E - ISSN: 2953-8203
P - ISSN: 2953-819X

YEREVAN STATE
UNIVERSITY

JOURNAL OF
IRANIAN LINGUISTICS

volume 1 | issue 1

JOURNAL OF IRANIAN LINGUISTICS

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Volume 1 | issue 1

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VOLUME 1 | ISSUE 1

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YEREVAN STATE UNIVERSITY PUBLISHING HOUSE

JIL 1 (2024): 8-20

Journal of Iranian Linguistics

Where the Demons Fell. A Manichaean Sogdian Manuscript in Sogdian Script from Mani's *Book of the Giants*

Enrico Morano

Berlin/Turin

doi.org/10.46991/jil/2024.01.01

Abstract: Two unpublished Sogdian fragments in Sogdian Script of the Berlin Turfan collection, both from the same page and glassed together, contain a cosmogonic text on the falling of the demons/archons to the four directions of the earth and part of the myth of the creation of the protoplasts by the archdemons Šaqlūn and Pēsūs. This text will be proposed here as part of the Sogdian version of Mani's *Book of the Giants*.

Keywords: Sogdian fragments, Sogdian Script, Berlin Turfan collection, Mani, Book of the Giants

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Received: 16.04.2024
Revised: 16.07.2024
Accepted: 18.07.2024

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Introduction

Two unpublished Sogdian fragments in Sogdian Script of the Berlin Turfan collection[1], both from the same page and glassed together[2], contain a cosmogonic text on the falling of the demons/archons to the four directions of the earth and part of the myth of the creation of the protoplasts by the

[1] A preliminary version of this paper was first read out at the meeting "Pre-Islamic Past of Middle Asia and Eastern Iran, dedicated to the memory of Boris Il'ič Maršak (1933-2006) and Valentin Germanovič Škoda (1951-2012)", Sankt Peterburg, Hermitage, October 23rd-25th 2013. I am very grateful to the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften and to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz for allowing me to study and publish these fragments. I would also thank the former Akademienvorhaben "Turfanforschung" and its staff for their kind hospitality in Berlin. I wish to thank particularly Christiane Reck, who kindly hosted me several times in her office in the Academy, always helping me with any request for manuscripts and with any kind of codicological problems.

[2] See the descritpion in Reck 2006, 111-112.

archdemons Šaqlūn and Pēsūs [3]. This text will be proposed here as part of the Sogdian version of Mani's *Book of the Giants*.[4]

The two fragments, although they do not join directly, seem to contain a running text, without interruption. This long, narrow page contains 28 lines written in a fine Sogdian script. The recto describes the falling of the demons/archons to the earth, and, for the first time in Manichaean literature, as far as I know, it is said that, depending on which of the four regions of the earth they fell, they were called by different names. Unfortunately, on two of these parts the text is corrupt, and we could not know how the ones who fell in the Western and in the Southern world (the most disquieting ones) were called[5].

So14255~So14256 [T II D II 115]

So14255/R/
/H/ ❀ {red}ʾwptʾm(n)[ty ❀][6]

/1/ rty mʾγʾz-ʾnt x[....]
/2/ (x)wʾt ZY sry sry (.)[...]
/3/ (ʾ)[w](t)ʾkh yxwstk x[yrʾnt]
/4/ ○○ rty wmʾt ky ZY γry •[7]
/5/ kʾβtʾy cy-ntr mʾγʾz-ʾntw
/6/ ʾskwʾt ○○ wmʾt ky ZY
/7/ kysynch[8] mrγty ○○ wmʾtw
/8/ ky ZY ZKw wš(k)[wpnʾ(?) 5-6]
/9/ ky ZY δxštyh [6]
/10/ ky ZY tʾry z-[8]
/11/ pγwštʾk [○○ wmʾt ky]
/12/ ZY ʾxšpʾh nyz-ʾyntw [...]
[...]?[9]

So14255/R/
/H/ The fall

/1/ and they began [...]
/2/ weak and one by one [...]
/3/ they went in separate places.
/4/ And there were some who inside the mountain
/5/ crevices began to live.
/6/ There were some who (lived)
/7/ (in) the dense forests. There were some
/8/ who the dr[y land(?) ...]
/9/ some, who [...] the plains
/10/ who the dark [...]
/11/ hidden [... there were some]
/12/ who would go out at night [...]
[...]?

