

NAG HAMMADI AND MANICHAEAN STUDIES

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XI.III



EMERGING FROM DARKNESS

STUDIES IN THE RECOVERY OF MANICHAEAN SOURCES

EDITED BY

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AND

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CHAPTER THREE

THE TURKIC MANICHAEAN LITERATURE

Larry Clark

From the viewpoint of world Manichaean studies, the Manichaean texts in Turkic language form part of the surviving heritage of the eastern Manichaean church in Iranian, Turkic, Chinese and "Tokharian" languages. In quantity and coverage, the Turkic texts are secondary to those in the Iranian languages of the church, and yet the Turkic corpus reinforces or complements the Iranian in important respects. Together with the texts in Parthian, Middle Persian and Sogdian languages, they constitute the primary documentation on the form and practices of this religion in Turfan and Dunhuang in the Early Middle Ages. Turkic texts also contain valuable data on the history and culture of the Uygurs who fostered the growth and survival of this religion. For Turkologists, the language of these manuscripts presents many still unresolved challenges in the interpretation of scripts, grammatical description and definition of the standard languages used in this period. Moreover, Manichaeanists know that each page, each scrap, each phrase, in whatever language, is precious, for it may contribute some thread to the damaged tapestry of Manichaean literature.

The Turkic Manichaean texts stem from the most part from the German expeditions to Turfan under Albert Grünwedel and Albert von Le Coq, and today are housed in the Turfanforschung section of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. A small number of texts associated with paintings is preserved at the Museum für Indische Kunst. Beside this basic fond, Turkic Manichaeica may be found in the Stein Collection at the British Library in London, the Pelliot collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, at the Institute of Oriental studies in St. Petersburg, in the Otani collection at the Ryukoku University Library in Kyoto, at the Museum of History in Beijing and Turfan Museum, and *in situ* in the partially restored halls at Bezeklik and Beshbalik.

From the outset of study, when F.W.K. Müller identified such texts as Manichaean in content, Estrangelo in script and Turkic in language, this field drew the attention of gifted scholars. Albert von Le Coq, Willy Bang, Annemarie von Gabain and Reşid Rahmeti Arat placed the edition and interpretation of Turkic Manichaean literature on a solid foundation that has never been shaken. In more recent times, Peter Zieme brought to light numerous Turkic texts of great importance and provided the secure editions

which are customary for this scholar. In addition, several of the Iranists, especially Walter Henning and Werner Sundermann, who have placed the Iranian corpus housed in Berlin at the disposal of world Manichaean scholarship, at the same time have been aware of its Turkic holdings and have helped to advertise their relevance to a number of problems. The studies and editions of scholars such as Jes P. Asmussen, Geng Shimin, James Hamilton, Hans-Joachim Klimkeit and Takao Moriyasu also have made important contributions to our understanding of this corpus.

Thanks to the efforts of these scholars, more than two-thirds of the Turkic literature, including its most substantial pieces, has been published in first and sometimes second editions, and work is underway on a new comprehensive edition by Larry Clark and Alois Van Tongerloo within the *Corpus Fontiorum Manichaeorum*. The necessary first steps in such an enterprise are taking inventory and classifying the surviving texts.

The classification of world Manichaean literature has not advanced far beyond Prosper Alfarcic's division of these writings into historical, didactic and liturgical categories, and their further grouping according to contents (ontology, cosmogony, alchemy, etc.).¹ Other classifications concern the Iranian Manichaean literature. Mary Boyce grouped these writings into canonical works (with the *Shābuhragān*), secondary prose-works ("the Tradition," church history), hymns, and miscellaneous (glossaries, etc.), and distinguished types of texts according to their contents: church history, precepts for Auditors, cosmogony and eschatology, works on the soul and salvation, hymns, texts on Jesus the Messiah and other figures, hymns to Mani and other church leaders, liturgical texts, Parthian hymn-cycles, parables, prayers and invocations.² In his presentation of Manichaean literature, Jes P. Asmussen similarly categorized Iranian and Turkish texts according to their content: doctrines, missionary activities, the Manichaean community, literature, science and magic, the Light-Nous, Mani's passion, monastic and community life, Jesus in Manichaeism, and mythology.³

Only one survey of the Turkic Manichaean literature has been attempted to date, that of Annemarie von Gabain as part of her general description of "Old Turkic" literature in 1964.⁴ There, she provisionally categorized the corpus into stories, prayers and hymns, classical works and doctrinal texts, regulations for Elects and Auditores, and confession texts. One suspects that

¹ Alfarcic 1918: 32-47, 1919: 77-137.

² Boyce 1968, 1975, 1983.

³ Asmussen 1975..

⁴ Gabain 1964. For brief assessments of the Turkic literature, see Bombaci 1968: 19-21; Zieme 1972: 173-179; Clark 1982: 145. Klimkeit 1993: 279-376, 403-405, presents translations of and comments on a number of Turkic texts, which are grouped according to content or form: hymns to Mani, general hymns and prayers, confessions, parables and narratives, texts on gods and central figures, cosmological texts, texts on salvation, texts on the Manichaean community and kingship, historical texts, and letters and postscripts.

such classifications reflect the concerns of scholarship on Manichaeism rather than the concerns of Manichaeans themselves. What is needed is a thorough examination of the terms used for genres within this literature itself, as well as of its formal aspects, such as that conducted by Werner Sundermann for prose literature in general and historiographical genres in particular.⁵

Given the limitations of definition and understanding that attend classification, this survey attempts to place the published Turkic Manichaean literature within the prospectus of Manichaean literature, and thereby to provide a general reference for specialists at a time when scholarly activities have been regenerated and major new advances may be expected in the field. The Turkic Manichaean texts may be divided into three broad categories which appear appropriate to world Manichaean literature as well: doctrinal literature, by which is understood writings relevant to the doctrines of Manichaeism either in original scripture or in exegesis; liturgical literature, or those writings connected to the performance of church obligations and rituals on personal and congregational levels; and ecclesiastical literature, by which is meant writings relevant to the mission, organization and activities of the church and its members. Within each of these categories the various types of texts may be distinguished according to their purpose (sermon, confession text, colophon, etc.). In those cases where a specific purpose cannot be identified, a general descriptive label is used that takes into account the contents of a text. At the present level of our understanding, some identifications of texts are little more than guesses, based on a word or syllable that may be reminiscent of some better-known text. If such guesses are affirmed or corrected by specialists, then this survey will have fulfilled one of its purposes.

Doctrinal Literature

Under the category of doctrinal literature may be included Turkic texts which represent translations of Manichaean scriptures, sermons and other homiletic literature, and writings of a cosmogonical or eschatological nature whose exact provenance in such works cannot be determined.

Scriptures

The Manichaean "canon" may be defined as that set of nine books which traditions attribute to the hand of Mani himself. As listed by the Chinese "Compendium" and by western and Islamic sources, these books comprised: (a) *Evangelium*, or "Great Gospel," (b) "Treasure of Pure Life," (c) "Secrets," (d) "Pragmateia," (e) "Book of the Giants," (f) "Epistles," (g)

⁵ Sundermann 1984 and Studien I-III.

"Psalms and Prayers," (h) *Shābuhragān* (a doctrinal summary written in Middle Persian), and (i) "Book of Drawings."⁶

Turkic texts refer to two of these canonical works, the *Evangelium*⁷ and the *Shābuhragān*,⁸ but thus far, only one Turkic fragment has been identified as probably belonging to one of the scriptures, namely, to the Kawan or "Book of the Giants" (I).⁹ This piece deals with the flight of Mahawais to Henoch.¹⁰

Sermons

After reciting the canonical books and the "Book of Drawings," which Mani composed to illustrate his cosmogony, the sources refer to Mani's "Traditions."¹¹ These were sermons, parables and "mysteries" elaborated on the basis of Mani's teachings and written down by his disciples during and immediately after his lifetime. Mani's disciples also produced original sermons of their own.

The sermons, which also have been called homilies (Coptic) or tractates/treatises (Chinese), were meant for individual instruction or to be delivered at services.¹² Copies of them are well-represented in the Central Asian Iranian corpus, and several were translated into Turkic. The "Sermon on the Light-Nous" (*mnwhmyd rwšn wyfr's*), often referred to as the "Tractate," is known in Parthian, Sogdian, Turkic and Chinese, and has parallels in Coptic Kephalaion 38, the "Book of Giants" and other works. The Parthian version was an original composition, while the Chinese and Turkic versions represent independent translations from a Sogdian version.¹³ Twelve Turkic fragments have been identified as belonging to six manuscripts of at least one Turkic translation of this text (2).

At least a portion of the "Sermon on the Soul" (*gy'n wyfr's*) was translated into Turkic. Along with many Parthian fragments of this sermon, a

⁶ Haloun-Henning 1953: 194-195, 204-211; cf. Clark 1982: 197.

⁷ Pothi-Book 62 *awngliwn nom rtnig nomlap kodtunguz* "you exhaustively preached the Evangelium doctrinal jewel" (Clark 1982: 170, 182, 196). T II D 173c.1 r14 *angliwn bitig i'cintū bašlayū* "beginning in the Evangelium scripture" (Le Coq, TMC III 12, Nr 6ii). T M 281, 286 r3 *[a]wngliwn bitig* "the Evangelium scripture" (Le Coq, TMC III 46, Nr.35).

⁸ Pothi-Book 502 *šābuhragan no[mu]g no[m]la[yu]* "preaching the *Shābuhragān* doctrine" (Clark 1982: 179, 190, 210); cf. Haloun-Henning 1953: 209, n 2, 210, n 10, 211; Sundermann 1981: 91f, Studien I 70.

⁹ The italic numbers in parentheses refer to the entry numbers in the tables of editions and studies below.

¹⁰ For the Iranian fragments, see: Henning 1943; Boyce, Catalogue, 55; Sims-Williams 1976: 62-63; Colditz 1987: 299. Sundermann 1992a: 15-18 and 1994 demonstrated the interdependencies of the "Sermon on the Light-Nous," 38th Kephalaion, M 133 and "Book of Giants."

¹¹ Haloun-Henning 1953: 211.

¹² Sundermann 1984: 232-236, Studien II 241, 268, 309-312, 1991: 7-9.

¹³ See Sundermann 1992a: 19-22. For the Chinese and Iranian versions, see Chavannes-Pelliot 1911-1913; Waldschmidt-Lentz 1926; Schmidt-Glintzer 1987; Sundermann 1983, 1992a.

Sogdian fragment and a Turkic text on the God of Wind describes four of its five graces with more detail than the Parthian and thus has importance in understanding this work (3).¹⁴

Although not yet correlated with an Iranian text, a Turkic fragment of a sermon on greed and anger also includes three passages in Parthian freely rendered into Turkic (4).

Other Homiletic Literature

The Turkic corpus of Manichaean texts contains more than thirty-five fragments whose contents suggest explanation of doctrinal points (5-41). Several of these texts contain explicit references to scriptures or to teacher-pupil sessions: one piece states that "he wrote it down in the ...*ki* book" (12); another text has the header "Pupils to teachers" and includes a question "Why does he laud and praise the Moon God first in the great Evangelium book and praise the great God-Khan of Kings, the God Azrua, later?" (25); a third text states that "he deigns to say in the letter (Sogdian *vrwrtty*)," which may or may not be a reference to Mani's "Epistles" (29);¹⁵ and a fourth piece refers to something said "in the book of God" (30). Probably all of the fragments which contain phrases typical of explanation (for example, *ne üčün tiser* "If one asks why, (then ...)") followed by similes or expositions are homiletic in nature (31-33).

The task of correlating these fragments with Iranian texts (if these exist) and with corresponding passages in scriptures has not been undertaken. Important groups of fragments concern Azrua, the Living Self, Zoroaster, Jesus and Mani's passion (5-8); the alienation, wandering and other aspects of the soul (9-11); proper conduct (12-15); obligations of Elects and Auditors (16-24);¹⁶ and the body, food, passions and procreation (25-28). Still other pieces lack sufficient references to permit clarification of contents, and may not belong to homiletic literature at all (34-42).

Iranian Manichaeans developed a rich body of parables that illustrated tenets expounded in scriptures and sermons based on them.¹⁷ The only similar kind of texts in the Turkic Manichaean literature are shaped around events or personages in early Church history and thus may be regarded as part of that historiography (see 97-102). Other Turkic fragments of stories have a popular character with an Indian background and lack any criterion that would connect them directly to Manichaean doctrine (see 172-188).

¹⁴ See Sundermann, *Studien* 170, 1991: 11-12.

¹⁵ See Sundermann 1984: 239.

¹⁶ The *Turfansammlung* has unpublished Turkic fragments on the Elects and on rules of the Auditors which form part of a book (probably a magazine) with the provisional signature "T III M 200"; see Zieme 1995ms: 1-2.

¹⁷ Sundermann 1984: 236-238. For Iranian parables, see Sundermann 1973, 1985; Sims-Williams 1981: 236-239; Colditz 1987: 274, n1 (lists publications).

Cosmogonical and Eschatological Texts

A number of Turkic texts reflect Mani's account of the creation of the world, but only a few pieces have been linked to Iranian counterparts. A question of some importance is whether several Turkic texts (43-45) belong with Middle Persian cosmogonical descriptions associated with the *Shābuhragān*. They are interrelated in that the recto side of one text (U258 of 43) has parallels to those Middle Persian texts, and its verso side concerns the creation of the Ten Firmaments, the same subject treated in a second text (44), while a third text (45) contains an expression otherwise known only in the *Shābuhragān*.¹⁸ Future research may strengthen this association or identify some pieces as stemming from other works in Mani's canon, despite Henning's rejection of this possibility: "No doubt every one of his books and longer epistles opened with this story, which may have been the sole subject of several of them. It is therefore useless to try to identify the various accounts before us either with each other or with one of the books of which we know merely the title."¹⁹

Some seventeen Turkic texts comprising a greater number of fragments may be identified as cosmogonical in nature (43-59). One of the most important Turkic cosmogonic texts (48) divides the creation drama into chapters, although it preserves only the end of the sixth chapter on the revolution of the palaces of the Sun and Moon, and the beginning of the seventh chapter on the birth of Adam and Eve.²⁰ Other texts range from an account of the second battle with Khormuzta presented as the Living Spirit (46), and the creation of the earth (47), to the creation of living things (49). At least six leaves belong to a description of Azrua (50), four fragments concern aspects of the Light Realm (51-54), and five pieces are too fragmentary to merit comment (55-59).

