdian does not differ radically from the Syriac text, the phrase should therefore translate Syr. *ršyn' d-msb b-'p̈yhwn* 'the reprimand of their favouritism'.[68] Syr. *msb b-'p̈'* means both 'putting on a false appearance, dissimulation, hypocrisy' and 'taking the part of someone, prejudice, bias, favouritism'; the latter is intended here, where it was probably paraphrased in the Sogd. as *'unjust* judgement'. This is to take *nm'ny'* as the abstract of the adj. **nm'n* (<*nm'y* 'judge') attested in the compound *δ't-nm'n(n)* 'judging justly' (Frag. 4.10; TiiT10, 3, cited by Henning Tales 484–485). The following word should then mean 'reprimand, rebuke'. A similar sense would suit the verb S. *yxs-* in the context *'nxwn't kt'r yxs't y'r ZY (p)cxwkh (kw)n'(t)*, B8, R19 (cf. Gershevitch 1975, 207–208), especially if *'nxwn* means 'forbid' (cf. C. *prxwn*, thus to be read in ST i, 34.5, B. id.) or 'insult' (cf. M. *pcxw(n)y(y)*, BBB 608), C. *yxs-* in the context *xwny mrtx*[sic]*|[qy] c'f prwrty yxs'ty by̰ cn xypθ m'ny pr-[m']ty* 'that man *who* is so often reproached(?) by his conscience(?)', C4 = TiiB27a, R18–20 (Lentz) (partially cited in Weber 1970, 217 n. 488). The restoration *yxs'[mntw]* is naturally speculative.

[67] For the earlier practice of celebrating the Ascension and Pentecost together fifty days after Easter see F. Cabrol, in: Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne . . . I/2, Paris 1907, 2936–2939.

[68] There being otherwise no call for an abstract in the oblique.

7 *wrẓywt* 'haughty' (see p. 100 above) probably translates *mšqlyn* 'id.' rather than corresponding, however loosely, to the abstract *ḥtyrwt'* 'pride' as suggested by Schwartz.

8 For the translation of *w'xš* as 'verse' and for the restoration *(q)[y wγtw sty]* cf. above, p. 107. Alternatively one may translate *w'xš* as 'thing' (the Syriac again has *mṭl hẏ*) and/or restore *(q)[t]*.

20 *[p](r)d'c(y)[qy']* ~ *b-knwt'* 'in justice, justly'? If this is correct, **d'cyqy'* < *d'tcyqy'* may be compared with *pšp'cyq* (54V.28) beside *pšp'ty, zprcyqy'* (61R.29) < *zprtcyqy'*, and the numerous f. past participles in *-c(-)* < *-tc(-)* (cf. GMS § 1271).

31 *ff.* Cf. the 'Order and Canons of ordination' published by Rahmani, Studia Syriaca III, Šarfah 1908, pp. kd-lb (text), 49–66 (translation), in particular § 20 (p. lb): 'The Catholicus is the universal (head of the Church); the Metropolitan is the father of the city; the Bishop is he who looks after the people; the Chorepiscopus is he who looks after the countryside; the Periodeutes is he who goes about.' If the explanations given here were similarly etymological, *sp('s)* 'service' in 56V.2 probably belongs to the definition of the Deacon (Syr. *šmš'* from √*šmš* 'serve'). In 56R.32, *w'd* 'seat, throne' perhaps translates Syr. *bym* 'id.' in its technical sense 'see'.

***56V**

3–4 As Schwartz remarks, these lines 'no doubt referred to the first of the Apostles, Peter', who was crucified by Nero. The present identification of the tiny fragment Tiii100 is chiefly due to the occurrence on it—partly restored, it is true—of the Syriac spelling of this name, though *]'ẇz'm[* on the other side (R4, ~ √*ḥwb (pa''el)* 'condemn') provides necessary support. In assessing the likelihood of this restoration it should be borne in mind that (i) the pointing *ṇ'-* indicates a Syriac rather than a Sogdian word; (ii) since it occurs in a Sogdian context it is likely to be a proper name or technical term; and (iii) few Syriac words, and still fewer names, begin with *ṇ'-*.

6 On James (thus Schwartz); his brother John was probably mentioned either immediately before or immediately after him.

9] $=^{b}_{m}$*lyẇn*: perhaps a place-name. Although Bartholomew's mission was to India, tradition has it that he died at Albanopolis in Armenia. Possibly, by a natural mistake, this city is here located in India (and its name considerably distorted). Alternatively, it may be that this line refers to Thomas, who is often listed between Bartholomew and Matthew, and who was killed at *q'lymyn'* in India; again, it would be necessary to assume a distortion of the name.

10 *]'r'*: either Hierapolis (thus Schwartz) or *qbyr'* :tradition differs as to the place of Matthew's death.

11 These words are unclear; they should refer either to Thomas or to James son of Alphaeus.

12 *[z](y) q̈(nt)'*: the points over *q* are not *(zqāpā)* as Schwartz assumes but *(syāme)*, used regularly in certain C. Sogd. MSS to indicate that a final *aleph* is to be pronounced *-ĕ* rather than *-ā* (see Schwartz STSC 123–125). Thus *[z](y) q̈(nt)'* = **zy qnty*ṭ. This orthographic device occurs only twice more in C2, and in each case one may suspect that it is employed for a special reason (*n̈' q'm*, 60R.21, perhaps altered from **n' q'm*, cf. below, p. 131; *qw q̈lyθ'* .. in Fragment B, R30, probably intended to avoid altering the Syriac spelling, cf. below, ibid.). A similarly isolated example in the MS C14, ST ii/1.20, *zmb̈'* for **zmby*ṭ,[69] is stated by the editor to be secunda manu. Here too, then, one should perhaps assume a correction (secunda manu?) of an original **zy qnt'*. If the word is a m. **-aka*–stem, this would be the abl. sg. or nom.-acc. numv. (altered to nom., gen. or loc. sg.?), but it is also possible that it is a f. **-ākā*–stem,[70] so that **zy qnt'* would be the dir. (altered to obl.?).

[69] An **-aka*–stem, cf. *zmpw* (acc.), 87V.11; GMS § 524[1] is to be emended accordingly.

[70] The only other form attested is the pl. *zy (q)ntyṭ*, 68V.9, which could belong to either an **-aka-* or an **-ākā*–stem. The adj. 'dug in the earth' in B. *z'yh kntk 'nk'yr*, Padm. 38, is without probative value.

Syriac text: selected variants

Cureton

kh.9–10 'l' d-mrn hẏ d-hẇ yd' 'ykn' mškḥ' nkrz sbrth] om. **Ob** (Sogd. om. 54V.13)
kh.12 d-(hẇ)] w-(hẇ) **z** ('t 54V.15)
kh.14 w-m'hd hw' lhwn] om. **O** (om. 54V.17)
kh.16 pny] p'ḥ **BCObz** (ptyšq'f 54V.18)
kh.18–19 kl ḥd ḥd] kl ḥd **O** (wyspy yw 54V.20)

Vööbus

41.3 ’] qnwn’ qdmy’ **b** ((f)tmcyq qnwn’ 54V.24) – similarly throughout
41.3 hkyl] om. **y** (om. 54V.24)
41.6 (d-mn)] (d-)mrn w-’lhn yšw‘ mšyḥ’ (mn) **ghk**; (d-)mrn mšyḥ’ d-(mn) **d** (m’x xypθ’wnt 54V.28)
42.14 d-klḥ] w-d-klḥ **BCFGIJKRdghkuv** ([’t . . .] 55R.15 – this restoration is implied by the wording of line 14)
43.9 w-(mwš’)] w-’p (mwš’) **BCRosu** (’t ms 55R.20)
43.11 ’p hnwn] om. **FGIJKhv** (om. 55R.21)
43.15 d-(sbrt’)] mṭl d-(sbrt’) **BCFGIJKRdghkosuvz** (p’t 55R.24)
43.15 d-klhwn] l-klhwn **Ow** (ns’t 55R.25)
44.2 qymth] qymt’ **l** ((q)ymθ’ 55R.25)
44.4–6 ’l’ ’n dytq’ ‘tyqt’ . . . l’ hww mtqryn] dytq’ ‘tyqt’ . . . hww mtqryn **dghk** (wcync nwm . . . p[t](*f*)[s](*yn*)t 55R.28–29 – but note that Sogd. adds at the end of the canon ’t nyw ’y̰c ny̰)
44.8 w-ṭk̈s’ w-nm̈ws’] w-nm̈ws’ w-ṭk̈s’ **z** (nwmt ’t (p)ts’qt 55R.30)
46.12 twb] om. **gh** (om. 55V.20)
46.13 ṭbt’] om. **FGIJKv** (om. 55V.21)
46.14 w-b-’wlṣn’ d-mṭl šmh] om. **u** (om. 55V.21)
47.15 dÿn’] sg. **BCKRluv** ([pd]q’ 56R.3)
48.7 ’hpk] d-’hpk **BFGIJKORdksv** (qt [. . .] 56R.10)

Selected variants from the Armenian version

54V.17 pšp’ty = Arm. 297.94 yankarcaki ‘sudden’ (Syr. om.)
54V.18–19 (*p*)[r ’try] m’nwqy’ = Arm. 298.101 ibrew z-boç ‘like a flame’ (Syr. d-nwr’)
54V.29 (w’stnt) = Arm. 300.129 (Syr. + twb) – similarly throughout
55R.29 ’t nyw ’y̰c ny̰ = Arm. 328.480–481 ew ayl aweli k‘an z-ays mi ənt‘erççi ‘and let nothing other than this be read’ (Syr. om.)
55V.20 (x’nt) = Arm. 324.440 (Syr. kl (’ylyn))
55V.21–22 wšnty ptxwnqy = Arm. 325.445 mahowan noça ‘of their death’ (Syr. d-qṭlyhwn)
55V.29 (wyctyt by̰nt) = Arm. 319.378 (Syr. + w-mtqrbyn)
56R.3 wnnt = Arm. 323.430 aṙnel ‘to perform’ (Syr. nšm‘wn)

Text 6: A commentary on the baptismal and eucharistic liturgies (ff. *56V.15–*57V.16)

The Syriac work most closely corresponding to this Sogdian text is known from three MSS, only one of which is complete[1]:

R or **R**^{A} = a MS belonging to the Cincinnati Historical Society, ff. 44V–46V (882 A.D.), published in facsimile by W. Strothmann, Codex Syriacus Secundus . . ., Wiesbaden 1977, 58–60, edited and translated by Ignatius Ephraim II Rahmani, I fasti della chiesa patriarcale antiochena, Rome 1920, X–XIII; in this MS the title is 'Explanation of the Mysteries of the Church by John Chrysostom';

R^{B} = an unspecified Šarfah MS of 1223 A.D. (§§ 23–41 only), known only from a few variants given by Rahmani;[2] apparently anonymous;

A = London, Add. 14,496, f. 23 (tenth cent.) (§§ 1–25 only, slightly imperfect), edited and translated by Brock; the text is headed 'Again, from the explanation of the holy teachers concerning these holy Mysteries'.

Where these MSS overlap they differ only in details. In structure the Sogdian version is close to **R**^{A} (and therefore to the common original of the three MSS, which must have contained the same 41 sections as **R**^{A}), differing only in omitting § 19, adding a short passage not found in any Syriac text (§§ 39a–39b) and, apparently, placing § 6 between §§ 12 and 13. In many important details, however, the Sogdian agrees not with **RA** but with readings preserved in certain more extended commentaries which incorporate this material. The relevant works are:

C = Šarfah 4/1, pp. 678–679 (eleventh cent.), edited and translated by Brock; entitled 'Spiritual explanation of baptism by the holy Mār Severus, patriarch of Antioch';

G = George, Bishop of the Arabs [d. 724], 'Explanation of the Mysteries of the Church', published by R. H. Connolly-H. W. Codrington, Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy, London 1913, g-yh;[3] translated by Connolly ibid. 11–23 and by V. Ryssel, Georgs des Araberbischofs Gedichte und Briefe, Leipzig 1891, 36–43;

D = London, Add. 14,538, ff. 67R–68V (tenth cent.), an anonymous 'Explanation of the holy Mysteries of the Church', described as an epitome of the works of Dionysius and other teachers; the section on the baptismal liturgy, which is introduced by the sub-heading 'From Dionysius' (f. 67V), is edited and translated by Brock;

MK = two works by Moses bar Kepā [d. 903]: (i) 'Explanation of the Mysteries of baptism', edited by L. Haggenmüller, Die Tauferklärung des Moses bar Kepha, unpublished Vienna dissertation 1943;[4] translated by R. A. Aytoun, The Mysteries of Baptism by Moses bar Kepha Compared with the Odes of Solomon, in: The Expositor 8th series 2 [1911], 338–358, and by O. (sic) Haggenmüller, Heilige Gottesgeburt, Beuron 1947; (ii) 'Explanation or illumination of the Mysteries of the eucharist', published by Connolly-Codrington op. cit. yw-pw; translated by Connolly ibid. 24–90;[5]

Two works by Dionysius bar Ṣalibi [d. 1171]: (i) an unpublished commentary on the baptismal service;[6] (ii) 'Explanation of the Eucharist', edited and translated by J. Labourt, Dionysius bar Ṣalibi: Expositio liturgiae, Paris 1903 (CSCO/SS ser. 2, XCIII);

Barhebraeus [d. 1286], 'Candelabra of the sanctuary', Book VI.ii.3–4, edited and translated by R. Kohlhaas, Jakobitische Sakramententheologie im 13. Jahrhundert, Münster/Westfalen 1959 (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 36/1).

[1] Most of the Syriac texts and MSS mentioned here are discussed (in part edited and translated) by S. Brock, Some Early Syriac Baptismal Commentaries, in: Orientalia Christiana Periodica 46/1 [1980], 20–61 (referred to below merely as 'Brock'). I have retained Brock's sigla, except that I use **G** for his **GA**. For ease of reference I have divided the Syriac text of **RA** into 41 sections; my numeration unavoidably differs from Brock's because of the different scope and nature of this work.

[2] Plausibly identified by Brock (p. 21) as part of Šarfah 4/1.

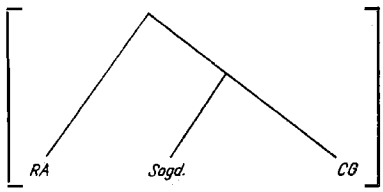
[3] The text is taken from London, Add. 12,154. For other MSS see Brock art. cit. 25 and JTS NS 23 [1972], 21 n. 3.

[4] This edition (mentioned by Brock JTS NS 23 [1972], 21 n. 4) has not been accessible to me.

[5] To the MSS of these two works listed by Baumstark GSL 282 nn. 5 and 10 respectively may be added Šarfah 4/1, which includes both.

[6] See Brock JTS NS 23 [1972], 21. For reasons which will be made clear below, I have not considered it necessary to consult this work.

Of these commentaries the closest to **RA** and the Sogdian are **C** and **G**. **C** contains material corresponding to most of the sections on baptism in **RA** (§§ 1, 3–9, 11–22), together with a considerable number of additional items; **G** contains material corresponding to all 41 sections of **RA** and to all the additional items in **C**, as well as further additional material interspersed throughout all parts of the work. In both **C** and **G** the material corresponding to **RA** and to the Sogdian has been rearranged and substantially rewritten. In so far as **C** and **G** overlap, they agree in the order of items (except that §§ 17–19 occur in **G** in the order 18, 19, 17, whereas **C** preserves the sequence as in **RA**) and in very many textual cruces. **C** and **G** may therefore be considered as belonging to a single recension different from that represented by **RA**. Although the Sogdian version in general agrees with **RA**, in points of detail it not infrequently sides with **C** or **G** or both against the **RA**-recension. The most significant instance of this is in § 25, where the reading of **G** *(mttšygnwt')*, which clearly underlies the Sogdian translation, is regarded by Brock (pp. 51, 56) as a corruption of *mštgnynwt'* as in **AR**. The partial stemma below is the result of these considerations.[7]



In general **D** resembles **G**, with minor variations in the order of items and a few omissions (of material corresponding to that in **RA**, only §§ 10, 19 and 41) and insertions. **MK** is more distantly related to **G**, displaying substantial rearrangement, omissions (of material corresponding to that in **RA**, §§ 7, 12, 19, 35 and 41) and additions. Of several sections **D** or **MK** or both contain two (or more) versions, of which one is close to the wording of **RA** and another to the wording of **CG**. These are §§ 2, 27, 29, 38 (in both), 8, 25, 28 (in **D**) and 33 (in **MK**).[8] In §§ 2 and 27 **MK** attributes to Chrysostom[9] the version close to **RA** and to Dionysius the Areopagite the version close to **G**. The reference to Dionysius should be compared with that in the superscription to **D** ('From Dionysius'), which 'will refer only to the immediately ensuing words, which are indeed derived from Ps[eudo-]Dionysius' (Brock p. 22). The attributions to Dionysius in **MK** are likewise accurate, in that **G**'s versions of §§ 2 and 27 have both been traced back to statements in works attributed to the Areopagite (see Brock p. 52 and Connolly p. 17 n. 2 respectively). **D** and **MK** evidently share a common original (***X**) which was for the most part derived from a source (***Y**) close to **CG**, with the addition of several sentences (at least some of them attributed to Chrysostom as in **R**) from a source close to **RA**. ***Y** itself derived its basic material from a source similar to **R**, though this had been substantially altered and added to on the basis of additional sources including Pseudo-Dionysius. Some of the material derived from Dionysius must have been explicitly attributed to him in ***Y** and ***X**, and both probably described themselves as epitomizing the writings of 'Dionysius and others' (as do **D** and **G**).[10]

Since **D** and **MK** represent a recension which has undergone a process of conflation, their readings have scarcely any significance for the reconstruction of the Urtext. This applies even more strongly to the still later commentaries by Bar Ṣalibi and Barhebraeus, both of whom depend largely on **MK**. So far as I am aware, there is only one instance in which any of these 'conflated' texts agrees with the Sogdian against both the **RA**-recension and the **CG**-recension. In § 39, as recognized by Schwartz STSC 111, *'yₜc bwtq* translates MK's ܡܬܢܣܒ *mtnsb'* rather than ܡܬܝܗܒ *mtyhb'* as in **RDG**. It is unclear which is the original reading.

The Syriac text below, pp. 117–120, contains the complete text of **RA** together with the corresponding passages of **CG**. My text of **A** is taken directly from the MS, that of **R** from the published facsimile (which

[7] Cf. Schwartz's exposition of the interrelationships between **R**, **G** and the Sogdian, STSC 82–84. Schwartz was not able to refer to **A** and **C**.

[8] §§ 24 and 38 each occur twice in **G**, but without substantial variation. In these cases, therefore, it is clear that the motive for the repetition was not the existence of variant readings, as it is in the case of the repeated sections in **D** and **MK**, but that George or his predecessor considered these passages equally appropriate to his commentary on baptism and to his commentary on the eucharist.

[9] 'John of Constantinople' or merely 'John'. As Connolly has pointed out, op. cit. 34 n. 3, the spelling *'yw'nys* 'Ἰωάνης' indicates that Chrysostom is meant.

[10] On the interrelationships of the various recensions see also Brock passim, especially pp. 56–58. Brock's conclusions (which he describes as 'provisional') differ from mine notably in the inferior position which he allots to **G**, considering it as a conflated text making use of two recensions close to **C** and **D**. There seems to be very little evidence for this complication, which creates the major problem of accounting for the absence from **G** of any of the characteristic '**AR**-readings' found in the duplicated sections of **D** (§§ 2, 8, 25, 27–29, 38).

reveals that Rahmani's edition contains numerous misreadings) and those of **C** and **G** from the texts printed by Brock and Connolly. In general merely graphic variants have been ignored and the punctuation and pointing simplified. Small lacunae in **A** have not been noted where its text can be restored in agreement with **R**.

The greater part of this Sogdian text (*57R.1–*57V.16) has been translated and commented on by Schwartz STSC 82–114, 153, and revisions 6–7, referred to below simply as 'Schwartz'.

***56V**

15 'ncmny r'zty][a]
16 w[ycyr'mnty[b]
17 qt[ ]w [
18]= šmnw[
19]=.. pnt š(w)['mnty
20] bwtq w=[
21](*t*)y xwšt[ry'
22 pt](r)yt( )[
(about one line missing)
24 'ws](*t*)[y]t(*y bw*)t p(r *w'*)tm(nxt)
25 ptyw]fnx xcy pr tmp'(r)
26 pcxyz'm]ntx qy pr yw[c] z'nwq
27](')xz'mntx (qy) cn[d]
28 qy p](*r*yw)yd mxz m'x nyzny. xyd
29]'znt xy(d) qy žγyrty
30]=.. xw(š)ty qy p(c)x(yš)t
31] xcy sn(')m (š)y prtẇ
32 q]y swq' xw(t)w yšwγ

[a] in the margin by lines 15ff.: ··:·· pwšq [r'z' dγdθ' [b] in red ink
[c] apparently pryw (as one word) [d] +line-filler

***56V**

(Syriac and Sogdian:)

(§ 1) Explanation[11] *of the Mysteries of the Church . . .*

(Sogdian only:)

(§ 2) *Faith is the way providing immortal life without which no-one can live the spiritual life.*

(§ 3) *He who approaches baptism first of all denies Satan. The denial of* Satan *is a renunciation of evil deeds.*

(§ 4) *The confession of the creator is an* approach *to heavenly blessings.*

(§ 5) *The adjuration* (20) is *a war with Satan and an intercession to the judge on behalf of him who wishes to be set free from evil* dominion.[12]

(§ 7) *The oil is an invincible armour against the enemy.*

(§ 8) *The fact that he is signed is an indication of the will of him who is baptized and a seal of the heavenly king which* ⌜is *placed* upon spiritual (25) *soldiers.*[13]

(§ 9) *The fact that he is signed on his forehead, which* is *the most excellent* part on the body, *shows that he is terrible to the demons.*

(§ 10) The kneeling on one knee *is a sign of our falling into sin; our* rising from *the genuflection is a sign of the rising of Jesus,* by *which* our[14] nature arose.

(§ 11) ⌜That . . .[15]

(§ 12) *The water in it is a womb which brings forth life.*

⌜(§ 12a) *The* surety, he who *is* called (30) *the sponsor* . . ., (is) a teacher who . . .[16]

(§ 13) *Baptism* is *a rebirth.*

(§ 14) The bathing three times *in the water is a mystery of the three days* that ⌜the Lord Jesus[17] was

[11] So missing. [12] Sy + § 6: **RA** 'The surety (**R** + who is called the sponsor) (is) a teacher of the customs of the Church and a guide on the way of truth'; **CG** '(**G** + The surety who is) the neighbour (is) a teacher of truths (**G** virtues) and a bringer to God (**G** divine things).' [13] Sy (**RA**) 'falls upon a spiritual soldier.' [14] Sy (**RA**) + 'whole'. [15] Sy 'The font fulfils the place of the grave (**CG** + of Christ).' [16] Sy om. [17] Sy **RA** 'Jesus (**R** + Christ)'; **CG** 'Our Lord'.

***57R**

1 [mwrty d'my. xyd]qy w'btq dynd'r qt sn'm pcγ'ztq t'nm'n:
2 ['t ny w'b]tq qt sn'm θbr'msq.. 'štytq qt ny wyṇy xypθ xcy
3 [yd wyžpγwn]c 'rq.. (yw)'r bγ'nyq šyr'qty' 'yžn qty pr spyšw
4 [myd r'zt. sn'](m)nty qy cn ẇzn'. xšnyrq xcy xwtw yšwγy sn'mnty
5 [qy](c)n [frwrtq](t)' wrr' w'š'my qy pr nẇyty srw 'štytqn. pr
6 '](z)twny [qy p]c(γ)šd'rnt cn mš(yḫ)'. sptyt[a] nγwdnt.. 'dysn xnt sm'n
7 (c)[y]q γwbty, bwd (q)[y n](wy)ty pynms' .. xšnyrq xcy sm'ncyq
8 (š)'twxy,. c(r')γ 'št(y)tqn. pr sptẇ[a] ptz'n qy pcγšd'rnt cn sn'm.
9 (qy) pr ptry 't z'ty (')t zprt w'ty n'm. w'nc'nw ms xwtw yšwγ
10 prymnt (šy) n'm ž(γ)yr'mnty z'wr 'xšt cn frwrtqt'[b]-'t sty qw
11 (s)m(')ny s'. nẇyty '(y)s'($m$ty) (qy) cn sn'm qw hykl' s' .. 'štytqn
12 pr wyšnty w'tmync z'mty.[c] pwstyty w'xšty ptγwš'mnty w'nc'nw nγny
13 't 'p qy prywnt pd'rty bwt mrtxṃy. dynd'rty dsty sn'm ywštqn
14 [wy]nnyt. qt sn'ynt xypθ m'n cn s't γnt'qty[d] šm'ṛyty.[d] 't nẇyt qy
15 ny sn'ynt. 'štytqn[a] pr ptγwstẇ z'w(r) qy pcγšd'rnt xyd qy nyz'ẇt[e]
16 ny'z'wt ny xcy pr syṇy.[a] dwrt' q(y) θb(rn)t wr(n)qynt yw ndbtyqy.. ftyrt
17 (')t dwr w(n)ty s'n'wty' yw cn dbtyqy. mdbḫ' xcy.[.] m(šy)ḫ' frwrtqty
18 [wy]'q. nγny 't mdw qy pryw.. m'x xypθ'wnt yšwγ mšyḫ' tmp(')[r]
19 ']t ywxny r'z xcy. šwšp' qy sqyp'r cn pyls' 't ks'.. xšnyrq
20 xcy[f] nd(yw)yd snqy qy 'w(s)tty (b)' pr xwtw yšwγ frwrt= qt(y) dbrw.[g]
21 pr(θ)ynqt xnt.. d(y)m(yd) xšymprt(y) m('nw)qy' qy xcy m'x myd'ny qywyd
22 sm'(ncy)q (wy'q) (s)' ··· d(ynd)'(r $šy$) 'yc s(p)t(y)t wnty xwtw yšwγ γrywy
23 wy'q x[cy]( )qy w(n)t' 'xwnc dn (šm)nw prw 't sn' qw sm'ny s'(.)

[a] sic [b] corrected from frwrtq' [c] or n'mty' [d] apparently °y with the points deleted [e] to be cancelled [f] a small piece of lines 20–29 is missing, for which Hansen's readings are given. Traces visible on the photograph: 20](y); 22](m)'(ncy)q; 24](t)[ ](q zb)'q; 25](y); 26](.); 27](')r [g] ÷ line-filler

***57R**

in the house of the dead.

(§ 15) *That (fact),* that the priest says: 'So-and-so receives baptism' *and* does *not say:* 'I baptize' shows that *this awesome* work is not his own but ⌜(by) divine Grace he has been made worthy[18] to administer *these mysteries.*

(§ 16) *The* rising from the font is a sign of the[19] Lord Jesus's rising (5) *from the tomb.*

(§ 17) The orarium, ⌜the veil[20] on the head of the neophytes,[21] indicates the liberty *which* they have received from Christ.

(§ 18) The white garments are an example of heavenly glory.[22]

(§ 20) The incense before the neophytes[21] is a sign of heavenly[23] bliss.

(§ 21) The lamp[24] indicates[24] the bright understanding which they have received from baptism in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, as also ⌜the Lord Jesus, (10) by the power of the invocation of these three names,[25] arose from the tomb[26] and ascended to heaven.

(§ 22) The coming of ⌜the neophytes[27] ⌜from baptism[28] to the nave indicates their spiritual betrothal.

(§ 23) The hearing of the ⌜words of the Scriptures[29] is like the bread and water by which a[30] man is sustained.

(§ 24) The washing ⌜of the hands[31] of the priests teaches the beholders[32] that they should cleanse their mind[33] from all ⌜evil thoughts,[34]

(§ 25) and the neophytes[21] who (15) do not wash indicate the ⌜hidden power which they have received which it is not necessary to wash.[35]

(§ 26) The 'peace' which the faithful give one to another sets aside and removes[36] enmity towards one another.

(§ 27) The altar is *in place* of Christ's tomb.

(§ 28) The bread and wine upon it is a mystery of ⌜Our Lord[37] Jesus Christ's body and[38] blood.

[18] Sy **RA** 'by Grace he has been chosen by a sign'; **CG** 'by Grace the gift has been vouchsafed to him'. [19] Sy (**R**) 'Our'. [20] Sy **RAC** om.; **G** 'that is the crowns'. [21] Sy 'baptized ones'. [22] Sy ÷ § 19: **RA** '(That they are) soft is a sign of the rebirth of the flesh'; **CG** 'The softness of the clothes is a sign of the ease of spiritual birth.' [23] Sy (**CG**) 'painless'. [24] Sy (**CG**) pl. [25] Sy (**A**) 'J[esus(?) . . .] three hypostases, one nature'. [26] Sy (**A**) 'house of the dead'. [27] Sy 'them'. [28] Sy **R** om.; **A** 'in glory'; **CG** 'in the service'. [29] Sy 'Scriptures and their meaning'. [30] Sy (**RA**) 'every'. [31] Sy om. [32] Sy (**A**) 'hearers'. [33] Sy (**RA**) pl. [34] Sy 'cares'. [35] Sy 'unwashability (**RA** immutability) of the hidden power which they have received'. [36] Sy 'extinguishes'. [37] Sy (**R**) om. [38] Sy 'in which was also'.

24 'ṭ dbṭyq z(b)'q xcy qy pr '(n)cmny γrywy srw. 'ṭ štyq̣. q(r)wšṇy
25 xcy qy q(r)w(š)ṭ w'tmnẋṭ[h] 'ẋšṭ (pr)r'z. šm'šẋṭ dw' x'nṭ qy mdbḫ'
26 nbnty. m'nwqy' xnṭ n(d)ywnṭ (fry)štẋty qy cn m'x xypθ'wnty p'dty 'ṭ
27 pṭs'r (q)yr'n wyn'ncyqṭ bnṭ. wr̈r̈' qy pr wyšnty s'ptw fyq. (q)ṭ
28 'šṭ(ẋ)nṭ qṭ f̣rm'n pṭγ(wš)ẋṭ xnṭ prywyd p'ṭ xwny qy xš'wn d'r(ḫy.)
29 pr srw (q)ṭ' ps' pr dw' prw f̣(ẋq)ṭ (p)š'yṭ wr̈r̈'. ṣy p(r)ṭw qdyš
30 [qy pžγy](*ry*)msqn. r(m)ty' zwrṭ'mnṭẋ xcy[e] 'šṭ'y'mnty xcy 'ṭ d(*y*)m(*y*d)
31 [r'zy wny](ms)q. qy cn (f)tm' wyd'rṭ
32 ['šγy' γ](')[ry](*t*)[y](*m'nw*)qy' xcy
33 mšyḫ](') 'x(z)'(m)nṭẋ

[h] or w'tmynẋṭ

(§ 29) The veil over the ⌜paten and chalice[39] is a sign (20) of that stone which was placed ⌜upon the door of the Lord Jesus's tomb.[40]

(§ 30) The curtains are a likeness of this firmament which is between us and that heavenly place.

(§ 31) The priest accomplishes three things: he *is* ⌜in place[41] of the soul of ⌜the Lord Jesus,[42] ⌜who did battle with Satan[43] and ascended ⌜to heaven;[44] and secondly, he is the tongue in the head of the Church's body; and thirdly, he is an illustrator (25) who illustrates spiritual things by a mystery.

(§ 32) The deacons ⌜—those two by the altar—[44] are a likeness of those angels which appeared ⌜from the direction of the feet and the head of Our Lord.[45]

(§ 33) The stole[46] on their left shoulder[46] shows[46] that they are subordinates, because he who is in authority throws the stole over the[47] head or else[44] over both the[47] shoulders.

(§ 34) The three times 'Qaddiš' (30) *which we exclaim* is an indication of the conversion of the peoples and *the fulfilment* of this mystery *which we now make*, which *Isaiah* foresaw.

(§ 35) *Their kneeling on the ground* is *a likeness of those guards who fell upon the ground for fear* at the time of *Our Lord's* resurrection.

***57V**

1 nγ'm. 'bwn dbšmy'. pcwq'n (x)cy qy sty pry(w)['z'n prsqy' qy]
2 pr s(f)ry(n)nw'. 'ṭ šyr'qṭẋ f̣ry'w̧y 'ṭ dwr'w̧y cn γnṭ'q [. 'ṭ 'wṭ.]
3 (')ṭ γw'nty (p)rm'nty'. 'ṭ γw'nc(*y*q)y(.)[a] xw(ž)'mnṭẋ 'ṭ zrn(q)[y]
4 qy cn zm'qycqy. 'ṭ p'ṭqwny cn š(m)nw. 'wnw (qṭ)[b] (w)[ ]
5 lqwdš'[c] lqd̈yš'. nzprṭ[c] 'z'n prsqy' xcy qw (f*w*x'*r*)[nyzn](w) (s)[']
6 qy '(y)žnṭ qθ'rṭ m̧yrẋnyṭ qw xypθ n'my z̧prty' s'[r'](*zy*[d] ')s'm(*n*)[ty]
7 mš(yḫ)' γrywy pcγ'z'mnṭẋ xcy. 'ṭ wynẋ n'[f](*ty*)rcyq (w)yn'mnty xw'r(nṭ)[]

[a] altered from γw'ncy'? [b] hardly (qy) [c] sic [d] not r'z](ty)

***57V**

(§ 36) 'Abun d-ba-šmayyā' is a prayer in which there is *confession* upon the creator, and love of virtue,[48] and holding-back from evil,[49] *and faith*, and forgiveness of sins, and a request for what is necessary ⌜and *for* deliverance from temptation and for protection from Satan, that . . .[44] (5)

(§ 37) 'Qudšā l-qaddiše', ⌜'to the holy one(s)',[44] is a confession to the blessed *nature* which has made mortals worthy of the holiness of His name.

(§ 38) The taking *of the Mystery*[46] is the receiving of ⌜Christ's body and of the vision of Him which will not pass away.[50]

[39] Sy (**R**) 'chalice and paten'. [40] Sy (**R**) 'over Our Saviour's tomb'. [41] Sy 'a likeness'. [42] Sy (**R**[B]**G**) 'Our (**G** + Saviour and) Quickener'. [43] Sy **R** 'which made offering before its creator'; **G** 'who offered Himself instead of us as an offering to God His Father'. [44] Sy om. [45] Sy 'from the head and from the feet of Jesus (**R** + Christ) Our Saviour'. [46] Sy pl. [47] Sy 'his'. [48] Sy 'good things'. [49] Sy 'evil things'. [50] Sy (**R**) 'the vision of Christ'.

8 (qy) (fẋ)rty bwtq c'nw 'wsṭty bwtq pr s'ptẇ. zpry'(q)y
xšnyrq
9 xcy ndywyd y'n θb'rqẋ' qy 'ẋc bwtq qy xcy w'tmync 't
n' m(yṭyn)c
10 žw'ny ptžnq. qwdš' qy qymθ' xšpy'. m'x xypθ'wnty ẇyn=
'ncyqy'
11 xcy qy b' qw mrym 't qw wy' 'wmr'z'(š)t[e] s' 'xz'm(n)ty
(n)γ'my.
12 't ẇyd qwdš' qy pr mẏθ dbtyq 't štyq (nγ)'(m)y 'sntq.
pc(w)q'n
13 (qy) cn r'z'[c] pšys'. bzn[f] brqy' xcy q(y) cn r'zy (b)yr'mnt'
pyd'r. m'(x)[]
14 x(*yp*)θ('w)nty ẇyn'ncyqy' xcy qy b' (q*w* žwx)šqt' s'. .[g]
mẏd 'ẋšt 'brt(w)[][h]
15 (w)'(b)ym. w'n qt ny pr (xwy)'ry' yw'r pr z(p)ry'q qy s'št
pnt šw't
16 w(ys)py 'ḏy

[e] 'wmr'z'[ı](š)t perhaps less likely [f] or brn [g] altered from .s'r [h] 'brt(y)[] less likely

(§ 39) The right hand which is extended as ⌜it is placed on the left[51] is a sign of ⌜honour to[52] that gift ⌜of Grace[44] which is received,[53] which is a pledge of ⌜spiritual and[54] immortal (10) life.

⌜(§ 39a) The consecration on the Eve of the Resurrection is the appearance of Our Lord which was to Mary and to her fellow-workers at the time of the Resurrection,

*(§ 39b) and that consecration which they receive by day at the second and third hours is the appearance of Our Lord which was to the disciples.[54]

(§ 40) The prayer after the Mystery[55] is ⌜a thanksgiving for the acquisition of the Mystery.[56]

(§ 41) These things we have said[57] briefly (15) ⌜so that everyone should approach not contemptuously but with the respect which is due.[58]

[51] Sy 'the left supports it'. [52] Sy 'the honour of'. [53] Thus Sy **MK** (*mtnsb'*); **RG** 'given' (*mtyhb'*). Cf. above, p. 111. [54] Sy om. [55] Sy pl. [56] Sy **R** 'the offering and worship which a man pays after receiving a gift'; **G** 'the thanksgiving and acknowledgement which every man pays after receiving a gift'. [57] Sy 'done'. [58] Sy 'for the consideration of those who may happen upon them, (**G** + those) who come to my words without (**G** + adverse) prejudice'.

Commentary

***56V**

25 *[ptyw]fny*ẏ ~ Syr. **RA** *mnt'* 'part' (rather than **CG** *hdm'* 'limb'), cf. *ptyfnw* (acc.), ST i, 37.5 (likewise ~ *mnt'*), which probably belongs to a light**-u*–stem (see Schwartz STSC 152). The restoration of *[ptyw]fny*ẏ as nom. of a 'thematic' light stem **ptywfn-* is justified by the existence in C2 of nominatives such as *mwγy*, which belongs to a 'them.' light stem *mwγ-* beside the older *-u*–stem *mγ-w*.[59] On the thematicization of light **-u*–stems in C2 see below, p. 197. Outside C2, the inflections of M. *jmnw*, C. *žwmn-* (originally a thematic neuter *žamn-*, nom. *žamnu*, as in C2, cf. Sims-Williams 1979b, 341 n. 37) and the **-ū*–stem B. *wδwh*, *wδw-*, *wδ-* (GMS § 506, cf. now C. *wd-w*, *wd-*) are broadly similar, but for neither is a thematicized nom. attested.[60] It is not easy to reconcile the heavy stem M. *pṯywδn* 'part' with C. *ptyfnw*/**ptywfn-*. Possibly one should postulate an early metathesis (*-afnw-* > *-awfn-* > *-ōfn*, cf. *zōf* < **zafw-* and *kōf* < **kafw-*, Sims-Williams 1976, 60, and IIJ 20 [1978], 257, respectively) and assimilation of *fn* to *θn* (differently Henning BBB p. 77 on 623).

29–30 These lines seem to correspond to § 6 of the Syriac (translated above, p. 112 n. 12), which may have been omitted at its proper place, in particular *xẇ(š)ty* to *mlpn'* 'teacher' in **RACG** and *qy žγyrty* to **R**'s *d-mtqr'* 'who is called'. In this case the (possibly incomplete) word *]'znt* probably translates *'rb'* 'surety, sponsor' in **RAG**. Alternatively *]'znt* might be the last word of § 12, in which case it may be interpreted as 3 sg. pres. of **'zn* 'bear, give birth to' (elsewhere only *zn-*, but cf. *āžay* and *āžōn*) ~ **RACG** *mwld* 'bears'.

***57R**

4 *ẇzn'* 'font' (Syriac word): the pointing indicates *[wāznā]*, a form actually attested in the lexicon of Bar-Ali (*ẇzn̈'*, cited in Thes. Syr. s.v.) and implied by W. Syr. *'wzn'[ōznå]* and *wwzn' [wōznå]* < **[wåznå]*

[59] Cf. S. *mwγ-* in the Leningrad fragments L68 and L83a: nom. *mwγy* (68.10, 83a.6[sic]), acc. *mw(γw)* (68.3[sic]), voc. *mwγ'* (68.12).

[60] The supposed nom. (m.?!) *wδy* in VJ 1120 is *wδy* 'there'. The acc. *sry*. 'horn', ST i, 30.15, which according to Sundermann 1974a, 223–224, attests **sur-* or **sər-* < **srw-*, is in my opinion more likely to be the mistake of a copyist who took **srw* for the acc. of *sr-* 'head'.

<[wāznā]. Although the form *wăznā* is more usual, the points' *(zqāpā)* cannot indicate *a* as proposed by Schwartz STSC 68.

5 On *wrr'* see Benveniste, Studia . . . A. Pagliaro oblata I, Rome 1969, 213–218.–The construction of *'šty* with *pr* (also in lines 8, 11–12 and 15) is copied from the Syriac use of *'l* with verbs meaning 'show' (in the present instances, *√bdq, pa''el, √yd', ap'el* and *šap'el*).

10 *prymnt (šy) n'm ž(γ)y₁r'mnty₁ z'wr* 'by the power of the invocation of these three names': in C2 the 'prepositioned' demonstratives in *-ymnt* and *-ywnt* always function as plurals (conversely the forms in *-ymyd* and *-ywyd*, though not the unprefixed *myd* and *wyd*, are regularly sg.; exceptional are *(p)rywyd*, 1V.10, and *qy(wy)d*, 54R.30). Hence *-ymnt* must here be taken to agree with *(šy) n'm* although *pr-* governs *z'wr*. Similarly in potentially ambiguous passages: *qywyd( )x'ny dbrw s'* 'to the door of that house' (rather than 'to that door of the house'), 60V. 29–30; *qywyd mrty ży'wr s[']* 'into the heart of that man', 60V.7.

12 *wyšnty w'tmync (z)'mty'* ~ **A** *ḥtnwthwn rwḥ[nyt]'* 'their spiritual betrothal (or marriage)'.[61] Just as Syr. *ḥtnwt'* is the abstract of *ḥtn'* 'son-in-law', so *(z)'mty'* is the abstract of **z'mt* (attested only in the **-aka*–stem pl. S. *z'mt(')yt(y)*, Tale K, passim) < **zāmātā* 'id.'.

14–16 In DQ 96 on 71 this passage was translated: 'And (as for) the neophytes who do not wash–the fact that they do not need to wash indicates the hidden power which they have received.' I no longer find it necessary to construe so awkwardly. The most closely corresponding Syriac text, **G**, reads: 'And the baptized who do not wash their hands for seven days indicate the *l' mttšygnwt'* of the hidden power which they have received.' There is no difficulty in assuming that *'šty₁tqn* is a mistake for the pl. **'šty₁ntqn* (as implied by Schwartz's translation). The crux of the matter is the meaning of the very rare *l' mttšygnwt'*, which Schwartz, following Connolly, translates 'indelibility' (more literal would be 'unwashability'). This is one, but not the only, possible meaning of the word. 'Needlessness of washing', as the translator seems to have understood it, is not necessarily to be considered as a mistranslation. Cf. Gershevitch apud STSC 153 on 'the ambiguity of gerundives'.

16 On the spelling *syṇy* see Sims-Williams forthcoming b.

21 *xšymprt(y₁)*: further to STSC see Schwartz 1967, 1; 1974a, 260.

21–22 *m'x myd'ny qywyd sm'(ncy)q (wy'q) (s)'* 'between us to that heavenly place' (= 'between us and that heavenly place') is a word-for-word translation of the Syriac idiom.

23 *'xwnc*: the Syriac texts refer to the 'sacrifice' (**RG** *qwrbn'*) which Jesus 'offered' (**G** *q̇rb*). The Sogdian translation may be the result of a corruption which introduced *qrb'* 'battle' into the text.

27 *(q)t*: apparently an erroneous anticipation of the next word but one. However, the Syriac (**R**) also has here a superfluous *d-hww*.

***57V**

3–4 Since *zrn(q)[y]* alone is insufficient to fill the lacuna at the end of line 3, but no other word seems to be required, one should perhaps restore *zrn(q)[y qy]* | *qy*, cf. the dittography at 31R.9–10 *('t | 't)* and 31R. 13–14 *('dyty₁ | 'dyty)*. Alternatively, the lacuna is even long enough for *zrn(q)['t bwγ]*, cf. the hendiadys *bwγ 't zrnq* cited in Weber 1970, 164 with n. 169.–These lines contain an expansion of the Syriac text, but, since the passage is a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, it is clear that *zm'qycqy* translates *nsywn'* 'temptation'[62] and that *p'tqwny* means 'protection'[63]: *w-l' t'ln l-nsywn'. 'l' prwqyn* (or *pṣn*) *mn byš'* 'and do not lead us into temptation, but save us from the evil one' (Lk. 11.4; Mt. 6.13).

10 *ptžnq*: further to STSC see Schwartz 1967, 2; 1970a, 386 n. 9.

12–14 As it stands, the Sogdian could perhaps be translated: '(§ 39b) And that consecration which (is) by day they receive at the second and third hours. (§ 40) The prayer after the Mystery is a thanksgiving for the acquisition of the Mystery. (§ 40a) (It (?)) is the appearance of Our Lord which was to the disciples.' Of this translation only § 40, which corresponds fairly closely to the Syriac, is wholly satisfactory. In § 39b one notes with some unease the omission of the copula and the prescriptive rather than explicative nature of the sentence. More seriously, § 40a appears to lack a subject. (Schwartz takes it to be *pyd'r*, which he here interprets as the noun 'tablet, diptych, Book of Life',[64] relying on a reference in **G** to the

[61] Similarly in **MK** (Aytoun § 23): 'spiritual nuptials'.

[62] Cf. *zm'qycqt* ~ *nsÿwn'*, 83R.3, and the phrase *'[m]p(t)t [pr z]m'qycqt* 'falls into temptation', C4 = TiiB27a, R21 to 22 (Lentz; my restoration). On the formation of *zm'qycq* see above, p. 73.

[63] Rather than 'vigilance' as proposed in DQ 99 on 103 on the basis of 31R.6, 10. Cf. above, pp. 72–73.

[64] That *pyd'r* in ST i, 30.1, means 'writing-tablet' was recognized already by Salemann Manichaica II, in: IzvIAN 1907, 545 s.v. *γwžd'rt*. Cf. C22 = TiiB15a, i (Lentz), where *pyd'r* is used of the tablets (Syr. *lwḥ'*) on which the Ten Commandments were engraved. From **dipi-dāra-*?

'Book of Life'. However, G's statement does not resemble that in the Sogdian. Furthermore, it seems to me that the postposition *pyd'r* is a necessary part of the preceding sentence; the punctuation after it—unfortunately omitted by Hansen—confirms that *pyd'r* does indeed belong to § 40.) A rearrangement of the text whereby '§ 40a' forms the conclusion of § 39b is therefore imperative. The resulting statement: 'And that consecration which they receive by day at the second and third hours is the appearance of Our Lord which was to the disciples' is precisely parallel to § 39a and in full agreement with the gospel narrative, which tells how Jesus appeared before daybreak to Mary Magdalene and her companions and only later to the disciples.

13 *b(z)n brqy'* ~ Syr. **R** *ṭybwt'* 'grace, favour' in the special sense '(thank)offering' or **G** *qwbl ṭybwt'*, literally 'reception of a favour', whence 'thanksgiving', the natural response being viewed as implicit.[65] Although the Sogdian expression is a compound, it cannot be regarded as a calque on *qwbl ṭybwt'* since *br-* does not have the meaning of √*qbl* 'receive'. It may be analysed as the abstract of **bzn-bry* 'offering thanks (or blessing)' < **bzn-* = M. '*βzn-*, Tale B, 38, which may well mean 'benediction',[66] see Henning Bráhman 118 and Tales 470 n. 2. Cf. M134i, R10–11, *c(n š)m'x xwsnd βznβr(')[*; C3 = TiiB66, R(?)4, *ptrt' yty bznb'r (mr)[txmyt(?)]*.

15 *(xwy)'ry'*: evidently the translator read **mbsrnwt'* 'contempt' (cf. *xwy'ry' wn-* ~ *mbsr*, 68V.17) instead of *msbrnwt'* 'suspicion, prejudice'.

[65] See Connolly op. cit. 58 n. 3.
[66] Henning suggested 'χειροτονία'.

Syriac text

R (§ 1) pwšq 'r̈z' d-ʿdt' d-ywḥnn
A twb mn pwšq' d-m̈lpn' q̈dyš' ʿlyhwn d-r̈'z' hlyn q̈dyš'
C pwšq' d-ʿmd' rwḥn'yt d-qdyš'
G twb pwšq' d-r̈'z' d-ʿdt' d-ʿbyd

R pwm' d-dhb'.
A
C mry s'wyr' pṭryrk' d-'nṭywky'. ṣlwth tnṭrn.
G l-'nš 'pysqwp' d-šmh g'wrgy.

RA (§ 2) hymnwt' 'ytyḥ 'wrḥ' mqnyt ḥÿ' l' mÿwt'
CG ⌈hymnwt' dyn 'ytyḥ 'wrḥ' d-mšbl' lwt šrr' ḥtyt' w-dwbr'
RA d-blʿdyḥ 'nš l' mṣ' l-mḥ' ḥÿ' r̈wḥny'.[68] (§ 3) 'yn' d-mtqrb l-
CG rwḥny' d-blʿdyḥ šrr' l' mṣ' 'nš d-ndrk.[67] ⌈'yn' d-mtqrb l-
RA mʿmwdyt' lwqdm k̇pr b-sṭn'. kpwry' dyn d- b-sṭn'
CG ʿmd' . . . k̇pr b-sṭn'. . . .[67] ⌈hẏ dyn[67] d- . . . k̇pr b-sṭn'[67] mšwdʿ'[69]
RA mtrḥqnwt' d-mn ʿb̈d' bÿš'.
CG d-kpr lh w-'slyh l-klh ḥšwk' d-mṭʿynwt'[70] d-š̈'d' ḥš̈wk'[67] w-d-'klqrṣ'
RA (§ 4) twdyt' d-b-ʿbwd'
CG ryšhwn.[71] mwdynwt'[72] d-b-mšyḥ' mwdʿ'[73] d-kpr lh w-'trḥq mn sṭn' w-
RA mtqrbnwt' hy d-lwt ⌈ṭb̈t' šm̈ynyt'.[75] (§ 5) [m]wmynwt'[77]
CG 'tqrb lwt[74] 'lh' šryr' w-lwt ṭb̈t'[76] šm̈ynyt'. mwmynwt'[78]
RA qrb' d-ʿm sṭn' ⌈w-mpysnwt' d-l-dẏn'[79] ḥlp hẇ d-bʿ' d-nṭhrr mn
CG 'ytyḥ qrb' d-ʿm sṭn' w-pẏs' l-dẏn' d-nṭhrr hẇ d-ʿṁd mn[80]
RA mrwt' byšt'. (§ 6) ʿrb' ⌈d-mtqr' šwšbyn'[82] mlpn'[83]
CG šwʿbd' d-mrwt'[81] byšt'. ⌈ʿrb' dyn d-hwyw[67] qryb' 'ytwhy mlpn'
RA d-hwpk̈' ʿdtnÿ' w-hdy' d-'wrḥ' d-šrr'. (§ 7) mšḥ'[86] zyn' hw l' mzdkyn'
CG d-špyr̈t'[84] w-mqrbn' d-lwt 'lḧyt'.[85] mšḥ' zyn' l' mzdkyn'
RA d-lwqbl bʿldr'. (§ 8) hy d-mtršm[88] ⌈mwdʿnwth d-ṣbynh[89]
CG ⌈d-lwqbl š̈'d' 'ytwhy.[87] hẏ[72] d-mtmšḥ klh pgrh mwdʿ'[73] d-l-'gwn' d-

[67] **C** om. [68] **R** r̈wḥn'(?) [69] **C** mwdʿ [70] **C** w-mṭʿynwt' [71] **G** ryš' dylhwn [72] **G** +dyn [73] **C** mšwdʿ' [74] **G** +ḥw d-'ytwhy [75] **R** sg.(?); **A** +[= = = = = =] [76] **G** +dylh [77] **R** mʿmwdyt' [78] **G** +dyn d-khn' [79] **A** w-'p [mpysnwt' d-lwt] dẏn' [80] **G** +šḥy' w-mn [81] **C** d-mdrwt'(!) [82] **A** om. [83] **A** +hẇ [84] **C** d-šryr̈t' [85] **C** 'lh' [86] **A** +dyn [87] **C** 'ytwhy lwqbl š̈'d' [88] **R** +'nš [89] **A** mšwdʿnwt' d-ṣbyn'

RA d-hw d-ʿmd w-ṭbʿ' d-mlk' šmyn' d-npl ʿl plḥ' rwḥny'.[90] (§ 9) hẏ dyn d-byt[92]
CG lwqbl sṭn' ʿ'l. hẏ dyn[91] d-ʿl

RA ʿynẅhy mtršm[93] mnt' d-mytr' b-pgr' d-ḥw' dḥyl
CG pth mtršm b-ryš'[94] d-'ytwhy hdm' myqr'[95] d-hw'[96] dḥyl b-yd[97]

RA ʿl š'd'. (§ 10) sym bwrk' d-ʿl ḥd' bwrk' ⌈mpwltn d-b-ḥṭyt'.
CG ḥzth ʿl šʿ̈d'. ⌈**sym** bwrk' dyn 't' hw d-mpwltn d-b-yd ʿbr pwqdnh

RA qymtn dyn d-mn sym bwrk' d-ʿl ḥd' bwrk'[98] 't' d-
CG d-'dm. qymtn d-mn bwrk' 't' d-qymtn d-b-yd

RA qymth d-yšwʿ[99] d-bḥ[100] qm klh kynn. (§ 11) wwzn' mml' dwkt qbr'.
CG qymth d-mrn.[91] 'wzn'[101] dwkt qbrh d-mšyḥ'

RA (§ 12) [102]mẏ' d-bh ʿwb' d-mwld ḥẏ'.
CG mml'. [102]mẏ' d-bh[103] ʿwb' d-mwld bn̈y' r̈wḥn' w-l' mẏwt' w-l'

RA (§ 13) 'p[104] mwld' d-mn d-ryš 'ytyḥ mʿmwdyt'. (§ 14) ʿmd'
CG mtḥ̈bln'. ʿmd'[105] mwld' d-mn d-ryš. ⌈hẏ

RA d-tlt zbnẏn d-b-mẏ' r'z' d-tlt' yẅmyn d-hẉ'[107] yšwʿ[99] byt mẏt'.
CG dyn d-tlt zbn̈yn ʿmd r'z' hy[106] d-tlt' ywm̈yn d-hẉ' ⌈mrn b-qbr'.[108]

RA (§ 15) hy d-'ṁr khn'[109] d-ʿṁd pln w-l' 'ṁr d-mʿmd 'n' mwdʿ
CG hẏ[101] d-'ṁr khn'[109] d-ʿṁd pln ⌈w-l' 'ṁr d-mʿmd 'n'[91] mwdʿ b-yd

RA d-lw dylh 'ytyḥ ṣbwt' hd' dḥylt' 'l' b-ṭybw gḇ' mn
CG mkykwth d-lw dylh 'ytyḥ[110] ṣbwt' hd'[91] dḥylt' 'l' b-ṭybwt'[111] 'štknt

RA rmz' l-mšmšw[113] r̈'z' hlyn. (§ 16) msqtn[114] d-mn wwzn' 't'[115]
CG lh[112] mwhbt' ⌈l-mšmšw r̈'z' hlyn.[91] msqt' d-mn 'wzn' 't'[116]

RA d- qymth d-mrn[119] yšwʿ[99] d-mn qbr'. (§ 17)
CG d-msqth[117] d-l-šmy' 'yk[118] msqth d-prwqn d-mn qbr'.[120]

RA 'wrr'[sic][121] d-ʿl[122] ryš[123] ʿmẏd' mbdqyn ʿl ḥ'rwt' d-qblw mn
CG 'wrr'[121] d-ʿl ryš[91] ʿmẏd' mšwdʿ'[124] ʿl ḥ'rwt' d-qblw[125] b-yd

RA mšyḥ'. (§ 18) ⌈lbẅš' ḥwr̈'[127] ṭwps' ⌈d-šwbḥ' šmyn'.[129]
CG mšyḥ'.[126] lbẅš' dyn ḥwr̈'[128] ⌈ʿl hẏ d-hww l-hwn bn̈y' d-nwhr' šmyn'

RA (§ 19) r̈kyk'[sic] dyn 't' d-mtyldnwt' d-mn d-ryš d-
CG mšwdʿyn.[130] rkykwt'[131] dyn[132] d-m̈n' 't'[133] d-rʿdwt'[134] d-mwld' rwḥny'.[135]

RA gwšm'. (§ 20) bsm̈' d-qdm[137] ʿmẏd' (§ 21)
CG bsm̈'[136] d-qdm ʿmẏd' 't'[138] d-hny'wt' l' mʿbdt[139] ḥ̈š'.

RA mwdʿyn ʿl 'ydʿt' nhyrt' d-qblw mn ʿmd' d-b-šm 'b' w-
CG nhyr̈'[140] mbdqyn ʿl ⌈nhyrwt' d-ydʿt'[141] d-qblw b-yd ʿmd' d-b-šm 'b' w-

RA br' w-rwḥ' qdyš'.[142] ⌈'yk d-'p (y)[šwʿ = = = = = = =] tlt' qnẅm̈. ḥd kyn' qm
CG br' w-rwḥ' qdyš'.

RA mn byt m̈yt' w-slq l-šmy'.[143] (§22) m'tythwn d-b-tšbwḥt'[sic][145] l-ʿdt'[146]
CG mʿlthwn[144] d-b-tšmšt' l-hykl'

RA ⌈mwdʿ' ʿl ḥtnwthwn rwḥ[nyt]'.[143] **RA** (§ 23) šmʿ' d-ktb'
CG mwdʿ'[147] ʿl mʿlthwn[144] d-l-mlkwt' d-šmy'. **G** šmʿ' dyn d-kẗb'

RA w-swklhwn[148] 'yk lḥm' w-
G qdyš̈' w-swklhwn twrsy' hw 'myn' w-rwḥny' d-npš': 'yk d-ḥlp lḥm' w-

[90] **A** rwḥn' [91] **C** om. [92] **A** d-b-byt [93] **A** mtṭbʿ [94] **C** brnš' [95] **G** +w-ʿly'. hd' mḥwy'; **C** +w- [96] **G** d-nhw' [97] **C** b- [98] **A** om. [99] **R** +mšyḥ' [100] **A** d-bh [101] **G** +dyn [102] **RG** +w- [103] **C** d-bḥ; **G** + d- [104] **R** w-'p [105] **G** ʿmdh dyn d-ḥw d-ʿṁd [106] **C** tlt gm̈ʿt' r'z' hw [107] **A** +b-šywl [108] **C** b-qbr' mrn [109] **AC** om. [110] **C** hy [111] **C** +hw' [112] **C** +hy [113] **A** +l- [114] **R** +dyn [115] **R** r'z' [116] **G** +hy [117] **C** +d-hy [118] **C** b-yd [119] **A** d- [120] **G** +l-šmy' [121] **G** 'wrr̈' dyn 'wkyt k̈lyl'; **A** k̈lyl' [122] **A** d-s̈ymyn ʿl [123] **A** r̈yš' d- [124] **G** mwdʿyn; **C** +d- [125] **C** +ʿmẏd' [126] **C** mšḥ'(!) [127] **R** sg. [128] **C** nhyr̈'; **G** +d-lbšyn btr ʿmd' [129] **A** pl. [130] **C** bnẏ' d-nwhr' mḥwyn d-'ytyhwn [131] **G** rkykwthwn [132] **C** om. [133] **G** +hy [134] **G** d-rʿdwth [135] **C** rwḥn' [136] **G** +twb [137] **R** d-qdym(!) [138] **G** +'nwn [139] **C** mšʿbdt [140] **G** +dyn d-qdmyhwn [141] **C** ydʿt'; **G** +'lhyt' [142] **R** d-qwdš' [143] **R** om. [144] **C** mʿlt' [145] **R** d- [146] **A** om. [147] **C** mšwdʿ' [148] **R** w-s̈wklyhwn

RA my' d-b-hwn mttrs' kl-nš. (§ 24)[149] šygt' d-khn'[150]
G my' d-b-hwn mttrs' pgr'. šygt' dyn d-khn' d-qdm r'z' qdyš'
RA mlp' l-šmw'[127] d-nšygwn[151] r'ynyhwn mn kl mrnyn. (§ 25) tksyt' d-'myd'
G mlp' l-klh 'm' d-nšyg r'ynh mn kl mrnyn. 'myd' dyn d-l'
RA mbdq' 'l l' mštgnynwt' d-ḥyl' ksy' d-qblw.[152]
G mšygyn 'ydyhwn šb' ywmyn mbdqyn 'l l' mttšygnwt' d-ḥyl' ksy' d-qblw.
R (§ 26) šlm' d-yhbyn mhymn' l-ḥdd' m'br w-md'k b'ldbbwt' d-'m ḥdd'.
G šlm' d-yhbyn mhymn' l-ḥdd' m'br w-md'k b'ldbbwt' w-rwgz' qdmy'.
R (§ 27) mdbḥ' dyn 'ytwhy dwkt qbrh d-mšyḥ'. (§ 28)
G mdbḥ' dyn lh l-'mnw'yl mšwd' ln hw d-'ytwhy 'yln' d-ḥy'.
R w-lḥm' w-ḥmr' d-'lwhy r'z' d-pgrh qdyš' d-yšw' mšyḥ' hw d-'p dm' 'yt hw'
G lḥm' dyn w-ḥmr' d-'lwhy l-pgrh d-'lh' mlt' hw d-'p dm' 'yt hw'
R bh. (§ 29) šwšp' d-l'l mn ks' w-pynk' 't' d-hy k'p' d-'ttsymt l'l
G bh. šwšp' dyn d-l'l mn r'z' gnyzwt' w-l' mtḥzynwt' d-
R mn qbrh d-prwqn. (§ 30) w'l'š[153] dyn
G ḥyl' d-ks' b-hwn b-r'z' mšwd'. w'ls dyn 'wkyt 'py tr' d-
R 'ytyhyn dwmyh d-hn' rqy' d-byt ln w-l- hw 'tr'
G qwš[sic] qwdš' twps' 'ytyhyn d-tḥpyt' hy d-byt ln l-gnyzwth d-hw 'tr'
R šmyn'. (§ 31) khn' dyn tlt mml'. dwmy' d-npšh ⌈d- mḥynn[154]
G šmyn'. khn' dyn tlt mml'. ḥd' mn dwmy' dylh d-prwqn w-mḥynn
R hy d-'bdt qwrbn' qdm 'bwdh w-'t'lyt. w- d-trtyn dyn
G hw d-hw lh qrb ḥlpyn qwrbn' l-'lh' 'bwhy w-'tr'y ln. d-trtyn dyn d-
R 'ytwhy lšn' d-b-ryš gwšm' 'dtny'. w-d-tlt ṣyr' d-ṣ'r rwḥnyt' b-'rz'.
G 'ytwhy lšn' d-b-ryš gwšm' 'dtny'. w-d-tlt d-ṣ'r ṣyr' rwḥnyt' b-r'z'.
R (§ 32) mšmšn' dyn dmwt' d-ml'k' d-mn 'ysdwhy[sic] w-mn
G mšmšn' dyn twb 'ytyhwn dmwt' d-ml'k' hnwn d-mn 'sdwhy w-mn
R 'rglwhy[sic] d-yšw' mšyḥ' prwqn 'tḥzyw. (§ 33) 'wrr'[sic] dyn d-'l ktpthwn d-
G 'rglwhy[sic] d-yšw' prwqn 'tḥzyw. 'wrr' dyn d-'l ktpthwn d-
R sml' d-hww mšwd'yn d-mš'bd' 'nwn. mṭl d-'yn' d-
G sml' 'l šw'bdhwn d-lwt khn' mšwd'yn. b-dmwt' d-ṭksywṭ'. mṭl d-'yn' d-
R 'ytwhy šlyṭ' 'l ⌈rsh w-'l[154] trtyn ktpth rm' 'wrr'. (§ 34) qdyš
G 'ytwhy šlyṭ' 'l trtyhyn ktpth 'w 'l ryšh rm' 'wrr'. qdyš 'nt
R tlt zbnyn d-q'yn-n bwdq' d-pwnyhwn d-'mm' w-šwmly' d-hn' r'z'
G 'lh' tlt zbnyn d-q'yn-n bwdq' hw d-pwnyhwn d-'mm' w-šwmly' d-hn' r'z'
R d-hš' 'bdyn-n d-qdm ḥz' 'š'y'. (§ 35) rkynwthwn d-b-'r' dwmy'
G d-hš' 'bdyn-n: hw d-qdm ḥz' 'š'y'. rkynwthwn twb d-b-'r' dwmy'
R d-hnwn nṭwr'. (§ 36)
G hy d-hnwn nṭwr' d-mn dḥlthwn nplw 'l 'r' b-'dn qymth d-mrn.
R 'bwn d-b-šmy' ṣlwt' d-
G 'bwn d-b-šmy' ṣlwt' hy d-p'rysy' d-mḥwy' ln b-ṭybwt' bny' d-'lh' w-
R 'yt bh[sic] twdyt' d-b-'bwd'. w-rḥmt' d-ṭbt'. w- mšt'lnwt' d-mn byšt'.
G 'yt bh twdyt' d-b-'bwd'. w-rḥmt' d-ṭbt'. w-'p mšt'lnwt' d-mn byšt'.
R w-sbr' w-šwbqn' d-ḥṭh'. w-š'lt' d-ḥšḥt'. (§ 37) qwdš' l-qdyš'
G w-sbr' w-šwbqn' d-ḥṭh'. w-š'lt' d-ḥšḥt'. qwdš' l-qdyš' . . .
R twdyt' l- kyn' ṭwbtn' d-'šwy l-mywt' l-qdyšwt'
G twdyt' d-b-kyn' 'lhy' w-ṭwbtn' d-'šwy l-kyn' mywt' d-bnynš' l-qdyšwt'
R d-šmh. (§ 38)[155] msb' d-r'z' mqblnwt' d-ḥzth d-mšyḥ'.
G d-šmh. nsybwt' dyn dylhwn d-r'z' ḥdywt' d-'m 'lh' mlt' brh d-

[149] Cf. also **G**, p. yb.8–12: hy dyn d-mšygyn khn' 'ydyhwn qdm mdbḥ' . . . mlp' . . . l-klh 'm'. d-nšygwn r'ynyhwn mn kl mrnyn. [150] **A** sg. [151] **A** d-nšygywn(!) [152] **R** d-qbl [153] **R**[A] w-hlyn(!); **R**[B] +'p str' [154] **R**[A] om. [155] Cf. also **G**, p. z.12–14: nsybwt' dyn d-r'z' qdyš'. šwmly' w-gmyrwt'. w-ḥdywt' ṣbynyt' d-'m ḥd 'lh' mšwd'. hy d-l' ḥsyr' b-mdm.

R (§ 39) ymyn' d-mtpšṭ' kd ṭʿyn' lḥ sml'
G 'lh' ʿbd' ln. ymyn' dyn d-mtpšṭ' kd ṭʿyn' lḥ sml' lwt msb' d-
R 't' hy d-'yqr' d-hy mwhbt' d-mtyhb'. d-'ytyḥ rhbwn' d-ḥẏ'
G r̈'z' 't' hy d-'yqr' dylḥ d-mwhbt' d-mtyhb': hẏ d-'ytyḥ rhbwn' d-ḥ̈y'
R l' myẅt'. (§ 40) ṣlwt' d-btr r̈'z' qdẏš'. ṭybwt' w-
G l' myẅt'. ṣlwt' dyn d-btr nsybwt' d-r̈'z'. qwbl ṭybwt' w-
R sgdt' d-ṗrʿ 'nš btr msbḥ d-mwhbt'. (§ 41) hlyn ʿbdn-n
G twdyt' d-ṗrʿ klnš btr msb' dylḥ d-mwhbt' 'ytyḥ. hlyn ʿbdn-n
R l-swkl' d-'ylyn d-pgʿyn d-d-l' msbrnwt' b-
G b-kr̈yt' l-swkl' d-'ylyn d-bhyn pgʿyn: ḥnwn d-d-l' msbrnwt' byšt' b-
R m̈lyn pgʿyn.
G m̈lyn pgʿyn.

Concordance

	Brock	**R** (Rahmani)	**G** (Connolly)	**MK** (Aytoun)	**MK** (Connolly)
§ 1	title	10.5	g. 1–2	title	yw.1–2
§ 2	§ I	6–7	d. 4–6	§ 1	
§ 3	§ III	7–8	17–24	§ 8	
§ 4	§ V	9	h. 4–7	§ 9	
§ 5	§ VI	10.10–11.1	d. 24–h.1	§ 6	
§ 6	§ VII	11.1–2	h. 22–23	§ 3	
§ 7	§ IXa	2–3	w. 8		
§ 8	§ IXb	3–4	4–5	§ 10	
§ 9	§ IXc	4–5	h. 18–20	§ 18	
§ 10	§ X	5–7	y'. 2–4		ld.21–22
§ 11	§ XII	7–8	w. 9	§ 14	
§ 12		8	9–11		
§ 13		8–9	11–12	§ 2	
§ 14	§ XIII	9–10	12–13	§ 14	
§ 15	§ XIV	10–12	14–18	§ 15	
§ 16	§ XV	12–13	18–20	§ 17	
§ 17	§ XVII	13–14	z. 1–2	§ 20	
§ 18	§ XVIII	14–15	w. 23–24	§ 19	
§ 19	§ XIX	11.15–12.1	24–25		
§ 20	§ XX	12.1	z. 2–3	§ 22	
§ 21	§ XXI	1–2	4–6	§ 21	
§ 22	§ XXII	3	6–7	§§ 23–24	
§ 23	§ XXIV	3–4	z. 24–ḥ.1		k'.7–9
§ 24	§ XXV	4–5	z. 14–15		lg.17–20
§ 25	§ XXVII	5–6	17–18	§ 27	
§ 26		6–7	ḥ. 10–11		lb.16–18
§ 27		7–8	22–23		kh.21–23, kh.25–kw.1
§ 28		8–9	ḥ. 24–ṭ.1		kw.18–19
§ 29		9–10	ṭ. 4–5		lw.5–9, pg.2–4, 8–9
§ 30		10–11	7–9		s.2–4
§ 31		12–14	ḥ. 18–22		kw.25–kz.6
§ 32		12.14–13.1	y. 17–19		kz.14–15
§ 33		13.1–3	19–23		kz.23–kḥ.2
§ 34		3–5	z. 21–23		kz.18–20
§ 35		5–6	y. 25–y'.2		
§ 36		6–8	y' .7–11		sz.14–18
§ 37		8–9	11–17		pb.12–14
§ 38	§ XXVI	9–10	21–23	§ 25	pd.7–8
§ 39		10–12	y'. 23–yb.1		4–6
§ 40		12–13	yb. 3–5		10ff.
§ 41		13–14	yh.17–19		

Text 7: An unidentified homily 'On the mercy of God' (ff. *57V.16–60R.1)

The remainder of f. *57V, after the conclusion of Text 6, contains the beginning of a homily 'On the mercy of God to (His) creation, and on the punishment which Cain received, and the generations of the household of Noah, and the men of Sodom, on account of their evil deeds', to give its Sogdian title in full.[1] The work appears to be anonymous,[2] and has not been identified. It is difficult to determine whether the Syr. original was in prose or verse; certain features of the style and punctuation lead one to suspect that it may have been a poem, but the Sogd. text proves refractory to division into stanzas.

The major part of this fragment (lines 16–30) was translated and commented upon by Schwartz (Schwartz 1975, especially pp. 196–199). In the commentary below 'Schwartz' without further indication refers to the relevant part of this article.

On the identification of the first line of f. 60R as the last line of this homily see above, p. 18.

[1] The poorly-preserved Syr. title in the margin appears to differ only in minor details.

[2] Though it is possible that the author was named at the beginning (which is lacking) of the Syr. title.

***57V**

16 [a]pr b(γ'*ny*)q (z)'(r)cn(wqy)' qy qw (f)[b] sf(r)ywn s'[a] 't

17 (p)r (p)'(t)fr's qy pcy(γ)'z q'(y)n 't nwẖ qty'qy wxt 't sdwmy[c]

18 [mr](*txm*)[y]t cn wšnt[d] bžyqt 'rqty pyd'r. ·:·:·:· nwšy 't z'rcnwq xypθ'wnt[e]

19 bγy ywny cn sfrywny ¨γ'z m(š)t'y xyp(θ) z'rcnwqy' 't 'štxtq. 't ny

20 nxšt xypθ dstwb'ry 't nyst ny w(n)ty xypθ ptq'rw'. 'x cntn xcy

21 bγ'nyq (z)'rcnwqy' qy ny prbyrt by(.) ¨dm pr xypθ ryž ¨xxr pr frm'n

22 't f'(r)'(mn)c[f] xypθ γwbty'. 't bγy (pr) x(yp)θ z'rcnwqy' šw ptymync

23 w'nc'nw np(x)štw sty. qt wnt' bγy cr(m)nxt qwrθxt ('t) šw ptymync. ny

24 w'zms xw bγy cn ¨dmy qty'qy γnt'q. yw'r w'z'm γnt'q pr šyrw

25 w'nc'nw ptγ'mbrx w'xš. 't ptyγwnt xyp(θ) ptq'rw qy wydsntnyq

26 b'. yw'r cw pr ptm'q w'bmsqn bγ'n(y)q š(*y*r'q)ty' qy (q)w ywtr s' [.]

27 xyd qy pr pnmcyqt wxt 't (m)yd'ncyqt 't pr pšycyqt wyrxc' qt'[.]

28 (q'm)ysq nwqr 'x ptγw(š)n' (q)t γrbx bγ'nyq šyr'qt(y)' c'nw ny

[a–a] in red ink [b] meant to be cancelled [c] +line-filler [d] sic
[e] a small piece of lines 18–28 is missing, for which Hansen's readings are given (cf. *57R note f). Traces visible on the photograph: 18 xyp(θ)[; 22 ptym(yn)[; 23 š(w)[or š(n)[; 25 wyd(s)[ ](*t*)[
[f] or fθ-; (r) almost certain, (m) unusually narrow

***57V**

(Syriac and Sogdian:)

⌜On the mercy of God to[3] His[4] creation,[3] and on the punishment which ⌜Cain received (sg.), and the generations of the household of Noah, and the men of Sodom,[5] on account of their evil deeds.

(Sogdian only:)

The eternal and merciful Lord God, immediately from the beginning of the Creation, showed His mercy and shows (it still), and He does not (20) destroy His handiwork and does not bring to nought His own image; oh, how great is the mercy of God, which cannot be told! Adam, of his own (free) will, transgressed the commandment and divested himself of his glory, and God in His mercy clothed him, as it is written: 'God made leather tunics and clothed him.' God did not avenge the evil on Adam's household, but repayed evil with good, (25) according to the Apostle's word, and covered His own image which had become exposed to view. But why do I speak in (full) measure of the Grace of God to one (man)—that (Grace) which has been poured out on former generations and (on) intermediate and on latter (generations)? Do you now desire, O listener, to know of the Grace of God, how it does not

[3] Sy (traces only). [4] So om. [5] Sy 'Cain [and . . .] and the men of Sodom received (pl.)'.

29 (q'm)t pr 'ḏy bžyq. . ywxs' cn q'yn w'xš p(')t mnq br' x(w) [q'yn]
30 't ptyx(w)'y hbyl xypθ br't. p't x(y*d* γ)[w](bty)'(*fry'wy* qt[g] w)'p(t)[pryw 'dm]
31 x(y)d ms p'txš'(wn) b' p(r =)[=] = = =[
32 pr qyr(m)[y

delight in anyone's (coming to) harm? Learn from the case of Cain, for *Cain* bore deceit (30) and killed Abel his brother, because that *love of* glory *by* which *Adam* fell—that also mastered *Cain* . . . by the serpent's . . .

The Syriac title is written in two lines in the outer margin by lines 16–31[h]:

1 =[γ](*l*)[r̈ḫm' *d'](lh)'[i] dc[yd](*bryθ*h) wγl m(s)m bryš' d(q)blw q'yṅ
2 [wdr̈' dbyθ *nw](ḫ)[j] *w'n̈šy[k] sdwm mtl (šky)rwθhwn. .

[g] not (qy) [h] part of this margin is missing, for which Hansen's readings are given (cf. note e above) [i] Hansen] = w'; the top of (l) is still visible at approximately this point [j] Hansen]y [k] Hansen q'ṅšy

60R

1 [y]sryl qy synd'rt t'f' cn mcryn ẓy ·:···:··

60R

. . . *your God, O* Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt.

Commentary

***57V**

17 The expression *nwḫ qty'qy wyṭ* 'the generations of the household of Noah' (Schwartz 1975, 196 n. 5) cannot be taken at face value since in fact Noah's household was singled out not to receive but to escape punishment (Gen. 6.5ff.). Probably *nwḫ qty'qy* is an over-literal translation of Syr. *d-byt nwḥ*, literally '(those) of the house of Noah' but idiomatically 'Noachi coaevi' (Thes. Syr. s.v. *byt*, citing Ephraem);[6] *nwḫ qty'qy wyṭ* will thus be equivalent to Aphraates' phrase *dr̈' d-b-ywmy nwḥ* 'the generations of the time of Noah' (W. Wright, The Homilies of Aphraates . . . I, London 1869, qlḥ.15–16 with note p).

21 *qy ny prḇyrt ḇy*: the Sogd. clause probably renders a Syriac adjectival phrase such as *d-l' mt'mr'* = 'ineffable'.

22 The 3 sg. impf. *f('r)'(mn)c*, if not merely a mistake for the expected **fr'mnc* (B. *βr''mc*, VJ 646; *pr''mc* VJ 697), may be secondarily formed from the pres. stem **fr'mnc* (B. *βr''mcn*, SCE 218; M. *[fr'my]nc*, M530, V4, cited by Henning BBB p. 62 on 516) as if this contained the preverb *f-* (cf. *(f)'cmr(z)*, 87V.13, as explained by Gershevitch apud Schwartz STSC 16). The 3 sg. impf. M. *f'rmyc*, M133.96, quoted in GMS § 438, as the solitary example for metathesis of *frā-* to *fār-*, may then alternatively be explained as containing *fārā-* < *fārā-* (cf. Schwartz 1974b, 407, on *āγāδē* < **āγāδē*, etc.).—The passage is closely paralleled by Ephraem's lines: *d-šlḫw hww šwbḫ'. w-lbšw hww ṭr̈ṗ'* '(Adam and Eve) who divested themselves of glory and clothed themselves with leaves' (T. J. Lamy, Sancti Ephraem Syri hymni et sermones . . . II, Malines 1886, 617.3). Adam's 'robe of glory' has recently been discussed by S. Brock, in: A. Dietrich (ed.), Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet . . ., AAWG 96 [1975], 98–104.

23 The quotation (as recognized by Hansen) is from Gen. 3.21: *w-'bd mry' 'lh' l-'dm w-l-'ntth kwtyn̈yt' d-mšk' w-'lbš 'nwn* 'And the Lord God made for Adam and for his wife tunics of skin and clothed them'. On *qwrθy* see Sundermann 1975, 85 n. 146.

23–25 The transitive *'wz'm* here means not 'condemn' but 'requite, repay' (Henning apud Schwartz STSC 19; Schwartz 1975 passim); the clause may therefore be translated: 'but (God) repayed evil with good, according to the Apostle's word.' The reference appears to be to Rom. 12.17: 'Do not pay back anyone evil for evil, but be careful to do good before all men' or 1 Thess. 5.15: 'Take care that no-one amongst you pays back evil for evil, but always strive for the good of one another and of all men.'[7] The Syr. verb 'pay back' in both passages (as in the many similar biblical texts, e.g. Gen. 44.4; Ps. 35.12,

[6] The translator's choice of the word *qty'q* 'household' suggests that he may have had in mind the use of *byt'* for Noah's 'household' in Gen. 7.1.

[7] 'The Apostle' is of course Paul (Schwartz 1975, 199 n. 14). I see no reference here to 'the passage concerning Adam' in Rom. 5.14–21 whose relevance is claimed by Schwartz (ibid.).

38.21, 109.5; 1 Peter 3.9) is √*pr*ʿ *(pʿal)*. If *w'z'm* may therefore be assumed to translate *pr*ʿ, the passive *w'zms* in the preceding clause possibly translates the passive *(etpʿel) 'tpr*ʿ, amongst the meanings of which is 'avenge (a wrong) (on *[mn]*)', literally 'be repayed (a debt) (by)'. Applying this construction to the Sogdian, one obtains the appropriate meaning: 'God did not avenge the evil on *(cn)* Adam's house(hold).' There will then be no need to interpret *qty'q* as 'deed' (as Schwartz is driven to do, cf. Schwartz 1975, 198 n. 13, and–with a different explanation–STSC 19).

25 *wyḏsntnyq*: possibly a fut. pass. participle in *-anta-* (cf. Gershevitch 1975, 198) + redundant Sogd. fut. pass. participle suffix *-nyq* (cf. M. *wyδ'snyq* etc., GMS § 997). For a tentative definition and root-etymology of this hapax legomenon see Schwartz 1975, 211.

26 *yw'r cw pr ptm'q w'bmsqn*: Schwartz translates: 'But what can I say in (proper?) measure . . .?' This interpretation of *pr ptm'q* seems to be justified by M. *pr ptm'k* ‚im rechten Maß', BBB f53, Khot. *pamāta-* 'limited', *avāmata-* 'unlimited', but Schwartz's translation would surely require subj. *w'bn* rather than indic. *w'bmsqn*. If one is to assume that the translator did not perfectly comprehend the Syr. text, one might also take *yw'r cw* to be an over-literal translation of Syr. *mn dyn* 'O that . . .!' (<*mn* 'what?' + *dyn* 'but'). The Syr. original of this clause will then have meant: 'O that I might speak in (full) measure of the Grace of God (even) to one man!' But if *cw* is taken to mean 'why?' (cf. GMS § 1526 and Syr. *mn'* 'what? why?') the Sogd. text is comprehensible as it stands: 'But why do I speak in (full) measure (=in detail) of the Grace of God to a single (man)?'

28–29 *ny (q'm)t pr 'ḏy bžyq*: Schwartz's translation 'does not desire evil for anyone' is excluded by the ending of *'ḏy*, which shows that *pr* governs *bžyq*. For *q'm + pr* cf. Syr. √*ṣb'* *b-* 'delight in'. Presumably *bžyq* 'evil' here means 'harm, misfortune' like its equivalent Syr. *byšt'*.–*q'yn w'xš*: apparently 'Cain's word(s)', but no suitable saying is attributed to Cain (at least in the Bible). Schwartz translates 'the (scriptural) statement on Cain', referring to Syr. *mlt'* 'word' = 'biblical passage' (Schwartz 1975, 199 n. 14). However, it is difficult to believe that either Sogd. *q'yn w'xš* or Syr. **mlt' d-q'yn* could have this meaning. Possibly *w'xš* here translates *mlt'* in its quite common sense 'matter, affair' (cf. C. *w'xš* 'thing', Sims-Williams 1976, 64 n. 93, which may similarly have originated as a calque on *mlt'* 'id.').–*mnq br' x(w) [q'yn]*: cf. Aphraates op. cit. qlḥ.11–16: 'Cain who was full of deceit *(nkl')* . . . and killed his brother in the deceit of his heart.'

30–31 The reading, restoration and translation proposed must be regarded as uncertain, since they require the assumption that *qt* here stands for the rel. pron. (cf. above, p. 84).–*x(y)d ms p'txš'(wn) b' p(r)* . . .: cf. Gen. 4.7: *w-hw nštlṭ bk* 'and it (sin) will have dominion over you (Cain)'.

32 Possibly a reference to the serpent of Gen. 3.

60R

1 Cf. Ex. 32.4, 8: *hnw 'lhk 'ysryl d-'sqk mn 'r*ʿ *d-mṣryn* 'This is your God, O Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt'.

Text 8: From the *Verba Seniorum* (ff. 60R.1–61V)

Under the general heading 'From the "Mam(l)le d-sābe" ("Conversations of the old men", "Verba Seniorum")', f. 60 contains three stories of the desert fathers. The top of f. 61 is missing; the extant part contains a series of questions and answers on the spiritual life.

Both the stories and the questions and answers are to be found—though in widely separated positions—in the great collection of *Apophthegmata Patrum* which makes up Book IV of ʿNānišoʿ's *Paradise of the fathers*. Of the Syriac MSS of this work listed by Baumstark GSL 202 n. 6, the following are known to contain one or both of the passages translated in ff. 60 and 61[1]:

B = 'Lady Meux MS. No. 6', a copy made for Sir E. A. W. Budge of a 13th–15th cent. Mosul MS (the latter now apparently lost);

C = Cambridge, Add. 2019 (1452 A.D.), ff. 76R–78R (~C2/61 only);

L = London, Add. 17,174 (929 A.D.), ff. 93R–94V (~C2/60), 175V–177R (~C2/61);

[London, Add. 14,583 (11th cent.), ff. 91R–92V (~C2/60), 143R–145R (~C2/61); this MS will not be referred to further, since Wright's suspicion that it is merely a copy of **L** accords with the results of my own collation of these two passages;]

R = Vatican, Sir. 126 (1223 A.D.), ff. 127V–128R (~C2/60), 174V–175R (~C2/61);

[Vatican, Sir. 372–374; modern copy of **R**].

The Syriac text has been printed twice. The edition by Bedjan AMS VII 698–703 (~C2/60), 964–967 (~C2/61), is based on **L** and **R** (for which I retain Bedjan's sigla). That by Budge Paradise II, 612–615 (~C2/60), 728–730 (~C2/61), is a transcription of **B** (with the addition of a few variants taken from Bedjan). Budge's edition also includes a translation (later reprinted separately in a more convenient format), in which the two passages are to be found in I, 809–813 (II, 152–155),[2] and II, 970–973 (II, 262–264),[3] respectively. It is interesting to note that in two cases (see below, p. 132 n. 115, and p. 133 n. 120) Budge's translation of the latter passage includes a phrase, enclosed in square brackets, which agrees remarkably with the Sogdian against all the Syriac MSS. Elsewhere Budge uses square brackets to indicate (a) words taken from Bedjan's text and (b) insertions intended to improve the English. If the similarity between the Sogdian and Budge's translation in these instances is not coincidental—which is hardly credible—the latter must derive from an unacknowledged MS source, most likely either a series of marginal variants in **B** or an excerpt from the *Apophthegmata Patrum* in a British Museum MS. The identification of this source would obviously be of interest for determining the exact position of the Sogdian version in respect of the textual history of the Syriac *Apophthegmata*.

The existence of an Arabic version of ʿNānišoʿ's *Paradise* is mentioned by C. Butler, The Lausiac History, Cambridge 1898, 83 n. 1 (Texts and Studies VI/2). This has not been consulted.

So far we have been concerned only with the work of ʿNānišoʿ. It is, however, not unlikely that there exist other Syr. recensions of these passages in the smaller collections of *Apophthegmata* etc. still unpublished (for which see Butler op. cit. 94). I have found only the first of the three stories on f. 60, which occurs in a work entitled (with minor variants) *Pnqyt' d-tšʿyt' d-'ḥ' yḥ̈ydy' d-b-mdbr' d-mṣryn* 'Book of histories of the solitary brothers in the desert of Egypt' in four British Museum MSS:

E = Add. 17,176 (532 A.D.), f. 61R–V;

F = Add. 14,579 (913 A.D.), ff. 83V–84R;

G = Add. 14,648 (6th cent.), ff. 4V–5R;

H = Add. 12,173 (6th or 7th cent.), f. 4R–V.

All three stories are extant also in Greek, Latin, Coptic and Armenian versions:

[1] I have not been able to consult Urmia 193 and Alqoš, Notre Dame des Semences 249–251, which may also contain these passages.

[2] Reproduced by Benveniste Etudes 1, 305–306.

[3] In Vol. II, 1063–1066 (II, 328–330), Budge gives a separate translation of Bedjan's text, though it scarcely differs from his own.

Greek: F. Nau, Revue de l'orient chrétien 18 [1913], 139 (Story 1);[4] Berlin, Codex 1624 Phill., ff. 187–188 (Stories 2–3);[5]

Latin: J.-P. Migne, Patrologia Latina LXXIII, Paris 1849, 994–995 (1), 1011–1012 (2–3);

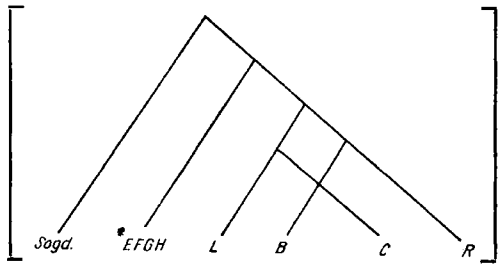
Coptic: M. Chaîne, Le manuscrit de la version copte en dialecte sahidique des «Apophthegmata Patrum», Cairo 1960, 52–53 (1), 60–62 (2–3) (Bibliothèque d'études coptes VI); translation ibid. 128 and 134–135;

Armenian: Vark' Srboc Haranc ew k'aλak'avarowt'iwnk' nocin . . . II, Venice 1855, 424 (1), 428–430 (2–3);[6] translation, L. Leloir, Paterica armeniaca a P. P. Mechitaristis edita (1855) nunc latine reddita IV, Louvain 1976, 100–101, 106–108 (CSCO/Subsidia LI).

In a number of instances (see below, pp. 135–136) the Sogdian text agrees with some or all of the Gk., Lat., Copt. and Arm. versions against the unanimous Syr. tradition. Since it may be taken for granted that the Greek, Latin and Coptic (though not necessarily the Armenian) will not reflect variants lately evolved during the history of the Syro-Sogd. tradition, these cases indicate that the Sogdian was translated from a Syr. text at least in some respects more archaic than the common source of 'Nānišo''s *Paradise* and the *Penqitā d-taš'yātā*. Its title may have been *Mam(l)le d-sābe* 'Conversations of the old men', as seems to be indicated in the margin of the Sogd. version, in agreement with that of the Latin collection in which these stories are found, the *Verba Seniorum*; but this might alternatively have been used as a term for the whole genre of *Apophthegmata Patrum* rather than as the title of a particular collection.

Amongst the Syr. MSS of 'Nānišo' (**BCLR**) the close relationship of **B** and **C** is shown by the fact that **C**, though it often agrees with **B** against **LR** or with **LR** against **B**, never agrees with **L** against **BR** or with **R** against **BL**. As for the relationship between **BC**, **R** and **L**, it is significant that the Sogdian by no means seldom agrees with **R** against **LB(C)**–proving a close relationship between **BC** and **L**–or with **L** against **RB(C)**–proving the same for **BC** and **R**. In other words, **B** and **C** represent a recension in which (at least) two MSS closely allied to **L** and **R** respectively have been conflated. Nothing seriously conflicts with this conclusion. There seems to be no case in which the reading of **B(C)** is intrinsically superior to that of **RL**. In two instances the Sogdian appears to agree with **B** against **LR**. (1) At 60R.9 the Sogdian probably (in view of the extent of the lacuna) does not translate '*ḥ*' 'brother', which is found in **EFGHLR** but not **B**. Here the Sogd. agrees not only with **B** but also with all the non-Syr. versions. The insertion of '*ḥ*' is therefore a Syr. innovation. Its omission in **B** may be regarded as accidental and the resulting regression to an older form of the text coincidental. (2) At 60V.16 the lacuna at the end of the line seems to require the restoration *[qt]*, apparently *~d-* as in **B**, omitted by **LR**. However, this correspondence would not be significant even if it were certain. Finally, only twice does **B** agree with any of the non-Syr. versions against **LR** and the Sogdian, in both cases with the Armenian only ('*bd*', below, p. 134 n. 148, = Arm.[B] *gorck'n* 'the works': Syr. **LR**, Sogd., Lat., Copt., Arm.[A] sg.; *ln*, ibid. n. 160, = Arm.[AB] *(z-)mez* '(to) us': Syr. **LR**, Sogd., Copt. om.). This is one tiny piece of evidence bearing on the complex question of the relationship between the Arm. and Syr. texts, which it is not intended to enter into here; there is no reason to suppose that **B** has preserved an older reading than **LR** and the Sogdian in either case.

Turning now to **EFGH**, one finds insufficient data in the short passage under consideration to define their mutual relationships. The four MSS are therefore treated as one unit in the stemma below. Their pla-



cing in this stemma results from the following considerations. By and large, **EFGH** offer a text similar to that of **BLR**, even where the Sogdian has a more original reading. If **L** and **R** disagree, **EFGH** support whichever agrees with the Sogdian. Thus **EFGH** occupy a position intermediate between the Sogdian and

[4] The version in the 11th-cent. compilation of Paulos Euergetinos, Συναγωγὴ τῶν θεοφθόγγων ῥημάτων . . . I/13 § 7 (=Vol. I p. 120 in the edition of Athens, 1957–) does not differ significantly.

[5] Not available to me. The third story is found also apud Euergetinos I/7 § 8 (=Vol. I p. 86 in the above-mentioned edition).

[6] Following tradition, I refer to the main text as 'Arm.[A]' and to that in the footnotes as 'Arm.[B]'. The latter derives from the Georgian version of Theophilos (see M. van Esbroeck, in: AB 93 [1975], 381–389), the relevant parts of which have not yet been published.

the Syriac of ʿNānišoʿ, though much closer to the latter. One example seems to fall outside this pattern, where (below, p. 134 n. 133) **EFGH** have *klh* 'all' (omitted by **BLR** and the Sogdian) in agreement with all the other versions (Gk. πᾶσα, Lat. *omnis*, Copt. *tērs*, Arm.[AB] *amenayn*); but this may be put down to a coincidental omission in both ʿNānišoʿ and the Sogdian.

The Syriac text given below is intended to approximate to the original text of ʿNānišoʿ. Accordingly it is based exclusively on **L** and **R**. Where these differ I have chosen whichever reading agrees best with **EFGH** and the non-Syr. versions. Punctuation and pointing is taken from **R** but somewhat simplified. The variants of **EFGH** on the one hand and **BC** on the other are given in the footnotes. **B** is cited from the printed text. Where I have referred to the 'Syriac' without further qualification the combined testimony of **L** and **R** is implied.

The list of 'Selected variants from the Greek, Latin, Coptic and Armenian versions' contains all cases where the Sogdian appears to agree more closely with one or more of these than with any Syr. text. No doubt some of the apparent correspondences are illusory. The Greek version of Story 3 has had to be cited from Euergetinos (cf. p. 125 n. 5 above).

Benveniste Etudes 1, 304–319 (referred to below merely as 'Benveniste'), translates and comments on both folios.

60R

1 w'btqn [yw](t*r*)[a]
2 [cn p]trty'. qt m'tnt (wyny)dw' dws' ydxšty'. yw wγ'mn'ḟc 't dbtyq
3 ['wt']qcyq. 't xwny wγ'mn'ḟc qbnq frqynnẏ m't pr xypθ žw'n.
4 ['t xwn](y) '(w)t'qcyq mzyx γmpn br'z bγẏ pynms'. ptyθ[b] ⟨'t⟩ myr' xwny wγ'm
5 [n'fc. 't](x)yd m'ṣy fθẏs[b] ẇynnẏ m't. 't wyn γrf fryštẏt qt pr (z)pry'q
6 [prypnt wyny](rw)'n wytwr qt b'w qw sm'ny pn. 't b' pdy(b)'rcy' cyw[c]
7 [pyd'r 't wxr 'y]s cn sm'ny qy ṃyd w'b(')z. qt ḟrqynnẏ m't. (yw)'r cn '
8 [wyny wγ'mn'fcy]' p(yd)'r ṃyntt qyw s' dbrw·····cywyd pyštrw w'ḟs
9 [ms xwny 'wt'qcy]q. 't 'ẏsnt wyny txmt' 't šw mṣypnt. 't wẏn
10 [xyd m'sy qt ny m](')tnt wyny nbnty fryštẏt 't wyd's 't w'pt pr ryt. 't
11 [nγ'd' br'z qw bγ](*w*) s' qt šy 'št'y(.). qt pr cwtẏ xwny wγ'm n'ḟc
12 ['yžn] b' qywyd γwbty' s'. 't 'yny qy w'ḟ γmpn m't
13 [wyny. 'yc cymnt 'y](š)ty ny b' qyw s'. 't wxr 'ẏs qyw s' c'nw ṃyd
14 [w'b'z. 'yny γmpn] bṛy c'nw pnt mrc( )b'. wyšqyr xypθ cymt'. 't ẇyn
15 [xypθ txmt' qt r'y]'znt. 't mšpn wyny m'n. 't xwn(ẏ) wγ'(m)[d] n'ḟc.

[a] in the margin by lines 1–5: .. cn mmll' dsb'.. [b] sic [c] cyw[y](*d*) less likely [d] altered from wγ'(f)-

60R[7]

ˡFrom the 'Mam(l)le d-sābe' ('Conversations of the old men').[8]

(Story 1) *A certain one of* the fathers says that there were two[9] neighbours of his in the desert, one a foreigner and ˡthe other[10] a native. And that foreigner was a little negligent ˡin his life,[11] *and that* native performed[12] great[13] labour before God. It happened that[14] that foreigner died;[15] (5) *and* that old man ˡwas a seer of visions,[16] and he saw many angels, that *they were leading his* soul in honour till he came unto heaven, and there was enquiry *concerning* him,[17] *and* ˡ*there came*[18] *a voice* from heaven which was saying: 'He was negligent, but because of *his being a foreigner* open ˡthe door[8] to him!' Afterwards *that native*[19] *also* fell asleep, and[20] his relations came[21] and buried him; and (10) *that old man* saw *that* there were *no* angels with him, and he marvelled and fell on (his)[22] face, and *he was entreating God* that he might show[23] him why[24] that foreigner *who was negligent* was *worthy* of that glory and this (man) who had ˡsuch labour[25] had nothing *of*[26] *these things*. And a voice came[27] to him, *saying*[28]: '*This ascetic*, when he ˡwas near to death,[29] opened his eyes and saw (15) *his relations, that* they were *weeping*, and his mind[30] was at rest;

[7] An asterisk (*) in the footnotes to the translation draws attention to a variant in the list on pp. 135–136. [8] Sy om. [9] Sy + 'brothers (who were)'. [10] Sy 'one'.* [11] Sy om.* [12] Sy 'had'. [13] Sy 'much'. [14] Literally 'and'. [15] Sy 'fell asleep'. [16] Sy 'used to see divine vi- sions'.* [17] Sy 'this (thing)'.* [18] Sy 'he heard'.* [19] Thus Sy **B**; **EFGHLR** + 'brother'. Cf. above, p. 125. [20] Thus Sy **LRB**; **EFGH** + 'all'. Cf. above, on this page. [21] Sy + 'to him'.* [22] Sy 'his'.* [23] Sy 'inform'. [24] Sy 'how'. [25] Sy 'these labours'. [26] Sy 'like'. [27] Sy 'became audible'.* [28] Sy 'which said'.* [29] Sy 'came to die'. [30] Sy 'soul'.

16 [ms c'f frqynny m']t. yw'r ¨dw ny ẓyn cn xypθ ¨dyty. 't w'ts 't r'y.
17 [cywyd pyd'r x]w[e] bγy šy θty'q θ'br·····yw br't 'wprs[f] ps' yw
18 [m'sw. 't]šy w'nw w'b. qt n'm xcy qy 'žẇt qt' qty'. w'nw
19 [w'b qyw]s' m'sẓ. γrb'msq zw yw br't qt (nm')c br'z yw r'θ.
20 ['](t *šym'r*)[ ]xypθ m'ny. qt ryž'z qt wyntẇ qt'nẓ q'ṛ(*y* r)w'n 't šyr(q)ty
21 rw'n c'nw nyžnt cn tmp'r. prywyd qt n̈' q'm xw bγy qt šw
22 'ntwxcn'q wnwtẓ 't šw prγ(y)žtẓ[g] cn wynẓ rwžt(y): c'nw nstẓ m't
23 yxypθ qlyθ. tys qyw s' yw wyrqy. 't ptycxš cn xypθ qwcẓ wyny
24 x'št. 't šw ¨γ'z x̌št ḅs'. 't šw xš wytwr( )qt[h] šyqr qw yw
25 qθ s'. 't šw p'rẓc wḍy 't xẓr[i] xwtẓ. c'nw nwqr nstẓ m't xyd( )br't
26 bẓqp'r cn qθy. (yw *γw*)mry'[j] qy m't wḍy yw n'mq̣yn mrty. 't žẇ
27 xrtẓ m't cyw pyd'r qt š['](n)wx swqb'r xcy. 't m['']t xw pr žwγ'
28 xwc: 't pcq(s)'z qw wyny nyž'mntẓ nγ'm s'. ty(qw)š xwny br't 't
29 ẓyn. γrf z(n)q'nt 'ẓšt qy pšt't[y]t b'znt qw wyny ftyr'mntw s'.
30 dmtyrt 't qndylẓt. 't mγwn (qθ) r'y'z cyw pyd'r. 't s't mrtxmẓt
31 m'r'wt m'tnt c'nw ṃyd w'b'z(*n*)t. qt bγy pr wyny dstw θbr'z
32 m'x ¨p[.] 't nγnw. 't pr w(yn)y (*d*)stw wyxš 't mž'w mγwn qθ.

[e] hardly m](s) [f] '(and the point below w?) probably inserted secondarily [g] altered from prγž- [h] altered from qw [i] hardly pẓr [j] or = =bry'

and that foreigner, *although he was negligent*, yet he saw no-one from his own people, and sighed and wept; *for this reason* God consoled him.'[31]

(Story 2) A brother asked an *old man and* said to him: 'Is it the name which gives life, or the work?' The old man *said* to *him:* 'I know a certain brother, that he was praying once, (20) *and he thought* in his mind ⌜that it was desirable: "Might I see[32] ⌜the soul of a sinner and the soul of a righteous (man)[33] when they depart from the body!"[34] Because God did not wish to make him unhappy and deprive him of his desire, while he was sitting in his cell a wolf came in to him, and ⌜took his clothes with its mouth,[35] and ⌜began to drag[36] him outside. And it dragged him until it brought (him)[37] to a certain (25) city, and it left him there[38] and itself[39] departed. Now while ⌜that brother[40] was sitting outside the city in a certain monastery—in which there was[41] a famous man, and the rumour had gone out concerning him: "He is an excellent monk", and he[42] was in grave sickness and was waiting for the hour of his departure—that brother looked and saw ⌜many different[43] things which were being made ready for ⌜his passing,[44] (30) torches[45] and candles;[46] and the whole city was weeping for him, and all[39] the people[47] were grieving, saying: "By means of him God used to give us ⌜water and bread,[48] and by means of him He saved and gave life to the whole city.

60V

1 qt (n)wqr ptyt't[a] wynẓ 'ẓc. swγtm'n m'x myrymq'. 't c(')[nw b']
2 nγ'm qt ptwyd'zq' xy(p)t[a] rw'n: tyqwš xwny (br)'t 't ẓyn. 't pšp't[y]
3 d([b])mwrty d'my γ'ṛy tys. 't ¨trync šẓ p'd' 'γrbn wyny dsty'. '[t]
4 ptyγwš xwny[c] br't wxr( )qt ṃyd w'b'z. qt ptš'dy ny qθ'(r)[t t'm']

[a] sic [b] meant to be cancelled [c] altered from γ-

60V

If then anything should happen to him we shall all die." And *when it was* time that he should ⌜deliver up his soul,[49] that brother looked and saw, and suddenly[50] the guardian of ⌜the realm of the dead[51] entered, and (there were) three-pronged pincers of fire in his hand, and that brother heard a voice,[52] that it was saying: "His soul did not give *me* rest, (5) not even for one moment;

[31] Sy +. . . [32] Sy ' "I would wish that I might see" '. [33] Sy 'the soul of a righteous (man) and the soul of a sinner'.* [34] Sy +'And'. [35] Sy 'took him in its mouth by his clothes'.* [36] Sy 'was dragging and removing'. [37] Sy 'him'. [38] Sy om.* [39] Sy om. [40] Sy 'he'.* [41] Sy 'dwelt'.* [42] Sy 'this (man)'.* [43] Sy 'the preparations of'. [44] Sy 'the event'. [45] Sy 'wax tapers'. [46] Sy +'which were being prepared and made ready for him'. [47] Sy +'also'. [48] Sy 'bread and water'. [49] See comm. [50] Sy 'behold!'. [51] Sy 'Sheol'. [52] Sy +'like this'.*

5 (w)yny rw'n ms ny zγ'm yw nγ'm. ms tγw z'ry n' sy'[pryw c'nw]
6 ¨syq'(wyn)y žw'n. 't tybr nwqr xyd 'ḏy qy wyn'ncy(q)[b' qywyd]
7 br't s' w'n' šẏ p'd' 'γrbn qywyd mrty žy'wr s['. 't šy]
8 (z)'(*ry*)'ẇ mšt'y γrf̣ nγ'm pyštrw ¨st wyny žw'n ['t cymnt]
9 (*p*š)ys'. tys xwny br't qw qθ s'. 't ẉyn yw wγ'[mn'fc br't qt]
10 pš'tẏ m't 'yzty xwžn'q. 't nẏ m't 'ḏy xwysm [bryny wyny 't]
11 wyžt' wnt' wyny nbnt yw mẏθ. 't wyny ftyr'mntẏ n(γ)['m wyn xyd br't]
12 gbry'yl 't myk'yl fryštẏt qt 'ẏsnt qyw s'. 't [nyd yw cn wyny]
13 xw'rnt qyr'n 't yw cn s'pt (q)yr'n(.) 't wyžt' wnt(n)[t c'nw nγ'd']
14 br'znt qw wyny rw'n s' 't q'm'z(n)t qt šw ¨[synt. 't c'nw xyd]
15 rw'n ny nm'(z)prγt tmp'r. w'nw w'b gbr'yl qw (m)[yk'yl s'. syn 't 's]
16 nwqr qšẏ wyny rw'n (q)t[d] trym. w'nw w'b qyw s'[myk'yl qt]
17 f̣rm'tw qty qw m'x s' cn m'x xypθ'wnt. qt pw x(*w*)c[y 't pw]
18 bž'xwtẏ šw nyšq'wẏm. 't cymnt pyd'r ny qt'wnymq' qt[šw pr]
19 γ'm nyšq'wẏm 't p'žγẏr nwqr my(k)'yl pr brzycq wxr '(*t*)[myd w'b]
20 qt cw frṃy cymyd rw'n pyd'(r q)t ny nmtysq nyžtẏ. 't w(x)r 'ẏs (q*y*)[w]
21 s' qẏt ṃyd w'b. qt n'y f̣(š'mnq)' dwyd 't šy wyn'. 't s't w'nt
22 qy sr'wnt dyw prw. w'n qt c'nw ptγwšt wšnty wxry xwc'w[e] nyžtyq'
23 't w'xznt 't nydnt γ(wr)s c'f̣ c'f̣. 't c'nw sr'w'znt mzγd 't
24 nyžy xyd rw'n. 't γ(w)ry b'z pr( )fryštẏty dstw 't sn' p(r)xwsnty' ·:·
25 w'b'znt cn ywt(r py)d'r cn m'syty. qt xyr( )yw r'θ qw yw qθ( )s' w'n qt
26 prẏθẏ xypθ dsty' 'rq. 't w'nw yty' 'ẏs(*q*)t (p)rẏs 't nyd yw
27 γ'mqynẏ dbry'(*q*)y pnt mrc m't. 't c'nw nstẏ swq'z tyqwš
28 't ẉyn šẇt spẏẏ 't šẇt b'rẏt. 't wyžp(γw)nẏt m'tnt šyr 't
29 d'r'znt xypθ dsty' ¨trẏnẏt dstb'(rẏ)t. 't c'nw prẏsnt qywyd( )x'ny
30 dbrw s'. p'rycnt spẏẏ ḅqp'r. '(*t*) t(y)snt xw dbtyqy[y](*w* wy)'qy.
31 't c'nw ẉyn wšnty[a] xwny xwžn'q.(.) p'žγẏr t'wnc wxr 't ṃyd( )w'b.

·:· ·:· ·:· w ·:· ·:· ·:·

[d] altered [e] perhaps xwc'ẇ

(therefore) do you too have no pity *on him when* you shall take his life!"[53] And[39] now that person who *had become* visible to *that* brother inserted those three-pronged pincers[54] into the heart of that man,[55] ⌜*and* showed *him* pain[56] for a long time. Afterwards[57] he took his life.[53]

'*And* after *these (things)* that brother entered the city and saw a certain foreign *brother, that* (10) he was cast (out) in the street[58] ill, and there was no-one *taking* care *of him, and* he stayed with him for one day, and *at the time* of ⌜his passing[59] *that brother saw* ⌜the angels[38] Gabriel and Michael, that they came ⌜to him,[60] and *one sat down on*[61] *his* right side and one on[61] (his)[62] left side, and they stayed making *entreaty* to his soul, and they were desiring that *they might take* it. *And since* ⌜*that* (15) soul[63] was not consenting[64] to[65] leave the[66] body Gabriel said to *Michael:* "*Lift up and take* his soul now, that we may depart." *Michael* said to him: ⌜"It was ordered us[67] by our Lord that we should remove it without pain *and without*[68] suffering, and therefore we cannot remove[69] *it by* force." And[68] then Michael called out in a loud voice, and[70] *he said:* (20) "What do you command concerning this soul, (in) that it does not consent to[65] come out?" And a voice came to *him*, which said: "Behold, I shall send David and his harp and all those who sing with him, so that when it hears the sweetness of their voice it will come out." And they came down, and ⌜sat all around,[71] and as they were singing[72] ⌜that soul[63] leapt up and came out, and it was exulting in ⌜the angels'[73] hand(s), and ascended with joy.' (25)

(Story 3) They used to say concerning one of the old men that he once went to a certain city[74] so that he might sell the work of his hands, and ⌜it so chanced that[75] he ⌜came and[76] sat at the door[77] of a certain rich man who was near to death, and as he was sit-

[53] Sy 'soul'. [54] Sy + 'in his hand'.* [55] Sy + 'who was dying'.* [56] Sy 'while torturing him'.* [57] Sy 'And then'. [58] Sy + 'and'.* [59] Sy 'the departure of his soul'.* [60] Sy 'after his soul'. [61] Literally 'from'. [62] Sy 'his'. [63] Sy 'it'.* [64] Sy 'willing'. [65] Sy 'that it should'. [66] Sy 'its'. [67] Sy ' "We were ordered" '. [68] Sy om. [69] Sy 'compel'.* [70] Sy 'while'. [71] Sy 'surrounded it'. [72] Sy + 'hymns'. [73] Sy 'Michael's'. [74] Sy 'one of the cities'.* [75] Literally 'the chance so came that'; Sy 'as if by chance'. [76] Sy om.* [77] Sy + 'of the house'.*

ting he looked and saw black horses and[78] black riders, and they were very terrible, and they were holding in their hands staffs of fire. And when they reached the door of that[79] house (30) they left[80] the[81] horses outside and entered both together. And when that sick (man) saw them, he shouted out a mighty cry, and[70] he said: '*Lord, help me!*' . . .

61R

(the upper half of the page missing)

16 (*q*)t'w(n)t(.)[ ](t)[

17 prywyd qt swxsc' xcy bγ'nyq pdq' cn wyny cymty' pynms'.

18 cymnt pyd'r fryt̤ty (p)šys' swdym̤. p' pr(y)w γ'mq̤ynt qt(n)t

19 zprtt ptrt'. 't f̤ryt't qt'wnt qt twžt qw γryw s' qt[a]

20 s'cy mycy' 't qw bγw s' wyny xypθ 'wnẇ n'x wyny γwb=ty'

21 (br)'t[b] c'nw pcprty γrb'qy' pr mrtxmw ptry[c] c'nw nyẓ̤y

22 mrtxm̤y bγy pšy(*s*')[ ]pr(f̤)rštw žy'wr. pcprty pryw bγ'=nyq

23 šyr̤'qty'.[d] 't (w*yn*y)[šw]'mc (z)'wrq̤yn bwt pr zprt w't. 't c'nw

24 (žyš)t(') ny'sy wfcmbd wyd'γty ptb̤ydty pr w'tmync nwy̤ mrtxmy̤

25 nwc šw'mc. q̤y sqyp'r xcy cn fcmbdy ry̤m. 't θf̤yžt yxy=pty[e]

26 m'ny šy'tr šw'mc nyznty' br't[c] fr(y)t't pr( )cw γrb't bwt ptry[c]

27 p(r)qty̤' qrwn'mntẇ 't pr w'tm(ync) š(m)'r' 't pr wrny̤ (pt)z'n br't[c]

28 qd'my̤t x(n)t qtyt ptry[c] bγ'[nyqt frm](*'n*)ty wyc(y)'t d'r['mnt](y) pr

29 zprcyqy' br't[c] 't wyspy q[y prγ](š)ty̤ xcy cn qty̤' m[s p](rγ)š(ty)[f]

30 xcy cn f̤r(y)t'ty̤ ptry[c] ny qt'[bw]t[g] qt xwny̤ q̤y bγ'n[yq xcy]

..:.. ..:. w ..:.. (..:..)[..:..]

[a] q[y]t not entirely impossible [b] in red ink; altered from c- [c] in red ink [d] the points (') replace the suprascript point of r [e] sic [f] not p](rx)š(ty) [g] the space is insufficient for qt'[bw]t (as two words)

61V

(the upper half of the page missing)

15]==[ ]

16 c(n ====. d*wr'wy̤*)c(n)[y](p'q. ')t (pry̤*ž'mn*)t(y̤)cn (*sq*'m'nq)[y]'. 't w'(r)c

61R

(Questions and answers) ⌜'. . . can . . .[82] *and this is* because the judgement of God is lifted up before his eyes. Therefore let us run after love, for[83] in it the holy fathers became rich, and love[84] is able to pay ⌜to the self (20) what is (its) due[85] and to God (what is) His own, that is, His glory.'

Brother: 'How does wisdom alight upon a man?' Father:[86] 'When a man goes out[87] after God with an honest heart,[88] divine[89] Grace rests upon him and his conduct becomes strong in the Holy[89] Spirit; and when he hates the world, then he perceives the[90] new man's (25) new way of life of the spirit, which is above the impurity of the world,[91] and acquires[92] in his mind the humility of a[93] more excellent way of life.'

Brother: 'By what can love be known?' Father: 'By the performance of works, and by the meditation of the spirit, and by the knowledge of faith.'

Brother: 'What are works?' Father: 'The keeping *of the commandments of* God in purity.'[94]

Brother: 'And is everyone *who* is *deprived* of work[95] *also*[89] deprived of love?' Father: '*It is* not possible that he who *is* of God *should not love* . . .'

61V

Brother: 'And what is inner humility?' Father: 'The humility of love, peace, concord, purity, tranquillity, calm, subjection, faith, remoteness from *envy*, ⌜*remoteness* from anger, and fleeing from arrogance, and hatred of vainglory, and

[78] Sy + 'their'. [79] Sy 'the'. [80] Sy 'stood'.* [81] Sy 'their'.* [82] Sy '. . . but because there is no love in him, that he might flee from iniquity and await the promised life, he always contrives sin'. [83] Sy '(in) that'. [84] Sy 'it'. [85] Sy 'to (human) nature (what is) its own'. [86] Sy 'Old man' (so throughout). [87] Sy + 'to go'. [88] Sy 'mind'. [89] Sy om. [90] Sy 'that'. [91] Sy 'human abode'. [92] Sy 'contemplates'. [93] Sy + 'future and'. [94] Sy 'the purity of the inner man, together with the labour (**R** labours) of the outer man'. [95] Sy pl.

17 γwbty'. žyštẇc. 't pt(wp)'zn[y]':[a] 't swd'mnty w'tmyc ptz'n pšys'.
18 't[ ](rw)'ny[b] ywx'y'mnty šy' ¨br'mnty qy cn tmp'r. 't 'xz'mnty
19 m(z)yx wyd's 't pdqy' šy' ¨br'mnty qy c(y)w pšys'. (p)'dy 'wšty'mnty
20 qy wyžpγwny xt(y')q w'dy pynms'. c'nw myd 'yšt d'rt mrtxmy
21 zrxstyq' br't[c] swqnt qy q'mnt[d] 't ny bnt zrxtyt ptry[c] sty[e]
22 p'š qy 'dyq myc xcy. sty qy cn nwryžy[.](*'t*)[ ]sty qy cn mrtxmyty
23 ẉyn pyd'r. 't sty qy cn w'rc γwbty' pyd'r. 't st[y](q*y*)cn šqwrθy' pyd'r(.)
24 't sty qy cn nm'nyqrqy' pyd'r. 't sty qy cn bγ'nyq f(ry)= '(w'.)c(')nw
25 s't y'nt yw xnt pr byqp'rcyq ẉyn. yw'r (*y*w)xstyt xnt pr ptz'n. 't
26 pcγ(ž)nyq[f] yw xcy xyd qy šẇt wyzrw pr fryt'ty r'θ 't ptwp'zny'
27 wnty p(r *w*)[ys]pw 't ny wγš(t)y pr x(y)p(θ) zpry'q. br't[c] c'nw qt'
28 wnym(q)[' q]t '(w)z'mym γ[n]t['q rwžty]' ptry[c] pr šyṛyt 'yšty šy'
29 ¨(br')[mntw](.)qy pcp'n swqnt[br']t[c] c'nw nyžt'[g] bwtq' mrtxmy
30 [cn fcmbd](*y*) ptry[c] c'nw pryct (s)['](*t*) xypθ ptš'dty' 't swdt c'(f)y(d)

[a] altered, perhaps from ptwp'znq- [b]](žw)'ny less likely [c] in red ink [d] or b'mnt [e] in the inner margin by lines 21–22: m(*s*) (cursive scrawl, reading very uncertain) [f] altered from pcγr-? not pcγ('z)nyq [g] ž badly written and deleted, the whole word being written again in the margin

patience, and hastening after the knowledge of the spirit, and remembrance of the separation of the soul from the body and the great marvel of the resurrection, and remembrance of the judgement after it, the standing (20) before the terrible throne of judgement: when a man has these things he will be saved.'[96]

Brother: ⌜'Are there (any) who desire (to be saved) and are not saved?'[97] Father: 'There is the fast which is habitual;[98] ⌜there is (that) which is from disinclination (to eat);[99] *and* there is (that) which is on account of the sight ⌜of men;[100] and there is (that) which is ⌜on account of[101] vainglory; and there is (that) which is on account of distress; and there is (that) which is on account of repentance; and there is (that) which is from the love of God.[102] While (25) all[103] these are one ⌜in outward appearance,[104] yet they are distinct in[105] knowledge, and[106] (only) one is[107] acceptable, (namely) he who walks straightly on the way of love, and ⌜exercises patience in *everything*,[108] and does not take pleasure in his honour.'[109]

Brother: 'How shall ⌜we be able[110] to condemn[111] *evil*[100] *desire*?' Father: 'By the recollection of the good things ⌜which are to come.'[112]

Brother: 'How shall a man ⌜be able to[100] go forth *from the world*?' Father: 'When he shall leave ⌜*all* his gratification[113] and make haste, in so far as *he is able, to perform the commandments, for he who does not do thus will fall.*' . . .

[96] Sy 'a soul which is deprived of the fervour of anger; (**RBN** +and far from a state of arrogance;) and remote from (**LBN** +love of) vainglory; and full of patience like the great deep; and whose motion is enticed after the knowledge of the spirit; and before whose eyes is depicted the (**R** its) departure from the body, and the greatness of the marvel of the resurrection, and the exaction of judgement after the resurrection, and its standing before the terrible throne of God; (that soul) will be saved'. [97] Sy 'Is there (anyone) who fasts and is not saved?'. [98] Sy 'a habit'. [99] Sy 'and there is (that) which is from desire (to fast); and there is (that) which is from compulsion'. [100] Sy om. [101] Sy 'from love of'. [102] Sy 'the spirit'. [103] Sy 'every single one of' (but the predicate pl.!). [104] Sy 'outwardly in the mind'. [105] Sy +'the matter of'. [106] Sy +'while the way (of each) in respect of the body is one (and the same), yet'. [107] Sy +'wholly'. [108] Sy 'bears his burden with spiritual patience'. [109] Sy +. . . [110] Sy 'it be possible (for us)'. [111] Sy 'conquer'. [112] Sy 'of the spirit; (**L** +for) if the desire of the good things which are to come does not obliterate those of the present a man cannot be victorious . . .'. [113] Sy 'the gratification of all his desire'.

Commentary

60R

4 *ptyθ ⟨'t⟩ myr'* 'it happened and (that foreigner) died' is a literal rendering of the Syr. construction.– Both *ptyθ* and the 3 sg. subj. *ptyt't* (V1) translate forms of Syr. *√gdš* 'chance'. Since it is difficult to explain the alternation between *t* and *θ* in this word as due to any phonological cause, a purely graphical explanation has been offered (above, p. 83). That suggestion, according to which it is *ptyθ-* which is an irregular spelling for *ptyt-* rather than vice versa, is compatible with Benveniste's connexion of *ptyt-* with S. *yt-* 'go' etc. (on which see further Benveniste 1964). On the possible implications of the spelling *ptyθ-* see below, p. 184.

5 On *fθy̰s* 'vision' see Sims-Williams 1983, 50.

6 *pdy(b)'rcy'*: on the non-existence of C. *pdyb'dcy'*, M. *pδyβ'δcy'* (quoted by Benveniste) see Henning, Paris Texts 732. Mug *pδy-β'rcyh* (B9, R11) was not recognized by Livšic.

8 *p̰yntt*: 2 pl. impv. in agreement with Gk. ἀνοίξατε, Lat. *aperite*, Copt. *ouōn* (inf. = impv. sg. or pl.), Arm.[AB] *baçēk*. Syr. *pṭḥw*[114] is ambiguous as between 2 pl. impv. and 3 pl. pf.; Budge translated it as the latter.

11 *'št'y̰(:)*: in C2 the 3 sg. opt. ending is written *-ṯ* rather than *-y* if the verbal stem ends in *y* (see Schwartz STSC revisions 10, and note that all examples are pointed as indicated here). Another way of avoiding **-yy* was to write *'št'ij'* as in C3 = TiiiB35, R3, 6 (for the function of the points cf. p. 108 above).

15 *mšpn*: see Schwartz STSC 11–12.

16 *yw'r ~ 'l'* 'but' in the sense 'yet, nevertheless'.–The pres. stem *'wts* is attested by the 3 sg. pres. *'wtst*, C29 = TiiiB61b, R(?)13. On the etymology see Benveniste and Weber 1970, 159.

17 *θty'q θ'br ~ lbb* 'heartened, encouraged, consoled', cf. Bailey, Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books, Oxford ²1971, xxxii, who interprets *θty'q* as 'strength' to the root of Gk. σθένος 'id.' etc., which has no certain cognates in Iranian. I prefer to understand *θty'q* as 'comfort' and to assign it to the root *θam-* (attested by Av. *θamnahvant-* 'solicitous', possibly also in Choresmian, cf. Schwartz 1970b, 292 n. 13).

20 *(šym'r) . . . qt ryž'z qt wyntẇ ~ 'tḥšb . . . d-ṣ̰b' hwyt d-'ḥz'* 'he thought . . .: "I would wish that I might see . . ."'. Once again (cf. above, p. 54) the Sogdian translator has overlooked the modal force of the Syr. perfect, interpreting *ṣ̰b' hwyt* (*vellem*, cf. Nöldeke, Syr. Gramm. p. 208) in the more usual way as an imperfective past tense (*volebam*). Since the past tense makes no sense in the direct speech he has been forced to change the verb into the impersonal *ryž'z* and to open direct speech with the following verb *wyntẇ*. There is no justification for the interpretation of *wyntẇ* as a 3 sg. form (proposed by Benveniste Etudes 2, 120–121, and accepted by MacKenzie BSTBL II, 43). At first sight it might appear to be 1 sg. opt. mid. ('precative'), cf. the unique M. *šnyštw* (perhaps merely a mistake for the expected **šnyšytw*), M 137, V5, apud GMS § 807, but an irrealis would be more to be expected after *ryž'z qt* (cf. *q'm* + *qt* + irr. in lines 21–22) and there is in fact no difficulty in interpreting *wyntẇ* as 1 sg. irr. (see Sims-Williams forthcoming b).

21 *n̈' q'm*: the spelling *n̈'* for *ny* is so atypical for this MS (cf. p. 108 above) that it is probably the result of a correction of an original **n'-q'm* «construit verbalement» as Benveniste suggests (on this construction see p. 63 above).

22 The meaning 'deprive', established for C. *pryyž/pryšt* by Benveniste, suits also B. *pryʼyz/pryʼšt*, of which Henning's translation 'rob, plunder, strip' (Paris Texts 724) is nearly correct.

23 *qlyθ̰'*, obl. of C. *qlyθ'* (C67 = TiiiB61[1], V12, in STSC 46) < Syr. *qlyt'* (f.) 'cell'. An alternative pointing for the obl. of this word is *q̈lyθ'*, Fragment B, R30. Cf. also *(kw)rḫ̰'*, 94R.23, obl. of C. *kwrḫ'* (C29 = TiiiB61b, R(?)8, cited by Hansen, Acta Orientalia 30 [1966], 96) < Syr. *kwrḫ'* (m.) 'id.'. Both *-̰'* and *ẍxxx'* indicate final *-ē*, cf. below, p. 190. It appears that, although there was no objection to declining the Syr. words according to a Sogd. pattern (in this case, that of heavy stems in *-'*, i.e. feminine nouns in original **-ākā*, cf. GMS § 971) and consequently (one may presume) altering their gender on occasion, this scribe at least was reluctant to alter the Syr. spellings, hence the retention of the un-Sogdian letters *l*, *k*, *ḫ*, and the artificial expedients employed to reconcile the Syr. final *-'* with the Sogd. obl. ending *-ē*.

26 *(yw)mry' (~b-dyr')*, loc. of C. *ywmr'* (C3, cited by Hansen Literatur 99) < Syr. *'wmr' [ʿŭmrā]* (m.) 'monastery', which, in contradistinction to the heavy stems discussed in the preceding note, is treated as a light stem *ywmr- [yŭmr-]* (f.). The same explanation would suit *ywmry'* in C67 = TiiiB61[1], V11, STSC 46 (differently Schwartz ibid. 51). Similarly, the attested forms of the word for 'psalm', acc. sg. *mzmwr'*

[114] Thus **EFGHR**; **LB** *pṭḥ* (2 sg. impv. or 3 sg. pf.).

(C22, cited below, p. 170), pl. *mzmwrt*, °*ty* (C2), indicate that Syriac *mzmwr'* (m.) has been taken over as a f. light stem *mzmwr- [mazmŭr-]* (wrongly STSC 143).

30 *dmtyrt*: cf. Henning Sogdica 40.

60V

2 Sogd. 'deliver up his soul' ~Syr. *γšlm* 'die'. The Sogd. translation hints at another sense of *γšlm* 'deliver up'.

3 *šy̤ p'd' 'γrbn* (also in line 7): although *'γrbn* must be a f. noun (thus Benveniste), *šy̤-p'd'* cannot be the f. form of an adj. *šy̤-p'dy* (f. **šy̤-p'dc*) or **šy̤-p'd* (f. **šy̤-p'd*). Even less can *p'd'* be a numv. as suggested in DQ 100 on 115. It is therefore unlikely that the literal meaning of the compound was 'three-footed' as both Benveniste and I assumed; its second term must be a noun *p'd'* distinct from *pāδ/pāδĕ* 'foot' in form and probably also in meaning. The Syriac has 'three-pronged', literally 'three-toothed'. Cf. perhaps Khot. *pātīvā-*, later *pāyvā-* 'claw, paw' (KT 6, 178–179)?–On *'γrbn* see further Benveniste Etudes 3, 34.

4 *qθ'(r)[t]*: Benveniste's difficulty here is caused by a careless error in Budge's translation of the Syriac.

6 *žw'n*, translating *npš'* 'soul', is not merely a copyist's error for *rw'n*, as the same correspondence *žw'n* ~ *npš'* occurs again in line 8.–*tybr*: impf. of **tbr-* = Yaγn. *divár-* 'insert, introduce', Av. *aitibara-*, Chor. *cβr-* 'insert, inflict' (MacKenzie 1970, 551).

10 *'yzty*: Syr. *šwq'* means both 'square, market-place' and 'street'.–On *xwžn'q* see below, p. 133.

11 On *wyžt' wn-* see above, p. 99.

16 *nwqr qṣ̌y* ~ *mkyl* 'therefore, then, now'. Benveniste's suggestion that *qṣ̌y* may be a verbal form is unnecessary.

23 *γ(wr)s c'[c'[*: see Schwartz STSC 50.–*mzγd*: the verb *'zγd* may be indirectly attested at ST ii/1.21, where Lentz read *'zbdnt*, noting that *b* was corrected from *γ*.

28 The placing of *šyr* at the end of the clause is in imitation of the Syriac, as also in 87V.4.

30 *xw-dbtyqy* ~ *tr̈yhwn* 'both'. This meaning suits also *xwdbtyq* (ST ii/5.15), S. *xwδβty* (L83a.4, cf. Sims-Williams 1981a, 238), *xwty δβty* (P2.910–911). This last form proves that Henning's etymology (apud GMS § 1336[1]) is correct, despite the separation here into *xw* + *dbtyqy*.

61R

17 *cn . . . pynms'*: literal translation of Syr. *mn qdm*. Likewise in C1.404–405 (= A14–15) *cn . . . pyrnm-s'r* ~ *qdm* implies a variant **mn qdm*.

19–20 *qt'wnt qt twžt qw γryw s' qt s'cy mycy' 't qw bγw s' wyny xypθ* ~ *mṣ' pr'* (**R** *d-nprw'*) *l-kyn' dylh. w-l-'lh' dylh* 'is able to pay to (human) nature (what is) its own and to God (what is) His own'. The Syriac has been misunderstood both by Budge and by Guillaumont (apud Benveniste); MacKenzie CSN 120–121 has been led astray by these authorities. The abstract *s'cy-mycy'* 'what is due' (~ Syr. *zdq'* 'id.', 102V.20, cf. below, p. 178 n. 63) corresponds to the first *dylh* '(what is) its own',[115] the second being translated literally by *wyny xypθ*. The real difficulty lies in the *qt* which precedes *s'cy mycy'*. There is no corresponding word in the Syr. text, nor is its presence explicable from the point of view of either Sogd. or Syr. syntax. To assume that *qt* stands for *qy* (cf. above, p. 84) does not improve matters. Probably it is to be deleted as a simple scribal error.

21 *nyẓ̌y*: 3 sg. opt. (giving normal Sogd. syntax) or impf. (~ Syr. *npq*, pointed as pf.)?