---

[3] Reck 2006, 111 and 112: "Anthropogonischer Prosatext über die in die vier Himmelsrichtungen gefallenen Archonten oder Aborte".

[4] See Morano 2011, 108 "If it belonged to the *Book of Giants*, it could possibly be placed, like Zs1, in a kind of cosmogonical prologue to the book". It is thus convenient to give the text the signature Zs3 in the list of the *Book of the Giants* texts listed there.

[5] But see below the commentary on So14255/V/3/.

[6] Reading proposed by Yoshida 2008, 58.

[7] After the last word a point is written in black ink as a line-filler, or perhaps connecting the two parts of the compound?

[8] Cf. Buddh. Sogd. *kysnʾk*, "dense, luxuriant", see Henning 1940, 29 n. 1, where Yidgha *ḱesina* 'forest' is quoted".

[9] The two fragments are evidently from the same page, but they are not joining directly, see Reck 2006, 111. It is not clear whether one line is missing or not. Even if there is one missing line between the two fragments, the sentence ʾxšpʾh nyz-ʾyntw [...] / MN ʾʾwmrʾz-ty δβny(h)[....] means that some should go out at night for fear of the companions.

So14256/R/

/1/ MN ʾʾwmrʾz-ty δβny(h)[….]
/2/ ○○ rty ky nyz-ʾwr[tr …….]
/3/ ZKn tʾwʾntry ZK (š)[….]
/4/ kwnʾy ZY šy MN [……]
/5/ ʾʾsʾy ZY γrʾywy p(.)[……]
/6/ ○○ rty ʾnγty ʾβcʾn(p)[δ skwy ZY]
/7/ nβtʾy MN wy-šʾn(t)[……]
/8/ wβʾ ○○ rty [8-9]
/9/ ʾyw MN δβtyk[7-8]
/10/ wmʾtʾnt kt[wyšn(?)]
/11/ ky ZY ZKwyh (p)[ʾškyrʾn]
/12/ ʾβcʾnpδy wʾptʾntw βγy-š[t]
/13/ [ʾz]-γʾyrty wβʾnt ○○ ZY [wyšn]
/14/ ky ZY xwrsnw kyrʾn
/15/ wʾptʾntw ○○ rty pry-štʾktw
/16/ ʾz-γ(yrty) ʾkrtʾntw (○)[○ ZY wyš](n)[10]

So14256/R/

/1/ for fear of the companions.
/2/ And he who was weak[er …]
/3/ of the mightier one
/4/ would make […] and
/5/ would take him from […] and […] his body(?).
/6/ And the whole world [dry and]
/7/ wet from them[…]
/8/ was. And […]
/9/ one from another [separated(?)]
/10/ they were, if/that […]
/11/ those who fell onto the N[orthern]
/12/ world were called God[s].
/13/ And [those]
/14/ (who fell) onto the Eastern regions
/15/ were called
/16/ Messengers. [And those]

So14255/V/

/H/{blue}[❀ xwyckʾw]ʾk ❀

/1/ [ky ZY x]wrtxyz-cykw
/2/ [ʾβcʾnpδ](y) wʾptʾnt ○○ rty
/3/ [pšʾ](k)tw ʾz-γyrty wβʾn(t)
/4/ (rt)y wy-šn ky ZY ZKwy
/5/ nymyδcyk ʾβcʾnpδyh
/6/ wʾptʾntw ○○ rty MN
/7/ sʾty ptz-yry-str ZY γntʾk
/8/ [ystr ʾskw](n)t ○○ rty
/9/ [pzwkt(?)] ʾz-γyrty wβʾnt
/10/ [10]ky δymyδ
/11/ [10 ʾβc]ʾnpδyh
/12/ [wʾptʾn]tw ○○ rty cywyδ […](?)

So14255/V/

/H/ [Explanation (?)]

/1/ [who onto the W]estern
/2/ [world] fell,
/3/ were called [abortions(?)].
/4/ And those who in the
/5/ Southern world
/6/ fell were
/7/ more disquieting and
/8/ more evil than all the others. And
/9/ they were called [abortions(?)].
/10/ […] to these
/11/ […] of the w]orld
/12/ [they fe]ll(?). And thereafter […](?)