Three Turkic texts are eschatological in nature (60-62). Two of them deal with *Mitri Burxan*, one unambiguously as the Maitreya Buddha (60), and the second either as Mithra or as Maitreya (61). In this connection, it may be noted that a header to the Turkic colophon of what possibly was the *Shābuhragān* states "Written is the Chapter: 'The Coming of the ʾkyamuni Buddha'" (145).

Liturgical Literature

The category of liturgical literature includes the hymns, confession texts and various writings connected with observance and performance of Manichaean rituals. Manichaeans in the eastern domains of the church had a very rich ritual life that included the annual festivals of the Bema and the seven *yimki*,

¹⁸ Zieme 1995ms: 3, 7.

¹⁹ Henning 1948: 306.

²⁰ Zieme 1995ms: 6-7.

Monday services, and the various individual observances. It is clear that the confession of sins enjoyed a special status in the ritual life of these Manichaeans, whether Sogdians or Turks.

Every piece of evidence supports the idea that Sogdians promulgated Manichaeism among the Uygur Turks, carried out the translation of Manichaean literature into Turkic, and conducted the ritual life of Manichaean Turks. The association of Sogdians with the eastern mission in the Tien Shan, China and then into the steppe during the 7th-8th centuries is well-established.²¹ Indeed, the extraordinary influence of Manichaean Sogdians at the court of the Uygur rulers in the steppe reached such proportions that they along with their Manichaean patrons were executed following the "palace revolution" of 779.²²

With few exceptions, Turkic Manichaean texts of a doctrinal or liturgical nature were translated or adapted from Sogdian, as has been established by comparisons between surviving Sogdian texts and their Turkic counterparts (e.g., the *Xuāstuānift*). The earliest Turkic-language texts also reflect Sogdian calques, loanwords, syntactic structures, proper names, and practices of writing and punctuation.²³ Such considerations strongly indicate that, at least in the early period of Manichaeism among the Uygurs, the translation and copying of Turkic Manichaean literature was carried out by bi-lingual Sogdians. One Turkic-language text (4) that stems from the period of initial proselytization even contains passages in Parthian that cannot have been written by a Turk, but, plausibly, only by a Sogdian. A similar explanation applies to a leaf from a book in Runic script that incorporates Middle Persian hymns (see 74).²⁴

Ritual life also appears to have been in the hands of a predominantly Sogdian clergy. The Elects of the church centered at Turfan had at their disposal one or more "service books" consisting of instructions, texts and hymns intended for the conduct of church rituals. In one such book, the hymns are written in Parthian and Middle Persian, while a text for the confession of Elects is written in Sogdian.²⁵ At the same time, the co-location of

²¹ Chavannes-Pelliot 1913: 305; Henning 1936a: 10-14; Lieu 1992: 228-242.

²² Mackerras 1968: 59, 62.

²³ Conversely, the actual presence of Sogdians during the mediation of Manichaeism to the Turks is attested by those Sogdian texts of the mission history which use the letter "i" (hooked *resh*), a modification of the Sogdian script that defines its Uygur variant; see Sundermann, *Studien* II 309.

²⁴ In addition to the church languages of Parthian and Middle Persian, at least some Sogdians knew Tokharian B. The so-called "Henning fragments" in Tokharian B consist of two Manichaean pieces with Sogdian captions and Middle Persian installation hymns on verso; see Gabain-Winter, *TTT* IX 34-36; Boyce, *Catalogue*, 109 (5436), 137 (8533). Moreover, a Buddhist text was translated from B into Sogdian by a "Kuchean" whose name was Sogdian; see Henning 1940: 59-62. Perhaps this route may explain the Tokharian B text (85) rendered into Turkic in the *Pothi Book*?

²⁵ Henning, *BBB*; cf. Boyce 1975: 153. Reck 1995 recently described a book comprising Sogdian texts which bear the signature T II D 93, and to which belong several Turkic pieces: a

hymns on the same sheets as the *Xuāstuānift* (e.g. in the book T II D 178) which was a text for the confession of Auditors, indicates that a kind of "service book" also existed for Auditors, except that it was written in Turkic. The fact that the Elects' service book survives only in Sogdian (and the scribe was Sogdian as well), with Parthian and Middle Persian hymns, while the Auditors' service book survives for the most part in Turkic, suggests an assimilatory process, whereby the church hierarchy remained largely in Sogdian hands, while the Auditors increasingly were Turks. Turks may or may not have moved up in the hierarchy, particularly as the linguistic assimilation of Sogdians intensified in the 10th-11th centuries, but generally this configuration held even into the early 11th century when the last of the Manichaean texts were composed in Turfan.²⁶ Original compositions or adaptations in Turkic (e.g. the "Great Hymn to Mani") also may have surfaced at this time, as well. As so many other issues concerning eastern Manichaeism, the question of the Sogdian role in Uyghur Manichaeism merits a thorough investigation.

Service Hymns

A proper classification of the Turkic Manichaean hymns must await more detailed examinations of their contents and forms, of their correlates among Iranian hymns, and of Manichaean liturgy and literature in general. Even the application of the term "hymn" to compositions that bear the slightest evidence of having been sung obscures the fundamental difficulty in drawing distinctions between hymns intended for services and works that might be prayers or songs (psalms) intended for other purposes.²⁷

The most secure procedure in determining the ritual purpose of these works would be to find their correlates in the Iranian Manichaean literature, which includes hymns associated with Monday services, funeral services, and services conducted at the annual church festivals (Yimki, Bema). Unfortunately, only a single Turkic fragment has been linked with certainty to its prototype in Iranian, namely, a prose parallel to the Parthian hymn-cycle *Huyadagmān* 326(68)-331(70). Its existence indicates that at least the first canto of this cycle intended for funeral services also was translated into Turkic, in all likelihood from a Sogdian intermediary (63).²⁸

homiletic fragment on the Elect (17), a possible *Xuāstuānift* fragment ("Y" of 86), and a confession fragment (91).

²⁶ Sundermann initially thought the transition from a dominantly Iranian to a Turkic Manichaean literature occurred in the period 850-950 (Studien II 240), but later dated a hymn to the early 11th century (1992b: 69), indicating that Middle Persian continued its official status as church language even at that late date.

²⁷ See the remarks of Reck 1993: 475-476. In an appendix to her Catalogue (1960: 148-150), Mary Boyce categorized Iranian hymns according to the god or person addressed, the subject, the service, and the verse form. Brunner (1980: 344) assumed that her categorization reflected the Manichaeans' own division: "The Central Asian [Manichaean] Church categorized its hymns according to the person addressed, the subject, or the liturgical occasion."

²⁸ Sundermann 1990: 10-11.

Another means of establishing connections between specific Turkic hymns and specific services rests on their inclusion in "service books," that is, collections of hymns and prose texts needed for the performance of services. One such book (T II D 178) contains leaves of Iranian hymns, most of them unidentified, but some of them deriving from the Parthian hymn-cycles and one of them defined as a Monday hymn.²⁹ This book also includes four double-leaves in Turkic, two of them from the text of the *Xuāstuānift* (T II D 178iii-iv of 86), which was read by Auditors at the annual Bema festival, and the other two containing hymns that also should belong to services. One of them contains a hymn on the judgment of souls by the "Righteous Judge" on one leaf (T II D 178i, 64) and Middle Persian hymns on the other leaf. Both the term "Righteous Judge" and the contents of this hymn suggest a connection to the Parthian or possibly the Middle Persian funeral hymn-cycles, although a certain correlate cannot be found.³⁰ The second hymn in this book exhorts worship and provision of the Elect by Auditors (T II D 178ii, 65), which BeDuhn has argued belongs to the service of the sacred meal, as do hymns on the "Twelve Sovereignities" (66) and perhaps on the "Primordial Voice" (67).³¹ On the basis of similar content, a hymn with singing parts for hymn-leader and congregation that urges the provision of food as alms for the Elect may be added to the Turkic hymns associated with meals (68).

A few of the fragmentary texts collected in a "hymnbook" (T II D 78) present correlations with other hymns, including a copy (T II D 78j of 69) of the meal hymn to the Twelve Sovereignities (66), a parallel (T II D 78e of 69) to a hymn to the Moon God (70, the right leaf of this double-leaf also contains the *Xuāstuānift*), and a piece (T II D 78d of 69) with similarities to a hymn to the Light God (71).

Several other texts appear to have been intended for services that cannot be identified as yet. A double-leaf contains a set of three hymns written around a rectangular area deliberately left blank for the painting of a miniature that was never executed (72).³² The titles of the first two hymns are in Middle Persian: "hymn (*p'š*) to the God of Dawn" (I) and "hymn (*p'šta*) to the Fourfold God" (II). The third hymn, which warns about the damnation awaiting those who deny the doctrine and has striking similarities with the hymn on the Righteous Judge (64), bears the strophic alliteration of an original Turkic composition (III) and is labeled "a special Turkic hymn (*p'šyk*)."³³

²⁹ Boyce, Catalogue, 120-121, 148-150.

³⁰ See the "Righteous Judge" in Canto V of the Parthian *Huyadagmān* (Boyce 1954: 90-91), and the "Just King of the Balance" in verses 99, 131, 255, 394-396 of Canto II in the Chinese hymn-scroll (Waldschmidt-Lentz 1933: 487, 511; cf. "King of the Balance (Justice)" in the translation of Tsui 1943-46: 185, 198, 213); also cf. the vaguely similar descriptions of punishments in the Sogdian verses of this hymn-cycle (Sundermann 1990: 31-32).

³¹ BeDuhn 1996: 5, 10.

³² A similar case is seen in the "Argu" colophon (146), where later readers have written their names and invocations.

³³ Zieme 1991: 332-333.

A Turkic leaf of some fame (73) contains two original compositions by Aprinchor Tegin that are labeled *küg* "song (psalm)."³⁴ The first of these works has been viewed alternately as an erotic-mystical poem in the Iranian tradition (Schaefer) or as a personal form of praise to Mani (Gandjei), while the second work is a eulogy ostensibly addressed to Mani. The facts that the author is a self-identified "prayer-leader" (Persian *āfrinsar*) and that the second song includes the still unidentified musical instruction *py tywd*,³⁵ indicates that both works are congregational and therefore part of the service literature. If this was the case, the first song, with its expressed longing for union with an unattainable form, might be a psalm to the Twin, but under no circumstances could it be regarded as erotic. Regardless of their interpretation, the ritual purpose of either text cannot be identified, a conclusion that also applies to a mixed Middle Persian-Turkic hymn in Runic script (74)³⁶ and other hymns (75-83).

The existence of original Turkic compositions among the service hymns opens the possibility that liturgical practice may have developed within the Turkic Manichaean context in directions which we cannot recover as yet. Certainly, services must have been held and original hymns written for the purpose of glorifying Uygur rulers and for the installation of these rulers upon the throne and of clergymen within the church hierarchy (see below). At the same time, Elects and new converts may have cultivated a kind of devotional literature that was neither ritual nor political in intent. Such possibilities must be kept in mind when considering the purpose of the so-called "Great Hymn to Mani" that was included in the Pothe-Book (84). Its identification as a "hymn," that is, as an essentially musical composition intended for church service, must be questioned on several grounds: (a) its conformity to Turkic prosodic rules indicates an independent composition, (b) its length of more than 120 quatrains makes its performance within the confines of a service improbable, and (c) its content evokes no obvious parallel with other service hymns in Iranian and Turkic.³⁷ Similarly, the so-called "Bilingual Hymn to Mani" in the Pothe-Book (85) is a Manichaean recasting of a *Buddhastotra* "Praise of the Buddha" literally rendered into Turkic from Tokharian B (Kuchean), and has no conceivable relevance to Manichaean liturgy. In both cases, it remains possible that the donor Aryaman Fristum

³⁴ It remains unclear whether the Turkic term *küg* "song," which appears in these original compositions as well as in several other hymns (122, 123, 125), was the equivalent of the Sogdian term *p' syk* "hymn," which designates the three hymns (72), albeit in deviant forms.

³⁵ The term otherwise occurs in three installation hymns (120-122); cf. Zieme 1991: 334-335.

³⁶ Dr. Werner Sundermann has prepared for publication an edition of the several Runic script texts in the Turfansammlung and Museum für Indische Kunst which contain Middle Persian hymns: TM 337 (U 175), TM 330 (Mainz 172), T II D B 227 (Mainz 387), TM 337/339a-b (Mainz 402), T II D 169 (MIK III 200).

³⁷ Clark 1982: 150-151.

Koštir who commissioned the Pothi-Book also composed or paid someone else to compose these hymns as devotional pieces.³⁸

Confession Texts

A characteristic practice of Manichaeans, whether Iranians or Turks and whether Elects or Auditors, was the confession of sins, an institution known by the Parthian term *wx'stw'nyft* or *Xuāstuānift*.³⁹ Such confessions were performed in a highly ritualized manner with the aid of confession literature, as at the annual Bema festival or the Monday service, but also in a formulaic style, as seen in letters to higher-ranking clergy (see 107-109). Elects and Auditors were subject to differing sets of restrictions regarding their behavior, so that their confessions differed as well, as we see in the confession text for Elects which survives in Sogdian in the Iranian "service book," and in the confession text for Auditors which survives in Turkic and a few Sogdian fragments.