22 *(ẓ)rštw* (~*špy'* 'pure, simple, sincere'), acc. of **frštу* = B. *fr'št'y* 'erect', Dhy. 26, pp. of C. *fry̤ž* (~ *γtrṣ* 'make straight'), ST i 31.14, B. *fr'yž* 'id.', Dhy. 84, whose past stem appears to be attested–with a different semantic development–also in M. *frštṯ-*, S. *βr'št-* 'straighten out' = 'settle, conclude' (Tale A, 2, and Mug A14.26, see Gershevitch 1962, 89), whence 'finish' (BBB c37, cf. also *n'-frštṯ* 'unfinished' ~ *'gyrd* 'not done', Sogdica a14).[116]

23 *šyṙ'qty'*: the points ˙ *(zqāpā)* indicating *ā*, which are redundant here beside the mater lectionis ', may have been intended as an additional warning against reading *širəktyă*, cf. the alternative form *šyrqty'*. Since the internal ' of *šyr'qty'* represents a long vowel it is not likely to be in origin merely the prothetic

[115] This is not to say that the Sogdian necessarily translates Syr. *dylh*. The insertion in square brackets in Budge's translation of **B** ('to pay back [what is due] to its nature and its God') may indicate the existence of a MS variant *zdq'* or the like, cf. above, p. 124.

[116] In Ps. 5.9, STSC 131, line 12, *p(')št[= = =] δ'r* ~ *trwṣ* 'make straight' (cf. ibid. 137) should perhaps be read **p(r)št['y] δ'r*.

vowel of M. *'k(r)ty'*, B. *'krtyh* (Gershevitch 1945, 141); more probably it is the ending of the nom. sg. f.[117] The existence beside *šyrqty'/šyr'qty'* of the superficially parallel pair *šyrqty/šyr'qty* 'saint'–a compound in which a f. ending has no place–seems to create an obstacle to this interpretation. However, the distribution of the variants must be taken into account. In M. and C. texts[118] the forms *širāktyă* on the one hand and *širəktĕ* on the other are overwhelmingly preferred, *širəktyă* occurring only three times (BBB f38; ST ii/1.10, 3.47; cf. also B. *šyrkrtyh*, Dhu. 182, 230) and *širāktĕ* only twice (Kawān E16; ST i, 46.6). It therefore seems likely that this last form at least is the result of a contamination of one compound by the other.[119]

24 *pr* ~ *b-*, imitating the Syr. construction.

25 *θṭyžt* ~ *rn'* 'considers'. Possibly *rn'* has been misread as *ġn'* 'acquires', cf. *tb(y)ž* ~ *γqn'* in ST i, 12.15. Differently Benveniste.

26 *γrb't bwt* ~ *mtyd'* 'may/shall/can (etc.) be known'. Since the Syriac pres. participle passive can have a potential sense the translation need not be regarded as inaccurate. But cf. below on V29.

29 *zprcyqy'* < **zprtcyqy'* does not obviously differ in meaning from *zprty'*, cf. the redundant *-ycq* in *brzycq* etc. (see below, p. 149).–*m[s]*: there is no corresponding word in the Syr. text. Another possible restoration would be *m[yd]*, used as described in Sims-Williams 1976, 57 n. 66.

30 *qt'[bw]t*: unfortunately there is no clear evidence whether the past stem and auxiliary verb of the intrans. potential were compounded in C2, Texts 2–13, as is the case with the trans. potential (above, p. 76). The writing of *qt' bwt* as two words at 31R.18 is not conclusive.

61V

16–21 In the Syriac text the construction changes after 'remoteness from envy'. The Sogdian retains the construction (list of abstract nouns) of the preceding part of the answer. The last clause of the Syriac is somewhat baldly and obscurely expressed: *w-mtprq'* '(that soul) will be saved' (see Nöldeke, Syr. Gramm. § 339 with addenda, on *w-* introducing an apodosis). The Sogdian puts this more clearly: 'when a man has these things he will be saved.'[120]

21 *(q)'mnt* ~ *ṣ'm* (sg.) 'fasts'. Since the Sogd. text has plurals throughout the sentence one may assume that the translation is based on a variant ܨܝܡܝܢ *ṣymyn* (pl.) misread as ܨܒܝܢ *ṣbyn* '(they) wish'.

22 *nwryžy* 'lack of desire (to eat)' may correspond to Syr. *rgt'* 'desire (to fast)' rather than to *'ṣyn'* 'compulsion' as it was taken by Benveniste.

26 *pcγ(ž)nyq* 'acceptable'. For the formation (pres. stem + *-nyq*) cf. GMS § 997. The pres. stem in question might be an unattested **pačγež-*, passive to *pcγ'z*, or more likely **pcγš-* (< *pcxš-*, cf. above, p. 67 on *wγš-* < *wxš-* etc.) with voicing of *š* before *n* as in *xwžn'q* 'ill' (*žn* < *čn*, cf. Benveniste Etudes 1, 319, probably via *šn*, cf. GMS § 261), but unfortunately the reading is not entirely certain. If, as appears to be the case, the scribe first wrote *pcγr-*, this may have been the beginning of **pcγrbnyq*, cf. B. *pcγrβ-*.

xyd qy ~ Syr. **R** *hẇ d-* 'he who'. In DQ 96 with n. 14 I was misled by the erroneous *hẏ d-* in Bedjan's text.

29 *nyžt' bwtq'* 'shall be able to go forth' is a rather free translation of *ṅpq*, since the Syr. pres. participle active has no potential sense.

[117] Cf. *rwxšn'γrδmn*. The obl. *šyry'kty'y*, BBB 627 (written in one word, as Henning states in a footnote) can be interpreted as *šyry'* (gen. f.) + *'kty'y*.

[118] The texts in S. script are unclear on this point, since the usual spelling (*šyr'k-*) is ambiguous.

[119] On the second part of the compound *šyr'qty'* see Sims-Williams 1981c, 17.

[120] On the remarkable similarity between the Sogd. phrase and that inserted by Budge in his translation of **B** ('[If the soul hath these things] redemption shall be unto it') see above, p. 124. On Sogd. *mrtxmy* as a translation of Syr. *npš'* 'soul; person' see below, p. 176.

Syriac text

Ad f. 60

Story 1 (**EFGH-LR-B**)

[121]'ṁr 'nš mn 'bẖt'. d-'yt hw' tr̈yn ʿ'ḥ' šbbwhy b-mdbr̈. ḥd 'ksny' w-ḥd mnh d-'tr'. ⌜hẇ dyn[122] 'ksny' 'ytwhy hw' ⌜qlyl b-[123]mhmynwt'. hẇ dyn br 'tr̈. sgy 'ml'[124] 'yt hw' lh lwt 'lh'. gdš dyn w-škb hẇ 'ksny'. w-hw sb' ⌜ḥz' hw' ḫzw' ʿ'lhy'[125]. w-ḥz' m̈l'k' šgy'' d-mzyḥyn npšh 'dm' d-mṭ'[126] l-šmy'. w-hwt b'ṭ'[127] 'l hd'.

[121] **EFGH** + 'l (**F** + 'ḫ') 'yḥ̈dy' 'kšny'; **R** margin + 'l ḥy d-sgy mytr' 'ksnwyw t'(!) [122] **L** w-hẇ [123] **L** b-qlyl [124] **R** pl. [125] **LB** ḥż' hw' ḥẑwn' 'lhÿ'; **E** ḥz' ḥzẅ' 'lḧy' hw' [126] **LB** d-mṭt [127] **L** tb't'

w-šmʿ[128] ⌈ql' mn šmy'[129] d-'ṁr. ⌈mhmyw mn[130] mhm' hw'. mṭl dyn 'ksnywth[131] ptḥw[132] lh. w-mn btrkn škb 'p hẇ 'ḥ'[129] br 'tr'. w-'t' lwth[133] gnsh w-ʿpyh. w-ḥz' hẇ sb' d-lyt hw' lwth m̈l'k̇. w-tmh. w-npl ʿl ⌈pwhy. w-mtkšp[134] hw' l-'lh'[135] d-nwdʿḥ. d-'ykn'[136] hẇ 'ksny' d-'ytwhy hw' mhmyn' šẇ' l-ḥẇ šwbḥ'. w-hn' d-hlyn ʿm̈l' 'yt hw' lḥ. w-l'[137] mdm d-'yk hlyn hẇ' lwth.[138] w-'štmʿ lh ql' d-'ṁr. hn' d-ʿm̈lwḥẏ kd 't' d-nškḇ. pṭḥ ⌈ynwhy[139] w-ḥz' b̈ny gnsh d-bkyṇ.[140] w-'ttnyḥt npšh. hẇ dyn 'ksny'⌉ 'pn[141] mhm'[142] hẇ. 'l' w-l' 'nš mn dylh ḥz'. w-'ttnḥ[143] w-bk'. ⌈mṭl-hn' 'lh' lbbh·:·[144] . . .

Story 2 (**LR-B**)

'ḥ' š'l l-sb' ḥd[145] w-'ṃr lh. d-šm'[146] 'ytwhy[147] d-m'ḥ' 'w ʿbd'.[148] 'ṁr lh sb'. ydʿ 'n' 'ḥ' ḥd d-mṣl'[149] hw' b-zbn. w-'tḥšb[150] b-rʿynḥ.[151] d-ṣb' hwyt d-'ḥz' npšh d-zdyq' w-npšh d-ḥṭy' m' d-m̈šnyn[152] mn pgr'. w-mṭl d-l' ṣb' 'lh' d-nʿyqywhy w-nglzywhy mn rgtḥ. kd ẏtb b-qlyth.[153] ʿl lwth d'yb'. w-lbkh b-pwmh b-m̈'nwhy. w-g'r hw'[154] w-mpq[155] lh lbr. w-ngdh[156] ʿdm' d-'wblh lwt mdynt' ḥd'. w-šbqh w-šny. kd hkyl ẏtb hw' lbr mn mdynt'. b-dyr' ḥd'[157] d-ʿṁr hw' bḥ 'nš d-'yt hw' ʿlwhy ⌈šm': w-npyq hw' ʿlwhy[156] ṭ'b' d-yḥydy' hw mytr': w-'ytwhy[158] hw' hẇ hn' b-kwrhn' ʿzyz': w-msk' hw' l-šʿt' d-mpqnḥ. ḥ'r hw'[156] 'ḥ' hẇ w-ḥz' twq̈n' d-ṣb̈wt' d-m̈ṭybn[159] lh l-swʿrn. qr̈ywn' w-q̈ndyl' d-mʿtdyn w-mṭybyn lh. w-klḥ mdynt' bky' hwt mṭlth w-'nšwt' twb 'byl' hwt kd 'mr. d-'lh' b-'ydh ẏhb hw' ln lḥm' w-m̈y'. w-b-'ẏdwhy prq w-'ḥy[160] l-klḥ mdynt'.[161] 'n hkyl ngdš lh mdm kln mytynn. kd dyn hw' ʿdn' d-nšlṃ. ḥ'r hw' ⌈hẇ 'ḥ'[162] w-ḥz'. w-h' nṭwr' d-šywl ʿl.[163] w-klbt' d-nwr' b-'ydh d-tlt šn̈nn.[164] w-šmʿ 'ḥ' hẇ ql' d-'yk hn' d-'ṁr d-l' 'nyḥtny npšh 'p-l' ḥd ʿdn'. 'p-l. 'nt[165] trḥm ʿlwhy m' d-nsb 'nt npšh. 'ḥld hkyl[165] hẇ hẇ d-'tḥzy lh[165] l-'ḥ' hẇ ⌈klbt' hẏ[166] d-tlt šn̈nn[164] d-b-'ydh[167] l-lbh d-hẇ d-mšlm hw'·. kd mšnq lh ʿdn' sgy'. w-hydyn nsbḥ l-npšh·:·

btr hlyn dyn[168] ʿl 'ḥ' hẇ l-mdynt'. w-ḥz'[169] l-'ḥ' ḥd 'ksny' d-šd' hw'[170] b-šwq' w-kryḥ. w-lyt 'nš d-ẏṣp dylh. w-ktr lwth ywm' ḥd. w-b-ʿdn' d-mpqn' d-npšh ḥz' 'ḥ' hẇ l-gbr'yl w-l-myk'yl d-'tw btr npšh'. w-ytb[171] ḥd mn ymynh w-ḥd mn smlh. w-ktrw kd mpysyn l-npšḥ. w-ṣbyn hww d-nsbwnḥ. kd dyn hẏ l' ṣby' hwt d-tšbwq l-pgrḥ.[172] 'ṃr gbryl l-myk'yl 'rym w-sbyḥ[173] mkyl l-npšh d-nšn' ln. 'ṁr lh myk'yl. 'tpqdnn[174] mn mrn d-d-l' ⌈k'b' w-ḥš'[175] npqyḥ. w-mṭl[176] hd'[177] l' mṣynn[178] d-nʿṣyḥ b-qṭyr'. qʿ' hkyl myk-'yl[165] b-ql' rm' kd 'ṁr. d-mn' pqd 'nt mṭl npš'[165] hd' d-l' mttpys'[179] d-tpwqy. w-'t' lh ql' d-'ṁr. d-h'[180] mšdr 'n' l-dwyd w-l-qytrh w-l-klhwn[181] d-mzmryn ʿmh. 'ykn' d-kd tšmʿy hny'wt' d-brt qlhwn tpwqy. w-nḥtw w-'tkrkwḥ. w-kd mzmryn zmyr̈t. šwrt w-npqt.[182] w-mdyṣ' hwt b-'yd'[183] d-myk'yl. w-'tʿlyt b-ḥdwt'·:·

Story 3 (**LR-B**)

'mryn hww mṭl ḥd mn s̈b. d-'zl b-zbn l-ḥd' mn m̈dynt' d-nzbn[184] ʿbd' d-'ẏdwhy. w-'yk d-b-swqbl'. ẏtb[185] ʿl trʿ' d-drt' d-ʿtyr' ḥd d-qryb[186] hw' l-mmt.[187] w-kd ytb. ḥr w-ḥz'[188] r̈kš' 'ẅkm' w-r̈kbyhwn 'ẅkm'. w-dḥylyn hww ṭb. w-'ḥydyn hww b-'ẏdyhwn ḥ̈wṭr' d-nwr'. kd dyn mṭw[189] l-trʿ' d-drt. 'qymw r̈kšhwn[190] lbr. w-ʿlw[191] 'kḥd' tr̈yhwn. w-kd ḥẓ' 'nwn hẇ kryḥ. qʿ' ⌈ql' ḥsyn'[192] kd 'ṁr. mry' ʿdryny. . . .

Ad f. 61R (**LR-BC**)

'ḥ'.[193] l' ⌈ydʿ 'n'[194] ḥylḥ d-mlt'. sb'.[195] 'n l' m'ḥb 'nš l-'lh' l' mhymn bh. w-l' šryryn lh m̈wlknwhy. w-l' dḥl mn dynh. w-l' 'zl btrh. mṭl dyn d-ḥwb' lyt bh: d-nʿrwq mn ʿwl' w-nsk' l-ḥ̈y' m̈lyk'. b-kl-zbn pwrs' d-ḥṭyt' sʿr. w-hd' mṭl d-mʿly dynh d-'lh' mn qdm[196] ⌈ynwhy. mṭl-hn' btr ḥwb' nrḥṭ. d-bh ʿtrw 'bḥt' q̈dyš'. w-hẇ[197] mṣ' prʿ[198] l-kyn' dylh. w-l-'lh' dylh. hnw dyn tšbwḥth.[199]

'ḥ'. 'ykn' šry' ḥkmt' b-brnš'. sb'. m' gyr d-npq brnš' l-m'zl btr 'lh' b-rʿyn' špy. škn' ʿlwhy ṭybwt'.

[128] **E** w-'štmʿ [129] **B** om. [130] **EFGH** mn mhmyw [131] **F** 'ksnwth(!) [132] **LB** ptḥ [133] **EFGH** +klh [134] **L** w-mtkš(!) [135] **E** +w-mwd' (cancelled) [136] **EFGH** d-'ykn [137] [l' apud Bedjan is a misprint] [138] **EFGH** lh [139] **F** ʿnẇhy(!) [140] **F** kd bḱyn; **H** om. [141] **EGH** (not **F**) w-'pn [142] **EFGH** mhmyn' [143] **F** w-'ttnḥt npšh [144] **R** mṭl-hn' 'p 'lh' lbbh; **B** om. [145] **RB** om. [146] **RB** šm' [147] **R** +hẇ [148] **B** pl. [149] **L** d-kd mṣl' [150] **L** 'tḥšb [151] **LB** +w-'ṁr [152] **B** d-mšnyn [153] **R** b-qlth(!) [154] **LB** om. [155] [w-mpq hw' apud Bedjan is a mistake] [156] **L** om. [157] **L** om.; **B** ḥd [158] **L** w-'yt [159] **B** +'yk d-; **R** [not **L** as stated by Bedjan] d-mṭybyn 'yk d- [160] **B** +ln w- [161] **RB** mdyntn [162] **B** 'ḥ' hẇ [163] **L** w-ʿl [164] **L** šnẏn [165] **L** om. [166] **R** hẏ klbt' [167] **R** +w-''lḥ [168] **RB** +kd [169] **RB** ḥz' [170] **RB** om. [171] **R** w-ytbw [172] **L** pgrḥ [173] **LB** sbyḥ [174] **B** d-'tpqdnn [but d-'tpqdnn apud Bedjan is a mistake] [175] **R** ḥš' w-k'b' [176] **RB** mṭl [177] **R** d- [178] **L** ṣbynn [179] **R** ṣby' [180] **R** h' [181] **L** +nbẏ' [182] **L** npqt [183] **LB** b-'ẏdy' [184] **L** +hw' [185] **R** +lh [186] **R** d-ʿtyd [187] **RB** +w-qryb hw' d-nšlm [188] **B** ḥz' [189] **LB** mṭyw [190] **L** r̈kšyhwn [191] **R** w-ʿl [192] **L** b-ql' rm' [193] **R** 'ḥ' 'mryn (so throughout) [194] **R** ydʿynn [ydʿ hn' apud Bedjan is a mistake] [195] **R** sb' 'ṁr (so throughout) [196] **L** om. [197] **RBC** d-hẇ [198] **R** d-nprwʿ [199] **R** tbšbwḥth(!); **BC** tšbwḥt'

w-dwbrh mtḥyl b-rwḥ. w-m' d-snyhy l-ʿlm'. hydyn mrgš b-hẇ dwbr' ḥdt' d-rwḥ d-brnš' ḥdt'. d-rm mn ṣ'wth d-ʿwmr' 'nšy'. w-rn' b-rʿynh mkykwt'[200] d-dwbr' d-ʿtyd w-mytr.

'ḥ'. ḥwb' b-mn' mtydʿ. sb'. b-šwmly' d-ʿbd' w-b-rny' d-rwḥ w-b-ydʿt' d-hymnwt'.

'ḥ'. mwn[201] 'nwn ʿbd'. sb'. nṭwrwt pwq̈dnwhy d-'lh'[202] b-dkywt' d-brnš' gwy'. ʿm ʿml'[203] d-brnš' bry'.

'ḥ'. w-kl d-glyz hw[204] mn ʿbd'[205] glyz hw mn ḥwb'. sb'. l' gyr mṣy' d-hẇ d-d-'lh' hw d-l' n'ḥb. . . .

Ad f. 61V (LR-BC)

'ḥ'. w-mnw mwkk' gwy'. sb'. mkykwt' d-ḥwb'. šyn'. 'wywt'. dkywt'. nyḥwt'. bhylwt'. šwʿbd'. hymnwt'. rḥyqwt' d-mn ḥsm'. npš' d-glyz' mn rtḥh d-rwgz'. ⌈w-rḥyq' mn drgḥ d-rmwt'.[196] w-pryq' mn rḥmt[206] šwbḥ' sryq'. w-mly' msybrnwt' 'yk thwm' rb'. w-ntyp zwʿh btr ydʿt' d-rwḥ. w-ṣyr' qdm ʿynyḥ mpqt'[207] d-mn pgr'. w-rbwt thrḥ d-qymt'.[208] w-tbʿth d-dyn' d-btr nwḥm'. w-qwmḥ d-qdm b'ym[209] dḥylt' d-'lh' w-mtprq'.[210]

'ḥ'. 'yt d-ṣ'm w-l' mtprq. sb'. 'yt gyr ṣwm' d-ʿyd' hw. w-'yt d-mn rgt'. w-'yt d-mn ʿṣyn'. w-'yt d-mn ḥzt'. w-'yt d-mn rḥmt šwbḥ' sryq'. w-'yt d-mn 'wlṣn'. w-'yt d-mn tybwt'. w-'yt d-mn rḥmt' d-rwḥ. kd gyr kl-ḥd ḥd mnhwn ḥd 'nwn mn lbr b-rʿyn'. 'l' b-mlt' d-ydʿt' pryšyn. kd dyn ḥd' hy 'wrḥ' pgrnyt'. 'l' d-mtqbl gmyr'yt ḥd hw. hẇ[211] d-rd' tryṣ'yt b-'wrḥh d-ḥwb'. w-ṭʿn[212] ywqrh b-msybrnwt' rwḥnyt'. w-l' ḥd' b-'yqrh. . . .

'ḥ'. b-mwn[213] mṣy' d-nzk' l-rgt'. sb'. b-ʿwhdn'[214] d-ṭbt'[204] d-rwḥ. 'n[215] rgt' d-ṭbt' d-ʿtydn l' mbṭl' l-hlyn d-tnṇ. l' mṣ' zk' brnš'. . . .

'ḥ'. 'ykn' ṅpq 'nš mn ʿlm'. sb'. m' d-šbq nyḥ' d-klḥ rgth'. w-rhṭ km' d-mškḥ ḥylh b-šwmly' d-pwq̈dn'. hẇ gyr d-hkn' l' ʿbd ṅpl. . . .

[200] **BC** mkykwth [201] **BC** mn [202] **LBC** d-mry' [203] **R** pl. [204] **B** om. [205] ['bd' apud Budge is presumably a misprint] [206] **R** om. [207] **R** mpqth; **B** mpwlt' [208] **C** om. [209] **L** b'm' [210] **BC** w-hw' lḥ pwrqn' [211] **LBC** om. [hẏ apud Bedjan is a mistake] [212] **L** ṭʿn [213] **BC** b-mn [214] **R** b-nwhr'(!) [215] **L** +gyr

Selected variants from the Greek, Latin, Coptic and Armenian versions

60R

2 dbtyq = Copt. p-ke-oua 'the other', Arm.[AB] miwsn 'id.' (Syr. ḥd, Gk. ὁ εἷς, Lat. unus)

3 pr xypθ žw'n = Arm.[A] i vars 'in way of life' (Syr., Gk., Lat., Copt., Arm.[B] om.)

5 fθyṣ ṯynny m't = Gk. διορατικὸς ὤν, Lat. (cum) esset praevidens, Arm.[A] (vasn zi) tesanoλ ēr '(because he) was a seer' (Syr. ḥz' hw' ḥzw' ʿlhy' [with minor variants]; Copt., Arm.[B] om.)

6–7 cyw [pyd'r] ~ *ʿl hn' = Gk. περὶ αὐτοῦ, Lat. de illo, Copt. etbēētf 'concerning him', Arm.[AB] vasn nora 'id.' (Syr. ʿl hd')[216]

7/13 'ṯs ~ *'t' [cf. 'ṯs ~ 't' in the similar context of V20] = Gk. ἦλθεν, Lat. venit, Copt. [13] a . . . ei 'came', Arm.[B] ekn 'id.' (Syr. [7] šmʿ, [13] 'štmʿ; Copt. [7] a . . . šōpe 'occurred', Arm.[A] eλew 'there was')

9 ('ṯsnt) = Gk., Copt., Arm.[A] (Syr. +lwth, Lat. +ad eum, Arm.[B] +aṙ na 'to him')

10 ṙyt = Gk. πρόσωπον (Syr. ʿpwhy, Lat. faciem suam, Copt. pef-ho 'his face', Arm.[AB] eresaç iwroç 'id.')

13–14 c'nw ṃyd [w'b'z] ~ *kd 'ṁr = Gk. λέγουσα, Lat dicens (Syr. d-'ṁr, Arm.[AB] or asēr 'which said')

20 qt'nṯ q'ṛ(y) . . . šyr(q)ty = Lat. (Syr., Copt., Arm.[B] have the opposite order)

23–24 ptycxš . . . wyny x'št = Lat. tenens . . . vestimenta ipsius fratris, Copt. af-amahte n-nef-hoite 'seized his clothing' (Syr. lbkh . . . b-m̈'nwhy, Arm.[B] kaleal z-handerjē nora 'having taken (him) by his clothes')

25 wḏy = Arm.[B] andr 'there' (Syr., Lat., Copt. om.)

(nstṯ m't) xyd( )br't = Arm.[B] eλbayrn (nstaw) 'the brother (sat)' (Syr., Lat. om. the subject of the verb)

26 m't = Copt. nere . . . šoop 'there was', Arm.[A] kayr 'id.' (Syr. ʿmr hw', Lat. erat . . . habitans, Arm.[B] bnakēr 'there was dwelling')

27 xw = Copt. (ne)f-(šōne) 'he (was ill)', Arm.[B] na 'he' or 'that (man)' (Syr. hw hn'; Lat. ipse . . . solitarius)

[216] 'Concerning him' is the natural interpretation of the Lat., Copt. and Arm. phrases, though 'concerning it' may be not impossible.

60V

4 (wxr) = Lat., Copt., Arm.[B] (Syr. + d-'yk hn')

7 ('γrbn) = Copt., Arm.[B] (Syr. + d-b-'ydh, Lat. + quem tenebat)
(mrty) = Lat., Copt., Arm.[AB] (Syr. + d-mšlm hw')

7–8 ['t] . . . (z)'(*ry*)'ẇ mšt'y [the restoration ['t] is probable in view of 't ~ kd, V19, 31, and the fact that after c'nw 'while' the āz-impf. would be expected] ~ *w-mšnq = Arm.[B] ew . . . tanǰēr 'and . . . tortured' (Syr. kd mšnq, Lat. torquens, Copt. eu-basanize [recte *ef-] 'torturing')

10 (xwžn'q) = Lat., Copt., Arm.[B] (Syr. w-(kryh))

11 wyny [second occurrence] = Lat. eius (Syr. d-npšh, Arm.[B] hogwoyn 'of the soul')

12 fryštyṯt = Arm.[B] hreštakkʿ 'angels' (Syr., Lat., Copt., Arm.[A] om.)

14–15 [xyd] rw'n (ny nm'(z)prγt) = Arm.[A] (oč̣ tʿolоyr) hogin 'the soul (was not leaving)', Arm.[B] hogin ayn (oč̣ kamēr tʿolоwl) 'that soul (was not wishing to leave)' (Syr., Lat., Copt. express the subject by a pronoun or not at all)

18–19 qt . . . nyšq'wẏm = Lat. evellere, Copt. e-ent(s) ebol 'to fetch (it) out', Arm.[A] pahanǰel 'to extract',[217] Arm.[B] xlel 'to pluck out' (Syr. d-nʿṣ')

24 xyd rw'n = Lat. anima illa, Arm.[AB] hogin 'the soul' (Syr., Copt. om. [but Copt. adds e-te-psukhē 'to the soul' at the end of the preceding clause])

25 yw qθ = Gk. τινα πόλιν, Lat. civitatem, Copt. (e-)u-polis '(to) a city', Arm.[B] kʿalakʿn 'the city' (Syr. ḥd' mn m̈dynt')

26 (p)ryẏs 't = Arm.[B] gnaçeal 'having gone' (Syr., Gk., Lat., Copt. om.)

27 (dbry') = Gk., Lat., Copt., Arm.[B] (Syr. + d-drt')

30 p'rycnt = Copt. au-kō 'they left', Arm.[B] tʿolеal 'having left' (Syr. 'qymw, Gk. ἔστησαν, Lat. statuerunt).
spẏẏ = Gk. τοὺς ἵππους, Arm.[B] z-jis 'the horses' (Syr. r̈kš(y)hwn, Lat. equos suos, Copt. n-neu-htōōr 'their horses')

[217] Arm. *pahanǰel* 'to exact, require, claim, demand' here seems to have a meaning close to that implied by its obvious etymology to Ir. *θang-*. The Mxitʿarist dictionary (which Prof. Bailey kindly consulted for me) gives 'λαμβάνω, capio' as one of the senses of *pahanǰem*.

Text 9: The Persian martyrs under Šāpūr II (ff. *64–*69)

This text contains four martyrologies, namely those of Šāhdōst and Tarbo (ff. *64–*66), the 120 martyrs and Barbaʿšmin (ff. *68–*69). All four belong to the series of histories of Persian martyrs under Šāpūr II, specifically to the group which G. Wiessner, in his study of these texts,[1] has called the ‚Märtyrerakten des Simon-Kreises'.

The MSS of the Syriac text disagree amongst themselves concerning the order of the histories.[2] However, the present reconstruction of the order of the Sogdian is hypothetical only in two points, (1) whether the sequence Šāhdōst-Tarbo precedes or follows the sequence 120 martyrs-Barbaʿšmin and (2) whether the two sequences were separated by any other text. On these points the testimony of the Syr. MSS is unanimous: in all those which contain texts from both sequences, Šāhdōst and/or Tarbo *immediately precede* the 120 martyrs and/or Barbaʿšmin. Thus there is good reason to suppose that the Sogdian version contained the four histories in the order given above and that only one folio (containing the conclusion of the story of Tarbo and the beginning of that of the 120 martyrs) is lacking between the two sequences.[3]

A priori one might expect that these four martyrdoms would have been preceded in our MS by that of Simon Barṣabbāʿe himself. However, it appears rather that the history of Šāhdōst was the first of the series, since its superscription in red ink (*64R.19–20[–21], unfortunately mostly illegible) seems too long to be the title of this one story alone. There is no evidence whether the MS contained further histories from this series after that of Barbaʿšmin.

The following Syr. MSS contain some or all of the four histories with which we are concerned:

C = London, Add. 12,174 (1197 A.D.), ff. 380R–383R (Šāhdōst, Tarbo, 120 martyrs);

D = London, Add. 14,645 (935/936 A.D.), ff. 257V–259V (Tarbo), 323V–327V (Šāhdōst, Barbaʿšmin);

E = London, Add. 14,654 (5th or 6th cent., defective), ff. 12R–V (Šāhdōst), 13V–17V (Tarbo, 120 martyrs);

S = Berlin, Sachau 222 (1881 A.D.), ff. 306V–209R (Tarbo), 326R–327V (Šāhdōst);

T = Berlin, Ms. or. oct. 1256–1257, ff. 178V–192R (Tarbo, Šāhdōst, Barbaʿšmin), 195R–198V (120 martyrs) (according to its colophon **T** was copied at Mosul in 1869;[4] in a Latin note at the end, signed by Archbishop George Khayyatt and dated 1882, Khayyatt adds that it was again collated by himself 'cum originali Codice I° syro-Chaldaico Amidensi', evidently referring to Diyarbakır [= Amid] 96, which contains exactly the same works in the same order);[5]

V = Vatican, Sir. 160, ff. 92V–99R (Tarbo, 120 martyrs, Barbaʿšmin);[6]

W = Vatican, Sir. 161 (9th–10th cent.), ff. 55R–60R (Šāhdōst, Tarbo, 120 martyrs, Barbaʿšmin).

The Syr. text has been edited both by S. E. Assemani, Acta sanctorum martyrum . . . I, Rome 1748, pp. 54–59 (Tarbo), 88–91 (Šāhdōst), 105–109 (120 martyrs), 111–116 (Barbaʿšmin) (= **A**) and by P. Bedjan AMS II pp. 254–260 (Tarbo), 276–281 (Šāhdōst), 291–295 (120 martyrs), 296–303 (Barbaʿšmin) (= **B**). The most recent translation is that by O. Braun, Ausgewählte Akten persischer Märtyrer, Kempten 1915, 89–104 (Bibliothek der Kirchenväter XXII).

Bedjan gives as his sources the edition **A** and the MSS **S** and **T**;[7] Assemani indicates that he used **V** and **W**. However, both editions contain readings not found in their acknowledged sources.[8]

[1] Zur Märtyrerüberlieferung aus der Christenverfolgung Schapurs II (Untersuchungen zur syrischen Literaturgeschichte I), AAWG 67 [1967].

[2] The editions adopt orders for which there is no MS authority.

[3] Wiessner op. cit. 106 n. 3 apparently assumes that the order in which Hansen prints the fragments of C2 is that of the MS.

[4] Misquoted as 1879 in Bedjan's edition, p. VII.

[5] It is no obstacle that Khayyatt estimates the date of the MS he is describing as 7th–8th cent. against A. Scher's estimate of 11th–12th cent. in his catalogue entry for Diyarb. 96 (JA 1907, 398–401).

[6] The date of this part of **V** has been variously estimated at 5th cent. to 10th cent., see Wiessner op. cit. 9 n. 2.

[7] Bedjan refers to **T** as « le manuscrit de Mgr. Abbeloos ». A comparison between Abbeloos's description of his MS in AB 9 [1890], 5–10, and that of **T** by J. Assfalg, Syrische Handschriften, Wiesbaden 1963, 53–59 (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland V) shows beyond doubt that the two MSS are one and the same.

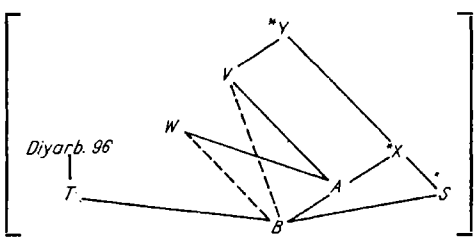
[8] This and the following remarks are based on a collation of all the MSS except Diyarb. 96, but only of the four texts contained in C2.

Such readings in **B** may all—with the exception of one obvious misprint (**B** 300.14) *ḷẖ* for *ḷh*, the correction or misreading (291 n. 3) *yzdwndwkt* for **AV** *yzdwndkt* and an apparent bowdlerization (302.5) *b-rwm'* for *b-ʿdn* of all MSS and **A**—be explained as the result of a partial collation of **V** and **W**.[9] The examples are: 259 n. 6 *d-dḥlt'* ≺**V**; 276 n. 2 *d-ḥzy'* ≺**W**; 291.3 *mdïynt'* ≺**V**; 295 n. 4 *w-nyḥ'* ≺**VW**; 299 n. 7 *d-'ṭṭlqw* ≺ **V**; 302 n. 7 *w-b-mrth* ≺**VW**. At 291.8 with n. 3 **B** has both *yzdndwkty* (=**TW**) and *yzdwndwkty* (conflation of this with *yzdwndkt* in **AV**); similarly in 298 n. 2 **B** has both *d-'bṭlh* (=**TVW**) and *'bṭlh* (miscopying of the same). In either case the presence of an incorrect as well as a correct reading indicates the use of more than the one MS **T**.

The cases in which **A** offers a reading found neither in **V** nor in **W** are more numerous, over 40 in all. In almost all these readings **A** agrees with **S** (where **S** has the text in question, namely in the stories of Šāhdōst and Tarbo). The exceptions seem to be no more than errors in **A** (**A** 54.27 *klh* for *klḥ* of all MSS; 89.1 *ḥlïṣ'* for *ḥlyṣ'* of all MSS; 90.21 *mštmlyn* for *mštmʿyn* of all MSS). In these three cases, and in a couple of others where **A** has the reading of **W** (88.32 **AW** *nttrhb*: **CDST** *ntrhb*; 89.29 **AW** *w-šm̈š'*: **CDST** *w-mšm̈šn'*), **S** sides with the other MSS against **A** or **AW**. Therefore **S** cannot be merely a copy of **A**, but both must share a common source (=*X). In other words, Assemani must have used, in addition to **V** and **W**, a third MS which was either itself the source of **S** or a copy of that source.[10]

A comparison of **S** and **V** in the story of Tarbo (the only one of the four texts found in both these MSS) produces about ten readings peculiar to the two, including a particularly glaring error (*ḥtytt'* for *tḥtyt'* at **B** 256.13). Therefore, either *X was a copy of **V** or both *X and **V** derive from a common source (=*Y).[11] The evidence is limited, as in many crucial points the reading of *X cannot be inferred, but the second possibility is favoured by the variant **V** *d-dḥlt'*: **AS** *d-dḥylt'*: **CDETW** *dḥylt'* (259.15), where the reading of **AS**, standing as it does between those of **V** and **CDETW**, is likely to be the reading of *Y. Less cogent is the fact that **S** does not reproduce **V**'s meaningless *mplpn* (: **ACDSTW** *mplp̈ln*) at 255.14, since this might easily have been corrected by a competent copyist.[12] The chief reason for postulating *Y as the source of **V** and *X rather than taking **V** to be a source of *X is, however, that this removes the need to assume that *X's copy of the story of Šāhdōst (not included in **V**) is derived from a source different from that of Tarbo etc.

These conclusions are summed up in the partial stemma below. Unfortunately, this stemma reveals



nothing about the relationships between the older MSS (**CDEVW** and Diyarb. 96). There is no lack of significant variants, but these indicate multifarious relationships between the MSS such as can only be accounted for by conflation in several sources. Since I am unable to unravel these tangled relationships, I will restrict myself in what follows to a brief indication of the position of the Sogd. version vis-à-vis the Syr. MSS.[13]

Most striking are the agreements between the Sogdian and **C** against all other MSS (below, pp. 151–152 nn. 205, 214, 259, 263, 268, 275, 281). Since **D** and **E** are in some respects closely allied to **C**, one also finds instances in which the Sogdian agrees with **CD** (150 n. 127) or with **CE** (152 nn. 240, 265) against the other

[9] The existence of these MSS was of course known to Bedjan, and it is inherently likely that he would have made use of any opportunity that occurred to check Assemani's edition by collating them. His silence on the subject might be due to the incompleteness of his collation. It may be noted that several of the readings in question are set apart from the rest of Bedjan's apparatus by being enclosed in parentheses.

[10] This might have been a quite modern MS copied out in extenso by Assemani and later corrected by collating the ancient MSS **V** and **W**. Such a hypothesis would account for his not mentioning a third MS.

[11] The only evidence which appears to contradict this statement is to be found in the variants **TV** *lh*: **ACDESW** *lḥ* (**B** 254.14) and **AC** *w-'mrt*: **ETVW** *w-'mr'* (293.9), but in these cases the agreements of **T** with **V** and of **A** with **C** respectively may be regarded as coincidental.

[12] Apart from these two instances, *Y seems to be more accurately reproduced by **V** than by **S**, which is not surprising in view of the respective ages of these two MSS.

[13] The next paragraph includes a complete list of variants (referred to, for brevity, by p. and n. of the Syr. text below) where the Sogd. version seems to side with one or more Syr. MSS against the general consensus. It should be borne in mind that some of the apparent correspondences are probably illusory.

MSS; where **C** is lacking the Sogdian sometimes corresponds to a variant found only in **D** (153 nn. 329, 347).[14] On the other hand, the Sogdian less often agrees with **T** (152–153 nn. 257, 283 [1st time], 332) or with **TW** (ibid. nn. 286, 290, 319) against all other MSS including **C**. In the story of Barbaʿšmin, which is lacking in **CE**, the Sogdian sometimes supports **V** against **DTW** (153 nn. 331, 346) or **VW** against **DT** (153 nn. 294, 351).

In spite of the evident affinity between the Sogdian version and MS **C**, I have not used the latter as the basis of the Syr. text below, since it contains many aberrant readings, most of which are not supported by the Sogdian. The same is true to a lesser extent of **D**, while **E**, the oldest MS, is fragmentary. I have therefore given the text of **W** for Šāhdōst and that of **V** for the other three histories. The punctuation and pointing is based on **W** and **V** respectively but slightly simplified. All variants of **CDESTW** are cited in the footnotes; **A** is only referred to where it agrees with neither **V** nor **W**.

Greek versions of the martyrdoms of Tarbo and Šāhdōst have been published by H. Delahaye, Les versions grecques des actes des martyrs persans sous Sapor II, Paris 1907, 439–450 (Patrologia Orientalis II/3). Braun op. cit. p. XVII has demonstrated that the Greek texts are translations from the Syriac. I have not found any instance in which the Sogdian agrees with the Greek against the Syriac.

There exist also other Sogdian MSS of the story of Tarbo in addition to C2: (1) C6 (unpublished), mentioned by Hansen Literatur 97; (2) C28 = TiiB66, published in Schwartz 1970a, 391–394, the Verso of which contains a different and much less close translation of the passage translated in C2/65V.23–66R.1.[15]

Portions of the present text have been commented on by Schwartz art. cit. 390–391 (on f. *66) and by MacKenzie CSN 122–123 (on ff. *68 and *69).

[14] The agreement between Sogd. *'t* (66V.13) and **D** *w-* against **CESV** *'p*, **TW** *w-'p* (152 n. 236) is scarcely significant.

[15] Professor Schwartz informs me that he has abandoned his original assumption that the fragment published by him should belong to the MS C2.

***64R**

(about 17 lines missing)

18]= = = =[ ]
19 [a](*m*šyẖ' w*yc*')[wqy']
20]= = = = = = = = = = = = = = = = =[a]
21](= = = = = = = = = = = = *p*crw = = = =)
22 yw cn]( )m̥y[θ]ty (*wy̥n wyd's*γ*wn*)w (fθ)y(s)[b]
23 šm'.]šyt qy dy(w) (*p*)[r](*w m*')t(*n*)t prywyd
24 [p't](*q*)ẇ(*wy*šnt s)' qt wyd'rm nwr
25](=̣)yrc[c] m't cn z̥y qw
26 [sm'ny pn fwx'r] 'dy šmγwn pr( )m(z)yx
27]=[t](ʼm)' šmγwn pr
28](*s*n)' qw
29](s)ny̥q'.
30 pr wy]c'wqy'( )qy

[a–a] in red ink [b] hardly (f̥d)y(s) [c]](n̥)yrc?](γ̥)yrc?](š̥)yrc?

***64R**

⌜. . . *witness* to Christ . . . (20) . . .[16]

The martyrdom of Šāhdōst the bishop and the 128 martyrs with him.

Šāhdōst the bishop, who was in place of *Simon in the cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, one* day[17] *saw a wonderful* vision, *and he marvelled, and he called the priests and deacons* who were with him—for *they were living in hiding—and said* to them: 'I have seen today (25) *in a dream a ladder of glory which* was *standing* from the earth *up* to *the sky, and at its head stood* Simon *the blessed* one in great *glory, and I was standing on the earth below. And* Simon *called* me with *gladness, rejoicing and saying: "Rise, Šāhdōst,* rise unto *me and fear not, for I rose yesterday and lo!* you shall rise *today!" And from the hour that I awoke I believed and was certain that I should soon follow him in* witness *to our God . . .' . . .*

***64V**

(about 18 lines missing)

(lines 19–21: only faint traces visible)

22 (w*yny*)[n](ʼm)[y =](= = = *xwšywn*y̥ f̥ry = =)[
23 (p*r rš*)t(y'q *cn s't* x*yp*θ) m(')n. (p')[šcn
24 =[= =]= =[b](ʼ). ʼ[t](*m'nw*q) b' m(s) xw[

***64V**

In the second year of our persecution the king was in Seleucia. And the victorious Šāhdōst was taken, the translation of whose name is 'Friend *of the king', for he loved and held dear the heavenly*

[16] Sy om. [17] Literally 'of the days'.

25 (*š*)[m](*γw*)n [.](')t n(y*m*)ṭyt b(n)t( )[
26 (qy *dy*)[w]yd p(r)[y]'(wr). ms(y)[drt
27 (m)'t(n)t( )pr(p)c(m)'(*r*)[s]tw( )[
28 't( )ptqyšt[yt
29 (s)̣. 't '=[
30 (p')tṛ'st(=)[

king truly, *with all* his mind.[18] *Honourable he was and pure, true he was and holy, and* he was also *like his colleague, the champion, the blessed* (25) *Simon.* And there were taken *with him, from these cities and also from the villages and countryside* ⌜*in* the surrounding area,[19] priests *and deacons and monks and nuns,* ⌜*who* were one hundred *and twenty-eight* in number,[20] *and they were all cast into chains* and confined *in a harsh and bitter prison for five months* ⌜. . . to . . ., and . . . punishments . . .[21]

***65R**

(about 19 lines missing)

20](t)[=]=[ ]
21 r](m')
22](t)[=]=
23]= = =t= = = =
24 pr 'f]rywn xcy bγy qy
25 't mn ny]pcwxs(d)'rt cymyd
26 qy](n)y pr(γd'r)t m'x
27 qw xypθ](γryw) s'. 't
28 pr m'x ywxny prm'n]t(y')[. '](r^a)qw pn ptwx(*sty*)
29 [ny bwt cn wš](*n*)ty qwcy [ny](m)nc'y. pt(w)xst(ẏ)t
30 [bnt γnqynt 'dyt wystmyqy sγty' cn] m'x nw' (šb)t m'xy. 't fwx'r

[a] the space is insufficient for nwq](r), probably even for yw'](r); (r) almost certain

***65R**

. . . *And with one harmonious and sweet voice they were singing and saying: 'Give judgement for us, O God, and exact vengeance for us from a merciless* people, *and save us from men who shed blood and deceivers!' and so on. And when they reached that place where they were to be killed, again they said:* 'Blessed is God who (25) *has given us this crown which we looked for and* has *not* held *us* back from this *portion which we desired, and blessed is His Christ who* has not left us *in this world but has called us* ⌜to Himself[22] and *placed us before Him through the absolution of our blood!'* And, until *the last of them all was* killed, *praise* did *not* cease[23] *from their* mouth.

The victorious ones were killed[24] *on the twentieth* ⌜*from* the new moon[25] in the month Šbāṭ. And *they led* the blessed *Šāhdōst in his chains and brought him to Bet Huzāye, to the city of Bet Lāpaṭ . . .*

***65V**

(about 19 lines missing)

20 (*šm*)['x
21 n'y w(y)[spy' myθy
22 tr(s)['qt
23 n(p)x(*št*)[w sty
24 'ẏc ptq'rw 't[
25 m'x̣. qt wyspy[y']t[wq
26 xypθ rm(ẏ) dst'. 't[
27 yw mγwn xc(y). '(t)[
28 mẏd 'ẏšt p(r) nm[ry'q
29 šwq m'tnt (')[t](')d'tẏt p(*r*)[
30 cn p(w) wṛy 'ẇty pyd'(r). 't wš(n)t[y

***65V**

The holy Tarbo answered and said to them: '. . . Do you thirst for our blood? Who is preventing (20) *you from drinking it? And do you wish for our death?* Behold, *every day your hands are drenched in it! For we shall be killed as* Christians *and not apostatize, because it is* written *for us that we should worship one God alone and not number with Him* any image ⌜and . . .[22] *in heaven and on earth. And again it is written* (25) for us that every[26] *sorcerer who is discovered*

[18] Sy 'soul (C heart) and strength'. [19] Sy 'around them'. [20] Sy 'whose number was 128'. [21] Sy 'and they subjected them to interrogation with beatings and to evil (C bitter) tortures and to harsh mallet-blows (D bitternesses) three times, so that they might worship the sun . . .'. [22] Sy om. [23] Sy 'depart'. [24] Sy 'crowned'. [25] Sy 'in (the reckoning) of the moon'. [26] Sy 'a'.

should die by the hand[27] of his people; and *how then should we perform sorcery,*[27] *in that lo!* it[27] is[27] like *apostasy from God* and *for both death is decreed?' And these unjust judges heard* ⌜these things[28] sweetly *and bitterly, whilst* they were silent *and* amazed at *her glorious beauty and her outstanding wisdom, and* because of (their) unprofitable hope and[29] their *evil designs upon her each*

***66R**

1 šm](*'r'*z) pryw.(.)[q](*t* zw) xwt(y) šw z(ry)ncnq' cn mrcy (*w*)['](n)
2 [qt]p'cγny w(n)t' mw(γp)tw '(t) w'n(w) (w')b (q)w wyšnt(*s*)'(pr*yw*)[y](d)
3 [p't ptwxsty b' šm'](*x*) br't. cn przr šm'x y(p)'q. ms pr( )x(*ypθ*)nwm
4 ['xyrd'rtt 't bžy](q) y'tqwny qθ'rtt pr( )xwšywnc ms c(')f ny (s)'(*š*)t
5 [šm'x w'nc'nw wγ](*d'*ry) ···· θrbw w'nw w'(b). qt cw bžyq( )⟨'⟩t[a] (p)ṭ(yr)[b]
6]( )pr(*š*m)γwn (m)'x br't'. qt cyw pyd'r x(*ypθ žw'*)n
7](t =)[ ](*š*m'x) (*pr ž*y)štwc 't p(r m = =).
8 sm'n]c(*yq x*)wš[y](w*nq*y)[c]
9](= = =*q xwšyw*)[n](q)y'(')t(= = = =)t(q')[ ]
10 šm](*'x*)z(p*r*)[y'](*q*.)'t w'wry wntyq' [š](m)'(*x*)[x](š'*w*n)
11 cymnt](*'y*)[š](t*y pšy*s'. f')š'(m) wš(n)ty (š)y p(r*w* q)w
12 db](*t*)[y](*q*) my θy n(yš)ty (q)w(*q*w[d])wyš(n)t
13 [s'](q*w*)[x](wš*y*w)nw s' cn šm'x py(d)'r. '(t)
14] 't t(*γ*)w qy θr(b)w 'yš b' m(n') w(d*w*).
15 p](r y)p'(q). 't w'nw w'(b). (p)tr(*wx*)š'(:)[e]
16](*s'*)n. (')t (n')bž'(w f)y'tr mw(n)w w'xš (p)r
17 šm'](*x* pw)'[b](γ)wnc wxr pr mn' zprt⟨t⟩ (*γwš*)t
18]= = =[ ] =t[= w'](xš *m*n)' (z)prt 'wšwx m'n. p't( )[ ]
19]=. 't x(*ypθ pwr*)[y](*cy'*)[pr w](*y*ny *n'*)m p'ynq' ('t)[xy](*pθ*)
20](=. ')t(*xypθ ž*)w'n (qyw *s'* = =)[ ]
21] =[ ]= = = = = =[

(the bottom third of the page missing)

[a] quite uncertain; (*p*)t(y)- corrected to 't by alteration of (*p*) to ⟨'⟩?? [b] uncertain [c] Hansen wš[=] = [= = =] = = ; photo (*xw* =)[=]= (w*nq*y). [d] to be cancelled [e] (p)tr(*wy*)š'(:) or (p)tr(*w*)š'(:) less likely

***66R**

of them was *thinking thus* about her: 'I myself[22] shall rescue her from death', so that she might be his wife.

The mōbed answered and said to them: '*Because your* brother *was killed,* ⌜from your extreme anger,[30] *you have* even *transgressed* your law *and* have performed *evil*[22] sorcery[27] on[31] the queen, although it is not allowed (5) *to you as* you have *said.*' Tarbo said: 'What evil and odious *thing has been perpetrated* against Simon our[32] brother, that on his account *we should have destroyed our life from God? For although* you *killed him* in hate and in *envy, yet he is alive in the heavenly* kingdom, *which surpasses your earthly kingdom* ⌜*and* . . . (10) . . .[22] *and will destroy your honour* and bring to nought[33] your *power which will not remain.*'

And after these things he sent the three of them together[22] to *prison to be guarded. And the next* day *the mōbed* sent word to them[28]: '*I will* ⌜*put a request* to[34] the king ⌜on your account[22] and *save the three of you from death;* and ⌜you, who are Tarbo,[22] be to me a wife!' (15) *When the victorious one heard this she shook* ⌜with anger[22] and said: 'Shut up,[35] *O impious one and enemy of God,* and do not continue[36] to *speak* this[37] speech (any) more, *because your* filthy voice *does not fall* upon my pure ears *and your licentious speech does not penetrate my* ⌜pure, modest[38] mind, for *I am Christ's bride,* and *my virginity* I shall preserve *in His* name, and *my* (20) *truth I shall hang on hope in Him,* and *my* life *I shall entrust* to Him . . .!' . . .

[27] Sy pl. [28] Sy 'her'. [29] Sy 'of'. [30] Sy 'in your anger on his account'. [31] Sy 'to'. [32] Sy 'my'. [33] Sy + 'this'. [34] Sy 'ask from'. [35] Sy 'your mouth'. [36] Literally 'increase'. [37] Sy + 'odious'. [38] Sy modest and pure'.

***66V**

1 [ny](γr)bntq ···:··· 't c['](*nw p*)t(*yγw*)[šnt](*mwn*)[w w]'(x)š z(*pr*)[tt 'dyt p'cγny]
2 wntnt 't w'nw w'(bn)t (q)t (m'x) bγw(pr wyn)y (*s*)[frywn
3 't m'x sfṛyn(n)ẏ nm'c q(*w xwr*) s' qy wy(ny *bn*t)[y
4 't xwtw yšw(γ) m'x wxšnw cn š[m']x zwydm(') (p)[yd'r
5 't ywny pr w(*y*')q syxwrdnt (*mw*)[γyšt 't]w'nw [w'bnt
6 y'nt cn sm'ny c'(p)'r( )'t cym[yd fcmbdy
7 y'tqwny p(r)xwš(ywn)c('t x*wžn*')[q qt'
8 p(r)wyš(n)t cn (x*wšywn*'. *qt pr*)[
9 (p)twxstẏt bẏnt. prywyd (*p*'t)[
10 γwntq(*w*)š(n)ty t(m)p(')rt d(*w*')[p](*šy*)[n](*t*)[y
11 p(*šy*n)tẏty (m)yd'ny 't p(y)mṣy···· [
12 tym (nyš)ty (m)w(γ)ptw q(w γn*q*)[y]n (θ*r*)[bw s'
13 mn'. ny t(γ)w myṛyq'. 't ny t(*w*')[
14 [n](*my*)'q wnt' wynẏ c'nw ṃyd [w'b'z]. (q)[t
15 ··(*rẏ*) sw(q)y pr x(y)pθ ··rwγtqy''(. = = = = ⹀)[
16 'yš([a] = = = = .)[b] (p)'t zw pr q̇wy'q (*myrnq*')[
17 ny žw(*nq*)' w'n (qt) myr'n···· 't wyd(')γ[ty](w)[
18 (b)ẏ(*s*')[c] ṧ(y) (*prw*'). 't wy(š)qyrdnt =[
19 '(t)[š](*n* p)ṛyθyncnt p[r](*srw* 't *p*)[r
20 [ ]=[
(the bottom third of the page missing)

[a] hardly 'yš[t] [b] illegible; (*pryw.*) not impossible [c] apparently qẏ(=·'), but the first letter is badly faded

***66V**

The king sent answer and said: 'If they will worship the sun they shall not die, because perhaps they *do not* know *sorcery.'*[27] And *when* ⌜*the holy ones*[39] *heard this* thing they answered and said: '*We will not exchange* our God for His *creation,* and *we will not give* our creator's worship to the sun ⌜who *is*[22] His *servant,* and *we will not desert* ⌜the Lord[22] Jesus our saviour on account of your threat.' (5) And immediately *the magi* cried out *and said: 'Let* these (people) *perish* from under heaven ⌜and from this *earth,*[22] *because they have performed* sorcery[27] on[31] the queen and *she has become ill!'*

Then permission was given concerning them ⌜by *the king*[22] *that, by whatsoever death the magi might wish,* they should ⌜be killed,[40] because *they said:* (10) 'Their bodies ⌜ought *to*[41] *be divided* ⌜*into* two *pieces,*[22] *and the queen should pass* between the pieces *of them* and be healed.' *And also when they took them out to death* the mōbed sent word again to the victorious *Tarbo: 'If you listen* to me you shall not die, nor[42] your *companions.' But the pure one in a loud voice* reviled him while *saying: 'O filthy and impure one, why* (15) are you raving in your frenzy *about something which is not proper and over which* you are *not in authority?* For[22] I *shall die* heroically *that I may live and* shall not live *basely* ⌜so that I[43] die.'

And then[22] *they took the holy people* outside *the city,* the three together,[44] and nailed *two nails into each of them,* and stretched *them by the*[45] *head*[27] *and by the*[45] *feet like sheep being shorn . . .*

***68R**

1 xwšy](*wnq*)[y],(')[= = =](='. *n*wr pr)ẏšṭq' šm'x
2 n](*w*)r pṛyšṭq' šyr' 'xwnc[a] pr mγwn
3 [s](*ṛ*)[yw](*n*)c(')[n](*w žw*[b] *w*'š)ṭq(') pr šm'x ptxwnq. yw'r yw nγ'd'
4 xwžmsq cn šm'x θbrt' mn'. qt nγ'd' brt' c'm' pyd'r cn
5 xypθ xypθ'wnt qy šw ṛyw pcγd'rtt'. 't cyw pyd'r ṛswγtẏt
6 bwṭq'. qt 'yžn wn't t'm' pr xypθ šyr'qty'. qt dywyd mzyx

[a] 'x- is oddly written, but 'yx- (the only other conceivable reading) does not seem more probable [b] not šw

***68R**

. . . and she said to them: '. . . today you will go up in the kingdom's highest rank; today you will leave your *great victory in the world;* today you will leave the[46] good[47] struggle in the whole[22] *creation, whilst* you will *proclaim* (it)[48] by your execution.[49] But one request, I ask of you, grant[50] me: ask on my behalf from (5) your Lord whom you have

[39] Sy 'they'. [40] Sy 'kill them'. [41] Sy 'should'. [42] Sy 'also not'. [43] Sy 'and'. [44] Sy 'of them'. [45] Sy 'their'. [46] Sy 'your'. [47] Sy 'valiant'. [48] Sy 'it'. [49] Sy +'and magnify it by your blood (T tear(s))'. [50] Sy 'do'.

7 mẋθy ẓy(n)n šm'x 't tysn qw šm'x rwšγwnẇ[c] wy'q s': 't 'yžn
8 b'n šm'x šyqny pry'wr. prywyd p't γrb'msq zw qt '[y](*n*)c
9 'ym qt'nyq'rc. 't wrn'msqn qt nγ'd' brt' c'm' pyd'r cn (*x*)[yp](*θ*)[d]
10 xypθ'wnt. prm'nty' wntyq' mn' pr γw'nt.·:· p'cγny wntnt zpry'q̣ynt
11 m'ṣyt qy m'tnt wšnty myd'ny 't šy w'nw w'bnt. qt šy brtwxt
12 swqym pr m'x xypθ'wnty γrf z'rcnwqy' qt nγwštq' m'x. 't
13 tw(ž)tq' qw t'fs' šyrw p'cr't'. qy zpry'q 'št'd'ry 't ptš'dy
14 qθ'ry m'x cn wyny n'm pyd'r'. m'n' w'f šqwrθy' žmnw qy pcywz
15 pr m'x. 't tw' y'n cn tw' wrn' pyd'r zwyrtq' qw t'fs' pr
16 wyspw 'ẋc·:·[·] 't c'nw f'tyr ⟨cn⟩ m̥(y)θ yw nγ'ṃ. nyžy pr wyšnt f̣rm'n
17 qt pryf̣tẋnt[c] b̥(y)nt qw mrc s'. 't w'št y'n' šyrqc bnt qty
18 dbry'. 't wyspy (q)y nyžwty. m̥yd pr spynt' pwš'z wyny dst' 't
19 p'dt: 't prymyd frγ(n)' wn(*t'*) s't wšnty 't c'nw swdq šqr'znt
20 wyšnt: nyšq'wnt cn qθ(*y*)[b](ẋs)'. 't f̣šmty b' pr wyšnt (mzy)x mwγ
21 ptw cn xwšywn' w'n qt ['w](*šty*)' [](*p*)[r wš]nt[c] pdyb'rcy' 't pr wyšnty
22 ptxwnq. 't šn w'nw w'b p[r xwšywny f]rm'[n q](*t*) n(*m*)['']c brt' qw xwr
23 s' 't žwt̥q'. p'cγ(n)y w(ntn*t*)[ ] 't w'nw w'bnt
24 cw ny ẓyntsq 'ẋ (p)[ẓ žy'wrt qw pt]x(wn)q s'
25 pryf̣tyt bnt m'r'wt(y')[n](*γwd*)[n
26 pcwq̣yry prf̣'c bwt. 't m'(x n)'[y
27 't m'x ryt γ'rc sty w'nc'nw wr(d)[
28 wntt' qw m'x s'. 'ẋ γnt'q qṛ(y)tẋ =[
29 b't qt yxypθ[c] bγw pṛycymq'.'t qw [
30 yw'r šm'x 't šm'x xwšywnqy' ptyθy (d)['rymsq
31 s' ny nγwšymq'. w'n qt zpry'q̣yn b't[pr m'x ywxnw 't γwbty]

[c] sic [d] hardly (*m*)[n'] or (*m*)['x]

loved and on whose account you will be sacrificed that He may make me worthy ⌜by His grace[22] that on that great[22] day I may see you and enter your desirable[22] place and ⌜become worthy of[51] the surroundings of your mansion, because I know that I am a sinful woman and I believe that if you ask ⌜on my behalf[22] from *your* (10) Lord He will forgive me for[22] (my)[32] sins.' The honourable old men who were among them answered and said to her: 'We are sure ⌜of it,[22] (surely-trusting) in our Lord's[52] manifold mercy, that He will hear us and pay a good reward to you who have honoured and gratified us for His name's sake at[53] this time of ⌜such great[22] distress which has befallen (15) us, and your wish, ⌜on account of[54] your faith, He will return to you in everything.'

And when ⌜one hour of the day had passed,[55] there ⌜went out[56] upon them the command that they should be taken to death. And ⌜this virtuous woman[57] stood at the gate of the prison, and ⌜each one[58] who came out in[59] irons—she kissed his hands and[59] feet, and so she did to them all. And as they were hastily leading (20) them, they took (them)[60] outside the city. And there was sent ⌜against them from the king[22] the great mōbed, so that *he might stand over their* trial and over their execution, and he said to them *at the king's* command: 'Worship the sun and you shall live!' *These holy men* answered[61] and said: 'Do you not see, O *heartless blind ones, that they who* are taken to execution (25) *wear* garments of mourning, *and their* ⌜*face* is[27] blanched[62] *from their* fear? And lo! we *are wearing garments of joy* and our ⌜face is[27] bright as the rose *in the morning!* Do to us *all that you desire*, O wicked, *evil men, because far* be it *from us* that we should desert our God and *pay homage* to *His creatures!* But ⌜you and[63] your kingdom *we* despise, *and* to *its commands* we shall pay no heed, so that *by our blood* may be honoured *and*

[51] Sy 'be sheltered in'. [52] Sy 'God's'. [53] Sy + 'all'. [54] Sy 'through'. [55] Sy (literally) '(it) was (an) hour in (the) day'. [56] Sy 'came'. [57] Sy 'she'. [58] Sy 'the first'. [59] Sy + 'his'. [60] Sy 'them'. [61] Sy 'cried out in a loud voice'. [62] Sy 'changed'. [63] Sy 'this'.

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1 b'ṭ p(r)[m'x p](t)[xwn](*q*)[xy](d)[xwšywnqy'
2 qy šm'x pr xypθ trxq(y)'q q'mt(s)[q qy]
3 m'x bwtq' wḏy nwšc žw'n 't 'yqw(n)c[y](*q p*)t[š'](d)t[y'](')t(*šm'*)[x](*bw*t)[q](')
4 z'ry'ẇy 't dntẏ šq'f' 'yqwn pn··:·· wyd'(γ)ty nyžy pr wyšnt trγ'
5 f̣rm'n. qt pr xγry d'r swxstyt ḇnt s't. 't ptxwstẏt bnt
6 s't pr x(γr)y d'r pr qẇy'q cn mšyḫ' wšnty 'ẇty pyd'r. 't xyd ẇyd
7 xšp'. pt(yx)ryn x'n' wrnq̣yn 'ync cn w'cn. dw' dw' mrty nwysp̣ny f̣rwrty.
8 't pryšt'y wšnty x'št w'n qt 'šẏbtẏt bẏnt prywnt. 't šn sy(x)w'ynt
9 '(*t*)[ ](*b*)rnt qw dwr wy'q s'. 't wnt(n)t wšnty ẓy (q)ntẏt šyr twxycq
10 ['](*t*) w'stnt wḏy pnc pnc yw bwnẏ. cn mwγyšty pcwq̣yry pyd'r.[a]
11 ptxwstẏt bnt γnq̣ynt 'ḏyt xwšmyqy sγdy'[b] cn m'x nw' nẏšn
12 m'xy [c]ḇrḇγšmyn psqp̣y wyc'wqy' 't xwšrts wyc'w' qy dyw
13 prw.[c] xwšmyqy srdy'cn pšq'r'. mγr'mnt brbγšmyn nw[b] qy psqp̣y
14 m't qw slẏq 't tyspwn xwšywnẏ p̣ynms. 't w'nw w'bnt. qt (s)ty
15 mḏy yw žwγy mrty qy 'wšṭty sty m'x ywqy ptrẏt. 't γrf̣ mrtxṃyt
16 zwyrtq cn m'x dyny. 't šn 'nc'ny wntysq ⟨cn⟩ xwšyw(nẏ 'r)qy. 't pr
17 xwr bγw xwy'ry' wntysq. 't ¨p̣y 't ¨tṛy pty θy' w(*n*)t(*y*)sq. 't
18 ps' xwšywnẏ qt cw mrty ycy 'y[n](ẏ) qẏt m'nt [.](yš)t wntysq.
19 w'nw w'bnt qyw s' mwγyšt. qt šmγwny[x]w'ry z'tẏ xcy.
20 't pr wy(ny) wy'q trs'q(ty) xw(š)tr (x)cy ('*t*)[ywn](y) ¨(br)'z (xwšyw)nẏ '(t)
21 ¨wyž. 't (*fr*)'m'y qt šw ('*n*y)p̣nt qyw s' [wy](*d*')[γ]ty nymtẏ b(' b)rbγšmyn
22 psqp̣y 't xwšr(t)s mrty dy[w prw. dynd']rt 't šm'šẏt 't wrnq̣ynt
23 cn wy'q wy'(q)[ ](t *m*)[s](*cn* =)[ ] t(ẏ)[nyn]t wfwx'r ¨dw wyny
24 p̣ynms'. 't['y]γnt'q mrcy mwrt'.
25 p(r) cw(ty) '(x)[yrd'rtt](= qt)yš sry'qyc
26](*p*)[ry](w*yd*) qt pty θ⟨y⟩ d'rtq mn'
27 [bγyšt šmγwn qy](*fr*)[yw](d)'r'zw zw cymyd rm'
28 [pyd'r ptxwsty b'. p'cγny]wnt' brbγšmyn 't w'nw w'b qyw
29 [s' qt qw tw' frm'n s' n]γwšym. [.] s't m'x wrnw pcwẋytq'

[a] +line-filler [b] sic [c–c] in red ink

*68V

by *our execution* may be *glorified that kingdom which cannot be seen, to* which you in your bitterness desire[64] *to send us*, in *which* there will be for us eternal[22] life and everlasting *rest, and for you there will be*[65] torment and gnashing of teeth for ever.'

Then there went out upon them the sharp (5) command[66] that they should all be taken up by ⌜the blade of[22] the sword, and they were all[22] killed heroically by the blade of the sword for the sake of Christ their hope. And on that very night that[63] believing woman hired from the market two men each to every[67] corpse, and she prepared for them clothes[68] so that they might be buried in them. And they took them up ⌜and bore (them)[22] to a distant place and made graves for them ⌜very quickly.[69] (10) And they placed[70] there[22] five each in one[67] pit for fear of the magi.

The victorious ones were killed[71] on the sixth ⌜from the new moon[72] in the month Nisān.

The martyrdom of Barbaʿšmin the bishop and the sixteen martyrs with him.

In the sixth year of the[73] persecution ⌜they slandered Barbaʿšmin[74]—⌜him that was[22] bishop in[29] Seleucia and Ctesiphon—in the king's presence, and they said[75]: 'There is (15) here a certain difficult man who is standing (out) against our teaching, and he turns many men from our religion and makes them cease[76] from the king's work, and he belittles the sun god[22] and abuses ⌜water and fire.'[77] And the king asked: ⌜'What man is this[78] who is doing these things?' ⌜The magi[39] said to him: 'It is the son of the sister of Simon,[79] (20) and in his place he is the chief of the Christians.' *And immediately* ⌜the king[80] was inflamed[81] and became agitated, and he ordered that they should bring him to him.

Then Barbaʿšmin the bishop was taken, and sixteen men with him,[82]

[64] Sy 'hasten'. [65] Sy +'there'. [66] Sy 'sentence'. [67] Sy 'a'. [68] Sy +'of linen'. [69] Sy 'in haste'. [70] Sy 'were placed'. [71] Sy 'crowned'. [72] Sy 'in (the reckoning) of the moon'. [73] Sy 'our'. [74] Sy 'Barbaʿšmin was slandered'. [75] Sy +'to him'. [76] Literally' in cessation'; Sy 'ceasing'. [77] Sy 'fire and water'. [78] Sy 'What information is there about this (man)'. [79] Sy +'Barṣabbāʿe'. [80] Sy 'he'. [81] Sy 'disturbed'. [82] Sy +'who were'.

30 prywyd p](')t ms ny yw rẓstr 'ẓc cn xypθ ršty'qy
31 ms s](')t mwnẇ qy mzyx ycy m'x myd'ny
32]w'nw w'b. ẓynmsq zw. qt strzq

priests and deacons and believers[83] from various places *and also from the cities, and they made* the blessed one[84] *enter* before him.[85] And *he said to him:* '*O* (you who are) ⌜dead of[86] an evil death, (25) why *have you transgressed my command in your effrontery, and* (why) have you become the leader *of this people which I hate,* ⌜because of this,[22] that it holds my *gods* in contempt, *and moreover, that Simon whom* I held *dear was put to death* on account of ⌜this people?'[48] Barbaʿšmin made *answer* and said ⌜to him[22]: '*If* we obey *your* command,[87] it will hinder our whole faith (30) *so that we cannot follow it; but because we will* not *abandon* even one least bit of our truth *at your command, also* all(?)[22] this, which is (as) great amongst us *as anything, shall we keep.' The king* said: 'I see that *you are* contentious *and stupid* . . .' . . .

***69R**

(about 8 lines missing)

9 [=]=t(==t)[ ]t(=)[pr]
10 dstw qθ'rt(*qw t*)['ms'
11 wyd'(γ)t(y) yp(')q ==[ ]==[
12 't w(')nw w'b. (q)t (zw) w'[w](*r*)[y wnnq'
13 šm(')x (d)yn (p)r s't (s)fr[yw]n [ ]==== =t( )[ ](*brbγšmy*)n
14 't šy w'(n)w w'b. (q)t (pr c)[w](tẓ *ny*) ¨(*ny*d'ry) tw' x(yp)θ dw' (ny)t (bγ)yšt
15 ¨tr 't ¨p 't 'wpty'pt wn(w)t'[a] pr s(*w*q)nt dn xwr( )prẇ(.) (q)t d(b)'t
16 s't z'wr θ(b)rwtẓnt 't ṭtyrt(')[b] m'x cn ẓy w'(n)c'nw sw(q*n*t) xwrd'ry.
17 't ¨br'z bžnq'ryẓ pr t('*wn*)tw y(p)'q. (')t w'nw w'(b) q(yw) s'. prywyd
18 qt 'wstyd'ry xypθ γry(w) qw mrc s' ẓys(q) d'm' prw myd 'yšt
19 (w')n qt žγrt ptwx'(y)w (t'ṭ)'. yw'r d'rnq' t'ṭ' myd žwntẓ.[c] qw
20 (*b*n)wqc[d] 't qw wž(p)' s'. qt w(ys)py xwny qy swq't pr( )tw' ywq. .
21 ṭ(š)ntyq'[e] pr( )tw' (*žw*γ)' šqwrθy' 't pr tw' trxq' mrc. 't (*fr*)'m'y

[a] hardly wn(y)t' [b] the end of the word is unclear, perhaps altered [c] over the point is a short slanting line [d] or γwqc, =γwqc, =šwqc [e] the f appears uncertain, but is made less so by the](ṭ)[(with subscript point clear) which is visible on the Hamburg photo on a tiny detached fragment, there superimposed on the outer margin opposite the end of line 28 but originally (on account of its shape) probably belonging to the beginning of line 21

***69R**

'. . . *and God forbid that I should depart from the true faith of one God which my foster-father Mār Simon* entrusted *to me!'* Then *the king became* angry, *and he swore by the sun his god* and said: 'I *will abolish your doctrine from the earth and I will make* your religion *pass away* in the whole[22] creation!' *And at this* Barbaʿšmin *laughed* and said ⌜to him[22]: 'Why have you not brought your two other gods, (15) fire and water, and ⌜made (them)[88] co-partners in the oath with the sun, that perchance they may all ⌜give aid[89] and you may make us pass away from the earth as you have sworn?' And the wicked one was inflamed ⌜with mighty anger[22] and said to him: 'Because you have consigned[90] yourself to death you speak these things ⌜with me,[22] so that I should kill you quickly. But I shall keep you alive[22] (as an object) for (20) quaking and for terror, that everyone who is[91] in your doctrine shall be terrified at your harsh[22] suffering and at your bitter death.'

And he gave orders, *and* they cast *them* into ⌜a dark[22] prison, in heavy irons (and) in harsh *torment, from* the month Šbāṭ until the ninth of[92] ⌜the

[83] Sy 'sons of the covenant'. [84] Sy 'Barbaʿšmin'. [85] Sy 'the king'. [86] Sy 'about to die'. [87] Sy + 'lo!'. [88] Sy 'they become'. [89] Sy 'ally themselves to you'. [90] Literally 'put'. [91] Sy 'stands'. [92] Sy 'in'.

22 ['t](p)'š'ynt [wy](š)[n]t yw t'ṛy bnt qtx̮. pr γ'rnt[f] spynt' pr žγw
23 [z'ry'w](c)n š(b̥)t m'xy wytwr qw knwn '(h̥)ry m'x p(⟨w⟩)n[g] nwmyq sγt'.[h]
24 trx]](q)' p'(tfr')s 't ž(w)γt' γdt' 't šqwrθ z'ry'(w)[i]
25 γnt'qry](t) mwγ(yš)t. 't cn dbz' 't cn cn' ptyzyṛnt
26 šwq]'[j] p('r)xs pr wšnty stqt'.[k] 't pcywp⟨s⟩[l]
27]¨šx̮ 't fš(m)y[m] šẇ. 't wšnty
28]t cn przr p'tfṛ'sy qy p(rx̮)s
29](x̮)l(x̮)dn qθy (m')t. 't nyšty
30](m)yd bstw 't xwšrts w(y)c'w'

[f] sic; apparently (x̮)γ'rnt, but the points may be accidental [g] hardly merely pn [h] hardly sγt[y]' [i] possibly z'ry'(ẇ) [j] not šwqc]' [k] altered from s(q)- [l] sic [m] or pš(m)y; (m) almost certain

month[22] Latter Kānon, *whilst the wicked* magi *inflicted* ⌜. . . *bitter* punishment[93] and harsh wounds and harsh misery[94] (25) *upon them.* And they tormented *them* ⌜by hunger and by thirst[95] *until* ⌜*the skin* was left *dry* upon their bones,[96] and *their face* was changed ⌜*and became as*[31] ashes and lampblack, and their *appearance turned to foulness* from the ⌜excessive punishment[97] which had come *upon them.*

And the next year the king was *in Bet Huzāye,* in the city of Ledān. And he sent (word), *and they brought Barbaʿšmin the bishop bound,* and the sixteen martyrs[22] *with him, in their chains* . . .

***69V**

(about 8 lines missing)

9 q](šx̮)[nγwš]tt[][a]
10](')t ny my(r)t'q'.
11](= 't) tym (fy)'tr[b] tw'
12 s]' 't nm'c bṛy d'm'
13 (*prw qw xwr*)[b](γw s̥). 't( )[ywny fr'm'y]'t ¨(b)rntq yw γwncq
14 (z)yn (qy) m't (wḍy) z'(r qys)r(q'*n. 't w'nw* w)'b qw brbγ-šmyn s̥.
15 't ¨(s) qṣ̮y mwnw qw ẉyn(nx̮)t(y) (γwb)t(y)' s'. 't tym pr fy'tr m(zy)x
16 s'q(y)' 't (p)r xš'wn 'xx̮ž(n)q' t'f̥'··· fwx'r 'ḍy w'nw w'b
17 qw xwšywnw s' qt (pr) cwtx̮ w'(n)c'nw r(yn)cq fnx̮šysq t'm':
18 't (p)r( )zyn qy xwrm xcy 't pẇṭqy bwtq' 'xwsx̮dysq t'm'.[c]
19 (q)t prx̮cw wbγw qy ny f̥tyrq'.[d] qy pr w(yny) f̥rm'n sfrx̮tx̮t
20 qtnt s't x̮d 'x̮št. 't pr wyny frm'n ny nx̮c bntq'. zw ny w'n
21 qt xwdq'r prymnt 'x̮št f̥nyštx̮ bẇq̥. yw'r (q)t ms ny s't
22 tw' xš'wn θbṛy mn' nγwš(n)q' qt prx̮c[d] ẉyd 'x̮c qy pr (r*št*)[y'q]
23 d'rmsq.··:·· xwšywnx̮ w'nw (w')b q(y)w s'. qt xwy'ry'[n' wn']
24 't n' zwyrt m̥yd r't qy zpry'q qθ'rm t[w' p](r*y*)[w
25 žẉy tγw 't y'nt qy d'f' p(rw). ('*t*)[ ]p(s)'[
26 d'm'( )prw. xypθ rwžty' spc' w(nnq')[
27 wnnq' pr ⟨s't⟩ šm'x rmw n' nγwšnẇ '[t
28 zprt 'ḍy w'nw w'b qyw s'. n' bx(t)[
29 prywyd p' c'nw (s)'t rmt' (')t =[
30 wyžpγwnx̮ mx̮θy w'btq' qw t(')[ms'

[a] or]t[=]t[] [b] altered from (m)- [c] altered from tm- [d] sic

***69V**

'. . . *But now listen to me and do not despise my commands, and* you shall ⌜not die,[98] *and I shall honour all of you with presents and with gifts, and* especially you, *Barbaʿšmin, I shall honour today, if you will listen to me* and pay homage with me to *the sun god.*' And *immediately he gave orders,* and they brought[99] a cup of gold ⌜in which there were[100] a thousand kēsarakāns,[101] and he said to Barbaʿšmin[102]: (15) 'And[22] now take this, to the acclamation of the onlookers, and again I shall raise you up in further[22] greatness and in power!' The blessed one said to ⌜the king[102]: 'Why do you entice me like a child and incite me with ⌜gold, which is dust and will disintegrate,[103] that I should desert God, who will not pass away, at whose command[104] (20) all[22] these things were created and at whose command they[105] will ⌜become nothing,[106] ⌜so that[107] I not only will *not be enticed by these things, but not even if you should give me all your kingly power would I consent that *I abandon that thing which I *truly* hold.' The king said to him: '*Do not* disparage and ⌜do not[22] return this gift *with* which I have honoured *you, if you wish that* (25) you should live, you and these (others) with you. But[43] *if you rebelliously quar-*

[93] Sy 'tortures and sufferings'. [94] Sy 'mallet-blows'. [95] Sy 'with the exhaustion of hunger and thirst'. [96] Sy 'the skin, dry upon the bones, parted from them'. [97] Sy 'great number of tortures'. [98] Sy 'live'. [99] Sy +'to him'. [100] Sy 'whilst there were in it'. [101] Sy 'half-drachmas of gold'. [102] Sy 'him'. [103] Sy 'dust which wastes away and flowers which wither'. [104] Sy 'word'. [105] Sy 'all these things'. [106] Sy 'be dissolved again'. [107] Sy 'because'.

rel with me I shall fulfil[108] my desire *upon you and* I shall do[109] *my will* upon all your ⌜disobedient *and stiff-necked*[110] people.' The holy one[111] said to him: ⌜'God forbid that . . ., because when all peoples and *nations shall stand on trial before God on that* terrible day, He will say to *me*[112]: . . .' . . .

[108] Sy 'perform'. [109] Sy 'satisfy'. [110] Sy 'stiff-necked and disobedient'. [111] Sy + 'answered and'. [112] Sy 'God will say to me on that day (on) which all peoples and nations shall stand in fear (**DTW** + on trial) before Him' (altered in **D** to 'Let not God say . . .').

Commentary

***64R**

22 *[yw cn]( )ṃy[θ]ty*: literal translation of Syr. *ḥd mn ywm̈t'*.

25 *](ṯ)yrc m't ~ qym'* '(was) standing': *](ṯ)yrc* is presumably a f. pp. meaning something like 'erected'.

***64V**

22 *(xwšywny, ṭry) ~ rḥm mlk'* 'loving the king, friend of the king'. One might have expected the Syr. word-order to have been preserved, cf. the Sogd. compounds in *frī-* listed in GMS § 1145(b) (to which Chr. *fry-γr'mqy'* 'love of money' and *(fr)y-mrtxm'* (voc.) 'amator hominum', C46 = TiiiT.V.B., R(?)1, may be added as non-Buddhist examples), and Bactrian φρειχοαδηογο. The translator may have been influenced by the Persian form of the name, *Šāh-dōst*.

***65R**

30 For the restoration of the dating formula cf. 68V.11–12.

***65V**

26 *dst'*: either abl. sg. governed by *cn* (~ Syr. *mn*) or acc. pl. (~ Syr. pl.) governed by *pr*.

27 *yw mγwn xc(y) ~ 'kwth 'nwn d-* 'are like' (the sg. verb in the Sogdian will be due to its subject having been *y'tqwny*, which translates the Syr. pl. *ḥr̈š'* at 23R.10, 66R.4 and 66V.7). M. *'yw mγwn* has been translated 'altogether' (GMS § 1317). However, *mγwn* (B. *mγ'wn*) < **hama-gauna-* means not only 'whole' (cf. Av. [2]*hama-*) but also 'alike, same' (cf. Av. *hama-gaona-* < [1]*hama-*; Šuγnī *miγūnd* 'like', Morgenstierne EVŠG 43b; MP *hamgōnag* 'likewise'). Cf. also Pahl. *hamēwēnag* 'homogeneous' beside Arm. *hamawrēn* 'all, whole', Pahl. (Psalter) *ḥ'mdwyn* 'all'. There is thus no obstacle to interpreting *yw mγwn* here as 'like', though the construction is unclear owing to the preceding lacuna. Cf. C4 = TiiB27a, R10–11 (Lentz): *pw ywx'q pr 'rt'wt 'tpr qt'nyq'ryṭ yw mγwn* 'without distinction on the righteous and on sinners alike'. The Buddhist[113] and Manichean[114] passages are less clear.

28 *p(r) nm[ry'q] ~ bsym'yt* 'sweetly'. In 12R.13 the same Syr. word is translated *pr tny' yty (p)r nmry['] (q)*.

30 *'ṯty ~ sbr'* 'hope'. The present context shows that Benveniste's remark that *'wt* «s'agit toujours du sentiment porté au Christ» (Etudes 1, 323) is too sweeping.

***66R**

5–6 *cw bžyq( )⟨'⟩t (p)ṭ(yr) [~ mn' . . . d-byš w-sn'* 'what evil and odious (thing)?'. For *(p)ṭ(yr)* translating *sn'* 'hateful, foul' cf. the verb B. **pt'yr* 'harm', past stem *pt'yr't* (P6.6) or *pt'yrt* (P6.143), but note that even if the reading is correct *(p)ṭ(yr)* need not be a complete word, since it stands at the end of the line.

7 *(m = =) ~ ḥsm'* 'envy, grudge' or *ḥmt'* 'anger'.

10 *w'wry*: see Benveniste Etudes 1, 331.

16 The Sogdian apes the Syr. construction and word-order: *l' twsp twb ptgm' hn' sny' l-mmllw*, literally 'do not increase further this odious word to speak'.

[113] ST ii/8.11 (*s't 'yw mγ'wn* 'all alike'?); P9.142.

[114] M172i, V12 ('likewise'?); Man. Letter 2, 5, *nwm pδk' mnd* 1 *mγwn xcyy*; M746c *s'ṭ* 1 *mγwn β'ṭ* (cf. ST ii/8.11).

17 *(pw)'[b](γ)wnc*: cf. Chor. *b'βγwnc* 'ugly' < *'βγwnc* 'appearance, (good) looks' (MacKenzie 1970, 555). In view of the antonym B. *pry''βγwn'k* 'lovely' (ibid. 557), the final *-č* of *(pw)'[b](γ)wnc* does not belong to a noun **'bγwnc* (as the Chor. would suggest) but is the f. equivalent of m. *-ĕ*. The noun *wxr* (originally probably n., cf. Gershevitch 1971, 279) is treated as f. in C2 (54V.17, 60V.31; cf. also VJ 39d, *ZKh wnxr*).

18 On *'wšwx* see now Sundermann 1981, 187–188 n. 197.

***66V**

5 On the verb *sxwrd* see Schwartz 1970a, 390–391, where a reference should be added to M. *sxwrδδ* in S40ii, V3–4, *xypδ w(n)xr 'tyy šr'k jγ'r 't(y)y sxwrδδ* (see Gershevitch 1975, 209 n. 13).

10 *d(w')[p](šy)[n](t)[y]* (cf. p. 59 above): that the bodies of the three martyrs were each cut into two pieces is stated in a subsequent passage (Braun p. 92 with n. 3).

15 *''rwγtqy'* 'frenzy'. The development of this meaning (on which see Schwartz 1970a, 391) may be partly due to an association with *ārĕ* 'mad, raving' as here.

16 On *ġwy'q* see Benveniste Etudes 2, 128–129, and Gershevitch AHM 186. Dr. Gershevitch further refers me to NP (Asadī) *kāv* 'hero'.

***68R**

3 *(žw w'š)ḷq(')* 'you will send news': very uncertain, since such an expression is not attested and also because the Syriac MSS offer several different readings at this point. **CEV** have *mṭybyn 'ntwn lh* 'you will prepare it (=the struggle)' or 'you will prepare yourselves for it' *(√ṭwb)*. I follow **W**, which has *mṭbyn 'ntwn lh̄* 'you will proclaim it (=creation)' *(√ṭbb)*. Finally, **T** reads *mṭ'byn 'ntwn lh̄*, which can either be a graphic variant of **W**'s reading or belong to a different verb *(√ṭ'b)*, in which case it means 'you will improve it (=creation)'.

7 *rwšγwnw̌*: Hansen translates ‚lichten(?)', probably implying that *rwšγwny* derives from an older **rwcγwny*. Phonologically this is unexceptionable, cf. above, p. 50 n. 4, on *pšγšd'rnt*, 1R.5. However, like Benveniste (Etudes 1, 328), I am reluctant to divorce this word from B. *rwžγwn'y* 'desirable', Dhy. 215.[115] Although no other example has been noticed of a dissimilation of *žγ* to *šγ*, such a change does not seem to be an impossibility in a dialect in which *xš* > *γš* (cf. above, p. 67).

7–8 *'yžn b'n ~ 'tṭp'* 'I may be included, sheltered'. The Sogdian appears to have been influenced by *'yžn wn't t'm'* in line 6.

8–9 *'[y](n)c 'ym qt'nyq'rc*: imitating the Syr. word-order.

11 *brtwxt ~ tkylyn* 'confident, assured, sure'. B. *βrt(')wx*, whose C. Sogd. equivalent is attested here for the first time, occurs several times (P6.156; Dhy. 27, 240) in association with *wrcy'*, which has been explained as a compound of **wrt-* < **wi-rata-* (*√ram-*) + *šy'* 'memory, mind' (Gershevitch 1945, 145 n. 1). This suggests that *βrt(')wx* is a compound of **βrt-* < **abi-rata-* + *'wx* 'mind'. Its basic meaning will be 'tranquil, happy' as in P11.30 and Frag. 19.3, developing to 'secure, sure' (Dhy. 27, 240) and further to 'assured, confident' (here) and perhaps 'skilful' (P6.35). A similar semantic development may be postulated for the probable cognate B. M. *βrtpδ* (C. *brtpθ*, ST i; *brtpd*, C2; *brtpd* and *brdpd*, ST ii/1) 'informed, acquainted, knowing', *brtpd wn-* 'certiorem facere', but the second element of the compound is uncertain (possibly °*pθ* 'path' in the sense 'counsel', cf. MP and NP *pand*). C. *prtpd* (Sundermann 1981, Text 28, R21 with n. 329) is more likely to be a later form or an error (with Sundermann) than to represent **upa-rata-*.

16 *nyžy ~ mṭy* 'came'. The Sogdian, or the Syr. text from which it was translated, may have been influenced by the similar phrase with *npq* (translated *nyžy*), e.g. at V4–5.

17 *pryṭy,nt ḇ(y)nt*: error for *pryṭy,t ḇynt*.

18 *spynt'* 'irons' (also 69R.22) indicates a light stem *spyn-*, probably *[spen-]* < **aspanyā-*. On the Ir. word for 'iron' see Bailey KT6, 419; Gershevitch TPS 1964, 15–16; Morgenstierne EVP 12 and EVŠG 74.

19 *swdq šqr- ~ √rhṭ, ap'el* 'cause to hurry'. Apparently *swdq* is an adj. or adv.

24 *cw ~ ky* (interrog. particle). Such a use of *cw* has not been recognized elsewhere, but cf. *cwt* and *cwty* in this sense (GMS §§ 1529–1530).

26 MacKenzie's derivation (CSN 122) of B. **prβ's* 'change colour' (impf. *pr'yβ's*), C. **prf'ty* (f. *prf'c*) from **pari-bā-* can hardly be doubted, though the *f* requires explanation. Possibly one should start from a reduplicated present (cf. Emmerick SGS 124 on *vīv-*). For **prf's* < **pari-b^{i}/$_{a}$-bā-sa-* (*-f-* < *-β-f-* < *-β-β-*) a well-supported parallel is provided by B. *pr'yδ*, C. *pryθ* 'sell' < **parā-daθa-ya-* (cf. Av. *para.daθa-* and Khot. *parāth-*, SGS 72), with *-θ-* < *-δ-θ-* < *-δ-δ-*.

[115] Szemerényi's interpretation of B. *rwžγwn'y* as 'red' (Beiträge zur Namenforschung 2 [1950–1951], 177) is not in accord with the Chinese.

27 *ʾγ'rc* ~ Syr. C *psyḥyn* 'glad, clear, bright, radiant'. In view of *γ'rnt* for **γr'nt* (69R.22), *ʾγ'rc* could stand for **ʾγr'c*. However, MacKenzie's comparison (CSN 122–123) with *wγr'ty* 'awake' etc. does not seem semantically satisfactory. (Khot. *brrāva*, cited as a parallel, never requires any other interpretation than 'awake, alert', as Prof. Emmerick informs me.) Cf. rather S. *"γrt'k*, 14615 = TiiK178, R4, C. abstract *'(γ)rtq(y')*, 77V.5, translating Syr. *zhywt'* 'splendour', and M. *"γ'r*, M134i, V7, which probably corresponds to Parth. *b'm*, Turk. *qïw* 'id.' according to Henning JRAS 1944, 144 n. 3.

***68V**

5 On *d'r* 'blade' see Gershevitch AHM 245 and Benveniste Etudes 2, 127.

7 *ṭrwrty* ~ *šld'* 'corpse'. Cf. Gershevitch 1975, 211 n. 22.

9 *twxycq*: according to Benveniste Etudes 1, 330, *-ycq* is an adverbial suffix. However, as neither of the B. examples which he quotes appears to be an adverb, and as *brzycq* in 60V.19 is clearly an adj., it is more likely that *twxycq* is an adj. used adverbially.

11 It is not clear whether the unique spelling *sγdy'* for *sγty'* represents *[saγdyă]* (cf. above, p. 68 n. 6, on *'(d)r(xwr)mzd*) or *[saγδyă]*, with further assimilation (cf. S. *sγδ'*, Pelliot chin. 2782, cited by Bailey BSOAS 10/4 [1942], 1021).

12 On *xwšrts* see Benveniste Etudes 1, 320–321, and Szemerényi, Studies in the Indo-European System of Numerals, Heidelberg 1960, 52 n. 51.

13 *pšq'r*: see MacKenzie CSN 119.–*nw*: the placing of this word between the relative clause and its nominal antecedent strongly suggests that it is a demonstrative pronoun (acc. sg. m.) as assumed by Benveniste Etudes 1, 320.[116] However, since no such pronoun is attested, it may be worth considering the possibility that *nw* stands for **nww*, acc. of *nwy* 'new', hence 'Barba'šmin the new (one) who was bishop' = 'B. who was the new bishop.' This makes excellent sense, but the mode of expression would certainly be extremely unusual.

14 *qw slyq 't tyspwn* 'in Seleucia and Ctesiphon'. The only other instance in C2 of *qw* 'in' (without *s'* or *pn*!) is in Fragment B, R30, *qw q̈lyθ'*, probably 'in the cell', where *q̈lyθ'* is obl. (see above, p. 131). Here, as is often the case, the foreign names are not inflected. Dr. Gershevitch points out that the spelling *tyspwn*, which disagrees with the Syr. *qṭyspwn*, is that found in Pahlavi and in Parthian (see Henning BSOAS 10/4 [1942], 944).

15 *žwyy*: literal translation of *qšy'* 'harsh', here 'difficult, stubborn'.

16 *'nc'ny* (here ~ *b̈ṭyl'* 'ceasing, idle') functions as a predic. adj. also in C29 = TiiiB61b, V(?)12. Since *'nc'ny* has not been found in attributive usage or with pl. suffix it is more likely to be the obl. of the noun 'cessation' (M. *'nc'n*, B. *'nc'nh*, C. *'nc'n*, C34 = TiiB60[k], v 10) than an adj. with suffix **-iya-* (cf. perhaps Oss. *äncon* 'easy').

17 *xwr bγw*: the Syriac (**DTW**) here has only *šmš'* 'the sun', but cf. *šmš' 'lh'* in the Syr. to 69R.11 and 69V.13.

21 *ʾwyž* ~ *'tdlḥ* 'was shaken, agitated (sc. by anger)'. The etymological possibilities are numerous. (1) **ā-waiǰa-* to √*waig-* 'shake', cf. pp. 84–85 above on *žẓž*. (2) **ā-wăz(a)ya-*, standing to Khot. *oys-* 'be angry', caus. *auś-*, as B. *pr'wyz* to Khot. *parauys-* 'drown', caus. *parauś-* (cf. Emmerick SGS 20, 74–75); here might belong also *'wšc* (discussed above, p. 73) if from **ā-wašti-*. (3) **ā-w(a)iz(a)ya-*, to a hypothetical √*waiz-* as proposed by MacKenzie BSTBL II, 24, who compares B. *"wyštk*, Khot. *āviṣṭaa-*, etc. (cf. above, loc. cit.).

32 *strzq*: unfortunately the Syr. equivalent of this unknown word is not clear, since the MSS offer two plausible variants, **TVW** *qryy'* 'quarrelsome, contentious' and **D** *mrḥ'* 'bold, headstrong, insolent' (**A**'s *qrḥ'* 'bald' is probably a misreading).

***69R**

18 *ẓys(q)* < **ẓyysq*.

20 *(bn)wqc* ~ **DVW** *zw't'* 'trembling, quaking, terror' (less likely ~ **T** *dḥlt'* 'fear'). If correctly read, cf. *bn'w* (C28 = TiiB62d + TiiB25, V10), B. *βn'w*, M. *'βnw* 'tremble', and, for the suffix, C. *-'qc* (GMS § 1002).

22 *γ'rnt*: mistake for **γr'nt*? Or a genuine metathetic form?

[116] B. *n'*, with which Benveniste compares *nw*, seems to be a 1 pl. enclitic pronoun at least in VJ 1285 (see Gershevitch 1942, 100), possibly also (as 'ethic dative') in VJ 875, 1447. If *nw* is indeed a demonstrative, it could be a late creation due to analysis of forms such as *'wnw* and *mwnw* as juxtapositions of *'w* + **nw* etc.

23 *syt'*: the corresponding form *sxth/syth* in the 'Ancient Letters' is clearly acc., governed by *pr/ʿL* (on which see Skjærvø, Acta Orientalia 37 [1976], 112ff.). The B. and M. texts use instead the loc. (without preposition), a usage also attested in C2. The present use of the acc. without *pr* (thus also in Pelliot chin. 2782, cited above, p. 149) may result from a contamination of the two constructions.

26 *šwq]' p('r)xs*: the subject will probably have been *crm*, an old neuter which is treated as f. also in the Mug document B3.11–13 (*ZKh . . . crm*). Since *šwq]'* cannot be read *šwqc]'* (the bottom of *c* should be visible), it suggests that the **-aka*–stem treatment seen in M. *šwkc'* (BBB 486), S. *'(š)kwc'* (Sogdica 64, line 13) is secondary.–*p('r)xs* is a mistranslation of *pš* 'remained, was left, etc.', here properly 'ceased, departed, parted'.–*pcywp⟨s⟩*: the scribe first wrote *pcywp* (cf. above, p. 72), and then attempted to alter it into *pcywfs*.

27 *(f)š(m)y šẇ ~ šwḥr̈'* 'lampblack, soot'. See Sims-Williams 1983, 50.

***69V**

11 Since *tw'* is gen. and not acc. it is probably the indirect object of a form of *zpry'q wn-* (~**TW** *myqr 'n'*), a phrase which translates Syr. *yqr* also in 13R.29 and 69V.24. Any verb translating **DV**'s *mwrb 'n'* 'I (shall) exalt' might be expected to take a direct object.

13 *γwncq ~ ks'* 'cup'. Cf. S. *γwnck*, Б1.24?

19–20 Both *ṛm'n* (~*mlt'* 'word') in line 19 and *s't* (not in Syr.) in line 20 show the influence of the following Syr. clause.

20 *ny nyc*: cf. B. *nyδcw* (Vim. 178; Dhu. 242, 284; VJ 23c, 8d; P9.139; P15.23), always used with a further negative as here. Wrongly Benveniste Etudes 1, 327.

20–23 Benveniste has offered both a literal translation and a paraphrase of this passage (Etudes 1, 327; 2, 120) but has not overcome the fundamental difficulty that, though the Sogdian agrees almost word for word with the Syriac, the Sogd. word-order cannot yield the same sense as the Syriac. The following corrections appear to be essential (I mark suggested insertions by {braces} and transpositions by /obliques/):

/w'n qt zw ny/ xwdq'r prymnt 'γšt {ny} ṛnyšty bẇq. yw'r /ms ny (q)t/ s't tw' xš'wn θbṛy mn'
mṭl d-'n' lw blḥwd b-hlyn l' mštdl 'n'. 'l' 'p l' kd klḥ mlkwtk ttl ly
nγwš(n)q' qt pryc{w} ẇyd 'γc qy pr (ršt)[y'q] d'rmsq.
mtṭpys 'n' d-'rp' l-hw mdm d-šryr'yt 'ḥyd 'n'.

28 The interpretation of *n'-bx(t)[. . .* as a deprecation, literally '(May it be) not fated (that . . .)' is suggested by C33 = TiiT21, ii(?), R5, where *n'bxt [. . .* apparently glosses Syr. *ḥs* 'God forbid!'.

Syriac text

Ad f. *64R *Šāhdōst* **(ACDSTW)**

twb[117] shdwt' d-šhdwst[118] 'psqwp'[119] ⌜w-d-m'' w-ʿsryn w-tmny' sẖdyn[120] d-ʿmh
šhdwst dyn[121] 'psqwp' ẖw d-hw' ḥlp šmʿwn[122] b-slq w-qbṭyspwn[123] mdẏnt'. b-ḥd mn ywm̈t' ḥẓ' hw'[124] ⌜ḥzw' tmyḥ'[125] w-'tdmr. w-qr' hw' l-qšyš' w-l-mšmšn' d-ʿmh. mṭl d-b-ṭšẏt'[126] ʿmryn hww. w-'ṇr l-hwn. d-ḥzn'[127] ywmn' b-ḥzw' d-lly' sblt' ḥd' d-šwbḥ'[121] d-qym' mn 'r'' ʿdm' l-šmy'. w-q'm b-ršḥ b-tšbwḥt' rbt' šmʿwn ṭwbn'. w-'n' q'mn'[128] ʿl 'r'' mn l-tḥt. w-qr' ly hẇ šmʿwn b-ḥdwt' ⌜kd mpṣḥ[129] w-'m̈r.[130] d-sq šhdwst sqy[131] lwty[124] w-l' tdḥl. mṭl d-'n' 'tmly slqt. w-'nt h'[132] slq 'nt ywmn'. w-mn šʿt' d-'ttʿyrt hymnt w-'šrt d-b-ʿgl b-shdwt'[133] d-ʿl[134] ⌜py 'lhn mdrk 'n' lh. . . .

Ad f. *64V

b-šnt[135] trtyn d-rdwpyn mlk' b-slq 'ytwhy[136] hw'. w-'ttḥd[137] hw hn' ⌜nṣyḥ' šhdwst[138] d-'ytwhy twrgm šmh rḥm mlk'. rḥmh gyr w-'ḥbh l-mlk' 'ly' šryr'yt[121] ⌜mn klh npšh w-ḥylh.[139] zhy' hw' w-dky'.[140] šryr' hw'

[117] **AS** om. [118] **C** d-qdyš' mry šhdwst [119] **AS** + d-slyq w-d-qṭyspwn; **C** q'twlyq'; **T** + w-qtwlyq' [120] **AS** w-d-m'' w-ʿsryn w-tmny' sẖd'; **C** w-d-hṅwn [121] **D** om. [122] **C** + q'twlyq' [123] Sic **W**; recte **ADST** w-b-qṭyspwn; **C** w-qṭyspwn [124] **C** om. [125] **D** pl. [126] **C** sg. [127] [Or d-ḥzy' as apud Bedjan;] **AS** d-ḥzy' ly; **CD** d-ḥzyt; **T** d-ḥz' 'n' [128] **C** q'm hwyt; **D** q'm [129] **C** om.; **DT** kd pṣyḥ [130] **C** + ly [131] Sic **W**; recte **ACST** sq; **D** om. [132] **CT** om. [133] **C** shdwt' hd'; **D** (b-)shdwt' [134] **D** 'l [135] **C** + d- [136] **D** 'yt [137] **C** hydyn 'ttḥd [138] **C** šhdwst nṣyḥ' [139] **C** mn klh lbh w-ḥylh; **D** mn npšh w-ḥylh; **T** mn klḥ npšh w-mn klh ḥylh [140] **D** w-dk'

w-qdyš'. w-dmy 'p[121] hw b-ḥbrh gnbr ḥyl' šm'wn ṭwbn'. w-'tthdw[141] dyn[142] 'mh mnhyn d-mdynt' hlyn w-'p mn qwry' w-'trwt' d-ḥdryhyn qšyš' w-šmš'[143] w-bny qym' ⌈w-bnt qym'.[124] d-hw' hw' mnynhwn m'' w-'sryn w-tmny'. w-nplw b-ššlt' klhwn. w-'thbšw byt 'syr' qšy' w-mryr' yrḥ' ḥmš'. w-''lw[144] 'nwn l-bwqyn' d-mhwt' ⌈w-l-šnd' byš' w-l-mzwrt'[145] qšyt' tlt zbnyn 'yk d-nsgdwn l-šmš'. . . .

Ad f. *65R (ACDESTW)

. . . w-hnwn b-ḥd ql' 'wy' w-bsym' mzmryn hww w-'mryn. d-dwn[146] 'lh' dynn[147] w-tb' tb'tn[148] mn 'm' d-l' mrḥmn. w-mn gbr' 'šdy dm' w-nkwltn'[149] prwqyn[150] w-šrk'.[151] w-kd[152] mṭyw l-dwkt' hy[121] d-bh mtqṭlyn hww. twb 'mrw.[153] bryk hw 'lh' d-yhb ln ⌈hn' klyl' d-lh ḥyryn hwyn'.[154] w-l' ḥskn mn ⌈hd' mnt'[155] d-lh b'yn hwyn. w-bryk hw mšyḥh d-l' 'rpyny[156] b-'lm' hn''. 'l' qrn w-'qymny[157] qdmwhy b-ḥwsy' d-dmn.[158] w-'dm' ⌈d-'tqṭl 'ḥry' d-klhwn[159] tšbwḥt' mn pwmhwn l' 'ndt·:·

'tkllw dyn nšyḥ' b-'sryn b-yrḥ šbṭ b-d-shr' ·:· l-šhdwst dyn ṭwbn' dbrwhy b-ššlth[160] w-'wblwhy l-bt hwzy'[161] l-b⟨yt⟩lpṭ[162] mdynt'. . . .

Ad C28 = TiiB66R *Tarbo* (ACDESTVW)

. . . 'mrw[153] lh[163] b-m'kl qrṣ' byš'[164] 'yk d-m'dyn d-'ḥwth lm d-šm'wn 'bd[165] lky ḥrš'. mṭl d-'tqṭl 'ḥwhyn.[166] w-kd mṭyt[167] mlt'[168] l-mlk'[169] 'tthdt trbw brt qym' w-ḥth mqdšt'[170] w-'mth brt qym' d-rdy' hwt[171] lh[172] b-ywlpn' ṭb' d-mšyḥ'. w-'wblw[173] 'nyn l-tr'' d-mlkt'.[174] 'yk d-l-šw'l'. w-'štdr mwpṭ' rb'. w-tryn rwrbn'[175] 'yk d-ntbwn b-dynhyn.[176] w-kd 'l[177] hwy qdmyhwn. ḥzw d-p'' hw' ḥzwh w-šbyḥ qwbllh[178] ytyr mn d-klhyn[179] nš'. d-ḥlyṣt' w-qdyšt' trbw. . . .

Ad ff. *65V–*66R and C28 = TiiB66V

'nt qdyšt' trbw w-'mrt lhwn . . . l-dmn ṣhyn 'ntwn mnw kl' lkwn d-l' tštwnyhy.[180] w-l-qṭln[181] ḥyryn 'ntwn h'[182] kl ywm bh mplpn[183] 'ydykwn. 'nḥnn gyr[184] krṣṭyn'[185] ⌈mtqṭlyn 'nḥnn w-l' kpryn ḥnn.[186] mṭl d-ktyb ln d-l-ḥd 'lh' blḥwdwhy[187] nplwḥ. w-l' nḥšwb 'mh kl ṣlm d-b-šmy' w-b-'r''. w-twb ktyb ln. d-ḥrš' d-mštkḥ nmwt mn 'ydy 'mh. w-'ykn hkyl ⌈ḥrš' 'bdyn 'nḥnn.[188] d-h' 'kwth 'nwn d-kpwry' d-mn 'lh'. w-'l trtyhyn qṭl' mlyk.[189] šm'wh dyn bsym'yt w-mryr'yt[190] dyn' hlyn[191] d-'wl'. kd štyqyn hww w-tmyhyn[192] b-šwprh šbyḥ' w-b-ḥkmth mytrt'. w-mṭl[193] sbr' sryq' d-ḥwšbhwn byš' d-'lyh.[194] ḥd[195] ḥd mnhwn hkn' mtḥšb hw' 'lyh.[196] d-'n' mpṣ' 'n' lh mn mwt'. 'yk d-thw' lh lm 'ntt'·:·

'n'[197] mwpṭ' w-'mr lhyn mṭl[198] d-'tqṭl 'ḥwkyn b-rwgzkyn d-mṭlth. w-'p[199] 'l nmwskyn[200] 'brtyn[201] w-'bdtyn ḥrš' l-mlkt' w-'p[202] l' šlyṭ lkyn[203] 'yk d-'mrt·:·[204] ⌈trbw dyn nṣyḥt'[205] 'mrt mn' gyr d-byš w-sn' 't'bd bh b-šm'wn 'ḥy. d-mṭlth ḥyyn mn 'lh' mwbdyn[206] 'nḥnn.[207] w-'pn ⌈'ntwn gyr[208] b-sn't' w-b-ḥsm'[209] qṭltwnyhy. 'l' hw ⌈ḥy' hw[210] b-mlkwt' 'lyt'. hy d-m'br' mlkwtkwn[211] ḥtytt'[212] ⌈w-šry' l-šwlṭnkwn w-mbṭl' l-'yqrkwn[213] hn' d-l' mqw'·:·

w-btr hlyn šdrw[214] l-byt 'syr' l-tltyhyn d-ntntrn w-l-ywm' 'ḥrn' šlḥ lh mwpṭ'[215] d-'b'' mn mlk' w-'pṣykyn ⌈mn qṭl'[216] l-tltykyn. w-hwy ly 'ntt'·:·hy dyn nṣyḥt' kd šm't hd'[217] 'ttzy't w-'mrt skwr pwmk ršy''[218]

[141] **CS** w-'tthd; **DT** 'tthdw [142] **C** gyr [143] **CDST** w-mšmšn' [144] **C** +hw' [145] **C** w-l-šnd' mryr' w-l-mwzrt'(!); **D** w-šnd' byš' w-l-mryrwt' [146] **D** dwn [147] **CDE** dyny (with **P**[eshitta], Ps. 43.1) [148] **DE** tb'ty (with **P**) [149] **E** om. [150] **C** prwqyny; **D** pysny(!) (**P** pṣny) [151] **CDT** w-d-šrk' [152] **E** kd [153] **C** 'mr [154] **C** klyl' hn' d-shdwt' d-lh ḥyrynn [155] **C** mnt' hd' [156] **ACEST** 'rpyn [**D** unclear] [157] **ACDEST** w-'qymn [158] **C** +qdyš' [159] **C** d-'tqṭlw klhwn [160] **ADS** pl. [**E**] [161] **D** wzn'(!) [**E**] [162] **AS** l-lpṭ; **CDT** l-byt lpṭ [**E**] [163] **C** +l-mlkt'; **T** lh [164] **C** qšy' [165] **C** 'bdyn [166] **C** pl. [167] **CDETW** mṭt [168] **D** +hd' [169] **C** +pqd w- [170] **C** qd [171] **E** hw [172] Sic **TV**; recte **CDESW** lh [173] **C** w-'wbly; **W** w-'wbl [174] **CD** d-mlk' [175] **C** +'mh [176] **C** +d-qdyšt' [177] **W** 'lw [178] **S** qbwllh(!) [179] **D** klhyn [180] **C** tšdwnyhy [**E**] [181] **D** +h' [**E**] [182] **C** w-h' [**E**] [183] Sic **V**; recte **CDSTW** mplpln [**E**] [184] **TW** +'yk [185] **D** krṣṭynyt' [186] **T** mtqṭlnn w-l' kprnn [187] **C** om. [188] **C** 'bdynn ḥrš'; **D** ḥrš' 'bydyn ḥnn; **T** ḥrš' 'bdnn [189] **S** mlk [190] **E** mryr'yt; **TW** hnw dyn mryr'yt [191] **T** hnwn [192] **C** w-thyryn [**E**] [193] **W** mṭl [**E**] [194] Sic **V**; recte **CDSTW** d-'lyh [**E**] [195] **C** kl [**E**] [196] **D** om. [**E**] [197] **C** +dyn [198] **C** d-mṭl [199] **D** 'p [200] **C** nmws'; **DE** nmws' [201] **C** 'brn 'ntyn [202] **CDETW** w-'pn [203] **E** lky [204] **AS** d-'mrtyn; **CDT** d-'mrty [**E** unclear] [205] **C** 'nt trbw w- [206] **T** mwbdn [207] **CDETW** hwyn [208] **C** gyr 'ntwn [209] **D** w-b-ḥmt' [210] **C** ḥy hw' [211] **D** ml(k)tkwn(!) [**E**] [212] Sic **SV**; recte **CDTW** tḥtyt' [**E**] [213] **CDTW** w-šry' l-'yqrkwn w-mbṭl' l-šwlṭnkwn (**D** šwlṭnkwn) [**E**] [214] **C** šdr; **CDTW** +'nyn [**E**] [215] **D** +l-trbw [**E**] [216] **C** om. [**E**] [217] **C** hlyn [218] **C** +byš'

w-bʿldbbh[219] d-ʾlhʾ w-lʾ twsp twb ptgmʾ hnʾ snyʾ l-mmllw. mṭl d-lʾ nṭp ⌜qlkwn ṣḥnʾ[220] b-ʾdny dkyṭʾ. w-lʾ ʿʾlʾ mltkwn pḥztʾ b-trʿyty nkptʾ w-qdyštʾ. ⌜ʾnʾ gyr mkyrtʾ ʾnʾ[221] d-mšyḥʾ w-btwlwty b-šmh nṭrʾ ʾnʾ ⌜w-šrry b-sbrh tlyʾ ʾnʾ.[222] w-ḥyy lh mgʿlʾ[223] ʾnʾ . . .

Ad f. *66V

šdr hwʾ dyn mlkʾ ptgmʾ w-ʾmr. d-ʾn hw d-sgdn l-šmšʾ lʾ nmwtn. mṭl d-kbr ḥrišʾ lʾ ydʿn·:· w-kd šmʿ hdʾ ʿny w-ʾmrn. d-l-ʾlhn[224] b-bryth[225] lʾ mḥlpyn[226] ʾnḥnn. w-sgdtʾ d-ʿbwdn l-šmšʾ ʿbdh lʾ yhbyn[227] ḥnn w-l-prwqn[228] yšwʿ mṭl lwḥmkwn[229] lʾ mrpynn·:·[230] w-bršʿth[231] ⌜rbw mgwšʾ w-ʾmrw.[232] nʾbdn hlyn mn tḥyt šmyʾ. mṭl d-hnyn ʿbd ḥrišʾ l-mlktʾ w-ʾtkrht

hydyn ʾtyhbt ʿlyhyn mpsnwtʾ. d-b-ʾynʾ mwtʾ d-ṣbyn[233] mgwšʾ nmytwn ʾnyn. mṭl d-ʾmrw d-ntpsqwn pgryhyn. w-tʿbr mlktʾ byt plgyhyn w-mtḥlmʾ. w-ʾp[199] kd mpqyn lhyn l-mwtʾ twb[234] šlḥ lḥ mwpṭʾ l-nṣyḥtʾ trbw. d-ʾn-hw d-mštmʿty[235] ly lʾ ʾntyʾ mytty ʾp[236] lʾ ḥbrtky. hy dyn dkytʾ b-qlʾ rmʾ ṣḥyth[237] kd ʾmrʾ[238] ⌜d-ʾw ṣḥnʾ w-ṭmʾʾ[239] mnʾ mtpqrt b-šnywtk ʿl mdm d-lʾ ẇlʾ w-lʾ ⌜šlyṭ. ʾnʾ gnbrʾyt[240] mytʾ ʾnʾ d-ḥyʾ ʾnʾ w-šplʾyt lʾ ḥyʾ ʾnʾ w-mytʾ ʾnʾ.

ʾpqw[241] ʾnyn dyn l-qdyšt ʾlbr mn mdyntʾ[242] l-tltyhyn. w-nqšw trtyn trtyn škyn l-ḥdʾ ḥdʾ mnhyn w-mtḥw ʾnyn ⌜b-ršyhyn w-b-rglyhyn[239] b-dmwt nqwtʾ[243] kd mtgzn. . . .

Ad f. *68 *120 martyrs* (ACETVW)

. . . w-ʾmrʾ[244] l-hwn. . . . ywmnʾ slqyn ʾntwn ⌜b-drgʾ ʿlyʾ[245] d-mlkwtʾ. ywmnʾ šbqyn ʾntwn nṣḥnkwn rbʾ b-tbyl. ywmnʾ mrpyn ʾntwn ʾygwnkwn[246] ḥlyṣʾ b-brytʾ. kd mṭybyn[247] ʾntwn lh[248] b-qṭlkwn.[249] w-mwrbyn ʾntwn lh[248] b-dmkwn.[250] ʾlʾ bʿwtʾ ḥdʾ bʿyʾ ʾnʾ mnkwn ʿbdw ly. d-tbʿwn ʿly mn mrkwn d-rḥmtwnyhy.[251] w-mṭlth[252] mtnksyn ʾntwn d-nšwny[253] d-b-hw ywmʾ ʾḥzkwn.[254] w-ʾʿwl[255] l-ʾtrkwn w-ʾtṭpʾ ḥdry mšrytkwn. mṭl ⌜d-ydʿʾ ʾnʾ[256] d-ʾnttʾ ʾnʾ ḥṭytʾ. w-mhymnʾ ʾnʾ d-ʾn hw d-bʿyn ʾntwn mn mry[257] šbq ly ḥwby·:· ʿnw[258] sbʾ yqyrʾ d-bhwn w-ʾmrw lḥ. d-tkylyn ḥnn ʿl rḥmwhy sgyʾʾ d-ʾlhn. d-šmʿ ln w-prʿ lky ⌜ṭbtʾ w-špyrtʾ[259] d-yqrty w-ʾnyḥty[260] ln mṭl šmh. b-klh ⌜zbnʾ hnʾ d-ʾwlṣnʾ[261] d-pgʿ bn. w-šʾltky b-hymnwtky[262] mpnʾ lky b-kl mdm·:·

w-kd šʿtʾ b-ywmʾ hwt mṭy ʿlyhwn pwqdnʾ ʾyk d-ntdbrwn[263] w-qmt lḥ b-trʾʾ d-byt ʾsyrʾ. w-qdmʾ[264] d-npq hwʾ bḥ b-ššlth. nšqt ʾydwhy w-rglwhy w-hknʾ l-klhwn ʿbdt w-kd mrḥṭyn lhwn ʾpqw ʾnwn lbr mn mdyntʾ. ⌜ʾštdr hwʾ gyr[265] mwpṭʾ rbʾ[266] d-nqwm[267] ʿl šwʾlhwn w-qṭlhwn.[268] w-ʾmr lhwn b-pwqdnʾ d-mlkʾ d-sgwdw[269] l-šmšʾ w-ḥyyn ʾntwn·:· hnwn dyn qdyšʾ qʿw b-qlʾ rmʾ w-ʾmrw lʾ ky[270] ḥzyn ʾntwn ʾw ʿwyrʾ[271] d-lʾ lbʾ. d-ʾylyn d-mtdbryn[272] l-qṭlʾ lbwšʾ d-ʾblʾ lbšyn.[273] w-prṣwpyhwn mšnyn mn dḥlthwn w-ʾnḥnn hʾ lbyšyn ḥnn ⌜mʾʾnʾ d-ḥdwtʾ.[274] w-prṣwpyn[275] ʾyk wrdʾ b-ṣprʾ. kl d-ṣbyn ʾntwn ʿbdw ln ʾw ršyʾʾ byšʾ. mṭl d-ḥs ln d-l-ʾlhn[276] nšbwq. w-l-bryth[277] nsgwd. ʾlʾ l-mlkwtʾ hdʾ dylkwn šyṭyn ḥnn. w-l-pwqdnyh[278] lʾ mštʿbdyn[279] ʾnḥnn. ʾyk d-ttyqr b-dmn w-tštbḥ b-qṭln[280] mlkwtʾ hy d-lʾ mtḥzyʾ. ḥy d-ʾntwn lḥ[239] b-mryrwtkwn mrhbyn ʾntwn d-tšdrwnn[281] d-ln bḥ ḥyʾ w-nyḥʾ[282] l-ʿlm.[283] w-lkwn bḥ tšnyqʾ w-ḥwrq šnʾ l-ʿlm·:·[283]

hydyn npq ʿlyhwn gzr dynʾ ḥrypʾ. d-b-sypʾ klhwn nštqlwn. w-ʾtqṭlw b-pwmʾ d-ḥrbʾ gnbrʾyt[284] mṭl mšyḥʾ sbrhwn w-bh b-llyʾ ḥw ʾgrt lḥ hy hdʾ mhymntʾ gbrʾ mn šwqʾ tryn tryn l-šldʾ.[285] w-ṭybt l-klhwn[286]

[219] **D** bʿldbbh [220] **C** qlk snyʾ [221] **C** mkyrth ʾnʾ gyr [222] **C** w-l-šrry b-sbrh tlyʾ ʾnʾ; **D** om. [223] **CD** mʿglʾ(!) [**S** unclear] [224] **AS** d-ʾlhn; **D** l-ʾlhn [**E** unclear]; **D** + šryrʾ [225] **DTW** pl. [**E** unclear] [226] **T** mḥlpn [227] **T** yhbn [228] **E** w-l-pwrqn(!) [229] **C** lwḥmykwn [230] **T** mrpynn [231] **C** + dyn; **E** bršʿth [232] **C** rb mgwšʾ ʿnʾ w-ʾmr [233] **TW** d-bʿyn [234] **CD** om. [235] **E** d-mšmʿty [236] **D** w-; **TW** w-ʾp [237] **C** ṣyḥyt(!) [238] **AS** ʾmrt [239] **C** om. [240] **C** šlyṭ ʾnt ʿlwhy. ʾnʾ gnbrʾyt; **E** šlyṭ ʾnt. gnbryt(!) [241] **C** ʾpq [242] **E** pl. [243] **C** + d-ʾʾnʾ [244] **AC** w-ʾmrt [245] **C** pl. [246] Sic **EV**; **CTW** ʾgwnkwn (altered from ʾ(y)- in **C**) [247] **T** mṭʾbyn; **W** mṭbyn [248] **TW** lh [249] **C** b-qṭlykwn [250] **T** b-dmʿkwn [251] **TW** d-ʾḥbtwnyhy [252] **C** w-mṭl ḥwbh [253] **CT** d-nšwyny; **EW** d-nšwyn (possibly with yny written above the line in **E**) [254] **CTW** ʾḥzykwn [255] **C** + ʿmkwn [256] **C** om.; **T** d-ydʿ ʾnʾ [257] **C** mrn; **E** mry altered to mrkwn(?); **T** mrkwn [258] **TW** + dyn [259] **C** ṭbtʾ špyrtʾ [260] **C** ʾp ʾnyḥty [261] **C** hnʾ zbnʾ d-ʾwlṣnʾ; **T** zbnʾ d-ʾwlṣnʾ hnʾ [262] **C** b-hymnwtʾ [263] **C** + l-mwtʾ [264] **CT** w-qdmyʾ [265] **C** w-ʾštdr hwʾ; **E** w-ʾštdr hwʾ gyr [266] **A** rmʾ [267] **C** + hwʾ [268] **C** w-ʿl qṭlhwn [269] **A** sgwdw [270] **A** kd(!) [271] **E** ʿwydʾ(!) [272] **E** d-mtbdryn(!) [273] **ETW** lbyšyn [274] **C** lbwtʾ d-ḥdwtʾ(!) [275] Sic **V**; recte **CETW** w-prṣwpyn; **C** + pṣyḥyn [276] **A** d-ʾlhn [277] **TW** sg. [278] Sic **V**; recte **ETW** w-l-pwqdnyh; **C** w-l-pwqdnḥ [279] **C** šmʿyn; **ETW** mštmʿyn [280] **C** + ⟨b-⟩ [281] **C** ln d-tšdrwn ln lḥ [282] **A** w-nḥʾ(!); **T** pl. [283] **T** d-l-ʿlm [284] **C** gmyrʾyt(!) [285] **C** + ḥdʾ [286] **TW** lhwn

m'n' d-ktn' d-ntqbrwn bhwn. w-šqlw 'nwn l-rwḥq'. w-ʿbdw lhwn ḥpr'[287] b-swrhb'. w-'tsymw[288] ḥmš' ḥmš' b-ḥpr' mṭl dḥlt' d-mgwš'[289] 'tkllw dyn[290] b-št'[291] b-yrḥ nysn b-d-shr'·:· [292] šlm[293]

Barbaʿšmin **(ADTVW)**

[294]shdwt' d-brbʿšmyn[295] 'psqwp'[296] w-d-śttʿsr shd'[297] d-ʿmh·:·

b-šnt št d-rdwpyn 't'klw[298] qrṣwhy[299] d-brbʿšmyn 'psqwp' d-slq w-d-qtyspwn qdm mlk'. w-'mryn lh 'yt hrk' gbr' ḥd qšy'.[300] d-q'm lwqbl ywlpnn. w-'nš' sgy'' mhpk mn dḥltn w-bṭyl' mn ʿbd mlk' ʿbd lhwn.[301] w-nwr'[302] w-my' mṣʿr. š'l dyn mlk' d-m'[303] ṭbh d-hn' d-hlyn sʿr. 'mryn lh br ḥth hw d-šmʿwn br ṣb''. w-b-dwkth rš' hw d-krṣṭyn'. w-mn ḥd' 'tʿzz w-'tdlḥ. w-pqd d-nytwnyhy qdmwhy·:·

hydyn 'tthd brbʿšmyn 'psqwp' w-śttʿsr gbryn d-ʿmh.[304] d-'ytyhwn hww[305] qšyš' w-šmš'[306] w-bny qym' mn dwk dwk. w-'p mnhyn d-mdynt'. w-''lwhy lh[305] ⌈l-brbʿšmyn ṭwbn'[307] qdm mlk' w-'mr lh 'w m't mwt' byš' mṭl mn' ⌈''brtwn b-mrḥwtkwn[308] ʿl pwqdny.[309] w-hwyt rš' l-ʿm' hn'. d-'n' snyth. d-š'ṭ l-''lhy. w-ytyr[310] d-šmʿwn d-rḥm hwyt mṭlth 'tqṭl·:· ʿn' brbʿšmyn[311] w-'mr d-'n hw d-l-pwqdnk mštmʿyn 'nḥnn. h' l-klh[312] hymnwtn kl' d-l'[313] nhlk bh. 'l' mṭl d-'p l' ḥd' zʿwrt' d-šrrn b-pwqdnk šryn 'nḥnn w-'p l-hd' d-rbt' hy byntn 'yk klhyn nṭrnh·:·[314] mlk' 'mr ḥz' 'n' d-qryy'[315] w-skl'[316] 'ytyk. . . .

Ad f. *69R

. . . w-ḥs ly d-'šn' mn hymnwt' šryrt' d-ḥd 'lh' d-'gʿl ly mrbyny mry šmʿwn·:· hydyn 'tḥmt mlk' w-ym' b-šmš' 'llh w-'mr d-'bṭlh[317] l-ywlpnkwn mn 'rʿ'. w-''bryh[318] l-dḥltkwn mn gwh d-bryt'. w-b-hd' gḥk brbʿ= šmyn w-'mr.[319] mṭl mn' l' 'ytyt tryn ''lhyk 'ḥrn' nwr' w-my'. w-'štwtpw b-mwmt'[320] ʿm šmš'. d-ṭk[321] klhwn ḥbryn[322] hww lk. w-mʿbr hwyt ln mn 'rʿ' 'yk d-ymyt·:· [323] 'tgwzl dyn ršy'' w-'mr lh. mṭl d-smt npšk l-mwt'. mmll 'nt hlyn 'yk[324] d-mn ḥd' 'qṭlk. 'n'[325] nṭr 'n' lk ⌈l-zwʿt' w-l-dḥlt'[326] d-kl mn d-q'm b-ywlpnk nstrd[327] b-'wlṣnk w-b-mwtk mryr'·:·

w-pqd w-'rmyw 'nwn byt 'syr'. b-ššlt' yqyrt'. b-šwnq' qšy' mn yrḥ' šbṭ[328] ʿdm' l-tšʿ' b-knwn[329] kd šnd' w-'wlṣn' w-mḥwt'[330] qšyt'[331] w-mzwrt' qšyt' ⌈mgwš' ršy'' 'sblw 'nwn[332] w-b-ṭwrp' d-kpn' w-d-ṣhy'[333] šnqw[334] 'nwn. ʿdm' d-mšk' kd ybyš ʿl grm' pš mnhwn w-l-qṭm' w-l-šwḥr' ''pyhwn 'štḥlp[335] hwy w-l-škyrwt' ḥzthwn 'thpkt mn swg'' ⌈d-šnd' d-ʿbrw[336] ʿlyhwn·:·

w-l-hpkth d-šnt' mlk' byt hwzy' hw' b-krk' d-ldn. w-šdr w-'wblwhy[337] l-brbʿšmyn 'psqwp' kd 'syr w-l-śttʿsr d-ʿmh ⌈kd 'syryn[338] b-ššlthwn. . . .

Ad f. *69V

. . . hš' dyn šwmʿwny.[339] w-l-pwqdny[340] l' tšwṭwn w-ḥyyn 'ntwn w-b-dšn' w-b-mwhbt' myqr 'n' l-klkwn[341] w-ytyr lk brbʿšmyn mwrb[342] 'n'[343] ywmn' 'n hw d-tšmʿyny[344] w-tsgwd ʿmy l-šmš' 'lh'. w-mḥd' pqd[345] w-'ytyw lh ks' ḥd d-dhb' kd 'yt bh 'lp synq'[340] d-dhb' w-'mr lh sb hn' d-šʿt' 'yk d-l-tšbwḥt' d-ḥzy'. w-twb b-rbwt' ⌈w-b-šwlṭn' mqym 'n' lk·:·[346] hw dyn ṭwbn' 'mr lh. d-l-mn' ly 'yk ṭly' mšdl 'nt. ⌈w-'nt 'yk zʿwr šny' mzdll 'nt.[347] w-b-ʿpr' d-bl'. w-b-hbb' d-ntr mgrg 'nt ly d-'rp' l-'lh' d-l' ʿbr. d-b-mlth 'tbry hlyn w-b-pwqdnh twb mštryn[348] klhyn hlyn. mṭl d-'n' lw ⌈blḥwd b-hlyn[349] l' mštdl 'n'. 'l' 'p l' kd klh[350] mlkwtk ttl ly mttpys 'n' d-'rp' l-hw mdm d-šryr'yt 'ḥyd 'n' ·:· mlk' dyn 'mr lh d-l'[351] tšwṭ w-tʿṭp l-mwhbt' hd'. d-yqrtk bh. 'n bʿ' 'nt d-tḥ' 'nt w-d-ʿmk. w-'n hw d-mrwd'yt[352] mtḥryt ʿmy rgty sʿr 'n' bk. w-ṣbyny mnyḥ 'n' ʿl klh ʿmkwn qš' qdl' w-l' ⌈mttpys 'n'·:·[353] ʿn' qdyš' w-'mr lh.[354] d-n'mr[355] ly 'lh' b-hw ywm' d-kl ʿmmyn w-'mwn b-rtyt'[356] qdmwhy qymyn. . . .