So14256/V/

/1/ [wmʾt](ʾ)ntw ○○ ZY kʾmnt δβtykw
/2/ [ʾskysʾr ʾtkwš (?) r](t)y cywyδ ʾʾz-h
/3/ [šklw]n ZY pysws
/4/ [ptymwx]s ○○ ky ZY šn
/5/ [5-6] (n)wtmy[11] wmʾtw
/6/ [6-7] pʾryk δy-wty
/7/ [7-8] ZY tmz-yrystr
/8/ [10-12] rty prwh
/9/ [6] ʾʾβrxsʾkw
/10/ [5](k)r(n)w(ʾn)cyʾ
/11/ [7-8 ○](○) rty kw δywth
/12/ [sʾr] wʾnkw wʾβw kt kw

So14256/V/

/1/ [they were(?)]. And they wanted
/2/ [to look upwards(?)] again and thereafter Āz
/3/ [clothed herself as Šaklū]n and Pēsūs.
/4/ And [to] them
/5/ […] was not hellish.
/6/ […] the other demons
/7/ […] and the most hellishly sagacious
/8/ […] and in the
/9/ […] lust
/10/ […] skill
/11/ […]. And to the demons
/12/ so spoke:

[10] Ornamental final -n filled with red ink.
[11] *(n)ɯtmy*: unknown word, perhaps *nɯ-tmy* 'not-hellish'? See DMTiii.2[2], 152a.

/13/ [xwr]sʾn sʾr nʾ tkwšδʾ	/13/ "Do not look to the [Ea]st,
/14/ [pʾrZY] prw ʾʾβrxsʾkw ʾyw	/14/ [but] with lust
/15/ δβtyky ʾprʾyw pcwz-δʾ[12]	/15/ copulate with each other
/16/ (x)[ypδ ryz šk](rδʾ) Z(Y) mnʾ	/16/ accomplish (your) desire and [bring to] me [...]

Commentary

So14255/R/

/1-12/ In this part of the text it is described how the fallen demons separated from one another and began to live in different places. For possible parallel texts in Manichaean literature see Appendix.

So14256/R/

/1/ Of the final letter only a long tail is visible. Reck 2006, 112 reads δβʾ(yš)[4] 'harm'. The final character looks more like a final -h though, and the reading δβny(h) 'fear' suits the context better.

/4-5/ kwnʾy and ʾʾsʾy are opt. 3rd sing. Here the simple optative seems to be used as a preterite, in spite of GMS §638 n.1, where it is said that it occurs only in Buddhist texts. Otherwise one could translate '(they) would make' and '(they) would take'.

/6/ rty ʾnγty ʾβcʾn(p)[δ skwy ZY] nβtʾy MN wy-šʾn(t)[.....] / wβʾ 'And the whole world [dry and] wet from them[...] was' Cf. *Kephalaia*, 92:

> 'And look, see! The Keeper of Splendour is set firm in the / great mind, in the camp above the pris/on of the bound ones, for he brings to nothing [a]ll the gloo[m] of de[ath]. An[d a] treachery came about, and an uprising! The sin abor[te]d, [it / tangled i]n with the soul. It became mixed with this light that it /expelled toward the image of the Ambassador. It went [... /in the] third firmament that is above the watch-t[ower / .] the Keeper of Splendour. From that place also it tangled in with the light. It was detached and came down / to that which is dry and that which is moist. It [fashio]ned the trees [up/on] the dry (land); but in the sea it immediat[ely] took form and / made a great uprising in the sea.' [Tr. Gardner 1995, 97.]

/8-10/ These lines are too fragmentary to allow a connected translation.

[12] On the right of the line /15/, on the outer margin two black/red points are visible on a misplaced little fragment stuck to the page.

So14256/R/11-16/ and So14255/V/1-9/ contain a description of the demons who fell into the four quarters of the world and how they were respectively called. If my reconstruction of the text is correct, those who fell into the nothern part of the world were called gods (or kings?), those who fell into the eastern part were called messengers (or angels), those who fell into the western part were called *abortions, and those who fell into the Southern world, who were more disturbing and evil than all the others, were called *offsprings of the abortions.