The Turkic *Xuāstuānift* for Auditors exists in a nearly complete version that lacks only the beginning section (IA). Turkic manuscripts were found in Dunhuang and in the Turfan region (Kocho, Sengim, Tuyuk, Astana, Yarkhoto), and belong to at least 24 copies (86 "A-X").⁴⁰ These manuscripts were written in Manichaean and in Uygur scripts on book rolls and in codexes. With the discovery of Sogdian fragments, it became evident that the Turkic text was translated from that language,⁴¹ while the preponderance of Turkic texts reflects the assimilatory process which changed the ethnolinguistic makeup of the Manichaean community. In addition to its place as the primary source for understanding this institution, the *Xuāstuānift* also encapsulates essential tenets of the faith in a form easily accessible to laypersons.

Confession texts also are found in forms differing from that of the Auditors' *Xuāstuānift*, and must have been intended for services other than the Bema festival.⁴² It is unclear whether two fragments that mention the *Xuāstuānift* book refer to that text or to some other confession text (87, 88). The only Turkic work that certainly contained a confession text is that in the Pothi-Book, which lists the kinds of transgressions committed by its donor (89). Other fragments contain formulas seeking absolution from sins, but were not necessarily confession texts (90-96). These include the important prayer for absolution offered to the 12 Sovereignities on the "small fast day" (90, also mentioned in 19), which may have been a sacred meal prayer (see 65). In addition to these, a New Year's benediction includes formulas for the

³⁸ Clark 1982: 157-159.

³⁹ Asmussen 1965: 122, 204; cf. Klimkeit 1977.

⁴⁰ Zieme 1966: 351-352, BTT V 19; cf. Sundermann, *Studien I* 70.

⁴¹ Henning 1940: 63-67; Asmussen 1965: 235-237; Sims-Williams 1981: 239.

⁴² Such texts also are known in the Chinese and Iranian literature; see Asmussen 1965: 234-253; Sundermann 1989.

absolution from sins (126), as do letters written by Manichaean clergymen (107-109, 115, 117).⁴³

Ecclesiastical Literature

Under the broad category of ecclesiastical literature may be included Turkic texts concerning church history, monastic organization and activities, and literary culture.

Early Church History and Hagiography

The Berlin Turfan collection includes a substantial number of Iranian historiographical and other works belonging to the early history of the Church and its first missions in the 3rd-4th centuries. In his publication and detailed analysis of these texts (1981, Studien I-III), Sundermann made it possible to confirm or suggest the relationship of several Turkic pieces to these early traditions.

Certain Turkic texts may be characterized as hagiographical, since they deal with the life of Mani and his earliest followers. In 1980-1981, Chinese workers found five book leaves in a stupa located in front of the Bezeklik caves north of Kocho. This stupa and several caves formed a Manichaean complex later remodeled and used by Buddhists. The surviving five leaves stem from different parts of a book written by the same scribe and belong to at least two different themes. The first of these (97) is a "conversion legend" in which Mani urges a prince named Ohrmezd to use the magic formula "God, Light, Power, Wisdom" as a means of dispelling sorrow. Ohrmezd challenges Mani, also called here "The Messenger of God," to a wrestling match which Mani accepts. Sundermann identified Ohrmezd as the son of the Sasanian ruler Shapur I, and a later occupant of the throne (272-273), and also connected the Turkic piece to one of the Iranian texts published by him.⁴⁴ The other three leaves found at Bezeklik form a parable dealing with the theme of Mani's last mission during which he converted a King Bat of Armenia (98).⁴⁵ Essentially, they constitute a parable on the encounters of three sons of a king with demons and magical objects. Another Turkic text concerns a mission to King Havza of Waruchan (Kushan country near

⁴³ Several confession texts have Manichaean interpunctuation, but are definitely Buddhist in content. These include T II Y 59 and 59a published by Le Coq 1910: 27-28, Asmussen 1965: 232-234 and Zieme, BTT V 22 (Nr.2); see Clark 1979: 374-375. The same should be true of T II Y 54 (Zieme, BTT V 22-23 (Nr.3)) whose confessional phrases also are typical of Buddhist confession texts.

⁴⁴ The remarks of Sundermann are cited in Geng-Klimkeit-Laut 1987: 47-48; also see Sundermann 1981: 126f.

⁴⁵ See the remarks of Sundermann in Geng-Klimkeit-Laut 1989: 334, n26; cf. Boyce, Reader, 43, Sims-Williams 1981: 238-239.

Balkh), which belongs with an Iranian piece published by Henning (99). It is unclear whether the Turkic and Iranian fragments reflect another of the conversion legends involving Mani's missionary activities.⁴⁶

One of the Turkic pieces (100) contains an episode from the story of Mar Ammo, the teacher who conducted Mani's mission into Khorasan, specifically his encounter with false priests (Turkic *kam*). Another text tentatively may be identified as belonging to an account of the meeting between Mar Ammo and Bagard (101).⁴⁷ A piece whose connection to early missionary activities remains to be clarified concerns two rulers, Vrum Khan and Bar Khan, the first of whom may be identified as the King of Byzantium (102).

Documents from the Eastern Church

According to their content, a host of Turkic texts are associated with the history of the eastern Manichaean church during the nearly three centuries of its patronage by the Uygur Turks. According to their form, these works include prose documents and letters that reflect the history of Manichaeism among the Uygurs, hymns sung on occasion of enthroning new rulers or installing new clergy in the church, benedictions that glorify or evoke protection for rulers possibly in connection with annual or specific events, colophons that similarly invoke blessings on rulers and clergy, and captions to paintings and scribal notes that provide the names of rulers and other figures.

In some cases, the purpose of this literature was to invoke spiritual protection for church and state enterprises, and in other cases, to argue or to demonstrate the blessings that accrued from the state's association with the church. Over the whole lies a patina of glorification of secular and religious leaders on a variety of occasions. Due to the poverty of our sources on Uygur society of the 8th-11th centuries, we are not in a position to identify the church and civil ceremonies, or the events and sociopolitical developments that motivated much of this literature. Iranian originals have not been found for any of these works, although similar Iranian texts exist and the Turkic ones may be indebted to them in structure and terminology. Arguing that "literary form determines essentially the message of a work," Sundermann organized his survey of Iranian works that contained data relevant to the history of eastern Manichaeism according to their literary forms: "1) hymns in praise of religious and secular dignitaries, 2) colophons and names of donors, 3) letters, documents and word lists."⁴⁸ With some modifi-

⁴⁶ Henning 1945: 85-90, 1947: 49, n1; Boyce, Reader, 42; Zieme, BTT V 51, n13; Sundermann, Studien I 44, II 281-283; Harmatta 1990: 95-96.

⁴⁷ I owe this suggestion to Prof. Jason BeDuhn with whom I have had many fruitful discussions concerning Manichaeism and Manichaean literature.

⁴⁸ Sundermann 1992b: 64.

cations, this approach is followed here: 1) documents and letters that reflect the history of relationships between church and state and within the church, 2) hymns and benedictions in verse or prose that praise religious and secular dignitaries on church or civil occasions, and 3) colophons, captions and manuscript notes that name rulers and donors.

Although there is no evidence that a history of the eastern church was written, several Turkic Manichaean texts are primary sources of that history as it pertains to the adoption and patronage of Manichaeism by the Uyghur ruling elite (750s-1020s). The justly famous record of the conversion to Manichaeism of the Uyghur ruler Būgū Khan (759-779) is such a document (103). The text is an incomplete copy of a Turkic translation from a Sogdian letter written by an Elect in the form of an argument exchanged in dialog between Būgū Khan and unspecified Elects over the course of three days and nights, with the Elects pressing their arguments for salvation each time the ruler vacillated. On the third day, Būgū Khan became frightened and pleaded for absolution from the Elects. The context of this act of absolution is that Būgū Khan's conviction had lapsed, permitting heavy taxation of the church as well as persecution of its members. Thus, as proposed by W. Bang and A. von Gabain, this text records an affirmation of Būgū Khan's conversion to Manichaeism, rather than the initial conversion itself.⁴⁹ This view finds support within the text and in other sources.

Although the accepted wisdom is that Būgū Khan converted to Manichaeism in 762-763, at a time when the Uyghur army was crushing a rebellion against the T'ang dynasty in northern China, a fragment (T II D 180) belonging to the same book as a sermon on greed and anger (4) provides evidence of an earlier date of conversion. According to this fragment (104), which is not clearly a colophon to the sermon or to the book, Manichaeism was promulgated "in the second year of the year named 'Great Beginning'," a dating device unambiguously correlated with the year 761 in Chinese dynastic reckoning.⁵⁰ Since the only major promulgation of Manichaeism in the East was among the Uyghurs of the steppe, this text must refer to an official proclamation made by Būgū Khan after coming to power in 759. At the same time, the affirmation text implies that after an initial conversion this ruler came back to the faith, which may have been the year 761.

If the long-accepted conversion date of 762-763 must be set aside, then the questions remain as to when and where Būgū Khan contacted Manichaeans for the first time. The answers may be sought in the western campaign conducted by the Uyghurs against Beshbalik and Urumchi just to the north of Kocho in the years 754-755, which is documented in Uyghur in-

⁴⁹ Bang-Gabain, TTT II 411-412; also see the views of Asmussen 1965: 147-148; Lieu 1992: 235-236; Klimkeit 1982: 22-23.

⁵⁰ Bazin 1991: 246; also see Rachmati, TTT VII 54; Gabain TTT IX 6-8, 1964: 190.

scriptions from the steppe.⁵¹ The Turkic text (105) which speaks of the visit to Kocho of "Bugug Khan" to discuss the installation of three Presbyters in the steppe may or may not refer to this campaign, during which the future Bögü Khan was only a prince. But the text is important for other reasons, as well, since one of its several fragmentary leaves quotes Tonyukuk, chief councilor of the Second Turk Empire (692-742), which was brought down by a coalition of the Basmils, Uygurs and Karluks, two of whom also are mentioned in the fragment. The possibility that the whole text constituted a kind of history of the Uygurs up through the conversion of Bögü Khan cannot be excluded.⁵²

After the fall of the Uygur steppe empire (744-840), some Uygur and other groups of the Nine Oguz confederation established themselves in the Tianshan region, as well as in areas of modern Gansu province, where their rulers continued to profess or at least to patronize Manichaeism for nearly two centuries.⁵³ The expansionist pressures placed on the Uygurs by the Muslim Turkic dynasty of the Karakhanids to the west in the late 10th century led to the abandonment of Manichaeism by the Uygur rulers in favor of the Buddhism adhered to by the majority of the population in these areas. As the church lost support, it renewed its propaganda of praise for the Uygur rulers, as seen in a host of hymns and other works that date to the reigns of the last two rulers associated with Manichaeism, namely, Bögü Bilge Khan (996-1007) and Kül Bilge Khan (1007-1024?).⁵⁴

A memoir written by Ked Ogul Koştir provides critical evidence for the loss of state support of the church in the 10th century, as it laments the dismantling of a Manichaean monastery and use of its parts for construction of a Buddhist temple (106). This individual states that he began his work in the reigns of Il Bilge Tengri Illig IV (reigning in 954) and notes that the monastery was torn down during the reign of Arslan Bilge Tengri Illig IV (reigning in 981, 984), a fact in all likelihood confirmed by a wooden stake inscribed in Chinese in 983 for the ceremony which began construction of the Buddhist temple in question.⁵⁵

In addition to these documents, there are a dozen letters (107-118) written in Turkic by Manichaeans and addressed to clerics or other figures. The

⁵¹ I communicated my thoughts on this problem at the Manichaean Consultation of the Society of Biblical Literature at its Chicago meeting on 21 November 1994.

⁵² For interpretations of the "Bugug Khan Comes to Kocho" text, see Chavannes-Pelliot 1913: 197n; Henning 1936a: 14-15, n1; Sundermann, *Studien* 175.

⁵³ The Muslim historian al-Masudi, writing of the "Tokuzguzz" or Uygurs in 933-934, stated that the king and court members were Manichaeans; see Dodge 1972: 103. During his stay in Kocho in 981-984, the Chinese Sung dynasty ambassador Wang Yen-t'o noted the presence of Manichaean temples in the city; see Chavannes-Pelliot 1913: 308.

⁵⁴ See Zieme 1992: 327, Sundermann 1992b: 69.

⁵⁵ See Hamilton, *MOT*, xvii-xviii; Bazin 1991: 260-261; Moriyasu 1991: 149-153, 183. The 13th century date attached to this document by Geng-Klimkeit 1985: 7-8, which is based on an opinion regarding its paleography (Henning 1936a: 17, n4), cannot be defended.

term *koštiranč*, which appears in several letters (110-112), carries the Sogdian feminine ending *-'nč*, and thus establishes female counterparts to the still undefined position of *koštir* held by males within the church.

Hymns and Benedictions

A number of Turkic texts constitute hymns and verse and prose works that praise or bless the Uygur ruling class and Manichaean clergymen. At least one hymn was intended for an elaborate enthronement ceremony, and describes a process in which the charisma or spirit of the imperial center on the steppe enters the new ruler before a rejoicing assembly of the realm and church and their guardian spirits (119). The identity of the ruler in question cannot be established with certainty, but internal evidence indicates that he was one of the Khans of the period 808-832. At least one Turkic hymn may reflect a service for the installation of a Magistak named Nogdar, since it states that "our Khan himself has brought the Magistak Nogdar" (120). If this identification is correct, several other hymns with similar terminology may be of this type as well (121-125), including a "song" (Turkic *küg*) addressed to a ruler named ///ü Bilge Tengri Khan (?Bügü Bilge Khan, 996-1007) that mentions the church figure Mar Shad Ishu[yazd] (125).