[287] **CETW** pl. [288] **CTW** w-'ttsymw [289] **T** sg. [290] **TW** + nṣyḥ' [291] **C** b-šbʿ' [292] **C** + . . . [293] **C** šlmt shdwt' d-m'(!) w-'sryn shd' d-'shdw hww b-'rbl mdynt'. ṣlwthwn ʿmn; **EW** om.; **T** šlmt shdwt' d-m'' w-ḥdʿsr gbryn w-tš' nšyn [294] **DT** + twb [295] **D** d-brʿšmyn (so throughout) [296] **T** + w-qtwlyq' [297] **D** + ṭwbn' [298] **T** 't'kl [299] **DW** qrṣ' [300] **D** qšyš' [301] **DTW** + w-'l šmš' mbsr [302] **D** w-l-nwr' [303] **D** d-mn' [304] **DTW** ʿmh [305] **D** om. [306] **DTW** w-mšmšn' [307] **TW** l-ṭwbn' brbʿšmyn [308] **D** ʿbrt b-mrḥwtk [309] **T** pl. [310] **D** w-ytyr'yt [311] **D** + ṭwbn' [312] **D** klh [313] **D** d- [314] **DT** nṭryh [315] **A** d-qrḥ'; **D** d-mrḥ' [316] **D** skl' [317] **A** d-'bṭl lh ['bṭlh apud Bedjan is a mistake] [318] **DW** w-''brh; **T** w-'bʿryh(!) [319] **TW** + d- [320] **DW** pl. [321] **D** ṭk [322] **D** ḥybyn(!?) [323] **W** + w- [324] **T** + hw [325] **DTW** 'l' [326] **T** l-dḥlt' w-l-zwʿt' [327] **A** nstdr(!) [328] **D** + w- [329] **D** + 'ḥry [330] **D** d-mḥwt' [331] **DTW** byšt' [332] **T** 'sblw 'nwn mgwš' ršy'' [333] **TW** w-ṣhy' [334] **D** šḥq [335] **D** 'štḥy(!) [336] **DTW** d-tšnyd' d-ʿdw [337] **D** 'yty; **T** 'wblwhy [338] **DTW** om. [339] **D** šmʿwny [340] **D** sg. [341] **D** lkwn [342] **TW** myqr [343] **D** + lk [344] **TW** d-tšmʿny [345] **D** + ʿwl' [346] **DTW** mqym 'n' lk w-b-šwlṭn' [347] **D** om. [348] Sic **V**; recte **DTW** mštryn [349] **T** b-hlyn blḥwd [350] **W** om. [351] **DT** l' [352] **D** d-mrwd' 'nt(!) [353] Sic **V**; recte **DTW** mttpysn' [354] [ḥ apud Bedjan is a mistake] [355] **D** d-⟨l'⟩ n'mr [356] **DTW** + b-dyn'

Text 10: The Sleepers of Ephesus (f. *77)

There exist several Greek and Syriac recensions of the story of the Sleepers of Ephesus. The Syr. versions have been discussed at length and combined in a single edition by A. Allgeier, in: Oriens Christianus NS 4–8 [1915–1918], where the part corresponding to our Sogd. fragment is to be found in vol. 6, pp. 34–39 (text and translation), and 7–8, pp. 76–81 (variants). Allgeier's work has been sharply criticized, however, by P. Peeters, in: AB 41 [1923], 369–385, who argues that the Syr. versions derive from the Greek, rather than vice versa as Allgeier believed, and that the latter's edition is therefore entirely misconceived. Since, moreover, his critical apparatus is extremely inaccurate, the relevant portions of the text have been re-edited here.

The only Nestorian MS used by Allgeier was Berlin, Sachau 222 (1881 A.D.), ff. 260R–271R (=**B**). Other Nestorian MSS include:

F = Berlin, Ms. or. quart. 1051 (1705 A.D.), ff. 11R–21V;
G = Paris, fonds syr. 309 (1869 A.D.), ff. 271R–290R;
H = Paris, fonds syr. 326 (19th cent.), ff. 126R–146R;
I = London, Or. 4404 (19th cent.), ff. 87V–98V;
J = Cambridge, Add. 2020 (1697 A.D.), ff. 121R–131R.[1]

I have collated these MSS only for the short passages of which the Sogd. translation survives. Even from this small sample it is clear that **BFGHI** are closely related.[2] Whenever these five differ amongst themselves all or some of the other Syr. MSS agree with **F**, none with **B**, **G**, **H** or **I** against **F**.[3] From this it seems probable that **BGHI** are directly descended from **F**. It is chiefly in order to illustrate this conclusion (which becomes of interest in connexion with the relationship between **F**'s and **B**'s texts of the story of Eustathius, cf. p. 158 below) that **F** has been taken as the basis of the present 'edition': the Sogdian shows no special affinity with **F** or any other individual MS. The text given below, then, is that of **F** with punctuation and pointing slightly simplified; all variants of **BCDEGHIJLPS** are cited in the footnotes.[4]

Schwartz's translation and commentary on this text (STSC 23–32 and revisions 3–4, 11) is referred to below simply as 'Schwartz'.

[1] I have not had access to some further Nestorian MSS (Alqoš 96; Urmia 178 and 179) mentioned by Baumstark GSL 97 n. 6.

[2] **F** and **G** were copied in Alqoš; MS **I** was acquired by Budge during an expedition to Mosul, Alqoš and the Tiari district; while the contents of **B** are said to have been collected from Karemleš, Alqoš and Mosul.

[3] The minor exceptions to be seen in footnotes 69, 73, 80 and 97 on p. 157 below may be ignored as probably coincidental.

[4] For the MSS used by Allgeier (**BCDELPS**) his sigla have been retained; there is no need to repeat here the details of these MSS given in his article. Allgeier's MS **Z** has been ignored, since Peeters has shown it to be an independent translation from the Greek.—The 'modern transcript' Harvard, Ms. Syriac 101 (=No. 138 apud Clemons, in: Orientalia Christiana Periodica 32 [1966], 245), has also been excluded, since a collation of the relevant passage showed its text to be almost identical with that of **L**.

***77R**

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*1 ty](s) (d)[qyws
*2 ny] γrb'(ms)[q
*3 'y]c[a] (w)yn'nc[y']'[b] = =[
*4 ds]tw(.) yw'r( )'[y](s)t[t mrys]
*5 [psqpy 't d'](tb)r b'žγd(n)t(p)r( )b('r)[ycyqt
*6 't m](γ)wn qθy mrtxm(y)t (wšnt)[y prw

[a] or]c[=] [b] not (w)yn'nc[yqy]'

***77R**

'. . . *and lo! in the evening I saw that Decius entered the city of Ephesus. Whether this city is Ephesus I do not* know.' *Then Bishop Māres thought and said:* '*This is some* revelation *which God has shown by means of this youth;* but *come,*[5] *let us go and see it!' And Bishop Māres* (5) ⌜*and the judge* mounted[6] on *saddle-horses, and the nobles and chief*

[5] Sy om. [6] Sy 'mounted, and the proconsul with him'.

*7 [q]t (*w*)[yž]t'[w](n)t(' *yml*)[y](*k*)'(*w*šn)t(y) '(*br*)zb(ry̰)[c
]=[ ]= =[
*8 m't wyspy' m̰y θy(.) (*w'nw*) šym'(rn)t qt (d*b*)['t]( )'(d)y
š(w)[ny'd'rt]
*9 't pnt šqrd'(r)t (qw xwšy)wn(w) s'. 't c'(nw) m̰yd 'x̱št
š[m'r'znt]
*10 'x̱s pš(p)'ty γrf mrtxm̰yty wxr. c'nw sn'znt qw bw(n)'
(s)[' 't]
*11 w'nw šym'rnt̰. qt 'ztq'(r)t xnt qy cn x(wšyw*n*)' (f)šmtyt
(q*t*)[nt]
*12 qt šn prp̰nt. 't mxznt ywny ⟨'t⟩ nm'c brnt. 't t(')pnt
xyp(θ *γr*)[yw]
*13 pr( )cly(b)' t'pẇ. 't θ'br(n)t (dwr)t' yw dbtyqy. 't w'nw
w'b(n*t*)[qt]
*14 'wx(z)ym žγrt cn (y)mlyk' wy'ptγty[d] pyd'(r̰). p(')t qš̰y
'wštyt[y](*st*)[y xwšywny]
*15 pynms' 't m'x̱ pcqstysq ·:· c'nw m̰y(d) 'x̱št (m̰*yn*')[znt
prys]
*16 (m*r*)ys psq(p)x̱ 't d'tbr 't s(')t 'w'z̰yt(qw)bw[n](')[s' 't
swd]
*17 (ym)l(y)k' (p)nms' cn wš(n*t*)[y '](t) t(y)s (*q*)[w bwn' s'
*18 [= =](=t= =')x= =[ ](')[=](t)[
(the bottom of the page missing)

[c] '(*br*)zq(ry̰) less likely; not $^{ob}_{q}$(rx̱) [d] wy'ptnty less likely; hardly w'-

*77V
(the top of the page missing)
*1]= =[
*2 wyd's](*n*)t 't (*γ*)[wbty' ptywydnt
*3 'š]t[y]t qw (m)rt[xmyt s'
*4 w](x)r. 't tys[n]t (*b*)[yrnt
*5](=)'γrtq(*y'*[a])'t m[y](*n*)[nt[b]
*6](t.) 't w'ptnt m[c] m̰r(y)s (p*s*)[qpy
*7 't šn nm'c brn](*t*) p(r z)y w(šn)t 't x(wš)trt 't
(s')t [q](*θ*)[y]
*8 ['w'zyt c'nw](γw)[b](t)[y' p]twyd'znt (q)w (m)šyḫ(' *wy*=
š)nty (x*y*)pθ'wnt ⟨s'⟩
*9 [qt 'yžnt](b)nt p(r)[wyn](wx̱)d wy(d)'(s) γw(nẇ)w(*y*n)=
'(mn*t*)[w]. 't(ms) (q)t
*10 [w'bn](*t*) w(šn)ty prw. 't s't '(x̱*š*)t qy (*p*)r (dq*y*)ws xwšy=
wny m̰(y)θt
*11 [qtn](*t* pr)x̱byrnt qw m(ry)s psqp̰y 't qw d'tbrt 't (q)w
qθy
*12 [xw](*š*)trt s' ·:· (')t (*ywny*) (s)t(')nyq f(š)mty b' dn pwst'
prw qw

[a] 'brtq(*y*') less likely [b] not m['](n)[wq [c] to be cancelled

men of the city, and all the people[7] of the city *with them.*

And the confessors, when they saw that[8] *Yamlikā* their agent *stayed (later) than* ⌜had been *customary* every day,[9] thought that *perhaps* ⌜someone *had caught* him[10] and he had taken him to[11] the king. And as *they were thinking* these things (10) there came suddenly[12] the sound of many[13] men as[14] they were ascending to the cave, *and* they thought that they were[15] soldiers who *were* sent by the king that they might fetch them. And they stood up at once,[16] and prayed, and sealed them*selves* with the seal[17] of the cross, and gave one another the (kiss of) peace, ⌜and said[18]: 'Let us go down quickly for the sake of the youth Yamlikā, for ⌜(even) now[5] *he is* standing (15) before *the king* and is awaiting us.' While *they were thinking* these things,[19] *there came* Bishop Māres to the cave, and the judge,[20] and all[5] the multitudes;[21] *and* Yamlikā *hastened* ⌜in front of them *and* went into *the cave*[22] *into the presence of the confessors his companions* . . .

*77V

And when they read these inscriptions they were amazed and *praised God for the wonders and portents which He shows* to men, *and all the multitudes cried out with* a shout *of praise.* And they entered (and) *found these confessors* (5) *sitting in* splendour, and *their faces were like a blooming rose.* And *Bishop* Māres *and the judge*[23] fell down *and paid homage to them* on the ground, they and the chief men and all *the multitudes* ⌜*of the city,*[5] glorifying Christ their Lord *that* they were (found) *worthy* to[24] *see* that[25] wonderful sight, and also that[26] (10) *they had spoken* with them. And they related all the[27] things which *had happened* in the days of King Decius to Bishop Māres and the judges and the chief men of the city.

And immediately ⌜a messenger was

[7] Sy 'multitudes'. [8] Sy + 'the blessed'. [9] Sy 'his custom of every day'. [10] Sy 'he had been caught by someone'. [11] Sy 'before'. [12] Sy 'to them'. [13] Sy **BFGHIPS** 'much clamour of'; **J** 'the horse(s) of many'. [14] Sy 'that'. [15] Literally 'are'. [16] Sy + 'and bowed the knee'. [17] Sy 'sign'. [18] Sy 'saying'. [19] Sy + 'as they were sitting in the cave'. [20] Sy 'proconsul'. [21] Sy + 'with them'. [22] Sy 'and went into the cave in front of them'. [23] Sy 'proconsul'. [24] Sy 'that they might'. [25] Sy 'this'. [26] Sy **BCDEFGHIJL** 'bearing witness that'; **PS** om. [27] Sy 'those'.

*13 [θ'dsy](s) (mzyx) xwš(y)wnw s('). 't(m)[y](d) nyštynt. qt ž(γr)t 'ẏst
*14 [tw' xwšy](w)nqy' 't wy(n)t (mz)yx wrc(w)ny''. qy pr tw' xw(*šywnqy*)
*15 [myθt](mš)t'y xw bγẏ. p't nwšc žw'ny wystẇy rwxšny'q c(n)
*16](q)w m'x (s)'. 't mwrtẏty 'xz'mntẏ wyt'p (*p*r)
*17](qt)[[d] nw](ẏ)t(b*n*)t. 't c'nw(p)tyγwš θ'ds(y)s
*18 ']t cn ''[š'](= *c'*)p('r)p(*š'ty*)[ ]

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[d] not (q)[y](t)[

sent with a letter[28] to *Theodosius* the great[5] king, and they ⌜sent word[29]: 'Let *Your* Majesty come quickly and see the great miracle[30] which (15) God has revealed in Your Majesty's *days*, for the light of the promise of eternal[5] life *has appeared* to us out of *the earth*, and the resurrection of the dead[31] has shone forth *in the glorious bodies of the believers, (in) that they have become new!*' And when *King* Theodosius heard, *he arose from the sackcloth and* from[5] *the ashes* under *which he had been prostrated* . . .

[28] Sy 'messengers were sent with letters'. [29] Sy 'said'. [30] Sy pl. [31] Sy + 'from the grave'.

Commentary

***77R**

3 *(w)yn'nc[y]'* restoration proposed by Schwartz. This would be the abstract of B. *wyn'ncy*, a permissible alternative to the usual *wyn'ncyqy'*, abstract of *wyn'ncyq*. Cf. 57V.3, where *γw'nc(yq)y'* (abstract of *γw'ncyq*) seems to have been altered from *γw'ncy'* (abstract of B. *γw'ncy*, Dhy. 274).

7 *'(br)z$^{b}_{q}$(ry')[~ s'wr'* 'visitor, overseer, director, steward, agent, doer, maker' (from *√s'r* (1) 'visit, inspect, look after', (2) 'do, act, perform'). For the reading with °*b(ry')* cf. *'(m)brz br-* ~ *√s'r* (see above, p. 73). On the other hand, °*q(ry')* is supported by B. *'nβ'rzkr'k* (VJ 254, 1337), the title of an important minister of the king, and by the following passage from the hymn-cycle 'Gōwišn īg Grīw-zīndag' (13401 = TiiD, R4–6):

zwkyh β't ZKn šm'xw
'nβrz-krty ZY-my 'spyšynyt oo ky-ZY
t'm'k ZY-my ZKw 'ptry špyšδ'skwn

'Hail be to you, my ministers and servants, who serve me and my Father.' In either case, the present form is the obl. of an abstract noun, so it appears that the Sogdian has expanded 'their agent' into 'their man of business' or some such phrase.

11 *'ztq'(r)t*: see Schwartz 1967, 2–3 and STSC 29.

14 *wy'pt(γ)t* 'youth': conceivably a compound containing **wy'* 'age', as suggested to me by Prof. Schwartz. Literally 'come of age' (**wayā-pati-gata-*)??

***77V**

5 On *'(γ)rtq(y')* see p. 149 above.

12 *(s)t(')nyq* 'messenger' = B. *'st'nyk*, VJ 1384. The C. form shows the derivation from **ā-stā-* implied in GMS § 997 to be wrong. Henning's connexion (apud GMS § 997A) with the LW in Gk. ἀστάνδης (on which see H. Happ, Glotta 40 [1962], 198–201) remains possible.–On *pwsty* in the sense 'written document' see Benveniste Etudes 2, 132–133.

14 *[tw' xwšy](w)nqy'* ~ *mlkwtk* 'Your Majesty' (similarly at the end of the line).

Syriac text

Ad f. *77R

(BCDEFGHIJLPS) . . . w-h'[32] b-rmš' ḥzyt d-'l[33] dqyws[34] l-mdynt'[35] 'psws. 'n[36] ⌜'psws hẏ mdynt' hd' l' yd' 'n'.[37] hydyn mrys 'psqwp' ⌜'tḥšb hw' w-'mr.[38] mdm ⌜glyn' hẇ hn'[39] d-ḥwy 'lh'[40] b-yd 'lym' hn'.[41] n'zl

[32] **PS** w- [33] **PS** +hw [34] **CDEJ** +mlk' [35] **J** +hd' [36] **JPS** +dyn [37] **CJ** 'psws hy hd' mdynt' l' yd' 'n'; **I** om. [38] **CDE** thr bḥ b-hd' w-'mr; **J** 'tḥšb b-r'ynh w-'mr; **L** 'tḥšb hd' w-'mr; **PS** 'mr [39] **CDE** hw glyn' hn'; **I** d-glyn' hw hn'; **J** glyn' hw [40] **LPS** +ywmn' [41] **CDEJL** +'l'

nḥzywhy.[42] w-qm[43] mrys ʾpsqwpʾ[44] ⌜w-ʾntwpṭws ʿmh[45] ʿl r̈kwbʾ: ⌜w-ḥʾr̈ʾ w-rwr̈bnʾ d-krkʾ[a] w-knš̈ʾ[b] klhwn[c] d-mdyntʾ ʿmhwn.[46] ⌜w-slqw l-mʿrtʾ d-b-ʾnklʾws ṭwrʾ.[47]

(**BFGHIJPS**) mẅdynʾ dyn[48] kd ḥzw d-ʾštwḥr hwʾ[49] lh ṭwbnʾ[50] ymlykʾ sʿwrhwn[49] mn ʿydh[51] d-kl-ywm. rnw[52] hww d-kbr[53] mtlbkw ʾtlbk[54] mn ʾnš[55] w-qrbh[56] qdm mlkʾ.[57] w-kd hṇwn rnyn hww hlyn. ʾtʾ lhwn ql ⌜rwbʾ sgyʾʾ d-ʾnšwtʾʾ.[58] ⌜d-lwt mʿrtʾ slqyn hww.[59] w-sbrw hww[60] lhwn[61] d-ʾsṭr̈ṭywṭʾ ʾnwn ⌜d-mn mlkʾ ʾštdrw[62] d-nytwn ʾnwn.[63] ⌜w-qmw mḥdʾ w-brkw[64] bwrkʾ w-ṣlyw.[65] w-ḥṭmw npšhwn b-ṭwpsʾ d-ṣlybʾ. w-yhbw šlmʾ ḥd l-ḥd ⌜kd ʾmryn hww. nḥwt b-ʿgl mṭl ʿlymʾ ymlykʾ. mṭl d-ʾytwhy qʾm qdm mlkʾ w-mskʾ ln.[66] w-kd[67] hlyn mtḥšbyn hww kd ytbyn hww[49] b-mʿrtʾ. mṭy mrys ʾpsqwpʾ w-ʾntwpṭws w-knš̈ʾ[68] ʿmhwn[69] l-ʾpÿ mʿrtʾ. ⌜w-rhṭ ymlykʾ w-ʿl qdmyhwn l-mʿrtʾ[70] lwt mwdyn̈ʾ ḥbrwhy.[49] . . .

Ad f. *77V

(**BCDEFGHIJLPS**) . . . w-kd qrw ⌜ʾnyn l-ktÿbtʾ hlyn.[71] tmhw w-šbḥw l-ʾlhʾʾ.[72] ʿl tdmr̈tʾ[73] w-pr̈yštʾ[74] ⌜d-mḥwʾ l-bnÿnšʾ.[75] ⌜w-ʾzʿqw klhwn kn̈šʾ[76] b-qlʾ[77] d-tšbwḥtʾ. w-ʿlw[78] w-ʾškḥw[79] ʾnwn[80] l-mwdyn̈ʾ hlyn kd[81] ytbyn b-zhywtʾ[82] ⌜w-dmyn[a] pr̈ṣwpyhwn l-wrdʾ[b] šrwyʾ.[83] w-nplʾ[84] mrys[85] w-ʾntwpṭws[86] w-sgdw[87] lhwn ʿl ʾrʿ. hṇwn w-rwr̈bnʾ w-kn̈šʾ klhwn.[88] ⌜kd mšbḥyn hww[a] l-mšyḥʾ[b] mrhwn[89] ⌜d-šww d-nḥzwn[90] ḥztʾ hdʾ tmyhtʾʾ.[91] ⌜w-ʾp shdyn[a] d-mllw[b][92] ʿmhwn. ⌜w-klhyn ʾylyn[93] ⌜d-b-yẅmy dqyws[a] hẅy.[b] ʾwdʿw[c] l-mrys[d] ʾpsqwpʾ[e] w-l-dÿnʾ[f] w-l-rwr̈bnʾ[g] d-krkʾ.[94]

⌜w-br šʿth[95] ⌜[a]byldr̈ʾ ʾštlḥw[a] lwt tʾdsys mlkʾ b-ktÿbtʾ[b][96] w-ʾmrw[97] lh.[49] b-ʿgl[98] tʾtʾ ⌜mlkwtk. tḥzʾ[99] tdmr̈tʾ rwr̈btʾ[100] d-b-yẅmy[101] mlkwtk ḥwy[102] ʾlhʾ.[103] nwhrʾ gyr d-mwlknʾ d-ḥÿʾ mn ʿprʾ[104] ṣmḥ ln. w-qymtʾ[105] d-ḥÿʾ[106] mn qbrʾ[107] dnḥt.[108] mn[109] pgr̈ʾ zḥyʾ d-mhym̈nʾ[110] d-ʾtḥdtw.[111] kd ⌜dyn šmʿ[112] ⌜tʾdsys mlkʾ.[113] qm mn sqʾ w-qṭmʾ d-tḥwtwhy[114] mkyk[115] hwʾ. . . .

[42] **E** nḥzwhy [43] **CDE** +hw; **L** +hwʾ [44] **CDEL** om. [45] **J** ʿm ʾntwpṭws; **L** +w-ytbw [46] **J** w-knšʾ d-mdyntʾ ʿm rwr̈bnʾ w-ḥʾr̈ʾ klhwn ([a]**PS** om. [b]**C**(?)**E** sg. [c]**CDE** om.) [47] **CD** w-slqw l-ṭwrʾ; **E** w-slq l-ṭwrʾ; **F** in margin; **LPS** om. [48] **I** +ḥrw(!) [49] **J** om. [50] **J** ṭlyʾ [51] **J** ʿydʾ [52] **J** ʾmrw [53] **J** kbr [54] **G** mtlbk [55] **PS** ʾnšʾ [56] **I** +lwt(!) [57] **I** pl. [58] **J** rkwbʾ(!) d-ʾnš̈ʾ sgÿʾʾ [59] **PS** lwt mʿrtʾ [60] **GH** om. [61] **J** gyr [62] **J** d-mlkʾ. d-ʾštdrw [63] **J** +l-qdyš̈ʾ [64] **J** w-mḥdʾ smw [65] **G** ṣlyw [66] **J** w-ʾmryn. d-ḥylʾ d-nḥt ʿm ṭlʾy ṭltʾ. l-ʾtwnʾ d-bbyl. ʿwl ʿmn qdm mlkʾ [67] **PS** kd [68] **J** sg. [69] **IJPS** d-ʿmhwn [70] **J** w-kd mṭyw l-mʿrtʾ. ʿl hwʾ ymlykʾ qdmyhwn [71] **PS** om. [72] **PS** ʾlhʾ [73] **BGHIJ** tdmwrtʾ [74] **J** om.; **PS** w-šbÿḥtʾ [75] **J** d-ḥwy l-ʿbdẅhy [76] **CDE** w-ʾzʿqw klhwn; **J** w-ʾzʿq klh knšʾ; **PS** w-zʿqw klhwn kn̈šʾ [77] **I** pl.; **PS** +rmʾ [78] **G** w-ʿl [79] **CDPS** ʾškḥw [80] **GJ** om. [81] **C** w-kd [82] **J** b-zwytʾ d-mʿrtʾ [83] **PS** kd ḥztʾ d-mÿtʾ lʾ mtḥzyʾ hwt b-hwn w-ʾp-lʾ b-lbẅšyhwn. w-zhyn pr̈ṣwpyhwn ([a]**J** +hww [b]**D** l-rwdʾ(!)) [84] **CDEJL** w-nplw [85] **PS** +ʾpysqwpʾ [86] **CD** ʿm ʾntwpṭws; **E** ʿm ʾntwṭps(!) [87] **J** sgdw [88] **PS** +d-ʿmhwn [89] **PS** om. ([a]**CDEL** om. [b]**J** l-ʾlhʾ) [90] **G** om. [91] **J** d-tdmwrtʾ [92] **PS** d-mwdynwtʾ w-mllw ([a]**J** +hww [b]**EJ** d-mll) [93] **BGHI** w-klhwn ʾylyn; **E** w-ʾylp twb mn mlthwn nyḥtʾ ʿl kl; **J** klhyn ʾylyn; **PS** mẅdynʾ w-ʾylyn [94] **E** d-gdš b-ÿwmy dqyws mlkʾ ([a]**CDJLPS** +mlkʾ [b]**CD** om. [c]**J** w-ʾwdʿ; **PS** w-ʾwdʿw [d]**J** mrys [e]**CD** om.; **PS** mdbrnʾ [f]**CD** w-l-ʾntwpṭws; **J** l-dÿnʾ [g]**PS** w-r̈wrbnʾ) [95] **PS** w-mḥdʾ bh b-šʿtʾ [96] **E** ktÿbtʾ ʾštlḥ l-mlkʾ tʾydwsyws ([a–a]**BG** byldrʾ(!) ʾštlḥw; **C** r̈kšʾ ʾštlḥ(!); **D** rk̈bʾ ʾštlḥw; **HI** bylrdʾ(!) ʾštlḥw; **L** blydr̈ʾ(!) ʾštlḥw; **PS** ʾštlḥw byldr̈ʾ [b]**J** om.) [97] **DEH** w-ʾmr; **J** om.; **LPS** w-ʾtʾmr [98] **CDEJLPS** d-b-ʿgl [99] **CDEPS** mlkwtk w-tḥzʾ; **J** tḥzʾ mlkwtk [100] **CDE** om. [101] **G** d-b-ywmy; **E** +dyn [102] **J** sʿr [103] **CDE** +b-ʿlm' [104] **PS** ʾrʿʾ [105] **JPS** d-qymtʾ [106] **CDELPS** d-ʿnÿdʾ [107] **CDEPS** pl. [108] **CDE** dnḥw [109] **CDEL** b-; **PS** om. [110] **CDE** om.; **LPS** d-qdÿš̈ʾ [111] **E** d-ʾtḥdt; **G** ʾtḥdtw; **PS** d-ʾttʿyrw [112] **PS** šmʿ dyn [113] **CDELPS** mlkʾ tʾdwsys; **CDEL** +br šʿth [114] **CDE** d-ʿlwhy [115] **J** mkyk(?) altered to dmyk

Text 11: The story of Eustathius (ff. *83–*91V.9)

This text contains the story of the life and martyrdom of Placidas or Placidus, who was baptized under the name of Eustathius. Both names occur in the Sogd. fragments, the former in the corrupt form *pylyqy-dws* (91V.8).

The Sogdian text agrees closely with the Syriac recension published by Bedjan AMS III, 215–253, who took the text from the MS Berlin, Sachau 222 (= **B**). The only other MS of this recension which I have been able to identify is Berlin, Ms. or. quart. 1,051, ff. 68V–86V (= **F**). On both MSS see above, p. 154, where I have suggested that **B**'s text of the story of the Sleepers of Ephesus may be descended from **F**'s. Here, too, the two texts appear to be almost identical, even in details of spelling, pointing and punctuation. In the passages of which the Sogd. version has been preserved I have found only five places in which the text of **F** differs from that printed by Bedjan:

240.11 'tpršt] **F** pršt = Sogd. yxw'y, 87R.5 (cf. p. 163 below);
242.1 qlyl] **F** qlyl ẏẅmt' = Sogd. [q](b)nq mẏ(θt), 87V.6;
11 d-'p 'nt] **F** d-'p 'nt bḣ (Sogd. lacking);
252.6 w-hww] **F** w-hww 'yk = Sogd. 't qtnt w'nc'nw, 91R.9;
253.17 w-l-yh šwbḥ' 'myn': 'myn] **F** w-l-yh šwbḥ' (Sogd. om., 91V.9).

It will be seen that wherever the evidence of the Sogdian can be adduced it supports **F** rather than **B**.

There exist at least two other Syriac recensions, the one represented by London, Add. 12,174, ff. 311V to 316R (also, to judge by the title and incipit apud H. Zotenberg, Catalogues des manuscrits syriaques et sabéens (mandaïtes) de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris 1874, 182b, by Paris, fonds syr. 234, ff. 135V to 146V), the other by the fragmentary MS London, Or. 11,401.[1] Neither of these is sufficiently close to **BF** and the Sogdian for detailed textual comparison to be rewarding. The same applies to the Armenian text printed in Vark' ew vkayabanowt'iwnk' srboc hatəntir k'aλealk' i čaṙəntraç I, Venice 1874, 422–434. However, the Greek and Latin versions published in the Acta Sanctorum Septembris VI, 123–137, not only offer a form of the story substantially similar to that of **BF** but occasionally even agree in points of detail with the Sogdian against the Syriac. All such cases are listed on p. 164 below.

Ff. *87 and *91 were translated and commented upon by Schwartz STSC 1–19, 151 and revisions 1–3, 10–11, referred to below simply as 'Schwartz'.

[1] I have not seen Alqoš, Notre Dame des Semences, Vosté No. 213, nor is there any quotation from it in Vosté's catalogue to indicate what recension it contains.

***83R**

(the top of the page missing)

*1 ']t 'ntwxc. 't q'[m
*2](b)γ'nyq šyr'(q)[ty'
*3] zm'qycqt 't ' =[
*4](= = ')t (ny) w'c[
*5 prymn]t ẏšt qy pc[p'n
*6 ny](ž)y ··:·· 't xwny š[rwγ
*7 w]yd'b ny wnt' pry[w
*8 c](ʼn)w ẉynnt xwšp'ṇyt[
*9 ptybydn]t (q)t cn bγ'nyq[šyr'qty'
*10]wyšnt wyγryš '(t)[
*11 nxš](y)ry dst'. 't[
*12 w](n)tnt p'š'y (x)[w bγy

***83R**[2]

. . . *the pain and* distress[3] *increased in force,* ⌜and *he* wished *that he too might*[4] *have cast himself into the river and been drowned. And after all these things, the power of the* grace ⌜of God[5]*—that (grace) which had left him so that he might be tried by all these* temptations and *conquer Satan and receive the crown of victory—prevented him* ⌜and did not allow *him to drown*[6] *himself in the river,* (5) *foreseeing those*[7] things which *were* to come, *and so he crossed and came out of the water of the river.*

[2] An asterisk (*) in the footnotes to the translation draws attention to a variant in the list on p. 164 below. [3] Sy 'hurt of distress'. [4] Sy 'so that he too would'.* [5] Sy om.* [6] Sy 'from drowning'. [7] Literally 'on these'.

*13]= = = = = = =[
(the bottom of the page missing)

And that *lion which had taken his son, by the operation of the power of God* did not do *any* harm upon *him, and it went towards the desert. And when* the shepherds saw *the lion taking the boy alive, they understood* that *the boy was protected* by *the grace* of God, (10) *which also* aroused and *strengthened* them *to save the boy from* ⌜the hand of[8] *that mighty beast.* And *so, as they ran after him with dogs,* ⌜*and as* they *shouted at him,*[9] *God* cast *fear upon that lion, and he dropped the boy and fled . . .*

***83V**

(the top of the page missing)
*1 my]d w'b'z. w't m(*n*)['
*2 w'n]c'nw dxštyq s(*w*)[sn
*3]( )pr( )bwd 't pr(γ)[wnc
*4 s't ywp']tqy. w't [mn'
*5 ž](w)'zw'. qšy (*p*)r x(γ*r*)[y
*6 y']](b)msq ''ybtẏ. w'[t mn'
*7 xwš]tr (m)'t(*y*m). 't cn γ[rf
*8 w'n]c'[nw = =](q q)t(s)q(*n*)t[y
*9](γ)' =[ ](s)[
*10]= =[ ]= =[ ]m[
*11 'tm] n' '[wxr ']t[
*12]=[ ]= =[
*13](t)[
(the bottom of the page missing)

***83V**

. . . and as he was weeping and wailing he was saying: 'Woe (is) *me, wretch that I am, who, though once I flourished* like the *lily*[10] of the desert *and like the trees adorned with their fruit and* ⌜with scent and with colour,[11] *have now been deprived of everything* altogether! Woe (is) *me, who once* (5) used to live *in dignity and great opulence;* now, in *the likeness of* ⌜*one taken by the* sword,[12] *I live alone in a foreign land and* wander astray![8] Woe (is) *me, who once* was[13] *chief of armies of many myriads* and *was lauded and honoured* by many *people; now, like the owl in* the wasteland, *I have been left alone in mourning and lamentation, so that I have not*[8] *even been found worthy* (10) *that my two children should be with me! But Thou, O Lord my God, do not reject me and* do not *abandon me* and *do not disregard my sufferings and my tears . . .' . . .*

***86R**

1 s]wd s't dyxw
2 tqwš](z)nt pryw. 't
3 y'n](t)[ ]frwmyqt.
4 mzyx]s'qy'
(about 26 lines missing)

***86R**

And when these things became known, and it was revealed who Eustathius was, the[14] whole village hastened, *great and small, and* they *were looking* upon him *as a great wonder* and *marvelling at what they heard about him; for these* Romans *were revealing and relating more and more concerning all his* greatness *and wealth and honour before the king . . .*

***86V**

1 nbnty: s't 'yšt[
2 'y'm pn. 't (w)[yγš

***86V**

. . . Then he began to tell one after another, in the presence of *the king and*

[8] Sy om. [9] Sy 'they shouted at him and'. [10] Sy pl. [11] Sy 'with their colours and with their scents'. [12] Sy 'a captive'.* [13] Sy + 'made'. [14] Sy 'that'.

3 wyd'γty fr'(*m*)['y
4 pcyγ'z xy[pθ
(about 26 lines missing)

the whole senate,[15] all the things *which he had seen and heard and which God had done for him, from the beginning* up to the end. And *the king rejoiced, and the whole senate, at the return of Placidus. And* then[16] *the king* gave orders, *and girded him with the belt of his supremacy, and* he received *his former rank of general* . . .

***87R**

1 x(') qw yẅ nyw brbr(')[yq s](' *qy*) [m't wyny prdyz. 't šy θbrty]
2 m't wyny prdyz. 't qc' (m)'t šy (*wdy*)[sy'q. 't nsc' m't wdy]
3 't p'y'z brw. c'(nw) m(')t (p)ryw b(γ')nyq [šyr'q](t)[y' w'n qt šy 'dy]
4 pnt ny b'w (qw) 'ẏc mrty s'[a] 'wpt(y')py' s''. (c)[ywyd žmny' pšys']
5 c'nw yxw'y cn xypθ wyr'·:· 't pr(ẏs) 'wstθys. 't[ ]= =[
6 dyxw qy wḏy m't wyny wdw. 't fr'm'y qw x[y](*pθ* s)[p](')d s' (*q*t)
7 'nc'y̤ prywyd dyxw 't 'šp(n)ẏ qw šy m̤yd[b] pn. pr(y)w(y)d p(')[c]
8 šyr ''šyn'ty m't xyd dyxw p(r) pr(d)yzt 't pr bwst(n)t (')t pr
9 ''p. 't bγy x(y)d (q)y wy(s)t(w) wnt' qw (f)wx'r 'wstθ(ys) s': qt (š)n
10 '(*w*)yẓy yw qw (*d*b)tyq s': 'ẇ 't wyny wdw 't wy(ny) ''žwnt. b'[]
11 [pr wyny](*q*)t(y)'ẇ: qt f̤r'm'y qt wyšq(y)sc bẏ wyny wy'n dyw[y](*d*)[ ](p)rdyz[y]
12 [qy wdy](nsc)' m't wyny wdw 't (p)'y'z. 't x' (w)'nc'(nw) w(γš'z) (q)t
13 [frwmyqt wy' 'w 'wt'](q)cyqt[d] fr('q)rntnt[e] 't my'mnt brbr= 'yqt(.)[.]
14](= =ẏ) qw 'wstθys s'. 't šy brtpdy' wṇy
15 x](cy) 't w(ny)qcyq. 't q(t) šw prypynt γryw prw
16 [qw frwmyqty](*zy s'*) -:·· (')t (w)[y](žt')[wnt'](d)ywyd prdy(z)y. c'(nw) ny
17 cn](*frwmyq*)ty xγry[.. 't ms ny]xw bγy w'c qt rytry'
18 [wnynt qyw](*s'*)[ ](*dywyd*) dyxwy [brbr'yqty prw y](*w'*)r pr bγ'nyq wrc(w)[ny']
19] w'n qt (*d*w')[ ]
20 'wšttyt swq]'z[n](*t*)[ ]
(the bottom third of the page missing)

[a] cancelled [b] sic [c] not p(')[t] [d] or frw](m)cyqt [e] the first n written over a cancelled letter (probably ')

***87R**

. . . *And that barbarian who had taken her died, and* she *went* to a certain other[8] barbarian *who had an orchard. And* ⌜his orchard was *given to her,*[17] and ⌜there was made for her[18] *there a shelter, and she dwelt there* and looked after the fruit, while[19] *the grace* of God was[20] upon her *so that* ⌜no-*one* came near *her* for any sexual intercourse[21] *after* ⌜*the time* (5) when[8] she separated from her husband.

And Eustathius came and *subjugated that* village where his wife was.[22] And he gave orders to *his army that* it should stay in that village and rest for three days, because that village was very convenient, with[23] orchards and with[23] gardens and with[23] water. And God—that (same God) who had made a promise to the blessed[24] Eustathius[25] to (10) (re-)unite[26] them to one another, him and his wife and his[27] children—⌜it was *by His* doing[28] that he ⌜ordered that[29] his tent should be pitched in[30] that orchard *where* his wife was dwelling and ⌜(which) she was looking after.[31] And she, *as she was rejoicing that *the Romans her fellow-countrymen* ⌜had destroyed and[8] had finished off the barbarians, *was preparing that she might approach* Eustathius and inform him (15) *that she* was[32] *a Roman* and a captive, and that[8] ⌜they might take her[33] with them *to the land of the Romans. And she stayed* in that orchard, whilst *she was* not *troubled by* the sword of the *Romans, and also* God did *not* permit that *they should do* harm *to her together with the barbarians of that* village, but, by ⌜a divine[34] miracle, *the*

[15] Sy + 'concerning'. [16] Sy 'immediately'. [17] Sy 'she received his orchard'. [18] Sy 'she made for herself' [19] Sy 'for'. [20] Sy 'rested'. [21] Sy 'she was not approached at all for sexual intercourse'. [22] Sy + 'dwelling'. [23] Sy + 'its'. [24] Sy 'mighty wrestler'. [25] Sy + 'and wished'. [26] Sy + 'and reveal'. [27] Sy + 'two'. [28] Sy 'had so arranged'. [29] Sy 'should order and'. [30] Sy 'beside'. [31] Sy 'was looking after it'. [32] Literally 'is'. [33] Sy 'she might go'. [34] Sy 'an ineffable'.

hidden grace of God again so *arranged* that *also these* two (20) *handsome youths who were standing before the general, when they saw that shelter in the orchard which was near their lord's tent, went and dwelt in it . . .*

***87V**

1 yw qw dbtyq s](’). (w’)n(w) (w)[’](*b*)[x]wny xwštr (qw q)nc(ys)tr
2 [s’ γrb’ms](*q*)n.[.] (q)t m(n)’ ptry sp’dpt m’t. ’t
3 [mn’ m’t qšn’w] ’(*yn*)c (*m*)’t ’t dw’ z(’)t’ m’t(n)t w(y)šnty. zw ’t yw
4 [nyy c’m’ pšys’ ’]t qyrmyr m(’)t wyny w(r)s. ’t q(*š*)[n]’w m’t šyr.
5 [’](t)[m’](*x* d*w*)[’ pr]w syxw’ynt yxšpy’ ’t nyž(*yn*)t cn x’ny ’t[a] cn
6 [q](b)nq mx(θ*t*)[p](*š*y)s’. s(yx)w’ynt (m)’x d(w)’ prw ’t (n)ydnt nwy. ’t
7 [p](s)’ ny γr(b)’msq qt qw s’ q’m’znt yty ’t c’nw nyžym
8 [c]n nwy. ny (n)[y]ž̌y m’x prw m’x m’t. ’t ny γrb’msq qt c(qn)’
9 [p]y(d)’r p’rxs ysmwtry’. ’t mn’ ptry pryp t’m’ ’t m(n)’ br(’)t.
10 (’)t šw’z yr’θy. c’nw r’y’z ’t ’wxn’z. ’t c(’*n*w) prysxm[qw yw]
11 [r]wt s’. p’ryc t(’)m’ pr rwt zmpw. ’t s(y)xw(’)y m(*n*’ *q*)[š](*t*)[rw]
12 [br](’)t[’]t šw f’tyr. ’t mn⟨t⟩ zwrt’zq’ qt t’m(’) = = =[
13 [y](w) (š)r(*w*)γ cn yw zmb’ bys’ ’t (f)’cmr(z)[
14 [’]t (xwš*p*’n)xt qy pr cr’q d’r’znt wdy. nyžynt [
15 ’tm b’y’mnt[b] dywyd dy[x](*w* qy) tγw γrbxsq [
16 (xwš’)tx (q)tyš ’t sq’t[r ny γrbd’r](m) cn m(n’)[p]t[r’ ’t cn mn’]
17 [b]r(’)t (py)d’r qt šn cw[qty··· ’t c’nw]( )m(x)d (’xš)t(p*t*)[yγwš]
18 [q](št)rw cn xwš(t)r. [ ] = =[ ]( )c(’)[nw r’y’z w’nw]
19 [w’b qy](w) s’. p[r mšyh’ z’wr
(the bottom third of the page missing)

[a] t heavily underlined [b] or m’y’mnt

***87V**

. . . *and their mother was sitting with them and listening to everything that they were telling one another.* ⌜That elder (one)[35] said to the younger: ‘*I, my friend, know* that my father was a general and *my mother* was ⌜a *beautiful* woman,[36] and theirs were two sons, I and one *other after me, and* his hair was red and he[37] was very beautiful. (5) *And* they took up *the two of us together*[8] by night and departed from the[38] house. And after a few days they took up the two of us together[8] and boarded a ship; but[39] I do not know whither they wanted[40] to[41] go. And when we went out of the ship our mother did not go with us; and I do not know why she stayed at sea. ⌜And my father led me and my brother[42] (10) and was going on (his) way, weeping and lamenting. And when we came to *a* river he left me on the river-bank and ⌜picked up[43] my ⌜*smaller brother*[44] *and* took him across. And ⌜as he was about to turn back[45] that *he might bring* me *across, a* lion *sprang* out of a chasm and seized *me and brought me to the ford. And* the shepherds who were pasturing there went *and rescued me from him,* (15) and they reared me in that village which you know, *where you too* were reared, and *I knew no* more concerning my *father and my* brother, what *became* of them.’ *And when* the smaller[46] (one) *heard* these things from the elder, *suddenly he was astonished, and he sprang to his feet and, as he was weeping, said* to *him: ‘By the power of Christ, I am your brother! . . .’ . . .*

***91R**

1 ’]try. xyd
2](t) ’t
3 γwb]t[y’ ’](t)[ ](w)’(*n*)c’nw
4] rw’n. ’t s(p)tyt [qtn](*t*) pr wnwnqy’.

***91R**

. . . *And when, according to Hadrian's command, they fell* in the fire, that[47] *harsh and mighty threat of the flame was quenched and stilled, and inside it they*

[35] Sy ‘That (one) which was older’. [36] Sy ‘beautiful in her appearance’. [37] Sy ‘his appearance’. [38] Sy ‘our’.* [39] Sy ‘and’. [40] Sy ‘planned’.* [41] Sy ‘that they should’.* [42] Sy ‘But our father was leading me while carrying my brother’. [43] Sy ‘crossed while carrying’. [44] Sy ‘brother who was smaller than me’.* [45] Sy ‘he went in and turned back’.* [46] Sy ‘younger’. [47] Sy ‘the’.

5 ms ny zγ](’m) ’t(r)y db’ny ṅwq b’(w)[q]w wyšnt s’.
6 wyšnty]src(yq) wr(s) prθwtẏ bwṭ[y]··:·· ’t štyq
7 [myθy ’ys xw γnt’qry]xwšywny qt wynẏ qt cw (*q*)[tn]t (z)prtt
8 [’dyty tmp’rt. ’t](f)r(’)m’y ’t xwcq wntnt r[w](d)[n](w) γw. c’nw
9 [šm’r’z qt ptswγ]t[n]t ’t qtnt w’nc’nw [·]šy(. ’)t(b)[y](*r*)[a] c(’)nw ’wstty[t]
10 [m’tnt wšnty t](*m*)p’rt ṃyd (*žwqt*) ’t ny (m’)t prywnt ’ẏc n(’)s (š)[ ]
11](’)t (*rwx*š)[n](*t’*)[w’n](*qt* m = =t =)[

(about 19 lines missing)

[a] reading by Professor Schwartz

were confessing and *chanting and singing a hymn of victory. And*, as *they had prayed, they delivered up their* soul[10] and *were* perfected in *the triumph* of victory, (5) *while not even* a ⌜tip of a flame[48] of the fire came near to them *that even* a hair of *their* head might be singed.

And ⌜*on* the third *day*[49] *came the wicked* king that he might see what ⌜*had become of*[50] the holy *ones' bodies. And* he gave the command, and ⌜they opened the *brazen* bull,[51] while *he was supposing that they had been burnt* and had become like ashes, and *he found* how[52] (10) *their* bodies *were* laid out[53] *whole*, and there was not upon them ⌜any corruption . . .,[54] *but they were pure* and *bright so that they would seem to be alive* . . .

***91V**

1 (wyšn)ty [
2 wyšnt[y
3 ’yž(n)t[bym d]n [wyšnty prw
4 ’ḍyty prw qy [wšnt](y) ptγny’. pr m’x (*xy*)[pθ’wnt ’t bγy ’t bwcny]
5 yšwγmšyḫ’ šẏr[’q]ty’ ’t pr wyny z’(r)cnw(q)[y’. qy qyw s’ ’t]
6 qw bγw ptrw [s’] ’t qw zprt [w](’)t s’. γw(b)[ty’ ’t zpry’q ’t]
7 nm’c ’t γr(’)ty’ ptwysc’ b’ṭ. pr s’t wẏt =[’yqwn]
8 pn ’m(y)n. [a]myms pylyqydws[b] ’t wyny wdy’ ’t wy(*n*)[y dybnw z’ty ’znt]
9 qy wšnty pcwq’n z’wry ’y.st nnpysny.·:· npwsty (x*y*)[pθ ’y’m[a] ··:··]

[a–a] in red ink [b] sic

were confessing and *chanting and singing a hymn of victory. And*, as *they had prayed, they delivered up their* soul[10] and *were* perfected in *the triumph* of victory, (5) *while not even* a ⌜tip of a flame[48] of the fire came near to them *that even* a hair of *their* head might be singed.

And ⌜*on* the third *day*[49] *came the wicked* king that he might see what ⌜*had become of*[50] the holy *ones' bodies. And* he gave the command, and ⌜they opened the *brazen* bull,[51] while *he was supposing that they had been burnt* and had become like ashes, and *he found* how[52] (10) *their* bodies *were* laid out[53] *whole*, and there was not upon them ⌜any corruption . . .,[54] *but they were pure* and *bright so that they would seem to be alive* . . .

***91V**

. . . *Then may whosoever is worthy to celebrate* their *memory and to call them to his aid receive these things, according to* their *prayers and the request which they asked of God; to inherit which may we with them be* worthy, together *with all the holy* ones like *them*, ⌜by the grace of our *Lord and God and saviour* (5) Jesus Christ and by His mercy;[55] *to Whom and* to ⌜God the[56] Father and to the Holy Spirit, praise *and honour*[57] *and* worship and exaltation ⌜be offered,[58] in all ages for *ever and ever*, Amen!

The story is finished of Placidus[59] and of his wife and *of his two sons*, ⌜may whose prayer come for strength to the writer!

The end of the book.[60]

[48] Sy 'breath'. [49] Sy 'after three days'. [50] Sy 'there was from'.* [51] Sy 'the oven of brass was opened'. [52] Sy 'that'. [53] Sy + 'and'. [54] Sy 'a blemish'. [55] Sy 'by the grace and by the mercy of our Lord and our God and our saviour, Jesus Christ'. [56] Sy 'His'. [57] Sy + 'and thanksgiving'. [58] Sy om. [59] Sy + 'the general'. [60] Sy 'and to God be glory!'.

Commentary

***83R**

11 *[nxš](y)ry ~ ḫywt’* 'animal'. Cf. M. *nxšyr*, B. *nxš’yr*; not previously attested in C. Sogdian.

***83V**

1 *w’t m(n)[’] ~ wy-ly* 'woe to me'. The same Sogd. (less well preserved) and Syr. correspond also in lines 4 and 6. Evidently *w’t* should be compared with Av. *vayōi* etc., Gk. ὀᾶ, Lat. *vae*, MP *wāy*, and so on. The expected Sogd. *w’y* is well attested in unpublished texts, e.g. *w’y mn’* (C69 = TiiB66, V(?)6, 8), *w’y m’x*

(C28 = [Tiii]B, V9). Since the *-t* of *w't* is hardly a suffix, it may go back to the enclitic *'ty* (in its function of introducing direct speech, cf. Weber 1971, 77–83).

2 *dxštyq s(w)[sn]* ~ *šwšn̈' d-dbr'* 'lilies of the desert'. Neither Sogd. word is otherwise attested, but the formation of *dxštyq* is clear (cf. NP *dašti* 'wild'), leaving no room for doubt that the following word should mean 'lily'. My restoration is based on Pahl. *swsn'*, NP *sūsan* 'lily'.

4 *[s't ywp']tqy* ~ *kl l-gmr* 'every(thing) altogether'. Cf. ST i, 68.11, and Gershevitch TPS 1948, 64.

6 *[y']](b)msq ̈ybty* probably translates *ph' 'n'* 'I wander'. S. *''y'βtk* (SCE 434; P9.111; Dhy. 158, 234; Intox. 22; KG 582), M. *''yβṯyy* (Sogdica, a 11) means 'perverted, false, wrong, heretical', NP *'yfdh* (Henning BSOS 10/1 [1939], 103) 'frivolous'; similarly B. *''y'np* (SCE 130) 'pervert', C. *'ymp* (52R.2; ST ii/6.22) 'pervert, deceive', *'ympn* (13R.28) 'deception', S. *''y'npn* (KG 587) 'heresy', M. *''yfs* (Tale E, 4) 'be perverted', S. *''y'βs* / *''y'βt* (Dhy. 241; P7.165; L68.13, cf. Sims-Williams 1981a, 238) 'err, wander, get lost', C. *''ybt* ~ *ṭ'ṭ* 'erred' (Sundermann 1981, Text 25, V2). Cf. Henning loc. cit. n. 3. There is no justification for the translations 'lewd, commit adultery' etc. which suggested Bailey's etymology (BSOS 6/3 [1931], 594) to Skt. *yábhati*. Cf. rather NP *ǰaftan* 'be bent' etc. (suggested by Dr. Gershevitch) and note that B. *''y'βtk* translates the same Chinese word as *''k'βtk* 'bent, crooked' (MacKenzie BSTBL II, 15).

8 *(q)t(s)q(n)t[y]* ~ *ḥrbt'* 'waste, ruin, desert'. Cf. GMS § 365[1].

***87R**

2 Syr. *mṭlt'* 'shelter, hut' was probably translated by *sy'q* as in ST i, 43.1. The f. verb *qc' (m)'t* accords with this assumption.

4 *'yc* 'any' may be regarded as an approximate translation of *l-gmr* 'at all'. – *mrty 'wpt(y')py'* is a literal translation of Syr. *šwtpwt' d-gbr'* 'participation of (= by) a man', i.e. 'sexual intercourse'.

5 *yxw'y*: 3 sg. impf., cf. M. *'yxw'y [īxwāy]* (GMS § 220). The C. form suggests that *[īxwāy]* has developed from *[yīxwāy]* (the expected impf. of *[y'xwāy]*, cf. Sims-Williams forthcoming b), since it is doubtful whether an initial long vowel *(ē/ī)* is ever represented in C2 merely by *y-*. The only cases which come under consideration are *yw* 'one' (probably *[yō]*, cf. the pointing(?) at 48V.18 and 87R.1) and *yd* 'this' (= Av. *aēta-* according to GMS § 269, but the development of postvocalic *t* to *d* as postulated there is unacceptable;[61] more probably from the demonstrative 'stem' *y-* + *-yd* as in *myd*, *wyd*, etc., M. and B. *'yδ* displaying dissimilatory loss of *y* before *ē*).

Note that the better Syr. MS here has the transitive *pršt* (see p. 158 above) 'she separated', the object (*npšh* 'herself') being left to be inferred (see Thes. Syr., s.v. *prš*). The Sogdian faithfully reproduces this construction.

8 *''šyn'ty* ~ *p'y'* 'proper, convenient, becoming, fair' is to be discussed by Professor Schwartz.

12 *(w)'nc'(nw)* ~ *kd* 'while': mistake for *c'nw*?

13 *['w 'wt'](q)cyqt* ~ *bn̈y 'tr'* 'fellow-countrymen'. Although the existence of such a compound (for which cf. *('wn)'ṭc* ~ *br 'tr'*, 7R.21) is hypothetical, I have preferred this restoration to Schwartz's *[frw](m)cyqt* (a form attested in ST ii), because (i) the Syriac text has 'the Romans her fellow-countrymen' in that order, and (ii) the word for 'Romans' is attested in this text as *frumyqt*, 86R.3.–*my'mnt*: see (in addition to Schwartz's note) Sims-Williams 1976, 56 n. 53.–On *brbr'yq* see STSC 67.

15 *w(ny)qcyq* ~ *šbyt'* 'captive'. The pl. *wnyqcyqt* occurs in TiiB6a, V9 (Lentz), and in C44 (cited below). Cf. B. *wn'ykh-cyk*, P2.544, discussed by Henning, Paris Texts 720, whose meaning may now be regarded as settled. The same applies to *wn'yk škr-* 'take captive', P2.548–549, M. *wnyq kwn-* 'capture', M133.11 apud GMS § 897[2], C. *wnyq qθ'rt s't wnyqcyqty* 'captured all the captives', C26 = TiiB57, ii, V7. Mug *wn''k'/wn''kh* has already been interpreted as 'prisoner' (Gershevitch 1962, 91).–*γryw prw* 'with themselves': the lack of a possessive adj. indicates that *γryw* here functions as a reflexive pronoun. Cf. *qw γryw s'r* 'to himself', C22 = TiiB15a, i, V10 (Lentz), Mug *kw 'γrywh* 'id.', Nov. 3, R18.

***87V**

2 *sp'dpt*: cf. Bailey, Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Sez. Ling. 1/2 [1959], 130.

6 *(n)ydnt nwy* 'they boarded a ship' is the exact counterpart of a known Syr. idiom *ytbw b-'lp'*, literally 'sat on a ship'. However, since the Syriac here has a different expression *slqw l-'lp'*, literally 'they ascended a ship', it is not clear whether the Sogdian is a mere calque or a genuine Iranian idiom (cf. perhaps Parth. *nšst pd n'w*, Mir. Man. III, c6).

[61] Genuine instances of this sound-change are restricted to certain C. texts (not including C2). For *pṭš'δṭy'* see above, p. 54; *kδ'm* may have *kδ* in direct contact, dissimilated from *kt*; *xšyδ* probably = OP *xšāyaθ(i)ya-*. The other examples cited in GMS (*msyδr*, *n'xyδ*) are loanwords.

7 *yty.* 'to go' = B. *ytty*, VJ 314, as recognized by Benveniste Etudes 1, 307. Here *yty.* (depending on *q'm*) must be a *past* inf.; this proves that the first of the two etymologies proposed in GMS § 539 [1] is the correct one.

13 *(f)'cmr(z)*: see Schwartz 1970b, 297 n. 22.

14 The phrase *pr cr'q d'r*, here used absolutely, occurs with an object in 12700 = TiiB28, R5–6: *šyr'kty xwšp'n pr cr'k δ'r xypδ 'rmy* 'Beneficent shepherd, pasture Thy flock!', from which it appears that the literal meaning is probably 'keep in pasturage'.

15 The reading *b'y'mnt* (3 pl. impf. of **by'm*) rather than *m'y'mnt* is virtually certain in view of the fact that the impf. in *mā-* (of verbs with preverb *ā-*) is not attested in C2, as stated above, p. 60. Cf. the M. personal name *by'mnwrz* (for **βy'mn°*?), M1.100(differently GMS § 306)?

18 *[q](št)rw* is not quite a literal translation of *hẇ d-ṭl'*, for which one would expect *qncystr* 'the younger' as in 1. The Sogdian (or the underlying Syr. text) may have been influenced by the wording of a few lines back, where the Syriac has *l-'ḥy d-z'wr mny* 'my brother who was smaller than me', probably translated *m(n' q)[š](t)[rw br](')t* 'my smaller brother' (11–12). It may also have been under the influence of this passage that the scribe has put the acc. instead of the correct nom. in 18.

***91R**

5 *ṅwq*: see Schwartz 1969, 446.

***91V**

7 To Schwartz's note on *γr(')ty'* one may add a reference to the pres. stem *γr'y* 'exalt' in the following passage: *(f)ry(š)tyt γ(w)bt' . . . mrt(xm)yt γr'yt'* (C21 = TiiiT.V.B., R(?)11–12).

9 See Schwartz STSC 109.

Selected variants from the Greek and Latin versions

83R.1	q'[m . . .] = Gk. ἐπειρᾶτο ἑαυτὸν καταβαλεῖν, Lat. voluit se projicere (Syr. d-'p hw nšd' npšh)
83R.2	(bγ)'nyq = Gk. τοῦ Θεοῦ, Lat. Dei (Syr. om.)
83V.5	x(γr)[y ...] = Gk. αἰχμ-αλώτου (Syr. d-šby', Lat. captivitatis)
87V.5	cn x'ny = Gk. τῆς οἰκίας, Lat. de domo (Syr. mn bytn)
87V.7	q'm'zṅt yty. = Gk. βουλόμενοι ἀπελθεῖν, Lat. volentes ire (Syr. mtḥšbyn hww d-n'zlwn)
87V.11–12	m(n' q)[š](t)[rw br](')t = Lat. fratre meo juniore (Syr. l-'ḥy d-z'wr mny; Gk. τοῦ ἑνὸς παιδίου τοῦ μικροτέρου
87V.12	't mn⟨t⟩ zwrt'zq' = Gk. Βουλόμενος οὖν ἀνακάμπτειν, Lat. Cum autem reverteretur (Syr. w-'l w-hpk)
91R.7–8	qt cw (q)[tn]t (z)prtt ['dyty tmp'rt] = Gk. τὸ τί ἐγένοντο τὰ σώματα τῶν αὐτῶν (Syr. mn' hw' mnhwn d-pgr̈yhwn d-qdẏš', Lat. quid factum esset de reliquiis Sanctorum)

Concordance

Sogdian	Syriac F	Syriac B (ed. Bedjan)	Greek & Latin
f. *83	ff. 75R–76R	pp. 228–230	pp. 127–128
f. *86	ff. 79R–80R	pp. 237–238	pp. 131–132
f. *87	ff. 80V–81V	pp. 240–242	pp. 132–133
f. *91	f. 86R–V	pp. 251–253	p. 135

Text 12: On humility (ff. *91V.10–*94R.28)

It is convenient to treat the two short texts on ff. *91V.10–11 and *94R.1–28 together as the beginning and end respectively of a *Catena* of excerpts on the subject of humility, though it is not certain that they must belong together.

F. *91V.10–11 contains the superscription and opening words of Abbā Isaiah's tiny homily 'On humility'. The Syriac text is cited below from the critical edition by R. Draguet, Les cinq recensions de l'Ascéticon syriaque d'Abba Isaïe, Louvain 1968 (CSCO/SS CXX–CXXIII), where the present work ('Logos IV') is to be found in Vols. CXX, 21 (text) and CXXII, 13 (translation). There exist also Greek, Latin and Arabic versions (cited by Schwartz STSC 20–21), but these are of no import for the Sogdian text, which corresponds word for word with the Syriac.

F. *94R.1–28 contains the latter part of the so-called Sixth letter of Macarius the Egyptian. The Syriac text has been edited and translated by W. Strothmann, Die syrische Überlieferung der Schriften des Makarios, Wiesbaden 1981, Teil 1: Syrischer Text, 114–116; Teil 2: Übersetzung, 74–76 (Göttinger Orientforschungen, 1. Reihe: Syriaca, Bd. 21). Although the Greek original of this work is not extant, the text quotes in extenso two apophthegmata known from both Greek and Armenian collections. The Greek is to be found in Migne PG LXV, 368 and 215–217. Almost identical texts are included in the compilation of Paulos Euergetinos,[1] II/1 §§ 5–6 (=Vol. II pp. 20–21 in the edition of Athens, 1957–), where the two stories occur together in the same order as in the Syriac text of Macarius. The Armenian versions are printed in: Vark' Srboç Haranç ew k'aλak'avarowt'iwnk' noçin . . . II, Venice 1855, 480 (with fn. 1) and 320–321 respectively, and have been translated by L. Leloir, Paterica armeniaca a P. P. Mechitaristis edita (1855) nunc latine reddita IV, Louvain 1976, 163–164 (CSCO/Subsidia LI), and III, 1976, 282 (CSCO/Subs. XLVII). Presumably there exist also Georgian versions (cf. above, p. 125 n. 6), but these have not been published.

In a few instances, all of which may well be coincidental, the Sogdian text appears to correspond more closely to a reading of the Armenian ('Arm.^{B}', cf. above, p. 125 n. 6) than to that of any Syriac manuscript. Such cases are listed on p. 167 below.

F. *94R.11–28 has been translated and commented upon by Benveniste Etudes 2, 116–118.

[1] See above, p. 125 n. 4.

***91V**

10 [a][ty]m cn 'b' 'šγy'[a] – cn nyznty' (p)[y](*d*'r)··:·· cw xcy [nyznty'. nyznty']

11 [xcy](*q*)t (pc)mr(y) x[y](pθ) (γ)ryw xw(*mrtx*)[my q](t)[qt](*'n*)[y q'ry xcy

(about 19 lines missing)

[a–a] in red ink

***91V**

⌈*Furthermore*, from Abbā Isaiah[2]: 'Concerning humility'. What is *humility? Humility is that a man* should consider himself, *that he is a sinner* . . .

***94R**

1]xwny bwžbr cw w'b'(z)

2]c(*ym*)t(' zr*yš*'z)qw sm'ny s'. yw'r

3]bγ'( )my prm'nty' wn'(n)qt'ny q'ry.

4 cy]wyd. šyrw xcy nwqr qt b't 'dy

5 q](t) pr ršty'q nyznt m't[a]··:·· 't cywyd

[a] not b't

***94R**

. . . *Let us see* what that publican was saying *from afar*. He did *not even* raise *his* eyes to heaven, but *beat upon his breast, saying:* 'God, have mercy on me, a sinner!' *And this (one) went down justified rather than* that (one).[3] It is good, then, that one should be (5)

[2] Sy 'Of the holy Abbā Isaiah'. [3] Sy +. . .

6 pys]tẋt bym byqp'r qr'n c'nw nyznty'
7 ']t pr šw'mc. p't sty šw'mc qy
8]=. 't xypθ cymt' pš'tẋt d'rym c's'.
9 [p't sty tqwš'mnty q](*y*) pwn xcy wrẓywy'. xwy'r qfšw. r'θy
10 [šw'mc qy pw cn w'rc](γ)wbty'. p't sty r'θy šw'mc qy pwn
11 [xcy w'rc γwbty'. myd](')ẋšt bẋrd'rym cn pwstyty. ·:·· šy'
12 ['br'mnty 't zprtt 'dyt](*y*) šw'mc. m't ywt(r qy n)'m'z pmbw
13 [ptry. 't wγtw ycy cyw](*p*y)d'r. qy šẋ srd mwnw (r)ẋž xwž[b] cn
14 [bγ'. qt n' γwb t'm' pr](z)'y. 't w'nw γwb 'w̧ xw bγy (*qt ny*)
15 [tqwšt wn'z 'dy pr wyny ryt. c]n przr γwbty'. qy m't pr wyn(y)
16 [ryt. 't dbtyq p]t(ry) m't qy (p)t(q)šc d'r'z xypθ γryw 't qt[y]
17 [n'mqyn pr qθ. 't](m)'t wyny mzyx γwbty'. 't nyšty'tẇ (b)' qyw (s')
18 [qt ywtr cn zpr]tt 'dyty ftyrtysq c(ym)yd fcmbdy. 'ẋs (šw)
19 ['prs pyn]m(s)' mnt ftyr't. 't ·γ'zt šm'rt yxypθy m'ny. qt
20 [pr](m)ẋθ šw'n[c] nyž'n. swdntq' pr'm' mrtxmẋt 't my γwbty'
21 (b)wtq'. 't my m'n xwcy ny bwtq prymyd. (y)w'rt šwnq' b(*y*'rw)
22 t'ṛy nγ'my qt 'ḍy ny ẓynt t'm' 't nyžy (by)'rw t'ṛy cn (*xypθ*)
23 (*k*w)rḫ' c'(nw q)'m'z (q)t pγwšty š(wy) 't ywnẋ cn (b)γ'(dw)'(fryš)t'
24 (*f*)šmtẋt bnt 't wšnty prw dmtyrt 't šy rwxšny'q d'r'znt(.)
25 (')t ywny swdnt s't qθ c'nw w(yn*n*)t ẓyd γwbty' 't c'n(w) xw
26 q'm w'n qt prẋžy cn γwbty' f(y)'tr γwbtẋ (b)' 't (*p*)[ry= myd](s)ptẋ
27 b' xyd qy npxštw šty. qt xwny qy γmy'(w)n't x(y)pθ (*γryw*)[d]
28 ptrztyq'.

[b] possibly altered from γ- [c] cancelled [d] or (*γrywy*)

humble in heart, that is, that one should be truly humble. And there*after* ⌜. . . we are *adorned* outwardly[4] when *we display* humility *in*[5] *clothing and in*[5] *words and* in[5] conduct. For there is a (mode of) conduct *in* which *there is pride*, and ⌜we keep our eyes cast down,[6] *for there is a look which* is full of pride. Lowly footwear (is) a course (10) *without vain*glory, for there is a course which *is* full of *vainglory. These* things we have taken from the Scriptures.

Recollections *and* way of life of the holy ones.

There was a certain one ⌜who was called[7] *Father* Pambo, *and it is said* concerning *him* that for three years he asked ⌜this desire[8] from *God: 'Do not glorify me on* earth!' And God so glorified him *that no* (15) *one could look on his face, from* the exceeding[8] glory which was upon his *face.*

And there was *another* father who used to keep himself shut away, and *he* was *famous in the city and* had great[9] glory. And it was announced to him: '*One of the holy* ones is departing from this world; come, *greet* him before he departs!'[10] And he began to think in his mind[11]: 'If (20) I go out *by* day, people will rush upon me and I shall have[12] glory, and ⌜my mind is[13] not agreeable to this. Rather shall I go out in the evening, ⌜in time of darkness,[14] that no-one may see me.' And he went out of his cell in the evening, in the dark, desiring that he might go[15] hidden. And immediately[16] two angels were sent from God, and with them torches, ⌜and they[17] provided light for him. (25) And immediately the whole city ran up when they[18] saw that glory, and since he desired that he might flee from glory he was glorified (all) the more. And *thereby* was fulfilled that which is written, that he[19] who humbles him*self* will be exalted.

[4] Sy 'we adorn our exterior'. [5] Sy + 'our'. [6] Sy 'our eyes are cast down, looking downwards'. [7] Sy 'whose name was'* (the asterisk here and in the following footnotes draws attention to a variant in the list on p. 167 below). [8] Sy om. [9] Sy 'much'. [10] Sy 'falls asleep'. [11] Sy 'self'.* [12] Sy + 'great'. [13] Sy 'I am'. [14] Sy 'while it is dark/in the dark'. [15] Sy 'be'. [16] Sy 'behold!'. [17] Sy 'which'.* [18] Sy 'it'. [19] Sy 'evervone'.*

Commentary

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10 For the restoration *[ty]m* cf. 48R.24, where *tym* introduces the title of a new text, aping a common use of Syr. *twb*.

10–11 Syriac: *d-qdyš' 'b' 'šʿy': mṭl mkykwt'. mn' 'ytyh mkykwt'. mkykwt' 'ytyh d-nḥšwb 'nš npšh d-ḥty' 'ytwhy*. The Sogdian agrees closely, even in the order of words.

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3 In this quotation from Lk. 18.13, the Sogdian has evidently adopted the reading of the *Pershitta* (as does the Syr. MS **K**, a variant omitted by Strothmann): *ḥwnyny l-ḥṭy'* 'have mercy on me, a sinner', instead of *ḥwnyhy l-ḥṭy'* 'have mercy on the sinner'. The prefixed *n-* of *(n)qt'ny*, *q'ṭy* imitates Syr. *l-*.

5 *m't*: probably a mistake for *b't*. Alternatively, the underlying Syr. text may have read *hw'* instead of *nhw'*.

6 *qr'n*: this spelling is also attested in the compounds B. *nykr'n* and C. *nyšqr'n* (beside M. *nykyr'n* and B. *nyškyr'n*), cf. GMS §§ 1148–1149. It may be regarded as a defective spelling (cf. above, p. 53) or as an older form (cf. IIJ 20 [1978], 258). For the redundant use of *qr'n* 'side' after the adv. *byqp'r* 'outside' cf. above, p. 60, on similar uses of *-w'dy* and *wy'q*.

12 *(qy)*: the remarks of Benveniste Etudes 2, 122, are founded on Hansen's misreading *cn* (corrected by Sundermann 1974a, 253 n. 151).

19 *ʿy'zt*: probably 3 sg. impf. middle (cf. above, p. 63, on 27V.18 *'nc'(y)t*).

21 *xwc-*, usually 'pleasant, agreeable', here clearly means 'agreeing, consenting' (cf. Benveniste Etudes 2, 117: «Mon esprit n'agrée pas cela», without comment).—*(y)w'rt = yw'r yty*, 22R.8, M. *yw'r 'ṭy*, B. *yw'r ZY*. The present spelling is not found elsewhere.

27–28 The Syriac text of Macarius follows the Greek original in citing Lk. 18.14, but the Sogdian agrees more closely with the wording of Mt. 23.12 (Peshitta: *mn d-nmk npšh nttrym*), as does the Armenian.—For *γmy'(w)n-* 'humble, debase' cf. the abstracts *γmy'(w)y* (Fragment A, R26) and *γmy'q* (ST ii/6.7, misread *nmy'q*). C. and S. *γmy* (on which see Henning Tales 481 n. 1) may represent a light-stem adj. *γmy-* 'humbled, disgraced' (nom. sg. m. etc. *γmy* < **γmyy*), of which *γmy'* will be the acc. sg. f.

Selected variants from the Armenian version

94R.12 (qy n)'m'z = Arm. or koč̣ēr 'who was called' (Syr. d-šmh hw')
94R.19 yxypθy m'ny = Arm. i mtin 'in (his) mind' (Syr. byt lh l-npšh)
94R.24 't (second occurrence) = Arm. ew 'and' (Syr. d-)
94R.27 xwny qy = Arm. or '(he) who' (Syr. kl d-)

Text 13: The *Antirrheticus* of Evagrius Ponticus (ff. *94R.28–*120V.6)

This Sogdian translation of Evagrius's *Antirrheticus* seems to have been the last item copied into the MS C2 by the original scribe. On f. *120V the text breaks off abruptly in the middle of a paragraph half way through the sixth of the eight chapters. Cf. above, p. 18.

The following Syr. MSS containing the whole or part of the *Antirrheticus* are known to me:

F = London, Add. 14,578 (6th–7th cent.), ff. 34V sqq.;
G = London, Add. 7,190 (12th cent.), ff. 1R sqq. (imperfect at the beginning);
H = London, Add. 12,175 (534 A.D.?), ff. 101V sqq.;
I = London, Add. 14,621 (802 A.D.), ff. 102V–104R (introduction only);
J = London, Add. 17,165 (6th cent.), ff. 34V sqq.;
K = Berlin, Sachau 302 (7th–8th cent.), ff. 42V sqq. (imperfect throughout, end lacking);
L = London, Add. 14,616 (6th–7th cent.), ff. 40R sqq. (end lacking);
M = London, Add. 14,635 (6th cent.), f. 12R (title only);
N = London, Or. 2,312 (15th–16th cent.), ff. 104R sqq.

The text of **F** has been published, together with a 'retroversion' into Greek, by W. Frankenberg, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen NF 13/2 [1912], 472 sqq. The first two chapters only have been translated into German from the incomplete MS **K** by F. Baethgen apud O. Böckler, Evagrius Pontikus . . ., Munich 1893, 104–125 (Biblische und kirchenhistorische Studien IV).

A large proportion of the *Antirrheticus* consists of biblical citations, the Syriac text of which shows markedly the influence of the *Peshitta*.[1] Such influence would be liable to occur at every stage in the process of translation and copying. It is therefore not surprising that the Syriac MSS differ slightly in the degree to which they have been affected, and that the Sogdian, too, occasionally seems to agree with the *Peshitta* rather than with the Syriac text of Evagrius.[2] The testimony of the *Peshitta* (= **P**) is thus a factor which must always be taken into account in considering the readings of the various Syr. and Sogd. MSS.

The Syr. MSS differ from one another considerably in detail, but I have not found it possible to draw up a stemma nor even to come to any definite conclusion as to the comparative worth of the more important MSS (**FHJK**). The Sogdian shows no consistent affinity with any one MS or group of MSS. Accordingly I have adopted the text of **F** (published by Frankenberg) as a conveniently accessible basis for my combined translation of the Sogd. and Syr. texts and have departed from it only where (i) the Sogdian appears to favour a different reading or (ii) the text of **F** is ungrammatical. The variants of both types are listed below, pp. 180–181, together with a number of corrections to Frankenberg's readings. **P** is only cited when it offers a text close enough to that of the MSS of Evagrius for its reading to be potentially relevant.

In the numbering of the paragraphs the Syr. MSS disagree with one another and with the Sogdian. In my translation I have adopted the Sogd. numeration; for that of **F** see the concordance on pp. 181–182.

There exists also an Armenian version of Evagrius's *Antirrheticus*. This has been cited from the critical edition by B. V. Sargisean, Srboy hôrn Ewagri Pontaçioy vark' ew matenagrowt'iwnk' . . ., Venice 1907, 217ff. According to I. Hausherr, Les versions syriaque et arménienne d'Évagre le Pontique, Rome 1931, 100 n. 1 (Orientalia Christiana XXII/2 No. 69), the Armenian derives directly from the lost Greek original, but according to Muyldermans, Evagriana syriaca, Louvain 1952, 67–69, it is translated from a Syr. recension different from that published by Frankenberg. The few instances in which the Sogdian appears to agree with the Armenian more closely than with any Syr. MS have been listed on p. 181.

The commentaries on this Sogdian text by Benveniste Etudes 1, 298–303 and by MacKenzie CSN 118 to 122 have been referred to below as 'Benveniste' and 'MacKenzie' respectively.

[1] Cf. J. Muyldermans, in: Handes Amsorya 75 [1961], 441–448, on the influence of the Armenian bible on the text of the Arm. version of the *Antirrheticus*.

[2] It is, however, impossible to infer from the citations in the Sogdian version (as Hansen Literatur 97 would have liked to do) the existence of a Sogd. translation of the complete bible. The influence of the biblical text may have been not on the Sogd. text directly but on the Syr. MS from which it was translated.

***94R**

28 [a]'wgrs ptry xypθ p'cγny qrwn'mntẋ št' ḏywy š(*m'ry*)[b]

29 ptryt qy cxnt dn m'(x) prw 't (m)n zm'y(n)t.. p'cγny cn zprtt

30 pwstẋt(y).. wyspny šm'rẋ ptrẋt yw (y)w w'xš qy qt'= wntq' qt[a]

[a–a] in red ink [b] not š(m'ryty)

***94V**

1 [a]šw w'wry wn'(t)[a]'. f(t)[mcyq

2 [a]cn mnyn'[a]'.. šm'rẋt(y) (p)t(r)ẋt q(y ')[xyžnt

3 xwrẋm y't(w)'(γ)my mẋθy. 't mn t[ym

4 xwrẋm cn tmp'(ry) xwcy pyd'r ·:· 't n'[m

5 sqṣyt. p't wḏy 'šybty b' rmy[

6 šm'ry ptryt qy q'mt qt 'm(p)[rt xwry

7 ny *w(yn)t pr[b] γšyp qy bwt cn qθ'(*r*)[y

8 'mprt xw'r[c] bẋq' yw'r p'ty swq' qt[

9 bγw'. qẋtḟ nyšqwγd'rt cn mcryn cn (b)[n](t)[qt'

10 qy w'bt mn'. qt žwγ' xcy p'šy fr(*m*)['n

11 t'fs' nwr. ny ycy ž(*wγ*)t(r)' c'ḟ' 't dw(*r*)[tr

12 ptryt qy rwžt qt 'mprt xwry cn xw[rt

13 mnt xwpy '(y)c ny bwtq' nmrtxmẋ cy[mnty

14 pdnw (b)'rxš 't frwycy qθ'rt wbγw =[

15 (*qθ*'r)t nt'wnty[d] qẋt šw zrγd'rt[

16 šm'ry ptryt'. qy ftpẋžtq[e] t'[m'](q)t xw(rw =)[

17 (*fr*)γn' wn't mn' xw bγy 't my prymyd frγ[n'

18 xwr'n nγnw qt' (p)cš'n ''p qw pn ny txẋzt xwr·:· [a][cn xwšywnyty]

19 m'rdn'[a] šm'ṛy ptryt (q)t[e] my w'btq'. qt qm(*py*) '(yst)[nγny]

20 't rwγn 't y'nt 'yšt qy γwntq. w'nw frmẋtq xwtw [bγy]

21 'rtẋ γwdy ny 'ympstq'.[e] 't rwγny tpẋ ny psydtyq'. wytwr[qt]

22 (θ*b*r)tyq' (xw)tw bγy w'r nmpw (p)r z'y ·:·z·:· mrtxmẋ ptryt qy q'm[t]

23 qt pr nγny 't 'pẋ 'mprt (x)w'ry'[f] prxw'y' zprtt 'dyty r'θ[.]

24 't (*w'nw* w')b (y)sr(y)l xwšywny. (p)rptt ymyk'.[e] 't šw prbγšt[e] qw[]

25 'mwn dyxwy xš'wn d'r s'. 't qw yw''š xwšywnẋ z'tw s'. '(t)[]

26 sw(q)'t pr ptq's 't šw xwyrt nγnw pr šqwrθy'. wytwr qt

27 zwrtn 't 'ẋsn pr dwrt' ·:·ḫ·:· šm'ṛy ptryt qy w'bt m'x'. qt

28 n'y ṇd 'ẋšt qy 'wyžd'rm[e] ny b'wntq' m'x 't qy[g] nbr'trty qy

29 'ẋsnt qw m'x s' ·:· w'nw fr(m)ẋtq xwtw bγy. xwrntq' 't ft'r

30 pṛycntq'. 't xwrnt 't ft'r p(')rcnt[e] w'nc'nw xwtw bγy w'xš.

Syriac numerical letters, with decorative punctuation, are written in the margin by lines 2 (''), 5 (b), 9 (g), 11 (d), 15 (h), 18 ((w)), 21 (z) and 26–27 (ḫ) [a–a] in red ink [b] photo w[ ](p)r (paper folded back); Hansen wst pr [c] photo 'm(*p*)[ ](x)w'r [d] or yt'wnty [e] sic [f] apparently (x)wy'ry' [g] to be deleted

***94R**[3]

⌜Father Evagrius's reply against *the thought* of the eight demons who fight with us and tempt us, an answer from the holy scriptures against each thought, a single verse which is able that

***94V**

it may demolish it.[4]

First *discourse, against the thoughts of gluttony.*[5]

⌜From ⌟ Numbers.[6] 1. Against the thoughts which *arouse in us desire that* we should eat meat on a feast day, and *moreover counsel* us *that* we should eat on account of an illness of the body: 'And *he called the* name *of that place* (5) "The Graves *of Desire*", for there ⌜was buried[7] the people *which desired.*'[8]

From Deuteronomy. 2. Against the thought which desires that *it be* sated *with food and drink, and* does not *look* upon the harm which is[9] from *the fulness of* the belly: '*And you shall eat and* be sated; but beware that *you do not forget the Lord your* God, who brought you out from Egypt, from *the house of bondage.*'

3. *Against the thought* (10) which says to me: 'The *commandment* of fasting is harsh'[10]: '*This command which I command* you today is not harsher than you (can bear) and[11] remoter *than you (can bear).*'

4. Against *the thought* which desires that it be sated with food *and drink, and thinks that* nothing unpleasant will happen to a person from *these things:* '*And Israel grew fat, and* kicked, and forgot God *who made him, and* (15) *did dishonour* to the mighty one who delivered him.'

From Samuel. 5. Against the thought *of gluttony* which compels *me* that *I should* eat *at the ninth hour:* 'So may God do to me and so may He *do* to me *again, if* I should eat bread or drink water until the sun sets.'

From the Book *of Kings.* 6. Against the thought which ⌜says to me that *the*

[3] An asterisk(*) in the footnotes to the translation draws attention to a variant in the list on p. 181 below. [4] Sy (**HJKLMN**) 'A reply from the holy scriptures against the demons who tempt us . . . against each of the thoughts a reply from the holy scriptures which can demolish it.' [5] Sy + . . . [6] Sy om.* [7] Sy (**P**) 'they buried'. [8] Sy cites a different verse. [9] Sy 'springs'.* [10] Sy 'heavy'. [11] Sy + 'not'.

bread is running short, (20) and the oil, and these things which are necessary[12]: 'Thus says the Lord *God*[13]: "The pitcher of flour shall not be finished and the jar[14] of oil shall not fail, until the Lord God[13] shall give rainwater[15] upon the earth."'

7. Against the person who desires that he may tread the way of the saints in taking (his) fill of bread and water: 'And the king of Israel said: "Take Micah, and hand him over to (25) Amon the ruler of the village and to Joash the king's son, and let him remain in confinement, and make him eat (his) bread in distress, until I return and come in peace."'

8. Against the thought which says to us: 'Behold, the things which I[16] have gathered will not be sufficient for us and for the brothers who shall come to us': 'Thus says the Lord God[13]: "They shall eat and leave (some) over"; and they ate and left (some) over, according to the word of the Lord God.'[13]

***102R**

(the upper half of the page missing)

16 [ ]t[ ]t [
17 qt xrwny ḏy(*w*)[ ](t)[ ](*sp*)c' ˙ntqy'
18 (p)r(yš)t pr m(')[x·:·]( )zmyx x(wz)t (*n*)['q](t)[w 't ']t(p)n w(z)yn. 't xwtw b(γ)y
19 (xwz)t ży'wr [a](qḫ)[a] mzprt šm'ry (p)tryt qy ˙rdywt 't zwyrtt
20 m'x dbtyq qw γw'n s' (xy)d qy cywyd pyd'r γrf prtw nm'=nw
21 (qθ')rym bγẓ pyn(ms)' ·:· w'nc'nw (*qw*)ty qy zwrtt pr( )xypθ( )q'xwš'tw˙.
22 p(r)ymyd (f)rγn' mnt γrb'q (qy) mntγrb'qy' w(n)ty (p)r xypθ
23 mnt γrb'qy'. [a]cn qwhlθ . . ⟨qt⟩[a] šm'ry ptryt qy mn šy' ˙ib(r)t (pnm)cyq
24 x'n˙'. xyd qy wḏ(y) γrf brw θbrd'rym (q)w šmnw s˙'.·:[·][b]
25 γrb'qty ży'wr pr m'r'wty'. 't mnt γrb'qty (ž)[y]('*w*)[r pr xwsnty']
26 (q)y[c] mrtxṃy ptryt q y (p)c(w)zty pr mzprtt (*š*)[m'ryty zm'qycqt]
27 't qt[d] ny q'mt qt šn pš(qṛ)y pr db(z)w (')[t
28 't wγr'tqwny 't nm'c. qt (x)š'wn d'r(*y*)[
29 (wy)'q n' pṛyc. p(rywyd) p't žwqy' w'(š)[t
30 [a]sr'wtyty pwst' . . qy'[a] (q)w zprt(*t*)[fryštyt s'

[a–a] in red ink [b] +line-filler [c] in red ink; altered from m- [d] to be deleted

***102R**

107. Against the person who does not know the source of temptations, and moreover does not think that the demon of fornication, *when he is defeated and departs from us,* leaves in us perfect chastity: 'The crucible tests *silver and* the furnace gold; and the Lord God[13] tests the heart.'

108. Against the impure thought which beguiles and turns (20) us again to sin—that (sin) on account of which we have many times repented before God[17]: 'Like the dog which returns to its vomit; thus is the fool who does foolishness in his folly.'

From Ecclesiastes. 109. Against the thought which reminds us of that former[13] house where we have given much fruit to Satan: (25) 'The heart of the wise is in mourning and *the heart* of fools *in rejoicing.*'

110. Against the person who happens upon *the temptations of* impure *thoughts,* and does not wish that he should drive them out by hunger *and thirst* ⌜*and* . . .[13] and vigil and prayer: 'If *the spirit* of the ruler *should rise up against you,* do

[12] Sy 'makes me think about the lack of bread and oil and of the things which are necessary for us'. [13] Sy om. [14] Sy 'horn'. [15] Sy 'rain'. [16] Sy 'we'. [17] Sy 'the Lord'.

not leave *your* place, because reparation[18] remits *many sins*.'

From the Book[19] of Songs. 111. To the holy *angels* . . .

***102V**

(the upper half of the page missing)

16]= =[wn']n. prywyd p't
17 qw mrtxmw (s)[' tw](ž)tq' q(y)[w[a]]mrtxmy ptryt
18 qy ny γr(b)ty˙. (q)t cq[n](' [b] fš)[mty](t) *(b)[n]t *(pr)m'(x[c] y')[n](t)w'ḟ swcnyṭ
19 šm'ryt·:· nyžnt ⟨cn⟩ wyny qwcy d(m)[ty](rt w)'nc'nw ¨try sq'rt q(y)z(:)[a] x(rẇny)
20 šm'ry ptryt qy w'bt mn'˙. (q)t '[y]c γšyp ny wnnq' 't ny
21 nyšnq' cn db(z)' 't cšn'. 't cn (γrf) p'šy. 't ptẓyšnq' tw'
22 wyx cn d(bz)' 't qy prxs't c'[f']ptwxsty bwtq' qyḫ[a] dywy
23 ptryt qy my žny' ptn(y)my' w(n)ty mn' m'ny˙. qt wdw (p)rypw.
24 't bẇ 'žwnty ptry. 't ny pry(myd) frγn' 'xw(n)c wnw˙. pr dbz(w)
25 ['t pr cšnw dn x](r)ycyqty š(m)'ṛyty prw·:· mnt γrb'q mnt
26 [γrb'qy' w'bt 't](wyny) žy'(w)r nyšyšt (p)d'ty. qt wnẓ rytry' 't
27](t p)ryẓcy wšẇqy γryw 't cšnwqy cšn[d]
28 [t'q qy]t[a] qw xwtw bγw s'. cn xrwny dywty
29 [pyd'r](cn)pwstẓty 't cn xšnyrqty qy
30 s](')cy mcy˙ xwzn' γwrdtqy'

[a] in red ink [b] not cq[n](')[c] [c] photo (b)[ ](r)m'(x); Hansen = =t = frm' = =[[d] sic

***102V**

115. . . .: '. . . *and far be it from me that I should commit sin*, because He will *repay* a man *according to his deeds*.'

116. Against the person who does not know whence *these* so[20] ardent thoughts *are sent* upon us: 'There go out from his mouth torches like coals of fire.'

117. (20) Against the thought of fornication which says to me: 'I will not ⌜do any harm,[21] and I will not be destroyed by hunger and thirst and by much fasting': 'And I shall kill off your root by hunger, and what remains of *you* shall be killed.'

118. Against the demon who counsels me in my mind that I should take[22] a wife and become the father of children, and not thus do battle by hunger (25) *and thirst* with lewd thoughts: 'The fool *speaks* folly, *and his* heart contemplates iniquity, that he may do evil,[23] and *speak folly, and* abandon the soul of the hungry (man), and *take away* the drink of the thirsty (man).'

From Jeremiah. 119. To the Lord God,[13] concerning the demons of fornication *which take up pretexts from* the scriptures and from the signs which *are written in them: 'Mighty Lord God,*[13] examiner of what is right,[24] *watcher* of the kidneys *and the heart* . . .'

***104R**

1 (m)šyḫ' (bž)'xwty˙[:] '[wpty'pt š'twxt bwtt qt m](s)[pr wyny γwbty']
2 ẓyn'(n)cyq(y)' š'twxt (b)[w](t)[t qlg[a] mrtx](my) ⟨šm'ry⟩ (ptr)[y]t(q)[y](cn)['ntwxcy]
3 'mptt˙. 't (š)m'(r)t (qt xw x)[w](d)[q'r] w'( )ž(w)γt zm'ytẓ (ẋcy·:·)[]
4 wγr'tyt st'. 't(šy') '[b](rtt)[ ](q)t š(mnw šm')x (s)'n˙. w['n]c(')[nw šrwγ]
5 γryntq 't [šw]t(q)'(t q)'(m)tq (q)t[ ](q)w[=]=[ ]=[=](=t w)[=]=[ ](x)[st]
6 (bwt)t pr š(m'x wrnw). 't γrbt' (q)t (ms pr šm')x br'trt (qy)[]

[a] in red ink

***104R**

132. . . .: '*My beloved, if an urgent desire should befall you, do not think that anything strange has happened to you, because you are sorely tempted, but, as partakers* of Christ's suffering, *rejoice, that you may also* rejoice *in* the vision *of His glory*.'

133. Against the thought *of the person who* falls, *out of grief,*[25] and thinks that *he alone is* so very sorely tempted: 'Be wakeful and *remember* that Satan your enemy, *like a lion,* (5) roars and *goes and* desires *that he may devour somebody. And be firm* in *your faith* and

[18] Literally 'healing'. [19] Sy 'Song'. [20] Sy om.* [21] Sy 'diminish at all'. [22] Sy 'be joined with'. [23] Sy 'impiety'. [24] Sy + 'and'. [25] Sy + 'and anxieties'.*

7 (*y*)[f](*c*)[m](*bd*)[y](ẓ)d( )y'nt bž'xwtẓt (p)ry(sn)tq (q)l(d[a])[š](*m*')[r](*y*)ptryt qẓt
8 [my](*zwyd*m)' wnty 't w'bṫ. (*q*)t(*γ*r)ḟ[b] (bž*y*)q br(ẓ *γwtq*')[c])tw' cn
9 (d*yw*)ty qy ny prḃyrt bẓ̇. xyd(*qy ny q*'m)d('r)m qt (qṛ)= wšn pr(p)wst(w.)
10 w'n qt ny pcwx'yn dywnt ̈d[y]ty 'xwd('*wn*)y'( )q(y) cx'= tyt [x](n)t(.) ms
11 (pryw)nt qy prw(s)tr dwr (q)tnt cn (f)cmbdy wžp' pš'yn̈. 't( )ms
12 yw 'rdqt mrtx(m)ẓt (q)y xnt cn (f)c(*mb*)[d]c(*yq*)[t](y) (q)w fš(qwx) s'
13 pr'(ny)n. p't (p)r( )r(š)t(y)'q γrḟ '(*y*ẓ*š*)[t](*qy ny p*rb)ẓrt ḃynt(*wyd*')rm
14 w(d)ẓwt qt wnnt̤. (x'*n*)t 'ẓšt qy (d)[b't](̈*prsny*)' ny xcy n[γ](*rf*)
15 'dyty cn mrt(x)myt(y) qt ž'y(n)t[p't γrf wyd](')s ny(')= d'(r)t t'm'(= = = r)[d]
16 pr( )zprtt (fr)yštẓty (y*γrtp*')[znqy': qt c'nw](*n*)[y](*sw*)γ= d'rnt wy(šn)t[ ](')t
17 [= = = d](')[rn](t) pr(n)'(=)t= =[xw](*tw*) bγy (q)t wxštq'
18]=[]=[d'r](t wp*d*')t (q)rẓt qw
19 xy]pθ'w(nt)[a]
(the bottom third of the page missing)

[b] not (w')ḟ [c] (*bwtq*') less likely [d] conceivably [n](*wqr*)

***104V**

1 q](*w*)[ ](*x*)[y](pθ *p*)t(ṛy *x*)['n']
2 [s' bwtq' mn' xwt](*w* b*γy*)[.](')t (ẓ)[d snq qy](*q*θ)'rm pw(')dw̤. (*b*)[w](t)[q](')
3 [bγy x']](n)'. [a]cn (m)pqn'·:· (q)l(z)·:·[a] (f)[ṛy](*γr*'m)qẏ̤ šm'ṛy pt(ry)t qy
4 [wnt](*y*)m('x) qt (*nm*)[y]('*q w*)[ny](m *x*)[yp](θ m')t p(t*r*)ẓ prywyd( )qt mn nẓ
5 [θb](*r*)[d](')r)nt(*cn*)[xy](pθ)[γr'm'] ·:· (q*y n*my')q w(n)'t ptṛy (')t m'ty p[b]
6 (ptw*x*s)t(*y b*)['t ·:· š](*m*'rẓ)p(*tr*)[y]t qy cn ḟ(r)y γ(r')m= (qy)' p(*y*)[d](')r)
7 'x(*w*)[sy](*dt*)[q m'x qt](')*n*)twxc ̈nym cn (*x*)[y](p)θ γrḟ γ(*mp*n)y (*p*)[y](d)'r̈
8 n(br⟨'⟩)ty q(ẓ)[t](=y) ptš[= =]= ·:· (*m*)[y]ẓ[n](*nyẓ*)ty 'ntwxc n' ̈(n)[y]t(t)[]
9 ⟨(p*ryw*)[y](*d*)⟩[c] p't š(*m*')[x γrbt's](q ṃ)yn(ny)ty γryw. p(r)y(w)[y](d) p't mynṇyt m't= = t[d]

[a–a] in red ink [b] p + line-filler, both cancelled [c] written very small in the margin [d] m't(*s*)t? m't(*ys*)t? m't(*yš*)t?

know that these same sufferings come[26] also *upon* your brothers *in the world.*'

134. Against *the thought* which threatens *me* and says: '*It* ⌜*will be necessary*[27] for you to[28] bear from the demons much[13] *evil*[29] which cannot be told'— ⌜that (evil)[29] *which* I have *not wished* that I should describe in a book, (10) so that I may not[30] hinder the effort(s) of those persons who *are* striving, or[31] cast dismay upon those who have already become far from the world, or[32] ⌜lead to a stumbling-block[33] the sincere men who are amongst those of the world; for truly I have *seen* the demons, that they do many *things which* can*not* be told, those things which *perhaps* it is not permitted for *many* (15) people amongst men to speak of, *for much wonder* took hold of me . . .[13] at the holy angels' *patience, how* they did *not burn and consume* them in *a flame of* un*quenchable fire: 'The Lord* God[13] *knows how* that He shall save *the righteous man from temptation, and He keeps* the iniquitous to *the day of judgement in torment.*'

Blessed is our Lord *Jesus Christ our God, who has given us victory over the demon of fornication! . . .*

***104V**

136. . . .: '*If the Lord God will be with me . . . and I return in peace to my* father's *house, He shall be to me the Lord God,* and *this stone which* I have made a monument *shall be God's house.*'

From Exodus. 137. Against the thought of love of money which causes us to[34] *insult our* parents because (5) they have not *given of their property* to us: '*He who* insults (his)[35] father and (his)[35] mother *shall be* killed.'

(138.) *Against the*[36] *thought* which, on account of love of money, *urges us that* we should distress, ⌜because of our great labour,[37] a brother who *has recently been converted:* 'Do not distress *settlers,* because *you know* the soul of settlers because *you* were settlers (10) in *the land of* Egypt.'

From the Book *of the Priests.* 139. *Against* the thought of love of money

[26] Sy 'happen'. [27] Sy 'is'. [28] Sy 'that you should'. [29] Sy pl. [30] Sy + 'either' (literally 'also'). [31] Literally 'also'. [32] Literally 'and also' (Sy 'also'). [33] Sy 'cause to stumble'. [34] Literally 'that we should'. [35] Sy 'his'. [36] Sy 'that'. [37] Sy 'by means of a burden of many labours'.

10 p(r)myc[ryn[e] zy [a](c)[n](*dynd'*)[rty](*m'*r)dn' ·:·qlt·:·[a] ṭry (γ)r'm(qy)' š(m)'ry
11 (p*tr*)[yt qy ny'stq]( )z'rc[n](wqy)' cn (b)r'(t) qy xwžt x[y]pθ (ny)'(z)'(wt)[y']
12 (')t(ž*n'*)[[f] θ](br)t(y *qt*) xwdq'r(*xy*)pθ γr(yw)y '(w)stym·:· ṭr(*yw*) ⟨[d'r]⟩[g] x(yp)[θ]
13 ('mrθ)[ ](*w*)['n](*c'n*)[w](*x*)[y](*pθ* γr)yw. zw( )['y](m) xwtw tw' (b)γy. [a]⟨qm⟩[a] ṭry γ(r'm)qy'
14 š(*m*)['ry ptry](*t qy wnty* m'*x* qt) (p)cw(x̣⟨'⟩y)m (wbr)'t cn pwst(y) (p)t[fs']
15 't[yw](*q yw*xs' 't =)[ ]= =[ ](*q*t cn) ptyrnc[h] wry'( )pyd'r( )pr (γ)m(p)n
16 [ ]= = = = = =[ ]= =[n' pr](*γy*žt) '(ḍ)y(w*xyp*θ) br't 't pcw(q)x̣r
17 cn (b)[γ](')p't(z)w '(y)m [xwtw tw' bγy ·:·qm'·:·](fr*y*)γr('mqy)'(š)[m]('r)[y]
18 (*p*)t(r)[yt](qy p=)[ ](*q*)y xw(ž*n'*)[q
19 =[ ]= = =[
(the bottom third of the page missing)

[e] mc[ryn] less likely [f] (ž*n*)[y](')[less likely [g] the insertion-mark ·:· is fairly clear, but there are only uncertain traces of writing in the outer margin [h] not ftyrnc

which witholds pity from a brother who asks[38] for what he needs, and *counsels*[39] *that* we should provide[40] for ourselves[41] alone: 'Love your companion *as your*self. I *am* the Lord your God.'

140. *Against the*[36] *thought* of love of money *which causes* us to[34] prevent a brother ⌜from *reading* scripture (15) and *learning doctrine*,[42] and *urges us that*, for the sake of transitory gain, *we should cast him* into labour *and toil: 'Let no*-one *deprive his* brother; and be in fear of *God*, for I am *the Lord your God.'*

141. Against the thought of love of money *which neglects him who has become* ill *of a long illness* . . .

***105R**

(the top of the page missing)
*1]=[
2]('ly*)'. ['t](b)yr(*w*)['lyšγ
*3 [dw'ts](*yw*)xtẓ γ(*w*)t wyn(*y*)[pynms'
*4 ['t f'ty](r)pryw '(ly)'. 't = =[
*5 [ ]. 't swd 'l(y)' (p)[šys'
*6 [p](*wš*)n [wx](y)pθ ptrw 't w(m')[t
*7 [](t)w'. 't zywrt c(*y*w) '(*t*)[
*8 []pt(nẓ)mt pc'(*y*'tw). '[t
*9]=[
(the bottom of the page missing)

***105R**

147. . . .: '*And Elijah departed thence and* found *Elisha son of Shaphat, that he was ploughing, and there were twelve* yoke ⌜of oxen[13] *before* him, *and he was one of the twelve. And* Elijah *passed* by[43] him and *cast his cloak upon him. And he left* (5) *the yoke of oxen*, and hastened *after* Elijah, *and said to him: "Let me go and kiss* my father and[44] *mother." And he said: "Turn and go; for what have I done* to you?" And he turned back from[45] him, *and took the yoke of oxen and killed them, and with the oxen's* trappings he cooked the meat, *and he gave it to the people . . .'*

***105V**

(the top of the page missing)
*1](ṭš)['mn](t*q* = =)[
*2 pt]ry 't m't '(w)[xr'd'rnt]
*3 qnb] šm'ryty ptryt[ ]
*4 br't](rt)q(y) y(ṭ)cmbdy [ ]
*5 cn wšnt](y) γr(')m' pyd'r ·:· [pr xw]t[w]
*6 [bγw dš](*tw*'n)t (')t wγšntq' qng[][a]
*7](= m')x dn šm(nw)[]
*8 [prw γr'mw q](*y*) m(*n* θ)[b]rt(y) (qt)[y]
(the bottom of the page missing)

[a] in red ink

***105V**

151. Against the thoughts which taunt us because our parents have forsaken us and do not send us gold to supply our need: 'Because my father and[44] mother *have forsaken me the Lord God*[13] *has taken me in.'*

152. Against the thoughts *which make us think: 'Behold! our brothers* who *are* in the world (5) *are rich and honoured by everyone* on account of *their* wealth': *'Glory in the Lord God,*[13] *O my soul! The poor shall hear* and be glad.'

[38] Sy +'from one'.* [39] Sy +'us'. [40] Literally 'lay down'. [41] Sy 'us'.* [42] Sy 'that he might read scripture or learn doctrine'. [43] Literally 'on'. [44] Sy +'my'. [45] Sy +'after'.*

153. *Against the person who does not understand that there is a judgement* for us, *together* with Satan, *if we do not dispose properly of the wealth* which has been given us *by God:* . . .

***108R**[a]

(the top of the page missing?)

*1 [bγnw *n]yž(')m[ntw·:· *]'ẋ[c[b] ny tny'd'rym qw fcmbd s' 't pr]

*2 [ršty']q ms ny qt nyšqwym[cywyd qt'wnym. 't ps' qt s]t[y]

*3 [m'x]xwrcy'q[c] 't ptmw[q]. '[yny b'wtq' m'x. p]'t[d] x'nt qy

*4 [q'mnt q]t γ'mqynt bynt[pr zm'qycqt 'mptntq'] 't pr 'spt

*5 ['t pr γ]rf mnt m'n[yt] [rwžtyt 'ʼ]t sdxwr[s]n[e]

*6 qpẖ fry γr]'mqy' šm'ry

*7 [ptryt]'bsty *(ny *x)cy[e]

*8 wγ'm]n'fšty·:· [ ]

*9]swq[nt

*10]xypθ = =[

*11 tymθ's]xypθ qpt[[f]

*12 *s]pc'[[g] wnty

(the bottom of the page missing?)

[a] both fragments of the folio are lost; readings from Hansen [b] Hansen]yžn m[ ]'ẋ [[c] sic? [d] Hansen]='t (hence not merely 't) [e] Hansen žγfcy [f] in red ink [g] Hansen]=pc' =[

***108R**

187. Against the person who desires more than food and clothing, and does not remember his naked entrance into the world and his naked departure: 'We have not brought anything into the world, and truly also *we are* not *able* that we should bring (anything) out *of it; but if we have* food and clothing *this will suffice us,* for those who *desire* ⌜*that* they may[46] become rich *will fall into temptations,* and into snares, (5) *and into* many senseless *desires which molest and* immerse *men, unto the perdition of perditions.'*

188. Against the thought of love of money *which says that nothing evil* is attached *to love of money, but rather a great satisfaction, which is for the brothers and* for the strangers: '*Love of money is the root of all evils, and* there are *men* (10) *who have longed for it, and strayed from the faith, and bound* their *soul in many miseries.'*

From the second Epistle to ⌜the same[13] *Timothy.* 189. *Against the thought which desires, on account of the profit which fulfils its need, that it be concerned with the things of the world:* . . .

***108V**

(the top of the page missing?)

*1]= =[

*2 yw']r pr [d'c]yqy' 't[pr]

*3 [ršty']'[q [a]pr 'frywn xcy m'x xypθ'wnt y]šwγmšyẖ' qy mn θbr[d'rt]

*4 wnwnqy' pr[fry γr'mqy' dyw . . *]štf'rmyq[b] cn 'ntwxc[y šm'ryty]

*5 pyd'r·:· qc[g cn mpqn'. .[a] 'ntwx]cy dywy *šm'ryt[y[c] ptryt]

*6 't mr[t]xmy[ptryt qy šm'rt cn 'n]twxcy *[qy]t[d] šy =[

*7 ny pt[γw]štq' xwt[w bγy

*8 žwγy' frm'n p[tγwšqy'

*9 [qw] bγw s'. 't[

*10 [qy] mynnt qt ny wẋ[nt

[a–a] in red ink [b] Hansen]št'frmyq [c] Hansen šm'ryt [[d] Hansen =ty

***108V**

192. . . .: '*My sons, do not love one another in words and in speech but* in *justice* and *in truth!'*

Blessed is our Lord Jesus Christ, who *has* given us victory over *the demon of love of money!*

Fourth,[47] concerning *the thoughts of*[48] dejection. (5)

193. From Exodus. Against the thoughts[49] of the demon *of dejection,* and[50] *against* the person *who thinks, from* the dejection *which has befallen* him, *that* the Lord *God*[13] will not hear *his groan:* '*And the Israelites groaned from* harsh servitude, *and they prayed, and their cry ascended from harsh servitude* to God, and *God heard their groan.'*

[46] Sy 'to'. [47] Sy + 'discourse'. [48] Sy + 'the demon of'.* [49] Sy (**J**) sg. [50] Sy (**JK**) om.

*11 *(d)[yw]t·:·[e] '[t w]'nw w'b [
*12 =[ ]š[ ]= m[ ]t[
*13]=[
(the bottom of the page missing?)

[e] Hansen z[÷]t·:·

*194. *Against the thoughts* (10) *which* think that *the Lord God*[13] *does* not *see our miseries which are from the demons:* 'And *the Lord God*[13] said: "*I have seen my people's slavery in Egypt and heard their cry . . .*"'

***111R**

(the top of the page missing)
*1 qw](*xwtw*)bγw (s)['
*2 t'm]'(*x*wnẓ qy) x(w*d*)q'r nẓ [
*3](*pr*)sr[w] 't [pr]c( )xcy'. c'nw b'[d
*4 'ntwx]c [·]:(br)t'. (*p*)s' (b'*d*)pw šm'ryty m[
*5 wm]rtx(mw) ·:· tγ(w)'s'dtw d'r t'm'[
*6]γwbty' 't wxš'(mn)tw γwrs ('*w*)[st
*7] (q)w xwt(w) b(γw) (s)'. cn dywty p(*y*)[d'r
*8 w]('nc')nw cn ''try sẇm[a] [
*9]pr xypθ cymw [
(the bottom of the page missing)

[a] or srm

***111R**

228. To the Lord God,[13] *concerning the demon of dejection who attacks me,* that (one) which alone *does* not *cause desire, but whose whole activity* is *in* the head and[51] *the back,* while *sometimes* he brings *dejection with thoughts,* sometimes on the other hand without thoughts, *casting* (5) a person *into much unwanted grief:* 'Keep Thou me safe *and guard me from my enemies; place* around *me* glory and salvation *that I may recognize Thee!*'

229. To the Lord God,[13] concerning the demons *which fall upon the skin of the body, and place on it branding-marks* as if from the fire, *and incise upon it round impressions like those which are from a cupping-glass, which I have seen many times* with my (own) eye(s)[52] *and have been amazed: . . .*

***111V**

(the top of the page missing)
*1 zwydm](') wnty ''rqw(*n*)[y ']t[
*2](*q*y) prẓydnt nxwtw bγw[a]
*3 n](') š(fr)sẓnt pr'm' x'nt (*q*)[y
*4 b](γ)'. n' (š)ymẓ[n]t[b] pr'm' x'nt q[y
*5 bγ](') rlz[c] mrtxmẓ ptryt qy nẓ γr[b't
*6 sry']qyšt. p(ry*w*)[n]t qy qy[d] (')[w](xr)'tyt[
*7 wγ](d'*rn*)t pr'm' (mn)' s'nt. x'nt[
*8 q]θ 'rnt (yw) w(y)'(*q*)y 't wγ(d)'(r)[nt
*9 w](*n*)tt' 't šw ny'stt[
*10](x)wt'w[a] (b)[γ](w) (s)['
(the bottom of the page missing)

[a] sic [b] the initial letter is almost certainly š or γ [c] in red ink
[d] to be deleted

***111V**

236. To the Lord God,[13] *concerning the demon who in my mind threatens me* (with) madness *and insanity, to the disgrace of myself and of those who* seek for the Lord God[13] *through the life of solitude:* 'Let *not* those *whose hope is in Thee* be ashamed at me, *mighty Lord God;*[53] let not those *who seek Thee* blush at me, (5) *O God of Israel!*'

237. Against the person who *does* not know *what* the chiefs *of the demons say* concerning those who *have been* abandoned *by the Lord God*[13]: '*Because* my enemies have *said* concerning me (and) those *who watch my soul* have *consulted* together[54] and said: "*God has abandoned him; chase him* and catch him, *because he has* (10) *no saviour!*"'

238. To the Lord *God*[13] . . .

***120R**

(the top of the page missing)
*1 [ ](*p*')t[y](*m* 'z'*n*)[n](*q*')[
*2 (bγ)w s'. š(nd)[a] qw (xw)t(*w*)[bγw s'
[a] in red ink

***120R**

353. . . .: 'Why are you harassed, O my soul, and why are you grieved? Wait for God, because again I shall give thanks to *him, my saviour and my God.*'

[51] Sy + 'in'. [52] Sy pl. [53] Sy + 'and'. [54] Sy 'as one'.

*3 (*p*)tžy'd'rt d'm' prw. (')[γ]t(w) [myθ
*4 (*p*')tm pš(p)rd'rt mrtxmy̰. 't[
*5 t'm'. šnh[a] qw (x*w*)t(w) (*b*)γw (s')[rwžty']
*6 (')t yp'qy šm'r[y]t·:· t(*ny*)'d'ry (*t*)['m'
*7 n[y](šqw)γd'(ry) (q)w (y)γrty'q s'[cn]
*8 ptzm'ny̰ šm'ryty pyd(')r qy (b)[nt
*9 ywtr cn m'x br'trty qt' cn [
*10 't xš'wn·:· šyry̰ qt(y) m(n)' t(*w*)[' n'm
*11 š(n)z[a] šm'ry̰ ptryt (qy *ptzm*)['ny' žmny'
*12 (q)t try̰m qw xyp(θ br'*trt s*)['
(the bottom of the page missing)

354. To the Lord *God,*[13] *concerning the demon of listlessness who* has quarrelled with me *the whole day: 'Have mercy on me, God, because* a man has trampled me and *all day a warrior has afflicted* (5) me!'

355. To the Lord God,[13] *because* thoughts *of desire* and anger *have departed from me:* 'Thou hast led *me* into *fire and water, and* Thou hast brought *me* out into the open.'

356. To the Lord God,[13] concerning the thoughts of listlessness which *are in us because, lo!,* a certain one of our brothers or[55] of *our kinsmen has gained and acquired a rank of honour* (10) and[56] power: '*Thy name* was good for me, *O Lord God*[13] my hope.'

357. Against the thought which *incites us at a time of listlessness* that we should go to our[57] *brothers so that we may be comforted by them:* . . .

***120V**

(the top of the page missing)
*1 šm'ry p]t(*r*)[y](*t x*)[yd](*qy*)[ ]
*2](= = ·:· f)rtr xcy mrt[x](*m*)[y]
*3](=d'r)t pr 'ẇt'. [a] ptzm(')[ny']
*4]= br(')tr(t)'. p(r*ywy*)d(y)'x'(*m*)[n](*t*)[w][b]
*5](=')[=](qy̰ =t) ny̰ wnntq nyz'w(r)[ty]
*6] [a]

[a] left blank [b] the initial letter is almost certainly y or n

***120V**

362. Against that thought which neglects the labours of performing the commandments: 'Better is the man *who begins to be of use than he who* has *depended* on hope.'

(363.) *Against the thought of* listlessness *which accuses* the brothers ⌜with the reproach(?) (5) *that*[58] *there is no love in them and* they do not[59] *console* the[60] weak *and weary*[61]:

[55] Sy + 'one'. [56] Sy + 'of'. [57] Sy 'the'. [58] Sy 'as if'. [59] Sy + 'wish to'. [60] Sy 'those who are'. [61] The Sogdian text here breaks off abruptly.

Commentary

94V

4–5 As recognized by MacKenzie, the Sogdian does not cite Numbers 11.18–20 as in the Syriac and Armenian versions of Evagrius but Num. 11.34: *w-qr' šmh d-'tr' hw qbr̈' d-rgt'. mṯl d-tmn qbrw l-'m' d-rgw rgt'*. It is interesting to note that this same quotation occurs in the *Antirrheticus* of Abbā Isaiah (Draguet's translation,[62] CXXIII, 331). On *sqṣyt* 'graves' (discussed by MacKenzie) see now Gershevitch 1975 passim.

11 *ž(wγ)t(r)' c'f'*: literal translation of Syr. *qš' mnk* 'too harsh for you'.

13 *mrtxmy̰* ~ *npš'*. Throughout this text, Syr. *npš'* 'soul', when understood by the translator in the sense 'person', has been rendered *mrtxmy* 'man'. I translate 'person'.

14 *pdnw (b)'rxš* ~ *b'ṯ* 'kicked (with the heel)'. The impf. *(b)'rxš* can hardly by separated from the present stem *brxš-* 'shoot', for which Gershevitch has suggested 'let go' as the original meaning (Gershevitch 1970, 305). Such a meaning would suit here if *pdnw* were to mean either 'heel' (thus Benveniste, using the false form *pznw*) or 'kick'. In either case it might be a derivative or compound of *pad-* 'foot', cf. (for 'heel') Henning BSOS 10/1 [1939], 98, on NP *pil* and Morgenstierne, Irano-Dardica, Wiesbaden 1973, 160 (=Norsk

[62] For the full reference see above, p. 165.

Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap 5 [1932], 49), on Bal. *phīδ*; (for 'kick') MacKenzie 1970, 555–556, on Chor. **p'δnpny-* and Morgenstierne EVŠG 90b on Yazγ. *wərbaδǵ*.

16 *ftpy̱žtq ~ 'lṣ'* 'compels'. Cf. C6 = TiiB6, R15: *(c'nw) ftpy̱žy̱ wyny (pr dbz') 't p[r] cšnwqy'*. The extraordinary initial group *ftp-* requires an unusual explanation. Dr. Gershevitch compares M. *(p)tβyjδδ'*, M356, R14 (cited in GMS § 730), and therefore proposes that *ftpēž* goes back to **patfēž*. However, since the metathesis assumed would not seem to be strongly motivated, I should prefer to derive *ftpēž* via **ftfēž* from **fθfēž* by a complex process of dissimilation. As partial parallels one may compare *patfəs-* < **pati-pṛsa-* (GMS § 468), C. *xēpt* < *xēpθ* (above p. 83), *tfēž* < *θfēž*. The M. form can equally well be read *(f)tβyjδδ'* (as I am informed by both Dr. Sundermann and Dr. Gershevitch), which would stand in exactly the same relationship to the assumed transitional form **ftfēž* as C. *tb(y)ž* (ST i, 12.15) to *tfyž* (ST ii/6.31). If this explanation should be correct one might derive *ftpy̱ž* from **fra-θwa(n)zǰaya-* and compare OHG *dwingan* 'press, urge', Av. *θwązǰaiti* 'is distressed', etc. (see Bartholomae AiW 798 and Gershevitch TPS 1964, 16–17).

19 *qm(py) '(yst)*: the expression is not otherwise attested.

21 *'rty̱ γwdy ny 'ympstq'*: see Benveniste Etudes 2, 119.–*tpy̱* ~ Syr. *qrn'* 'horn'. In this context the Sogdian word might equally well mean 'jar, pitcher'. Dr. Gershevitch compares NP *āftāba* 'water-pot', on which see Hübschmann, Persische Studien, Straßburg 1895, 47.

22 *w'r nmpw*: apparently a *dvandva* 'rain and dew'. Since the Syriac has merely *mṭr'* 'rain', it is probably better to take °*nmpy* in the more general sense 'moisture' (cf. MP, NP *nam* etc.) and the compound as a *karmadhāraya* 'moisture consisting of rain'.

23 *prxw'y ~ √drš, p'al* 'tread': see Benveniste Etudes 2, 130.

26 *ptq's*: see Sims-Williams 1979a, 133–134.

***102R**

17 *xrwny*: see below on V25.

18 *zmyx ~ ṣrp'* 'crucible'. In a M. text *zmyx* clearly means 'earth' (M356, R5, cited as *zmyk* in Gershevitch 1942, 101, but Dr. Sundermann informs me that the point indicating *x* is legible on the MS). Since it is hard to believe that Sogdian possessed two such words, one should perhaps assume that *zmyx* here is a copyist's error for an unknown word meaning 'crucible' (possibly a derivative of *zm'y* 'tempt, test', as suggested by Schwartz apud MacKenzie).–*[']lt(p)n ~ kwr'* 'furnace': a highly speculative restoration based on an etymology from **ā-tăpana-* (cf. Sims-Williams 1976, 69 on B. *''tp'k*). At any rate, one cannot read **[']lt(w)n* (cf. Arabic and NP *at(t)ūn*, Syr. *'twn'* 'id.').

19 *''rdywt*: see Schwartz 1966 passim and 1970a, 385–389. The pointing (omitted by Hansen) indicates preverb *ā-*, after which the shortening of **-drāwaya-* to **-drăwaya-* (assumed by Schwartz, but objected to by E. P. Hamp, in: Archiv Orientální 37 [1969], 339) could be regarded as regular.

25 *pr ~ byt*, which the translator has understood as the prep. 'among, at, in' instead of the noun 'house'.

27 The first *qt*, if it is correct, must stand for the rel. pron. 'who', cf. above, p. 84. However, no Syr. text has *d-* here, so it is probably to be deleted as a mistaken anticipation of the second *qt*.

30 *sr'wtyty*: pl. obl. of **sr'wty'* 'song', which probably occurs in the following passage (introducing a quotation from Ps. 2.7–8): *ZY wnm' npxšd'rt pr zprt *(s)r'wty'* (Lentz *(q)r'wty'*) . . . *pr dbtyq mzmwr'* 'and he (= David) wrote thus in the holy song . . . in the second Psalm', C22 = TiiB15a, ii, V5–7 (Lentz). Abstract to the secondary past stem of *sr'w* (cf. Sims-Williams forthcoming b).

***102V**

20 *'[y]c γšyp ny wnnq' ~ mdm l' ḥsr' 'n'* 'I will not diminish at all'. The translator probably read *mdm l' *mḥsr' 'n'* 'I will not do any harm'.

23 *wdw (p)rypw*: cf. Livšic JDP 26 and Lat. *in matrimonium ducere*.

25 *[x](r)ycyqty ~ zn̈y'* 'lewd, unchaste, meretricious'. For this restoration (suggested by Benveniste) cf. B. *xrych* (SCE 356), *xr'yck'* (Vim. 153), both translating Chin. 淫 *yin* 'lewd', C. *(xr)ycqt* (C5/5, R12 = ST i, 18.12, cf. Sundermann 1974a, 233) ~ Syr. *zn̈yt'*, vocalized *zānyātā* 'fornicators' rather than *zannyātā* 'whores'. That these words mean exclusively 'prostitute' and belong to *xrī-* 'buy', as is usually assumed, is unproved. In view of the fact that both *[x](r)ycyqty* and *(xr)ycqt* translate forms from the Syr. root *zn'*, I would rather compare *xrwny, x(rẅny)* ~ *znywt'* 'fornication' (R17; V19, 28; also attested in C5/3R = ST i, 3.8–10, although in an unclear form, cf. Sundermann 1975, 84 with n. 140). This appears to be formed by means of the denominal abstract suffix *-ōnī* (on which see Sims-Williams 1981c, 18) from *xr-* 'donkey'. The donkey's lascivious nature is often alluded to, cf. for instance the expressions cited in Sims-Williams 1976,

66. The exclusively f. form *xarīč(ak)*, perhaps also the adj. *xarīčīk*, will then derive from **xarī(čī)-* 'jenny-ass' (cf. Sims-Williams 1979b, 344).

27 *(p)ry̥cy* here translates *√srq*, *pa^cel*, of which the translator has picked an inappropriate sense 'leave, renounce' instead of 'deprive'.—*wšẇq* 'hungry' is formed analogically to *cšnwq* (=*cn'wq*, ST i). Cf. Emmerick SGS 322: 'words for "hunger" and "thirst" tend to be assimilated', referring to Paštō *tə̆žai*, *wə̆žai*.

27–28 *cšn-[t'q]* 'drink', cf. M. *cšnd'k* (BBB 592), contrasting with C. *cšnt* (C5/17ii, R17=ST•i, 23.17, cf. Sundermann 1975, 74), B. *cš^cnt*. Since *cšn* is written with the final form of *n* it is scarcely possible that the scribe has merely failed to complete *cšnt*, nor is there such a shortage of space as to account for a single letter being held over to the next line. Sundermann art. cit. 61 considers *cšn* a complete word, a disyllabic heavy stem **[češan]*. However, from **čašanā-* one would expect a monosyllabic light stem *[čen-]*<*[češn-]*, as actually attested in C. *fr'q cšnu*, M. *fr'kcynyy* (for which see Sundermann's convincing explanation). See further below, p. 179.

30 *[s](')cy mcy̥ xwzn'* 'examiner of what is right' translates *bḥr zdq'*, literally '(Thou who art) examining what is right' (pres. participle+object).[63] The following Syr. phrase *ḥz' kwlyt' w-lb'*, literally '(Thou who art) seeing the kidneys and the heart', is precisely parallel. If it is translated in the same way, *γwrdtqy'* will be the gen. of the Sogd. word for 'kidneys'. The stem must be *γwrdtq- [γu^rδtk-]* (f.). In spite of evident phonological difficulties, this cannot be unrelated to Av. *vərəδka/vərəṭka*[64] etc. The initial *γ*, also found in Yaγn. *γurkák*, *γū̆rkak* 'kidney',[65] can perhaps be justified phonologically (see Sims-Williams 1983, 49);[66] alternatively it might be due to the influence of *γwrs* 'round'[67] or other derivatives of the same root.[68] The Sogd. *δ* agrees with Av. *vərəδka*, Yazγ. *wiδg'* (EVŠG 117b), Khot. *bilga-*, Yidγa *wulγá*, Munǰī *wúl^əga*, etc.,[69] against *t* in MP *gurdag*, NP *gurda*, Bal. *guṭṭaγ*, Waxī *wʌltk*, Šuγnī *wūγ̌ǰ*, Rošānī *wāwǰ*.[70] The dental is altogether lacking in Oss. *urg*, Paštō *pušta-warga*.[71] The coexistence of *δ* and *t* in Sogd. *γu^rδtk-* can hardly be attributed to conflation of the variants in **wṛδ-* and **wṛt-*. Since 'expressive' reduplication of the *-ka*—suffix is well-attested for this word by Yidγa *wulγákə*, Munǰī *wulg^əiγə*, Ōrmuṛī *γulkák* and Yaγn. *γurkák* etc.,[72] a possibility might be to derive the group *δtk* from *δk(a)k* by a combination of assimilation *(δk>δt)* and dissimilation *(k−k>t−k)*.

***104R**

5 *γryntq*~*nhm* 'roars': see Gershevitch apud Sims-Williams 1976, 60 with n. 77.—I cannot restore the words corresponding to Syr. *d-l-mnw nbl'* 'whomsoever he may devour, that he may devour someone'; **3** sg. opt. potential *°(t w)[n](y̥)*??

10 *cx'tyt [x](n)t* 'have striven and are striving' (pf.).

11 *prẇ(s)tr*~*hš'* 'now', here in the sense 'already'. Cf. Av. *paurvatarə* 'first of all', with adverbial *-tar*. In *prẇ(s)tr* and in *pynmstr* 'first' this suffix seems to have been confused with the comparative *-tr* and finally replaced by the alternative compar. suffix *-str*.

12 *fš(qwx)* 'stumbling-block'. Cf. C44=TiiB52, R(?)4–5, *p'dy fšqwxy*; C4=TiiB27a, V22 (Lentz), *cn fšqwx[*; and NP *āšukūxīδan* 'to stumble (without falling)', used by Rūdakī in two verses cited by Asadī under the lemma *'škwx* 'someone who trips on something, and stands on tiptoe, and keeps himself from falling'.[73] This *fšqwx* cannot be divorced from M. *fšqwx(ṭ)δ'r* (of unknown meaning), which Henning BBB p. 74 on 604 compared with C. *nyšqw^x/γd'r*. The latter translates Syr. *√npq*, *ap^cel* 'cause to go out' in its various senses 'remove, cast out, bring out, take out, put out' (ST i, 20.9, 35.4; C1.112, 220; C2/94V.9,

[63] Syr. *zdq'* is not an adverb as supposed by MacKenzie but the noun *zedqā* 'what is right, due'.

[64] M. dual, whence f. sg. in Sogd. as in Paštō (Morgenstierne EVP 62).

[65] JA 1955, 153; Andreev-Peščereva JT 256a; also *gurkák*, *gū̆rkak*, probably influenced by Tāǰīkī *gurda*.

[66] Cf. Parāčī and Ōrmuṛī *γ(w)-*<*w-*, a development which is probably ancient (cf. Henning, Journal of the Greater India Society 11/2 [1945], 90 n. 27, and Mitteliranisch 86).

[67] Suggested by Dr. Gershevitch. Cf. the usual etymology of *vərəδka* etc. <*√wart-*; Morgenstierne IIFL II, 393 on Iškāšmī *gōla* 'kidney'<NP *gōla* 'ball'; IIFL III/3, 192, and Turner, Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages, London 1966, §§ 12064, 12069 on Pašaī *waṭṭəwīk*; ibid. § 3997 on Sinhalese *vaku-gaḍuva*.

[68] **√gwart-*, conflation of the synonyms *gart-* and *wart-* (differently Henning apud GMS § 488)? Cf. Yaγn. *γū̆rda* 'eye'?

[69] Some of these could go back to either *wṛδka-* or **wṛθka-*, but *δ* is certain in Avestan, Sogdian and Yazγulāmī, whereas no form requires *θ*.

[70] Morgenstierne EVŠG 89a; IIFL II, 261, 473.

[71] Cf. Skt. *vṛkka-*. See EVP 62; IIFL II, 261.

[72] Cf. Skt. *vṛkkaka-*.

[73] Luγat-i furs, ed. Horn p. 24; ed. Iqbāl pp. 80–81 s.v. *škwx*.

120R.7).[74] The corresponding pres. stem is, I believe, C. *nyšq(')w*, which translates *√npq, ap'el* in a similar variety of meanings (23R.26, 60V.18, 68R.20, 108R.2),[75] M. *nyšk'w*, B. *nšk'w* 'take out, etc.'. Cf. also C. *pcq'w qθ'r* (ST i, 20.16), S. *pck'w k[wn-]* (Ps. 5.7, STSC 131, line 7) 'reject, spurn', C. abstract *pcq̇w'(mntqy)'* 'rejection' (Sundermann 1981, Text 21, V20 with n. 146), implying a pres. stem **pcq'w*. The root would seem to be **skaw-*, extended by *k* or *x* in the past stem and in the noun *fšqwx* (< **fra-skuxwă-*?).

13–14 The Sogd. word-order reproduces the Syriac closely.

***104V**

7/8 The phrase *'ntwxc 'ny* 'bring trouble to' (found also in C30 = TiiB17a + C68 = TiiiB61.3, V(?)16) must be a Sogd. idiom for 'to distress'; the Syriac has merely the trans. verb *√'wq, ap'el*.

9 *m't* = = *t* 'you were'. This is the only example of the 2 pl. intrans. pret. in this MS. One can only guess at the reading: *m't(s)t*, cf. S. *'krtsδ* etc. (GMS § 868), *-θ* being replaced by *-t* as in all 2 pl. endings in C2 (cf. Sims-Williams forthcoming a)? Or *m't(ys)t*, cf. the 2 pl. pres. indicative *yst'*, 22V.1, discussed above, p. 59? Hardly *m't(yš)t*, in spite of C. *qtyšt'* etc. (ST i, ST ii), since the pres. indic. *'yšt'* with which such forms are compounded is not used in the dialect of C2.

12 If the reading *(žn')* or *(žn)[y](')* is correct, probably a mistake for *žn'/žny' ptnymy'* 'advice'.

15 *ptyrnc* 'transitory': pres. participle f. of an unattested *ptyr-* 'pass', differing from *ftyr-* only in its preverb and not to be confused with B. *pt'yr* 'harm'.

16 *[pr](γyžt)*: but for the Syriac text one would not hesitate to interpret this as 3 sg. subj.: 'Let no-one deprive his brother'. The Syriac, however, has a 2 pl. impf. (prohibitive) *l' t'lbwn* 'do not deprive', to which *'nš l-'ḥwhy* 'anyone his brother' stands in adverbial relation (as normally with *ḥd l-ḥd* 'one another'). The Sogd. *[pr](γyžt)* is probably a 2 pl. impv. therefore (although it cannot be translated as such in English!).

***105R**

3 *[dw'ts](yw)xty, γ(w)t*: see Sims-Williams 1979b, 342 with n. 39.

8 *pt(ny,)mt* ~ *m'n̈'* 'gear, trappings'. Dr. Gershevitch postulates **pati-naima-* (cf. Av. *antarə.naēmāṯ* 'inside' etc.) '(what is) on the side, besides', hence 'extras, trappings'. It is hard to imagine a connection with any of the words discussed in Gershevitch 1962, 79–80.

***108R**

2 Word-order as in the Syriac.

3 *xwrcy'q* 'food' (as read by Hansen) is not otherwise attested. The formation is hard to explain. The suffix *-y'q* is only added to light stems, yet **xwrc* = Av. *x^{v}arəti-* should be a heavy stem. The abstract suffix would in any case be redundant. Probably one should read **xwrc'q*, a form actually attested in C67 = TiiiB61 1, V14 (STSC 46). C. *xwrc'q* 'food' evidently forms a pair with M. *cšnd'k* 'drink' and one would expect to find both in the same idiolects. Hence the reconstruction of **xwrc'q* here and that of **cšnt'q* in 102V.27–28 (cf. p. 178 above) afford one another mutual support.