So14255/V/

/3/ The first incomplete word of the line at a first sight could be seen ending with [...](k)βnw. However, since just before ʾz-γyrty wβʾn(t) 'they were called' one should expect a plural of a noun, what appears as a -βn- can simply be a not perfectly written -t-. If so, the missing word could be restored as [pšʾ](k)tw, the name of the demons-abortions[13]. This, and below, l. /9/, if we emend *pzwkt, the demons-abortions' offsprings, could lead to the following description of the abortions desiring to see the Sun god again and being deceived by Āz disguised as Pēsūs."

So14256/V/

/1-2/ /1/ ○○ ZY kʾmnt δβtykw /2/ [ʾskysʾr ʾtkwš (?) 'and they wanted [to look upwards(?)] again', cf. M7800/II/5-8/ *ʾṭyy myδ[ry β](γyy) qšn /6/ wšyʾ ʾkṭwδʾ(r)n(d) (m)ʾγʾz(nd) /7/ ṭqwšʾṭ* ○○ *wyδpʾṭyy mrcync /8/ šmʾrʾ* 'and they remembered the beauty of the s[un-go]d. They began to look out (for him).'[14]

/5/ [5-6] (n)wtmy wmʾtw, 'was not hellish'. What was 'not hellish' was perhaps Šaqlūn's voice (in fact it is Āz who speaks through Šaqlūn) trying to convince the abortions to bring their offsprings to the two Archdemons. See the text of M7800/II/R/10-12/: 'and [the Enthymesis of Death = Āz] in Šaqlūn's voice g[ave comm]and [to the o]ther abortions', quoted below in the Appendix.

[13] On the distinction between pšʾk and pjwk see Sundermann 1994, 44 and text I in the Appendix below.
[14] See the full text below in the Appendix.

APPENDIX

Related texts

I.

The following texts, the first one, written in Sogdian in Manichaean script, followed by a passage from the *Liber scholiorum* by Theodor Bar Konai, describe part of the same cosmogonical event. The Sogdian text M7800/II/, in particular, seems to be very close to the text published here, and may attest that there were different Sogdian translations of the same Middle Persian work (in this case *The Book of the Giants*?). In this text one can see the use of two different words for the demons-abortions who fell to the earth after the demonesses bound in the sky aborted after seeing the androgynous Sun God naked (pšʾkṭ, or pšʾkṭ δywt) and for their offsprings (pjwkṭ).[15] Then Āz, disguised as Pēsūs and Šaqlūn (Namrāēl and Ašaqlūn in the Syriac text), convinced the demons-abortions (pšʾkṭ δywt) to bring their offsprings (pjwkṭ), 40.000 to each of them, to be devoured, so that, after having copulated, they could generate the two protoplasts.

— M7800/II/, Sogdian in Manichaean script

Hdl/ ○ wyδβʾγ cn ○ ○ pšʾqṭ δywtyy ○ . . .