Among the Turkic Manicheica are benedictions and praises for the Uygur ruler and church community. These texts do not bear any obvious signs of being hymns, although they may be structured after or even adapted from Iranian hymns of praise.⁵⁶ They include two New Year's benedictions, one to Bügü Khan and the Divine Teacher, who are combined with the "two communities" of royalty and Elects (125), and a second addressed by Auditors to a ruler and the Elects (126). A similar text invokes divine protection for the ruling family and Auditors who have assembled at a manistan for an unspecified ceremony (127). Other benedictions for the realm and church contain some parallels, but generally are too fragmentary to permit closer identifications (128-136). Among the Turkic texts is a poem or hymn of praise in which a sovereign (Mani?) says "I shall go (before) you like a blue-gray wolf," referring to the Indo-European wolf-ancestor myth adopted by some of the Turkic peoples (137). Since the text contains a line in Middle Persian, it must be a translation.

Several possibly interrelated texts deal with the death of at least one Uygur ruler, the Bügü Bilge Khan (996-1007) during whose rule the Uygurs of the Tianshan were hard-pressed by the armies of the Islamic Karakhanid state to the west. The most significant text provides the title of this ruler (A[y Tengriteg] Kašinčig [Körtle Yaru]k Bügü [Bilge] Tengriken), but also contains references to a possible battle wound ("he allowed his bejeweled,

⁵⁶ Middle Persian benedictions for the Uygur rulers include M 1 (Mahnmag), M 43, M 158, T II D 135, IB 8259, and a hymn in the Mannherheim Collection; for references and discussion, see Sundermann 1992b: 66-73.

gentle body to suffer") and to the burning of crops (138).⁵⁷ A second text refers to a funeral ceremony in which they "gave our genteel, stalwart and blessed Uyğur Khan to the Khan of the great king-gods, to the place of his kinsmen," and also mentions [...] Bilge Illig, possibly to be restored as [Bügü] Bilge Illig as the name of the deceased Uyğur ruler (139). Another text appears to refer to the death of a figure who evidently was a ruler and to a ceremony attended by the Nine Oguz tribesmen "with banners and drums" (140). Several other fragments mention this ruler or death, but their relationship to this theme cannot be established (141-144).

Colophons, Scribal Notes, Captions

One of the most cited Turkic texts is a colophon that was written by the scribe Zimtu "in the 522nd Pig year since the divine Prophet Mani went to the land of the gods," a date that has figured prominently in arguments concerning the year of Mani's death (145).⁵⁸ Since the Pig year was 795, this colophon was written during the reign of Alp Kutlug Ulug Bilge Khan (795-808),⁵⁹ and also contains the information that the highest Manichaean cleric of the mission among the steppe Uyğurs was a Magistak named Mar Niw Mani. Unfortunately, it remains unclear whether this work is a colophon to the *Shābuhragān* (it refers to the "book of the two principles," also noted in Iranian texts of this scripture) or to a homiletic fragment about the previous appearances of Prophets (it has a header "Written is the Chapter: 'The Coming of the ›kyamuni Buddha'").

Another Turkic colophon of note appears on a large sheet of paper following a homiletic text (146, see 16). This manuscript identifies Mar Vahman Hayaryazd as the Teacher for the "Four Tugri" country, which referred to the eastern patriarchate in Kocho.⁶⁰ Although found in Kocho, this manuscript clearly was intended for Manichaeans outside the Uyğur realm, since it names the local rulers of the "Argu" realm in the Talas region of Central Asia as recipients of the benediction. At the same time, V.A. Livšic has discovered the exact names of these local rulers in Sogdian inscriptions on rock-faces at Tereksay and Kulansay north of the modern city of Talas, one of which he dates to the year 1025.⁶¹

⁵⁷ See Zieme 1992: 326-327 for the restoration of the title, which also occurs in the Manichaean calendar of 1003 (Hamilton 1991: 8-9) and in the Uyğur stake inscription of 1008 (Hamilton, MOT, xvii; Moriyasu 1991: 183-184).

⁵⁸ Both Henning (Taqizadeh-Henning 1957: 120-121) and Bazin (1991, 247-248) accepted the date of 274, whereas Taqizadeh (Taqizadeh-Henning 1957: 113-115) and Sundermann (Studien I 51-53, 76) preferred the date of 277.

⁵⁹ This ruler also may be mentioned in the Persian benediction in the Mannerheim Collection and in the unpublished text M 2707 of the *Turfansammlung*; see Sims-Williams-Halén 1980: 10; Sundermann 1992b: 70-71.

⁶⁰ Henning 1938: 550-552.

⁶¹ Livšic 1989: 84. The names El Tirgük (Khan of Kashu), Alp Burgučan (ruler of Ordu and Chigil cities) and Alp Tarxan (guardian from the Turks), are shared by the Kulansay inscription and the "Argu" colophon.

A Turkic colophon to a book commissioned by a family mourning a son who died young mentions the Uyghur ruler Kül Bilge Khan (1007-1024-?) (147), and was copied by a scribe named Agduk, also the name of the scribe in the "Argu" colophon. The same ruler's name appears in the colophon to a work illustrated by a miniature (148).⁶²

The colophon in the Pothi-Book transfers the merit accrued by commissioning the compilation of this book to the realm, church and family of the subscriber Aryaman Fristum Koštir (149). Another colophon that transfers merit is particularly rich in proper names, including names for individuals from the oases of Kamil (Khami), Kanchak (near Kashgar), Solmi (Karashahr) and Kushan (Kucha) (150). The names of members of ruling families and the church also appear in other fragments that may have been colophons (151-154).

Scribes evidently used sheets of paper salvaged from Buddhist literature written in Chinese as "scratch-sheets" for drafting texts, storing formulas and just "doodling." Several such sheets that were found in the walled library at Dunhuang happen to contain information of great value for the history of Manichaeism among the Uyghurs. One sheet contains portions of various texts: (a) the names of rich men who are admonished that wealth and power are not the key to knowledge; (b) the Buddhist formula "Homage to the Buddha, homage to the doctrine, homage to the community"; (c) a scribal attestation ("What is the good thing about being good? It is the good smile when one does good deeds"); (d) a list of Manichaean clerics; and (e) a line of similes (155). The list in (d) identifies the Teacher as Mar Yishu Yazd Kaw, but also five Bishops of the Kocho area and a sixth Bishop who heads the church in Beshbalik. Apart from its historical value, one lesson to be derived from this sheet is that a given scribe potentially dealt with both Manichaeans and Buddhists, and therefore need not have belonged to the church himself. Another scratch-sheet from Dunhuang contains the title of Būgū Khan (759-779), but in a very elaborated form that may have stood at the head of a petition (156). Other scribal notes include comments by two men who claimed to have read a Sogdian text that may belong to the "Book of the Giants" which they erroneously identified as a "Persian book" (157); various proverbs that may have been intended to illustrate qualities of rule and ruler (158-161); and several abecedaries that provide equivalents in the Runic and Manichaean scripts (162), Runic and Uyghur scripts (163), and the Runic (164) and Uyghur (165) alphabets.

Although Kocho was the key commercial and cultural city of the Tianshan Uyghurs, their capital lay at Beshbalik, the gateway city for the trade route running north of the Tianshan in the Jungar basin. The ruins of this city are north of modern Jimsar, and have never been excavated in a sys-

⁶² The full title of this ruler occurs in two Uyghur stake inscriptions dated 1008 and 1019; see Hamilton, MOT, xvii-xviii; Bazin 1991: 251-273; Moriyasu 1991: 184-185.

tematic fashion. To the west of its walls is a ruined Buddhist temple, with paintings in several partially restored halls which portray members of the Uygur ruling family and one of which depicts a battle scene. Inscriptions accompany several of the portraits, one of which has a title identical in all but one element to that of Kül Bilge Khan (1007-1024-?), and another of which has a name that probably occurs also in one of the Uygur stake inscriptions dated to 1019 (166).

In addition, there are dipinti of clearly Manichaean content that appear alone or in association with paintings found on the walls of caves of the Bezeklik complex which originally were used by Manichaeans (167-170).

Monastic Documents

The Turkic Manichaean literature includes several documents that bear on the operation of the *manistan* "monastery," as well as on activities of Elects and Auditors.⁶³

The most important of these texts is a charter issued "from the chancellory and secretariat of the great and blessed Uygur government, the precious seal of the Chief Minister and Councillors of the Realm" to an unnamed monastery in Kocho, that establishes the social and economic relationships between several monasteries in Kocho, Yarkhoto and Solmi (Karashahr), and that fixes their internal monastic organization (171). A document of potentially equal or greater importance survives in around thirty very fragmentary leaves (T II D 406a) in which references to a manistan, members of the church hierarchy and economic activities may be detected (172). The exact nature of this still unedited document cannot be determined, but at least some passages are phrased in the first person. Two other fragments refer to manistans (173-174) and one refers to a Teacher and the *injü*-land grant system (175).

Other items of monastic literature comprise those texts which are relevant to the activities of Elects and Auditors. Such texts include calendars, which fixed feast days, fasts and other practices of their ritual life. There are several Turkic translations of Sogdian calendars, including fragments from the calendars of the years 988, 989 and 1003 (176-178). In this category also belongs a Turkic double-leaf whose page header reads "Book of the *Rasāyana* medicine" (179). The text refers to salutary thoughts and actions (*bačik*) that are conducive to the spiritual health of Elects, but combines these meditations with weights of various pharmaceuticals, which gives it the appearance of a medical text.

Literature

The Turkic corpus of Manichaean literature contains some stories whose exact purpose other than entertainment remains uncertain. Probably all of them

⁶³ Utas 1985; Lieu 1981, 1992: 241-242.

were translated into Turkic from Sogdian and into Sogdian from Parthian or Middle Persian, but thus far no exact parallels have been established between the Turkic and Iranian texts. Their defining Manichaean features are one or more of the following: Manichaean script, Manichaean page decoration (flowerlets), Manichaean interpunctuation (single or double black dots circled in red). Apart from these features, they lack any obvious references to Manichaean doctrines. For that reason, it may be premature to characterize them as parables, even though scholars define Iranian tales of similar thematics and execution as parables.

These difficulties of definition may be seen in two collections of Indian fables which found an audience among the Turks of the Tien Shan. Stories from the *Pañcatantra* cycle are found in nine Turkic fragments (180), which may be divided into a group (A1-A3, "A3a", A4-A5) with features of Buddhist texts (pothi-leaf format) and a second group (B1-B3) with features of Manichaean texts (Manichaean interpunctuation), but without explicit references to religious tenets in either group.⁶⁴ The Aesop Fables are represented by nine Turkic fragments (181), all of which appear to stem from a single book translated from an undetermined language. These pieces are written in Uyghur script, but have Manichaean interpunctuation and thus ought to have been executed by a Manichaean scribe.

Another aspect of the Turkic stories is that, with the possible exception of the "Zoroaster Legend," they derive from story-cycles that pre-date Manichaeism. One such cycle belongs to the traditional biography of Gautama Buddha, sometimes referred to under its Persian title *Bilawhar wa Yudasaf*, parts or all of which was translated into Turkic from an undetermined language (182). The surviving pieces include most of the story of Prince Chandaka's encounter with a sick man, a story about a necrophiliac who has sex with the body of his dead wife while in a drunken state, and a tale about Anvam that probably also belongs to this translation. The connection of a piece about the Buddha and the monk Ananda to this work is unclear (183).

A Turkic Manichaean book (T II D 175, D 181) contained at least a section of stories identified as stories (Sogdian 'zynd), although they lack a clear terminological reference to Manichaeism. This book includes a piece of the "Zoroaster Legend" (184), a story about a Brahman astrologer and a king (185), and a story about a genie and a queen (186). The first of these recounts the story of an encounter between Zoroaster (*zrwšč burxan*) and false priests in Babylon, which in all likelihood was translated from Sogdian.

⁶⁴ On the other side of MIK III 6324 (A4 of 180) is a text that begins *namo but, namo sang, bu avdanta...* "Homage to the Buddha, Homage to the Community, in this avadāna..." but it is unclear whether this belongs with the *Pañcatantra* text on the other side; cf. Olmez 1993: 180.

Other Turkic stories are too fragmentary to permit identifications or summaries. Of several fragments that appear to belong to a story (187), one mentions the seven kinds of danger that confront a person: hunger, thirst, cold, heat, sickness, age and death. The Manichaean Pothi-Book contains a story about Arazan the merchant (188), who advises unnamed persons to confess their sins, which they do. The donor of the Pothi-Book (Aryaman Fristum Koštr) interrupts the story at that point, possibly to state that he and family members also have confessed their sins. When the story continues, Aryaman and others reach their city with a great deal of wealth. Even the reference to confession of sins does not assure that this story is a parable, since the donor of the book appears to have used the story to justify a personal act, rather than as an illustration of doctrine. The Pothi-Book also contains a rousing tale (189) of a struggle with a demon that lacks any Manichaean reference; on the other hand, it contains a Buddhist term (*avyākṛta* "neutral deed") that points to an Indian origin. Many pieces in Runic script appear to be fragments of one or more stories (190-196).

Two Turkic texts that fall within the category of literature also lack reference to Manichaean doctrines, but were prepared by Manichaeans. One of these is a Runic script fragment, clearly translated from Sogdian, which deals with the properties of the seven planets and five precious stones and the effects which each of these has on personal actions (197). The other text is the famous *Irġ Bitig* "Book of Omens" (198), a Dunhuang manuscript of 104 pages written in Runic script, which was intended for use with dies whose tosses would identify one of its 65 stories and their prognostications on the outcome of personal actions. Its colophon states that this copy was completed in the "Ta-yun t'ang manistan" in the year 930. Although it remains unclear whether this monastery was Buddhist or Manichaean, the fact that all identified Turkic pieces in Runic script from Turfan and Dunhuang belong to Manichaean literature indicates that this text also was prepared by Manichaean scribes.