4 *'spt* ~ *p̄ḥ'* 'snares' confirms the meaning guessed for B. *'nspyh* (obl.), P2.275. Possibly **haṃ-pasV-* > **aṃps* > *ãsp* by metathesis.

5 *sdxwr[s]n*: as printed by Hansen this word is incomprehensible. His restoration of a letter seems to imply that the word was known to him, but (Dr. Gershevitch suggests) he may only have been thinking of *xwrsn*. What is wanted is a 3 pl. verb corresponding to Syr. *√ṭb', pa''el* 'submerge, immerse, drown'.

7 Since the Syr. participle *nqyp* is here employed as a finite verb 'is attached', it can hardly be translated by the p.p. *'bsty* alone (as MacKenzie assumes). Normal syntax and word-order positively demand the emendation of Hansen's *žyfcy* into **ny xcy*.

11 *[tymθ's]xypθ*: the Syr. text here introduces the citation with the words *mn 'grt' d-tr̈tyn d-lwt ṭmt'yws* 'from the second Epistle to Timothy' (thus F, with insignificant variants in the other MSS). The Sogdian may depend on a variant *mn 'grt' d-tr̈tyn dylh d-ṭymt's* (actually attested at Frankenberg, 520.7, in a context identical to this, i.e. introducing a citation from 2 Tim. after one from 1 Tim.), literally 'from the second Epistle of Timothy himself', but idiomatically 'from the second Epistle (to) the same Timothy'.

***111R**

5 *'s'dtw d'r* ~ *√str, pa''el* 'conceal, shelter, protect'. Cf. C4 = TiiB27a, V15–16 (Lentz): *'r qt b't 's'dty 't xwdq'r qlyθ'y cyntp'r* 'that he be safe and alone within (his) cell'. Secondary past stem (cf. Sims-Williams

[74] Cf. *nyšqwyty* ~ *šd'* 'having thrown out (branches)', C1.121.

[75] In 23R.27 there is no corresponding word in the Syriac. For 60V.19 see p. 136 above.

forthcoming b) to a pres. stem *'*s'd*, cf. the noun *pts'd* 'shield' (discovered by Schwartz STSC 141–142).

8 *'try s(w)m*~*nwr'* 'fire'. If correctly read, conceivably a loanword from MP **sō(h)m*<**sauxman-* 'burning'.

***111V**

4 *(š)ym-*~Syr. √*ḥpr, pʿal* 'blush, be ashamed'. Cf. C36=TiiiB100, R(?)18: *ny šmym 't (š)[f]rsym*. The variant spellings *šm-* and *šym-* suggest a light stem *šem-*<**šam(a)ya-*, literally perhaps 'brighten, flush' to the root **šam-* posited by Benveniste Notes 3, 230–231.

9 The only alternative to the restoration of *[w](n)tt'* (as part of a verbal collocation consisting of a noun +*wn-*, as for instance in lines 1 and 8) would be a 2 pl. impv. in *-t'* from a light stem ending in *t*. No suitable verb is known.

***120V**

3 A space has been left for the number of the following paragraph to be added in red ink.

4 The last word of the line is otherwise unknown; reading and restoration are both very uncertain. The translation 'with the reproach *that*' is based on a speculative comparison with *yxs-* 'reproach' (above, p. 107). This would fit the context, though the Syriac has merely *'yk hw d-* 'as if'.

Syriac text: corrections and selected variants

Frankenberg

472.1 twb m'mr' d-'wgrys d-ʿl tmny' ḫwšbyn **FI** (with minor variants)] pwny ptgm' d-mn ktby qwdš' lwqbl dyw' d-mnsyn ln **HJKLMN** (with minor variants) (Sogd. 'wgrs ptry xypθ p'cγny qrwn'mnty, št' dywy š(*m'ry*) ptryt qy cxnt dn m'(x) prw 't (m)n zm'y(n)t 94R.28–29)

474.31 'rʿ' mṣryn—recte 'rʿ' mṣryn, altered secunda manu from ['rʿ'](d-)mṣryn **F**; 'rʿ' d-mṣryn **GHJLP**] mṣryn **KN** (mcryn 94V.9)

32 yqyr—recte d-yqyr **F**

33 d-tsbl—recte d-tsbʿ **F**

33 lh—recte lh **F**

36 'kwl . . . 'št' **F**] 'kwl lḥm' . . . 'št' my' **GHJKLN** (xwr'n nγnw . . . (p)cš'n 'p 94V.18)

476.3–4 sbyhy . . . w-'šlmyhy **FG**] sbwhy . . . w-'šlmwhy **HJKLN**; dwbrwhy . . . w-'šlmwhy **P** ((p)rptt . . . 't šw prbγšt 94V.24)

5 d-'wlṣn' rb' **F**] b-'wlṣn' **GHJKLN** (pr šqwrθy' 94V.26)

490.12 d-mṭlth—recte d-mṭlth **F**

30 ḥsr 'n' **FGJ**; ḥsrn' **H**] ḥsr' 'n' **KN** (γšyp . . . wnnq' 102V.20)

30 mtḥbl 'n' **FG**] mtḥbl⟨'⟩ 'n' **H**; mtḥbl' 'n' **JKN** (nyšnq' 102V.21)

32 b-kpn' **F**] b-kpn' w-(±b-)ṣhy' **GHJKN** (pr dbz(w) ['t (±pr) cšnw] 102V.24–25—the restoration is demanded by the length of the lacuna)

33 d-znywt' **FGJN**] žny' **F**(margin)**HK** ([x](r)ycyqty 102V.25)

36 d-lb'—recte w-lb' **F**

492.35 lh—recte lh **F**

36 w-šhrw **FGHJKN**] om. **P** (om. 104R.4)

36 d-bʿldbbkwn stn' **FGP**] d-stn' bʿldbbkwn **HJKN** ((q)t š(m*nw šm'*)x (s)'n 104R.4)

37 (±w-)hwytwn ydʿyn **FGHJKN**] w-dʿw **P** ('t γrbt' 104R.6)

494.3 w-'p **FGJN**] 'p **HK** (ms 104R.10)

3 'trḥq—recte 'trḥq[w] **F**; 'trḥqw **GHJKN**

4 bny b-ʿlm'—recte ⟨bny⟩ b-ʿlm' **F**; bny ʿlm' **GKN**] mn bny ʿlm' **HJ** (cn (f)c(*mb*)[d]c(*yq*)[t](y) 104R.12)

5 l-dyw'—recte l-dyw' **F**

7 ydyʿ—recte ydʿ **F**

18 ly **F**] ln **GHJKN** (mn 104V.4)

19 l-'yn' **FG**] l-'ḥ' **HJKN** (n(br⟨'⟩)ty 104V.8)

20 l-ʿmwr' **FGH**] pl. **JNP** ((*m*)[y],[n](*ny*)ty 104V.8)

20 mn npškwn **FG**; mn **HJKN**] om. **P** (om. 104V.9)

494.20 d-ʿmwr' **FGH**] pl. **JNP** ((m)yn(ny)ty 104V.9)
22 'yn' **F**(altered from 'ḥ')Ṅ] 'ḥ' **GHJ** ((b)r'(t) 104V.11)
22 swnqn' **F**(altered from swnqnh?)] swnqnh **GHJKN** (x[y]pθ (ny)'(z)'(wt)[y'] 104V.11)
23 l-qrybk **FG** (thus also **P** to Mt. 19.19 etc.)] l-ḥbrk **HJKNP** (x(yp)[θ] ('mrθ) 104V.12–13)
25 w-dḥlw **F**(altered from dḥlw)**GHK**] w-dḥl **JNP** ('t pcw(q)γr 104V.16)
496.3 w-šbqh—recte w-šbqḥ **F**
4 ='mr . . . = =by—recte w-'mr . . . l-'by **F**
5 w-nsbh—recte w-nsbḥ **F**
6 d-twr'—recte d-twr̈' **F**
23 nk̈s' d-'tyhb **F**; nks' d-'tyhbw **N**] nk̈s' d-'tyhbw **GHJK** ([γr'mw q](y) . . . (θ)[b]rt(y) (qt)[y] 105V.8)
500.34–35 l-mʿlnh . . . w-l-mpqnh—recte l-mʿlnḥ . . . w-l-mpqnḥ **F**
35 twb **F**] om. **GHJN** (om. 108R.1)
502.15–16 w-'lhn w-prwqn . . . d-nzkywhy šlm **FG**] om. **HJKN** (om. 108V. 3–4—the omissions are indicated by the length of the lacunae)
16 (lwqbl npš') **FGHN**] lwqbl ḥwšb' d-dyw' d-krywt'. (lwqbl npš') **JK** (['ntwx]cy dywy *šm'ryt[y ptryt] 108V.5)
17 lh ... lh—recte lḥ ... lḥ **F**
17 'nqth **F**(altered from ̈nqth?)] 'nqtḥ/'nq̈tḥ **GHJKN** (Sogd. lacking)
18 lwt mry' **FG**] lwt 'lh' **HJKNP** (|[qw] bγw s' 108V.9)
506.30 mytyn lh krywt' **FHN**] myt' lḥ l-krywt' **GJ** (['ntwx]c [·]:(br)t 111R.4)
30 b-zbn d-l' bʿ' **F** (the last five letters over an erasure, hence originally probably b-zbn dyn d-l') **H**; b-zbn dyn l' bʿ' **GN**] b-zbn dyn d-l' **J** ((*p*)s' (b'*d*)ρw 111R.4)
31 lh—recte lḥ **F**
508.13 w-'ylyn **F**(altered from 'ylyn)**HJP**] 'ylyn **GN** (x'nt 111V.7)
524.26 (brnš'.) **F**] (brnš'.) w- **GHJNP** ('t 120R.4)
26–27 d-ḥmt' w-d-rgt' **FG**] d-rgt' w-d-ḥmt' **HJN** ([rwžty'] (')t yp'qy 120R.5–6)

Selected variants from the Armenian version

94V.2 cn mnyn' = Arm. 222.8 i Tʿowoc anti 'from Numbers' (Syr. om.)
94V.7 bwt = Arm. 222.16 ē 'is' (Syr. nbʿ)
102V.18 w'ḟ = Arm. 242.28 aynpēs 'so' (Syr. om.)
104R.2 (['ntwxcy]) = Arm. 246.11 (Syr. + w-krywt')
104V.11 (xwžt) = Arm. 247.29 (Syr. + mnh)
104V.12 (*xy*)pθ γr(yw)y = Arm. 247.29–248.1 y-anjanc̣ iwreanc̣ 'for themselves' (Syr. ln)
105R.7 c(*y*w) = Arm. 249.15 i nmanē 'from him' (Syr. mn btrh)
108V.4 'ntwxc[y šm'ryty] = Arm. 259.13 xorhowrdsn trtmowtʿean 'the thoughts of dejection' (Syr. ḥwšb' d-dyw' d-krywt')

Concordance

Sogdian			Syriac (ed. Frankenberg)			Citation
*94	Title		Intro.		pp. 472–474	
	'	= 1	G	=1.3[76]	p. 474	Num. 11.18–20[77]
	B	= 2	D	=1.4		Deut. 6.11–12
	G	= 3	H	=1.5		Deut. 30.11
	D	= 4	W	=1.6		Deut. 32.15
	H	= 5	Z	=1.7		2 Sam. 3.35
	W	= 6	Ḥ	=1.8		1 Kings 17.14
	Z	= 7	Ṭ	=1.9		1 Kings 22.26–27
	Ḥ	= 8	Y	=1.10	pp. 474–476	2 Kings 4.43–44

[76] The Sogdian omits the first two items of the Syriac.
[77] The Sogdian quotes instead Num. 11.34.

*102	QZ	=107	LḤ	=2.38[78]	p. 490	Prov. 17.3
	QḤ	=108	LṬ	=2.39		Prov. 26.11
	QṬ	=109	M	=2.40		Eccl. 7.5
	QY	=110	M'	=2.41		Eccl. 10.4
	QY'	=111	MB	=2.42		Song of Songs 1.6
	...					
	QYH	=115	MW	=2.46		Job 34.10–11
	QYW	=116	MZ	=2.47		Job 41.10[79]
	QYZ	=117	MḤ	=2.48		Is. 14.30
	QYḤ	=118	MṬ	=2.49		Is. 32.6
	QYṬ	=119	N	=2.50		Jer. 20.12
*104	QLB	=132	SG	=2.63	p. 492	1 Pet. 4.12–13
	QLG	=133	SD	=2.64	pp. 492–494	1 Pet. 5.8–9
	QLD	=134	SH	=2.65	p. 494	2 Pet. 2.9
	...					
	QLW	=136	B	=3.2[80]		Gen. 28.20–22
	QLZ	=137	G	=3.3		Ex. 21.17
	QLḤ	=138	D	=3.4		Ex. 23.9
	QLṬ	=139	H	=3.5		Lev. 19.18
	QM	=140	W	=3.6		Lev. 25.17
	QM'	=141	Z	=3.7		Lev. 25.35
*105	QMZ	=147	YG	=3.13	p. 496	1 Kings 19.19–21
	...					
	QN'	=151	YZ	=3.17		Ps. 27.10
	QNB	=152	YḤ	=3.18		Ps. 34.3[81]
	QNG	=153	YṬ	=3.19		Ps. 37.32–33
*108	QPZ	=187	NG	=3.53	pp. 500–502	1 Tim. 6.7–9
	QPḤ	=188	ND	=3.54	p. 502	1 Tim. 6.10
	QPṬ	=189	NH	=3.55		2 Tim. 2.4–5
	...					
	QṢB	=192	NḤ	=3.58		1 John 3.18
	QṢG	=193	'	=4.1		Ex. 2.23–24
	QṢD	=194	B	=4.2		Ex. 3.7–8
*111	RKḤ	=228	LH	=4.35[82]	p. 506	Ps. 32.7–8
	RKṬ	=229	LW	=4.36		Ps. 35.1–3
	...					
	RLW	=236	MG	=4.43	p. 508	Ps. 69.7[83]
	RLZ	=237	MD	=4.44		Ps. 71.10–11
	RLḤ	=238	MH	=4.45		Ps. 74.19
*120	ŠNG	=353	K	=6.20[84]	p. 524	Ps. 42.6[85]
	ŠND	=354	K'	=6.21		Ps. 56.2[86]
	ŠNH	=355	KB	=6.22		Ps. 66.12
	ŠNW	=356	KG	=6.23		Ps. 73.28
	ŠNZ	=357	KD	=6.24		Ps. 77.3–4[87]
	...					
	ŠSB	=362	KṬ	=6.29	p. 526	(unidentified)
	ŠSG	=363	L	=6.30		Prov. 18.1

[78] Ch. 1 contains 69 items; hence 2.38 = 107 overall. The Sogdian numeration may have returned into line with the Syriac by a copying error.

[79] = Job 41.19 in the English bible.

[80] Ch. 1–2 contain 134 items; hence 3.2 = 136 overall.

[81] = Ps. 34.2 in the English bible.

[82] The apparent discrepancy in the number of items lacking in the Sogdian between ff. *108 and *111 and in the corresponding passage of the Syriac is due to an unnumbered item between 4.19 and 4.20.

[83] = Ps. 69.6 in the English bible.

[84] Ch. 1–5 contain 333 items (including the unnumbered item mentioned in n. 82 above); hence 6.20 = 353 overall.

[85] = Ps. 42.5 in the English bible.

[86] = Ps. 56.1 in the English bible.

[87] = Ps. 77.2–3 in the English bible.

Excursus 3: Some remarks on the language and orthography of Texts 2–13

This is not the place for a full linguistic analysis of these 12 texts. Here only two matters will be briefly considered: firstly, whether there are significant linguistic differences between them, and secondly, what evidence they contain as to the orthography of the C2-scribe's exemplar or exemplars.

Similar questions with regard to Text 1 have already been discussed above, pp. 65–67,[1] where reference is made to Schwartz's theory that the language of C2 is a 'dialectal continuum' in which three chronological strata can be discerned. The first of these strata, represented by Text 1, is distinguished by many orthographic and linguistic peculiarities. However, Schwartz mentions only one distinctive feature which differentiates his second and third strata from one another, namely, the use of both *'t* and *'r* 'and' in the former but of *'t* alone in the latter. Rather similar to the distribution of *'t* and *'r* is that of *p't* and *p'* 'for, because'. The figures are most conveniently set out in tabular form:

Text	*'r*		*'t*[2]	*p'*		*p't*[3]	
2	x 9		x 11	x 3	(31V.10, 18, 21)	–	
3	x 1	(40V.7)	x 22	x 1	(40V.19)	x 1	(39R.4)
4	–		x 61	–		x 2	(51V.4, 52R.14)
5	x 2	(54V.20, 21)	x 15	x 1	(54V.30)	x 3	(54V.25, 55R.19, 24)
6	–		x 7	–		x 1	(57R.28)
7	–		x 8	–		x 2	(57V.29, 30)
8	–		x 74	x 1	(61R.18)	–	
9	x 1(?)[4]	(65R.28)	x 81	x 1	(69V.29)	x 4	
10	–		x 18	–		x 2	(77R.14, 77V.15)
11	–		x 44	x 1	(87R.7)	–	
12	–		x 14	–		x 2	(94R.7, 10)
13	–		x 41	x 1(?)	(120R.1)	x 8	

It is clear from the extremely variable proportions in which *'r* and *'t* occur (from 9: 11 to 1: 81) that Texts 2, 3, 5 and 9 do not form a unitary "*'t*/*'r* stratum'. In fact the most clearly defined dividing line is not between those texts which employ *'r* and those which do not but between Text 2, in which *'r* is frequent, and all the others, in which it is either rare or (arguably by chance) unattested. The distribution of *p'* is less strikingly imbalanced than that of *'r*, but it too is appreciably more common in Text 2 (where *p't* does not occur) than elsewhere.

A digression on the origins of *'r* and *p'* is necessary here. At first sight *'r* appears to continue the first element of *(')rty*, without the appended *(')ty*. That *(')rty* is a compound is shown by its ideogram *'ḤRZY* < Aramaic *'ḥr + zy*. The element *(')r-* thus corresponds to Aramaic *'ḥr* 'after, then'; it may be compared with Khot. *rro*, *rru* 'also, even', Kuchean *ra* 'also', Gk. ἄρα 'then', Lith. *ìr*, Lettish *ir* 'and, also', probably also Skt. *aram* etc.[5] However, it is hard to credit the survival in C. Sogdian of a form so archaic that it is not even attested in the 'Ancient Letters'. The alternative is to assume that *'r* derives from *'rt* (attested in an unpublished C. Sogd. MS, see Schwartz STSC 125) < *(')rty* by a process of gradual detrition. The case of *p'* is similar. In GMS § 358 this was derived from *p'r*, a form which does not occur without the enclitic *-wty*, *-ZY*.[6] It is rather *p'* < *p't* < **p'rt* < *p'rty* (attested in M. Sogdian) < *p'rwty*. The earlier stages in this develop-

[1] Text 14 is not discussed here, because it is written by a different scribe from the rest of the MS.

[2] Since *'r* links verb-phrases but not noun-phrases, only examples of *'t* in the former function are counted here. The figures in this column are necessarily approximate because of uncertainties in the reading and interpretation of broken passages.

[3] Only the most certain attestations are counted here.

[4] Almost certain, cf. the Syriac (*w-* 'and'), the context and, for the reading, note a on p. 140.

[5] This etymology was considered by Benveniste, Essai de grammaire sogdienne II, Paris 1929, 171, but rejected in favour of a connexion with Av. *haθra*. S. Konow, Saka Studies, Oslo 1932, 59, suggested a comparison with Khot. *haḍe*. J. Harmatta, in: Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 12 [1964], 445–446, compares Bactrian οτο, deriving both *rty* and οτο from a pp. **ṛta-*.

[6] Except in the compound B. *prnp'r* (see IIJ 20 [1978], 259).

ment are paralleled by a number of other words,[7] but the final stage, the loss of *-t*, only by *'r* < *'rt*. Hence the possible significance of the apparent preference for *p'* beside *'r* in Text 2: both forms may plausibly be attributed to a single stage of development of a single dialect.

Taking into account the order of items in the MS as here reconstructed, the most natural explanation of the uneven distribution of *'r* and *p'* will be somewhat along the following lines. In copying Text 1 from an exemplar containing such spellings as *yty* and *rty*, the scribe at first attempted to bring the orthography into line with that to which he was accustomed (note *'t*, passim in f. 1). Quite soon, however, perhaps after writing *'t* for *rty* introducing the main clause after a subordinate clause (1R.26) and for *yty* 'that' (1R.27), he realized that not only the orthography but also the language of the original differed from his own. Thenceforward he adopted many of the spellings of his exemplar (e.g. *rty*, *yty*, *p'rwty*, with rare lapses such as *'t* in 5R.29) at the same time as continuing to modernize the orthography in other respects (e.g. *-q'*, passim, as against *-q'm* in 19V.2(?), 23V.8, the latter probably taken over inadvertently from the original). When he came to copy Text 2 from a different MS, the scribe adopted a similar procedure, retaining the spellings *'r* and *p'* of his new exemplar but modifying the spelling in other respects (note *s'r* corrected to *s'*, 31R.3,[8] and *myd* corrected to *myθ* 'day', 31V.23).[9] This time, however, he discovered that the language of the original did not differ greatly from his own. In copying Texts 3, 5, 9 (and others?) from the same or a similar MS, he therefore for the most part replaced *'r* with *'t* and *p'* with *p't*.

Whether or not this picture is anywhere near the truth, it is clear that there is no practical possibility of dividing Texts 2–13 into two (or more) strata on the basis of the distribution of *'r* and *p'*. Though one certainly cannot exclude that these texts were copied from several different sources, it seems equally possible to ascribe all indications of variation between them to the interaction of two sets of linguistic and orthographic habits—those of the C2-scribe and those of a single MS source. The chief of the variations and anomalies which have been noticed are included in the list which follows, classified according to whether they seem most likely to be (i) orthographic, (ii) chronological or (iii) dialectal:

(i) Orthographic: /t/ written *θ* in *ptyθ* (60R.4) as against *t* in *ptyt't* (60V.1) and passim.[10] (ii) Chronological: *s'* (passim) < *s'r* (cf. above and n. 8 below); *xypt* (above, p. 83) < *xypθ* (passim); forms in *'w-* (above, p. 98) < *w(y)-* (passim); *cn-* (69R.25) < *cšn-* (102V.21, 27); *γ* before *s/š* (*ptγwsd'rt*, *prbγšt*; above, p. 67) < *x* (preserved in *ptxwsty̱t* etc., passim). In all these cases, the earlier forms are probably to be attributed to the original text and the later forms to the language of the copyist. Under this heading belongs also the evidence that the vocabulary of the original (assumed to be most accurately reflected in Text 2) was more varied than that of the scribe: in addition to the case of *'r* and *'t*, note that Text 2 has both *¨(d)c* (31V.22, cf. above, p. 77) and *'y̱c* (e.g. 31R.26) for '(some)thing', the other texts only the latter. (iii) Dialectal: from the evidence assembled on p. 84 it seems likely that the exemplar used *qt* instead of (or in addition to) *qy* as a rel. pronoun; if so, this must be accounted a dialectal difference, since in this respect the language of the copy would be more conservative than that of the original rather than vice versa as in the cases gathered together under (ii) above. Other points in which the usage of the original appears to have been more modern than that favoured by our scribe are the employment of *p'* for *p't*, *myd*[11] for *myθ* 'day' (cf. above and n. 9 below) and of spellings such as *θfx(št)'[r]* and *qšt'r* (both in Text 4, cf. p. 97) for **θfxšd'r* etc., *sγdy'* (68V.11, cf. p. 149) for *sγty'* (55R.17), but in all these cases it is possible to regard the C2-scribe's customary spelling (*p't*, *myθ*, **θfxšd'r*, *sγty'*) as conventional and historicizing.

[7] E.g. C. *-d't* < *-d'rt*; *m't* < *m'δ ZY* (see H. H. Schaeder, in: ZDMG 21 [1942], 16, where also the correct explanation of *p't*); *qt* 'if' < *kδwty* (Weber 1971, 82 n. 2), with which *qt* 'that' is etymologically identical (like Arm. *et'ē* 'if; that'), cf. for instance M. *kδwtyh̲* ~ S. *'YKZY* introducing direct speech in Tale A, 21 (as against *kt̲* ~ *'YKZY*, ibid. 36).

[8] Also in Text 6, *s'r* corrected to *s'*, 57V.14.

[9] Also in Text 11, *m̥yd* 'day' (not corrected), 87R.7.

[10] If the explanation given above, pp. 83 and 131, is correct. Note that 60R.4 is so literally translated as to be hardly comprehensible, hence an ambiguous spelling (*ptyθ* or *pθyθ*) in the original might easily have been misinterpreted by the copyist.

[11] C2 mostly distinguishes *myd* 'thus, this' and *myθ* 'day'; elsewhere both are written *myθ*. Thus it is possible that the copyist has created *myd* 'day' by over-correction of *myθ* in his exemplar. However, it is more likely that *myd* 'day' is genuine, see Schwartz 1970b, 295 n. 18, and cf. the alternation *-d/-θ* also in *brtpd/brtpθ* (above, p. 148) etc.

Text 14: Incipit of the story of Pethion (f. *120V.7–12)

At some time after the abrupt discontinuation of the copying of Text 13 the remainder of f. *120V has been inscribed with a few lines in a different and much less elegant handwriting. No other fragment in this hand has been found.[1]

This text may be identified with some confidence as the incipit, in Syriac and Sogdian, of the story of Pethion, though the wording differs considerably from that of the Syriac text published by Bedjan (of which the relevant passage is translated above, p. 50) and from the Sogdian version in 1R. The phrase *mwhbṭ' w-brt(h)* 'the mōbed and *his* daughter' is particularly distinctive.

Since the MS already contained the whole of the story of Pethion, it is hardly likely that the intention was to copy the complete work. One possibility is that we have here the beginning of an index of contents such as is often added—by the original scribe or by a subsequent user—at the end of a Syriac MS. The difference in wording between 1R and *120V is not an argument against this; the title in the index might have been composed from memory rather than copied from f. 1R (especially if the MS was already bound when the index was added). However, it must be admitted that the present text is rather long for an index title. Possibly, therefore, one should consider this text rather as a probatio pennae or as a scribal exercise.

Orthographically this text differs from the rest of the MS in the spelling *xšywny* rather than *xwšywny* 'king'.

***120V**

*7	](= = = w)[d](k)lhwn shd'([a] *ḫ*)[b](rw)h(*y*)[a]
*8	'drhwrm](*z*d)mwhbt' wbrθ*(h)*[b]
*9	ḫ]lp šmh dm(š)yḫ' [ ]
*10	wθ]šγ dmlkwθ' d(y)ẇny' —
*11	](p')rsyqty xšywny — x(w=q)
*12	]( )'t pr m(*z*yx)[ ]

(the bottom of the page missing)

[a] no trace of *syāme* [b] +line-filler

***120V**

(Syriac:)

The martyrdom of Mār Pethion and of all the martyrs (who were) *his companions* . . . *Mār Ādurhormazd* the mōbed and *his* daughter *Nāhīd* . . . *who received death* for the name of Christ (10) . . . *in the seven-hundred and fifty*-ninth *year* of the kingdom of the Greeks.

(Sogdian:)

And it was the ninth year of Yazdgerd son of Warhrān king of the Persians . . . and *Yazdgerd held his kingdom* in *great tranquillity* . . .

Commentary

***120V**

10 *dmlkwθ' d(y)ẇny'* 'of the kingdom of the Greeks': the writer seems to have understood the elliptical *b-d-ywnïy'* 'in that of the Greeks' (thus apud Bedjan; correctly interpreted *[pr yw](n')yq ptšm'r* in 1R.8–9) in the light of the phrase *l-mlkwt' d-p̈rsy'* 'in respect of the kingdom of the Persians' (which occurs a few words later in Bedjan's text).

[1] Dr. Sundermann has kindly provided me with photographs of two fragments, one Turkish (TiiiB = K268 = [1836]) and one Sogdian (TiiB46 [Nr. 2] = [1676]), which are in his opinion the only MSS in the collection of the Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR whose script is at all comparable with that of the present text. Even these fragments, as he says, hardly belong to our MS.

Unplaced fragments (fragments A–W)*

Fragment A

R?
24]=[
25]( )ny bwtq'( )pwt(q)y[a]
26 m](')x nyzny γmy'(w)y ptr'fy'[b]
27]qtyšy[c] mrtxmyty myd'ny.
28] mwrt'ẇ. nyšq'w mn'
29 q]w tw' n'm s'. 'brz br'( )pr
30](w) cn t'rqw(ny). prywyd p'

V?
24]·:·[
25 =[ ]=[ ]n (x)[n]t (*p*)t(*z*)'(n*y*)[ ]=[
26 w'nc'(*nw* q*n*)cqty q'=[
27 šyry ryž( )sty nbγy q=[
28 sty qt ṁn pr'nytq'. '[
29 γnt. s'c'z m'x qt p(r)[
30 γwny m'x myn'mnty (y)[

[a] q and y extended to fill the line; or pwt(q)[r]y [b] or ptrθfy' [c] sic

Fragment B

R
20 (y)[
21 =[
22 =[
23 't (y)[
24 w'b qyw (*s*)['
25 n(y)[ ]( )šy [
26 (')t[==]( )w'(bn)t (c)[
27 ms t(γ)w qt [
28 pty(θ*y*') šm'r(y 't)[
29 (==t')[ ](') qt ž(w)y ···[
30 qw q̈lyθ'.. [a][

V
21](')
22]=
23]t[=]
24]=y' θ'br
25]( )s(n)'m. w(y*d*)
26]y.··:··[ ]=
27 yw]tr( )cn (p)t(*rty*'. .)
28](== myšp)rq't[b]
29 ']([y])s y(w wγ')m
30](t)cx' 't x(y)r
] ··:··

[a] left blank [b] or °q'y

Fragment C

R?
1]='m byqp'(r) wnnt.
2](γ)ryw[a] γmpn br(*y*n)t
3]=m(*s*)q (q)t(n)y[b]
4]=

V?
1 ']](m')ty p(r)qrwn. 't[
2 [=]=y[=]·:· pyšt w't myn(c)[
3 [=]wt: dn (š)'nw(*x*y)' p(r)[w
4 [ ]==[

[a]](*p*)ryw less likely [b] +line-filler

Fragment D

R?
*1 [=]=[
*2 pc=[
*3 't [
*4 p'zn(*y*)['[a]
*5 n' prγ.y(ž)[
*6 x'nt (q)[y

V?
*1](γ)[ ]
*2 w']](n)c'nw
*3 mw](r)t'w'
*4]=[ ]m'x
*5 x](y)pθ γry(w)[]
*6]== 'z'n

[a] p'rn =[less likely

*In view of certain details of their orthography ('*t*, *p*') and punctuation (·:·, .) Fragments A–K are unlikely to belong to Text 1 (cf. above, pp. 65–67); in addition, the small handwriting of Fragments L and M makes it improbable that they belong to Text 1 (cf. above, p. 19). Fragments N–W do not seem to provide any evidence bearing on this point.–For the interpretation of these fragments, as of Fragments a–e (cf. above, p. 31), the reader is referred to the glossary.

*7 fryt't =[
*8 (m)yn'm[
*9 [zn](q)'n [
*10]'( )[

*7](d')rntq
*8]y p[r]
*9]r xy[d]
*10](ž)ty[ ]
*11]=[

Fragment E

R
1]nt.
2]nt
3]
4]ty
5]'
6]=
7].
(lines 8–30: only the margin preserved)

V (lines 1–29: only the margin preserved)[a]
30 x[

[a] in the margin by lines 3–10: 't šn f'šqrnt cn wyny ryty.; in the margin by line 15 (approx.): qy[]

Fragment F

R
1](b)·:·
2]tr
3]bt'[a]
4]t
5]s[b]
6]=
7]'
8]'
9 xy]pθ
10](d)bn'.
11]pn
12 m](z)yx
13]=

V
1 =[
2 (p)[
3 =[
4 =[
5 (q)[
6 ž=[
7 (q)[
8 q[
9 q[
10 '[
11 s[
12 (q)[
13 (q)[
14 =[

[a] or]mt' [b] in red ink

Fragment G

R?
28]c[
29]p(r)ẓsnt: by(r)t[
30]šm'rẓt s'.·:·· [

V?
28]=[
29]t γrf̣ p(r)t[w
30](b)wt nγ'ṃ. qt[

Fragment H

R?
*1](bẓ) =[
*2]= =. wyspy'ḍy (py)n(m)[s'
*3]= = (ž)y'w(r)y w[ ]=[

V?
*1]( )c(yw)[n](t)[
*2] '(γ)ẓ θy'. 't m't = = =[
*3](w)š'(t). 't '[

Fragment I

R?
*1 't 'x[
*2 = = =[
*3 [
*4 c[

V?
*1]q ny
*2] pr

Fragment J

R?	*1	]t'w. [	**V?**	*1	]=[
	*2	]mn'. [		*2	](š)frs=[
	*3	](šm'rm)[sq		*3	]qy '=t[
				*4	](')[

Fragment K

R?	*1	] 'ḍ(y)[	**V?**	*1	](r) xypθ '[
	*2	]r bγ'ny(q)[		*2	] šm'r [
	*3	w'n]w w'b. [		*3	](q)t (m)[
	*4	]=[			

Fragment L

R?	*1	]=[ ]=[	**V?**	*1	z'r]c[nw]qy'[
	*2	](š)w'm(št)[		*2	]' nγny c(')[
	*3	](*w*)yn [ ](mn*t*)[		*3	]= p[ ]'[

Fragment M

R?	*1	](=dy)ty cn [	**V?**	*1	]= =t(w)[
	*2	]t žyš(*t*)[		*2	] qyw(y)[d
	*3	cymy](d) fcm[bdy		*3	]= fc[
	*4	](p)štẏ(n*t*)[		*4	]= cn t[
	*5	] frẏ(š)[		*5	](tw)' =[

Fragment N

R?	1	](p)r[ ](*γnt*')q nyz(b)'[ny	**V?**	1	]= = = cn t(bt' = =m =)[
	2	](mynnt = =)[		2	](*x* p)[
	3	](d)w(r)t'. [		3	]c(y)t[ ]=[
	4	]pr( )s'(t)[		4	](pt= =)[
	5	]= = =[		5	]=[

Fragment O

R?	*1	]= sqw'z wyny =[	**V?**	*1	](t = = =ẏ) (q*y*) =[
	*2	](t)r b'. r[		*2	]' ryž (q*t*)[
				*3	]γ(*w*)b(t)y'[

Fragment P

R?	*1	]t[	**V?**	*1	]ty'(q=)[
	*2	] wyšnt =[		*2	](=r=)[ ]=t [

Fragment Q

R	*1	]=	**V**	*1	=[
	*2	šm](')r'		*2	m[
	*3	]=ny		*3	qw[
	*4	](m)n'		*4	w'b(n)t[
	*5	]t=. qt		*5	qt 'ẏ(*s*t)[
	*6	](w)š(t)[ ]=		*6	s(*q*'tr *c*)[n

Fragment R

R?	*1	]=[ ]= =[ ](t)[	**V?**	*1	]= = = =[
	*2	[w](x)r( )pr nwšy x(yp)[θ'wnty		*2	](=q)y' pẓst( )[]
	*3	[z']wr( )pr(zb)r(t)[		*3	](= =ty w)[y]'[][a]

[a] or (w)'; the elongated ' suggests that the fragment comes from the edge of a page

Fragment S

R?	*1	](=n. =)[	**V?**	*1	]=ynq(*y'*)[ ]= = =[
	*2	](w*x*)r.[a] (r)[		*2	](t)y wy(*n*y =)[
	*3	](=m=)[			

[a] +insertion-mark ⤫

Fragment T

R?	*1	]=[ ]=[	**V?**	*1	]=[ ]=[
	*2	]=ty s=t[		*2	]= =st =[
	*3	]= pšẓs'[		*3	c]n wžpy'(=)[
	*4	](')q'm(t*q*)[		*4	]= = =[ ]=[

Fragment U

R?	*1	]qt [	**V?**	*1	]= =[
	*2	](m')t (q)[		*2	]nt (p)[
	*3	](m)s n(ẓ)[		*3	]t ˙˙t(r)
				*4	](=y) [

Fragment V

R?	1	]pr wys(*pw*) bžyq'[[a]	**V?**	1	]št. w'[ ](')st[
	2	]=[ ]= =[		2	]= =[

[a] sic

Fragment W

R?	1	]p'tṭr'[s	**V?**	1	]q '=[
	2	]c= =[		2	](')b(r)[
	3	]= =[		3	]= [

A note on the Syriac pointing employed in C2

The usage of vocalic points in C2 follows closely the East Syrian system of vocalization as it had evolved by about the ninth century A.D. (cf. J. B. Segal, The Diacritical Point and the Accents in Syriac, London 1953, especially p. 30). The following signs are attested:

1) *ẇ (alāṣā)* = *ŭ*. Rare, e.g. *'ẇ* (87R.10, 94R.14), *'ẇprs* (60R.17), *sẇ(qn)t* (23R.24), *prẇ(s)tr* (104R.11), *rwšγẇnẇ* (68R.7).

2) *ẇ (rwāḥā)* = *ŏ*. Fairly common, e.g. *'ẇstd'rt* (51R.16), *šẇt* 'goes' (31V.2, 61V.26), *šẇt* 'black' (60V.28), *nẇmt* (54V.23), *'wnẇ* (61R.20).

3) *¨ (zqāpā)* = *ā*. Frequent with initial *aleph* (ܐ, transliterated ¨ rather than ̈ for typographical convenience), e.g. *¨γ'zt*, *¨tr*, *¨p*, etc. (passim). Otherwise *zqāpā* occurs only in *šyṫ'qty'* (61R.23, cf. above, pp. 132–133 and in a few Syr. words and names, e.g *wṫṫ'* (57R.27, 29), *nyṡn* (68V.11), *ṁr(y)s* (77V.6), *yw¨š* (94V.25).

4) *̇ (ptāḥā)* = *ă*. Rather infrequent, e.g. *̇ẇšt* (31V.21), *'ẇt(y)* (31V.11, 65V.30, 68V.6, 120V.3), *ṃn* (54R.17), *bwẇny* (40R.8, 11), *pṭyšṭq'* (68R.2).

5) *y̤* or *̤y (assāqā)* = *ĕ*. Very common, e.g. *'y̤ṡt/̤yšt*, *my̤d/m̤yd*, *'dy̤/'d̤y*, etc. (passim). Occasionally the points are used without mater lectionis (= Syr. *zlāmā qašyā*), e.g. *ḇsty* (13V.23, 22R.13), *ḇnt* (25R.1, 68V.5) = *ḇynt*, *ḇqp'r* (60V.30) = *by̤qp'r*, *ṇst* (23V.24, 31R.10) = *ny̤st*. In certain special circumstances *aleph* rather than *yod* is used as mater lectionis, e.g. *qlyθ̤'* etc. (cf. p. 131 above), *'nc'y̤'*, *nm'ny̤qrqy̤'/ nm'ny̤qrqy̤'*, etc. (cf. Sims-Williams 1981c, 15 with n. 19).

6) *y̤ (ḥbāṣā)* = *ĭ*. Rare, e.g. *by̤* (11V.20, 31V.19), *ty̤* (31V.31, 51V.9, 27), *spyy̤* (60V.28, 30), *[s]pny̤qry̤* (22R.9).

The vocalic points are sometimes misplaced, e.g. *qẇy* (13V.19) for **q̇wy*, *qẇy'q* (68V.6) for *q̇wy'q*, *'y̤st* (77V.13) for *'y̤ṡt*, *ḇγy̤* (51V.10) for *bγy̤* or **bγy*. In cases such as *fryt̤'ty* (61R.18, 61V.26) and *'ṇcyt* (31R.27) the scribe may have deliberately avoided placing the points under the letters *t* and *c*, since these descend some way below the line of writing.

There is some inconsistency in the employment of the vocalic points in C2 (cf. for instance Sims-Williams 1979b, 338 n. 18), but it is beyond the scope of the present note to discuss the linguistic significance of this phenomenon.

On the use of the diacritical points ¨ *(syāme)* to indicate that a final -' stands for *-ĕ* rather than *-ā* see Schwartz STSC 123–125 and above, p. 108.

The significance of the subscript point which frequently accompanies the letter *f* (e.g. *ḟy'tr*, *γrḟ*, *ḟrm'n*, *t'ḟ'*, etc., passim) is unknown.

Morphological analysis of C2

This section has two functions: (i) to demonstrate the terminology and notational conventions employed in the glossary and elsewhere in this edition; (ii) to provide a comprehensive list of the various inflected forms which occur in C2.

Although the assignment of each individual form to a particular morphological category is of course largely dependent on its syntactic function, no attempt has been made to analyse syntax as such. Syntax is the least studied area of Sogdian grammar, and my own researches into the syntax of C2 have in general been restricted to what seemed essential in order to arrive at the correct morphological classification of the forms. Therefore I have in general adhered to traditional terms for the various tenses, moods, etc., even where I suspect them to be less than adequate as characterizations of the inherent meaning of the categories concerned. Such changes as I have ventured to introduce have all been in aid of greater precision or historical accuracy.

All variant spellings of the endings themselves have been listed, but not all the slight adaptations which the joining of ending to stem may entail (e.g. *s'c+t → s'št*, *frmy+y → frmy*). Apart from some hypothetical forms indicated by asterisks, only forms which actually occur in C2 are included in the paradigms. So far as possible, well-preserved forms have been chosen for citation. Illegible or uncertain letters have been marked by brackets etc. only where they seriously affect the certainty of attestation of the form in question. As in the glossary, pointing has only occasionally been noted.

The following special symbols are used in this section:

H	=heavy;
L	=light;
parentheses	=irregular form from an irregular stem, e.g. ('ym);
italics	=form found only in Text 1 (cf. above, pp. 65–67), e.g. *γwtsq*.

1. Verbs

All regular verbal forms are derived from the pres. stem, the impf. stem or the past stem. In many verbs the impf. stem is identical with the pres. stem. Rules for deducing the impf. and past stems from the pres. stem are complex and are not given here. A few verbs derive certain forms from a second, suppletive pres. or past stem, e.g. *x-/m't* (suppletive pres. stem *sqw-* or *swq-*), *wn-/qt-* (suppletive pres. inf. *pr (. . .) qrwn*), *ny's/ny't* (suppletive pp. *nymt-y*). On the other hand, it more often happens that two pres. stems, one transitive and the other intransitive or passive, share a single past stem, e.g. *wn-/qt-* beside *b(w)-/qt-*. In such cases it is not always easy to decide to which verb a particular form should be assigned.

In the glossary verbs are cited under their pres. stem (even if only forms derived from the past stem happen to occur in C2). The past stem, if it is attested in C2, follows after an oblique stroke thus: *1'br/'brt*.

As the examples above show, I have in this book adopted the convention of distinguishing light and heavy verbal stems by the presence or absence of a final hyphen, e.g. *fnyš-* (light) versus *fnyš* (heavy), just as is already customary with nominal stems. It should be noted that light pres. stems ending in *°y-* and *°w-* are treated as heavy before endings beginning with *t* (but not before endings beginning with an unwritten short vowel followed by *t*).

a) Finite forms from the pres. and impf. stems[1]

Pres.[2]

Sg. 1 ('ym) Pl. 1 d'rym

[1] Those forms which are derived from the impf. stem will be specifically noted as such. On the impf. stem see Sims-Williams forthcoming b.

[2] A full and unambiguous definition would be 'simple pres. indic. act.'. Similarly 'fut.' = 'fut. [pres. indic. act.]' (as opposed to fut. āz-impf., fut. opt., fut. pass., etc.); and so on. But for most purposes the abbreviated descriptions are adequate.

2 frmy < *frmyy ('yš) 2 (yst')[3]
3 L wnty (xcy, ycy) H s'št 3 wnnt

Only the irregular verb *x-* commonly provides first and second person forms. The regular forms from the stem *swq-* function as the dur. pres. of *x-* (cf. below).

Pres. mid.[4]
Sg. 3 wynty

Dur. pres.
Sg. 1 L γrb'msq, wrn'msqn (swq'm) H d'rmsq, w'bmsqn
2 w'bysq (swqy)
3 L wntysq, stysqn, *rxnty-sqwn* H w'btq, w'btqn, *γwtsq*, *s(w)ct-sq(wn)*
Pl. 1 [wny](ms)q, [pžγy](ry)msqn, *mynym-sqwn* (swqym)
2 L *γrbt'sq H wyntsq, *q't'sq*[5]
3 wnntq, *bnts[q]* (swqnt, swqwnt)

Fut.
Sg. 1 wnnq'[6] L *wn'mq'* H *ptwydmq'*
2 byryq'
3 L wntyq' H w'btq'
Pl. 1 prycymq'
2 L myrt'q' H pryšṭq'[5]
3 q'mntq', *prwrtntq'm*

Āz-impf.[7]
Sg. 1 d'r'zw
2 *d'r'zy
3 d'r'z
Pl. 1 *d'r'zym
2 –
3 d'r'znt

Dur. āz-impf.
Sg. 3 *ptywš('zsqw)n*

Fut. āz-impf.[8]
Sg. 3 ptwyd'zq'
Pl. 3 prys'zntq'

Impf.[9]
Sg. 1 ywxsw
2 p'rycy
3 L myr' H q'm
Pl. 1 w'bym
2 –
3 w'bnt, *wyd's'nt*

Impf. mid.[10]
Sg. 1 *wntw
2 wnty
3 L wnt' H 'st
Pl. 1 *wntym
2 –
3 wntnt, *wnntnt*[11]

Dur. impf.[9]
Pl. 3 'brntq

Impf. opt.[12]
Pl. 3 mxwbynt, ptyzyṛnt

[3] See above, p. 59.
[4] See Sims-Williams forthcoming a.
[5] On these 2 pl. forms see ibid.
[6] See Sims-Williams forthcoming b.
[7] On the origin of the element *-āz-* see Gershevitch 1975, 200–205.
[8] See Benveniste Etudes 1, 320.
[9] Formed from the impf. stem.
[10] See Sims-Williams forthcoming a.
[11] Cross between *wnnt* (act.) and *wntnt* (mid.), cf. above, p. 66, n. 19.
[12] Formed from the impf. stem.

Dur. impf. opt.[12]
Pl. 3 *ḇnt-sqwn*

Opt.
Sg. 1 –
2 γrby
3 wny, 'nc'y̰[13]

Pl. 1 γrbym
2 –
3 wnynt, prpnt[14]

Fut. opt. (?)[15]
Sg. 3 nγwšq', *'xwsydq'm*

Fut. opt. mid.[16]
Sg. 3 bytyq'

Subj.
Sg. 1 L wn'n H tysn
2 –
3 L wn't H 'yṣt[17]

Pl. 1 –
2 L brt' H byrtt(?)[18]
3 wynnt, *tny'nt*

Fut. subj.[19]
Sg. 2 wn'q'

Inj.
Sg. 1 ρrycw[20]

Fut. inj.
Sg. 1 bwq'

Irr.[21]
Sg. 1 L *wnwtw H wyntw
2 L wnwt' H ftyrt'
3 L wnwty H prγyžty

Pl. 1 –
2 –
3 L θbrwtynt H *wyntynt

Impv.
Sg. 2 L wn' H pryc

Pl. 2 L brt' (wntt') H prptt, xwyrt[18]

b) Pres. inf.

The pres. inf. (i.e., the inf. formed from the pres. stem) takes various forms according to the construction in which it is used: (A) depending on *γw-*; (B) depending on *'nc'y* and *pcwx'y*; (C) otherwise. Constructions (B) and (C), in which the inf. takes the prepositions *cn* and *pr* respectively, may be further subdivided into two types: (i) the prep. immediately precedes the pres. stem; (ii) the prep. and pres. stem are separated by the object (or complement) of the inf. In the latter case it appears that the pres. stem forms a compound with its object (or complement).

Pres. inf.
(A) L bry H –
(Bi) –

[13] See Schwartz STSC revisions 10 and above, p. 131.
[14] Once *wnynnt* (cross between opt. and subj., cf. above, p. 57?).
[15] See Sims-Williams forthcoming b.
[16] See Sims-Williams forthcoming a.
[17] Once *byntyt* (hardly opt. mid., cf. above, p. 59).
[18] On the 2 pl. forms in *-t*, *-tt*, *-tt'* see Sims-Williams forthcoming a.
[19] Or fut. impv.? See Sims Williams forthcoming b.
[20] Once *pryc* (error for inj. *prycw* or subj. *prycn*?).
[21] See Sims-Williams forthcoming b.

(Bii) L cn pwst(y) (p)t[fs'] 't[yw](q ywxs')
H [cn] γwbty' ptwyd
(Ci) L pr θbrw H pr wyn (pr qɪwn)
(Cii) L pr 'dc bry, pr pwsty ptfsy
H ((p)[r 'xwnc qr](w)n)

(Ci) is the only kind of pres. inf. which is at all common in C2. Since the analysis offered above is in some respects uncertain, all instances of the other types have been included in the table.

c) Finite forms from the past stem

Pres. tr. pot.[22]
Sg. 3 L qt'wnt H –
Pl. 3 L ywxt' wnnt H –

Dur. pres. tr. pot.
Sg. 3 L – H 'wysn't wntq

Fut. tr. pot.
Sg. 1 –
3 L qt'wntq', *qt' wntyq'* H –
Pl. 1 qt'wnymq'
3 –

Impf. tr. pot.
Pl. 3 *qtw wnnt*

Opt. tr. pot.
Pl. 3 *'ytw wnynnt*[23]

Pres. intr. pot.
Sg. 3 L qt' bwt H γrb't bwt

Dur. pres. intr. pot.
Pl. 3 L *tγt' bnts[q]* H –

Fut. intr. pot.
Sg. 3 L nyžt' bwtq' H –

Āz-impf. intr. pot.
Sg. 3 L – H wyt b'z

Impf. intr. pot.
Sg. 3 L – H byrt b(')[

Opt. intr. pot.
Sg. 3 L ywxt' by H prbyrt by
Pl. 3 L – H prbyrt bynt

Tr. pret.
Sg. 1 wyd'rm (qθ'rm)
2 xwrd'ry (qθ'ry, θfx(št)'[ry][24]) L *ptcγšt[wd'ry]* (?)
3 wyd'rt (qθ'rt, qšt'rt[24]) L *q(t)[wd'rt]*
Pl. 1 θbrd'rym (qθ'rym)
2 pcγd'rtt (qθ'rtt)[25]
3 pcγšd'rnt (qθ'rnt) L *qtwd'rnt*

[22] On the potential see Sims-Williams forthcoming c.
[23] On the unique form *wnynnt* see above, p. 57.
[24] On these spellings with *-t'r-* see above, p. 97.
[25] On the 2 pl. forms see Sims-Williams forthcoming a.

Intr. pret.

Sg. 1 m'tym		Pl. 1 –
2 qtyš		2 m't= =t[26]
3 [m.] L qty	H m't	3 m'tnt
3 f. L qt'		

Irr. intr. pret. (?)[27]
Sg. 2 qtyšy

d) Past inf.[28]

Past inf. L qty H 'γt

e) Participles

Participles are declined in the same way as other third declension adjectives.

Pres. part.[29] L nyšyn-y H nyšny[30]

Pp.[28] L qt-y H θbrty

f) Periphrastic forms containing the pp.

The periphrastic forms consisting of the inflected pp. + auxiliary verb (unlike those listed under (c) above, which contain forms of the past stem no longer in independent use) belong to syntax rather than to morphology. They may be summarized as follows:

Tr. pf.[31] = pp. (agreeing with the object) + *d'r*;

Intr. pf. = pp. (agreeing with the subject) + *x-/m't*;

Pass. = pp. (agreeing with the subject) + *b(w)-/qt-*.

The various tenses, moods etc. of the tr. pf., intr. pf. and pass. are readily deducible from these formulae. Only the component parts of such periphrases (the forms of the pp. and of the auxiliary verb) are listed in the glossary.

2. *Nouns and adjectives*

A remarkable feature of Sogdian grammar is the existence of two distinct systems of nominal inflexion which differ from one another not only morphologically but also in the different syntactic functions of their morphological categories. The fundamental lack of syntactic correlation between the two morphological systems makes it necessary to refer to the latter by two separate sets of terms.[32] The two systems, as found in C2, may be summarized as follows:

[26] See above, p. 179.
[27] See Sims-Williams forthcoming b.
[28] Formed from the past stem.
[29] Formed from the pres. stem.
[30] Exceptionally H *wy'bryny* (three occurrences).
[31] Uncertain, the only two possible examples being in 94R.8 and 16.
[32] Nevertheless, the term pl. is employed for both systems. Quite apart from the difficulty of inventing a suitable alternative term, this practice is justified by the fact that many plurals of light stems and *-*aka*-stems are 'heavy' and inflect as heavy stems.

(i) Light stems (including 'light' feminines in °*c*- from certain *-*aka*–stem adjectives) and *-*aka*–stems inflect according to a system of six cases (nom., acc., gen.,[33] loc., abl., voc.) and three numbers (sg., numv.,[34] pl.). The uses of these forms are governed by strict rules of syntax. Adjectives belonging to these declensions have certain distinct f. and n. forms in the sg.; on the other hand, adjectives have no numv.[35]

Unless otherwise indicated, the terms nom., acc., gen., loc., abl. and voc. may be taken to imply [sg.] or (with reference to adjectives) [sg. m.].

(ii) Heavy stems other than *-*aka*–stems (including 'heavy' feminines in °*c* from certain *-*aka*–stem adjectives and 'heavy' plurals in °*t* and °*yšt* from *-*aka*–stems and certain light stems) inflect according to a system of two cases (dir., obl.) and two numbers (unmarked, pl.). In addition, they sometimes display a voc. pl. (probably borrowed from the light–stem inflexion) which stands somewhat outside the system.[36] Adjectives belonging to these declensions do not inflect for gender. The rules which govern the choice between dir. and obl., unmarked and pl., are far from clear but must in any case be quite different from those which govern the use of the various forms of light stems and *-*aka*–stems. Only two correlations between the two systems are entirely without exceptions: where the first would employ the nom. the second uses the dir., and where the first would use the sg. the second employs forms unmarked for number. The converse propositions do not apply, however; for instance, the dir. [unmarked] can be used in circumstances which would demand the abl. pl. of a light stem, as in the phrase *cn γrf̣ 'ḍyty* (48V.3).

Unless otherwise indicated, the terms dir. and obl. may be taken to imply [unmarked].

In the glossary, indeclinable stems are marked as such. The declension to which any other noun or adj. belongs is indicated by the termination of its stem, thus:

Declension 1: stems ending with a hyphen, e.g. *bγ-*;
Declension 2: stems ending in °*-w*, e.g. *žγ-w*;
Declension 3: stems ending in °*y*, e.g. *mrtxmy*;
Declension 4: stems ending in °', e.g. *x'n'*;
Declension 5: all other nouns and adjectives.

Certain nouns, particularly old neuters, vary in gender from one text to another. In this work, therefore, gender has been assigned to nouns solely on the basis of evidence observable in C2 itself. Evidence may be provided by meaning (if the noun denotes an animate being of a specific sex), form (if the noun displays a suffix of established gender or declensional forms exclusive to nouns of particular genders) or agreement of adjectives. The marginal survival of the neuter gender (with only one exclusively n. form, the nom. sg. in °*w* of the first and third declensions)[37] creates an awkward problem. In general I have taken it for granted that if a noun is clearly not m. it must be f. (and vice versa); consequently it is probable that a few nouns here described as m. or f. are in fact neuter. As for adjectives, it seems that either m. or f. forms can be used to qualify n. nouns. Therefore the distinctive nom. n. in °*w* is the only adjectival form actually definable as n.; the fact that other forms are listed as [m.] or f. does not exclude that they may agree with n. nouns.

a) Declension 1 ('thematic' light stems)

First declension m. nouns

Nom.	bγy	Nom.	numv. *bγ'	Nom.	pl. ptrt' (qwtyy[38])
Acc.	bγw	Acc.	numv. *bγ'	Acc.	pl. ptrt' (spyy[38])
Gen.	bγy	Gen.	numv. –	Gen.	pl. ptrty'
Loc.	dbry'	Loc.	numv. –	Loc.	pl. dsty' < *dstty'[39]
Abl.	bγ'	Abl.	numv. –	Abl.	pl. ptrty'
Voc.	bγ'	Voc.	numv. –	Voc.	pl. –
				Dir.	pl. mwγyšt,[40] wyt[41]
				Obl.	pl. mwγyšty,[40] *wyty[41]

[33] Historically, the gen. is a syncretic case combining the functions of the OIr. genitive and dative.
[34] See Sims-Williams 1979b, 339–342.
[35] See ibid. 340.
[36] On the voc. pl. see ibid. 338–339.
[37] The existence of the third declension (*-*aka*–stem) nom. n. in °*w* was first recognized by Schwartz STSC iii.
[38] See Sims-Williams 1979b, 342–344.
[39] Uncertain, possibly loc. sg. at all occurrences.
[40] This type of pl. (on which see Sims-Williams 1979b, 344–346) is used only with certain light stems denoting animate beings.
[41] The gender of *wy-* is unknown. Any light stem ending in °*y-* regularly forms its pl. thus.

First declension f. nouns

Nom. pdq'	Nom. numv. –	Nom. pl. *γdt'
Acc. pdq'	Acc. numv. –	Acc. pl. γdt'
Gen. pdqy'	Gen. numv. –	Gen. pl. γdty'[42]
Loc. xšpy'	Loc. numv. –	Loc. pl. *γdty'
Abl. γdy'	Abl. numv. –	Abl. pl. *γdty'
		Dir. pl. mzmwrt[43]
		Obl. pl. mzmwrty[43]

First declension n. nouns

Nom. žmnw	Nom. numv. ywxty	Nom. pl. *žmnt'
Acc. žmnw	Acc. numv. *ywxty	Acc. pl. *žmnt'
Gen. –	Gen. numv. –	Gen. pl. *žmnty'
Loc. žmny'	Loc. numv. –	Loc. pl. *žmnty'
Abl. –	Abl. numv. –	Abl. pl. *žmnty'

First declension adjectives

Nom.	šyry (šyr)	Nom. pl. (rwxš)[n](t')
Nom. n.	šyrw	
Nom. f.	wysp'	
Acc.	šyrw	Acc. pl. žwγt'
Acc. f.	šyr'	
Gen.	*šyry (wyspny)	Gen. pl. *žwγty'
Gen. f.	*žwγy'	
Loc. [m. or f.]	wyspy'	Loc. pl. *žwγty'
Abl.	wyzr' (wyspn')	Abl. pl. *žwγty'
Abl. f.	žwγy'	
Voc.	fry'	Voc. pl. –
Voc. f.	–	
		Dir. pl. fryt[44] (šyryt[45])
		Obl. pl. *fryty[44] (*šyryty[45])

b) Declension 2 (light *-ŭ–stems)

Stems belonging to this declension generally form an alternative 'thematic' stem by metathesis of their final *w* with the preceding consonant, e.g. second declension *mγ-w*, *wd-w*, *žγ-w* – first declension *mwγ-*, *wd-* (for **wwd-*), *žwγ-*.[46] In the paradigms below first declension forms are marked by a dagger thus: †*mwγy*.

Second declension m. nouns

Nom. mγw, †mwγy[47]	Nom. numv. *prtw	(Pl. attested only by first declension forms)
Acc. prtw, †mwγw	Acc. numv. prtw	
Gen. mγwy	Gen. numv. –	

Second declension f. nouns

Nom. wdw	(Numv. and pl. not attested)
Acc. wdw	
Gen. †wdy'	

[42] Attested only at 53V.5, possibly loc. pl. or abl. pl.
[43] See above, pp. 131–132.
[44] Light stems ending in °*y*- regularly form their pl. thus.
[45] Transfer to the third declension?
[46] See above, p. 115.
[47] Also *mwyw*, perhaps to be regarded as a cross between *myw* and *mwγ-*.

Second declension adjectives

Nom.	†žwγy	(Pl. attested only by first declension forms)
Nom. f.	†žwγ'	
Acc.	žγw	
Acc. f.	†žwγ'	
Abl. f.	†žwγy'	

c) Declension 3 (*-aka–stems)

In Text 1 third declension nouns and adjectives are frequently treated as indecl. stems (cf. (f) below).[48] For practical reasons, occurrences of the invariable form in °*y* have been classified according to their syntactic functions and treated as variants of the inflected forms.

Third declension nouns

All third declension nouns are m.

Nom.	xwšywny[49]	Nom.	numv. wyc'w', *pdbry*	Dir. pl. mrtxmyt
Acc.	xwšywnw, *'w'zy*	Acc.	numv. wyc'w', **pdbry*	Obl. pl. mrtxmyty
Gen.	xwšywny	Gen.	numv. *[x]wšywny*(?)	
Loc.	bnt-qty	Loc.	numv. –	
Abl.	xwšywn', *xwšywny*	Abl.	numv. –	
Voc.	mrtxm', *xwšywny*	Voc.	numv. –	Voc. pl. γnt'q-qryty

Third declension adjectives

These may be divided into two types depending on whether the part of the stem which precedes the suffix °*y* < **-aka-* is itself light or heavy. Adjectives of the first type are written with a hyphen preceding the final *y* (e.g. *spt-y*), those of the second type without a hyphen (e.g. *nwšy*). The inflexion of the two types differs only in the feminine, that of *spt-y* being a light stem *spc* (< **sptc-*) while that of *nwšy* is a heavy stem *nwšc*. 'Light' **-aka*–stems in °*w-y* (e.g. *nw-y*) and °*n-y* (e.g. *wcn-y*) are treated as heavy before the *č* of the f. suffix (*nwc*, *wcync*, etc.); the spelling of such stems with a hyphen is therefore of theoretical rather than practical significance.

Nom.	nwšy[50]	Nom.	f. nsc'	
Nom. n.	frm'tw			
Acc.	sptw, *spty*	Acc.	f. spc'	
Gen.	nwšy	Gen.	f. *spcy'	
Loc.	wyžpγwny	Loc.	f. *spcy'	
Abl.	tbt', *nwšy*	Abl.	f. *spcy'	
Voc.	mwrt', **mwrty*	Voc.	f. –	
		Dir.	f. nwšc	Dir. pl. mwrtyt
		Obl.	f. 'bscy	Obl. pl. mwrtyty

d) Declension 4 (*-ākā–stems and other heavy stems in °')

All nouns belonging to this declension are f., with the possible exception of certain Syriac loanwords. The only adjectives which belong to this declension are compounds containing f. nouns as their final components (e.g. *pw-wr'*).

Fourth declension nouns and adjectives

Dir. šm'r'	Dir. pl. šm'ryt
Obl. šm'ry	Obl. pl. šm'ryty
	Voc. pl. *šm'ryty

[48] See p. 66 above.

[49] Once *myn'mntw* (error, scarcely nom. n.).

[50] Once *'bstw* (error).

A sub-species of this declension is made up of (i) nouns in °*y*' and (ii) Syriac nouns in °'. As dir. and obl. are interchangeable in most functions, the habit of writing the obl. of these stems with °' (sometimes, but presumably not always, pointed to indicate *[ē]*)[51] makes it impracticable to attempt to distinguish where the unpointed °' stands for the obl. ending. Hence:

[Dir. or obl.] qty', r'z'	Dir. pl. qtyt < *qtyyt[52]
Obl. qty'ₜ, kwrḫ'ₜ, q̈lyθ', r'zy[53]	Obl. pl. qtyty < *qtyyty[52]
	Voc. pl. *qtyty < *qtyyty[52]

e) Declension 5 (other heavy stems)

Fifth declension nouns and adjectives

Dir. 'rq	Dir. pl. 'rqt (br'trt)
Obl. 'rqy	Obl. pl. 'rqty (br'trty)
	Voc. pl. xypθ'wnty < *xypθ'wntty (br'trty)

f) Indeclinable stems

This small class consists chiefly of (i) certain proper names which have become fossilized in the nom. form, e.g. *zrw'*, and (ii) heavy stems (other than *-aka–stems) ending in °*y*, in which the absorption of the obl. ending °*y* has led to the loss of any distinction between dir. and obl. Stems of the latter type may possess a pl. declined like that of any other heavy stem.[54]

Indeclinable nouns and adjectives

[Unmarked] sm'ny	Dir. pl. *sm'nyt
	Obl. pl. trγz'yty
	Voc. pl. *sm'nyty

g) Grade of adjectives

Comparative and elative forms of adjectives are listed in the glossary under the heading of the corresponding positive. The superlative (with suffix *-*tama*-) is not attested in C2.

3. *Numerals*

In general cardinal numerals are treated in C2 as indeclinable stems. An exception is the numeral 'two', which is irregularly declined as follows (only the attested forms are listed):

Nom. dw'	
Acc. dw'	Acc. f. dwy[55]
Gen. (dyb)nw[56]	

Ordinal numerals are listed in the glossary under the corresponding cardinal.

4. *Pronouns and article*

It is unnecessary to give paradigms here for the personal pronouns, demonstratives and article. All the forms attested will be found in the glossary under the following lemmata:

[51] See Sims-Williams 1981c, 15, and p. 131 above respectively.

[52] See Sims-Williams 1981c, 16.

[53] Uncertain; all examples of this form may rather belong to the fifth-declension stem *r'z*.

[54] There is no contradiction between this statement and the description of such stems as indeclinable, since the pl. in °*t*-/°*t* lies on the border line between inflexional and derivational morphology.

[55] See above, p. 53.

[56] See Sims-Williams 1979b, 340 n. 31.

zw	first person pronouns
tyw	second person pronouns
xw	third person pronouns and article
xwny, *xyd*, *'yny*, *yd*	demonstrative adjectives and pronouns

GLOSSARY

Glossary

This glossary lists all words occurring in the text above except those which are wholly restored. Incomplete (unrestored) words of which the initial letter(s) are preserved are entered under a likely cognate if possible (e.g. *fryš[* s.v. *fryš/fryšt*), otherwise after all words beginning with the same letter(s) (e.g. *pr[* after *przr*, *p[* after *pžγyr*). Incomplete words of which the final letter(s) are preserved are listed at the end of the glossary. Parts of words of which neither the beginning nor the end survive have not been included.

So far as is possible, the various forms of inflected words are listed under each lemma in the same order as in the Morphological analysis above (q.v. for the conventions and terminology used here). Forms which together make up a suppletive system have been gathered together under a single lemma. For instance, all personal pronouns will be found under the three headings *zw*, *tyw* and *xw*. Cross-references have been provided wherever necessary.

Pointing is only occasionally noted in the glossary, principally where it is essential for the interpretation of a form (as in the case of words ending in -ḯ).

An asterisk (*) following the text-reference indicates that the word in question is substantially restored or illegible at that particular occurrence. Inevitably, this indication has been used rather impressionistically. At one extreme it may be applied to a word which is wholly preserved except for one vital letter (such as the inflectional ending); at the other, to a word of which only a single letter is partially legible.

'b' (Syr.) 'Abbā, Father': 91V.10.

'bnt noun 'union': dir. 14R.20*.

[1]**'br/'brt** vb. 'to bring together, compose, compress'. Pp. **'brty** 'composed, compressed': °*tw* acc. as adv. 'in brief'; °*tyt* dir. pl. 31V.21.

[2]**'br** vb. 'to bring': *'brt* 3 sg. pres. 40R.12, 102R.23, 111R.4; *'brntq* 3 pl. dur. impf. 69V.13; *'brtt* 2 pl. impv. 104R.4*.

'br'mnty m. 'bringing': nom. 61V.18, 19; °*tw* acc. 61V.29*; °*t'* abl. 31V.1.

'br'z/'br'zt vb. 'to be lit up, become angry': °*z* 3 sg. impf. 68V.20, 69R.17. Pp. **'br'zty** 'lit up, angry': °*zc* dir. f. 55R.21. Compar. **'br'ztr** 'angrier': dir. 23R.7.

'bryž vb. 'to light, set on fire': °*žynt* 3 pl. opt. 23V.10.

'brz noun 'visitation, agency': dir. 31R.8, A R.29.

'brzbry' f. 'agency, business': °*y*ḯ obl. 77R.7*.

'bwn dbšmy' (Syr.) 'Abun d-ba-šmayyā, Our Father which art in heaven': 57V.1.

bynt/'bst vb. 'to be joined, attached': *'byntnt* 3 pl. pres. 31V.24, 40V.10, 21. Pp. **'bsty** 'attached, fixed, permanent, constant': nom. 31R.29, 108R.7; *'bstw* nom. n. (?) 40V.22; *'bstw* acc. 31R.26, 31V.4; *'bscy* obl. f. 31R.27; *'bstyt* dir. pl. 31R.3.

d's/'d't vb. 'to marvel, be amazed': *md'snt* 3 pl. impf. 22V.17. Pp. **'d'ty** 'amazed': °*yt* dir. pl. 65V.29.

'dc n. 'something, thing': dir. (comp. with inf.) 31V.22. Cf. [1]*yc*.

'dm m. 'Adam': dir. 51V.12, 13, 52V.13 (w-'dm), 57V.21; *'dmy* obl. 51V.14, 57V.24.

'dmy m. 'limb': acc. 27V.19*; °*yt* dir. pl. 22R.8*, 10, 27V.7*, 16, 31R.7, 31V.21; °*yty* obl. pl. 27R.4.

'drxwrmzt m. 'Ādurhormazd': dir. 6R.14* (°mzd), 7R.23*, 24*, 7V.20*, 21*, 26R.8 ('dwr°).

'dwrprzqrt m. 'Ādurfrāzgerd': dir. 12V.5*, 6* ('dr°), 7.

'dwrsrwš m. 'Ādursrōš': dir. 13R.26.

'dy m. 'someone, anyone, one, person': nom. 7R.26, 13V.18, 21, 22V.11, 15, 23R.29, 27R.14*, 27*, 27V.24*, 57V.16, 60V.6, 10, 64R.26, 69V.16, 28, 77R.8, 94R.4, 22, 104V.16; *'dw* acc. 31R.10, 39R.9, 40R.10, 60R.16, 68V.23; *'dy* id. 5R.30, 22V.9, 23R.11, 23V.11*; *'dy* gen. 31R.22, 48V.17, 57V.29; *'d'* abl. 13R.17; *'dyt* dir. pl. 23R.5, 24V.13, 25R.6, 68V.11; *'dyty* obl. pl. 31R.13, 14, 48V.3, 60R.16, 91V.4, 94R.12*, 18, 94V.23, 104R.10, 15; *'dy[* ? K R.1.

'dyq noun 'custom, habit, manner': dir. 31V.6; °*qt* dir. pl. 31V.30*.

'dyq-myc adj. 'habitual': dir. 61V.22.

'dysn noun 'example': dir. 31R.14, 51V.18, 57R.6.

'fryn/'fryt vb. 'to bless'. Pp. **'fryty** 'blessed'. Compar. **'frytystr** 'more blessed': dir. 51V.14.

'frywn noun 'blessing': dir. 7V.26*, 55V.24—in phrase *pr 'frywn* as predic. adj. 'blessed' 51R.15, 54R.24 (x2), 28, 65R.24*.

'fšn'qc or **'xšn'qc** noun 'trepidation': dir. 1V.9.

'γ'c: see s.v. *'γty*.

'γ'rty or **'γ'ry** adj. 'clear, bright': °*rc* dir. f. 68R.27.

[1]**'γ'z** vb. 'to begin': °*zt* 3 sg. pres. 31V.8, 11 (x2), 16, 18; °*znt* 3 pl. pres. 31V. 21; °*z* 3 sg. impf. 3R.14*,

12V.29*, 22V.13*, 23R.8, 27R.27, 27V.23, 60R. 24; °*znt* 3 pl. impf. 1V.10*, 12V.10, 22V.18, 23R.12*, 26V.3; °*zt* 3 sg. impf. mid. 94R.19.

[2]**γ'z** m. 'beginning': dir. 31V.20, 40R.21, 57V.19.

'γ'zcyq adj. 'initial': dir. 31R.28.

'γm noun 'festival, feast': dir. 55R.16*, 19 (x2), 26; *'γmy* obl. 55R.19, 94V.3.

'γr'm vb. 'to slander': *mγr'mnt* 3 pl. impf. 68V.13.

'γrbn f. 'pincers': dir. 60V.3, 7.

'γrtqy' f. 'splendour': 77V.5*.

'γt: see s.v. *'γs.*

[1]**'γty** as predic. adj. 'equal': 13V.18.

[2]**'γty** adj. 'whole': *'γtw* acc. 120R.3*; *'γ'c* dir. f. 17R.2.

'γyθy f. 'partnership': H V.2.

'ḫry: see s.v. *knwn 'ḫry.*

'qsy m. 'overseer': nom. 55R.13 margin.

'qwc vb. 'to suspend': °*cnt* 3 pl. impf. 27R.25.

'ly' m. 'Elijah': 55R.20, 105R.2*, 4, 5.

'm'ty adj. 'ready, prepared': nom. 39V.13, 51V.27, 28, C V.1*; *'m'c* dir. f. 12R.12, 51V.6.

'mprt adv. 'fully' in phrase *'mprt xwr-* 'to eat one's fill': 94V.6*, 12.

'mprt-xw'r adj. 'eating one's fill, satiated': dir. 94V.8.

'mprt-xw'ry' f. 'eating one's fill, satiety': 94V.23.

'mpt vb. 'to fall': *'mptt* 3 sg. pres. 104R.3; *'mptnt* 3 pl. pres. 31V.16; *'mptq'* 3 sg. fut. or fut. opt. 31R.28; *'mpt* 2 sg. impv. 13R.21.

'mrθ m. 'companion, fellow': dir. 104V.13*; °*θty* obl. pl. 40R.6, 51R.7.

'ms' f. 'attention': dir. 51V.26.

'mwn m. 'Amon': dir. 94V.25.

'myq noun 'taint, infection': dir. 51V.4.

'myn (Syr.) 'amen': 27V.14*, 48R.23, 24, 51R.11*, 91V.8.

'nc'n noun 'cessation': °*ny* obl. as predic. adj. 'ceasing, idle' 68V.16.

'nc'y/'nc't vb. 'to cease, stop, stay, reside': *'ncyt* 3 sg. pres. 31R.27; *mnc'y* 3 sg. impf. 65R.29; *'nc'yt* 3 sg. impf. mid. 27V.18; *'nc'y̰* 3 sg. opt. 87R.7. Pp. **'nc'ty** 'residing': nom. 12V.1*.

'ncmn noun 'church': dir. 54R.24, 55R.29; °*ny* obl. 53V.5, 55R.30, 55V.18*, 22, 57R.24; °*nty* obl. pl. 54R.23.

'ntqy' f. 'modesty, chastity': 12R.10, 102R.17.

'ntwn m. 'Antony': dir. 39R.10*.

'ntwnys m. 'id.': dir. 40R.5.

'ntwxc noun 'grief, sadness': dir. 31V.1, 83R.1, 111R.4*—in phrase *'ntwxc (. . .) 'ny* 'to distress' 104V.7*, 8; °*cy* obl. 108V.4*, 5*, 6*.

'ntwxcn'q adj. 'grieved, sad': dir. 12R.15, 60R.22: °*qt* dir. pl. 22V.10, 55V.19*.

'ny/'nyt vb. 'to lead, fetch, bring': *'ny* 3 sg. impf. 22R.16*; *'nynt* 3 pl. impf. 1V.13*; *'nym* 1 pl. opt. 104V.7; *'nynt* 3 pl. subj. or opt. 1V.12*, 68V.21*; *'nytt* 2 pl. impv. 104V.8*; *'nyd'ry* 2 sg. tr. pret. 69R.14*; *'nyt* past inf. 7V.20, 22R.12*, 15.

'p f. 'water': dir. 5R.28, 22V.8, 11, 12, 14, 23R.3, 9, 57R.13, 60R.32, 69R.15, 87R.9, 94V.18; *'py* obl. 22V.9, 68V.17, 94V.23.

'prsny' f. 'permission': 55V.18, 104R.14*.

'py vb. 'to consider, perceive': *'pyym* 1 pl. opt. 54V.27.

'r conj. 'then, and' (linking clauses): 31V.4, 6, 8, 12, 13, 15, 16, 20, 21, 40V.7, 54V.20, 21, 65R.28*. Cf. *rty.*

'rdq: see s.v. *yw-'rdq.*

'rdyw vb. 'to lead astray': °*wt* 3 sg. pres. 102R.19.

'rq f. 'work': dir. 57R.3, 60V.26; *'rqy* obl. 68V.16; *'rqt* dir. pl. 19R.3*, 23V.4, 23, 27*, 31V.18, 40V.7, 55V.19; *'rqty* obl. pl. 57V.18.

'rqdys m. 'Arcadius': dir. 1R.14*.

'rqwny indecl. noun 'madness': 111V.1*.

'rnq noun '?': dir. 52V.17.

'rsx noun 'haemorrhoids, piles': dir. 51V.2.

'rt or **'rty** noun 'flour': *'rty* obl. or gen. 94V.21.

'rt'w adj. 'righteous': *'rtw* dir. 54R.19; *'rt'wty* obl. pl. 39V.6.

'rtwy' f. 'righteousness': °*y̰* obl. 40V.21.

'rwγtqy' f. 'rage, frenzy': 66V.15.

'ry adj. 'mad, raving': nom. 66V.15*.

's/'yt vb. 'to take, receive': *'sntq* 3 pl. dur. pres. 57V.12; *'syq'* 2 sg. fut. 60V.6; *'st* 3 sg. impf. mid. 60V. 8; *'synt* 3 pl. opt. 60V.14*; *'s* 2 sg. impv. 51R.11, 12, 51V.18, 69V.15; *'ytw wnynnt* 3 pl. opt. tr. pot. 13V.29. Pp. **'yty** 'taken': *'yt'* voc. 51R.30; *'yc* dir. f. 57V.9.

's': see s.v. *zryš-'sy.*

's'd/'s'dt vb. 'to shield, protect'. Pp. **'s'dty** 'shielded, protected': °*tw* acc. 111R.5.

's'q noun 'what is suitable': °*qy* obl. as predic. adj. 'suitable' 54V.23.

's'mnty m. 'taking, reception': nom. 57V.6*.

'sp noun 'snare': *'spt* dir. pl. 108R.4.

'stpnws m. 'Stephen': dir. 12V.21*.

'swr noun 'tusk': °*rty* obl. pl. 12R.4 (MS stwrty).

'symy adj. 'troubled, confounded': nom. 12V.2; °*myt* dir. pl. 31R.17, 54R.17.

'šγy' m. 'Isaiah': 40V.13, 91V.10.

'špn vb. 'to rest': *mšpn* 3 sg. impf. 60R.15; *'špny* 3 sg. opt. 87R.7.

'št'y/'št't vb. 'to show, indicate': *'štyt* 3 sg. pres. 77V.3*; *'štynt* 3 pl. pres. 57R.28; *'štytq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 57R.2, 57V.19; *'štytqn* id. 40R.5, 57R.5, 8, 11, 15; *'štytq'* 3 sg. fut. 23V.7; *mšt'y* 3 sg. impf. 6V.14*, 57V.19, 60V.8, 77V.15; *'št'y̰* 3 sg. opt. 60R.11; *'št'd'ry* 2 sg. tr. pret. 68R.13; *'št'td'ry* id. 23V. 28; *'št'd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 52R.18; *'št'd'rnt* 3 pl. tr. pret. 51R.13, 52R.15*.

'št'y'mnty m. 'indication': nom. 57R.30.

šy m. 'ashes': nom. 69R.27, 91R.9; *'š'* abl. 77V.18*.
'šyn'ty adj. 'convenient, beautiful': nom. 87R.8.
'šyp/'šybt vb. 'to bury': *'šypysq* 2 sg. dur. pres. 51R.21; *mšypnt* 3 pl. impf. 60R.9. Pp. **'šybty** 'buried': nom. 94V.5; °*tyt* dir. pl. 68V.8.
't conj. 'and': 1R.11, 24, 25, 26 ('then'?), 27 ('that'?), 1V.6, 9*, 9, 13(?), 16*, 3V.10(?), 5R.29, 6V.16*, 22R.18*, passim in ff. 31–120, B R.23, B V.30*, 30, C V.1, D R.3, E V margin, H V.2, 3, I R.1. With encl. pron.: 87V.15 ('t-m). Cf. [1]*yty*.
'tpn noun 'furnace': dir. 102R.18*.
'tr f. 'fire': dir. 23R.10*, 23V.10, 17, 25R.19, 25V.4, 69R.15; *'try* obl. 23R.27, 23V.7, 24R.11*, 68V.17, 91R.1*, 5, 102V.19, 111R.8, *'tr[* ? U V.3.
'tr-swcy m. 'conflagration, fire': gen. 23V.12*.
'tryny adj. 'fiery, of fire': °*nc* dir. f. 60V.3; °*nyt* dir. pl. 60V.29.
't[? : B R.26*.
'w: see s.vv. *'w-'wt'qcyq*, *'wr'θy* and [1]*xw*.
'w-'wt'qcyq m. 'fellow-countryman': °*qt* dir. pl. 87R.13*.
'w'zy m. 'assembly, multitude': nom. 12V.8; °*zy* acc. 5V.30, 12V.5; °*zyt* dir. pl. 48R.19*, 77R.16; °*zyty* obl. pl. 31R.19.
'wfs/'wbt vb. 'to sleep, fall asleep': *w'fs* 3 sg. impf. 60R.8. Pp. **'wbty** 'asleep': *'wfc* dir. f. 48V.9*; *'wbtyt* dir. pl. 51R.28*.
'wgrs m. 'Evagrius': dir. 94R.28.
'wm'ncn adj. 'doubtful': dir. 51V.17, 21.
'wmr'z'nc f. 'female helper': dir. pl. °*z'št* 57V.11.
'wn'fc m. 'fellow-countryman': dir. 7R.21.
'wnglywn m. 'Gospel': dir. 55R.23, 28.
'wnw: see s.v. *xwny*.
'wprs: see s.v. *wprs*.
'wpt vb. 'to fall': *w'pt* 3 sg. impf. 1V.9*, 57V.30*, 60R.10; *w'ptnt* 3 pl. impf. 77V.6.
'wpty'p m. 'sharer': dir. 40V.24; °*pt* 40V.8*, 69R. 15, 104R.1*.
'wpty'py' f. 'sharing, intercourse': 87R.4.
'wr'm m. 'peace, quietude': dir. 1R.10, 31R.1, 26, 31V.4; °*my* obl. 31R.28.
'wr'θy m. 'companion, fellow-traveller': nom. 4R.5*, 40R.14 ('w-r'θy), 51R.5.
'wrms/'wrmt vb. 'to become still': *w'rmsnt* 3 pl. impf. 12V.28. Pp. **'wrmty** 'still, calm': °*mc* dir. f. 22V.9.
'wršlm noun 'Jerusalem': dir. 56V.6.
'wst(y)/'wst(y)t vb. 'to place, set, lay, lay up, lay down': *w'st* 3 sg. impf. 1V.25*; *w'sty* id. 22R.17, 27R.1; *w'stnt* 3 pl. impf. 54V.22, 24, 29, 55R.15, 18*, 22, 25, 28*, 29, 55V.17*, 20, 22, 27, 30, 56R.11*, 24, 68V.10; *'wstym* 1 pl. opt. 104V.12; *'wst* 2 sg. impv. 51R.4, 111R.6*; *'wstyd'ry* 2 sg. tr. pret. 69R.18; *'wstd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 51R.16. Pres. part. **'wstyny** 'setting': nom. 55R.23. Pp. **'wst(y)ty** 'placed, laid down, lying': *'wstty* nom. 57R.20, 57V.8; *'wstyty* id. 56V.24*; *'wsc* dir. f. 11V.26; *'wsttyt* dir. pl. 91R.9; *'wstytyt* id. 22R.5.
'wstθys m. 'Eustathius': dir. 87R.5, 9, 14.
'wšc noun 'wavering'(?): dir. 31R.10.
'wšqyrd: see s.v. *wyšqyrd*.
'wšt: see s.vv. *'wšt(y)* and *'wz*.
'wšt(y)/'wšt(y)t vb. 'to stand': *'wštytq'* 3 sg. fut. 51V.25; *w'št* 3 sg. impf. 68R.17; *w'štnt* 3 pl. impf. 12R.8; *w'štynt* id. 22V.18*, 27V.10*; *'wšty'* 3 sg. opt. 68R.21*. Pp. **'wšt(y)ty** 'standing': *'wštty* nom. 68V.15; *'wštyty* id. 27R.15*, 77R.14*; *'wšttyt* dir. pl. 31R.7, 48V.2*; *'wštytyt* id. 17V.4, 22V.17*.
'wšty'mnty m. 'standing': nom. 61V.19.
'wšwx adj. 'modest': dir. 66R.18.
[1]**'wt** m. 'hope': dir. 31V.11, 120V.3; *'wty* obl. 65V.30, 68V.6.
[2]**'wt** vb. 'to hope for': 2 sg. impv. 48V.26*.
'wt'q noun 'place, region': dir. 1R.6*, 7R.27, c R.4*, 54V.21; °*qy* obl. 56R.12*.
'wt'qcyq m. 'native': dir. 60R.3*, 4, 9*. Cf. *'w-'wt'qcyq*.
'wts vb. 'to sigh': *w'ts* 3 sg. impf. 60R.16.
'wxd'wny': see s.v. *'xwd'wny'*.
'wxn vb. 'to lament': *'wxn'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 87V.10.
'wxr/'wxr't vb. 'to abandon': *'wxrmq'* 1 sg. fut. a V.3; *w'xry* 2 sg. impf. 5R.30; *'wxr* 2 sg. impv. 83V.11*; *'wxr'd'rnt* 3 pl. tr. pret. 105V.2*. Pp. **'wxr'ty** 'abandoned': °*tyt* dir. pl. 111V.6*.
'wxr'mnty m. 'abandonment, renunciation': nom. 31R.4.
'wxz vb. 'to go down, descend': *'wxztq'* 3 sg. fut. 51V.3*; *w'xznt* 3 pl. impf. 60V.23; *'wxzym* 1 pl. opt. 77R.14.
'wxz'mnty m. 'descent, coming down': gen. 55R.26.
'wysn'y/'wysn't vb. 'to cleanse, purify': *'wysn't-wntq* 3 sg. dur. pres. tr. pot. 31V.13.
[1]**'wyž** vb. 'to become agitated, angry': 3 sg. impf. 68V.21.
[2]**'wyž** vb. 'to bring together, collect, amass': *mwyž* 3 sg. impf. 11R.20; *'wyžy* 3 sg. opt. 87R.10; *pr 'wyž* pres. inf. 51V.24; *'wyžd'rm* 1 sg. tr. pret. 94V.28.
'wz/'wšt vb. 'to come together, be collected': *'wšt* past inf. 31V.21. Pp. **'wšty** 'collected, assembled': *'wštyt* dir. pl. 17V.5.
'wz'm vb. 'to repay, requite, condemn': *'wz'mnt* 3 pl. pres. 56R.4*; *w'z'm* 3 sg. impf. 57V.24; *'wz'mym* 1 pl. opt. 61V.28.
'wzms vb. 'to be repayed': *w'zms* 3 sg. impf. 57V.24.
'w[? : 55V.7.
'xs noun 'struggle, conflict, battle': dir. 31R.2, 4; *'xsy* obl. 31R.6; *'xst* dir. pl. 31R.5, 8; *'xsty* obl. pl. 31R.14, 16, 22.
'xs-γrby adj. 'knowing conflicts': °*byt* dir. pl. 31R.12.

'xšn'qc: see s.v. *'fšn'qc.*

'xšt: see s.v. *'xz.*

'xwb vb. 'to surge forward': *mxwbynt* 3 pl. impf. opt. 12V.9.

'xwd'wny adj. 'zealous, striving': nom. 48V.27.

'xwd'wny' f. 'zeal, striving': 4R.3*, 31R.7 ('wxd°), 104R.10*. Cf. *n'-'xwd'wny'.*

'xwnc f. 'struggle, conflict, battle': dir. 53R.9, 57R.23, 68R.2, 102V.24; °*cy* obl. 31V.22.

'xwsyd vb. 'to encourage, incite': °*dysq* 2 sg. dur. pres. 69V.18; °*dtq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 104V.7*; °*dq'm* 3 sg. fut. opt.(?) 25V.2*.

'xwsyd'mnty m. 'encouragement': nom. 31V.2.

'xwštt[? : 48V.6.

'xyr vb. 'to transgress': 3 sg. impf. 51V.12*, 57V. 21; *'xyrd'rtt* 2 pl. tr. pret. 68V.25*.

'xyr'mnty m. 'transgression': °*tw* acc. 31V.31.

'xyž vb. 'to raise, arouse': *'xyžnt* 3 pl. pres. 94V.2*; *'xyžnq'* 1 sg. fut. 69V.16.

'xz/'xšt vb. 'to rise, arise': *mxz* 3 sg. impf. 54V.30*, 56V.28; *mxznt* 3 pl. impf. 77R.12; *'xz* 2 sg. impv. 51V.11; *'xšt* 3 sg. intr. pret. 57R.10.

'xz'mnty m. 'resurrection, rising': nom. 56V.27, 77V.16; °*tw* acc. 40R.16; °*ty* gen. 40R.23, 55R.19, 57R.33, 57V.11, 61V.18.

'x[? : I R.1.

[1]**'y** indecl. f. 'period': 31R.28, 29, 31V.2, 7, 8, 14, 24, 26, 32.

[2]**'y** interj. 'O' introducing voc.: 48V.26, 30, 51R.3, 18, 21, 28, 30, 51V.9, 20, 26, 57V.20, 28, 68R.24, 28.

[1]**'y'm** vb. 'to finish off': *'ymmq'* 1 sg. fut. 23R.27; *my'mnt* 3 pl. impf. 87R.13.

[2]**'y'm** noun 'end': dir. 12R.20*, 31R.10, 48V.8, 52R.18, 86V.2; °*my* obl. 51R.11*.

'y'mcyq adj. 'final': dir. 27V.28*, 48R.25, 28.

'ybty: see s.v. *'ymp.*

[1]**'yc** n. 'something, anything, thing': dir. 5V.28, 13V.28, 29, 14R.22, 25R.4, 31R.26, 31V.27, 40R.5, 6, 40V.16, 48V.25, 51R.11*, 12*, 20, 51V.24, 55R.29, 57R.22, 60V.1, 68R.16, 68V.30, 69V.22, 94V.13, 108R.1*—as adj. 'some, any, some kind of' 65V.24, 77R.3*, 87R.4, 91R.10, 102V.20; *'yšt* dir. pl. 22R.12, 31R.5, 12, 31V.14, 16, 23, 48V.9, 10, 27, 28*, 53V.8*, 57R.25, 57V.14, 60R.29, 61V.20, 65V.28, 68V.18, 69R.18, 69V.20, 21, 77R.9, 15, 77V.10*, 83R.5, 86V.1, 87V.17, 94R.11, 94V.20, 28, 104R.13*, 14; *'yšty* obl. pl. 31V.1, 24, 48V.23*, 51R.29, 51V.2, 52V.12, 53V.3, 60R.13*, 61V.28, 66R.11*. Cf. *'dc.*

[2]*'yc:* see s.v. *'s.*

yqwn adv. 'ever' in phrase *'yqwn pn, qw 'yqwn pn* 'for ever': 27V.14, 68V.4.

yqwncyq adj. 'eternal': dir. 68V.3*.

'ym: see s.v. *x-.*

'ymmq': see s.v. [1]*'y'm.*

'ymp/'ybt vb. 'to pervert, deceive': *'ymptq'* 3 sg. fut. 52R.2*. Pp. **'ybty** 'astray': nom. 83V.6.

'ympn noun 'deception': dir. 13R.28.

'yms vb. 'to come to an end, be finished': *'ympstq'* 3 sg. fut. 94V.21; *myms* 3 sg. impf. 22V.14*, 48R.29*, 91V.8.

'ync f. 'woman': dir. 68R.8*, 68V.7, 87V.3*; *'yšty* obl. pl. 12V.12, 51V.14*.

'yny demonstrative adj. and pron. 'this': *'yny* nom. sg. m. and n. 1R.18, 19R.2*, 24R.16*, 31V.28, 39R.11, 48R.7, 60R.12, 68V.18*, 108R.3*; *mwnw* acc. sg. m. and n. 1V.26, 66R.16, 66V.1*, 68V.31, 69V.15, 94R.13; *y'n'* nom. sg. f. 12V.11, 68R.17; *m'n'* acc. sg. f. 31V.7, 55R.21, 68R.14; *y'nt* nom. pl. 61V.25, 66V.6, 69V.25, 86R.3*, 94V.20, 102V.18*, 104R.7; *m'nt* acc. pl. 14R.24*, 23V.2*, 54V.16, 68V.18.

'ys/'γt vb. 'to come': *'yst* 3 sg. pres. 51V.3*, 94V. 19*; *'ystq'* 3 sg. fut. 52R.16, 52V.15; *'ysntq'* 3 pl. fut. 11R.17*, 48V.20; *'ys* 3 sg. impf. 12V.5, 56V.6*, 60R.7*, 13, 60V.20, 26, 77R.10, B V.29*; *'ysnt* 3 pl. impf. 1V.12, 12R.29*, 27V.16*, a R.3, 60R.9, 60V.12; *'ysy* 3 sg. opt. 25V.20*, 55V.16; *'ysn* 1 sg. subj. 94V.27; *'yst* 3 sg. subj. 3R.9, 52R.6, 77V.13, 91V.9; *'ysnt* 3 pl. subj. 94V.29; *'ys* 2 sg. impv. 94R.18; *'ystt* 2 pl. impv. 77R.4; *'γt* 3 sg. intr. pret. 52V.14; *'γt* past inf. 17V.2*. *'yst[* ? Q V.5*.

'ys'mnty m. 'coming, advent': nom. 52R.19*, 54V. 27, 57R.11*; °*tw* acc. 12V.7*, 51V.1*.

'yš: see s.v. *x-.*

'yšqty m. 'harem': °*tw* acc. 13R.24.

'yšt: see s.vv. *'yc* and *'ync.*

'yt: see s.v. *'s.*

'ywzy m. 'tempest': °*zyt* dir. pl. 40R.12.

'yzt noun 'street, square': °*ty* obl. 60V.10; °*tty* 31R.19.

'yžn adj. 'worthy': dir. 11V.17, 27V.4*, 40V.24, 48R.3, 15, 19, 57R.3, 68R.6, 7; °*nt* dir. pl. 48R. 11*, 23, 54R.30, 57V.6, 91V.3*.

'y[? : B R.23.

[1]**'z'n** vb. 'to confess, acknowledge, give thanks': *'z'nnq'* 1 sg. fut. 120R.1*; *'z'ntq'* 3 sg. fut. 27V. 12*; *mz'n* 3 sg. impf. 51V.20. Pres. part. *'z'nny* as noun 'confessor': *'zn'nyt* dir. pl. 48R.21.

[2]**'z'n** noun 'confession, acknowledgement, thanksgiving': dir. D V.6.

'z'n-prsqy' f. 'id.': 27V.13*, 31R.11, 51R.16, 57V.5.

'zc: see s.v. *'zty.*

'zγd vb. 'to leap up': *mzγd* 3 sg. impf. 60V.23.

'zn'nyt: see s.v. [1]*'z'n.*

'znt noun 'story, account': dir. 48V.24; °*ty* obl. 39V.14.

'ztq'r m. 'soldier': °*rt* dir. pl. 77R.11.

'ztwny indecl. f. 'freedom, nobility': 51R.19, 57R.6*.

'zty adj. 'free, noble': *'zc* dir. f. 54R.13.

'ž'w vb. 'to cause to live, give life to': *'žwt* 3 sg. pres. 60R.18; *mž'w* 3 sg. impf. 60R.32; *'ž'wd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 54R.29. Pres. part. **'ž'wny** 'life-giving': nom. 12V.18.

'žwn m. 'child, son': °*nt* dir. pl. d V.3*, 52R.15, 87R.10; °*ty* obl. pl. 102V.24.

'žwyrny m. 'ill-wisher, maligner': °*nyt* dir. pl. 23V.29.

'=t[? : J V.3.

'==w ? : 51V.31*.

'===t ? : 14V.18*.

'[? : 6R.2, 12V.17*, 24R.5, 25V.26, 64V.29, 83R.3, A V.28, F V.10, H V.3, K V.1, W V.1.

b(w)-/qt- vb. 'to become, happen, be', also auxiliary of the intr. pot. and passive: *bwt* 3 sg. pres. 14R.22, 31R.4, 15, 18 (x2), 22, 26, 31V.1, 6, 40R.18, 56V.24*, 57R.13, 61R.23, 26, 30* (qt'= bwt), 68R.26, 94V.7, G V.30*; *bym* 1 pl. pres. 94R.6; *bnt* 3 pl. pres. 31R.8, 9, 17, 31V.14, 21, 31, 61V.21, 68R.25, 102V.18*, 120R.8*; *bwtq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 39V.1, 51R.22, 56V.20, 57V.8 (x2), 9, 94R.21; *bntsq* 3 pl. dur. pres. 22R.8*; *bnq'* 1 sg. fut. 48R.3; *byq'* 2 sg. fut. 94V.8; *bwtq'* 3 sg. fut. 12V.3, 23V.3*, 24V.9*, 48R.9, 10, 13, 19, 52R.5, 54V.26, 28, 61V.29, 68V.3, 3*, 69V.18, 94R.21, 94V.13, 102V.22, 104V.2*, A R.25; *bwḷq'* 2 pl. fut. 68R.6; *bntq'* 3 pl. fut. 23V.24, 48R.11, 69V.20; *b'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 22V.16, 48R. 16, 60V.24; *b'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 60R.29; *b'* 3 sg. impf. 1V.8*, 11V.22, 14V.20, 22V.2, 12, 23R.7, 48R.15, 54V.22, 55R.22, 56V.3, 4*, 5, 8, 15*, 57R.20, 57V.11, 14, 26, 31, 60R.6, 12, 13, 14, 64V.24*, 24, 68R.20, 68V.21, 77V.12, 87R.10, 94R.17, 26, 27, 94V.5, O R.2; *bnt* 3 pl. impf. 12R.15, 22R.15 (bntt), 57R.27, 64V.25, 68V.5, 11, 77V.9*, 17*, 94R.24; *bnt-sqwn* 3 pl. dur. impf. opt. 25R.1; *by* 2 sg. opt. (?) 31V.26; *by* 3 sg. opt. 1R.24, 25R.2*, 31R.1, 2, 18, 40R.21, 48V.5*, 51R.19, 54V.29, 55R.23, 55V.21, 57R.28, 57V.21, 87R.11, 104R.9; *bynt* 3 pl. opt. 7V.19 (byntt), 23*, 31R.6, 55V.19, 29, 66V.9, 68R.17, 68V.5 (bṇt), 8, 104R.13, 108R.4; *bytyq'* 3 sg. fut. opt. mid. 54R.16; *b'n* 1 sg. subj. 13R.23, 68R.8; *b't* 3 sg. subj. 26R.10, 27R.28, 27V.4, 31V.28, 48R.24, 51R.17, 54R.25, 27, 30, 68R.29, 31, 68V.1, 91V.7, 94R.4, 104V.6*; *bwtt* 2 pl. subj. 104R.2*; *bw* 1 sg. inj. 102V.24; *bwq'* 1 sg. fut. inj. 69V.21; *bwty* 3 sg. irr. 13V.24, 91R.6; *b'* 2 sg. impv. 27R.5, 51V.16*, 17*, 20, 21, 66R.14; *bwtt* 2 pl. impv. 104R.6*; *qt' bwt* 3 sg. pres. intr. pot. 14R.22, 31R.18, 61R.30* (qt'bwt); *qtyš* 2 sg. intr. pret. 51V.7, 10, 68V.25, 87V.16; *qty* 3 sg. intr. pret. 40V.5, 12, 24 (x2), 51V.14*, 57R.3, 60V.17, 94R.16*, 105V.8*, 120R.10; *qt'* 3 sg. f. intr. pret. 57V.27; *qtnt* 3 pl. intr. pret. 31V.31, 61R.18, 69V.20, 77R.11*, 77V.11*, 91R.4*, 7*, 9, 104R. 11; *qtyšy* 2 sg. irr. intr. pret. (?) A R.27; *qty* past inf. 22V.13. Pp. **qt-y** 'become': *qty* nom. 12V.2. Cf. ²*wn-/qt-*.

b'd adv. 'at times, sometimes': 31V.12 (x2), 39V.2, 111R.3*, 4*.

b'm m. 'dawn': dir. 17R.2, 22R.10 (b'msy', cf. s.v. *sy-*).

b'mqyny' f. 'splendour': °*y'* obl. 54R.25.

b'rxš: see s.v. *brxš-*.

b'ry m. 'rider': *b'ryt* dir. pl. 60V.28.

b'rycyq m. 'riding-animal': °*qt* dir. pl. 77R.5*.

¹**b'w** vb. 'to approach, reach': *b'w'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 39R.1; *b'w* 3 sg. impf. 60R.6, 87R.4, 91R.5.

²**b'w** vb. 'to suffice': *b'wntq'* 3 pl. fut. 94V.28.

b'wwny adj. 'sufficient, able': nom. 31V.29, 40R.8* (bwwny), 11 (id.).

b'y'm: see s.v. *by'm*.

b'z, b'znt: see s.v. *b(w)-*.

b'žyd: see s.v. *bžyd-*.

bbtsmyq: see s.v. *btts*.

bby indecl. m. 'Bābay': 48R.25.

bγ- m. 'god, God': *bγy* nom. 23R.28, 48R.23, 53R.4, 57V.19, 22, 23, 24, 60R.17, 21, 31, 65R.24, 77V.15, 87R.9, 17, 94R.14, 94V.17, 22, 29, 102R.18, 104R.17, 104V.2*, 13; *bγw* acc. 14V.12, 23R.5, 27V.11*, 51R.2*, 52R.3, 55V.24, 60R.11*, 61R.20, 66V.2, 68R.29, 68V.17, 69V.13*, 19 (w-bγw), 91V.6, 94V.9, 14 (w-bγw), 102V.28, 108V.9, 111R.1, 7, 111V.2, 10*, 120R.2*, 5; *bγy* gen. 5R.29, 6V.15, 51V.10, 56R.9, 60R.4, 61R.22, 94V.30, 102R.21, A V.27 (n-bγy); *bγ'* abl. 4R.2, 25R.4, 94R.23, 104V.17*; *bγ'* voc. 12R.1, 12V.14, 16, 27R.2*, 19, 27V.3*, 27, 94R.3, 111V.4*, 5*; *bγyšt* dir. pl. 6R.15, 69R.14. *bγ'[* ? 55V.6.

bγ'nyq adj. 'divine, of God': dir. 22R.3*, 31R.3, 8, 23, 40R.16, 20, 57R.3, 57V.16*, 21, 26, 28, 61R.17, 22, 30*, 61V.24, 83R.2, 9, 87R.3, 18, K R.2; °*qt* dir. pl. 61R.28*.

bγ'nypš m. 'bridegroom': dir. 48V.20.

bγ'nyšpqty m. 'wedding': gen. 48V.21.

bγn- n. 'altar': *bγnw* acc. 25V.1; *bγn'* abl. 25R. 23*.

bγy'qy' f. 'divinity, godhead': °*y'* obl. 12V.17.

bqp'r: see s.v. *byqp'r*.

bn adj. 'long': dir. 12R.9, 31V.27.

bnq', ¹bnt: see s.v. *b(w)-*.

²**bnt** noun 'bond, fetter': *bntt* dir. pl. 22R.7, 9*.

bnt-qty m. 'house of bondage, prison': gen. 68R.17; °*ty* loc. 14V.22–23*, 25V.5*, 69R.22; °*t'* abl. 94V.9*.

bntt: see s.vv. *b(w)-* and ²*bnt*.

bnty m. 'servant, slave': nom. 51R.19, 66V.3*;

bnty gen. 27R.6; *bnt'* voc. 22R.7*; *bntyty* obl. pl. 23V.28*.

bntypy m. 'gaoler': nom. 22R.11.

bnwqc noun 'trembling, terror': dir. 69R. 20*.

br: see s.v. *br-θwlmy.*

br- vb. 'to bear, take, perform': *brty* 3 sg. pres. 40R.12; *brysq* 2 sg. dur. pres. 52V.19; *brntq* 3 pl. dur. pres. 48V.15; *br'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 12R.6, 14*, 60R.4, 19; *br'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 60V.14; *br'* 3 sg. impf. 57V.29; *brnt* 3 pl. impf. 68V.9*, 77R.12, 77V.7*; *bry* 2 sg. opt. 69V.12; *brynt* 3 pl. opt. 54V.25, C R.2*; *brt'* 2 pl. subj. 68R.9; *br'* 2 sg. impv. A R.29; *brt'* 2 pl. impv. 68R.4, 22; *bry* pres. inf. 104R.8*; *pr . . . bry* id. 31V.22. *brt[* ? 14R.6.

br't m. 'brother': dir. 57V.30, 60R.17, 19, 25, 28, 60V.2, 4, 7, 9, 61R.21, 26, 27, 29, 61V.21, 27, 29*, 66R.3, 6, 87V.9, 12*, 17*, 104V.11, 14 (w-b°), 16; °*ty* obl. 104V.8 (n-b°); °*trt* dir. pl. 104R.6, 105V. 4*, 120R.12*, 120V.4; °*trty* obl. pl. 94V.28 (n-b°), 120R.9; °*trty* voc. pl. 12R.28, 48R.27.

brbγšmyn m. 'Barba'šmin': dir. 68V.12, 13, 21, 28, 69R.13*, 69V.14.

brbr'yq m. 'barbarian': dir. 87R.1*; °*qt* dir. pl. 87R.13.

brc: see s.v. *z'ty-brc.*

brqy': see s.vv. *bzn-brqy'* and *mwžtybrqy'.*

brtpd adj. 'informed, knowing': dir. 3V.7*, 22R.11, 14.

brtpdy' f. 'information': 12V.6*, 87R.14.

brtwx adj. 'sure, assured': °*xt* dir. pl. 68R.11.

br-θwlmy indecl. m. 'Bartholomew': 56V.8*.

brwz'ny m. 'bird': nom. 17V.2.

brxš- vb. 'to loose, release, shoot': *b'rxš* 3 sg. impf. 94V.14.

brxš'mnty m. 'shooting': °*tw* acc. 31R.20.

brxšqy': see s.v. *p'θ-brxšqy'.*

[1]**bry** m. 'fruit': *brw* acc. 31R.19, 48V.23, 54R.27, 87R.3, 102R.24.

[2]*bry:* see s.v. *γmpn-bry.*

brywr indecl. num. 'ten thousand, myriad': °*rt* dir. pl. 12V.20*.

brzy or **brz-y** adj. 'loud': *brzy* nom. 31V.6.

brzycq adj. 'id.': dir. 60V.19.

bs': see s.v. *bys'.*

bst-: see s.v. [1]*bynt.*

bt' indecl. num. 'seven': F R.3*. Ordinal **btmyq** 'seventh': dir. 39V.6, 55R.17.

bt'st-pnc's-nw' indecl. num. '759'. Ordinal **bt'st-pnc's-nwmyq** '759th': dir. 1R.8*.

btts indecl. num. 'seventeen'. Ordinal **bttsmyq** 'seventeenth': dir. 55V.17 (bbts°).

bw-: see s.v. *b(w)-.*

bwc vb. 'to save'. Pres. part **bwcny** as m. noun 'saviour': voc. 27V.2.

bwd noun 'smell, odour, incense': dir. 48V.22, 54V.18, 57R.7, 83V.3.

bwd-xwrty adj. 'delicious': nom. 48V.8.

bwn noun, **bwn'** f. 'hole, cave, cell': *bwn* dir. 11R.27; *bwn'* id. 77R.10, 16*; *bwny* obl. 68V.10.

bwstn noun 'garden, Paradise': dir. 51V.11; °*ny* obl. 39V.12, 48R.11 (y-b°), 19 (id.), 51V.6* (id.), 14*, 17; °*nt* dir. pl. 87R.8.

bwwny: see s.v. *b'wwny.*

bwžbr m. 'tax-gatherer': dir. 94R.1.

bxt: see s.v. *n'-bxt.*

[1]*by:* see s.v. *b(w)-.*

[2]**by** adv. 'both': 11V.20 (x2), 31V.19 (x2).

by'm vb. 'to rear, foster': *b'y'mnt* 3 pl. impf. 87V.15.

by'ry m. 'evening': °*rw* acc. 94R.21*, 22.

byq adv. 'apart, except': 3R.3. Cf. *bys'.*

byqp'r adv. 'outside, outwardly': 60R.26, 60V.30 (bq°), 94R.6, C R.1.

byqp'rcyq adj. 'outward, external': dir. 61V.25.

byqstr postp. 'apart from, away from': 17V.4.

bym: see s.v. *b(w)-.*

[1]**bynt/bst-** vb. 'to bind': *byntnt* 3 pl. impf. 17R.1; *bynty* 3 sg. opt. 25V.9*; *byntyt* 3 sg. subj. (?) 22R. 10; *bsty* past inf. 22R.13, 22V.3. Pp. **bst-y** 'bound': *bsty* nom. 13V.23, 22V.3*, 25V.16*, 51V.14; *bstw* acc. 69R.30; *bstyt* dir. pl. 25R.2.

[2]*bynt, byntt:* see s.v. *b(w)-.*

byr/byrt vb. 'to find, receive': *byryq'* 2 sg. fut. 51R.10; *byrtq'* 3 sg. fut. 48V.25; *byrw* 1 sg. impf. 1V.6*; *byr* 3 sg. impf. 91R.9*, 105R.2; *byrnt* 3 pl. impf. 1V.12, 77V.4*; *byrtt* 2 pl. subj. 12R.27; *byrt b'* 3 sg. impf. intr. pot. 1V.8*; *byrd'ry* 2 sg. tr. pret. 7V.28*; *byrd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 51R.27*; *byrd'rym* 1 pl. tr. pret. 94R.11. *byrt[* ? G R.29.

byr'mnty m. 'finding, reception'; acc. 1V.15*; °*t'* abl. 57V.13.

bys' adv. 'outwards': 60R.24 (bs')—as postp. with prep. *cn* 'out of' 31V.6, 66V.18*, 68R.20*, 87V.13.

bytyq': see s.v. *b(w)-.*

bywny m. 'prophet': °*nyt* dir. pl. 48R.20*, 52R.15; °*nyty* obl. pl. 55R.28.

bzn-brqy' f. 'thanksgiving': 57V.13.

bž'w vb. 'to increase' (tr.): 2 sg. impv. 66R.16.

bž'xwq adj. 'suffering, painful': dir. 27R.18*, 31V. 5, 40R.11, 48V.22.

bž'xwty' f. 'suffering, pain, distress': 31R.2, 5, 51R.7*; °*y'* obl. 31R.10, 55R.19, 60V.18, 104R.1; °*yt* dir. pl. 31R.9, 104R.7.

bžγd- vb. 'to mount': *b'žγdnt* 3 pl. impf. 77R.5.

bžnq'rqy' f. 'wickedness': 11V.21*.

bžnq'ry m. 'evil-doer': nom. 69R.17.

bžnq'ry' f. 'wickedness': 40V.6.

bžyq adj. 'bad, evil': dir. 26R.6, 39R.1*, 7, 51R.19, 51V.4, 54R.25, 66R.4, 5; °*qt* dir. pl. 57V.18. As noun 'evil, harm': dir. 57V.29, 104R.8*. *bžyq'[* ? V R.1.

[1]**c'f** indecl. adj. and adv. 'how great, how much': 25R.12, 48R.18—in phrase *ms c'f* as conj. 'although' 31R.13, 48R.5, 66R.4.
[2]**c'f** adv. 'around': 60V.23 (x2).
c'f': see s.v. *tγw*.
c'fyd conj. 'in as much as': 51R.27, 61V.30.
c'm': see s.v. *zw*.
c'nw (1) Interrog. adv. 'how': 61R.21, 61V.27, 29. (2) Rel. adv. and conj. 'as, while, when, because, although': 1R.25, 1V.12, 25*, 4V.2*, 6V.12, 7V.19, 11R.24, 11V.24*, 12R.2, 5, 6, 8, 13, 12V.7, 10, 13V.29 (x2), 14R.21, 14V.21, 19V.1*, 22R.2, 5, 10, 22V.3, 13, 23R.4, 6, 10, 11*, 23V.4, 15*, 20*, 24R.5, 25V.3, 26R.20, 26V.10, 27R.17, 27V.25*, e R.3*, 31V.4, 6, 9, 14 (x2), 20, 28, 31, 40R.11, 14, 21, 40V.3, 13, 48R.11, 13, 48V.11, 51R.5*, 51V.12, 25, 27, 52R.4, 54R.15, 54V.14*, 55R.24, 56R.5*, 57V.8, 28, 60R.13, 14, 21, 22, 25, 31, 60V.1*, 22, 23, 27, 29, 31, 61R.21, 23, 61V.20, 24, 30, 66V.1*, 14, 68R.3*, 16, 19, 69V.29, 77R.9, 10, 15, 77V.17, 83R.8*, 87R.3, 5, 16, 87V.7, 10, 10*, 18*, 91R.8, 9, 94R.6, 23, 25 (x2), 111R.3. Cf. *w'nc'nw*.
c'nwt conj. 'because': 48R.1.
c'p'r postp. with prep. *cn* 'under': 13V.23, 66V.6, 77V.18*.
c'p'rcyq adj. 'situated below': dir. 22V.14.
c's' adv. 'downwards': 94R.8.
c'wnty adj. 'what kind of': *c'wnc* dir. f. in phrase *pr c'wnc frγn'* as adv. 'how' 12R.16, 12V.3, 23R.2*.
c'[? : L V.2*.
cqn': see s.v. *cw*.
clyb' noun 'cross': 77R.13.
cn prep. +abl. 'from, out of, of, than, by' etc.: passim. Cf. the prepositioned pronouns *c'm'* s.v. *zw*, *c'f'* s.v. *tγw*, *cqn'* s.v. *cw*, *cymnt(y)* and *cymyd* s.v. *yd*, *cyw* s.v. [1]*xw*, *cywnt* and *cywyd* s.v. *xyd*.
cn-: see s.v. *cšn-*.
cntn indecl. adj. 'how great': 52R.12, 57V.20.
cr'γ noun 'lamp': dir. 57R.8.
cr'q noun 'pasture': dir. 87V.14.
crmny adj. 'made of skin, leathern': °*nyt* dir. pl. 57V.23.
cšm-, cym- m. 'eye': *cšmw* acc. 12V.13 (x2); *cymw* id. 111R.9; *cymt'* nom. pl. 12V.2*; *cymt'* acc. pl. 60R.14, 94R.2*, 8; *cymty'* abl. pl. 61R.17.
cšmy-nmzy' f. 'blinking of an eye': 13V.29.
cšn-, cn- m. 'thirst': *cšn'* abl. 102V.21; *cn'* id. 69R.25.
cšnt noun 'drink': dir. 14V.24*. Cf. *pw-cšnt*.
cšnt'q noun 'id.': dir. 102V.27–28*.
cšnwq adj. 'thirsty': °*qy* obl. 102V.27.
cw interrog. pron. and adj. 'what'. No distinctions of number or gender. (1) *cw* nom.-acc. 3V.10, 7V.28 (x2), 12R.11, 52V.17, 60V.20, 61R.26, 66R.5, 68V.18, 87V.17, 91R.7, 91V.10, 94R.1—as adv. and conj. 'how, whether' etc. 12V.30, 13V.27, 57V.26, 68R.24. (2) Prepositioned by *cn*: *cqn'* 87V.8, 102V.18*.
cwq: see s.v. *pwrn-cwq*.
cwt conj. 'whether': 39V.6, 9.
cwty indecl. interrog. pron. 'what' in phrase *pr cwty* as adv. 'why': 5V.29*, 40R.14, 51R.1, 6, 21, 28*, 51V.5, 8*, 23, 60R.11, 68V.25, 69R.14*, 69V.17.
cx-/cx't vb. 'to do battle, fight': *cxty* 3 sg. pres. 39V.2; *cxnt* 3 pl. pres. 40V.18, 94R.29; *cx'* 3 sg. impf. B V.30; *cx'd'rnt* 3 pl. tr. pret. 40V.17. Pp. **cx'ty** 'having fought': °*tyt* dir. pl. 104R.10.
cyq: see s.v. *sm'ncyq*.
cym-: see s.v. *cšm-*.
cymnt(y), cymyd: see s.v. *yd*.
cyw: see s.v. [1]*xw*.
cywnt, cywyd: see s.v. *xyd*.
c[? : 1R.7, 7V.21, 14R.11*, B R.26*, I R.4.

d'cyqy' f. 'justice': 56R.20*, 108V.2*.
d'f': see s.v. *tγw*.
d'm: see s.v. *mwrty-d'm*.
d'm': see s.v. *zw*.
[1]**d'r** noun 'blade': dir. 68V.5, 6.
[2]**d'r** vb. 'to have, hold, keep, wear' (also auxiliary of the tr. pret., the forms of which are not listed here): *d'rt* 3 sg. pres. 61V.20, 104R.18*; *d'rym* 1 pl. pres. 94R.8; *d'rmsq* 1 sg. dur. pres. 69V.23; *d'rtq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 68V.26; *d'rymsq* 1 pl. dur. pres. 68V.30*; *d'rntq* 3 pl. dur. pres. D V.7; *d'rnq'* 1 sg. fut. 69R.19; *d'rntq'* 3 pl. fut. 56R.26; *d'r'zw* 1 sg. āz-impf. 68V.27; *d'r'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 1R.10*, 94R.16; *d'r'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 55R.20–21, 60V.29, 87V.14, 94R.24; *d'ry* 2 sg. opt. 51R.30*; *d'rynt* 3 pl. opt. 55V.17; *d'r* 2 sg. impv. 111R.5. Pres. part. **d'rny** as m. noun 'holder': nom. 56R.32.
[3]*d'r:* see s.v. *xš'wn-d'r*.
d'r'mnty m. 'keeping': nom. 61R.28*; °*tw* acc. 55V.23.
d'tbr m. 'judge': dir. 77R.5*, 16; °*rt* dir. pl. 24R. 13*, 77V.11.
db'n f.(?) 'flame': dir. 23R.27, 23V.7, 15; °*ny* obl. 24R.6*, 11*, 91R.5.
db't adv. 'perhaps': 12V.30, 19V.1, 31V.10, 40V.18, 69R.15, 77R.8*, 104R.14*.
dbn- f. 'fear, suspicion': *dbny'* abl. 48R.15*. Cf. *pw-dbn*.
dbr- m. 'door, gate': *dbrw* acc. 51V.14*, 57R.20, 60R.8, 60V.30; *dbry'* loc. 48V.2* (y-d°), 60V.27, 68R.18.
dbšmy': see s.v. *'bwn dbšmy'*.
dbty-, dbtyq: see s.v. *dw'*.
dbtyqy: see s.vv. *dw'* and *xw-dbtyqy*.

dbz- m. 'hunger': *dbzy* nom. 31V.28, 29; *dbzw* acc. 102R.27, 102V.24; *dbz'* abl. 31V.31, 69R.25, 102V.21, 22*.

dqyws m. 'Decius': dir. 77R.1*, 77V.10*.

dmtyr noun 'torch': °*rt* dir. pl. 60R.30, 94R.24, 102V.19*.

dn prep. +abl. 'with'. Always accompanied by postp. *prw*: 1R.12*, 1V.19, 7V.26*, 27, 12R.12, 14, 19*, 31R.7, 8, 31V.24, 39V.2, 40R.9, 40V.2, 4, 8, 18, 20, 48R.9, 48V.4, 23, 51R.26, 52R.5, 53V.7, 57R.23, 69R.15, 77V.12, 91V.3*, 94R.29, 105V.7, C V.3. Cf. the prepositioned pronouns *d'f'* s. v. *tyw*, *d'm'* s.v. *zw*, *dyw* s.v. [1]*xw*, *dywyd* s.v. *xyd*.

dnḫ' noun 'Denḥā, Epiphany': 55R.16.

dnt' f. 'tooth': °*tyt* dir. pl. 14V.19*.

dnty-šq'f' f. 'gnashing of teeth': dir. 51V.5, 68V.4.

dpyry' f. 'writing, scribecraft': 31R.14.

drtyc noun 'ordure, filth': dir. 48V.13.

ds' indecl. num. 'ten': 40V.18, 19, 55R.27. Ordinal *dsmyq* 'tenth': dir. 55R.27.

dst- m. 'hand': *dstw* acc. 27V.25, 39R.3, 60V.24—in phrase *pr . . . dstw* 'by means of . . .' 31V.3, 11, 28, 51R.8, 51V.28*, 60R.31, 32, 77R.4*—in phrase *pr dstw* as predic. adj. with *wn-/qt-* 'to hand over, hand down, entrust' 56R.30, 69R.10; *dsty'* loc. sg. or pl. 12V.4*, 27R.1*, 21, 60V.3, 29; *dst'* abl. 65V.26, 83R.11; *dst'* acc. pl. 68R.18; *dsty'* gen. pl. 51R.7, 60V.26.

dstb'ry m. 'staff': °*ryt* dir. pl. 60V.29.

dstwb'ry indecl. noun 'handiwork': 5R.29*, 57V.20.

dsty-sn'm m. 'washing of hands': dir. 57R.13.

dštw'n adj. 'poor': dir. 51V.6, 54R.18; °*nt* dir. pl. 51R.3, 105V.6*.

dštwc noun 'poverty': 51V.9.

dw' num. 'two': nom. 57R.25, 60R.2, 87R.19*, 87V.3, 94R.23; *dw'* acc. 27R.16, 40R.5, 57R.29, 68V.7 (x2), 69R.14, 87V.5*, 6; *dwy* acc. f. 6V.13; *dybnw* gen. 11R.26*. Ordinal **dbty-** and **dbtyq** 'second, other, next': °*y'* abl. 25R.16*; °*yq* dir. 12R.19, 17R.2, 26R.2* (y-d°), 27R.15 (id.), 31V.1, 8, 14, 32, 54V.28, 55V.16, 57V.12, 60R.2, 66R.12*, 87R.10—as adv. 'secondly, again' 22R.9, 13, 26V.2, c V.2, 48V.29, 57R.24, 102R.20; °*yqy* obl. 57R.16 (n-d°), 17, 77R.13. Cf. *xw-dbtyqy*.

dw'-pšynty adj. 'divided into two parts, bisected': dir. 22V.12*, 66V.10*.

dw'wyst indecl. num. 'twenty-two'. Ordinal **dw'wystmyq** 'twenty-second': dir. 56R.2*.

dwγt- f. 'daughter': °*t'* nom. 26R.8*.

dwr adj. 'far, distant': dir. 23R.30, 31R.10, 51V.22, 57R.17, 68V.9, 104R.11. Compar. **dwrtr** 'further': dir. 94V.11*.

dwr'wy m. 'distance, being far': nom. 57V.2, 61V.16*.

dwrt- f. 'peace, greeting': °*t'* nom. 7V.26*, 57R.16; °*t'* acc. 77R.13, 94V.27, N R.3.

dwsy m. 'neighbour': *dws'* nom. numv. 60R.2.

dwyd m. 'David': dir. 60V.21; °*dy* obl. 52V.15, 55V.23.

dwystyšywyst indecl. num. '223'. Ordinal **dwystyšywystmyq** '223rd': dir. 1R.9*.

dxšt- f. 'desert': °*ty'* loc. 60R.2 (y-d°).

dxštyq adj. 'of the desert': dir. 83V.2.

dybnw: see s.v. *dw'*.

dym noun 'face, eyes': dir. 12V.12.

dymyd: see s.v. *yd*.

dyn f. 'religion': dir. 1R.24, 1V.26*, 24R.17*, 69R.13; *dyny* obl. 68V.16.

dynd'r m. 'priest': dir. 55V.30*, 57R.1, 22; °*rt* dir. pl. 54R.24, 55R.14, 68V.22*; °*rty* 57R.13, 104V.10*.

[1]**dyw** m. 'demon, devil': dir. 3V.1, 39V.2, 40V.10, 18, 102R.17*; *dywy* obl. 94R.28, 102V. 22, 108V. 5; *dywt* dir. pl. 11V.19, 40V.10, 16, 17, 104R.14 (w-d°), 108V.11*; *dywty* obl. pl. 40R.6, 7, 8, 9, 40V.7, 102V.28, 104R.9*, 111R.7.

[2]*dyw:* see s.v. [1]*xw*.

dywnt, dywyd: see s.v. *xyd*.

dyxw noun 'village': dir. 1R.17, 86R.1, 87R.6, 7, 8, 87V.15*; °*wy* obl. 87R.18, 94V.25.

-f: see s.v. *tyw*.

f'cmrz: see s.v. *fcmrz*.

f'nyš: see s.v. *fnyš-*.

f'r'mnc: see s.v. *fr'mnc*.

f'š'm: see s.v. *fš'm*.

f'šqr: see s.v. *fšqr-*.

f'tyr: see s.vv. *ftyr* and *ftyr-*.

fcmbd f. 'world': dir. 48R.14, 61R.23 (w-f°); °*dy* obl. 13V.22, 31R.1, 40R.16, 40V.5 (y-f°), 14, 48R.6, 51R.5*, 55V.21, 61R.25, 61V.30*, 94R.18, 104R.7* (y-f°), 11, 105V.4, M R.3*; °*dt* dir. pl. 6V.13. *fc[* ? M V.3.

fcmbdcyq adj. 'worldly, belonging to the world': dir. 54V.18; °*qt* dir. pl. 40R.13; °*qty* obl. pl. 104R.12*.

fcmrz vb. 'to snatch, seize': *f'cmrz* 3 sg. impf. 87V.13; *fcmrznt* 3 pl. subj. 12R.3*.

fn noun 'fortune, glory': dir. 23R.25.

fn's noun 'deception, error, illusion': dir. 31V.10, 52R.14*; °*sy* obl. 52R.15.

fnyš/fnyšt or **fnyšt-** vb. 'to deceive, lead astray, seduce, entice': °*šysq* 2 sg. dur. pres. 69V.17. Pp. **fnyšty** or **fnyšt-y** 'seduced': °*ty* nom. 69V.21.

fnyš- vb. 'to be deceived, err': *f'nyšnt* 3 pl. impf. 24V.6*; *fn'yš'* 2 sg. impv. 7R.28.

fr'qrnt: see s.v. *frqrnt*.

fr'm'y: see s.v. *frm'y*.

fr'mnc vb. 'to divest oneself of, take off': *f'r'mnc* 3 sg. impf. 57V.22.

frγn- f. 'manner': °*n'* acc. sg., only in phrases *pr c'wnc frγn'* as adv. 'how' 12V.3* and *prymyd frγn'* as adv. 'thus' 23R.14*, 27V.19, 20*, 31R. 22, 27, 40V.9, 54V.26, 68R.19, 94V.17* (x2), 102R.22, 102V.24.

frqrnt vb. 'to destroy': *fr'qrntnt* 3 pl. impf. 87R.13.

frqynny adj. 'negligent': nom. 60R.3, 7.

frqyny' f. 'negligence': 48V.10.

frm'n f. 'order, command, commandment': dir. 57V.21, 68R.16, 22*, 68V.5, 69V.19, 20, 94V.10*; °*ny* obl. 31V.31; °*nty* obl. pl. 7V.27*, 61R. 28*.

frm'n-ptγwšqy' f. 'servitude, slavery': 108V.8*.

frm'n-ptγwšy adj. 'subordinate, serving, enslaved': nom. 51R.20*; °*šy* acc. 13V.19; °*šc* dir. f. 51R.18; °*šyt* dir. pl. 57R.28.

frm'y/frm't vb. 'to order, command': *frmy* 2 sg. pres. 60V.20; *frmytq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 48R.30*, 94V.20, 29; *fr'm'y* 3 sg. impf. 3R.12*, 7R.19*, 7V.20*, 14V.22*, 22R.12*, 13, 15, 23V.9, 10, 25V.4*, 27V.15, 68V.21, 69R.21, 86V.3*, 87R.6, 11, 91R.8; *frm'yn* 1 sg. subj. 25V.6; *frm'y* 2 sg. impv. 'please' 13V.15*. Pres. part. f. **frm'ync** as noun 'mistress': dir. 13R.30. Pp. **frm'ty** 'commanded': nom. 14V.10; °*tw* nom. n. 48V.25, 60V.17; °*tyt* dir. pl. 51V.22, 53V.8.

fršt-: see s.v. *fryž*.

frtr adj. 'better': dir. 120V.2; °*rt* dir. pl. 48R.18.

frtrwny indecl. noun 'improvement': 31V.23.

frθyp vb. 'to flash, lighten': °*pt* 3 sg. pres. 54V.25.

frwmyq m. 'Roman': °*qt* dir. pl. 86R.3; °*qty* obl. pl. 87R.17*.

frwrt noun 'corpse': °*ty* obl. 68V.7.

frwrtqty m. 'tomb': gen. 57R.17, 20; °*t'* abl. 57R.5*, 10; °*tyty* obl. pl. 53R.8*.

frwycy indecl. noun 'forgetting, oblivion' in phrase *frwycy wn-/qt-* 'to forget': 48V.20, 94V.14.

frwz- vb. 'to fly': *frwz'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 39R.4.

fry- adj. 'dear': *fry* nom. 13R.26, 64V.22*; *fry'* nom. f. 3R.2; *fryw* acc. 68R.5, 68V.27*, 104V.12; *fry'* voc. 7R.24; *fryt* dir. pl. 12R.28, 48R.27, 54V.12. Compar. **frytr** 'preferable': dir. 48V.14.

fry'wy m. 'love': nom. 57V.2, 30*; °*w'* abl. 61V.24.

fry-γr'mqy' f. 'love of money': 51R.24, 25*, 104V.6, 13, 17*, 108R.6*; °*y'* obl. 104V.3*, 10.

fryš/fryšt vb. 'to send'. Pp. **fryšty** 'sent': °*tc* dir. f. 7V.25*. As m. noun 'angel': nom. 40R.14, 18, 23; °*tw* acc. 40V.8*; °*ty* id. 23V.6; °*t'* abl. 40V.22; °*t'* nom. numv. 94R.23; °*tyt* dir. pl. 40R.17, 40V. 8, 14, 19, 20, 60R.5, 10, 60V.12; °*tyty* obl. pl. 57R.26, 60V.24, 104R.16. *fryš[* ? M R.5.

fryt't noun 'love': dir. 48V.3*, 51R.16, 51V.10, 61R.19, 26, D R.7; °*ty* obl. 61R.18, 30, 61V. 26.

fryž/fršt- vb. 'to make straight'. Pp. **fršt-y** 'straight, upright': °*tw* acc. 61R.22; °*tyt* dir. pl. 52V.10*.

fs'q m. 'instruction, teaching': dir. 31R.2, 14, 15.

fstxwmp vb. 'to ward off, repel': °*pt* 3 sg. pres. 31R.12; °*ptq'* 3 sg. fut. 23V.6*.

fswc/fswγt- vb. 'to sacrifice'. Pp. **fswγt-y** 'sacrificed': °*tyt* dir. pl. 68R.5.

fš'm/fšmt- vb. 'to send': *fš'mnq'* 1 sg. fut. 60V.21; *fš'mtq'* 3 sg. fut. 23V.6; *fš'mntq'* 3 pl. fut. 105V. 1*; *f'š'mw* 1 sg. impf. 26R.17*; *f'š'm* 3 sg. impf. 23V.4, 55R.27, 66R.11; *fšmd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 52V.16*. Pp. **fšmt-y** 'sent': °*ty* nom. 1R.13*, 68R.20, 77V.12; °*tyt* dir. pl. 77R.11, 94R.24, 102V.18*.

fšqr- vb. 'to expel': *f'šqrnt* 3 pl. impf. E V margin.

fšqwx noun 'stumbling-block': dir. 104R.12.

fšmy-šw noun 'lampblack, soot': dir. 69R.27.

fšn- vb. 'to tremble, cower': *fšntyq'* 3 sg. fut. 69R. 21; *fšn'* 2 sg. impv. 51V.30*.

fšt- vb. 'to thrust away': *fšt'* 2 sg. impv. 51V.10*.

ft'r adv. 'over, in excess' in phrase *ft'r pryc* 'to leave over': 94V.29, 30.

ft'rmy adj. 'superfluous': °*myt* dir. pl. 51R.29, 51V.2.

ftm- adj. 'former, previous': *ftm'* abl. in phrase *cn ftm'* as adv. 'before, previously' 57R.31.

ftmcyq: see s.v. *yw*.

ftpyž vb. 'to compel': °*žtq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 94V.16.

ftyr vb. 'to cause to pass over or away, take over, remove, set aside': *ftyrt* 3 sg. pres. 57R.16; *f'tyr* 3 sg. impf. 87V.12; *ftyrt'* 2 sg. irr. 69R.16; *ftyr* 2 sg. impv. 51V.29, 54R.22.

ftyr- vb. 'to pass over, pass away, depart': *ftyrtysq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 94R.18; *f'tyr* 3 sg. impf. 68R.16, 105R.4*; *ftyrq'* 3 sg. fut. opt. (?) 69V.19; *ftyr't* 3 sg. subj. 94R.19.

ftyr'mnty m. 'passing': °*tw* acc. 60R.29; °*ty* gen. 40R.23, 60V.11; °*t'* abl. 39V.3.

ftyrcyq: see s.v. *n'-ftyrcyq*.

fθm'ty pp. 'insufflated': nom. 40R.21.

fθys m. 'vision': dir. 64R.22.

fθys-wynny m. 'seer of visions': nom. 60R.5.

fwx'r adj. 'fortunate, blessed': dir. 51R.26*, 51V. 3*, 57V.5*, 65R.30, 68V.23 (w-f°), 69V.16, 87R. 9; °*rt* dir. pl. 48R.21.

fy'tr: see s.v. *γrf*.

fyq m. 'shoulder': dir. 57R.27; *fyqt* dir. pl. 57R.29.

fyr/fyrt vb. 'to extend': *fyr'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 39R.3. Pp. **fyrty** 'extended': nom. 57V.8.

f[? : 14V.26*, a R.2*.

gbr(y)'yl m. 'Gabriel': dir. 60V.12 (gbry'yl), 15 (gbr'yl).