/R/*1/ wnʾrʾm(yy) βr(y) xwrṭδʾrnd ○○ /2/ ʾrṭyy cʾnw* ***pšʾkṭ*** *wʾptnd /3/ ʾrṭyy mʾγʾzʾnd cn xʾ(x)ṭyy /4/ ʾʾp ʾṭyy cn wndyʾ βryy /5/ xwrṭ ʾṭyy myδ[ry β](γyy) qšn /6/ wšyʾ ʾkṭwδʾ(r)n(d) (m)ʾγʾz(nd) /7/ ṭqwšʾṭ ○○ wyδpʾṭyy mrcync /8/ šmʾrʾ ʾʾz prywyδδ ʾδwʾ /9/* ***pšʾq(ṭ δ)ywṭ*** *šqlwn ʾṭyy /10/ pysws p(t)[ymw](x)s ʾṭyy pr /11/ šklwnyy zβʾk [kw](p)ʾryk(ṭ) /12/* ***pšʾkṭ*** *sʾr (f)[rʾm]ʾy kṭ /13/ šmʾx ʾskyy sʾr nʾ /14/ ṭkwšδʾ pʾ šmʾx (s)[ʾn] /15/ xcy ○○ ywʾr kδryy š(m)[ʾ](x) /16/ šwδʾ ○ ʾṭyy nyrk ʾst(r)yc /17/ ʾpryw p(cw)zδʾ ʾṭy 1 δβṭyʾ /18/ ʾpryw [ʾβr]xsyy ryj škrδʾ /19/ zyʾnd znδʾ ʾṭyy mrṭ mrṭ* ***/V/****1/ xypδ* ***pjwqṭ*** *mnʾ sʾr /2/ ʾʾβrδʾ ʾṭyy ʾzw 1 wʾnw ʿyδc /3/ pršṭʾymkʾn kyy ʾskʾṭr /4/ pr ʾskyy sʾr ṭkwš nyʾz ny /5/ βwṭkʾ(m)[○○ ʾ](r)ṭyy wyšʾnd /6/* ***pšʾkṭ*** *(m)[wn](w f)rmʾn pṭycxšʾnd /7/ ʾṭy mʾyδ ʾkṭwδʾrnd 80 /8/ zʾr* ***pjwkṭ*** *wnyy šklwn ʾṭyy /9/ pyswsyy pyrnm(sʾ)r ʾʾγtδʾrnd /10/ ʾrṭyy wyš[ʾnd](p)ṭycxšʾnd /11/ ʾṭy 1 (p)[r 1 w](y)ʾkyy ṭγṭʾnd ○○ /12/ ʾrṭy(y)[4 β](r)ywr* ***pjwwq*** *ww /13/ šklwn xwrṭδʾrṭ ʾṭyy 4 /14/ [βr](y)wr xʾ (p)ysws ʾrṭy 1 /15/ [δβ](ṭy)ʾ ʾpr(yw) pcywznd ʾrṭy /16/ wʾnw wʾβnd qṭ mʾncyq*

[15] On the distinction see Sundermann 1994, 44 [= Sundermann 2001, 701].

/17/ šmʾrʾ kw my(š)[yy]βγw sʾr /18/ δʾryym wʾnw kʔ(ṭ)[xwn](y) ky cn /19/ (m)ʾx ʾʾjyʾṭ kww βγyštṭ

/Hdl/ Discourse on / the demons abortions (**pšʾqṭ δywtyy**):

/R/1/ They ate fruit from the forest. And when the abortions ***pšʾkṭ*** fell they began to drink water from the wells and to eat fruit /5/ from the trees, and they remembered the beauty of the s[un-go]d. They began to look out (for him). Thereupon the Enthymesis of Death, the Greed, dressed in the two abortion demons (***pšʾqṭ δywṭ***) Šaqlūn and /10/ Pēsūs, and in Šaqlūn's voice she g[ave comm]and [to the o]ther abortions ***pšʾkṭ***: "You, do not look upwards, for your e[nemy] (?) /15/ he is. But now, do go, and you, male with female ones, copulate and fulfil one with the other [lu]stful desire. Give birth to children, and one by one **/V/**1/ bring me your abortions (***pjwqṭ***), and I will make such a thing that you do not need to look upwards to the sky. /5/ And the abortions ***pšʾkṭ*** accepted the command and so they did. They brought eighty thousand abortions (***pjwkṭ***) before Šaqlūn and Pēsūs. /10/ And they received them and they entered one [by one] immediately. And Šaqlūn devoured [for]ty thousand abortions (***pjwkṭ***), and Pēsūs forty thousand. /15/ And they copulated with each other, and thus they said: "The intentional thought, we have it towards the su[n]-god, so that what will be born from us [will resemble] the gods [of sun and moon(?)]."

[Sundermann 1994, 45-46 = Sundermann 2001, 702-703].

— "He says that these daughters of Darkness were previously pregnant of their own nature, and when they beheld the attractive forms of the Messenger, their embryos aborted and fell to the earth. These ate the buds of the trees. Then the abortions took counsel together and recalled the form(s) of the Messenger that they had seen and said: 'Where is the form(s) that we saw?' And Ašaqlūn, son of the King of Darkness, said to the abortions: 'Give me your sons and daughters, and I will make for you a form like the one you saw.' They brought (them) and gave (them) to him. He ate the males, and the females he gave to <Namrāēl> his wife. Namrāēl and Ašaqlūn then united together, and she became pregnant from him and gave birth to a son, naming him Adam. She (again) became pregnant and bore a daughter, naming her Eve."