Editions and Studies of Turkic Manichaean Literature

This survey of the Turkic Manichaean literature has attempted to place the published pieces within the framework of doctrinal, liturgical and ecclesiastical categories according to their identified purposes. In many cases, these identifications may be characterized as "guesswork," based on intuitions that may turn out to be misdirected. Even intuition has failed to produce a classification for a number of fragments (199-233).⁶⁵ Moreover, it should be kept

⁶⁵ Texts that lack any indicator of a Manichaean origin are omitted from the category of Unclassified; these include six Uygur script fragments which Zieme, BTT V, cited in notes and reproduced in photographs (U 5088, U 5847, U 5874, U 6061, U 6251, and U 6811; for refer-

in mind that the Berlin collection contains perhaps as many as one hundred fragments that have not been noted thus far in the literature.

The tables below present a numbered catalog of published or otherwise noted Turkic Manichaeic texts. The first column lists the number (Nr.) of each text as discussed in sequence above. The second column contains the name of the museum or library (Collection) where each item is preserved, with the exception of the designations "Ch/U" ("Chinese/Uygur"), "M" ("Manichaeic"), "Mainz," "So" ("Sogdian"), "U" (for "Uygur"), which all refer to the holdings in the Turfansammlung of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften; the entry "(lost)" to items that are missing from this collection; and the abbreviation "MIK" to pieces held in the Museum für Indische Kunst in Berlin. The third column provides the expedition signature of each item. The fourth column identifies the script (MS = Manichaeic script, US = Uygur script, RS = Runic script) of each piece. The fifth column presents a title or comment on the contents of each text. The sixth column contains references to editions and some literature for each text. The seventh column cites the plate or page number of photographs.

The following list assembles the editions and studies referred to in the tables and in the footnotes of this survey.

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DOCTRINAL LITERATURE

Scriptures, Sermons, Homiletics

Nr	Collection	Signature	Script	Contents	Edition	Photo
1	Mainz 317	T III TM 423d [conn. to M 813?]	MS	Piece from the <i>Kawun</i> or "Book of the Giants" Flight of Mahawais to Henoch)	Le Coq, TMC III 23-24 (Nr.8viii); Bang, ME 13-17 (II); Henning 1943: 55, 65	plate
2				Sermon on the Light-Nous ("Tractate")	Le Coq, TMC III 16-17 (Nr.8i-viii); Klimkeit-Schmidt- Glantz 1984; Zieme 1995 Le Coq, TMC III 16-17 (Nr.8i) Zieme, BTT V 58, n574, Zieme 1995: 258-260 Le Coq, TMC III 18-19 (Nr.8iii) Le Coq, TMC III 19-20 (Nr.8iv) Le Coq, TMC III 20-21 (Nr.8v) Le Coq, TMC III 22 (Nr.8vii) Le Coq, TMC III 17-18 (Nr.8ii) Le Coq, TMC III 21, (Nr.8vi) [U41] Zieme, BTT V 45- 46 (Nr.17), 69, n737-738, Zieme 1995: 263-266 Zieme 1995: 255- 258 Zieme 1995: 260- 263 Zieme, BTT V 34- 36 (Nr.12), Zieme 1995: 252-255 Gabain 1964: 234; Sundermann 1992a: 19-22	III XXXIII 272-273 I MIK III 636 (photo) XXIII 275-276 270-271 274 268-269
3	M 748	M748 TM 152 TM 152a TM 158 TM 181a	MS	Sermon on the Soul: Graces of the Wind God	Bang-Gabain 1928: 248-255; Sundermann 1991: 11-12	248-249
4	(lost)	T II D 178b	MS	Sermon on Greed and Anger	Bang-Gabain, TTT II 422-429	
5	(lost)	T II K 2a	US	The Four Mentalities of Azrua	Le Coq, TMC I 21- 22; Radloff 1912: 766	
6	MIK III 201	T II D 176, II	MS	The Living Self	Le Coq, TMC III 15 (Nr.7iii)	
7	U 63	TM 170	MS	Zoroaster and Jesus	Le Coq, TMC III 39 (Nr.22) Gabain 1964: 231, 235	

8	U 61	T II D 75	MS	Mani's Passion(?)	Le Coq, TMC III 36-37 (Nr.18); Gabain 1964: 235	
9	U 168	T II D 173a, I	US	The Alienation of the Soul	Le Coq, TMC I 7-10	II
10	M 813	?	MS	The Wandering of the Soul	Zieme, BTT V 56-58 (Nr.25)	XXXIII
11	U 276	T II 996	US	Fragment on the Soul	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 39, n266	XVII
12	MIK III ? K 40v	[IB 426] ?	US US	Right and Wrong Conduct	Zieme, BTT V 26 (Nr.6) Zieme, BTT V 27, n104	V LIII
13	Mainz 126	T II D 173c, II	US	Sign of the Wise Person (Ročvarmah)	Le Coq, TMC III 13 (Nr.6iii); Jackson 1929: 97-99	
14	M 865	?	MS	Homiletic Fragment on the Wise Person	Zieme, BTT V 46, n380 Boyce, Catalogue, 58	XXIII
15	U 232	T II D 115	US	Homiletic Fragment on the Ignorant Person	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 42, n300	XXI
16	MIK III 198	T II D 171	US	The Five Signs of Sanctity in Elects	Le Coq, TMC I 23-25; Moriyasu 1991	III XIX-XX
17	U 62	T I TM 169 [1034 on glass]	MS	Commandments for Elects	Le Coq, TMC III 38-39 (Nr.21) Gabain 1964: 235	
18	U 190	T II D 93	US	Homiletic Fragment on the Elect	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 38, n241	XV
19	U 133c	T ? and T I x [glassed with M 803a]	MS	Homiletic Fragments on the Elect and on Ahriman	Zieme, BTT V 26-27 (Nr.7), 26, n97	VI
20	U 60	TM 148 TM 165 TM 177 TM 183 T I a	MS	Serving the Elect	Le Coq, TMC III 38 (Nr.20 [part]); Zieme 1969: 11-13 (all) Gabain 1964: 235	17-18
21	U ?	T II D 173b, II	US	Alms for the Elect	Le Coq, TMC III 11-12 (Nr.6i)	
22	(lost)	T I D 4	MS	Penance of Auditors	Le Coq, TMC III 13 (Nr.6a)	
23	M 657 [II]	?	MS	Homiletic Fragment on Auditors(?)	Zieme, BTT V 55, n521 Boyce, Catalogue, 45	XXXI
24	U 123 [a] U 123 [b]	T II D 138 and TM ? [glassed together]	MS MS	Homiletic Fragments on Auditors(?)	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 67, n721	XLV

25	Mainz 126	T II D 173c, I	US	Food and the Body	Le Coq, TMC III 12 (Nr.6ii); Bang, MLB 187- 189 Gabain 1964: 234	
26	U 47	TM 298	US	Passions and the Body	Le Coq, TMC III 9- 10 (Nr.4)	
27	(lost)	T II D 173d	US	Procreation	Le Coq, TMC I 15- 17	II
28	(lost)	TM 282	US	Homiletic fragment (similar to 24)	Le Coq, TMC I 17- 18 Gabain 1964: 232	
29	U 300	TM 294	US	Homiletic Fragment (cites Letters?)	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 63, n655, 71, n756	XXXVII
30	U 206	T I D x 6	US	Homiletic Fragment (cites a scripture(?))	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 71, n756	LIII
31	M 157	TM 515	MS	Homiletic Fragment (mentions death and kings)	Le Coq, TMC III 10-11 (Nr.5) Boyce, Catalogue, 12; Gabain 1964: 235	
32	Mainz 383	T II K	RS	Homiletic Fragment	Sertkaya 1985: 145	158-159
33	M 365	TM 155	MS	Homiletic Fragment	Zieme, BTT V 52, n458 Boyce, Catalogue, 25	XXIX
34	U 185	T II D	US	Homiletic Fragment	Zieme, BTT V 48- 49 (Nr.19)	XXVI
35	U 220a	T I a x 20	US	Homiletic Fragment	Zieme, BTT V 55- 56 (Nr.24)	XXXI
36	U 66	TM 144	MS	Homiletic Fragment	Le Coq, TMC III 43 (Nr.30) Gabain 1964: 232; Hazai 1974: 232	232 [r]
37	U 270	T II D 173	US	Homiletic Fragment	Unedited; see Le Coq, TMC III 12 (Nr.6ii, iii)	
38	U 350	T II D 173	US	Homiletic Fragment	Unedited; see Le Coq, TMC III 12 (Nr.6ii, iii)	
39	U 132c	T I a	MS	Homiletic Fragment	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 42, n.289	XXI
40	Mainz 372	T I D 28	US	Homiletic Fragment	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 58, n.559	XXXIV
41	U 221	T I a x 15	US	Homiletic Fragment	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 42- 43, n335	XX
42	Mainz 386	TM 533	RS	Homiletic Fragment	Sertkaya 1985: 146-147	160-161

Cosmogonical and Eschatological Texts

Nr	Collection	Signature	Script	Contents	Edition	Photo
43	(mostly lost) U 294 U 274 U 258	T III M 200 [i-xxxii] T IV Üsüp [= xix] T III M 249 [= xx] T II T 25 [= xxi]	?	Chapter on Cosmogony (from the <i>Shābuhragān</i> ?)	Unedited; noted in Zieme 1995ms	
44	U 169	T II D 173b, I	US	Creation of the Firmament (from the <i>Shābuhragān</i> ?)	Le Coq, TMC I 12-15 Henning 1948: 311	
45	U 267	T I a	US	Creation of the Demons(?) (from the <i>Shābuhragān</i> ?)	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 35, n214, 56, n532, 1995ms: 7-8	XXXII
46	(lost)	T I a	US	Khormuzta and Shinnu	Le Coq, TMC I 19-20; Radloff 1912: 766	I
47	(lost)	T III D 267	MS	Creation of the Earth	Le Coq, TMC III 41 (Nr.26)	
48	U 30	T II D 75	US	Revolution of Sun and Moon; Creation of Adam and Eve	Le Coq, TMC II 6-7; Zieme 1995ms: 5-7	I
49	U 59	TM 173	MS	Creation of Living Things	Le Coq, TMC III 37 (Nr.19); Zieme 1969: 8-10	15-16
50	U 50 U 70 (lost) (lost)	TM 175 TM 139 TM 140 +147 TM 141 T III T V 49	MS MS MS US	Cosmogony: Azrua	Le Coq, TMC III 7 (Nr.1v) Le Coq, TMC III 5-6 (Nr.1i, iii); Bang, MH 41 Le Coq, TMC III 5 (Nr.1ii) Le Coq, TMC III 6-7 (Nr.1iv)	
51	U 49	TM 291	US	Light Realm	Le Coq, TMC III 7-8 (Nr.2)	
52	U 262	T I D 20	US	Light Realm	Zieme, BTT V 31-33 (Nr.10)	IX
53	U 219a,b	T I D x 17	US	Light Realm	Zieme, BTT V 46-48 (Nr.18)	XXV
54	Mainz 150	T II D 213	US	Light Realm(?) (similar to 53)	Unedited; identified by Zieme	
55	M 126 + M 502m + M 201	?	MS	Cosmogonical Fragment	Zieme, BTT V 35-36, n217	XI
56	U 6193	-	US	Cosmogonical Fragment	Zieme, BTT V 35-36, n217	XI
57	M 541	TM 167	MS	Cosmogonical Fragment	Zieme, BTT V 35-36, n217	XIV
58	U 133a	TM 178	?	Cosmogonical Fragment	Zieme, BTT V 32, n175, 1969: 10, n38	
59	U 222	T I D	US	Cosmogonical Fragment(?)	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 21, n1	II-III

60	U 297 U 241a U 241b U 241c	T I D TM 161 T I a - T II D	US US US US	Coming of the Maitreya Buddha(?)	Zieme, BTT V 39- 43 (Nr.15)	XVIII, XIX
61	(lost)	TM 180	MS	The False Mithra (?Maitreya)	Le Coq, TMC II 5- 6 Gabain 1964: 231	I
62	U 48	T II D 121	US	Eschatological Fragment(?)	Le Coq, TMC III 8- 9 (Nr.3)	I

LITURGICAL LITERATURE

Service Hymns

Nr	Collection	Signature	Script	Contents	Edition	Photo
63	U 71	T I TM 278	US	<i>Huyadagmān</i> Hymn-Cycle	Le Coq, TMC III 45 (Nr.32); Henning 1959: 122- 124	
64	U 34	T II D 178(i)	MS	Hymn on the "Righteous Judge" (similarities with 63 and with 72 [III])	Le Coq, TMC II 12-13; Arat, ETŠ 26-29 (Nr.6)	
65	U 54	T II D 178ii	MS	Meal Hymn Exhorting Worship of Elect by Auditors	Le Coq, TMC III 29-30 (Nr.12); Gabain 1964: 235	
66	Biblio- thèque Nationale	PC 3049	US	Meal Hymn to 12 Sovereignities (parallel to T II D 78j of 69; similarities with 90)	Hamilton, MOT 37-53 (Nr.5 [I: lines 1-26])	276-277
67	Biblio- thèque Nationale	PC 3049	US	Meal Hymn to 22 Properties of Primordial Gods ("The Primordial Voice")	Hamilton, MOT 37-53 (Nr.5 [II: lines 27-46])	278
	Biblio- thèque Nationale	PC 3407	US		Hamilton, MOT 55-56 (Nr.6 [= Nr.5, II: lines 27- 43])	283
	Ch/U 6818	-	US		Zieme, BTT V 33 (Nr.11 [= Nr.5, II: lines 27-32])	XI
	Mainz 360	T I a	US		Unedited fragments a-d; recto of fragment <i>a</i> identified by Zieme with Nr.5, II: lines 45-46)	
	U 178	TM 328	RS		Unedited (Zieme: Nr.5, II: 36-39)	
68	U 55	TM 512	MS	Hymn on Alms for the Elect	Le Coq, TMC III 28-29 (Nr.11) Gabain 1964: 232	