γ'm noun 'might': dir. 60V.19.

γ'mqyn adj. 'rich': dir. 51R.28, 51V.31*, 54R.18; °*ny* obl. 51V.30, 60V.27; °*nt* dir. pl. 61R.18, 108R.4.

γ'm= ? : 24V.10.

γ'rn adj. 'heavy': °*nt* dir. pl. 69R.22.

γ'ry m. 'guardian, guard': nom. 60V.3; °*ryty* obl. pl. 57R.32*.

γd- f. 'wound, wounding, beating': *γdy'* abl. 1V.18; *γdt'* acc. pl. 69R.24; *γdty'* gen.(?) pl. 53V.5.

γdn noun 'Eden': dir. 40V.1; *γdny* obl. 51V.17.

γfs-/γft- vb. 'to exert oneself, labour': *γfstysq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 48V.23; *γfs'* 2 sg. impv. 31V.27; *γfst'* 2 pl. impv. 48R.27. Pp. **γft-y** 'having laboured': *γfty* nom. 54R.20.

γmp vb. 'to trouble, exercise': *γmptq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 51R.1.

γmpn noun 'exertion, effort, labour, trouble': dir. 31R.28, 48V.15, 51R.7, 60R.4, 12, 104V.15, C R.2; °*ny* obl. 31V.18, 104V.7*; °*nt* dir. pl. 31V.7 (γmpwnt); °*nty* obl. pl. 31V.20, 29.

γmpn-bry m. 'one who has performed strenuous labours, ascetic': nom. 60R.14*.

γmpnqyn adj. 'strenuous, laborious': dir. 31V.5.

γmy- adj. 'humble, humbled, disgraced': *γmy'* acc. f. 94R.27.

γmy'wy m. 'humbling, disgrace': gen. A R.26.

γnqyn adj. 'victorious': dir. 66V.12*; °*nt* dir. pl. 48R.21, 68V.11.

γnt noun 'stench': dir. A V.29.

γnt'q adj. 'bad, evil': dir. 48R.25, 48V.22, 51R.24, 29, 51V.2, 54R.22, 61V.28*, 68V.24, N R.1*; °*qt* dir. pl. 51R.24*; °*qty* obl. pl. 57R.14. As m. noun 'evil': dir. 40R.8, 40V.10, 52R.12, 13, 57V.2, 24 (x2); °*qy* obl. 40R.10.

γnt'qry adj. 'evil-doing, wicked, sinful': nom. 23V.9, 25V.4, 10, 27R.24; °*ry* acc. 25V.7; °*ry* gen. 54R.26 (γnt'q-qry); °*rc* dir. f. 12R.12*; °*ryt* dir. pl. 12R.2*, 69R.25*; °*ryty* voc. pl. 68R.28 (γnt'q-qryty).

γntm noun 'wheat': °*my* obl. 52R.10.

γr'mqy': see s.v. *fry-γr'mqy'*.

γr'my m. 'wealth, possessions, money': nom. 51V.30*; °*mw* acc. 51R.3, 51V.16; °*my* gen. 51R.9 (n-γ°), 30, 51V.23*, 29; °*m'* abl. 48V.4, 55V.28, 105V.5.

γr'ty' f. 'exaltation': 91V.7.

γrb-/γrb't vb. 'to know, be acquainted with': *γrbty* 3 sg. pres. 23V.22, 102V.18; *γrb'msq* 1 sg. dur. pres. 60R.19, 68R.8, 77R.2*, 87V.7, 8; *γrb'msqn* id. 87V.2*; *γrbysq* 2 sg. dur. pres. 87V.15; *γrbt'sq* 2 pl. dur. pres. 104V.9*; *γrbntq* 3 pl. dur. pres. 66V.1*; *γrby* 2 sg. opt. 57V.28; *γrby* 3 sg. opt. 55R.30; *γrbym* 1 pl. opt. 54V.27; *γrb't* 3 sg. subj. 111V.5*; *γrbt'* 2 pl. impv. 104R.6; *pr γrbw* pres. inf. 31R.25; *γrb't bwt* 3 sg. pres. intr. pot. 61R.26; *γrb'd'rm* 1 sg. tr. pret. 87V.16*.

γrb'q adj. 'knowledgeable, wise': dir. 31R.11, 31V.4, 48V.7; °*qt* dir. pl. 31R.17; °*qty* obl. pl. 102R.25. Cf. *mnt-γrb'q*.

γrb'qy' f. 'knowledge, wisdom': 31R.24, 61R.21. Cf. *mnt-γrb'qy'*.

γrbyt: see s.v. *'xs-γrby*.

γrf adj. 'much, many, great': dir. 11R.20, 12R.7, 12V.8, 23R.5*, 23V.25, 27, 25R.6, 31R.16, 25, 39R.2, 39V.2*, 40R.4, 17, 40V.9, 48R.4, 48V.3, 51V.23, 60R.5, 60V.8, 68R.12, 68V.15, 77R.10, 83V.7*, 102R.20, 24, 102V.21*, 104R.8*, 13, 14* (n-γ°), 104V.7, 108R.5*, G V.29; *γrfy* obl. 7V.26. Compar. **fy'tr** 'more': dir. 69V.15–as adv. 'more' 39R.13*, 40R.9, 20, 40V.23*, 48R.18, 66R.16, 69V.11, 94R.26.

γrf-znq'n adj. 'manifold, of many kinds': °*nt* dir. pl. 31V.7, 60R.29.

γrm'wy m. 'punishment': gen. 31V.28.

γryn vb. 'to roar': °*ntq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 104R.5.

γryw f. 'self, soul': dir. 7R.30*, 13R.28, 13V.15*, 27R.29, 31V.13, 51V.22, 54R.19, 20, 54V.21, 61R.19, 65R.27*, 69R.18, 77R.12*, 91V.11, 94R.16, 27*, 102V.27, 104V.9, 13, C R.2, D V.5; °*wy* obl. 51R.19, 27, 56R.24, 57R.22, 24, 57V.7, 104V.12. As reflexive pron. 'himself, themselves' etc.: dir. 87R.15.

γšyp noun 'harm': dir. 51V.23, 52R.10, 94V.7, 102V.20.

γw m. 'bull, ox': dir. 91R.8, 105R.3.

γw- vb. 'to be necessary': *γwtsq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 22R.9; *γwntq* 3 pl. dur. pres. 66V.10, 94V.20; *γwtq'* 3 sg. fut. 104R.8*.

γw'n noun 'sin': dir. 102R.20; °*ny* obl. 48R.14, 54R.19; °*nt* dir. pl. 68R.10; °*nty* obl. pl. 31V.5, 29, 51V.19*, 57V.3.

γw'ncyqy' f. 'what is necessary': °*y'* obl. 57V.3.

γw'nqry adj. 'sinning, sinful': abl. 27R.7; °*ryt* dir. pl. 54R.20 (γw'n-qryt); °*ryty* obl. pl. 27V.26.

γwb/γwbt vb. 'to glorify': *γwb* 3 sg. impf. 94R.14. Pp. **γwbty** 'glorified, glorious': nom. 48R.20, 94R.26; *γwbtw* acc. 51R.17; *γwbc* dir. f. 48R.12; *γwbtyt* dir. pl. 48R.19. Compar. **γwbtr** 'more glorious': °*rt* dir. pl. 48R.18.

γwbty' f. 'praise, glory': 27R.27*, 27V.6 (comp. with inf.), 39V.7*, 54R.30, 57V.22, 30*, 60R.12, 61R.20, 69V.15*, 77V.2*, 8*, 91R.3*, 91V.6*, 94R.10, 17, 20, 25, 111R.6, O V.3*; °*y'* obl. 57R.7, 61V.17, 23, 94R.15, 26; °*yt* dir. pl. 23V.25, 55V.23, 25.

γwdy m. 'pitcher': nom. 94V.21.

γwmr- noun 'monastery': °*ry'* loc. 60R.26*.

γwn vb. 'to increase'. Pres. part. **γwnny** 'increasing': *γwnnc* dir. f. 54R.25.

γwnc noun 'colour': dir. 83V.3*.

γwncq noun 'cup': dir. 69V.13.

γwny: see s.vv. *wyd'sγwny* and]-*γwny*.

γwrdtq- f. 'kidneys': °*qy'* gen. 102V.30.

γwrs adv. 'around': 60V.23, 111R.6.

γwr-y adj. 'proud, triumphant, exulting': *γwry* nom. 60V.24.
γwry'q f. 'triumph, exultation': dir. 31V.9.
γwš noun 'ear': *γwšt* dir. pl. 66R.17*.
γzny' f. 'treasury': 51R.4.
γ==ty m. '?': °*tyt* dir. pl. 48V.12*.
γ[? : 6R.15, 7R.20.

hbyl m. 'Abel': dir. 57V.30.
hykl' noun 'nave': 57R.11.

knwn 'ḫry (Syr.) 'Latter Kānon': 55R.17, 69R.23.
ks' noun 'cup, chalice'. 57R.19.
kwrḫ' noun 'cell': °*ḫ̣* obl. 94R.23*.

q': see s.vv. *ptqyš, θbr-* and]-*q'*.
[1]**q'm** vb. 'to want, wish': *q'mt* 3 sg. pres. 57V.29, 94V.6, 22*, 102R.27; *q'mnt* 3 pl. pres. 61V.21; *q'mysq* 2 sg. dur. pres. 13R.16*, 51V.29, 57V.28; *q'mtq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 104R.5, T R.4*; *q'mtsq* 2 pl. dur. pres. 12R.11, 68V.2*, *q't'sq* id. 12R.11; *q'mntq'* 3 pl. fut. 40V.15; *q'm'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 39R.9, 94R.23; *q'm'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 60V.14, 87V.7; *q'm* 3 sg. impf. 60R.21, 83R.1*, 94R.26; *q'mt* 3 sg. impf. mid. 1V.22*; *q'md'rm* 1 sg. tr. pret. 104R.9.
[2]*q'm:* see s.v. *n'-q'm*.
q'rpθ noun 'way, path, track': dir. 11V.25*; °*θt* dir. pl. 11R.21, 52V.10.
q'ry: see s.v. *qt'ny-q'ry*.
q't m. 'deaf-mute': dir. 51R.23.
q't'sq: see s.v. [1]*q'm*.
q'xwš'ty m. 'vomit': °*tw* acc. 102R.21.
q'yn m. 'Cain': dir. 57V.17, 29.
q'[? : A V.26.
qbn-, qbnq adj. 'little, few': *qbnw* acc. as adv. 'a little' 31V.11, 12, 48R.27*; *qbnq* dir. 87V.6*—as adv. 60R.3. Compar. **qmpy** indecl. 'less': 94V. 19*.
qc': see s.v. *wn-*.
qd' adv. and conj. 'when, if': 12R.11, 13R.22, 25, 48V.20. Cf. [2]*qt'*.
qd'my adj. and pron. 'which': nom. 13R.17, 13V. 22; °*myt* dir. pl. 61R.28.
qdyš (Syr.) 'Qaddiš, Holy!': 57R.29.
qfš- n. 'shoe, footwear': *qfšw* nom. 94R.9.
qlyθ' noun 'cell': °*θ̣* obl. 60R.23; *q̈lyθ'* id. B R.30.
qmp f. 'stratagem, ruse': dir. 23R.8; *qmpt* dir. pl. 31R.25.
qmpy: see s.v. *qbn-*.
qn- vb. 'to dig out': *qn'* 2 sg. impv. 54R.26.
qncq noun 'child': °*qty* obl. pl. A V.26.
qncyq adj. 'young'. Compar. **qncystr** 'younger': dir. 87V.1.
qndyl' noun 'candle': °*lyt* dir. pl. 60R.30.
qnt': see s.v. *zy-qnt'*.
qnw'ncy' f. 'skill': 31R.23, 24.
qnwn' noun 'canon': 54V.24, 29, 55R.15*, 17, 22.
qnz'γ noun 'Ganzag': dir. 25V.8.
qpwtyc noun 'dove': °*cy* obl. 53R.5.
qr'n: see s.v. *qyr'n*.
qrqy': see s.v. *nm'nyqrqy'*.
qrwn: see s.v. [2]*wn-*.
qrwn'mnty m. 'making, performance, action': nom. 94R.28; °*tw* acc. 51V.23–24*, 61R.27; °*t'* abl. 31R.18.
qrwš vb. 'to draw, describe, illustrate': °*št* 3 sg. pres. 57R.25; °*šn* 1 sg. subj. 104R.9. Pres. part. **qrwšny** as m. noun 'illustrator': nom. 57R.24.
qrxny'tqy' f. 'numbness': °*y̧* obl. 13R.15.
qry: see s.vv. *γnt'qry, γw'nqry, nm'ny-qry* and *pd't-qry*.
qryn' noun 'scripture-reading, lesson': 31V.17.
qš-/qšt- vb. 'to sow': *qšy* 3 sg. opt. 52R.9; *qšt'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 54R.26.
qšn'w adj. 'beautiful': dir. 87V.4*. Compar. **qšnwstr** 'more beautiful': dir. 12V.11.
qštr- compar. 'smaller': °*rw* acc. 87V.11*, 18*.
qšy adv. 'now': 60V.16, 69V.9*, 15, 77R.14, 83V.5. Cf. *qθry*.
qšy' f. 'sowing': 52V.18.
qt conj. 'if, that, so that, in that, because', particle introducing direct or indirect speech: passim. Cf. *w'n-qt*.
qt-: see s.vv. *b(w)-* and [2]*wn-*.
[1]**qt'** conj. 'or': 7V.23*, 11R.18, 13V.28 (x2), 17V.1, 31R.26, 39V.4, 11*, 55V.15, 57R.29, 60R.18, 94V.18, 120R.9.
[2]**qt'** conj. 'if': 13V.24. Cf. *qd'* and *qt*.
[3]*qt':* see s.vv. *b(w)-, qt'wn* and [2]*wn-*.
qt'bwt = [3]*qt'* + *bwt*.
qt'ny-q'ry adj. 'sinful, sinning': nom. 91V.11*; °*rw* acc. 40V.10 (qt'nyq'rw); °*ry* gen. 60R.20, 94R.3 (n-q°); °*rc* dir. f. 68R.9 (qt'nyq'rc); °*ryty* obl. pl. 39V.3.
qt'wn vb. 'to be able' (potential conjugation of [2]*wn-*, q.v.): °*nt* 3 sg. pres. 61R.16*, 19; °*ntq'* 3 sg. fut. 94R.30; °*nymq'* 1 pl. fut. 60V.18, 61V.27 to 28*.
qtsqnty adj. 'ruined, waste' as m. noun 'waste-land': loc. 83V.8*.
qty: see s.vv. *b(w)-, bnt-qty, šf'r-qty* and [2]*wn-*.
qty' f. 'deed, action, work': 23V.7, 60R.18; *qty̧* obl. 61R.27, 29; *qtyt* dir. pl. 39R.5, 61R.28; *qtyty* obl. pl. 54R.17.
qty'q f. 'household': °*qy* obl. 57V.17, 24.
qty'wy m. 'doing, creation': nom. 5R.29; °*w* acc. 87R.11*.
qθ(-) noun 'town, city': dir. 25V.8, 56V.10*, 60R. 25, 30, 32, 60V.9, 25, 94R.25; *qθy* obl. 60R.26,

68R.20*, 69R.29, 77R.6, 77V.7*, 11; *qθt'* acc. pl. 1V.10, 11R.23*.

qθ'm m. 'city-wall': dir. 22V.13, 23R.4.

qθ'r: see s.v. ²*wn-*.

qθ'ry m. 'belly, stomach': gen. 94V.7*.

qθry adv. 'now': 5R.30, 7V.28, 11V.24, 12R.1, 14R.22*, 23R.24, 23V.4*, 6, 27V.27, 28*, a V.2*. Cf. *qšy*.

qθwlyq' noun 'Catholicus': 56R.31*.

qθ[? : b R.1*.

qw (1) Adv. 'where': 31R.20, 39V.4, 48R.19. Governed by postpositions: *qw s'* 'whither' 87V.7; *qw pn* 'how long' 23R.23—as conj. 'so long as, while', with negative 'until' 25V.16*, 31R.25, 31V.26 (qwpn), 65R.28, 94V.18. (2) Prep. (a) 'In': 68V.14, B R.30. (b) 'To, for' etc.: 48R.18—with postp. *s'* passim. (c) With postp. *pn* 'up to, as far as, until, during': 22V.13, 23R.4, 23V.10, 27V.14, 39R.1, 40R.16, 22, 54V.26, 60R.6, 64R.25, 69R.23, 87R.7. Cf. the prepositioned pronouns *qymnt* and *qymyd* s.v. *yd*, *qyw* s.v. ¹*xw*, *qywnt* and *qywyd* s.v. *xyd*.

qw- m. 'hero': *qwy* nom. 13V.19.

qwc' f. 'mouth': dir. 51R.17; *qwcy* obl. 55V.25, 60R.23, 65R.29, 102V.19.

qwdš' noun 'consecration': 57V.10, 12. Cf. *lqwdš' lqdyš'*.

qwhlθ m. 'Ecclesiastes': dir. 102R.23.

qwpn: see s.v. *qw*.

qwr adj. 'blind': dir. 23R.30.

qwrbn' noun 'eucharist': 54V.30.

qwrc-w'dy m. 'refuge': °*dw* acc. 39V.10–11*, 48V.6, 51R.6 (qwrcw'dw).

qwrθ adv. 'where': 12V.1, 26R.7*.

qwrθy m. 'tunic': °*θyt* dir. pl. 57V.23.

qws noun 'side, direction': dir. 25R.20*, 21.

qwšy- m. 'side, flank': *qwšy* gen. 51V.15.

qwt- m. 'dog': *qwty* nom. 102R.21*; *qwtyy* nom. pl. 51R.28.

qwy'q f. 'heroism, bravery': dir. 66V.16, 68V.6.

qw[? : 104R.5*, Q V.3.

qy indecl. pron. and particle. (1) Interrog. pron. 'who': 13V.17. (2) Rel. pron. 'who, which', sometimes 'he who, that which' etc. with omission of the antecedent: passim. Mostly as subject of the rel. clause, sometimes as object (about 20 examples), rarely in any other function. (3) Particle introducing a rel. clause, the syntactic relationship of the rel. to the main clause being indicated by an appropriate 3rd pers. or demonstrative pron. or adv.: passim. (4) Particle linking an adjectival phrase to a preceding noun: passim. (5) As conj. 'that': 40R.4, 57R.1, 94R.13.

qymnt: see s.v. *yd*.

qymθ' noun 'Resurrection, Easter': 55R.25, 57V.10.

qymyd: see s.v. *yd*.

qyr'n m. 'side, direction': dir. 7R.22*, 22V.12*, 23R.17*, 20, 39R.2*, 57R.27, 60V.13 (x2), 94R.6 (qr'n).

qyrm- m. 'snake, serpent': °*my* gen. 51V.12, 57V.32*.

qyrmyr adj. 'red': dir. 87V.4.

qysrq'n noun 'Kēsarakān' (a coin): dir. 69V.14*.

qyt indecl. rel. pron. 'who, which': 39R.2, 52V.14, 60V.21, 68V.18, 94V.9 (qyt-f), 15, 104R.7, 104V.8*, 108V.6*.

qyw: see s.v. ¹*xw*.

qywnt, qywyd: see s.v. *xyd*.

q[? : 14R.7*, 52R.18*, 56V.14*, 69V.29*, A V.27, F V.5*, 7*, 8, 9, 12*, 13*, U R.2*.

lqwdš' lqdyš' (Syr.) 'What is holy to those who are holy': 57V.5.

lydn noun 'Ledān': dir. 69R.29.

-m: see s.v. *zw*.

m'mr' noun 'Mẹmrā, discourse': 48R.24.

m'n m. 'mind': dir. 31R.9, 26, 31V.13 (w-m'n), 51R.22*, 53V.4, 57R.14, 60R.15, 64V.23, 66R.18, 94R.21; *m'ny* obl. 12V.13, 25R.5*, 31V.11 (y-m°), 23, 60R.20, 61R.26, 94R.19, 102V.23.

m'n', m'nt: see s.v. *'yny*.

m'nwq adj. 'like, similar': dir. 51V.20, 64V.24*.

m'nwqy' f. 'likeness': 48R.11*, 51R.25, 53R.5*, 54V.19, 57R.21, 26, 32*.

m'nyt: see s.v. *mnt-m'ny*.

m'r'wt adj. 'grieving, mourning': dir. 60R.31.

m'r'wty' f. 'mourning': 102R.25; °*y'* obl. 68R.25.

m'rdny m. 'book, writing, scripture': °*n'* abl. 94V.19, 104V.10*; °*nyt* dir. pl. 51R.13*, 51V.21*, 52V.7*.

m'sy m. 'old man': nom. 60R.5, 19; *m'syt* dir. pl. 68R.11; *m'syty* obl. pl. 60V.25.

m'sy-sqwny m. 'old age': loc. 39R.14*.

¹*m't:* see s.v. *x-*.

²**m't** conj. 'that, so that': 7V.24*, 11R.17*, 12R.3, 14, 12V.4, 13R.23, 13V.28, 22R.3, 9, 23R.16, 27R.16, 29*.

³**m't** f. 'mother': dir. 51V.19, 87V.8, 105R.6* (w-m't), 105V.2; *m'ty* obl. 104V.5.

m't-ptry m. 'mother and father, parents': nom. 1V.12*; °*rw* acc. 1V.11; °*ry* gen. 1V.7*, 104V.4*.

¹*m'x:* see s.v. *zw*.

²**m'x** m. 'moon, month': dir. 69R.23; *m'xy* obl. 55R.17, 65R.30, 68V.12, 69R.23.

m'x-nwy m. 'new moon': °*w'* abl. 65R.30, 68V.11.

m'[? : 52R.1*.

mcryn m. 'Egypt': dir. 60R.1, 94V.9, 104V.10* (mycryn).

mcy': see s.vv. *s'cy-mycy'* and *xwšywnqy'-mcy'*.

md's: see s.v. *'d's.*
mdbḫ' noun 'altar': 55V.29, 56R.18*, 57R.17, 25.
md-w noun 'wine': *mdw* nom. 57R.18.
mdy adv. 'here': 22V.5, 40R.15, 48R.13, 68V.15.
myr'm: see s.v. *'yr'm.*
mγ-w, mwγ- m. 'magus': *myw* nom. 25V.20, 26R. 22*, 27V.7; *mwyw* id. 23R.16, 25V.10; *mwyy* id. 19R.2, 23V.9, 27R.24; *mwyw* acc. 22R.14; *mywy* gen. 22R.17; *mwyyšt* dir. pl. 12V.6, 24R.8, 24V.15*, 66V.5*, 68V.19, 69R.25; *mwyyšty* obl. pl. 1R.23, 12V.1*, 68V.10. *mwy[* ? 24R.12*.
mγwn adj. (1) 'Whole': dir. 11R.16, 27V.13, 31R.1, 54R.23, 60R.30, 32, 68R.2, 77R.6*. (2) 'Like, same' in phrase *yw mywn:* dir. 65V.27.
mn, mn': see s.v. *zw.*
mnc'y: see s.v. *'nc'y.*
mnq noun 'deceit': dir. 57V.29.
mnt conj. 'while': 87V.12—in phrase *pynms' mnt* conj. 'before' 54R.16, 94R.19.
mnt-γrb'q adj. 'foolish': dir. 14R.13* (mntγ°), 102R. 22, 102V.25; °*qt* dir. pl. 26V.8 (mntγ°); °*qty* obl. pl. 102R.25.
mnt-γrb'qy' f. 'foolishness': 14R.9* (mntγ°), 102R. 22 (mntγ°), 23, 102V.25—26*.
mnt-m'ny adj. 'mindless, unthinking': °*nyt* dir. pl. 108R.5*.
mnt-ptz'ny adj. 'ignorant': °*nyt* dir. pl. 31R.13; °*nyty* obl. pl. 31R.17 (mntp°).
mnt-ptzny' f. 'lack of understanding, ignorance': °*y'* obl. 31R.9.
mnt-xwpy adj. 'unpleasant': nom. 94V.13.
mnyn' noun 'Numbers': 94V.2.
mpqn' noun 'Exodus': 104V.3.
mpšqn' m. 'the Interpreter': 48R.8*.
mrc f. 'death': dir. 1R.5*, 7V.22*, 51V.25*, 54R. 29, 68R.17, 69R.18, 21; *mrcy* obl. 66R.1, 68V.24. Cf. *pnt-mrc.*
mrγ noun 'forest': *mryt* dir. pl. 11R.24*.
mrtxmy m. 'man, person': nom. 14V.21*, 31R.25, 31V.25, 51V.1*, 57R.13, 61R.22, 61V.20, 29, 91V.11*, 120R.4, 120V.2*; °*mw* acc. 48V.5, 61R.21, 102V.17, 111R.5*; °*my* gen. 40R.23, 54V.27, 61R.24, 94V.13 (n-m°), 22, 102R.26, 102V.17, 104R.2*, 108V.6*, 111V.5; °*m'* abl. 39V.2; °*m'* voc. 48V.26; °*myt* dir. pl. 12V.19, 14V.11*, 17R.3, 17V.1, 22R.13*, 26R.11*, e R. 2*, 48V.13, 31, 52R.8, 57V.18*, 60R.30, 68V.15, 77R.6, 77V.3*, 94R.20, 104R.12; °*myty* obl. pl. 12R.2*, 27R.10*, 31R.12, 40R.13, 18, 52R.13, 55R.25, 56R.9*, 61V.22, 77R.10, 104R.15, A R.27.
mrtxmy-ptxwyny m. 'killer of men': acc. 3R.15*.
mrty indecl. m. 'man': 24R.16, 39R.7, 48V.18, 60R.26, 60V.7, 68V.7, 15, 18, 22, 87R.4.
mrx- adj. 'flat': *mrxw* acc. as adv. 'plainly' 31V.22; *mrx'* acc. f. 52V.9.
mrxyl m. 'Mirhayāl': dir. 1R.23.
mry (Syr.) 'Mār' (honorific title): 48R.25.
mrym f. 'Mary': dir. 51V.13, 57V.11.
mrys m. 'Māres': dir. 77R.16, 77V.6, 11.
ms adv. 'also, even': 1V.20, 4R.4*, 14V.9*, 22V.16, 23V.8, 16, 26, 25R.1, 27R.9*, 23, 27V.6, 21, c V.3, 31R.5, 13, 40R.15, 40V.4, 9, 19, 48R.3, 5, 7, 48V.12, 51R.18*, 22, 55R.19, 20, 55V.26, 56R.29, 56V.4, 57R.9, 57V.31, 60V.5 (x2), 61R.29*, 61V.21 margin*, 64V.24, 66R.3, 4, 68V.23*, 30, 69V.21, 77V.9*, 104R.1*, 6*, 10, 11, 108R.2, B R.27, U R.3.
ms' adv. 'hither' as postp. with prep. *cn* 'from': 23R.12*, 54V.19.
msydr m. 'priest': °*rt* dir. pl. 64V.26*.
mšpn: see s.v. *'špn.*
mšt'y: see s.v. *'št'y.*
mšyḫ' m. 'Christ': 7R.18, 12R.29, 31V.7, 25, 40V.24, 48R.6, 8, 51V.15, 55V.21, 57R.6, 17, 33*, 57V.7, 64R.19*, 68V.6, 77V.8, 104R.1. Cf. *yšwymšyḫ'.*
mšyp: see s.v. *'šyp.*
mwy-: see s.v. *my-w.*
mwγ'ny adj. 'magian': °*nc* dir. f. 1R.24.
mwγdyn f. 'magian religion': °*ny* obl. 4V.4.
mwγqty m. 'magian house': °*tw* acc. 1V.17, 29; °*ty* loc. 1R.25*.
mwγptw m. 'mōbed': dir. 24R.13*, 66R.2, 66V.12, 68R.20—21.
mwγy'q f. 'magianism': dir. 1V.23, 24, 27.
mwnw: see s.v. *'yny.*
mwrsty pp. 'drenched': °*tc* dir. f. 14V.20.
mwrt'wy m. 'deadness': °*w* acc. A R.28; °*w'* abl. D V.3*.
mwrt-y: see s.v. *myr-.*
mwrty-d'm noun 'realm of the dead': dir. 51V.3*, 4*; °*my* obl. 60V.3.
mwš' m. 'Moses': 55R.20, 22.
mwyž: see s.v. *2'wyž.*
mwžtybrqy' f. 'gospel': 54V.13, 55R.24 (mwžty-b°).
mw== ? : 51R.14*.
mxwb: see s.v. *'xwb.*
mxz: see s.v. *'xz.*
my: see s.v. *zw.*
my'm: see s.v. *1'y'm.*
myc: see s.v. *'dyq-myc.*
mycryn: see s.v. *mcryn.*
mycy': see s.v. *s'cy-mycy'.*
myd: see s.vv. *myθ* and *yd.*
myd'n noun 'middle': dir. 22V.15, 39R.12; °*ny* obl. (partly as postp. 'amidst, amongst, between') 23V.26, 31R.19, 52R.10, 56R.9, 57R.21, 66V.11, 68R.11, 68V.31, A R.27.
myd'ncyq adj. 'middle': dir. 31V.24; °*qt* dir. pl. 57V.27.
myγ noun 'gloom': dir. 40V.1.

myk' m. 'Micah': 94V.24 (y-m°).
myk'yl m. 'Michael': dir. 60V.12, 15*, 19.
myms: see s.v. *'yms.*
[1]**myn** vb. 'to dwell, remain, stay, be': *mynnt* 3 pl. pres. 48R.20, N R.2*(?); *mynym-sqwn* 1 pl. dur. pres. 7R.27; *myny* 2 sg. opt. 51R.20; *mynt* 3 sg. subj. 51R.5; *myn* 2 sg. impv. 48V.27, 51V.21; *pr myn* pres. inf. 48V.14. Pres. part. **mynny** as m. noun 'inhabitant, settler': °*nyt* dir. pl. 54R.23, 104V.9; °*nyty* obl. pl. 104V.8*, 9.
[2]**myn** vb. 'to resemble': *mynt* 3 sg. pres. 31V.15; *mynnt* 3 pl. impf. 77V.5*; *mynt* 3 sg. impf. mid. (?) 54V.18.
myn- vb. 'to think, imagine': *mynnt* 3 pl. pres. 108V.10; *myn'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 77R.15*.
myn'mnty m. 'dwelling': nom. A V.30; °*tw* acc. 13V.26 (as nom.), 48V.12. *myn'm[* ? D R.8.
mync: see s.v. *w'tmyny.*
myr-/mwrt- vb. 'to die': *myrnq'* 1 sg. fut. 66V.16*; *myryq'* 2 sg. fut. 66V.13; *myrymq'* 1 pl. fut. 60V.1; *myrt'q'* 2 pl. fut. 69V.10; *myr'* 3 sg. impf. 60R.4; *myr'n* 1 sg. subj. 66V.17. Pres. part. **myryn-y** as m. noun 'mortal': °*n'* voc. 51V.9*; °*nyt* dir. pl. 57V.6 (cf. *n'-myryny*). Pp. **mwrt-y** 'dead, lifeless': °*ty* nom. 51R.18; °*t'* voc. 68V.24; °*tyt* dir. pl. 54R.29; °*tyty* obl. pl. 77V.16.
myrynqy' f. 'mortality': 51V.10.
myš f. 'sheep, ewe': dir. 12R.12.
myšprq't noun 'sheepfold'(?) : B V.28*.
myšt: see s.vv. *nyzny-myc* and *tmp'r-myc.*
mytrpwlyt' m. 'Metropolitan': 56R.32*.
myθ m. 'day': dir. 17R.2, 25R.11, 27R.13 (x2), 23, 27V.15*, 21, 31R.1, 31V.23 (x2), 54V.22, 30, 55R.18, 20*, 21, 27, 55V.26, 57V.12, 60V.11, 68R.16, 87R.7 (myd), 94R.20; *myθy* obl. 48R.16, 54V.29, 55V.22, 23*, 66R.12, 68R.7, 69V.30, 77R.8, 94V.3; *myθt* dir. pl. 1V.21*, 11R.28, 25R.9, 48V.28, 77V.10, 87V.6; *myθty* obl. pl. 64R.22*.
myθqry m. 'day', pl. 'period': °*ryt* dir. pl. 1R.26*.
mz'n: see s.v. [1]*z'n.*
mzyd: see s.v. *'zyd.*
mzmwr- f. 'psalm': °*rt* dir. pl. 31V.17; °*rty* obl. pl. 31V.27.
mzprt adj. 'impure': dir. 102R.19; °*tt* dir. pl. 102R.26.
mzyx adj. 'great': dir. 1R.10, 11*, 6V.1*, 7R.19, 7V.25, 12R.7, 12V.8, 13R.19, 14R.12*, 23R.15*, 25, 24V.8*, 25R.2*, 31R.6, 7, 31V.30, 51R.4, 16, 20, 22, 53V.1*, 60R.4, 61V.19, 64R.26, 68R.6, 20, 68V.31, 77V.13, 14, 94R.17, 120V.12*, F R.12*. Compar. **mzy'tr** 'greater': °*rt* dir. pl. 31V.24.
mzyxs'qy' f. 'greatness, importance': 6V.15, 69V.15–16, 86R.4*.
mž'w: see s.v. *'ž'w.*
m=t[? : 108V.12.
m==t[? : 7R.22*, 91R.11*.
m[? : 1V.13, 3R.5, 12V.27*, 14R.12*, 23V.11*, 24R.13*, 25R.9, 66R.7*, 111R.4, K V.3*, Q V.2.

n-: see s.v. [1]*xw.*
n' adv. 'not' (prohibitive): 7R.28, 29, 12R.13, 13R.20, 21*, 28, 26V.4, 51R.17, 18, 51V.17, 21, 54R.19, 56R.19*, 60V.5, 66R.16*, 69V.24, 83V.11, 102R.29, 104V.8, 111V.3*, 4, D R.5.
n̈': see s.v. *ny.*
n'-'xwd'wny' f. 'lack of zeal': 52V.7.
n'-bxt adj. 'not fated': dir. 69V.28.
n'f noun 'people, nation': dir. 11R.20, 12R.7*; *n'fy* obl. 12V.2*, 13R.22.
n'fc: see s.v. *wγ'mn'fc.*
n'fcy' f. 'nation, country': 11R.22*.
n'-ftyrcyq adj. 'not passing away': dir. 57V.7*.
n'-q'm adj. 'not desiring': dir. 27R.10*.
n'qty m. 'silver': °*ty* nom. 51R.18; °*tw* acc. 51R.21, 102R.18*.
[1]**n'm** m. 'name': dir. 11R.19, 12R.29, 12V.16, 52V.6, 57R.9, 10, 60R.18, 66R.19*, 68R.14, 94V.4*, A R.29; *n'my* obl. 57V.6, 64V.22*; *n'mt* dir. pl. 3R.11*.
[2]**n'm** vb. 'to be named': *n'm'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 1R.17*, 18*, 94R.12.
n'mqyn adj. 'famous': dir. 60R.26.
n'mntw: see s.v. *qrwn'mnty.*
n'mr'wy m. 'sweetness': nom. 31V.19.
n'-myryny adj. 'immortal': °*nc* dir. f. 57V.9.
n'-nγwšny adj. 'disobedient': °*nw* acc. 69V.27.
n'-prty adj. 'not guilty': °*tw* acc. 51V.19*, 56R.5*.
n'-ptšty'n adj. 'inconstant': °*nt* dir. pl. 40R.11, 12.
n'rwn m. 'Nero': dir. 56V.4*.
n's noun 'corruption': dir. 91R.10.
n'w noun 'ship': dir. 31V.23; *nwy* obl. 87V.6, 8.
n'x adv. in phrase *'wnw n'x* 'that is, namely': 40R.21, 61R.20.
n'xyd f. 'Nāhīd': dir. 12V.11, 12; °*dy* obl. 12V.9.
n'y interjection 'lo, behold': 12R.11, 13R.26*, 25R.18, 48R.29, 31, 48V.10*, 13, 15, 21, 51V.6, 27, 54V.14, 60V.21, 65V.21, 68R.26*, 94V.28.
n'-žyny adj. 'not speaking, dumb': °*nw* acc. 51R.20.
n'-=t[adj. 'unquenchable': 104R.17.
nbγy=n-+bγy.
nbnt postp. +gen. 'with, by': 60V.11.
nbnty id.: 1R.23*, 48V.17 (x2), 18, 51R.30*, 57R.26, 60R.10, 86V.1.
nbr'trty=n-+br'trty.
nbr'ty=n-+br'ty.
ndbtyqy=n-+dbtyqy.
ndymyd=n-+dymyd.
ndywnt=n-+dywnt.
ndywyd=n-+dywyd.

nfryn/nfryt vb. 'to curse'. Pp. **nfryty** 'accursed': °*tw* acc. 52R.9.

nfrywn noun 'curse': dir. 23R.8.

nγ'd' f. 'request, entreaty': dir. 27R.3, 27V.27*, 68R.3—in phrase *nγ'd' br-* 'to ask, entreat' 12R.14*, 68R.4, 9.

nγ'm noun 'time, moment, hour': dir. 57V.1, 60R. 28, 60V.2, 5, 8, 11*, 68R.16, G V.30; °*my* obl. 57V.11, 12, 94R.22.

nγn- m. 'bread': *nγny* nom. 57R.12, 18, L V.2(?); *nγnw* acc. 60R.32, 94V.18, 26; *nγny* gen. 94V.23.

nγr'my = n- + γr'my.

nγrf = n- + γrf.

nγwdn noun 'clothing, garment': dir. 56R.26, 68R.25*; °*nt* dir. pl. 57R.6.

nγwš vb. 'to listen, heed, obey, consent': *nγwšnq'* 1 sg. fut. 69V.22; *nγwštq'* 3 sg. fut. 68R.12; *nγwšymq'* 1 pl. fut. 68R.31; *nγγwš* 3 sg. impf. 51V.15*; *nγwšy* 3 sg. opt. 7V.17*; *nγwšym* 1 pl. opt. 68V. 29*; *nγwšq'* 3 sg. fut. opt.(?) 13R.20; *nγwš* 2 sg. impv. 7R.24*, 13R.20, 24R.15, 27R.3, 19*, 51R.14; *nγwštt* 2 pl. impv. 31R.12, 69V.9*. Pres. part. **nγwšny** 'listening, attentive': nom. 51V.21; °*n'* voc. 51V.20 (cf. *n'-nγwšny*).

nqcn noun 'piercing'(?): dir. 51V.15*.

nqt'ny-q'ry = n- + qt'ny-q'ry.

nm- vb. 'to consent', with negative 'to refuse': *nmtysq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 60V.20; *nm'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 60V.15; *nm'* 3 sg. impf. 51V.31.

nm'c noun 'worship': dir. 31V.20, 39V.10, 54V.29, 66V.3, 91V.7, 102R.28—in phrase *nm'c br-/brt* 'to worship, pray': 12R.6*, 27V.23*, 54V.25, 60R.19, 68R.22*, 69V.12, 77R.12; °*cy* obl. 23V. 26 (y-n°), 25V.21*.

nm'cq'n noun 'offering': dir. 3V.11*, 7V.26, 27R.4, 11.

nm'ny m. 'penitence': °*nw* acc. 102R.20; °*n'* abl. 31V.3.

nm'ny' f. 'judgement': °*y̰* obl. 56R.6.

nm'nyqrqy' f. 'repentance': 31V.30, 54R.14–15*; °*y̰* obl. 31V.9 (nm'ny-q°), 11, 61V.24.

nm'ny-qry m. 'penitent': nom. 31V.4.

nmpy: see s.v. *w'r-nmpy.*

nmrtxmy = n- + mrtxmy.

nmry'q f. 'sweetness, mildness': dir. 12R.13*, 65V. 28*.

nmy'q f. 'contempt': dir. in phrase *nmy'q wn-* 'to insult' 5V.30*, 66V.14*, 104V.4*, 5*.

nmzy': see s.v. *cšmy-nmzy'.*

nnpysny = n- + npysny.

np'ryqty = n- + p'ryqty.

npd'rny = n- + pd'rny.

npwlwsy = n- + pwlwsy.

npwsty = n- + pwsty.

npys/npxšt- vb. 'to write'. Pres. part. **npysny** as m. noun 'writer': °*nw* acc. 48R.24; °*ny* gen. 91V.9 (n-n°). Pp. **npxšt-y** 'written': °*tw* nom. n. 57V.23, 65V.23*, 94R.27.

nrystr = n- + rystr.

ns't = n- + s't.

nsc': see s.v. *nyd.*

nst: see s.v. *x-.*

nst'wy m. 'perdition': °*w* acc. 24V.7 (nys°), 40V.12, 52R.13; °*wy* gen. 52R.4.

nst-y: see s.v. *nyd.*

nšyd/nšydt vb. 'to plant'. Pp. **nšydty** 'planted': nom. 27V.5.

nt'wnty = n- + t'wnty.

nw: see s.v. ¹*nwy.*

¹**nw'** indecl. num. 'nine'. Ordinal **nwmyq** 'ninth': dir. 1R.7, 55R.25, 69R.23. Cf. *bt'st-pnc's-nw'.*

²*nw':* see s.v. *m'x-nwy.*

nwbry' f. 'navigation': °*y̰* obl. 31R.24.

nwc: see s.v. *nw-y.*

nwḫ m. 'Noah': dir. 57V.17.

nwq noun 'point, tip': dir. 91R.5.

nwqr adv. 'now': 31V.26, 48R.5, 13, 57V.28, 60R. 25, 60V.1, 6, 16, 19, 94R.4.

nwm f. 'law': dir. 55R.28, 66R.3; *nwmt* dir. pl. 54V.23, 55R.30, 56R.27, 30.

nwmyq: see s.vv. *bt'st-pnc's-nw'* and ¹*nw'.*

nwr adv. 'today': 7V.25*, 48V.17*, 64R.24, 68R.1*, 2*, 94V.11.

nwryž m. 'disinclination': °*žy* obl. 61V.22.

nwryžqyn adj. 'disinclined, unwilling': °*nt* dir. pl. 22V.10.

nwšy adj. 'eternal, immortal': nom. 57V.18; *nwšw* acc. 23R.5; *nwšy* gen. R R.2; *nwšy* abl. 4R.2; *nwšc* dir. f. 39R.8, 48R.12, 48V.6*, 19, 51R.6*, 15*, 51V.18, 54R.27, 68V.3, 77V.15; *nwšyty* obl. pl. 51V.17.

nwts indecl. adj. 'nineteen'. Ordinal **nwtsmyq** 'nineteenth': dir. 55V.22.

nwy: see s.vv. *n'w* and *nw-y.*

nw-y adj. 'new': *nw* acc.(?) 68V.13; *nwy* gen. 61R. 24; *nwc* dir. f. 61R.25; *nwyt* dir. pl. 77V.17*. As m. noun 'neophyte': *nwyt* dir. pl. 57R.14; *nwyty* obl. pl. 57R.5, 7*, 11. Cf. *m'x-nwy.*

nwyd/nwyst- vb. 'to invite'. Pp. **nwyst-y** 'invited': °*tyt* dir. pl. 48V.15, 18, 21.

nwydm' f. 'invitation': dir. 48V.20.

nwyspny = n- + wyspny.

nxrys vb. 'to rebuke': *nyxrs* 3 sg. impf. 1V.16.

nxšyr noun 'wild animal, beast': °*ry* obl. 83R.11*; °*rt* dir. pl. 17V.1*.

nxwšywny = n- + xwšywny.

nxwtw = n- + xwtw.

nxypθ = n- + xypθ.

ny adv. 'not': passim. Spelt *n̈'*: 60R.12. Cf. *nyst* s.v. *x-.*

ny- adj. 'other': *nyw* acc. 55R.29, 87R.1; *ny'* acc. f.

23R.8, 31V.15; *nyt* dir. pl. 25R.2, 31R.13, 31V. 24, 40V.8, 69R.14.

ny's/ny't vb. 'to take, seize': *ny'sy* 3 sg. opt. 39R.9, 61R.24; *ny'stt* 2 pl. impv. 111V.9; *ny'd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 104R.15; *ny't* past inf. 40V.15. Pp. **nymt-y** 'taken': °*ty* nom. 31R.1, 52R.11, 68V.21; °*tyt* dir. pl. 64V.25.

ny'z'wt adj. 'needing, needy, needful, necessary': dir. 31R.16, 57R.16; °*ty* obl. 54R.18; °*tt* dir. pl. 56R.28.

ny'z'wty' f. 'what is necessary': 104V.11*.

nyc indecl. n. 'nothing': 69V.20.

nyd/nst- vb. 'to sit, sit down, dwell': *nyd* 3 sg. impf. 60V.26; *nydnt* 3 pl. impf. 60V.23, 87V.6. Pp. **nst-y** 'sitting, dwelling': *nsty* nom. 7V.24*, 60R.22, 25, 60V.27; *nsc'* nom. f. 87R.12.

nyγwš: see s.v. *nγwš*.

nymn- or **nymny** m. '?': °*nw* acc. 54R.26.

nymt-y: see s.v. *ny's*.

nymyθ-w'dy m. 'south': gen. 23R.17.

nysn noun 'Nisān': dir. 68V.11.

nyst: see s.v. *x-*.

nyst'wy: see s.v. *nst'wy*.

nyš vb. 'to destroy': *nyšt* 3 sg. pres. 57V.20; *nyšntq'* 3 pl. fut. 12R.18. Pres. part. **nyšny** 'destroying, destructive': °*nyt* dir. pl. 12R.2, 12V.4.

nyš- vb. 'to perish, be destroyed': *nyšnq'* 1 sg. fut. 102V.21. Pres. part. **nyšyn-y** 'perishing, perishable': °*nyt* dir. pl. 48V.9, 10.

nyšq'w/nyšqwγt vb. 'to remove, bring out, take out, cast out': °*q'wmq'* 1 sg. fut. 23R.26, 27 (°*qwmq'*); °*q'wnt* 3 pl. impf. 68R.20; °*q'wym* 1 pl. opt. 60V.18, 19, 108R.2 (°qwym); °*q'w* 2 sg. impv. A R.28; °*qwγd'ry* 2 sg. tr. pret. 120R.7*; °*qwγd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 94V.9.

nyšty/nyšty't vb. 'to send word, announce': °*ty* 3 sg. impf. 66R.12, 66V.12, 69R.29; °*tynt* 3 pl. impf. 77V.13. Pp. **nyšty'ty** 'announced': °*tw* nom. n. 94R.17.

nyšy adj. 'following'(?): nom. 55V.26.

nyšyc or **nyšyš** vb. 'to contemplate, plan': *nyšyšt* 3 sg. pres. 102V.26.

nyt, nyw: see s.v. *ny-*.

nywq adj. 'deep'. Elative **w'-nywqst** 'very deep': dir. 23V.20–21*.

nyx adj. 'knowledgeable, informed, learned': dir. 1R.24, 7R.25 (as adv. 'surely'?), 11V.24.

nyxrs: see s.v. *nxrys*.

nyxwrmzt m. 'Nēhormazd': dir. 22R.11*, 12, 24R. 12, 15*.

nyz'wr adj. 'weak': dir. 12V.16*, 13V.20*, 27R.6*, 29; °*rty* pl. obl. 120V.5*.

nyz'wt: mistake for *ny'z'wt*, q.v.

nyzb'ny m. 'passion': °*n'* acc. numv. 40V.19*; °*nyty* obl. pl. 51R.24. *nyzb'[* ? N R.1.

nyzn- m. 'nature': °*ny* nom. 56V.28; °*nw* acc. 57V.5*; °*ny* gen. A R.26; °*n'* abl. 31V.26.

nyznt adj. 'humble': dir. 94R.5.

nyznty' f. 'humility': 31R.11, 61R.26, 94R.6; °*y'* obl. 91V.10.

nyzny-myc adj. 'natural, of nature': °*myšt* dir. pl. 31V.16.

nyž-, nyžy/nyžt- vb. 'to go out, depart': *nyžnt* 3 pl. pres. 55R.20, 60R.21, 102V.19; *nyžtysq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 51V.25; *nyžtyq'* 3 sg. fut. 60V.22; *nyžntq'* 3 pl. fut. 40V.14; *nyžy* 3 sg. impf. 11R.19, 12R.25, 60V.25, 68R.16, 68V.4, 83R.6*, 87V.8*, 94R.22; *nyžym* 1 pl. impf. 87V.7; *nyžnt* 3 pl. impf. 40R.5; *nyžynt* id. 12V.9, 87V.5*, 14; *nyžy* 3 sg. opt. 61R.21; *nyž'n* 1 sg. subj. 94R.20; *nyž't* 3 sg. subj. 40V.13; *nyžwty* 3 sg. irr. 68R.18; *nyžt'* 2 pl. impv. 12R.26; *nyžt' bwtq'* 3 sg. fut. intr. pot. 61V.29; *nyžty* 3 sg. m. intr. pret. 51V.12; *nyžty* past inf. 60V.20.

nyž'mnty m. 'departure': nom. 48R.2*; °*tw* acc. 108R.1*; °*ty* gen. 40V.9*, 11, 60R.28; °*t'* abl. 39V.5, 40R.15*.

ny[? : 14V.6*, B R.25*.

nzprt = n- + zprt.

nzyny = n- + zyny.

n===ty ? : 24R.13.

p' conj. 'for': 31V.18, 21, 61R.18, 120R.1*. In phrase *prywyd p'* conj. 'because': 31V.10, 40V.19, 54V.30, 69V.29, 87R.7, A R.30. Cf. *p'rwty* and *p't*.

p'cγny indecl. noun 'answer': 13V.16*, 14R.10, d R.1*, 66R.2, 68R.10, 23, 94R.28, 29.

p'cr't m. 'reward': dir. 68R.13.

p'd noun 'foot': *p'dy* obl. as adv. 'on foot, upright' 14R.8*(?), 22R.17, 55R.24, 61V.19; *p'dt* dir. pl. 27V.10*, 68R.19; *p'dty* obl. pl. 57R.26.

p'd': see s.v. *šy-p'd'*.

p'r vb. 'to nourish, nurture'. Pres. part. **p'rny** 'nurturing': acc. 12R.5.

p'rc: see s.v. *pryc*.

p'rs noun 'Pārs': dir. 1R.6.

p'rsyq m. 'Persian': °*qty* obl. pl. 1R.9*, 120V.11.

p'rwty conj. 'for, but': 3R.4*, 12R.18*, 17V.3. Cf. *p'* and *p't*.

p'rxs: see s.v. *prxs-*.

p'ryc: see s.v. *pryc*.

p'ryq adj. 'other': °*qt* dir. pl. 31V.17, 20; °*qty* obl. pl. 48R.10 (n-p°).

p'ryž: see s.v. *pryž*.

p'š noun 'fast, fasting': dir. 31V.19, 55R.18, 20, 21, 61V.22; *p'šy* obl. 94V.10, 102V.21.

p'š'y: see s.v. *pš'y*.

p'šcn adj. 'honourable': dir. 64V.23*.

p'šty: see s.v. *pšty-*.

p'šwš: see s.v. *pšwš-*.

p't conj. 'for': 51V.4, 52R.14, 54V.25, 55R.19, 24,

56R.27*, 57V.29, 30, 66R.18, 66V.16, 77R.14, 77V.15, 94R.7, 10, 94V.5, 104R.13, 104V.17, 108R.3*. In phrase *prywyd p't* conj. 'because': 39R.4, 57R.28, 66V.9*, 68R.8, 68V.30*, 102R.29, 102V.16, 104V.9 (x2). With encl. pron.: 120R.4 (p't-m). Cf. *p'* and *p'rwty*.

p'tfr's f. 'punishment': dir. 6V.1, 23R.9, 26R.9, 10, 27V.18, d R.2, 57V.17, 69R.24, W R.1*; °*sy* obl. 69R.28; °*st* dir. pl. 64V.30.

p'tqwny indecl. noun 'vigilance, protection': 31R.6, 10, 57V.4.

p'txš'wn noun 'authority' as indecl. predic. adj. 'in authority, ruling': 7V.23, 24*, 54R.23, 57V.31.

p'ty: see s.v. *p'y*.

p'θ m. 'arrow': dir. 31R.21; *p'θy* obl. 31R.20.

p'θ-brxšqy' f. 'archery': 31R.18–19.

p'y/p't vb. 'to keep, watch over, guard': *p'ynt* 3 pl. pres. 31R.8; *p'ynq'* 1 sg. fut. 66R.19; *p'y'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 87R.3, 12; *p'y* 3 sg. impf. 55R.20; *p'y̥nt* 3 pl. impf. opt. 55R.21; *p'ynt* 3 pl. opt. 55R.18; *p'yt* 3 sg. subj. 54R.19, 20. Pp. **p'ty** 'guarded, on guard': nom. 94V.8.

p'y'mnty m. 'protection': °*tw* acc. 40R.19.

p'yqy': see s.v. *šwšn-p'yqy'*.

p'zny': see s.v. *ptwp'zny'*.

p'žγyr: see s.v. *pžγyr*.

pc- vb. 'to cook': *pc'* 3 sg. impf. 105R.8.

pc'y: see s.v. *pcy*.

pcbwš vb. 'to smell': *pr pcbwš* pres. inf. 48V.22*.

pcγ'c[? : 55V.15*.

pcγ'z/pcγšt- vb. 'to receive, accept': *pcγ'ztq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 57R.1; *pcγ'ztq'* 3 sg. fut. 52V.11*; *pcyγ'z* 3 sg. impf. 54V.20, 57V.17, 86V.4; *pcγ'z* 2 sg. impv. 27V.27*, 30; *ptcγštwd'ry* 2 sg. tr. pret. 7V.29*; *pcγšd'rnt* 3 pl. tr. pret. 1R.5 (pšγ°), 39R.6, 57R.6*, 8, 15.

pcγ'z'mnty m. 'reception, acceptance': nom. 57V. 7; °*ty* gen. 55R.19*.

pcγd'r: see s.v. *pcxš-*.

pcγry vb. 'to bear, carry': °*yt* 3 sg. subj. 27V.4.

pcγžnyq adj. 'acceptable': dir. 61V.26.

pcq'f vb. 'to strike, pierce, wound': *ptyšq'f* 3 sg. impf. 54V.18.

pcqs- vb. 'to wait, await': °*stysq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 48V.19, 77R.15; °*s'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 60R.28. *p]cqs[* ? 14R.5.

pcqwy-: see s.v. *pcwqy-*.

pcm'r noun 'number': dir. 1R.9 (ptšm'r), 64V.27. Cf. *pw-ptšm'r*.

pcmr- vb. 'to reckon, consider': °*ry* 3 sg. opt. 91V.11.

pcmrws vb. 'to feel, touch': 2 sg. impv. 51V.27.

pcp'n adv. as indecl. predic. adj. 'imminent': 56R. 25*, 61V.29, 83R.5*.

pcp'ncyq adj. 'id.': °*qt* dir. pl. 52V.12.

pcpr- vb. 'to alight, rest': *pcprty* 3 sg. pres. 61R.21, 22; *ptyšprnt* 3 pl. impf. 54V.19.

pcrw postp. 'instead of': 64R.21*.

pcš- vb. 'to drink': *pcš'n* 1 sg. subj. 94V.18.

pcwq'n f. 'entreaty, prayer': dir. 12R.6, 27R.3*, 39V.9, 57V.1, 12, 91V.9; °*ny* obl. 31R.27.

pcwqy- vb. 'to say (to a superior), entreat': *pcqwy'msq* 1 sg. dur. pres. 27V.29*; *pcwqy'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 12R.14; *ptyšqwynt* 3 pl. impf. 22R.6.

[1]**pcwqyr** m. 'fear': dir. 23R.15, 31R.29; °*ry* obl. 1V.18*, 68R.26, 68V.10.

[2]**pcwqyr** vb. 'to fear': °*rt* 3 sg. pres. 31V.10; °*r'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 56R.25; °*r* 2 sg. impv. 104V.16; °*rtt* 2 pl. impv. 12R.13. Pres. part. **pcwqyrny** as m. noun 'one who fears': °*nyty* obl. pl. 12V.15.

pcwx'y/pcwxst- vb. 'to hinder, hold back, prevent': °*xytq'* 3 sg. fut. 68V.29; °*x'y'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 40R.3; °*x'y'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 40R.2; °*x'ym* 1 pl. opt. 104V.14; °*x'yn* 1 sg. subj. 104R.10; °*xsd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 65R.25.

pcwz- vb. 'to happen': *pcwzty* 3 sg. pres. 102R.26; *pcywz* 3 sg. impf. 68R.14.

pcxš-/pcγt- vb. 'to take, hold, receive': *pcxšnt* 3 pl. pres. 39V.11; *ptycxš* 3 sg. impf. 12V.18, 60R.23; *pcγd'rtt* 2 pl. tr. pret. 68R.5. For *ptcγšt-* see s.v. *pcγ'z*.

pcxyšt ? : 56V.30*.

pcxyz'mnty m. 'kneeling': nom. 56V.26*.

pcy indecl. noun 'profit': 27R.8 (pc'y), 55V.28*.

pcycyq adj. 'profitable, advantageous': °*qt* dir. pl. 7V.27.

pcyγ'z: see s.v. *pcγ'z*.

pcynyq adj. 'suitable': dir. 31R.20.

pcywfs- vb. 'to be changed': °*sty* 3 sg. pres. 31V.15; °*styq'* 3 sg. fut. 31V.8; °*s* 3 sg. impf. 69R.26 (pcywps).

pcywp: see s.v. *pw-pcywp*.

pcywz: see s.v. *pcwz-*.

pc[? : 48V.22*, 52R.8, D R.2.

pd'r/pd'rt vb. 'to sustain'. Pres. part. **pd'rny** 'sustaining', also as m. noun 'bishop': nom. 14R.21; °*ny* gen. 55V.18* (n-p°); °*nyt* dir. pl. 48R.21*, 54R.24. Pp. **pd'rty** 'sustained': nom. 57R.13.

pd't-qry m. 'doer of iniquity, wrong-doer': °*ryt* dir. pl. 104R.18 (w-p°).

pd'ty indecl. noun 'iniquity': 40V.6, 52R.17, 102V. 26.

pdbry m. 'foot-soldier': nom. numv. 13R.27.

pdfnq noun 'joint (of ankle or wrist)'(?): dir. 17R.1.

pdq- f. 'judgement': *pdq'* nom. 61R.17; *pdq'* acc. 56R.3*; *pdqy'* gen. 61V.19.

pdn- or **pdny** m. 'kick'(?): *pdnw* acc. 94V.14.

pdyb'rcy' f. 'enquiry, trial': 1V.10*, 60R.6, 68R.21.

pγšy m. 'betrothed': gen. 13V.20.

pγwž/pγwšt- vb. 'to conceal, hide': *pγwšt'* 3 sg. f. intr. pret. 11R.26*. Pp. **pγwšt-y** 'concealed': °*ty* nom. 94R.23.

pmbw m. 'Pambo': dir. 94R.12.

pn postp. +acc. 'up to, as far as, until, during'. (1) In fixed expressions: *'yqwn pn* 'for ever' 68V.4, 91V.8(?); *'y'm pn* 'up to the end' 86V.2(?); *qw pn* (see s.v. *qw*). (2) Otherwise only with prep. *qw*: 23V.10, 27V.14, 40R.23, 54V.26, 60R.6, 69R.23 (pwn), 87R.7.]*pn* F R.11. Cf. *tympn*.

pn'c's: see s.v. *stw-pnc's*.

pnc indecl. num. 'five': 68V.10 (x2). Ordinal **pnc-myq** 'fifth': dir. 27V.15*, 31V.26.

pnc's: see s.vv. *bt'st-pnc's-nw'* and *stw-pnc's*.

pnc's': see s.v. *yw-pnc's'*.

p̣nm adv. 'before' in phrase *p̣nm m't* conj. 'id.': 12V.4*.

pnmcyq: see s.v. *pynmcyq*.

pnms': see s.v. *pynms'*.

pnmstr: see s.v. *pynmstr*.

pnt adj. 'near': dir. 53V.7—as adv. 'id.' 17V.3, 27V.16, 31V.2, 32, 48R.5, 48V.29, 56V.19, 57V. 15, 77R.9, 87R.4.

pntq adv. 'near': 17V.2—as postp. 'id.' 22V.5.

pnt-mrc adj. 'near death, about to die': dir. 60R.14, 60V.27.

pr prep. +acc. 'in, on, upon, at, for, to, by' etc.: passim. Cf. the prepositioned pronouns *pr'f'* s.v. *tyw*, *pr'm'* s.v. *zw*, *prymnt* and *prymyd* s.v. *yd*, *pryw* s.v. ¹*xw*, *prywnt* and *prywyd* s.v. *xyd*.

pr'γt: see s.v. *prys*.

pr'ny vb. 'to lead, bring': °*nytq'* 3 sg. fut. A V.28; °*nyn* 1 sg. subj. 104R.13.

pr'[? : 48R.31*.

prbnty m. 'burden': nom. 27V.3.

prbxš/prbγt, prbxšt vb. 'to hand over, deliver over': *prbγšt* 2 pl. impv. 94V.24. Pp. **prbγty** 'delivered over': nom. 48R.16. Pp. **prbxšty** 'id.': °*šc* dir. f. 12V.3*.

prbyr/prbyrt vb. 'to tell, recount, explain': *prybyrnt* 3 pl. impf. 77V.11; *prbyrt by* 3 sg. opt. intr. pot. 57V.21, 104R.9; *prbyrt bynt* 3 pl. opt. intr. pot. 104R.13.

prc noun 'back': dir. 111R.3*.

prdbn noun 'deceit': dir. 52V.13.

prdyz noun 'orchard': dir. 87R.2; °*zy* obl. 87R.11*, 16; °*zt* dir. pl. 87R.8.

prf's/prf't vb. 'to change colour'. Pp. **prf'ty** 'changed in colour': °'*c* dir. f. 68R.26.

pryt: see s.v. *pryc*.

pryγž/pryšt vb. 'to deprive': *pryγžty* 3 sg. irr. 60R.22; *pryγžt* 2 pl. impv.(?) 104V.16*. Pp. **pryšty** 'deprived': nom. 61R.29* (x2). *pryγž[* ? D R.5.

prm'cyq: mistake for *prm'qycq*, q.v.

prm'qycq noun 'experience': dir. 31R.16.

prm'nty' f. 'pity, forgiveness, absolution': 31V.29, 57V.3, 65R.28*, 68R.10, 94R.3.

prp: see s.v. *pryp*.

prsqy': see s.v. *'z'n-prsqy'*.

prsym noun 'punishment': dir. 12R.27.

prtw: see s.vv. *n'-prty* and *prt-w*.

prt-w noun 'time, occasion': *prtw* acc. 55V.16*; *prtw* acc. numv. 56V.31, 57R.29—perhaps also in phrase (or compound?) *γrf prtw* as adv. 'many times, often' 31V.17, 102R.20, G V.29*.

prθncn noun 'awning': dir. 17V.5.

prθw'yq m. 'Parthian': °*qty* obl. pl. 56V.10.

prθwty pp. 'burned, singed': nom. 91R.6.

prθync vb. 'to stretch': *pryθyncnt* 3 pl. impf. 66V.19.

prθynq noun 'curtain': °*qt* dir. pl. 57R.21.

prw adv. 'together' (following numerals): 11R.26, 57R.29, 66R.11*, 66V.18*, 87V.5*, 6. As postp., mostly with prep. *dn*, 'with, together with': 1R.11, 1V.19*, 7V.27, 12R.12*, 14, 19, 23V.25, 24V.15, 25R.16, 31R.7, 8, 31V.24, 39V.2, 40R.9, 40V.2, 4, 5*, 7, 9, 14, 17, 19, 20, 22, 48R.3*, 8, 23, 48V.4, 51R.5, 8, 22, 26, 51V.3, 4, 55V.14, 56R.17*, 57R.23, 60V.22, 64R.23*, 68V.13, 69R.15, 18, 69V.13*, 25, 26, 77V.10, 12, 87R.15, 87V.8, 91V.4, 94R.24, 29, 102V.25, 120R.3, C V.3*.

prwgy'yq m. 'Phrygian': °*qt* dir. pl. 56V.7*.

prwrt vb. 'to revolve, turn, become': °*tntq* 3 pl. dur. pres. 48V.13; °*tntq'm* 3 pl. fut. 23V.8; °*t'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 48R.14.

prwrtq adj. 'turning'(?): dir. 48V.21.

prwstr adv. 'already': 104R.11.

prwyd/prwyst vb. 'to look for, seek': *prwydnt* 3 pl. pres. 111V.2; *prywydw* 1 sg. impf. 1V.6*; *prywydnt* 3 pl. impf. 22V.8; *prwydym* 1 pl. opt. 11R.25*; *prwyst* past inf. 1V.10*.

prwydy m. 'search': loc. (?) 11R.23*.

prwyr/prwrt vb. 'to ?': *prwyrntq'* 3 pl. fut. 12R.18; *prwrd'rnt* 3 pl. tr. pret. 48V.14*.

prxs(-) vb. 'to be left, remain': *p'rxs* 3 sg. impf. 1V.28, 69R.26, 87V.9; *prxsn* 1 sg. subj. 48R.7; *prxs't* 3 sg. subj. 102V.22.

prxw'y vb. 'to tread': °*y'* 3 sg. opt. 94V.23.

pry'wr noun 'surrounding area, vicinity': dir. 1V.11, 64V.26*, 68R.8.

prybyr: see s.v. *prbyr*.

pryc/pryt vb. 'to leave, abandon': *pryšt* 3 sg. pres. 102R.18; *prycymq'* 1 pl. fut. 68R.29; *pryšṭq'* 2 pl. fut. 68R.1, 2; *prycntq'* 3 pl. fut. 94V.30; *p'rycy* 2 sg. impf. 6R.14; *p'ryc* 3 sg. impf. 1R.26* (p'rc), 60R.25, 87V.11; *p'rycnt* 3 pl. impf. 27R.12, 23*, 27V.21*, 60V.30, 94V.30 (p'rcnt); *prycy* 3 sg. opt. 102V.27; *pryct* 3 sg. subj. 61V.30; *prycw* 1 sg. inj. 69V.19, 22 (?—MS pryc); *pryc* 2 sg. impv. 27R.10, 51V.7, 16, 102R.29; *pryd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 65R.26; *pryt* past inf. 60V.15. Pp. **pryty** 'left': nom. 22V.15*.

pryft-: see s.v. *pryp*.

pryq adj. 'remaining, other': °*qt* dir. pl. 27V.16; °*qty* obl. pl. 27R.9.

prymnt, prymyd: see s.v. *yd.*

prynq[? : 52R.11.

pryp/pryft-, prp/prpt vb. 'to lead, fetch, bring, take': *prpt* 3 sg. pres. 40R.23; *prpntq'* 3 pl. fut. 39V.1; *pryp* 3 sg. impf. 87V.9; *prp* id. 7R.23*; *prypynt* 3 pl. opt. 87R.15; *prp̣nt* id. 77R.12; *prypw* 1 sg. inj. 102V.23; *prpw* id.(?) 31R.19; *prptt* 2 pl. impv. 94V.24; *prpt* past inf. 23R.11. Pp. **pryft-y** 'led, taken': °*tyt* dir. pl. 68R.17 (MS °tynt), 25.

prys/pr'γt vb. 'to arrive, come': *pryst* 3 sg. pres. 31R.5; *prysntq* 3 pl. dur. pres. 104R.7; *prystq'* 3 sg. fut. 48R.28*, 54R.16; *prys'zntq'* 3 pl. fut. āz-impf. 12V.4; *prys* 3 sg. impf. 22V.11, 60V.26, 69R.28, 87R.5; *prysym* 1 pl. impf. 87V.10; *prysnt* 3 pl. impf. 26V.1*, 60V.29, G R.29; *pr'γt* 3 sg. intr. pret. 48R.29, 48V.8. Pp. **pr'γty** 'having come': °*tyt* dir. pl. 52R.7.

pryšt: see s.v. *pryc.*

pryšt'y: see s.v. *pšt'y.*

pryθ vb. 'to sell': °*θy* 3 sg. opt. 60V.26.

pryθync: see s.v. *prθync.*

pryw: see s.v. ¹*xw.*

prywnt, prywyd: see s.v. *xyd.*

prywydnt, prywydw: see s.v. *prwyd.*

pryž vb. 'to flee': *p'ryž* 3 sg. impf. 1V.5*; *pryžy* 3 sg. opt. 94R.25; *pryž* 2 sg. impv. 51V.28.

pryž'mnty m. 'fleeing, flight': nom. 61V.16*.

pry[? : 3R.6.

przbr noun 'parable': °*rt* dir. pl. R R.3*.

przr adj. 'excessive, very much, very many': dir. 1V.18, 17R.3, 4, 66R.3, 69R.28, 94R.15.

pr[? : 14V.27*, b R.2, g R.3*, A V.29.

ps- vb. 'to ask': *ps'* 3 sg. impf. 6R.12*, 60R.17, 68V.18.

ps' adv. 'on the other hand', often in phrase *'t ps'* conj. 'but': 13R.25, 40R.4, 48R.18, 57R.29, 69V.25, 87V.7*, 111R.4.

ps'q f. 'crown': dir. 48V.25.

psqpy indecl. m. 'bishop': 1R.13 (pswqpy), 68V.12, 13, 22, 77R.16, 77V.6*, 11.

pstn- f. 'respite': °*n'* nom. 54R.14; °*n'* acc. 17R.4, 51R.27.

psyd- vb. 'to fail': °*dtyq'* 3 sg. fut. 94V.21.

psyp m. 'slander': dir. 52V.14.

pš'y/pš't vb. 'to throw, cast': *pš'yt* 3 sg. pres. 57R.29; *p'š'y* 3 sg. impf. 83R.12; *p'š'ynt* 3 pl. impf. 14V.23, 22V.9, 69R.22; *pš'yn* 1 sg. subj. 104R.11; *pš'y* 2 sg. impv. 12R.1; *pš't* past inf. 22V.6, 25V.5. Pres. part. **pšyny** as m. noun 'thrower': °*nyt* dir. pl. 22V.10. Pp. **pš'ty** 'cast, cast down': nom. 60V.10, 77V.18*; °*tyt* dir. pl. 94R.8.

pšq'r m. 'persecution': dir. 68V.13.

pšqr-/pšqrt vb. 'to drive out, persecute': °*ry* 3 sg. opt. 102R.27. Pp. **pšqrty** 'persecuted': °*tyt* dir. pl. 48R.22*.

pšn- f. 'heel': *pšn'* acc. 51V.13.

pšp'cyq adv. 'suddenly': 54V.28.

pšp'ty adv. 'id.': 12R.7, 54V.17, 60V.2, 77R.10.

pšpr/pšprt vb. 'to trample': °*rd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 51V.13*, 120R.4. Pp. **pšprty** 'trampled': nom. 51R.22.

pšt'wn noun 'admonition': dir. 25V.11.

pšt'y/pšt't, pšt'yt vb. 'to prepare, make ready': *pryšt'y* 3 sg. impf. 54V.20, 68V.8; *pšt'd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 54V.29; *pšt'yt* past inf. 31V.8. Pp. **pšt'ty** 'prepared': °*tyt* dir. pl. 60R.29.

pšty- vb. 'to admonish, instruct': *pštynt* 3 pl. pres. (?) M R.4*; *p'šty* 3 sg. impf. 14V.23*.

pšwš- vb. 'to dry up': *p'šwš* 3 sg. impf. 22V.14.

pšycyq adj. 'latter': °*qt* dir. pl. 57V.27.

pšync vb. 'to pour': °*c'zw* 1 sg. āz-impf. 11V.19*.

pšynty m. 'part, piece': °*tyty* obl. pl. 66V.11. Cf. *dw'-pšynty.*

pšyny: see s.v. *pš'y.*

pšys' postp. 'after', often with prep. *cn*: 1V.28, 13R.21, 24V.14, 25V.2, 39V.5, 40R.15, 22, 55R.23, 26, 27, 57V.13, 60V.9, 61R.18, 22, 61V.17, 19, 66R.11*, 87V.6*, 105R.5*, T R.3.

ptby- m. 'honour': °*yw* acc. 11V.18*.

ptbyd-/ptbst- vb. 'to be aware, perceive, feel, notice, understand, know': *ptbydty* 3 sg. pres. 51R.31, 61R.24; *ptbydnt* 3 pl. pres. 31V.21, 39V.5; *ptbydyq'* 2 sg. fut. 51V.25; *ptybyd* 3 sg. impf. 4V.2*, 39R.11; *ptybydnt* 3 pl. impf. 83R.9*. Pp. **ptbst-y** 'sensible, notable': °*tyt* dir. pl. 19R.1*, 31R.17*.

ptbynt vb. 'to reply': *ptybynt* 3 sg. impf. 23R.29.

ptcγšt-: see s.v. *pcγ'z.*

ptfr'wy m. 'memory, commemoration': nom. 55V.21.

ptfs-/ptfs't vb. 'to read': °*synt* 3 pl. opt. 55R.29*; *pr . . .* °*sy* pres. inf. 31V.27–28; *cn . . .* °*s'* id. 104V.14*. Pres. part. **ptfsyn-y** as m. noun 'reader': °*nw* acc. 48R.24. Pp. **ptfs'ty** 'read': nom. 55R.23.

ptfs'mnty m. 'reading': nom. 54V.30.

ptγ'd m. 'cup': dir. 12V.18.

ptγ'mbry m. 'apostle': gen. 57V.25; °*ryt* dir. pl. 48R.21, 54V.16*, 24, 29, 55R.15, 18*, 22, 25, 28, 30*, 55V.20, 22, 28, 30*, 56R.24*; °*ryty* obl. pl. 48R.10*.

ptγn- f. 'type, manner': °*ny'* loc. as postp. 'like' 7R.26, 91V.4.

ptγwnt/ptγwst- vb. 'to cover, hide': *ptyγwnt* 3 sg. impf. 57V.25. Pp. **ptγwst-y** 'hidden': *ptγwstw* acc. 57R.15; *ptγswc'* nom. f. 54V.17; *ptγwstyt* dir. pl. 31V.17.

ptγwsd'rt: see s.v. *ptwx'y.*

¹**ptγwš** vb. 'to hear': *ptγwšt* 3 sg. pres. 48V.24; *ptγwštq'* 3 sg. fut. 108V.7*; *ptγwš'zw* 1 sg. āz-impf. 6R.14*; *ptγwš'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 53R.4*;

ptγwš'zsqwn 3 sg. dur. āz-impf. 13V.25; *ptγγwš* 3 sg. impf. 12V.7, 60V.4, 77V.17, 87V.17*; *ptγγwšnt* 3 pl. impf. 66V.1*; *ptγwšynt* 3 pl. opt. 55R.24; *ptγwšt* 3 sg. subj. 60V.22; *ptγwš* 2 sg. impv. 27V.26. Pres. part. **ptγwšny** 'hearing, able to hear': °*n'* voc. 57V.28; °*nyt* dir. pl. 51R.16*.

[2]**ptγwš/ptγwšt** vb. 'to be heard, become audible': *ptγγwš* 3 sg. impf. 54V.17; *ptγwšt* 3 sg. intr. pret. 5V.29*.

[3]**ptγwš** noun: dir. in phrase *ptγwš wn-* 'to make audible' 55V.27.

ptγwš'mnty m. 'hearing': nom. 57R.12.

ptγwšqy': see s.v. *frm'n-ptγwšqy'*.

ptγwšy: see s.v. *frm'n-ptγwšy*.

ptq'ry m. 'image': °*rw* acc. 57V.20, 25, 65V.24; °*ry* gen. 40R.16, 20.

ptq's noun 'confinement, imprisonment': dir. 94V.26.

ptqry-sp'sqy' f. 'worship of idols': 40V.7*.

ptqyš/ptq(y)št vb. 'to imprison, confine': *ptqštq'* 3 sg. fut. 51V.4–5. Pp. **ptq(y)šty** 'imprisoned, confined': *ptqšty* nom. 25V.18*; *ptqšc* dir. f. 94R.16; *ptqyštyt* dir. pl. 64V.28*.

ptm'q noun 'measure': dir. 57V.26.

ptmwq noun 'clothing': dir. 108R.3*.

ptmync vb. 'to clothe': *ptymync* 3 sg. impf. 57V.22, 23.

ptnmy': see s.v. *žny'-ptnymy'*.

ptnwb noun 'beating': dir. 7R.17, 25R.10.

ptn-xwžqy' f. 'seeking excuses': 51V.22*.

ptnym noun 'trapping, gear': °*mt* dir. pl. 105R.8.

ptnymy': see s.v. *žny'-ptnymy'*.

ptr- m. 'father': *ptry* nom. 1R.23, 1V.25, 4V.2, 40V.13, 51V.12, 53R.4, 54R.30(?), 61R.21, 26, 28, 30, 61V.21, 28, 30, 87V.2, 9, 94R.16*, 102V.24, 105V.2*; *ptrw* acc. 1V.14, 12R.5, 51V.13, 91V.6, 105R.6; *ptry* gen. 40R.5, 57R.9, 94R.28, 104V.1, 5; *ptr'* abl. 87V.16*; *ptrt'* nom. pl. 61R.19; *ptrt'* acc. pl. 48R.20 (x2); *ptrty'* gen. pl. 31V.32; *ptrty'* abl. pl. 60R.2*, B V.27*. Cf. *m't-ptry*.

ptr'fy' f. '?': A R.26.

ptrq'n noun 'patrimony, inheritance': dir. 51R.6.

ptrwd/ptryst- vb. 'to grow': *ptrysty* past inf. 31V.12.

ptrwxš- vb. 'to shut up, cease speaking': °*š'* 2 sg. impv. 66R.15.

ptryt postp. +gen. 'against, towards': 31R.21, 23, 56V.22*, 68V.15, 94R.29, 30, 94V.2, 6, 11, 16, 19, 22, 27, 102R.19, 23, 26, 102V.17, 20, 23, 104R.2*, 7, 104V.3, 6*, 11*, 14*, 18*, 105V.3, 111V.5, 120R.11, 120V.1*.

ptryθ/ptryst vb. 'to mix, mingle': °*yst* past inf. 31V.18.

ptrz- vb. 'to become exalted, be proud': °*ztyq'* 3 sg. fut. 94R.28; °*zy* 3 sg. opt. 48R.17.

pts'c vb. 'to arrange, order': °*cy* 2 sg. pres. 27V.26*.

pts'q noun 'arrangement, order, ordinance': dir. 31R.7; °*qt* dir. pl. 54V.23, 55R.30.

pts'r noun 'head of a bed': dir. 51V.26, 57R.27.

ptspyn- vb. 'to be useful': °*ntyq'* 3 sg. fut. 51V.16.

ptst't noun 'defence': dir. 23R.8.

ptswc/ptswγt- vb. 'to burn': °*wγtnt* 3 pl. intr. pret. 91R.9*.

ptsynt vb. 'to consent': °*tyq'* 2 sg. fut. 13R.23*.

ptš'dty' f. 'rest, gratification': 7V.22, 61V.30, 68V.3*.

ptš'dy indecl. adj. 'at rest' in phrase *ptš'dy wn-/qt-* 'to give rest': 60V.3, 68R.13.

ptšm'r: see s.vv. *pcm'r* and *pw-ptšm'r*.

ptšnq noun 'cross': dir. 56V.5*, 8*.

ptšt'n noun 'thigh': °*nt* dir. pl. 27V.17.

ptšty'n: see s.v. *n'-ptšty'n*.

ptš[==]= ? : 104V.8.

ptw: see s.vv. *mwγptw* and *ptwp'zny'*.

ptwp'zny' f. 'patience': 25R.11–12*, 61V.17, 26, D R.3–4*; °*y'* obl. 31R.11.

ptwx'y/ptwxst- vb. 'to kill, put to death': *ptyxw'y* 3 sg. impf. 57V.30; *ptwx'yw* 1 sg. inj. 69R.19; *ptwx'y* 2 sg. impv. 7V.18; *ptywsd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 54R.29. Pp. **ptwxst-y** 'killed, put to death': °*ty* nom. 65R.28*, 102V.22, 104V.6*; °*tyt* dir. pl. 65R.29, 66V.9, 68V.5 (ptxws°), 11 (id.). Cf. *mrtxmy-ptxwyny*.

ptwyd/ptwyst- vb. 'to render, offer, deliver up': °*ydmq'* 1 sg. fut. 27V.11; °*ydnq'* id. 55V.24; °*yd'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 77V.8*; °*yd'zq'* 3 sg. fut. āz-impf. 60V.2; *cn* . . . °*yd* pres. inf. 27V.5–6*. Pp. **ptwyst-y** 'offered': °*sc'* nom. f. 91V.7.

ptwyš vb. 'to kill off': °*šnq'* 1 sg. fut. 102V.21.

ptxryn vb. 'to hire': *ptyxryn* 3 sg. impf. 68V.7.

ptxwnq noun 'killing, putting to death': dir. 54R.29, 68R.3, 22, 24*, 68V.1*; °*qy* obl. 53R.2*, 55V.22.

ptxwst-y: see s.v. *ptwx'y*.

ptxwyny: see s.v. *mrtxmy-ptxwyny*.

ptybyd: see s.v. *ptbyd-*.

ptybynt: see s.v. *ptbynt*.

ptycxš: see s.v. *pcxš-*.

ptyγwnt: see s.v. *ptγwnt*.

ptyγwš: see s.vv. [1]*ptγwš* and [2]*ptγwš*.

ptymync: see s.v. *ptmync*.

ptyn noun 'cause': dir. 51V.15.

ptyr- vb. 'to pass'. Pres. part. **ptyryn-y** 'transitory': °*rnc* dir. f. 104V.15.

ptyr-[adj. 'harmful'(?): 66R.5–6*.

ptyšq'f: see s.v. *pcq'f*.

ptyšqwy: see s.v. *pcwqy-*.

ptyšpr: see s.v. *pcpr-*.

ptyt- vb. 'to happen, befall': *ptyθ* 3 sg. impf. 60R.4; *ptyt't* 3 sg. subj. 60V.1.

ptyθ noun 'disgrace, contempt': °*θy* obl. as predic.

adj. 'in disgrace, disgraced, contemptible' 40V. 5, 68R.30, 68V.26.

ptyθy' f. 'contempt, disgrace': 51V.9, B R.28*—in phrase *ptyθy' wn-* 'to abuse' 68V.17.

ptywfn- m. 'part': °*ny* nom. 56V.25*.

ptyxryn: see s.v. *ptxryn.*

ptyxw'y: see s.v. *ptwx'y.*

ptyz'n: see s.v. ²*ptz'n.*

ptyzyr: see s.v. *ptzyr.*

pty[? : c R.3.

¹**ptz'n** m. 'understanding, knowledge': dir. 22V.1*, 23R.30, 31R.14, 15, 16, 31V.18, 57R.8, 61R.27, 61V.17, 25; °*ny* obl. A V.25*(?).

²**ptz'n** vb. 'to recognize, know': *ptyz'nw* 1 sg. impf. 6V.12.

ptz'ny: see s.vv. *mnt-ptz'ny,* ¹*ptz'n, ywxnq-ptz'ny* and *yxwnq-n'-ptz'ny.*

ptzm'ny' f. 'disinclination, apathy, sloth': 31R.9, 120R.11*, 120V.3*; °*y'* obl. 120R.8.

ptzny': see s.v. *mnt-ptzny'.*

ptzyr vb. 'to afflict, torment': *ptzyrtq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 51R.29* (ptzrtq), 51V.29; *ptyzyṛnt* 3 pl. impf. opt. 69R.25.

ptžnq noun 'pledge': dir. 57V.10.

ptży-/ptży't vb. 'to quarrel': °*y'd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 120R.3.

ρt[? : 55V.9, 56R.4, 56V.11, N V.4*.

pθf'r noun 'haste': dir. 12R.7.

pw (1) Adv. with prep. *cn* 'without': 14R.19, 31V. 21, 55V.18. (2) Prep. 'id.': 51R.11, 60V.17, 111R.4.

pw'bγwny adj. 'unlovely, filthy': °*nc* dir. f. 66R.17*.

pw'dy m. 'monument, altar': °*dw* acc. 104V.2; °*dy* id. 23V.11*, 13.

pw'zwny indecl. noun 'isolation, retreat': 31R.26.

pw'zy adj. 'separate, isolated': loc. 31R.20.

pw-cšnt adv. 'without drink': 25V.18*.

pw-dbn adv. 'without fear': 51R.27.

pwlws m. 'Paul': dir. 48R.1, 56R.29; °*sy* obl. 48R.9 (n-p°).

¹**pwn** adj. 'full': dir. 40R.13, 40V.1*, 48V.24, 51V. 23, 94R.9, 10. Cf. *pwrn-cwq.*

²*pwn:* see s.v. *pn.*

pw-pcywp adj. 'unchanging': dir. 31R.2–3.

pw-ptšm'r adj. 'countless': dir. 12V.20*.

pwrc noun 'loan': dir. 51R.9.

pwrn-cwq adj. 'full of tears': dir. 12V.3.

pwryc f. 'maiden, virgin': dir. 12V.4.

pwrycy' f. 'virginity': 66R.19*.

pwsty m. 'book, scripture, message': °*ty* nom.(?) (comp. with inf.) 31V.27, 104V.14; °*tw* acc. 104R. 9; °*ty* gen. 54V.30*, 91V.9 (n-p°); °*t'* abl. 77V.12, 102R.30; °*tyt* dir. pl. 55R.28; °*tyty* obl. pl. 55R.23, 57R.12, 94R.11, 30, 102V.29.

pwš vb. 'to kiss': *pwš'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 68R.18; *pwš* 3 sg. impf. 27R.1; *pwšn* 1 sg. subj. 105R.6*.

pwtqy indecl. noun 'disintegration'(?): 12R.18, 69V.18, A R.25.

pw-wr' adj. 'unprofitable, worthless': dir. 48V.15; °*ry* obl. 65V.30; °*ryt* dir. pl. 13V.16*, 40R.10, 48V.28, 53V.3*.

pwx'y/pwxst- vb. 'to cut off, amputate': *pwx'y* 3 sg. opt. 27V.23*; *pwxsty* past inf. 27V.22*; *pxwsty* id. 27V.7.

pwx'y'mnty m. 'formation': gen. 40R.22*.

pw-xwrt adv. 'without food': dir. 25V.17*–18.

pwyrt vb. 'to turn away, estrange': °*rtq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 51R.2*.

pw-ży'wr adj. 'heartless': °*rt* dir. pl. 68R.24*.

pw== ? : 27R.18.

py'm/py'm't vb. 'to heal, cure': °*mtq'* 3 sg. fut. 3R.10. Pp. **py'm'ty** 'cured': °*m'c* dir. f. 3V.2*; °*m'tyt* dir. pl. 3R.11*.

py't/pyst- vb. 'to adorn'. Pp. **pyst-y** 'adorned': °*tyt* dir. pl. 94R.6*.

pyd'r postp. 'on account of, because of, concerning', always with prep. *cn*: 1R.14, 12V.19*, 23V.23*, 39V.8, 40R.17, 20, 40V.3, 11, 21, 23 (x2), 48R.6, 7, 53R.2*, 55V.24, 56R.8, 57V.13, 18, 60R.8, 27, 30, 60V.18, 20, 25, 61R.18, 61V.23 (x3), 24, 65V.30, 66R.6, 13, 66V.4*, 68R.4, 5, 9, 14, 15, 68V.6, 10, 77R.14, 87V.9*, 17, 91V.10*, 94R.13, 94V.4; 102R.20, 104V.6*, 7*, 15, 105V.5, 108V.5, 111R.7*, 120R.8.

pyls' noun 'paten': 57R.19.

pylyqydws m. 'Placidus': dir. 91V.8.

pylypws m. 'Philip': dir. 56V.7.

pyms- vb. 'to be healed': °*sy* 3 sg. opt. 66V.11.

pynmcyq adj. 'former, previous': dir. 31V.7, 51V. 11*, 55V.17, 102R.23 (pnm°); °*qt* dir. pl. 31V.30, 57V.27 (pnm°); °*qty* obl. pl. 31V.1.

pynms' adv. 'before'. (1) In phrase *pynms' mnt* conj. 'id.': 54R.16, 94R.19*. (2) As postp. +gen. 'before, in the presence of': 6R.12*, 27R.22, 51V.16, 52V.5*, 53R.3, 55V.27, 57R.7, 60R.4, 61R.17 (with prep. *cn*), 61V.20, 68V.14, 24, 77R.15, 17 (pnms'), 102R.21, H R.2*.

pynmstr adv. 'first': 12V.5 (pnmstr)—as postp. 'before' 11R.28.

pyn vb. 'to open': *pyntt* 2 pl. impv. 60R.8.

pyr vb. 'to trust, believe, entrust': 2 sg. impv. 51R.10, 14, 51V.17.

pyst ? : R V.2.

pyst-: see s.v. *py't.*

pyšt conj. 'but': C V.2.

pyštrw adv. 'afterwards': 12R.9, 55R.18, 60V.8—as postp. with prep. *cn* 'after' 22R.2, 60R.8.

pyš-wz'y indecl. noun 'heirloom': 51R.21.

pyty adj. 'lost': *pytc* dir. f. 6V.16.

pyθywn m. 'Pethion': dir. 3R.8*, 9, 13*, 3V.4, 11R.27*, 22R.16, 25V.21*.

pyz vb. 'to strike': 3 sg. impf. 51V.13.

pžγyr/pžγyrt vb. 'to shout, cry out': *pžγyrtq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 51R.23; *pžγyrymsqn* 1 pl. dur. pres. 57R.30*; *p'žγyr* 3 sg. impf. 60V.19, 31; *pžγyrt* past inf. 3R.14*, 12V.10, 22V.18*.

p[? : 7V.18*, 25V.1*, 26R.5*, 6, a V.1*, c R.2*, 52R. 9, 104V.18*, F V.2*, L V.3, N V.2*, U V.2*.

r'mnty adv. 'constantly, always': 48V.21 (MS rm'nty), 54R.25, 55V.23.

r't noun 'gift': dir. 3V.11*, 7V.26, 48V.5*, 69V.24.

r'θ noun 'road, way, occasion': dir. 31R.1, 60R.19, 60V.25, 61V.26, 94V.23; *r'θy* obl. 11V.28, 12V. 17, 87V.10 (y-r°), 94R.9, 10.

r'θp'n m. 'robber': dir. 51V.19, 20; °*nty* obl. pl. 51V.18.

r'θy: see s.vv. *'wr'θy* and *r'θ*.

r'y vb. 'to weep, cry': *r'y'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 60R.30, 87V.10; *r'y'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 60R.15*; *r'y* 3 sg. impf. 60R.16.

r'z f. 'secret, mystery, symbol': dir. 52R.17, 55R. 21, 57R.19, 25; *r'zy* obl. (perhaps partly belonging to *r'z'*, q.v.) 40V.23, 57V.6*, 13; *r'zty* obl. pl. 39V.8.

r'z' noun 'Mystery, Eucharist': 57V.13; *r'zy* obl. (?—see s.v. *r'z*).

r'zy'n adj. 'mysterious, symbolic': °*nt* dir. pl. 31V. 16.

rm- m. 'people': *rmy* nom. 39R.2, 55R.24, 94V.5; *rmw* acc. 40R.4, 69V.27; *rmy* gen. 27R.20, 65V. 26; *rm'* abl. 27R.7, 65R.21*, 68V.27; *rmt'* nom. pl. 69V.29; *rmty'* gen. pl. 57R.30.

rm'nty: see s.v. *r'mnty*.

rmq'ny m. 'heathen': °*nyty* obl. pl. 55V.15.

ršt- f. 'truth' as predic. adj. 'true': *ršt'* nom. 6R.13, 52R.14.

ršt-y adj. 'true': *rštyt* dir. pl. 48R.22.

ršty'q f. 'truth, rectitude': dir. 1R.12*, 12V.11, 15*, 27V.5, 10*, 64V.23*, 69V.22*, 94R.5, 104R.13, 108R.2*, 108V.3*; °*qy* obl. 68V.30.

rt m. 'Rad': dir. 22R.11, 14, 24R.12*, 26R.3.

rty conj. 'then, and' (linking clauses): passim in ff. 1—27, b V.2, c V.4, e R.2*. With encl. pron.: 13R.19 (rt-f), 27 (id.), 30 (id.), 22R.9 (rt-šn). Cf. *'r*.

rw'n m. 'soul': dir. 27R.11, 40R.22, 40V.2, 4, 9, 11, 13, 20, 21, 51R.13*, 26*, 60R.6, 20, 21, 60V.2, 5, 14, 15, 16, 20, 24, 91R.4; °*ny* obl. 40R.1, 5*, 61V.18; °*nt* dir. pl. 39V.3, 6.

rwcp'n m. 'executioner': dir. 27R.12, 16, 17*; °*nt* dir. pl. 27R.26*, 27V.9*.

rwdny adj. 'brazen': nom. 23R.4; °*nw* acc. 91R.8*.

rwγn noun 'oil': dir. 94V.20; °*ny* obl. 94V.21.

rwš vb. 'to flow, stream': *rwš'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 14V.21; *rwšy* 3 sg. opt. 14V.22*.

rwšγwny adj. 'desirable': °*nw* acc. 68R.7.

rwt m. 'river': dir. 22V.7*, 12, 23R.11, 12*, 23V.5, 53R.6, 87V.11*, 11; *rwty* obl. 22V.15.

rwxšn- adj. 'light, bright': °*nt'* nom. pl. 91R.11*.

rwxšny'q f. 'light': dir. 14R.24*, 48R.12, 77V.15, 94R.24; °*qy* obl. 39V.7.

rwž vb. 'to desire': *rwžt* 3 sg. pres. 94V.12; *rwžysq* 2 sg. dur. pres. 51V.24. Pres. part. **rwžny** 'desiring': °*nyt* dir. pl. 48V.12.

rwžty' f. 'desire': 51V.29, 61V.28*, 69V.26; °*y'* obl. 60R.22; °*yt* dir. pl. 40R.13.

rxn- vb. 'to dare': *rxntysqwn* 3 sg. dur. pres. 25R. 3—4; *rxn'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 17V.1, 2; *rxn'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 24V.15*; *rxn't* 3 sg. subj. 56R.19.

rym m. 'dirt, impurity': dir. 61R.25.

ryncq noun 'child': dir. 69V.17.

ryncqw adj. 'light, small': dir. 48V.5.

rystr compar. 'less, least': dir. 48R.25 (n-r°), 68V. 30.

ryt f. 'face': dir. 55R.22, 60R.10, 68R.27; *ryty* obl. as adv. and postp. +gen. 'before, in front of, against, towards' 12V.9, 22R.17, 40V.15, E V margin.

rytry' f. 'evil, harm': 87R.17, 102V.26.

[1]**ryž** m. 'will, wish, desire': dir. 12R.5, 12V.15 (x2), 31V.21, 40V.12, 51R.27, 57V.21, 94R.13, A V.27, O V.2(?).

[2]**ryž** vb. 'to be desirable': *ryžt* 3 sg. pres. 31V.9, 48V.11; *ryžtq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 51V.27; *ryž'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 60R.20; *ryžt* 3 sg. subj.(?) 51V.6.

r[==]'[? : 48R.28*.

r[? : 14V.18*, O R.2, S R.2*.

s' postp. +acc. 'to, for' etc.: 51V.3, 87V.7. With prep. *qw*: passim. Spelling altered from *s'r*: 31R.3, 57V.14. Cf. the postpositioned pronouns *t'fs'* s.v. *tγw* and *t'ms'* s.v. *zw*.

s'c vb. 'to be proper, behove': *s'št* 3 sg. pres. 31R.5, 57V.15, 66R.4; *s'c'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. A V.29.

s'cy-mycy' f. 'what is proper': 61R.20; °*mcy'* obl. 102V.30*.

s'q noun 'number': dir. 12R.7*.

s'qy': see s.v. *mzyxs'qy'*.

s'n noun 'enemy': dir. 66R.16*, 104R.4; *s'nt* dir. pl. 23V.24, 111V.7; *s'nty* obl. pl. 27R.21*.

s'n'wty' f. 'enmity': 57R.17.

s'ptw adj. 'left(-hand)': dir. 57R.27, 57V.8, 60V.13 (s'pt).

s'r: see s.v. *s'*.

s'rst adj. 'beautiful'. Elative **w'-s'rst** 'so beautiful': dir. 12R.17*.

s'št: see s.v. *s'c*.

s't adj. 'all, whole': dir. 12V.2, 8*, 11, 15, 13R.18 (x2), 24 (x2), 25*, 29, 13V.28, 14V.19, 22R.14*, 22V.16, 23V.2*, 8, 24R.17, 26R.11, 26V.9*, 27V.7, 30, 31V.29, 40R.6, 7, 40V.15, 16, 17, 20,

48R.19, 51R.8, 23, 51V.14, 21, 55R.14, 22, 25 (n-s't), 57R.14, 60R.30, 60V.21, 61V.25, 30*, 64V.23*, 68R.19, 68V.5, 6, 29, 31*, 69R.13, 16, 69V.20, 21, 27, 29, 77R.16, 77V.7, 10, 86R.1, 86V.1, 91V.7, 94R.25, N R.4.

sdwm noun 'Sodom': °*my* obl. 57V.17.

sdxwrsn ? : 108R.5*.

sfr'cy m. 'speech, word': acc. 12R.9, 26V.5.

sfryn/sfryt vb. 'to create': *syfryn* 3 sg. impf. 5R.30. Pres. part. **sfrynny** as m. noun 'creator': °*nw* acc. 57V.2; °*ny* gen. 66V.3; °*n'* abl. 40R.18. Pp. **sfryty** 'created': nom. 40R.21; °*tyt* dir. pl. 69V.19.

sfryn'mnty m. 'creation': gen. 40R.20.

sfrywn noun 'id.': dir. 27V.13, 57V.16, 66V.2*, 68R.3*, 69R.13*; °*ny* obl. 57V.19.

sγt- f. 'day (of the month)': *sγt'* acc. 69R.23; *sγty'* loc. 55R.17, 68V.11 (sγdy').

sq'm'nqy' f. 'arrogance': 48R.15, 61V.16*; °*y'* obl. 54R.21.

sq'r noun 'ember, coal': °*rt* dir. pl. 102V.19.

sq'tr: see s.v. *sqy*.

sqsy m. 'grave': °*yt* dir. pl. 94V.5.

sqt- f. 'tares, thorns': *sqt'* acc. 54R.26.

sqw-: see s.v. *x-*.

sqwn: see s.vv. *b(w)-*, ¹*myn*, *rxn-* and *swc*.

sqwny: see s.v. *m'sy-sqwny*.

sqy indecl. adj. 'situated above': 22V.12, 23R.3. Compar. **sq'tr** adv. and indecl. predic. adj. 'higher, above, more, further': 13R.29, 31V.27, 29, 87V.16*, Q V.6.

sqyp'r adv. and indecl. predic. adj. 'higher, above': 13R.30, 31V.22, 26, 57R.19, 61R.25.

slyq noun 'Seleucia': dir. 68V.14.

sm'n noun, **sm'ny** indecl. noun 'sky, heaven': °*n* dir. 11V.20, 27; °*ny* 13V.26, 27, 22V.13*, 23R.4, 23V.10, 39R.1, 48V.22, 51R.4, 53R.4, 54R.30, 57R.11, 23, 60R.6, 7, 66V.6, 94R.2.

sm'ncyq adj. 'heavenly': dir. 31V.32, 48R.9, 29, 48V.12, 14–15*, 57R.6–7*, 7, 22, 66R.8*.

smwtr- m. 'ocean': °*ry'* loc. 31R.25, 87V.9 (y-s°).

sn-/st- vb. 'to rise, ascend, come up': *snty* 3 sg. pres. 31V.25; *snyq'* 2 sg. fut. 64R.29; *sn'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 39R.8, 77R.10; *sn'* 3 sg. impf. 23R. 12*, 57R.23, 60V.24; *sn'* 2 sg. impv. 64R.28*; *sty* 3 sg. m. intr. pret. 57R.10.

sn'm m. 'washing, baptism': dir. 56V.31, 57R.1, 2, 8, 11, B V.25. Cf. *dsty-sn'm*.

sn'mnty m. 'ascension, coming up': nom. 57R.4*; °*ty* gen. 57R.4; °*t'* abl. 55R.27.

sn'y vb. 'to wash, cleanse': *sn'ynt* 3 pl. pres. 57R.15; *sn'y.nt* 3 pl. opt. 57R.14; *pr syny* pres. inf. 57R. 16.

snq m. 'stone, rock; (as name) Kephas, Peter': dir. 54V.16; *snqy* obl. 57R.20.

sp- m. 'horse': *spyy* acc. pl. 60V.28, 30. Cf. *spy-swd'mnty*.

sp'd noun 'army': dir. 13V.30, 87R.6*.

sp'dpt m. 'general': dir. 87V.2.

sp'dy'n m. 'soldier': °*nt* dir. pl. 40V.15.

sp's noun 'service': dir. 31V.19, 27, 55V.29, 56V.2; °*sy* obl. 31V.18, 19, 55V.23.

sp'sqy': see s.v. *ptqry-sp'sqy'*.

spny m. 'filth': °*yty* obl. pl. 48V.13.

spnyqry m. 'smith': nom. 22R.9; °*rw* acc. 22R.13.

spty adj. 'white, bright': *sptw* acc. 57R.8; *sptyt* dir. pl. 57R.6.

spt-y adj. 'complete, perfect': *spty* nom. 40V.12, 94R.26; *sptw* acc. 53V.2; *spty* id. 12R.4, 5*, 12V.14; *spc'* acc. f. 31V.7, 69V.26, 102R.17*, 108R.12*; *sptyt* dir. pl. 57R.22, 91R.4.

spty'q f. 'completion': dir. 31V.14.

spwny'q f. 'id.': °*qy* obl. 40R.22.

spyn- noun 'iron, iron fetter': °*nt'* acc. pl. 68R.18, 69R.22.

spy-swd'mnty m. 'horse-racing': °*tw* acc. 31R.21.

spyš- vb. 'to serve, celebrate': *spyšynt* 3 pl. opt. 55R.26; *pr spyšw* pres. inf. 57R.3. *špy[š-* ? 14R.9.

sr- m. 'head, chief': *sry* nom. 39R.1, 51R.24, 51V. 13; *srw* acc. 26R.19*, 27V.22, 23*, 57R.5, 24, 29, 66V.19*, 111R.3*.

sr'w vb. 'to sing': °*wnt* 3 pl. pres. 60V.22; °*w'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 60V.23.

sr'wty' f. 'song': °*tyty* obl. pl. 102R.30.

srcyq adj. 'of the head': dir. 91R.6.

srd noun 'year': dir. 1R.10*, 94R.13; *srdy* obl. 68V.13.

srθng m. 'leader, chief man': °*gt* dir. pl. 12V.8; °*gty* obl. pl. 13R.18.

sry'qyc m. 'id.': dir. 40R.10*, 68V.25; °*qyšt* dir. pl. 111V.6*.

sryt: see s.v. *šwn-sry*.

st': see s.v. *x-*.

st'nyq m. 'messenger': dir. 77V.12.

stq- m. 'bone': *stqt'* acc. pl. 69R.26.

stryc f. 'woman, female': dir. 14R.19.

strzq adj. 'contentious' or 'bold': dir. 68V.32.

stw indecl. num. 'a hundred': 54R.28, 64V.27.

stw-pnc's indecl. num. '150': 13R.27 (MS °pn'c's).

stwr noun 'sheep': °*ry* obl. 11V.18; °*rty* obl. pl. 12R.4.

sty: see s.vv. *sn-* and *x-*.

swbt-: see s.v. *swmb*.

swc/swγt- vb. 'to burn': *swct-sqwn* 3 sg. dur. pres. 25R.21–22; *swγd'rnt* 3 pl. tr. pret. 104R.16. Pres. part. **swcny** 'burning, ardent': °*yt* dir. pl. 102V.18.

swcy: see s.v. *'tr-swcy*.

swd vb. 'to hurry, hasten': *swdnt* 3 pl. pres. 55V. 28*; *swdntq'* 3 pl. fut. 94R.20; *swd* 3 sg. impf. 86R.1*, 105R.5; *swdnt* 3 pl. impf. 94R.25; *swdym* 1 pl. opt. 61R.18; *swdt* 3 sg. subj. 61V.30.

swd'mnty m. 'hastening, racing': nom. 61V.17; °*tw* acc. 31R.23. Cf. *spy-swd'mnty*.
swdq adv. 'hastily': 68R.19.
swγt-: see s.v. *swc*.
swγtm'n adj. 'all': dir. 12V.10, 19, 60V.1.
swq-: see s.v. *x-*.
swq'm noun 'remaining, being': dir. 25V.1, 48R. 7*.
swqb'r m. 'monk': dir. 60R.27; °*rt* dir. pl. 48R.22; °*rty* obl. pl. 40V.19.
swqnt noun 'oath': dir. 23R.24, 69R.15, 16.
swm m. 'burning': dir. 111R.8.
swmb/swbt- vb. 'to pierce'. Pp. **swbt-y** 'pierced': °*ty* nom. 51V.12*.
swsn noun 'lily': dir. 83V.2*.
swx'y/swxst- vb. 'to lift up, take up': *swx'y'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 12V.12; *syxw'y* 3 sg. impf. 87V.11; *syxw'ynt* 3 pl. impf. 22V.7, 68V.8, 87V.5, 6. Pp. **swxst-y** 'lifted up, taken up, exalted': °*sty* nom. 56V.5, 8; °*sc'* nom. f. 61R.17; °*styt* dir. pl. 68V.5.
swxrd vb. 'to shout': *syxwrdnt* 3 pl. impf. 66V.5.
sy-/sy't vb. 'to appear, show oneself': *sy'* 3 sg. impf. 22R.10 (b'msy', cf. s.v. *b'm*); *sy'* 2 sg. impv. 60V.5; *sy't* past inf. 51V.31.
syd vb. 'to appear, seem': *sydtq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 48R.2, 48V.14, 51V.8, 9.
syfryn: see s.v. *sfryn*.
syn vb. 'to make to go up, lift up, bring up': *synynt* 3 pl. opt. 23V.11; *syn* 2 sg. impv. 51R.4; *synd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 60R.1.
syny: see s.v. *sn'y*.
syxw'y: see s.v. *swx'y*.
syxwrd: see s.v. *swxrd*.
s=t[? : T R.2.
s[? : 48V.8*, 24, 55V.8, F V.11.

š'n' f. 'shin': *š'nyt* dir. pl. 27V.8.
š'nwx adj. 'excellent': dir. 11V.21, 60R.27*.
š'nwxy' f. 'excellence': C V.3.
š'š vb. 'to scatter': *š'šysq* 2 sg. dur. pres. 51R.7.
š'š'mnty m. 'scattering': °*tw* acc. 51R.10*.
š'twx adj. 'happy, joyful': dir. 51V.16*; °*xt* dir. pl. 104R.2.
š'twxy' f. 'happiness, bliss': 51R.3, 51V.6; °*y'* obl. 57R.8.
šbt noun 'Šbāṭ': dir. 65R.30, 69R.23.
šf'r noun 'shame': dir. 23V.29.
šf'r-qty adj. 'ashamed': acc. 5V.29–30*, 7R.27*.
šfrs vb. 'to be ashamed': *šfrsynt* 3 pl. opt. 111V.3. *šfrs[* J V.2.
šq'f noun 'crag': °*ft* dir. pl. 27V.20*.
šq'f': see s.v. *dnty-šq'f'*.
šqr-/šqrt vb. 'to lead, conduct': *šqrty* 3 sg. pres. 3V.13; *šqrnq'* 1 sg. fut. 48R.5; *šqrntq'* 3 pl. fut. 40R.17; *šqr'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 68R.19; *šyqr* 3 sg. impf. 60R.24; *šqrwty* 3 sg. irr. 56R.27*; *šqrd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 77R.9.
šqwpn- f. 'dry land': °*n'* acc. 22V.15.
šqwrθ adj. 'harsh, painful': dir. 69R.24.
šqwrθy' f. 'pain, distress, trouble, misfortune': 51R.21*, 69R.21, 94V.26; °*y'* obl. 61V.23, 68R. 14; °*yt* dir. pl. 31R.3.
šm'r/šm'rt vb. 'to think': *šm'rt* 3 sg. pres. 104R.3; *šm'rmsq* 1 sg. dur. pres. J R.3*; *šm'rntq* 3 pl. dur. pres. 48V.16; *šm'rnq'* 1 sg. fut. 55V.26; *šm'r'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 66R.1*; *šm'r'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 77R.9*; *šym'r* 3 sg. impf. 12V.30, 17R.4*, 60R.20*; *šym'rnt* 3 pl. impf. 77R.8, 11; *šm'r* 2 sg. impv. K V.2; *šm'rt* past inf. 94R.19.
šm'r' f. 'thought, thinking': dir. 31R.11, 31V.5, 15 (x2), 16, 51R.2*, 61R.27, Q R.2*; °*ry* obl. 94R. 28*, 30, 94V.6, 16, 19, 27, 102R.19, 23, 102V.20, 104R.2, 7*, 104V.3, 6*, 10, 14*, 17*, 108R.6, 120R.11, B R.28; °*ryt* dir. pl. 31V.12, 21, 40R.11, 12, 102V.19, 120R.6, G R.30; °*ryty* obl. pl. 31R.7, 15, 24, 57R.14, 94V.2, 102R.26*, 102V.25, 105V.3, 108V.5*, 111R.4, 120R.8.
šm'šy m. 'deacon': °*yt* dir. pl. 57R.25, 64R.23*, 68V.22.
šm'x: see s.v. *tyw*.
šmbd: see s.v. *yw-šmbd*.
šmγwn m. 'Simon': dir. 54V.16, 64R.26, 27, 64V. 25*, 66R.6; °*ny* obl. 68V.19.
šmnq'nny adj. 'Satanic, devilish': acc. 12R.4.
šmnw m. 'Satan, Ahriman, the devil': dir. 13R.28, 39R.12, 40R.4*, 6, 48R.17, 54R.26, 56V.18, 57R.23, 57V.4, 102R.24, 104R.4*, 105V.7.
šn: see s.v. ¹*xw*.
šn- vb. 'to shake, tremble': *šn'* 2 sg. impv. 51V.30*.
špyš-: see s.v. *spyš-*.
šrwγ m. 'lion': dir. 83R.6*, 87V.13.
št' indecl. num. 'eight': 94R.28. Ordinal **štmyq** 'eighth': dir. 55R.22.
štf'r indecl. num. 'four': 17R.1. Ordinal **štf'rmyq** 'fourth': dir. 27V.6*, 39V.1*, 108V.4*.
štf'rwyst indecl. num. 'twenty-four'. Ordinal **štf'rwystmyq** 'twenty-fourth': dir. 56R.11*.
štfrs indecl. num. 'forty': 55R.18, 20, 21 (x2).
štmyq: see s.v. *št'*.
štts indecl. num. 'eighteen'. Ordinal **šttsmyq** 'eighteenth': dir. 55V.20.
štyq: see s.v. ²*šy*.
¹*šw:* see s.v. ¹*xw*.
²**šw** adj. 'black': *šwt* dir. pl. 60V.28 (x2). Cf. *fšmy-šw*.
šw-/yt- vb. 'to go, move': *šwt* 3 sg. pres. 31R.1, 31V.2, 61V.26; *šwysq* 2 sg. dur. pres. 48V.29; *šwtq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 31V.22, 104R.5*; *šwnq'* 1 sg. fut. 94R.21; *šwntq'* 3 pl. fut. 40V.14, 20; *šw'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 87V.10; *šw'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 17V.3; *šwy* 2 sg. opt. 31V.32(?); *šwy* 3 sg. opt. 94R.23;

šw'n 1 sg. subj. 94R.20; *šw't* 3 sg. subj. 27V.4, 51R.5, 57V.15; *šwq'* 1 sg. fut. inj. a V.2*; *šw'* 2 sg. impv. 26V.6; *yty* past inf. 87V.7.

šw'mc n. (?) 'course, way of life': dir. 31R.28, 31V.25, 61R.23*, 25, 26, 94R.7 (x2), 10, 12; °*mcy* obl. 11V.28, 12V.17*; °*mšt* dir. pl. L R.2*; °*mšty* obl. pl. 31V.20.

šw'mnty m. 'going': nom. 56V.19*.

šwq adj. 'silent, speechless': dir. 12R.8, 65V.29.

šwq- adj. 'dry': *šwq'* nom. f. 69R.26*. Cf. *šqwpn-*.

šwn-sry m. 'haunch': °*yt* dir. pl. 27V.17.

šwšn-p'yqy' f. 'discipline': 31V.5.

šwšp' noun 'veil': 57R.19.

[1]*šy:* see s.v. [1]*xw*.

[2]**šy** indecl. num. 'three': 14R.20, 31R.28, 48V.4, 56V.31, 57R.10, 22*, 29, 66R.11, 66V.18, 87R.7, 94R.13, B R.25(?). Cf. *šy-p'd'*. Ordinal **štyq** 'third': dir. 40R.13, 57R.24, 57V.12, 91R.6.

šy' f. 'memory' in phrases *šy' 'br* 'to remember', *šy' 'br'mnty* 'remembrance': 31V.1, 61V.18, 19, 28, 94R.11, 102R.23, 104R.4*.

šy'tr: see s.v. *šyr-*.

šyqn noun 'mansion': °*ny* obl. 68R.8.

šyqr: see s.v. *šqr-*.

šym- vb. 'to blush, be ashamed': *šymynt* 3 pl. opt. 111V.4.

šym'r: see s.v. *šm'r*.

šy-p'd' adj. 'three-pronged': dir. 60V.3, 7.

šyr adv. 'very, very much': 7R.22*, 12R.8, 22V.10, 17, 27R.18*, 51R.19, 60V.28, 68V.9, 87R.8, 87V.4.

šyr- adj. 'good, excellent': *šyr* nom. 22R.8; *šyry* id. 54R.27, 120R.10, A V.27; *šyrw* nom. n. 94R.4; *šyrw* acc. 31R.23 (as adv. 'well'), 68R.13; *šyr'* acc. f. 48V.25, 68R.2; *šyryt* dir. pl. 39R.5, 48V. 23, 61V.28. Compar. **šy'tr** 'more excellent': dir. 12V.11*, 61R.26.

šyr'qty' f. 'goodness, beneficence, Grace': 11V.22*, 22R.4*, 51V.7, 57R.3, 57V.26, 28, 61R.23, 68R.6, 83R.2*, 87R.3*, 91V.5*; °*y'* obl. 57V.2.

šyrqty adj. 'virtuous, righteous, saintly': nom. 25V.21; °*qty* acc. 22R.16*; °*qty* gen. 27R.22*, 40V.9, 60R.20; °*qty* abl. 3R.8; °*qty* voc. 22R.7*; °*qc* dir. f. 68R.17; °*qtc* id. 12V.12.

šyry m. '(what is) good, good thing, blessing': *šyrw* acc. 48V.19, 54R.29, 57V.24; *šyry* id. 7V.28, 13R.19.

šyryt: see s.v. *šyr-*.

šys indecl. num. 'thirty': 54R.28.

šywl noun 'Sheol': dir. 40V.2*.

š[? : 23V.24, 56R.7, 91R.10*.

t'dqwšsp m. 'Dādgušasp': dir. 1R.21*.

t'f', t'fs': see s.v. *tγw*.

t'm', t'ms': see s.v. *zw*.

t'nm'n pron. 'so-and-so': dir. 57R.1.

t'p/tbt- vb. 'to seal': *t'pnt* 3 sg. impf. 77R.12. Pp. **tbt-y** 'sealed': *tbt'* abl. N V.1*.

t'py m. 'seal': *t'pw* acc. 77R.13; *t'py* id. 26R.21; *t'py* gen. 55R.23.

t'rqwny indecl. noun 'darkness': 31R.9, A R.30.

t'ry adj. and m. noun 'dark': nom. 53R.7*t*(?); *t'rw* acc. 51V.28; *t'ry* gen. 40V.15, 94R.22; *'ry* loc. 51V.5 (y-t°), 69R.22, 94R.22.

t'wnty adj. 'mighty': nom. 13V.19, 22*, 23R.13(?); °*ntw* acc. 69R.17; °*nty* id. 6V.13*, 23V.5; °*nty* gen. 94V.15 (n-t°); °*nc* dir. f. 60V.31.

tbr- vb. 'to insert': *tybr* 3 sg. impf. 60V.6.

tbt-: see s.v. *t'p*.

tcn'=' ? : 51R.14*.

tγt-: see s.v. *tys*.

tγw 2nd pers. pron. 'you'. No gender distinctions. (1) Independent forms: *tγw* nom. sg. 5R.30, 7V.23*, 12V.14, 16, 13V.25, 26V.4, 27R.8*, 27V.27*, 31V.26, 51V.18, 60V.5, 66R.14, 66V.13, 69V.25, 87V.15, 111R.5, B R.27; *t'f'* acc. sg. 5R.30, 13R.24*, 30, 23R.28, 51R.1, 29, 30, 51V.29, 60R.1, 69R.19 (x2), 69V.16; *tw'* gen. sg. (often functioning as possessive adj. 'your') 7R. 25*, 7V.24, 11V.18*, 22, 12V.17, 13R.15, 23, 25, 29, 13V.20, 27*, 23R.26*, 23V.3*, 29, 26R.19, 27R.6*, 6, 7, 11, 20, 27V.1, 2, 25*, 51R.5, 9, 11 (x2), 13, 17, 19, 22, 28, 51V.6, 8, 11*, 12, 13, 16, 24, 26, 28, 54R.26, 55V.27, 66V.13*, 68R.15 (x2), 69R.14, 20, 21 (x2), 69V.11, 22, 24*, 77V.14, 102V.21, 104R.8, 104V.13, 105R.7, 120R.10*, A R. 29, M V.5*; *šm'x* pl. (also functioning as poss. adj. 'your') 12R.12*, 25R.15, 26V.9, 48R.7, 65V.20*, 66R.3*, 3, 7*, 10* (x2), 13, 17*, 66V.4*, 68R.1, 3, 4, 7 (x2), 8, 30 (x2), 68V.2, 3*, 69R.13, 69V.27, 104R.4*, 6* (x2), 104V.9*. (2) Pre- and postpositioned forms (all sg.): *c'f'* 23R.26, 51R.2, 51V.10, 29, 94V.11, 102V.22*; *d'f'* 51R.5, 8*, 69V.25; *pr'f'* 7V.23; *t'fs'* 7V.26*, 13R.20*, 27R.2, 28*, 51R.23, 51V.27, 68R.13, 15, 94V.11. (3) Enclitic forms: *-f* acc. sg. 13R.19 (rt-f), 27 (rt-f), 30 (rt-f), 94V.9 (qyt-f); *ty* gen. sg. 31V.31, 51V.6, 9, 27.

tqwš/tqwšt vb. 'to look, observe': *tqwšt* 3 sg. pres. 52V.3(?); *tqwš'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 86R.2*; *tyqwš* 3 sg. impf. 12R.10, 60R.28, 60V.2, 27; *tqwš* 2 sg. impv. 12V.16, 51V.28*; *tqwšt* past inf. 31V.16.

tm- m. 'hell': *tmw* acc. 51V.26.

tmp'r m. 'body, flesh': dir. 17V.3, 31V.28, 40R.22, 40V.11*, 24, 48R.14, 16, 51R.26, 56V.25, 57R. 18*, 60R.21, 60V.15, 61V.18; °*ry* obl. 94V.4; °*rt* dir. pl. 66V.10, 91R.10*.

tmp'r-myc adj. 'of the body, corporeal': °*yšt* dir. pl. 31V.18, 40R.10 (°rmyšt).

tny-/tny't vb. 'to bring in, lead in, introduce':

tynynt 3 pl. impf. 68V.23*; *tny't* 3 sg. subj. 22R.10; *tny'nt* 3 pl. subj. 12R.3; *tny'd'ry* 2 sg. tr. pret. 120R.6.

tny' f. 'gentleness': 12R.13.

tp- m. 'jar, pitcher': *tpy* nom. 94V.21.

tr- vb. 'to go': *trntq'* 3 pl. fut. 48V.11*; *try* 2 sg. opt. 51R.5; *try* 3 sg. opt. 54V.21; *trym* 1 pl. opt. 60V.16, 120R.12; *tr't* 3 sg. subj. 51R.8*; *tr'* 2 sg. impv. 51V.8, 11, 16, 26.

trγ- adj. 'sharp, swift': *trγw* acc. 12R.7; *trγ'* nom. f. 68V.4.

trγ'wy m. 'sharpness, quickness': °*w'* abl. 31R.15.

trγz'y indecl. adj. 'oppressed, poverty-stricken': °*yty* obl. pl. 51R.8.

trs'q m. 'Christian': °*qt* dir. pl. 7V.30*, 55V.13*, 65V.22*; °*qty* obl. pl. 1R.11*, 7R.28*, 7V.28*, 13R.16*, 68V.20.

trs'q'ny adj. 'Christian, of the Christians': nom. 23R.28.

trxq- adj. 'bitter': °*q'* acc. f. 69R.21, 24*.

trxqy'q f. 'bitterness': dir. 39R.8*, 68V.2.

tw': see s.v. *tγw*.

twdy m. 'heap, mass': nom. 17V.4, 22V.13.

twxmyn m. 'Tohmīn': dir. 11R.19*.

twxycq adv. 'quickly': 68V.9.

twž vb. 'to pay, repay': *twžtq'* 3 sg. fut. 68R.13, 102V.17*; *twžt* 3 sg. subj. 51R.9, 61R.19.

txm- m. 'seed, descendant, relation': *txmy* nom. 54R.27; *txmw* acc. 52R.9; *txmt'* nom. pl. 60R.9.

[1]**txyz** vb. 'to set, go down': *txyzt* 3 sg. subj. 94V.18.

[2]*txyz:* see s.v. *xwr-txyz*.

[1]*ty:* see s.v. *tγw*.

[2]**ty** indecl. m. 'thief': 51R.31.

tybr: see s.v. *tbr-*.

tyqwš: see s.v. *tqwš*.

tym adv. 'still, yet, again, moreover, furthermore': 4V.3*, 17R.4, 23R.7, 24R.16, 31R.9, 40R.17, 48R.24, 66V.12, 91V.10*, 94V.3*, 120R.1*—in phrase *tym (. . .) fy'tr* 'still more' 40R.9, 19, 23, 69V.11, 15.

tympn adv. 'still, yet': 48R.13.

tynxwr noun 'Dīnahwar': dir. 1R.18*.

tyny: see s.v. *tny-*.

[1]**tys** noun 'entrance': dir. 11R.21.

[2]**tys/tγt-** vb. 'to enter, go in, come in': *tystq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 51V.25; *tys* 3 sg. impf. 60R.23, 60V.3, 9, 77R.1*, 17; *tysnt* 3 pl. impf. 12R.7, 60V.30, 77V.4*; *tysy* 3 sg. opt. 31V.14; *tysym* 1 pl. opt. 11R.25; *tysn* 1 sg. subj. 68R.7; *tys* 2 sg. impv. 51V.11; *tyt' bntsq* 3 pl. dur. pres. intr. pot. 22R.8; *tyty* past inf. 31V.11.

tyspwn noun 'Ctesiphon': dir. 68V.14.

t[? : 11V.23, 12V.26, 29, 53V.2*, M V.4, N V.3.

θ'br: see s.v. *θbr-*.

θ'dsys m. 'Theodosius': dir. 77V.13*, 17.

θb'r noun 'gift, giving': °*ry* obl. 51V.28*.

θb'rqy': see s.v. *y'n-θb'rqy'*.

θb'r-xwžqy' f. 'beggary': 51V.9*.

θbr-/θbrt vb. 'to give': *θbrty* 3 sg. pres. 39V.10, 104V.12*; *θbrnt* 3 pl. pres. 57R.16; *θbr'msq* 1 sg. dur. pres. 57R.2; *θbrysq* 2 sg. dur. pres. 51R.6; *θbr'mq'* 1 sg. fut. 13R.27–28*; *θbrtyq'* 3 sg. fut. 94V.22; *θbr'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 60R.31; *θ'br* 3 sg. impf. 60R.17, B V.24; *θ'brnt* 3 pl. impf. 77R.13; *θbry* 2 sg. opt. 69V.22; *θbr'n* 1 sg. subj. 17R.4; *θbr't* 3 sg. subj. 14V.24*, 54R.27; *θbrnt* 3 pl. subj. 1R.7; *θbrwtynt* 3 pl. irr. 69R.16; *θbr'* 2 sg. impv. 51R.9, 11*, 12*; *θbrt'* 2 pl. impv. 68R.4; *pr θbrw* pres. inf. 31V.29, 48V.23; *θbrd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 48V.1, 108V.3*; *θbrd'rym* 1 pl. tr. pret. 102R.24; *θbrd'rnt* 3 pl. tr. pret. 104V.5*. Pp. **θbrty** 'given': nom. 40R.18, 105V.8*; *θbrc* dir. f. 7R.22, 54V.22. *θbr[* 52R.20.

θbr'qy': see s.v. *y'n-θb'rqy'*.

θbr'mnty m. 'giving': °*tw* acc. 51R.10.

θfyž/θfxšt- vb. 'to gain, acquire': *θfyžt* 3 sg. pres. 31V.3, 61R.25; *θfyžnt* 3 pl. pres. 51R.25; *θyfyž* 3 sg. impf. 51V.19; *θfyž* 2 sg. impv. 51R.12 (MS θfyš); *θfxšt'ry* 2 sg. tr. pret. 51R.31*.

θrbw f. 'Tarbo': dir. 66R.5, 14, 66V.12*.