[Theodor Bar Konai, *Liber Scholiorum,* ed. A. Scher, Louvain, 1960, p. 317, transl. Reeves 1992, 192-193.

II.

Among the Manichaean Syriac texts published by Pedersen & Larsen (2013) there are some that we may perhaps consider as parts of the original *Book of the Giants* by Mani. The texts are unfortunately very damaged and fragmentary, and only a few lines are readable, often in unclear contexts. I will not discuss here in details what Pedersen & Larsen with great knowledge and philological skill have said in their extensive commentary on these texts[16], but I would like to mention here some similarities between the Berlin Syriac fragments and our Sogdian text So14255~So14256, which could perhaps corroborate the impression that the Berlin Manichaean Syriac texts are excerpts from the original *Book of the Giants* written in Syriac by Mani.

— Berlin Papyrus Collection, P 22364, Fr. 1+3 hair side right (Syriac)[17]

1 and some of them dwelled on the mountains
2 for eternal ages.
3 and because of the scent and odour
4 of the mountains they made for themselves
5 their dwelling places

In this text it is said that some of them dwelled in the mountains, and they made for themselves their dwelling places. In the Sogdian text above[18] we have a very similar expression: rty wmʾt ky ZY γry •/ kʾβtʾy cy-ntr mʾγʾz-ʾntw / ʾskwʾt 'And there were some who began to live inside the mountain crevices', and the subjects of the sentence are certainly the demons who fell to the earth.

— Berlin Papyrus Collection, P 22364, Fr. 1+3 flesh side left[19]

1 and (it was) in fear that he did
2 what he had ordered him,
3 that ruler of his

[16] Pedersen & Larsen 2013, 58 ff. and 202 ff. (Pedersen). On pp. 214 ff. there is an extensive discussion by Pedersen about Mani's *Book of the Giants* and the Berlin Papyrus Collection P22364.
[17] Pedersen & Larsen 2013, 58-59.
[18] So14255/R/4-5/.
[19] Pedersen & Larsen 2013, 71.

4 because of the fear of his companions
5 and the judjement which has been passed
6 on them by rulers

Here in the Syriac text the context is unclear. The phrase 'because of the fear of his companions' is similar, if not identical, to So14255/R/12/-So14256/R/1/: ZY ʾxšpʾh nyz-ʾyntw [...] /1/ MN ʾʾwmrʾz-ty δβny(h)[....] 'who would go out at night [...] / out of fear of the companions'. The contexts may not be the same in these two texts, but the word for 'companions' is often used both in the Qumran and in the Manichaean *Book of the Giants*[20], strengthening the possibility that this text belongs to Mani's *Book of the Giants*.

— Berlin Papyrus Collection, P 22364, Fr. 6 and 7 hair side middle[21]

3 alas, alas, woe, woe
4 because ... [
5 man those who fell into these
6 pains ... [

This text has perhaps no connection with the Sogdian text published here, but it has a striking parallel in the Sogdian text So20220/II/, the 'Lament of the Bound Rebel Stars', which may be strongly related to the Enochic literature: So20220/II/R/5/ rty wʾy wʾy ZY rxt rx /6/ šmʾxw ʾstʾrʾkt ky ZY šw /7/ prʾγt δʾrδ ZKw xypδ /8/ ʾwtʾkh ZY ʾpzʾth (r)[ty] /9/ šy kw kymy-(δ) [sʾ](r rty)[...] /10/ (mrty sʾr) [...](.)sδδh p(r)[w] /11/ r(nx M)[N c](y)wyδ pyδʾ[r] /12/ ʾw(..)[...]h ʾšmʾx [...] /13/ cwpr sʾr [...](ty)[...] /14/ zʾwrky-nw ʾxš[ʾwnh] '/5/ And woe, woe, alas, alas, you stars, you have abandoned your place and your homeland! [...] and /10/ to this and to the man you have [...] in deceit because of [...] you above [...] powerful rulership . . .'[22].