69	U 39	T II D 78a, I-II	US	"Hymnbook"	Le Coq, TMC III 24 (Nr.9i) Le Coq, TMC III 24-25 (Nr.9ii) Le Coq, TMC III 25-26 (Nr.9iii) Le Coq, TMC III 26 (Nr.9iv) Le Coq, TMC III 26-27 (Nr.9v) Le Coq, TMC III 27 (Nr.9vi) Le Coq, TMC III 27 (Nr.9vii) Le Coq, TMC III 27 (Nr.9viii) Le Coq, TMC III 27 (Nr.9ix) Le Coq, TMC III 27 (Nr.9x) Le Coq, TMC III 28 (Nr.9xi) Gabain 1964: 234	II
	Mainz 104	T II D 78b, I-II	US			
	(lost)	T II D 78c, I-II	US			
	U 38	T II D 78d, I-II	US			
	(lost)	T II D 78e, I-II	US			
	Mainz 394	T II D 78f	US			
	Mainz 374	T II D 78g	US			
	U 37	T II D 78h	US			
	U 51	T II D 78i	US			
	U 52	T II D 78j	US			
	U 53	TIID 78k	US	(parallel to 66)		
70	U 15	T II K 8, II	US	Hymn to the Moon God (parallel to T II D 78e, I of 69)	Zieme 1966: 352- 354, fn3	377-378
71	M 13	TM 166	MS	Hymn to the Powerful Light God (similar to T II D 78d of 69)	Le Coq, TMC III 28 (Nr.10); Gabain 1964: 234	
72	MIK III 200	T II D 169	US	Three Hymns: I. Dawn God; II. Fourfold God; III. Damnation (III has similarities with 64)	Le Coq, TMC II 9- 12; Bang, MH 2-3 (III, 4-7), 4-22 (I), 22-39 (II); Arat, ET\$ 5-9 (Nr.1 (I)), 10-13 (Nr.2 (II)), 22-25, (Nr.5(III)); Gabain 1964: 232- 233; Zieme 1991: 332- 333	II
73	(lost)	TM 419	US	I. Praise to Mani (?Psalm to the Twin); II. Praise to Mani	Le Coq, TMC II 7-9; Bang, MH 49-52 (II, 3-18); Schaefer 1925: 261-267; Arat, ET\$ 14-17 (Nr.3 (I)), 18-21 (Nr. 4 (II)); Gandjei 1970: 157- 160; Ş. Tekin 1975-76: 61-63; Zieme 1991: 333- 336	II
74	MIK III 35a,b	TM 327	RS	Bilingual Hymn (Persian-Turkic)	Le Coq 1909b: 1052-1054	IX
75	U 196 U 197 U 198	T I D 25 T I D 31 T I H 1 x1	US US US	Hymn	Zieme, BTT V 36- 38 (Nr.13)	XII, XIII

76	U 230	T II D x3	US	Hymn	Zieme, BTT V 39 (Nr.14)	XVI
77	U 252	T I a x 12	US	Hymn	Zieme, BTT V 39, n266	LV
78	M 4754	T II D 52	MS	Hymn	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 39, n266; Boyce, Catalogue, 102	XVII
79	M 6842	T II K	MS	Hymn	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 39, n266; Boyce, Catalogue, 127	XVII
80	M 6863	T II K	MS	Hymn	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 39, n266; Boyce, Catalogue, 128	XVII
81	U 139	TM 163	US	Hymn	Zieme, BTT V 32, n175	VIII
82	Mainz 149	T I a x 33	US	Hymn	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 51, n444	XXIX
83	Ch/U 7179	T II T 1612	US	Hymn	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 24, n48	LIV
84	U 82 U 86 U 83 U 81 U 87 MIK III 189 U 88 U 89 U 90 U 91 U 92 U 80 U 93 U 94 U 95	T III D 260, 15 T III D 260, 23 T III D 260, 3 T III D 259, 22+260, 32 T III D 260, 6 T III D 260, 2 T III D 250, 11 T III D 260, 11 T III D 259, 9 T III D 259, 15 + 260, 20 T III D 260, 8 T III D 260, 33 T III D 260, 7 T III D 260, 5 T III D 260, 4	MS MS MS MS MS MS MS MS MS MS MS MS MS MS MS	Great Hymn to Mani	Le Coq, TMC III 46-48 (Nr.39 [T III D 260, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7]); Bang-Gabain, TTT III 183-211 (lines 1-178); Gabain, TTT IX 9, 15 (lines 1-9, 46-48); Arat, ETŞ 30-59 (Nr.7); Clark 1982: 150-151, 168-174, 180-187, 191-203 (lines 1-244); Zieme 1991: 336-337	III-IV (T III D 260, 4 and 260, 25+ 260, 28)

	U 96	T III D 260, 20b	MS			
	U 97	T III D 258f	MS			
	U 98	T III D 260, 25 + 260, 28	MS			
	U 99	T III D 259, 13, v4	MS			
85	U 99	T III D 259, 13, v5	MS	Bilingual Hymn to Mani (Tokharian B and Turkic)	Gabain-Winter, TTT IX 10-15 (lines 10-45); Clark 1982: 151- 152, 174-175, 188, 203-205 (lines 245- 280)	plate (260, 34 +259, 17 [U100])
	U 100	T III D 260, 34 + 259, 17	MS			
	U 101	T III D 260, 14 + 260, 10	MS			
	U 102	T III D 259, 23 + 259, 26	MS			
	U 103	T III D 260, 19 + 260, 30 (r)	MS			

Confession Texts

Nr	Collection	Signature	Script	Contents	Edition	Photo
86	British Library	Or 8212 (178) [Ch 0015]	MS	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> A	Le Coq 1911b: 277-314 (lines 1- 338); Radloff 1911a: 867-896; Le Coq, TMC I 57- 61; Bang MLB 137- 242; Asmussen 1965: 169-179, 194-199, 210-230 Radloff 1909a (lines 9-338); Le Coq 1909a: 1212-1218; Malov 1951: 108- 128 (lines 31-160); Dmitrieva 1963: 214-232 (lines 9- 338); Asmussen 1965: 180-187 Le Coq 1910: 8-10, 1911: 280-281; Asmussen 1965: 167-168, 193-194, 199-202 (lines 1- 24)) Le Coq 1910: 10- 13, (lines (25-48)), 1911: 282-283 (lines (25-39)); Asmussen 1965: 168-169, 194, 202- 211	foldout plate
	Institut Vostokovo- vedenija	?	US	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> B		144-160
	U 8	T IID 178iv	MS	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> C		I
	U 10	T IID 178iii	MS	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> C		I

U 9	T II D 178v	MS	<i>Xuāstuānift C</i>	Le Coq 1910: 22-24 (lines 274-298); Asmussen 1965: 191-192	II
U 7	T II D 178vi	MS	<i>Xuāstuānift C</i>	Le Coq 1910: 24-26 (lines 298-320); Asmussen 1965: 192-193	II
U 20	T II D 178	MS	<i>Xuāstuānift C</i>	Zieme 1966: 351 (r. lines 179-184, v. lines 194-198)	361
U 11 [=M 153]	TM 303	MS	<i>Xuāstuānift D</i>	Le Coq 1910: 13-15 (lines 111-125); Asmussen 1965: 187;	
U 13 [=M 357]	TM 183	MS	<i>Xuāstuānift E</i>	Zieme 1966: 351 Le Coq 1910: 20-21 (lines 248-270); Asmussen 1965: 190;	362
M 443	?	MS	<i>Xuāstuānift F</i>	Zieme 1966: 351 Müller 1904: 104-106 (lines 274-298); Asmussen 1965: 191;	363
M 172, II	?	MS	<i>Xuāstuānift G</i>	Zieme 1966: 351 Müller 1904: 104-106 (lines 269-302), 111-112 (translation by K. Foy); Salemman 1907: 175-184; Müller 1908: 46-53; Radloff 1908: 847-852; Asmussen 1965: 190-191;	364 II
M 798f	?	MS	<i>Xuāstuānift H</i>	Zieme 1966: 351 Zieme 1966: 351, 357-358 (lines 109-124); Boyce, Catalogue, 54	364
U 17	T I D 51	MS	<i>Xuāstuānift I</i>	Zieme 1966: 351, 358 (lines 170-174, 180-182)	365
U 19	T I D	MS	<i>Xuāstuānift J</i>	Zieme 1966: 351, 357 (recto lines 97-100, verso 107-110)	365-366
M 5103	T II D 63	MS	<i>Xuāstuānift K</i>	Zieme 1966: 351, 358 (recto lines 143-146, verso 151-155)	366
(lost)	T II Y 60a	US		Le Coq 1910: 15-20 (lines 145-200, 202-250); Asmussen 1965: 187-189;	
(lost)	T II Y 60b	US	<i>Xuāstuānift L</i>	Zieme 1966: 352	

	U 12	TM 343	US	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> M	Le Coq 1910: 20fn; Asmussen 1965: 189; Zieme 1966: 352; (lines 247-267) Zieme 1966: 352, 354 (lines 21-24) Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 19 (lines 308-311) Zieme 1966: 352, 354 (lines 33-39) Zieme 1966: 352, 355 (lines 47-63) Zieme 1966: 352, 355 (lines 48-60) Zieme 1966: 352, 355-357 (lines 79- 115) Zieme 1966: 352, 355-357 (lines 79- 115) Zieme 1966: 352, 359 (lines 284-292) Zieme 1966: 352, 359 (lines 273-279) Zieme 1966: 352, 359-360 (lines 278- 298, 300-316) Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 20 (lines 118-120, 288-290) Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 20 (lines 118-120, 288-290) Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 20 (lines 154-160, 162-166, 172-178) Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 20 (lines 154-160, 162-166, 172-178) Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 20 (lines 154-160, 162-166, 172-178) Unedited; Zieme, BTT V 20 (recto lines 78-79, verso 91-92) Zieme, BTT V 20 (= lines ?)	367-368 369 I 369 370-371 372 373-374 373-374 375 376 377-378 I I I I I I I I LIV
	U 22	T I D x 21	US	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> N		
	Ch/U 6318	T II T 1412	US	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> N		
	U 21	T II S 530	US	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> O		
	U 16	T I D 29	US	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> P		
	U 24	?	US	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> Q		
	U 14	TM 289 [+T II K x 2]	US	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> R		
	Mainz 350	T II K x 2 [+TM 289]	US	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> R		
	U 23	T I 619	US	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> S		
	U 18	T I D	US	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> T		
	U 15	T II K 8, I	US	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> U		
	U 26	T I D 51/ 514 [+ T I D 51/ 510]	US	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> V		
	U 25	T I D 51/ 510 [+ T I D 51/ 514]	US	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> V		
	Ch/U 6415	T I x 509 [+ T I x 560 + TM 262]	US	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> W		
	U 27	T I x 560 [+ T I x 509 + TM 262]	US	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> W		
	Ch/U 6414	TM 262 [+ T I x 560 + T I x 509]	US	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> W		
	U 1543	T I D 51	US	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> X		
	U 5571	T II D 93	US	<i>Xuāstuānift</i> "Y"		
87	U 149b	T I D x 1, II	MS	Confession Fragment (cites <i>Xuāstuānift</i> book)	Zieme, BTT V 20- 21 (Nr.1a)	I, II (middle)
88	Mainz 344 (same glass)	T I a x 9 T I a	US US	Confession Fragment (cites <i>Xuāstuānift</i> book)	Zieme, BTT V 20- 21 (Nr.1b) Unedited	II (larger) II (small)

89	U 104 U 84 U 75 U 85	T III D 260a T III D 260, 22 T III D 260, 31 T III D 260, 26	MS MS MS MS	Confession Text in the Pothi-Book	Gabain, TIT IX 15 (lines 49-50); Bang, ME 24-35 (lines 12-21 [IV]); Asmussen 1965: 230-232; Clark 1982: 153-154, 175-177, 189, 205-206 (lines 286-355)	plate (D 260,26)
90	U 5464 U 5501 Mainz 474	T I D 615 T II 894 T I a	US US US	Prayer for Absolution on a Small Fast Day: 12 Gods (see 66)	Zieme, BTT V 23-25 (Nr.4)	IV
91	U 189	T II D 93b	US	Confession Fragment (mentions Jesus Messiah)	Zieme, BTT V 25 (Nr.5)	V
92	M 803a	?	MS	Confession Fragment	Zieme, BTT V 26-27 (Nr.7) Boyce, Catalogue, 54	VI
93	U 216	T I a x 4	US	Confession Fragment(?)	Zieme, BTT V 27-28 (Nr.8)	VI
94	Bibliothèque Nationale	PC 3072	US	Confession Fragment(?)	Hamilton, MOT 63-66 (Nr.8)	285
95	U 149b	T I D x 1, I	MS	Confession Fragment(?)	Unedited; photo in Zieme, BTT V	I, II (top)
96	U 149b	T II D(?)	MS	Confession Fragment(?)	Unedited; photo in Zieme, BTT V	I, II (bottom)

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Early Church History and Hagiography

Nr	Collection	Signature	Script	Contents	Edition	Photo
97	Turfan Museum	80.TB1.5 24	US	Mani Converts Ohrmezd	Geng-Klimkeit-Laut 1987	I-II
98	Turfan Museum	80.TB1.5 24	US	Mani and Three Princes	Geng-Klimkeit-Laut 1989	I-III
99	U 237 U 296	T II K x9 T II D [only D on text]	US US	Havza, King of Waruchan	Zieme, BTT V 50-52, 72 (Nr.21);	XXVIII
100	U 36	T II D 177 [=T II K]	US	Mar Ammo and Priests	Le Coq, TMC I 32-37; Radloff 1912: 778; Bang, ME 17-24 (III = sides 1-3), MLB 189-190 (4); Sundermann, Studien I 61	IV
101	M 364	TM 154	MS	Mar Ammo and Bagard	Zieme, BTT V 62-63 (Nr.28)	XXXVII