θty'q f. 'comfort, consolation': dir. 60R.17.

w-: see s.v. [1]*xw*.

w' elative prefix 'how, so, very': 12R.17 (x2), 48R.14, 104R.3. Cf. *w'* = = *'st[*.

w'b/wγt- vb. 'to say, speak': *w'bt* 3 sg. pres. 94V.10, 27, 102V.20, 104R.8; *w'bmsq* 1 sg. dur. pres. 31R.4, 6, 48R.20; *w'bmsqn* id. 57V.26; *w'bysq* 2 sg. dur. pres. 13V.21*, 25; *w'btq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 57R.1, 2*, 94V.19; *w'btqn* id. 40V.17, 18, 48R.8, 60R.1; *w'bnq'* 1 sg. fut. 55V.26; *w'btq'* 3 sg. fut. 69V.30; *w'b'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 12R.6*, 12V.14, 27R.19*, 27V.24, 54V.16, 60R.7, 60V.4, 83V.1; *w'b'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 12R.16, 60R.31, 60V.25, 94R.1; *w'b* 3 sg. impf. 3V.3, 6R.13, 12R.10, 13V.17*, 24, 22R.18*, 22V.4, 23R.9, 22, 29, 23V.26, 39R.10, 60R.18, 60V.15, 16, 21, 31, 66R.2, 5, 15, 68R.22, 68V.28, 32, 69R.12, 14, 17, 69V.14, 16, 23, 28, 87V.1*, 94V.24, 108V.11, B R.24, K R.3; *w'bym* 1 pl. impf. 57V.15; *w'bnt* 3 pl. impf. 6R.1*, 25R.18*, 66V.2, 68R.11, 23, 68V.14, 19, 77R.13, 77V.10*, B R.24, Q V.4; *w'bynt* 3 pl. opt. 55V.23; *wγd'ry* 2 sg. tr. pret. 66R.5*; *wγd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 40V.13, 20, 48R.1*, 18; *wγd'rnt* 3 pl. tr. pret. 111V.7*, 8*; *wγty* past inf. 12V.10. Pp. **wγt-y** 'said, spoken': *wγtw* nom. n. 39V.1, 40R.17, 55V.24.

w'bw: see s.v. *]-w'bw*.

w'c vb. 'to send, release, remit, let, allow': *w'št* 3 sg. pres. 102R.29*; *w'cmq'* 1 sg. fut. 1V.27*; *w'šṭq'* 2

pl. fut. 68R.3*; *w'cntq'* 3 pl. fut. 51R.30; *w'c* 3 sg. impf. 83R.4, 87R.17.

w'cn m. 'market, bazaar': dir. 68V.7.

w'd m. 'seat, throne, pulpit, (bishop's) see'. *w'dy* obl. 61V.20; *w'dty* obl. pl. 56R.32.

w'dm = w- + 'dm.

w'dy: see s.vv. *qwrc-w'dy, nymyθ-w'dy* and *w'd.*

w'f indecl. adj. and adv. 'so great, so much, so many, such, so': 25R.9, 60R.12, 68R.14, 102V.18.

w'fs: see s.v. *'wfs.*

w'fyd indecl. adj. and adv. 'so much, such', only with correlative *c'nw* 'as': 12R.2, 13V.29, 14V.21, 22V.13, 23V.15.

w'lyšγ = w- + 'lyšγ.

w'n: see s.vv. *w'nc'nw* and *w'n-qt.*

w'n': see s.v. *xwny.*

w'nc'nw conj. 'just as, as, as if': 17V.5* (w'n-c'nw), 31R.18, 31V.32, 39R.2, 40R.7, 19, 40V.8, 24, 48R.17*, 48V.9, 11*, 17, 51R.23, 54V.25, 55R.23, 55V.25–26, 57R.9, 12, 57V.23, 25, 68R.27, 69R.16, 69V.17, 83V.2*, 8*, 87R.12, 91R.3, 9, 94V.30, 102R.21, 102V.19, 104R.4*, 104V.13*, 111R.8*, A V.26, D V.2*.

w'n-qt conj. 'so that, that': 3V.9 (w'nw qt), 7V.18, 12R.19, 23V.16 (MS om. qt), 31R.21, 39R.3, 48R.15, 17, 54V.27, 57V.15, 60V.22, 25, 66R.1–2*, 66V.17, 68R.21, 31, 68V.8, 69R.19, 69V.20–21, 87R.19, 91R.11*, 94R.26, 104R.10.

w'nt: see s.v. *xwny.*

w'nw: see s.vv. *w'n-qt* and *xwny.*

w'pt: see s.v. *'wpt.*

w'r noun 'rain': dir. 48V.23*.

w'rms: see s.v. *'wrms.*

w'r-nmpy m. 'rainwater': °*pw* acc. 94V.22.

w'ry adj. 'empty, devoid, bereft': nom. 31R.26; *w'rc* dir. f. 61V.16, 23; *w'ryt* dir. pl. 55V.28.

w'st(y): see s.v. *'wst(y).*

w'š'my m. 'veil': nom. 57R.5.

w'št: see s.vv. *'wšt(y)* and *w'c.*

w'štq': see s.v. *w'c.*

w'štnt, w'štynt: see s.v. *'wšt(y).*

[1]**w't** m. 'wind, spirit', with *zprt* 'the Holy Spirit': dir. 52R.14, 53R.5, 54V.15, 61R.23, 91V.6*; *w'ty* obl. 51R.13, 51V.21, 54V.21, 55R.26, 57R.9.

[2]**w't** interjection 'woe!': 83V.1, 4, 6*.

w'tmyc adj. 'spiritual, of the spirit': dir. 31R.24, 61V.17.

w'tmyny adj. 'id.': °*mync* dir. f. 57R.12, 57V.9, 61R.24, 27, C V.2 (w't-mync); °*mnyt* dir. pl. 56V.24, 57R.25; °*mynyt* id. 31R.22.

w'ts: see s.v. *'wts.*

w't[? : 25V.25*.

w'wry indecl. noun(?), only in phrase *w'wry wn-* 'to destroy': 66R.10, 69R.12*, 94V.1.

w'xr: see s.v. *'wxr.*

w'xš m. 'word, speech, remark, sentence, verse, thing': dir. 13V.25, 23V.7*, 25R.5, 7, 40V.13, 51V.20, 52V.11, 55V.26, 56R.10, 57V.25, 29, 66R.16, 18*, 66V.1*, 94R.30, 94V.30; °*šy* obl. 31R.14, 55V.24, 56R.8; °*št* dir. pl. 7R.25, 28*, 12R.6, 13V.16, 31V.17, 19, 54V.16; °*šty* obl. pl. 57R.12.

w'xz: see s.v. *'wxz.*

w'z noun 'wing': *w'zt* dir. pl. 39R.2, 4.

w'z'm: see s.v. *'wz'm.*

w'zms: see s.v. *'wzms.*

w'==='st[? : V V.1 (elative?).

w'[? : 24V.17.

wbγw = w- + bγw.

wbnty m. 'snare': acc. 12R.4.

wbr't = w- + br't.

wc'q adv. 'tomorrow': 48V.17.

wcn-y adj. 'old': *wcync* dir. f. 55R.28.

wd: see s.v. *xyd.*

wd-w, wd- f. 'wife': *wdw* nom. 66R.14*, 87R.6, 12; *wdw* acc. 13R.27, 87R.10, 102V.23; *wdy'* gen. 91V.8.

wdy adv. 'there, in it': 26V.6*, 31R.20, 48R.19, 60R.25, 26, 68V.3, 10, 69V.14, 87R.2*, 6, 87V.14, 94V.5, 102R.24.

wdywt = w- + dywt.

wfcmbd = w- + fcmbd.

wfwx'r = w- + fwx'r.

wγ'mn'fc adj. and m. noun 'foreign, foreigner, stranger': dir. 7R.26*, 60R.2, 3, 4–5*, 9*, 11 (wγ'm-n'fc), 15 (id.), B V.29–30*; °*fšty* obl. pl. 108R.8*.

wγ'mn'fcy' f. 'foreignness': 60R.8*.

wγ'my m. 'stranger': °*yt* dir. pl. 51R.8*; °*yty* obl. pl. 48R.4*.

wγd'r: see s.v. *w'b.*

wγr's/wγr't vb. 'to wake' (intr.): °*'stt* 2 pl. impv. 48R.27. Pp. **wγr'ty** 'awake, wakeful': nom. 51R.28; °*yt* dir. pl. 104R.4.

wγr'tqwny indecl. noun 'wakefulness, vigil': 102R.28.

wγryš vb. 'to wake, arouse': *wγryšt* 3 sg. pres. 40R.12; *wyγryš* 3 sg. impf. 83R.10; *wγryšd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 39R.13–14*.

[1]**wγš** noun 'salvation': dir. 12V.19.

[2]*wγš:* see s.v. *wxš.*

[1]**wγš-** m. 'joy': *wγšw* acc. 12V.8.

[2]**wγš-** 'to rejoice': *wγšty* 3 sg. pres. 61V.27; *wγšysq* 2 sg. dur. pres. 51V.23; *wγšntq'* 3 pl. fut. 105V.6; *wγš'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 87R.12*; *wγš'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 12V.8; *wyγš* 3 sg. impf. 86V.2*; *wγš'* 2 sg. impv. 51R.9, 51V.8.

wγt-: see s.v. *w'b.*

wm'n = w- + m'n.

wm't = w- + m't.

wmrtxmw = w- + mrtxmw.

[1]**wn-** f. 'tree': *wnt'* acc. pl. 27V.20.

[2]**wn-/qt-** vb. 'to do, make, perform, cause', also auxiliary of the tr. pot.: *wny* 2 sg. pres. 12V.14*; *wnty* 3 sg. pres. 23R.10, 31V.28, 40R.11, 13, 57R.17, 22, 57V.20, 61V.27, 102R.22, 102V.23, 104R.8, 104V.4*, 14*, 111V.1; *wnt* id. (only in tr. pot., see s.v. *qt'wn*); *wnnt* 3 pl. pres. 31R.22, 31V.13, 39V.9, 56R.3, 5, 104R.14, C R.1(?); *wntysq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 25R.8, 48R.31, 68V.16, 17 (x2), 18; *wntq* id. (only in tr. pot., see s.v. *'wysn'y*); *wnymsq* 1 pl. dur. pres. 57R.31*; *wnntq* 3 pl. dur. pres. 48V.8, 120V.5; *wn'mq'* 1 sg. fut. 13R. 29, 30; *wnnq'* id. 55V.27, 69V.26*, 27, 102V.20; *wntyq'* 3 sg. fut. 3V.14*, 13R.19, 13V.27, 52V.6, 10, 54R.17, 66R.10, 68R.10; *wntq'* id. (only in tr. pot., see s.v. *qt'wn*); *wnymq'* 1 pl. fut. (see s.v. *qt'wn*); *wn'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 56R.30*; *wnnt* 3 pl. impf. 12R.9; *wnntnt* 3 pl. impf. act./mid. 12V.29, 27R.26*; *wnty* 2 sg. impf. mid. 5V.30*, 30; *wnt'* 3 sg. impf. mid. 4V.3, 22R.11, 14, 23V.5, 14, 27R.17, 51V.19, 57R.23, 57V.23, 60V.11, 66R.2, 66V.14, 68R.19, 68V.28, 77R.7*, 83R.7, 9; *wntnt* 3 pl. impf. mid. 60V.13*, 66V.2, 68R.10, 23*, 68V.9, 83R.12*, 91R.8; *wny* 3 sg. opt. 31V.20, 52R.12, 52V.8, 9, 55V.18, 87R.14, 102V.26; *wnym* 1 pl. opt. 104V.4*; *wnynt* 3 pl. opt. 13V.28, 29 (wnynnt), 55R.18; *wn'n* 1 sg. subj. 52V.16, 102V.16*; *wn't* 3 sg. subj. 22R.9, 23R.9, 31R.27, 31V.7, 48R.23, 51R.18, 54R.18, 20, 68R.6, 94R.27, 94V.1, 17, 104V.5; *wnnt* 3 pl. subj. 12R.4; *wn'q'* 2 sg. fut. subj. 13R.28; *wnw* 1 sg. inj. 102V.24; *wnwt'* 2 sg. irr. 69R.15; *wnwty* 3 sg. irr. 60R.22; *wn'* 2 sg. impv. 7R.29, 26V.4, 48V.25, 51R.8*, 51V.22, 26, 54R.23, 24 (x2), 94R.3; *wntt'* 2 pl. impv. 48R.30, 68R.28, 111V.9*; *pr (...) qrwn* pres. inf. 40R.9*, C V.1; *qtw wnnt* 3 pl. pres. tr. pot. 12R.9; *qt' wntyq'* 3 sg. fut. tr. pot. 13V.27; (for other forms of the tr. pot. see s.v. *qt'wn*;) *qθ'rm* 1 sg. tr. pret. 69V.24, 104V.2*; *qtwd'ry* 2 sg. tr. pret. 23V.26*–27; *qθ'ry* id. 68R.14; *qtwd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 13V.19*; *qθ'rt* id. 40V.22, 51R.15, 53R.9*, 53V.2, 54V.14, 57V.6, 60V.4*, 69R.10, 94V.14, 15*; *qθ'rym* 1 pl. tr. pret. 102R.21; *qθ'rtt* 2 pl. tr. pret. 66R.4; *qtwd'rnt* 3 pl. tr. pret. 12R.5; *qθ'rnt* id. 48V.13*, 21, 111V.8*; *qty* past inf. 13V.15. Pp. **qt-y** 'done, made, performed': *qty* nom. 55V.21; *qc'* nom. f. 87R.2; *qtyt* dir. pl. 22R.15*. Cf. *b(w)-/qt-*.

wntn indecl. adj. 'so great': 40V.6.

wnwnqy' f. 'victory': 108V.4; °*y'* obl. 91R.4.

wnyqcyq noun 'captive': dir. 87R.15.

wpd't-qryt = w- + pd't-qryt.

wprs noun 'question': dir. 6R.12, 7R.17*, 60R.17 ('wprs).

wr- f. 'profit': *wr'* acc. 48V.24; *wry'* abl. 104V.15. Cf. *pw-wr'*.

wr'n noun 'lamb': °*nty* obl. pl. 56R.26.

wrewny' f. 'miracle, wonder': 23R.6*, 7*, 77V.14, 87R.18*; °*yt* dir. pl. 23V.27.

wrd noun 'rose': dir. 68R.27*.

wrq'ry adj. 'profitable, advantageous': nom. 40R. 19, 48R.5.

[1]**wrn-** m. 'faith': *wrnw* acc. 17R.5, 39R.5, 6, 51V. 18, 18*, 68V.29, 104R.6*; *wrny* gen. 55V.21, 61R.27; *wrn'* abl. 27R.14, 68R.15.

[2]**wrn-** vb. 'to have faith, believe': *wrnnt* 3 pl. pres. 12V.20*; *wrn'msqn* 1 sg. dur. pres. 68R.9; *wrnnt* 3 pl. impf. 17R.3, 23R.5; *wrn'* 2 sg. impv. 51V.17.

wrnqyn adj. 'faithful, believing': dir. 68V.7; °*nt* dir. pl. 48R.22, 57R.16, 68V.22; °*nty* obl. pl. 54V.24.

wrr' noun 'orarium, stole': 57R.5; *wrṙ'* dir. 57R.27, 29.

wrs m. 'hair': dir. 87V.4, 91R.6.

wry: see s.v. *pw-wr'*.

wry': see s.v. *wr-*.

wryt: see s.v. *pw-wr'*.

wrzyw adj. 'haughty, arrogant': °*wt* dir. pl. 56R.7.

wrzywy' f. 'hauteur, arrogance': 54R.19, 94R.9.

ws' adv. 'thither': 25V.9, 48V.15.

wsprd adv. 'everywhere': 40V.16.

wšnt, wšnty: see s.v. [1]*xw*.

wšp'n adj. 'brief': dir. 13V.30, 48V.16.

wštm'x noun 'heaven, heavenly kingdom': dir. 48V.15*; °*xy* obl. 48R.9, 48V.25.

wšwq adj. 'hungry': °*qy* obl. 102V.27.

wxr f. 'voice, shout, sound, noise': dir. 23V.14, 25V.22*, 54V.17, 55V.27, 60R.13, 60V.4, 19, 20, 31, 66R.17, 77R.10, 77V.4*, R R.2*, S R.2*; *wxry* obl. 60V.22.

wxs- vb. 'to be left, allowed': *wxsyq'* 2 sg. fut. 51R.29.

wxš vb. 'to save, deliver': *wxštq'* 3 sg. fut. 104R.17; *wyγš* 3 sg. impf. 23V.5; *wyxš* id. 60R.32; *wγšt* 3 sg. subj. 7R.18*, 23R.28. Pres. part. **wxšny** as m. noun 'saviour': °*nw* acc. 66V.4.

wxš'mnty m. 'salvation': °*tw* acc. 40V.23, 111R.6; °*ty* gen. 55R.24.

wxwr'n m. 'Wuhrān': dir. 1R.8*.

wxypθ = w- + xypθ.

wy- or **wy'** noun 'generation, age': *wyt* dir. pl. 57V.17, 27, 91V.7.

wy': see s.v. [1]*xw*.

wy'br vb. 'to speak'. Pres. part. **wy'bryny** 'speaking, capable of speech': nom. 51R.19*; °*n'* voc. 51R.18; °*nyt* dir. pl. 51R.15.

wy'q n.(?) 'place': dir. 12V.1*, 22V.8*, 26R.7, 31R.20, 51V.11, 17, 52V.4, 55V.16, 17, 57R.18*, 22*, 23, 68R.7, 68V.9, 20, 23 (x2), 102R.29—in phrase *pr wy'q* 'on the spot, immediately' 66V.5; °*qy* obl. 7R.26*, 22V.6, 40V.16* (used redundantly after an adv. of place)—in phrase *yw wy'qy* 'in one place, together' 60V.30, 111V.8.

wy'n f. 'tent': dir. 17V.5, 87R.11.
wy'ptγt m. 'lad, youth': °*ty* obl. 77R.14.
[1]**wyc** noun 'tremor, impulse': *wyšt* dir. pl. 51R.14*.
[2]**wyc** vb. 'to tremble, stir': *wycnt* 3 pl. pres. 31V.12.
wyc'wqy' f. 'witness, martyrdom': 1R.7*, 55V.21, 64R.19*, 30*, 68V.12.
wyc'wy m. 'martyr': °*w'* nom. numv. 68V.12; °*w'* acc. numv. 69R.30; °*wyt* dir. pl. 48R.21.
wycn-/wyct- vb. 'to choose': *wycn'* 2 sg. impv. 54R.25. Pp. **wyct-y** 'chosen': °*tyt* dir. pl. 55V.29.
wycy't adv. or indecl. adj. 'firm, sure': 48V.27, 51R.12, 61R.28.
wycyr'mnty m. 'explanation': nom. 56R.31, 56V.16*.
wyd: see s.v. *xyd.*
wyd'b noun 'harm': dir. 40R.19, 83R.7*.
wyd'bqyn adj. 'harmed': dir. 40V.5.
wyd'γty adv. 'then': 12V.9, 13V.16, 14R.10*, 22R.15, 22V.7, 23R.29*, 23V.9*, 39R.11*. 40V.14, 55R.21, 61R.24, 66V.17*, 68V.4, 21*, 69R.11, 86V.3.
wyd'r: see s.v. [2]*wyn.*
[1]**wyd's** noun 'marvel, wonder, astonishment': dir. 61V.19, 104R.15*.
[2]**wyd's** vb. 'to marvel, be amazed': °*s* 3 sg. impf. 60R.10; °*snt* 3 pl. impf. 12R.8* (°s'nt), 12V.27, 77V.2*.
wyd'sγwny adj. 'wonderful': °*nw* acc. 64R.22*, 77V.9 (wyd's-γwnw); °*nyt* dir. pl. 23V.2*, 27.
wyd'snyq adj. 'id.': dir. 48R.12*.
wydp'ty adv. 'this time': 7V.17*.
wydsntnyq'(?) adj. 'exposed to view': dir. 57V.25.
wydymp' f. 'lightning': dir. 54V.25.
wyγryš: see s.v. *wyγryš.*
wyγš: see s.vv. [2]*wyš-* and *wxš.*
[1]**wyn** m. 'sight, view': dir. 61V.23, 25.
[2]**wyn/wyt** vb. 'to see': *wynt* 3 sg. pres. 31V.13, 94V.7*, 108V.10*; *wynnt* 3 pl. pres. 31R.13, 39V.6; *wynty* 3 sg. pres. mid. 54V.26; *wynmsq* 1 sg. dur. pres. 24V.13, 68V.32; *wyntq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 31V.22; *wyntsq* 2 pl. dur. pres. 68R.24; *wyn'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 39R.7; *wyn* 3 sg. impf. 17R.3, 22R.12, 23R.7, 60R.5, 9, 14, 16, 29, 60V.2, 9, 28, 31, 64R.22*, L R.3*; *wynnt* 3 pl. impf. 11R.27*, 12R.8, 15, 12V.10, 23R.6, 83R.8, 94R. 25; *wyny* 3 sg. opt. 91R.7; *wynn* 1 sg. subj. 68R.7; *wynt* 3 sg. subj. 77V.14, 94R.22; *wynnt* 3 pl. subj. 12V.9; *wyntw* 1 sg. irr. 60R.20; *pr wyn* pres. inf. 48R.11; *wyt b'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. intr. pot. 22V.16; *wyd'rm* 1 sg. tr. pret. 64R.24, 104R. 13*; *wyd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 57R.31; *wyt* 3 sg. intr. pret. 5V.29. Pres. part. **wynny** as m. noun 'onlooker': °*yt* dir. pl. 57R.14*; °*yty* obl. pl. 53R.7, 69V.15. Cf. *fθys-wynny.*
wyn' f. 'lute, harp': dir. 60V.21.
wyn'mnty m. 'sight, vision': nom. 57V.7; °*tw* acc. 77V.9*.
wyn'ncy' f. 'vision, revelation': 77R.3.
wyn'ncyq adj. 'visible, revealed': dir. 23R.10, 54V. 28, 60V.6; °*qt* dir. pl. 39V.8, 57R.27.
wyn'ncyqy' f. 'vision, revelation, manifestation': 39V.7, 57V.10, 14, 104R.2; °*yt* dir. pl. 48R.15, 18*.
wyny: see s.vv. [2]*wyn* and [1]*xw.*
wyr- m. 'husband': *wyry* nom. 13R.23; *wyr'* abl. 87R.5.
wyrq- m. 'wolf': °*qy* nom. 60R.23; °*qyšt* dir. pl. 12R.3; °*qyšty* obl. pl. 12V.4*.
wyrxs-/wyrxt- vb. 'to be poured'. Pp. **wyrxt-y** 'poured': °*xc'* nom. f. 57V.27.
wyryθ'mnty m. 'mixing, union': °*tw* acc. 48R.8*; °*t'* abl. 48R.6.
wys'q noun 'peace': dir. 1R.12, 54R.23.
wysp- adj. 'all, every, each': °*py* nom. 22R.4, 27V.12, 25, 40R.18, 53V.7*, 54V.20, 55V.30, 57V.16, 61R.29, 65V.25, 68R.18, 69R.20; °*p'* nom. f. 51R.3*; °*pw* acc. 27V.19*, 40R.9, 14, 52V.14*, 54V.19, 20, 61V.27*, 68R.16, V R.1; °*pny* gen. 53V.4, 68V.7 (n-w°), 94R.30; °*py'* loc. 48R.16, 55V.23, 25 (x2), 65V.21*, 77R.8; °*pn'* abl. 13R.17, 31R.26, 31V.27, 40R.9.
wyspy'dy m. 'everyone': gen. H R.2.
wyst indecl. num. 'twenty'. Ordinal **wystmyq** 'twentieth': dir. 55V.27. Cf. *yw-wyst.*
[1]**wystw** m. 'promise': dir. 51R.17, 87R.9; °*wy* obl. 77V.15; °*wt* dir. pl. 51V.18.
[2]**wystw/wystw't** vb. 'to promise': °*w'd'rnt* 3 pl. tr. pret. 51R.13. Pp. **wystw'ty** 'promised': nom. 48V.26.
wyšq adj. 'noble': dir. 12V.3.
wyšqyr vb. 'to open': °*r* 3 sg. impf. 60R.14.
wyšqyrd/wyšqyst vb. 'to strike, beat, knock in, nail, fix, set up': *wyšqyrdnt* 3 pl. impf. 66V.18; *'wšqyrdy* 3 sg. opt. 48R.17. Pp. **wyšqysty** 'fixed, set up': °*qyšty* nom. 31R.22; °*qysc* dir. f. 87R.11.
wyšnt, wyšnty: see s.v. [1]*xw.*
wyšt: see s.v. [1]*wyc.*
wyt: see s.vv. *wy-* and [2]*wyn.*
wyt'p vb. 'to shine forth': °*p* 3 sg. impf. 77V.16.
wyt'p'mnty m. 'shining forth, epiphany': gen. 55R.16*.
wytr- vb. 'to go': °*r'mq'* 1 sg. fut. 12R.13; °*rntq'* 3 pl. fut. 25V.2; °*r* 3 sg. impf. 25V.17*; °*ry* 3 sg. opt. 12R.14.
wytrxty' f. 'constraint, hindrance': 48R.16.
wytwr adv. (1) Emphasizing the force of the postposition 'until, up to, during' in *(qw . . .) pn*: 23R.23*, 40R.16, 22, 69R.23. (2) In conj. *wytwr qt* 'until': 14V.24*, 31V.24, 60R.6, 24, 94V.21, 26.
wyx noun 'root': dir. 102V.22.
wyxš: see s.v. *wxš.*
wyxšpwr noun 'Wehšābūr': dir. 1R.6*.
wyzr- adj. 'straight': °*rw* acc. as adv. 'straightly' 61V.26; °*r'* abl. 12V.17.

wyžpγwny adj. 'terrible, awesome': nom. 5V.28*; °*ny* gen. 61V.20; °*ny* loc. 31R.24, 69V.30; °*nc* dir. f. 57R.3*; °*nyt* dir. pl. 60V.28.

wyžt- or **wyžt'** f. 'delay': °*t'* acc. or dir. in phrase *wyžt' wn-* 'to delay, tarry, stay' 52R.6, 60V.11, 13, 77R.7*, 87R.16*.

wz'y: see s.v. *pyš-wz'y*.

wzn' noun 'font': 57R.4.

wzyn = w- + zyn.

wžp- f. 'trembling, terror': *wžp'* acc. 23R.15, 69R. 20, 104R.11; *wžpy'* abl. T V.3.

w=wycy ? : 51R.25.

w[? : 7R.25, 26R.18, 52R.7*, 56V.20, 57V.4*, 104R.5*, H R.3.

x-, sqw-, swq-/m't vb. 'to be', also auxiliary of the intr. pret. (the forms of which are not listed here) and of the intr. pf.: *'ym* 1 sg. pres. 68R.9, 104V.13*, 17; *'yš* 2 sg. pres. 7R.24, 25, 23R.30, 66R.14, 66V.16; *sty* 3 sg. pres. 7V.25*, 11V.27*, 13V.26, 14V.10*, 22V.3*, 5, 25R.19*, 31R.2, 31V.6, 40V.2, 9, 16, 48V.17, 18, 22, 26, 51V.6, 12*, 27, 28, 52V.8, 54R.14, 15, 55V.24, 56R.10*, 57V.1, 23, 61V.21, 22 (x2), 23, 23*, 24 (x2), 68R.27, 68V.14, 15, 77R.14*, 94R.7, 10, 27, 108R.2*, A V.27, 28; *xcy* id. 6V.13, 13V.17, 18, 27, 25R.12*, 27V.5, 13, 31R.3, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 28, 29, 31V.6, 10 (x2), 22, 26, 29, 30, 40R.6*, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 19, 40V.22, 48R.5*, 7*, 48V.7, 51R.3*, 11, 15, 20*, 21, 24 (x2), 26, 51V.2, 3, 23, 24, 52R.14, 52V.17, 54R.18, 19 (x2), 20, 28, 55R.13*, 16, 25, 55V.5, 18, 56V.25, 31, 57R.2, 4, 7, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23*, 24, 25, 30 (x2), 32, 57V.1, 5, 7, 9 (x2), 11, 13, 14, 20, 60R.18, 27, 61R.17, 25, 29, 30, 61V.22, 26, 65R.24, 65V.27, 68V.19, 20, 69V.18, 87R.15*, 91V.10, 94R.4, 9, 94V.10, 104R.3*, 14, 108R.7*, 111R.3, 120V.2; *ycy* id. 6R.13*, 12V.11, 25R.5, 7, 31R.4, 40R.17, 48V.24, 52V.15, 68V.18, 31, 77R.3*, 94V.11; *nyst = ny + sty* 'is not' 14V.11*, d V.3*, 31R.10 (ṇst), 53V.3—in phrase *nyst (. . .) wn-* 'to bring to nought, destroy' 13R.28, 26V.4*, 52V.8, 57V.20—in phrase *nyst (. . .) b(w)-* 'to be destroyed' 23V.24 (ṇst); *yst'* 2 pl. pres. 22V.1; *xnt* 3 pl. pres. 7V.27, 12R.2, 31R.3, 7, 31V.15, 17, 48V.12, 15, 54R.30, 55V.28, 57R.6, 21, 26, 28, 61R.28, 61V.25 (x2), 77R.11, 104R.10*, 12, A V.25*; *swq'm* 1 sg. dur. pres. 12R.12; *swqy* 2 sg. dur. pres. 51R.28, 51V.5, 66V.15; *stysqn* 3 sg. dur. pres. 40V.4; *swqym* 1 pl. dur. pres. 68R.12; *swqnt* 3 pl. dur. pres. 31R.8, 48V.2, 18, 61V.21, 29, 108R.9*; *swqwnt* id. 13R.27, 51V.22; *styq'* 3 sg. fut. 48V.16; *sqw'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. O R.1; *swq'z* id. 1R.25, 25V.19, 27R.15, 60V.27; *swq'znt* 3 pl. āz-impf. 87R.20*; *swqw'znt* id. 17V.4; *swq'* 3 sg. impf. 56V.32; *swqnt* 3 pl. impf. 19R.1(?); *sqwynt* 3 pl. opt. 55R.24; *swq't* 3 sg. subj. 31R.25, 69R.20, 94V.26; *y't* id. 22V.4, d V.2; *swq'* 2 sg. impv. 94V.8; *st'* 2 pl. impv. 104R.4; *m'tym* 1 sg. intr. pret. 83V.7*; *m't* 3 sg. intr. pret. 1R.13, 17, 19, 1V.4, 7V.24, 12V.1*, 2, 13V.22, 22V.8, 23R.8, 40V.6, 48R.14, 32*, 55R.14*, 60R.3, 5, 7, 12, 16*, 22, 25, 26, 27, 27*, 60V.10 (x2), 27, 64R.25, 68V.14, 69R.29, 69V.14, 77R.8, 87R.2 (x2), 3, 6, 8, 12, 87V.2, 3, 4 (x2), 91R.10, 94R.5, 12, 15, 16, 17, H V.2(?), U R.2*; *m't = = t* 2 pl. intr. pret. 104V.9; *m'tnt* 3 pl. intr. pret. 1V.11, 22V.10, 17, 27R.26, 54V.23, 60R.2, 10*, 31, 60V.28, 64R.23*, 64V.27, 65V.29, 68R.11, 87V.3. Pres. part. **swqyn-y** 'remaining, being': °*nw* acc. 51R.12.

x': see s.v. [1]*xw*.

[1]**x'n'** f. 'house': dir. 102R.24, 104V.1*, 3*; *x'ny* obl. 1V.7, 25V.19*, 51R.31, 60V.29, 87V.5.

[2]*x'n', x'nt:* see s.v. *xwny*.

x'š noun 'clothing, garment': *x'št* dir. pl. 60R.24, 68V.8.

xcy: see s.v. *x-*.

xγr noun 'sword': *xγry* obl. 68V.5, 6, 83V.5*, 87R.17.

xnt: see s.v. *x-*.

xrt: see s.v. *xyr*.

xrwny indecl. noun 'fornication': 102R.17, 102V. 19, 28.

xrycq f. 'lewd woman, fornicator, adultress, whore': dir. 48V.18*.

xrycyq adj. 'lewd': °*qty* obl. pl. 102V.25*.

xs adj. 'firm, strong, secure': *xst* dir. pl. 104R.5*.

xsrt ? : 48V.26*.

xš/xšt vb. 'to drag': *xš* 3 sg. impf. 60R.24; *xšt* past inf. 60R.24.

xš'wn noun 'power, might, authority, kingly power': dir. 6V.13*, 11R.18, 40R.7, 56R.28, 66R. 10*, 69V.16, 22, 120R.10.

xš'wn-d'r m. 'one in authority, ruler': dir. 57R.28, 94V.25; °*ry* obl. 102R.28*; °*rt* dir. pl. 26R.4*–5.

xšnq- adj. 'excellent': °*qy* nom. 7R.24.

xšnyrq noun 'sign, target, goal': dir. 31R.3, 31V.9, 10, 52V.12, 57R.4, 7, 19, 57V.8; °*qy* obl. 31R.21, 23; °*qty* obl. pl. 102V.29.

xšp- f. 'night': *xšp'* acc. 3V.8, 17R.2, 55V.26, 68V.7; *xšpy'* loc. 57V.10, 87V.5 (y-x°).

xšt: see s.v. *xš*.

xšy- vb. 'to rule': *xšy'* 3 sg. impf. 1R.10.

xšymprty m. 'firmament': gen. 57R.21.

xšywn m. 'weeping': dir. 31V.3, 8.

xšywny: see s.v. *xwšywny*.

xty'q f. 'judgement': dir. 61V.20.

[1]**xw** (1) 3rd pers. pron. 'he'. (a) Independent forms. (i) Sg.: *xw* nom. m. 1R.10, 25R.4(?), 11, 39R.3, 40R.10, 51R.9, 60R.27, 64V.24, 94R.25, 104R.3*; *'w* acc. m. 87R.10, 94R.14; *wyny* gen. m. (often

functioning as possessive adj. 'his, its') 1R.19, 23, 1V.11*, 13, 25, 26, 11R.18, 13R.21, 27, 13V.18, 21, 23, 26, 28, 24R.6*, 24V.12*, 14, 26V.19, 27V.18*, 22*, 31V.8, 11; 15, 19 (x3), 20, 23, 39R.1, 40R.6, 19, 20, 22, 40V.12, 14*, 17, 23*, 48R.10, 11, 12, 51R.9, 51V.30, 52R.11, 12, 52V.11, 53R.2, 55V.25, 57R.2, 57V.7, 60R.2*, 9, 10, 15, 22, 23, 28, 29, 31, 32, 60V.1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 11 (x2), 14, 16, 61R.17, 20 (x2), 23*, 64V.22*, 66R.19*, 66V.2*, 3, 14, 68R.14, 18, 68V.20, 23, 69V.19, 20, 87R.2, 6, 10 (x2), 11, 12, 87V.4, 91V.5, 8, 8*, 94R.15, 17, 102V.19, 26*, 105R.3*, E V margin, O R.1, S V.2*; *x'* nom. f. 12R.13*, 87R.1, 12; *wy'* gen. f. (as poss. adj. 'her') 4V.2*, 17R.5, 57V.11, R V.3*. (ii) Pl. (all the following, especially the obl. forms, function also as poss. adj. 'their'): *wšnt* dir. 57V.18, 68R.21*, 77V.7; *wyšnt* id. 1V.9*, 12R.3, 10, 12V.13, 13V.30 (x2), 23V.8, 26V.7*, 11*, 31R.6, 48R.13, 48V.19, 54V.17, 18, 22, 29*, 56R.29*, 64R.24*, 66R.2, 12, 66V.8, 68R.16, 20 (x2), 68V.4, 69R.22*, 83R.10, 91R.5, 104R.16, P R.2; *wšnty* obl. 31R.18, 39V. 10, 40R.8, 40V.11, 12, 22, 48R.23, 23*, 48V.16, 53V.6, 54V.20, 55V.14, 21 (x2), 60V.22, 31, 65R.29*, 65V.30*, 66R.11, 66V.10*, 68R.11, 19, 68V.6, 8, 9, 69R.26, 27, 77R.6*, 7*, 17*, 77V.10, 91V.4*, 9, 94R.24, 105V.5*; *wyšnty* id. 1R.22, 12R.9, 14, 12V.2, 15, 23V.29*, 24R.14, 27V.30*, 31R.8, 40V.16, 48V.14, 54V.20, 23, 55V.19, 57R.12, 27, 68R.21, 77V.8*, 87V.3, 91V.1, 2*. (b) Prepositioned forms (all sg.; no gender distinctions): *cyw* 40V.12, 51R.26, 51V.28, 54R.25, 26, 60R.6, 27, 30, 61V.19, 66R.6, 68R.5, 105R.7*; *dyw* 24V.15, 40V.14, 17, 51R.22, 51V.4, 60V.22, 64R.23, 68V.12, 22*; *qyw* 6R.1, 25R.20*, 27V.11, 13, 31R.3, 17, 40R.18, 54R.30, 60R.8, 13 (x2), 23, 60V.12, 16, 20*, 66R.20*, 68V.19, 21, 28, 69R.17, 69V.23, 28, 87V.19*, 94R.17, B R.24; *pryw* 23V.8*, 31V.12, 40V.16, 54R.25, 27, 57R.18, 57V.1, 61R.18, 22, 66R.1, 69V.24*, 83R.7*, 86R. 2, 87R.3, 105R.4. (c) Enclitic forms. No gender distinctions: *šw* acc. sg. 1V.6, 6R.12, 7R.18, 7V.16*, 12R.18, 19, 12V.9, 14V.22, 17R.1 (x2), 2, 5, 25V.9, 27R.23*, 27V.5, 31V.5, 12, 40R.2, 11*, 40V.15, 48R.17, 48V.24, 51R.4, 10, 25, 51V.4, 19, 52R.17, 55R.24, 55V.16, 56V.11, 57V.22, 23, 60R.9, 21, 22, 24 (x2), 25, 60V.14, 18, 66R.1, 68R.5, 68V.21, 77R.8, 87R.15, 87V.12, 94R.18*, 94V.1, 15, 24, 26, 111V.9; *šy* gen. sg. 1R.27, 1V.23*, 6R.13*, 7R.16, 22, 23, 13R.27, 13V.26, 25V.5, 11, 27R.16, 24, 31V.9, 10, 40R.19, 40V.6, 51R.10, 54R.23, 24, 60R.11, 17, 18, 60V.21, 68R.11 (x2), 69R.14, 87R.2, 14, 94R.24, 108V.6; *šn* acc. pl. and gen. pl. 22R.9 (rt-šn), 27R.1*, 25, 48V.11, 66V.19*, 68R.22, 68V.8, 16, 77R.12, 87R.9, 87V.17, 102R.27, E V margin.

(2) Article 'the'. (a) Forms without distinctions of number or gender: *'w* acc. 1R.26, 1V.26, 5V.30, 6R.14*, 6V.15*, 7R.23, 27*, 7V.20, 12R.4, 12V.7*, 12 (x2), 14*, 13R.20, 17V.1, 22R.9, 11, 14, 22V.9*, 23R.11, 26*, 23V.4*, 5 (x2), 11, 28, 24R.15*, 26R.3, 27R.3, 27V.1, 19, 22*, 26*; *w-* id. 31V.13, 52V.13, 61R.24, 68V.23, 69V.19, 94V.14, 102R.18, 104R.14, 18*, 104V. 14*, 16*, 105R.2*, 6; *n-* gen. 13R.26*, 31R.10, 48R.9*, 10, 25*, 48V.24, 51R.7*, 9, 19, 25*, 55R.25, 55V.18, 57R.16, 20, 26, 57V.5, 9, 68V.7, 91V.9 (x2), 94R.3*, 94V.13, 15*, 28, 104R.14, 104V.8, 111V.2 (as acc. sg. m.), A V.27; *wy'* loc. (not attested as pl.) 1V.28*, 12R.1(?), 12V.13, 13V.22; *y'* loc. 1R.16(?), 12V.4, 25R.5, 25V.19; *y-* id. 22R.7*, 22V.9, 15, 23V.26, 26R.2, 27R.12, 15, 22, 31V.11, 40V.5, 48R.11, 19, 48V.2, 51V.5, 6*, 60R.2, 87V.9, 10, 94V.24 (as acc. sg. m.), 104R.7*, 105V.4. (b) Other forms: *xw* nom. sg. m. 1R.22*, 25, 1V.8*, 25, 28, 4V.4, 7V.19*, 11R.19, 22, 12V.1, 2, 5, 7, 13V.20, 26 (x2), 27*, 14R.23, 14V.7*, 19V.3*, 22R.4, 10, 12, 15(?), 22V.2*, 11, 13, 23R.4, 6*, 29, 23V.9, 24R.12*, 14, 24V.5, 25V.4, 20*, 27R.14*, 17, 27, 27V.2*, 9*, 12, 15*, 18*, a R.2, 31R.21 (x2), 40R.21, 57V.24, 29, 60R.17*, 21, 77V.15, 83R.12*, 87R.17, 91V. 11, 94R.14, 94V.17; *xw* acc. sg. m. 51R.2*; *x'* nom. sg. f. 12R.10, 12V.3, 12, 22V.8, 14, 23R.3*, 9, 10, 23V.16, 25R.19, 25V.3, 26R.10*, 27R.11; *x'* acc. sg. f. 1V.27, 12R.8; *wy'* id. 1V.24, 6V.14*, 13R.28, 13V.15, 19V.2, 23V.7(?), 10, 27V.30*; *wy'* gen. sg. f.(?) 7R.16, 17V.3; *y'* id.(?) 12V.9; *x'* nom. pl. 7V.30, 12R.2, 12V.2, 8, 13V.28, 17V.2, 22V.16, 24R.10(?), 13, 25R.6, 26V.8, 9, 27R.12, 26*, 27V.10; *x'* acc. pl.(?) 14V.19; *wy'* id. 11R.21, 25R.2, 27V.7, 8, 16, 17*; *y'* gen. pl. (?) 13R.16.

[2]*xw:* see s.v. *xw-dbtyqy*.

xw'c noun 'pain': °*cy* obl. 27R.12.

xw'n noun '?': °*nt* dir. pl. 26V.9.

[1]**xw'r** f. 'sister': °*ry* obl. 68V.19*.

[2]*xw'r:* see s.v. *'mprt-xw'r*.

xw'rnt adj. 'right(-hand)': dir. 57V.7, 60V.13.

xw'ry': see s.v. *'mprt-xw'ry'*.

xw't adj. 'weak': dir. 23V.8, 48V.14, 51V.13; °*tt* dir. pl. 31V.31.

xw't'wy m. 'weakness': °*t'w* acc. 51V.11.

xw'ty' f. 'id.': °*y*̣' obl. 31R.5.

xwbn- noun 'sleep, dream': °*ny'* loc. 48V.9 (y-x°).

xwc f. 'pain, illness, disease': dir. 51V.2, 60R.28; *xwcy* obl. 60V.17*, 94V.4.

xwc- adj. 'sweet, pleasant, agreeable, consenting': *xwcy* nom. 27V.2*, 48R.2*, 94R.21.

xwc'wy m. 'sweetness': °*'w* acc. 60V.22.

xwcq adj. 'open, unbound, free': dir. 22R.16, 23V. 3, 54R.15, 91R.8; °*qt* dir. pl. 22R.9.

xwcqy' f. 'illness, sickness': 31R.4.
xw-dbtyqy adv. 'both': 60V.30.
xwdq'r adv. 'only, alone': 14R.23, 17V.1, 40R.3*, 69V.21, 104R.3*, 104V.12, 111R.2.
xwm'r noun 'consolation, comfort': dir. 31V.2, 12.
xwn- vb. 'to call, cry': *xwnty* 3 sg. pres. 7R.18*.
xwny demonstrative adj. and pron. 'that': *xwny* nom. sg. m. (and n.?) 1R.22*, 3R.12*, 14V.21, 31R.1, 2, 15, 27, 51R.26, 51V.3, 52R.11, 52V.14, 15*, 54R.18*, 18, 19, 20, 55R.30*, 57R.28, 60R.3, 4*, 4, 11, 15, 28, 60V.2, 4, 9, 31, 61R.30, 69R.20, 83R.6, 87V.1*, 94R.1, 27, 111R.2*; *'wnw* acc. sg. m. 12V.18, 39R.7—as adv. or nom. sg. n.(?) 40R.21, 57V.4, 61R.20; *x'n'* nom. sg. f. 22V.12, 68V.7; *w'n'* acc. sg. f. 31R.4, 60V.7; *w'nw* acc. sg. n. or f. 22V.8—as adv. 'so, thus' (cf. also *w'nc'nw* and *w'n-qt*) 1V.11*, 3V.9, 6R.13, 7R.23*, 7V.24*, 12R.10, 14, 16*, 12V.10, 13V.17*, 21, 24 (x2), 14V.10, 23, 17R.3, 22R.18*, 23R.9, 22, 29, 23V.26, 25R.17, 26R.9, 27R.13, 27V.24, d V.2, 31R.13, 60R.18 (x2), 60V.15, 16, 26, 66R.2, 5, 15, 66V.2, 5, 68R.11, 22, 23, 68V.14, 19, 28, 32, 69R.12, 14, 17, 69V.14*, 16, 23, 28, 77R.8*, 11, 13, 87V.1*, 94R.14, 94V.20, 24*, 29, 108V.11*, K R.3; *x'nt* nom. pl. 12R.14, 12V.20, 22V.9*, 24R.9, 31R.8, 39R.4, 55V.20, 28, 56R.5*, 57R. 25, 104R.14*, 108R.3, 111V.3, 4, 7, D R.6; *w'nt* acc. pl. 39R.6, 40V.17, 60V.21.
xwp adj. 'good'. Compar. **xwptr** 'better': dir. 7V.24.
xwpy: see s.v. *mnt-xwpy*.
xwr m. 'sun': dir. 5R.28, 66V.3*, 68R.22, 68V.17, 69R.15, 69V.13*, 94V.18. Cf. *xwr-txyz*.
xwr-/xwrt vb. 'to eat, consume', also in phrases *'mprt xwr-* 'to take one's fill, be sated', *'ntwxc xwr-* 'to grieve', *swqnt xwr-* 'to swear an oath': *xwrnt* 3 pl. pres. 39V.4; *xwrntq'* 3 pl. fut. 94V.29; *xwrnt* 3 pl. impf. 94V.30; *xwry* 3 sg. opt. 94V.12; *xwrym* 1 pl. opt. 94V.3, 4; *xwr'n* 1 sg. subj. 94V. 18; *xwrw* 1 sg. inj. 94V.16; *xwrd'ry* 2 sg. tr. pret. 69R.16.
xwrcy'q(?) f. 'food': dir. 108R.3.
xwrm noun 'earth, dust': dir. 69V.18.
xwrmny adj. 'made of dust': °*nyt* dir. pl. 48V.19.
xwrmynqy' f. 'what is of dust': 51V.5.
xwrmzt' indecl. (?) m. 'Hormazd': 14R.23.
xwrsn noun 'sunrise, east': dir. 54V.25; °*ny* obl. 54V.26, 28.
xwrt noun 'food': dir. 94V.12*. Cf. *pw-xwrt*.
xwr-txyz noun 'sunset, west': °*zy* obl. 54V.26.
xwrty: see s.v. *bwd-xwrty*.
xwsnt adj. 'happy, joyful': dir. 31V.13.
xwsnty' f. 'joy': 12V.30, 60V.24; °*y'* obl. 40V.11, 22.
xwš-/xwš't vb. 'to grow, grow up, become full-grown'. Pp. **xwš'ty** 'grown up, full-grown': nom. 54R.27, 87V.16.
xwš'mnty m. 'growth': °*tw* acc. 31V.23.
xwšmyq: see s.v. *xwšw*.
xwšp'ny m. 'shepherd': gen. 1R.12*; °*yt* dir. pl. 83R.8, 87V.14*.
xwšrts indecl. num. 'sixteen': 68V.12, 22, 69R.30. Ordinal **xwšrtsmyq** 'sixteenth': dir. 55V.14*.
xwššty indecl. num. 'sixty': 54R.28.
xwštr adj. and m. noun 'elder, chief, chief man, leader': dir. 22R.11*, 14, 23R.6, 24R.14, 40R.7*, 9, 68V.20, 83V.7*, 87V.1, 18; °*ry* obl. 51V.18*; °*rt* dir. pl. 26R.4, 48R.20, 77V.7, 12*.
xwštry' f. 'dominion, mastery': 51V.9, 56V.21*.
xwšty m. 'teacher': nom. 11R.26*, 56V.20; °*y* abl. 1V.19*; °*yt* dir. pl. 48R.22.
xwšw indecl. num. 'six'. Ordinal **xwšmyq** 'sixth': dir. 39V.4, 55R.17*; °*qy* obl. 68V.11, 13.
xwšywnc f. 'queen': dir. 66R.4, 66V.7.
xwšywnqy' f. 'kingdom, kingship, (Your) Majesty': 1R.9*, 11*, 13R.25, 66R.9*, 68R.30, 77V.14*; °*y'* obl. 66R.8*, 68R.1*, 77V.14*.
xwšywnqy'-mcy' f. 'what belongs to the Kingdom (of Heaven)': °*mcyt* dir. pl. 51V.8.
xwšywny m. 'king': nom. 25V.7*, 68V.18, 20, 69V.23, 91R.7, 94V.24; °*nw* acc. 66R.13*, 69V. 17, 77R.9, 77V.13; °*ny* gen. 13R.26 (n-x°), 23R. 25, 51V.7, 64V.22*, 68V.14, 16, 77V.10, 94V.25, 120V.11 (xšywny); °*n'* abl. 66V.8*, 68R.21, 77R.11; °*ny* id. 25R.3; °*ny* voc. 12V.14; °*ny* gen. numv. 1R.15*; °*nyt* dir. pl. 13V.28; °*nyty* obl. pl. 6V.12*.
xwt'wy' f. 'lordship': °*y'* obl. 13V.23.
xwtw m. 'lord, master, the Lord': dir. 1R.7*, 12R.1, 12V.14 (x2) (xwt'w), 16, 18*, 14V.12*, 27R.19, 27V.27, 51V.7, 55V.24, 56V.32, 57R.4, 9, 20, 22, 66V.4, 94V.20, 22, 29, 30, 102R.18, 102V. 28, 104R.17*, 104V.2*, 13, 105V.5*, 108V.7*, 111R.1*, 7, 111V.2 (n-x°), 10 (xwt'w), 120R.2*, 5.
xwty adv. '(my)self, (him)self, (their)selves', etc., emphasizing a pers. pron. expressed or understood: 13V.30, 60R.25, 66R.1.
xwtyn f. 'lady, mistress, queen': dir. 12V.11, 13R.30.
xwy'r adj. 'light, disreputable, easy': dir. 94R.9 – as adv. 'easily' 31V.13.
xwy'ry' f. 'lightness, disrepute': 57V.15—in phrase *xwy'ry' (...) wn-* 'to belittle' 68V.17, 69V.23.
xwyr vb. 'to cause to eat': °*rt* 2 pl. impv. 94V.26.
xwysm noun 'trouble, care, solicitude': dir. 51R.29, 60V.10.
xwz vb. 'to test, try, examine': *xwzt* 3 sg. pres. 102R.18, 19; *xwznt* 3 pl. subj. 40V.15. Pres. part. **xwzny** 'examining': °*n'* voc. 102V.30.
xwz'mnty m. 'examination': nom. 54R.17.
xwž vb. 'to ask, request, beg': *xwžt* 3 sg. pres. 104V.11; *xwžmsq* 1 sg. dur. pres. 68R.4; *xwž* 3 sg. impf. 94R.13.

xwž'mnty m. 'request': nom. 57V.3.

xwžqy': see s.vv. *ptn-xwžqy'* and *θb'r-xwžqy'*.

xwžn'q adj. 'ill, sick': dir. 60V.10, 31, 66V.7*, 104V.18*.

xw=q ? : 120V.11*.

xw[? : 14V.25*.

xyd demonstrative adj. and pronoun 'that, those'. No gender distinctions. (1) Independent forms: *xyd* nom. sg. and nom. pl. (when used substantivally, always construed as sg.) 23V.17*, 25R.1*, 31R.16, 31V.6, 10, 16, 30, 40R.4, 23, 51V.4, 19, 56R.10, 56V.28, 29, 57R.15, 57V.27, 30*, 31, 60R.5, 25, 60V.6, 24, 61V.26, 68V.1*, 87R.8, 9, 91R.1, 94R.27, 102R.20, 24, 104R.9, 120V.1*, D V.9*—as indecl. particle preceding *wyd* or *prywyd* '(that) same, (that) very' 54V.21, 22, 68V.6; *wyd* acc. sg. and acc. pl. (when used substantivally, always construed as sg.) 3V.8, 13V. 25, 22R.12, 13, 23V.6, 27R.23, 27V.21, 31R.4, 40V.12, 48R.10, 48V.26, 51V.28*, 53V.2, 54V.30, 57V.12, 68V.6, 69V.22, 77V.9, 94R.25, 94V.28 (wd), B V.25*; *dywyd* gen. sg. and loc. sg. 12V.2, 22V.6, 9 (y-d°), 15 (id.), 26R.7, 27R.12 (y-d°), 22* (id.), 40V.4*, 4, 48V.24 (n-d°), 57R.20 (id.), 57V.9 (id.), 64V.26*, 68R.6, 87R.11*, 16, 87V.15; *dywnt* gen. pl. 51R.25* (n-d°), 57R.26 (id.), 104R. 10. (2) Prepositioned forms. (a) Sg.: *cywyd* 1V.7*, 11R.26*, 11V.28*, 14V.20, 22R.2*, 22V.1, 23R.5, 11, 12*, 24R.7, 31V.6, 48V.11*, 51V.12, 30, 55V.23, 56R.8, 60R.8, 87R.4, 94R.4*, 5, 102R.20; *dywyd* 40V.22, 87R.18*; *qywyd* 12V.1, 26R.6, 31R.29, 31V.1, 8, 15, 25, 40V.10, 51V.20, 54R.30 (as pl.), 54V.21, 57R.21, 60R.12, 60V.7, 29, M V.2; *prywyd* 1R.27, 1V.10 (as pl.), 11*, 29, 7R.25*, 14V.11, 17R.3*, 19V.1, 23V.11*, 31R.10, 31V.9, 26, 39R.4, 40V.6, 19, 48R.4*, 51V.15, 31, 54V.21, 22, 30, 56V.28*, 57R.28, 60R.21, 61R.17, 64R.23, 66R.2*, 66V.9, 68R.8, 68V.26*, 69R.17, 69V.29, 87R.7 (x2), 102R.29*, 102V.16, 104V.4, 9* (x2), 120V.4*, A R.30. (b) Pl.: *cywnt* H V.1*; *qywnt* 48R fn. c, 48V.27; *prywnt* 27R.25*, 39R. 8, 40V.18,21, 51R.14, 57R.13, 68V.8, 91R.10, 104R.11, 111V.6*.

xypθ possessive adj. (1) Reflexive 'my, our, your, his, her, its, their', referring to the subject of the clause: dir. 1R.11, 1V.14, 6V.14*, 7R.30, 12R.4*, 12V.12*, 13, 16, 13R.24, 25(?), 28, 14R.11*, 23R.21(?), 30, 23V.15, 28, 27R.1* (y-x°), 5, 27V.1*, 31V.4, 5, 13, 18, 29, 39R.3 (xypt), 5 (x2), 40R.1*, 48R.16, 48V.28, 51R.2*, 3*, 7, 7 (n-x°), 7, 13* (xypt), 16*, 16, 17, 27*, 30*, 51V.7*, 15, 22, 52R.5, 52V.4, 6, 13, 53V.7, 54R. 19, 20, 22, 24, 28, 54V.21, 55R.27, 55V.18, 27*, 57R.14, 57V.6, 19, 20 (x2), 21, 22 (x2), 25, 30, 60R.3, 14, 16, 20, 23 (y-x°), 23, 60V.2* (xypt), 26, 29, 61V.27, 30, 64V.23*, 65V.26, 66R.3*, 6*, 19* (x2), 20*, 66V.15, 68R.5, 6, 9*, 29 (y-x°), 68V.2, 30, 69R.18, 69V.26, 77R.12, 86V.4*, 87R.5, 6*, 91V.11*, 94R.8, 16, 22*, 27, 102R.21, 22, 104V. 1*, 4*, 5*, 7*, 11*, 12* (x2), 13*, 16* (w-x°), 105R.6* (id.), 108R.10, 111R.9, 120R.12, D V.5*, F R.9*, K V.1(?); °*θy* obl. 61R.25 (y-xypty), 94R.19 (y-xypθy); °*θty* obl. pl. 12V.14*, 23V.28. (2) Emphatic 'own' or semantically empty marker of possessive function, referring back to an immediately preceding pron. or noun in the gen.: °*θ* dir. 5R.29*, 27R.6, 7, 40V.16, 51R.11, 12, 51V.24, 57R.2, 61R.20, 69R.14, 91V.9*, 94R.28, 108R.11; °*θty* obl. pl. 12R.3.

xypθ'wnt m. 'owner, master, lord, Lord': dir. 13V.27*, 27R.5, 8*, 27V.3, 24*, 29*, 48V.1*, 51R.18, 31*, 54R.22, 54V.28, 55R.20, 27, 57R.18, 57V.18, 60V.17, 68R.5, 10, 77V.8, 91V.4*, 104R. 19*; °*ty* obl. 51R.9*, 57R.26, 57V.10, 14, 68R.12, R R.2*; °*tt* dir. pl. 12R.11; °*ty* voc. pl. 12R.26.

xyr/xrt vb. 'to go, go out, go away': *xyr* 3 sg. impf. 60R.25, 60V.25, B V.30; *xrt* past inf. 13R.16. Pp. **xrty** 'gone, gone out': nom. 60R.27.

x==t ? : 51V.8.

x==ty ? : 7V.27*.

x[? : 25R.19*, 26R.24, 48V.5*, 55V.10, 77R.18, E V.30.

y-, y': see s.v. ¹*xw*.

y'b vb. 'to wander': *y'bmsq* 1 sg. dur. pres. 83V.6.

y'b'qc noun 'wandering': °*cy* obl. 31V.14.

y'n noun 'wish': dir. 68R.15.

y'n-θb'rqy' f. 'Grace', pl. 'favours, blessings': 31V. 25 (°*θbr'qy'*), 54V.22; °*y'* obl. 57V.9; °*yt* dir. pl. 31V.3.

y'n', y'nt: see s.v. *'yny*.

y't: see s.v. *x-*.

y'tqwny indecl. noun 'sorcery, magic': 23R.10*, 24*, 40V.7, 66R.4, 66V.7.

y'twq m. 'sorcerer, magician': dir. 22V.4, 65V.25*.

y'twqy' f. 'sorcery, magic': 23R.26.

y'ty m. 'meat': *y'tw* acc. 94V.3, 105R.8*.

y'x'mnty m. 'reproach'(?): °*tw* acc. 120V.4*.

ybwstny = y- + bwstny.

ycy: see s.v. *x-*.

yd demonstrative adj. 'this, these'. No gender distinctions. (1) Independent forms: *yd* nom. sg. and nom. pl. 1V.7, 22R.7, 25R.5, 7, 31R.5, 31V.14, 23, 48V.24*, 69V.20, 104R.7*, 104V.2*; *myd* acc. sg. and acc. pl. 4R.1*(?), 12R.6*, 25R. 8*, 26V.5*, 27R.27, 31R.12, 57V.14, 61V.20, 65V.28, 69R.18, 69V.24, 77R.9, 15, 87V.17—as adv. 'so, thus', etc. (a) with correlative *c'nw* 'as' 12R.5*, 14R.21, 22R.5, 22V.3, 23R.10, 23V.4, 24R.5*, 25R.24*, 26V.10, 27R.17, e R.3, (b) before a predic. adj. or equivalent 22R.16, 52R.14,

68R.18, 69R.19, 30, 91R.10, (c) before a verb introducing direct speech 39R.10, 60R.7, 13, 31, 60V.4, 21, 31, 66V.14, 77V.13*, 83V.1*; *dymyd* gen. sg. and loc. sg. 13R.22, 14R.20*, c V.3*, 31R.10 (n-d°), 24, 28, 57R.21, 30*. (2) Prepositioned forms (occasionally substantivized). (a) Sg.: *cymyd* 40V.13*, 51R.5, 55V.20, 60V.20, 65R.25, 66V.6*, 68V.27, 94R.18, M R.3*; *qymyd* 31V.24, 32; *prymyd* 23R.14*, 27V.19*, 31R.2, 22, 27, 31V.2, 14, 40V.9*, 54V.26, 27, 68R.19, 94R. 21, 26*, 94V.17, 102R.22, 24. (b) Pl.: *cymnt* 60V.18, 61R.18; *cymnty* 48R.19, 94V.13*; *qymnt* 48R.14; *prymnt* 40V.19, 56R.27, 57R.10, 69V.21, 83R.5*.

ydbry' = *y-* + *dbry'*.

ydbtyq = *y-* + *dbtyq*.

ydxšty' = *y-* + *dxšty'*.

ydywyd = *y-* + *dywyd*.

yfcmbdy = *y-* + *fcmbdy*.

yγrtp'znqy' f. 'patience': 104R.16*.

yγrty'q f. 'openness, open country, freedom, relief': dir. 54R.18, 120R.7.

yγw- m. 'yoke': *yγwy* nom. 27V.2; *yγw* acc. 27V.1.

yqš- m. 'fiend': *yqšyšt* dir. pl. 12R.2.

ym'ny = *y-* + *m'ny*.

ym'x = *y-* + *m'x*.

ymlyk' m. 'Yamlikā': 77R.7*, 14, 17.

ymyk' = *y-* + *myk'*.

ynm'cy = *y-* + *nm'cy*.

yntwq'ny m. 'Indian': °*yty* obl. pl. 56V.9.

yp'q m. 'anger': dir. 61V.16*, 66R.3, 15, 69R.11, 17; °*qy* obl. 120R.6.

yp'qbry adj. 'angry': nom. 22V.2. Compar. **yp'qbrystr** 'angrier': dir. 23R.7.

yr'θy = *y-* + *r'θy*.

ysmwtry' = *y-* + *smwtry'*.

ysryl m. 'Israel': dir. 60R.1*, 94V.24.

yst': see s.v. *x-*.

yšwγ m. 'Jesus': dir. 56V.32, 57R.9, 20, 22, 66V.4; °*γy* obl. 57R.4.

yšwγmšyḫ' m. 'Jesus Christ': 12V.19, 57R.18 (yšwγ-mšyḫ'), 91V.5, 108V.3.

yt'ry = *y-* + *t'ry*.

[1]**yty** conj. 'and, that', also enclitic particle following the first word of a clause: passim in ff. 1 to 27, a V.1*, d R.2*, 3*, d V.2, e V.2. Cf. *'t*.

[2]*yty:* see s.v. *šw-*.

yty' f. 'chance': 55V.30*, 60V.26.

yw indecl. num. 'one': 1R.17, 14R.22, 22R.8, 23R.16, 25V.19, 26V.5, 31R.1, 40R.5, 8 (x2), 14 (x4), 18 (x2), 40V.22, 48V.18, 54R.27, 54V.19, 20, 56V.26, 57R.16, 17, 60R.2, 17 (x2), 19 (x2), 23, 24, 26 (x2), 60V.5, 9, 11, 13, 25 (x2), 26, 30*, 61V.25, 26, 65V.27, 68R.3, 16, 68V.10, 15, 30, 69R.22, 69V.13, 77R.13, 87R.1, 10, 87V.3, 13*, 13, 94R.30 (x2), 111V.8, B V.29. Cf. *yw-'rdq*, *yw-pnc's'*, *yw-šmbd* and *yw-wyst*. Ordinal **ftmcyq** 'first': dir. 31R.29, 39V.15*, 54V.24, 94V.1*.

yw'r conj. 'but, yet, nevertheless': 4R.3, 12V.13*, 13R.15, 22R.8, 23R.24*, 23V.4, 31R.6, 11, 19, 40V.17, 20*, 48R.10, 55V.19, 57R.3, 57V.15, 24, 26, 60R.7, 16, 61V.25, 68R.3, 30, 69R.19, 69V.21, 77R.4, 87R.18*, 94R.2, 94V.8, 108V.2*.

yw-'rdq adj. 'sincere': °*qt* dir. pl. 104R.12.

yw'rt conj. 'but, rather': 94R.21.

yw'š m. 'Joash': dir. 94V.25.

ywc/ywxt- vb. 'to teach': *ywštqn* 3 sg. dur. pres. 57R.13; *ywcy* 3 sg. opt. 7V.16*; *ywxt' wnnt* 3 pl. pres. tr. pot. 31R.22; *ywxt' by* 3 sg. opt. intr. pot. 31R.18.

ywḫnn m. 'John': dir. 53R.3*.

ywq m. 'teaching, doctrine': dir. 1V.26, 7V.30*, 31R.2, 54V.24, 69R.20, 104V.15* (comp. with inf.); *ywqy* obl. 52V.11, 68V.15.

ywn'yq adj. 'Greek': dir. 1R.9*.

ywnts indecl. num. 'eleven'. Ordinal **ywntsmyq** 'eleventh': dir. 55R.29.

ywny adv. 'immediately': 23R.11*(?), 57V.19, 66V.5, 68V.20*, 77R.12, 77V.12*, 94R.23—in phrase *ywny (. . .) c'nw* 'as soon as' 31V.20, 94R.25.

ywnyd adv. 'immediately': 1V.9*, 3V.8*, 11R.19, 22V.11, 23V.12*, 25V.3, 17.

ywp'tqy adv. 'altogether': 83V.4*.

yw-pnc's' f. 'fifty-first day': dir. 55R.26.

ywrdnn noun 'Jordan': dir. 53R.6.

yw-šmbd noun 'Sunday': dir. 54V.29.

ywštqn: see s.v. *ywc*.

ywt'c adj. 'solitary': °*'št* dir. pl. 48R.22.

ywtr m. 'one, a single one, a certain one, a certain person': dir. 1R.22, 12R.9, 57V.26, 60R.1*, 60V.25, 94R.12, 120R.9, B V.27*; °*ry* obl. 48V. 17*.

yw-wyst indecl. num. 'twenty-one': 1R.10*. Ordinal **yw-wystmyq** 'twenty-first': dir. 55V.29*.

ywx'y/ywxst- vb. 'to sever, separate, divide': *ywxytq'* 3 sg. fut. 48R.28; *yxw'y* 3 sg. impf. 87R.5; *ywx'ynt* 3 pl. subj. or opt. 27V.8*. Pp. **ywxst-y** 'divided, separate': °*ty* nom. 22V.11; °*tyt* dir. pl. 61V.25.

ywx'y'mnty m. 'separation': gen. 61V.18.

ywxn- m. 'blood': °*nw* acc. 27R.10, 40V.24; °*ny* gen. 57R.19.

ywxnq-ptz'ny adj. 'discerning': °*n'* voc. 48V.30*, 51R.4, 21—22*; °*nyt* dir. pl. 6R.16*. °*n[* 48V.7. Cf. *yxwnq-n'-ptz'ny*.

ywxs- vb. 'to learn': °*sw* 1 sg. impf. 11V.25; °*sy* 3 sg. opt. 1V.23*, 24; °*s't* 3 sg. subj. 1V.27; °*s'* 2 sg. impv. 57V.29; *pr ywxsw* pres. inf. 31R.23; *cn . . . ywxs'* id. 104V.14–15*.

ywxst-: see s.v. *ywx'y*.

ywxt- n. 'yoke, pair, team': °*ty* nom. numv. 105R.3.

ywxt': see s.v. *ywc.*
ywxytq': see s.v. *ywx'y.*
yw[? : 53V.3.
yxs'mnty m. 'reproach': °*tw* acc. 56R.6*.
yxšpy' = *y-* + *xšpy'.*
yxw'y: see s.v. *ywx'y.*
yxwbny' = *y-* + *xwbny'.*
yxwnq-n'-ptz'ny adj. 'undiscerning': °*ncy* voc. f. 13V.17*.
yxypty = *y-* + *xypty.*
yxypθ(y) = *y-* + *xypθ(y).*
yx[? : 25R.6.
yz'ty-brcy = *y-* + *z'ty-brcy.*
yzdqrt m. 'Yazdgerd': dir. 23R.25*, 25R.3 (ydrqrt).
yzdyn m. 'Yazdīn': dir. 1R.5*, 25, 1V.5, 8, 14*, 28*.
yzwt m. 'chaplain': dir. 13R.26.
y[? : 24R.10, A V.30*, B R.20*.

z'q m. 'child': dir. 14R.20, 51V.7.
z'q'nc f. 'girl': dir. 12R.10, 15*; °*cy* obl. 3V.12*, 4V.5*, 12R.8, 12V.7*.
z'mty' f. 'betrothal': 57R.12.
z'nwq noun 'knee': dir. 27V.12, 56V.26; °*qty* obl. pl. 27V.8.
z'r indecl. num. 'a thousand': 69V.14.
z'rcnwq adj. 'merciful': dir. 57V.18; °*q'* voc. 27V.3*.
z'rcnwqy' f. 'mercy': 57V.16, 19, 21, 22, 68R.12, 91V.5*, 104V.11*, L V.1*.
z'ry indecl. adj. 'pitiful, pitiable, sympathetic': 12R.6—in phrase *z'ry (...) sy-/sy't* 'to show oneself sympathetic, take pity' 51V.31*, 60V.5.
z'ry'wy m. 'misery, torment, torture': nom. 68V.4; °'*w* acc. 60V.8, 69R.24; °'*w'* abl. 51V.30.
z'ty m. 'son': nom. 13R.26, 51V.7*, 10, 52R.4, 56V.11, 68V.19; *z'tw* acc. 51V.31, 94V.25; *z'ty* id. 6V.15*; *z'ty* gen. 1R.8, 1V.15, 54V.27, 57R.9; *z't'* nom. numv. 87V.3; *z'tyt* dir. pl. 13R.29.
z'ty-brc noun 'womb': °*cy* obl. 40R.21 (y-z°).
z'wr m. 'power, might': dir. 13V.20, 26*, 22R.3, 23V.28, 25R.8, 27V.25, 31V.8, 30, 32, 56R.28, 57R.10, 15, 69R.16, R R.3*; °*ry* obl. 91V.9.
z'wrqyn adj. 'strong, mighty': dir. 12V.14, 61R.23.
[1]**z'y** indecl. noun 'earth, ground': *z'y* 13V.27, 14V. 19, 22, 48V.23, 51R.22*, 54R.23, 94R.14, 94V.22; *zy* 23R.4, 60R.1, 64R.25, 69R.16, 77V.7*, 87R. 16*.
[2]**z'y** ? : 1R.26.
z'ycyq adj. 'earthly, of the earth': °*qt* dir. pl. 13V. 28, 53V.4.
zb'q m. 'tongue, language': dir. 27V.12, 18*, 54V.20, 57R.24; °*qy* obl. 53V.6; °*qt* dir. pl. 54V.19.
zγ'm adv. in phrase *ms zγ'm ... ny, ms ny zγ'm* 'not even': 22V.16, 23V.16, 31R.5, 60V.5, 91R.5*.
zγ'r noun 'moisture, trickle': dir. 22V.16.
zm'qycq noun 'temptation': °*qy* obl. 57V.4; °*qt* dir. pl. 83R.3.
zm'y/zm'yt vb. 'to tempt': °*ynt* 3 pl. pres. 94R.29. Pp. **zm'yty** 'tempted': nom. 104R.3.
zmpy m. '(river-)bank': *zmpw* acc. 87V.11.
zmyx noun 'crucible': dir. 102R.18.
znq-znq'n adj. 'manifold, of many kinds': dir. 31V.2, D R.8*–9*.
[1]**znt** adj. 'blind': dir. 23R.30.
[2]*znt:* see *d'r'-znt* s.v. [2]*d'r.*
zprcyqy' f. 'purity': 61R.29.
zprt adj. 'pure, holy': dir. 19V.3*, 22R.6, 22V.9*, 11, 15*, 23R.29, 23V.11, 27R.14, 27, 27V.24, 31V.28, 40V.23, 51R.13, 51V.21, 53R.5, 53V.5, 54V.15, 21, 55R.26, 57R.9, 61R.23, 66R.18, 69V.28, 91V.6; °*tt* dir. pl. 39V.9, 48R.20, 57V.5 (n-zprt), 61R.19, 66R.17, 66V.1*, 91R.7, 94R.18*, 29, 94V.23, 102R.30, 104R.16.
zprty' f. 'purity, holiness': 27R.11, 57V.6; °*y'* obl. 31V.3, 54R.25.
zpry'q f. 'honour': dir. 7V.25, 28*, 13R.29, 57V.15, 60R.5, 61V.27, 66R.10*, 68R.13, 69V.24; °*qy* obl. 40R.16, 20, 40V.3*, 21, 23, 57V.8.
zpry'qyn adj. 'honoured, honourable': dir. 68R.31; °*nt* dir. pl. 68R.10.
zrγt-: see s.v. *zrync.*
zrnq noun 'deliverance': °*qy* obl. 57V.3*.
zrw- f. 'old age': *zrw'* nom. or acc. 14R.11.
zrw' indecl. (?) m. 'Zurwān': 14V.7.
zrxs-/zrxt- vb. 'to be saved': *zrxstyq'* 3 sg. fut. 61V.21. Pp. **zrxt-y** 'saved': °*tyt* dir. pl. 61V.21.
zrync/zrγt- vb. 'to save, deliver': *zryncnq'* 1 sg. fut. 66R.1; *zrγd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 94V.15; *zrγty* 3 sg. m. intr. pret. 51R.26.
zryš or **zryš-** vb. 'to raise, lift up': °*š'z* 3 sg. āz-impf. 12V.13, 94R.2*.
zryš-'sy adj. 'coming to an end, about to perish': °*s'* voc. 51V.26.
zt' indecl. predic. adj. or noun, only in phrase *zt' wn-* 'to make known, announce': 48R.31, 52V.9, 16.
zt'qrqy' f. 'announcement, proclamation': 54V.23.
zw 1st pers. pron. 'I'. No gender distinctions. (1) Independent forms: *zw* nom. sg. 12R.11, 13R.22, 23, 25, a V.2, 48R.20, 60R.19, 66R.1*, 66V.16, 68R.8, 68V.27, 32, 69R.12*, 69V.20, 87V.3, 104V.13, 17; *t'm'* acc. sg. 12R.3*, 11, 52V.16, 64R.27*, 68R.6, 69V.17, 18, 87V.9, 11, 12, 94R. 22, 94V.16*, 104R.15, 111R.2*, 5, 120R.5, 6*; *mn'* gen. sg. (often functioning as possessive adj. 'my') 7R.24, 25, 26, 12R.5*, 10, 13R.26, 29, 23V.5, 27R.3, 3*, 27V.10, 48R.2, 55V.25, 66R.14, 17, 18*, 66V.13, 68R.4, 10, 68V.26, 69V.22, 83V.1*, 87V.2, 9 (x2), 11*, 16*, 94V.10, 17, 102V.20, 23, 111V.7, 120R.10, A R.28, J R.2, Q

R.4; *m'x* pl. (also functioning as poss. adj. 'our') 5V.30 (x2), 7R.26*, 27*, 19V.2*, 22R.7 (y-m°), 10 (x2), 27V.2*, 39V.1, 40R.15 (x2), 17, 48R.9*, 48V.1, 51R.15, 52R.7, 54R.17, 22, 54V.28, 55R. 27, 56V.28, 57R.18, 21, 26, 57V.10, 13, 60R.32, 60V.1, 17 (x2), 65R.26, 65V.25, 66R.6, 66V.2*, 3, 4, 68R.12 (x2), 14, 15, 26, 27, 28, 68V.3, 15, 16, 29, 31, 69R.16, 77R.15, 77V.16, 87V.5*, 6, 8 (x2), 91V.4, 94R.29, 94V.27, 28, 29, 102R.18*, 20, 102V.18, 104V.4*, 14*, 105V.7*, 120R.9, A R.26*, A V.29, 30, D V.4. (2) Pre- and postpositioned forms (all sg.): *c'm'* 68R.4, 9; *d'm'* 69R.18, 69V.12, 26, 120R.3; *pr'm'* 12R.4, 94R.20, 111V. 3, 4, 7; *t'ms'* 6V.14, 69R.10*, 69V.30*. (3) Enclitic forms: *-m* acc. sg. 87V.15 ('t-m), 120R.4 (p't-m); *my* id. 12R.3*; *my* gen. sg. 94R.3, 20, 21, 94V.17, 19, 102V.23; *mn* acc. pl. and gen. pl. 48R.23, 54R.17, 94R.29, 94V.3, 102R.23, 104V.4, 105V.8*, 108V.3, A V.28.

zwby m. 'chasm': *zwb'* abl. 87V.13.

zwrt vb. 'to turn, turn away, return': *zwrtt* 3 sg. pres. 102R.21; *zwrtyq'* 2 sg. fut. 51R.10; *zwrt'zq'* 3 sg. fut. āz-impf. 87V.12; *zywrt* 3 sg. impf. 105R.7; *zwrtn* 1 sg. subj. 94V.27; *zwrtt* 3 sg. subj. 25R.23.

zwrt'mnty m. 'turning, conversion': gen. 57R.30.

zwydm' f. 'threat': dir. 4V.3*, 66V.4, 104R.8*, 111V.1*.

zwyrt vb. 'to cause to turn, turn away, return': °*rtt* 3 sg. pres. 102R.19; °*rtq* 3 sg. dur. pres. 68V.16; °*rtq'* 3 sg. fut. or fut. opt. 68R.15; °*rt* 2 sg. impv. 69V.24.

zwz- vb. 'to fly up': *zwzy* 3 sg. opt. 31R.21.

zy: see s.vv. ¹*z'y* and *zy-qnt'*.

zy-qnt' f. or **zy-qnty** m. 'grave': °*q̈nt'* ? 56V.12*; °*qntyt* dir. pl. 68V.9.

zyn noun 'gold': dir. 51R.17, 69V.14, 18, 102R.18 (w-z°); *zyny* obl. 51R.19 (n-z°).

zynbr m. 'foster-parent': °*rt* dir. pl. 1R.27.

zywrt: see s.v. *zwrt*.

ž'r noun 'poison': dir. 51R.24.

ž'y vb. 'to speak, talk': *žysq* 2 sg. dur. pres. 69R.18; *ž'ynt* 3 pl. subj. or opt. 104R.15. Cf. *n'-žyny*.

žγm- f. 'lie, falsehood': *žγm'* nom. or acc. 52V.5.

žγm'sy m. 'liar': °*yt* dir. pl. 52R.16.

žγnt m. 'messenger': dir. 48R.17.

žγnty' f. 'embassy, mission': 1R.13*.

žγrt adv. 'quickly': 69R.19, 77R.14, 77V.13.

žγ-w, žwγ- adj. 'harsh, cruel, hard, difficult, sore': *žwγy* nom. 68V.15; *žwγ'* nom. f. 94V.10; *žγw* acc. 69R.22—as adv. 'sorely, very' 12R.15; *žwγ'* acc. f. 60R.27, 69R.21; *žwγy'* abl. f. 108V.8; *žwγt'* acc. pl. 69R.24. Compar. **žwγtr-** 'harsher': °*r'* nom. f. 94V.11. Elative **w'-žwγt** 'so harsh': dir. as adv. 'so sorely' 104R.3.

žγyr/žγyrt vb. 'to call, name, summon': °*rtq'* 3 sg. fut. 52R.3; °*rd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 52R.17. Pp. **žγyrty** 'called, named, summoned': nom. 51V.10, 56V.29; °*tyt* dir. pl. 31R.6, 48V.18.

žγyr'mnty m. 'calling, invocation': gen. 57R.10.

žmn- n. 'time, hour': *žmnw* nom. 48R.28, 29*, 54R.16; *žmnw* acc. 12R.9, 13V.29, 30*, 40R.23, 40V.18, 48R.25*, 48V.16, 54R.22, 68R.14; *žmny'* loc. 26R.1, 27V.28, 40R.23, 40V.11, 55V.25 (x2).

žn- f. 'advice'(?): *žn'* acc. 104V.12*.

žny'-ptnymy' f. 'advice, counsel': 31R.12–13 (°ptṇ-my'), 55V.19, 102V.28.

žw m. 'news, rumour': dir. 60R.26, 68R.3*.

žw-/žw't vb. 'to live': *žwnq'* 1 sg. fut. 66V.17; *žwl̥q'* 2 pl. fut. 68R.23; *žw'zw* 1 sg. āz-impf. 83V.5*; *žwy* 2 sg. opt. 69V.25, B R.29(?); *žwtt* 2 pl. impv. 48R.30; *žw'd'rt* 3 sg. tr. pret. 51R.27.

žw'n f. 'life': dir. 6V.16, 7R.16*, 24V.12*, 48R.12*, 51R.15, 60R.3, 60V.6, 8, 66R.6*, 20, 68V.3; °*ny* obl. 40V.18, 48V.6, 19, 28, 51R.6, 51V.19, 54R.27, 57V.10, 77V.15.

žwγ-, žwγt, žwγtr-: see s.v. *žγ-w*.

žwγy'q f. 'harshness, severity': dir. 31V.30.

žwq adj. 'whole, healthy': *žwqt* dir. pl. 91R.10*.

žwqy' f. 'healing, remedy, reparation': 102R.29.

žwnty adj. 'alive': °*tw* acc. 69R.19.

žwšy m. 'sacrifice': acc. 12R.12.

žwxšq- m. 'disciple': °*qt'* acc. pl. 57V.14.

žwyž vb. 'to sift, winnow': *žẇžy* 3 sg. opt. 40R.11.

ży'wr m. 'heart': dir. 23V.3, 60V.7, 61R.22, 102R. 19, 25 (x2), 102V.26; °*ry* obl. 40R.13, H R.3.

žyb'mnty m. 'biting': nom. 53V.6*.

žyny: see s.v. *n'-žyny*.

žysq: see s.v. *ž'y*.

žyšt- adj. 'hated': °*t'* acc. f. 61R.24*. *žyšt[* M R.2.

žyštwc noun 'hatred': dir. 61V.17, 66R.7.

ž[? : F V.6.

Ends of incomplete words (in reverse-index order)

]*tq'* 4R.4, 54V.15*, 66R.9*.
]*q'* 4R.3.
]-*q'* 1V.(17*–)18.
]'*r'* 56V.10.
]*br'* 26V.20*.
]*dqy'* 24V.17*.
]*ynqy'* S V.1*.
]*qy'* R V.2.
]*q̣y'* 39R.3.
]*y'* e V.2*, B V.24.
]*t*=' 12R.28.
]*t*==' 77R.18*.
]' 1R.7, 3V.6, 11V.19*, 12R.20, 14R.28*, 25R.25, 48V.31, 51R.15, 52V.9*, 68R.1*, 77R.18*, B

R.29*, B V.21*, D R.10, E R.5, F R.7, 8, L V.2, O V.2, T R.4*.
]*b* 7R.16, F R.1*.
]*m'c* 25R.22*, 25V.1*.
]'*bn'ync* 23V.17.
]*yrc* 64R.25.
]*yd* d R.2*.
]*y==d* 11V.26*.
]*d* 52V.2*.
]*t'q* 53V.9*.
]*msq* C R.3*.
]*tysq* 48V.11*, 52V.2*.
]*ryžysq* 48V.28.
]*ysq* 48V.29*.
]*sq* 25R.20.
]'*wrcyq* 12V.13*.
]'=*cyq* 27R.2*.
]*q* 24V.12, 27R.20*, a R.3, 52V.3, 56V.7*, 66R.9*, 83V.8*, I V.1, W V.1.
]*q'm* 4R.2*, 19V.2*, 26V.18*.
]'*m* C R.1.
]*ym* 14V.5*.
]*m* N V.1*.
]*dbn* F R.10.
]*wdn* 1R.12.
]*blywn* 56V.9.
]*yn* I R.4*.
]*n* 1R.16, 4R.1, 14V.9, A V.25, S R.1*.
]*tr* 1V.17*, F R.2, O R.2.
]*r* 23R.18, 55R.6, 104R.15*, D V.9, K R.2, K V.1*.
]*s* F R.5.
]*dtr't* 1V.17.
]*wš't* H V.3*.
]'*t* 56R.4*.
]'*qt* 14R.18*.
]*qt* K V.3*, U R.1.
]'*nt* 14R.7*.
]*d'rnt* 104R.17*.
]'*znt* 56V.29.
]*nt* E R.1, 2, U V.2.
]*d'rt* 51V.15*, 120V.3.
]*trt* 54R.15*.
]*wrt* 53R.7.
]*st* T V.2.
]*št* c R.2, V V.1.
]*wt* C V.3.
]*šyt* 24V.14.
]'=*qy*=*t* 120V.5.
]*t* 1V.29, 7R.20, 7V.29, 14R.6, 24*, 14V.9*, 23R.2, 26V.17, 27R.4, 18, 25, 26, b V.2, 40V.4, 51R.26*, 52V.1*, 53R.8*, 54R.13, 55V.30, 56R.5*, 7*, 18, 69R.9* (x2), 13*, 28, 77V.6*, 91R.2*, 102R.16, 104R.5*, A V.25, B V.30*, F R.4, G V.29, M R.2, O V.1*, P V.2, U V.3.
]*θ* 23R.12, 19*, 26V.24.
]*t'w* J R.1.
]-*w'bw* 54V.(14*–)15.
]*qw* 48R.32*.
]*t*=*nw* 51R.12*.
]*tw* 14R.6*, 52V.19*.
]*w* 11V.23*, 25R.26, 48V.5, 16, 52V.6*, 53R.6*, 53V.1*, 56V.17, A R.30*.
]*x* N V.2*.
]'*y* b R.1.
]*by* H R.1*.
]*cy* d R.1*, N V.3*.
]*sqy* 48V.30*.
]*qy* J V.3.
]*rny* c R.3.
]-*γwny* A V.(29*–)30.
]*šyny* 14R.21*.
]*ny* 39R.15*, Q R.3.
]*ry* 25V.19.
]*xš'wty* 27R.5.
]*dyty* M R.1*.
]*ty* 1R.16, 1V.4*, 7R.17*, 14R.12*, 24*, 14V.4*, 26V.21*, 27R.13*, 51V.5, 56V.21*, E R.4, R V.3*, S V.2, T R.2.
]*wy* 56V.11.
]*y* 1R.20*, 4V.5*, 6R.2, 11V.26*, 12V.30*, 13R.14*, 52V.18, 54R.15, 17*, 56R.15, 56V.3*, 69R.29*, 87R.14*, 104V.8*, B V.26, D V.8, O V.1*, U V.4*.
]'*z* 24R.14, 26V.16*.

Indexes

*1. Index of previously unpublished citations from Sogdian MSS**

a) C. Sogdian

b) M. Sogdian (and Bactrian in M. script)

c) Sogdian (and Parthian) in S. script

2. Index locorum

A selective list of passages cited from published Sogdian texts other than C2.

a) C. Sogdian

*Abbreviations: G. = transcribed by me from a photograph in Göttingen; H. = transcribed by me from a photograph in Hamburg; I.G. = transcribed by Dr. Gershevitch from a photograph in the private collection of the late W. B. Henning; Lentz = cited from a handwritten copy by Prof. Lentz (Hamburg); W. S. = transcribed by Dr. Sundermann from the original MS in the Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Berlin.

b) M. Sogdian (and Parthian in M. script)

c) Sogdian in S. script

*3. Index verborum**

a) Sogdian

Words not otherwise designated are cited in C. Sogd. spelling. The equivalent M. and S. spellings are not necessarily listed unless their position in the index would differ substantially from that of the C. form. The alphabetical order is based on that of the glossary, with ʿ = ', β = b, k = q, j = ž, etc.

*Abbreviations: B. = Buddhist; C. = Christian; D. = Digoron; I. = Inscriptional; M. = Manichean; S. = in Sogdian script; Z. = Zoroastrian (Pahlavi).

b) Old Iranian roots

c) Avestan

d) Old Persian

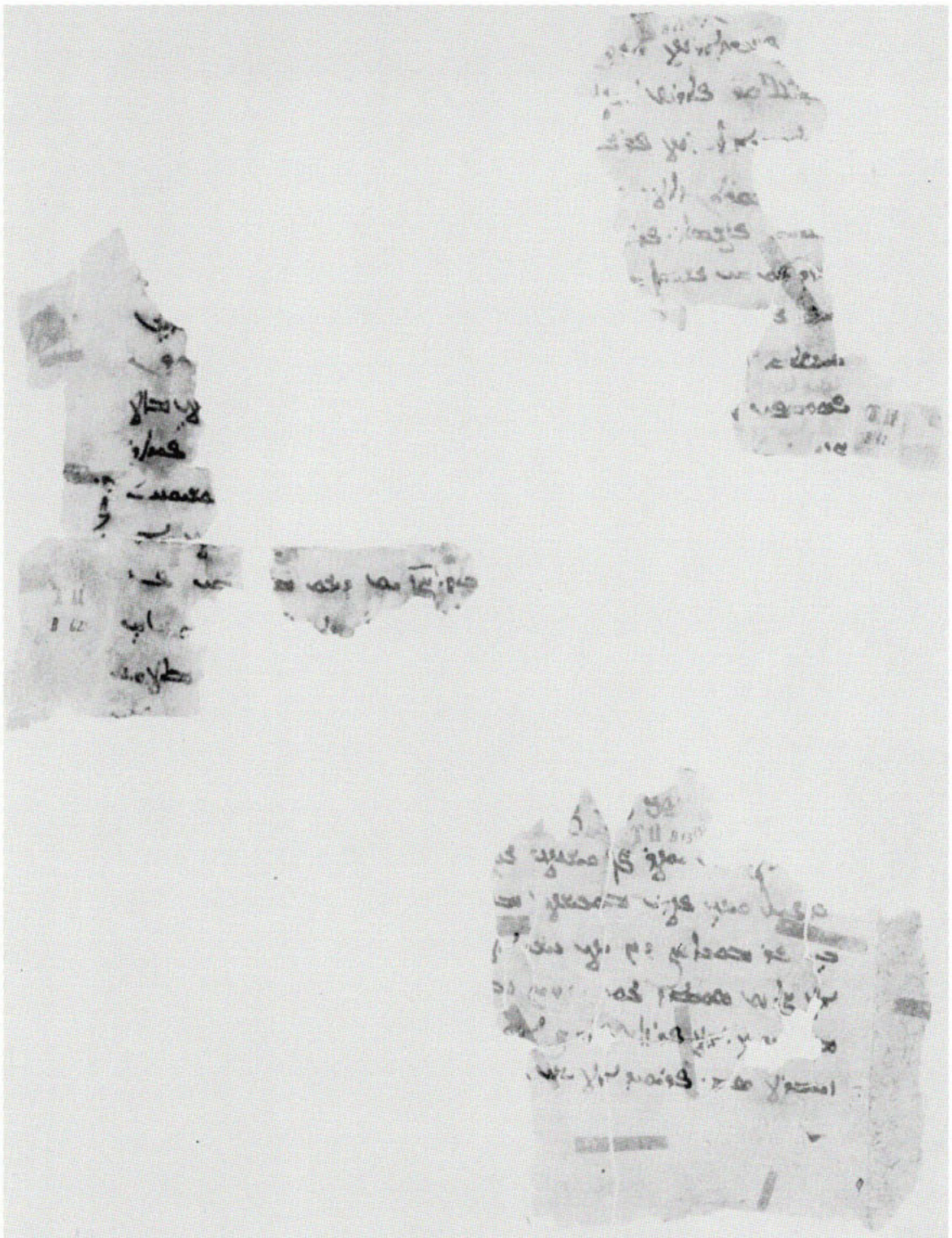
e) Middle Persian

f) Parthian

g) Bactrian

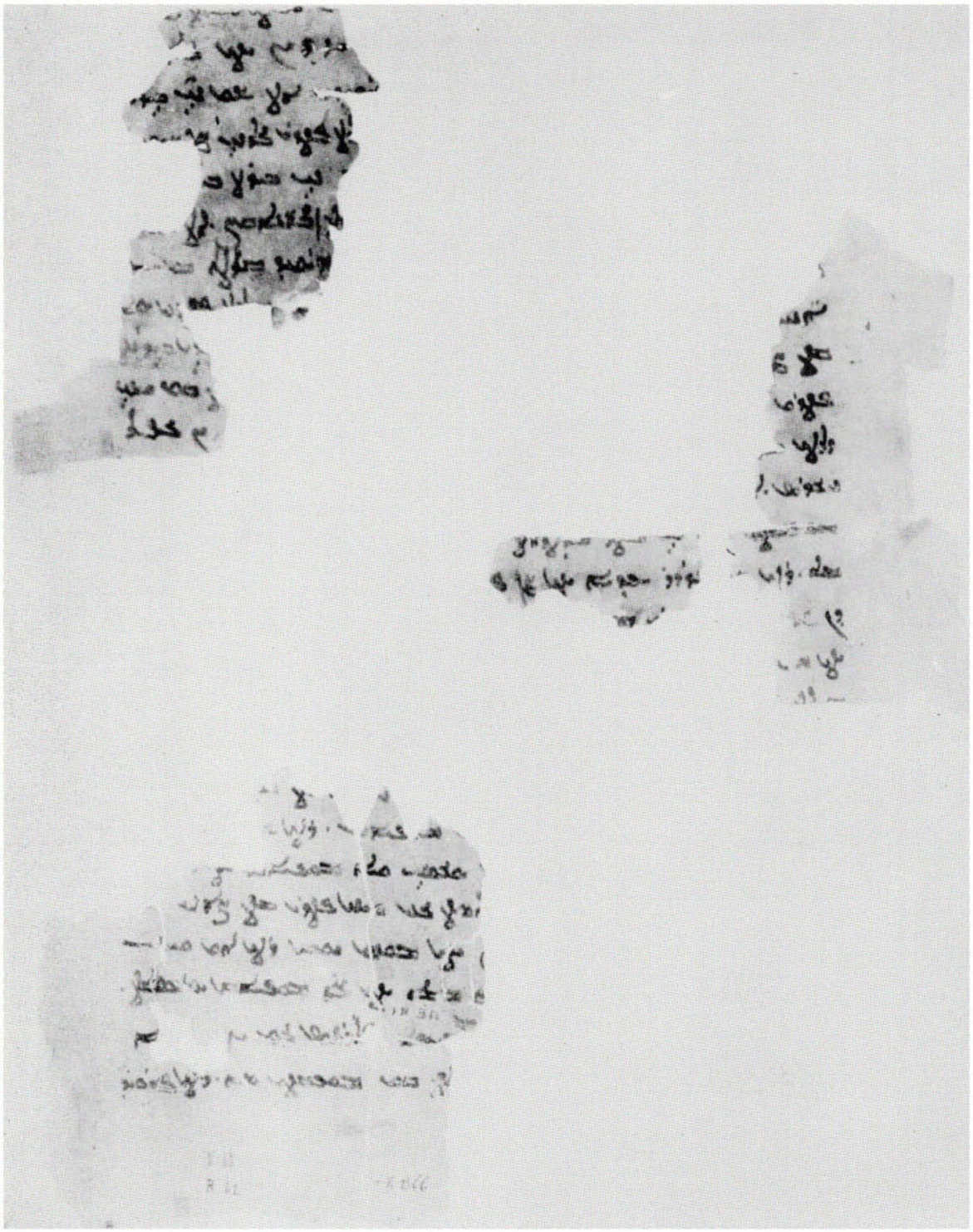
h) Choresmian

PLATES



f. 1R

Tafel II



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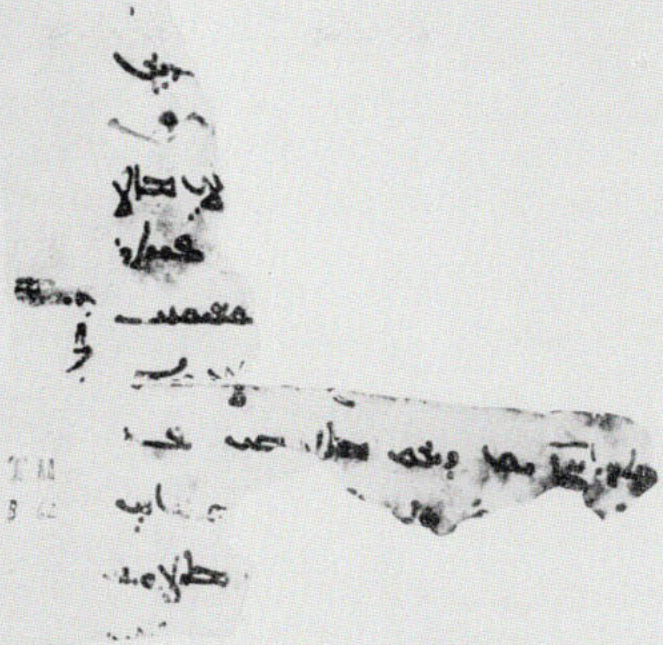

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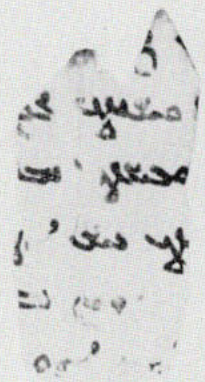

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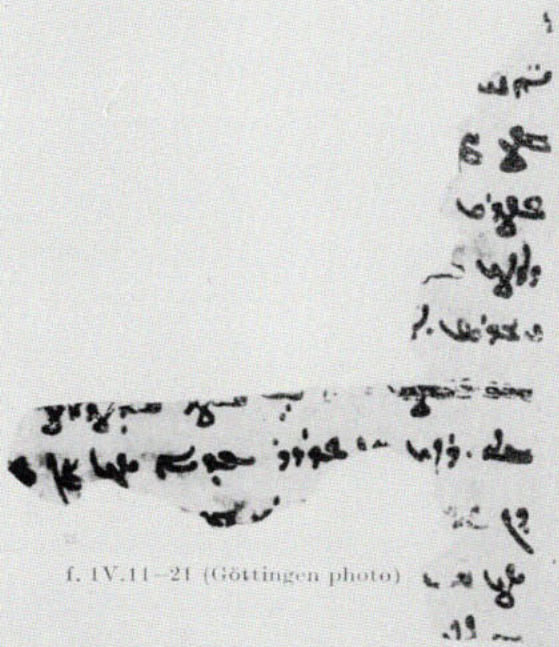

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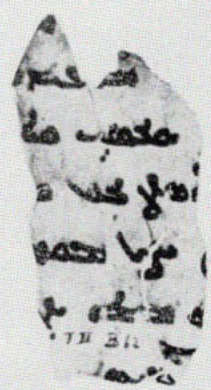


f. 1V.22–28
(Göttingen photo)

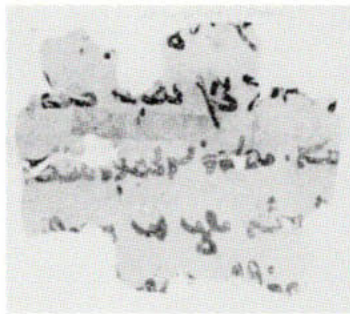
Tafel IV

f. 3R.1–12

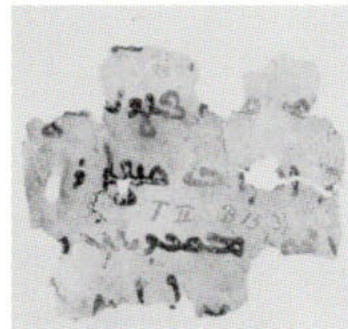
f. 3V.1–10

f. 3R.11–15

f. 3V.10–14

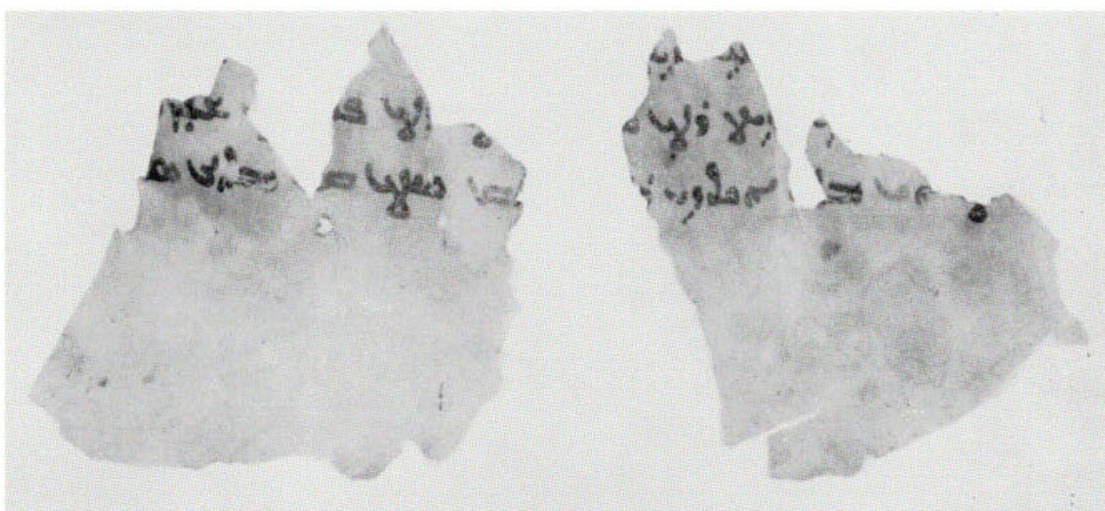


f. 4R



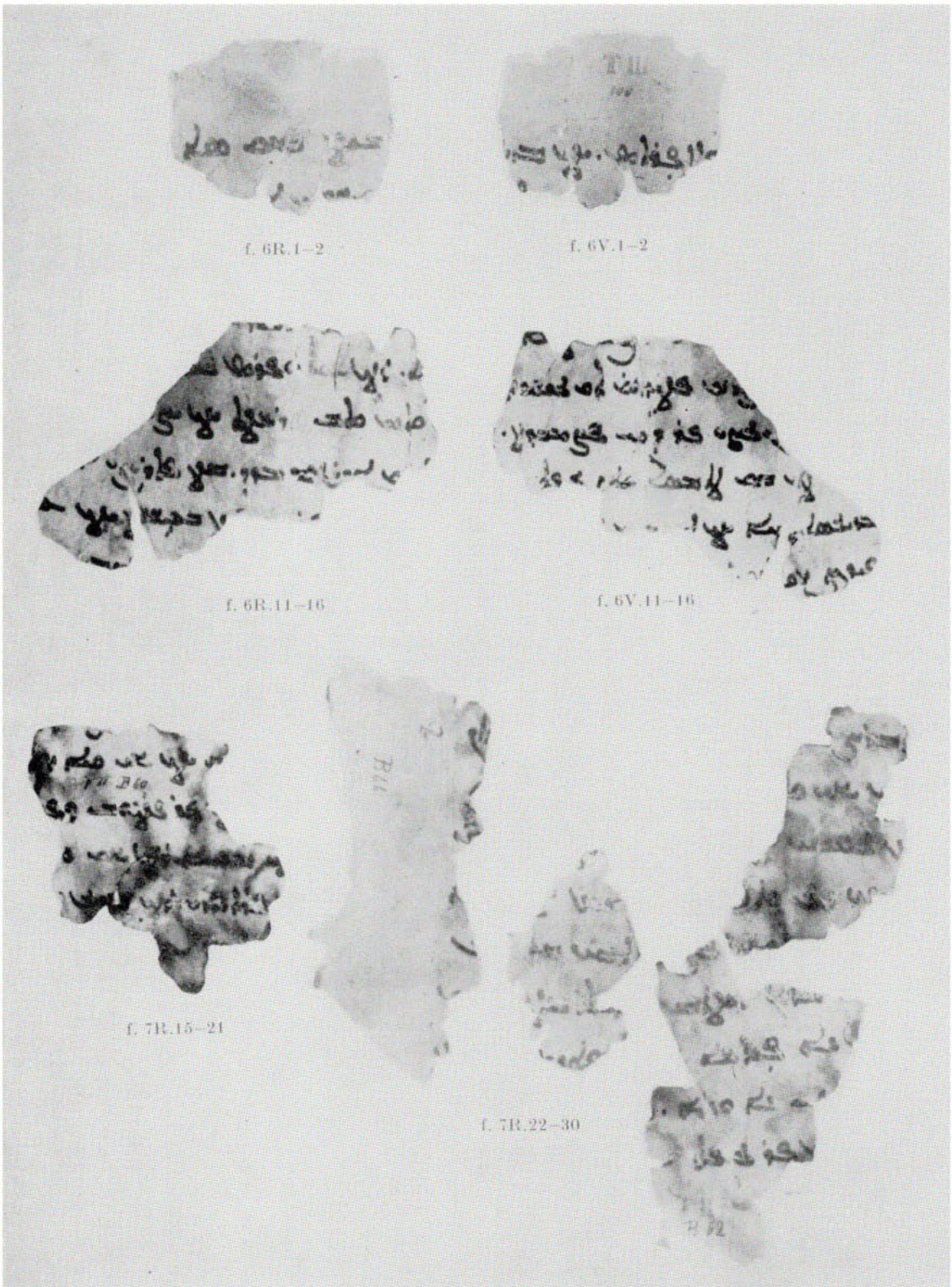
f. 4V

f. 5R



f. 5V

Tafel VI



f. 6R.1–2

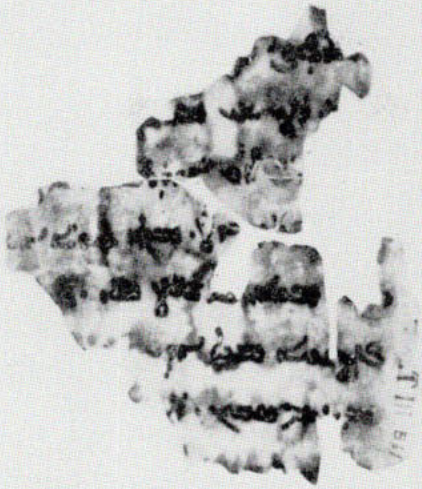
f. 6V.1–2

f. 6R.11–16

f. 6V.11–16

f. 7R.15–21

f. 7R.22–30



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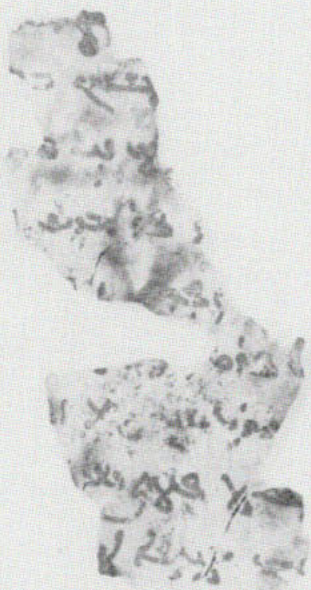
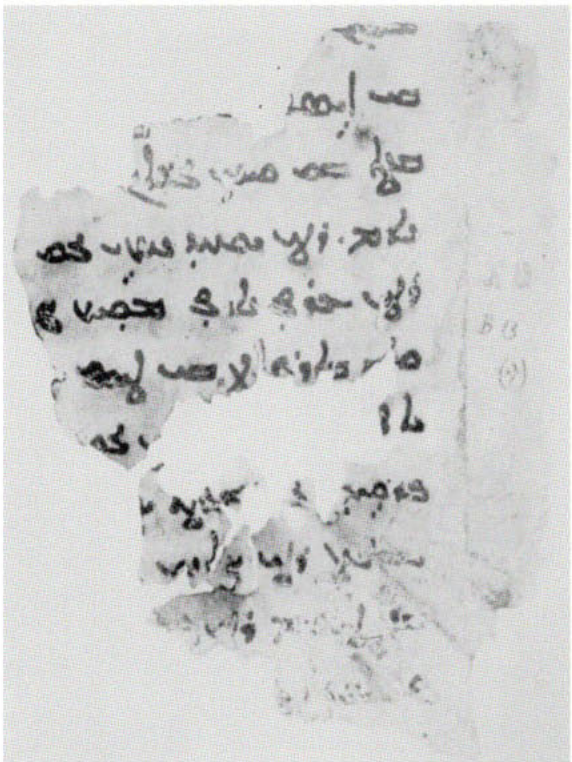
f. 7V.21–28



f. 7V.22–30

f. 7V.16–21

Tafel VIII



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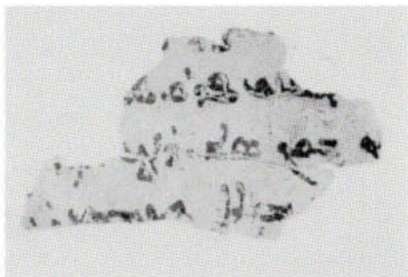

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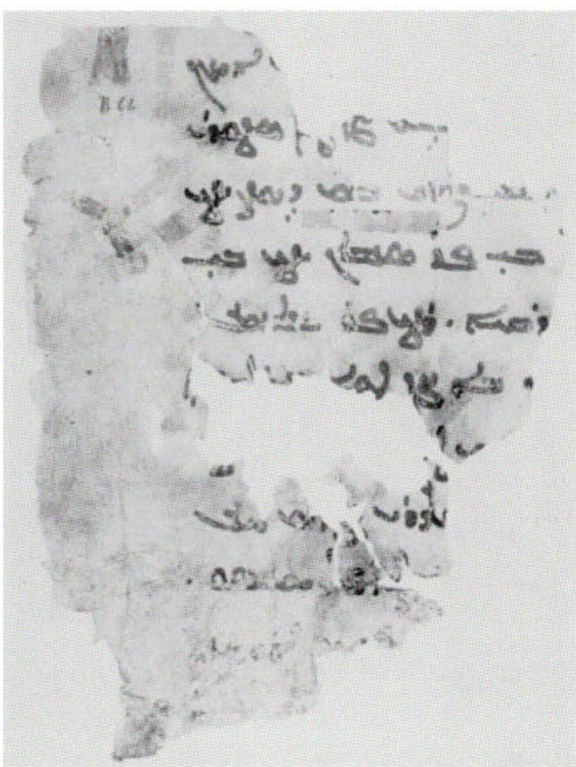

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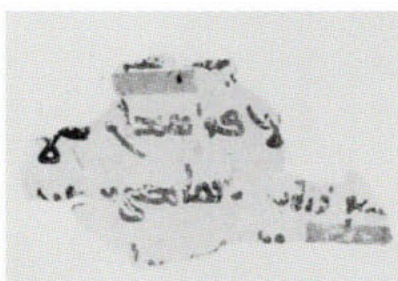

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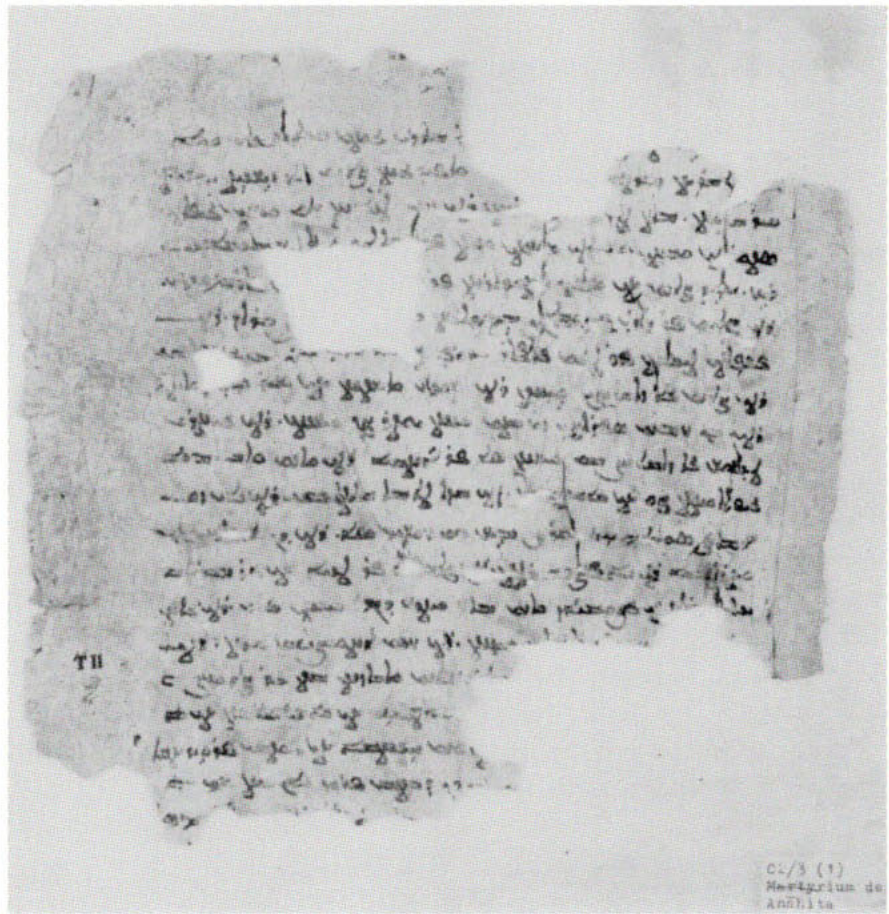

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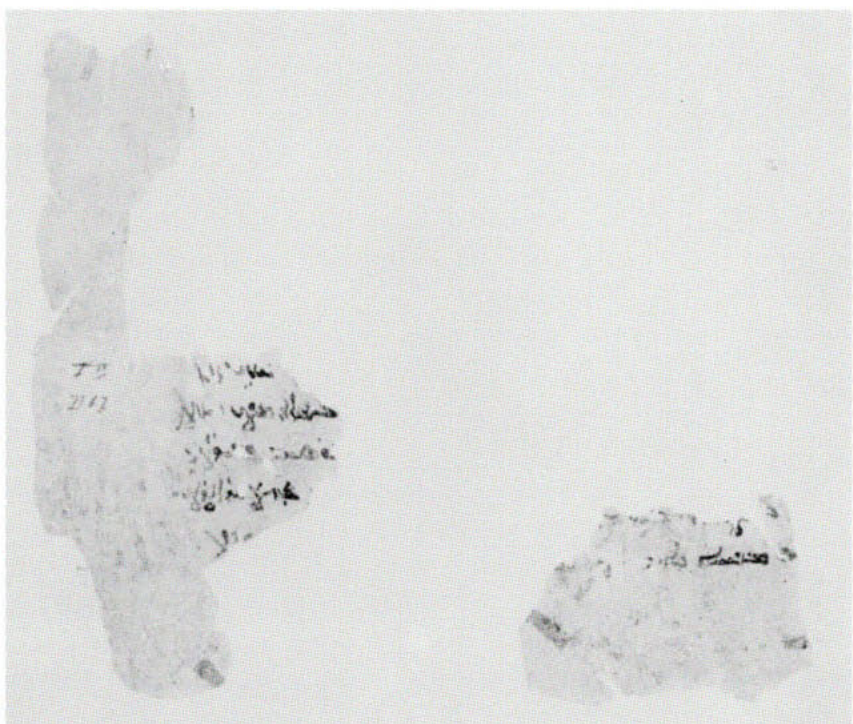

f. 12R

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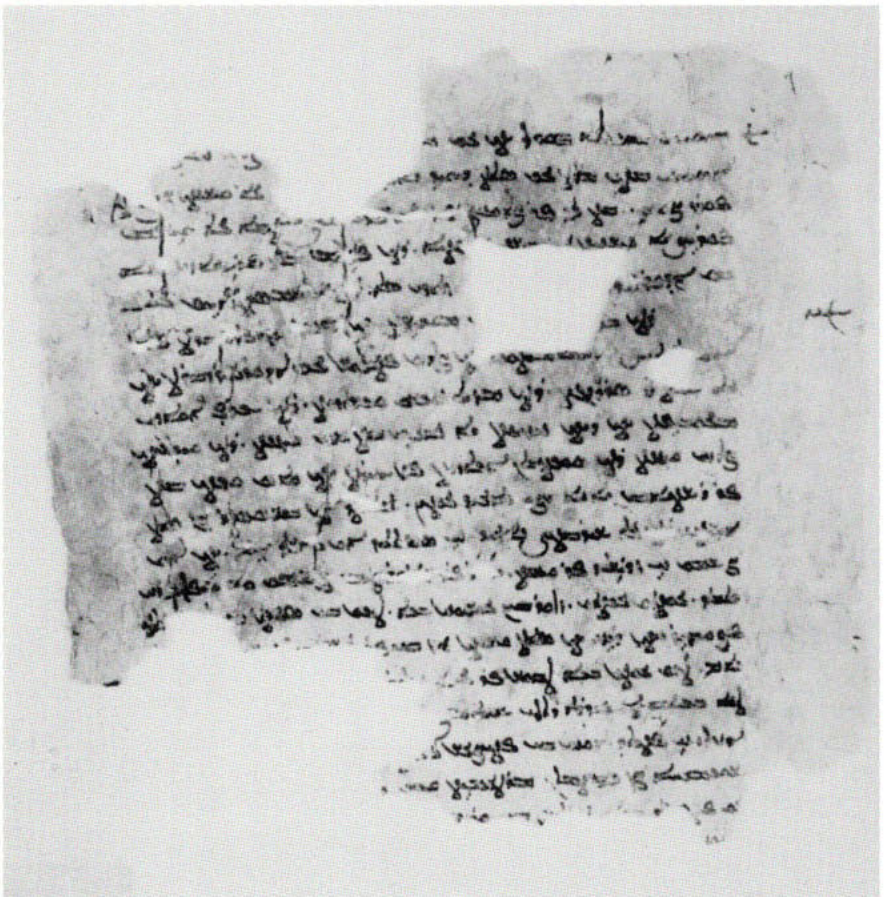

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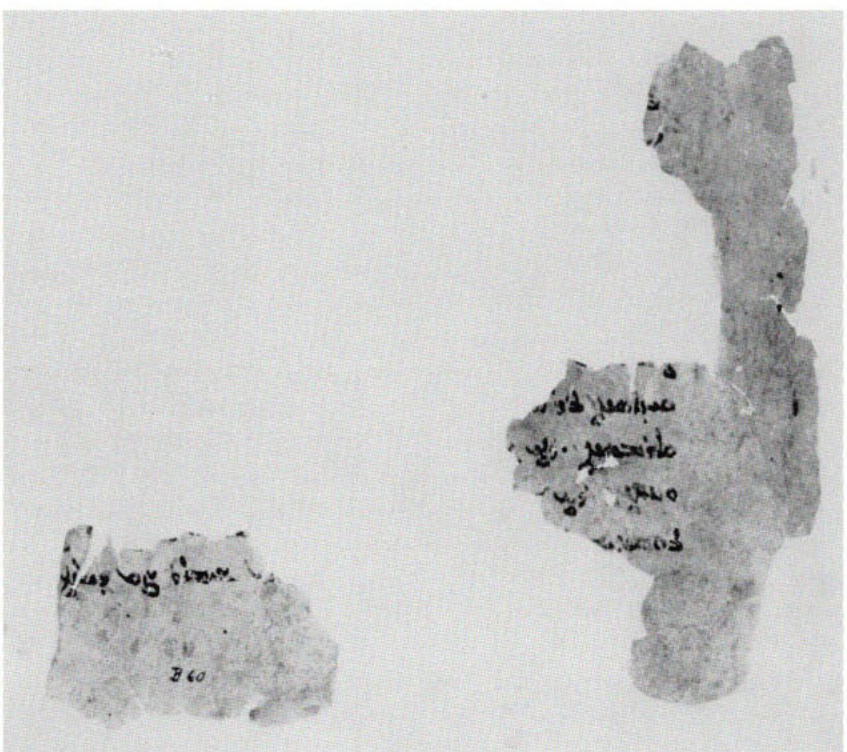

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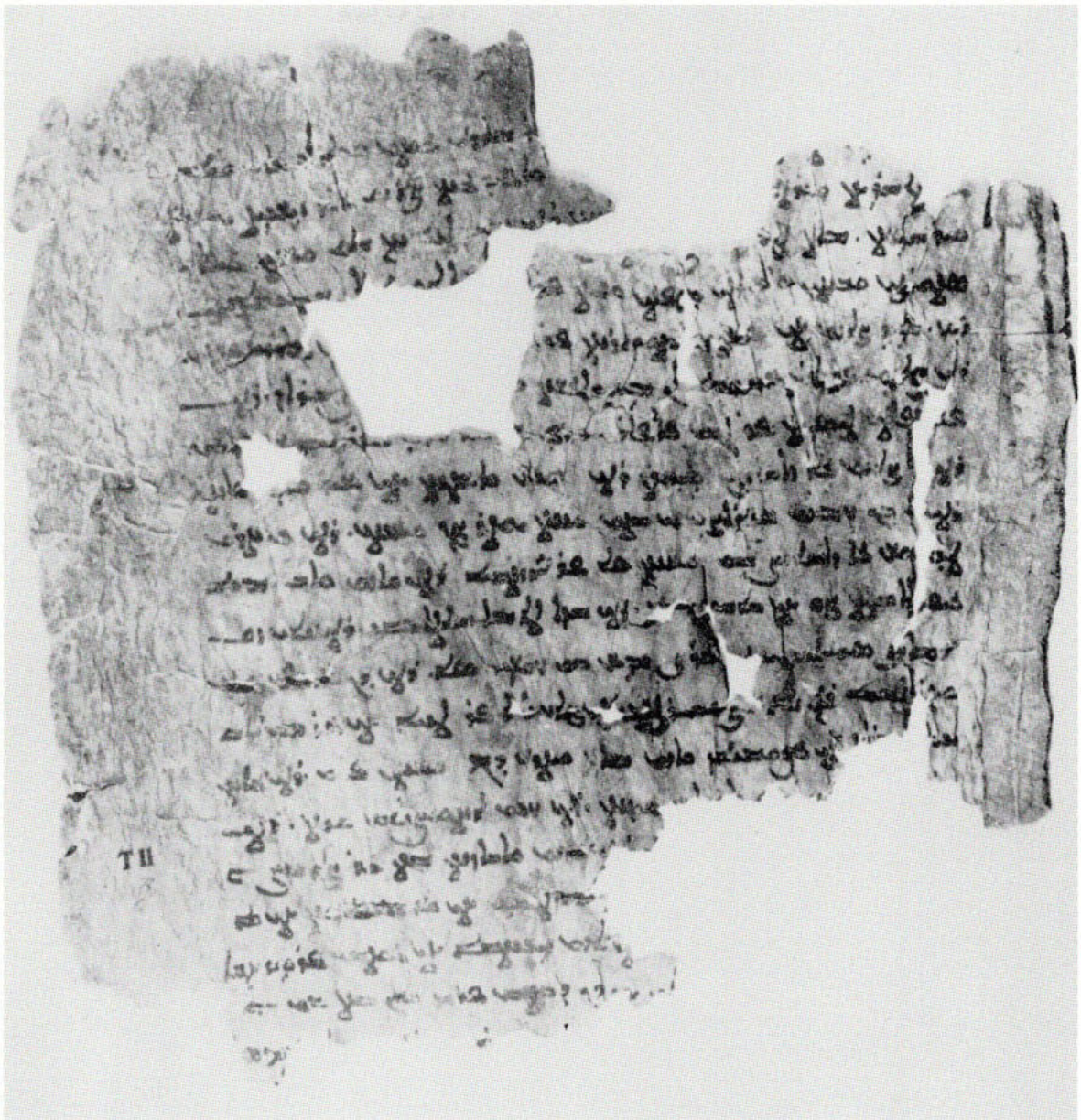
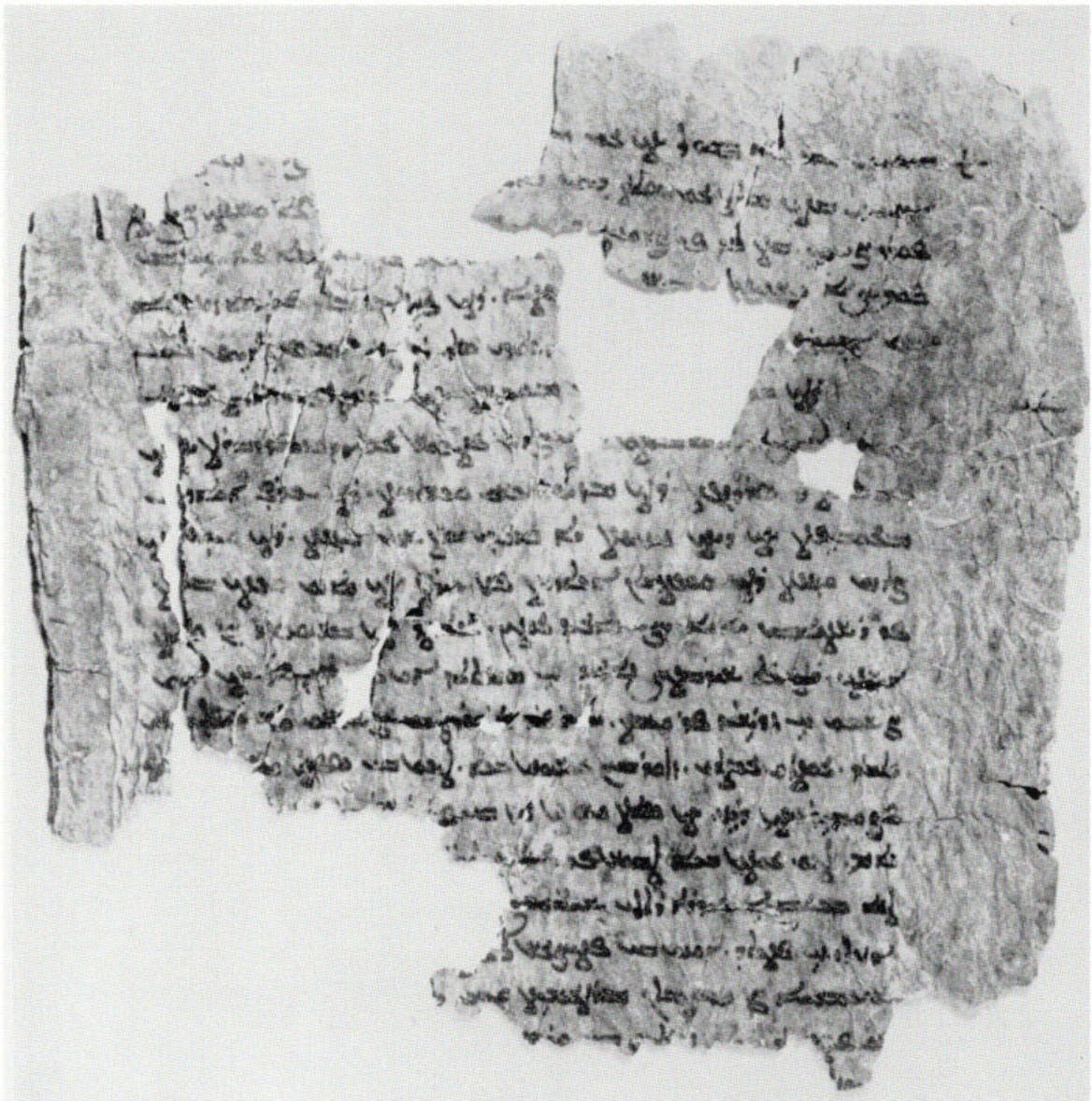
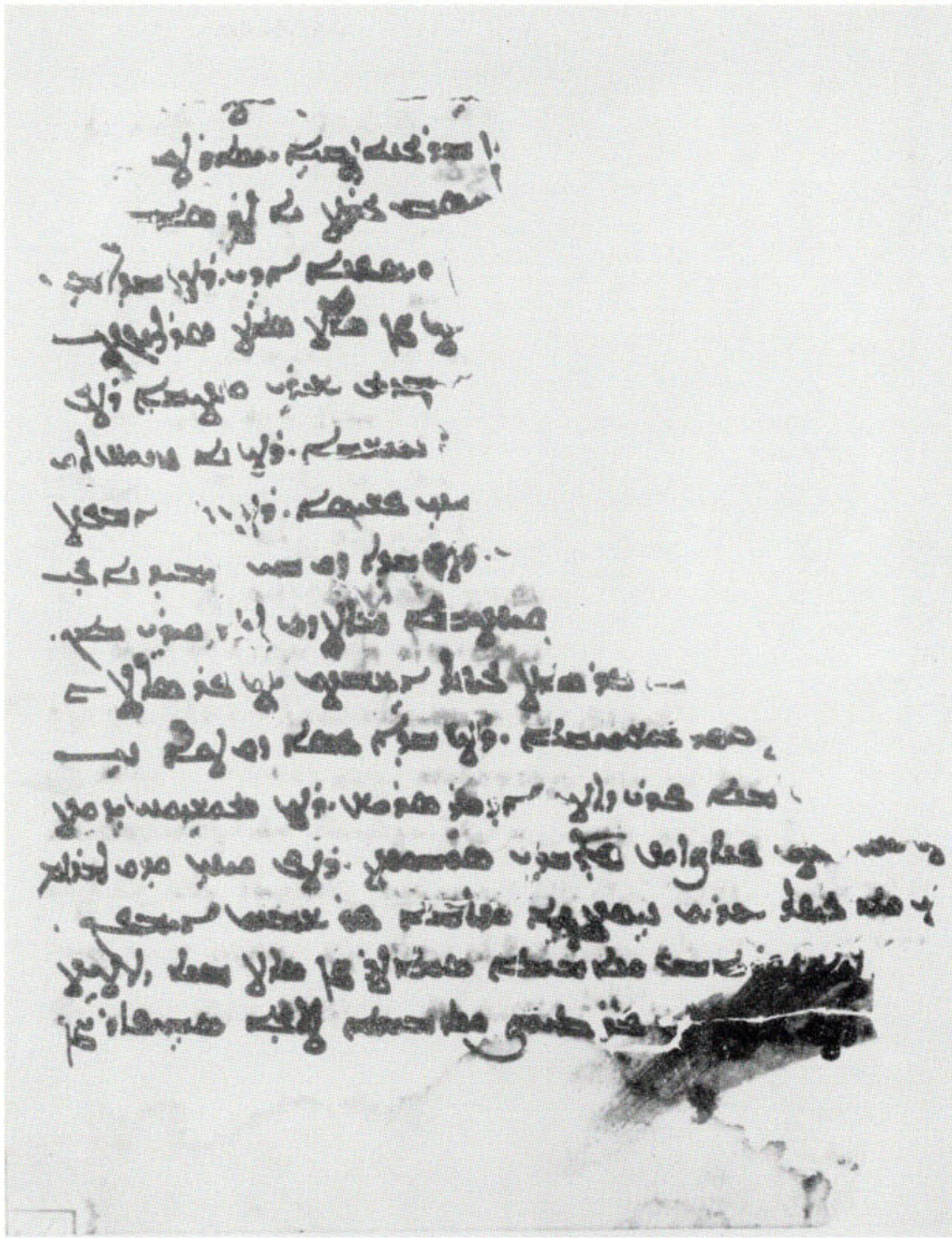


f. 12R.1–20 (Hamburg photo)