[20] Cf. Henning 1943, 68-69 [131-132], Text G, 1:'they took and imprisoned all the helpers (ʾʾwmrʾzṭ) that were in the heaven'. For the Qumran *Book of the Giants* see e.g. 4Q530 - 4QEnGiantsᵇ, Stuckenbruck 1997, 105. This passage has particular affinity with the Syriac text above. See also Pedersen & Larsen 2013, 225.
[21] Pedersen & Larsen 2013, 67.
[22] Morano 2016, 191-193.

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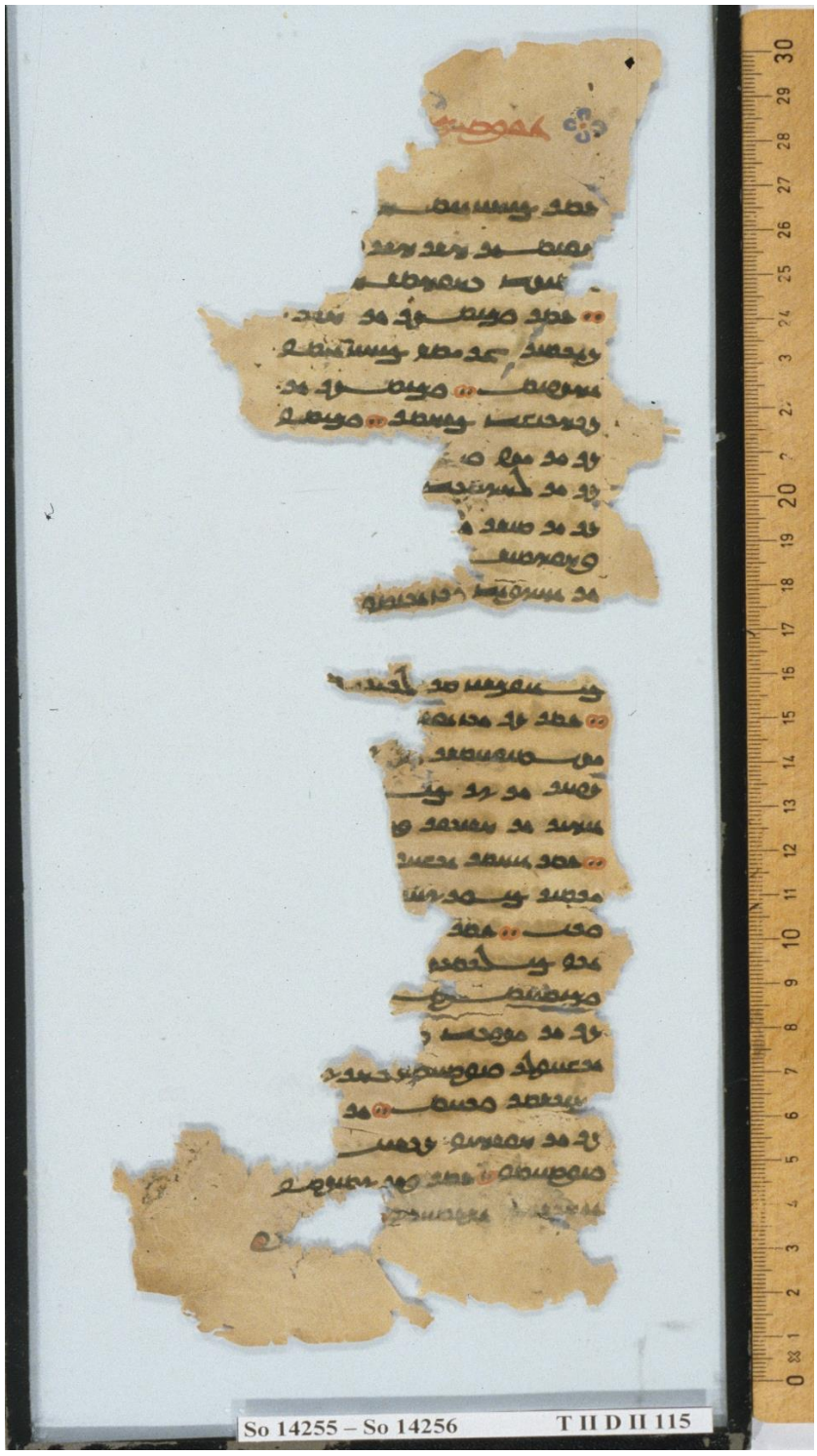
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PLATES