102	U 255a	T II K [glassed as U257]	US	Vrum Khan and Bar Khan	Zieme, BTT V 60- 62, 72 (Nr.27) [U 255a, U 257: correctly labeled] Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 60- 62, 72 (Nr.27) Zieme, BTT V 60- 62, 72 (Nr.27) [U 255a, U 257: correctly labeled] Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 60- 62, 72 (Nr.27)	XXXVI
	U 255b	T I D [glassedU 255b]	US			
	U 257	T II K+T Ia [glassed U255a]	US			XXXVI
	Mainz 389	T II K	US			

Documents from the Eastern Church

Nr	Collection	Signature	Script	Contents	Edition	Photo
103	U 72	T II D 276a	US	Bügü Khan's Affirmation of Faith	Bang-Gabain, TTT II 411-422 Le Coq 1909a: 1210; Gabain 1964: 239; Asmussen 1965: 147-148, 161-162, n111	V-VI
	U 73	T II D 276b	US			
104	U 111a,b	T II D 180	MS	Bügü Khan's Promulgation of Manichaeism (761)	Unedited; see Bang-Gabain, TTT II 425-426; Bazin 1991: 246	
105	U 1	T II D 173	US	Fragments of an Uygur History (mentions Bugug Khan in Kocho)	Le Coq 1912: 145- 154; Gabain 1964: 239	IV
106	M 112	?	US	Ked Ogul Koştir's Memoir	Geng-Klimkeit 1985: 7-10 Moriyasu 1991: 147-160	II XXXIV
107	U 5281	TM 107	US	Letter to a Koştir	Zieme, BTT V 65- 66 (Nr.30)	XL
108	U 5503	T II 897	US	Letter to Kek Sini Inal	Zieme, BTT V 66- 68 (Nr.31)	XLIV
109	Ch/U 6854	T II 122	US	Letter to a Bishop	Zieme, BTT V 68- 69 (Nr.32)	XLVI
110	U 5928	T IV x 505	US	Letter to a Koştiranč	Zieme, BTT V 69- 70 (Nr.33)	XLIX
111	U 6069	?	US	Letter to a Bishop and a Koştiranč	Zieme, BTT V 70- 71 (Nr.34)	LII
112	U 5974	?	US	Letter to a Bishop and a Koştiranč(?)	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 70, n739	LI
113	Biblio- thèque Nationale	PC 3049	US	Letter to El Tonga Tegin	Hamilton, MOT 37-53 (Nr.5, lines 57-82)	280-281
114	Ch/U 6890	T III T 338	US	Letter to Unknown	Zieme, BTT V 71 (Nr.35) Unedited Unedited	LII
	Ch/U 7196	-	US			
	Ch/U 7247	-	US			
115	U 6198	-	US	Letter to Unknown	Zieme, BTT V 66, n702	XLIII
116	U 5933	TM 84	US	Letter to Unknown	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 66, n701	XLII

117	U 5929	T IV Xusup	US	Letter to Unknown	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 66, n704	XLIII
118	U 181	T II T x 6	RS	Letter to Unknown	Tezcan-Zieme 1971: 455	III
119	M 919	TM 417 [TM 47 not on glass]	MS	Enthronement Hymn (808-832?)	Le Coq, TMC III 33-35 (Nr.15); Arat 1963: 150-157; Bombaci 1965-66: 15, 17-19, 42	156-157
120	(lost)	TM 296	US	Installation Hymn (mentions Nogdar Magistak)	Le Coq, TMC III 35-36 (Nr.16); Zieme 1991: 337- 338	
121	(lost)	T II D 62	US	Installation Hymn(?) (mentions Mani's Advent to the Uyğurs)	Le Coq, TMC III 40-41 (Nr.25) Gabain 1964: 234	
122	So 18.057	TM 281+ TM 286	US	Installation Hymn(?)	Le Coq, TMC III 46 (Nr.35)	
123	U 78	TM 288	US	Installation Hymn(?) (mentions Kül Tarkhan)	Le Coq, TMC III 45 (Nr.33)	
124	Mainz 345	—	US	Installation Hymn(?)	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 62, n618, 68-69, n726	XLVIII
125	M III II	—	US	Installation Hymn(?)	Zieme, BTT V 58- 60 (Nr.26) Boyce, Catalogue, 10	XXXIV
125	U 31	TM 159	MS	New Year's Benediction for Bügü Khan	Le Coq, TMC III 36 (Nr.17), TMC I 31	
126	U 121 U 131	T II D 16 T II D 66	MS MS	New Year's Benediction for a Ruler and the Elect	Zieme, BTT V 28- 31 (Nr.9)	VII
127	U 65 U 138 M 908a	TM 164+ TM 174 TM 181 —	MS MS MS	Benediction for the Imperial Family and Auditors	Le Coq, TMC III 41-42 (Nr.27); Zieme, BTT V 29- 30, n140 Boyce, Catalogue, 62	VIII
128	(lost) Ch/U 6618	T I D 3 T II 1398	US US	Benediction for the Realm and the Teacher	Le Coq, TMC III 43 (Nr.29 [T I D 3]); Zieme, BTT V 54- 55 (Nr.23 [T I D 3 + T II 1398])	XXXI
129	Ch/U 6874	T II 1457	US	Benediction for the Imperial Family on the New Day	Zieme, BTT V 49- 50 (Nr.20)	XXVII
130	U 164a U 164b	T II K x 4 a+b	MS	Benediction(?)	Zieme, BTT V 71- 72	
131	U 140	—	MS	Benediction for the Realm and Church	Zieme 1970: 157- 163	164-165
132	M 525	TM 162	MS	Benediction for the Realm	Zieme, BTT V 52- 54 (Nr.22) Boyce, Catalogue, 37	XXX
133	U 5362	T I	US	Benediction for the Realm of the Ten Uygur (clans)	Zieme, BTT V 64- 65, n665	XXIV

134	(lost)	T III D 259, 18	MS	Benediction for the Realm	Gabain, TTT IX 15-16 (lines 51-60); Clark 1982: 155, 177-178, 190, 208	
135	U 68	TM 511	MS	Benediction for a Ruler(?)	Le Coq, TMC III 45 (Nr.34); Gabain 1964: 234	
136	U 217	T I a	US	Benediction for a Ruler (?)	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 38, n241	
137	M 132 II	T I a	MS	Poem of Praise for a Sovereign (compared to wolf)	Zieme 1968a: 45- 49	50-51
138	(lost)	TM 176	MS	Eulogy for the Death of an Uyghur Ruler (mentions Bügü Bilge Khan)	Le Coq, TMC III 40 (Nr.23); Zieme 1992: 326- 327	
139	U 251 a-c	T I D	US	Eulogy for the Death of an Uyghur Ruler (?Bügü Bilge Khan)	Zieme, BTT V 63- 65 (Nr.29)	XXXVIII
140	U 64	TM 284+ TM 295	US	Eulogy for the Death of an Uyghur Ruler	Le Coq, TMC III 40 (Nr.24); Gabain 1964: 239	
141	Ch/U 6860	T II 1344	US	Eulogy for the Death of an Uyghur Ruler(?) (mentions Bügü Bilge Khan)	Zieme, BTT V 45, n364, 66, n701	XXIV
142	(lost)	T I a x 13	MS	Eulogy for the Death of an Uyghur Ruler(?) (mentions Bügü Bilge Khan)	Unedited; see Zieme 1992: 327	
143	Mainz 435	T I a	US	Eulogy for the Death of an Uyghur Ruler(?)	Zieme, BTT V 59- 60, n604	XXXV
144	U 184	T II T 563	US	Eulogy for the Death of an Uyghur Ruler(?)	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 64- 65, n665	XXXIX
145	U 168	T II D 173a II	US	Colophon to <i>Shābuhragān</i> (?)	Le Coq, TMC I 10- 12; Radloff 1912: 756- 765 Bazin 1991: 247- 248	II
146	MIK III 198	T II D 171	US	The "Argu" Colophon	Le Coq, TMC I 25- 30; Radloff 1912: 766- 777; Le Coq 1912: 150- 151 Moriyasu 1991	III XIX-XX
147	U 67	TM 301	US	Kül Bilge Khan's Title in a Colophon	Le Coq, TMC III 43 (Nr.28); Zieme 1992: 325- 326	
148	MIK III ?	IB 6368 v(?)	US	Kül Bilge Khan's Title in a Colophon	Le Coq 1909a: 1216-1217, 1923: 58; Zieme 1992: 324- 325; Sundermann 1992b: 69	XIII 8a-b

149	U 109 U 110	T III D 259, 1 T III D 260, 29	MS MS	Colophon with Transfer of Merit	Gabain, TTT IX 18-19 (lines 88- 117); Clark 1982: 156- 157, 179-180, 190- 191, 209-210	
150	Ryukoku University Library(?)	Ot Ry ?	US	Colophon with Transfer of Merit	Haneda 1932: 1-21; Moriyasu 1991: 186-199	I XVIII
151	Mainz 358	T I D 1	US	Colophon(?) with Names	Le Coq, TMC III 46 (Nr.36)	
152	(lost)	TM 137	MS	Colophon(?) with Names	Le Coq, TMC III 46 (Nr.37)	
153	(lost)	TM 153	MS	Colophon(?) with Names	Le Coq, TMC III 46 (Nr.38)	
154	U 159	T II D 137	MS	Colophon(?) with Names	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 28, n116	LVI
155	Biblio- thèque Nationale	PC 3071	US	Scribal Sheet with Names of Teacher and Bishops	Hamilton, MOT 57-62 (Nr.7)	284
156	Biblio- thèque Nationale	PC 3049	US	Scribal Sheets for a Petition with Bügü Khan's Titleture	Hamilton, MOT 37-53 (Nr.5: lines 37-53, 1'-11'); Zieme 1992: 323, 324	278, 279, 282
	British Library	Or 8212 (124)	US		Hamilton, MOT 67-68 (Nr.9A: 1-4)	286
	Biblio- thèque Nationale	PC 2961	US		Hamilton, MOT 69-70 (Nr.10)	287
157	M 7800	T II	US	Marginal Notes to Sogdian Text	Zieme in Sundermann 1994: 47, n40	
158	British Library	Or 8212 (78) [Ch 0014]	RS	Proverbs	Thomsen 1912: 215-217; Orkun 1938: 94-95; Tryjarski 1969: 326; Hamilton-Bazin 1972: 25-42	324
	British Library	Or 8212 (79) [Ch 0053]	RS			
159	British Library	Or 8212 (124)	US	Proverb	Hamilton, MOT 67-68 (Nr.9: 5-7)	286
160	Biblio- thèque Nationale	PC 2998	US	Proverbs	Hamilton, MO, 93- 96 (Nr.16: 10-18)]	297
161	Biblio- thèque Nationale	PC 2969	US	Proverbs	Hamilton, MOT 97-100 (Nr.17: 1'- 11')	299
	British Library	Or 8212 (116)	US		Hamilton, MOT 97-100 (Nr.17: 4-9 = PC 2969, lines 1'-6'))	298
162	MIK III 34b	T II T 20	RS, MS	Abacedary	Le Coq 1909b: 1048-1052	
163	Mainz 171	TM 340	RS, US	Abacedary	Le Coq 1909b: 1060	1060
164	Ryukoku University Library	Ot Ry 8129	RS	Abacedary	Haneda-Yamada 1961	XXIX

165	U 40	TM 423a	US	Abacedary	Le Coq, TMC III 22 (Nr.8vii), margin	
166	Beshbalik Buddhist Temple	Room S105	US	Captions to Paintings in a Buddhist Temple	Umemura 1996	376-378
167	Bezeklik	Cave	US	Captions/Dipinti to Painting of "Tree of Life"	Moriyasu 1991: 18-20 (Nrs.1-4)	I, V-VIII
168	Bezeklik	Cave	US	Dipinti (Painting of Musicians(?))	Moriyasu 1991: 21 (Nr.5)	IX
169	Bezeklik	Cave	US	Dipinti	Moriyasu 1991: 27-30	XIIa-b, XIIIa
170	Bezeklik	Cave	US	Dipinti (mentions Xruyshad Zadag Maxistag)	Moriyasu 1991: 200-204	figure 23 (drawing)

Monastic Documents

Nr	Collection	Signature	Script	Contents	Edition	Photo
171	Beijing Museum of History	Zong 8782 T, 82	US	Charter for Two Manistans ("Monastery Scroll")	Huang 1954: 89-94; Zieme 1975b: 331-338, 1988: 221-223; Geng 1991: 209-223; Moriyasu 1991, 35-126; Van Tongerloo 1992	87/1-6 224-230 XXVII-XXXIII
172	U 303	T II D 406a, 11 [= I]	US	Document Concerning a Manistan(?)	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 47-48, n414, 62, n618	
	U 304	T II D 406a, 10 [= II]	US			
	U 305	T II D 406a, 14 [= III]	US		69, n726 (U 305)	
	U 306	T II D 406a, 12 [= IV]	US			
	U 307	T II D 406a, 13 [= V]	US		48, n414 (U 307)	
	U 308	T II D 406a, 9 [= VI]	US		69, n726, 71, n756 (U 308)	
	U 309	T II D 406a, 8 [= VII]	US		48, n414	
	U 310	T II D 406a, 6 [= VIII]	US			
	U 311	T II D 406a, 4 [=IX-XI]	US			
	U 312a-c	T II D 406a [=XII-XIV]	US		44, n360 (U 312c)	