Tafel XII

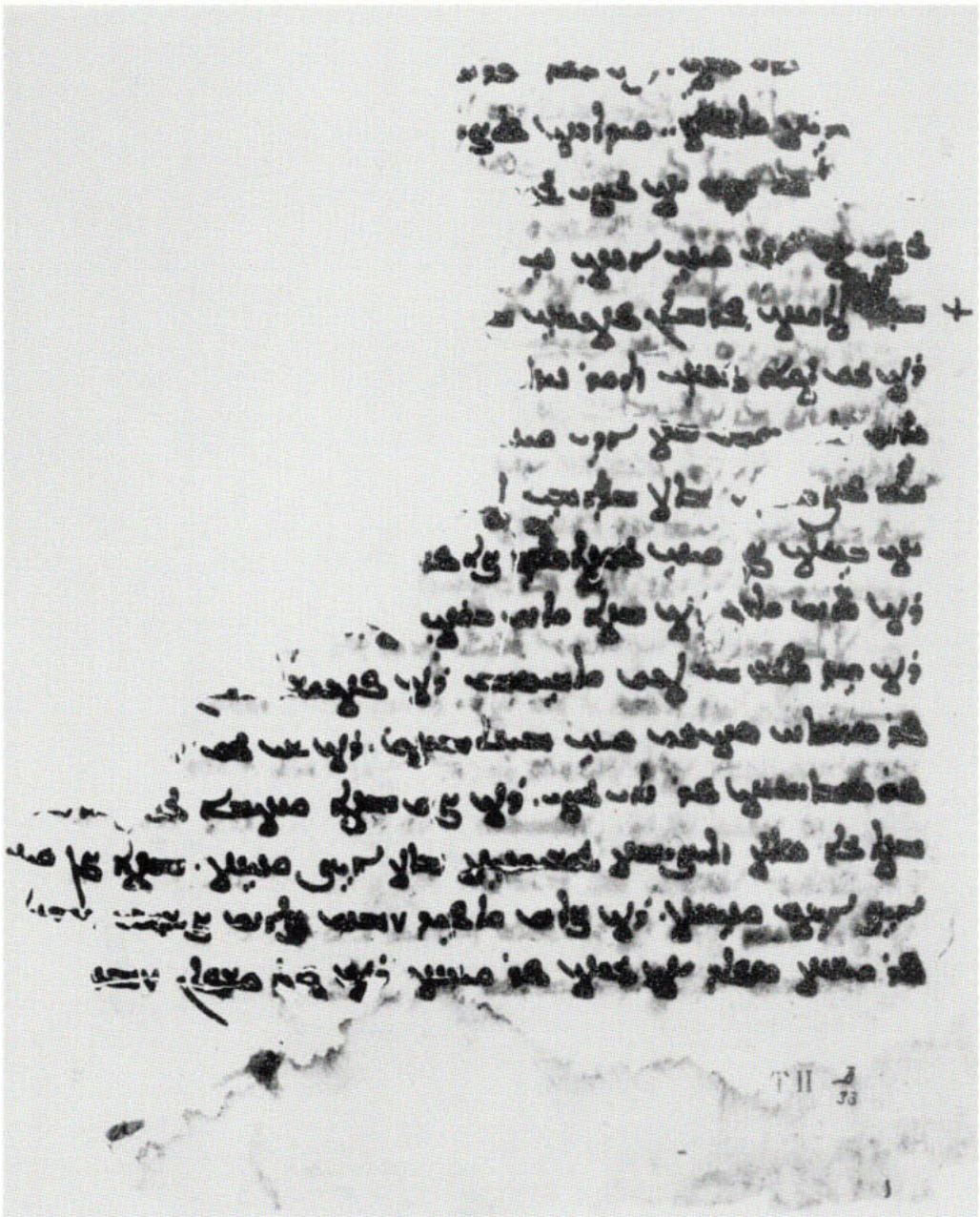


f. 12V.1–21 (Hamburg photo)



f. 13R

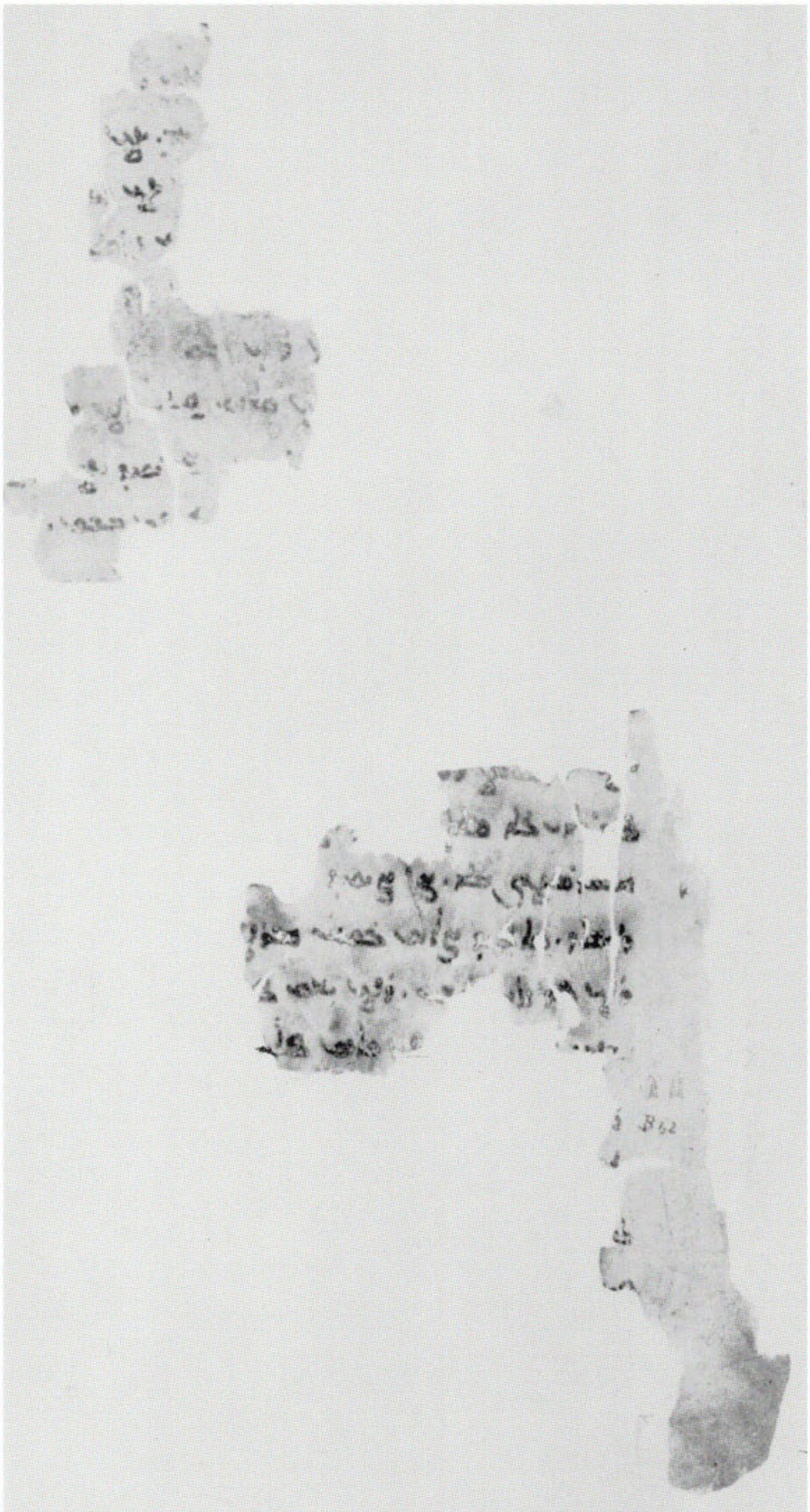
Tafel XIV



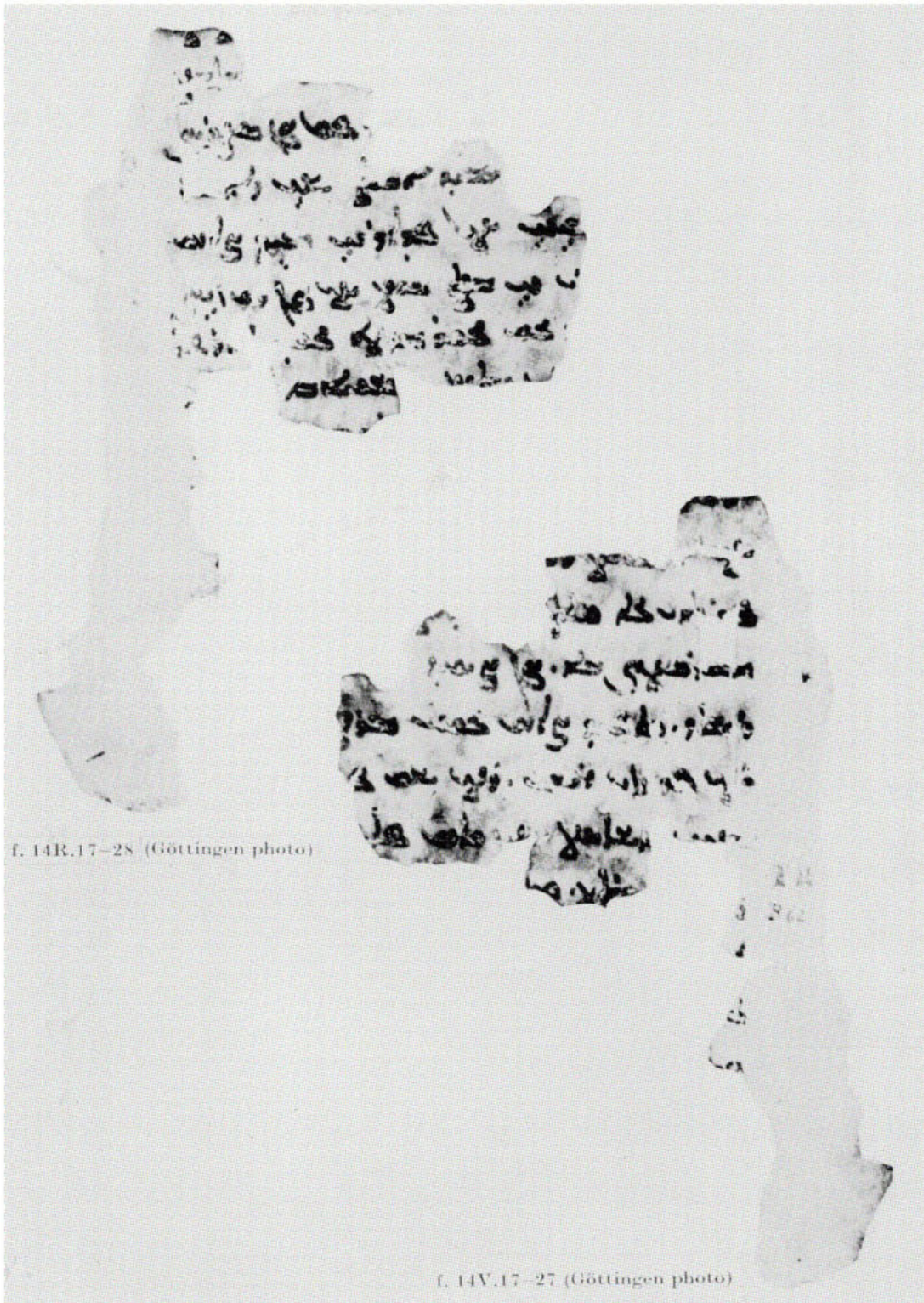
f. 13V

f. 14R

Tafel XVI



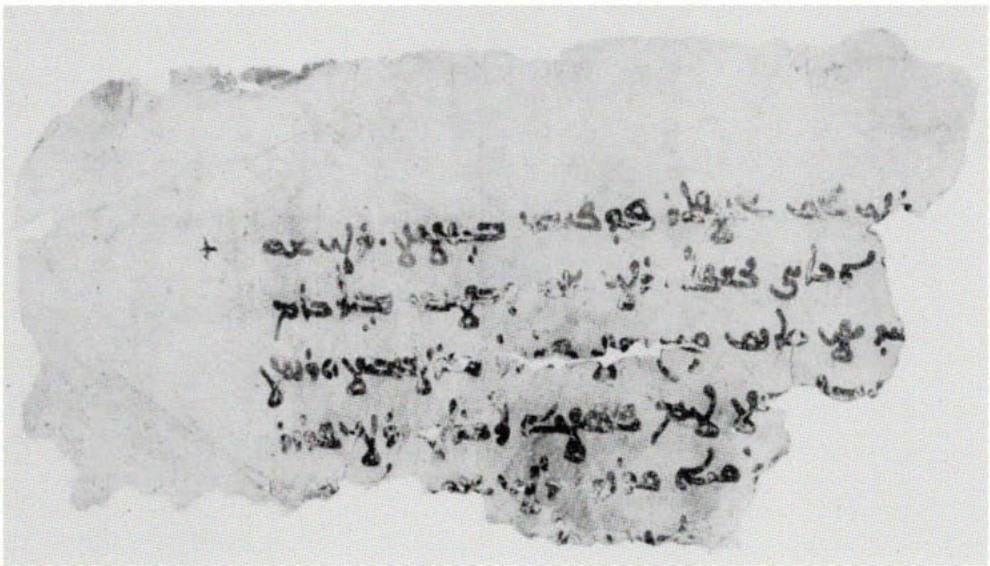
f. 14V



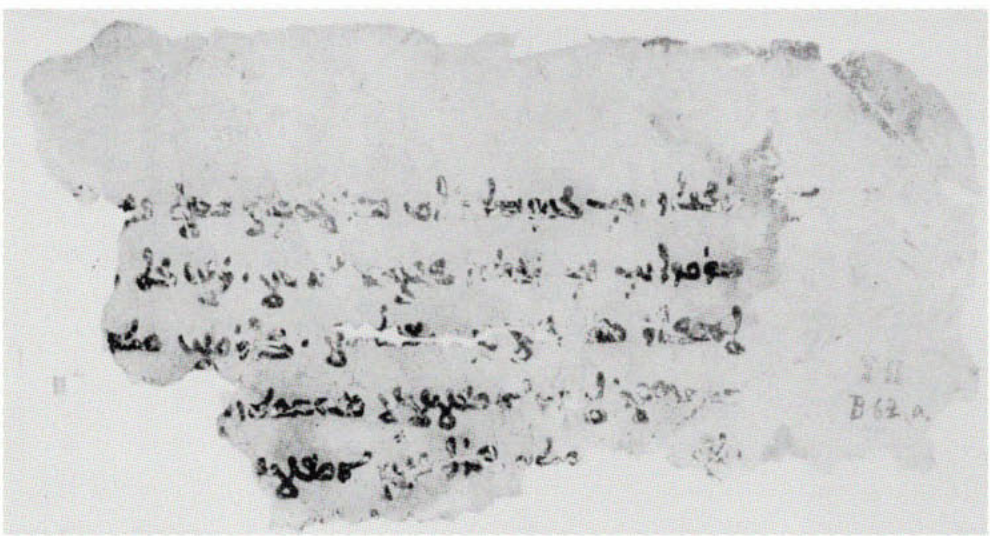
f. 14R.17–28 (Göttingen photo)

f. 14V.17–27 (Göttingen photo)

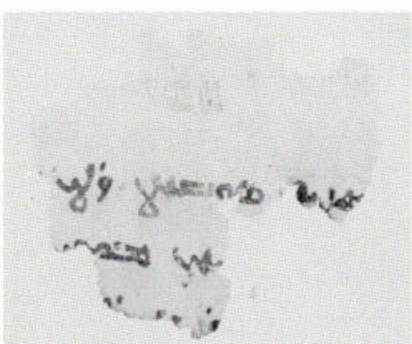
Tafel XVIII



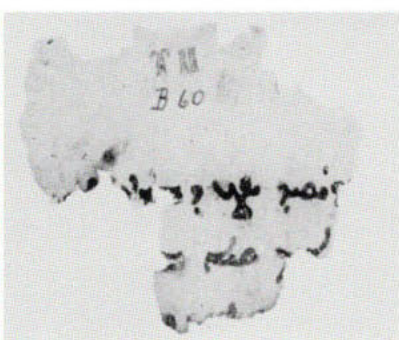
f. 17R



f. 17V



f. 19R



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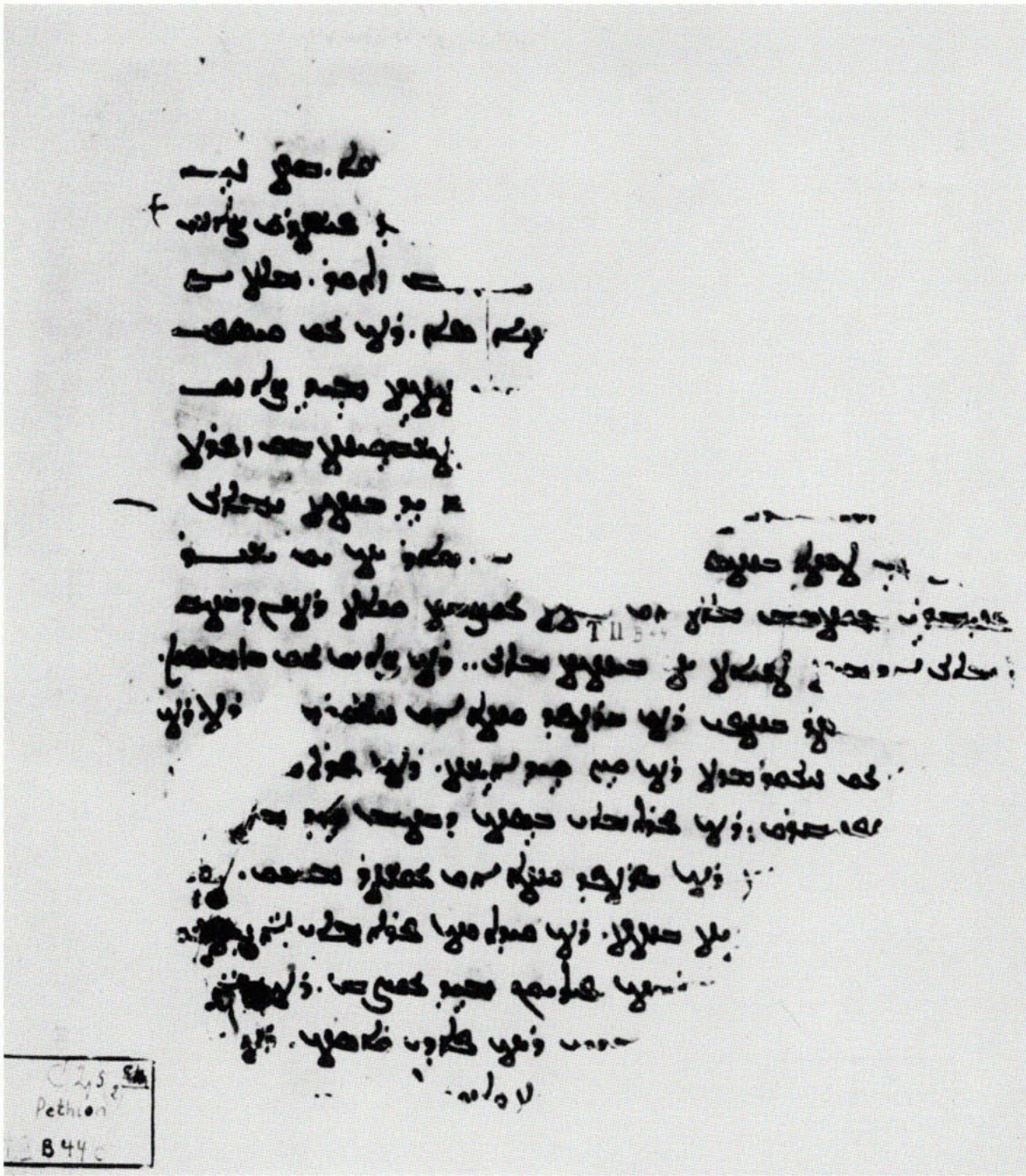
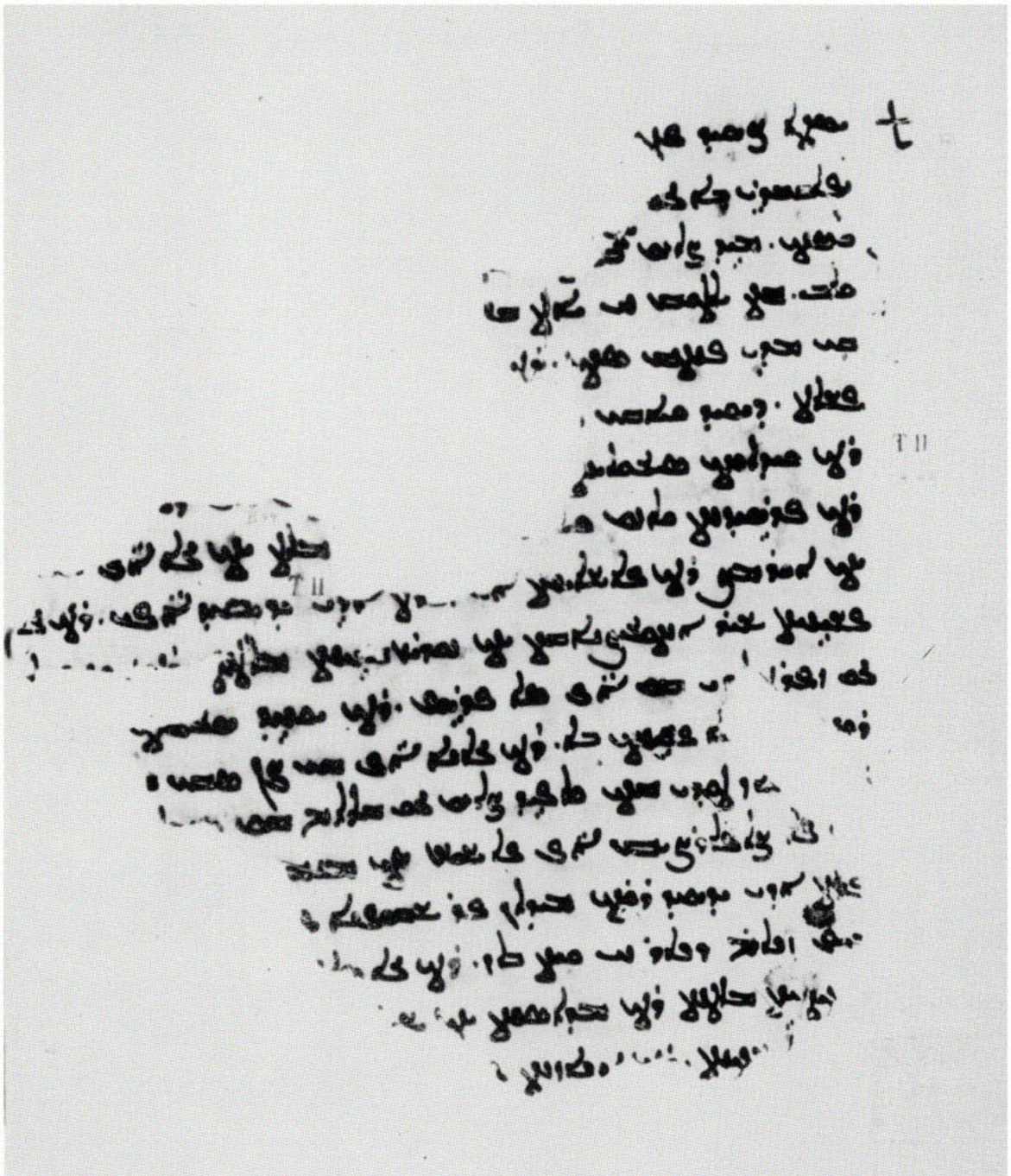
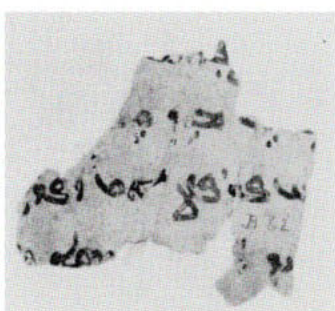


f. 22R

Tafel XX



f. 22V



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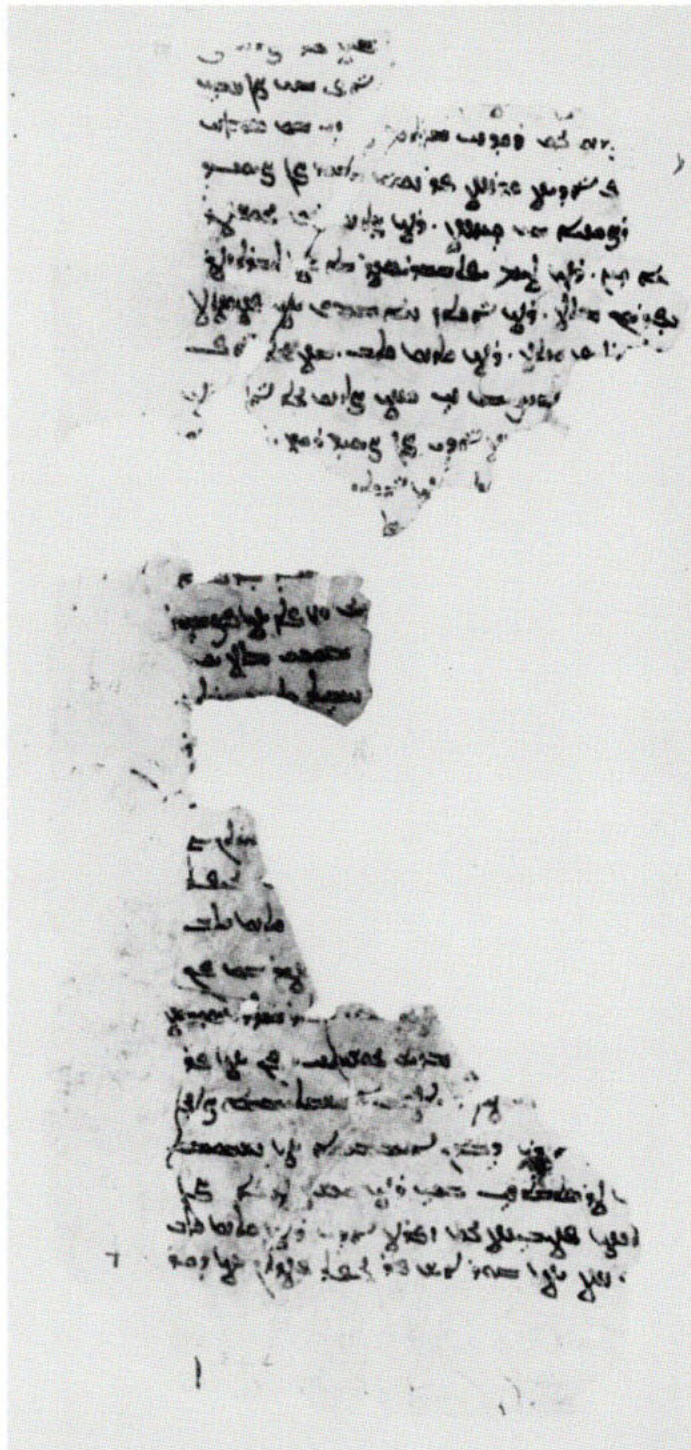
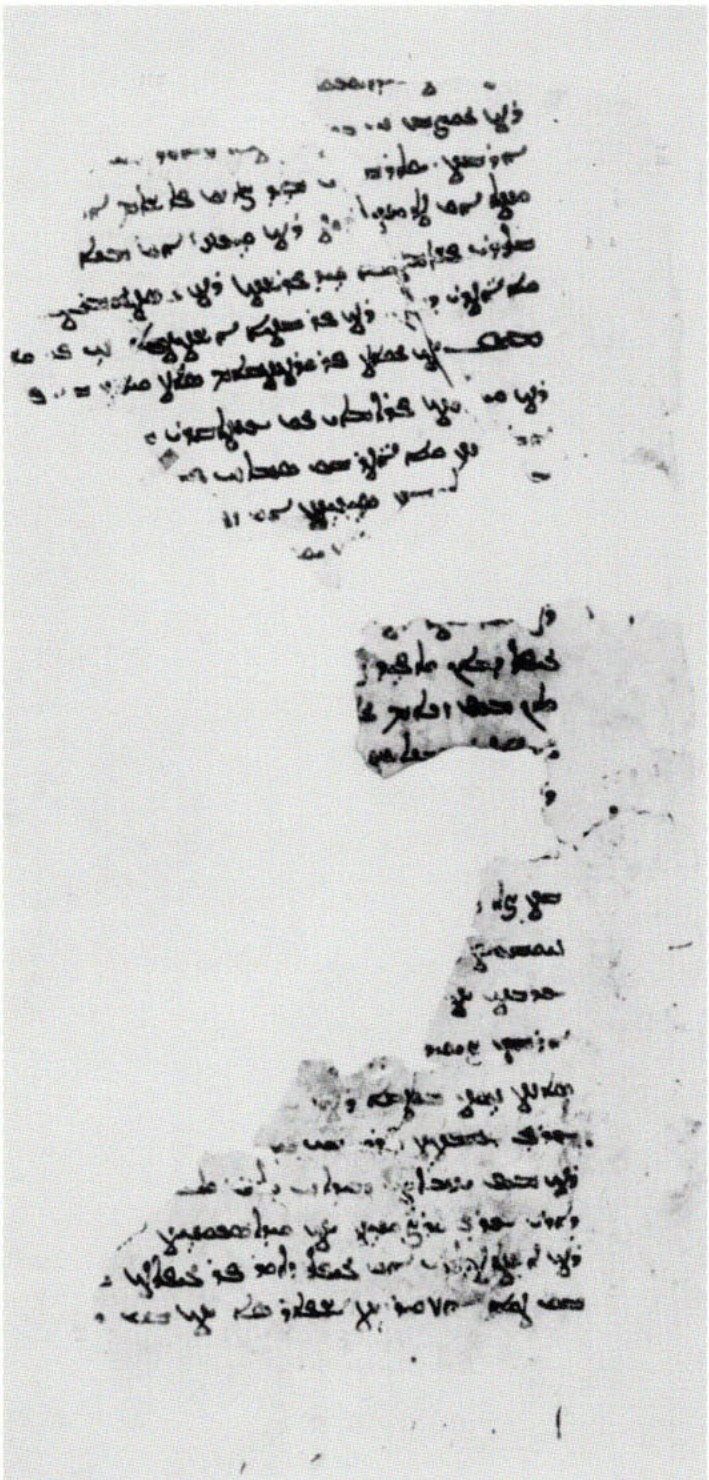
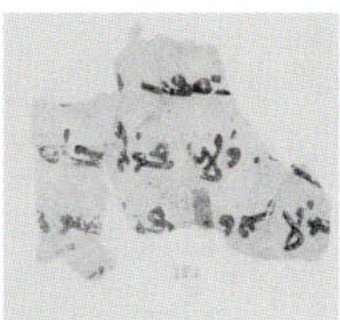


f. 23R.2–30

Tafel XXII



f. 23V.2–29



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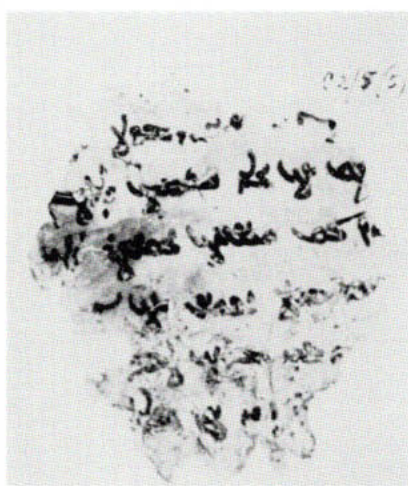
f. 24R.5–14

f. 24V.5–13



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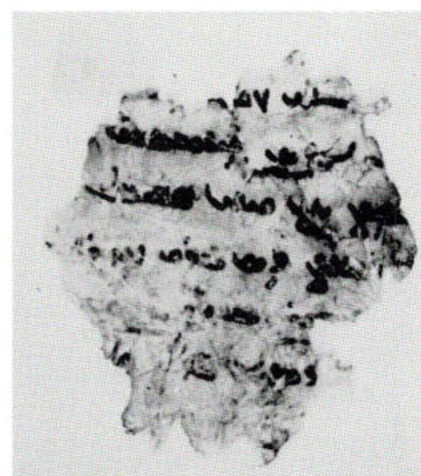

f. 24V.12–18

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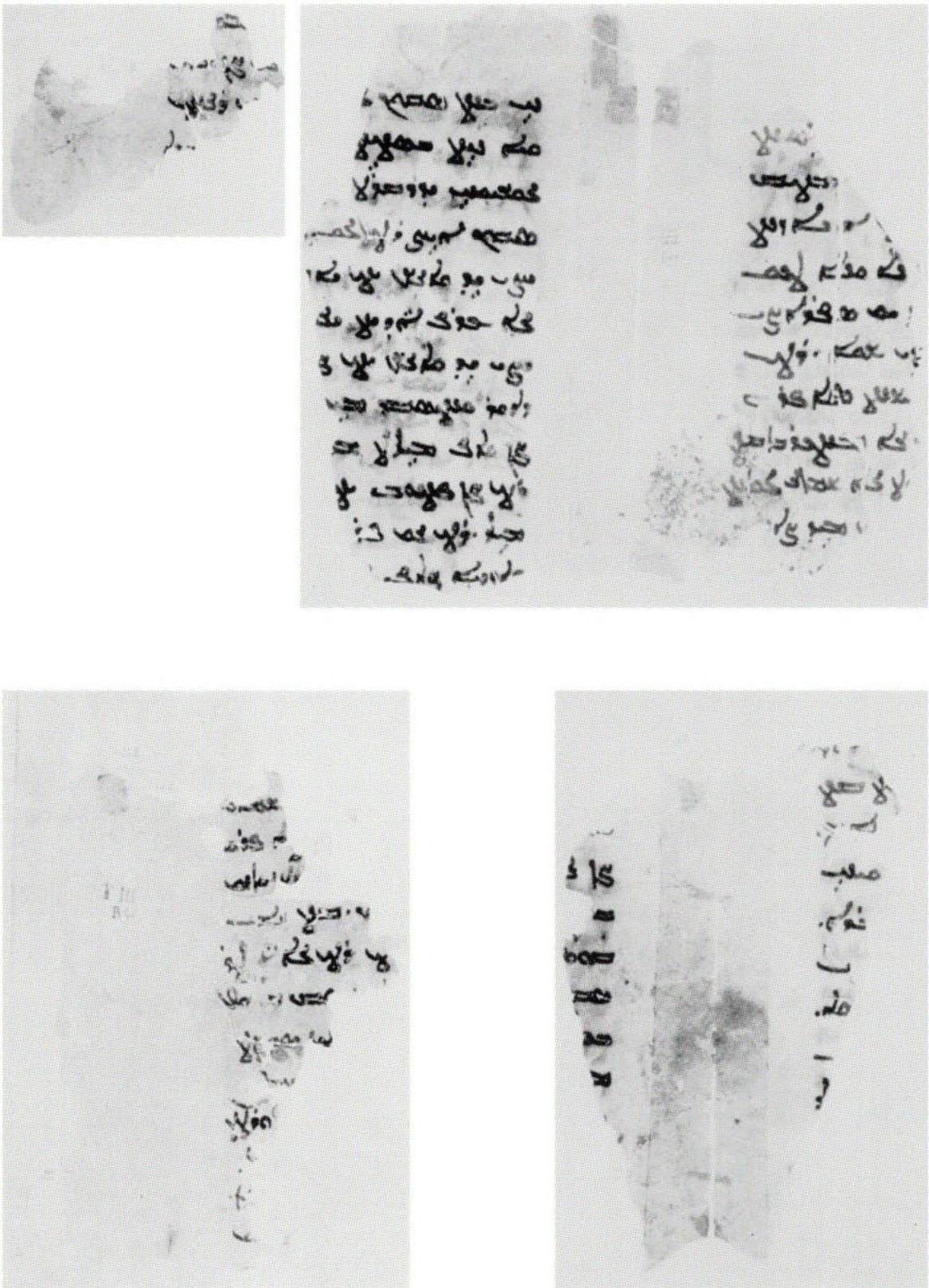
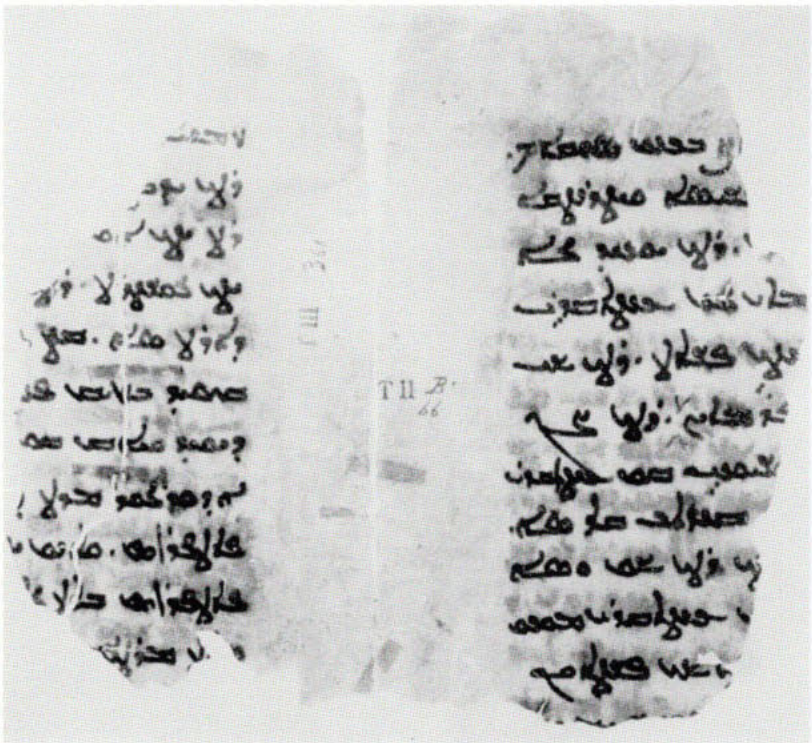
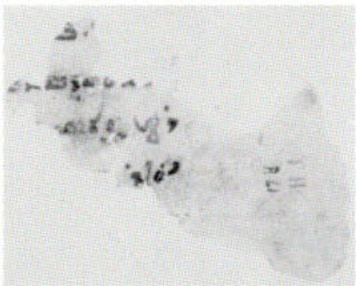
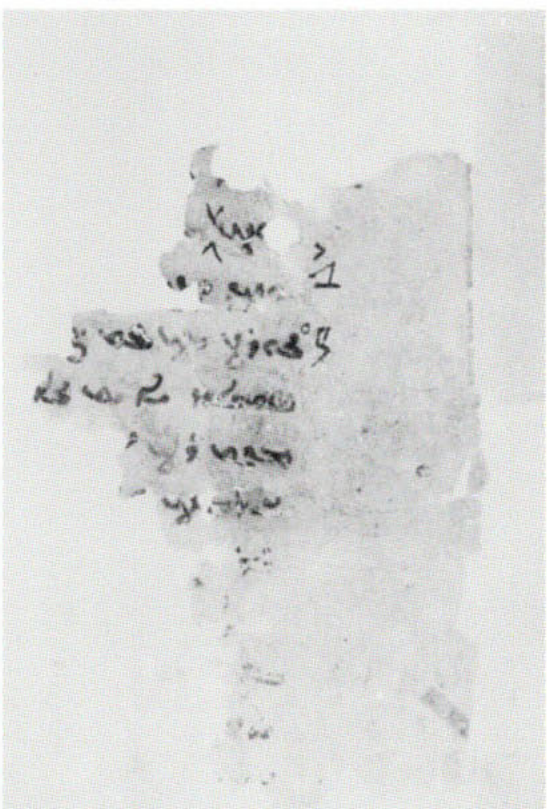


f. 25R + 26V

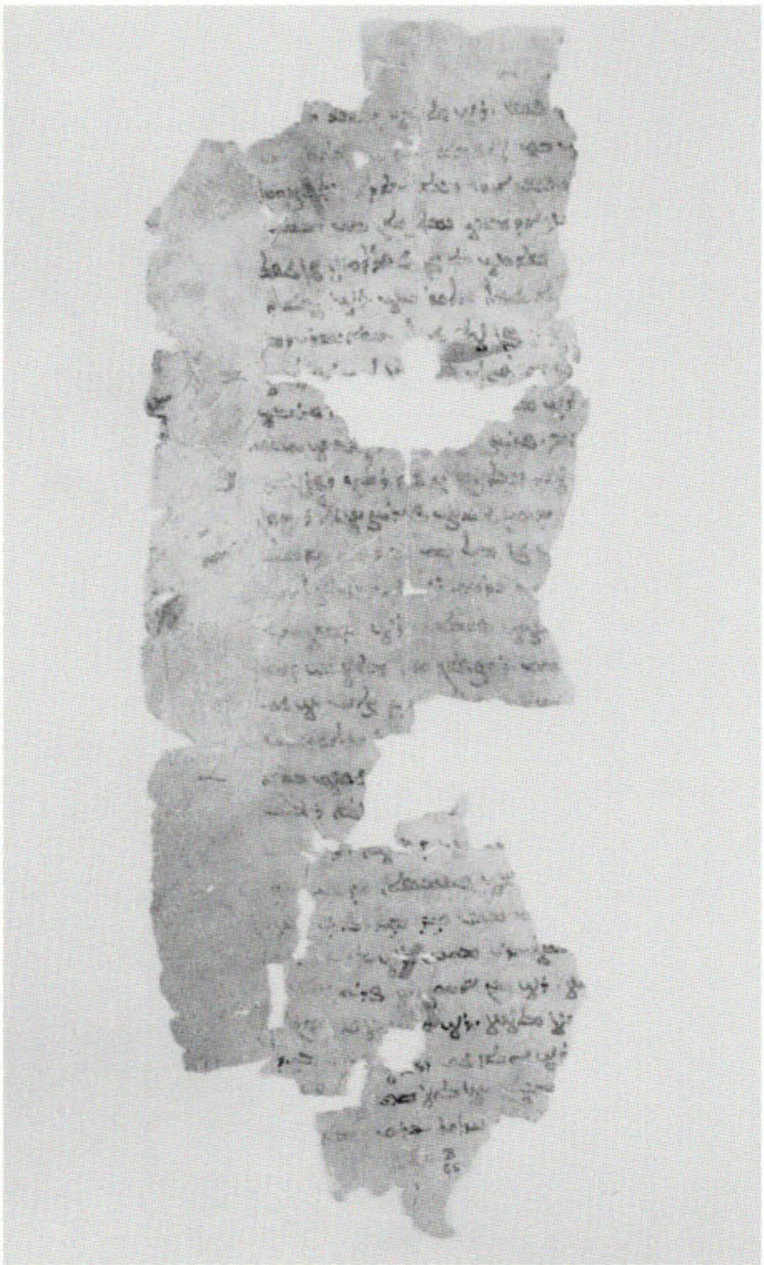






f. 25V + 26R

Tafel XXVI



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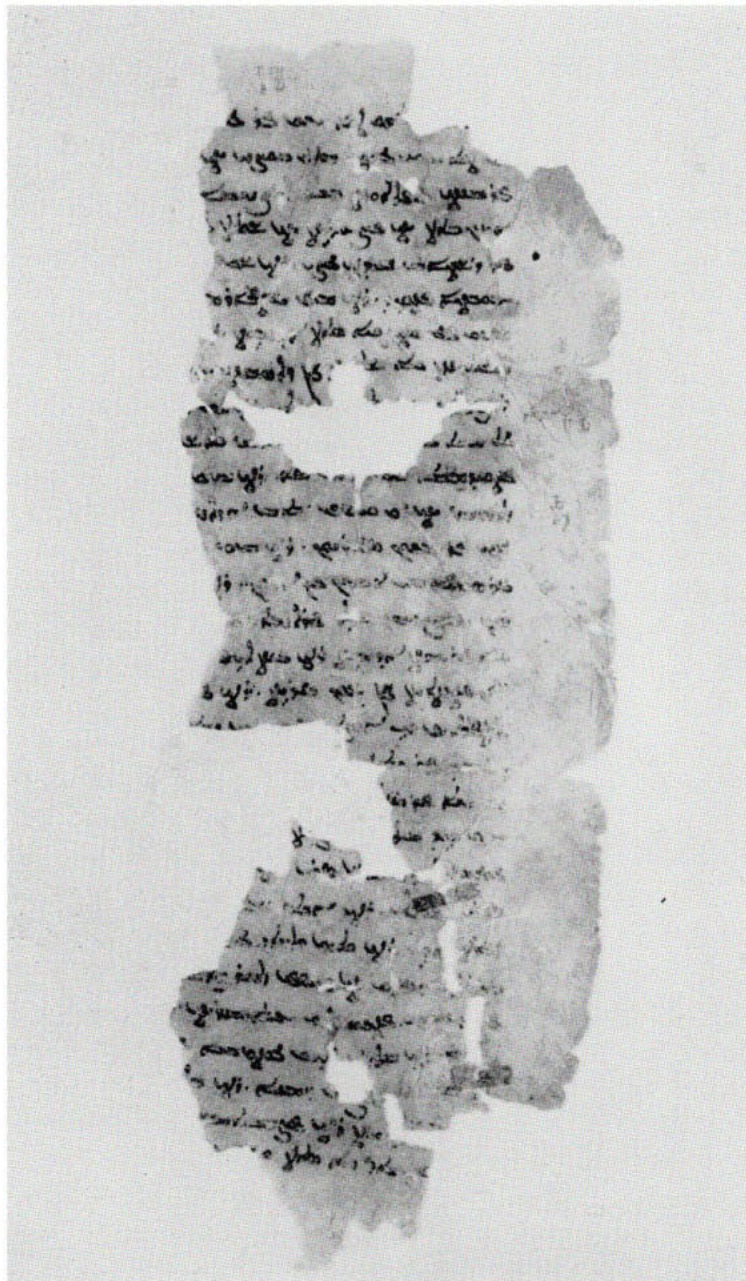
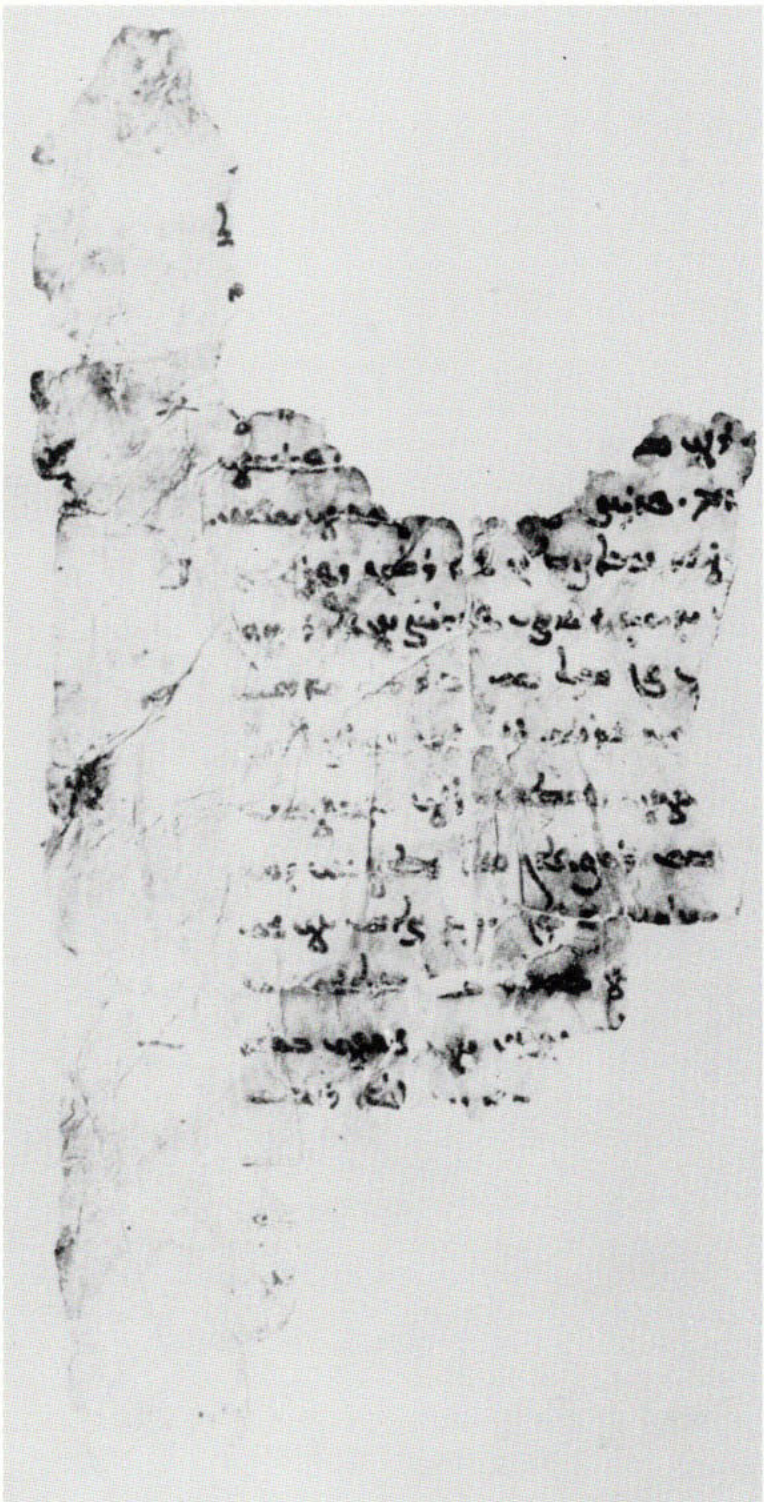
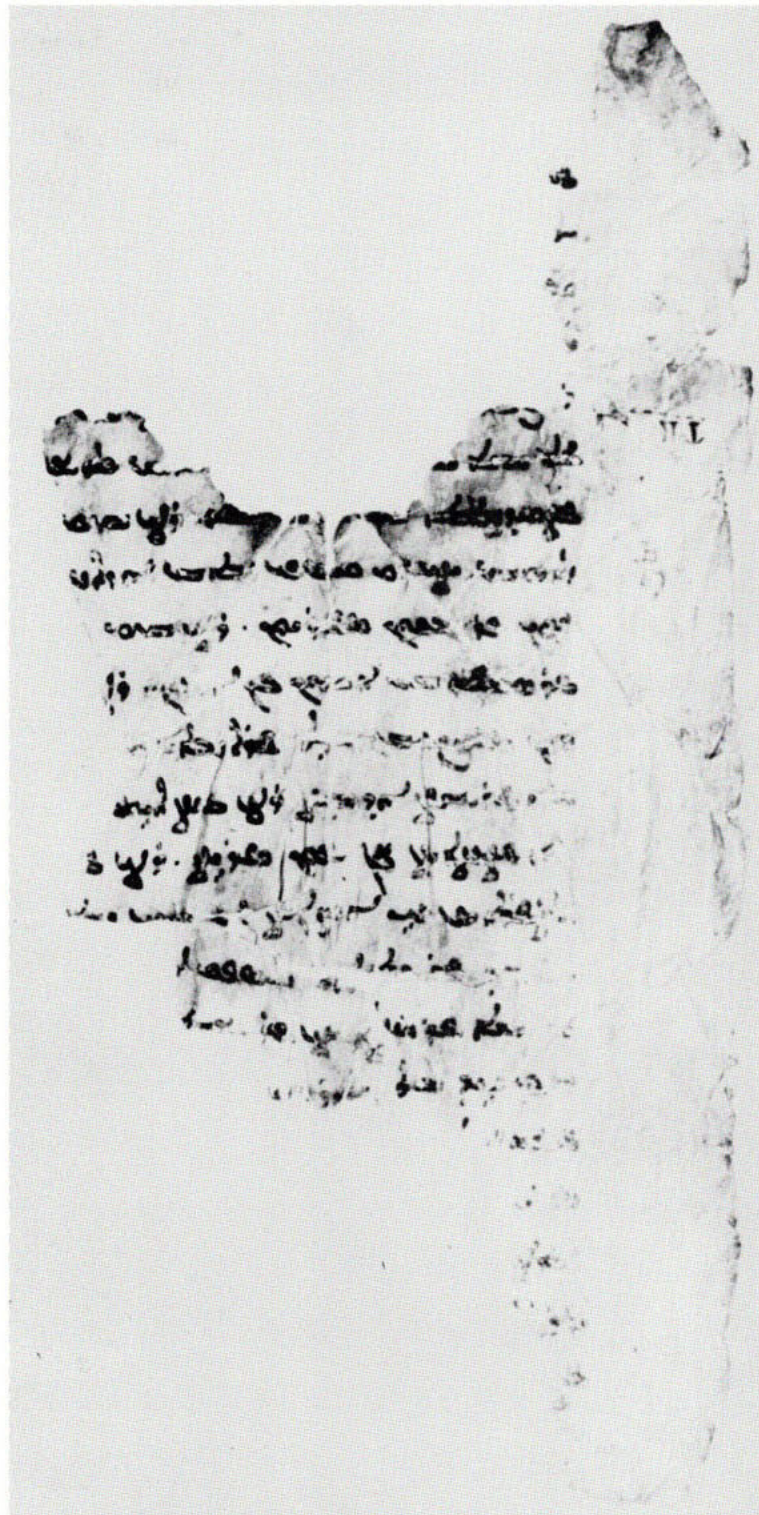


f. 27V

Tafel XXVIII

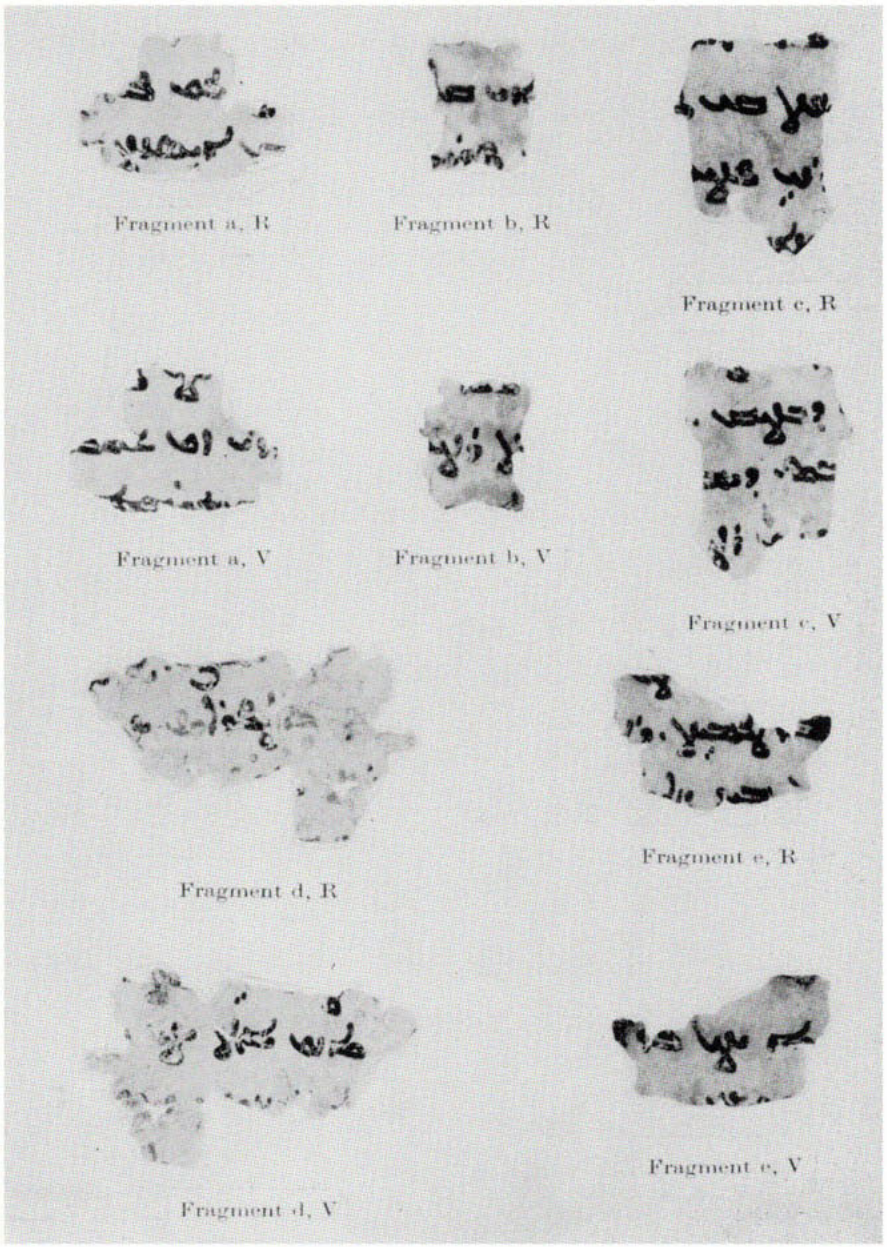


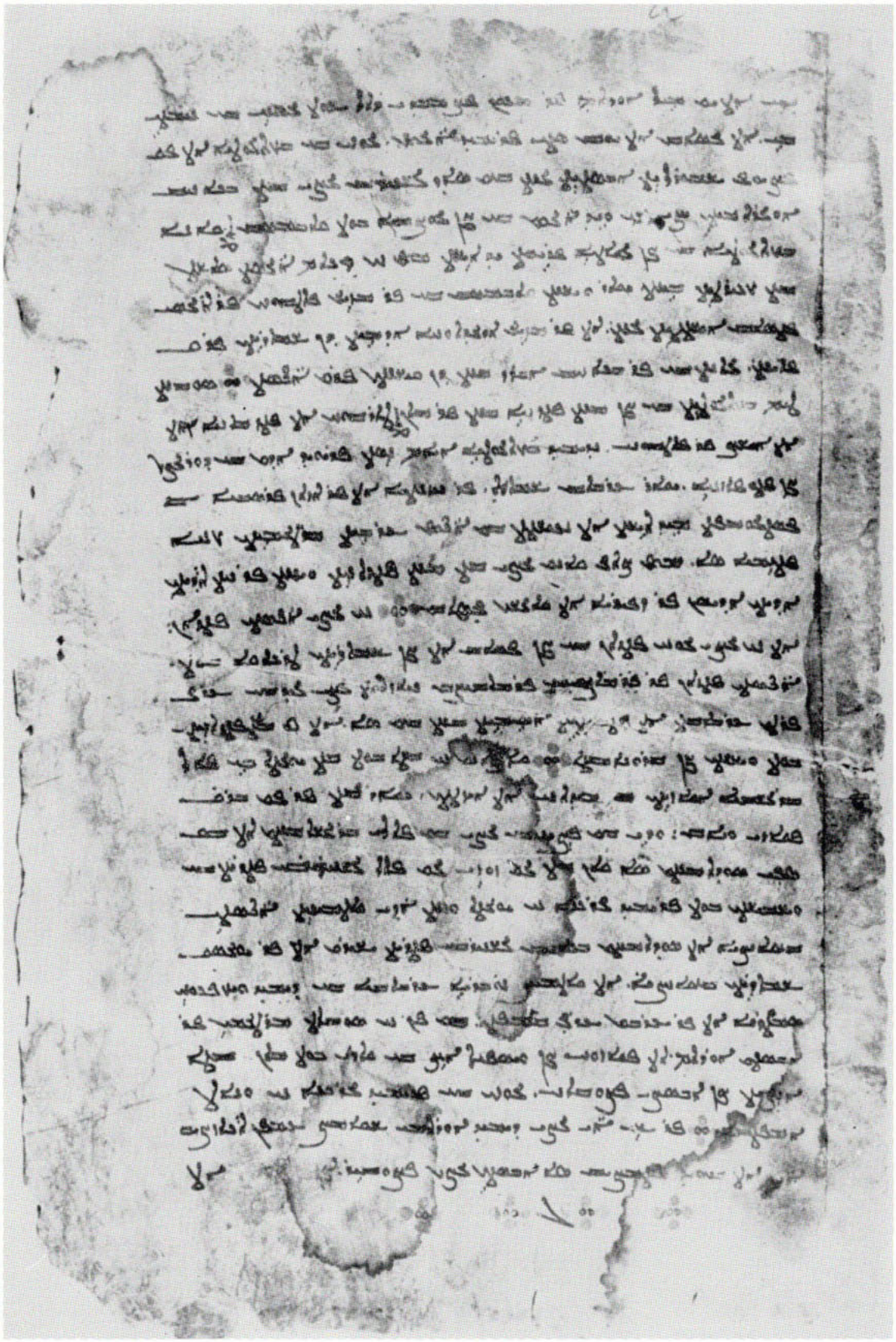
f. 27R.3–26 (Hamburg photo)



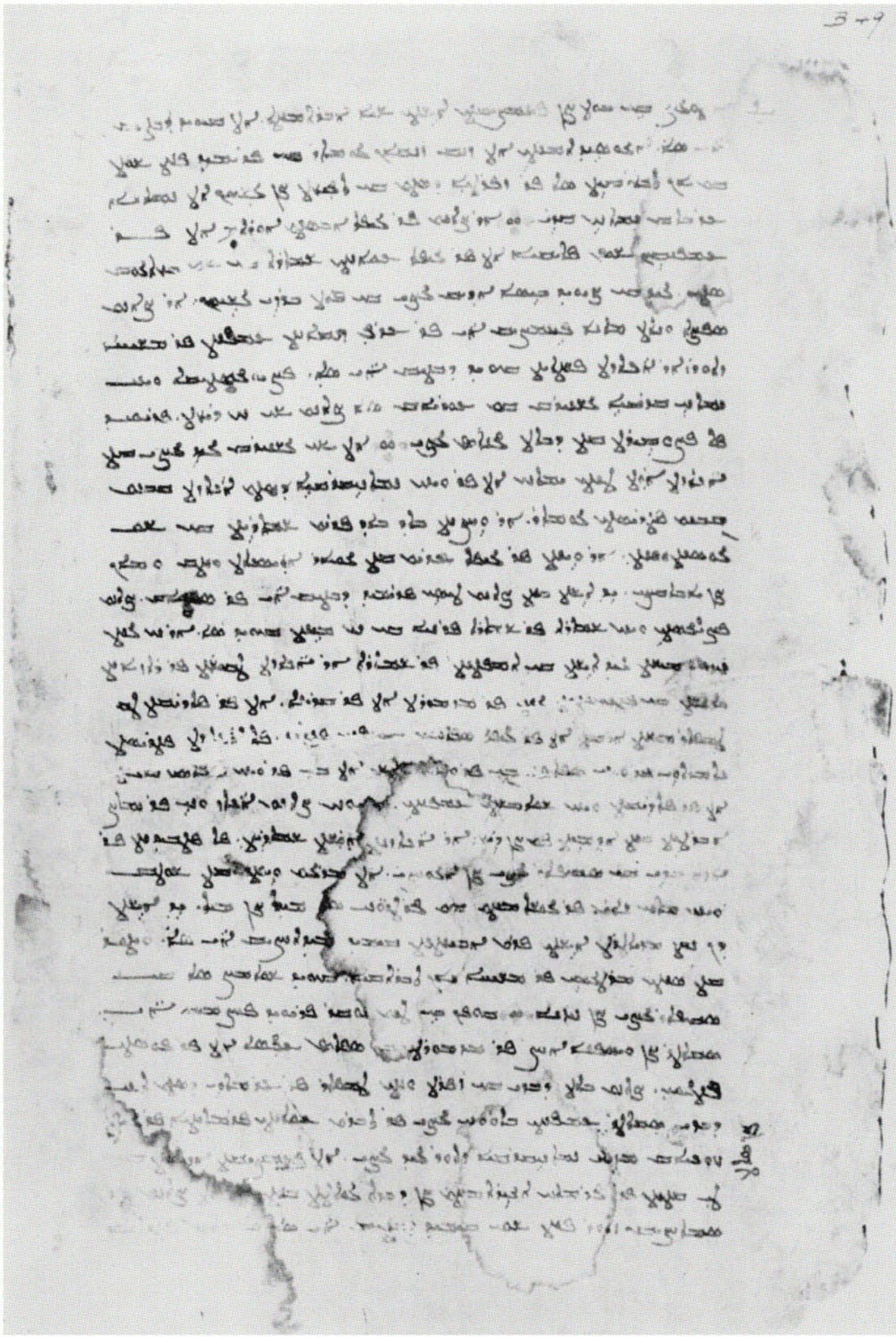
f. 27V.5–26 (Hamburg photo)

Tafel XXX

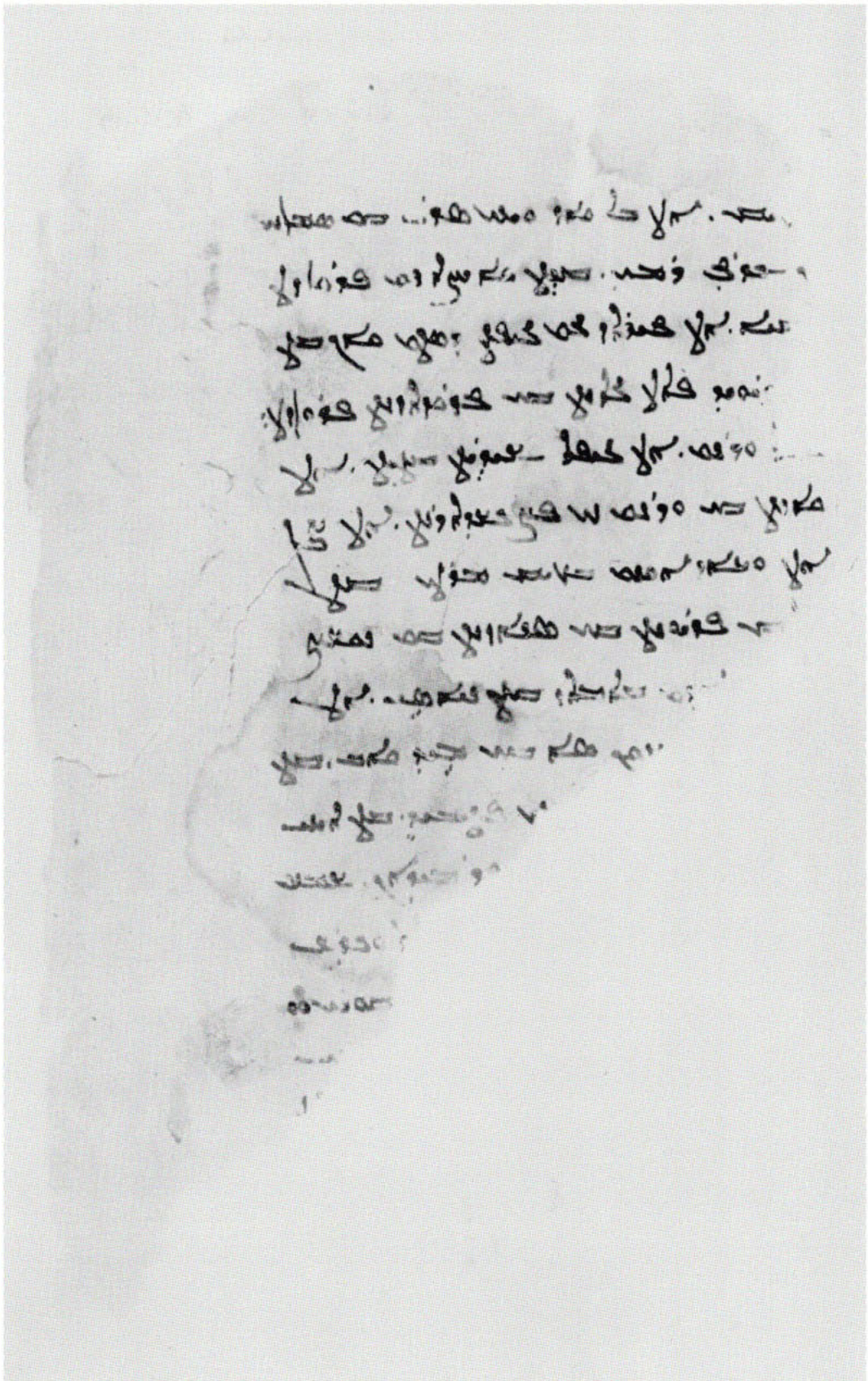

Fragment a, R
Fragment b, R
Fragment c, R
Fragment a, V
Fragment b, V
Fragment c, V
Fragment d, R
Fragment e, R
Fragment d, V
Fragment e, V



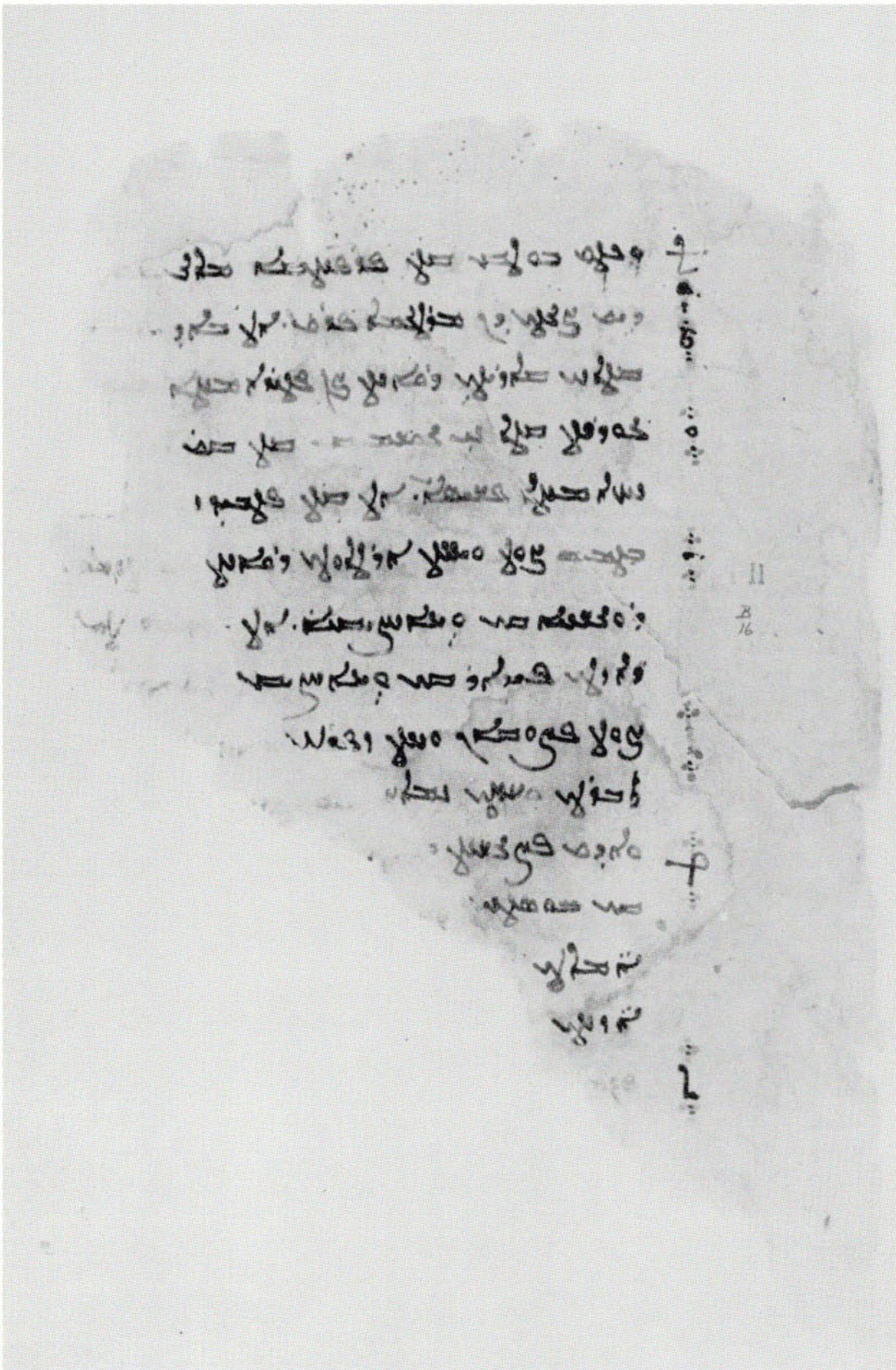
f. 31R (Göttingen photo)



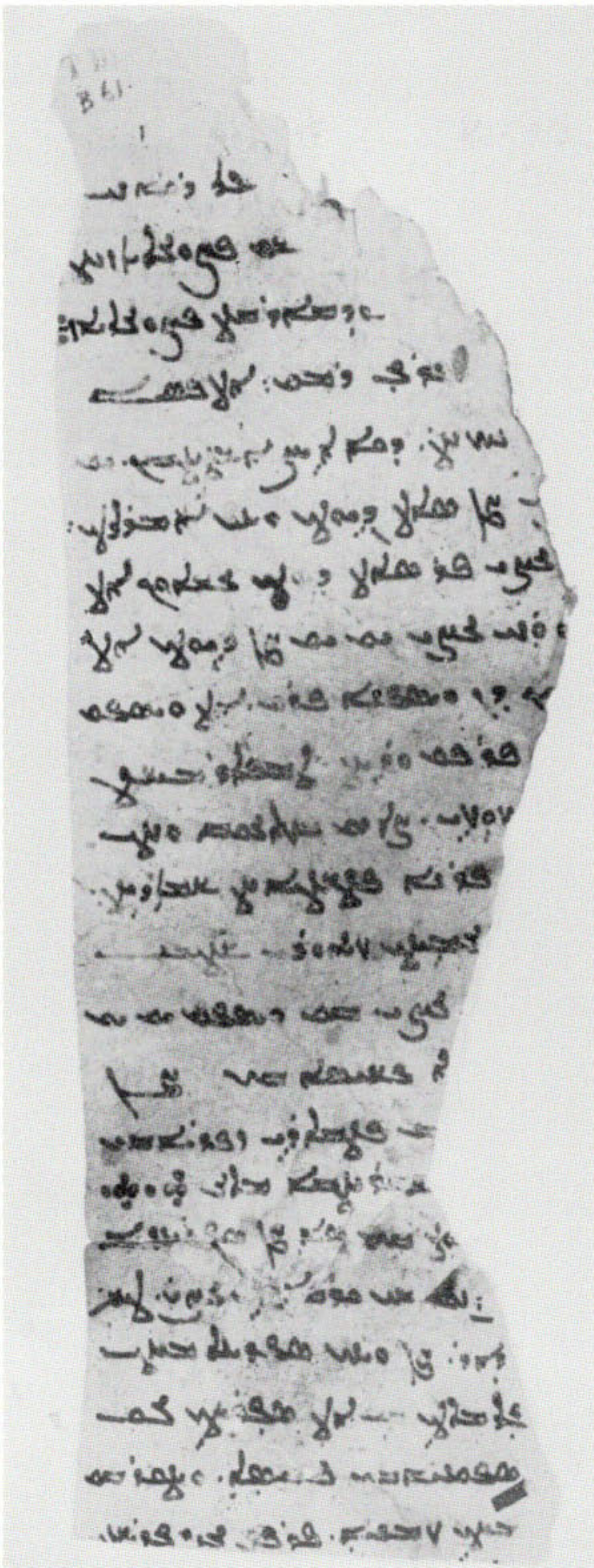
f. 31V (Göttingen photo)



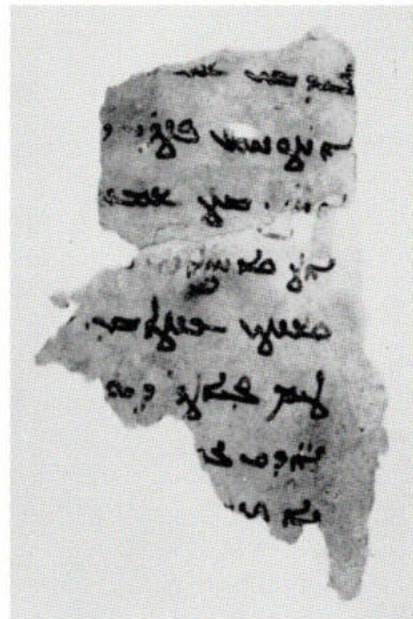
f. 39R



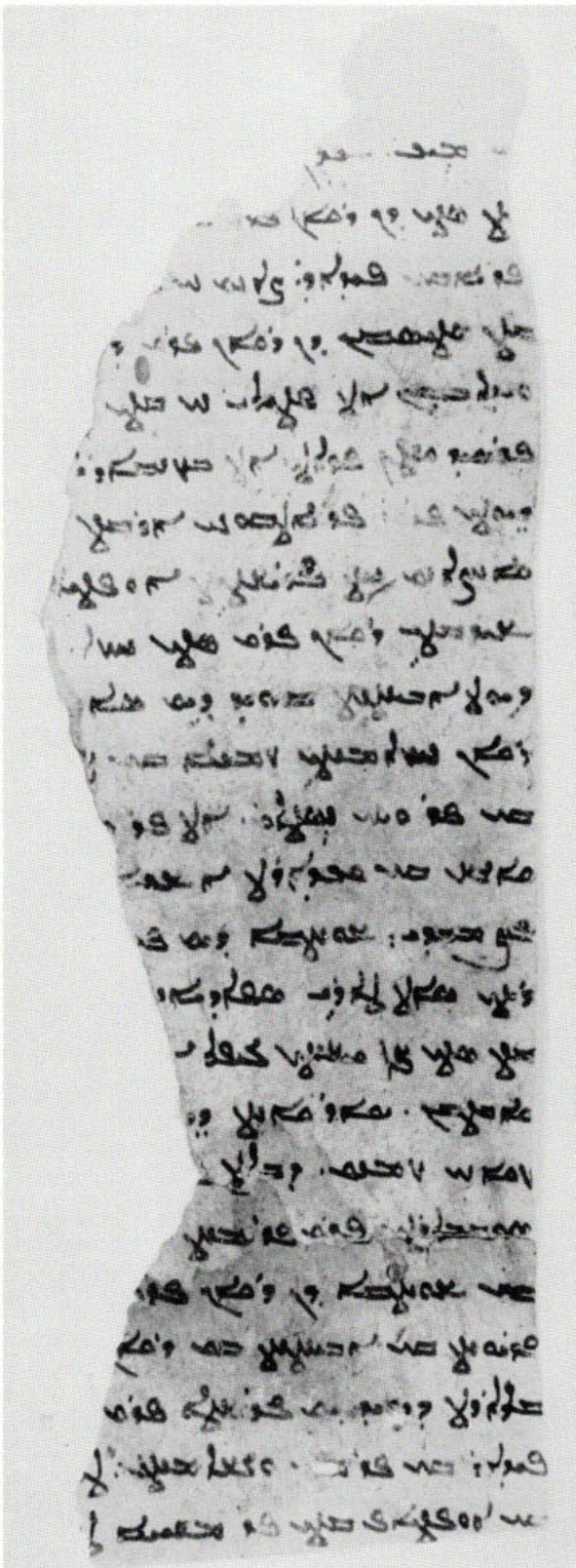
f. 39V



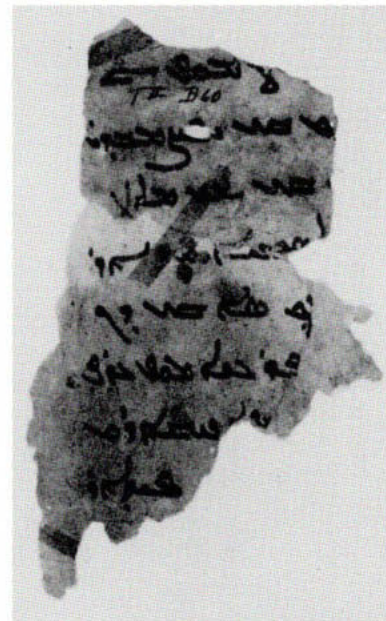
f. 40R.1–23



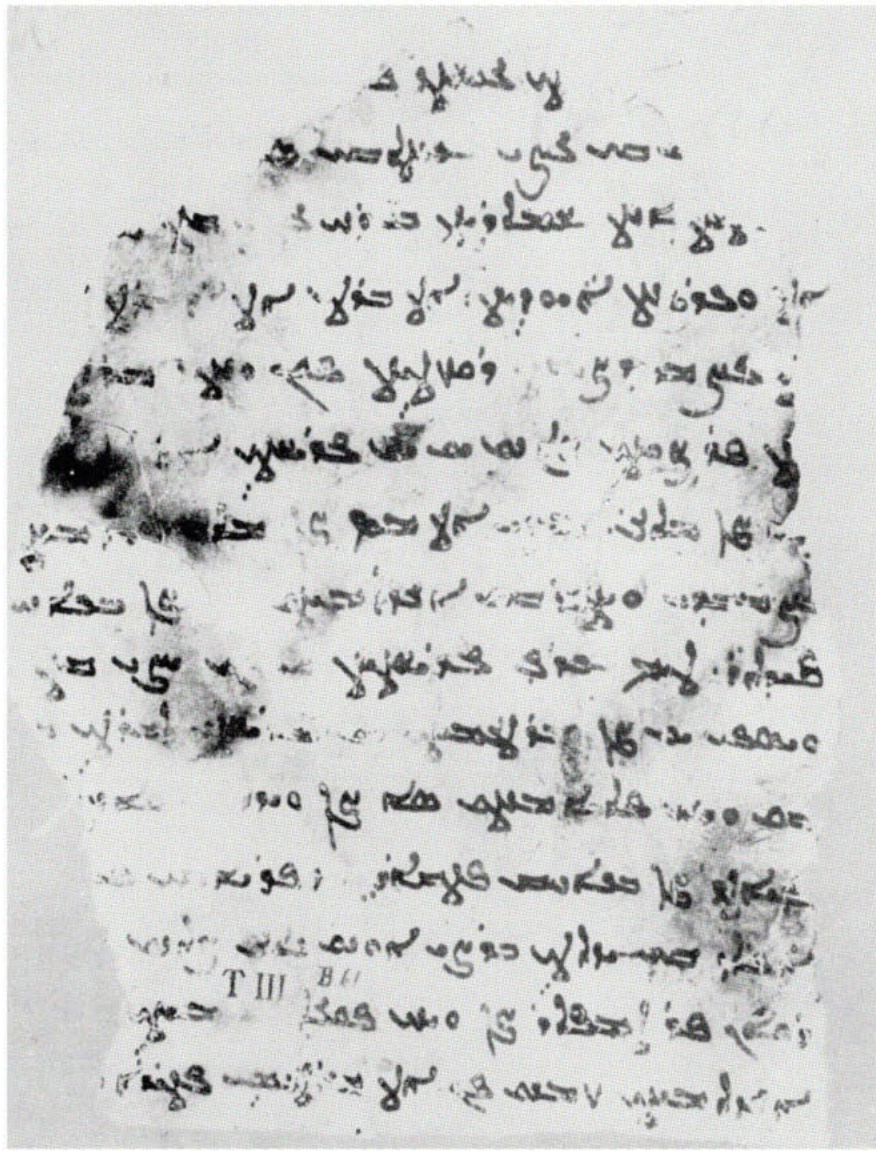
f. 40R.4–11



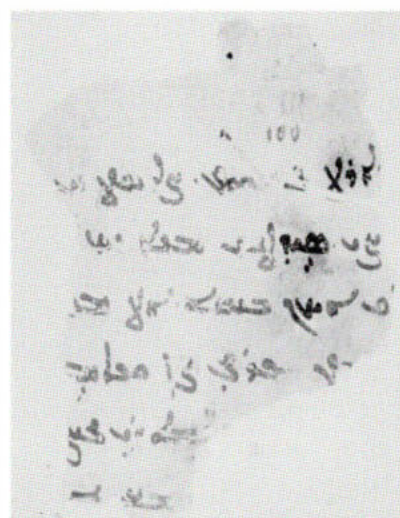
f. 40V.1–24



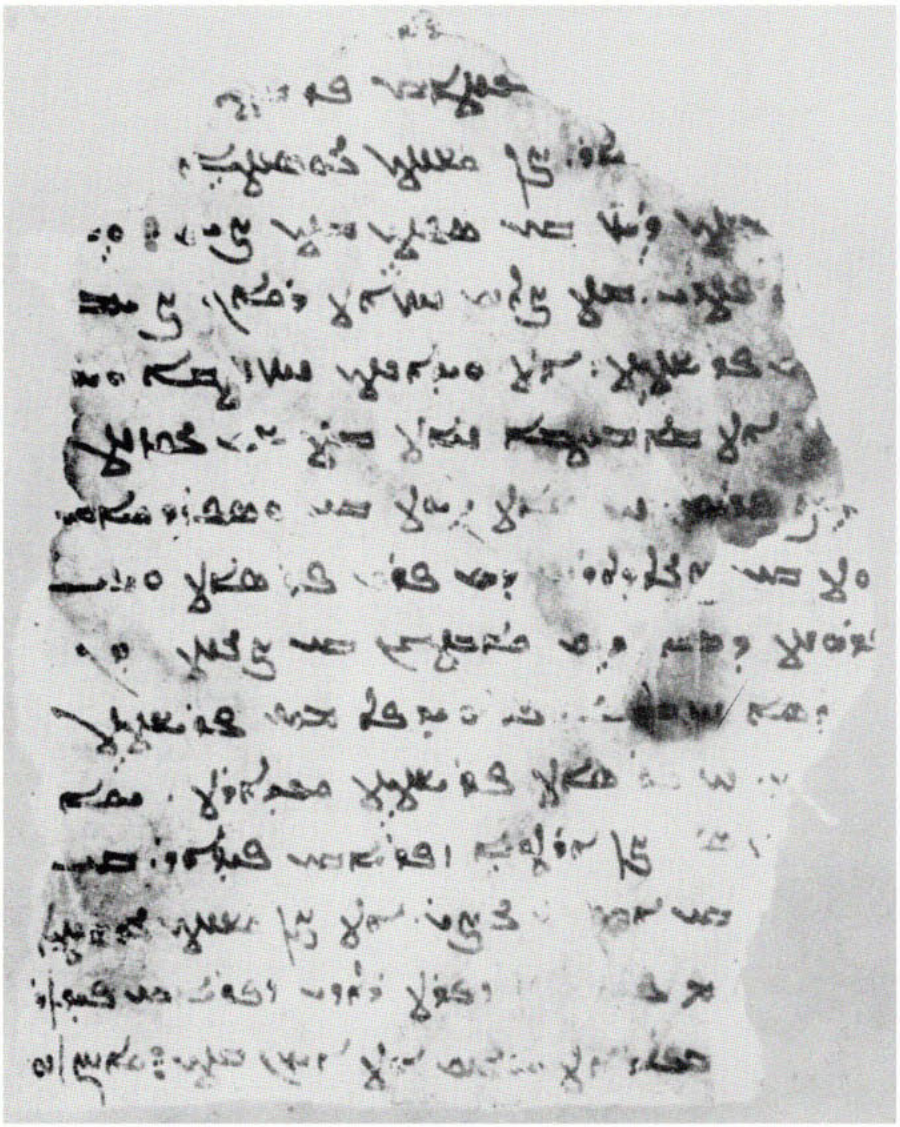
f. 40V.4–11



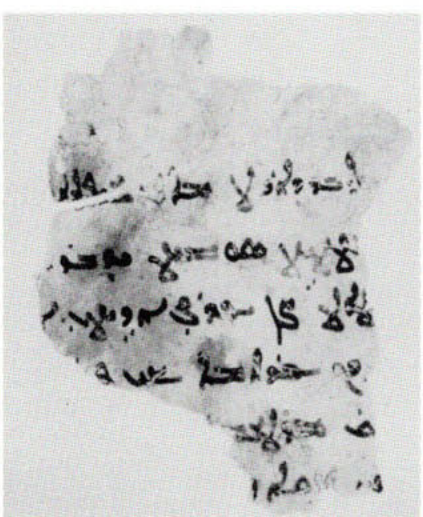
f. 40R.9–23 (Hamburg photo)



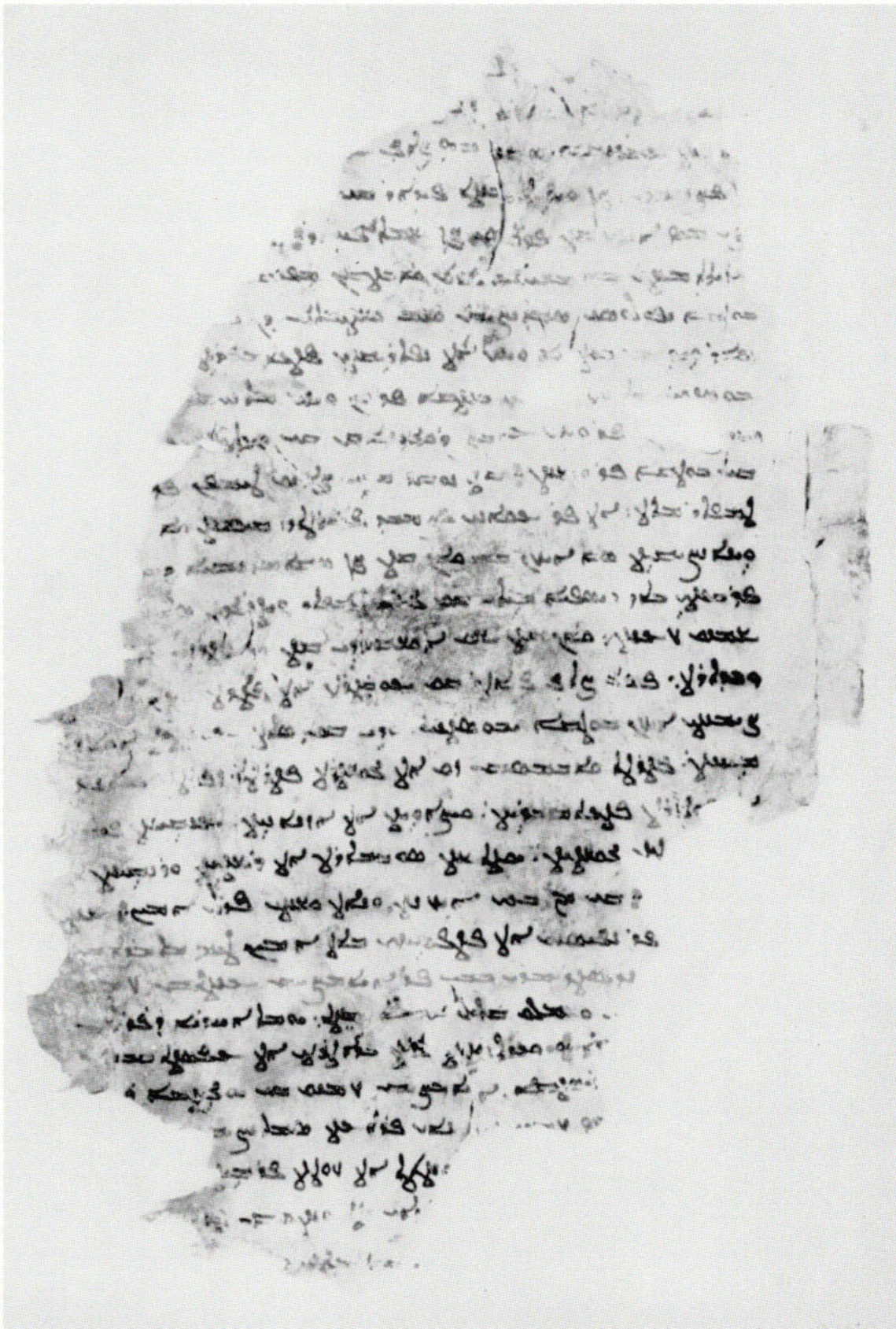
f. 48R.1–6



f. 40V.9–24
(Hamburg photo)

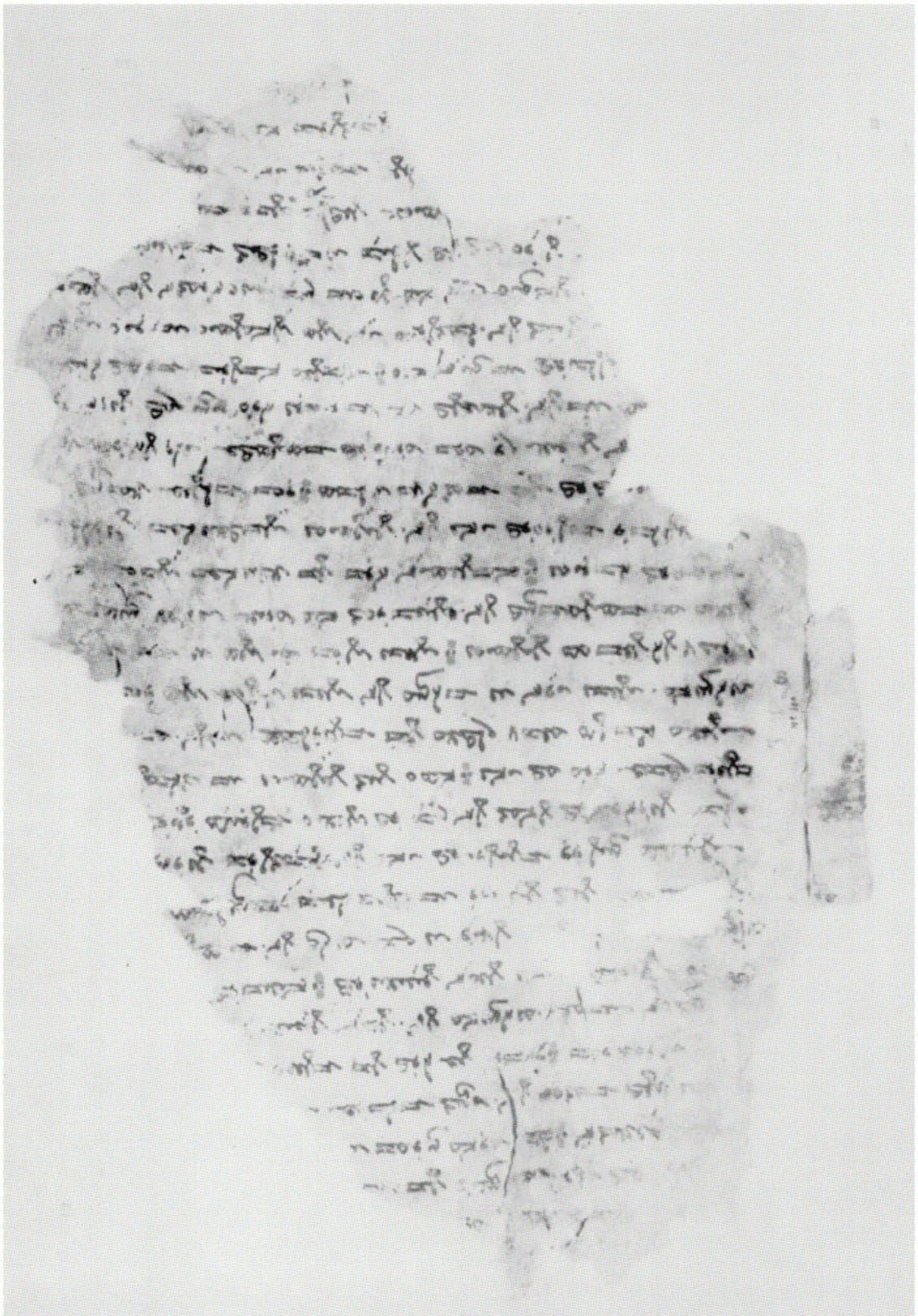


f. 48V.1–6

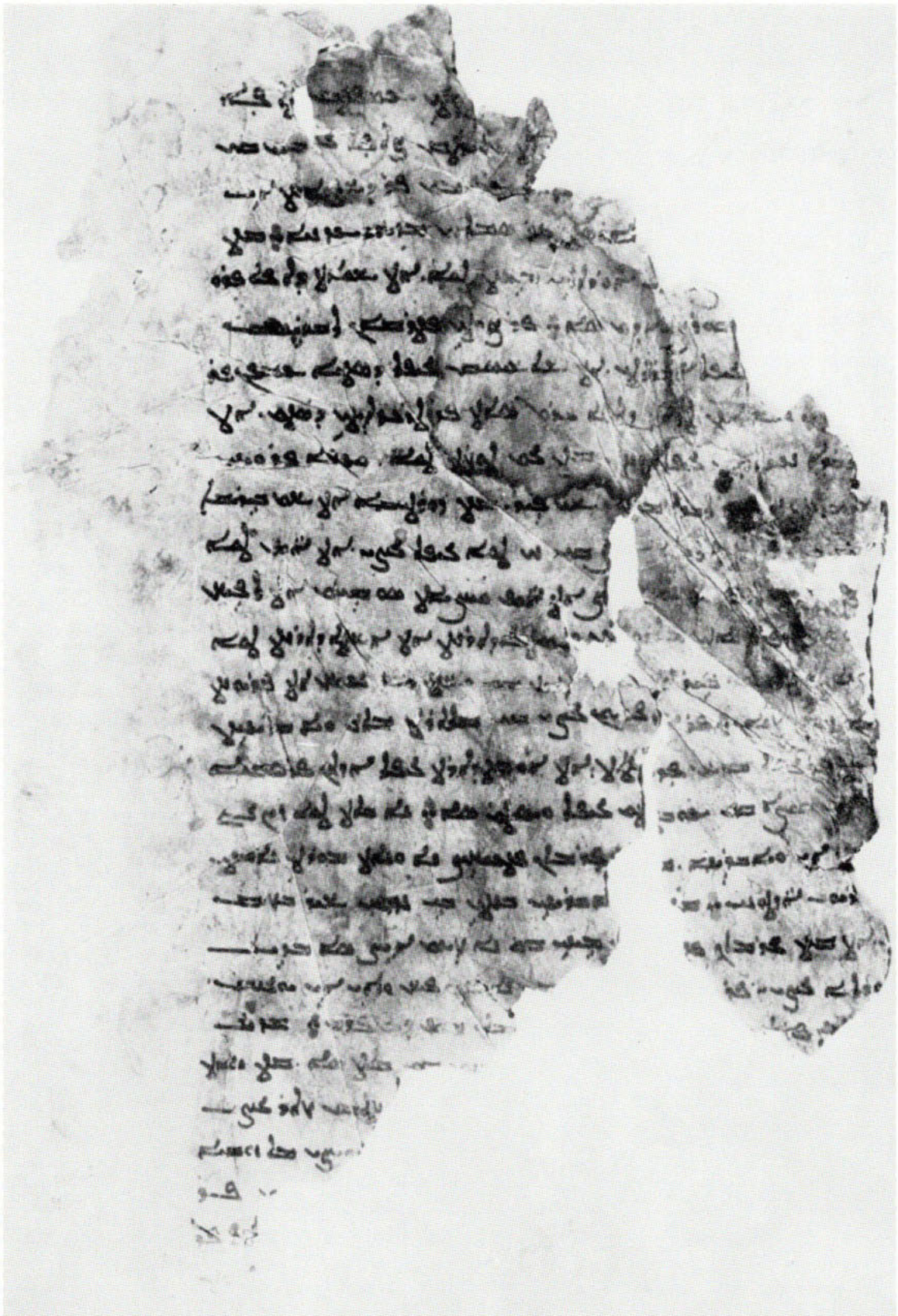


f. 48R.3–32

Tafel XL

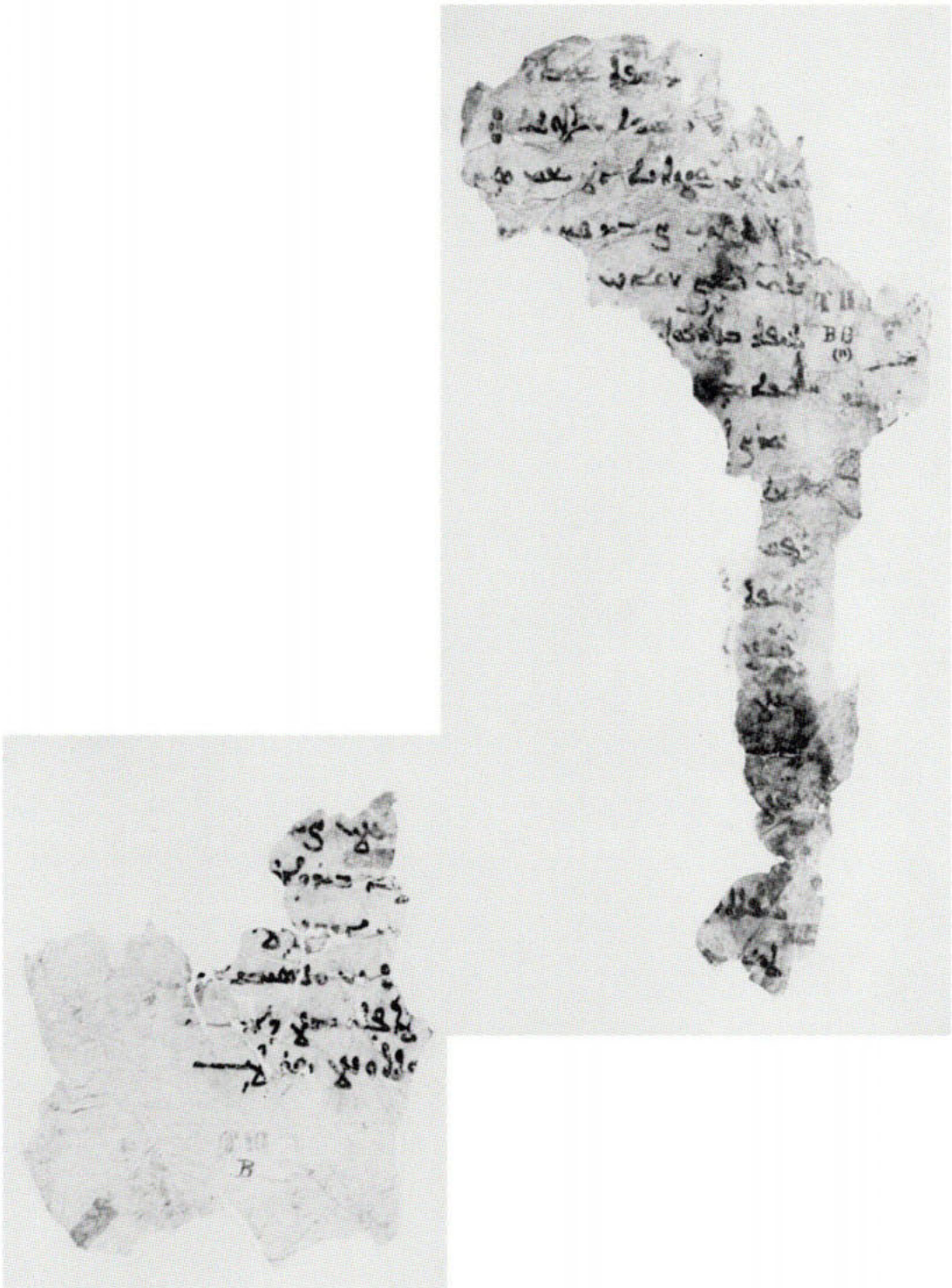


f. 48V.2–32



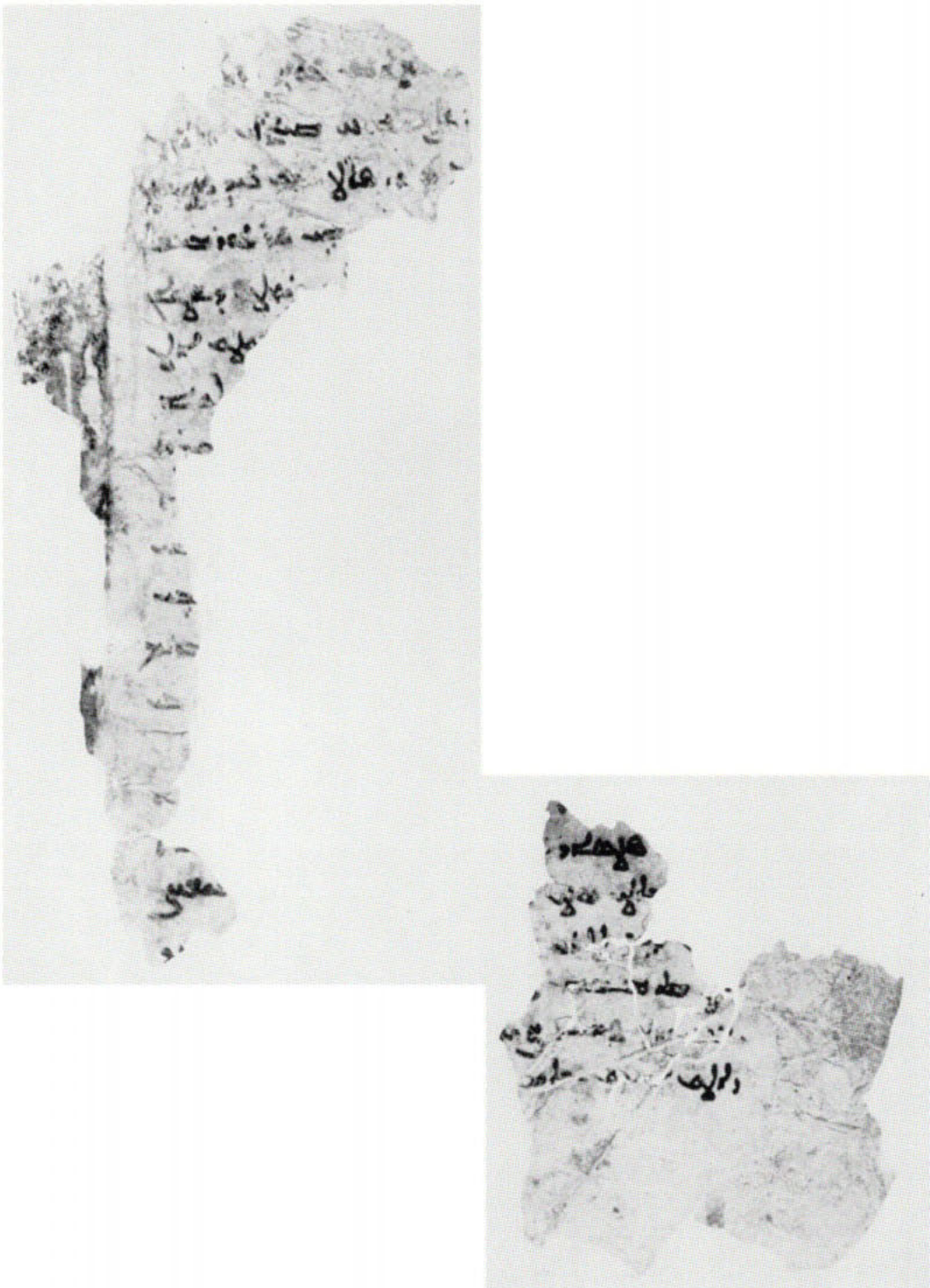
f. 51R.1–29 (Hamburg photo)

f. 51V.1–29 (Hamburg photo)

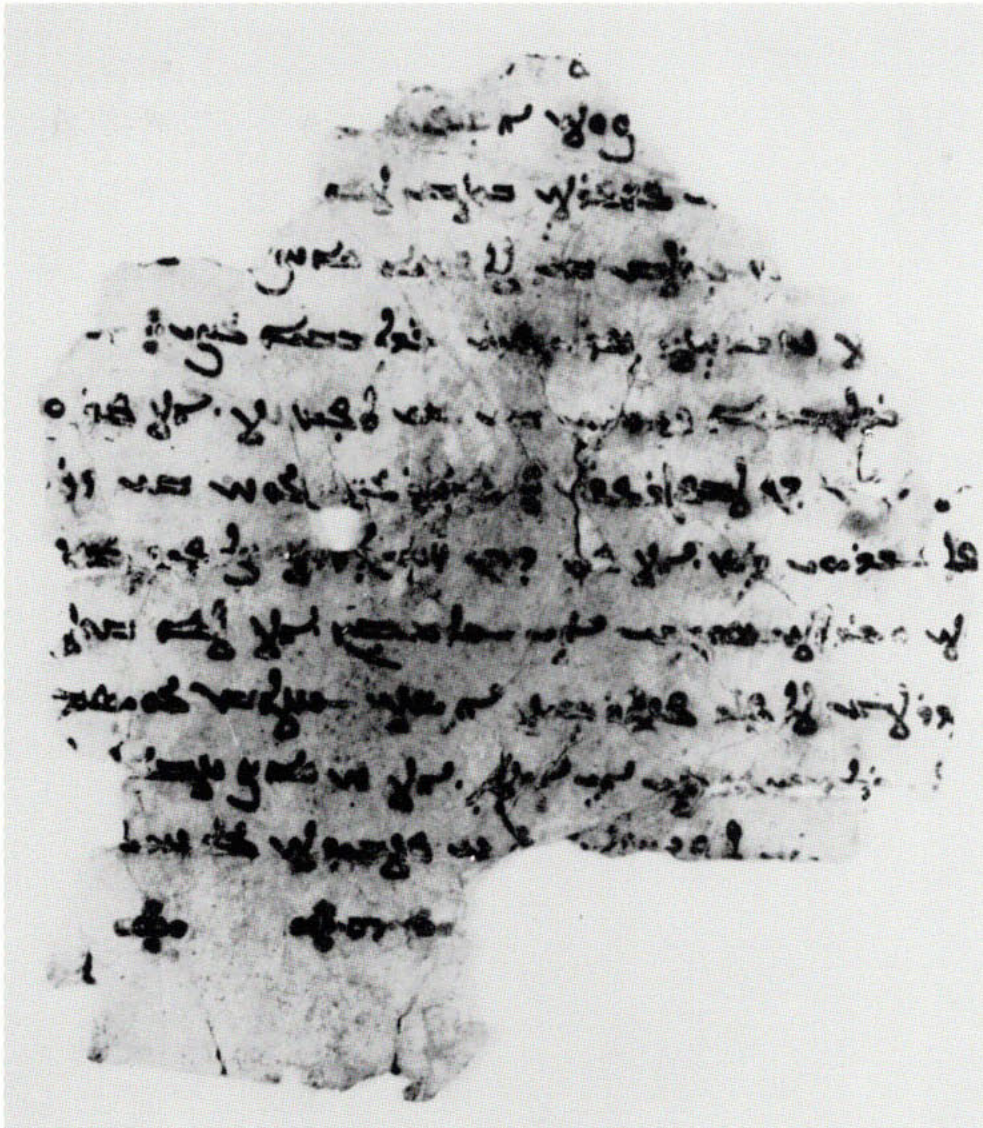


f. 51R.2–19, 26–31

Tafel XLIV

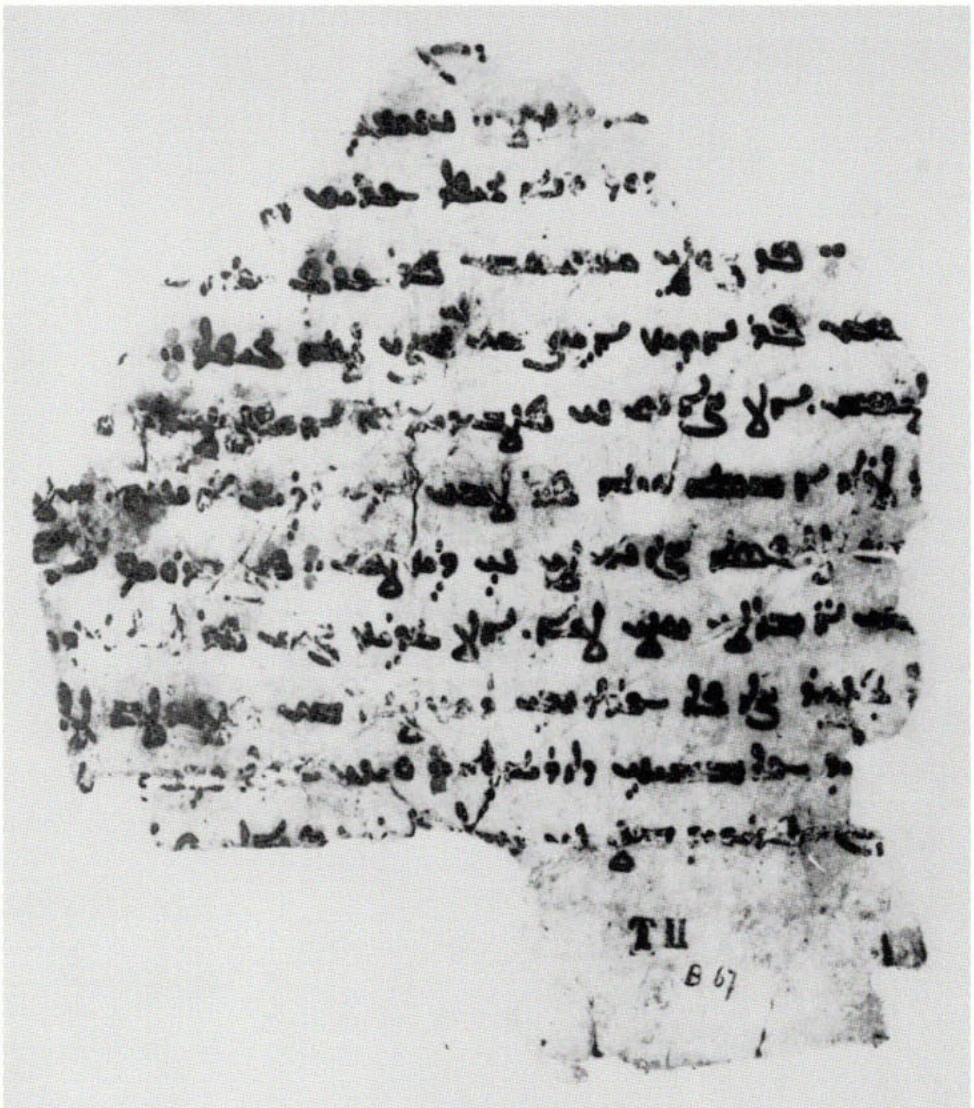


f. 51V.1–19, 25–31

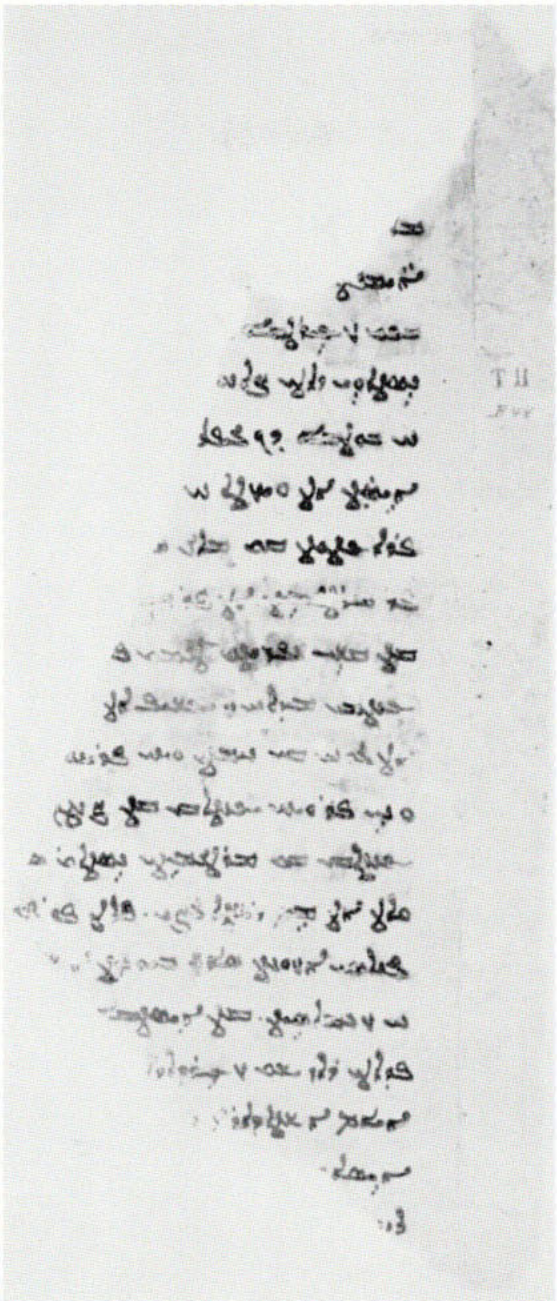


f. 51R.20–31

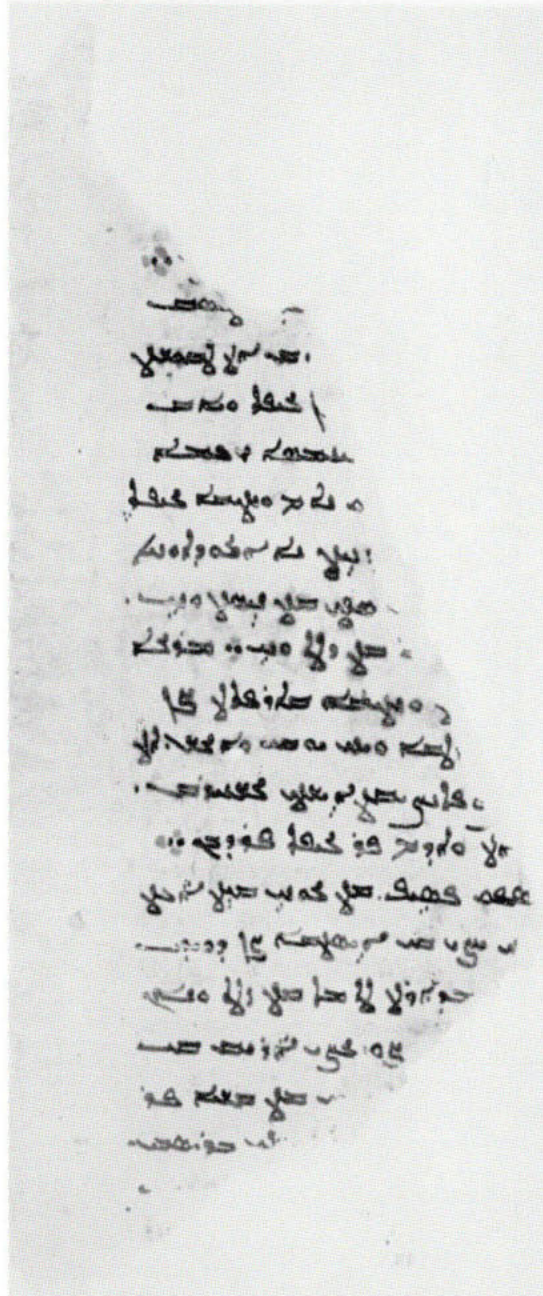
Tafel XLVI



f. 51V.20–31

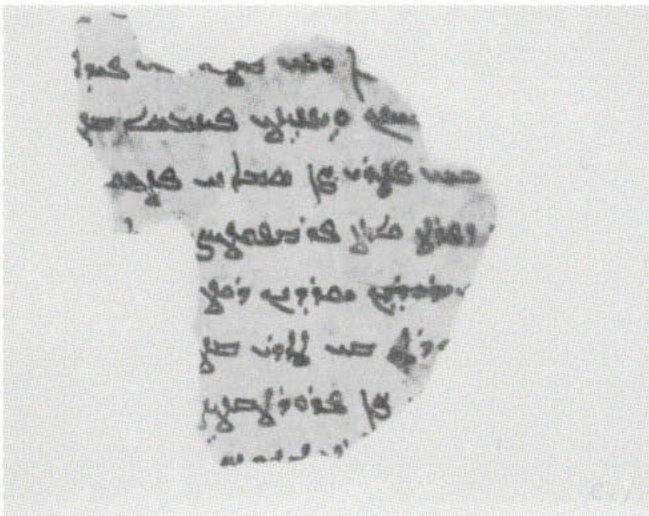


f. 52R

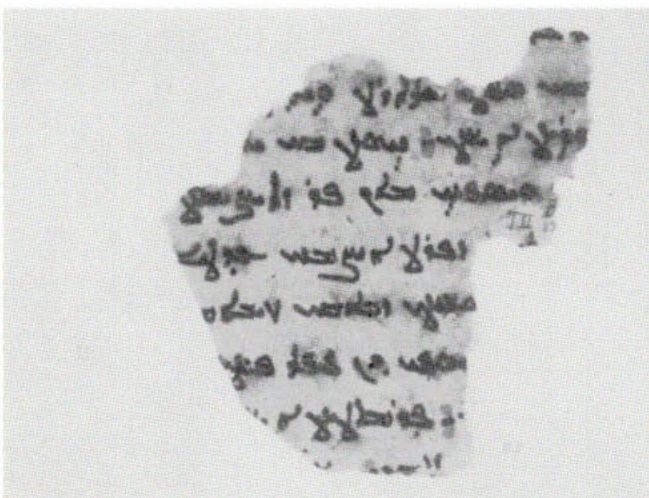


f. 52V

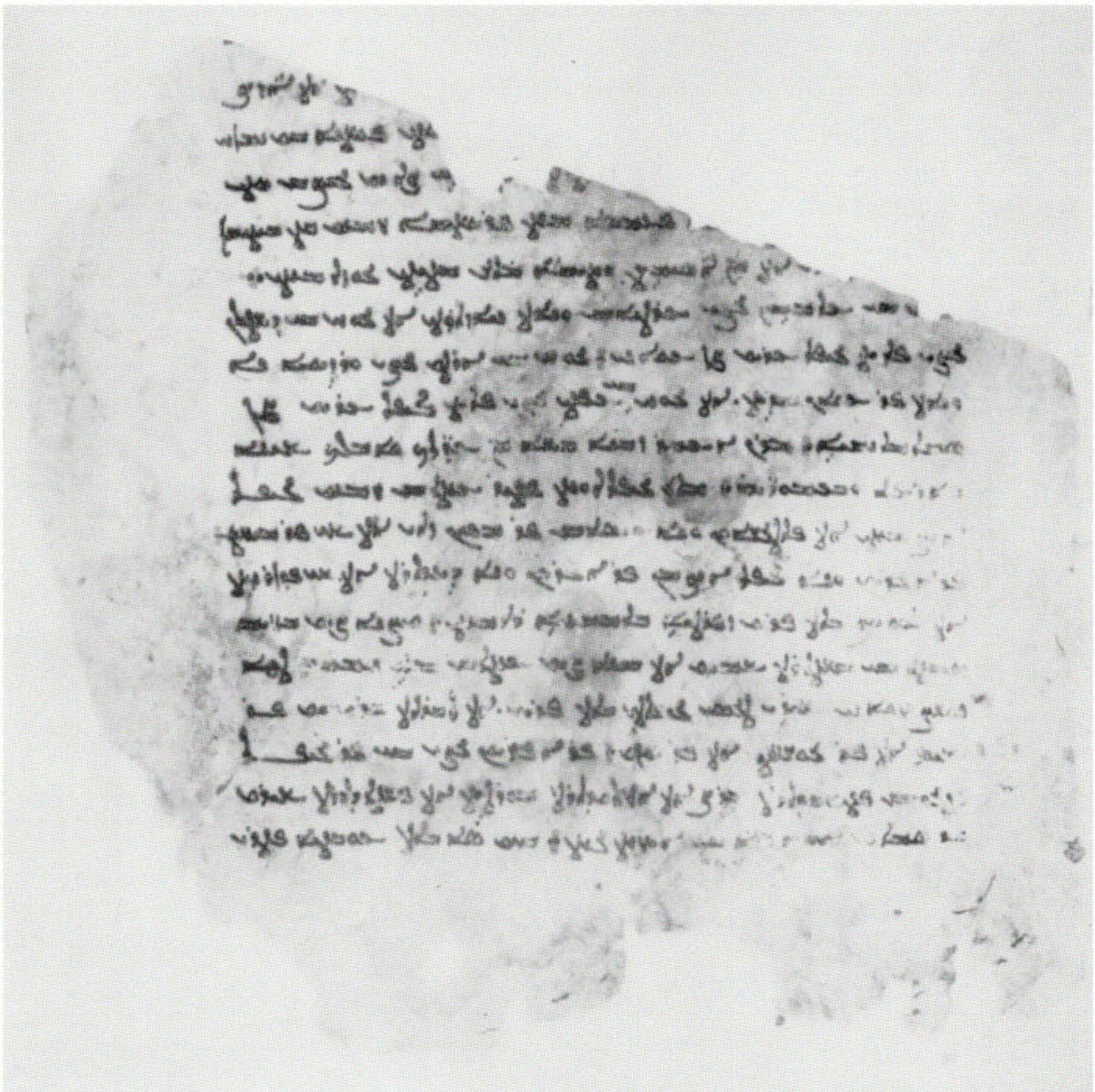
Tafel XLVIII



f. 53R

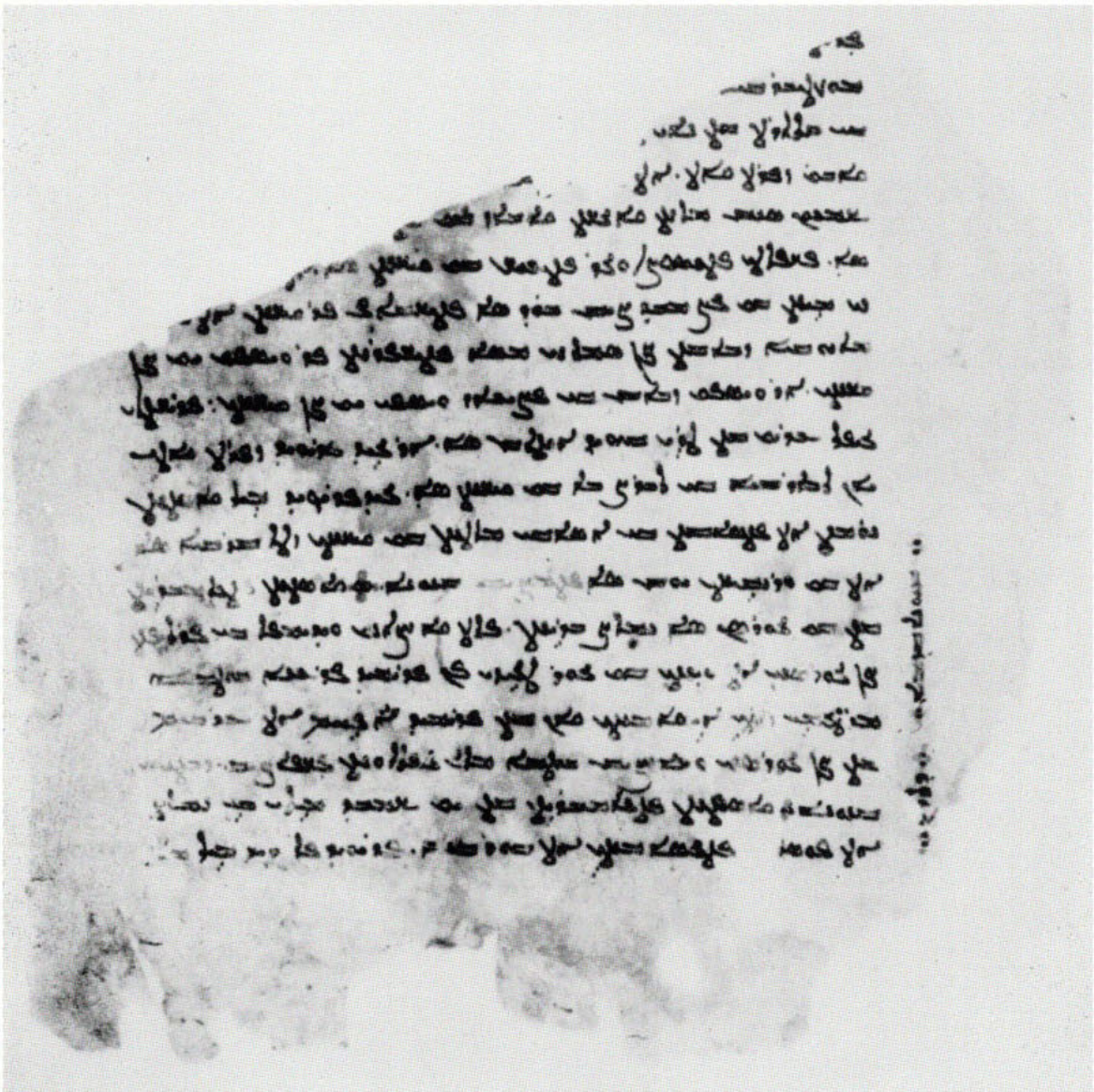


f. 53V

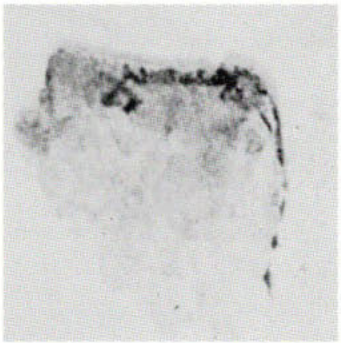


f. 54R

Tafel L



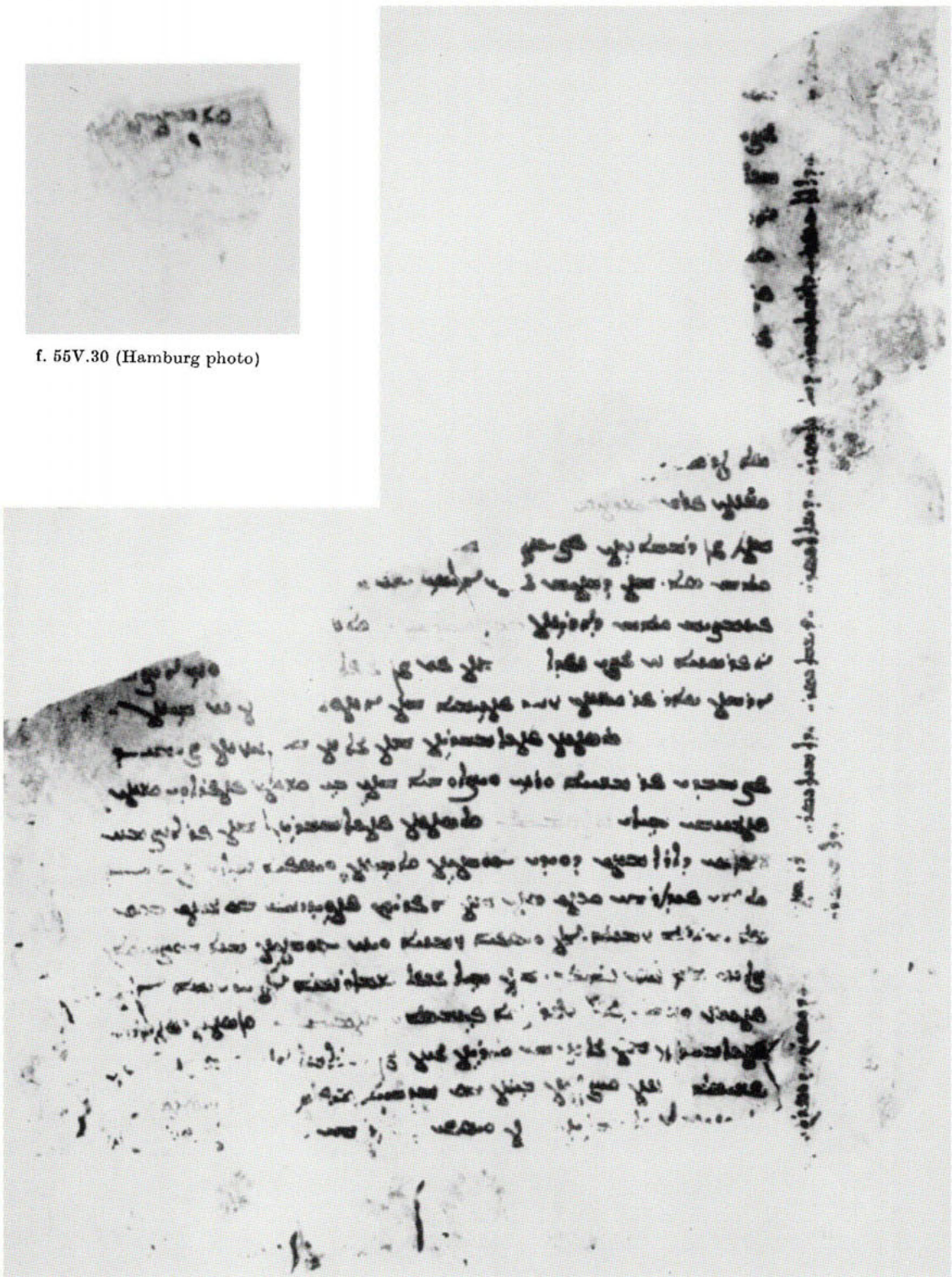
f. 54V



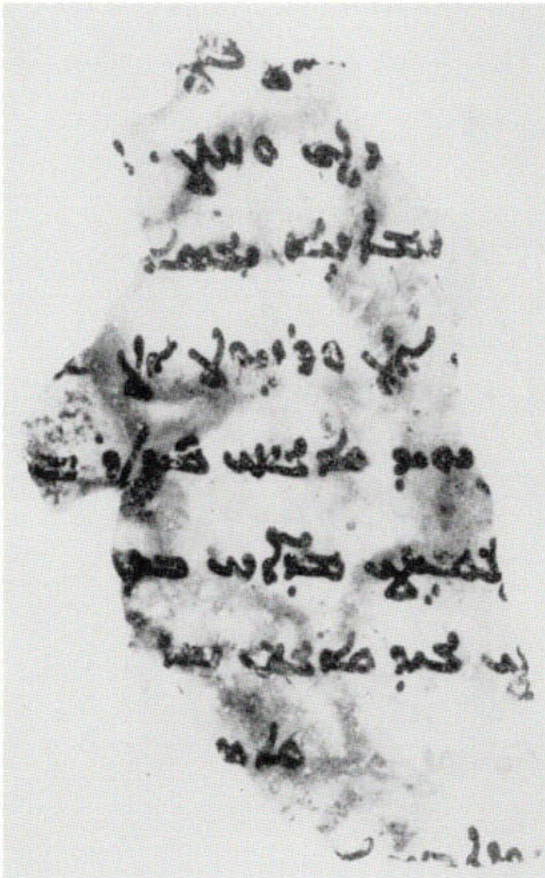
f. 55R.30 (Hamburg photo)

f. 55R.4–30

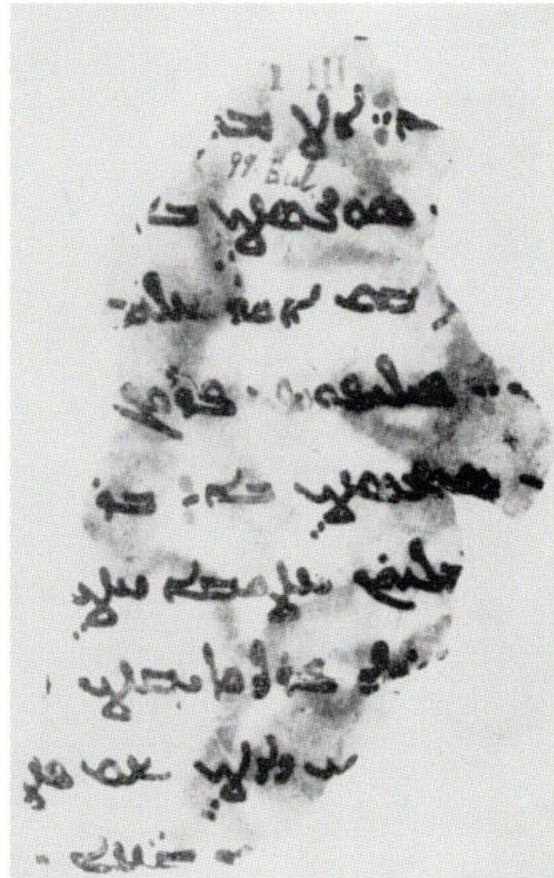
f. 55V.30 (Hamburg photo)