Fig. 1



So14255-So14256 recto

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. Photos: *Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.*

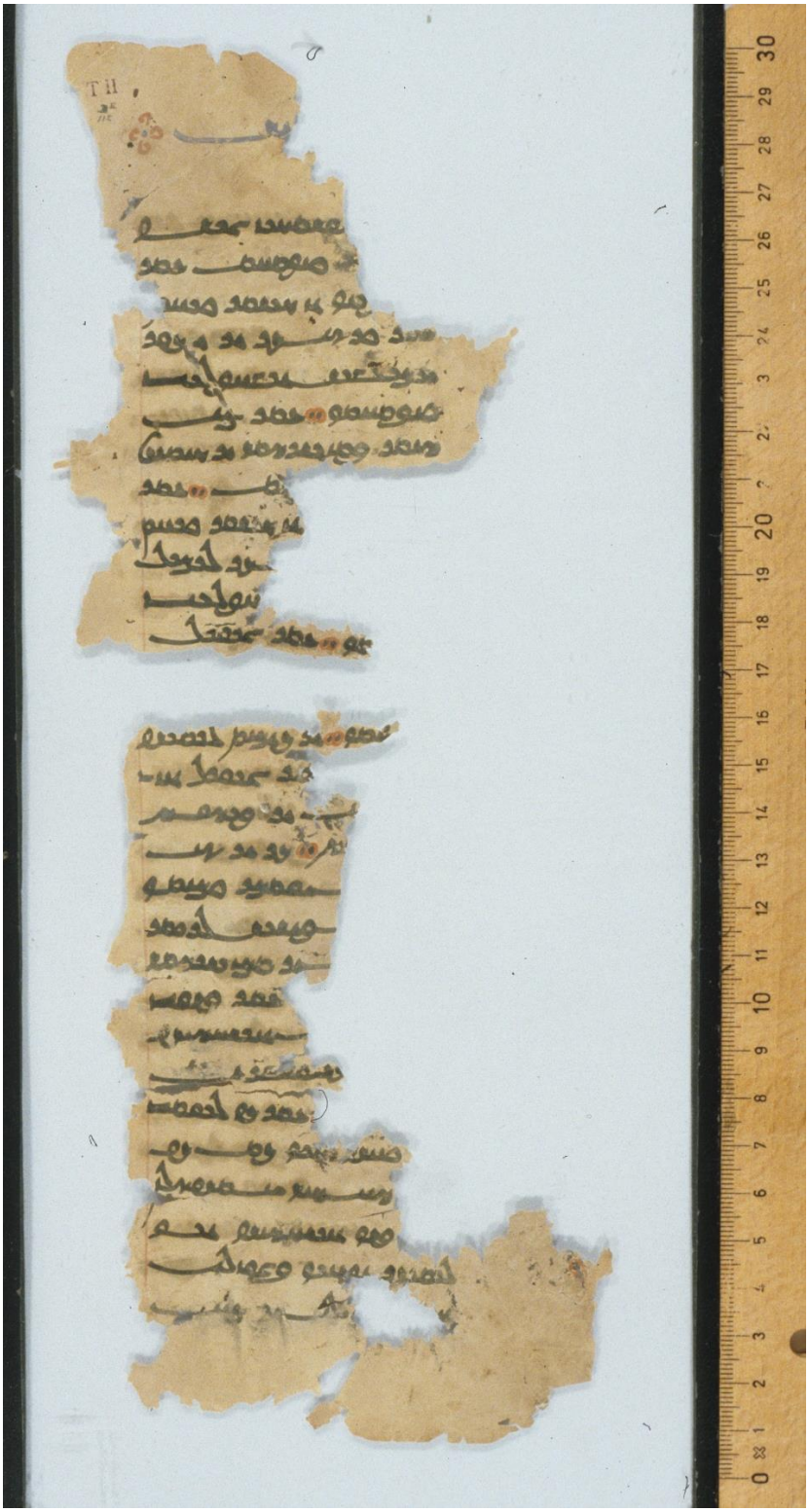


Fig. 2

So14255~So14256 verso

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. Photos: *Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.*