	U 313	T II D 406a, 2 [= XV- XVII]	US			
	U 314	T II D 406a, 16 [=XVIII- XX]	US			
	U 315	T II D 406a, 15 [= XXI- XXIII]	US			
	U 316a-c	T II D 406a, 3 [=XXIV- XXVI]	US		46, n382, 62, n618 (U 316a,b)	
	U 317	T II D 406a, [= XXVII]	US			
173	Ch/U 7081	T II D 125	US	Fragment (mentions manistan)	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 47- 48, n414	XXVI
174	Ch/U 7183	T I D	US	Fragment (mentions manistan)	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 47- 48, n414	XXIV
175	U 5525	T II 1071	US	Fragment (mentions Teacher and land grant s)	Zieme, BTT V 69, n726	XLVII
176	U 495	TM 299	US	Calendar of 988	Rachmati, TTT VII 19-20, 62, 81-82 (Nr.9); Hamilton 1991: 10- 13 Henning 1945c; Gabin 1964: 239; Bazin 1991: 274	22-23
177	(lost)	T I 601	US	Calendar of 989	Rachmati, TTT VII 19, 61-62 (Nr.8); Hamilton 1991: 11; Henning 1945c; Bazin 1991: 274	
178	Beijing Museum of History	?	US	Calendar of 1003	Huang 1954: 101- 103 (Nr.88); Hamilton 1991: 9-13 Bazin 1991: 273	95-97 19-21
179	U 57[b]	T II D 175. 2, II	US	Meditation Guide(?)	Le Coq, TMC III 31-32 (Nr.13ii, II); Zieme 1988: 224- 228	

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Nr	Collection	Signature	Script	Contents	Edition	Photo
180	Mainz 657	T III M 84-44	US	<i>Pañcatantra</i> A1	Geissler-Zieme 1970: 38-40, 45-46	58-59
	(lost)	T II S 89k1	US	A2	Geissler-Zieme 1970: 40, 46	
	U 1802	T II S 89k2	US	A3	Geissler-Zieme 1970: 41, 46	60-63

	MIK III 6324	IB 6324 (?T II Y 31)	US	A4	Geissler-Zieme 1970: 41-42, 46-47; Ölmez 1993: 181, 184-186	188/189 64-65
	U 1057	T II S 32a,Nr12	US	A5	Geissler-Zieme 1970: 42, 47	188/189
	Mainz 86	T II Y 60-e	US	"A6"	Ölmez 1993: 181- 188	66-67
	Mainz 238	T I a 40	US	B1	Geissler-Zieme 1970: 42-43, 47	68
	U 182	T II D 63	US	B2	Geissler-Zieme 1970: 43-44, 47	69-70
	U 231	T II K x 11	US	B3	Geissler-Zieme 1970, 44-45, 47-48	
181	U 319 U 193 U 195 U 192 U 194	T I a T I D 30 T I D 30 T I D 30 T I D 30	US US US US US	Aesop Fables I II III IV V	Zieme 1968b: 49-50 50 50-51 51-52 52	59-67
	Mainz 349 Mainz 3131 U 318 U 29	- T I D 170 - T I a	US US US US	VI VII VIII IX	Zieme 1968b: 52-53 53 53-54 Le Coq, TMC III 33 (Nr.14); Rásonyi 1930; Gabain 1964: 232; Zieme 1971: 40-42	41
182	U 2	T II D 173e	US	Life of the Buddha: Reply of Chandaka	Le Coq 1909a: 1202-1205, 1208- 1211; Radloff 1910c: 1030-1036; Radloff-Malov 1928: 167-168 (Nr.97); Bang, ME 7-12 (I) Gabain 1964: 232; Asmussen 1966: 14-21 Le Coq, TMC 15-7; Radloff 1912: 751- 756; Oldenburg 1912: 779-782; Le Coq, TMC III 14 (Nr.7i-ii)	XIV
	MIK III 201	T II D 176,I	MS	Life of the Buddha: The Necrophiliac		I
	U 46a-b	T II D 172,I-II	MS	Life of the Buddha: Anvam		
183	U 69	TM 279	US	Buddha and Ananda the Monk	Le Coq, TMC III 44 (Nr.31) Gabain 1964: 231, 235	
184	U 4	T II D 175	US	Zoroaster Legend	Le Coq 1908: 398- 401; Radloff 1908: 852- 856; Halévy 1908: 438- 446; Radloff-Malov 1928: 158-159 (Nr.95) Gabain 1964: 232; Sundermann 1986: 462-463	III

185	U 56 U 57[a]	T II D 175, 1 T II D 175, 2, 1	US US	The King and the Astrologer	Le Coq, TMC III 30 (Nr.13i) Le Coq, TMC III 31 (Nr.13ii, 1)	
186	U 58	T II D 181	US	The Queen and the Genie(?)	Le Coq, TMC III 32 (Nr.13iii) Gabin 1964: 232	
187	U 266a,b	T I a x 32	US	Story Fragments (mentions the seven dangers)	Zieme, BTT V 43- 45 (Nr.16)	XXII
188	U 76 U 77	T III D 258a T III D 260, 21-24	MS MS	Arazan the Merchant	Bang, ME 24-35 (IV): Clark 1982: 154- 155, 177, 189-190, 206-208	
189	U 106 U 107 U 108 U 79 U 105	T III D 258d T III D 260, 13 T III D 258b T III D 258e T III M 246	MS MS MS MS	Struggle with the Demon	Gabin, TTT IX 16-17 (lines 61-87); Clark 1982: 156, 178-179, 190	
190	Mainz 388	TM 326	RS	Story Fragment (mentions merchant, slave, astrology)	Le Coq 1909b: 1058; Thomsen 1910: 296, n1	XII
191	U 5	TM 342	RS	Story Fragment (mentions astrology)	Le Coq 1909b: 1056-1057	X-XI
192	Mainz 377	T II T 20	RS	Story Fragment (mentions Narzan the minister)	Sertkaya 1985: 144	157
193	Mainz 167	T I D 20	RS	Story Fragment (mentions demon)	Sertkaya 1985: 141	
194	Mainz 175	TM 337 x	RS	Story Fragment (mentions demon)	Sertkaya 1985: 143-144	
195	Mainz 403	TM 335, 337	RS	Story Fragment(?) (mentions women)	Sertkaya 1985: 147-148	163-164
196	Mainz 400	T I a	RS	Story Fragment(?)	Sertkaya 1985: 147	162
197	(lost)	T II T 14	RS	Qualities of Five Precious Stones	Thomsen 1910: 296-306; Andreas 1910: 307- 314	III
198	British Library	Or 8212 (161) [Ch 0033]	RS	<i>Irak Bittig</i> "Book of Omens"	Thomsen 1912: 190-214; Orkun 1938: 69-93; Malov 1951: 80-92; Clauson 1961: 218- 225; Pritsak 1964: 3-8 (57); Stebleva 1970;	II-IIIa

	MIK III 6324	IB 6324 (?T II Y 31)	US	A4	Geissler-Zieme 1970: 41-42, 46-47; Ölmez 1993: 181, 184-186	188/189 64-65
	U 1057	T II S 32a,Nr12	US	A5	Geissler-Zieme 1970: 42, 47	188/189
	Mainz 86	T II Y 60-e	US	"A6"	Ölmez 1993: 181- 188	66-67
	Mainz 238	T I a 40	US	B1	Geissler-Zieme 1970: 42-43, 47	68
	U 182	T II D 63	US	B2	Geissler-Zieme 1970: 43-44, 47	69-70
	U 231	T II K x 11	US	B3	Geissler-Zieme 1970, 44-45, 47-48	
181	U 319 U 193 U 195 U 192 U 194	T I a T I D 30 T I D 30 T I D 30 T I D 30	US US US US US	Aesop Fables I II III IV V	Zieme 1968b: 49-50 50 50-51 51-52 52	59-67
	Mainz 349 Mainz 3131 U 318 U 29	- T I D 170 - T I a	US US US US	VI VII VIII IX	Zieme 1968b: 52-53 53 53-54 Le Coq, TMC III 33 (Nr.14); Rásonyi 1930; Gabain 1964: 232; Zieme 1971: 40-42	41
182	U 2	T II D 173e	US	Life of the Buddha: Reply of Chandaka	Le Coq 1909a: 1202-1205, 1208- 1211; Radloff 1910c: 1030-1036; Radloff-Malov 1928: 167-168 (Nr.97); Bang, ME 7-12 (1) Gabain 1964: 232; Asmussen 1966: 14-21 Le Coq, TMC 15-7; Radloff 1912: 751- 756; Oldenburg 1912: 779-782; Le Coq, TMC III 14 (Nr.7i-ii)	XIV
	MIK III 201	T II D 176,I	MS	Life of the Buddha: The Necrophiliac		I
	U 46a-b	T II D 172,I-II	MS	Life of the Buddha: Anvam		
183	U 69	TM 279	US	Buddha and Ananda the Monk	Le Coq, TMC III 44 (Nr.31) Gabain 1964: 231, 235	
184	U 4	T II D 175	US	Zoroaster Legend	Le Coq 1908: 398- 401; Radloff 1908: 852- 856; Halévy 1908: 438- 446; Radloff-Malov 1928: 158-159 (Nr.95) Gabain 1964: 232; Sundermann 1986: 462-463	III

185	U 56 U 57[a]	T II D 175, 1 T II D 175, 2, 1	US US	The King and the Astrologer	Le Coq, TMC III 30 (Nr.13i) Le Coq, TMC III 31 (Nr.13ii, 1)	
186	U 58	T II D 181	US	The Queen and the Genie(?)	Le Coq, TMC III 32 (Nr.13iii) Gabain 1964: 232	
187	U 266a,b	T I a x 32	US	Story Fragments (mentions the seven dangers)	Zieme, BTT V 43- 45 (Nr.16)	XXII
188	U 76 U 77	T III D 258a T III D 260, 21.24	MS MS	Arazan the Merchant	Bang, ME 24-35 (IV): Clark 1982: 154- 155, 177, 189-190, 206-208	
189	U 106 U 107 U 108 U 79 U 105	T III D 258d T III D 260, 13 T III D 258b T III D 258e T III M 246	MS MS MS MS	Struggle with the Demon	Gabain, TTT IX 16-17 (lines 61-87); Clark 1982: 156, 178-179, 190	
190	Mainz 388	TM 326	RS	Story Fragment (mentions merchant, slave, astrology)	Le Coq 1909b: 1058; Thomsen 1910: 296, n1	XII
191	U 5	TM 342	RS	Story Fragment (mentions astrology)	Le Coq 1909b: 1056-1057	X-XI
192	Mainz 377	T II T 20	RS	Story Fragment (mentions Narzan the minister)	Sertkaya 1985: 144	157
193	Mainz 167	T I D 20	RS	Story Fragment (mentions demon)	Sertkaya 1985: 141	
194	Mainz 175	TM 337 x	RS	Story Fragment (mentions demon)	Sertkaya 1985: 143-144	
195	Mainz 403	TM 335, 337	RS	Story Fragment(?) (mentions women)	Sertkaya 1985: 147-148	163-164
196	Mainz 400	T I a	RS	Story Fragment(?)	Sertkaya 1985: 147	162
197	(lost)	T II T 14	RS	Qualities of Five Precious Stones	Thomsen 1910: 296-306; Andreas 1910: 307- 314	III
198	British Library	Or 8212 (161) [Ch 0033]	RS	<i>Irak Bitig</i> "Book of Omens"	Thomsen 1912: 190-214; Orkun 1938: 69-93; Malov 1951: 80-92; Clauson 1961: 218- 225; Pritsak 1964: 3-8 (57); Stebleva 1970;	II-IIIa

212	Mainz 169	T I x 21	RS	No Context	Sertkaya 1985: 141-142	
213	Mainz 173	T II D 19	RS	No Context	Sertkaya 1985: 142	
214	Mainz 174	T II D 52-k	RS	No Context	Sertkaya 1985: 142-143	
215	Mainz 385	TM 337	RS	No Context	Sertkaya 1985: 145-146	
216	Mainz 386	TM 333 (not 533)	RS	No Context	Sertkaya 1985: 146-147	160-161
217	British Library	[Kao. 0107]	RS	No Context	Thomsen 1928: 1181-1183	CXXIV
218	British Library	Mi xxooi (Ming-oi)	RS	No Context	Unedited; see Stein 1921: 1198, 1221	
219	Institut Vostokovedenija	O I	RS	No Context	Radloff 1910b: 1025-1029	plate
220	Ryukoku University Library	Ot Ry 8130	RS	Unknown	Unedited; see Haneda-Yamada 1961	
221	Bibliothèque Nationale	PC 2132	RS	Unknown	Unedited; see Sertkaya 1985: 134	
222	U 171a,b	TM T 20	RS	Unknown	Unedited; see Sertkaya 1985: 136	
223	U 172	T II D 67	RS	Unknown	Unedited; see Sertkaya 1985: 136	
224	U 173	?	RS	Unknown	Unedited; see Sertkaya 1985: 136	
225	U 174a,b	TM 336	RS	Unknown	Unedited; see Sertkaya 1985: 136	
226	U 176	?	RS	Unknown	Unedited; see Sertkaya 1985: 136	
227	U 177	TM 341	RS	Unknown	Unedited; see Sertkaya 1985: 136	
228	U 179	TM 334	RS	Unknown	Unedited; see Sertkaya 1985: 136	
229	U 180	TM 331 (v: US)	RS	Unknown	Unedited; see Sertkaya 1985: 136	
230	M ?	TM 407	RS	Unknown	Unedited; see Sertkaya 1985: 136	
231	U 268	T II D	?	No Context	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 34, fn8	
232	U 322	T II B 65	?	No Context	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 38, n241	
233	(lost)	T III M 56-2	?	No Context	Unedited; see Zieme, BTT V 63, n657	