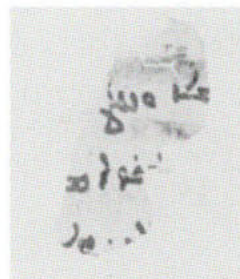
f. 55V.3–30



f. 56R.4–12



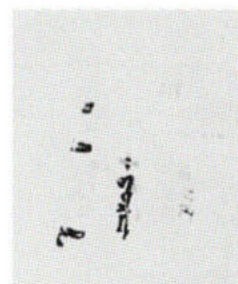
f. 56V.3–12



f. 56R.2–5

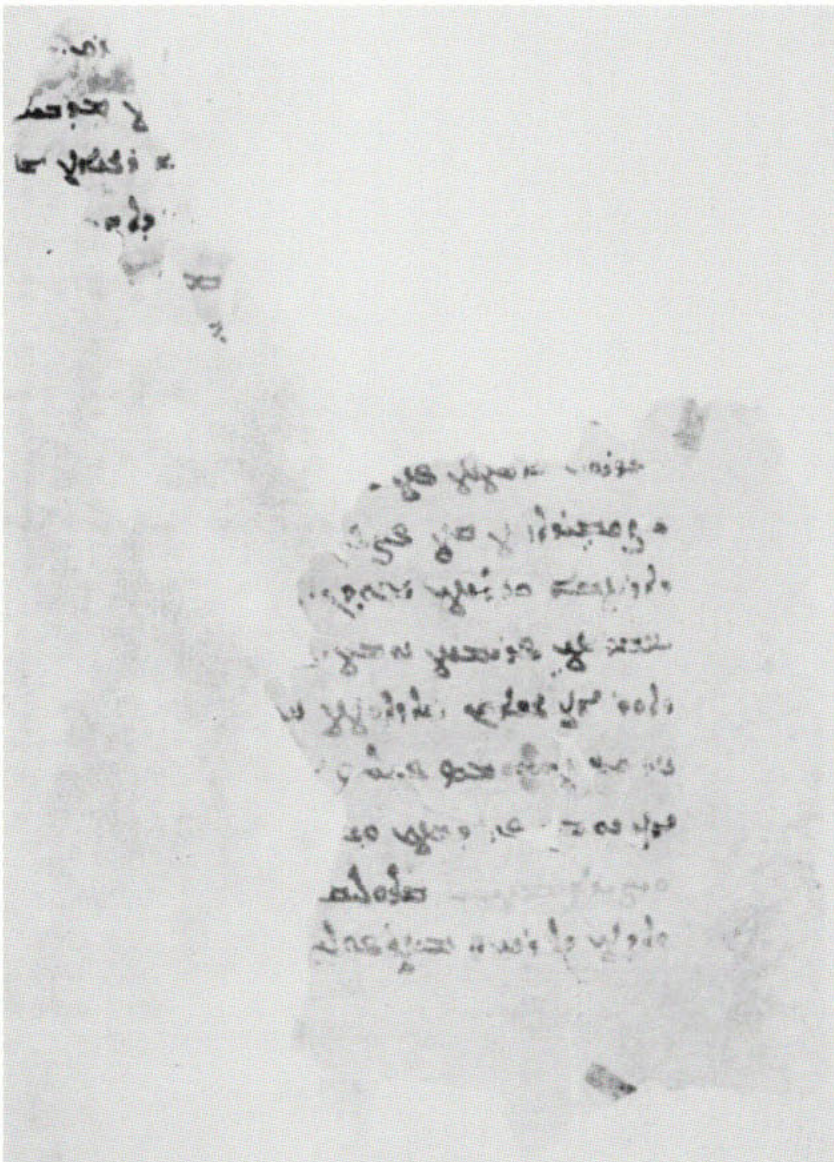
f. 56V.2–5

f. 56R.15–16



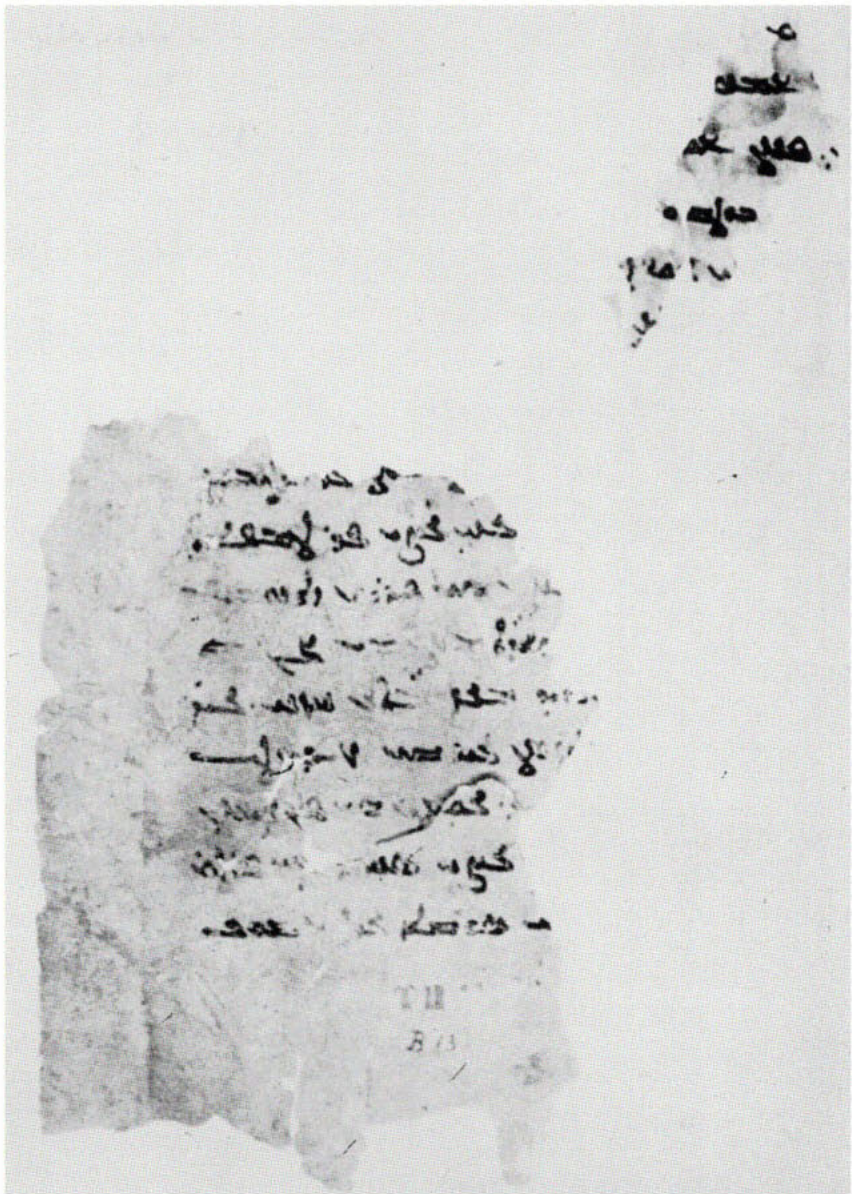
f. 56V.14–17

Tafel LIV

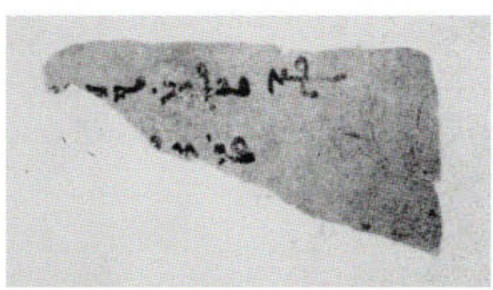


f. 56R.17–32

f. 57R.1–2



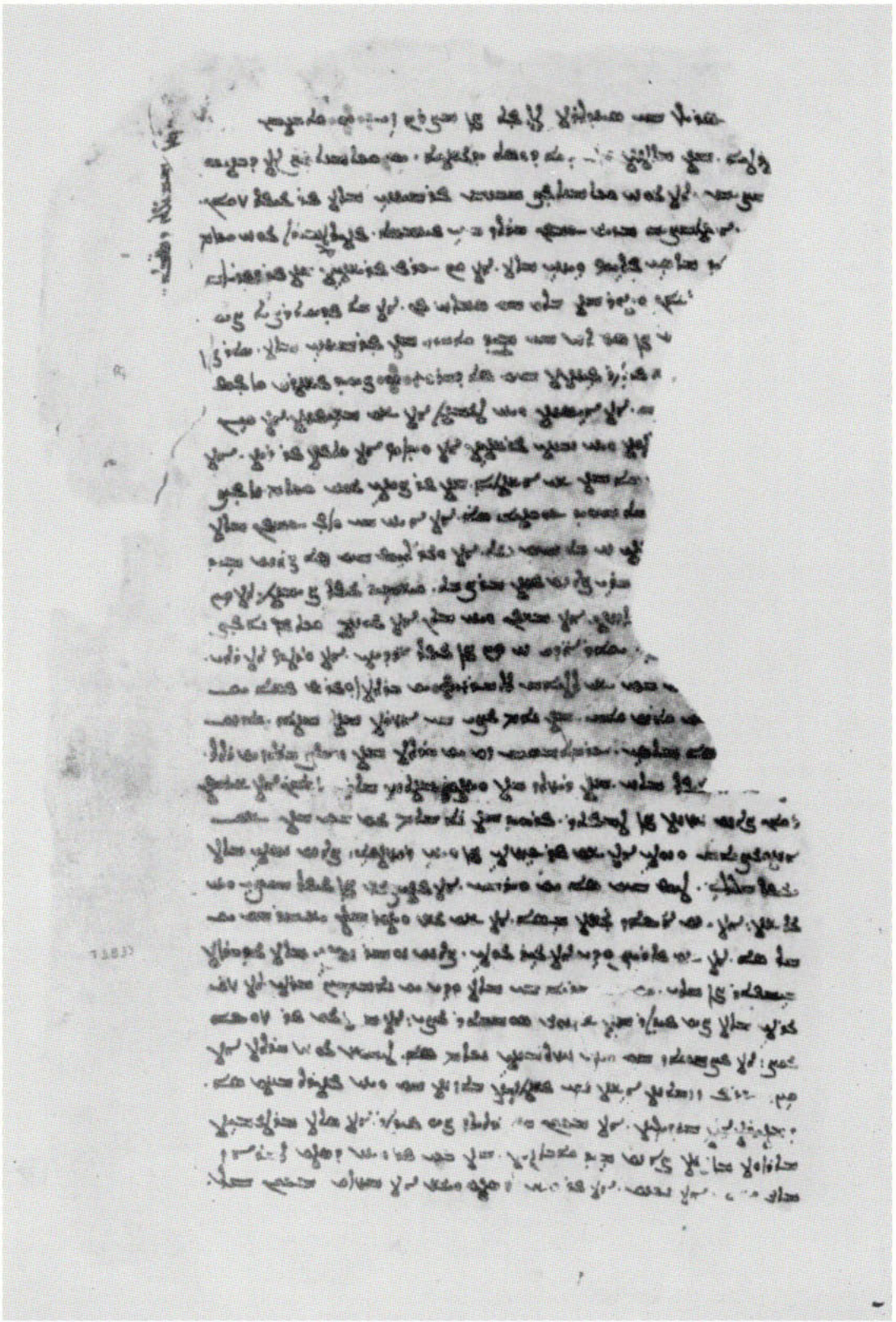
f. 56V.17–32



f. 57V.1–2

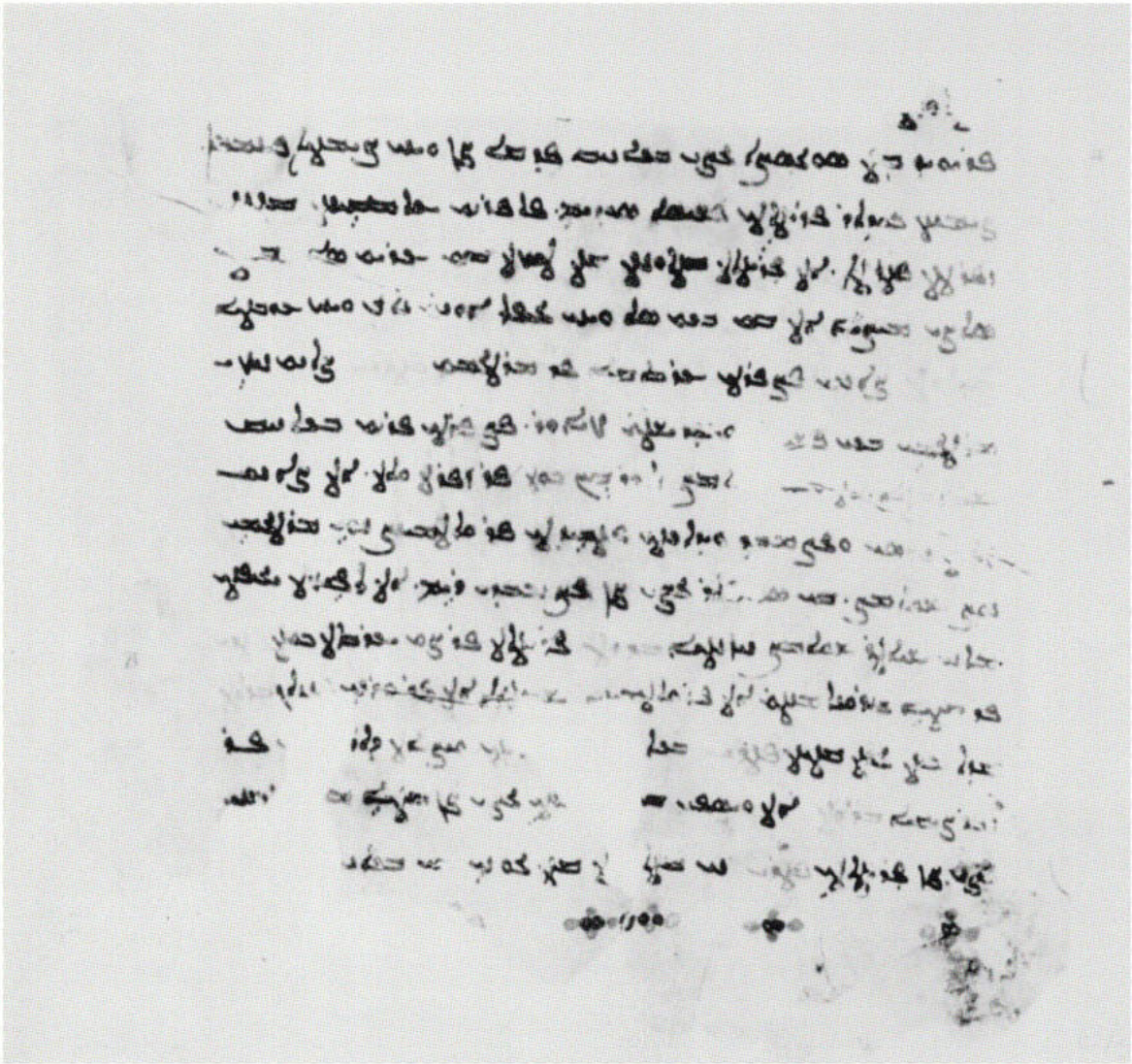
f. 57R.1–33 (Hamburg photo)

f. 57V.1–32 (Hamburg photo)

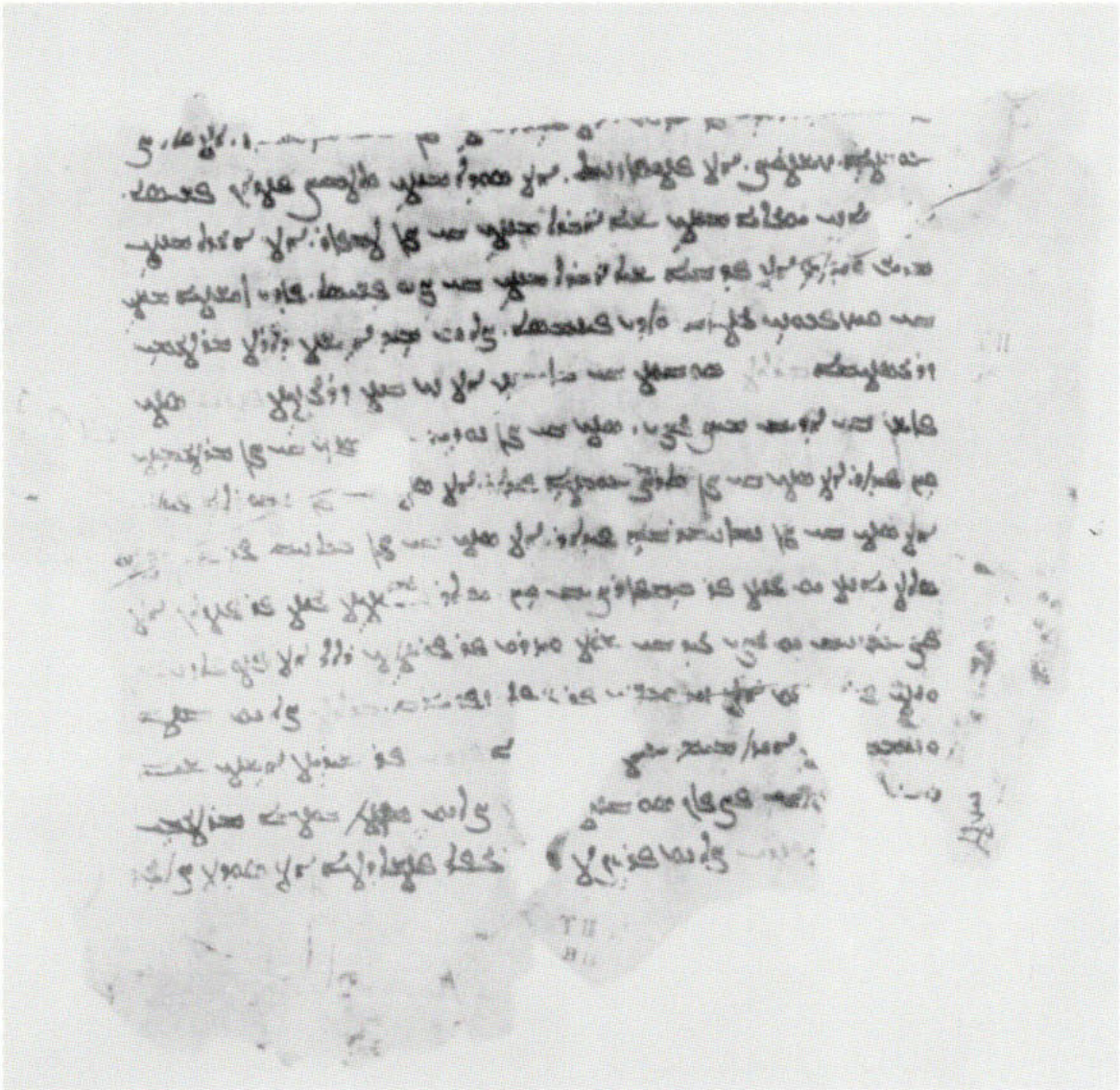


f. 60R

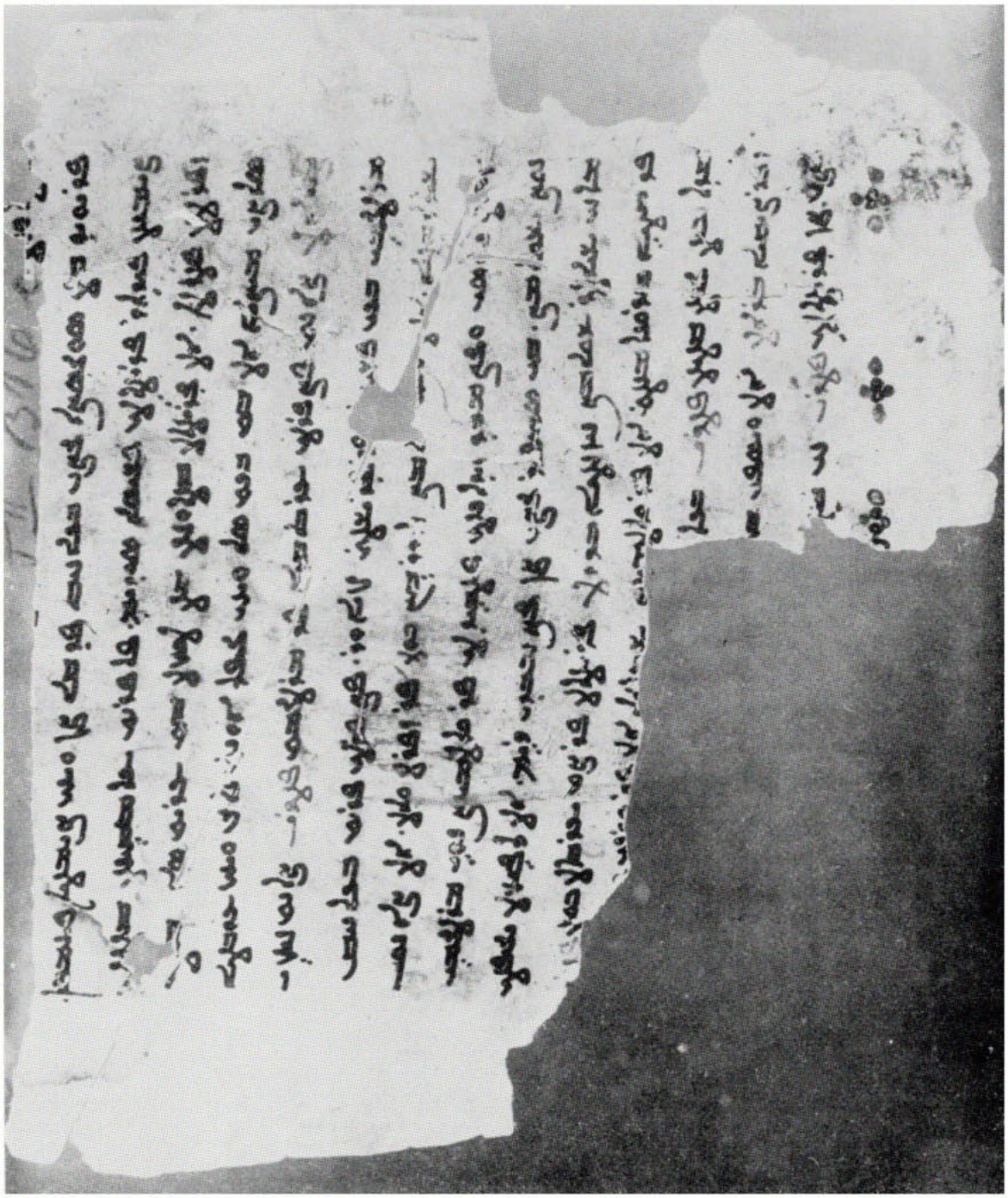
f. 60V



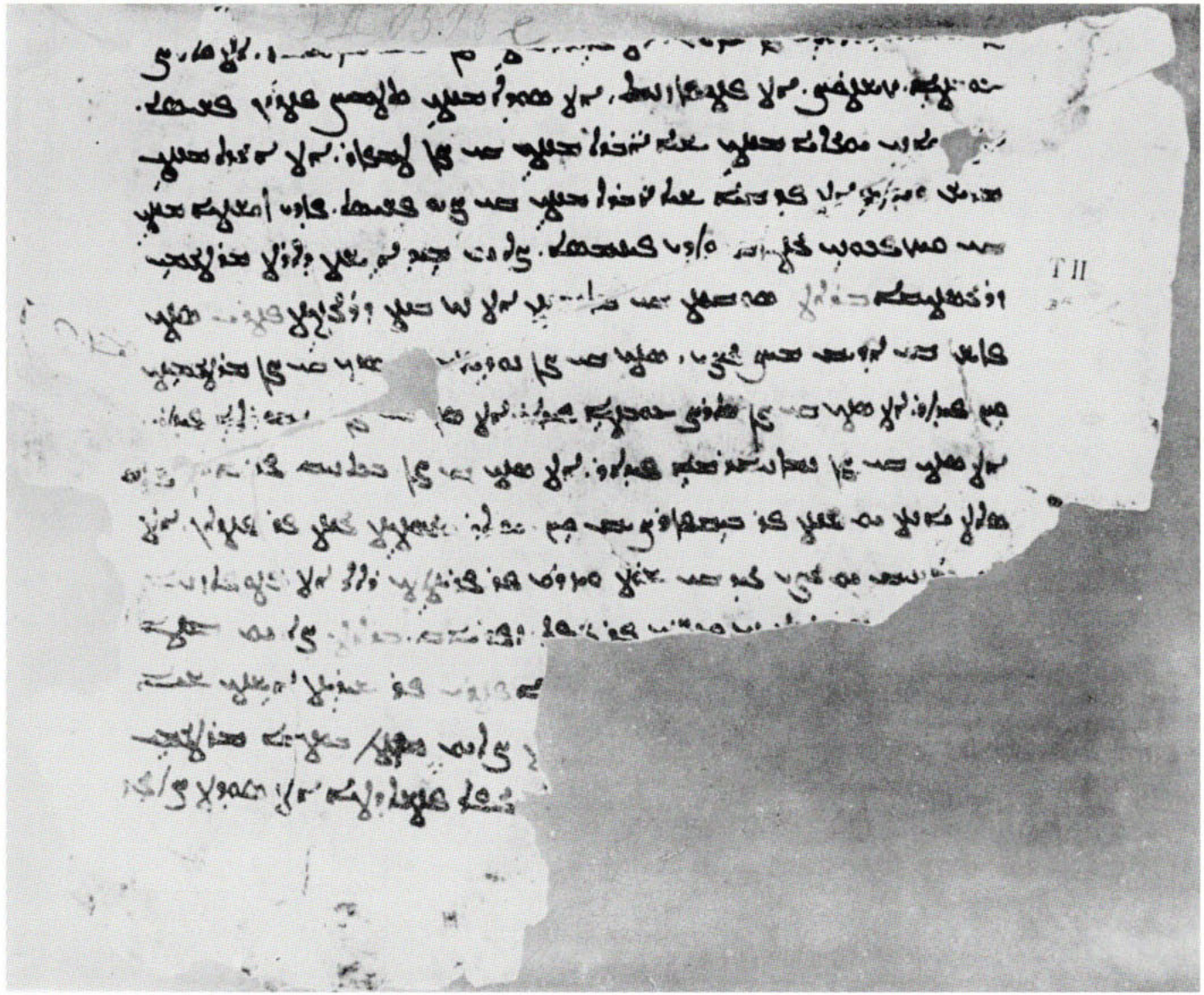
f. 61R



f. 61V

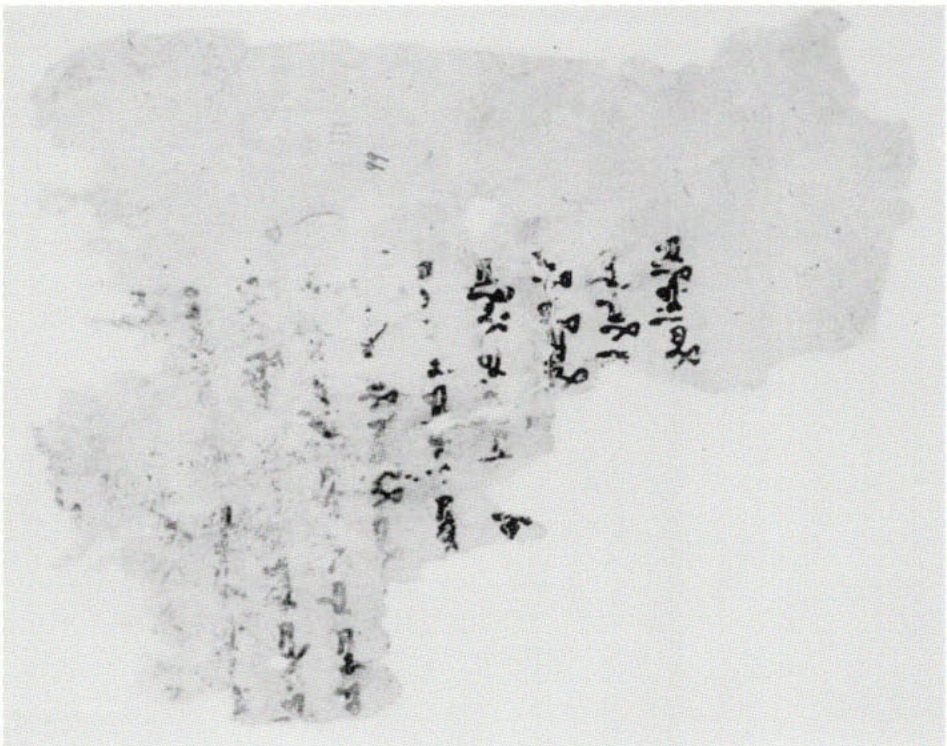


f. 61R (Göttingen photo)

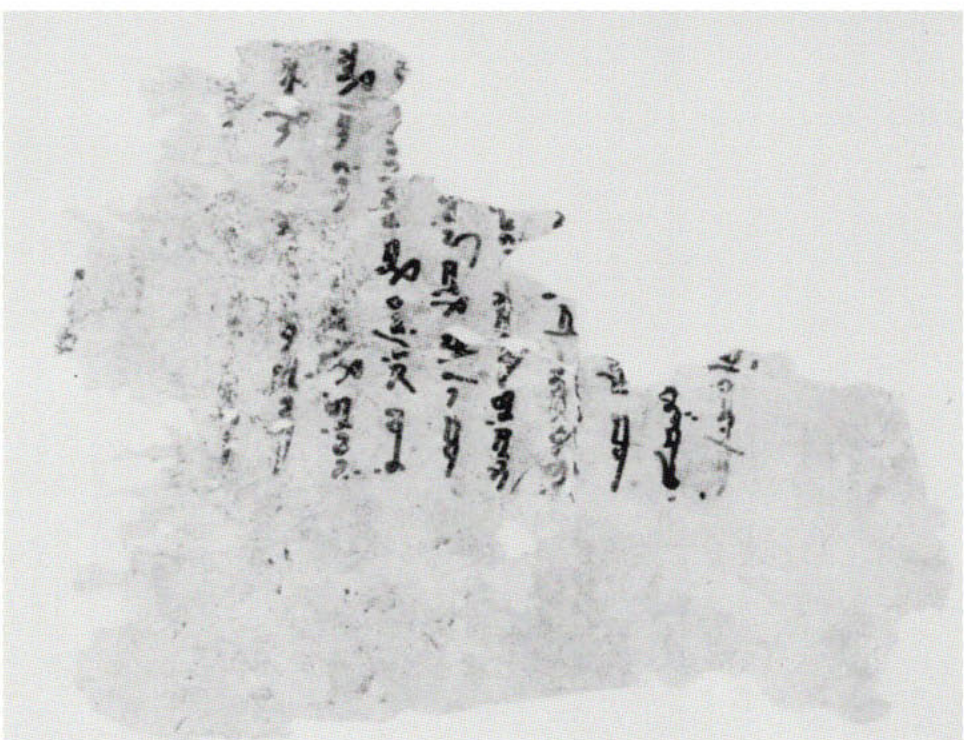


f. 61V (Göttingen photo)

Tafel LXIII



f. 64V

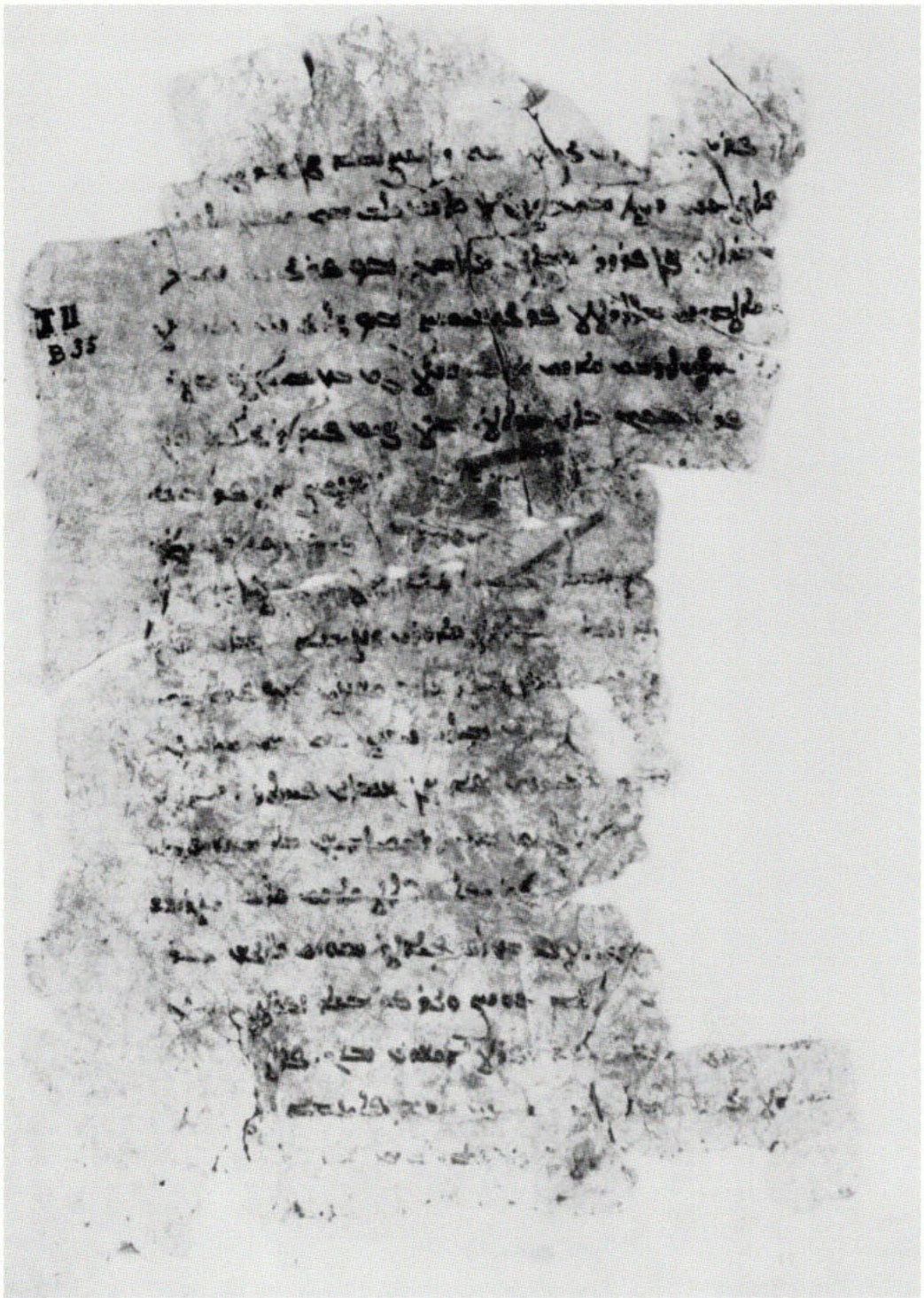


f. 64R

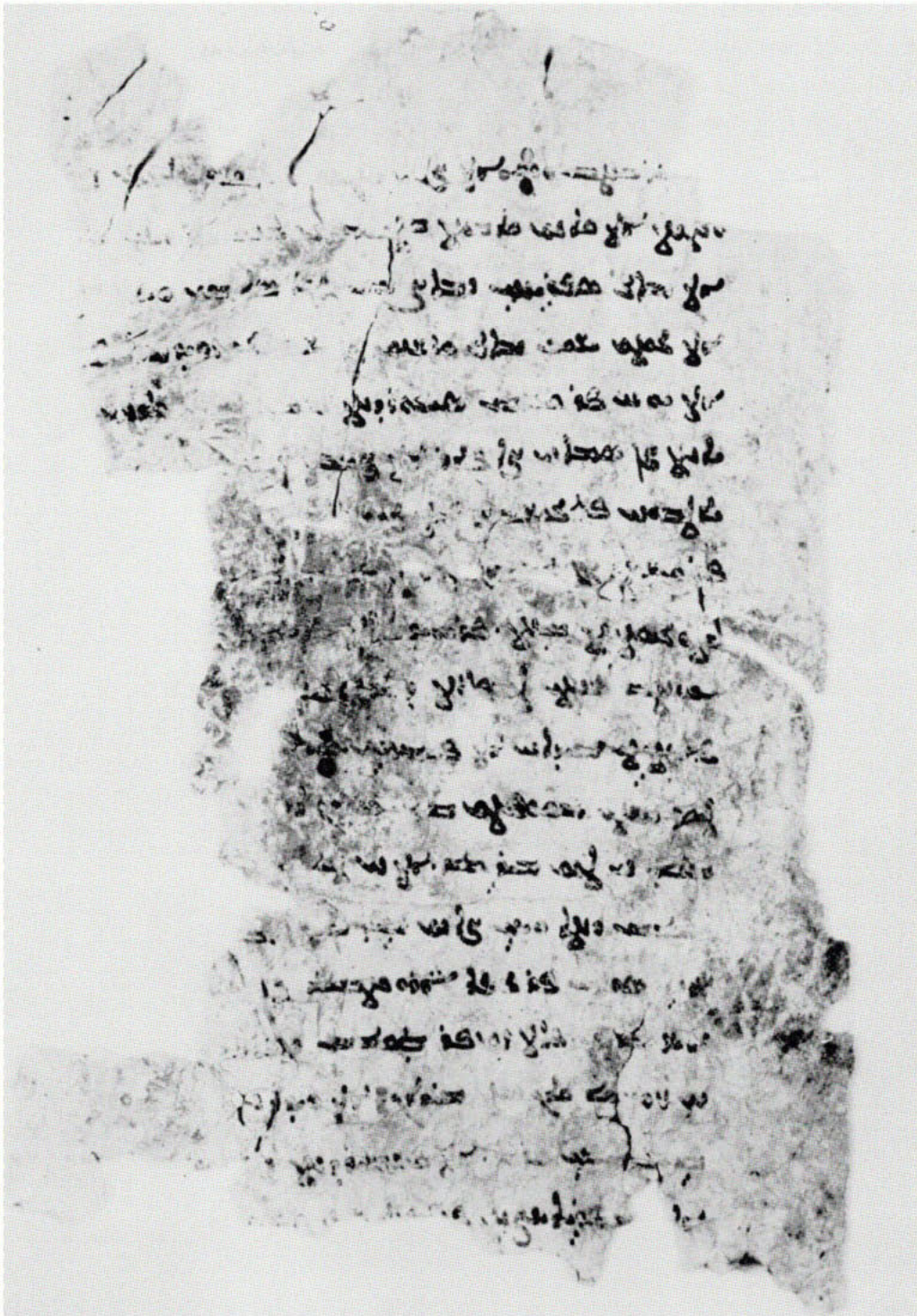
f. 65V

f. 65R

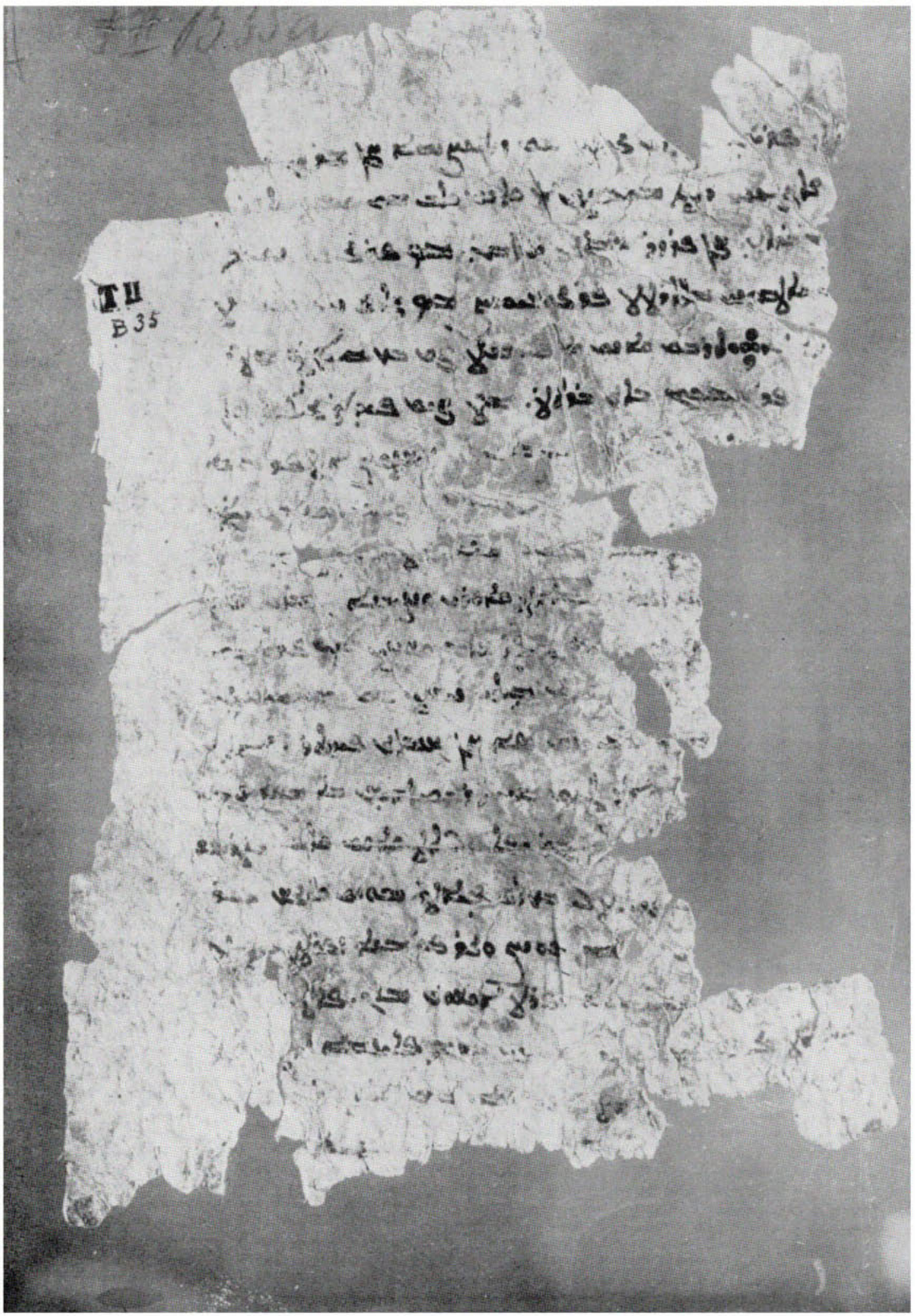
Tafel LXVI



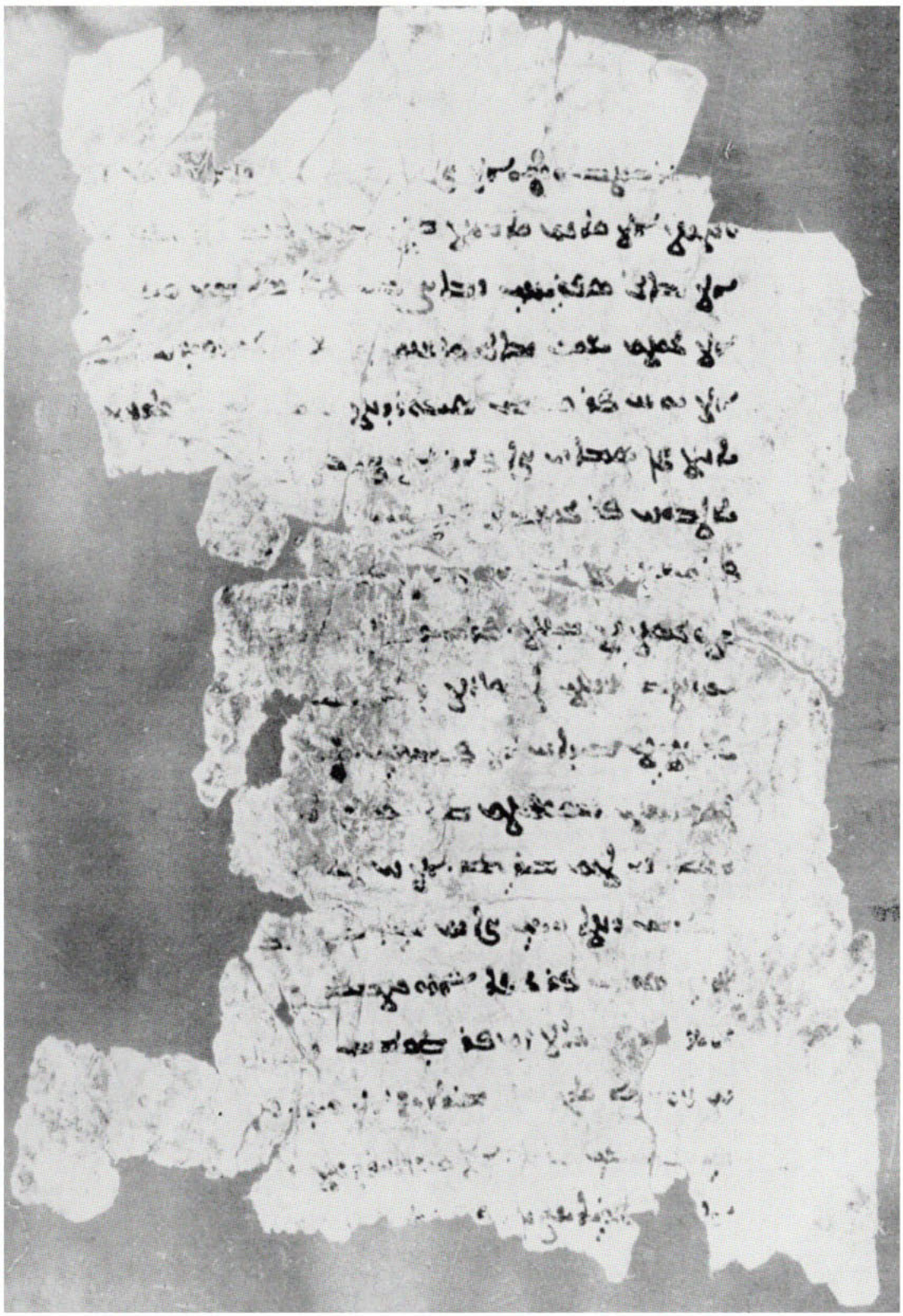
f. 66R



f. 66V



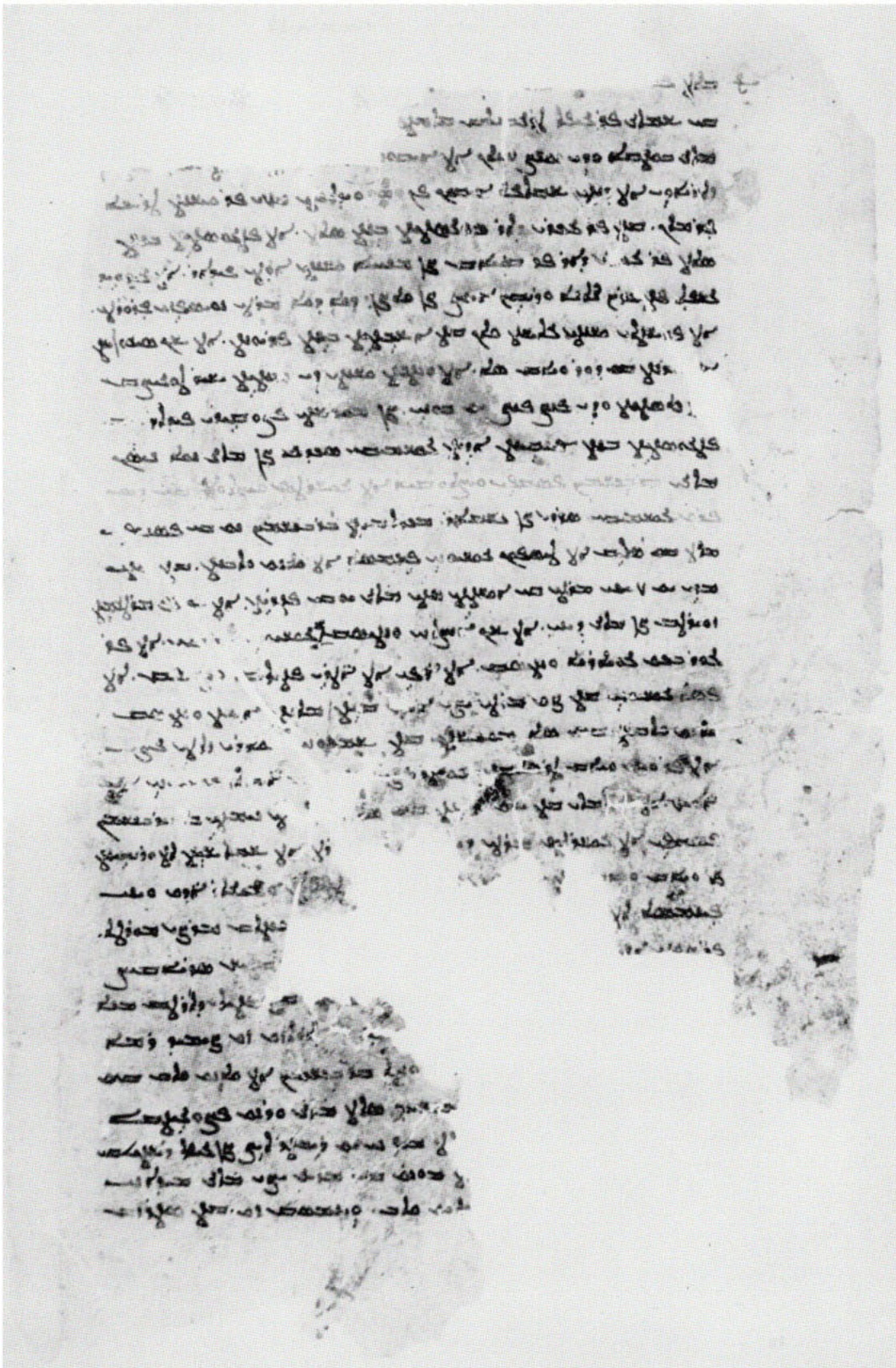
f. 66R (Göttingen photo)



f. 66V (Göttingen photo)

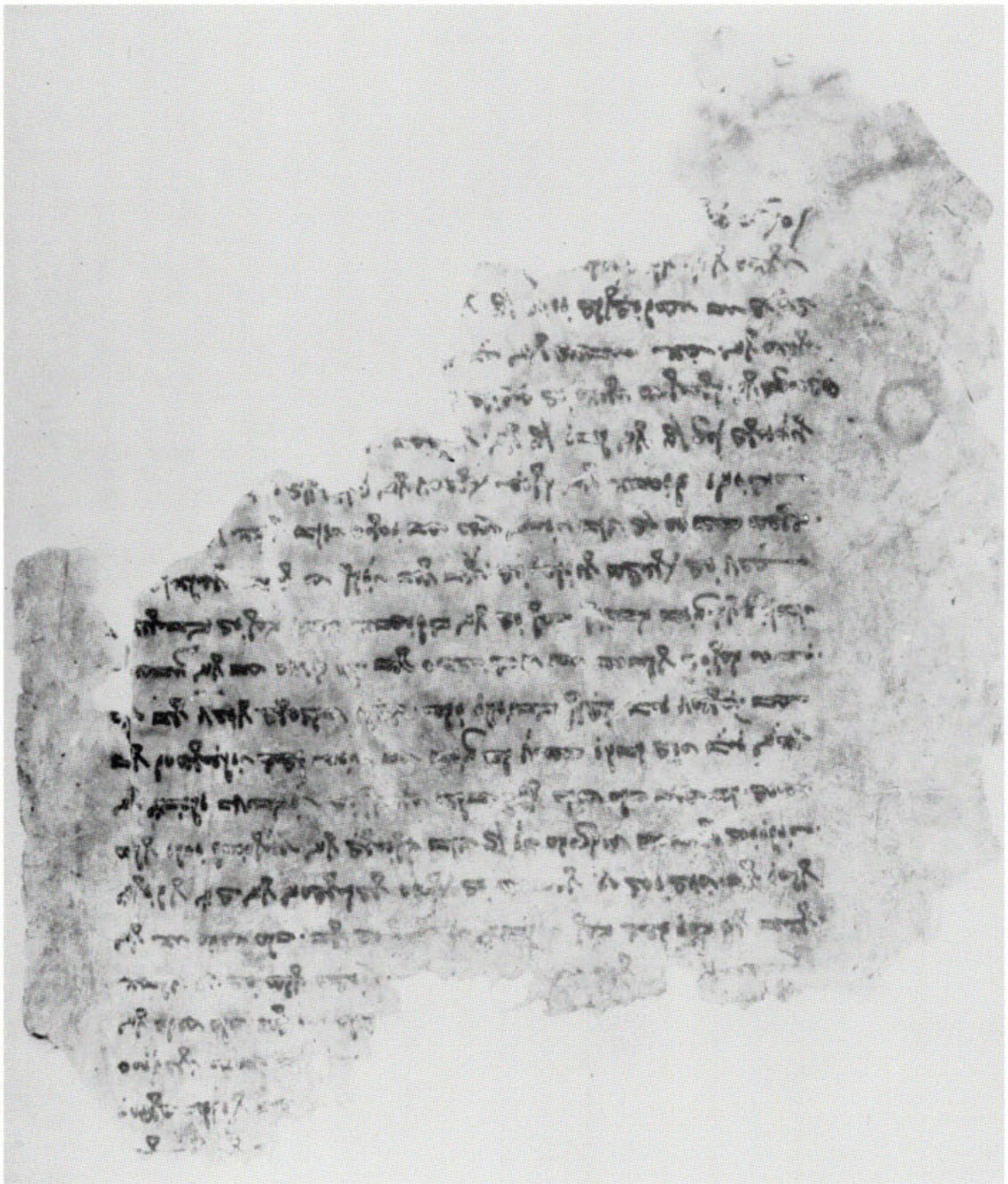
Tafel LXX

f. 68R



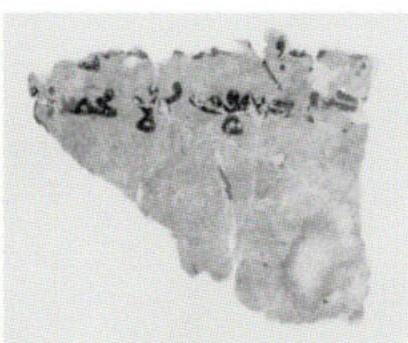
f. 68V

Tafel LXXII



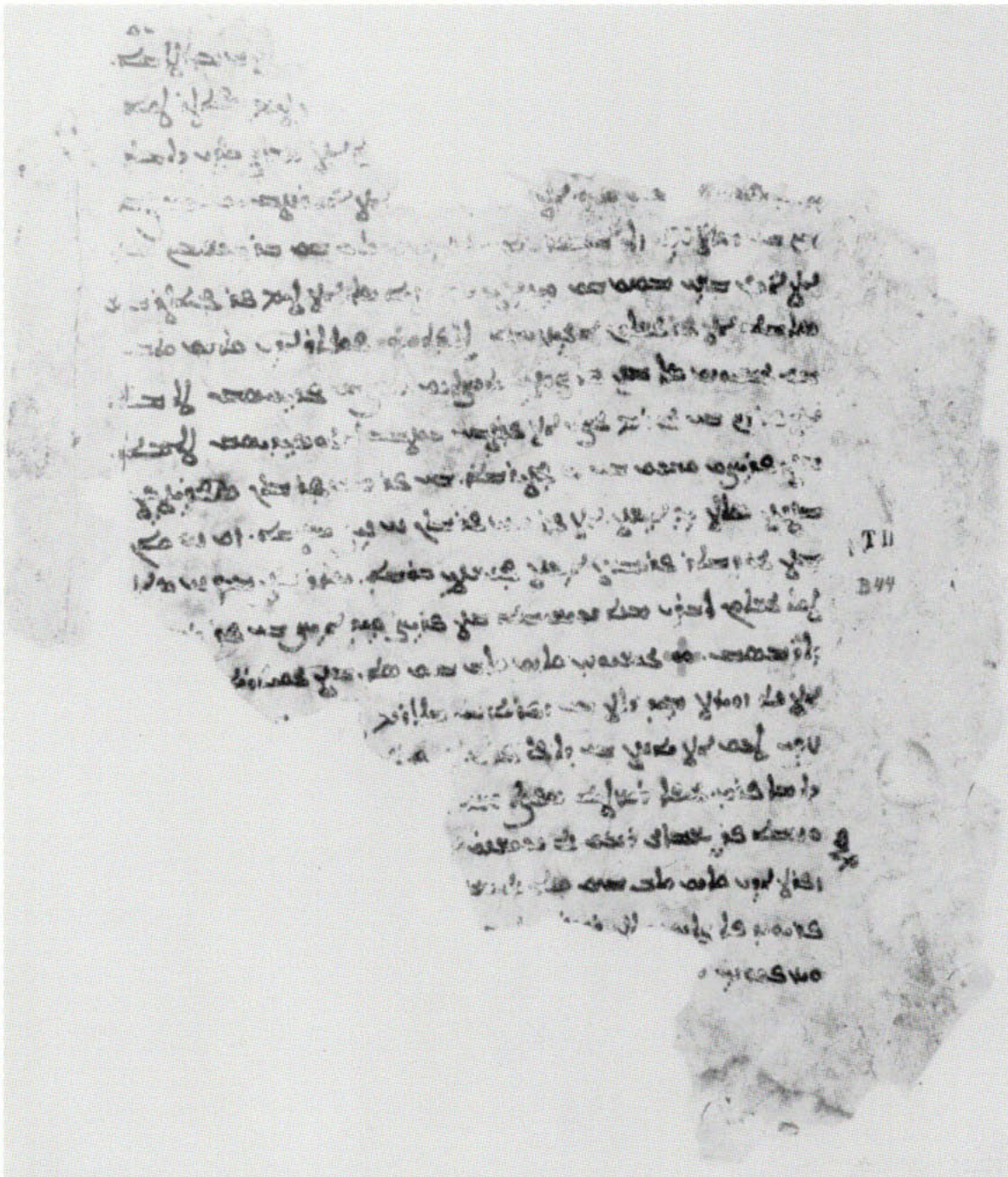
f. 69R.9–30

f. 69R.21 (Hamburg photo)

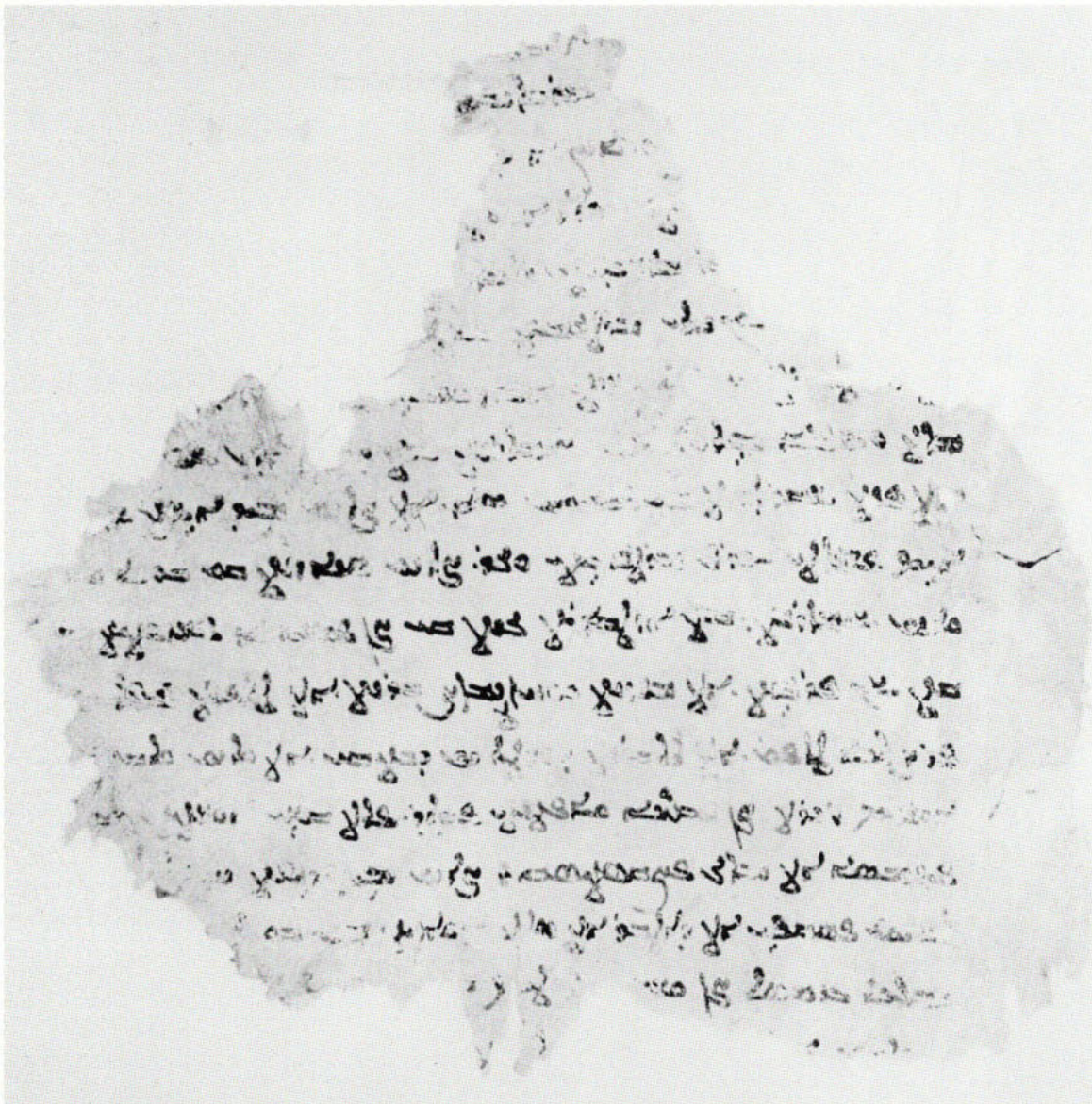


f. 69R.29–30

f. 69V.29–30

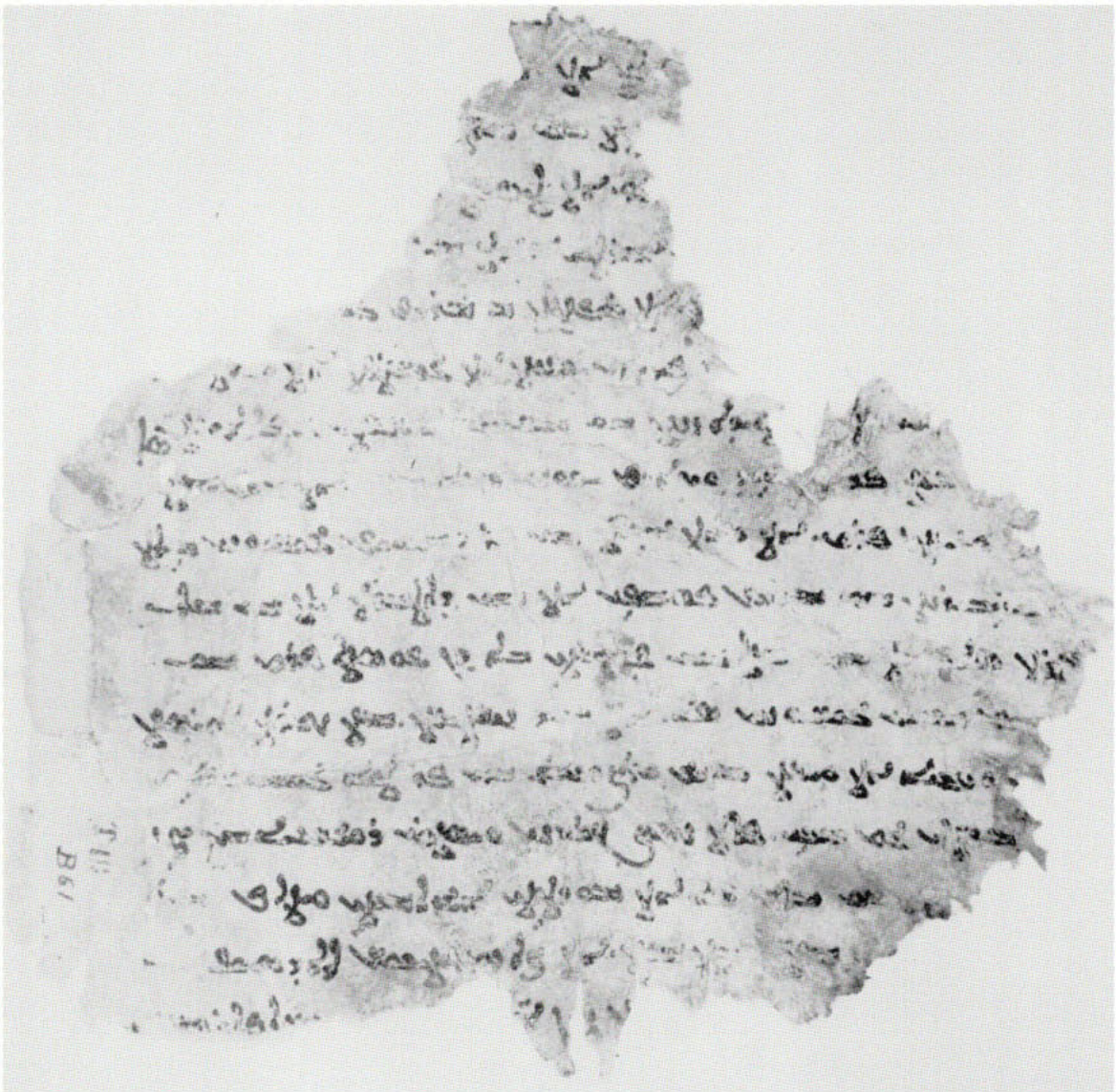


f. 69V.9–30

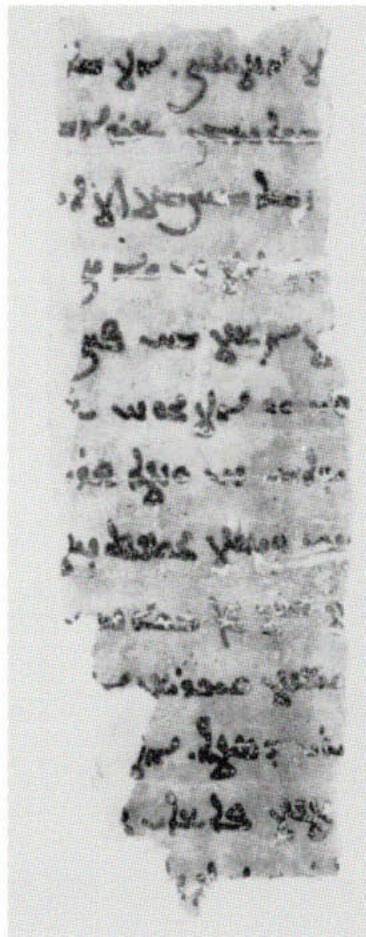


f. 77R

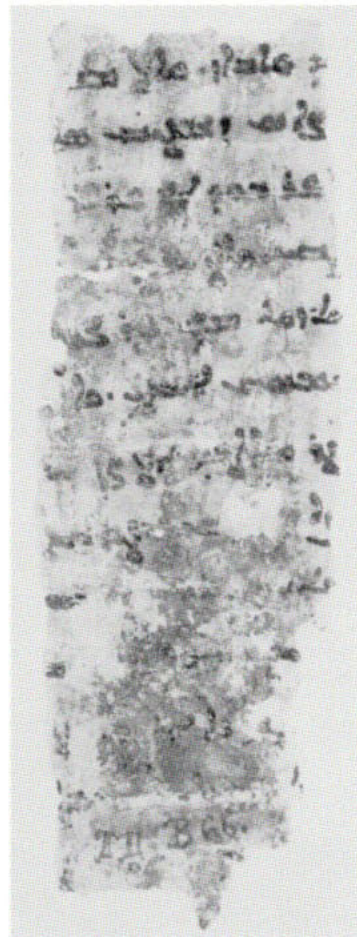
Tafel LXXVI



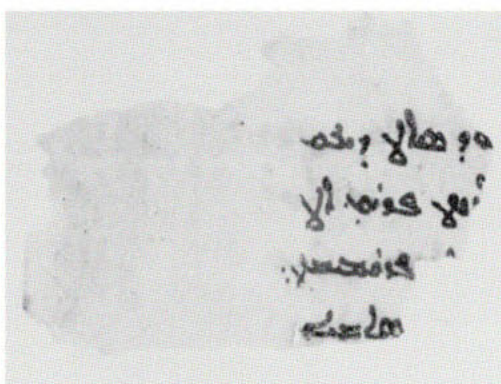
f. 77V



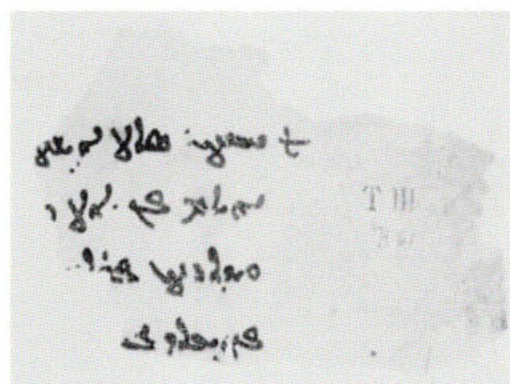
f. 83R



f. 83V

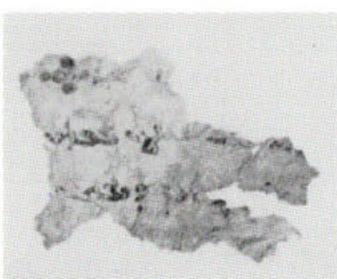


f. 86R



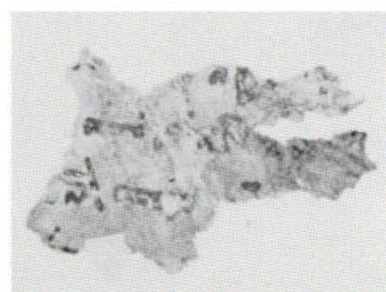
f. 86V

f. 87R.1–20

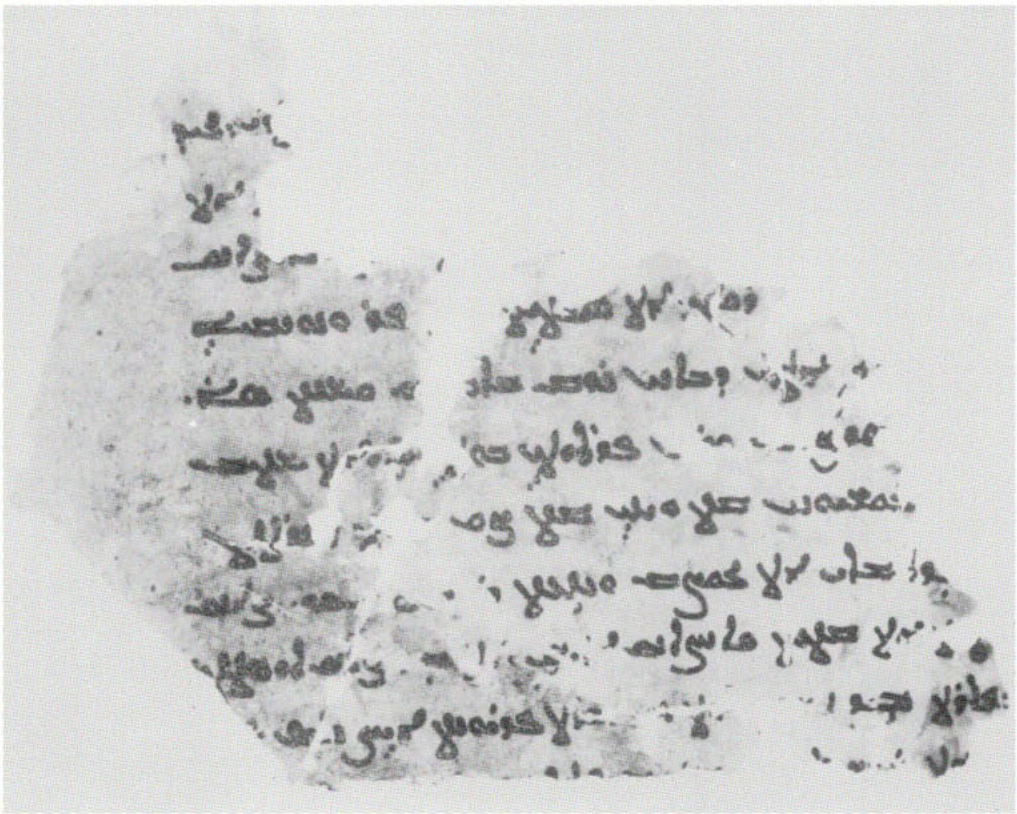


f. 87R.16–18

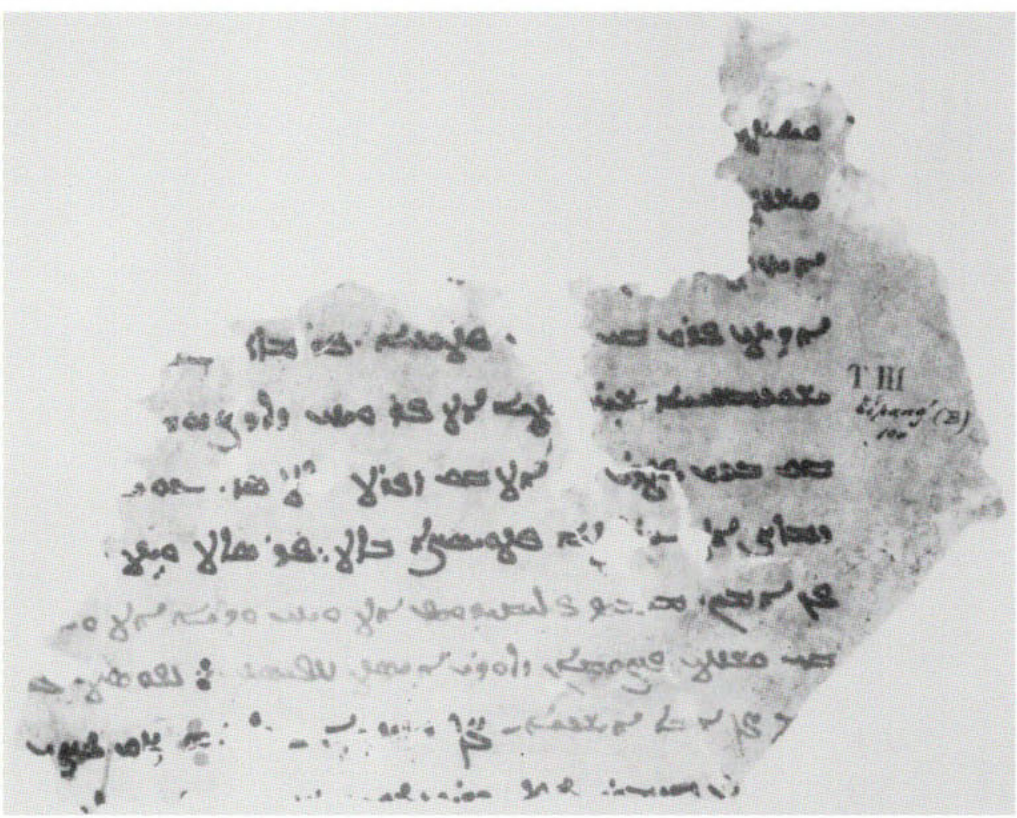
f. 87V.1–19



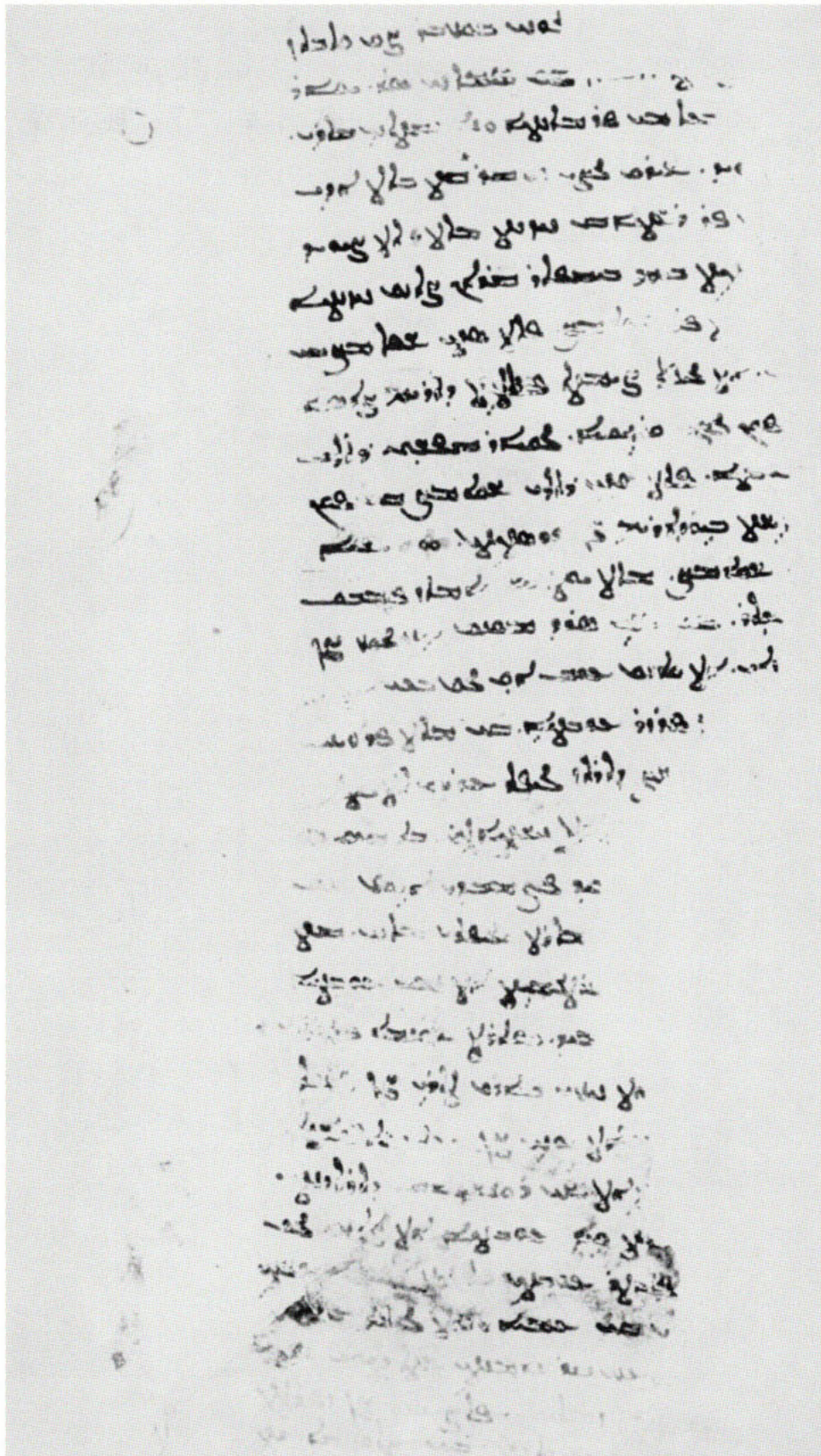
f. 87V.15–18



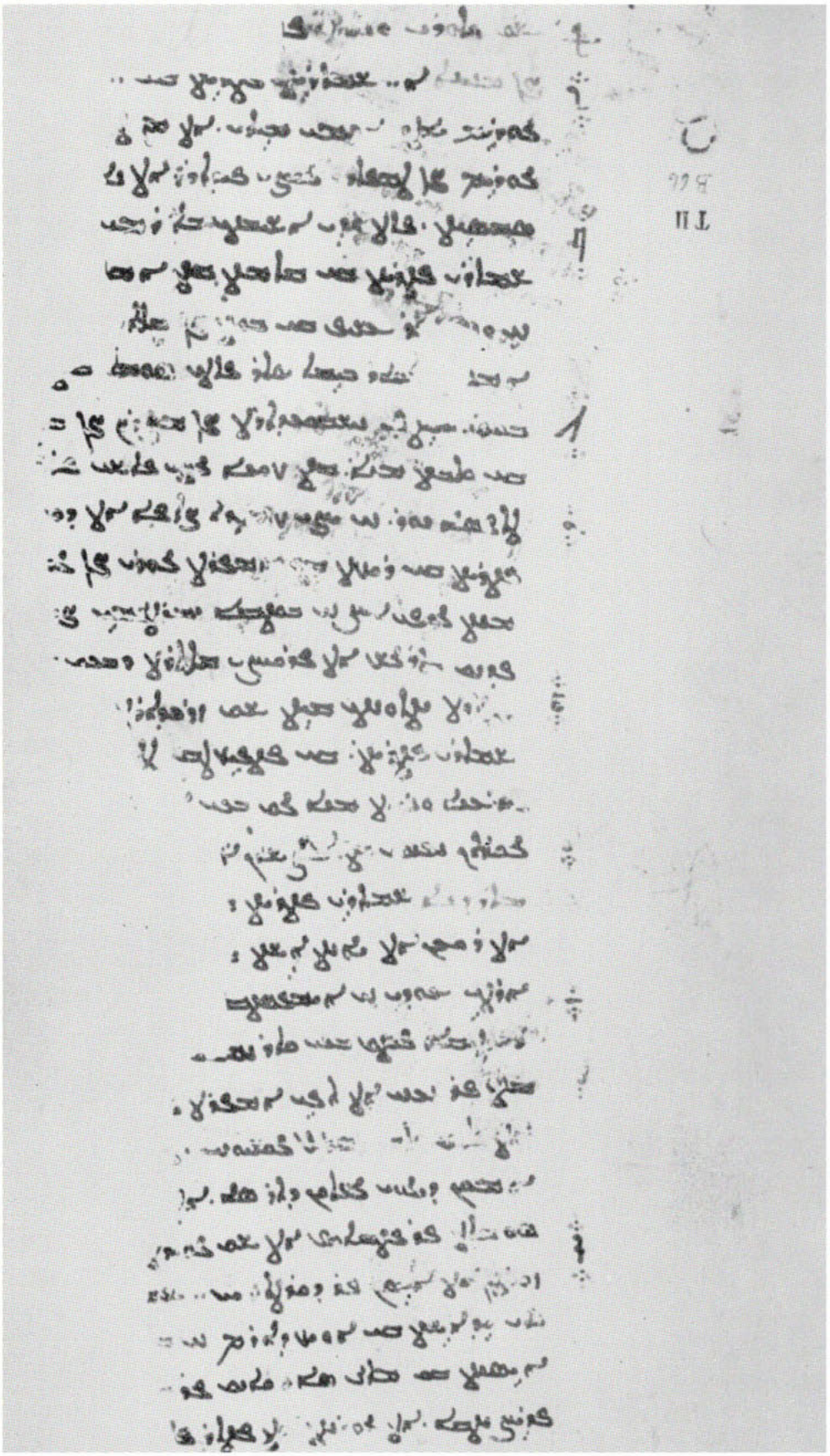
f. 91R



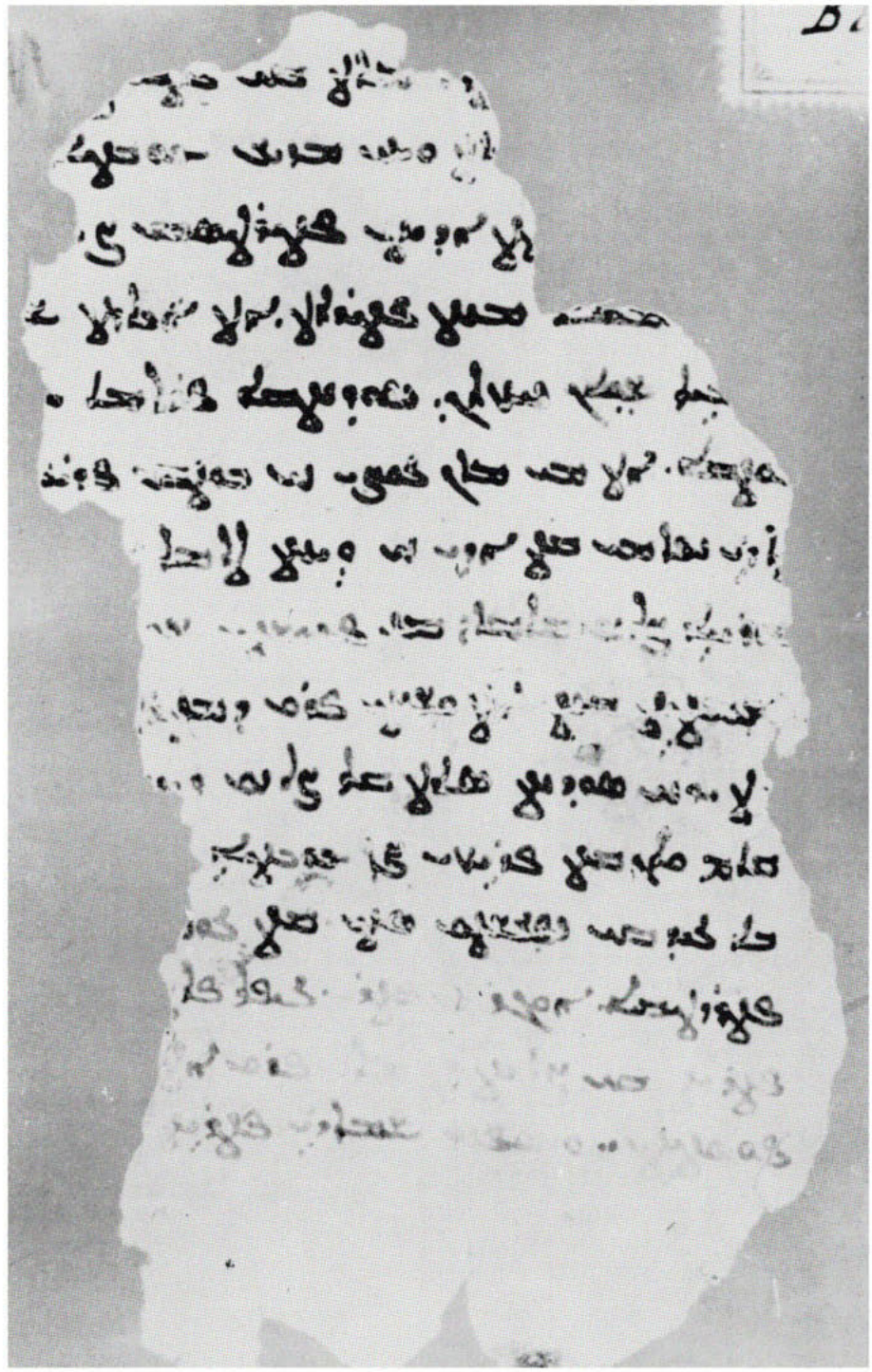
f. 91V



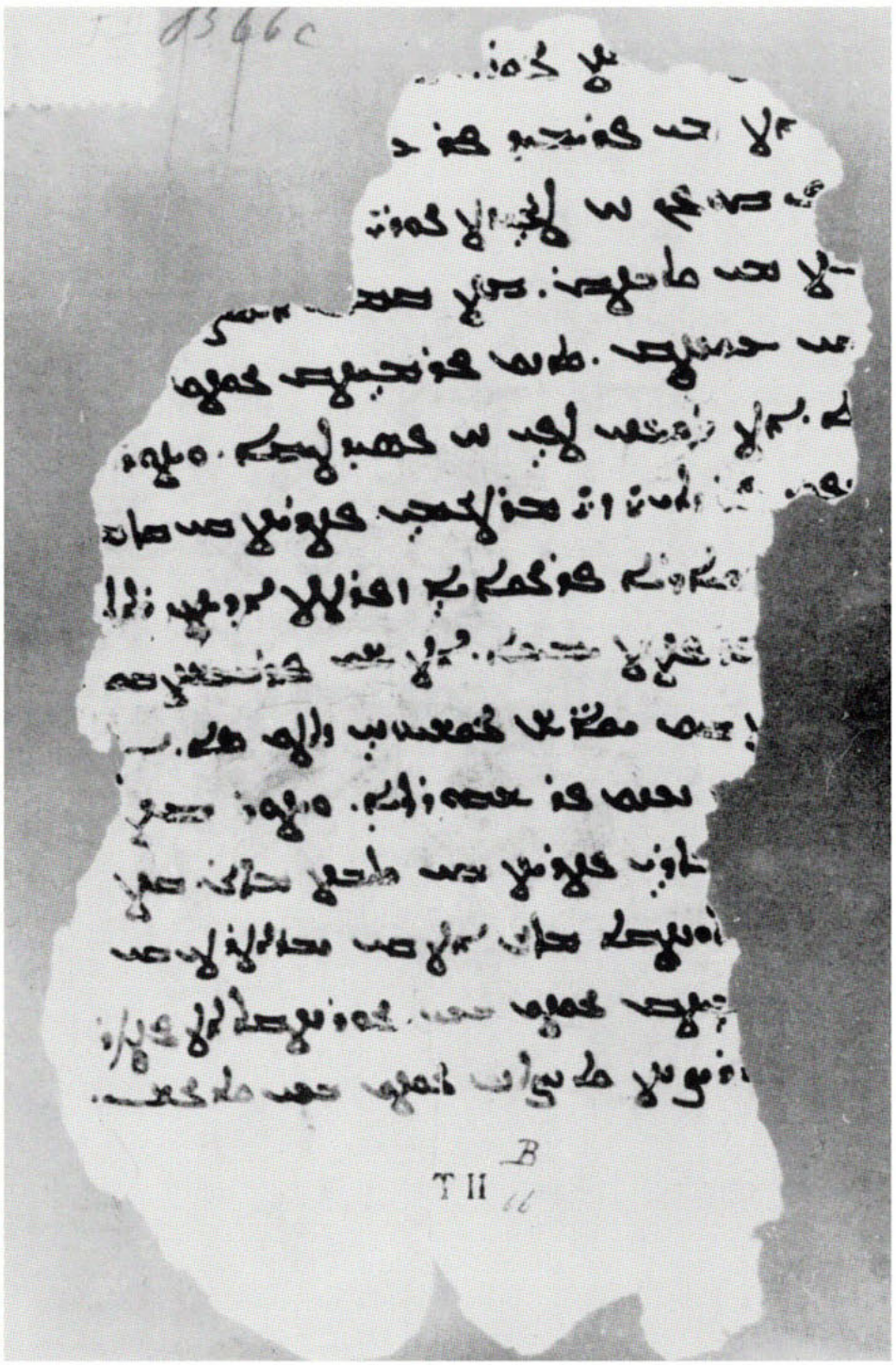
f. 94R.1–30 (Hamburg photo)



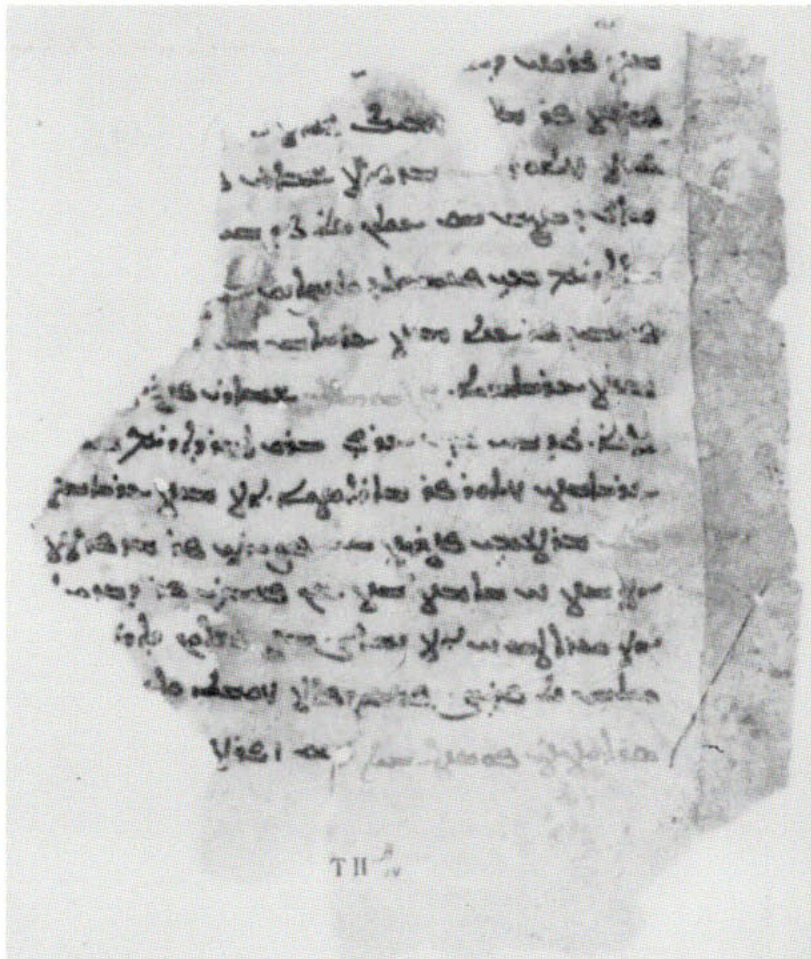
f. 94V.1–30
(Hamburg
photo)



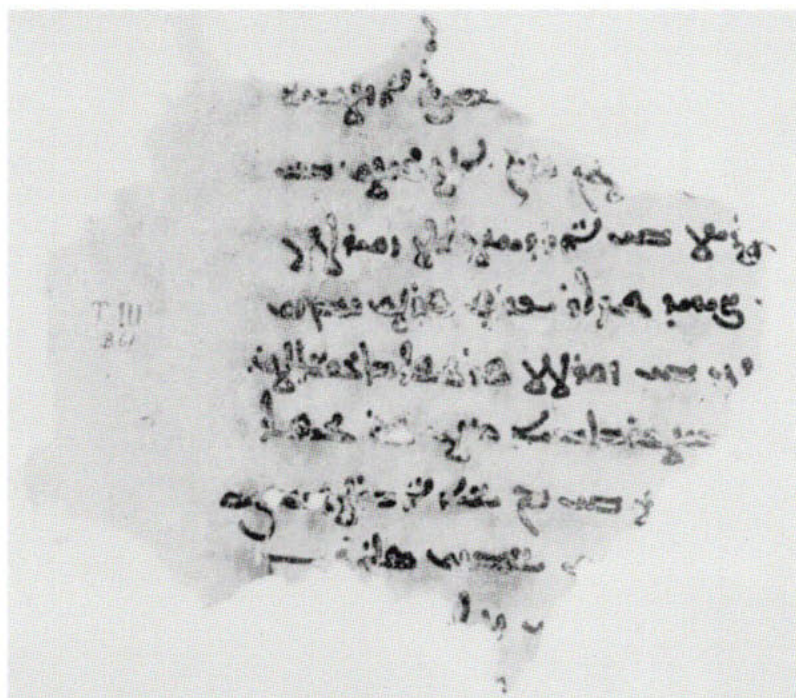
f. 94R.16–30 (Hamburg photo)



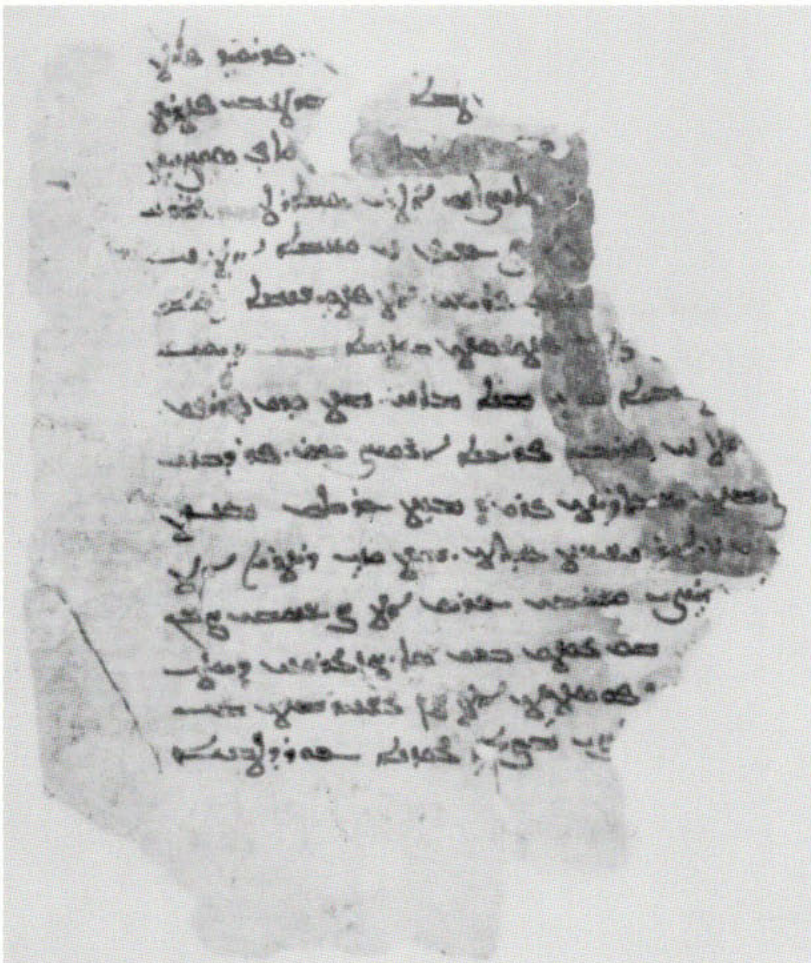
f. 94V.16–30 (Hamburg photo)



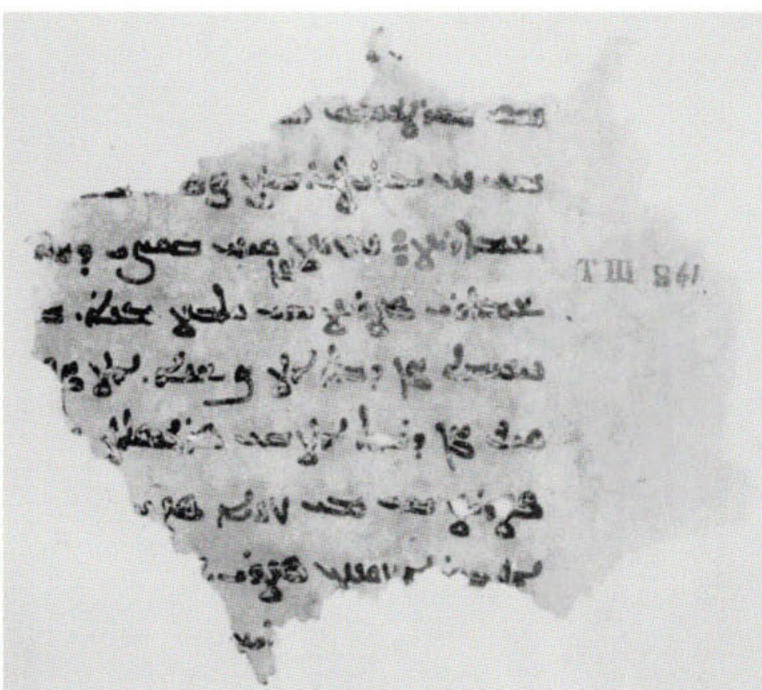
f. 102R.16–30



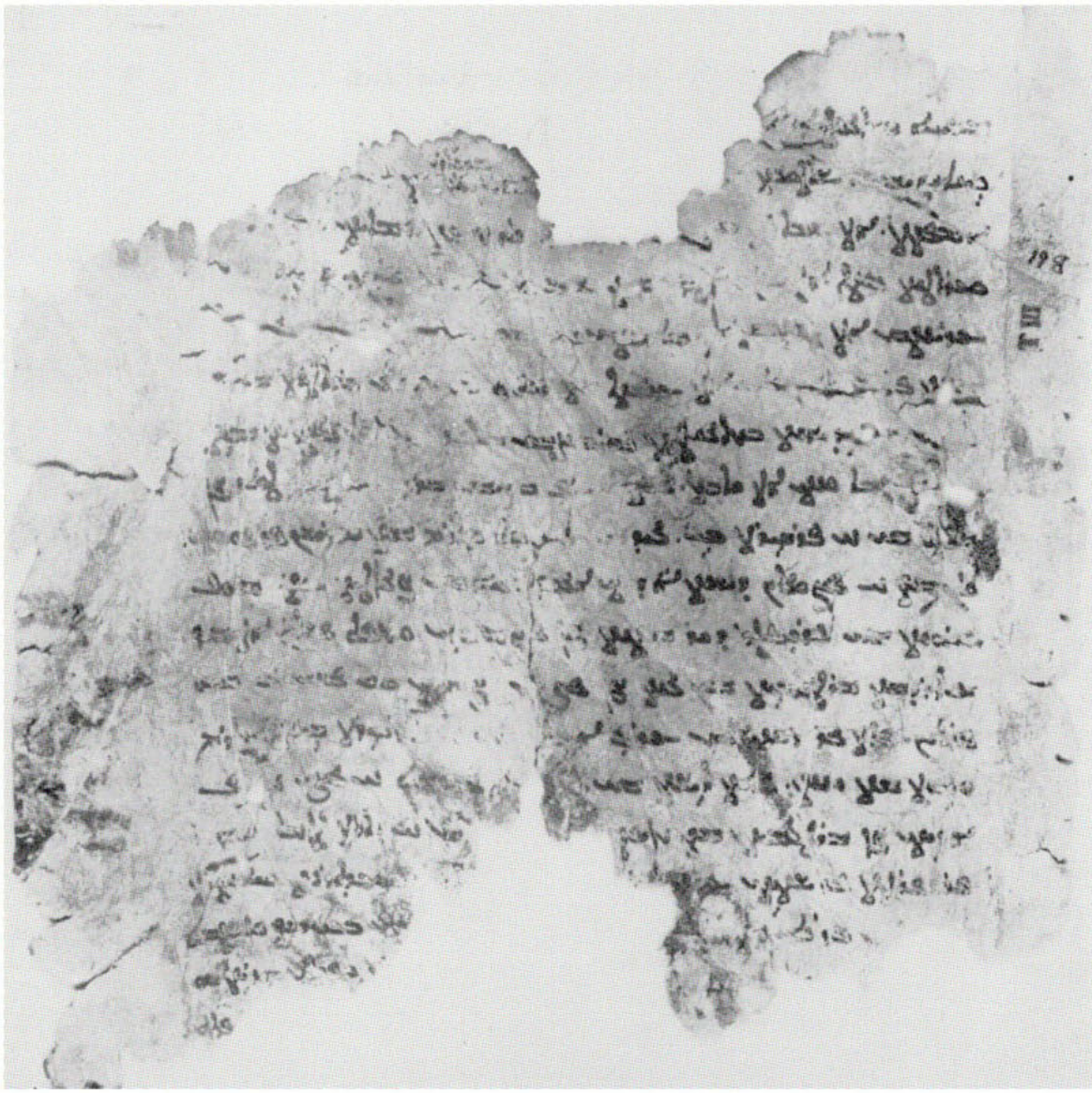
f. 102R.16–26



f. 102V.16–30

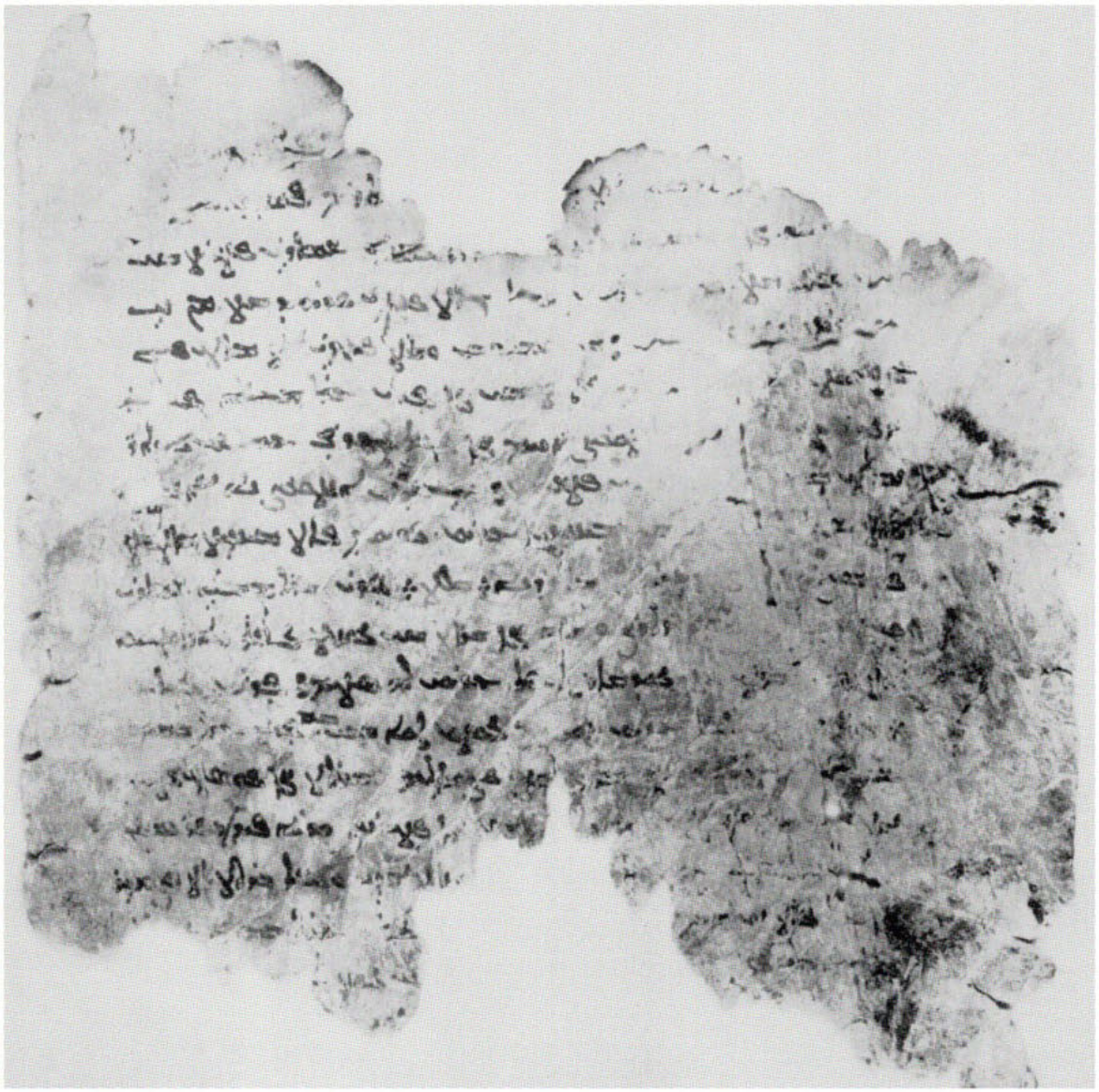


f. 102V.16–25

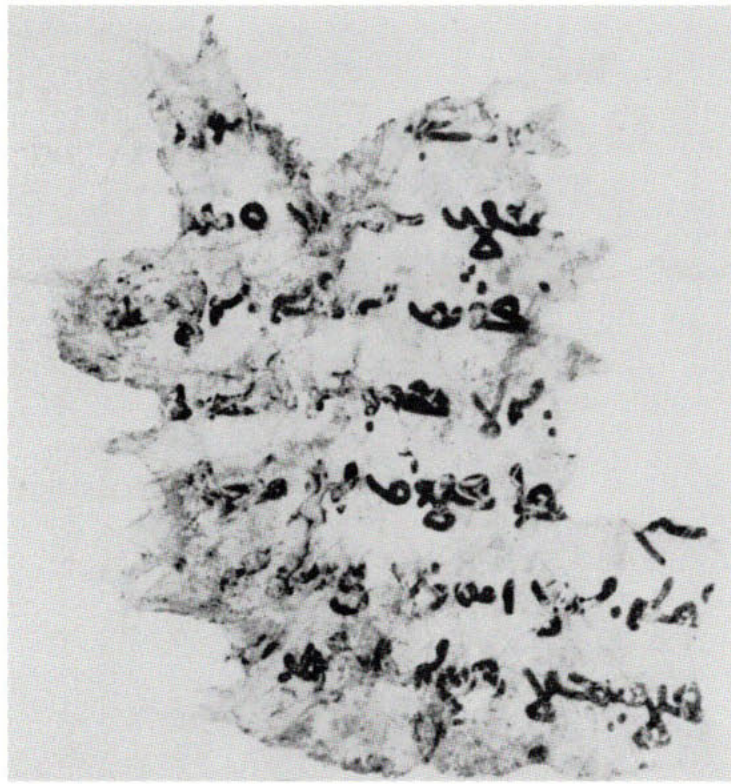


f. 104R

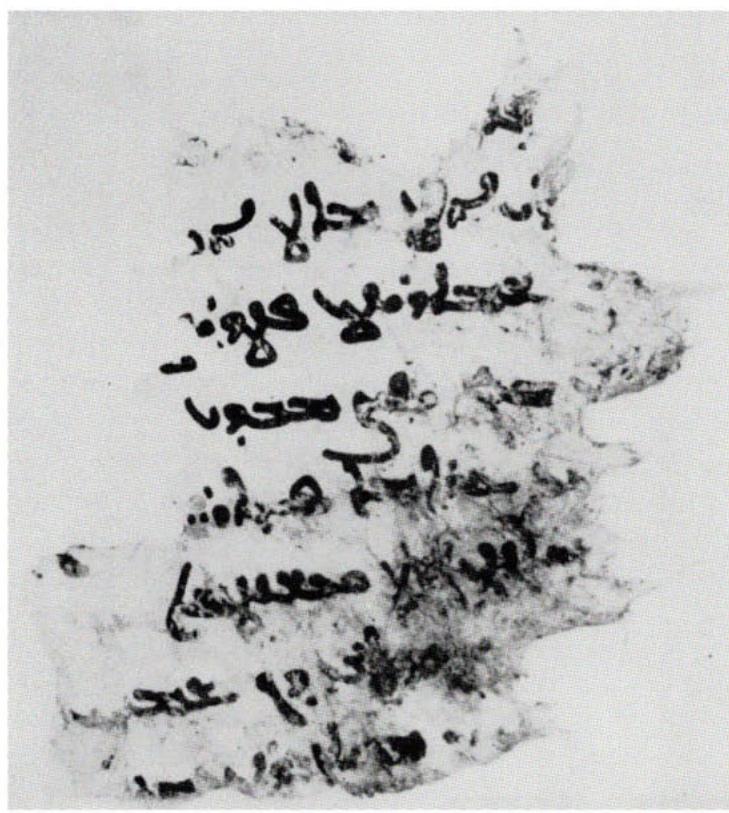
Tafel LXXXVIII



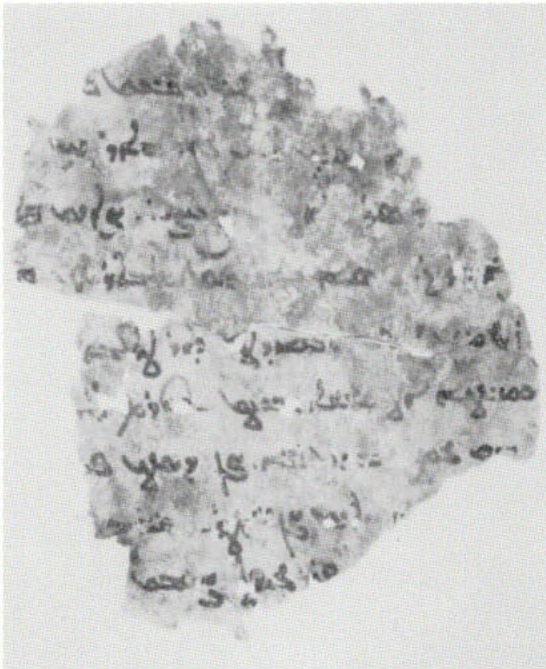
f. 104V



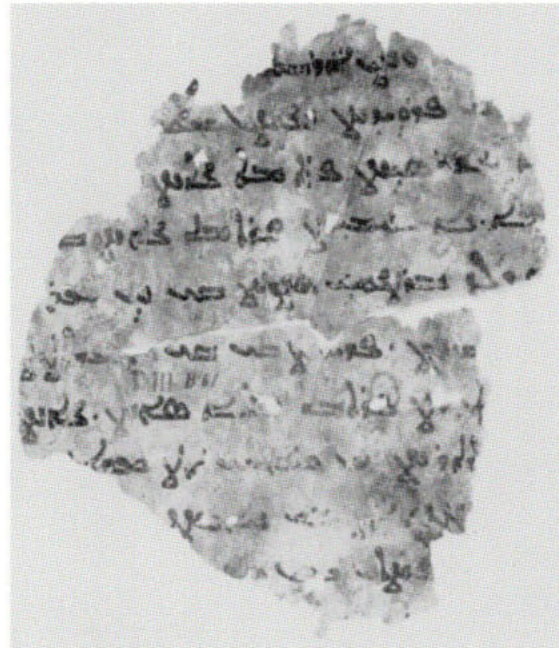
f. 105R



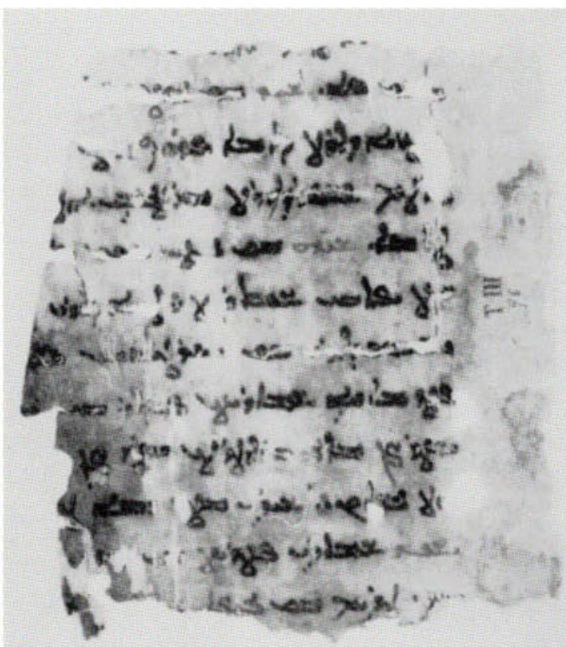
f. 105V



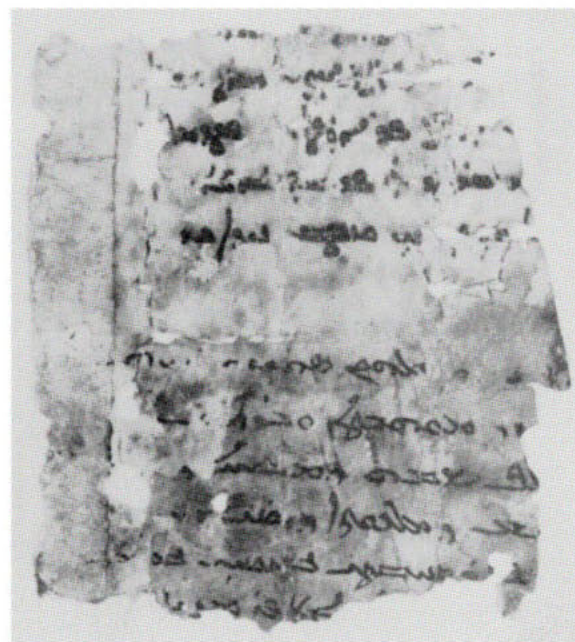
f. 111R



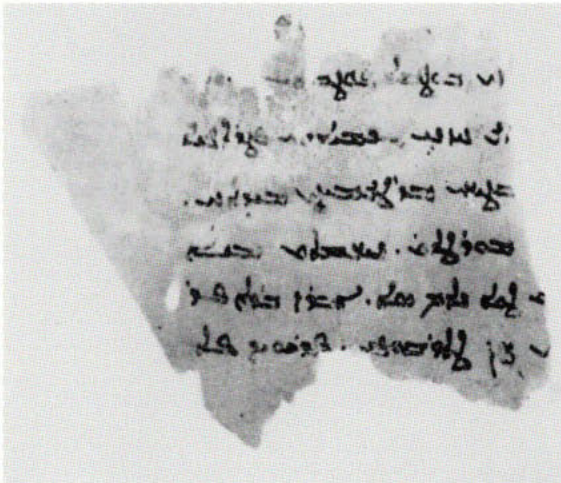
f. 111V



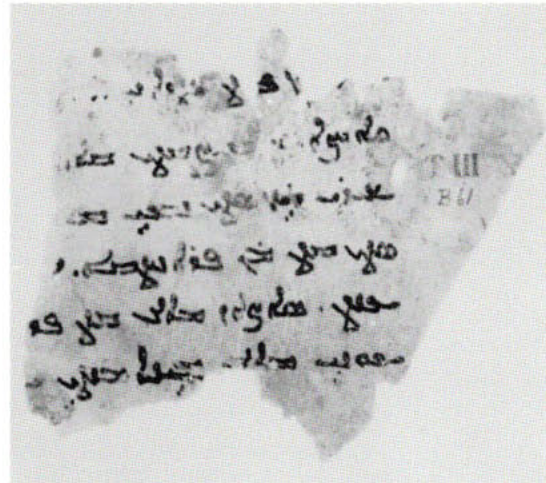
f. 120R



f. 120V



Fragment A, R

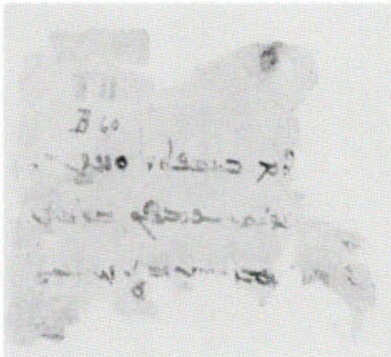


Fragment A, V

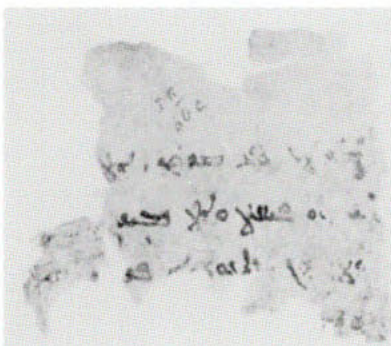
Fragment B, R

Fragment B, V

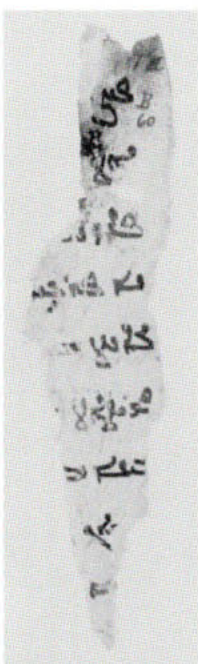
Tafel XCII



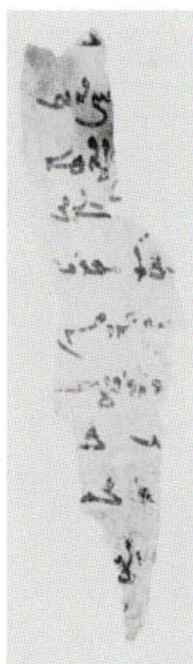
Fragment C, R



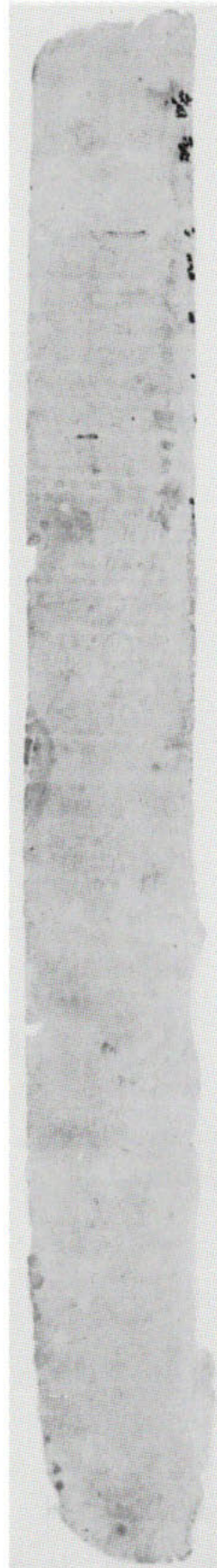
Fragment C, V



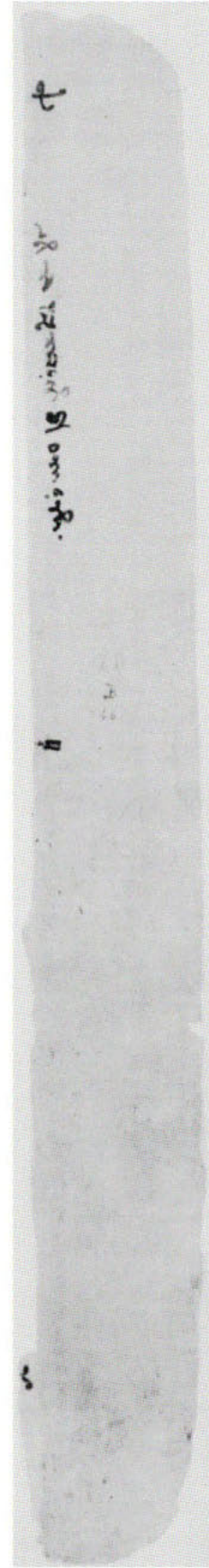
Fragment D, R



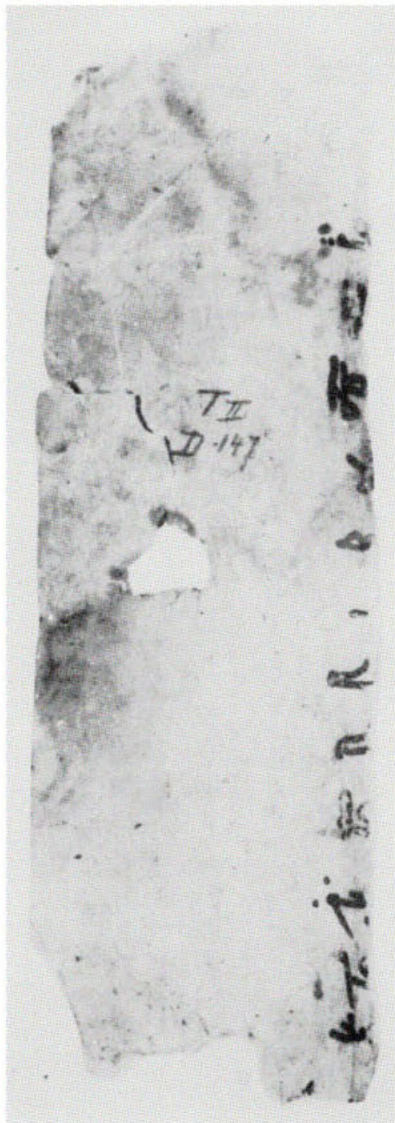
Fragment D, V



Fragment E, R

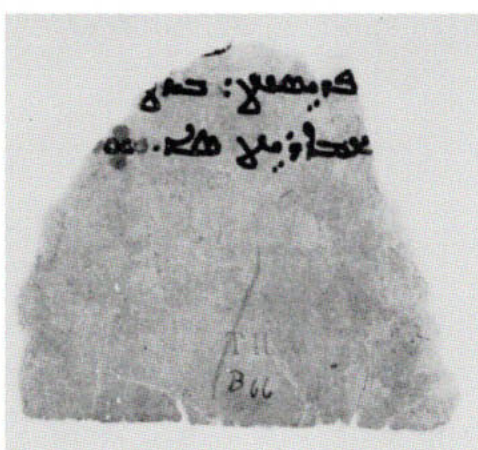


Fragment E, V



Fragment F, R

Fragment F, V



Fragment G, R

Fragment G, V

Fragment H, R

Fragment H, V

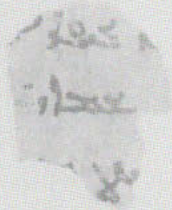
Fragment I, R

Fragment I, V

Fragment J, R

Fragment J, V

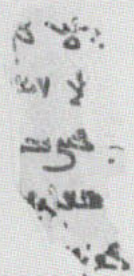
Fragment K, R



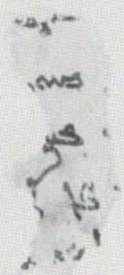
Fragment K, V

Fragment L, R

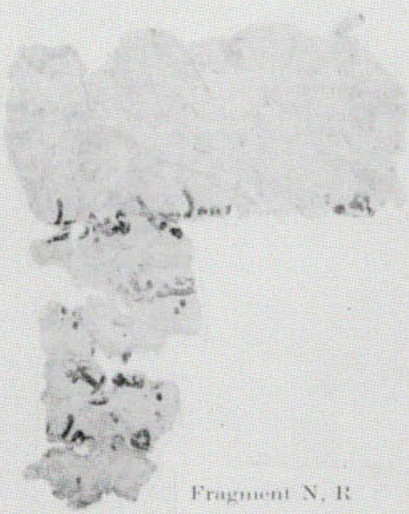
Fragment L, V



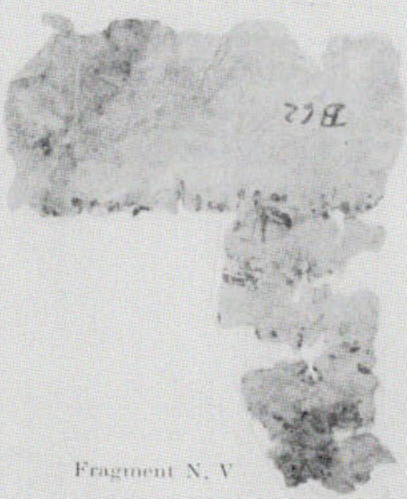
Fragment M, R



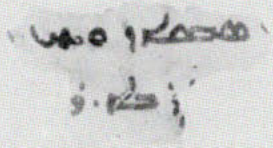
Fragment M, V



Fragment N, R



Fragment N, V

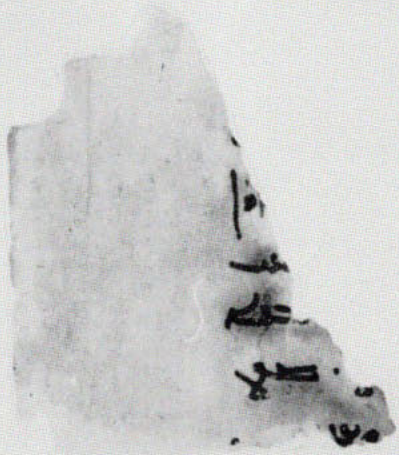


Fragment O, R

Fragment O, V

Fragment P, R

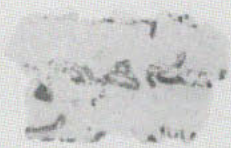
Fragment P, V



Fragment Q, R

Fragment Q, V

Fragment R, R



Fragment R, V

Fragment S, R

Fragment S, V

Fragment T, R

Fragment T, V

Fragment U, R

Fragment U, V

Fragment V, R

Fragment V, V

Fragment W, R

Fragment W, V